



JOHN HOLLIDAY

LONGSHIPS ON THE SAND

Viking and later medieval settlement
on the island of Tiree

2ND EDITION

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'On landing on Tiree I had another proof of the unsoundness of the theory that the Hebrideans are of Celtic origin ... The prevailing type of face is Norse; and the permanent part of the topography, many of the customs, and some of the superstitions and tales, are distinctly Scandinavian. I do not attach very much importance to this fact; but still we may as well take note of it at the outset.'

Anonymous visitor to Tiree in 1882 (Anon. 1882, 165)

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GLOSSARY

This study includes some technical terms, especially ones to do with language and linguistics. Some can be daunting for those of us who have not studied these subjects in detail, and I have tried to explain a few below:

Accusative case: changes in a noun or pronoun that mark it as the object of a sentence. In the phrases ‘I like him’ and ‘He likes me’, him and me are the objects of the sentence, and provide rare examples of the accusative case form in English: he > him, and I > me. Such changes, however, are common in many other languages. Norse place-names in the Gazetteer are presented in the accusative case. See **case**.

Alias: an alternative place-name for a feature. For example, Crossapol Beach (the commoner name today) is an alias for the older G (Scottish Gaelic) *Tràigh Bhàigh* ‘the beach of The Bay’.

Aspiration: the sound at the start of the English word ‘hat’. Another example occurs after the initial **consonant** of the word ‘pie’, whereas there is none after the initial /b/ in ‘buy’. Pre-aspiration occurs before a consonant, as in the Gaelic word *cnoc* ‘hillock’, pronounced [kro^hk].

Assimilation: a common process in words, where a consonant or vowel changes to become more like the following consonant or vowel: for example, *handbag* > *hambag* or *cupboard* > *cubboard*.

Back-formation: a common process that occurs when words pass from one language to another. A well-known example is the English university town of *Cambridge*. An early form (875 AD) was *Grantebrycg* ‘bridge over the river *Granta*’. This developed into the modern *Cambridge*; by 1610, the river name had been back-formed to the *River Cam*. The Norse word *vágr* ‘large bay’ was loaned into Gaelic as *bàgh* because speakers assumed the initial *v-* was a **lenited** *bh-*, and ‘restored’ or back-formed it to a *b-* (see Cox 2002, 53).

Baile: see **township**.

BCE: Before the Common (or Current) Era, the culturally neutral alternative to BC (Before Christ). The two systems are equivalent: for example, 200 BC = 200 BCE.

Biglossic: the presence of two languages in a community, as we have today on Tìree with both English and Gaelic spoken. Individuals in such a community may or may not be **bilingual**.

Bilingual: the ability of an individual to speak two languages

Borrowing: see **loan word**

Bronze Age: the period between approximately 2500 and 700 BCE when metalworking skills and a new culture developed in Scotland, associated with a new wave of immigrants.

Byname: personal names in Viking Age Norway often combined a forename with a byname (a nickname). The Norwegian king Magnus III, *Magnús Ólafsson*, was commonly known as *Magnús berfættr* ‘Magnus Barefoot’.

Caput: Latin ‘head’, used here in the sense of the headquarters of a chieftain

Case: many languages – for example, Old Norse and Gaelic, but rarely modern English – have different forms of words depending on their position and role in a sentence: see **nominative**, **accusative**, **genitive** and **dative**. For example, ON (Old Norse) *vǫllr* ‘field’ (singular) has these case forms: *vǫllr* (nominative), *vǫll* (accusative), *velli* (dative) and *vallar* (genitive). These case forms are important: ‘The Gaelic forms of Old Norse place-names are usually derived from [their] dative or accusative forms’ (Oftedal 2009, 13).

Casualty: the produce of an area of land – ‘butter, cheese, poultry, eggs, sheep, veals and the like, and in Tìree a certain quantity of linen cloth’ (Cregeen 2004, 59) – paid to a superior in addition to money rent.

Celtic: a family of languages developed from an ancient Proto-Celtic language spoken all over Europe in the **Bronze Age**. Brythonic Celtic (also known as P-Celtic) includes Welsh, Breton, Cornish and the extinct **Pictish** languages; Goidelic Celtic (Q-Celtic) includes Irish and Scottish Gaelic together with Manx.

Clachan: see **township**.

Closed-field: a system of cultivation with discrete areas of ploughed land, each with its encircling dyke. See **open-field**.

Coaxial field: a rectangular enclosure with roughly parallel boundaries

Cognates: words in different languages (we could call them ‘cousins’) that are descended from a common ancestral word (a ‘grandfather’) in an earlier language. For example, the **cognates** Latin *pater*, French *père*, Irish *athair*, German *vater*, English *father*, Spanish *padre*, Norwegian *far* and Hindi *pita* are all descended from a word in an ancestral Proto-Indo-European language spoken around 5000 years ago. Compare **reflex**.

Coin, coinage: to create a new place-name. This could be from scratch, as a Norse speaker on Tiree coined the name **Hauga* ‘burial mounds’; or by using an **existing name**, as a later Gaelic speaker place coined the name *Beinn Hògh* ‘the hill of Hough’; or as a recent English speaker might coin the name ‘Hough Hill’. See **construction**.

Commemorative names: these place-names are imported from a settler’s homeland, as in the town of *London*, Ontario, Canada.

Consonant: a sound made by completely or partially stopping the flow of air, for example the terminal *-k* at the end of the word ‘clock’ or the *p-* at the beginning of the word ‘peach’. A **consonant cluster** consists of two or more consonants together, for example the **medial** *-st-* in ‘pistol’.

Construction: the ‘manufacture’ of a place-name. We say the name *Loch Got* is a ‘Gaelic construction’ because it was ‘built’ by Gaelic speakers from two elements: the Gaelic word for a stretch of water – *loch* – and the **existing** Norse place-name for the farm-township, *á Gøtu*. See **coin**.

Continuity of resort: notable ritual sites, whether pagan or Christian, become associated with deep spiritual experiences and tend to be re-used. For example, it is common for Norse medieval churches to be built on top of Early Christian chapels, for example at St Ninian’s Isle in Shetland (Crawford 1987, 166; see Macniven 2015, 68). This has been termed ‘continuity of resort’ (Goudie 1904, 57). In modern times, this principle has become less important. Churches became large community spaces and were placed so as to be convenient for their congregations. Churches were built on non-ecclesiastical ground at Scarinish pier in 1785 (Cregeen 1964, 5), *Eaglais na Mòinteach* in Heylipol, *Eaglais Chirceabol* in Kirkapol and *An Eaglais Thin* in Balinoe, as well as the Congregationalist chapels in Ruaig and Cornaigmore, and the Baptist chapels in Baugh and Balephuill.

Contraction: see **reduction**.

Contrastive: place-names (often in pairs) that can only be fully understood in relation to each other: for example, Upper Caolas and Lower Caolas, or *G An Sgeir Mhòr* and *An Sgeir Bheag* ‘the big skerry’ and ‘the little skerry’. See *Hianish* and *Hynish*;

Laighsgeir, Greenhill and *Lamh-sgeir*, Sandaig; or *Bèidhe* and *Sorobaidh*.

Convergence: quite different place-names can develop over time so that they converge and eventually become conflated. This process appears to be common on Tiree. See section 17.5.

Cord rig: ground showing closely-spaced cultivation rigs. These are often early, sometimes prehistoric.

Dative case: the change in a noun following a **preposition**. Although modern English has very few dative case changes, these are common in other languages. In particular, Scandinavian place-names are quite often found to be in this case. The modern Tiree township name *Gott* is best derived from the dative form **á Gøtu* ‘at the path’, rather than the ‘dictionary’ (or nominative) form *gata* ‘path’. Included is an implied, but unspoken, element, such as ‘(house) at the path’ (Ekwall 1963, xviii). Prepositions have rarely survived: ‘Prepositions (at, in or under etc.) were prefixed to [Norse] names [in Shetland] ... but these prepositions have now been dropped’ (Jakobsen 1897, 112). See *Lì* in the Gazetteer.

Definite article: the word ‘the’ (or its equivalent in other languages) attached to a noun, marking it as the particular object being discussed, as in ‘the cow’ rather than ‘a cow’

Deletion: the loss of a consonant or vowel (see **reduction**). For example, *history* is often pronounced *histry*, and *family* > *famly*

Dependent name: a name incorporating an **existing** name. The Norse name *á Vági* ‘at Bay’ was loaned into Gaelic as *Am Bàgh*; the beach on the south side of *The Reef* was then called *Tràigh Bhàigh* ‘the beach of Bàgh’.

Devoicing: a consonant such as /v/ is accompanied by a sound from the throat known as ‘voicing’, whereas /f/ is simply produced by air ‘hissing’ between the lower lip and upper teeth. ‘Devoicing’ occurs when a word like ‘believe’ changes to ‘belief’, and is quite common as place-names change over time.

Diminutive suffix: an element that is attached to a word to convey the sense of smallness. English examples are *droplet*, *duckling* and *hillock*. In Gaelic, the diminutive suffix is usually *-an* (Dwelly 1910, 30), as in *lochán* ‘small loch’.

Diphthong: a gliding vowel where one **vowel** merges seamlessly into the next, for example the English word ‘oil’ or ‘fear’. Compare **hiatus**.

District name: see **user group**.

Dung: animal faeces, often mixed with bedding material. See **manure**.

Early Christian: Irish missionaries brought Christianity to Tìree in the sixth century. The Early Christian period on Tìree is presumed to have effectively ended with pagan Viking settlement in the ninth century.

Early or **Old Gaelic:** This includes Old Irish (the form of Gaelic spoken in Ireland and the southern Hebrides AD 600–900), and Middle Irish (spoken in Ireland, Man and Scotland from 900–1200). Modern Scottish Gaelic developed from Middle Irish. See Cox 2002, 473.

Element: the building block of a place-name. Place-names are usually made up of one, two or three elements (a **generic** on its own, or a generic with one or two **specifics**).

Epenthesis: the addition of an extra sound to a word. Epenthesis is common in the west of Scotland today, for example the /u/ inserted in words like ‘film’, pronounced ‘fil-u-m’. Gaelic speakers often insert a vowel to break up an unfamiliar consonant cluster, as in the Harris place-name *Nisabost* (Gammeltoft 2001, 139), or *tarbh* ‘bull’ [ˈt̪ʰar̪ ɔ̃v]. See **schwa**.

Eponym: a (place)-name based on a personal name, such as the Australian state of *Victoria* or the Canadian province of *Prince Edward Island* (see section 17.2). See **hagiotoponym**.

Etymology: the study of the origins and meanings of a word

Exact cognates: place-names derived in the same way, although they may be in different, but related, languages (see **cognate**). *Saltaig* on Tìree, *Saltwick* in Shetland and *Saltvík* in Iceland are exact cognates, ultimately deriving from ON *salt* ‘salt’ and ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. *Brock* on Tìree and *Brekka* in Iceland are also exact cognates, both coming from ON *brekka* ‘slope’.

Existing name: part of a **qualified** place-name that had been previously **coined** to denote a feature or area. For example, the place-name *Tràigh Chornaig* ‘the beach of *Cornaig*’ is a Gaelic **construction**. The **generic** is *tràigh*, the Gaelic word for ‘beach’. The **specific** is the **existing name** *Cornaig*. This was the pre-existing name for the township; it may have developed from the Norse **loan-name** **Kornvík* (see *Cornaig*).

Farm-name: see **user group**.

Folk etymological reshaping: place-names are amazingly durable, often surviving long after their original meanings have been forgotten. In this situation, elements of an old place-name undergo **lexical adaptation**, being lexically adapted to words

that make sense to the new language user group (see Dalberg 2008). For example, in Caolas the Norse **Austrnes* ‘eastern headland’ may have been lexically adapted to the Gaelic *Tràigh na h-Osnaiche* ‘the beach of sighing’ (see *Osnaich*). On Orkney, ON *Fjárgata* ‘trackway for cattle’ became *Fairy Gate* and local people developed the story that fairies had used the path (Sandnes 2010a, 192; see **folk etymology** below). Finally, the name *Cape Wrath* on the tip of Sutherland is likely to have developed from the Norse name for the headland, ON *hvarf* meaning ‘turning’ (CV, 296).

Folk etymology: a community’s explanation of a place-name. W.G.H. Nicolaisen, the head of the Scottish Place-Name Survey, described the process: ‘The crofter, the shepherd, the local schoolmaster – not only will they supply [the researcher] with the “correct” form of the name and its meaning, but most also with a story that explains and underlines this particular meaning’ (Nicolaisen 2011, 19). There are numerous examples on Tiree: ‘There’s still a place in Tiree called Barrapol, where the Barra men used to leave their boats for safety while they spent the night on the island of Tiree’ (Nan MacKinnon from Barra talking to Mary MacDonald and Emily Lyle on TAD SA1974.107, track ID 81722). As you will see many times in the Gazetteer, there are almost always more plausible explanations for place-names than the one offered by folk etymology. But their prevalence testifies to the fierce impulse many of us feel to explain our named landscape.

Fricative: a soft consonant, when the airflow is only partly stopped, such as the terminal *-ch* in the Scottish word ‘loch’ [lɔx]. See **plosive**.

Gazetteer: a list of facts about a place. A gazetteer might contain a listing of the churches, shops or plumbers in an area. In the context of this book, the term ‘gazetteer’ means an alphabetical list of place-names and their derivations.

Gemination: the doubling of a consonant to make it stronger. This often makes little difference to pronunciation in modern English, for example ‘baggage’. But it is important in some Old Norse words, such as *bryggja* (see section 17.4.2.2).

Gender: nouns in many languages are assigned ‘genders’: masculine, feminine or **neuter**. This gender can affect, among other things, the form of the definite article (‘the’) and any associated adjectives. For example, G *taigh* ‘house’ is masculine and *an taigh beag* means ‘the small house’, while *sgeir* is feminine and *an sgeir bheag* means ‘the small skerry’.

Gender anomaly: gender sometimes varies from locality to locality, and over time: this is called gender anomaly. It is often found in older Gaelic words, making it a useful date marker (see section 11.2.1).

Generic: the general part of a place-name, such as ‘Bay’ or ‘Beach’ in ‘Gott Bay’ or ‘Baugh Beach’. Contrast with **specific**.

Genitive case: the genitive case is used to show ownership or association with something or someone. The genitive case of ‘the cow’ is ‘of the cow’ or ‘the cow’s’, whilst that of the personal name ‘Michael’ is ‘of Michael’ or ‘Michael’s’. In Old Norse, many nouns ending in *-i* changed to *-a* in the genitive: for example, the personal name *Kári* > *Kára*. In Gaelic, the genitive case is marked by **leniting** an initial consonant and **slenderising (palatalising)** the last vowel: thus, *Dòmhnall* ‘Donald’ becomes *Dhòmhnail* ‘of Donald’. This change is often applied to Norse place-names that became **existing names** inside a **qualified** Gaelic name. Thus, the Norse place-name **Bárðarstǫðull* was loaned into Gaelic as **Bàrasdal* and incorporated into the Gaelic name *Port Bhàrasdail* ‘the inlet of Bàrasdal’. Trying to reconstruct this Norse name, it is then difficult, if not impossible, to tell whether the initial consonant is *b-*, *m-* or *v-* (see **back-formation**).

Genitive morpheme: the /s/ at the end of a noun, as in ‘Michael’s cliff’ (see **genitive**). Sometimes the genitive morpheme could be ‘retro-fitted’ (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.). See *Inisgeir* in the Gazetteer.

Habitative or cultural place-name: names that ‘take their cue from the human rather than natural landscape’ (Jones 2015, 214). For example, these may be villages, individual buildings or fields. Contrast **topographic**.

Hagiotopeonym: a place-name containing a saint’s name. See **eponym**.

Hain: a Scots word to leave or enclose ground for winter grazing

Head dyke: a dyke separating the cultivated land from the summer grazings of *sliabh* or hill. This was a fundamental structure in manymedieval farms.

Hiatus: two separate vowels in adjacent syllables, not separated by a consonant. An example might be the word ‘hiatus’ itself: *hi-at-us*. Contrast **diphthong**.

Horizon: a buried archaeological layer, implying a period in time

Hypercorrection: mistakenly over-applying grammatical rules, sometimes in an attempt to appear higher status. For example, saying ‘Whom shall I ask?’ instead of ‘Who shall I ask?’ This change is common in place-names: for example, /n/ often becomes /nd/, as in the Islay name *Baile Gràinne* ‘town of the corn’, had become *Ballogrand* by 1631 and is known today as *Ballygrant* (Macniven 2015, 251).

Improvement: this term is used for a package of measures including the enclosure of fields; drainage; the adoption of heavier ploughs; improved seeds; crop rotation;

and new crops, such as turnips. This movement started around 1700 in Scotland. The Dukes of Argyll became interested in the possibilities offered by a more scientific approach to agriculture in the middle of the eighteenth century, but it was not until around 1800 that they began to be fully implemented on Tiree.

In: the phrase ‘a name in *vík*’ means ‘with the element *vík*’.

Independent name: a name like *Gott*, originally coined by Norse speakers in the ninth century as **á Gøtu* ‘at the path’. Contrast **dependent**.

Infield: the most fertile land, beside which the settlement was usually placed. Most of the fertiliser, either seaweed or dung, was reserved for this ground, and the hungriest crops – flax and barley – grown here. Contrast **outfield**.

Informant: the person who is the source of a place-name, either face-to-face, or through a recording. Informants are very important, because the stressed parts of a name usually change very little, or they change in quite predictable ways. If you can hear a place-name spoken, as opposed to reading it in a document or on a map, you can be more confident of your derivation.

Initial: the first letter(s) or syllable of a name, as in *Cornaig* and *Allamsa*. See **medial** and **terminal**.

Intrusive: see **prosthetic**.

Iron Age: the period from approximately 700 **BCE** to AD 500. On the mainland, the later part of this is often called the Roman Iron Age, but I have used the term **Pictish Iron Age**.

Landnámabók: literally the ‘book of land names’, *Landnámabók* is an extraordinary manuscript listing the first settlers in Iceland, their genealogy and some stories about them. In all, some 3000 people and 1400 settlements are included.

Laudatory name: a name, such as *Mount Pleasant* in Glasgow, which is designed to induce positive feelings

Lenition (also known as aspiration): a softening of some initial **consonants** (from the Latin word *lēnis* ‘smooth, gentle’). This is common at the beginning of Gaelic words in certain contexts: for example, after a feminine noun. It is shown in the written form by adding an *h* after the initial consonant. For example, the Gaelic adjective *mòr*, pronounced as in the English ‘more’ and meaning ‘big’, changes to *mhòr*, pronounced ‘vore’, after a feminine noun, as *An Sgeir Mhòr* ‘the big skerry’. See **palatalisation**.

Lexical: concerning the words or vocabulary of a language

Lexical adaptation: see **Folk etymological reshaping**

Loan-name: a place-name borrowed by one language user group from another, as in *Uluru*, the Aboriginal name for Ayre's Rock

Loan word or **borrowing:** a word borrowed by one language from another. Examples include the French word *café*, widely used in English, or the Gaelic word *sgeir* 'skerry' borrowed from the Old Norse word *sker*.

Lower: vowels can be 'raised', when the tongue moves closer to the palate (for example, the word 'in'), or 'lowered', when the tongue moves away from the palate (as in 'on'). See **palatalisation**.

Manure: organic matter spread on farmland to increase its fertility. This may be **dung** – livestock faeces mixed with bedding material, such as straw, which is cleaned out from a byre. Seaweed has also been extensively used on Tiree.

March: boundary

Medial: the middle **consonant group** or **vowel** of a name, as in *Cornaig* and *Kenovay*. See **initial** and **terminal**.

Medieval: the Middle Ages spanned a millennium of European history, broadly from the fifth to the fifteenth century. European historians divide this period into Early, High and Late. In the context of Tiree, the Medieval period can be regarded as starting in the mid-sixth century with the arrival of literate Christian missionaries on a Pictish Iron Age island. I have used the term 'Early Medieval' to describe the period of Dalriadan and Norse influence. I describe as 'Late Medieval' the period after the military successes of Somerled and the later Treaty of Perth in 1266 to include the flourishing of the Lordship of the Isles. I have argued (see below) that the medieval period on Tiree extended, in many ways, until the Statutes of Iona in 1609.

Meid: a word derived from ON *mið*. A prominent landscape feature used by sailors and fishermen, in combination with other meids, to triangulate their position at sea.

Mesolithic: the period from approximately 9000 BCE to 4000 BCE. Small groups of hunter-gatherers visited Tiree seasonally to exploit populations of seabirds, seals and shellfish and to collect flint beach cobbles.

Metathesis: a change that occurs when parts of a word are turned back to front or inverted: for example, 'prescription' is often mis-pronounced 'perscription'. Metathesis is particularly common in place-names because of their long life spans: for example, ON *múli* 'promontory' might become *-lum* (see *Fhàdamull* and

Mhiasumull); *Murtost* develops into *Murstad* (see Gazetteer); and ON *Krossarból* ‘the farm of the crosses’ on Islay was transcribed as *Corspellan* in 1499 (Macniven 2015, 303).

Minor name: the name of a small feature, like a skerry, hillock or pool, as opposed to a settlement or hill name. However, what is a minor name (sometimes known as a micro-toponym) today can turn out to have been an important Norse name denoting a hill or farm.

Name-form: version of a place-name, either from an historical document or map, or an **informant**. For example, name-forms for the place we know today as *Mannal* include *Mannawallis* in a surviving 1390 rental, *Mandalon* in 1496 and *Manal* from current local usage. A fundamental principle of place-name research is that earlier source forms are likely to be closer to the original.

Nasal: a consonant where airflow through the mouth is stopped, but airflow through the nose continues, as in the ‘nasal consonants’ /m/ and /n/

Navigational name: names of significant navigational features encountered during a coastline’s exploration; these are usually headlands, mountains or bays. Examples from the European ‘discovery’ of the Southern Ocean are the naming in 1769 by Captain Cook of *Bay of Plenty* in New Zealand, and of *Cape Tribulation* and *Mount Sorrow* when the *Endeavour* struck the Australian Great Barrier Reef the following year. A Tíree example may be the Norse **Kirkjunes* ‘church headland’ for Kenavara. Navigational names are often created before settlement, and are therefore early. They also tend to be durable, describing, as they do, features that are crucial to a sailor’s survival.

Neolithic: the period approximately 4000 to 2500 BCE. New settlers migrated up the west coast of Scotland with the knowledge, tools, livestock, seeds and pottery to begin settled farming.

Neuter gender: Old Gaelic and Old Norse had three **genders** of nouns, which were masculine, feminine and neuter. In medieval Gaelic-speaking Ireland, use of the neuter gender weakened and had ceased to exist by the thirteenth century. Neuter words were then assigned to either the masculine or feminine gender. Place-names, containing, as they often do, older forms of the language, sometimes therefore betray their age with unexpected genders, or **gender anomaly** (see Cox 2002, 115).

Nominative case: the form of a noun when it is the subject of a sentence, for example, ‘Robert (subject) ate (verb) the cheese (object)’. This is the form in which words are listed in a dictionary. Modern English language contains very few words

with a separate nominative case, ‘they’ (nominative) and ‘them’ (accusative) being a rare example.

Norn: ‘Norn [is] the distinctive form of Scandinavian speech that developed on the Scottish mainland, in the Hebrides, and in Orkney and Shetland’ (Barnes 2010, 27). Hebridean Norn was the dialect of Norse that developed in the Hebrides between the ninth and fourteenth centuries. The Old Norse spoken on Tiree by the first settlers is likely to have been influenced by the presumed pidgin developed through contact with the remnant Old Gaelic-speaking native population. The isolating effect of living on an island also tends to encourage dialects. Both Shetland and Orkney Norn have been studied (by Jakobsen 1928 and Marwick 1995 (1929) respectively); but we currently know little about Hebridean Norn. The surviving Norse place-names along the west coast are virtually our only evidence.

Norse expansion zone: those parts of the North Atlantic colonised predominantly from southwestern Norway during the Viking and Late Norse periods, including Shetland, Orkney, Caithness, the Hebrides, Man, the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Greenland

Noust: derived from ON *naustr* ‘ship-shed, boat-house’ (CV, 446), Scottish nousts are usually a boat-shaped depression, often stone-lined, above the beach. Boats were kept in them during the stormy winter months.

Old Gaelic: see **Early Gaelic**.

Old Norse: this term is used below to describe the language spoken by the original Norse settlers on Tiree. Following Sandnes, ‘Old Norse denotes the West Scandinavian language (Norwegian, Icelandic, and Faroese) of the Viking Age and High Middle Ages, i.e. from 700/750–ca.1350’ (Sandnes 2010a, 62). My main source has been the *Icelandic-English Dictionary* of Richard Cleasby and Gudbrand Vigfusson, published in 1874, which begins with the words: ‘This work is a Dictionary of the Old Icelandic Language, or (as it may be called) the Classical language of the Scandinavian race’ (CV, 3). The languages spoken in Iceland and western Norway during the period of Norse settlement on Tiree were not identical. They are very similar, however, and I have used the Cleasby-Vigfusson dictionary as my main ‘window’ into the Scandinavian language spoken on Tiree at the time of Norse settlement.

The Old Norse alphabet contains several letters not used in modern English:

- **ð:** known as an ‘eth’, this is found in words like *gerði* ‘field’. It is pronounced as a voiced /θ/, as in the English definite article ‘the’.

- **þ**: known as a ‘thorn’ and found in words like the male ON personal name *Þórir*. It is pronounced as an unvoiced /th/, as in the English ‘thorn’
- **ø**: the little ‘tail’ below the ‘o’ is known as an ‘ogonek’. This vowel is found in Old Norse words like *vǫllr* ‘field’, and is pronounced in a more nasal way than an English /o/ and more like ‘awe’. It is written as ø in modern Norwegian and ö in modern Icelandic

Onomastics: the study of names

Onomasticon: a listing of names, in this context place-names

Open: to leave a place-name derivation ‘open’ is to admit that a satisfactory derivation cannot be found.

Open-field: a system of cultivation where there are no dykes between ploughed areas. See **runrig**. There are some doubts as to whether this was the situation on Tiree.

Outfield: less fertile land, often some distance from the settlement. It was cultivated only intermittently, often after **tathing**, and was usually given over to oats. The distinction between infield and outfield, important on the mainland, was blurred on Tiree.

Palatalise (also known as slenderise): when consonants or vowels are pronounced with the tongue closer to the palate. The English word ‘took’ has an initial *t-*, while ‘tune’ begins with a palatalised *t-* that sounds like ‘tyoon’ or ‘choon’; similarly, compare ‘stood’ with ‘student’ (with a palatalised *st-*). Compare the English word ‘bag’ and compare it to the palatalised ‘beg’; say ‘was’ and compare it to the palatalised ‘wish’; or say ‘what’ and compare it to ‘witch’. Palatalising is often used in Gaelic, such as in the **genitive case**. This is represented in the written form by adding an *-i-*: for example, *am balach* ‘the boy’ > *a’ bhalaich* ‘of the boy’. See **lower**.

Palimpsest: originally used of a manuscript where someone has written over older writing. Sometimes, a landscape like Tiree where there is such ‘time depth’ with newer walls and houses built on top of older ones, is described as a ‘palimpsest landscape’.

Patronymic: the traditional Gaelic patrilineal naming system or *G sloinneadh*, for example *Iain Alasdair mhic Iain* ‘Iain the son of Alasdair the son of Iain’

Phones and phonemes: a **phoneme** is the smallest unit of sound that makes up a word. For example, the word *cat* has three phonemes (usually symbolised by being placed between slashes): /k/, /a/ and /t/. A **phone** is more precise, representing the actual sounds themselves; symbols specified in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) are placed between square brackets: for example, *sing* is represented as [sɪŋ].

Phonetic development: during the long life of many place-names (the core of the island name *Tiree* is likely to be at least two thousand years old), languages evolve or are displaced. Place-names therefore usually evolve and their pronunciations develop, and there is increasing expertise as to which changes are common and which changes seem not to occur. This is part of the field of historical linguistics. When development occurs in a recognised way, it is said to be 'regular'. Marwick has listed the developments from Old Norse to Orkney Norn (Marwick 1995 (1929), 23-37). See section 17.4.2.

Pictish (see Taylor 2011): the language (related to Welsh) that was spoken in northern Britain during the Pictish Iron Age. There have been a number of theories as to its nature. But as no complete sentence of the language survives today, the main evidence comes from place-names. The Old Gaelic-speaking St Columba was said to have needed a translator when meeting Picts (Fraser 2009, 51–3).

Picts: a term used to describe a people with a common culture and possibly language, living in the north of Scotland in the Late Iron Age and Early Medieval period. At various times tribes formed federations, the most powerful kingdom appearing to have been centred on Fortriu, which was probably west of the modern city of Inverness. Pictish symbol stones on the small island of Pabaigh south of Barra, and at Sunamul, Benbecula, show that many islands on the Scottish west coast had come under their influence. No traces of Pictish culture have been found on Tiree.

Proto-Indo-European language: this ancestral language is thought to have originated on the steppes of Asia. It spread during the Bronze Age from northern India in the east to the Atlantic rim in the west. It evolved into a myriad of languages, including Celtic (and thus into Gaelic) and Germanic (and on into Old Norse and English). Linguists have been able to reconstruct Proto-Indo-European to some extent.

Plosive: a consonant caused by the complete stoppage of the airflow. An example of this is the terminal -k in the English word 'rock'. Contrast **fricative**.

Plural: the form of a noun referring to more than one thing, for example, three cats. In English, this is almost always marked with a terminal -s. See **singular**.

Post-medieval: the period between the end of the **Medieval** period to the start of the landscape revolutions of the **Improvement**. This is essentially, on Tiree, the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries.

Preposition: a word that describes a relationship of something. Examples are in the longship, with the sword and of the castle. See *Callraig* and *Li* in the Gazetteer.

Primary source: an original source of information created at the time under consideration. An example is the listing of Tiree farms that was ordered by the Scottish king in 1509, the so-called crown rental. A primary source is almost always more accurate than a **secondary source**.

Prosthetic: an additional sound at the beginning or end of words. This is quite common in Gaelic with, for example, the addition of /f/ to the start of words beginning with a vowel: *eagal* > *feagal*. See **intrusive**.

Qualified or compound name: this is a place-name containing a **generic** with a descriptor or qualifying element(s), as in G *An Cnoc Mòr* ‘the big hillocks’. These are more common than **simplex** names.

Quantity of a vowel: the length of a vowel, for example the difference in the medial *-i-* between the English words ‘six’ (short) and ‘Sikh’ (long)

Reduction: abbreviation, or the loss of sounds from a word, as in *cannot* > *can’t*. This may be at the end of a word, as in *budgerigar* > *budgie*, or from the middle of a word, as in *Leicester* > *Le’ster*. Reduction is very common as older place-names ‘weather’: for example, the *Mannawallis* recorded on Tiree in 1390 has reduced to *Manal* today.

Referent: a landscape feature that a place-name referred to when it was coined. For example, the name *Librig* currently refers to an islet off Caolas. A likely derivation, however, is ON **Hlifarbryggju* ‘sheltered boat landing place’, strongly suggesting that the original referent is likely to have been the nearby G *Am Port Bàn* ‘the sandy inlet’.

Reflex: a word (a ‘grandson’, as it were) derived from a word in an earlier language (a ‘grandfather’); it ‘reflects’ the earlier sound. Reflexes of the same ‘grandfather’ word are known as **cognates**.

Runrig: a Scots term describing a system of **open-field** cultivation that developed in the Highlands and islands of Scotland in the Late Medieval period. Scattered small farms with their enclosed fields were amalgamated. The new open fields were then cultivated in strips or co-axial plots (see section 10.2.2).

Schwa or svarabhakti vowel: this is written [ə] and sounds like the initial *a*- in ‘about’. A *schwa* is often inserted in an unstressed position between two consonants that sit uncomfortably together, as in the common Scottish pronunciation of ‘film’ as ‘fil-ə-m’, or the Gaelic surname *Mac Phi*, pronounced [ma^hk ə fi:].

Scribal error: before the development of printing in Europe, documents were repeatedly copied by hand to enable their survival or distribution. Mis-transcriptions occurred.

Secondary source: information that is derived from an earlier **primary source**. An example might be a modern book about the history of Tiree farms containing information copied at a later date from the contemporaneous 1509 crown rental. Secondary sources are more likely to contain corrupted information.

Side-form: a variant form of a name. For example, *brokk* is a south Norwegian dialect form for *brekke* ‘slope’ (see *Brock*).

Simplex or unqualified name (Cox 2002, 32): consists of a generic element on its own, as in ON *á Vági* (Baugh) ‘The Bay’

Singular: the form of a noun when it refers to one thing, for example one Viking. See **plural**.

Source language: the language of the user group that coined a name. In the case of Tiree, this was successively British Pictish, Old Gaelic, Old Norse, Hebridean Norn, Scottish Gaelic, Scots English and finally English.

Specific: the part of the name that specifies, qualifies, or marks out the generic. Examples are the ‘Green’ in ‘Green Bay’ and ‘Red’ in ‘Red Bay’. In Old Norse, as in English, the specific usually (but not always: see Cox 2002, 69) comes before the generic: for example, *Liðnasgeir* ‘the line skerry’. In Gaelic, the specific usually follows the generic: *An Sgeir Mhòr* ‘the skerry large’.

Suffix: an element added to the end of a word to give it added meaning, for example, nearestest (the most near), Californian (something with a connection to California), or Londoner (someone from London).

Syllables: these are the ‘building blocks’ of words. For example, ‘block’ has one syllable: it is **monosyllabic**; the word ‘building’ has two – ‘buil-’ and ‘-ding’, making it **disyllabic**.

Synonymous: two words with the same meaning

Taboo (*tabu* or *noa*) name: a substitute name used to avoid bad luck. Taboo ‘boat language’ was common among fishermen: for example, ‘the stone for anchoring

a boat was not *clach* but *cruaidh* (“hardness”) (Black 2008, 131). See *Àsadh, Caoles, Carnan Mòr* and *Craiknish*.

Tathe: a practice of folding cattle on an area of outfield (a **tathfold**) that would be cultivated the following year

Tautology: the use of more words than necessary to describe something, as in ‘tuna fish’ or ‘burning fire’. This is often found when old place-names, whose meanings are no longer understood, are incorporated into new landscape names by speakers of a subsequent language. An example is *Rubha Laighnis* in Ruaig, with Gaelic *rubha* ‘headland’ and the Norse existing name ON **Langanes* ‘long headland’.

Terminal or **final:** the final letter(s) or syllable of a name, as in *Cornaig* and *Heren*. See **initial** and **medial**.

Tombolo: G *dòirlinn*, a narrow spit of sand or cobbles connecting a tied island to the shore

Topographic place-name: the place-name of a natural feature like a mountain, river or headland. Topographic place-names are thought to have been common at the start of Norse settlement as ‘people unskilled and inexperienced as namers were called upon to name many geographical features in a hurry’ (Nicolaisen 2011, 113). Contrast **habitative**.

Topography: the physical shape of a landscape, with its contours producing features such as hills, slopes and bays

Toponym: a place-name

Township / Settlement / Farm-name: as settlement on Tìree has developed over two thousand years from the **Iron Age** to modern times, the arrangement of cultivated fields (from closed to open to closed) and the siting of the associated clusters of houses have also evolved. To describe this evolution, I have used the following terms: fort-estates (Iron Age) > primary Norse estates (created by the first Norse settlers) > Early Medieval farm townships > Late Medieval runrig townships > crofting townships (set up by the Crofters’ Holdings (Scotland) Act 1886). **Clachan** (plural *clachanan*) is a Gaelic term describing a small cluster of houses, for example in a medieval runrig township (see *Clachan* in Gazetteer). G **Baile** often denotes a farm township; the term has been used in Scotland since the late eleventh century (Márkus 2009, 52). However, many townships, such as Ruaig, have a *baile shuas* and a *baile shìos* ‘upper and lower settlement’, and here *baile* and *clachan* may be more equivalent. See *Baile nan Cràganach*.

Transference: the process that occurs when a place-name is transferred from the feature it originally denoted to another (Cox 2002, 45). For example, *Reef*, the Viking name for a primary estate opposite a sea reef in Balephetrish Bay now denotes the island's large central *machair* plain.

User group: the community who 'creates and maintains' a place-name (Macniven 2015, 13). User group theory divides place-names into three classes: names of the farm, such as field or well names, known only to the small group who live on the 'farm'; names of the district, known by a wider number of people in the 'district'; and travellers' names, known by itinerant groups like merchants or sailors.

Viking: the first two centuries of Norse migration, dominated by raiding rather than settlement, are often called the **Viking Age**.

Viewshed: the area that can be seen from a point. This is particularly important in determining a location's defensive potential.

Voiced and unvoiced consonants: /g/, /b/ and /d/ are 'voiced' – the vocal chords vibrate when making these sounds – while /k/, /p/ and /t/ are 'unvoiced'

Vowel: sounds made by a relatively unrestricted flow of air, such as *a* or *u*

The symbols > and < are often used to indicate the direction of change as a word or name evolves

The symbol * in front of a name means that this is a reconstructed, theoretical form of the place-name, derived by deduction from more recent forms, although it is unattested by any source. For example, the Balemartine name *Dùn Ghorraig* 'the heap of *Gorraig*' suggests that there was an older place-name nearby called **Gorraig*, even though this name itself has not survived.

ABBREVIATIONS

AD: Latin *Anno Domine* 'the year of the Lord'. This dating system was adopted in the ninth century, based on a year zero which was the accepted date of the birth of Christ.

AU: *Annals of Ulster* translated at: <https://celt.ucc.ie//published/T100001A/index.html>

ca.: Latin *circa* 'around'

cm: centimetre

CV: *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, R. Cleasby and G. Vigfusson, 1874. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

DSL: *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, accessed at www.dsl.ac.uk

eDIL: *electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language*, a digital dictionary of medieval Irish, accessed at www.dil.ie

E: English

ER: *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. J. Stuart *et al.* Edinburgh: 1878–1908.

et al.: and others

ft: foot

HP: *Highland Papers*, volume 1, ed. J.R.N. MacPhail, 1914. Edinburgh University Press

G: modern Scottish Gaelic

ins: inches

km: kilometre

KO: a database of 1,600 settlement names in the Faroe Islands, found at www.kortal.fo

LAS Rixson: *Land Assessment Scotland*. A compendium of Scottish land assessment data, collected by Denis Rixson and available on www.las.denisrixson.com

m: metre

MS: a database of medieval Scottish personal names, found at www.medievalscotland.org

NG: the Gazetteer of Norwegian place-names *Norgesglasset*, which can be found at www.kart.statkart.no

NGR: National Grid Reference

NLSI: *Landmælingar Íslands - Örnefnasjá* or the National Land Survey of Iceland - Geographical Names, found at www.atlas.lmi.is

no.: number

NS: the website www.norskstadnamleksikon.no. This gives (in Norwegian) a derivation of many Norwegian place-names.

OD: Ordnance Datum is defined as the mean sea level at the entrance to Newlyn harbour in Cornwall between 1915 and 1921; it is the basis for all altitudes now given by the Ordnance Survey.

OG: Old, or Early, Gaelic, the language spoken in Ireland and by the *Scotti* in Argyll between 600–900 AD

OI: Old Icelandic

ON: Old Norse

ONP: *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* <https://onp.ku.dk/>

OS: Ordnance Survey

OSNB: Ordnance Survey Names Book of the surveyors on Tiree in 1878. An abbreviation such as (JGC, OSNB, 82, 'significance ~~Decayed Hill~~') means: informants included Reverend John Gregorson Campbell, Ordnance Survey Names Book for Tiree (28), page number 82, and meaning given.

pers. comm.: personal communication

PSAS: *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, accessed at <https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/psas/volumes.cfm>

ABBREVIATIONS

Retours: *Inquisitionum Retornatum Abbreviato* (NAS 059.000.01), volume 1, Argyll

RMS: *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum 1882–1914*, ed. J.M. Thomson *et al.*, Edinburgh

SA: tapes recorded by the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh University, followed by year of recording and catalogue number

SAM: a searchable database of Icelandic farm-names *Stofnun Árna Magnússonar* on www.arnastofnun.is

Sc: Scots

SP: a listing and transcription of every Ordnance Survey place-name in Scotland, found at www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk

SSPN: *Saints in Scottish Place-Names*, a database of Scottish hagiotoponyms compiled by Glasgow University, accessed at www.saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk

SSS: School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh University

St: saint

TAD: *Tobar an Dualchais* tapes recorded by the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh University, including year of recording (such as SA1976) and track identification number. See www.tobarandualchais.co.uk

Turnbull Map of 1768: commissioned by the fourth Duke of Argyll from the surveyor James Turnbull in 1768 (Cregeen 1964, xx). I have worked from an unpaginated transcription done by staff at the Inveraray Castle archive.

VC: *L Vita Columbae* 'the Life of Saint Columba'

vol.: volume

*: a reconstructed place-name

#: an obsolete place-name, one that was not collected by the Ordnance Survey nor part of modern oral tradition

1. FOREWORD

Place-names have fascinated me since I lived with my family at *Walungurru* (known by non-Aboriginal people as Kintore), a Pintupi settlement in the middle of Australia's Great Western Desert. There I made a weekly journey, always accompanied by a throng of local people, to the even more remote settlement of *Kiwirrkurra* to run a clinic for the Pintupi Homeland Health Service. The four-hour journey through the ancient, dust-red landscape was an opportunity for my elderly passengers to point out some of the significant sites along the way – the rock outcrops with their hidden waterholes, the huddles of white-limbed gum trees and the distant tumble of haze-blue hills. These older members of the community had been born pre-contact and raised as hunter-gatherers in this desert; they were steeped in the Dreamtime stories of their country. They were often pleased to teach me fragments, although these had to be censored for my un-initiated, western ears, and the slithery torrent of Pintupi words always seemed to spill out faster than my ears could catch them. And then there were the goanna, feral cats and witchetty grubs to hunt along the dusty track. I learned there, perhaps in one of the best places on this earth at that time, the fragile but important threads that link landscape, culture and identity.

But place-names, enticing as they can be, are often surrounded by elephant traps for the untrained researcher. The landscape historian Richard Jones has written that 'place-names often appear enticingly simple to interpret but more often than not prove much more complex on closer inspection' (Jones 2015, 210). Discussing the limited research into Hebridean place-names, the Norwegian linguist Magne Oftedal lamented 'amateurs like X [name redacted], whose chief merit is their keen interest in the subject' (Oftedal 2009, 3). The great place-names scholar William Nicolaisen also made this distinction between the professional and the amateur:

To the archaeologist, the geographer, the historian – and even to the philologist [someone who studies how languages change over time] – semantic considerations may only be of secondary importance. To them it may not matter what a name ‘means’. Not so the ordinary enquirer and place-names enthusiast. His first, and normally his only, question is: ‘What does this name mean?’ (Nicolaisen 2011, 18)

I certainly qualify as an ‘ordinary enquirer and place-names enthusiast’, someone you might describe as an onomastic antiquarian. More than most, onomastic antiquarians have to keep in mind the Dunning-Kruger effect: the less you know, the less you are aware of what you don’t know. Nicolaisen noted this: ‘Solving, to our own satisfaction, if not necessarily to that of others, the “Case of the Mysterious River Name” creates a sense of achievement not easily rivalled by any other intellectual endeavour, and having “solved” it, we are not going to be stopped from taking on another case, and yet another and another ... and we are not easily persuaded that sometimes our skills do not quite match our tasks’ (Nicolaisen 2011, 160).

Despite these well-judged warnings to stay away from ‘mysterious river names’ and their like, I have waded in. The reason is simple: frustratingly, there are too few place-name scholars to go around every locality in Scotland. I am sure I am not alone in wanting to understand the landscape I live in. Having collected thousands of names before they disappeared and having published them online, I eventually decided to try to disentangle them myself. I hope that this ‘first rough draft of history’ will encourage others, more knowledgeable than me, to place additional stones on the cairn. The distinguished educationalist Hugh Marwick, talking about his years of place-name research on Rousay in the Orkney archipelago, eloquently expresses what I feel:

I should be the last to claim that my attempts to interpret and explain these difficult and obscure problems are in any sense final or conclusive. I have repeatedly stressed their hypothetical nature, and put them forward with all due reserve, in the hope that after being subjected to examination and criticism by others they may in some measure form a basis for a more full and reliable interpretation of the island’s history than has been hitherto possible. (Marwick 1995 (1947), 38)

To this end, I have included as much information as I can. Writing at the start of his comprehensive book on the place-names of Bute, Márkus makes this point:

Experience has proved the importance of presenting all the available data as clearly as possible for the understanding of place-names, what they might have meant to those who coined them, how they have developed and how they can now be interpreted ... it is only possible for other students to evaluate my interpretations, and perhaps to correct them or add further thoughts, if they also have access to all that data. (Márkus 2012, 8)

In the process, I apologise where I have made this fascinating subject over-complicated and under-comprehensible. I have tried to explain some of the more academic words in the Glossary.

Collecting place-names is one thing: understanding and interpreting them is quite another. My efforts would have been worth nothing without the brilliance of a number of real scholars and their willingness to help a real novice. I would particularly like to thank Dr Berit Sandnes, who provided endless encouragement and some important derivations. Both Professor Richard Cox and Dr Simon Taylor gave me considerable help at the start of this analysis. Professor Donald Meek of Caolas set this *moigheach* running; Dr Anne Johnston collected much of the early documentary material and provided an important first analysis in her 1991 thesis; and Ailean Boyd has contributed data and interpretation. I would also like to thank Dr Arne Kruse, Dr Alan Macniven, Dr David Caldwell, Dr Colleen Batey, Dr Alasdair Whyte, Dr Heather James, Dr Carolyn MacNamara, Professor Sir Ian Boyd, Professor Robert Boyd, Denis Rixson, Roger Auger and Dr Roderick McDonald for their support and insights. Bob Chambers and Robert Boyd greatly helped with proofreading and production. Malcolm Steel provided the magnificent photograph on the cover. It goes without saying that all errors, omissions and over-enthusiasms (and there will be plenty) are mine alone.

Finally, I would like to pay tribute to my informants on the island who have put up with my 'insatiable curiosity' for far too long, and thank my family and former colleagues, who have often seen less of me than they might have expected. It has been a privilege and a great pleasure to clamber around the shores and hills of Tiree, and sit at many islanders' firesides. The link between landscape and culture is indeed a fragile one, and the names and stories are fast fading from today's memories, both on Tiree and in the Australian desert. I hope that we have, in this analysis, preserved some of this island's traditions for a few more years, and that this collection is a small but helpful step on the way to understanding a beautiful island.

Tiree now joins a select group of Scottish islands that have benefited from a lifetime of place-name fieldwork followed by a detailed analysis of its medieval

settlement, although the works of Hugh Marwick on Rousay (Marwick 1995 (1947)) and Alan Macniven on Islay (Macniven 2015) are on a different plane of scholarship. The recent discoveries of an abandoned medieval farm on the slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis* and a Viking period settlement mound in Balinoe have begun the process of giving physical form to these ideas.

Publishing a second edition of *Longships on the Sand* a mere five years after the first may seem a trifle greedy. Since finishing the first edition, however, I have continued to think and read about the subject; a number of new facts and ideas have swum into view. I have also repented of some of my past over-enthusiasms, and this collection is more cautious in its derivations. The number of changes I have made underlines the uncertainties that underlie this sort of work.

The book's thesis – that the Norse settled Tiree rapidly, extensively and over a prolonged period – has not changed, however. What has developed is an appreciation of the enduring importance of Iron Age settlement patterns on Tiree; a growing conviction that Gaelic did not survive in a meaningful way after Scandinavian settlement; and that many of the surviving Norse minor names represent peripheral Early Medieval farms.

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Baile Phuill
Isle of Tiree
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2. INTRODUCTION

The first thing that strikes one is the great abundance of [place-names]. Nearly every hill, brae and knoll, every valley and glen, every loch, burn and marsh, every headland, ness and point, every bay and bight, voe and wick, every piece of bank, every cleft and inlet, every rock and holm in the sea, every croft and farm, every corn rig, however small a patch of ground it may be, every fishing ground, has its own distinctive name. (Jakobsen 1897, 57)

Jakobsen was speaking of Shetland, but Tiree also lends itself to the study of place-names. 18 km long and 1 to 10 km wide, Tiree is a 'Goldilocks' island for the single researcher: not too big and not too small. It has a heterogeneous landscape, a reputation as one of the most fertile of the Hebrides, and has been densely settled since pre-historic times with a population that reached a peak of 4,698 after the kelp boom (1841 Census).

Today, virtually the whole island is farmed in one way or another. Settlement on Tiree is widely dispersed, the majority of landholdings being small crofts; many families therefore had a detailed knowledge of the landscape in their township. The island also has a complex and accessible shoreline, which has been used intensively for rock fishing, as well as the collection of kelp, mixed seaweed, shellfish and flotsam. This was, indeed, a 'zone of intense human activity and highly detailed topography' (Fraser 1984, 35). This coastal detail is, however, balanced by the long, sandy beaches for which Tiree is famous. These contain far fewer features and names than the intervening hard rock shorelines.

Tiree has been in the possession of a single, powerful family since 1679; the present Duke of Argyll holds estate records dating back to the seventeenth century. The estate commissioned James Turnbull to survey and map the island in 1768, and the estate also conducted detailed censuses of their tenants at the end of the eighteenth century prior to agricultural Improvement: 'The consequence of the [fifth] Duke's insatiable appetite for information is that the island of Tiree has a larger body of facts than possibly any other area of comparable size in contemporary Scotland' (Cregeen 1973, 1).

This combination of prolific surviving estate records together with strong oral traditions attracted the School of Scottish Studies to the island between 1950 and 1986. The Tiree part of the School's collection is fully searchable on the *Tobar an Dualchais* website (www.tobarandualchais.org.uk).

However, although the data set of Tiree place-names is richly endowed, it is still patchy. The estate largely cleared seven townships at the end of the eighteenth century to create large sheep farms, leading to the extinction of many of their place-names. Massive emigration after the failure of the potato harvest in 1846 saw 1,354 islanders – 27% of the island's population – emigrate in the six years between 1847 and 1853. This, too, must have led to the loss of many place-names.

3. METHODS

The uncertainties far outnumber facts when dealing with the situation [of Norse place-names] in Scotland. (Gammeltoft 2001, 91)

The collecting area for this study is the island of Tiree, as well as the surrounding waters up to 2 km offshore and the rocks around Skerryvore Lighthouse. The islands of Gunna and Coll have not been studied. Although this analysis has focussed on the Tiree place-names that can reasonably be dated to the Norse and medieval periods, the aim of the fieldwork continues to be to collect as many island names as possible.

Standard archive collections have been examined, although I have relied heavily on Anne Johnston's research in the 1980s in this respect (Johnston 1991). Written forms of place-names on the west coast of Scotland are rare before the sixteenth century. This compares unfavourably with the wealth of early sources available for those studying English place-names, most famously the Domesday Book of 1086. Private Argyll estate records have recently become more accessible, and Eric Cregeen published much important material from the Inveraray Castle archives (for example, Cregeen 1964).

Map collections have also been studied. *Mula Insula*, the Blaeu map of 1654 that includes Tiree, contains sixty names and a number of different settlement symbols. One analysis of Blaeu's maps has found that settlements are favoured over topographic landmarks; names are usually accurate but the different settlement symbols should not be over-interpreted (Stone 2005).

In 1768, James Turnbull prepared an exquisitely detailed map and survey for the fourth Duke of Argyll (Cregeen 1973, 1): 'Turnbull's map, drawn to a scale of 440 yards to an inch, distinguished clearly infield, outfield, meadow, common pasture, moss, moor, lochs and blown sand in every farm, giving precise areas. He indicated

every house in its exact position' (Cregeen 1964, map insert). Despite Turnbull's attempt to distinguish them, islanders themselves made little or no distinction between 'infield' and 'outfield' on Tiree at the time of the survey (see section 10.2.2). There has been some debate over the possibly stylised nature of Turnbull's representation (see Dodgshon 2015, 126, and section 10.2.2), but his map opens a panoramic 'window' into land use on post-medieval Tiree.

We have to remember, however, that the Tiree mapped in 1768 was no longer a medieval island, having undergone considerable change between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Continuing climate stress was one factor. A 1662 rental, compiled retrospectively for the Argyll family after their takeover of the island, showed that 'a significant amount of land already lay waste or unoccupied' (Dodgshon 1998, 47), particularly in the west end of the island (Dodgshon 2015, 87). This was, at least partly, the consequence of increased sand blow during the Maunder Minimum 1645–1702 (Dodgshon 2015, 82; see section 5.1). The growth of the cash economy was another. Many Late Medieval clan chiefs became indebted; rent was increasingly collected as money rather than grain, and tenants on Tiree were forced to expand barley production by pushing cultivation into marginal areas. Some of this crop was then made into whisky, with 'no less than fifty distillers' documented in 1768 (Turnbull Report). Turnbull's survey, which recorded an astonishing 33% of the island under cultivation at any one time, shows a Tiree that had grown a long way from its Late Medieval roots.

In comparison to the other islands of the Hebrides, Tiree was intensively mapped by the Ordnance Survey in the 1870s:

Table 1. Density of place-names mapped by the Ordnance Survey in the Western Isles

Island	Names	Area	Density
Tiree	676	78	8.7
Colonsay and Oronsay	392	46	8.5
Bute	717	122	5.9
Lismore	139	24	5.8
Lewis and Harris	12,449	2179	5.7
Islay	3346	619	5.4
Coll	352	76	4.6
Mull	3825	875	4.4
Barra archipelago	346	81	4.3
North Uist	1191	303	3.9

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Island	Names	Area	Density
Jura	1350	367	3.7
South Uist and Benbecula	1130	402	2.8
Arran	1028	432	2.4
Skye	3522	1656	2.1
Small Isles	142	152	0.9

Notes:

1. Area of the island(s) in kilometres²
2. Numbers of names from the Ordnance Survey Name Books
3. Density of place-names is expressed as names/km²
4. The Barra archipelago includes Barra, Vatersay, Sandray, Muldoanich, Mingulay and Berneray (Barra Head)

The Ordnance Survey, however, collected many more names/km² in the Northern Isles, with a density of 13 on Bressay, Shetland, and 15 on South Ronaldsay, Orkney.

Several factors affected the number of place-names collected by the Ordnance Survey: smaller islands have proportionately more coastline, which is usually richer in names, while islands particularly affected by emigration lost a great deal of their collective landscape knowledge. Comparing *Colla Creagach* 'rocky Coll' with Tiree, the lower number of names may have been due to the following factors: a lower population (in the 1871 Census, the population of Coll was 722, while that of Tiree was 2,382); large-scale emigration from Coll followed by re-settlement by a small number of dairy farmers from Ayrshire (in the 1861 Census, 27% of the Coll population was not born on Coll); and a greater area of *sliabh* moorland: 'About half of Tiree is arable ... Coll is not above a part arable' (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 394).

Tiree also benefited from an 1855 decision by the Ordnance Survey to map all cultivated rural areas at the more detailed 25-inch scale (Fleet *et al.* 2012, 144). The island's widespread cropping meant that the whole of Tiree was mapped at this enhanced level (producing 44 maps). Only one-third of Coll (6 maps), one-third of the Barra archipelago (11 maps) and one-fifth of Mull (59 maps) were mapped in such detail. Lismore alone among the islands of the Hebrides was also completely covered by the 25-inch survey.

A notable contributor to the work of the Ordnance Survey on Tiree was one of the island's Church of Scotland ministers, the Gaelic-speaking folklorist Reverend John Gregorson Campbell. Born in 1834, Campbell was inducted as the single-handed Church of Scotland minister of Tiree and Coll in 1861. He was a keen

collector of traditional stories and invested a great deal of time and energy making contact with those parishioners with a deep knowledge of the oral tradition, just the same people who would know most about the place-names of the island. He published widely and was comfortable writing in Gaelic. In 1875, Tiree had, once again, been split into two parishes, Kirkapol and Heylipol, and his workload may have consequently diminished.

Until at least 1878, when he was forty-four, Campbell seems to have enjoyed good health, recounting one wildfowling expedition around the island in *Òran a Ghunna* (Cameron 1932, 140). 1878 also saw him reach the tip of Gometra with the Ordnance Survey team (OS1/2/73/72). Soon after this, however, some of his congregation complained to the presbytery that he was not able to fulfill his duties as a minister. A delegation sent to collect evidence in 1883 found that since 1877 Campbell's voice had been too weak to be heard in the church and that 'for a number of years has required more or less help in getting into and out of the pulpit' (quoted in Black 2008, 660). A form of ataxia that left him progressively bed-bound and that contributed to his death at the age of fifty-six had become apparent by 1881 (Black 2008, 661).

Gregorson Campbell was obviously interested in the work of the Ordnance Survey and was noted as an informant in 88% of the names recorded by them on the island, including *Rinn Chircnis* at the far end of the Kenavara headland (OS1/2/28/221). He is also likely to have played an important part in the orthography and interpretation of the names. While there have been criticisms of his work as a folklore collector (Meek 2014, 136; for an alternative view, see Black 2008, 689), his commitment to the place-name survey and his list of contacts is likely to have helped the collection process. The particularly thorough work by the Ordnance Survey on Tiree led to the rescue of fourteen Norse names that would otherwise have been lost: for example, *Tràigh Thallasgair* on Craignish and *Dusprig* in Baugh.

While Campbell's scholarship increases our confidence in the orthography of the Gaelic place-names collected by the Ordnance Survey on Tiree, he seems to have been unaware of the Norse basis of many toponyms. This was fifteen years before the start of Jakob Jakobsen's pioneering fieldwork in Shetland, and an understanding of the influence of Old Norse on Scottish west coast place-names was in its infancy, although '*nish*' is correctly translated as 'point' and '*sgìob*' as 'boat'.

But Campbell (if it was indeed he who was responsible) gaelicises enthusiastically: *Cnoc Adha-geir* is translated as 'grain oil hill' (from G *arbhar* 'corn' and G *geir* 'tallow'); *Sgeir Bhàigh* becomes 'friendly rock' (from G *bàidh* 'kindness': see *Baugh*);

Breath-sgeirean was interpreted as ‘the layer rocks’ (from G *breath* ‘stratum’); *Cnoc Aineol Earnal* was translated as ‘stranger’s hill’ (from G *aineolach* ‘ignorant’: see *Earnal*); *Cnoc Grianal* as ‘sunny hill’ (from G *grian* ‘sun’: see *Grianal* in Balephuill, and also Campbell 1895, 15); *Port Daor* as ‘dear port’ (from G *daor* ‘costly’: see *Daor*); *Poll a’ Ghior* as ‘pool of the loud voice’ (possibly from G *goir* ‘to talk loudly’: see *Gior*); *Tràigh a’ Bhèidhe* as ‘nourishing beach’ (from G *biadh* ‘food’: see *Bèidhe*); *Tràigh Chrìonaig* as ‘the decayed beach’ (from G *crionadh* ‘withering’: see *Crìonaig*); and *An Turdha Beag* as ‘the little maggot’ (from G *durrag* ‘maggot’: see *An Turdha*). *Cnoc Charrastoin* even made it into the Ordnance Survey Name Book as ‘Christian knoll’ before someone wisely put a pen through the entry (see *Staoin*). We must therefore treat the forms of the Norse names collected by the Ordnance Survey on Tìree, particularly those that have been ‘translated’, with some caution.

Norse place-names adopted as house names are occasionally misleading. OS Explorer Map 372 locates *Deobadal* in Scarinish, although in fact this house was named after the valley in Hynish where the couple who lived there courted. The same map also shows *Ainshval* as a house name in Cornaigmore (NL 983481). This Rum mountain name is not included in older Ordnance Survey maps of Tìree, and the house was, in fact, named recently after its viewscape. And *Craignis* (NL986421), a toponym from the western extremity of Hough, was chosen as a house name in Balinoe and put into the same map. *Melness*, a house name in Cornaigbeg, derives from the Sutherland hometown of a woman who married a Tìree herring fisherman (Mairi Campbell, pers. comm.).

The core of this research has been my long-term fieldwork. 88% of the names in this Gazetteer were collected orally from 123 informants (roughly one in ten of the island’s population over the study period), often using Gaelic as the language of research. In comparison, during Cox’s exhaustive survey of the place-names of Carloway he listed 67 principal informants (although others contributed in minor ways: Cox 2002, 10–11 and 131–2), Mackay in Raasay 25 (Mackay 2013 xiii), Macniven in Islay 14 (Macniven 2005, 275), and Sandnes in Orkney 5 (Sandnes 2010a, 377).

However, since it is a fundamental principle of place-name research that the earliest historical form of a name is the one most likely to be true to the original, the reliance in this study of collecting names from the current oral tradition is as much a weakness as it is a strength: ‘... in general, it would be useless to try to explain place-names on the strength of the modern form alone ... It is obvious that without early material place-name etymology is mere guess work’ (see Ekwall 1961, ix-x).

Whereas Cox conducted his fieldwork using a series of structured interviews followed by field-walking over an eight-month period (Cox 2002, 10), mine was less formal. Life as the island's doctor for thirty years meant that there were daily opportunities to follow my clinical work with place-name research, a position I hope I did not abuse! Only occasionally was one of my informants fit enough to walk the ground beside me. As a result, I often had to guess which feature went with which name. This way of working has given the study great time depth and granularity, and has allowed me to collect names from different informants, and at different times from the same informant. Many place-names, therefore, are represented by a number of name-forms collected from the oral tradition.

As well as collecting the names of natural features, I have recorded enclosure names (for example, *G Croit Ghilleasbuig Mhòir Dhòmhnailt Iain* 'the croft of Big Archibald the son of Donald the son of Iain') and building names (for example, *G Tobhta Iain mhic Eòghainn Bhàin* 'the ruin of Iain the son of Fair Hugh', or *Bàthach Chailein Iain mhic Lachainn* 'the byre of Colin the son of Iain the son of Lachlan) for their social historical and genealogical value. These names change slowly over time as ownership changes, and as other characters took their turn on Tìree's stage. In general, the names I collected from elderly informants at the end of the twentieth century reflect usage in the 1920s, 30s and 40s.

This fieldwork was often 'only just in time' as many of the informants are now sadly no longer with us. But it is also true that it was just as often too late. I lost count of the number of times I was told that 'You should have been here twenty years ago; [X] knew the name of every blade of grass round here.' And sometimes it was much too late. Seven modern townships – Baugh, Crossapol, Heylipol, Hynish, the northern half of Hough, Kenovay and Balephetrish – yielded relatively few names in addition to those recorded by the Ordnance Survey. These correspond with land cleared as estate farms during enclosure on Tìree at the start of the nineteenth century. The full onomasticon of the island is therefore likely to have been significantly higher than the one we are left with today.

Although not formally tested, this research has left me in no doubt that young islanders today have a significantly smaller place-name vocabulary than my informants who were born in the 1920s and 1930s. Significant parts of the island, for example much of the *sliaabh*, are no longer an important part of the island's economy and are rarely visited on foot. The headland of Kenavara, whose cliffs are now fenced off, is not a valuable resource today. However, its northern rock face has 36 surviving place-names compared to 16 on the gently sloping southern side, which has a medieval chapel and was a nineteenth-century centre of the kelp industry. This demonstrates the cliffs' past importance for fowling, rock fishing

and shepherding. Almost all of these names have now been lost from the oral tradition of the island, and the headland is now ‘dead’ (Murray 2017, 119) although the cliff tops have been rediscovered as a popular recreational destination. Cox did his fieldwork in Lewis between 1982 and 1985. Commenting on the situation there, he also found that ‘much of the nomenclature is in a state of near disuse and many places are remembered by only a few people. A great many names may be forgotten within the next few decades’ (Cox 2002, 14).

Modern life for many people, even in a crofting community like Tìree, principally involves driving along fenced roads between home and public buildings like the shop, the school and the airport, or to a beach to walk the dog. One does not need an extensive palette of place-names to describe these journeys: ‘Today, as modern western society has turned its back on the landscape, place-names have become little more than convenient geographical tags. It is no longer necessary for daily life that we know the name of every field or minor landscape feature we pass’ (Jones 2015, 209). This must be the main reason there are so few English place-names on the island today despite the language shift away from Gaelic over the last fifty years. On the other hand, the use of a few Norse names as house names – for example *Miodar*, *Rosgail* and *Diubadal* – has given some medieval toponyms a longer life. This is particularly true when they are also used as personal bynames, as in *Alasdair Roisgail* or *Bobby Mithealum*, or the name of a band such as *Skipinnish*.

An increasing number of people living on Tìree today learn local place-names through ‘spelling pronunciation’ (Ekwall 1960, xii): reading rather than listening. For example, the township name *Vaul* is often mis-pronounced [vɑʊ:l] today, following the written map form chosen by the Ordnance Survey in 1878, instead of the [ˈvɑ̃ ˌlɑ] of oral tradition. Stress is often subtly changed also. While the ‘native’ pronunciation of *Ruaig* and *Cornaig* tends towards [ˈruː ˌak] and [ˈkoː ˌnak] due to vowel affection (see section 17.4.2.1), with the stress firmly on the first syllable, English speakers who learn place-names from a written source often pronounce the names [ruː ægˈ] and [koː nægˈ] with the stress evenly divided between the two syllables. What is interesting is that this pronunciation, once adopted, rarely changes. This illustrates our capacity to ‘hard-wire’ sounds once learned, and helps to explain the survival of place-names in such good condition.

Names only survive as long as they are useful. User group theory divides place-names into three categories. These are the very local names of the ‘farm’, for example a field name known only to the family who live there, and therefore the most vulnerable to population loss; those of the ‘district’, for example a hill name known by a wider number of people and therefore more robust; and those

of ‘travellers’, known by itinerant groups like merchants or sailors (see Macniven 2015, 13). The island’s Norse name *Týrvist* is the only example of this latter group on Tiree. My fieldwork in the 1980s and 1990s was able to mine a rich vein of ‘farm-names’ that is now all but exhausted. Many former ‘district’ names are now only known as local ‘farm’ names. For example, *Rumidil* in Hynish probably referred to the whole of ‘Happy Valley’ in the medieval period, whereas by the nineteenth century it described merely three tiny fishing rocks.

The surviving forms of many Scandinavian place-names in the oral tradition are likely to have ‘weathered’ considerably during some six hundred years of transmission by Gaelic speakers once the parent language had been replaced. We can demonstrate this in the few names for which we do have early recorded forms: for example, the *Cowelche* of 1541 > *Cu’ Dhèis* today. Sometimes there has been considerable reduction, as the *Mannawallis* and *Hindebollis* of 1390 developed into the *Mannel* and *Hilibol* (see *Heylipoll*) of today. In England, where early written forms are relatively common, it can be shown that the process of reduction in place-names was already underway by the time of the 1086 Domesday Book (Ekwall 1960, x). ‘District’ names that are still widely used today – *Ruaig*, *Balbhaig* or *Hynish* – varied little between informants. But many local ‘farm’ names were hanging by a very fragile thread, known only to one or two informants. For example, the name *Loch Earblaig* on the Hough *machair* was collected by the Ordnance Survey in 1878, but the forms *Loch Eallabal* and *Loch na Buaille* were collected by me from the only two informants who still knew a name for what is now just a tiny pool, a feature that had been almost submerged by sand in 1816. Many place-names in this Gazetteer were therefore collected from the final link in the chain before name extinction. These ‘last gasp’ names are highly likely to have become eroded, significantly changed from their original form. Sometimes the names even varied over time with the same informant: for example, the important Iron Age fort in Caolas was named *Dùn Ciofal*, *Ceteal* and *Citeal* by the same person (and one of my best informants) over a three-year period.

It is therefore likely that this ‘rescue’ research at the end of a tradition contains names that have drifted a long way from their original form. This is another reason to regard my attempts at derivation, in many cases, as conjectural.

Whilst it is easy enough to draw a line around the geographical area of this study – based on the shores of the island itself – the historical boundaries are altogether more slippery. The European Middle Ages are usually taken to extend from the end of the Roman Empire in the fifth century to the start of the Renaissance in Scotland at the end of the fifteenth century. However, it is possible to make the argument that, for the islands of the west coast, the medieval period extended

into the sixteenth and even seventeenth centuries: ‘There is no doubt that the Statutes of Iona [in 1609] were a turning point for the development of trade between the Western Isles and the mainland. Before that time the Isles had been to a high degree self-sufficient ... The Statutes ... struck at the roots of this way of life ... by forcing [the clan chiefs] into much closer contact with the Lowlands and the way of life of the nobility and gentlemen who thronged the capital’ (Shaw 1980, 154).

Improvement was late in coming to Tìree. The fifth Duke wrote to his chamberlain on the island in 1771 after yet another report had highlighted the old-fashioned farming methods still used on the island:

The present systeme of husbandry in Tiry is lyable to several objections ... you are to attend to the abuse of runrig [see section 10.2.2]; the multiplicity of unnecessary servants and horses employed in labour; the propriety [suitability] of wheel carriages [wheeled carts]; the division of large farms ... the pernicious consequence of pulling [rather than cutting] barley ... [and] the hurtfull effects of graddan and grinding on querns.’ (Cregeen 1964, 1)

To agricultural reformers, *graddan* symbolised the primitive and wasteful methods of the Highlanders:

The ancient way of dressing corn, which is yet used in several isles, is called *graddan* from the Irish word *grad* which means ‘quick’. A woman, sitting down, takes a handful of corn, holding it by the stalks in her left hand, and then sets fire to the ears; she has a stick in her right hand ... beating off the grain at the very instant when the husk is quite burnt ... The corn may be so dressed, winnowed, ground and baked within an hour after reaping from the ground. (Martin 1994 (1695), 243)

In fact, the ‘ancient’ practice of *graddan* may have become widespread on Tìree only after the introduction of *runrig* in the Late Medieval period (see section 10.2.2), when straw was no longer needed for livestock housed over winter.

Tìree remained geographically and culturally remote well into the early modern period: ‘In 1770, Tìree was still a remarkably traditional place’ (Cregeen 1973, 9). As late as 1768, the surveyor James Turnbull took five weeks to travel from Edinburgh to Tìree and back (Cregeen 1964, xx). When he did eventually arrive, he sounded exasperated: ‘The inhabitants only followed the example [of draining the Moss peat banks in an organised way] for two years when they resumed their

former irregular method, which with other absurd and uncommon practices that seem peculiar to them, I have reason to think (from some instances I have seen of their giddy and stubborn disposition) is not an easy matter to prevent' (Turnbull Report 1768). An 1801 report on Tiree berated crofters for their 'stubborn attachment to old customs' (quoted in Dodgshon 1998, 213). As Cregeen wrote: 'It was difficult, if not impossible, for a distant landlord with a background and tastes like the Duke's, to bridge the gulf which separated these districts from the "civilised" south' (Cregeen 1964, xx).

The medieval period did not end overnight. But it is reasonable to conclude that many islanders on Tiree were living a largely medieval life into the seventeenth century, and the period of this study is therefore extended from the arrival of literate Christian missionaries in the early sixth century to the Statutes of Iona in 1609.

Richard Cox set a benchmark in the Hebrides with his monumental study *The Gaelic Place-names of Carloway, Lewis* (Cox 2002). Alan Macniven studied the farm-district names of Islay in his 1996 PhD thesis and has made a detailed settlement analysis of *The Norse in Islay* (Macniven 2015), where he examines a total of 600 names. Anne Johnston studied Tiree for her unpublished 1991 PhD thesis 'Norse Settlement in the Inner Hebrides 800–1300 with special reference to the Islands of Mull, Coll and Tiree' (Johnston 1991). Anke-Beate Stahl comprehensively collected the place-names of Barra for her 1999 PhD thesis 'The Place-names of Barra in the Outer Hebrides', in which there is also a listing of the older studies of the region's place-names (Stahl 1999, 14). Rebecca Mackay has collected the place-names of Raasay (Mackay 2013). And Alasdair Whyte has analysed the Gaelic and Norse place-names of Torosay on Mull (Whyte 2017). Similar work has been done in Orkney – the regional powerhouse during some of the principal Scandinavian naming period on Tiree, and therefore in many ways a good model – by a number of authors, including Marwick (1952) and Sandnes (2010a).

The availability of on-line dictionaries today encourages the researcher to trawl for suitable meanings. However, Pálsson warns that 'one of the weaknesses in certain attempts to identify Norse stems in the Hebridean nomenclature has been the tendency to consult dictionaries rather than actual place-names in Norway, Iceland and elsewhere' (Pálsson 1996, 11).

Finally, much of what I present in the first part of this book is a series of models. **Heiðarnes*, where Hynish sits today, has been put forward as one of the first Viking farms. Because of its smaller extent, **Selahólma* (Salum), has been proposed

as a later secondary settlement rather than being part of the first wave. These proposals have been made on the basis of the likely meaning of the names, knowledge of the sequence of settlement elsewhere in the Norse expansion zone, and an understanding of the geography and later history of these parts of the island. Ultimately, however, these assertions are unprovable unless archaeology comes to the rescue. For this reason, you will find words like 'probably', 'plausibly' and 'likely' liberally scattered through the text.

4. THE IMPORTANCE OF PLACE-NAMES IN THE STUDY OF SCANDINAVIAN AND MEDIEVAL TIREE

There is a great need for [the study of Scandinavian Scotland] to be furthered by more localized studies of place-names, particularly in Shetland and the Western Isles where we rely almost totally on place-names for evidence about Norse influence. (Crawford 1987, 6)

Considerable expertise has been applied to the Norse place-names of the Northern Isles of Scotland. But, until recently, the islands of the Hebrides have received less attention (but see Cox 1991; Stahl 1999; Macniven 2015).

Norse is likely to have been the dominant language on Tiree during much of the Early Medieval period. However, there are just two brief mentions of Tiree in Scandinavian literature. There is currently little physical legacy, too, from this period in the archaeological record of the island. There are two probable pagan Norse burial sites, two silver hoards and a comb. Most of these artefacts were discovered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, their provenance was recorded to the standards of the time and several finds are indeed now lost. Place-names, therefore, currently provide most of the evidence as we try to understand the medieval period on Tiree.

Stahl collected 2,677 names on the Barra archipelago in addition to the 346 collected by the Ordnance Survey, of which 196 may be of Norse origin (Stahl 1999). She found fewer Norse place-names than expected beyond the major features and settlements: 'The strong influence of Norse in place-names on

large-scale maps is not paralleled at a detailed level. The overwhelming majority of minor names are of Gaelic origin. In this respect, Borgstøm's assumption that a detailed analysis of Barra's nomenclature would reveal a large number of further Norse place-names cannot be confirmed' (Stahl 1999, 363).

By way of contrast, I have collected over 3,300 place-names during more than thirty years of fieldwork. Leaving aside the building and enclosure names, this collection of Tiree topographic place-names amounts to 2,350. As a result of this research, a further 102 probable and 45 possible Norse place-names have been added to the 113 probable and 21 possible Norse place-names recorded by the Ordnance Survey, a total of 215 probable Norse names.

Taking into account the significant 'gaps' where nineteenth century estate clearance emptied several farm townships and the hollowing effect of emigration, it is reasonable to estimate that 'peak place-name' on Tiree around 1800 could have exceeded 4,000 names. Medieval Scandinavian settlement is likely to have been less intense than settlement in the early nineteenth century, and it might not be unreasonable to estimate that the Norse onomasticon amounted to around 2,000 names. We could therefore say, conservatively, that around 10% have survived – or that up to 90% have been lost.

Some surviving Scandinavian place-names on Tiree can be satisfactorily reconstructed. There is little doubt that *Boramul*, a headland below the promontory fort of *Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais*, derives from the Norse *Borgamúla* 'the promontory of the fort'. But some names remain tantalisingly elusive, as the last flickers of a fading Norse light are refracted through a Gaelic prism. Often, it has been impossible to choose between several options. For example, the specific of the Balephetrish headland name *Crisnis* may be ON *krysu* 'cross' or ON *Kristr* 'Christ'.

Marwick in Orkney, despite all his expertise, was also frustrated by the situation he found on the island of Rousay. Here, many place-names were derived from Old Norse or, more accurately, Orcadian Norn before being loaned into Scots some time between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries:

In the course of centuries, such changes have taken place in the form of names that in the case of at least fifty per cent of the surviving names in Orkney it is either quite impossible, or at least most hazardous, to assert what the original forms may have been. In that respect the place-names of Rousay seem to me, in general, peculiarly obscure and in the list appended, the reader may feel exasperated at the number of names of which the origin has been left unexplained or doubtful. (Marwick 1995 (1947), 15)

Oftedal agreed. ‘Norse names have undergone great alterations both at the time of their adoption by the Gaels and during the ensuing centuries, and although these changes, on the whole, show a certain amount of regularity, the researcher often finds himself in one of two impasses: either no Old Norse equivalent can be found, or the modern Gaelic form corresponds equally well to two or more possible Old Norse names’ (Oftedal 2009, 4).

With these caveats in mind, this study is an exercise in seeing what we can safely deduce about medieval Tiree from these 453 names, among which are 215 probable (bold) and 66 possible Norse names, 139 Gaelic names, 4 Scots names with 29 left open:

Abhuinn, *Acairseid an Dùin*, **Adha-geir**, *Adhraidh*, **Alabhal**, **Allamsa**, *An Annaid*, **Arabach**, *Àrabull*, **Àras**, *Arbhair*, *Artchain*, **Àsadh**, **Aulaig**, *Bac’ a’ Chrochaidh*, *Baca na Putain*, *Bàdagan*, *Bags*, *Baile nan Cràganach*, *Am Baile Meadhanach*, *Baile mhic Eòdha*, **Balaramaig**, **Balbhaig**, *Balemartine*, *Balephuil*, *Balinoe*, *Ballevullin*, *Ballyphterish*, *Bàna-Druim*, *Baraigh*, **Bàrasdal**, *Bàrna-sgeir*, *The Barradh*, *Am Barradhu*, **Barrapoll**, **Basapoll**, **Baugh**, *Beag*, **Beannaig**, **Bèidhe**, *Beinn Iolaireach*, *Beireadh*, **Bergh**, **Bhabhainn**, *Bhàlas*, **A’ Bhaoill**, *A’ Bhaolach*, *Bheir’ Shnòis*, *A’ Bheirbh*, **Bhideig**, *A’ Bhiolarach*, *Bhotaiddh*, *A’ Bhraonach*, **Biosd**, **Birceapol**, **Biùrainn**, **Bò**, *Bòdhab*, **Boghasum**, *Bòid*, **Boidhegeir**, **Borabrig**, **Boraige**, **Boramul**, **Bordain**, **Breath-sgeirean**, *Brìdeineach*, **Brimminis**, *Briolachain*, **Brock**, *Brù*, *Brùig*, **Bruthainne**, *The Burial-Place of the Big Women*, *Cad-rum*, *Caibeal Thòmais*, *Caidheagar*, *Caindeig*, *An Callan Beag*, **Callraig**, *Cambar*, *Caoles*, *Carachan*, *Carnan Mòr*, **Càrsamull**, *An Cascar*, **Cascar Bàn**, *Castel Loch Hyrbol*, **Ceansa**, *Ceathramh Mhurdat*, **Ceòl**, *A’ Chlachanach*, *A’ Chorairidh*, *Chùrr*, **Ciarraig**, *Cill Brìde*, *Cill Choinnich*, *Cill-fhinnean*, *Cill-fhinnein*, *Cill Tunnain*, *Ciofal*, **Circnis**, **Circnis**, **Circnis**, *Cisteag*, *Citinn*, *Citinn*, **Ciular**, *Clachan*, *Cladh Orain*, *Cléit*, **Cliar**, *Cnoc na Criche*, *Cnoc an Dealgain*, *Cnù Lochanan*, **Coirceal** and *Coirce*, **Conslum**, **Cornaig**, *Corrairigh*, *An Craca*, *An Craga*, **Cragraig**, **Craiknish**, **Creachasdal**, *Creag a’ Mhanaich*, **Crìonaig**, *Crionan*, **Crisnis**, *Crò*, *Crochadair*, **Cròdhbrig**, **Cro’-fhir**, *Cròg*, **Crògain**, **Crògain**, **Cròinigeir**, **Croisgeir**, *Cròmisgeir*, *Crosan*, **Crossapoll**, **Crossigar**, *Cruairtein*, *Cruithneachd*, *Cuigeas*, *Cuinneag*, *Culaobh*, *Cùngair*, **Daor**, **Dearcaig**, **Diubadal**, *An Dòid*, *An Dòrnach*, **Dùbal**, *Dùcha*, *Dùdaire*, *Duill*, *Dùn nan Gall*, *Dùnan Nighean*, **Dusprig**, *Eadach*, *Eala*, **Earball**, *Earblaig*, **Earnal**, **Eibrig**, *Èginn*, **Eireadh**, *Èiteagain*, **Fhàdamull**, *An Fhaodhail*, *Fidden*, *Am Fidhlear*, *Fidhleir*, *Fiodhag*, **Fiura**, **Fladarabodha**, *Flèid*, **Fòirnigir**, **Gasamull**, *Na Gilean*, **Gior**, *Glas Eilean*, *Glas Eilean*, **Goibhneig**, *Goirtean*, *Gon*, **Gorraig**, *An Got*, **Gott**, **An Grà’ dar**, **Greasamull**, **Greasamull**, **Greatharum**, *Grein*, **Grèinemheall**, **Greòdhlainn**, *Greusgain*, *Grianaig*, **Grianal**, **Grianal**, **Grianal**, **Griاناتot**, *Gribun*, **Griseag**,

Groideagal, Gullaidh, **Guthalum**, **Hanais**, **Heala**, **Heren**, **Heylipoll**, **Hianish**, **Hiatrainis**, **Homaidh**, **Hough**, **Hùinisdeir**, **Hùnasgeir**, **Husagar**, **Hynish**, Hying, Ìbrig, Ìlidh, **Inisgeir**, Ìosaig, Isleborg, Kenavara, Kenovay, Kerachrosegar, Kerahusagar, Keranokile, Keratrinvair, Kerralonamair, Kerreferguss, Kerremeanach, Killyne, Kilmoluag, **Kirkabo**, **Kirkapoll**, Kory Finmackoul, Ladhair, Lag an t-Seagail, **Laighnis**, **Laighsgeir**, **Laighsgeir**, **Lamh-sgeir**, **Làmh-sgeir**, An Lànach, Land, **Langach**, Lebhearaig, Leacach, Leacaig, An Lèig, An Lèig, An Lèig, **Lì**, **Lìbrig**, **Librig**, **Lingal**, **Lingal**, **Lionar Sgeire**, **Lionar Sgeire**, Liùcaid, Lò, Loch na Gile, Loch nan Òb, Lòn Alabainn, **Lònamar**, Mag Luinge, **Malainn**, **Mannel**, **Marasaig**, Mealbhach, Am Meall, Meanaidh, Meannan, Meannan Bhalla, Meannar, **Meidhaig**, Meileart, **Mhaois**, A' Mhealathaich, **Mhiasumull**, **Miarum**, **Miasaig**, Millton, **Miodar**, **Miogasdal**, **Mithealum**, **Moirein**, Mollachdag, **Mòr Chléit**, Mòr-Mheall, **Mòr-Mhill**, Muc Loch, **Mula**, Mùlainn, Mullach nan Gall, **Muradal**, **Murstainn**, **Murstat**, Naomhag, Nasketain, **Neòsaig**, **Odarum**, Òdhrasgair, Òinegeir, Òisgean, Ollag, **Onamull**, **Origadal**, **Oснаich**, Port na Birlinn, Port Chloinn Nèill, Port Luing, Port na Luinge, **Rachadal**, **Rangasdal**, **Raonabodha**, **Raonabol**, **The Reef**, Rèidh-sgeir, **Rèithesgeal**, Rel, Riaghain, Riasgal, **Ribhinn**, Ring, **Rionasgeir**, Riseag, An Rò, **Rò**, Robach, **Ròg**, **Ròmasgeir**, **Rosdal**, **Rosgaill**, Rothagag, **Ruaig**, **Rumidil**, Rùnasgal, **Ruth**, **Saltaig**, **Salum**, **Sandaig**, **Saundaig**, **Scarinish**, Sgarabhain, **Sgaracleit**, **Sgaracleit**, Sgaramìn, **Sgàthain**, **Sgibinis**, **Sgiobagar**, **Sgiobasal**, **An Sgìt**, Sgitheag, Sgonn Mhic Coitch, Sgoth Mhic Cumha, Sgràbraig, Sgrèuchadh, **Sgudaig**, Sgurbhaidh, Siaban, **Siader**, Siolaig, Sionnach, **Skarbarigh**, Skyr na Veullen, Sliganish, Sloc Mhic Cnithealum, Sloc Mhic Fhionnlaidh, **Smuckaberg**, An Snoig, An Snoig, Snòig, An Snòig, **Snòis**, **Soa**, **Soghaigir**, **Solabhaig**, **Sorobaidh**, **Sròm**, An t-Sròn, **Stànal**, **Staoin**, Stideil, An Stòl, Na Suacain, Suacan, An Sùghachan, Sùl, Taelk, Na Tangan, **Taoinis**, Teampall Phàraig, **Thallasgar**, **Thorramhull**, Tiacal, Tìobar, Tìr Chaibeil, Tobar an Dòmhnach, Tobar Mhoire, Tobar Poll Fannaid, Tobhar an Teampaill, Tobhta na Cailliche Bheir, **Tòdhrasdal**, Toinisgeir, **Tòrasa**, **Torbhas**, Torrain, An Tràigh-lochain, Traoil, **Treasdain**, **Treogh**, Trindein, **Tromsalum**, **Tromslum**, **Tronsairigh**, **Trosgamul**, T-Shomhairle, **Tunagair**, Tunna, An Turdha, **Týrvist**, An Uailleineach, An Uaireanaich, An Uamh Mhòr, **Ùbhag**, Uircean, Ùisgil, **Ùl**, Ulaidh, Ùlasgeir, Ùlastac, **Ulbhaig**, An Unga, **An Urabhag**, **Urvaig**, Valdonovodanach, **Vaul**

5. THE ISLAND

Across all aspects of Highland life, the environment is not just a setting but an active partner, one that can in places be benign but in other places, unyielding and utterly uncompromising. (Dodgshon 1998, 7)

The fact that many of the modern township names on Tiree are Norse in origin gives us the impression that it was Scandinavian farmers who created the settlement structure of Tiree that we have inherited. In many ways, as we shall see, they did. But it is the island landscape itself, particularly its patches of fertile soil, which has always dictated the 'sweet spots' to live and to farm. These changed over time. During periods of favourable climate, cultivation extended inland; as it deteriorated, fields and houses were abandoned, to be cloaked by turf and peat.

5.1 CLIMATE

[Tiree] makes a very agreeable appearance, especially in good weather, but in rainy tempestuous weather everything looks bleak and dismal. (Turnbull Report 1768)

Though we have unquestionably less rain here than in the more mountainous islands such as Mull and Skye, or the mainland coast adjacent, still it may be called a moist climate ... The temperature, upon the whole, may be considered mild. Snow seldom lies upon the ground above a few days, the vapours generally descend in a more liquid form ... The wintry blasts sweep at times over the island with great violence, there being no obstruction sufficient to break the current or afford protection. (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 200)

The island lies exposed in the North Atlantic at latitude 56° North (along with Hudson's Bay, the southern tip of Alaska, Moscow, and Denmark). Early Medieval settlers from southwestern Norway (using today's climate as a proxy) are likely to have found Tíree's climate milder in winter, cooler in summer, sunnier, windier and much drier than their homeland.

Table 2. A comparison of the weather in Tíree and Bergen, Norway

	Tíree	Bergen
Annual rainfall	1255	2250
Temp. high	16	18
Temp. low	4	- 1
Longest day	17 h 43 m	18 h 56 m
Shortest day	6h 50m	5 h 48 m
Chance of snow	0	16
Mean wind	10	5
Sun hours	238	186

Notes (data taken from www.weatherspark.com):

1. The total annual rainfall in mm (the UK average is 885 mm a year)
2. The average maximum temperature in August
3. The average minimum temperature in February
4. The length of the longest day (the time when the sun is visible)
5. The length of shortest day in hours and minutes
6. The percentage of days with snow cover in January
7. The mean wind speed in February in m/sec
8. Hours of sunshine in May

During the Medieval Warm Period (also known as the Medieval Climatic Optimum), from the mid-tenth to the mid-thirteenth centuries, temperatures in the North Atlantic were on average only 0.5°C higher. But this small rise had a significant effect: 'Agriculture was possible in higher latitudes and higher elevations in the mountains than is currently possible ... and there are numerous reports of especially bountiful harvests throughout Europe ... winters were less severe and summers far drier' (Mann 2002, 514).

This warm spell was followed by the Little Ice Age, which lasted from around 1300 to the mid-nineteenth century (Lamb 1965). The climate deteriorated remarkably suddenly in the first decades of the fourteenth century with a fall

in temperature, an increase in storm severity and rainfall, and a shortening of the growing season by several weeks (Oram and Adderley 2008). Sand blow increased markedly and the *machair* extended inland once again after 1400 (Dawson S. 2004). Grazing capacity was reduced by 25% and cereal harvests fell (in Iceland, cereal growing had stopped entirely by the fifteenth century). Two periods in particular were characterised by a colder, stormier climate: the early fifteenth century, and the Maunder Minimum 1645–1702 (Dodgshon 2015, 82). These cold periods were separated by a warmer spell in the sixteenth century.

5.2 SOLID GEOLOGY

The island's bedrock is almost entirely composed of a plate of grey metamorphic rock known as Lewisian gneiss. Although appearing monotonously uniform at first sight, Lewisian gneiss is actually a complex suite of ancient rocks from different parent rocks, of different ages and with different origins; they have all, however, gone through a similarly intense metamorphosis. Several times these rocks have been forced deep below the earth's surface and re-crystallised under intense heat and pressure, leading to its characteristic banding, pleating and folding. Although little work has been done on the island, the variety of dates that have been obtained suggests that the Tiree bedrock is by no means uniform. One sample from southwestern Tiree has been dated to around 2.7 billion years (Whitehouse and Robertson 1995).

Much Lewisian gneiss has a high iron content (see section 10.7), but soils derived from gneiss are acidic and nutrient poor.

The characteristics of Lewisian gneiss have had a profound effect on the island's built environment: it is a hard rock (Mohs hardness scale 5.5–6.5, somewhere between glass and steel) with a tendency to irregular fracture planes, making it difficult to fashion or carve. Alan Stevenson discovered this while building Skerryvore lighthouse in the nineteenth century, opting finally for pink granite from the Ross of Mull: 'The quarries at Hynish were by no means productive ... no more than one tenth could be dressed as blocks for the tower' (Stevenson 1848, 103).

Glaciation left an abundant surface scatter of irregular rocks over the Tiree landscape, some as large as a car. It is these natural boulders that provided the only building materials: '[Stone for building houses came] from the ground ... [I got] a stone in the middle of [my house] wall, my father and myself ... with a long

iron bar. We took every one of them out of here with the horse. They were taking it out of the ground' (Hector Kennedy talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1970.096, track ID 67031). There is no evidence that there were stone quarries in medieval times; these had to wait for the tempered steel and explosives of the eighteenth century. In 1785, the chamberlain remarked, in an apparent first for the island, that '[the tacksman] Mr Campbell, Treshnish, has employed two people to quarry stone for building a march [boundary] dyke between the farms of Ruag and Kelis' (Cregeen 1964, 6).

Unlike many parts of Orkney or Caithness, good building stone was therefore at a premium on Tiree, and redundant walls were usually extensively robbed or remodelled for the next project: 'The fort [*Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais*] is a hillock ... It was surrounded by a dry stone dyke, but the stones have been removed to build houses' (Campbell 1891, 173). Demand for stone on Tiree reached its maximum in the first decades of the nineteenth century, with an island population of over four thousand, enclosure of open fields into hundreds of small crofts, and the re-introduced practice of wintering cattle in byres. I have estimated that it would have taken seven million stones to construct the estimated 300 km of boundary walls and 500 houses that were built. Stone recycling has continued into modern times: 'There used to be a row of four houses in Brock, which have completely disappeared today. Every single stone had been put into a later building' (Alasdair Sinclair, Brock, pers. comm.). This 'stone poverty' is the principal reason that there are so few pre-historic remains on Tiree; buildings buried by sand or peat are usually the only ones that survived. Ecclesiastical buildings were usually spared. A warning story in the oral tradition tells of two boys larking around at the medieval chapel *Teampall Phàraig* on Kenavara. In the process, a few stones were dislodged. Within a year they were both dead (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1971.091, track ID 50712). Another local tradition maintained that it was unlucky to build a new house with stone from the ruined home of a Cameron or wood from an abandoned church (Mairi Campbell, pers. comm.). However, the chapel *Cill Bride* in Cornaigmore (Reeves 1854, 241) and another at *Cnoc a' Chluidh*, Barrapol (Reeves 1854, 243), were demolished in order to build houses.

On cultivated enclosed land, the footings – the lowest course of massive stones – of a prehistoric or medieval structure were usually cleared. I have been shown a field in Kenovay where there had been a small settlement. The croft had been allocated to the informant's grandfather in the late nineteenth century, the ground cleared for ploughing and today was featureless pasture (Donald MacLean, pers. comm.). Only on the plateau on the southeastern slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis*, on

land that was dedicated to hill grazing after Improvement, have older structures survived in any quantity (see the reports of the Association of Certificated Field Archaeologists).

5.3 GLACIATION

Tiree was completely covered by the last British ice sheet at the Late Devensian glacial maximum, around 30–20,000 years ago (Dawson A. 1994, 353). Ice thickness over Tiree is estimated to have been around 600 m (Ballantyne and Hallam 2001), more than covering the highest hill on the island at 141 m. Indeed, glacial scatter can be seen today near the summits of *Beinn Haoidhnis* and *Kenavara*. Apart from the granite erratic known as *The Ringing Stone* in *Balephetrish*, said to have originated in the Small Isles, these rocks are almost entirely Lewisian gneiss, and are likely to have originated either locally or in other parts of northwestern Scotland where Lewisian gneiss is exposed. Ice flow is likely to have been more complex than simply east to west, as competing ice domes – for example, those on *Ben More*, *Mull*, and in the south of *Lewis* – and an ice shed (the glacial equivalent of a watershed) along the length of the *Outer Hebrides*, contributed to ice movement (Hall 1996, 6). The ice margin retreated east of Tiree about 17,000 years ago, and the ice sheet did not reach the island again during a subsequent colder spell known as the *Loch Lomond Readvance* about 12,000 years ago.

5.4 DRIFT GEOLOGY

The last glaciation scoured much of the island's surface clean. Since then, the Lewisian gneiss bedrock has weathered slowly to produce a scanty, coarse-grained, acidic soil. The vast majority of Tiree's current soil capital is derived from three sources:

- Raised beach deposits left during periods of higher sea levels, for example the mid-Holocene Marine Transgression (see below). These deposits are found over much of the west end of the island: for example, southwest of *Heylipol Church* and *The Reef*
- Blown (aeolian) sand from the island's long beaches and dune systems creating extensive *machair* grasslands. This process began in earnest 8000–6000 years ago, and increased during the climatic deterioration

around 1400. These deposits have been credited with raising the fertility of the island: ‘The scourge of the wind is softened a little by its burden of beneficent sand which buffers the acid of the peat, gives porosity to the soil and supports agriculture’ (Boyd and Boyd 1990, 48). Soils derived from Tiree’s bedrock gneiss and peat overlay are both acidic. ‘Liming’ these with shell sand containing 60–80% calcium carbonate raises their fertility (see section 10.2.1). However, pure *machair* allows only intermittent cultivation, and the huge volumes of wind-blown sand have also smothered extensive areas of cultivated land: for example, the field systems that lie below the golf course in Vaul, the *machair* of Barrapol and Hough

- Glacial drift (recessional material left in depressions in the land surface by retreating glaciers). Some of this is derived from the bedrock of the island itself. Much comes from outwith the island: for example, drift up to 1.5 m deep and containing sandstone erratics has been identified in Balevullin (Dawson, A. 1994, 351). There are also several small deposits of clay left by slow-moving glacial melt water. These deposits were used to the end of the nineteenth century in an indigenous ceramic tradition: ‘There is a kind of clay on some farms, particularly upon Scarinish, Caolas, Baugh, Balinoe, and Balemartine, which the inhabitants manufacture into pitchers [bowls] for boiling their victualls, called *crogans*, and great and small dishes for holding their milk and other purposes’ (Turnbull Report 1768)

Peat has developed in poorly drained parts of the island over the last 10,000 years (see section 5.6.4).

These deposits often overlie each other: for example, peat may develop over raised beach deposits, or blown sand may cover glacial drift. The extent of cultivable land has therefore probably diminished since Neolithic settlement of Tiree around 6000 years ago, with the encroachment of both wind-blown sand from the coast and peat from the centre of the island.

5.5 SEA LEVEL AND COASTLINE

What Rev Dr John Walker, the Professor of Natural History at Edinburgh, described in 1764 as ‘The Flatness of the Country and the Shelving nature of its Shores’ (McKay 1980 180) mean that sea level changes since deglaciation have often

dramatically altered the island's coastline. Since the last glacial maximum, world sea levels have been rising as the ice sheets melted. But so, too, has the landmass of the west of Scotland. This region rebounded after being relieved of the weight of glaciers that reached a thickness of over a kilometre on the mainland (Ballantyne 2004, 28). This dance between a rising sea, rising land and the build-up or erosion of sandy shorelines has led to a complex pattern of changing relative sea levels that is different in every west coast island (Gilbertson *et al.* 1996, 60).

A number of raised beaches on Tiree demonstrate considerably higher relative sea levels at various times since the Late Devensian glacial maximum. The most prominent – seen clearly between Balephetrish and Vaul, and between Ruaig and Milton – dates from around 8000 years ago, and is called the Holocene Marine Transgression (Dawson, A. *et al.* 2001). This reached a peak of around + 6 m OD (Ordnance Datum, see Glossary) in Balephuill, and produced inland dune systems and raised shingle beaches at several sites along the coast. However, the relative sea level on Tiree during the medieval period is likely to have been broadly similar to the one we see today.

The post-glacial rebound (or isostatic uplift) following the melting of the ice sheet was greatest where the ice was thickest (over Rannoch Moor, east of Fort William), and least towards its thinner edge (west of Tiree). A prominent raised beach system on Tiree, labelled T1 by Alistair Dawson, lies at + 9 m OD in the west end of Tiree and + 22 m OD at the eastern end of Coll. The post-glacial rebound has therefore been considerably greater at the eastern than the western end of Tiree (Dawson, A. 1994, 352).

5.6 GEOMORPHOLOGY

Tiree is shaped roughly like a referee's whistle, with a bulbous western end and an extension to the east; the island's long axis lies southwest to northeast.

The island is low-lying, with 75% of the ground below the 20 m contour; this is not a land where you will find Norse names like *Hábær* (high farm) or *Fossar* (waterfalls):

[Tiree] had a more ancient name, *Rioghachd bar fo thuin*, i.e. 'the kingdom whose summits are lower than the waves' ... the lowest and flattest country perhaps in Scotland. The waves are often seen, from one shore, rising several feet above the level of the rocks upon the other. (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 393)

There are three hills above 100 m, with the highest, *Beinn Haoidhnis*, being 141 m. The generally flat surface and impermeable bedrock mean that drainage is impeded in many parts of the island. Turnbull counted 27 substantial lochs (Turnbull Report 1768), while 71 place-names in *G loch* survive on the island; in comparison, there are over 300 loch-names in Carloway (Cox 2002, 316–337).

Turnbull mapped 22 streams on Tiree, but most are small. The flat landscape meant that Tiree's water mills were often limited by sluggish and insufficient water flows (see section 10.2.3).

The 1768 Turnbull map shows that several post-medieval settlements were sited close to these sources of running water: for example, *Kirkapoll*, *Gott*, *Baugh*, *Crossapoll*, *Balinoe*, *Haynish*, *Kilchenichmore*, *Balewilline* and *Cornaigmore*. But others, like the runrig farm of *Kenovay* with a 1779 population of 144, had no stream within its boundaries and must have relied exclusively on well water. After his visit to Tiree in 1764, Walker reported that 'the Island being so plain [flat], and Soil in most places deep and Sandy, its Springs are neither numerous nor large, though there is Spring Water sufficient to supply the Inhabitants' (McKay 1980, 180). One early-twentieth-century well in Caolas was said to have been almost 10 m deep (Hugh Campbell, pers. comm.). It is significant that Tiree has 110 surviving names in *G tobar* 'well', compared to 7 in Carloway (Cox 2002, 382).

The island displays four major ecological zones:

5.6.1 Beach and dune systems

Tiree has long been famous for its numerous long, white, sandy beaches: 'The coast [is] intersected with many beautiful sandy bays, some of them a mile wide at the head' (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 394).

These represent a resource of sand and beach cobbles, lugworm bait and razorfish. Flotsam was also very important, and wood cast ashore is likely to have been an significant resource on Tiree since prehistoric times (see section 5.6.5). The huge amount of storm-cast seaweed was partly responsible for the island's Late Medieval reputation as one of the most fertile of the Hebrides, and was described by Martin as a winter food source for cattle in the seventeenth century (Martin 1994 (1695), 295). In addition, dune systems provide shelter for livestock during winter gales.

The fine sand, which originates on the continental shelf around the island, is predominantly carbonate – derived from comminuted shells – rather than quartzose – produced by the erosion of rock surfaces. Strong tidal streams around the west coast islands mix with warmer water delivered by the North Atlantic

Current. The resulting turbulence leads to increased oxygenation and nutrient circulation. This encourages a particularly rich ecosystem containing barnacles, sea urchins, bivalves such as scallops, and encrusting red algae growing on the extensive kelp forests: ‘The shelf areas off the Inner and Outer Hebrides and the Northern Isles are internationally important examples of non-tropical, shelf carbonate systems’ (Gordon *et al.* 2016, 14). The southern half of The Minch is known as the Inner Hebrides Carbonate Production Area. Recent conservation concerns have prompted the creation of the Sea of the Hebrides Marine Protected Area.

The highly dynamic coastal environment creates local sand budgets that cycle between being negative (erosion) and positive (accretion). Periods of high-energy wave climate in the North Atlantic, such as the Little Ice Age, saw an increase in both these processes.

Following his visit to Tìree in 1764, Walker wrote:

There are strong Vestiges of the Encroachment of the Sea on both Sides of this Island, and great Alterations it has made upon the Shores, within the Memory of the old People who are yet alive ... The Inhabitants have already been so apprehensive of this alarming Irruption as to be at pains to heighten and strengthen this sandy Rampart [of the shore between Kenovay and Balephetrish], with Rocks brought from a great Distance, and to repair the Breaches, which the Sea has already made in several parts of it. (McKay 1980, 181)

This ‘sea wall’ did not survive for long. A few years later, Turnbull found that, ‘a barricade was formerly made here [Balephetrish] to prevent further encroachment ... that part which the sea overflowed (not a quarter of a mile in length) was broken down by the force of the surge and the stones, though some of them very large, were tossed partly over the bank ...’ (Turnbull Report 1768).

This negative sand budget along parts of the coastline has been confirmed by an analysis of maps and aerial photographs: ‘[Alistair] Dawson was able to demonstrate that there has been significant erosion [on Tìree] over the last 120 years. As an example, he estimated that at *Tràigh Thòrasdail* [in Hough] about 100 m of shoreline retreat took place between 1878 and 1978, averaging 1 m a year’ (Dawson T. and Winterbottom 2003, 6). Although place-names are commonly transferred (sometimes over quite large distances), this erosion is also suggested by some Norse promontory names in ON *múli* that now refer to islets: see *Càrsamull* in Ruaig; *Fhàdamull* in Salum; *Mula* in Sandaig; and *Greasamull* in Greenhill. *Na*

Creagan Dearga ‘the red rocks’ at the eastern end of *Cladach a’ Chrògain* in Balephetrish formed a ‘cave’ in the 1960s; now the shoreline has receded and they form an arch (Iain MacKinnon, Hillcrest, pers. comm.).

On the other hand, there has been considerable shoreline accretion at other locations. The islet *Eilean an Arbhair* in Scarinish (see *Arbhair*) is shore-bound today. Alan Stevenson had to construct a complex flushing system to wash sand out of the Hynish pier box harbour, built as part of the Skerryvore lighthouse project in the mid-nineteenth century. Over a longer timescale, a bar formed between Kenavara and Balephuill creating *Tràigh Bhì* and behind it the Barrapoll *machair*. This created *Loch Phuill*, which was found in the eighteenth century to be 8 ft 8 ins above sea level and to have a maximum depth of 9 ft 6 ins (Turnbull Report 1768). *Loch Earblaig* on the Hough *machair*, described as a ‘small loch’ in 1878 (OS1/2/26/66), is now little more than a tiny pool that dries out in summer. The small jetty constructed at *The Green* in 1847 had become unusable by the late nineteenth century and is now almost buried by sand, with just the top course of stones visible. The outflow of *Loch Bhassabol* has been obstructed by an intrusion of sand on its northern shore with a consequential rise in water level and submergence of a possible crannog at *Eilean Mhic Chonnill* (Canmore ID 21418). And a number of fishing rock names suggest this dynamic shoreline: four examples of *G An t-Seann Charraig* ‘the old fishing rock’ in Caolas, Ruaig, Scarinish and Balephetrish, and the West Hynish *G A’ Charraig Nodha* ‘the new fishing rock’. *G Carraig an Dùin* ‘fishing rock of the fort’ in Balephuill was reported to be less productive by the mid-twentieth century because it had become ‘too sandy’ (Duncan MacKinnon, pers. comm.).

But the most dramatic example of accretion has occurred on the eastern side of *The Reef*. The 1654 Blaeu map, the result of a survey done in the late sixteenth century, shows a long, wide estuary at the southeastern corner of *Ryfmoir*. This suggests that this inlet could have provided a significant Early Medieval boat landing site (see section 10.6.6). The name *G Fouyl* ‘ford’ on the same map suggests that the mouth of this estuary could be waded at low tide, at least by the sixteenth century (see *An Fhaodhail*). In 1695, Martin described the waterway thus: ‘There are small channels in [*The Reef*], through which the tide of flood comes in, and it sometimes overflows the whole’ (Martin 1994 (1695), 294). In 1768, Turnbull described how ‘the sea of spring tides comes up Phuill river as far as Balephetrish and Kenovay farms, which lays the east of this plain [*The Reef*] often under water. When the sea comes up this far, it is often not above 400 yards from the North shore’ (Turnbull Report 1768). This was confirmed in 1794: ‘When swelled with rain and a high spring tide, being without a bridge, [the river] greatly obstructs

travellers. Here there is some danger of the island being cut in half' (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 399). As late as 1878, the Ordnance Survey mapped the 'Highest Point to which Ordinary Spring Tides Flow' as over a mile inland. At its mouth of the river a 'Ford' was marked, with the stream about 10 m wide at low tide and 80 m at high tide (estimated from 1878 Ordnance Survey Argyllshire and Buteshire LXIV.16 Tiree). Today, the mouth of the stream has been completely blocked by the beach and foredunes, and drainage is only possible through a pipe dug below the sand. A feature at the mouth of the estuary, mapped as *Skyr na Veuillen* by Blaeu in 1654 and *Sand Eel Isle* by Turnbull in 1768, is now shore-bound. See *Abhuinn, Baugh, Briolachain, An Fhaodhail, Fidden, Ibrìg, Òdhrasgair* and *Skyr na Veuillen*.

5.6.2 *Machair*

This rare landform-vegetation complex forms a low-lying, coastal grassy plain created by wind-blown, carbonate-rich sand. (The word derives from Old Gaelic *machaire* 'large field or plain': eDIL). *Machair* is only found in an arc extending from the Aran Islands on the west coast of Ireland to Shetland.

Proportionately, Tiree can make a strong claim to be the world's pre-eminent *machair* island, with this habitat now accounting for 26% of its area (Pearman and Preston 2000, 16). There are a number of reasons for this. The island's exposed position in the Atlantic means that there is no protection from winds that predominantly blow from the south and west. The high annual mean wind speed (around 15 knots) creates a high-energy wave climate. The seas around the island are home to the Inner Hebrides Carbonate Production Area (see section 5.6.1), which provides a rich supply of comminuted shells. And lastly, the topography of the shallow Hebrides Shelf to the southwest of Tiree, and that of the low-lying island itself, provides little barrier to the movement of sand onto the beaches and then inland. Coll, sheltered from the southwesterly gales by Tiree and with a generally steeper and higher shoreline, has just 13% *machair* (Pearman and Preston 2000, 16): for example, compare the gently sloping shell sand beach of Gott Bay on Tiree with the rocky, higher northeastern coastline of Coll between Arinagour and Sorisdale.

Machair is a complex habitat containing several zones. The term '*machair* system' is used to describe a sequence stretching from the strandline through an undercut dune edge; a foredune cordon only partly stabilised by marram grass (*Ammophila arenaria*); fully vegetated semi-fixed dunes; hummocky *machair* dune fields with low-lying areas of dune slack often under water after rain; and finally a dune

retreat escarpment, often etched with V-shaped blow-outs, leading to a raised *machair* plain at between 10 m (at Balinoe) and 20 m (at Balevullin) OD (Owen *et al.* 1996, 125). This last is known on Tiree as *G rèidhlean* (from OG *réidhleán* ‘level field’: eDIL; see also Márkus 2012, 568).

Machair soils are calcareous and therefore alkaline. They have a deficiency of nutrients, particularly phosphate, nitrates, copper, manganese and cobalt. They are also very permeable and therefore subject to drought. Consequently, they usually have a low percentage of organic matter concentrated in a thin, humified surface layer. The tightly cropped, smooth *machair* plains we see today are the result of intense seasonal grazing. This produces a short sward with a specialist, lime-tolerant flora – including Red Fescue, Wild White Clover, Birdsfoot Trefoil, Daisy, Eyebright and the Bulbous Buttercup.

Despite the risk of precipitating erosion, the Tiree *machair* has been ploughed as outfield when in-bye land was not sufficient to meet the needs of the island’s population: ‘The *machair* plains of the Outer Hebrides provide soils of relative richness and fertility’ (Owen *et al.* 1996, 128).

The sand that provided the foundation for the development of today’s *machair* began to be laid down once the relative sea level had settled. This happened at different times in different islands: from 8700 years ago in North Uist to 6800 years ago in Barra (Gilbertson *et al.* 1999). Earlier *machair* surfaces had presumably been inundated by rising seas (offshore) or buried under subsequent raised beach deposits (inland).

Over the millennia there have been repeated cycles of stability and instability, with sand deposition followed by periods of stabilisation under vegetation and then erosion. These alternating strips of thin buried soils separated by sand resembling a ‘layer cake’ can sometimes be seen on the edges of blowouts (Gilbertson *et al.* 1996, 78). These cycles have been largely climate-driven, although intense grazing and ploughing of the *machair* (for example, at the start of the nineteenth century) also reduced its stability.

The Early Medieval period may have been a time of relative stability in *machair* formation. Settlers throughout the Norse expansion zone knew this coastal landform as ON *melr* ‘sand dune grown with bent grass’ (CV, 423; see *Mealbhach*, *Meileart*, *Malainn* and *A’ Mhealathaich* in the Gazetteer).

However, *machair* on Tiree appears to have become unstable again after 1400 as storm frequency increased at the start of the Little Ice Age (Dawson S. 2004). Lidar shows buried field systems below the *machair* in Vaul, Salum, Scarinish, Barrapol and Hough. In the sixteenth century, ‘two touns [farming-townships],

Baa [*Biosd*] and *The Reef* [Balephetrish], were initially reported as lying waste, and then entirely absent from subsequent rentals' (Dodgshon 2015, 86). And in the island's 1674 rental, *Mannall*, *Bellephuill* and *Krossiegers* were all described as 'wast', while *Kilmaluag*, *Bist* and *Ballenairangaich* (see *Rangasdal*) were partly 'wast' (MacPhail 1914). Oral tradition about the first visit of MacLean of Duart to Tiree says that 'the island was not much tenanted then' (Campbell 1895, 16). Sand blow was partly responsible for this abandonment of agricultural land in the post-medieval period. The three possible cultivation names – *An Dòid*, *Lag an t-Seagail* and *The Land* (see *Gazetteer*) – on the Barrapol dunes and *machair* suggest cultivation here that was buried by sand. A core behind *Island House* in Heylipol demonstrated a horizon of sand above black midden material (Ewan Campbell, pers. comm.). The 1768 Turnbull Map shows the four settlements in *Heylipoll* some distance from the fields, suggesting that the line of cultivation had moved inland, with a total of 1624 Scots acres of 'Blown Sand' on Tiree, 12% of the island. Over several seasons around 1816, all the settlements west of *Beinn Hògh* were permanently evacuated when a devastating sand blow choked their fields and buried their houses, a disaster still remembered in the oral tradition (Hector Kennedy talking to Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1974.134, track ID 73325; Cregeen 2004, 230).

Breaks in the vegetation layer encouraged erosion and frequently led to further sand blow. In the nineteenth century, the chamberlain fought regular battles with tenants attempting to dig the *machair*. He reported in 1804:

The practice of making folds for cattle on sandy grounds has been remarked already, but upon this head the factor cannot omit the conduct of the tenants of Heylipol, who were just about to break the ground to form an inclosure [with a turf and soil bank] of this kind when they were checked and ordered to desist by him, to which they paid not the smallest regard, but persevered in open defiance of his orders, even though they had before then formed an inclosure in part of the farm where there would have been no bad effects of sand blowing. (Cregeen 1964, 92)

A sand dune between Silversands and Ruaig known as *G Am Baca Ruadh* 'the red dune' is said to have been as high as *Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais* (38 m) and was the first landmark sighted by boats approaching the island from the north. The oral tradition of the island includes the cautionary tale that hundreds of years ago an old woman dug into it to build a hen house. Within days a storm eroded the dune, levelling it to the ground and turning the beach along Gott Bay from gravel to sand (Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, and Angus MacLean, pers. comm.). The name

Eireadh on the sandy beach making up the eastern rim of Gott Bay is probably derived from ON *eyrr* ‘gravel’.

Sand blow continued into the early twentieth century. *Tràigh Balbhaig* in Hynish, now a cobble beach, used to be so sandy that the Hynish shepherd took young plough horses there to train them (William Lamont, pers. comm.). Half a kilometre inland, the sheepfold built after 1850 has been almost completely buried by sand, as is a line of wire fencing. This largely happened in living memory (Alec Hector MacDonald, pers. comm.).

Currently the island’s *machair* is relatively stable. This is likely to be mainly due to climatic changes, but reduced winter grazing pressure due to more efficient silage production, the importation of hay from the mainland at the end of winter, and the control of stock with wire fencing have probably also contributed. Tiree is also currently the largest rabbit-free island in Scotland (but see section 10.3.6), another fact that has helped vegetation to stabilise this fragile environment.

5.6.3 In-bye land

Tiree soils suited to cultivation (class 4.2 and above) are mostly derived from raised beach sediments and glacial drift. They cover less than a tenth of the island (James Hutton Institute, Land Capability for Agriculture).

5.6.4 *Sliabh*

It is now recognised that the rocky central areas of Tiree, making up almost half the island, represent a strandflat landscape (Dawson A. 1994; the word comes from the Norwegian *strandflate* ‘shore surface’). These ice-moulded rock platforms, common along the Norwegian coastline, are generated on glacier-rimmed shores, probably by a combination of ice and sea erosion: ‘Nearly all rock areas on Tiree may be considered as part of a series of distinct rock platform surfaces separated from each other by several well-defined steps’ (Dawson, A. 1994, 352). Strandflat landscapes have also been described on other Hebridean islands (Dawson, A. *et al.* 2013).

These relatively impermeable Lewisian gneiss rock platforms have allowed small scattered pools, mires and wet heath to form in the depressions, and heath or acidic grassland to become established on higher ground. In many such parts of Tiree, peat developed from saturated decayed plant material – principally *Sphagnum* moss – over the last 10,000 years (Wicks 2012, 178-9). The deepest

core found on Coll was just over 4 m (Wicks 2012, 87). It is likely to have been used as fuel in the Hebrides since the Bronze Age (Branigan *et al.* 2002).

The word G *sliabh* ‘moor, mountain’ (MacBain 1911) derives from the Old Gaelic *sliab* ‘mountain, moor, poor high land’ (eDIL). Often applied to upland landscapes in Ireland and mainland Scotland, on Tiree it is used to describe the low, wet ground in the centre of the island. Norse settlers on Tiree used instead the word *mýrr* ‘moor, bog, swamp’ (CV, 441), found in the names *Muradal*, *Murstainn* and *Murstat*. The only true hill grazing is on *Beinn Haoidhnis* and Kenavara, where the word G *monadh* ‘mountain, moor, heath’ was applied. The *sliabh* provided summer grazing, peat mosses, strong turf embedded with heather roots for roofing and building walls, and pools of soft water for the big summer wash, known on Tiree as G *latha mòr nam ploideachean* ‘the big day of the blankets’.

5.6.5 Woodland

In modern times, Tiree is often described as ‘treeless’ (for example, Cregeen 1964, xx). This is not quite true, and there is good evidence that tree cover has been quite extensive in the past:

It plainly appears that wood formerly grew in this parish ... frequently large pieces of trees are found in the mosses [peat banks]. (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 398)

The *New Statistical Account* confirmed this: ‘In the mossy ground, the remains of decayed trunks and roots of trees, and nutshells in a pretty entire state have been frequently discovered’ (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 202). Hazel nuts were found on the Balephuill *sliabh* in the 1960s while laying the mains water pipe (David McClounnan, pers. comm.). Notch scrapers, a flint tool thought to have been used to clean the shafts of arrows, are a regular find on Tiree. This suggests local woodland in early prehistory.

Tree pollen dating from at least 7000 BCE was found in peat cores at *Caolas an Eilean* on Coll. This suggested an incomplete woodland cover of hazel, birch, alder, oak, elm and Scots pine (Wicks 2012, 218–24; a lack of peat depth on Tiree prevented a similar analysis). Some of the pollen, particularly that of pine, may have been derived from long-distant sources. However, a Scots pine trunk has been found recently in inter-tidal peat deposits in South Uist (Simon Davies, pers. comm.). By 1700 BCE there had been a marked decline of woodland cover. This is likely to have been due to a number of natural processes: climate change;

increasing podsolization, a leaching of minerals from the soil caused by high rainfall; and the spread of *machair* and blanket bog (Brayshay and Edwards 1996, 20). Or it may have been a consequence of increasing land-use pressure – grazing, particularly that of sheep, along with field clearance and firewood and timber collection – during the Bronze Age (Wicks 2012, 223).

An analysis of soil cores from around *Teampall Phàraig* on Kenavara found that tree pollen made up 25% of the total. Pine and hazel were the most prominent species, but birch, elm, alder and willow were also present (Sayer and Brown 2006, 99). MacKie also found tree pollen at various levels during his excavation of *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*, particularly hazel and alder. The ratio of tree pollen to non-tree pollen was never more than a quarter, suggesting ‘very open conditions on the island during the Iron Age’ (MacKie 1974, 206). Charcoal at this site was derived from hazel, alder, willow and oak. This may have been growing locally or found as driftwood. Samples of spruce, also found at the site, must have had a transatlantic origin (MacKie 1974, 204). Recent excavations at *Baca na Putain* in Balinoe (see Gazetteer) also found charcoal derived from birch, alder and hazel wood, although some of this, too, could have been derived from driftwood. One fragment of charcoal from hazel (possibly coppiced) has been dated to between AD 967 and 1030 (see Appendix 18.b.6).

A few Norse place-names also suggest the survival of some trees: *Birceapol* in Moss contains the specific ON *birki* ‘birch’; *Ìlidh* in Balemartine probably derives from **Víðihlíð* ‘slope of the willows’ (see also *Fidhlear*) and *Mhiasumull* in East Hynish may have contained the specific *Víðisáss* ‘ridge of the willows’; *Treasdain* in Caolas may contain the specific ON *tré* ‘tree’. Pont’s presumed survey from the last two decades of the sixteenth century includes a tree symbol on the islet *Ylen na Hying* in *Loch Kirkabol* (Blaeu 1654). *Sgitheag* in Vault may reference a hawthorn tree (see Gazetteer). None of the historical texts that include descriptions of Tìree mention the absence of trees, although Martin does describe tree cover (or its absence) on other islands: for example, he mentions an ‘orchard’ on Barra and the fact that ‘there are no trees in any of these isles [Orkney and Shetland]’ (Martin 1994 (1695), 156 and 390). A sizeable stand of Eared Willow (*Salix aurita*) survives on the steep northern slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis*. This, along with a stunted tree clinging to a small rock face above *Port Dhiubadail* and several healthy specimens around Heylipol Church, may represent the last vestiges of native woodland on Tìree.

The estate planted hawthorn and elder trees experimentally in Balephuil in 1802 (Cregeen 1964, 65); some of these survive. The common osier (*Salix viminalis*) was also introduced for basket making. A few osier trees growing in a roadside

ditch in Balinoe are all that is left of a double row of willows planted in the late nineteenth century outside *G Taigh nan Craobh* ‘the house of the trees’ in Balinoe (Mairi Campbell, pers. comm.). Garden planting over the last forty years confirms that a variety of tree species can grow to heights of over six metres on Tiree if they are sheltered and not subject to grazing pressure.

Driftwood, much of it transatlantic, must have been an important resource on Tiree, as it was in medieval Iceland: ‘When Captain Frobisher sailed from Orkney towards Iceland in 1577 ... he kept meeting “great Firre trees”, which were said to provide most of Iceland’s fuel, and were probably driven from Newfoundland’ (Fenton 1978, 111). But most wood for making things like boats, gates, tool handles or fishing rods had to be imported from mainland Scotland during the medieval period, and was consequently likely to have been highly valued. Certainly, by the eighteenth century ‘the Duke’s woods on Loch Sunartside furnished timber for ploughs and buildings in treeless Tiree’ (Cregeen 1964, xx). An example of this supply is minuted in records from 1786: ‘Orders for Timbers. Gave an order to Mr MacLean, Kilmoluaig, for 8 ploughs, 20 car-poles [cart shafts] and 40 kabbers [G *cabar* ‘roof pole’]’ (Cregeen 1964, 12).

5.6.6 Human use of the landscape

The configuration of Tiree’s crofting townships today is broadly similar to that shown on eighteenth-century estate maps. The bulbous western end of the island is divided into rough triangles like a badly drawn dartboard, and the elongated eastern half is divided into two rows of blocks. By the post-medieval period (and this pattern is likely to have evolved in prehistory), the island’s farm townships all included a measure from each of the four ecological zones: a strip of shoreline; some *machair* grassland largely hained for winter grazing; fertile in-bye land for cultivation; and wet inland *sliabh* for transhumant summer grazing and peat or turf digging. Other Hebridean islands were divided similarly: for example, South Uist (see the Bald map of ca. 1825: <https://maps.nls.uk/counties/rec/657> accessed 8 August 2019). Because of the need to supervise valuable arable fields, settlements were usually located at the edge of the in-bye land.

The main driver of this settlement pattern is likely to have been the fact that livestock, particularly sheep, developed a disease known as pine if grazed exclusively on *machair*. This ecological zone is based on calcareous soils that are low in trace elements such as cobalt, needed for vitamin B12 synthesis. Animals have to be shifted to heavier ground every month or two (Niall MacDonald, pers. comm.).

It was also impossible to run an independent farm relying on seaweed as the principal fertiliser (as appears to have happened after 1400) without access to the shore. The central township of Moss is the only exception, having no beach access or *machair*; this township was created in the nineteenth century after the island's last major peat fen, the *Great Common Moss*, became exhausted and was drained.

Not every Tìree township, however, had an equal share of these zones. Turnbull reported: 'Every farm being supplied [with seaweed] except Kilmoluaig and Kirkapoll and but little at Gott' (Turnbull Report 1768). To remedy this, crofters in Gott were granted seaweed-gathering rights to the northern Balephetrish shoreline in 1869 (An Iodhlann cat. no. 2001.128.1). This may have been an echo of the extent of the primary Norse settlement of *Vqll (see *A' Bhaoill*).

Kelp slag, obtained by burning brown seaweeds such as tangle (*Laminaria hyperborea*) and oarweed (*Laminaria digitata*), became extremely profitable on Tìree at the end of the nineteenth century, and it was in the landlord's commercial interest to maintain accurate records of its collection. We can use this species as a proxy for the amount of seaweed thrown up onto the shoreline of each township:

Table 3.: Tons of kelp slag sold by township in 1794

Township	Tons
Caolas	30
Ruaig	20
Cornaigbeg	20
Hough	16
Vaul	16
Cornaigmore	14
Salum	10
Balephetrish	8
Middleton	5
Hynish and Mannal	5
Balephuill	5
Scarinish	5
Heanish	5
Sandaig	4

Township	Tons
Balevullin	4
Baugh	4
Barrapol	3
Greenhill	3
Kenovay	2
Gott	1.5
Kilmoluaig	1
Kirkapol	1
Balinoe	0
Heylipol	0

Notes: from Cregeen 1964, 35–39

The eighteenth-century commercial exploitation of kelp, however, required clean tangle, and some of the above townships with a low recorded kelp tonnage, such as Balinoe and Kenovay, still see substantial amounts of mixed, sandy, cast seaweed on their beaches at certain times of the year.

Although Balemartine, Mannal, Hynish and Cornaigbeg all have limited *machair*, Tiree is unusual among the major Hebridean islands for having this calcareous grassland around most of its circumference. The lighter soils bordering the *machair* needed the addition of nutrients to maximise their fertility: ‘The sandy soil prevails and produces very poor crops except when very well manured’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 395).

Tiree posed a number of agricultural challenges: ‘If [crops are] sown early there is a danger of blowing, if late of summer drought. The country being flat, even a short continuance of rain endangers the vegetation in the lower grounds. Two-thirds of the whole arable grounds are either too wet or too dry and almost the whole surface is exposed to storms’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 395). The impermeable nature of the bedrock and the flat topography of the island meant that some areas were too wet to be productive in medieval times. These areas became the targets of estate-led drainage projects in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with Turnbull estimating ‘500 acres of ground would be gained’ (Turnbull Report 1768).

Despite these challenges, Tiree – often known traditionally as *G Tir Ìseal an Eòrna* ‘the low land of the barley’ (Carmichael 1900, 293) – was one of the more fertile

islands in the Hebrides. (It has to be said that the islands of the Hebridean archipelago, with their high rainfall and unforgiving gneiss bedrock, were less agriculturally productive than Orkney and the east coast of Scotland). The late fourteenth-century chronicler John of Fordun singled out Tiree's '*hordei magna copia*' [great abundance of barley] in his gazetteer of west coast islands (Skene 1871, 43). In 1549, Monro wrote of Tiree: 'Thiridh ane main laich [a great low-lying] fertile fruitfull cuntrie ... Na cuntrie may be mair fertile of corn' (Munro 1961, 65). With this reputation in mind, Martin Martin described in 1695 how 'the isle ... has always been valued for its extraordinary fruitfulness in corn' (Martin 1994 [1695], 294). In 1771, the Rev Dr John Walker wrote of the island:

Tirey has always been remarkable among the western Islands for its Fertility and the Goodness of its Crops ... Such is their summer heat that, aided by the forward Nature of the Soil, it is sufficient to produce very quick and early crops. In the year 1762 the *Hordeum vulgare* of Linnaeus, the common Bear or square Barley, produced a Crop in 35 Days, being sown the 28th of April and reaped the 22nd of July ... Some years ago there was an Instance of a double Crop, much more extraordinary. A Field of Bear [Barley] having been reaped very early in July, it was immediately ploughed and sown again, with the same Grain. And from this, there was a pretty good Crop reaped about the middle of October. The only Instance perhaps known in Britain, of two white Crops having been reaped off the same Land in the same Season. (McKay 1980, 181–182)

Duncan MacPhee, Scarinish, had a similar story. Told at the end of the twentieth century but set in the early nineteenth, it celebrated the island's reputation as the breadbasket of the Hebrides. One fine early summer morning, crofters from Scarinish went to sow barley in a field on the western slopes of *Beinn Ghot* known as *G Croit Eachainn Mhic Siorraidh* 'the croft of Hector McSherrie'. On returning home later that day, they looked back at their handiwork in the evening light; the field already had a green hue.

In the nineteenth century, Alexander Carmichael collected three 'popular sayings about Tiree':

Tir na mine mine, Chuireadh sìth air geòcair [The land of fine meal, That would bring peace to a glutton],

Tir na mine matha, Chuireadh gean air còcair [Land of the good meal, That would give joy to a cook],

Bheireadh Tìriodh an da bhàrr, Mur bhi eagal an da mhàil [Tìree would give two crops, Were it not the fear of two rents]. (Carmichael 1900, 293)

A nineteenth-century survey proposed a different crop to take advantage of the island's fertility: 'Tyree abounds in ... a great deal of dry, warm sandy soil, the fittest, perhaps, in the kingdom for the cultivation of tobacco, if that were allowed' (Smith 1813, 339). Tobacco was grown with variable success in southern Scotland during the American War of Independence, but duty on the home-grown product was imposed in 1783 (Handley 1953, 206).

Possibly due to increasing demands from the landlord during the Late Medieval period and subsequently (see section 10.2.2), the extent of farmland devoted to cereal cultivation grew. Walker reported in 1764: 'There appears, by the nearest Guess, to be fully two-thirds cultivated, which is a much larger Proportion than is to be found in any of the Islands' (McKay 1980, 181). Turnbull conducted a detailed field-by-field survey of Tìree in 1768 and was able to put a figure on Walker's estimate. From a total of 13,831 acres, he calculated that there were 3,474 acres of cultivated 'in-field' (25% of the island) and 3,066 acres of 'outfield or bad arable' (22%). As the outfield was cultivated roughly one year in three, a total of a third of the island was under the plough in any one year. In comparison, the peak recorded cropping in modern times was in 1925 when 1,700 acres of barley and oats were sown; this was 9% of the available land area (Agricultural Census). The Land Utilisation Survey Scotland, 1931–1935 shows that the extent of cultivated land and hay meadows on horse-powered Tìree was greater than other Hebridean islands and Shetland, but less than much of Orkney (www.maps.nls.uk).

As we shall see later (section 10.2.3), the island's reputation for barley growing was achieved by the extent of its huge arable fields rather than a high yield, at least by the time of the Improvers' surveys.

In the west end of the island, all post-medieval farm townships ran from the shore to the central *Great Common Moss* (Turnbull Map 1768). In the east end, most townships had scattered peat banks; the names *Torbhas* and *Torrain* may reference Early Medieval peat diggings (see Gazetteer). By the mid-eighteenth century these were becoming exhausted: 'The inhabitants east of the Phuill [*An Fhaodhail*, the stream at Baugh] having no proper mosses [peat banks]' (Turnbull Report 1768). The island's extensive *machair* and its fertility meant that a large population was depending on relatively limited peat deposits. By the middle of the eighteenth century, many islanders were living under fuel stress, and by 1800 increasing numbers were compelled by the estate to make the dangerous voyage to estate

lands on Mull or Coll to cut peats. The island's chamberlain wrote to the Duke in 1802: 'The crofters of Scarinish at present make peats on a moss upon that farm which is nearly exhausted ... As it is not advisable to allow them to cut any more there ... it may be best that [the Heanish] and Scarinish crofters make their peats in the Ross of Mull' (Cregeen 1964, 68). By the middle of the nineteenth century, it was reported that, 'among the natural disadvantages under which Tiree labours, scarcity of fuel may be considered as one of the most considerable. The only peat moss in the island [Moss], which is of very inferior quality ... is now almost exhausted' (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 218). Tiree had become the largest Scottish island to use up its indigenous fuel reserves.

As peat reserves vanished, a Barrapol man remembered that 'they had to burn *duibheid* [turf divots] we called them; there's no such thing on the island as peat' (Donald MacLean talking to Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1974.125, track ID 70068). The minister lamented in the eighteenth century that 'the soil seems to have been of considerable depth, though, having been often cut for fuel, the rocks are now exposed' (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 394; see *Gott* in the *Gazetteer*). Parts of the west coast of Ireland also witnessed this form of environmental degradation:

Such was the pressure of poverty on Connemara to sell off the turf that even the *sraith* itself, the topmost layer of living roots, was dried for burning at home instead of being replaced at the bottom of the cutting. The result after centuries of this trade has been the denudation of the outer islands ... leaving a bizarre terrain in which soggy dells alternate with hummocks of bare rock and scratchy bushes ... The raw-looking outcrops of pinkish granite are strewn with glacial erratics ... and my informant has told me that his or her grandmother remembered hearing the old folk say they had once cut turf off their tops. (Robinson 1985, 261)

In addition, turf had been used endlessly since prehistoric times to build roofs, walls and dykes and to deepen cultivated fields (see section 10.2.1), spending part of the soil capital of the island. In 1808, the factor criticised the crofters of Balephuill for making turf dykes, 'that are not worth the value of the surface they destroy' (Cregeen 1973, 23).

It is a mistake to equate the landscape of the island today, lush and carpeted with wild flowers as it appears in summer, with that of medieval Tiree. Despite the widespread drainage of wet areas under eighteenth-century Improvement, the

ground in many places is less agriculturally productive today than in the past. There are many reasons for this: the decreased use of seaweed as a top dressing; a falling population and modern economic forces mean that there are fewer people available to work the land and most crofters and their families have other jobs; the large numbers of geese today (4,591 Barnacle geese were counted on Tiree and Coll in 2005: Bowler and Hunter 2007, 50) make cereal growing uneconomic; as a consequence, little land is cultivated as the island now produces only beef cattle and lambs; with heavy farm machinery taking the place of horses, and with many blocked field drains, some wetter fields are virtually abandoned for much of the year; increased summer rainfall favours bagged silage over wind-dried crops; and modern agricultural subsidies encourage wildlife protection over food production. A similar loss of fertility has been described in Shetland: '[Soil analysis shows] that the landscape was much more productive in the past than is apparent today' (Turner and Owen 2013, 239).

6. TIREE BEFORE THE NORSE

The tanged flint found in 1912 by Bishop in the ‘Red Mound’ on the Balevullin *machair* suggests that humans have been part of the Tiree landscape since Late Glacial times, 12,000 years ago (Ballin and Saville 2003). Prehistoric settlement of the island appears to have been extensive, as evidenced by a skeleton also found by Bishop in Balevullin and recently dated to the Neolithic (Armit 2015), three prehistoric standing stones, three stone circles in Hough, twenty-four panels of Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age rock art, a recently excavated Early Bronze Age cist in Kirkapol, and the impressive Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* (MacKie 1974).

6.1 PICTISH IRON AGE

6.1.1 Fort-estates

Tiree’s Early Medieval settlement pattern may have had its roots in the soil of the Iron Age.

The island has up to twenty surviving presumed Iron Age crannogs and roundhouses – ranging from what may have been low-walled structures to broch towers and all named today with the G generic *dùn* ‘fort’. Only a broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*, has been excavated to modern standards (MacKie 1974). The last occupied layer here was dated to AD 160 +/- 90 (MacKie 1974, 6), although the accuracy of these dates has been robustly challenged (Ashmore 1997; Harding 1997, 136).

The majority of the roundhouses were built in coastal locations, as at *Dùn na Cleite* in Hynish. This has often been taken to mean that the threat these forts faced came from the sea. While this is plausible, it is also true that the coastline

of Tìree provides many of the best defensive locations. A smaller number were set on inland sites, either atop hills such as *Dùn Taelk* on *Beinn Bhaile Pheadrais*, or surrounded by water or marsh as at *Dùn Ìbrig* in Baugh.

- *Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais*. Caolas
- *Dùn Beag a' Chaolais*. Caolas
- *Dùn Sgibinis*. Ruaig
- *An Dùnan*. Salum
- *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* and *Dùn Beag Bhalla*. Vaul
- A possible crannog on *Ylen na Hying*, Gott
- *Dùn an t-Sithein*. Gott
- *Dùn Hianis*. Heanish
- *Dùn Ìbrig*. Baugh
- A possible crannog in *Loch an Eilein*. Heylipol (Canmore ID 21451)
- *Dùn a' Bharradhu*, *Dùn na Cleite* and *Dùn Shiadair*. A trio of forts around the coast of Hynish
- *Dùnan Nighean*. Balephuil
- *Dùn nan Gall*. Kenavara
- Middleton. Has not survived. Un-named and known only from one historical record (Field no. 62, Turnbull Report 1768)
- *Dùn Thaingis*. The southern half of Hough and Kilkenneth
- *Dùn Boraige Mòr*. The northern half of Hough
- *Dùn Boraige Beag*. Balevullin
- *Dùn Beannaig*. Kilmoluaig
- *Eilean Àird na Bràthan*, a crannog on *Loch Bhasapoll*. Cornaigmore (Canmore ID 21419)
- *Dun Cheann a' Bhàigh*. Cornaigbeg and Kenovay
- *Dùn Taelk* and *An Dùn*, Balephetrish

Some of these structures – *An Dùnan*, Salum; *Dùn na Cleite* and *Dùn Shiadair*, Hynish; *Dùnan Nighean*, Balephuill; *Dùn Boraige Mòr* and *Beag* and *Dùn Beannaig*, Balevullin – appear to have been too small or too exposed to have served as year-round homes. They were more plausibly used as *refugia*, places of safety at times of attack. The larger and more architecturally complex forts, and those with more impregnable sites (*Dùn Mòr a’ Chaolais*, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*, *Dùn nan Gall*, and *Dùn Taelk*) may represent the apex of a social and military hierarchy on Tiree during the Iron Age (see Dodgshon 2015, 53). *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* appears to have been built as a broch and then reconstructed as a dwelling (MacKie 1974)

Three intervisible Hynish forts – *Dùn a’ Bharradhu*, *Dùn na Cleite* and *Dùn Shiadair* – are 1 km apart, giving a possible measure of the distance from refuge it was perceived ‘safe’ to live during the Iron Age. *Dùn a’ Bharradhu* in Hynish and a possible crannog in *Loch an Eilein*, Heylipol are 4 km apart, as are the crannog on *Loch Riaghain*, Gott, and *Dùn Sgibinis*, Ruaig. Some fertile areas between the forts may, therefore, have been uncomfortably far from fortified sites and may not have been fully settled during the Pictish Iron Age, when it is presumed that the risk of attack was high. On Shetland, Fojut estimated that those living around the Iron Age brochs of Shetland were using only a quarter of the usable land (Fojut 1982, 51 and 53). It may be significant that the island’s two major ecclesiastical sites at Kirkapol and Soroby – both plausibly the locations of Early Christian monasteries – are in areas lacking fortifications.

There is a suggestion that the division of the island into two parishes in the thirteenth century may have had its origin in the Iron Age (see sections 10.5.8 and 10.8).

It is presumed that Iron Age settlements and field systems were clustered near the roundhouses and crannogs. It is notable that the island’s later valuation was a little over twenty ouncelands (see section 10.5.5). However, basing a settlement model on often highly degraded footings has its risks. The only site to be excavated to modern standards, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*, has proved controversial; there is still little agreement as to the function of these structures; and we currently have no evidence that all these forts were occupied during the same period.

6.1.2 Beacons

Tiree, ringed by beaches inviting a landing, was vulnerable to raids. Few were documented, but a twelfth-century Irish manuscript describes an undated, but possibly early, attack on the island: ‘*Ort ocht turu Tíri lath* [razed eight towers in

Tiree]’ (Rawlinson B 502 115a 5, quoted in Watson 1993 (1926), 85). In one annal, ‘according to the chronicles, Áedán’s predecessor [as king of south Argyll and Antrim] had joined forces with the [Irish] southern Uí Néill king Colmán Bec in 570, undertaking an expedition to the Inner Hebrides (*Iardoman*), one of which was already occupied by Columba’s monastery in Iona’ (Fraser 2009, 123).

One means of defence was to keep watch during the raiding season, plausibly May to September:

Throughout Scandinavia beacons on such vantage points were used to raise the alarm ... In seventeenth century Shetland, every *vord/wart* was visible from another designated hilltop, and a local law ordained that a supply of peat was always present on each *wart*; alerted to an attack, islanders repaired to the location where the first beacon had been lit ... Such operations did not necessitate permanent structures. (Tait 2012, 75; see Martin 1994 (1695), 206)

The *Orkneyinga Saga* contains this passage: ‘Late in the spring, Earl Paul had beacons built on Fair Isle and North Ronaldsay [27 miles apart], and on most of the other islands, so that each could be seen from the others. There was a man called Dagfinn Hlodvisson, a stout hearted farmer on Fair Isle, charged with the task of guarding the beacon there and setting fire to it if the enemy fleet were seen to be approaching from Shetland’ (Pálsson 1978, 129).

Excavation just outside the Vaul broch found a thick hearth deposit, which was interpreted as a beacon fire site. This ‘had been extensively used, and equally obviously had ceased to be used at one stage’ (MacKie 1974, 56). A Tiree oral tradition tells of how *Iain Glas* was keeping watch on G *Sithean Bheinn Ghot* ‘the rounded hill of *Beinn Ghot*’ one night, but he was tired and fell asleep. When he awoke at dawn, he saw a boat coming into Scarinish harbour (see Appendix 18.c for the full story). Many (but not all) of the Tiree forts are intervisible. For example, there is line of sight between a ledge on the eastern side of *Dùn Shiadair* and *Dùn na Cleite* in Hynish. This implies that there was a strategic inter-dependence between some of the communities using the island’s forts. See *Bhideig, Kenavara*.

Donald Sinclair, West Hynish, remembered the tradition:

At that time, when emergency was on, the only signal they had: the swiftest man in the township would go to the top of the hill. And he was bringing with him two certain sticks, and they were immersed in oil, like a cross: what is called, in English, ‘the fiery cross’. Well, he would go

to the top of the hill and light this fiery cross and they could see that light across all over the island. It didn't matter what they were doing. As swift as they could do it, they were making for the place the fiery cross was up. (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1968.240, track ID 69439)

6.1.3 Population

On the Hebridean island of Barra, Armit has proposed a figure of between 33 and 55 people associated with each Iron Age roundhouse (Armit 2003, 84). Using these numbers as a guide, we can estimate that the Iron Age population on Tiree may have been as high as 1000.

The term 'carrying capacity' describes the greatest number of people that can live in an area given available technology. Many local factors, however, took their toll on the people of Pictish Iron Age and medieval Tiree: for example, climate stress leading to crop failure (which may have occurred as frequently as once every three years (Dodgshon 1998, 15), conflict, and epidemics of disease. These meant that the actual population was often less, sometimes far less, than the carrying capacity.

In the Highlands generally, the population probably declined from around AD 500 to 950. Climatic deterioration was probably central to this. In Ireland, where some Early Medieval records have survived, it was reported: 'Heavy snows in 748 resulted in predictable hardships, when "the cattle were nearly destroyed in the whole of Ireland" ... In the summer of 777, the weather was so dismal that one Irish chronicler spoke of "full winter in the summer"' (Fraser 2009, 341).

Climate and food stress were often the precursors of conflict, as chieftains attempted to compensate for (and divert attention from) poor harvests by raiding (see the next section).

Epidemics of disease, too, left devastation in their wake:

The ominous misery of bubonic plague had been afflicting Britain and Ireland since the 660s, when it claimed the bishops of Canterbury and (probably) York. In *Vita Columbae*, Adomnán wrote that 'although we walked in the midst of this danger of plague', he and his entourage managed to avoid contracting it, 'through the prayers of our venerable patron on our behalf', namely Columba. (Fraser 2009, 221)

(*Vita Columba* was the first biography of the saint and has been hugely influential. It was written by *Adomnán*, a cousin of Columba, who became the ninth abbot of Iona and died in 704. There is a debate about the historical accuracy of the work, both because it was written over a century after the saint's death, and because it was written, to some extent, to boost the cult of Columba.)

The catastrophic pandemic of bubonic plague known as the Black Death, in which one-third of the European population died, reached Scotland in 1349 (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 19). Shetland lost a similar proportion of its population (Tait 2012, 46).

It is likely that the Norse were responsible for introducing leprosy to the Hebrides and Ireland in the tenth or eleventh century (Taylor *et al.* 2018); the last recorded case in Scotland was in 1798. Martin reported in 1695 that, '[Tiree] being low and moorish is unwholesome, and makes the natives subject to the ague' (Martin 1994 (1695), 296). Walker agreed in 1764 that 'Ague is sometimes prevalent and Mortal' (McKay 1980, 183). This may have been malaria (Chin and Welsby 2004). By the eighteenth century, 'frequent rheumatisms, dysenteries and nervous fevers [typhoid]' occurred on Tiree (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 403). A number of plagues were recorded in the Irish annals. A 1708 smallpox epidemic reduced the population in Iceland by 35% (Helgason 2000a, 1000). Walker reported from Tiree in the eighteenth century: 'Smallpox rages with particular Malignity. This Disease visited the Island in the year 1756 ... there were then about 105 Children seized with it ... there could not be found a certain account of one that lived out of the whole Number' (McKay 1980, 183). Epidemics of whooping cough, too, took their toll: 'The Chincough also when it appears is almost equally direfull, and in Winter 1763, cut off 40 children, in the course of two or three Months' (McKay 1980, 184).

The population in western Europe generally doubled every two hundred years during the Medieval Warm Period from the mid-tenth century (Dodgshon 2015, 81; Sigurðsson, in Brink 2008, 572). The introduction of the rotary quern in the Pictish Iron Age (one was found by MacKie in *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*) would have reduced the labour needed to process cereals. Six hundred years later Norse settlers brought stronger boats that opened up the rich and untouched offshore fishing grounds, a new breed of sheep, poultry, heavier ploughs, an increased use of the horse, the new crops of rye and flax, water mills and possibly greater use of the seabird harvest of Kenavara. In addition, the economy of the Hebrides is likely to have been boosted by raiding further south. After 1250, however, as the climate deteriorated again, the population of Tiree may well have fallen back.

Before the modern period, we are forced to use indirect measures to estimate the island's population. By 1593, Tiree was reported to be able to raise a force of 301 'fighting men' (Calendar of Scottish Papers ix, 254; Caldwell 2015a, 359; Kyd 1952, 35). The corresponding figure for Barra was 200 and for Coll 140:

By Fighting Men is meant those between Eighteen and Fifty six years of Age both Inclusive, whom the Author thinks with Doctor Halley more properly deserve that name than those between Sixteen and Sixty; The one being generally too weak to bear the fatigues of War and the weight of Arms; and the other too Crazy and Infirm, notwithstanding some particular Instances have appeared to the contrary. (Kyd 1952, 8)

This implies an island population at that time of more than nine hundred. The first real census on Tiree was some time between 1743 and 1755 (before the introduction of the potato crop in 1758 and the development of the fishing and kelp industries). This gave a figure of 1,509 (Cregeen 1973, xxviii), while Turnbull counted 1,676 inhabitants in 1768 (Turnbull Report).

6.2 *DÁL RIATA*

It was accepted for many years that the next chapter in the history of southwestern Scotland was written by the Gaelic-speaking *Scotti* people from Antrim in northern Ireland, settling Argyll around AD 500 to create the kingdom of *Dál Riata*. This account, based as it was on a handful of medieval texts (particularly those written by Bede), is now increasingly challenged (Campbell 2001):

As a vestige of out of date scholarship, *Dál Riata*, its culture and its Gaelic language, are conventionally said to have come to Scotland from Ireland [around] 500. Scholars are rapidly abandoning that model ... There is no clear evidence that the Roman Iron Age saw the dedicated colonisation of Argyll by a single Irish people. Gradual, piecemeal movements across the North Channel [between northeast Ireland and southwest Scotland] in both directions, who can have 'gone native' in material terms upon their arrival and settlement, are not unlikely. Such movements probably started in the Stone Age, and remained a feature of the region for millennia ... Contrary to the conventional model and early origin mythology, however, the link probably arose from incursions into Ireland from Britain, and not the other way round. (Fraser 2009, 147–149; but see McSparron and Williams 2011 for a contrary analysis)

A new leadership did take control of an unstable mosaic of kingdoms stretching, at their peak, from Antrim to Kintyre and north to Ardnamurchan and Eigg, with Tiree at their northwestern limit. To their west, north and east were Pictish kingdoms. Conflict between rival Dalriadan elites appears to have been commonplace as they wrestled for territory and influence. Three main groupings, or kindreds, emerged, with *Cenél nGabráin* in Kintyre and *Cenél nÓengusa* in Islay, but there were others:

... Fiannamail was slain in 700 or 701, the third *Cenél nGabráin* king killed in just six years. His nemesis may have been a *Cenél Cathboth* king of Lorn. Selbach son of Ferchar, having apparently won a decisive victory over *Cenél Cathboth*, emerged from the remarkable carnage of these years as *Cenél nEchdach* king of Lorn and *rex* [king of the] *Dáil Riata*. In contrast to all the Argyll kings who had risen and fallen over the previous fifteen years, Selbach maintained his position for more than twenty years. (Fraser 2009, 251)

North Argyll came under the control of an amalgamation of kingdoms known as *Cenél Loairn* ‘the kindred of *Loairn*’ (Fraser 2009, 245 and 251). Their *caput* may have been a fort at Dunollie overlooking Oban Bay (Fraser 2009, 243; RCAHMS 1980, 135). Surviving records make no mention of Tiree during this period, and it is not clear whether Dalriadan power stretched as far as the island, and, if it did, for how long. As a fertile district, however, Tiree is likely to have been a coveted prize with at least satellite status:

By the eighth century, Northumbrian kings had established royal estates across the realm, seemingly with dependent satellite settlements, where [land]-holding tenants provided renders [principally cattle-tribute] to support the occupant of the estate. Depending on variable circumstances, kings might have placed their kin in these estates, giving them a stake in the smooth operation of the system, or they might have placed estates in the hands of local potentates for similar reasons. Perhaps Pictish, Dalriadan and Alt Clut kings too established royal estates. The satellite settlements were probably geared primarily towards fuelling the economies of prestige and kinship, stocking and re-stocking the feasting hall of the royal estate where the king or deputy might hold court, dispense patronage and hospitality, or otherwise exert royal power and authority. (Fraser 2009, 354–5)

Annal entries referring to the islands to the north and west of Tiree during the Pictish Iron Age are uncommon:

All indications are that the Outer Hebrides and the northwest seaboard were 'quite poor and politically and culturally insignificant' ... In fact, the region may have been regarded in Argyll and Fortriu [the capital of the Picts, the location of which is disputed] as backward or barbaric, and so prime slave-hunting ground (Fraser 2009, 123-4) ... Sea-raiding and sea-borne campaigning ... must have been an unpleasant fact of life for most coastal communities in this period. (Fraser 2009, 342)

The kingdoms of *Dál Riata* faced significant external threats. In 741, Onuist, a successful Pictish warrior-king from the east, comprehensively destroyed Dalriadan forces and annexed much of Argyll:

... Onuist returned to Argyll in force in 741 ... The *Annals of Ulster* record ... 'the smiting (*persecutio*) of Dál Riata by Óengus [Onuist] son of Forghus' ... The phrase *persecutio Dáil Riata*, the smiting of Dál Riata is vague, but probably indicates destruction or annihilation ... There had been no less than three significant Pictish invasions of Argyll in the space of ten years, with five notable battles, three kings toppled, two strongholds breached and destroyed ... That kind of military pressure had proven too much ... *Dál Riata* appears to have crumbled beneath the relentless weight of Pictish domination. What effects (if any) this development may have had on the ordinary Gaels of Argyll are unknown and probably unknowable. (Fraser 2009, 303-5)

Tiree is likely to have been a valuable but vulnerable satellite on the frontier between a succession of Pictish Iron Age kingdoms and those of *Dál Riata* (see section 6.3.1.3 for a mythologised account of a Pictish attack on St Comgall's monastery on Tiree). The language spoken on Tiree at the end of the Iron Age was a form of Brythonic Gaelic (see Glossary), referred to here as Pictish (Taylor 2011, 67). Following the formation of the kingdoms of *Dál Riata*, and led by its military and monastic elite, Old Gaelic is likely to have become the dominant language on Tiree, as witnessed by the documented ecclesiastical names *Mag Luinge*, *Bledach* and *Artchain*, and the reconstructed name of the island itself, **Tir-iath*, adapted by pre-invasion Norse traders as *Týrvist*. When Columba travelled to Pictish-speaking areas, it was said that he needed interpreters (McDonald 2019, 14). It may be, however, that Pictish continued to be spoken by some of the island's population.

The whereabouts of settlements on Tiree during this period is currently unknown. Given the (recorded) unsettled times, fortified sites may well have remained central to their location.

6.3 THE EARLY CHURCH ON TIREE

Christianity spread from Ireland to the western seaboard of Scotland from the fifth century as part of the cultural diffusion across the North Channel resulting from the growth of Dalriadan kingdoms in Argyll and beyond (McDonald 2019, 16). Certain saints were portrayed in later hagiographies as pioneering evangelists. But it is likely that they were moving into areas where Christianity already had a foothold, and where the elite was already supportive of the new religion, granting land to, and integrating their families with, the new foundations.

6.3.1 Monasteries and foundations

Only Canterbury, with its papal backing, rivalled Columba's monastery on Iona in international renown and credibility (Fraser 2009, 368). Two of the Iona monks produced an astonishing canon of legal work amounting to sixty-seven books. This scholarship, however, needed considerable patronage: 'The literate culture of a [Columban] monastery had a material and resource dimension. A community needed a steady supply of calves whose hides could be prepared as the vellum upon which manuscripts were penned. A new gospel book consumed the hides of more than 100 calves, and a new bible five times that number' (Fraser 2009, 76). But in addition to this scholarship and a consequent requirement for writing materials, 'many [monasteries on the west of Scotland] were large and lively centres of trade and production, not only rich and powerful, but linked closely with the great of secular society' (Macniven 2015, 116).

In a much-discussed passage in his biography of St Columba *Vita Columbae*, Adomnan writes about a pestilential attack by demons on Tiree: 'For while many in the other monasteries of the same island died of the disease, only the one man, of whom the saint had spoken, died in Baithene's community [the daughter monastery of Columba]' (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 483). This has been taken to mean that there were at least three Early Christian religious foundations on Tiree.

6.3.1.1 Brendan

The first account of an evangelical visit to Tiree featured Saint Brendan of Clonfert:

... in the *Region of Heth*, [Brendan] laid out a church and village beside it, where he performed some wonderful miracles ... Of the ecclesiastics who were thus attracted to this favourite spot, Brendan was the oldest, and it is probable that his church was the earliest foundation there.
(Reeves 1854, 236)

Reeves cites a source as dating this visit to 514 and naming the foundation *Bledach* (Reeves 1854, 236). The Andersons concluded from their reading of the documentary evidence that Brendan had founded a monastery rather than simply a church (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 107). It is not known where this foundation was sited; the place-name *Bledach* – which may have meant ‘abounding in sea monsters’ – has not survived. Other sources differ, however, and a good case has been made that Brendan, in fact, laid his foundation on *Eileach an Naoimh*, one of the Garvellach archipelago in the Firth of Lorn, where there is a *Cúil Bhrianainn* (MacDonald 2010, 227). Both accounts may be true.

A Tiree name that hints at a connection to Brendan is *Creag a’ Briundainn*, a rock in Vault. There is an oral tradition that turfed footings on the small and exposed headland of *Mithealum* nearby had been a church (Lachlan MacKinnon, Vault, and Bobby MacLean, pers. comm.). And a passage in the *Fasti*, published in 1929, states that, ‘in the sixth century Saint Brendan built a church at Kirkapol. The ruin of the late parish church ... still marks its site’ (*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* vol. 4, 119). The basis for this assertion is not known. The name *Creag a’ Briundainn*, however, is likely to contain a Norse existing loan-name (see *Bruthainne*).

6.3.1.2 Columba

St Columba, or *Colum Cille*, founded his monastery on Iona in 563. Over the next two centuries, this grew to become the most influential Christian centre in Scotland, with a network of dependent religious houses known as *paruchia*: ‘Iona came to rule a “family” of monasteries on both sides of the North Channel’ (Fisher 2001, 2). His pre-eminent status has meant that he probably unfairly overshadows that of his fellow pioneers.

One of the principal Columban daughter houses was one of the Tiree monasteries. This was known in Old Gaelic as *Mag(h) Luinge* ‘the plain of the boat’ (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 268). Its importance to the Columban project may be inferred from the fact that *Baithéne*, Columba’s cousin and companion on his founding

voyage from Ireland, was made Prior of *Mag Luinge* before succeeding Columba in Iona in 597 (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 269). Passage between the two islands is described as having been frequent, with one story describing two separate boats leaving Iona bound for *Mag Luinge* on the same day (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 245). Columba himself is reported to have visited Tiree at least once: ‘There was a certain virgin in the Plain of Liffe [Kildare], Rethnea by name, and she had a pious disciple called Columbanus, who proceeded to the Island of *Hyth* [Tiree, see *Týrvist* in the Gazetteer], to St Columba, and having received there the episcopal order, returned again to his own country’ (Reeves 1854, 234). Columba ordered ‘a fat beast and six measures of grain’ to be sent from *Mag Luinge* to a dying man on Coll, an entry that has since been mythologised to stand as a metaphor for Tiree’s fertility (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 297). *Mag Luinge* also appears to have been used as a penitential station; one penitent, named as *Libranus harundineti* or *Librán* of the reeds, was sent by Columba to Tiree for seven years to atone for his sins: ‘For many years he worked in a reed-plot, gathering reeds’ (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 435). Released from his penance, he later returned to *Mag Luinge* as a monk (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 425).

6.3.1.3 Comgall

Saint Comgall, having established a monastery in Bangor, County Down, was said to have travelled to Tiree in 565 ‘in the wish to visit some holy men there’ (Reeves 1854, 235). This implies that the island had already attracted other significant Early Christian settlers. He is also reported to have founded a monastery on the island, which one account reported came under attack:

He erected a monastery there at a certain village in the *Region of Heth* [Tiree], where he abode for some time. One day when St Comgall was working in the fields he put his white hood over his garment and about the same time a group of heathen plunderers from the Picts came to that village to carry away everything that was there, whether man or beast. Accordingly, when the heathen robbers came to St Comgall, who was labouring in the field, and saw his white hood over his garment, thinking this white hood was Saint Comgall’s deity, they were deterred from laying hands on him for fear of his God. However, they carried off to their ships the brethren of Saint Comgall and all their substance. But when the holy father Comgall beheld this he was moved with indignation and said, ‘The Lord is my rock and my fortress and my deliverer’, and he cried unto the Lord and made the sign [of the cross] over the heaven and earth and sea. Then straightaway the heathens

were smitten with blindness; moreover the sea began to rage terribly, insomuch that the ships were driven upon the shore and the bodies of the heathens were sorely wounded. After this they gave back all the things they had taken and with many entreaties sought forgiveness from St Comgall. So he was moved with compassion and prayed for them, and they received their sight, the sea became calm and they returned home empty and enfeebled. (Translated in Reeves 1854, 235)

It is important to remember that these accounts were written many years after the saints' deaths to bolster their cult; they are likely to have been thoroughly mythologised. No name for Comgall's foundation, or information suggesting its location, survives.

6.3.1.4 *Findchán*

Findchán is said to have established another monastery on Tiree: '*Findchán*, founder of the monastery called in Irish *Artchain* on the island of Tiree' (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 279; see *Artchain*). *Findchán* is reported to have ordained a man with a murderous past, for whom he had an 'earthly' love. In consequence, his right hand is said to have rotted and fallen off, although he lived for many years thereafter.

6.3.1.5 The location and duration of the Tiree monasteries

The location of these religious foundations has been widely debated. The only monastic site on Tiree that can be physically identified today is at the tip of the Kenavara peninsula. It is called *G Teampall Phàraig* 'the church of (Saint) Patrick': 'Saint Patrick's Temple is an irregular, enclosed site just above the shore in one of the most rugged parts of that low-lying island. The enclosure contains hut platforms and cross-marked stones of early type, and it is tempting to suppose that this was an eremitic offshoot of one of the larger monasteries of Tiree itself, or directly of Iona, which is visible from the site' (Fisher 2001, 4; an eremitic monastery was small and remote, a place where monks aspired to live simply, fasting and meditating). The fact that the headland was later given the Norse navigational name **Kirkjunes* 'church promontory' (see *Circnis*) suggests a recognizable ecclesiastical presence here in the ninth century. Early Viking expeditions would hardly have ignored a monastery site, eremitic or not.

Mag Luinge has been linked to Soroby by many commentators on the basis that the name, meaning 'the plain of the boat', suits the topography of the extensive Balinoe *machair*; that Soroby, much later, became the site of the medieval parish

church dedicated to Columba; that the old graveyard at Soroby contains the island's only freestanding Early Christian cross; that Adomnan writes of reaching '*portus campi Lunge* [the harbour of the plain of Long]' (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 357), possibly a nearby inlet called today *G Port na Luinge* 'the inlet of the ship' (see Gazetteer).

Kirkapol on Gott Bay, with its two medieval chapels – one of which was the parish church dedicated to Columba – as well as its *Cladh* and *Tobar Odhrain*, has also been proposed as the site for *Mag Luinge*. To support this claim, there is a tradition connecting two rocks at opposite ends of Gott Bay: *Mollachdag*, a Gaelic name meaning 'the cursed place', where tradition says that Columba's boat was tied unsuccessfully; and *Sgeir Naomhaig*, 'the skerry of the holy place', where his boat is said to have been subsequently safely anchored. Similar traditions are found at other locations influenced by the cult of Columba. At *G Port na Curaich* 'the inlet of the curragh' on Iona there was 'an oblong heap of earth the supposed size of Columba's curragh' (*New Statistical Account* Iona 1845, 316), where the saint's crew is said to have buried the boat that brought them from Ireland (Menzies 1935, 41). At the southern end of *Beinn Ghot* there is a hill with the hagiotopeonym *G Cìoch Choluim Chille* 'the breast-shaped hill of Saint Columba'. Oral tradition has it that Columba preached at *G Cnoc 'ille Chaluim* 'hillock of Calum', alias *G Cnoc an t-Sithein* 'hillock of the fairies' at the Ruaig crossroads (Duncan Grant, pers. comm.). Some of these traditions, however, may be later. As an illustration of this, Thursday, a day particularly associated with Columba, remained an auspicious day for any activity on Tiree into modern times, for example collecting medicinal herbs (Black 2008, 431 and 450; Ellen MacLean talking to Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1974.143).

It may not be a coincidence that both Kirkapol and Soroby are situated in areas lacking Iron Age fortified sites, suggesting that they were not fully settled during the Pictish Iron Age (see section 6.1.1).

Taking all this evidence into account, it seems reasonable at the moment to propose that Tiree had two substantial monasteries at Kirkapol and Soroby with a third eremitic monastery at *Teampall Phàraig*.

We have little evidence concerning the duration of these monastic foundations on Tiree. A monastery depended on a wide spiritual, administrative and financial hinterland, and it seems unlikely that three monasteries were still functioning at the time of the first Norse attacks on Iona, over two hundred years after they were founded. However, a 672 entry in the *Annals of Ulster* documents 'the burning of Mag Lunge' ('*Combustio Maige Lung*': AU U673.1). Monasteries

elsewhere were often wooden. Iona ‘was typical of the Irish church in the almost exclusive use of timber for its buildings’ (Fisher 2001, 21), while its monks were commanded to collect withies to weave the walls for a new guesthouse (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 329) and *Librán* cut rushes, presumably as thatch (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 435). Whether this ‘burning’ was the result of an attack or merely accidental, the monastery recovered. In 774, the death of ‘Conall of Mag Luinge’ was recorded (AU U775.1), possibly just half a century before the first Viking assaults. Since Iona became the pre-eminent spiritual centre of the Early Christian church in Scotland, it is plausible that Tiree’s Columban monastery or monasteries were the most enduring.

Significantly, none of the documented monastery names on Tiree survived Norse settlement.

6.3.2 Ecclesiastical place-names

A number of ecclesiastical place-names have survived on Tiree, some associated with upstanding structures. These names contain the Norse elements *kirkja* or *krysu*, or the Gaelic generics *annaid*, *cill*, *teampall*, *caibeal*, *eaglais*, *crois*, *cladh* or *tobar*. The job of disentangling these is made harder by the fact that some features have a number of aliases: for example, the chapel at *Cill Choinnich* has also been known as *Eaglais Chille Choinnich* (and sits on *Cnoc na h-Eaglaise*), *Eaglais Choluim Chille* and *Teampall Chille Choinnich*. *Teampall Odhrain* in Kirkapol sits on *Cnoc a’ Chaibeil*. It is wise to assume that place-names are usually chosen with great care (see Gelling 1998, 75–100), and it is likely that these aliases represent different stages in a chapel’s development.

6.3.2.1 Norse ecclesiastical names

There are three surviving names containing the Norse element *kirkja* ‘church’. The promontory name **Kirkjunes* ‘headland of the church’ on Kenavara is likely to have been a navigational name. This implies the recognition of an ecclesiastical structure by Norse explorers or early settlers in the ninth century. There is another example at **Kirkjunes* in Balephetrish (see *Circnis*). Another Norse headland name in Balephetrish can be derived as ON **Krysines* ‘headland of the cross’ or ON **Kristnes* ‘promontory of the church land’ (see *Crisnis*).

6.3.2.2 G *Annaid*

Annaid, from OG *andóit* ‘ancient church foundation, church having a special relationship with a patron saint and from which others have

been founded' ... There has been some discussion over exactly what the word *annaid* means when it appears in Scottish place-names. MacDonald argued that it ... came to mean simply 'old church' in the sense of 'former church'. But Clancy has argued ... that *annaid* place-names in Scotland might refer to churches which took precedence or had authority over other churches, and so represent what we might call 'mother churches' [see Clancy 1995, 91–115]. In this view, their age ... should be seen as the underpinning of their authority. (Márkus 2012, 521)

There are two possible *annaid* names on Tiree. An area of land in Caolas is called *An Annaid* (see Gazetteer). Surrounding this are other names with ecclesiastical relevance: G *A' Chrois* 'the cross' (see section 6.3.2.7); G *Pàirc a' Chluidh* 'the field of the graveyard'; G *Cladh a' Chaolais* 'the graveyard of Caolas' (see section 6.3.2.8); and G *Creag a' Mhanaich* 'the rock of the monk' (see Gazetteer).

A single early documentary form of Hynish, *AnnaHynisch* (1509), also suggests an *annaid* name (see *Hynish* in the Gazetteer). There are two graveyard-names in this township: *The Burial-Place of the Big Women*, whose location has been lost; and G *An Cladh Beag* 'the small graveyard' with its attached chapel (see section 6.3.2.8). Early Christian crosses, possibly originating from this latter site, were described in the last century (see section 6.3.2.8). Sands reported from Hynish: 'In the cleit [possibly *Dùn na Cleite*] I found a bit of deer's horn with a cross rudely cut upon it. It looks as if it were made to hang around the neck' (Sands 1881–82, 461).

Neither of these Tiree *annaid* names has a surviving dedication to a saint. The Caolas *annaid* can be located quite accurately; the Hynish *annaid*, if that is indeed what it is, may be plausibly located to *An Cladh Beag*, which was mapped by the Ordnance Survey, or *The Burial-Place of the Big Women* (see section 6.3.2.8). It may be significant that both later medieval parishes of Kirkapol and Soroby contained one *annaid* site, and that both are situated at the extreme ends of the island.

Although all these ecclesiastical names may refer to foundations dating from as early as the sixth century, the names themselves may be later, originating after the start of the shift from Norn to Gaelic (see chapters 12 and 13). This would depend on the extent of Norse cultural dominance on the island during the Early Medieval period.

There is one probable *annaid* name on Bute (*High Annat Fold*: Márkus 2012, 389), but there are no surviving *annaid* names in Carloway, on Barra or Islay. *Annat*, however, is quite a common place-name in Scotland more generally (SP).

6.3.2.3 G Cill

There are seven surviving names in *cill* ‘chapel or graveyard’ on Tiree. At least five have a surviving dedication, being in the form ‘*cill* + a saint’s name’, all of whom were active in the period from the sixth to the eighth century.

Clancy has pointed out 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’ (quoted in Evemalm 2018, 183). Instead, the choice of dedication could have been the consequence of missionary activity in the area, the presence of relics, or were ‘public statements of political allegiance’ (Clancy, quoted in Evemalm 2018, 184). For example, ‘Donnain dedications seem to relate to areas controlled by the heirs of Gofraid Crobán [Godred Crovan, king of Man] (died *ca.* 1095) rather than those controlled by heirs of Somerled ... who seem to have favoured [St Columba]’ (Fleming 2012, 78).

The Tiree *cill*-names are:

(a) The medieval parish of *Kirkopollis*:

- G *Cill-fhinnein*, Balephetrish. This site is marked on the 1878 first edition of the Ordnance Survey map, and a faint outline of G *Cladh Àird Chircnis* ‘the graveyard at the promontory **Circnis*’ can still be traced on the ground. Oral tradition has it that this burial site was used into modern times (Donald MacIntyre and Angus MacLean, pers. comm.). A nearby outcrop is called G *Cnoc nan Torraidhean* ‘the hillock of the burials’. One tradition here is that the red colour of these rocks was due to blood from a man who was battered to death with the pole used to carry coffins after an argument over a grave (John George MacLean, pers. comm). Reeves suggested that the culted saint’s name here was *Findchán* (Reeves 1854, 240). However, the chapel’s dedication is more likely to have come from the British sixth-century saint *Uinniau*. *Uinniau* had come to Ireland from Britain as a *peregrinus* ‘voluntary exile’, and became a bishop, possibly training Columba at the monastery of Moville. His *Penitentialis Vinniani* explained how sinners could become absolved ‘by penance and by very diligent devotion of heart and body’ (Fraser 2009, 74). He was a highly influential figure in the Early Church and was subsequently widely culted as Finnan or Ninian. *Uinniau* developed into *Vinnian* and then *Finnan* by mis-transcription, much in the same way that *Ioua* developed into *Iona* (Márkus 2012, 119)

- G *Cill-fhinnean*, Kenovay. The site of a possible chapel was located in the 1852 by Reeves: ‘*Kilfinnian* [in Kenovay], having the faint vestiges of a quadrilateral building, measuring 21 feet by 10, and lying east west. Here stillborn children have occasionally been buried’ (Reeves 1854, 241; see also MacDougall 1937, 88). A building and surrounding enclosure was marked *Cill-fhinnean Chapel (In Ruins)* on the 1878 Ordnance Survey first edition, and its location has more recently been confirmed by Thomas (Thomas 2015; see, too, RCAHMS 1980, 142). Thomas draws a comparison with Irish *cillín*: ‘It seems probable that [*Cill-fhinnean*] was used as a *cillín* for the burial of unbaptised children. According to Canon law, the unbaptised could not be buried in consecrated ground, and therefore burial places outside the norm, usually away from the parish church, had to be established. *Cillín* tend to be found in a number of different sites in Ireland, [for example] abandoned church sites’ (Thomas 2015, 76). It is only 1 km away from *Cill-fhinnein*, Balephetrish, and the Kenovay name may, in fact, contain a Norse topographic existing name rather than a dedication (see *Cill-fhinnean* in the Gazetteer)
- G *Cill Bride* ‘the chapel of Saint *Brigit*’, Cornaigmore (see Gazetteer). Reeves described the site as he found it in 1852: ‘*Brigid’s Church* is on the north side in the farm of Cornaigmore, and human remains which are found here indicate a cemetery where a small chapel is known to have existed, the walls of which were removed to help in building some adjacent cabins [thatched houses]’ (Reeves 1854, 241). Although we can thus infer the approximate site of this chapel, there are no visible remains today. A rock 200 m to the south is called G *Creag Brìde* ‘the rock of *Brigit*’ (MacDougall 1937, 90). The dedication is to *Brigit*, likely to be an historical figure that founded the monastery of Kildare in Ireland, and who died in the 520s. From at least the ninth century her cult became one of the most widespread in Scotland (Evemalm 2018, 188), particularly in the southwest; in Argyll, Kilbride is the commonest *cill*-name. *Brigit* also appears to have been popular amongst the Norse settlers around Dublin in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Edmonds 2013), and, at times, she seems to have been a surrogate for the Virgin Mary. An eleventh- to twelfth-century reference to *Brigit Maigi Luinge* possibly links one *Brigit* with the Columban monastery on Tiree of that name (MacDonald 2010, 223)

- G *Cill Moluag*, Kilmoluaig, ‘the chapel of Saint *Mo-Luóc*’. The site is believed to be on the hillside behind the present day Croish Farmhouse, but there are no visible remains of the chapel or graveyard today: ‘The stones of the old chapel were employed to build the walls of cabins [houses], and the space where the cemetery is shown to have been is now in tillage’ (Reeves 1854, 242). There are nine other certain dedications in the Highlands and islands to this saint, for example *Teampall Mholuaidh*, Barvas in Lewis (SSPN). The Irish *Mo-Luóc* became the Abbot of Lismore; he died in 592

(b) The medieval parish of *Soreby*:

- *Killyne*: This *cill*-name appears as a farm township name in rentals until 1674 (see Gazetteer). It is not linked to a surviving structure
- G *Cill Choinnich*, Kilkenneth, ‘the chapel of Saint *Cainnech*’. This first appears in the documentary record in 1509 (see Gazetteer). The substantial surviving mortared walls ‘may tentatively be ascribed to the Later Middle Ages’ (RCAHMS 1980, 146), although this structure may have been built on top of an earlier ecclesiastical site in a continuity of resort. There was an associated graveyard: ‘The chapel at Kilkenneth ... they no longer bury here’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 402). *Cainnech* was a contemporary of Columba, dying in 599 or 600. The foundation that he is most closely associated with was at Aghaboe in County Laois. He appears to have spent most of his life in Ireland, but one source refers to *Cainnech* ‘dwelling in the district of Tiree’ (MacDonald 2010, 226). His cult was certainly strong in the Hebrides from the seventh century: there is a *Cill Choinnich* in Iona, an *Inchkenneth* in Mull (Whyte 2017, 29), as well as dedications in Colonsay, Coll and at two locations in Uist. A hillock beside the Kirkapol Free Church, and 0.5 km from the medieval chapels, is called *Cnoc ‘Ille Choinnich* (Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, pers. comm.)
- G *Cill Tunnain*, Kilkenneth, ‘the chapel of Saint Donnan’. The site is still known to field level, but there are no surviving remains of a chapel or graveyard. Donnan was unusual in that he was martyred at the monastery on Eigg where he was abbot, the present day *Kildonnán*. This was probably in 619, well before the Viking Age. The monastery on Eigg was a Gaelic settlement in Pictish territory, and this may have been a factor in the attack. In the centuries after his martyrdom, Saint

Donnan became widely culted in the Hebrides, with dedications in Skye and Uist. It has also been suggested that his cult was adopted later by newly-converted Norse Christians as a form of ‘expiation cult’, even though he had not been a victim of a Viking attack (Clancy 2015)

There is a *Port na Cille* on the island of Gunna, but there are no *cill*-names on Coll. Stahl collected three *cill*-names on Barra: *Cille Bharra*, *Cille Bhrianain* (alias *Cill Anndrais*) and *Cille Bhrìde* (Stahl 1999, 170 and 172). And in Carloway, Cox collected one: *Mol na Cille* (Cox 2002, 342).

Cill Chaibeil, Gott, (an alias for *Tir Chaibeil*, see Gazetteer) is probably best understood in the sense of *cill* ‘burial ground’ rather than chapel.

6.3.2.4 G *Teampall*

G *teampall* ‘temple or church’ (Dwelly) derives from the Latin *templum* > OG *tempul* (Cox 2002, 171). There are five names in *teampall* on Tiree:

- G *Teampall Choluim Chille* ‘the chapel of St Columba’, Kirkapol (Gordon 1950, 185). The larger of the two surviving medieval church buildings at Kirkapol, this is likely to have been built in the thirteenth century as one of the two initial parish churches (RCAHMS 1980, 153). The graveyard G *An Cladh Beag* ‘the small graveyard’ is attached (see below). Columba was the dominant figure on Tiree in the Early Christian period, but he was equally popular amongst the converted Norse settlers of the southern Hebrides. Indeed, his influence persisted into the Late Medieval period and beyond, making it difficult to date this dedication. It was superseded by a church in Scarinish in the late eighteenth century (Cregeen 1964, 5)
- G *Teampall Odhrain* ‘the chapel of St Odhran (OG *Odrán*)’, Kirkapol. There is just a single source for this name (Gordon 1950, 185). This is the smaller of the two church buildings at this site, and appears to be roughly contemporary with *Teampall Choluim Chille* above (RCAHMS 1980, 155). The main graveyard for the eastern end of the island today, *Cladh Odhrain*, is a short distance away. See *Cladh Orain* in the Gazetteer and *Tobar Odhrain* below
- G *Tobhar an Teampaill*, Heylipol (see Gazetteer): The site of the implied ecclesiastical building is not known, and there is no evidence of an associated graveyard

- G *Teampall Phàraig* ‘the chapel of St Patrick’, Kenavara (see Gazetteer). There is no evidence of an associated graveyard
- *Teampall Chille Choinnich* (Jean MacCallum, pers. comm.): an alias for *Cill Choinnich*

There are no *teampall*-names on Coll or Barra. However, *teampall* or *teampull* is a common generic in the Outer Isles, especially in Uist and Lewis, and there is a *Bail’ an Teampaill* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 171).

6.3.2.5 G *Caibéal*

There are three surviving examples of names in G *caibéal* ‘chapel, family burial ground’ (Dwelly; Márkus 2012, 533) on Tiree:

- G *Cnoc a’ Chaibeil* ‘the hillock of the chapel’, Kirkapol (Elsie MacKinnon, pers. comm.). This mortared chapel had the alias *Teampall Odhrain*
- G *Tir Chaibeil* ‘the ground of the chapel’, Gott (see Gazetteer)
- G *Caibéal Thòmais* ‘the chapel of Thomas’, Scarinish (see Gazetteer)

The generic *caibéal* is quite common in Argyll – for example, *Caibéal Cairine* in Southend, Argyll (SP) – but there are no *caibéal*-names on Coll, Barra or in Carloway.

For a discussion on the relationship between the ecclesiastical structures named in *annaid*, *cill*, *caibéal* and *teampall* see section 10.8.

6.3.2.6 G *Eaglais*

There are nine examples of names in G *eaglais* ‘church’ on Tiree. *Eaglais* is usually applied to church buildings dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which are still standing: for example, the 1902 G *Eaglais na Mòinteach* ‘the church of Moss’ in Heylipol. An exception is the Late Medieval G *Eaglais Choluim Chille* ‘the church of St Columba’ in Kilkenneth (David McClounnan, pers. comm.), which is an alias for *Cill Choinnich*.

6.3.2.7 G *Crois*

Carved stone crosses, or place-names referencing them, are common on Tiree. These had a variety of functions:

Some crosses offered protection and invited prayer at boat-landings or beside tracks, or marked holy wells. The great majority were at

ecclesiastical sites ... [and] might mark entrances to burial grounds or monastic enclosures ... or a wider area of sanctuary surrounding a church ... A cross or pillar would form the natural focus for worship at sites where no church building existed or where, as must have been the case at many sites used by the laity, it was too small to contain most of the congregation. (Fisher 2001, 9)

Early Christian monks carved simple crosses into bedrock from Skellig Michael off the west coast of Ireland to the isolated island of North Rona, 70 km north of the Butt of Lewis (Fisher 2001, 1). The bedrock of Tiree is almost exclusively Lewisian gneiss; this is extremely frustrating to fashion (see section 5.2). Some carved medieval gravestones in Kirkapol and Soroby graveyards seem to be made from imported non-native rock, but the ‘ponderous’ *MacLean’s Cross* in Soroby appears to be gneiss; timber from the mainland may also have been used to make crosses. Of the Tiree cross-names, only *MacLean’s Cross* in Soroby has a surviving physical cross. Several stone crosses have been moved or lost in historic times. For example, Mann recorded three stone crosses that had been relocated from *An Cladh Beag* to the farmhouse at Hynish (Mann 1921–2, 125; Sands 1881–82, 463). Two have since been lost; one was taken to Kirkapol as a family grave marker and is currently lying outside *An Cladh Mòr* there. The base of *Crois a’ Chaolais* survived into the twentieth century (see below).

Twelve Early Medieval stone crosses have been documented on Tiree (Fisher 2001, 123–5). The only surviving, free-standing stone cross on the island is one described as a ‘ponderous cruciform stone of late character’ (RCAHMS 1980, 167), now known as *MacLean’s Cross* in Soroby graveyard (see below). Another cross-shaft has been found in Soroby graveyard inscribed with the name of Anna, Prioress of Iona, ‘without doubt Anna MacLean, Prioress from before 1509 until 1543’ (RCAHMS 1980, 169).

Tiree has eight cross-names. Three, possibly four, contain the Norse elements *kross* or *krysu* ‘cross’:

- ON **Krossaból* ‘farm of the crosses’ (see *Crossapoll*)
- ON **Krossagarð* ‘small farm of the crosses’, Hough (see *Crossigar*)
- ON **Krossgerði* ‘field of the cross’, Kilmoluaig (see *Croisgeir*)
- ON **Krysines* ‘headland of the cross’, Balephetrish (see *Crisnis*)

Reverence for crosses became common in the Norse expansion zone after conversion, something that may have had its roots in earlier Scandinavian pagan outdoor shrines: ‘Many local [place]-names [in Iceland] bear witness to this cross-worship, which answers [refers back] to the *hörgar* of the heathen age’ (CV, 356; see *Thorramhull* in the Gazetteer).

Three cross-names contain the Gaelic element *crois* ‘cross’:

- *Croish-a-Chaolish* (Reeves 1854, 232 and 243). Beveridge reported: ‘Directly opposite the former burying ground (see *Cladh a’ Chaolais* below) are two large stones imbedded in the soil, and between these the Cross of Caoles is said to have stood until taken away to serve in the erection of a house not far off. The tops of these two stones (the socket of the cross) are now nearly level with the adjacent soil, that to the south measuring about 30 by 12 inches upon its exposed end. With this large imbedded stone (perhaps in order to prevent its sharing the fate of the cross itself) is associated a monitory [warning] tradition to the effect that, should it ever be removed, a hurricane will follow such as to shake the whole of the island. Upon more than one ground, may the truth of this prophecy never be tested!’ (Beveridge 1901, 156). John Gregorson Campbell had also recorded this tradition: ‘There is a stone in Caolas called *Clach na Stoirm* (‘the Storm Stone’), almost entirely buried in the ground. If taken out of the ground, cleaned and set upright, it will cause a storm to arise’ (Black 2018, 224). Campbell developed this theme in a later passage: ‘Coming back from the [Gunnel] sound the Minister who had driven the Coll Minister to the ferry overtook me and told me of a stone which is good for raising a storm. A woman told him that she tried the spell for her brother who was a smuggler and chased by a revenue cruiser. According to the Instructions she dug up the stone with the tongs and turned the side to the [blank] that was needed but there was not a breath of wind’ (Black 2008, 641). These stones were also known as G *Clach na Gaoithe* ‘the stone of the wind’ (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.). They have now been covered by the tarmac of a passing-place on the northern side of that stretch of the road to the east end known as G *Bealach na Gaoithe* ‘the trackway of the wind’ (John Archie MacLean, pers. comm.) and opposite a 1930s croft house known as *Croish*
- *A’ Chrois* ‘the cross’, Kilmoluaig (OS1/2/28/34) and G *Mullach na Croise* ‘summit of the cross’ (OS1/2/28/33)

- *G A' Chrois Bheag* 'the small cross', just to the south, Kilmoluaig (Jean MacCallum, pers. comm.)

One English cross-name survives. This is *MacLean's Cross* (Muir 1885, 31; OS Explorer Map 2007, 372; common current local usage) in Soroby. It was recorded as *Sorby Cross* (1768 Turnbull Map). There may have been an element of politics involved, as his survey had been commissioned by John Campbell, the fourth Duke of Argyll. It may be significant that none of Reeves, Beveridge or the first edition of the Ordnance Survey recorded a name for this unusual, Early Christian cross in the old graveyard at Soroby (Canmore ID 21466).

6.3.2.8 *G Cladh*

There are thirteen surviving graveyard-names on Tiree, most of them in *G cladh* 'graveyard':

- *G An Cladh Beag* 'the small graveyard' (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.), on the eastern side of the road to Milton, Caolas (NM086483)
- *G Cladh a' Chaolais* 'the graveyard of Caolas' (John Archie MacLean, pers. comm.), alias *G Cladh na Croise* 'the graveyard of the cross' (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.): 'At Kelis, on the N.E. side, near the ferry between Tiree and Coll, in ground occupied by Neil Clarke, was a chapel with its burying ground, called *Croish-a-Chaolish*' (Reeves 1854, 243). Beveridge described it thus: '*Crois a' Chaolais*, of which burying-ground the very slightest traces still exist in a small enclosure behind a crofter's house upon the road-side, half a mile southwest of the former ferry at the north end of Tiree. The spot where the last internment was made (remembered by an old man only recently dead) was even pointed out in the southwest corner; there are neither signs nor local traditions of a chapel' (Beveridge 1901, 155; see Brownlie 1995, 126)
- *G Cladh Odhrain* 'the graveyard of Saint Odhran', Kirkapol (see *Cladh Orain*)
- *G An Cladh Beag* 'the small graveyard' (Donald MacIntyre, pers. comm.; Brownlie 1995, 116), alias *G Cladh Beag Chornaig* (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.), beside the old parish church in Kirkapol. There is a local tradition that this graveyard was reserved for MacLeans and residents of Cornaig. Of the 66 legible gravestones, 55 (83%) have a MacLean husband or wife, while 29 (44%) come from Cornaigmore or Cornaigbeg

(fairly evenly split). The earliest legible marked gravestone dates from 1495, and relates to the Prior of Iona. Rev John Gregorson Campbell was buried here in 1891. This appears to have been a high status burial ground surrounding what was one of the island's two original medieval parish churches. The original connection with the MacLeans might be explained by the feudal supremacy of Duart, but that with Cornaig is opaque (see *Cladh Odhrain*). The enclosure walls of this burial-ground, and that of *Cladh Odhrain* above, 'are of comparatively recent origin' (RCAHMS 1980, 156)

- G *Cill Chaibeil* 'the graveyard of the chapel', Gott (see *Tir Chaibeil*)
- G *Cladh Beag Thòmais* 'the small graveyard of St Thomas' in Scarinish (see *Caibeal Thòmais*)
- G *Cladh Shòrabaidh* 'the graveyard of Soroby' (see *Sorobaidh*)
- G *An Cladh Beag* 'the small graveyard' in Hynish (Reeves 1854, 243; OS1/2/28/233). The antiquarian John Sands investigated this site around 1880 (see Black 2008, 696): 'At Hynish there is a meadow still called the *Cladh Beag*, or little burial ground, where a chapel once stood; but the last farmer was a practical man, and used the church and tombstones to build stables and byres with. A stone with a cross on it is still to be seen forming part of the pavement at the farm steading. On digging I discovered some of the mortar and stones of this ancient chapel' (Sands 1881–82, 463). A later surveyor reported that 'Mr Campbell ([Sandy] Campbell, Millport Croft, Hynish) says that [one] cross slab was used as a gravestone by the MacLeans of Hynish during the Second World War, and it now stands near the east corner of the larger graveyard at Kirkapol' (www.canmore.org.uk accessed 18 November 2015). It is still there. The modifier G *beag* 'small' implies there was more than one graveyard in this area. See Canmore ID 318517
- *The Burial-Place of the Big Women*, Hynish (see Gazetteer)
- G *Cnoc a' Chluidh* 'the hillock of the graveyard', Barrapol: '*Knock-a-chluaidh*, close to some cabins which, it is stated, were built out of the walls of a chapel that formerly stood here. The drifting of the sand has exposed the burying ground, and, when visited by the writer in July 1852, the first object that caught his eye was a bleached skull and other bones lying bare on the surface of the ground' (Reeves

1854, 243; the ‘cabins’ may refer to the row of cottars’ houses known as *The Land*: see Gazetteer). Brownlie wrote: ‘On the machair, close to the Barrapol march fence, is the old Christian burial ground of *Cnoc a’ Chluidh* ‘the knoll of the burial ground’. It has long disappeared under the fine sand blown from the open banks by the fierce Atlantic gales’ (Brownlie 1995, 66). Angus MacLean, born in 1923, recalled: ‘*Cnoc a’ Chluidh*, I think it will actually be in Barrapol. There’s an old burial ground there. Not so very long ago you could see some of the stones there. I saw these personally’ (Angus MacLean talking to Eric Cregeen and Dr Margaret Mackay on SA1976.123). Nearby is G *Bruach na h-Èiginn* ‘the slope of grief’ (see *Èiginn*). Beveridge found a ‘remarkable’ stone setting nearby that he interpreted as the remains of a burial cairn (Beveridge 1903, 139; see *Kenavara*)

- G *Cladh Chille Choinnich* ‘the graveyard of the chapel dedicated to St *Cainnech*’, Kilkenneth (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1968.240, track ID 57449)
- G *An Tung* ‘enclosed family graveyard’ (Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, pers. comm.), alias G *An Cladh aig Sloc a’ Ghuail* ‘the graveyard at the gully of coal’. A small enclosure above the coastline just south of the boundary between Hough and Balevullin. Crew members from the brigantine *Nancy of Dublin* were buried here after their boat foundered on the Hough skerries in 1885
- G *Cladh Àird Chircnis* ‘the graveyard of *Circnis*’, Balephetrish (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.)

6.3.2.9 G Tobar

There are five surviving Gaelic well-names on Tiree that are associated with pre-Reformation Christianity. Traditions at similar wells elsewhere have developed at earlier pagan sites:

- G *Tobar Odhrain* ‘the well of St Odhran’ (Rosie MacIntyre, pers. comm., who told me that this was the ‘original name’). To the east of G *An Cladh Mòr* ‘the large graveyard’ in Kirkapol (RCAHMS 1980, 158), water from this well was believed to have healing powers. It was made unusable between the wars after the graveyard was extended in its direction, leading to fears that its waters might become contaminated. A more recent alias was G *Tobar Eachainn* ‘the well of Hector’ (OS

1/2/28/130; 1878 Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXV.5; Brownlie 1995, 118) *Eachann* was Hector MacKinnon, whose descendants tenanted Lodge Farm: Fiona MacKinnon pers. comm.). See *Cladh Orain*

- G *Tobar Mhoire* ‘the well of the Virgin Mary’, West Hynish: ‘Without question the most popular of the universal saints was the Virgin Mary, whose cult reached its zenith in the thirteenth century’ (McDonald 1997, 231). However, Mary, *Moire Òigh*, has been a popular devotional figure from the earliest days of the church in Scotland, and the dating of this dedication, beyond saying that it is a Gaelic place-name and that it is pre-Reformation, is not possible. There is a *Mary Well* on Rousay (Marwick 1995 (1947), 63). See *Callraig* and *Tobar Mhoire*
- G *Tobar* or *Dabhach Phàraig* ‘the well or vat of St Patrick’. This is a small rock-cut basin near *Teampall Phàraig*. Oral tradition has it that the basin is fed by a spring, and that if you walk round the chapel three times before sunrise with water from *Dabhach Phàraig* in your mouth, any illness you have will be cured, and any wish that you make will come true (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1971.099, track ID 52433). See *Teampall Phàraig*
- G *Tobar an Dòmhnach* ‘the well of the Lord’: water from this well had healing powers, being mentioned by Martin Martin as a ‘catholicon [cure] for diseases’ (Martin 1994 (1695), 296). See *Tobar an Dòmhnach*
- G *Tauberba:fanit*: See *Tobar Poll Fannaid* and *Ciular*

6.3.2.10 The number of early ecclesiastical sites on Tiree

Following a visit to the island in 1852, Reeves was the first to recognise the significance of Tiree to the Early Christian church in Scotland:

Though it is not pretended that all these thirteen religious stations [the monasteries, graveyards and chapels of Tiree that he documents] can date their origin from such an early period as the sixth or seventh century, still there can be little doubt, when we compare their number with the moderate extent of the island ... that this island was well-known and much frequented at a very early stage of Christianity in Scotland. (Reeves 1854, 243)

The importance of Tiree to the Columban monastery on Iona is implied by the number of times the island is mentioned in *Vita Columbae*. Tiree is mentioned eleven times; Hinba six (Hinba may have been Colonsay: Kelly Kilpatrick, pers. comm., or Jura: Broderick 2013, 16); Skye and Mull three times each; Coll twice; and Islay once. None of the islands of the Outer Hebrides are referenced (Anderson and Anderson 1961).

Fertile Tiree was a day's sail from Iona, and is likely to have been under the control of kingdoms that formed part of *Dál Riata* with their Gaelic-speaking elites (see section 6.3.1.2). The number of documented Early Christian foundations, the number of surviving stone crosses and cross-names, and the two surviving promontory (and possibly early navigational) names in *kirkja* and *krysu*, all build a case for an important role for Tiree in the establishment of Christianity in the west of Scotland.

Iona continued as a significant ecclesiastical centre after Norse settlement: 'After 825 there appears to have been a cessation of [Viking] attacks ... Until the unfortunate events of [the Christmas Eve Massacre] of 986 Iona seems to have continued as a religious house throughout the period' (Jennings and Kruse 2009a, 99).

As we will see later, it is therefore not implausible to suggest that the Norse settlers on Tiree were among the first Scandinavians to convert to Christianity, given the dense Norse settlement of an intensely Christian landscape. See section 10.8 for a discussion on the dating of these elements.

7. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN CONTROL

‘And they came to the Church of Lindisfarne, laid everything waste with grievous plundering, trampled the holy places with polluted steps, dug up the altars and seized all the treasures of the holy church. They killed some of the brothers, took some away with them in fetters, many they drove out, naked and loaded with insults, some they drowned in the sea.’ (Quoted in Woolf 2007b, 44)

793 saw the first recorded Viking raid on eastern Britain, generally accepted as the start of the Atlantic Viking Age. The news sent a shudder through the monastic communities of Europe, the pre-eminent historians of the age. However, it is likely that there had already been a significant ‘reconnaissance phase’ of Scandinavian exploratory and trading expeditions down the western seaboard of Scotland (Macniven 2006, 64). This is implied by the fact that, while the vast majority of presently-inhabited Orkney islands – such as Egilsay or Shapinsay – have Norse names in *ey* ‘island’, most of the major Hebridean island names – Lewis, Uist, Skye, Tiree, Mull, Islay and Bute – have retained their pre-Norse roots (Gammeltoft 2007, 487).

In 794, it was recorded that there was ‘devastation of all the islands of Britain by heathens’ (AU U794.7), a description that is likely to refer to the Hebrides (Woolf 2007b, 45). The first Viking raiding parties are likely to have come from *Hjørðaland* (later *Hordaland*), a region of southwestern Norway that includes the modern cities of Bergen and Hardangerfjord. Having possibly over-wintered in the Hebrides, the raiders attacked Iona for the first time in 795 (*‘Orcain lae Coluim Chille* [Iona of Colum Cille was raided]’: *Annals of Innisfallen* AI 795.2), and ventured as far

south as the island of Lambay, off the Irish coast near Dublin. Any surviving monasteries on Tiree are likely to have been raided in the same year, as surprise was one of the raiders' most effective weapons. Iona again became a target in 802 and in 806, when sixty-eight monks were killed.

The last ninth century raid on Iona took place in 825 and after this, according to the annals, Western Scotland would appear to have entered into a more peaceful era. The main reason for this was not merely that the raiders, like locusts, had moved on to pastures new, but that the main Norse settlement event had taken place in Western Scotland. (Jennings 1998, 41)

The 'locusts' had discovered richer pickings of slaves and precious metals further south:

The [Hebridean] Isles provided a chain of communication and stopping-off points for Scandinavian raiders and traders who plied the seaways from Norway to the Irish Sea. When the Vikings extended their ambitions to Ireland in the late 830s with the establishment of *longphuir* [coastal bases, including that in Dublin, established in 841], secure possession of the islands around Argyll may have been a strategic precondition. (Downham 2015, 191)

In 837, two Norse fleets of no less than sixty ships attacked communities lining the Boyne and Liffey rivers on the eastern coast of Ireland, and a group overwintered on Lough Neagh in 839 (Brink 2008, 429). In 847, the Annals of St Bertin recorded: 'The *Scotti*, after being attacked by the Northmen for very many years, were rendered tributary, and [the Northmen] took possession, without resistance, of the islands that lie all around and dwelt there' (quoted in Whyte 2017, 63). This text has been much discussed, and there is no consensus as to what it means. One interpretation is that it marks the date that the Vikings finally took possession of the southern Hebrides (but see Whyte 2017, 64).

It has often been assumed that Tiree, one of the most southerly of the *Suðreyjar* 'the southern islands', was the last link in the chain of Norse acquisitions in the Hebrides. However, it is just as likely that Tiree's numerous beach landing points and ease of capture, its strategic position on the sea lanes to the rich pickings of the south, its monastic wealth and its fertility, all made the island an early target for settlement. Taking all the documentary and archaeological evidence into account, fragmentary though it may be, it is reasonable to put

forward a mid-ninth century date for a Norse invasion of Tiree (see Whyte 2017, 65).

There has been some debate between between Viking ‘War and Peace’ schools (see, for example, Smith 2001, 7–32). Despite the common assumption of widespread Scandinavian violence,

There is no evidence at any site in the Northern Isles of mass extinction or slaughter of the native inhabitants by the Vikings, but there are increasing signs of both continuity and cultural change in the ninth century. The most likely evidence of slaughter would be the discovery of graves containing skeletons which had clearly died violently, or of major disruptions in the archaeological sequences at sites from the ‘interface’ period, such as destruction and burning of the houses of earlier inhabitants. However, the mixed assemblages of Iron Age and Viking material seen at Old Scatness [Shetland], together with the reuse of earlier structures with no discernible destruction levels, suggest contact between the cultures rather than genocide. (Turner and Owen 2013, 244)

The place-name evidence, however, strongly suggests that Norse settlement culturally overwhelmed the native population on Tiree (see chapter 11 for a detailed discussion of this): ‘When it comes to the Western Isles, most scholars do accept that there was more or less a clean break with the arrival of the Norse’ (Kruse 2005, 144). For example, of the three Tiree monastic names recorded in the annals (*Artchain*, *Bledach* and *Mag Luinge*), it is significant that none have survived, implying the monasteries’ destruction, if indeed they still existed at the time of the first Viking raids. Not only are some of these monasteries likely to have possessed silver treasures, but they were also centres of political power and therefore important strategic targets (Macniven 2006, 63). There are no surviving Tiree names in *papar* (possibly derived from ON *papi* ‘priest’). This is in contrast to the situation on islands to the north, for example, islands known as *Pabbay* off Barra, South Uist and Skye, and *Papadil* on Rum (www.paparproject.org.uk accessed 8 November 2018). This ‘negative *papar* project’ suggests that monks or priests did not continue to live in a recognizable location on Tiree after Scandinavian settlement. Surviving *papar* names, however, are all found to the west and north of Ardnamurchan (see Crawford 2005, 85) and there may, in fact, be linguistic reasons for the absence of *papar* names on Tiree (Kruse 2005, 166).

Iron Age Scandinavians had the drivers and the means – local rivalries, an absolute dependence on sea travel, high-quality timber and tar, and a sheltered coastline – to develop a new design of clinker-built wooden vessels from earlier boat designs represented by the twenty-four-man Hjortspring canoe. These new craft were long and shallow-draughted, fast both under sail and oar, and good sea boats. The key advance was their length, giving them speed and capacity. While the military census of *Dál Riata*, *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*, speaks of seven-benched boats, the Viking longship Skuldelev 2 had thirty benches and a crew of up to seventy. Although the Viking elite increasingly had access to higher quality Frankish swords (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 35), their major advance in the late Iron Age ‘arms race’ was naval power. Norse military strategy was to deliver large numbers of fighting men to a beach-landing place with minimal warning. It was highly successful.

The first Viking raiders of Scotland will probably always find it difficult to break free from their branding as merciless pagan terrorists, who glorified violence, execution and theft. In fact, their roots were firmly embedded in the soil of a common north European Late Iron Age culture. Other elites of northern Britain in the Pictish Iron Age were no less drawn to battle, the capture of territory and slaves, and the public execution by drowning of defeated leaders (see Fraser 2009, 298):

The overwhelming majority of fully civil societies globally waged total war, pillaging enemies of livestock, slaves and other resources and possessions, destroying houses and means of production like crops and woodlands and killing or capturing means of social reproduction – children and women. Throughout [the Pictish Iron Age], the ordinary women, men and children of northern Britain must have lived in pretty much constant fear of such horrors. (Fraser 2009, 310)

There are mythologised accounts of attacks on Eigg’s monastic community in 619, and on Comgall’s monastery on Tiree (see section 6.3.1.3). At least part of Columba’s monastery on Tiree *Mag Luinge* burnt down in 672 (AU U673.1) in what may have been a deliberate attack. Violent rivalries between Irish monastic communities could leave hundreds slain (Macniven 2015, 116). It is likely that ‘sea-borne murder and mayhem, including the plundering of churches and women, was nothing new in the Hebrides and the Northern Isles, then, when its first Scandinavian practitioners arrived in the 790s’ (Fraser 2009, 342).

Unlike the essentially virgin territory of Iceland, Tiree was anything but *terra nullius*. Indeed, the number of surviving promontory forts implies a highly

organised society on the island during the Pictish Iron Age. Whether formally part of the kingdoms of *Dál Riata*, or merely a client state, Tiree's fighting men are likely to have been hardened by regular military service, had the advantage of good defensive positions and an ability to summon reinforcements from the whole island.

Tiree, however, with its numerous landing places and dispersed population, must have been an extremely difficult place to defend from sea-borne attack on the scale offered by Viking longships. There are two plausible scenarios. A series of targeted and almost symbolic raids possibly initially destabilised the island (see Macniven 2015, 118). One longship delivering an assault force of sixty at dawn would usually have overwhelmed individual farms. Population estimates (see section 6.1.3) imply that Tiree Iron Age fort-estates, on average, would have been able to call on around fifteen warriors. Burning the local settlement, slaughtering the cattle and taking some captives as hostages or slaves before withdrawing would have sent a powerful and intimidating message to the island's leadership. In a late and therefore documented parallel, three privateers from Algeria and Morocco attacked the small island of Heimaey (a sixth the size of Tiree) off Iceland in 1627. Within two days, thirty islanders had been killed and mutilated, the church burned to the ground, livestock slaughtered, and several hundred islanders captured and taken into slavery (Hreinsson and Nichols 2016). Repeated attacks like this may have encouraged some of the Dalriadan elite to withdraw to join their kinsmen on mainland Argyll.

A more likely scenario for the Viking invasion of Tiree includes the use of overwhelming force. This may have extended over a broader front to include the whole of the southern Hebrides and Argyll. Certainly, fleets of hundreds of longships were recorded elsewhere (Macniven 2015, 113): 'It is evident that scholars are increasingly abandoning the idea of small spontaneous raiding bands of Vikings in favour of the idea that the Viking advance was a set of highly organised ventures' (Kruse 2005, 158).

In the northeast of England, 'some of the more nervous Danes who had acquired land in the Danelaw returned home to Denmark because, as they stated, they were afraid of being murdered by their labourers or otherwise inconvenienced' (Fellows-Jensen 2005, 103). To avoid a similar situation, initial settlement of Tiree is likely to have been achieved rapidly. Two longships the size of *Skuldelev 2* would have delivered over a hundred potential settlers, five young men for each fort-estate.

Building, equipping and manning a Norse longship demanded a huge investment:

Experimental archaeology has shown that building a thirty metre longship may have taken as much as 40,000 working hours ... Assuming a twelve-hour working day and a surplus production rate of ten per cent, this means that to build such a ship one should command the surplus production of one hundred persons for one year. Manning and sailing the ship was an even larger challenge. Taking it to sea for four months meant that seventy men were taken away from their productive work and had to be fed. This would require one year's surplus from 460 producers. (Bill, in Brink 2008, 170)

This high cost of moving raiders or armed settlers from Norway to Tíree plausibly meant that only an elite would have had the means to bring their families to join them. Most of the new settlers are thus likely to have taken high-status native women as wives or concubines.

Possible candidates as initial bases for the invaders are the two surviving Norse fort names in *borg* 'fort'. *Isleborg* may have been built on top of a crannog in what is now known as *G Loch an Eilein* 'the loch of the island' in Heylipol (see *Isleborg*). And the island's most impregnable promontory fort is on the cliffs of Kenavara. The Blaeu map of 1654 suggests that the Norse name for this was **Skarðaborg* 'the fort of the gap between two hills' (see *Skarbarigh*), although this name has not survived, having been replaced by *G Dùn nan Gall* 'the fort of the foreigners' (see *Gazetteer*).

8. THE SEQUENCE OF NORSE SETTLEMENT

So Ketill [*Ketill flatnefr* or ‘flatnose’] then told his mind, saying his desire was rather to go west over the sea [to the Hebrides rather than to Iceland, where his sons had decided to settle], for there was a chance of getting a good livelihood. He knew lands there wide about, for there he had harried far and wide. (*Laxdæla Saga*, chapter 2, Press 1899)

This saga account was written much later than the events described, and it is impossible to know how accurate it may be. But it is plausible that the first settlers – those who had taken the greatest financial and military risks – claimed large estates of the most valuable land (land-taking); later waves took either ground between these estates or subdivisions of them (land-division) (Macniven 2015, 17):

It has been suggested that the very first settlers [to Iceland] ... [created] large estates with a wide and varied economic base. Latecomers had to make do with slices of land in between these large estates. When all the really good and easily occupied land had been seized, a second phase was entered wherein land of lesser quality was chopped up into small units and sold or rented out to new arrivals or second-generation Icelanders. (Vésteinsson 1998, 26)

The same succession was seen in Shetland. The most favourable land – that with safe beach landings, good arable ground, extensive grazing, running water, productive peat banks and opportunities for fishing and hunting – was occupied first, while secondary and peripheral settlement was progressively inland and upland on poorer ground further from the sea (Gammeltoft 2001, 184, referring

to work by David Olson). Orkney and Mull also ‘appear to present an evolutionary model of settlement development, with valuable, central settlements in fertile, coastal locations giving way to smaller, and increasingly marginal settlements paying less and less rent as they move inland and uphill’ (Macniven 2015, 63). This settlement succession is seen in some parts of Tiree: for example, in *Vaul*, where the names **Hqgnastað* (see *Hùinisdeir*), **Qrnagerði* (see *Òinegeir*) and **Borgargerði* (see *Boidhegeir*) are likely to denote peripheral farms on the western shore of *Vaul Bay*, some distance from a beach landing site and the best farmland.

The place-name evidence, however, suggests that Scandinavian settlement on Tiree more usually followed a slightly different pattern. Compared to Iceland, Shetland or Mull, the island is much smaller and has little real upland; nowhere is more than 4 km from the shore. The solution to sub-dividing the island appears to have been to partition Tiree into ever-narrower triangles.

There has been little help, up to now, from the archaeological record. Around some lengths of the coastline this deficit is due to gradually accreting, wind-blown shell sand. But most of the blame must fall on the pressure to re-cycle, re-configure and over-build earlier structures in an environment where good building stone was scarce. This pattern is also familiar in Iceland (Vésteinnsson 1998, 14). Barrel-shaped footings above *The Ringing Stone* in Balephetrish, and a settlement mound in Balinoe carbon-dated to the Late Viking period, may help to redress this situation.

Using, instead, Norse place-names and the island landscape as our guide, I will attempt to create a model of Scandinavian land settlement on Tiree. This divides the process into primary (the initial phase of land-taking into estates); secondary (the relatively early phase of estate division exemplified, typically, by farms in ON *ból*); and later peripheral settlements (other habitative names: for example, ON *gerði* ‘field’: see Gammeltoft 2001, 178).

An important limitation in being so reliant on place-names to generate this model is the fact that the majority of Norse place-names have been lost. Another potential hazard is the fact that early settlers to any new colony have a tendency to import commemorative names from their country of origin (Kruse 2007). There are numerous examples of this from the European settlement of North America, such as *Boston*, Massachusetts and *London*, Ohio. Nicolaisen surveyed farm-names on the Orcadian islands of North Ronaldsay and Sanday; 21 of the 136 recorded names (15%) had equivalents in Norway (Nicolaisen 2011, 193). The Norse settlers on Tiree seem to have used few (or possibly none) of the pre-existing Pictish or Old Gaelic place-names (see section 11.2.1), and therefore had a clean slate: ‘Colonists intent on making a living in their new environment (or at least in Orkney)

were therefore, it seems, not very adventurous in their naming practices. They discerned new landscapes in terms of their homeland' (Nicolaisen 2011, 196). This was particularly true at the beginning of settlement: 'Earlier colonial settlers are presumably more inclined to be in touch with their homeland and therefore [be] imitative rather than innovative' (Nicolaisen 2011, 188).

Eleven of the eighteen proposed primary settlement names on Tíree have equivalents among Norwegian settlement or farm-names (NG and Rygh):

- *Ruaig* on Tíree: *Raudevika* is a modern settlement name in Norway
- *Vaul: Velle*
- *A' Bhaoill: Vølen*
- *Gott: Gata*
- *Baugh: Vaagen*
- *Bèidhe: By*
- *Sandaig: Sandvika*
- *Hough: Haug*
- *Bjarnarvík: Bjørnevik*
- *Norður-Vág: Nordvaag*
- *The Reef: Riva*

Commemorative names were, however, rare in Iceland (Jennings and Kruse 2009b, 133).

Problems such as these mean that, '... place-names may only be used with the utmost caution in the reconstruction of a settlement expansion' (Gammeltoft 2001, 186).

8.1 PRIMARY SETTLEMENTS

Place-names marking the earliest settlements in the Norse expansion zone tend to have certain things in common. They,

- Are often in a simplex form, such as 'Bay', rather than a qualified form like 'The Green Bay'

- Often carry topographic names, like ‘bay’, ‘headland’ or ‘hill’
- Sometimes have a neighbouring settlement with a secondary division name, for example ON *ból*. One example may be **Kirkjuból* (Kirkapol) to the west of *A’ Bhaoil*
- Are often the more valuable holdings: ‘The [first Icelandic] estates always occupy the best land in their respective areas, and they also have the widest range of access to different resources’ (Vésteinnsson 1998, 19)
- Developed into later significant settlements, are more likely to appear in the early rental records and survive as modern township names

8.1.1 Simplex names

It is thought that simplex names, those containing a generic with no qualifying specific, were often laid down early in the settlement process: ‘In Norwegian onomastic tradition, it is generally accepted that topographic names may belong to the oldest stratum of names. This is most striking for simplex names. They are primary by form: only one farm on a *nes* ‘headland’ or in a *vík* ‘inlet or bay’ can be called just *Ness* or *Wick*’ (Sandnes 2010b, 7; see Jennings and Kruse 2009b, 136). On Tiree, the simplex Norse township names that survive are *Bhalla* (Vaul), *Gott*, *Baugh* and *Hough*, and the historic settlement names of *A’ Bhaoil* (now part of *Gott*), **Rif* (now Balephetrish) and **Bèidhe* (now known as Balephuill).

8.1.2 Topographic names

The Norse commonly used notable aspects of the landscape in naming, particularly in the early stages of settlement. (Waugh 1998, 139)

Many of the first Norse settlements in Scotland were named after prominent natural features like headlands, bays or hills. 70% of primary settlements in Shetland and the Faroe Islands had topographic names, mainly coastal such as *Strand* (ON *strǫnd* ‘coast’) or *Sandur* (ON *sandr* ‘sand’: Macgregor 1986, 87). In Orkney, ‘in a group of very large farms ... five out of six carry topographic names’ (Sandnes 2010b, 7). Bay names were particularly likely to be chosen: ‘The names in *vík* ‘bay’, we would suggest, are particularly good candidates for primary settlement sites. *Vík* was the most common topographic settlement generic in

Thuesen's (1978) study of Orkney and in Macgregor's (1986) study of the Faroe Islands' (Jennings and Kruse 2009a, 90).

The six Tíree topographic names used today as township names are the simplex *Baugh* and the qualified *Ruaig*, *Hianish*, *Hynish*, *Sandaig* and *Cornaig*.

8.1.3 Neighbouring secondary settlements

Several primary settlements appear to have split to create a subdivision in *-ból*. These may include **Austrnes* (Caolas); **Vǫll* (*A' Bhaicill*); **Hindaból* (Heylipol); **Skarðaborg* (Kenavara); and **Býjarstøð* (Croish, Kilmoluaig). See section 8.2.

8.1.4 Settlement value

[In a] study of Orkney farms scatted [paying rent] above average in their area, the assumption [was] that many of these large units are also old units. (Sandnes 2010b, 7)

It is reasonable to assume that the first settlers took advantage of their unchallenged position in the new land to claim the most valuable estates and as much land as they could (Macniven 2015, 16).

Complete rentals for Tíree are not available until the sixteenth century, by which time farm boundaries are likely to have changed considerably from the Early Medieval period. However, the most complete sixteenth- and seventeenth-century rentals show:

Table 4. The value of Tíree Late Medieval townships

Township	Value	Date of rental
Reef	12	1541
Cornaig	10.5	1541
Ruaig	7	1541
Caolas	6	1541
Vaul	6	1541
Kirkapol	6	1541
Mannal	6	1541
Hynish	6	1541
Balephuill	6	1541

LONGSHIPS ON THE SAND

Township	Value	Date of rental
Barrapol	6	1541
Killyne	6	1541
Kilmoluaig	6	1541
Kenovay	6	1541
Hough	6	1541
Murtost	6	1541
Balevullin	6	1541
Balephetrish	4	1541
Heylipol	4	1541
Kenavara	3.5	1541
Scarinish	3	1541
Heanish	3	1541
Baugh	3	1541
Middleton	3	1541
<i>Biosd</i>	3	1541
<i>Bèidhe</i>	3	1541
Gott	2	1541
Crossapol	2	1541
Balinoe	1.5	1674
Salum	1.5	1674
Balemartine	1.5	1674
Sandaig	1.5	1674
Greenhill	1.5	1674
Soroby	1.25	1674
Heren	1	1541
<i>A' Bhaoil</i>	1	1541

Table: Value of Tiree townships in merklands, and dates of first written record. 6 merklands = 1 ounceland (Johnston 1991)

In addition to seeking out the best farmland, hunting and fishing value was also important. Early Norse settlers on Tiree were well adapted to a north Atlantic coastline. The settlement at Kenavara offered control over the egg and bird harvest of the sea cliffs there, while those at Vaul, West Hynish and Hough provided the best locations for hunting seals (see section 10.3).

8.1.5 Modern township names

It is difficult to ascertain at this remove which of the many Norse toponyms actually represent Norse settlements, but we would suggest that those borne by present-day settlements must surely make good candidates. (Jennings and Kruse 2009a, 90)

8.1.6 Pre-existing settlement

The proposed twenty-one Pictish Iron Age fort-estates (grouped around the best defensive sites rather than the best farmland) may have been the initial targets of Norse settlement on Tiree. It is plausible that the Scandinavians were attracted to these existing locations not only for their defensive potential, but also for the ready-made assemblages of building materials and their cultivated land. Certainly, in Shetland the first Viking settlers simply moved into existing houses and started working existing fields, for example Hamar House 1 on Unst (see Bond 2013, 129). In Orkney, too, 'archaeological excavations indicate that the Scandinavians tended to settle in existing Pictish settlements' (Sandnes 2010a, 13). And the same situation appears to have been the case on Islay: 'Farm-districts with Old Norse names are more likely to contain Iron Age fortifications than their Gaelic-named counterparts' (Macniven 2015, 61). Some areas on Tiree, such as Kirkapol, Crossapol and Balinoe/Balemartine, have no surviving forts and were possibly not settled during the first wave.

The new settlers may not have stayed long in the Pictish Iron Age settlements, however. Once the land had been claimed and the threat of further raiding diminished, the Norse are likely to have moved towards setting up new farms on the best agricultural land.

8.1.7 Primary settlement model

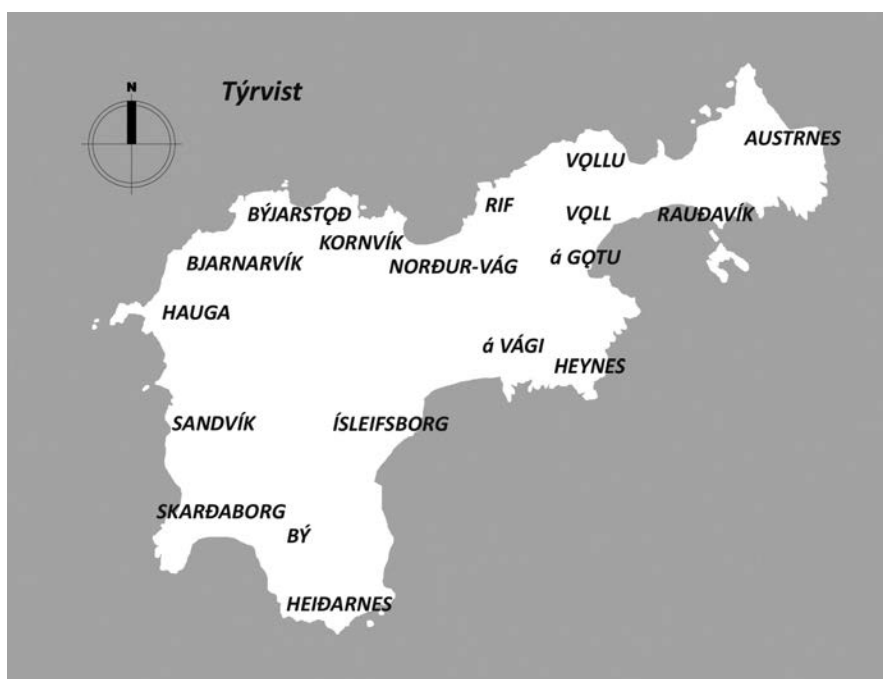
Using these principles, a model of primary Scandinavian settlement on *Týrvist* proposes the following eighteen Norse estates:

- ***Austrnes** (see *Osnaich* in the Gazetteer): Caolas. This primary settlement contained the presumed Iron Age roundhouses *Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais* and *Dùn Beag a' Chaolais*, as well as a significant harbour, *Acarsaid an Dùin*. It was valued in 1541 at one ounce-land

- ***Rauðavík** (see *Ruaig*): Ruaig and the eastern half of Kirkapol. *Dùn Sgibinis*. It was later valued at one ounceland
- ***Vøllu** (see *Vaul*): Vaul. *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* and *Dùn Beag Bhalla*. It was later valued at one ounceland
- ***Vøll** (see *A' Bhaoil*): the western half of Kirkapol and the eastern half of Balephetrish. *Ylen na Hyring*, a possible crannog in *Loch Riaghain* (see *Hyring*)
- ***á Gøtu** (see *Gott*): Gott and Scarinish. *Dùn an t-Sithein*. This area was later valued at just under an ounceland
- ***Heynes** (see *Hianish*): Heanish. *Dùn Hianis*. It was later valued at half an ounceland
- ***á Vági** (see *Baugh*): Baugh. *Dùn Ìbrig*. This primary settlement bordered a large estuary, likely to have been an important Early Medieval boat landing site, and a share in the extensive grazing of *The Reef*. It was later valued at half an ounceland
- ***Ísleifsborg** (see *Isleborg*): Crossapol, Heylipol and Balinoe. The possible crannog on *Loch an Eilein*. It later had a combined value of more than one ounceland
- ***Heiðarnes** (see *Hynish*): Hynish and Manna. *Dùn a' Bharradhu*, *Dùn na Cleite* and *Dùn Shiadair*. This area was later valued at two ouncelands
- ***Bý** (see *Bèidhe* and *Balephuill*): Balephuill and West Hynish. *Dùnan Nighean*. It was later valued at one and a half ouncelands. See *Siader* for a possible connected shieling site
- ***Skarðaborg** (see *Skarbarigh*): Kenavara and Barrapol. *Dùn nan Gall*. It was later valued at one and a half ouncelands
- ***Sandvík** (see *Saundaig*): Middleton, Sandaig and Greenhill. No fort survives, but Turnbull has left this description of an enclosure in Middleton: '(Field no. 62, this place was formerly a loch, having an old fort in the middle' (Turnbull Report 1768). Later valued at one ounceland
- ***Hauga** (see *Hough*): Hough. *Dùn Thaingis* and *Dùn Boraige Mòr*. Later valued at one ounceland
- ***Bjarnarvík** (see *Beannaig*): Balevullin. *Dùn Boraige Beag*. It was later valued at one ounceland

- ***Býjarstøð** (see *Biosd*): Kilmoluaig. *Dùn Beannaig*. It was later valued at one and a half ouncelands
- ***Kornvík** (see *Cornaig*): Cornaigmore. The crannog site on *Loch Bhasapoll*. It was later valued at one and a quarter ouncelands
- ***Norður-Vág** (see *Kenovay*): Kenovay and the eastern half of Cornaigbeg. *Dùn Cheann a' Bhàigh*. This contains the site of a plausible pagan cemetery (MacDougall 1937, 91; see Appendix 18.4.2.1). It was later valued at one and a half ouncelands
- ***Rif** (see *The Reef*): the western part of Balephetrish and the northern part of *The Reef*. *Dùn Taelk*

Figure 1. Proposed primary Norse settlements



The place-names **Heynes* ‘hay headland’ and **Heiðarnes* ‘heather headland’, with **Vqllu* ‘fields’ and **Vqll* ‘field’, are both contrasting pairs.

It seems plausible that early Icelandic settlements often consisted of several longhouses clustered together:

In the absence of any stratigraphic proof to the contrary, therefore, it is much more reasonable to believe that these early sites were occupied by more than one household at the same time ... It is easy to see why this might have been preferable at the initial stages of the *landnám*. The first years in a new and unknown country will have been difficult for any group and there must have been obvious advantages in co-operating in the reconnaissance and initial clearing of the country. (Vésteinsson 1998, 7 and 16)

Viking primary settlement on Tíree plausibly began in the mid-ninth century as one significant migration event (see chapter 7). Primary settlement, particularly as a ‘big bang’, demanded considerable investment and planning and must have been hierarchical. The pre-eminent Scandinavian settlement for the expedition’s leader or main investor is likely to have been at *Isleborg*: this was central, is likely to have contained a prehistoric fort on an island in Loch Heylipol, and had fertile land nearby. Baugh, with its large estuary and with three landing places, is also likely to have been highly valued, as were Vaul, with the island’s most impressive broch; the fort of *Dùn Mòr a’ Chaolais*, with one of the most secure harbours on the island; Kenavara, with its seabird colonies and secure fort; and Hynish, with its huge hill grazing and three forts.

It is significant that neither of the possible Columban monastery sites – Kirkapol or Soroby – have Norse names that suggest primary settlement. This implies, possibly surprisingly, that they were not selected for occupation in the first wave. It is possible that their accommodation or their cultivated land was not attractive, or that they had been attacked and left ruined several years previously.

8.1.8 Primary settlement size

Tíree has a generally flat landscape with little in the way of natural boundaries apart from small streams. Vésteinsson has modelled early settlement patterns in Iceland. He proposed that the ‘estates’ of the first settlers were large. Their social structure was based around one powerful individual:

The estates tend to be made up of two or three different types of holding: there is the main farm itself (it might even be called the manor), and there is a small and often fluctuating number of cottages in or around the home field of the manor. These did not have defined boundaries and sometimes not even defined areas of activity. Their inhabitants were economically and politically dependent on the estate owner and it is likely that the cottagers could easily have been called

upon when the estate needed extra manpower and that this was their main usefulness to the owner. Thirdly, we often find a number of quite small but independent holdings on the periphery of estates ... Their farmers were both politically and economically dependent on the landowners and/or their powerful neighbours. (Vésteinsson 1998, 19–20)

A Tíree example might be an estate called **Ísleifsborg* (see *Isleborg*), which possibly stretched from *The Reef* to the stream dividing Balinoe and Balemartine (see section 8.2 and *Crossapoll*, *Heylipoll* and *Balinoe*).

It is possible that any unoccupied and uncultivated land between these primary Norse estates – for example, land occupied by the modern townships of Salum, Kirkapol or Balemartine – was occupied by any remnant, displaced native population.

8.2 SECONDARY SETTLEMENTS

Several Norse farms on Tíree appear to be subdivisions of these primary estates. This may have been as a result of pressure from the inheritance demands of co-heirs as well as from new migrants.

In his analysis of place-names in the Norse expansion zone, Gammeltoft showed that the element ON *bólstaðr* was ‘bestowed as a generic on farm settlements which have been created as the result of a splitting up of the available land of a primary settlement into smaller sections’ (Gammeltoft 2001, 214). Usually, the name and the *caput* of the primary estate remains the same after splitting, but occasionally, ‘the division of a primary settlement into two or more equal parts (equal in quality, not necessarily in size). Here, all the resulting settlements will be secondary, as the original primary settlement is no longer apparent. Often, but not always, the name of the ‘mother’ primary settlement may be reflected in the township name’ (Gammeltoft 2001, 185; see **Ísleifsborg* below).

On Islay, *bólstaðr* names are very common, giving the modern reflex *-bols* or *-bus*: for example, *Eallabus* (Macniven 2015, 72). In contrast, no *bólstaðr*-names have been satisfactorily documented to date on Tíree. This could be due to an idiosyncratic secondary settlement pattern or to a local phonetic development (see Gammeltoft 2000). Instead, the island has a number of farm-names in ON *ból* ‘farm, abode, cultivated land’ (CV, 74; see section 17.1). These also represent secondary farms formed by splitting primary estates (Gammeltoft 2001, 235). Bearing this out, two of these have Norse Christian specifics, making them unlikely to be primary settlements.

Usually

One model of this subdivision is that:

- **Austrnes* (see *Osnaich*), which is now modern Caolas, may have split to form **Rognvaldsból* (see *Raonabol*), valued at one-quarter of an ounceland in 1782 (see *Kerralonamair*)
- **Völl* (see *A' Bhaoill*) on Gott Bay split to form **Kirkjuból* (see *Kirkapol*), which was valued at one ounceland in 1541
- **Ísleifsborg* split to form **Krossaból* (see *Crossapoll*) on the eastern side of the stream draining *Loch an Eilein*, **Hindaból* and possibly **Ísleifsból* (see *Heylipoll*) on the western side. Heylipol was valued at half an ounceland in 1390 and one ounceland in 1495. Crossapol was valued at one-third of an ounceland in 1541
- **Skarðaborg* (see *Skarbarigh*), Kenavara and Barrapol, may have split to form **Barrsból* (see *Barrapoll*), which was valued at one ounceland in 1541
- **Býjarstöð*, The Green and Kilmoluaig, may have split to form **Vatnsból* (see *Basapoll*)

In some cases, however, it may be that the name is in ON *pollr* 'pool' rather than *ból* (see *Barrapoll* and *Heylipoll*).

In addition to these transparent divisions in *ból*, it is plausible both that other large Norse estates divided and that infilling occurred between them:

Immediately surrounding the large estates [In Iceland] it is common to find medium sized or large single farms ... It is reasonable to suggest that this sort of holding represents late comers among the settlers arriving from abroad. Possibly they were able to seize good quality land in between the already large estates because the estate farmers could not make any reasonable claim to such lands on account of a lack of manpower. (Vésteinsson 1998, 20)

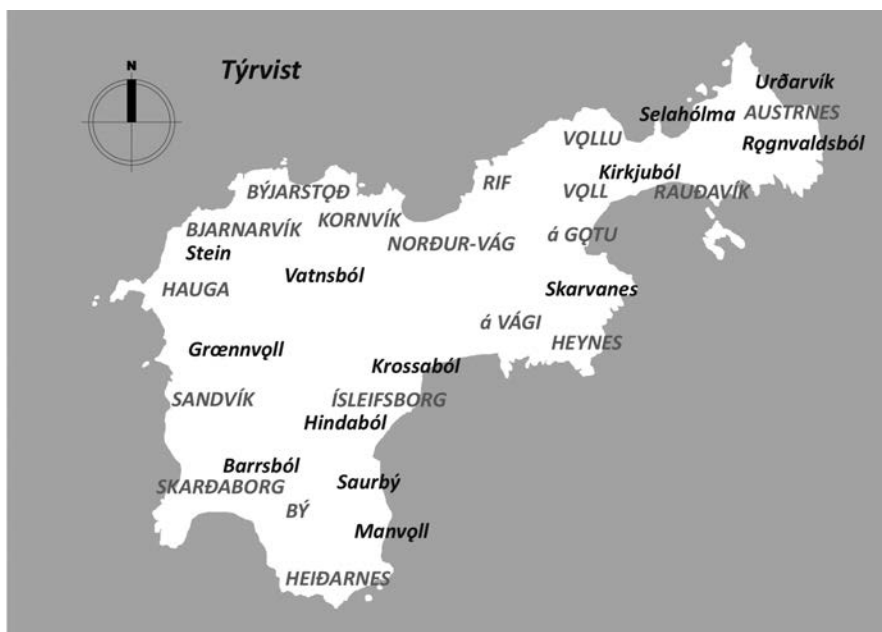
On Tiree, it is reasonable to suggest that:

- **Urðarvík* (see *Urvaig*) was established in the northern part of Caolas on land around *Dùn Beag a' Chaolais*

THE SEQUENCE OF NORSE SETTLEMENT

- **Selahólma* (see *Salum*) was established in Salum on land around *An Dùn*. Valued at a quarter of an ounceland in 1674
- **Skarvanes* (see *Scarinish*) was established in Scarinish. Valued at half an ounceland in 1541
- **Saurbý* (see *Sorobaidh*) was established in Balemartine
- **Manvöll* (see *Mannel*) split off from **Heiðarnes*. Valued at one ounceland in 1390
- **Grænnvöll* (see *Grianal*) was established between **Sandvík* and **Hauga*
- **Hauga* split to form **Stein* (see *Staoin*) taking in the northern part of Hough

Figure 2. Proposed secondary Norse settlements



The documentary source *Íslendingabók* chapter 3 speaks of Iceland (one thousand times more extensive than Tíree, and with an estimated initial migration of 4000 to 24,000 people) being fully settled in ‘sixty winters’ (Grønlie 2006). It might be argued, therefore, that the Norse settlement of Tíree was well established by 900.

Documentary and genetic analyses in Iceland support the idea that, ‘the majority of females in the Icelandic founding population had Gaelic ancestry, whereas the majority of males had Scandinavian ancestry’ (Helgason 2000b, 697). Since the settlement of Iceland occurred after 870, it is possible that some of these settlers had travelled to Iceland from the Hebrides with native women after the Tíree land supply dried up.

8.3 PERIPHERAL SETTLEMENTS

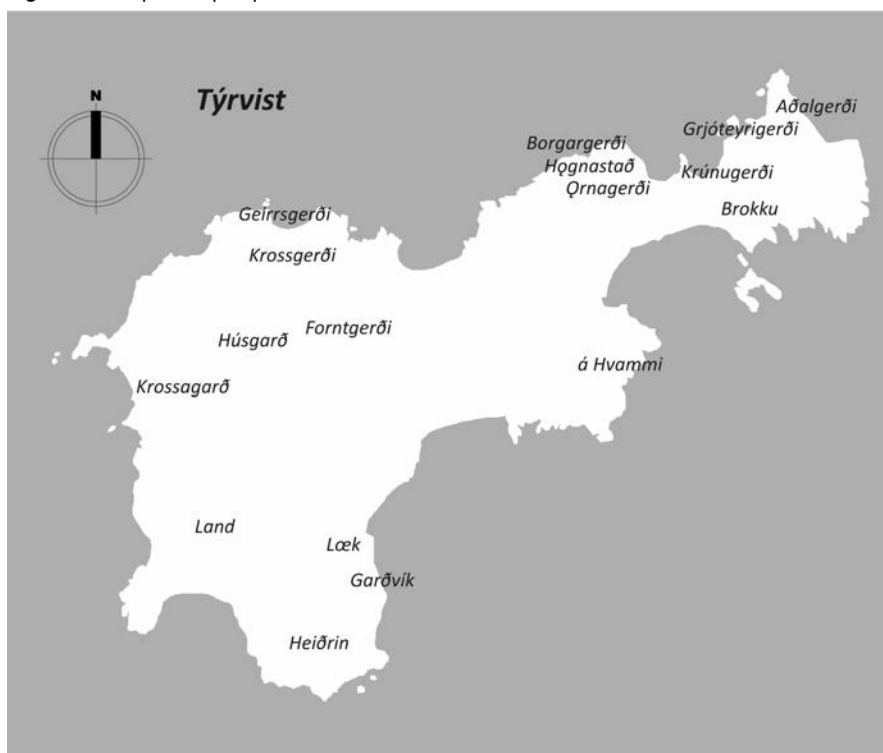
As well as the splitting and infilling of primary estates, many, if not all, Tíree Norse farms appear to have become sub-divided under udal law (see section 8.4) into small peripheral or tertiary farms. These may be represented by some of the surviving names referring to areas of land, enclosures and homesteads: *dalr*, *deild*, *garðr*, *geiri*, *gerði*, *skáli*, *staðir*, *støðull*, *topt* and *vøllr* (see Macgregor 1986 and section 17.1). In the Faroe Islands, *gerði* was a common generic for small farm-names. Tíree enclosure names such as *Adha-geir*, *Boidhegeir*, *Croisgeir*, *Fòirnigir*, *Groideagal*, *Inisgeir* and *Òinegeir* are more likely to have survived if they had represented small independent farms rather than just fields in a large holding. This is particularly true of those with personal names as specifics: see, for example, *Inisgeir* and *Bàrasdal*.

It seems, therefore, that by the twelfth century the Tíree landscape had become a patchwork of scattered holdings. Peripheral Scandinavian settlements may have included:

- **Aðalgerði* (see *Adha-geir*) in **Urðarvík* (northern Caolas)
- **Brokku* (see *Brock*) in **Rauðavík* (Ruaig)
- **Krúnugerði* (see *Cròinigeir*) and **Grjóteyrigerði* (see *Groideagal*) in **Selahlóma* (Salum)
- **Hognastað* (see *Hùinisdeir*), **Qrnagerði* (see *Òinegeir*) and **Borgargerði* (see *Boidhegeir*) in **Vøllu* (Vaul)
- **á Hvammi* (see *Homaidh*) in **Heynes* (Heanish)
- **Garðvík* (see *Gorraig*) and **Læk* (see *Lèig*) in **Saurbý* (see *Sorobaidh*)
- An upland farm whose name has not survived, and another possibly known as **Lyngvøllu* ‘heathery fields’ (see *Lingal*) in **Heiðarnes* (Hynish). These possibly later amalgamated to form **Heiðrin* (see *Heren*)

- *Land* (see *Land*) in *Barrsból* (see *Barrapoll*)
- **Krossagarð* (see *Crossigar*) and **Húsgarð* (see *Husagar*) in **Hauga* (Hough)
- **Krossgerði* (see *Croisgeir*) and **Geirrsgerði* (see *Cascar Bàn*) in **Býjarstøð* (Kilmoluaig)
- **Forntgerði* (see *Fòirnigir*) in **Norður-Vág* (see *Kenovay*)

Figure 3. Proposed peripheral Norse settlements



Tiree has seven surviving ‘field’ place-names in *gerði* or *geiri*, and seven in *vøllr*. In comparison, there are just three such names in the Carloway Register (Cox 2002, 173, 268 and 380), and none in *vøllr*. On the other hand, Tiree has only one name in *sætr* ‘shieling’, whereas Carloway has three. Norse Tiree, as did Late Medieval settlement on *Tír Íseal an Eòrna* ‘the low land of the barley’, appears to have placed a heavy emphasis on arable, while Scandinavian farmers on Lewis developed an economy based on livestock.

This patchwork of small farms was to change again after the adoption of the runrig system (see section 10.2.2).

8.4 The struggle for dominance during the settlement process

Vésteinsson's work in Iceland suggests that the first settlers, having taken large estates of the best land, used this head start to become the most powerful and the wealthiest members of the fledgling country. They sold and rented land at the edges of their estates to dependent tenants and controlled access to valuable resources such as firewood and hunting (Vésteinsson 1998, 20).

However, this sequence seems not to have occurred on Tíre. What seem to be secondary settlements often developed as sizeable and independent units in their own right, sometimes worth more eventually than their 'mother' estates: for example, *A' Bhaioill* had shrunk to one sixth of an ounceland by 1541, while what may have been its 'daughter' township, Kirkapol, was valued at one ounceland; Hynish was valued at one ounceland in 1541, the same as its presumed sub-division Mannal; Kenavara shrunk to half an ounceland while Barrapol grew to one, and eventually expanded in turn to take over most of the Kenavara headland. One explanation for this might be that many of the best defensive sites on Tíre are coastal and well away from the most fertile land. Early Viking settlement sat nearby Pictish Iron Age farms nestled around the forts. Later Scandinavian settlers took the more valuable ground in between.

Of course, this linear model of primary, secondary and peripheral Norse settlement on Tíre is highly simplified. The struggle between early Norse landholders and later land-seekers (Macniven 2015, 18) must often have been a great deal less straightforward than this.

Pressure from Norway for land on Tíre may have eased after the start of Icelandic settlement around 870. Indeed, some of the new Icelandic settlers came from the Hebrides (Gammeltoft 2001, 26). But settlement pressure may also have come from the south, where native forces recaptured early Norse coastal fortresses in Ireland known as *longphuirt*. This occurred most notably in 893 and 902, when an annalist recorded: 'The heathens were driven from Ireland that is, from the fortress of *Áth Cliath* [Dublin, where the Norse had established themselves in 841] ... and they abandoned a great number of their ships and escaped half dead after they had been wounded and broken' (AU U902.2).

The Norse settlers of Tíre are likely to have held their land with an unwritten, allodial title (independent of a superior landlord) under Scandinavian udal law.

This code stood in contrast with feudal law, which spread to England after the Norman invasion of 1066 and to some extent to Scotland thereafter (Oram 2011, 214). Under feudal law, all land belonged to the king, who allowed a hierarchy of nobles vassalage over his territory. A vassal did not own this land, but administered and collected tax from it. However, for all the clear legal distinction, ‘the difference between the two forms of landholding [udal and feudal] was not very great’, in the Northern Isles anyway (Fenton 1978, 22).

Allodial title came as the result of original possession over five generations (Vogt 2010, 213). Families often attempted to bolster their claims to land by the burial of an ancestor on the property: ‘Burial mounds may therefore be seen as legal documents in an oral society’ (Sanmark 2017, 85). During the excavation of the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*, MacKie found a disarticulated and re-buried skeleton of a 30 to 40-year-old male with what appeared to be a sword blow to the skull dated to AD 805 AD +/- 200 years (MacKie 1974, 214). The fact that he had been re-interred in a prehistoric monument suggests that this was an important Viking figure whose remains were used as a territorial marker. These bones have yet to be analysed.

Another feature of udal property law was partible inheritance. The eldest son inherited the father’s main residence, while the rest of the property was shared among siblings; daughters inherited half as much as sons. Partible inheritance contrasts with the Scottish feudal principle of primogeniture for male heirs, and tended to produce sub-divisions of holdings (Jones 1996): ‘At the present day, the result of such division is best seen in the Faroe Islands, where fragmentation of units can be extreme. One farmer in the island of Sandur, for example, held nearly a hundred small patches of land scattered over the township area in 1908’ (Fenton 1978, 23). Partible inheritance may explain the extreme sub-division of townships between Hough and Kilkenneth seen in medieval rentals and the 1768 Turnbull Map, and also the pattern of peripheral settlement suggested above (see section 8.3).

Underpinning Norse society was the local *þing* ‘assembly, meeting, parliament [a thing]’ (CV, 736). Regular meetings of free men allowed the arbitration of disputes and provided a forum where they could vie for local political and cultural control: ‘It looks very much as if the [Western] Isles [in 962] were not organised into a kingdom or earldom, but that, like the provinces of the Swedish interior ... they were ruled by assemblies of freeholders who regularly elected lawmen to preside over their public affairs’ (Woolf 2007b, 213). Iceland had its own national assembly, the *Al-þing*, by around 930, half a century after settlement had begun (Sanmark 2017, 164). Indeed, a *thing* was essential to the social cohesion of any Norse Atlantic settlement.

Tiree was quite large enough to justify at least one such assembly. Sanmark has identified seven *thing* sites on Shetland. One of these was at Delting, which had a population of 956 in 1751 (*Old Statistical Account* Delting 1791, 394); this compares to 1,509 on Tiree at the same time (Cregeen 1964, xxviii). Sanmark has studied *thing* sites throughout the Norse expansion zone. Most were situated beside water: ‘Bearing in mind the tradition in Scandinavia of water forming *thing* site boundaries, and the reference in Grimnir’s sayings to Thor wading across holy water to access the assembly, one suggestion is that such a crossing was required for *thing* participants during the Norse period’ (Sanmark 2017, 202). Small islands in lochs were often chosen for this reason (Sanmark 2017, 206). Prehistoric monuments, settings which created their own powerful atmosphere and conferred legitimacy, were also favoured: ‘In Norse Scotland, *thing* sites often focussed around reused monuments, habitually in the shape of large mounds’ (Sanmark 2017, 219). Gatherings were also a social occasion with feasting, drinking, and deal making. Horseracing was a popular sport around the fringes (Sanmark 2017, 206).

The most likely location for a Tiree *thing* is the islet in G Loch an Eilein ‘loch of the island’ in Heylipol. This has many features typical of a *thing* assembly site, although substantial sand drift from the fourteenth century onwards (see section 5.6.2) appears to have covered the southern part of the area.

The islet was probably accessed by a 130-metre-long snaking causeway from the northern margin of the loch, and was plausibly the site of an Iron Age causewayed Atlantic roundhouse. The location certainly developed into a medieval and modern administrative centre. It may have acquired a Norse fort-name, and certainly provided the location for an important thirteenth- or fourteenth-century castle with associated ditch and bank fort (see *Isleborg*). Later still, it became the site of the substantial G Taigh an Eilein ‘Island House’ built for the chamberlain of the Duke of Argyll. Nearby is an execution site, although capital punishment appears to have been rare under Early Medieval Norse law: Sanmark 2017, 54; Coolen 2016; see *Bac’ a’ Chrochaidh*). The islet in G Loch an Eilein is 50 m from the southern edge of the loch, where an extensive sloping meadow provides a shallow amphitheatre, and an open area suitable for social gatherings and sport.

There may have been other *thing* assemblies on Tiree: ‘In the early settlement period, a rather organic phase of [*thing*] site establishment can be envisaged with assemblies set up by powerful individuals/families as a way of taking control over a particular area, and site location may therefore have changed rather frequently. It would then have been particularly important to acquire a *thing* site with the right attributes, sending out power signals to the population’ (Sanmark 2017,

200). Whyte has suggested one local *thing* site on Mull: *Gruline* derived from **Grót-þing* ‘stony assembly’ (Whyte 2014, 139). There are other examples of the name *Gruline* on Islay and Eigg, as there is on Tiree (see *Greòdhlainn* in the Gazetteer). The natural amphitheatre at *The Ringing Stone* is another possible *thing* site, with its extensively cup-marked erratic above a tidal pool, and an area nearby showing evidence of possible cooking and brewing pits (see Sanmark 2017, 72, and *Kory Finmackoul* in the Gazetteer). Indeed, Early Medieval Tiree may have been divided into two districts corresponding to the later medieval parishes (see section 10.8), and each division may have required its own assembly.

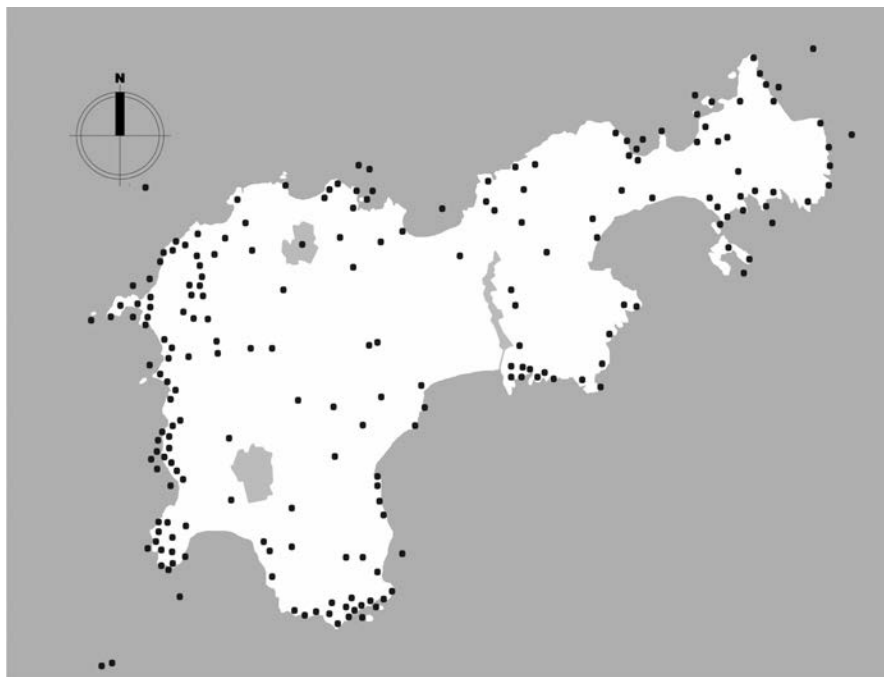
Although *lawthings* replaced the *Althing* system in the Norse expansion zone in 1274 as the king of Norway extended his jurisdiction, the Norse crown had ceded its territories on the west coast of Scotland by then.

In the early days of Norse settlement, Tiree is likely to have had a relatively ‘flat’ or ‘horizontal, kin-based society’ (Oram 2011, 296), one with little hierarchy. Any threat of external violence, however, would have encouraged the development of a ‘proto-aristocracy’ to provide military leadership (Oram 2011, 204): ‘Instead of being a land of isolated and independent farmers of equal status, [Iceland became] a land of several hundred powerful farmers each in control of a considerable number of people on his own estate and having political authority over up to three thousand lesser farmers and cottagers bound to the estate farmers by ties of ownership, and by the twelfth century also through church attendance and the payment of tithes [church taxes]’ (Vésteinsson 1998, 26–7). In Iceland, it appears that the establishment of churches on larger estates grew to become a tool of political control and revenue, as well as an expression of faith: ‘Each [estate] normally had a church with a priest on it and the churches often owned parts of the estates’ (Vésteinsson 1998, 17).

One attraction for Scandinavian settlers emigrating to a new land must have been freedom from overlordship, obligation and taxation. It was not to last. At some point in the Early Medieval period, a taxation system was imposed on Tiree. Early Medieval farm townships (the primary or secondary settlements with their peripheral farms) were brought together to form *ouncelands* (see section 10.5.3).

9. THE EXTENT OF NORSE SETTLEMENT ON TIREE

Figure 4. Distribution of probable Norse names



It has often been assumed that Scandinavian influence seeped gradually down the west coast of Scotland, weakening in intensity the further it stretched from its source in the southwest of Norway. Work by Captain W.F.L. Thomas in the 1870s and 80s was influential in creating this model. He concluded that there were around four times as many Norse farm-names in Lewis than Gaelic ones; on Islay the ratio was reversed, with two-thirds of the farm-names in Gaelic and one-third in Norse. For over a century, this analysis strongly encouraged the view that the islands of the southern Hebrides were more lightly and more briefly settled by the Norse than the islands to the north and west (Macniven 2015, 21). This wisdom is still received: ‘The varied extent of Norse colonisation in the islands can be seen by the ratio of Norse to Gaelic names ... From these ratios, it is obvious that the Inner Hebrides were much less “Norsised” than the Outer Hebrides, which were significantly known as the *Innse-Gall* (Isles of the Foreigners or Strangers i.e. Norsemen)’ (MacPhee 2004, 19).

But modern research in the southern Hebrides is starting to overturn this entrenched idea. In a detailed analysis, Macniven has shown that, in fact, 54% of farm-district names on the 1749 MacDougall estate map of Islay are Norse (Macniven 2015, 53). He has also made the telling point that the southern Hebrides, particularly Colonsay and Islay, are particularly rich in significant Norse archaeology (Macniven 2015, 110).

Using these ratios (and the methods of Macniven 2015, 52), Tiree rentals and maps leave no doubt as to the impact of Norse settlement:

- The first complete fiscal source, the 1509 crown rental, lists 31 township names: 71% are Norse in origin while 29% are Gaelic (ER 13, 1509, 216–7). In comparison, just under a third of early settlements in the rentals of the parish of Torosay on Mull had Norse names (Whyte 2017, 103 and 131)
- The 1541 crown rental again lists 31 townships: 70% of the names are Norse, while 30% are Gaelic (ER 17, 1541, 647–8)
- *Mula Insula*, the Blaeu map that includes Tiree, was published in 1654. It was probably based on an earlier, but lost, Pont manuscript, using surveys done in the last two decades of the sixteenth century (Fleet *et al.* 2012, 53). The map records 60 place-names (roughly half of which are topographic names), of which 67% are Norse and 33% Gaelic
- The 1768 Turnbull survey lists 29 township names: 62% are Norse, and 38% Gaelic

- Carloway, Isle of Lewis (Cox 2002) and the Isle of Barra (Stahl 1999) have benefited from a similar intensity of fieldwork as Tiree. The three databases are similar but have their differences. Cox and Stahl have presented lists of *names* including aliases separately (for example *Callanais* and *Callanish* are presented as different entries: Cox 2002, 197), whereas the Tiree list is one of *features*, which include all aliases under one heading. The geography also differs. The Tiree collection is, naturally, rich in coastal names in comparison to Carloway, where the gazetteer includes no examples of *G carraig* 'fishing rock' (Tiree has 55), just 7 examples of *G port* 'inlet' (Tiree has 127), 7 of *G tràigh* 'beach' (Tiree has 31), and 58 of *sgeir* (Tiree has 84). Carloway, by way of contrast, has a huge hinterland of *sliabh*, lochs and shielings.

Table 5. The number of Norse place-names in Carloway, Tiree and Barra

	Ordnance Survey	Full onomasticon	Non-habitative onomasticon	Norse names
Carloway		3815	3806	250
Tiree	676	3309	2350	215
Barra	346	2677	2627	196

Notes:

1. OS: the numbers of place-names in the parish from Ordnance Survey Day Books
2. Full onomasticon: the total number of place-names from Cox 2002 and Stahl 1999
3. Non-habitative onomasticon: the three collections differ greatly in the number of building and field names collected. In this column, names in *G croit*, *taigh*, and *tobhta* have been removed: Carloway 9, Tiree 959, Barra 50
4. The number of probable Norse place-names. The Carloway figure is from Cox 2002, 112. The Barra and Tiree figures were estimated by the author.

There are plausible Norse peripheral farm-names in several Gaelic-named townships on Tiree: see *Adha-geir* and *Raonabol* in Caolas; *Gorraig* and *Sorobaidh* in Balemartine; and *Croisgeir* in Kilmoluag.

In addition, Tiree has a large number of surviving Norse minor names referring to skerries, fishing rocks, inlets, hillocks and pools. These include:

- Caolas: *Boramul, Lònamar and Rosgaill*
- Balinoe: *Ceansa*
- Balemartine: *Ìlidh*
- Balephuill: *Callraig, Grianal*
- Kilkenneth: *Origadal*
- Balevullin: *Boraige and Rangasdal*
- Moss: *Birceapol and Stànal*
- Kilmoluaig: *Bordain and Tronsairigh*
- Balephetrish: *Abhuinn, Aulaig, Crisnis, Saltaig and Sandaig*

There are three crofting townships – Balinoe, Middleton or Kenovay – with no surviving Norse names. However, there are reasons to think that this was because of later intrusive settlement (see section 11.2.3).

Norse settlement on Mull appears to have been patchy:

Analysis of the earliest fiscal source ... suggests that a Gaelic-speaking population survived through the Norse period in Forsa and Moloros. There is no evidence in the earliest fiscal sources for the kind of large-scale and culturally transformative plantation of Norse settlers to the extreme disadvantage of the established Gaelic-speaking population proposed in Islay and suggested for the Inner Hebrides generally by Macniven. (Whyte 2017, 150)

Given the fact that only a fraction of Norse place-names have survived, the evidence suggests that the Norse settled every corner of Tiree; took the majority, if not all, of the best land; and culturally controlled the landscape. A substantial remnant native population is likely to have been absorbed into Scandinavian households and employed as farm labourers, or regrouped on peripheral holdings.

10. MEDIEVAL TIREE

10.1 RAIDING

In the Northern Ocean ... are a number of islands, namely the *Orcades* [Orkney] and the *Incaides* [Hebrides] and many others. Almost all of them are held by, and are subject to, the Norwegians. For even though they lie nearer to other regions, nevertheless the Norwegians, who keep their eye ever on the ocean, lead above any other people a piratical life. Consequently, all their expeditions and wars are decided by naval engagements. (Gerard of Wales, thirteenth century, quoted in McDonald 1997, 13)

Raiding presented a high risk, but sometimes very effective, means of generating wealth for elites in an Early Medieval Europe where subsistence agriculture was the norm. To reduce the risk of reprisals, raids were 'conducted with the express aim of destroying your enemies capacity to fight through the wasting of his economic resources' (Oram 2011, 14).

Raiding tended to become less important during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Farming became more productive as the climate warmed and promised, along with fishing, a less risky way to accumulate wealth and status. But the start of the Little Ice Age around 1300 meant that raiding once again became a significant part of the Hebridean economy, a trend that lasted well into the sixteenth century:

It is clear that vestiges of this economy of war and aggression lingered along the western seaboard long after it had disappeared from [the rest of] western Europe, and the Hebridean chieftains must have relied on plunder in order to maintain their followers. (McDonald 1997, 150)

In 1258, ‘a great fleet came from Innsi-Gall [the Hebrides] with Mac Somhairle; and they passed around Erinn [Ireland] westwards to Conmaicne-Mara [Connacht] where they robbed a merchant-vessel of all its goods, both wine and clothing, and copper and iron’ (quoted in McDonald R.A. 2017, 21). Around 1461, a force from the Hebrides plundered Orkney, carrying away, ‘goods, animals, utensils, jewels, money, and everything they could for their own use, leaving little or nothing except the burnt soil of the earth, empty and useless’ (Grohse 2017, 283). And as late as 1589, ‘four hundred Scots of the sept of the Barrones [i.e. MacNeills from Barra] invaded Eris [Mayo], killed 600 cows, freighting their galleys with the spoil, and 500 cows beside they carried to an island and there killed them and took away the hides and tallow’ (Rixson 1998, 35). This is nothing but a sixteenth-century example of an old Norse tactic: the ON *strand-hogg* or strand raid (literally beach-slaughter; CV, 597).

Tiree, surrounded by inviting beaches, was also intensely vulnerable to attack, as it had been since late prehistory. The threat of raids, after all, was presumably the driver for the construction of many Tiree fortifications during the Pictish Iron Age. Not all raiders during the Viking Age came from southwestern Norway. In 986, two and a half centuries after the Norse had first settled Tiree, Iona was attacked again:

‘Iona, of Colum Cille, was plundered by the *Danair* on Christmas night, and they killed the abbot and fifteen elders of the monastery’ [AU U986.2]. We see here for the first time in the Irish chronicles the use of the word *Danair*, literally ‘Danes’ ... *Danair* had never previously been used for the [Norse], and here must mean new invaders coming directly from Scandinavia ... almost certainly had their origins in Denmark proper or southeastern Norway. (Woolf 2007b, 217–8)

From the same period, a Scandinavian silver hoard found below *Dùn Mòr a’ Chaolais* has been dated to 970–80 (see Appendix 18.b.1). The substantial Machrie silver hoard on Islay has also been ascribed to 960–970 (Macniven 2015, 173), and the majority of hoards on the Isle of Man date from the period 955–1075 (McDonald 2019, 213).

A second Tiree hoard, dug up beside *Dùn Shiadair*, comes from the period 1180–1242. A passage from the *Orkneyinga Saga* gives an insight into how the writer saw the process of hoarding: ‘Once Svein Asleifarson set out on a spring trip ... They had five big ships, all fitted for rowing, and began raiding in the Hebrides. The Hebrideans were so scared of them they hid whatever they could

carry either in among the rocks or underground’ (quoted in McDonald 2019, 213). The Tiree hoards can be interpreted on the one hand as the consequence of ‘insecurity or instability’ (McDonald 2019, 213), but also as indicators of prosperity.

As the climate continued to deteriorate, a spy reported in 1543 that he had heard the Earl of Argyll boast that his forces had ‘burnt the isle of Glentre [interpreted as Tiree], killed 10,000 oxen and kine and taken 1800 horses and mares’ (quoted in MacLean-Bristol 1995, 117). And in 1589, Angus MacDonald harried Tiree (MacLean-Bristol 1999, 102). *G gall* ‘foreigner’ is a common element in Argyll place-names, and Kenavara’s *Dùn nan Gall* ‘the fort of the strangers’ comes from this Late Medieval period (see *Dùn nan Gall* and *Skarbarigh* in the Gazetteer).

In the nineteenth century, John Gregorson Campbell collected two stories from the oral traditions of the island. Entitled *The Last Cattle Raid in Tiree*, and set on an eighteenth-century stage, they are almost certainly built around an oral tradition dating from Late Medieval times:

It seems to have been a kind of raid or robbery to which the island of Tiree was particularly liable. Plunderers and pirates, having chosen a suitable day when the seas about the island were at rest, and the cattle could be easily got on board the galley, or *birlinn*, carried on depredations far and wide on the island. Once the cattle were got by them on board the galley, they looked upon themselves as safe from pursuit. There are two traditions in existence of the island having been so visited, and their fate will illustrate the manner in which, in unsettled times, such expeditions were conducted.

The last successful foray was in the days of the Tanister of Torloisk, and seems to have been only sometime previous to, or about, [17]45. The account which tradition gives of it is that the Tanister [G *tànaiste*], or second heir of Torloisk in Mull was called Malise MacLean. His first name is somewhat peculiar, and not common among the MacLeans or any other West Highland clan, and was given to him in this manner. The heir of Torloisk was a promising healthy boy, but the succeeding children of the then chief were dying young. The Chief was advised by the sages of his race to give his child the name of the first person whom he met on the way to have the child baptised. The first person encountered was a poor beggar man who had the name of Malise. A name given in this way was known as *ainm rathaid*, or road name, and was deemed as proof against evil. The father gave this name to the child who survived and became Tanister. Being without the prospect of an estate the

Tanister thought he would come to Tiree, and piece by piece get an estate for himself. He came to have half, third, or other share of the township of *Baile Meadhonach*, now called Middleton, in Tiree, and married, and his descendants are still known. One day, a galley, with sixteen men on board came to Soraba beach. The men landed and collected every live animal that was about the place. At the time, the Tanister happened to be fishing at the rocks in Kenavara Hill, and on coming home soon after and hearing what had been done, he called to his neighbours asking them what they meant to do, were they going with him to turn the raid (*creach*). They all refused for fear of being killed, as the freebooters were a strong party. He said, 'I will not do that; I prefer to fall in the attempt (*tuiteam 's an oidhirp*), rather than let my cattle be taken.' He took with him his sword and followed the spoilers. When he came to the end of the pathway and within the sight of the galley, he stood before the *creach*. The freebooters told him to leave the road or he would feel the consequences (*Gu'm biodh a' bhuil dha*). He answered, 'I will not leave, and the consequences will be to you, until I get my own.' He got this as he seemed determined, and when he had got it, he asked also for the cow of a poor woman from the same township as himself, and having got this also, he said they might do with the rest what they liked. The plan of the robbers was to drive the cattle to the beach, where the galley was, and throwing them down and tying their forelegs together (*ceangal nan ceithir chaoil*), place them on bearers, or planks, and put them in the boat. When they had done so, they made off, and no one knew whence they had come or whither they went. This was the last successful raid of the kind raised in Tiree.

Subsequent to this *creach*, and in the time of Mr Charles Campbell being Minister of Tiree [1754–1779, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* Argyll, 89], several galleys, or *birlinnean*, each with its complement of men, and in addition each with a pretending minister and his man, made their appearance on the coast of Tiree. In those days every minister took his man along with him, and in this case each minister but one took his man from the boat. Wandering open-air preachers were in those times called hillock ministers (*ministearan nan cnoc*), and the one to whom the story refers was to officiate at *Ceathramh Mhurdat*, now embraced in the farm of Hough, and which was then thickly populated. Having sent due intimation round of his service, most of the people were drawn to hear him. His man was left behind to give him warning of any

disturbance of the expedition, which might occur. After he had been speaking for some time his man came in. The islanders had become aware of the nature of the invasion. The sheep and horses were gathered at the back of the hill of Hough, and a band of cattle-lifters had surrounded them for to drive them to the shore. A number who had not got to the preaching had observed this, and following them took the sheep and horses from them. Immediately the minister's man ran with all possible speed to warn the preacher at Murdat. When he came to where the sermon was, the preacher concluded, and handing the book to his man, venturing to think that the people would not understand him, said, as if reading a line, 'MacLellan, beloved friend, where did you leave the *Shockum sho?*' - i.e. the booty. (*Mhac-'ill-fhaolain, a duine ghaolaich, c' aite an d' fhàg thu an 'seogam seoth'?*). The incomer taking the book, and as if intoning the psalm, said, 'Matters are worse than we thought; they have taken from us the plaintive bleaters' (*'s miosa tha na mar a shaoil: thug iad uainn an 'cirri-méh*): *cirri-méh* is but an imitation of the bleating of sheep, and is found used in different localities as a pet or ludicrous name for sheep.

The people sang along with the precentor. They did not know that the words may have been part of psalms, when one who was smarter and more readily witted than the rest got up and said, 'We have been long enough here, these men are robbers, and not ministers.' The service was concluded, the people going to look after their cattle, and the minister and his man making their way with all speed to where the galleys lay. Before the people could overtake them, they got on board and made off, leaving their booty behind, and glad to escape with their lives.' (Campbell 1895, 29–32)

10.2 AGRICULTURE

10.2.1 Manure

The heavy rainfall experienced by the northwestern Atlantic rim leaches nutrients from the soil. Manuring replaces these as well as improving water retention for the drier summer months. It has been part of the farming cycle in Scotland since Neolithic times (Guttmann 2005, 224; Bakels 2018).

Although there are patches of thick glacial drift on Tìree, many low-lying areas are based on little more than raised beach deposits, while land close to beaches has been repeatedly covered by wind-blown shell sand (British Geological Survey 1999, *Tìree and Coll*, sheet 42 and 51W). While cultivating pure *machair* resulted in low yields and made the ground vulnerable to sand blow, soils at the inner *machair* margin, where shell sand blended with heavier ground, were more fertile. At the sandy end of the spectrum, however, this was still ‘high-input’ farmland with a relatively low mineral content and porous nature.

Almost all farmers in Iron Age and medieval Europe used a dung-based system to increase fertility. The collection of cattle manure was key to closing this nutrient cycle, and animals were consequently housed during the winter to concentrate this precious resource. Dung was reserved for a small area of the best land around the settlement: the infield or in-bye. Crops vary in their nutritional requirements: for example, bristle oats will grow on quite poor land, but barley and flax require richer ground.

A farmer using a dung-based system was forced to strike a balance if he had reached the limit of his infield. The area that he could devote to cereals was constrained by the amount of livestock manure he could collect. But the number of animals housed through the winter could only be increased by devoting more in-bye land to fodder crops at the expense of arable: ‘For optimum yields, it has been estimated that townships would need a 1:4 ratio of arable to grass’ (Dodgshon 1996, 192).

The livestock carrying capacity of a farm therefore depended not on the lushness of its summer grazing, but on its ability to feed livestock during the lean part of the year: ‘... farmsteads in Iceland [were] ranked according to their “fodder reserve value” and the ability to maintain stock over the harsh winter months’ (Jones and Mulville 2018, 338). Outside winterings consisted of any remaining stubble (cereals were usually pulled up by the roots); weeds left after the harvest; forage in the balks between cultivated ridges; cut hay meadows; and grazing near the shore.

The principal winter fodder was hay. The Norse township name *Hianish* is probably derived from ON **Heynes* ‘hay headland’ (see Gazetteer), while *Fidden* and *Tobar Poll Fannaid* may contain the element ON *fit* ‘meadow’.

Fodder production appears to have increased significantly after Norse settlement. This may have been due to the move away from locations near prehistoric forts to more fertile land, as well as the introduction of a heavier plough design and the new crops of oats and flax, which could also be used as fodder (Jones and Mulville 2018, 347). Certainly, Norse cattle and sheep on South Uist seem not to

have grazed at the shore (Jones and Mulville 2018, 346), and Norse longhouses in Unst, Shetland, usually had an attached stackyard (see section 10.4). This suggests a change to feeding livestock inside or near the settlement using fodder that was grown, collected and dried for the purpose.

Seaweed remained an important resource, providing additional manure as well as being used for fuel and in soap manufacture. The place-name *Hanais* may reference ON *þang* ‘tangle, seaweed’ (see Gazetteer).

But as sand blow increased from the fifteenth century under the deteriorating conditions of the Little Ice Age, the island’s *machair* extended inland and wetter autumns meant drying crops, including fodder, became less reliable. (A similar situation exists today). Tiree’s Late Medieval farmers appear to have adapted by largely replacing the wintering of cattle inside with outside winter grazing on the *machair*. The same seems to have been true on other islands (Shaw 1980, 99; Jones and Mulville 2018, 347). Certainly, by the time agricultural improvers began to commission reports on Tiree, cattle were not housed over the winter. In 1764, Walker wrote: ‘The cattle of every kind range the Fields here all the year round. The farmers, having neither Stables nor Cow Houses, collect no Dung’ (McKay 1980, 185). Out-wintering was possible because the increased expanses of *machair* could be hained and used as a standing hay crop (best exemplified today on *The Reef*, which is grazed today during the winter). However, this was rarely enough, and by the end of winter *machair* grazing was often exhausted. Livestock were forced to forage at the shorefront: ‘The cows and horses are of a very low size on this isle, being in the winter and spring time often reduced to eat sea-ware [seaweed]. The cows give plenty of milk; when they have enough of fresh sea-ware to feed on, it fattens them’ (Martin 1994 (1695), 295). One problem that must have been common in this situation was sand colic. If horses or cattle graze *machair* too hard, or after sand blow, they are liable to intestinal sand impaction. This leads to a loss of condition or colic and can be fatal.

However, those Tiree townships with little *machair*, for example Balemartine and Mannal, may have been exceptions: they either continued to use a forage/byre/dung system to sustain their nutrient cycle, or were not fully independent, instead being part of a larger grouping. Certainly, Crossapol, Mannal and *Heren* on *Beinn Haoidhnis* were regularly rented as one fiscal unit from the fifteenth century (see *Heren*).

The almost unlimited beach-cast seaweed came to supply an increasing proportion of the island’s manure requirements in place of dung (Dodgshon 1993, 699; and 1998, 209). By the end of the eighteenth century, the Tiree minister was reporting:

‘Above two thirds of the manure are seaweed’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 396). The shallow waters around Tiree and Coll are host to some of the most extensive kelp forests in Scotland (see section 5.6.2). It is estimated that there are 307,000 tonnes of kelp around the shores of the two islands. This is the fourth highest total in Scotland – after Orkney, Shetland, and the Outer Hebrides (Wilkinson 1995, 12) – and the highest amount anywhere in Scotland per head of population (based on eighteenth-century figures). Storm-cast seaweed is also particularly easy to gather from the island’s many accessible beaches. This rich supply of seaweed, rather than any particular soil quality, is plausibly the main reason that Tiree was singled out among the islands of Scotland by Fordun in the fourteenth century as producing ‘*hordei magna copia*’ [a great abundance of barley] (Skene 1871, 43; see section 5.6.6). All species of storm-cast seaweed were used as fertiliser, but one seaweed, known locally as *G bàrr-dearg*, was used into modern times on Tiree on fields about to be sown with barley. This is partly because its blades tend to be cast up in the first weeks of June, just before sowing (Hugh Archie MacCallum, pers. comm.). There is so much beach-cast seaweed on Tiree that there has rarely been a need to harvest it actively. But in some townships such as Ruaig, *G feamainn dhubh* ‘bladderwrack’ (*Fucus vesiculosus*) was cut with a sickle from the rocks at low water. Floated by the next incoming tide, it was collected using a rope called a *G ràth*. Despite the fact that this element is not found in Scottish place-names (SP), the rock name *An Slaodach* at the tip of *Mithealum* may reference seaweed gathering: *G slaodach* ‘toothed wrack (*Fucus serratus*)’ (Dwelly).

Seaweed application increases barley yield substantially (Featonby-Smith and van Staden 1987). Of the macronutrients – nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium – seaweed is relatively low in phosphorus, but it is a rich source of micronutrients that are notably deficient in sandy soil: for example, iron, manganese and boron. Seaweed also improves soil structure as its alginate breaks down, increasing nutrient availability from the soil more generally; it reduces soil pathogens; and it contains beneficial plant hormones. An added advantage is that it is free of weed seeds, unlike fresh animal dung. Seaweed’s beneficial effects, however, are short-lived, being largely ‘exhausted with its first crop’ (quoted in Dodgshon 2015, 134). This means it has to be applied annually.

Fresh seaweed may have been plentiful on Tiree, but it came at a cost. Its collection was labour-intensive, and the large numbers of horses required needed summer grazing and winter fodder: ‘There are a great number of horses here, many of them small and ill-shaped. The reason for their keeping so many is owing to the number they use in manuring their ground with sea-ware [seaweed]. They are

under the necessity of carrying it in creels on horseback from the shore, which in some parts is coarse and stoney, and in other parts soft sand' (Turnbull Report 1768). Fields further from the coast may therefore have been regarded as less valuable.

To remedy the relative lack of phosphorus in seaweed, organic waste material from the household, including ashes, bones and human waste – as well as additional material to improve soil structure such as charcoal and broken pottery – was added to the domestic dung heap and also spread onto the fields in spring. And the sea occasionally cast up more than seaweed. During the potato famine in the 1840s, Tiree crofters complained that the factor had given them turnips grown on land fertilised by rotten whale meat (quoted in Black 2008, 663; see *The Scotsman* 13 July 1887, 9). And in living memory, a crofter from Heanish once caught so many cuddies with his hand net that he put what the township could not eat onto his croft as fertiliser (Angus Munn, pers. comm.).

In addition, during the summer cattle could be folded at night in turf enclosures on the outfield, a practice known as tathing: '[Part of the outfield] is surrounded with a wall of sod the last year it is to remain in grass, which forms a temporary inclosure that is employed as a penn for confining the cattle during the night time, and for two or three hours each day at noon. It thus gets a tolerably full dunging, after which it is ploughed up for oats during the winter. In the same manner it is plowed successively for oats for four or five years, or as long as it will carry any crop worth reaping. It is then abandoned for five or six years, during which time it gets by degrees a sward of poor grass' (Anderson 1794, quoted in Handley 1953, 42). The Scots word *tathe* may be a reflex or a cognate of ON *tað* 'manure' (CV, 621). The Scots Gaelic *todhar* 'field manured by folding cattle upon it' (Dwelly) is a reflex of OG *tuar* with the same meaning. This occurs several times among Tiree's Gaelic place-names: *An Todhar*, a small green field in Vaul; *Todhar Ghrèineabhail* (see *Grèinemheall* in Gazetteer); and possibly *Todhar an Teampaill* in Heylipol (Reeves 1854, 233; see *Tobhar an Teampaill*). Tathe-folds, being temporary turf structures, have not survived. Tathing meant cattle had to be herded near the settlement, which meant they were not able to make use of the more distant seasonal *sliabh* grazing.

From the late eighteenth century, the estate advocated the re-introduction of hay as part of Improvement: 'It was owing to the initiative [of the third Duke, who held the title from 1743 to 1761] that the making of hay ... had appeared in the island for the first time' (Cregeen 1973, 3). Walker also reported in 1764 that 'twelve years ago there was no hay made in Tiree but upon two farms. The practice has since become general' (McKay 1980, 186).

In 1803, the fifth Duke encouraged the building of byres attached to croft houses (Cregeen 1968, 78), and most cattle were subsequently wintered inside. The labour-intensive carting of dung continued until the 1950s, when it became economic for crofters with tractors to spread chemical fertilisers. Today, the majority of cattle on Tiree spend their winters in the open.

Improvers later encouraged the application of calcareous shell sand to peaty inland fields to correct soil acidity: '[Shell sand] was first used in the north of Ireland towards the latter end of the 17th century and was thence carried to Galloway' (MacDonald 1811, 401). By 1764, it was stated that on Tiree 'there are Banks of Shell sand ... which would infuse wonderfull Fertility into all the strong Soil in the Island. These however, have never been used' (McKay 1980, 186). This practice has become more common on the island since the advent of tractors in the mid-1940s.

To increase soil depth in some Tiree townships, the humic layer was stripped from parts of the *sliabh* and hillside to enrich small, enclosed *G goirteanan* 'small fields'. This process built up deepened, plaggen-type anthropogenic soils resembling those found on the eastern half of Papa Stour in Shetland. This practice became more widespread during the harsher times of the Little Ice Age and in places where the soil was thinner (Turner and Owen 2013, 239). There was, however, a price to pay for this soil transfer: 'Once stripped from the hill slope, the land would be significantly impoverished and might never have recovered' (Turner and Owen 2013, 235; see McKenzie 2006, 26). Land was left looking 'skinned' or 'scalped' (Dodgshon 2015, 256). Small fields with what appear to be plaggen-type soils can be seen in the abandoned medieval township of *Heren* on the plateau on the southeastern slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis*.

10.2.2 Field systems

It is plausible that much Iron Age settlement in the northwest of Scotland was in fort-estates, sited first and foremost around the best defensive locations (see section 6.2). We currently know little about how the surrounding farmland was laid out. There was certainly cultivated ground, but a recent summary makes it clear that our understanding of late prehistoric field systems is still poor:

Essentially, the field-system of Iron Age Scotland is an untidy, cumulative and haphazard layout ... If there were ever enclosures, they were no more than temporary fences, and the lack of replication of the boundaries from year to year has prevented the formation of lynchets [earth terraces caused by ploughing] or other recognisable boundaries.

These fields are simply pieces of ground set aside for cultivation or pasture. (SCARF Report *Iron Age Scotland*, Section 3.5, accessed 24 March 2020)

The Vikings invaders of Tiree are likely to have moved at first into these fort-estates, but soon transferred to more fertile land nearby. The Norse came from a broadly similar Iron Age farming culture to that found in late prehistoric Scotland. In Norway, fertile valley floors were settled and cultivated, while the uplands were used for summer grazing. The topography of Tiree could hardly be more different, but it is likely that the Scandinavian settlers retained essentially the same farming practices in their new land.

At the heart of this system was the infield. This small area of fertile land beside the settlement was ploughed and sown with the most valuable crops: 'The infield has been identified as central to the organisation and sustainable management of land by the Norse settlers. Studies in Iceland, Orkney and Greenland have demonstrated that these locations were often heavily manured with a range of materials and used for cereal production or for hay to sustain overwintering livestock' (Turner and Simpson 2013, 39). Drier, sandy soils towards the shore were given over to rye, while wetter, heavier land was devoted to oats. The few hills and the areas of *sliabh* provided summer livestock grazing and a setting for the shieling economy.

The extent of cultivation was influenced by climate change. During the Medieval Warm Period from the mid-tenth to the mid-thirteenth centuries, arable expanded onto land that is we regard as marginal today (Oram 2011, 234): for example, to the east of the Council dump in Gott and the uplands of *Beinn Haoidhnis*. These upland field systems are the only ones to have survived from this period: 'None of the [surviving Norse] field systems are located on the flattest, lowest land in Unst [Shetland]; their survival is in part due to their location beyond the limit of later intensive agricultural practices' (Turner and Simpson 2013, 71).

Some farm townships on Tiree, such as Mannal and Salum, had just one area of infield. Others, for example Barrapol and Heylipol, may have had several. The numerous surviving medieval enclosure names suggest that a closed-field system, made up of small, enclosed fields of arable, appears to have been common in many Tiree farm townships until the introduction of runrig. Norse enclosure names include **Langakr* 'the long field' (see *Langach*) and the twelve possible surviving Norse names in *garðr*, *gerði* or *geiri* 'enclosed fields': *Adha-geir*, *Boidhegeir*, *Cascar Bàn*, *Cròinigear*, *Croisgeir*, *Crossigar*, *Fòirnigir*, *Gorraig*, *Groideagal*, *Husagar*, *Inisgeir* and *Òinegeir*. The eleven names in G *goirtean* 'small field' (see Gazetteer)

suggest that this system persisted, at least in some farm townships, beyond the start of the shift from Norn to Gaelic (see chapters 12 and 13). We do not need to imagine these medieval closed fields; good examples can be seen today along the northern shore of Balephetrish (see *Goirtean*), and there are several rigged enclosures in what appears to be two small medieval upland farms on the plateau on the southeastern slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis* (see *Heren* and *Lingal*).

In early summer, most livestock were herded away from the ploughed fields to the hills or *sliabh* (see shielings in section 10.2.4). If the spring was cold and wet, and hill pasture growth consequently delayed, this transfer could be quite late. In 1794, the minister lamented: ‘Till the middle of June the cattle are suffered to pasture on the corn’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 396–7).

Some livestock did remain around the settlement during the summer: ‘Animals such as milk cows, which might have to remain within the arable area during the summer, if they were not tethered, could be kept in enclosures known as folds or pounds’ (Shaw 1980, 80). The Tیره names *Briundainn* and *Cuinneag* may include the element ON *kví* ‘milking pen’ and *Cuigeas* its Gaelic borrowing *cuidhe*, while *Crò*, *Cro’-fhir*, *Crosan* and *Cròdhabrig* plausibly contain the element ON *kró* ‘small cattle pen’.

Few Early Medieval farm townships in the Highlands and islands appear to have had march, or boundary, dykes. The survival of place-names possibly derived from OI *Al-menning* ‘common pasture’ (see *Allamsa* and *Meanaidh*) suggests that the common use of boundary land did occur. Traditional sheep management relied on hefting. This is where a detailed knowledge of the best pockets of grazing and shelter are passed from ewe to lamb, so that a flock becomes reluctant to leave its accustomed ground.

Nevertheless, farm-townships are likely to have been keenly aware where their boundaries lay. These could be as simple as the watershed of a ridge, ‘where wind and water divide the hill’ (Cregeen 1964, 141). Natural landmarks were commonly used. A striking outcrop on the boundary between Heylipol and Cornaig is known today as *G A’ Charragh Bhiorach* ‘the sharp stone pillar’, but its Norse name was possibly **Borðastein* ‘stone of the boundary’ (see *Bordain*). The hillock above *G An Stalla Mhòr* ‘the big cliff’ in Balephuill may be known as *G Cnoc na Crìche* ‘hillock of the boundary’ (see *Cnoc na Crìthe*). In 1785, the chamberlain described one Mull boundary: ‘The march betwixt Torness ... and Corryghairan ... is as follows: on the burn south of Altcashicaklich running down Beenvarnach, a big stone opposite to Kenochnokan, from thence by a green nuik [corner] through the moss [peat diggings] to a black know [hillock] with three large stones in the

northwestern side of it' (Cregeen 1964, 123). Sometimes, boundary markers were deliberately created:

[Knowledge of the limits of farm townships was] carried in oral tradition, their immutable boundaries determined by following landmarks such as streams and knolls to confirm alignments and corners. Most boundaries took advantage of prominent natural boulders along their course which acted as markers ... called *hagmark* [in Shetland: the word derives from ON *hagi* 'pasture' and *mark* 'boundary mark'] and *marksten* [in Orkney]. When deliberately erected, it was usual practice to bury periwinkle shells under the *hagmark*, so that in cases of dispute the stone's authenticity was confirmed by the intrusive shells. (Tait 2012, 54)

In 1775, the Duke of Argyll instructed his chamberlain in Mull: 'You are immediately to get the cairns of stones betwixt my lands and those belonging to Lochbuy and Torloisk erected' (Cregeen 1964, 101).

The Tiree shoreline was as, if not more, valuable than the *sliabh*. The beach extent of each farm township appears, therefore, to have been carefully marked. The small promontory *Tromslum*, Salum, and beach rock *Tromsalum*, Ruaig (see Gazetteer), possibly indicated beach boundaries; the coastal rocks *G Am Meall* 'the lump' performed the same function between Mannal and Hynish (see Gazetteer); *Beireadh Ghrianail* and *Beireadh Shanndaig* are natural rock outcrops that define the shoreline boundaries of Greenhill and Sandaig (see section 12.1.2); *G Creag Eòghainn Bhàin* 'the rock of Fair Hugh' and *Lionar Sgeire* (see Gazetteer) did the same between Greenhill and Kilkenneth.

Other physical features also had their place. The specific of **Aulaig* in Balephetrish may derive from ON *hali* 'tail' (see Gazetteer). Otherwise, 'abandoned prehistoric fortifications were marker points for boundaries' (Oram 2011, 240). Structures that had been at the heart of Iron Age fort estates were now exiled to the periphery of Early Medieval farm townships. Examples are *Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais*, which marked the coastal extent of Caolas and Ruaig farm townships; *Dùn Ghot* between Gott and Scarinish; *Dùn Shiadair* between Hynish and **Bèidhe*; *Dùn Boraige Mòr* between Hough and Balevullin; and *Dùn Beannaig* between Balevullin and Kilmoluaig. This is further evidence that promontory fortresses were not always sited on the best agricultural land.

The course of streams could be used to delineate farm townships: for example, the un-named mill stream at *Port a' Mhuilinn* between Heanish and Baugh; *An Fhaodhail* between Baugh and The Reef; *Abhainn Chu' Dhèis* between Balinoe

and Soroby; while *Abhainn Bhi* marks the Balephuill-Barrapol boundary. Sometimes, it was the mouth of the stream alone that provided the shore marker: for example, between Crossapol and Heylipol. This was because many streams provided an important resource – of the peat fens and meadows they drained and of the water power used for milling. Many medieval settlements grew up on their banks: for example, Kirkapol, Gott and Cornaigmore. In all, 11 of the 37 coastal boundary markers on Turnbull's 1768 map were formed by streams.

Since the boundaries were often just notional lines between landmarks, it was important that oral traditions about them remained strong:

In former times, neighbouring proprietors used to ride in company around their skattald-boundaries in order to inspect the marches or put up new march-stones and thus prevent future disputes. Every year when this was done, they took with them a boy ... At every march-stone they came to, the boy got a flogging; this, it was thought, made him remember the place ever after. For every year this *hagri* or skattald-riding was done, a different boy was selected ... Thus when the boys grew up to be men, even if some among them should die, there would always be some men in the place who, in the case of dispute, would be able to swear where the right march was. (Jakobsen 1897, 109; see also Martin 1994 (1695), 175)

Memories had obviously faded by the start of the nineteenth century:

During the sittings of the Crofter's Commission of 1883 in Tiree, John MacIntyre, Vaul, submitted the remarkable and interesting evidence that when there were no march fences between Vaul and Balephetrish, a new tenant of the latter farm set about defining the marches in order to build the stone wall that still exists [in 1785: Cregeen 1964, 6]. He met the men of Vaul, but could not remember rightly where the dividing line began on the northern shore, except that the place was named after a bird. He supposed it would be *Creag a Chradh-gheoidh* (Shell Drake Rock). His servant at once interposed, 'No, but *Meall-an-Fhithich*' (Raven's Hill). The Vaul men acquiesced to their detriment, for thereby a large slice was cut off from Vaul and added to Balephetrish, and so it remains. (MacDougall 1937, 83)

As late as 1779 the Tiree census lists a number of 'grass-keepers and chasers whose task it was to patrol the unfenced bounds of a farm and prevent the

trespassing of neighbours' cattle' (Cregeen 1964, xxv). One tenant on Mull was commended in 1786: 'He was always in the habit of turning the cattle from Arinucadeur, and that the people of Assapol never turned their cattle' (Cregeen 1964, 139). As late as 1811, it was lamented that on Tiree, 'adequate march dykes are much wanted' (MacDonald 1811, 720).

This lack of a physical boundary is still occasionally seen. The wire fence on the mobile dune system between The Green and Balevullin was erected only in 1956 (Jean MacCallum, pers. comm.), and the fence has been down on the hill between East and West Hynish for many years.

Physical boundaries were expensive (in time and effort) to create, but brooked no argument. They were feasible over shorter distances and worthwhile where land was more valuable. This was often the situation on Tiree. Tiree's fail dykes (G *gàrradh-fàil* or *gàrradh-ploc* 'turf wall'; Scots *fail* 'turf') were built of turf with variable amounts of non-structural stone. A dyke builder on Mull was instructed thus in 1785: 'The fale dyke to be made seven foot high, well cop'd [capped] at the top and the green side of sod outermost' (Cregeen 1964, 135). These structures, however, often needed repair in the spring, particularly in areas with sandier soil. Walker observed the pre-Improvement farm layout on Tiree in 1764: 'A great part of the Fields are inclosed with Walls of Earth, very broad at the base at Foundation, five or six feet high, and covered with Grass from Top to Bottom. Without answering in any tollerable Degree the Purposes of inclosure; being built of a dry sandy earth, they are perpetually crumbling to Pieces, and create to the Husbandman a constant annual Toil' (McKay 1980, 18). These turf dykes usually do not survive on croft land and *machair*, after clearance for modern cultivation and the erosive effects of wind and rain. They are, however, a common sight on the *sliabh*.

Boundaries built before the professional surveys of the second half of the eighteenth century were usually curvilinear. These sinuously followed the natural shapes of the landscape, seeking large outcrops of bedrock and winding around pockets of richer soil. These sinuous dykes were said to have been stronger and to have provided more shelter for livestock than straight ones (Turner 2012, 20).

On the other hand, Tiree's Improvement dykes – created following the survey work of Turnbull and Langlands – were straight; entirely or largely built of stone; and followed a confident, grid-like plan that marked the new croft and township boundaries. In 1768, the surveyor James Turnbull reported that 'the marchis of the farms being straightened and pastures dividid by me when I was in Tirij' (SRO RHP 8826/2, 31, quoted in Johnston 1991, 98). He further advised the Duke: 'The

inclosing of ground [with permanent dry-stone walls] would be a great advantage here, but there are no proper stone quarries on the island. Inclosing with stone would be attended with great expense, if not impracticable on many farms' (Turnbull Report 1768). The Duke was persuaded, writing in his Instructions to the chamberlain of Tiry in 1785: 'You must continue to encourage and enforce as much as possible the building of good stone dykes upon all my farms' (Cregeen 1964, 5).

Livestock-proof drystone march dykes were consequently built during the eighteenth century: 'Since September 1785, Mr John Campbell, Barnacary, [the tacksman of Gortendonuil] and the tenants of Balimeanoch [Middleton] have built 60 roods [or rods, the equivalent of 300 m] of stone dyke' (Cregeen 1964, 6).

The Early Medieval Scandinavian settlement of Tiree had bequeathed a landscape of substantial farm townships, usually valued at one ounce-land or a large fraction of one. Some evidence suggests that many contained a patchwork of small farmsteads with their enclosed arable fields. But the Late Medieval period saw the evolution of a new system of cultivation in many parts of Scotland: runrig. This proved particularly popular in those areas where arable farming was most intensive (Shaw 1980, 86). Evidence that at least some tenants on Tiree were using this system is a 1771 instruction from the new fifth Duke of Argyll to his chamberlain on the island to 'attend to the abuse of runrig' (Cregeen 1964, 2).

The runrig revolution on Tiree had two elements: a change from fixed enclosed fields to open fields, and a change in the way land was allocated within the township. It represented a shift as significant as nineteenth-century Enclosure.

Farmers on Tiree, like those on many other *machair* islands, developed a new 'grass-arable system' (Dodgshon 2015, 136). Out went the pockets of enclosed infield, the hay fields, the winter byring and dung collection. Turnbull noted this several centuries later: 'The tenants [on Tiree] differ considerably in their method of husbandry from those in the Low Country and South parts of Scotland in making no distinction between their infields and their outfields, or good and bad arable' (Turnbull Report 1768).

In place of the strict division between cultivated infield and grazed outfield, suitable patches of cultivable land anywhere close to the township were ploughed for two or three seasons following a covering of seaweed. The plots were then fallowed under grass for a year or two to regain their fertility (Dodgshon 1996, 189). Barley, a hungrier crop, was usually grown on the richest and most heavily fertilised ground. Oats and rye could be sown on poorer ground, often on land that had been tathed (see section 10.2.1).

The grass-arable system had the advantage that land previously reserved for winter feed could now be cultivated, increasing the proportion of ground devoted to arable beyond its previous constraints (Dodgshon 1996, 189; see section 10.2.1).

Eventually, land use pressure made this system unsustainable by reducing the time that the ground was allowed to rest under grass. By 1695, Martin Martin reported that Tiree, 'being tilled every year, it is become less fruitful than formerly' (Martin 1994 (1695), 294).

With the abandonment of individual enclosures, a new way of allocating ground was needed. Tenants came to be assigned one or more rigs (from ON *hryggr* 'ridge'), strips of cultivated land. In the interests of fairness, these were often rotated (Dodgshon 2015, 133). A modern example of how this might have worked comes from Kyles Paible on North Uist. One of the crofters, John MacDonald, described how runrig was managed there in 1959. Tenants of this runrig farm were allocated G *imir* 'a strip of ground' of from twelve to twenty acres of prime in-bye land for three or four years at a time:

Each crofter would have two or maybe three rigs ... It was shared out by marking an equal share, they even had a piece of rope measuring the width of the ground ... And when it was measured out, a man was following the [township] clerk and he was turning a sod up at every mark ... The lots were drawn by the [clerk]. One of the crofters just turned away for a wee while they all put down their own token, and the crofter who turned his back to the remainder was called then and he was handed over the tokens, and he was placing a token on each of the rigs so that each of the crofters knew his own rigs. (Cregeen 2004, 130)

However, the assumption that this was the only method of working a runrig farm has been convincingly challenged (see Whittington 1973, 530–552), and it is likely that there was a range of runrig practices in different places and at different times. Land may have been re-allocated annually, every three years or not at all; rigs may have been cultivated and harvested by individual tenants, or cultivated in common and divided after harvest. A hierarchy existed within many runrig townships. For example, the 1776 Census of *Kelis* and the *South Quarter of Kelis* recorded twenty-seven households: a tacksman based in Gott, sixteen tenants (owning between six and two cows each, but five of whom had 'no stock'), three hynds (farm workers with additional privileges) and eight 'cotters' with no land and no livestock.

Individual tenants on Tiree appear to have been allocated one or two *imirean* of infield. In *Sandaig* and *Hough*, for example, the number of *imirean* on the 1768 Turnbull Map corresponds exactly with the number of tenant households in the 1776 Census. However, in runrig townships with more arable ground, tenants had more than one *imir*: for example, *Kelis* had almost two blocks of infield per tenant (1768 Turnbull Map and 1794 rental in Cregeen 1964, 37).

The layout of *imirean* on Tiree appears to have been unusual. Tenants seem to have been allocated coaxial blocks of land. Walker described the ‘Equality of its Fields’ after a visit to Tiree in 1764 (McKay 1980, 184). And the 1768 Turnbull Map ‘shows surprisingly regular field layouts with regularly shaped fields subdivided into regularly shaped strips. These were not typical of runrig layouts generally. In the majority of runrig townships [elsewhere in the Highlands], field units were small and irregular in shape’ (Dodgshon 1998, 151; and see Dodgshon 2015, 126). The area of the blocks in *Kelis* were, on average, 177 square metres (1768 Turnbull Map and Report). Modern aerial images of the island confirm the accuracy of Turnbull’s mapping in some places. This layout, with the *imirean* tilled in different directions, suggests it was designed to combat wind erosion of the light soil after ploughing.

On Tiree, each individual *imir* may have been enclosed with turf banks. That is certainly how Dodgshon has interpreted eighteenth-century reports: ‘The Tiree landscape was an enclosed not an open landscape. Walker’s first survey, c. 1764, talked about “[A] great part of the Fields are inclosed with Walls of Earth, very broad at the Foundation, five or six Feet high, and covered with grass from Top to Bottom”’ (Dodgshon 2015, 125–6). Walker’s ‘fields’ might, however, have referred to the whole cultivated area rather than each individual strip, as a six-foot grass bank between each *imir* would have consumed a lot of valuable land to little purpose.

The reasons for the development of runrig are unclear, but are likely to have been rooted in the need to cultivate more of the township, in particular the need to grow more barley, the crop most in demand to pay the rent. It is plausible that the demands of the landlord grew after MacLean of Duart was appointed to the bailliery of Tiree in the mid- to late-fourteenth century. This may have led to pressure to grow more barley. The deteriorating climate of the Little Ice Age must have led to a fall in yields, while enclosures of infield that were situated near the shore were lost to sand blow.

It is also difficult to say when this revolution took place. The many surviving examples of the Gaelic enclosure word *goirtean* (see *Goirtean*) suggest that it was after the shift from Norn to Gaelic (see chapter 12.1.12).

The change from a closed-field system to runrig is also likely to have happened at different times in different farm townships. Even on *Tìr Ìseal an Èòrna* ‘the low land of the barley’ there were differences between those farm townships with more cultivable land and those that concentrated on livestock (Cregeen 1973, 4). For example, in 1794 Heylipol sold forty-six bolls of barley and fifteen head of cattle. But the farms of Kilmoluaig, Beist with Park; Balephetrish; Barrapol with Kenavara; Hynish with Mannal; Crossapol, Balephuill with Balemartine; and Gott with Vuille all sold more cattle than bolls of barley (Cregeen 1964, 35–9). And there is no evidence on the ground that the hill farm of *Heren* ever abandoned the closed-field system.

Tenants’ grazing rights were controlled by the system of souming (Scots *soum* from the Latin *summa* ‘sum’); a Tiree soum is the grazing for one cow, one horse or five sheep and their followers (Cregeen 1964, 23*n*). This was, in turn, related to the extent of arable ground allocated to each tenant, with each ounceland originally having 72 soums, 1.5 for each mailie (Dodgshon 2015, 109; see section 10.5.5). Many runrig townships now constructed a head dyke to separate cultivated land from livestock grazing the *sliabh* in summer. A good example survives above *Goirteana na Tràghad* ‘the small fields of the beach’ between *The Ringing Stone* and *Vaul*. This boundary was not immutable; the line of early head dykes often moved inland as later medieval arable production expanded, reaching their furthest position on the 1768 Turnbull Map.

Later agricultural Improvers saw runrig as primitive. The eighth Duke complained that, ‘like all ancient and barbarous customs ... [annual re-allocation] was clung to most tenaciously.’ However, far from being ancient, runrig is likely to have been a Late Medieval development on Tiree:

A case for seeing the runrig systems of layout as [more recent] has also been argued from field evidence, with some townships bearing signs of a pre-runrig landscape consisting of enclosed fields and a more loosely dispersed form of settlement. The possibility exists, therefore, that far from being archaic, the formation of runrig communities or farming townships may have come about fairly late in the region’s history, being a product of Late Medieval responses to the growing territorialisation of renders and obligations. (Dodgshon 1998, 149)

And far from being barbarous, runrig appears to have been an ingenious and revolutionary solution to the problem of extracting a greater cereal harvest from an increasingly unforgiving landscape.

10.2.3 Cereal crops

Much of the North Atlantic rim was cattle country, with just 9% of the land area devoted to arable: ‘In terms of physical endowment, the western highlands and islands are more suited to livestock than crop production’ (Dodgshon 1993, 679). In this, Tiree was an outlier, large parts of the island being suitable for cereal cultivation. This is likely to have given the island a particular value in the regional economy.

Norse settlement seems to have led to an agricultural step change: ‘The Viking period saw the intensification of barley and black oat cultivation (possibly utilising heavier and damper soils)’ (Schorn and Quinn 2014, 20).

A heavier plough design – incorporating an iron coulter (a blade to cut the turf ahead of the ploughshare), a mouldboard to turn the soil, and wear stones (pebbles embedded underneath the ploughshare to reduce abrasion) – began to replace the ard, or scratch plough during the Iron Age (Payne 1957). At this time, soils were becoming colder and wetter throughout northern Europe. Cattle rather than horses were preferred for their greater traction.

By the eighteenth century, however, what may have been an essentially similar ‘Hebridean’ plough was being criticised by Tiree’s minister as being merely ‘a small, light plough ... Two men and five horses [work] the plough, [and] two men and two horses the ristle [a separate piece of farm equipment used before ploughing, featuring a blade that cut the turf and tough roots]’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 412). Consequently, land was often cross-ploughed: ‘Barley gets two and sometimes three ploughings and so consumes much time’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 397). Less fertile ground cultivated for oats, by contrast, usually made do with one. Turnbull estimated that in 1768 there were 150 ploughs on Tiree, an average of five in each township (Turnbull Report).

When used clockwise up and down the thin rigs of a runrig township, non-reversible medieval ploughs (which turned the soil just one way) built up high-backed ridges, whose crowns could stand six feet high and twenty feet broad. Between the ridges were uncultivated ditches known as balks. These provided drainage and, indeed, were often flooded in winter. They were also a place for stones to be thrown and for weeds to flourish. The characteristic broad rig and furrow markings of Late Medieval field systems can still be seen at many places on the island: for example, the fairway of the third hole of the golf course in Vaul (NM053477) and south of the doctors’ surgery in Baugh (NM020439).

However, land on rocky ground and in smaller fields was spaded, using the long-handled *G cas dhireach* ‘straight handled delving spade’. The *cas chrom* ‘crooked handled spade’, which was designed to also lever out rocks, does not appear in recorded accounts until the seventeenth century (Fenton 1974, 132). Spaded ground gave a higher yield than ploughed land (Shaw 1980, 101; Martin 1994 (1695), 127). However, Walker reported in 1764 that ‘the Soil everywhere [on Tiree] admits of the Plough, so that there is not that use made of the Spade that there is in the other islands’ (McKay 1980, 184). Cereal seed was sown by hand. Following this the ground was re-worked with a wooden harrow, sometimes attached to the tail of a young horse being broken in.

The only cereals found during the excavation of the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*, were two primitive forms of barley: hulled six-rowed barley (*Hordeum vulgare var. vulgare*), and its naked equivalent (*Hordeum vulgare var. nudum*) (MacKie 1974, 210). It may have been the Norse settlers to the Hebrides who introduced bere (*Hordeum vulgare L.*), another landrace of six-rowed barley that grows well in the acidic soil and long summer days of northern latitudes (Jarman 1996). The farm township of *Barrapoll* may contain the element ON *barr* ‘barley’ (see Gazetteer).

Grains of the small black, or bristle oat (*Avena strigosa*) have been found at a few Iron Age sites in Scotland, but this crop expanded greatly during Norse settlement of the North Atlantic. In Shetland, ‘cereals [at Norwick, Unst] were mainly six-rowed barley, both hulled and naked types, but oats are also recovered in significant quantities. This combination of species is considered to be indicative of domestic occupation within the Viking/Norse period’ (Ballin Smith 2013, 225). Bristle oats tolerate nutrient-poor soils, allowing marginal land to be cultivated with this low-input cereal. The crop, however, needed a long growing season, leaving it vulnerable to autumn storms: ‘No oats ripen [in Perthshire] till the first week of October’ (Handley 1953, 36; see Dodgshon 2015, 34). This was one reason that the crop thrived in the more benign climate after Norse settlement. Eighteenth-century Improvers tried to persuade Tiree’s tenants to sow the larger-seeded and taller white oats (*Avena sativa*), known in Gaelic as *coirce mòr*. They were unsuccessful, because the shorter black oat, known in Gaelic as *coirce beag*, stands up better to the wind and is less liable to shed its grain: ‘Repeated trials have been made [on Tiree] of growing great white oats ... often they did not return even their seed’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 395). Despite the importance of oats as a staple food, barley remained an important and valuable crop on Tiree; capable of being baked into nutritious bannocks and fermented into beer, it was also prized by the landlord and formed a disproportionately large part of the rent.

Another crop introduced to the Hebrides by the Norse was rye (Sharples 2016, 264). This was more usually eaten as porridge than baked (Handley 1953, 55). In contrast to oats, rye has a superficial root system, allowing it to stabilise dry, sandy soil (Schorn and Quinn 2014, 20). It also germinates at very low temperatures, allowing it to be sown early. No names in ON *rugr* ‘rye’ appear to have survived on Tiree, but the Gaelic place-name *Lag an t-Seagail* ‘the hollow of the rye’ sits beside *The Land* on the Barrapol *machair* (see Gazetteer). Sand blow after ploughing was probably the main reason that its use declined as the climate deteriorated during the Little Ice Age (Parker Pearson *et al.* 2012, 328); another may have been ‘its excess demands on the soil’ (Dodgshon 1993, 682). By the post-medieval period, rye was grown in just a third of all Tiree townships (Dodgshon 1993, 685): ‘A medium [harvest] for four years past [on Tiree is] 547 bolls of barley, 507 bolls of oats, and 16 bolls of rye’ (Turnbull Report 1768).

Wheat has not been grown on Tiree in post-medieval or modern times: ‘No wheat has ever been sown [on Tiree]’ (Turnbull Report 1768). However, emmer wheat may have been planted during the Medieval Warm Period. One tantalising wheat grain (*Triticum aestivum*) was found on Tiree in an archaic field near *Teampall Phàraig* on Kenavara (Sayer and Brown 2006, 95). Wheat grains were found in a Norse site at Freswick, Caithness (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 211). However, the phrase name *G Cnoc a’ Chruithneachd* ‘hillock of the wheat’ in Kenovay may in fact be Norse (see *Cruithneach*). The Tiree Norse place-names *Coirceal* (ON *korki* ‘oats’: see *Coirce*) and possibly *Cornaig* also refer to cereal cultivation (see Gazetteer).

Tiree estate records are available for the years 1541, 1652, 1680 and 1768: ‘From them, we can construct the most detailed picture available of a Hebridean island in the seventeenth century’ (Dodgshon 1998, 167). In 1652, the island sowed twice as much oats as barley. But known throughout the Hebrides as *G Tir Ìseal an Eòrna* ‘the low land of the barley’, Turnbull estimated in 1768 that 50% of the land on Tiree was in cereal production, and that the barley harvest had overtaken oats (Turnbull Report). In comparison, 32% of Coll, 24% of South Uist, 18% of Barra and just 7% of Harris was under arable (Dodgshon 1998, 16). We have to remember, however, that by the eighteenth century the tenants of Tiree were under new and intense pressure to pay their rental as money, and had consequently expanded barley production to produce their first value-added product: whisky.

Yields on Tiree could occasionally be exceptional: ‘In 1808, Mr MacLean, the active and intelligent tacksman of Kilmoluaig, had fifteen returns from barley [in other words, fifteen grains harvested from one grain sown]’ (MacDonald 1811, 722). But in the main, by the eighteenth century the yield was far less.

The Tiree minister recorded in 1794: ‘The returns are about 4 seeds from barley, and 2 from small black oats ... [but] they tell of a far superior increase in grain when the land was in good condition. There were then scarcely tenants to occupy the land’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 395). Analysis of estate records confirms this lower figure, with average barley yields on Tiree in the 1760s being 3.5 times, and oats yielding 2.2 (Dodgshon 1993, 688). The corresponding figures for Gigha were 6 and 4.5 respectively: ‘Despite its fertility and large acreage, returns on Tiree were clearly low’ (Dodgshon 1993, 688). The island’s reputation as ‘the low land of barley’ was won by its huge cultivated area rather than its fertility.

It is plausible that yields after Norse settlement were higher than those found by eighteenth-century surveyors. The island’s population may have been smaller in the Early Medieval period, allowing less intensive use of the land, and new areas were being ploughed for the first time. By 1695, Martin Martin was reporting that farmers on Tiree were ploughing the same patches of land year after year, with consequently thinner crops (Martin 1994 (1695), 294). And by the time lobbyists for Improvement reached Tiree in the eighteenth century, tilled land on Tiree was often just thinly sown. This encouraged weed growth among the crop (Dodgshon 2015, 136). Forbes reported of the Tiree fields in 1737:

The whole is so overrun with rank strong weeds that it is an absolute impossibility to drive a sickle through it. I never saw fields covered with a greater load of herbage than their corn fields are, but when you examine them, hardly one-tenth part of them is corn, the rest is all wild carrot, mustard, etc. The poor creatures do not know which way to clear their fields of these weeds, and think of nothing but to pluck up the corn as their ancestors did, which leaves the seeds of the weeds time to ripen and shed, in order to move complete crops of them against next year. (Report by Duncan Forbes of Culloden to John, Duke of Argyll, 24th September 1737)

This passage is often quoted to demonstrate the poor state of Tiree’s arable fields. But the island’s pre-Improvement farmers were forced to rely on what was left of the previous year’s crop for seed, and little remained if a poor harvest was followed by a long winter. The most productive strategy in this situation was to sow thinly, while the method of harvesting by pulling the plants, rather than cutting the stalks, meant that weeds could be left in the ground as wintering. Some ‘weeds’, such as silverweed, were in fact valuable foods (Dodgshon 2015, 136; see section 10.3.7).

Harvesting involved pulling whole plants, complete with their root systems, out of the soil by hand. This produced a longer straw for feed, thatching and litter, but impoverished the ground (Shaw 1980, 103). As late as 1771, the fifth Duke had complained of the, ‘pernicious consequence of pulling barley’ on Tíree (Cregeen 1964, 1). The sickle was introduced at the start of Improvement in the eighteenth century.

Grain was separated from the stalk either by *graddan* (see chapter 3) or by threshing. For all cereals, the introduction of the more efficient rotary quern in place of the saddle quern in the Middle Iron Age (MacKie 1974, 138) allowed grain to be ground into flour more easily (Dodgshon 2015, 34).

The water wheel in medieval watermills was horizontal. A vertical drive shaft from this passed through the lower millstone and turned an upper runner stone. Although these are often called ‘Norse’ mills, the Vikings had, in fact, encountered this design in Ireland in the ninth or tenth century. They then spread the technology throughout the Norse expansion zone (Tait 2012, 396). There are four possible surviving Norse names in *kvern* ‘mill’ (see *Cornaig*, *Greusgain*, *Suacan* and *Uircean*) along with nine names in Gaelic *muileann* and two in Scots:

- *Millton* and *Am Muileann*, Caolas (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.; see *Suacan*)
- *Cnoc a’ Mhuilinn* ‘hillock of the mill’, Kirkapol (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.)
- *Port a’ Mhuilinn* ‘inlet of the mill’, Scarinish (OS1/2/28/175)
- *Port a’ Mhuilinn MhicAirt* ‘inlet of MacArthur’s mill’, Heanish, where a stream passes through the raised beach (Neil Johnston, pers. comm.)
- *Port a’ Mhuilinn*, Baugh (OS1/2/28/178; the buried millrace can still be seen in a private garden (Simon Latham, pers. comm.)
- *Druim a’ Mhuilinn* ‘ridge of the mill’, Baugh (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.): an un-named stream that drains *Loch Baugh* into *An Fhaodhail* (Feature no. 183, Turnbull Report 1768) cuts through this ridge
- *Miln of Hulliboill* documented in 1674 (MacPhail 1914, 291), and surveyed by Turnbull on the stream draining *Loch an Eilein* (Turnbull Map 1768)
- *Port a’ Mhuilinn*, Hynish (OS1/2/28/241)
- *Bail’ a’ Mhuilinn* ‘township of the mill’, Balevullin

- *Muileann Beag Chornaig* ‘the small mill of Cornaig’, Cornaigmore (William MacPhail, pers. comm.). This was built by the estate in 1776

Oral traditions of mill sites have also been recorded at *Sruthan Àrais* in Caolas (see *Àras* and *Greusgain*); the stream draining *G An Loch Beag* ‘the small loch’ in Scarinish (NM041443); and *Baile mhic Eòdha* in Barrapol (see Gazetteer).

However, the flat Tiree landscape generates little water pressure for much of the year: ‘Though there be a great number of brooks, Tiree mills seldom can be wrought for want of water or sufficient falls above five or six months yearly’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 399). By the post-medieval period, as barley production rose, grain was sometimes shipped to Mull: ‘The Ross of Mull provided Tiree with ... the use of its many small water-mills for grinding corn’ (Cregeen 1964, xx). In 1768, Turnbull reported that ‘there is no mill but one at Crossapol and at present not in proper repair’. Although nineteenth-century drainage has sometimes altered water flows profoundly, this might explain why some mill names reference watercourses that are, today, little more than a trickle. It is also true that some quite vigorous Tiree streams – for example, those at Soroby and Kilkenneth – have neither mill-names, traditions of milling, nor any persuasive mill structures. It may be that some waterpower could not be harnessed because of the topography of the stream banks.

Despite these ‘primitive’ crops and this ‘primitive’ technology, ‘the inhabitants [of Tiree] commonly serve themselves [are self-sufficient] in meal, feed and spirits’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 397). Bringing in supplies of food ‘was not an easy matter, particularly because trade by sea came to a virtual halt in the stormy winter season’ (Shaw 1980, 106). Tiree, like most of the region, had an ‘oven-less thin bread culture’ (quoted in Dodgshon 1996, 191). In 1695, Martin Martin reported: ‘The natives for the most part live on barley bread, butter, milk, cheese, fish ... There are but few that eat any flesh [meat], and the servants use water-gruel [a thin ‘drinking’ porridge made with oats or barley, either cooked or uncooked] often with their bread. In plentiful years the natives drink ale generally’ (Martin 1994 (1695), 294).

Flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) was also probably introduced by Norse settlers. The seeds were eaten and it could be used for winter fodder, but the crop’s main value was to provide the raw material for domestic linen production. The first part of the process to extract fibre from the stems involved soaking, or retting, them for a week or two. The place-names *G Glac a’ Lin* ‘the hollow of the linen’ in Caolas, where the plants were laid out for dew-retting, and *G An Lòn Bàn* ‘the pale pool’ in Caolas or *G An Lochan Bàn* ‘the pale small loch’ in Cornaigmore,

where the pale-flowered plants were submerged, reference this process. *Cnoc nan Anart* ‘hillock of the linen’ in Caolas may reference its subsequent drying (but see section 17.5). Oral tradition has it that Tiree was particularly suitable for growing flax (see section 13.1.1). The quality of the Tiree crop, however, came under criticism by Improvers: ‘The native flax is scarcely 18 inches long [45 cm: this was too short for commercial linen production; modern flax varieties are 80–120 cm in length]’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 396).

Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) was probably being grown in Scotland by the Bronze Age (Ryder 1999) and also in Migration Age Norway, where it was particularly valued because of its seawater-resistant fibre. By the eighteenth century, however, it was no longer grown in the Hebrides, although Walker suggested that ‘there is none of [the islands] fitter for the Purpose than Tirey’ (McKay 1980, 189).

No other vegetables appear to have been cultivated on Tiree during the medieval period, although by 1764 Walker could report that, ‘after the crop of bere [barley] is reaped, the People of Tirey usually plant the same ground with red Coleworts, *Brassica rubra* [red cabbage], and they never fail to have a plentiful crop’ (McKay 1980, 183). The Improvers wanted islanders to go further: ‘Introducing pease, turnips and other roots and green crops in general would be a great improvement (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 396). By 1804, the chamberlain could report that ‘the factor [on Tiree] has shewn them the example of sowing turnips, carrots, grass seeds and planting winter cabbages’ (Cregeen 1964, 93).

Nutritional deficiencies were consequently not uncommon. A Neolithic skeleton discovered on Tiree in 1912 has recently been found to have the features of rickets, a disease caused by the deficiency of vitamin D (Armit 2015, 1). In medieval times, it was reported that ‘the inhabitants living in the southeast parts [of Tiree: Ruaig and Caolas] are for the most parts bald and have very thin hair on their heads’ (Martin 1994 (1695), 296). While a low protein diet can lead to hair loss, scurvy, due to vitamin C deficiency, was ‘one of the most common diseases’ in Orkney in the seventeenth century (Shaw 1980, 100; see Martin 1994 (1695), 277); fragile ‘corkscrew’ hair is a sign of this disease. In fact, numerous plants and edible seaweeds (such as dulse: see *Solabhaig*) that are rich sources of vitamin C grow on Tiree (see section 10.3.7), and this deficiency must have been due to either a loss of traditional foraging skills or over-exploitation.

The general material for the manufacture of bowls, cups and plates in Iron Age Norway was steatite, a soft soapstone, rather than pottery. But a new Viking ceramic style has now been recognised in the Hebrides, particularly grass-marked

flat discs or platters pierced by small holes (Lane 2007; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 49 and 225; Jennings and Kruse 2009b, 139). These imply new ways of baking, cooking and eating.

10.2.4 Animal husbandry

The number of cattle on Early Medieval farms and the area devoted to arable were linked (see section 10.2.1).

Mackie found 348 ‘very small’ cattle bones at the Iron Age broch in Vaul (Mackie 1974, 188 and 189). Medieval cattle were one-third the size of modern animals (Gibson 1988, 162), and the reports of the Improvers were less than complimentary: ‘The cattle of this island are of middling size and generally ill-shaped’ (Turnbull Report 1768).

By 1794, the 1,800 cattle (some 60 per township) made up 47% of the island’s livestock (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 411). This proportion is likely to have been higher in the Early Medieval period before the necessity of carrying seaweed to the runrig fields demanded such large numbers of horses.

Cattle had been an important form of portable wealth since late prehistoric times, with animals the currency of tribute paid to overlords as well as the target of raids. Carcasses provided tallow to make soap, candles and lubricants, as well as meat. Cattle may also have provided much of the traction for medieval ploughs. But the most important role of cattle in the subsistence economy of the North Atlantic rim during the medieval period was dairying (Jones and Mulville 2018, 346).

Around 1580, a traveller to Tiree recorded: ‘All teillit land and na girs but ley land, quhilk is maist nurischand girs of any other, quhairthrow the ky if this Ile abundis sa of milk that thai are milkit four times in the day [All tilled land and no grass but ley (arable land put down to grass), which is the most nutritious sort, so that the cows of this island have to be milked four times a day]’ (quoted in Skene 1890, 437). In some parts of the Highlands, half the calves born into a herd were killed. ‘Calfit kye’, cows that had calved, were then paired into couples so that a calf fed from two cows. This meant more milk was available for butter and cheese manufacture at the expense of beef production (Dodgshon 2015, 141–2).

In the Early Medieval period, cattle belonging to the settlers in the Norse expansion zone came to be ‘herded together in a highly organised fashion’ (Jones and Mulville 2018, 346). In winter, they appear not to have grazed at the shorefront, but were fed fodder crops around the settlement, either in a byre or out in the open. As

we have seen, things had changed by the seventeenth century with cattle reduced to foraging at the shore in late winter (Martin 1994 (1695), 295).

In summer, livestock were herded away from the settlement to the hill or moorland, a practice known as transhumance (Rivet 2013, 25). Despite Tiree's small size, this summer visit to the shieling has been a routine part of the agricultural year in many farm townships. John MacLean's poem *Òran nam Priosananch* 'the song of the prisoners' includes the lines 'Before a Duke came, or any of his people, / Or a kingly George from Hanover's realm, / This low-lying isle, with its many shielings / Belonged as a dwelling to the Children of the Gael' (Cregeen and MacKenzie 1978, 20; Cameron 1932, 168). Fifteen transhumant place-names have survived on Tiree (area: 78 square km) in one-third of the island's modern crofting townships. In comparison, there were reportedly twenty shieling names on Coll (area: 77 square km; MacDougall 1986, 22), while over a hundred names in G *àirigh* 'shieling' and one in ON *áirge* (Cox 2002, 420 and 220) have survived in Carloway (an area of around 130 square km) on the island of Lewis, with its huge hinterland of *sliabh*.

Only one of the Tiree transhumant names contains the Norse word *sætr* 'shieling' (see *Siader*, Hynish in the Gazetteer), and another the ON loan word from OG *áirge* 'milking place' (see *Tronsairigh*, Kilmoluaig). Thirteen are Gaelic coinages with G *àirigh*, meaning that they post-date the shift from Norn to Gaelic (see chapters 12 and 13). Since they were not permanent structures, shieling sites may have been quite transient:

- G *Àirigh a' Mheannain* 'the shieling of the little hill', Ardeas, Caolas
- G *Àirigh Fhionnlaigh* 'the shieling of Finlay', Caolas
- G *An Àirigh Bhòidheach* 'the beautiful shieling', Gott
- G *Àirigh Fhearchair* 'the shieling of Farquhar', Scarinish
- G *Àirigh an Fhraoich* 'shieling of the heather', Scarinish
- G *An Àirigh Mhonaidh* 'shieling of the moor', Heanish
- G *An Àirigh*, Mannaal
- G *An Àirigh Bhòidheach* 'the beautiful shieleing', Balephuill
- G *Àirigh Fhearchair* 'the shieling of Farquhar', Craignish, Hough
- G *Bothag na h-Àirigh* 'the bothy of the shieling', on the Hough *sliabh*
- G *Àirigh na h-Aon Oidhche* 'shieling of the one night', Cornaigmore
- G *A' Chorairidh* 'the pointed shieling', Cornaigbeg, (see Gazetteer)

- G *Corrairigh*, Balephetrish, (see Gazetteer)
- *Siader*, Hynish
- *Tronsairigh*, Kilmoluaig

Àirigh Fhionnlaigh ‘the shieling of Finlay’ in Caolas, *A’ Chorrairidh* ‘the pointed shieling’ in Cornaigbeg, and *An Àirigh* in Mannal are not deep in the *sliabh*, fitting the classic transhumance model, but less than 1 km from the sites of mapped post-medieval townships. In Assynt and on Fair Isle, other shielings have been identified close to the parent settlement (Macgregor 1986, 98). The main function of these shielings is likely to have been the supervision of stock at night in tathe-folds just outside the head dyke (see section 10.2.1): ‘Glenlyon touns maintained what they called home shielings just outside the head dyke that could be used by stock brought back from the more distant pastures to tathe the outfield’ (Dodgshon 2015, 135; see section 10.2.1).

Shielings often became permanent settlements during periods of climatic improvement; on the other hand, such peripheral settlements could return to being seasonal shielings during times of adversity (Dodgshon 2015, 110). This appears to have happened at the medieval settlement of **Heiðrin* on the plateau on the southeastern slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis* (see *Siader* and *Heren*).

The name G *Àirigh na h-Aon Oidhche* ‘shieling of the one night, or the shieling that was not returned to’ refers to a traditional story, widespread in the Hebrides, of an unearthly shieling massacre (see Bruford and MacDonald 1994, 318–19 and 470).

Transhumance on Tiree came to an end with Improvement and the establishment of the crofting system in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The last shieling visit on Coll was reported to have been in 1820 (MacDougall 1986, 22). Driving cattle through Mull for sale at markets such as the Falkirk Tryst, something that later became an important part of the island’s economy, did not start until the end of the eighteenth century. Responding to this demand, the Hynish and Mannal tack alone was grazing 140 head of cattle in 1794 (Cregeen 1964, 38). Medieval stocking rates are likely to have been lower.

In modern times, there have been three times as many sheep as cattle on Tiree (1970 figures, Agricultural Census, Board of Agriculture for Scotland). But in 1794 that ratio was reversed, with the six hundred sheep (around twenty per township) making up 16% of the livestock (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 411). And before Improvement, sheep accounted for just 3% of the island’s livestock

(Dodgshon 1998, 211), just enough to supply the domestic needs of the farm for wool.

Prehistoric sheep are likely to have been similar to the present-day Soay breed. 574 sheep (and 10 dog) bones were found at the Iron Age broch at Vault, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* (MacKie 1974, 188). Norse settlers introduced a Scandinavian sheep to the Hebrides. These mixed with the native stock, forming part of the ancestry of the modern Hebridean, Shetland, Boreray and North Ronaldsay breeds (Chessa *et al.* 2009). Medieval sheep were smaller and leaner than animals today: 'It is likely that pre-Improvement sheep contained relatively less edible fat than their modern counterparts ... Sheep from the Neolithic to the Middle Ages are reckoned from bone measurements to show about the same range of height as modern Soay sheep. This breed has a live weight of about 36 kg for rams and 24 kg for ewes' (Gibson 1988, 169), a quarter of the weight of the modern Suffolk breed.

During the Bronze Age, Hebridean sheep appear to have been allowed to forage far and wide. This may have changed after Scandinavian settlement: 'Unlike the prehistoric flocks ... the movement of [Norse] sheep was controlled and animals did not regularly partake in shorefront grazing' (Jones and Mulville 2018, 347). This may have been due to increased fodder production, as well as fears about the erosion of fragile coastal grasslands reflected in an eighteenth-century account:

[Sheep] are most destructive, especially to Tiree. There is not a sufficient range for them ... Where the grass is thin and short, they tear up by their feet the very roots for food. They lodge in hollows for shelter and so break the sward, and expose the land to be driven by the winds, hence whole fields are ruined, becoming white banks. Tiree pasture is already too fine. Sheep convert the little coarse grass there is into a finer pile, to the great prejudice of black cattle. (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 410)

In some areas on the North Atlantic rim, part of the flock – particularly young sheep – were housed during the winter (Shaw 1980, 112; Tait 2012, 342). Unhoused animals were wintered around the settlement. They could be controlled to some extent by fastening three sticks around the neck (a yoke called a *byoag* – from ON *baugr* 'ring' – in Shetland), hobbling them by tying the front and back legs loosely together (Fenton 1978, 448), or tethering them on an G *udalan* 'swivel ring'.

Small offshore islets could be used to control flocks in summer (Fenton 1978, 423). The place-name *Soa*, an island off Ruaig (another lies off Gunna and yet another off Coll), derives from the ON *Sauðey* 'sheep island'. *Soghaigir*, at the tip

of the Craignish peninsula in Hough, derives from *sauðr* and ON *gerði* ‘enclosure’ (see Gazetteer), and the headland dyke across *An t-Àrd*, Baugh, points a similar form of management. The North Ronaldsay breed of sheep has evolved a metabolism that allows the digestion of a diet almost exclusively made up of kelp, and it may be relevant that both *Soa* and *Soghaigir* became important centres of the kelp industry in the late eighteenth century.

Sheep were kept primarily for their wool. Soay sheep differ from modern breeds in having an annual moult, so that wool is collected by plucking rather than by shearing. Stealing wool from sheep as they grazed out of sight on the moorland was a common offence in Shetland (Fenton 1978, 456). But their agility – allowing them to reach pockets of forage cattle could not reach – and their different grazing preferences meant that mixed-species grazing could exploit land to its maximum. Their meat, and often their milk (Grant 1975, 50), was also used.

54 pig bones (MacKie 1974, 188) and two boar tusks (MacKie 1974, 143) were excavated from the Iron Age broch in Vaul, although ‘pig bones are almost certainly under-represented, as the bones of these animals do not keep as well as those of other species’ (MacKie 1974, 187). A pig mandible and boar tusk have also been found at the Norse settlement mound of *Baca na Putain* on Tiree (see Appendix 18.b.6). There were a variety of pig management customs in the medieval period. Most animals were allowed to range freely on the *sliabh* in the summer, although small turf and stone sties were sometimes constructed in modern times on the common grazings of Shetland (Tait 2012, 349). In winter, they were often kept beside the house as their rooting on the *machair* could break the turf and lead to sand blow (Sharples 2016, 264). But pigs were especially prized for feasting, and considerable numbers could be kept on some high status farms, if large-scale fishing controlled by the chieftain generated quantities of fish waste (Jones and Mulville 2018, 348). Pig bristles were especially prized in the manufacture of hard wearing ropes needed for boat rigging and fowling (Fenton 1978, 496).

Adomnan occasionally recorded horses in *Vita Columbae*, both being ridden (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 401), and as beasts of burden, ‘accustomed to carry the milk-vessels between the cow-pasture and the monastery’ (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 523). There is just one reference to eating horseflesh, apparently regarded by Adomnan, ‘as an act of great depravity’ (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 191 and 29), but butchered horse bones have been found in middens at the Iona monastery (Murray *et al.* 2004, 183). A heavily worn bridle cheek piece made from antler was discovered at the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* (MacKie 1974, 143), but there were no horse bones. These findings also suggest that horses were used for carriage but not eaten.

It appears that the use of horses increased after Scandinavian settlement. Their bones are commonly found at Viking sites in Scotland, and the Tìree Norse place-names *Rosgail* and *Rosdal* (see Gazetteer) contain the element ON *hross* 'horse'. By 1794, there were 1400 horses on Tìree (47 per township), making up 37% of the livestock (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tìry 1794, 411). This large number was needed to carry panniers of seaweed to the large runrig fields, and, five at a time, to pull the Hebridean plough: 'When in one farm 4 or 13 ploughs are set agoing, and 30 or perhaps 96 [sic] horses with creels sent to carry sea-ware off the shore, besides some idle mares and followers, such a farm takes many hands and horses' (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tìry 1794, 412–3). This is a post-medieval landscape devoted to cereal production.

These early horses were small, their closest relative today being modern Eriskay ponies, which commonly stand at around thirteen hands. One horse buried in the Viking pagan grave at Kiloran Bay on Islay was estimated to have been over fourteen hands (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 120). As late as the nineteenth century, it was reported that 'the Hebridean breed of horses ... is small, active and remarkably durable and hardy ... The average height of what are deemed sizeable horses is from twelve to thirteen hands, but that of the lower tenants ... rarely exceeds eleven or twelve hands' (MacDonald 1811, 469). In comparison, a Clydesdale horse commonly stands at sixteen to eighteen hands.

The amount of grazing allocated to each tenant was controlled by a system of souming (see section 10.2.2). In many parts of the Highlands, one horse was the equivalent of two cows; on Tìree, a horse and a cow were equivalent (Dodgshon 1996, 190).

The most important seasons for horse power were the winter for carting seaweed, and the spring for ploughing. Many horses were therefore sent to the upland grazings for the summer. The summit of *Beinn Haoidhnis* is called *G Beinn nan Each* 'the hill of the horses'.

Goats, being more agile and difficult to keep away from arable crops, do not appear to have been popular on Tìree, although place-names containing *G gobhar* 'goat' are very common in Argyll (SP). Just one goat bone was found in the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* (MacKie 1974, 143). There are no Tìree place-names with the specific ON *geit* 'goat', although this element is quite common in Iceland. Goats were banned from Tìree by the estate in the 1730s (Dodgshon 1996, 190). There are two examples of the place-name *G Eilean nan Gobhar* 'islet of the goats' in Heanish and on the coastline between Salum and Caolas, but one or both could be lexically adapted Norse names referencing fishtraps (see section 10.3.2).

No fowl bones were found at the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*. The domestic fowl (*Gallus gallus*) was probably introduced to Tiree by the Norse, and domestic geese (*Anser anser*) were also increasingly kept (Serjeantson 1988, 212). 20% of the bones in the Norse layers at The Udal on Uist were poultry, while the Tiree place-name *Gasamull* possibly references ON *gassi* ‘gander’ (see Gazetteer).

The name *Saltaig* suggests that the Norse collected sun-dried sea salt (ON *salt*) for food preservation (see Gazetteer). The name *An t-Salann* on the shore of Cornaigmore near Whitehouse (Hector MacPhail, pers. comm.) is likely to have had the same meaning, although no traditions about this have survived.

10.3 WILD HARVEST

Tiree, fertile though it has been, is much more than a ‘land of barley’. Indeed, a good proportion of the bones found inside the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*, were from wild animals (MacKie 1974, 188).

10.3.1 Shoreline foraging

Shell-rich middens from all periods are common on the island: ‘... shell-fish are found and used in considerable quantities; and during seasons of particular scarcity, they have sometimes contributed in a considerable degree to the support of life among the poorer classes’ (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 204). The common limpet (*Patella vulgata*) and common periwinkle (*Littorina littorea*) are abundant in most inlets along Tiree’s long and accessible coastline. Shells of the common limpet, common periwinkle, common whelk (*Buccinum undatum*) and dog whelk (*Nucella lapillus* used to make a red-purple dye) were among the shells found at the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* (MacKie 1974, 201). Limpets were often used as bait for fishing as well as being eaten. Razor clams (*Ensis spp.*) can be pulled from the sand of certain beaches at spring low tides using an old sickle: for example, at *G Tràigh nam Muirsgian* ‘the beach of the razor clams’ at the western end of Gott Bay.

Shells of the ocean quahog (*Arctica islandica*) have been found in a midden dated to the Norse period at *Baca na Putain* in Balinoe (Ewan Campbell, pers. comm.; see Appendix 18.b.6). These shellfish live in sand below the extreme low water mark, commonly at depths of 30–60 m. Their appearance at this dated site suggests that the Norse introduced a new food culture and a new fishing capacity.

An edible crab shell (*Cancer pagurus*) was found at the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* (MacKie 1974, 201). Lobsters (*Homarus gammarus*) were often extracted from small inter-tidal crevices using a stick, as at Balevullin's *G Sloc na Faiche* 'gully of the lobster hole'.

Edible seaweed species such as *G slabhagan* 'laver' (*Porphyra umbilicalis*; see Black 2018, 426), *G duileasg* 'dulse' (*Palmaria palmata*), young blades of oarweed (*Laminaria digitata*), *G bàrr-leathann* 'sugar kelp' (*Saccharina latissimi*), *G lìonanach* 'sea lettuce' (*Ulva lactuca*), carageen (*Chondrus crispus*) and thongweed (*Himantalia elongata*) are common around the coastline of Tiree: for example, at *Sgeir an t-Slabhagain* in Caolas, *Sgeir an Duilisg* in Ruaig and *Solabhraig* in Hynish (see Gazetteer). Shoreline food resources such as these remained extremely important into the twentieth century, particularly during the 'pinch point' of late winter and early spring. Seaweed is also likely to have been burnt to form alkaline lye and mixed with tallow to make soap (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 219), and the ash used as a food preservative (Martin 1994 (1695), 159).

10.3.2 Fishing

There are natural pools around the shoreline of Tiree where juvenile fish or cuddies could be trapped by the receding tide: for example, *Lòn Alabainn*, Heanish (see Gazetteer); *G Poll nan Cudaigean* 'pool of the cuddies', West Hynish (OS1/2/28/227; *Poll nan Cudaigean*, David McClounnan, who once caught three herring in this pool, pers. comm.); and *G Port na Muice* 'inlet of the whale', Craignish, where cuddies trapped in rock-cut basins could be caught by removing the water carefully with a bucket (Sandy MacKinnon, pers. comm. see *Bhideig*). In the 1930s, the joiner Hugh MacDonald from Kenovay often went down to the shore at *G Port na Crìche* 'inlet of the boundary', Cornaig. At low tide, he would prop up large stones with *G buthagan* 'round stones'. After a tide had come in and out, he collected half a bucketful of *G dearganan* 'cuddies' from the small pools below the boulders (Archibald MacKinnon, pers. comm.). The same was done just to the south of *G Eilean Uilleim* 'island of William' in Cornaigmore (Archibald MacKinnon, Cornaigmore).

Active fishing from the shore was often preceded by ground baiting. This attracted the fish but did not feed them; it was usual to do this at high water for several days before fishing began. *G soll* 'pounded shellfish' (McDonald 1991, 225) was cast onto the water beside the fishing rock. Limpets were the most common bait, but dog whelks and any other shellfish could be used. Bait was ground in limpet holes known on Tiree as *G cnotag* (see *pollag* in McDonald 1991, 196) or *G toll*

suill ‘bait hole’. Groups of these hollows are commonly found on fishing rocks around the shoreline of Tiree: smaller grinding holes often clustered around a larger storage hole. It may be that the *cnotagan* also functioned as territorial markers (Cerón-Carrasco 2011, 61). Certainly, fierce local ‘ownership’ of fishing rocks persisted into the twentieth century (William Lamont, pers. comm.). Limpets could also be chewed and spat out.

Fish traps or weirs (*G cairidh*) consist of low stone walling in the intertidal zone. Small fish can then become trapped inside the weir when the tide ebbs. The island’s gently-sloping seabed and convoluted coastline make Tiree particularly suited to this form of fishing. It has been suggested that on the Mol’ene Archipelago off Brittany, ‘tidal weirs were the main means of fishing in the pre- and protohistoric periods’ (Gandois 2018, 19). The footings of eight possible weirs survive on Tiree: at the eastern side of *An Acarsaid*, Milton; *Poll a’ Chraosain*, Ruaig; *Fhàdamull*, Salum; *Port Bhoidhegeir*, Vaul; *Eilean nan Gobhar*, Heanish; and *G Lòn a’ Glacaidh* ‘the pool of catching’ West Hynish. Flora MacDougall, who was born in Balephuil in 1825, remembered a weir at the mouth of *An Fhaodhail*, the stream at Baugh: ‘Near the centre of the island there was one small river. This could always be crossed on stepping stones [before the bridges were built] except at the regular times of the day when the tide from the ocean flowed in, making its waters deep and wide, and leaving behind when they receded many kinds of fish good for the use of man’ (MacDougall 1925). There was a fish trap in front of *Teampall Phàraig* on Kenavara: ‘If the tide is out you can see where St Peter [Patrick] was catching fish’ (Donald Sinclair talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1966.107, track ID 64947).

A weir consisted of a curving drystone wall, whose base was above the mean low water neap tide and whose top was below the mean high water neap tide. This ensured that fish entered the trap at every tide (Gandois 2018, 15). Those on Mull were sometimes baited: ‘They used to put shellfish on these fish traps as bait. In the spring, they would put porridge on them for good luck’ (MacLean 1997, 151). Five weirs built with coppiced hazel and dated to the Mesolithic period have been found in the River Liffey near Dublin (McQuade and O’Donnell 2007), while fish weirs on the Mol’ene Archipelago have been dated to the Neolithic (Gandois 2018, 17). Their use on the west coast of Scotland continued until modern times (Alasdair MacIver talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1962.020, track ID 14074). The survival of prehistoric weirs in such a high-energy environment is a testament to the skill of the builders. The relative sea level has remained broadly constant on Tiree in the modern era, but some Mesolithic weirs will now be submerged, and weirs at the east end of the island will be higher than they were (see section 5.5).

The weirs at *Fhàdamull* and Heanish both have features named *G Eilean nan Gobhar* ‘islet of the goats’ nearby, although goats were rarely kept on Tìree (see section 10.3.2). Either or both of these may have been lexically adapted from the name ON *Góðver* ‘good fishing station’ (CV, 694), although there are no cognates for this elsewhere in the Norse expansion zone. There are no surviving Tìree place-names in *G cairidh* ‘fishing weir’, although these are not uncommon in Argyll: for example, *Cairidh Bheag* in Jura (SP). This suggests that weirs fell out of use on Tìree in the early nineteenth century after the renaissance of long line fishing.

Rock fishing is likely to have been as important on medieval Tìree as it was on Mesolithic Oronsay (Mellars and Wilkinson 1980). There are sixty-four surviving place-names in *G carraig* ‘fishing rock’ around the island’s shoreline: for example, the Balemartine name *G Carraig nan Deireagan* ‘fishing rock of the cuddies’ (Neil MacDonald, pers. comm.). A fishing rod was the most common method, but some fishing rocks with a flat face were suitable for a large triangular net on a pole known as *G àbh* ‘fixed shaft frame net’, a loan-name from ON *háfr* ‘net’ (CV, 242): for example, *Carraig na h-Àbh* in Balemartine. See *Allamsa*, *Arbhair*, *Boraige*, *An Craca*, *Dùdaire*, *Fìdhlear*, *Fìdhleir*, *Fiura* and *Ladhair* for possible names in ON *ver* ‘fishing station’ (CV, 694). It appears that a disproportionate number of Norse shore fishing names have survived. These sites were economically important with a great deal of local knowledge needed to use them effectively, and would therefore be preferentially maintained in the oral tradition.

The *G tarraing* ‘shore net’ was set at the mouth of narrow inlets at a spring high tide after several days of ground baiting. It was pulled in after two tides. Places where this was done within living memory include *Lòn nan Sgàinteag* at the eastern end of Gott Bay (Duncan Grant, pers. comm.; see *Caindeig*); Scarinish harbour (Angus Munn, pers. comm.); *Goibhneig* in Hynish (William Lamont, pers. comm.); and *Port Bharabol* in Sandaig, where there is a *G Carraig na Tàirneadh* ‘fishing rock of the shore net’ (Hugh MacLean, pers. comm.; Brownlie 1995, 157). Either or both the names *G Rubha nan Iasgairean* ‘headland of the fishermen’ at the mouth of *Port Sgairinis* and *Rubha nan Iasgairean* at the mouth of *G Port a’ Mhuilinn* in Baugh may refer to use of the shore net (see *Allamsa*). The last time a *tarraing* was set on Tìree was 1935 (William MacLean, pers. comm.).

Common fish found close inshore include immature pollock or lythe (*Pollachius pollachius*); saithe (*Pollachius virens*); and various species of bream. *G Port a’ Charabhanaich* ‘the inlet of the bream’ at the foot of Kenavara denoted a site for this particular sort of rock fishing (Hector Kennedy talking to Eric Cregeen and Donald W. MacKenzie on TAD SA1975.071, track ID 100587). *Lionar Sgeire*, Hough, may reference ling fishing (see Gazetteer).

Tramping for small flounders in the many shallow bays was practised on Tiree into the mid-twentieth century (Duncan Grant, pers. comm.), and this fishery is likely to have been very productive when stocks were higher.

But while the Mesolithic diet was rich in marine food, that of the Neolithic people on the west coast of Scotland was primarily derived from farming. The incoming population seems to have ‘turned their backs on the sea to face the land’ (Shulting and Richards 2002, 155). Isotope analysis of the Early Bronze Age male skeleton excavated in Kirkapoll in 2017 showed that ‘the individual had a diet that contained very little [15%] protein from marine or freshwater sources’ (Heather James, pers. comm.). There is some evidence that fishing did occur in Iron Age Orkney (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 22). However, no fish bones and just one possible bronze fishing hook were found in the Vaul broch (MacKie 1974, 127), and there was little to suggest that the people of the Pictish Iron Age on Tiree fished extensively: ‘Only the occurrence of part of a large edible crab might suggest that they actually went out fishing, since large specimens are found normally well below the high tide mark’ (MacKie 1974, 201). Members of the Dalriadan elite were often accomplished maritime travellers. But, while there are several mentions of river salmon fishing (see, for example, Anderson and Anderson 1961, 70), there is no mention of sea fishing in Adomnan’s *Vita Columbae*. This was an adaptive response to the realities of harvesting land and sea. Fishing in open water may have offered rewards, but it also carried great risks: ‘People did not take to the sea unless the benefits for subsistence were considerable’ (Cerón-Carrasco 2011, 61). As a reminder of the risks faced by fishing in the waters off Tiree, between 1855 and 1860, sixteen Tiree fishermen drowned (Statutory Register of Deaths, Scotlands People).

However, the risk-benefit ratio was about to change dramatically:

There is an emerging consensus among workers active in the Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland that deep-sea marine fishing intensified with arrival of the Scandinavians, and that the Celtic peoples of the Northern and Western isles were probably not engaged in large scale deep sea fishery during the later Iron Age. (Perdikaris and McGovern 2008, 62; see also Barrett *et al.* 2001 and Jones and Mulville 2018, 348)

This spectacular jump in fish consumption along the North Atlantic rim around AD 950–1050 has been called a ‘fish event horizon’ (Barrett *et al.* 2004, 2417). A more robust boat design and the capital to pay for vessels of all sizes, including the four-oared faering (see section 10.6.5); greater seafaring experience; and,

crucially, new fishing technology developed in Norway just before the Viking Age (Winkler and Narmo 2014) plausibly allowed Tiree's offshore fishing banks to be exploited for the first time for demersal fish, particularly cod (*Gadus morhua*: see Barrett and Richards 2004), and ling (*Molva molva*). The main bait for the long lines with multiple hooks appears to have been limpets (Milner *et al.* 2007, 1471). The principal banks were *Banca Ruaig*, *Banca Sgairinis*, and *Banca Hianais* to the west; *G Grunn d' a' Charabhanaich* 'fishing ground of the bream' off Kenavara; *Ùlastac*, southwest of Skerryvore, and *An Galan Mòr* or *The Overfalls* five miles off Sandaig to the west; and *Banca Mòr Bhail' a' Mhuilinn* fifteen miles to the north of Balevullin. Sea depths were between 10 and 20 m.

It is significant that several significant demersal species found on the offshore banks around Tiree have Gaelic names loaned from Old Norse: *G trosg* 'cod' from ON *þorskr* (McDonald 2015, 140); *G saoidhean* 'saithe' from ON *seiðr* (McDonald 2015, 137); *G langa* 'ling' from ON *langa* (McDonald 2015, 134); and *G liùgh* 'lythe' from ON *lýrr* (McDonald 2015, 135). The Norse place-name *Trosgamul* references cod fishing around Tiree (see Gazetteer).

Pelagic fish such as herring and mackerel were also targeted during the Late Norse period using nets made of flax (Colleen Batey, pers. comm.). A small beach in Scarinish may reference this (see *Sìolaig*). Herring were locally fished into the eighteenth century: 'Herring swim in great shoals around the coast [of Tiree] annually between the beginning of November and the latter end of December. The Bay of Kirkapoll is the best and safest place for fishing them ... Sixteen barrels being caught in a few nights in November 1766 with a small number of nets' (Turnbull Report 1768). The Tiree herring fishery became exhausted suddenly at the end of the 1921 season.

Flatfish were also targeted into the middle of the twentieth century. Long lines with up to 500 hooks, set inshore and parallel to the beach, were baited with lugworms. A grooved stone weight found at the Norse site *Baca na Putain* in Balinoe (see section 18.b.6) suggests that this fishery was known to the Scandinavian settlers too.

The previously unexploited fishing grounds around the island are likely to have been extremely productive. In 1794 it was reported: '[Fishermen around Tiree] commonly catch from 100 to 240 [cod and ling] *per* day, so that sometimes they do not raise their whole lines at once; their boats not being able to carry the fish ashore' (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 407). Indeed, harvesting the shallow banks in the rich seas around Tiree (see section 5.6.2) may have been at the heart of the island's economy in the Early Medieval period. In some parts of

Scotland, fishing went beyond a purely subsistence level. One boat from either Ireland or the east coast of Scotland, fishing out of Tiree, was estimated to have caught between 12,000 and 16,000 cod and ling in two months (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 407). In the Norse settlement at Bornais on South Uist, ‘the very large numbers of herring present do suggest that a surplus was available and could be traded’ (Sharples 2016, 263). King Rognvald of Man (who reigned 1187–1229) allowed some religious houses fishing rights in waters he controlled, implying a tax on lay fishermen, and there is some evidence of a long distance trade in dried fish at this time (McDonald 2019, 194; see Barrett 1997).

This great fishery, however, had fallen into abeyance by the mid-eighteenth century. Walker reported in 1764 that ‘there is not a Net nor Long Line in all the Island’ (McKay 1980, 188), and it was said that ‘they do not in this district pursue the fishing with spirit’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 408). This is despite the fact that fish remained plentiful: ‘There are cod, flounders, mullet, lythe and grayfish or saithe in [Gott] bay. Haddocks are sometimes got here’ (Turnbull Report 1768). This is likely to have been because the rental demanded the cultivation of large runrig fields and the distilling of whisky, rather than because of a lack of ‘spirit’. There had been another re-calculation of the risk-benefit ratio, this time favouring the land over the sea.

After a profitable market for dried white fish opened up during the second half of the nineteenth century and a potato blight stricken land failed to support the island’s swollen population, the seas around Tiree were exploited to destruction in a local long line fishery. This employed at its peak 171 local fishermen (1881 Census).

The shallow inland lochs of Tiree, on the other hand, contained no edible fish: ‘No kind of fish is found in [the fresh water lakes] except small eels, which are never used as food’ (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 201). Trout were introduced for recreational fishing in the nineteenth century.

10.3.3 Cetaceans and basking sharks

Today, large cetaceans are stranded on Tiree every few years, but numbers are likely to have been far higher before the impact of commercial whaling. There are six surviving Gaelic place-names around the Tiree coastline referencing whales (G *muc*): for example, *Tràigh nam Muc* ‘beach of the whales’ in Scarinish. The inlet-name *Lòn Alabainn* in Heanish may be derived from ON *hvalbein* ‘whalebone’; *Ìosaig* in Hynish may be derived as ON **Hnísavík* ‘inlet of the porpoises’; and the

nearby *Balbhaig* as ON **Hvalavik* 'inlet of the whale'. Martin Martin visited Tiree in 1695: 'Some years ago, about one hundred and sixty little whales, the biggest not exceeding twenty feet long, run themselves ashore in this isle [Tiree], very seasonably in time of great scarcity' (Martin 1994 (1695), 296). John Gregorson Campbell reported that: 'The occurrence of the whale in the western islands seems to have been quite common at one time, and there is a story of one coming ashore in the island of Tiree of such dimensions that sixteen steps of a ladder were required to reach its top ... In 1887, one came ashore that was above eighty feet in length' (Black 2008, 666; at twenty-four metres, this was likely to have been a fin, or possibly even a blue, whale).

Small cetaceans that congregate in pods, such as long-finned pilot and minke whales and harbour porpoises, were also hunted in the seas around Tiree. As late as the nineteenth century, 'shoals of small whales sometimes frequent our bays and the people have become very expert at driving them ashore with boats ... [although] for some years they have discontinued their visits' (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 215). Indeed, long-finned pilot whales are still hunted in this way in the Faroe Islands. Once a pod was sighted close to shore, a fleet of rowing boats was called into action, the cetaceans panicked by throwing stones attached to a rope into the water and herded towards a deep bay with a gently sloping beach. Flora MacDougall, who was born in Balephuill in 1825, left this account of one of the last drive hunts on Tiree in the 1840s:

Not every year, but every seven or ten years, the island is visited by a large number of whales. Large shoals of fish announce their coming, for it is these shoals the whales are following to their sad fate. When the tide is coming in, these great monsters of the deep follow closer and closer upon their prey until they are left helpless by the receding tide upon the sands of the shore. In the meantime, the fishermen have not been idle, for the golden opportunity will soon pass them if it is not improved. Men on horseback have galloped swiftly over the island shouting 'Whales! The whales!' In answer to this cry every fisherman has manned his boat and every man on the island has gathered his weapons of warfare for the fray. If the whales are not already following in the wake of the shoal of fish fast enough, the men ply their boats to the rear, and by discharging guns and throwing rocks and other missiles, frighten the huge monsters onto the shore. Twice, before I left my island home [for Glasgow and America] I saw this, to me, most exciting and wonderful spectacle, and once I counted sixty of those monster sea mammals stretched on the sand, side by side, perfectly helpless,

awaiting their doom. Tieve not only obtained enough oil from the whales that came to them in this way, but they were able also to furnish the neighbouring islands with what they would use until the whales came again. When the tide ebbed it bore with it the carcasses of the victims, and when the sun went down all was peaceful upon the island as when he had risen in the morning. (MacDougall 1925, 8)

Whales were 'highly prized and thoroughly used' (Mulville 2002, 36). Meat along the backbone was eaten. The antiquarian John Sands discovered butchered whale bones at two presumed Iron Age forts in Hynish: 'In both forts, I found pieces of the bones of a whale bearing the marks of a tool on the ends' (Sands 1881–2, 460). And after one seventeenth-century stranding, 'the natives [of Tieve] did eat them all, and told me that the sea pork, i.e. the whale, is both wholesome and very nourishing meat' (Martin 1994 (1695), 296). Oil was rendered from the blubber, with a large stranded whale yielding around one hundred barrels.

The bones, so oil-rich that they could be used as fuel (Higgs *et al.* 2011), sometimes replaced roof timbers. Whale bones could be used, too, to make household objects such as the posts supporting a spit. Three whale vertebrae were found in the Iron Age broch at Vaul, 'set next to the rectangular stone hearth. The best preserved has had the various protuberances and spines cut off so that not much more than the drum is left. Into this a hole 3 inches in diameter has been cut, presumably for a post' (MacKie 1974, 146). Whale ribs were favoured as ON *hlunnr* 'roller for launching ships', and the jawbones prized to make tools such as weaving combs.

Basking sharks, found in large numbers today on calm days between June and September in the waters around Coll, Tieve and Skerryvore (SNH 2014), were also a target species: '[Basking sharks] were caught with harpoons and lines in somewhat the same style as the Greenland whale' (*New Statistical Account* Tieve and Coll, 1845, 204). Basking sharks also 'were valuable for the quantity of oil extracted from their liver' (*New Statistical Account* Tieve and Coll 1845, 204). The oil was used principally as the fuel for G *crùisgeinean* 'lamps', but it also waterproofed leather.

10.3.4 Seals

Both grey and common or harbour seals are found around Tieve: 'The coast likewise abounds with seals, great numbers appearing on the rocks at all seasons of the year' (Turnbull Report 1768). Currently the largest colonies are at the tip of Craignish and Skerryvore, but West Hynish and Salum also have substantial

numbers. This distribution is likely to have been different during the medieval period due to higher levels of human predation (Ian Boyd, pers. comm.).

Over thirty seal bones were found during the excavation of the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* (MacKie 1974, 190–6). Seal bones were found at the Early Christian monastery site in Iona, which appears to have controlled hunting rights to local seal colonies in the sixth century: ‘The small island where the sea-calves that pertain to us breed and are bred; in order that the greedy robber may fill his boat with those that he thievishly kills’ (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 295). Seals were sometimes harpooned (Sharpe 1995, 303), while in the Outer Hebrides Martin Martin described seals being caught in a horsehair net as they swam through a narrow channel, or clubbed ‘with big staves’ (Martin 1994 (1695), 133–4). Hunting continued on Tìree into early modern times: ‘Skerryvore, to which young adventurers, before sun rising on a calm summer day, go in search of sport. The skins of sea-calves [seals] ... which they kill with clubs or bullets’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tìry 1794, 400). *G Sgeir Shealg* ‘the skerry of hunting’ is one of the Hough skerries (OS1/2/64/97), while the first element of the township name *Salum* may derive from ON *selr* ‘seal’.

Seal meat was widely eaten (Sharpe 1991, 503; Martin 1994 (1695), 135). Seal skin was highly valued for making waterproof clothing and shoes during the prehistoric and Early Medieval periods (Fairnell 2003, 92), while seal-oil was used for lighting.

10.3.5 Birds

Large colonies of gregariously breeding seabirds [in the Western and Northern Isles] provided a concentrated resource, which could be targeted intensely for both meat and eggs. (Best and Mulville 2016, 654)

Compared to the dizzying 420-m (1400 ft) sea cliffs on St Kilda, or even those at Cape Enniberg in the Faroe Islands at 750 m (2470 ft), the cliffs forming the northern face of the Kenavara headland at around 70 m (230 ft) may seem unimpressive. But they are still home to an impressive seabird colony. And before the industrial fishing of the twentieth century ravaged fish stocks, colony numbers must have been significantly higher. In 1549, Monro described how Tìree was ‘very gude for wild fowls’ (Munro 1961, 65). And in the eighteenth century, it was reported: ‘The hill of [Kenavara] ... is very remarkable for a great number of large natural [cliffs] frequented in time of hatching by innumerable flocks of sea-fowls ... with discordant notes, crowding upon the cliffs, [they] form a hideous scene’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tìry 1794, 400).

Cliff-nesting seabirds were exploited throughout the Norse expansion zone, with St Kilda, Foula and the Faroe Islands being outstanding examples (Baldwin 1973). Seabird bones were found in a Shetland Viking longhouse in Norwick, Unst (Ballin Smith 2013, 225). It is plausible that the stronger rigging demanded by Norse longships provided cordage that allowed more extensive use of sea cliffs.

The high density of place-names on parts of the Kenavara headland reinforces fowling's importance there. The northern cliffs have thirty-six surviving place-names compared to just sixteen on the gently sloping southern aspect. Several of these names are Norse in origin. One derivation of the Kenavara cliff name *Rèidh-Sgeir* is ON **Hreiðarsskor* 'the cleft of *Hreiðarr*'; this may memorialise a fowling accident. The same may be true of the nearby name *Húnasgeir*, which may derive from ON **Hognaskor* 'the cleft of *Hogni*' (see Gazetteer). There are also a number of Gaelic cliff names, indicating that the fowling tradition continued into the Late Medieval period: for example, *Uirigh nam Bròg* 'the ledge of the shoes' and *Sloc mhic Fhionnlaigh* 'the gully of the son of Finlay'.

There is a precipice on the west side of Kenavara hill called Mac-a-Bhriuthainn's leap (*Leum Mhic-a-bhriuthainn*) which one of this sept of Browns is said to have jumped across backwards, and which no one has since jumped either backwards or forwards. The one who took the jump is said to have been chased by a wild ox, which pushed him over the hill, and if he had not been a man of steady eye and limb, the fall would have ended in sure destruction. The place where he leapt was a ledge in the face of a precipice where the slightest over-balance or weakness, would have precipitated him several hundred feet into a dangerous and deep sea. No trained tight-rope dancer ever required more sureness of eye or limb than must have been brought into action in this leap. (Campbell 1895, 14)

The Late Medieval chapel *Teampall Phàraig* on Kenavara may have been built to allow fowlers to seek divine protection before their descent (see Martin 1994 (1695), 98).

Guillemots, razorbills, shags, kittiwakes and gannets, are likely to have been the main target species for cliff fowlers on Tiree (Baldwin 1973, 8; Best and Mulville 2016; Bowler and Hunter 2007). Both eggs and the birds themselves (adults and juveniles) were taken. Larger birds were eaten fresh, air-dried or salted; their feathers were used for bedding; their oil was used as a medicine, for lubrication and as lamp fuel; their dried stomachs could be fashioned into containers; and their bones were used as pins (Baldwin 1973, 17). Bird products may have been used to pay the rent or traded at various times.

Fowling ropes were made from a variety of materials. These included whale or seal skin (Rixson 1998, 146), horsehair or swine bristles. Eggs were picked by hand and placed in a creel carried on the fowler's back. Birds were taken by hand or using a rod and noose known as a *G slat-ribeadh* (Baldwin 1974, 12).

In other parts of the Norse expansion zone, valuable cliff sites were formally divided between families or land holdings, and the same is likely to have been the case on Tiree during the medieval period.

Fowling is extremely dangerous, and it appears to have been largely discontinued on Tiree before the potato famine of 1846: 'The craigsmen [on Kenavara] were wont of old to exercise their boldness and dexterity in catching wild fowls and collecting their eggs – a perilous kind of occupation now happily discontinued, or only practised occasionally by a few thoughtless boys' (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 196). This was earlier than in other North Atlantic communities that were dependent on sea cliff fowling, possibly because of the (safer) rewards from working kelp Tiree from the end of the eighteenth century. The last recorded fowling accident on Kenavara was in the early twentieth century (see *Sloc Mhic Cnithealum*).

Away from the sea cliffs, other capture techniques were used: 'In caves in northern and western Scotland, cormorants, shags and rock pigeons were attracted at night with a fire or lantern and then struck down as they flew with a longer pole' (Baldwin 1973, 11). One target species was the rock dove, common on Tiree (see *Dùbal*), as this account describes:

Separate from all these [cliff birds], the pigeons have chosen their habitations. Hither their enemy [the island hunters], at the risk of his life, descends a very unpleasant stair carrying fire and a bundle of straw, to which he sets fire. The smoke suffocating them, they fly into the flames, attached to the light, apparently the passage to escape. Thus, numbers of them are caught. (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 400)

This account refers to one of two caves: *G Uamh nan Calman* 'the cave of the rock doves' in West Hynish (David McClounnan, pers. comm.) or *G An Uamh Mhòr* 'the great cave' on Kenavara (see *Gazetteer*).

Martin had recorded a similar technique on Tiree a century earlier, although he is likely to have mis-identified the species:

There is a cave in the southwest [of Tiree], which the natives are accustomed to watch in the night and then take many cormorants on it. (Martin 1994 (1695), 296)

Shags (*Phalacrocorax aristotelis*, *G sgarbh beag*) and, to a lesser extent, cormorants (*Phalacrocorax carbo*, *G sgarbh ruadh*) are very common on Tiree today, and were easily caught on offshore rocks. Indeed, the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*, contained bones from around twenty shags (MacKie 1974, 199), and this hunt continued on Tiree until the Second World War. On calm moonlit nights at very low tides between September and February, men waded out to the roosts on suitable offshore rocks such *Conslum* in Hough (see Gazetteer). On their way, the leader would fill his pockets with fine gravel, which he threw over the birds as they roosted for the night. Sensing it was hailing, the birds put their heads under their wings, whereupon the men clubbed them with sticks or *stamhan*, the stems of tangle seaweed, putting the stunned birds in sacks to take home, where they would be dispatched (Angus MacLean and Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, pers. comm.). This is similar to an account from the Northern Isles (Fenton 1997, 516). Two surviving examples of *Sgaracleit* (ON **Skarfakletta* ‘pointed rocks of the shags’) in Mannal and Hough were named not by ornithologists but fowlers.

Falconry was practised in Viking Age Norway (Lie 2018, 730), and it is likely that hunting with birds was introduced to Tiree by the Norse. In 1343, there was a census of the peregrine eyries on Tiree, Coll and Colonsay (Boyd 1958, 50). Chicks taken from the nest were hand-reared to supply trained hunting birds for the elite, and these valuable nest sites were closely monitored (John Bowler, pers. comm.; see *Balbhaig*). A 1662 MacLean of Duart *Memoriall Rentall* for Tiree records that ‘the falconer had frie [free] quarters and lambs for ther hawks’ (Inveraray Archive papers).

Larger birds were hunted with bows (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 220), waterfowl with nets, other birds with ground snares (Black 2008, 73) and the eggs of ground nesting birds like lapwing were gathered in the spring in large quantities into the twentieth century (see *Balephuill*).

10.3.6 Deer and other mammals

Post-glacial Tiree may not have been home to medium-sized or large land mammals – apart from humans and their domesticated livestock – because of the island’s distance from the mainland. Coll is some ten kilometres from the nearest headland of Mull, and even red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), who are strong swimmers, would rarely be able to travel this distance (Stanton *et al.* 2016).

However, it appears that red deer were translocated from an unknown location in mainland Europe to the Western and Northern Isles of Scotland during Neolithic

settlement, 4000–2500 BCE (Stanton *et al.* 2016). It is possible that deer were introduced to Tiree at the same time. Certainly, deer bones are common on the island. Morton Boyd found a red deer bone awl in Balephuil (An Iodhlann cat. no. 2004.158.1). Excavators found several worked antler fragments and an antler bridle cheek piece, as well as 111 roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*) and 256 red deer bones in all levels of the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* (MacKie 1974, 188). One explanation for these findings is that a resident deer population was maintained on the island throughout much of prehistory. Alternatively, carcasses may have been imported from elsewhere: for example, Mull. This seems to have happened in Iona. Red deer bones were found at the Early Medieval monastery there. This island is too small to have supported a deer population, meaning that deer haunches must have been brought to the island as food-tribute (Murray *et al.* 2004, 183).

Tiree's *sliabh* currently extends to 20 square kilometres of 'heath and acid grassland' (Pearman and Preston 2000, 16). Some stands of trees may have survived into the Early Medieval period (see section 5.6.5). The centre of the island would therefore have provided a suitable habitat. However, the current average density of red deer on open land across the whole of the Highlands is estimated to be around 10 animals per square kilometre (Albon 2019). This figure suggests a herd size of around 200 animals was possible on Tiree, less if both roe and red deer populations were present. This was probably below the minimum number of animals able to maintain itself over a long period, the Minimum Viable Population (Whittaker and Fernandez-Palacios 2007, 254). If such herds did exist on Tiree, their survival and health must have been managed by selective culling and the introduction of new bloodlines (Armit 2006, 163). This suggests semi-domestication.

A piece of antler carved with a cross was found in Hynish (Sands 1881–82, 461). And the Norse settlement name *Heylipol* has been reconstructed as ON **Hindaból* 'the farm of the hinds' (see Gazetteer). Deer, which can cause considerable damage to crops (Putman *et al.* 2011), only became extinct in Orkney during the Norse period (Jones and Mulville 2018, 338).

Norse settlers are likely to have introduced the house mouse to Tiree from Scandinavia (Searle 2008). The Cornaigmore name G *Cnoc an t-Sionnaich* 'the hillock of the fox' suggests that foxes may also have been introduced at one time (see *Sionnach*). It was reported in 1845 that rabbits 'were formerly seen on the island, but they have been for some time extinct' (*New Statistical Account Tiree and Coll* 1845, 203). This claim is usually treated with some scepticism. However, one rabbit bone was identified at the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* (MacKie 1974, 188). Whatever the truth of the matter, Tiree is currently the largest

rabbit-free island in Britain. Brown hares, on the other hand, are now common, having been introduced to the island around 1827 (*New Statistical Account Tiree and Coll* 1845, 203).

10.3.7 Wild plants

Silverweed (*Potentilla anserina*) was an important food source. Its roots resemble a fine parsnip and can be eaten raw, cooked whole, or dried and ground into a powder. The leaves are also edible. It is very common on Tiree on shingle or sandy ground (Pearman and Preston 2000, 117). Martin Martin reported in 1695 that ‘some [on Tiree] eat the roots of silverweed’ (Martin 1994 (1695), 294). A fragment of verse shows its importance in the Hebrides to poor people in good seasons, and to all people in poor years: ‘*Brisgean beannaichte earraich, seachdamh aran a’ Ghàidheil* [The blest silverweed of spring, one of the seven breads of the Gael]’ (quoted in Black 2008, 302). 1746, following the defeat of the Jacobite forces at the Battle of Culloden, heralded an unsettled spell on Tiree, with widespread sand blow and evictions of the rebels. The year became known on the island as *Bliadhna nam Brisgeanan* ‘the year of the silverweed’ (Ruairidh MacLean, *Litir do Luchd Ionnsachaidh* <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b007jdd3>). In Harris, chests were filled with it for winter use (McDonald 1991, 50).

Many other edible wild plants grow on Tiree. Common Scurvygrass (*Cochlearia officinalis*) was known to the Norse as *skarfa-kál* (CV, 539). This salt-tolerant member of the cabbage family has leaves containing high levels of vitamin C; these have been used medicinally since ancient times (see Martin 1994 (1695), 218 and 378). The leaves of the Lesser Celandine (*Ficaria verna*) are another rich source of vitamin C and its swollen, starchy roots can also be eaten. Other edible plants include: the flowers, leaves and seeds of Wild Carrot (*Daucus carota*), although care has to be exercised to distinguish it from the related and poisonous hemlock; the leaves of both Common Sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*) and Sheeps Sorrel (*Rumex acetosella*); the leaves of Common Chickweed (*Stellaria media*); Wild Garlic (*Allium ursinum*); the leaves, stems and roots of Wild Angelica (*Angelica sylvestris*: see *Tobar Poll Fannaid*); and the shoots and rhizomes of the Bulrush, *Typha latifolia* (see Pearman and Preston 2000, 75, 119, 79, 126, 59 and 60, 141). Hazel trees grew on Tiree (see section 5.6.5) and their nuts would have been gathered. The names *Creachasdal* and *Fiodhag* may reference berry collection (see Gazetteer). Field mushrooms (*Agaricus campestris*) are common in autumn on pastureland. Many species of seaweed found on the Tiree shoreline are edible (see section 10.3.1). The seed heads of the widespread Common Cottongrass (*Eriophorum*

angustifolium) or bog cotton were collected into modern times for bedding and to make the wicks for G *crùisgean* ‘oil lamps’.

The low and unpredictable agricultural yields during the medieval period must have meant that this ‘wild harvest’ contributed significantly to the Tìree diet, as it did into the middle of the twentieth century.

10.4 HOUSES

The first wave of Viking migration to Tìree plausibly moved into existing Pictish Iron Age settlements, just as they did in Shetland:

The Vikings who arrived at Old Scatness demonstrated a pragmatic approach to the pre-existing buildings, reusing and adapting the structures which they found there ... It now seems likely that the earliest dates for Viking settlement in Shetland may be found on reused Iron Age sites, rather than by excavating longhouses ... This growing evidence of the appropriation of existing settlements by Scandinavian incomers might go some way towards explaining the ‘missing decades’ of ninth century Viking settlement in the Northern Isles. (Turner and Owen 2013, 234–5)

In time, however, it is presumed that Norse settlers in Scotland moved to new sites on the richest land and introduced their own building traditions. Evidence for this is strong in the Northern Isles; Unst in Shetland has the remains of thirty definite and twenty probable Norse longhouses (Dyer *et al.* 2013, 110).

These were built with double-skinned walls whose outer layer incorporated turf to windproof the structure (Bond 2013, 159; Turner and Owen 2013, 238). By 1200, however, houses in Shetland had evolved double unmortared stone walls with an earth core (see Tait 2012, 91). They had a sub-rectangular shape, with rounded corners, straight gable ends and at least one bowed wall. Their length was usually 14–22 m with an internal width of around 5 m. Some Norse houses excavated on South Uist, however, are shorter, ranging from 8.4 m in length (house 700 *Cille Pheadair*), 15 m at Drimore (Canmore ID 9945), and 23 m at house 1, mound 2 Bornais (Sharples 2016, 250). In Shetland, the roof was supported by posts (Tait 2012, 91). The buildings were divided into two or three rooms stepped at different levels and with a central hearth or hearths. There were usually two opposing doors in the long walls and, commonly, an entrance in the lower gable. One or more side-rooms or annexes were often added at a later date along one

of the long walls. Longhouses were frequently aligned down the slope, and many (for example at the Bay of Skaill in Orkney) also seem to have included a byre at the lower end of the building, with a central drain for liquid waste. Cattle have a low tolerance of smoke and were housed ‘downhill’ from the fireplaces (Turner and Owen 2013, 239). Many had an associated yard: ‘All the longhouses [on Unst] had a boundary which projected from a corner of the longhouse itself and fully or partly enclosed a small area adjacent ... In every case one wall of the longhouse formed part of the enclosure, which was interpreted as the yard of the longhouse’ (Turner and Simpson 2013, 52). Evidence of metalworking is not uncommon: ‘It has been noted in Greenland and Iceland that a number of [longhouse] sites contain smithies’ (Bond 2013, 171).

Farmhouses in many parts of the Norse expansion zone – Norway, the Uists, Orkney and Iceland – were not infrequently built on settlement mounds in conspicuous locations, often visually dominating the sea approaches to a bay (Harrison 2013). These mounds might simply have been natural, or they may have been a prehistoric burial monument or an old house site. They appear to have been used by Norse settlers to reinforce their status, ‘to legitimize their claims to control land and reinforce their growing cultural dominance’ (Harrison 2013, 139). Possible settlement mounds on Tiree are at *Boidheigeir*, Vaul (see Gazetteer); G *Cnoc ’Ille Chalaim* ‘the hillock of the son (or servant) of Malcolm’ and G *Cnoc Beag Ghrianail* ‘the small hillock of *Grianal*’, alias G *Cnoc an t-Sithein* ‘the fairy hillock’, in Kirkapol; an unnamed mound behind Tullymet in Gott; a large unnamed mound beside the doctor’s house in Baugh; *Baca na Putain* in Balinoe (see Gazetteer and Appendix 18.b.6); G *An Cnoc Glas* ‘the green hillock’, Barrapol (also believed to be a fairy mound); and G *Am Baca Ruadh* ‘the red dune’, in Balevullin.

Although a structure above *The Ringing Stone* in Balephetrish has a number of features typical of a longhouse, and although the settlement mound at *Baca na Putain* in Balinoe has yielded material with a Norse date (see Appendix 18.b.6), there are few recognisably Norse structures on Tiree. There may be a number of reasons for this; these structures may have been covered by sand blow, their footings cleared after the widespread enclosure of the nineteenth century, or their sites re-used:

Once a farm was established [on Shetland], the site of the farmstead, *toft*, remained virtually static, with the buildings periodically demolished or remodelled on the same site. For farmsteads, the reuse of old buildings was the principal source of rubble, and the generality of rebuilding is demonstrated by the paucity of medieval farmsteads, despite there being thousands of settlements from this time. (Tait 2012, 97)

The surviving examples of early modern thatched houses on Tiree have many features typical of the Hebridean vernacular building style (Tait 2012, 91). Their profile, however, is unique (see Boyd 1986 for further details).

A Tiree dwelling will stand a hurricane without the least injury. The whistle of the wind is no more heard from within than in the interior of Ben Cruachan ... The wind strikes against the walls and shoots over the roof without scarcely touching it. (County of Argyll Annual Report by the Medical Officer of Health 1893)

It is likely that they represent an evolution, rather than a relict, of medieval housing on the island, a response to the twin environmental pressures of fuel poverty and scarcity of thatch that were reported by the nineteenth century.

Traditionally Tiree houses face east, as the proverb advises: *Cùl ri gaoith, agus aghaidh ri grèin* [Back to the wind, face to the sun]' (Boyd 1986, 11). Their extraordinarily thick, dry stone, double skinned walls have a central earth core to keep the structure windproof and stable under the considerable weight of the thatch. Rounded corners and battered outside walls reduce wind stress.

Their roofs have rounded hip ends rather than flat gables, due to the instability of double-height unmortared walls built with unshaped rock. Rafters sit on the inner of the two walls, leaving a *G tobhta* 'wall ledge', a feature also seen on Harris (Fenton and Mulhearn 2012, 63). Souness argued that short rafters were a response to the scarcity of long timber on Tiree (Souness 1992, 83). However, it is also likely to have been a response to the over-exploitation and consequent shortage of marram grass on the island as the population rose in the late eighteenth century. In addition, this design feature also prevents wind penetration below the thatch. Driftwood from Canadian forests was often used to make the rafters, as it was in Shetland; the more durable whalebone may also have been used (Tait 2012, 105). Rafters at the back are cut a foot shorter than those at the front, creating an asymmetric roof profile that resembles an upturned aircraft wing. This presses the unattached roof downwards in southwesterly gales. A marram grass thatch sits on a layer of turf 'tiles' cut on the *sliabh*. Due to the extensive use of seaweed as fertiliser on Tiree, old sooty thatch was not stripped to enrich the fields, but added to every three years, creating a rounded profile.

10.5 LAND DIVISIONS AND BURDENS

10.5.1 Land divisions and burdens in the Iron Age

During the Iron Age, a reasonable guess is that Tiree was divided into what might be described as fort-estates. Twenty-one presumed Iron Age Atlantic roundhouses are taken to be their focal points (see section 6.1.1) Some parts of the island, for example those making up the modern townships of Kirkapol and Balemartine, appear at present to have no surviving Iron Age sites; they may not have been permanently settled during this period. However, ‘an old fort’ referenced at Feature no. 62 in *Balmenoch* (Turnbull Report 1768) was drained and demolished during Improvement, suggesting more structures from this period may have existed at one time. Some roundhouses, such as the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*, are clearly more complex and required a more substantial investment in skills and labour; this implies a hierarchy in the island at that time.

10.5.2 *Tech* and *davoch*

Late Iron Age Tiree appears to have been on the fault line between the cluster of kingdoms making up *Dál Riata* on the one hand, and Pictish chieftaincies to the north and west on the other (see ‘Pictish’ in Glossary). Surviving documents suggest that Dalriadan burdens on landholders were focussed on military obligations based on households or extended families. One such document, *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*, was a census of parts of Argyll, probably dating from the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century (Fraser 2009, 353). Land was divided into units called OG *treb*, probably a grouping of households. Each group of twenty households had to provide two seven-benchers: boats, each with a crew of fourteen (Bannerman 1974, 49 and 140–1). In this way, a substantial naval force could be assembled: seventy boats and two thousand men, on paper. Indeed, substantial naval expeditions were not uncommon at the time: for example, a raid on Orkney in 583 was recorded (Fraser 2009, 123).

Other burdens were based on the estimated value of the landholding rather than the number of fighting men it could support. One early measure of land value was the *davoch*, a word possibly related to the Gaelic *dabhach* ‘vat, tub ... portion of land to carry sixty cows’ (Dwelly), but alternatively Pictish in origin (Dodgshon 2015, 64). The Kenavara headland place-names G *Dabhach Phàraig* ‘the vat or tub of [Saint] Patrick’ and *Na Dabhaichean* are more likely to describe natural

features than a landholding, but the obsolete name *Bledach*, possibly the site of a church founded on Tiree by St Brendan in 514 (see section 6.3.1.1), may contain an eroded form of the element *dabhach*.

10.5.3 Ouncelands

The Norse settlers of Tiree held their land with allodial title (land having no superior) under udal law (see section 8.4). Despite this, an ON *skattr* ‘tax’ was eventually imposed on them. Ouncelands, from ON *eyrisland* ‘land giving rent of [an ounce of silver]’ (CV, 136; Dodgshon 2015, 68), were found throughout Scandinavian Scotland, from Shetland to Galloway (Crawford 1987, 87), but not in Norway itself. Although this Norse land tax had a new name, Scandinavian chieftains are likely to have based their system on an earlier system of land division, such as the *davoch* (Marwick 1995 (1947), 17; Easson 1987; Dodgshon 2015, 66).

Suggested dates for the imposition of ouncelands vary from AD 900 (Dodgshon 2015, 68) to 1000 (Macniven 2015, 90). It is notable that most of the secondary Norse farms in *ból* are later valued in whole or fractions of ouncelands (see section 8.2), implying that the ounceland system had been imposed just before, or at the time of, the break-up of the primary Norse estates. On Tiree, this appears to have been soon after 900. Saga accounts have encouraged the view that it was the increasingly powerful ninth-century jarls of Orkney who imposed the ounceland system. The *Eyrbyggja Saga* relates:

At that time Sigurd Lodverson [*Sigurd Hlodvirsson*, a powerful Jarl or Earl of Orkney who died in 1014], had harried in the South-isles [Hebrides], and all the way west to Man. He had laid a tribute on the dwellers in Man; and when peace was made, the Earl left men to wait for the scat [tax] (and the more part thereof was paid up in burned [purified] silver).’ (Morris and Magnússon 1892, chapter 29; see CV, 528)

But it has also been convincingly argued that the ounceland system was imposed on the Hebrides by King Godred Haraldsson of Man, who died in 989 (see Whyte 2017, 40 and section 13.1.1).

Tiree, in whole or in part, may well have had some obligation to a superior from prehistoric times. But the ounceland system probably represented the first attempt to create a systematic division of the island into named farms of similar value, and can be seen as a significant step in improving the ‘legibility’ of the landscape to the landlord (Scott 1998, 2). It is unlikely that a tenth-century landlord had the

administrative capabilities to record the names of these ouncelands centrally; this probably had to wait until the Late Medieval period. The implication is that the landlord needed one or several island chieftains with the authority and local knowledge to collect, say, half an ounce of silver from **á Vági* (Baugh).

Acquiring silver to pay skat increasingly depended on trade, and there is evidence for this from English coins found in the Hebrides in the medieval period. Before 1100, this trade appears to have been confined to the other parts of the Norse expansion zone, but from the twelfth century trade with England and Ireland became more important. The *Orkneyinga Saga* describes how *Holdbodi Hundason*, who was described as based for a time on Tiree, sent a crew on a trading trip (Chapter 73), and in 1275, a trading party belonging to Alexander of Argyll was arrested in Bristol (the principal port on the west coast) on suspicion of piracy (McDonald 2019, 204). Feathers from the cliffs of Kenavara, hides, wool, whale oil and dried fish all may have been exported from the island.

The ounceland system measured the value of a farm rather than its area (Macniven 2015, 89). This valuation appears to have been set ‘from the top down’ as the amount of silver, or its equivalent, the superior calculated he could get away with collecting from the island’s farm townships, rather than being a ‘bottom up’ assessment of the real productivity of the land (Dodgshon 2015, 72 and 124). It was also a tax on the farm township as a whole. Its imposition is likely to have strengthened any hierarchy within a farm, forcing scattered farmsteads within an ounceland to work together: for example, in creating boundary dykes. This system remained the basis for land valuation on Tiree until the seventeenth century, and created much of the township structure on the island today.

10.5.4 Thirds and quarters

The ounceland denoted a large and valuable area. Many came to be subdivided during the medieval period, as an increase in population followed more intense agriculture.

ON *þriðjungr* means ‘the third part of a thing; a political division, the third part of a shire ... in Iceland, every *þing* was subdivided into three parts’ (CV, 745). The division of an administrative area into thirds – as seen in the *Ridings* of the English counties of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire – was not uncommon in Scandinavia and the Norse expansion zone (Macniven 2015, 99). The Hough name G *Keratrinvair* ‘quarter of the large third’ may contain the existing name G **An Trian Mòr* ‘the large third’, with the Gaelic word *trian* a borrowing from ON *þriðjungr* (see

Gazetteer). It may also be that the medieval ounceland farm township of Caolas was divided into thirds: a settlement in the north, now referred to as G *Àird-a-Tuath* ‘the northern headland’; one to the south known as G *Àird-a-Deas* ‘the south headland’ (see *Kerralonamair* and *Raonabol*); and a central area between Croish and Milton. Carloway has no surviving names derived from *priðjungr* (Cox 2002).

Some time before 1663, the land between Kilkenneth and Hough had been split into G *ceathramhan* ‘quarters’. Seven of these quarter-names have survived: *Ceathramh Mhurdat*, *Kerachrosegar*, *Kerahasagar*, *Keranokile*, *Keratrinvair*, *Kerreferguss* and *Kerremeanach*. Some appear to have been relatively short-lived, and they were not all present at the same time.

There is also a surviving *ceathramh* name in Caolas. The 1768 Turnbull Report speaks of the ounceland runrig township of ‘*Kelis* (namely three quarters of it)’ and ‘*Kelis* (The east quarter that is set in tack to Alex. McLean in Gott)’. In 1782, the name *Kerralonamair* was documented: ‘Tack to Archibald Campbell, South Quarter of Kelis’ (Inveraray Castle archive papers; see *Lònamar*). *Kerachrosegar*, *Kerreferguss*, *Keranokile* and *Kerralonamair* were all valued at a quarter of an ounceland, while *Kerahasagar* was three-quarters of an ounceland (see Gazetteer). It seems clear that *ceathramh* meant ‘quarter of an ounceland’ (see also Dodgshon 2015, 66).

Surviving names in *ceathramh* are extremely common in Ireland (anglicised as ‘carrow’) and on Man (as ‘*kerroo*’; Macniven 2015, 87). But they are less common in Scotland. The earliest Islay record of a quarterland (noted in Latin) dates from 1494 (Macniven 2015, 47), but no quarterland names survive on that island (Macniven 2015, 87). There is a *Coire nan Ceathramhan* on South Uist and a *Kerafuar* in Southend, Argyll (SP), but there are no names in G *ceathramh* in the Carloway Gazetteer (Cox 2002).

On other Hebridean islands, ouncelands were usually divided into twenty pennylands (G *peighinn*), but there is little evidence of these on Tiree (see Dodgshon 2015, 67; LAS Rixson).

Even smaller subdivisions of land – the *ochdamh* ‘eighth’, down to *dha sgillin* ‘two penny land’ – can be found on Islay (Macniven 2015, 48). The farms on Mull could be even more limited: here, the largest holdings in 1494 were two pennylands, while the smallest were just a farthing land (Whyte 2017, 101 and 131). This was one eightieth of an ounceland.

Tiree farm townships appear to have been more valuable. Turnbull’s 1768 map hints at a possible explanation: a product of township division like *Kerachrosegar*,

stretching from shore to *sliabh*, had become unfeasibly narrow, in some places around a hundred metres across. In addition, much of this township's ground was *machair*, making boundary construction much less durable. As agriculture became increasingly seaweed-based from the fifteenth century, small inland pockets of land could not survive as independent farms; the *ceathramh* (and its predecessor) remained the lowest limit of township division in Late Medieval Tiree. But within these farm townships, there appear to have been several small enclosures, each cultivated by a family group.

In contrast, at the time of Improvement at the end of the eighteenth century, the estate decided that four mail lands (one twelfth of an ounceland: see below) should be the size of the new crofts, the smallest enclosure of land (with associated common grazings) that could sustain one family (Cregeen 1964, xxvii). However, this modern form of individual land tenure entitled crofters to a shared access to beaches, *machair* and *sliabh*, thereby maintaining some independence.

10.5.5 Valuations in Scots pounds, merklands, pennylands and mailies

Following the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles to the Scottish crown in 1493 (Whyte 2017, 23), Tiree underwent a new land assessment (Dodgshon 2015, 66–9). The first crown rental of Tiree in 1509 valued land in Scots pounds (Latin *librum* or *lib.*) and shillings (*s*). The second, in 1541, used a valuation used by the Scottish crown since the twelfth century: the merkland, land valued at one Scottish merk or mark (Whyte 2017, 38).

Later records show that smaller parcels of land on Tiree were often valued in an uncommon unit called the mailie or mail land (Dodgshon 2015, 67). In 1771, the fifth Duke instructed his chamberlain on Tiree to subdivide the island, 'allowing no tenant to occupy less than four maile lands' (Cregeen 1964, 1). As late as 1803, the fifth Duke was still using the term (Cregeen 1964, 74). The mailie was, 'a measure of grain of Scandinavian origin, formerly much used in Orkney' (Gregory and Skene 1847, 173). The term may have derived from ON *mællir* 'a measure ... a field sown with a *mællir* of grain ... *mællis-land*' (CV, 442). A similar measure was found on the Orcadian island of Westray, where the teind (the tenth part of the harvest set aside for the minister) was set at four 'miels' (*Old Statistical Account Westray* 1795, 255). Martin also recorded the *maile* in St Kilda in 1697 (Martin 1994 (1695), 448).

A 1662 Tiree rental explained the relationship between these units: a *tirung* (G *tìr unga* 'the land of the ounce') or ounceland was equivalent to 6 merklands or 48 mailies (Dodgshon 2015, 67).

The tax assessment of Tiree was not stable; in other words, it could vary from year to year:

- 1509 crown rental: the taxable value of Tiree was 130.75 merklands (ER 13, 216–7). This is the equivalent of about 22 ouncelands
- 1541 crown rental: 143 merklands (ER 17, 614–5, and 647–8), the equivalent of almost 24 ouncelands
- 1596 rental: 140 merklands (Caldwell 2015b, 359), the equivalent of just over 23 ouncelands
- 1662 rental: just over 20 ouncelands. ‘The extent of Tirie is 20 tirungs or 120 merkland and 5 shillings more’ (*Scottish Historical Review* 1904, IX, 344)
- 1794 rental: 986 mail lands (Cregeen 1964, 35–9), the equivalent of over 20 ouncelands
- 1813 valuation: 1006 mail lands (Smith 1813, 340), the equivalent of almost 21 ouncelands

This instability was not uncommon: the valuation of Islay was given as 124 quarterlands in 1507 and 135 in 1734 (Macniven 2015, 86). Nor is it unexpected. The ounceland did not measure the intrinsic quality of the land. Instead, the weight of silver demanded was always ultimately the result of a political calculation, depending as much on the relative military strengths of the superior and tenants as it was on that year’s harvests or raiding opportunities. Farmland could also suffer catastrophic environmental failure from events such as sand blow, rains or drought.

10.5.6 The persisting influence of ouncelands on Tiree land assessments

The Norse ounceland remained the basis for land taxation on much of Tiree beyond the medieval period:

- The 1390 and 1495 partial rentals valued *Hindebollis* (*Heylipol*) and *Mannawallis* (*Mannel*) in Latin *unciata* ‘ounces’ (Johnston 1991, 87 and 93)

- 25 out of 28 farm valuations (89%) in 1541 are in fractions of 6 merklands (ER 17, 614–5, and 647–8), suggesting that these were based on the ounceland system
- In 1662, Tiree was still being valued in tirungs as well as merklands (*Scottish Historical Review* 1904, IX, 344)
- 21 out of 29 mail land farm valuations in 1794 (72%) are in fractions of 48 (Cregeen 1964, 35–9), making it likely that these divisions, too, were based on earlier ounceland farm townships
- *G Sloc an Unga* ‘the gully of the ounce-land’ is a coastal feature marking the present-day boundary between Scarinish and Heanish townships, both valued at half an ounceland in the Late Medieval period (see Gazetteer)

The persistence into the seventeenth century of the ounceland and mailie as the basis for much land valuation on Tiree is evidence of an enduring Scandinavian influence on the island’s landscape, and not just the ‘inertia of estate-administration’ (Clancy 2012, 86).

10.5.7 Numbers of townships

Tiree farm and runrig townships sometimes split or amalgamated. The most important reason for early division was inheritance by co-heirs. But in the Later Medieval period, some arable townships just became too extensive as new areas far from the main settlement came under cultivation and there was, ‘concern over increasing time spent in moving back and forth across an expanding network of fields’ (Dodgshon 2015, 99). The larger (and presumably often the original) settlement was given the modifier *G mòr* ‘big’, and the smaller and newer settlement that of *G beag* ‘small’. By the time of the first crown rental in 1509, *Cornaig* had been split into two: ‘big’ *Cornagmore* valued at £6, and ‘little’ *Cornagbeg* at £4. By 1716, Kilkenneth had also split into *Kilchenichmore* and *Kilchenichbeg*, although both parts were valued at 12 mail lands (Johnson 1991, 98). But runrig townships also amalgamated, with *Cornagmore* joining *Bassapole* by 1509, and *Balephetrish* taking in *Balwag* by 1674. The total number of townships on Tiree has therefore remained broadly similar. We need, however, to exercise a degree of caution about the completeness of the two sixteenth-century crown rentals. Church lands were not always included in these documents: for example, on Islay a tenth of settlement names from that period are missing (Macniven 2015, 28 and 58).

Table 6. Number of townships on Tiree

Date	Number of townships	Source
1509	32	ER 13, 216–7
1541	30	ER 17, 647–8
1768	38	Turnbull
2015	30	Estate records

Despite being largely absent, Hebridean landlords, ‘were legally obliged by the Privy Council regulations of 1616 [following the Statutes of Iona] to keep a *mains* or home farm ... Probably some, if not all, the tacksmen [kept] some land laboured by their own servants, but seventeenth-century references to Mains in the Western Isles are infrequent’ (Shaw 1980, 76). There is one reference to a ‘Mains Farm’ on Tiree on the 1768 Turnbull Map: *Kelis Mains*. Its precise meaning here is not known.

10.5.8 Military service

Another burden on the Tiree elite and their tenants was a duty to raise a specified number of armed fighting men and ships if required by the superior (see section 10.5.2).

In parts of medieval Scandinavia, this burden was formalised into a system of naval levies known as *leiðangr* (CV, 380) and *skipreiðir* ‘ship taxation districts’ (CV, 548). There is very little evidence, however, that these were ever imposed in the Hebrides, far from the reach of the Norwegian crown (Caldwell 2015b, 363). Macniven has estimated that Islay, at sixty ouncelands, would have been theoretically liable to provide six manned longships (Macniven 2013, 92); on this basis, Tiree, at over twenty ouncelands, would have had a burden of two ships (see section 10.7).

In 1164, fighting men from the Hebrides in 160 galleys sailed with Somerled’s failed expedition that culminated in the Battle of Renfrew (McDonald 1997, 61). A 1596 report (but possibly relating to an earlier period) showed that Tiree was liable for 300 fighting men in their galleys and birlinns. These were professional fighting men, and were, to some extent, maintained from the resources of the island’s landlord in Dunollie, Finlaggan or Duart. They were, ‘available at any time of the year to go and fight elsewhere for as long as was necessary, a whole year at a time as was sometimes the case when their participation was required in the wars in Ireland. These men did not work the land, but those who did were

specifically required to stay at home’ (Caldwell 2015b, 358–9). Large numbers of the chieftain’s military elite force would occasionally be stationed on Tiree, where the obligation of *G cuid-oidhche* ‘night help’ (see section 13.1.1) forced tenants to give them hospitality. As late as the nineteenth century, John Gregorson Campbell was still able to collect a local tradition (dating from no later than the seventeenth century) that ‘a party of strong men called “MacLean’s Attributes” (*buaidhean Mhic-’illeathain*) but more correctly oppressors and bullies, were kept in the island to overawe the people’ (Campbell 1895, 13).

10.6 BOATS

From the earliest times, human life on the Atlantic rim depended on an ability to understand and navigate its seas: to exploit new shorelines, to fish and to wrestle for resources. The first recorded naval battle in Britain as early as AD 719 took place between the Dalriadan kindreds of *Cenél nGabráin* and *Cenél Loairn* for control of the Argyll islands (Rixson 1998, 7). And Viking longships powered Scandinavian dominance of the North Atlantic from the ninth century.

10.6.1 Curragh

The commonest boat type used during the Pictish Iron Age became known as *G curach* ‘curragh’:

A boat made of wicker [woven branches], and covered with skins or hides ... [this] may seem to modern [people] a very unsafe vehicle to trust to in tempestuous seas, yet our forefathers fearlessly committed themselves in these slight pinnacles to the mercy of the most violent weather. They were once much in use in the Western Isles [of Scotland]. (Dwelly)

Curraghs took their strength from tension rather than solidity. They had the advantage of lightness, which made them easy to carry up a beach or over a headland. They were quick to make using tanned hides and fine lengths of timber, both of which may have been available on prehistoric and Early Medieval Tiree. They had oars and often a square lugsail or two; a crew of monks were said to have left Columba’s monastery on Iona, ‘sailing away with full sails and with favourable winds’ (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 429). They could also reach a substantial size: ‘Dressed timbers of pine and oak for a long ship [*L longa navis*] were being drawn over land’ by the monks of Iona (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 117 and 453).

Accustomed as we are today to solid wooden boats, it is easy to under-value this form of boat construction. But currachs were (are) capable of long sea voyages: *Áedán mac Gabráin*, the king of *Dál Riata*, reached Orkney in AD 581 (Rixson 1998, 7); North Rona, 71 km north of the Butt of Lewis and the most remote island in the British Isles to have had sustained occupation, was settled by an Early Christian community; a Pictish fleet said to have numbered 150 vessels was wrecked off the coast of Banffshire in 729 (Fraser 2009, 342); and Tim Severin with a crew of four sailed a currach from Ireland to Newfoundland in 1976 to recreate the story of the voyage of St Brendan (Severin 1978).

10.6.2 Knarr

The first Viking vessels to reach Tiree on exploratory and trading expeditions are likely to have been an early form of knarr (ON *knǫrr*). A reconstructed boat known as Skuldelev 1 is a probable example: this was built in west Norway around 1030, was 16 m in length and 4.8 m in the beam, and could carry 24 tons of cargo. With a more rounded shape than a longship, Skuldelev 1 carried a crew of six to eight men, and was powered by two to four oars and sails made of wool or linen.

10.6.3 Longship

The longship has come to symbolise Viking culture because its design allowed Scandinavians to dominate much of the coastal fringes of northern Europe for three hundred years. A salvaged longship known as Skuldelev 2 is one example: this was built in Dublin around 1050, was 30 m in length and 3.7 m in the beam, and had a draught of just 1 m. There were thirty oars each side, a square sail on a yard, a steering board at the stern and a crew of over sixty. It has been estimated that longships were capable of a sustained five knots under oar, and could sail at speeds of fifteen knots (McWhannell 2017, 53). Modern reconstructions of medieval Scandinavian longships have made the trip, including stops, from Norway to Dublin in forty-five days.

With their shallow draught and steering boards that could be raised, these boats were designed for beach landings. Indeed, the surviving bottom planks of Skuldelev 2 showed extensive abrasion. Putting a longship back to sea was usually labour intensive: 'A large sixteen-oared boat ... always required thirty men to put her to sea' (Rixson 1998, 164). If possible, the incoming tide was used. In 1158, Somerled invaded Man with a fleet of fifty-three ships. After razing the island, his force was

spooked into a quick departure, and, ‘as soon as the tide was in and their ships afloat, they took the fleet out of that port (Ramsey)’ (Rixson 1998, 151). If an even quicker getaway was on the cards, longships occasionally lay offshore during an attack. After an unsuccessful 1250 raid by the MacDonalDs on Man, ‘many fled to the ships and drowned while swimming out’ (Rixson 1998, 81).

A number of different types of longship are described in the saga literature. The Tiree place-names *Sgiobasal*, *Sgibinis* and *Sgiobagar* contain the specific ON *skip* a general name for a boat; *Sgudaig* may contain the word ON *skúta*, a smaller vessel (see Gazetteer).

10.6.4 West Highland Galley

While the remains of several Viking longships have been discovered in Scandinavia allowing accurate replicas to be built, no West Highland galley has yet been found. The few surviving images – on seals and grave slabs – have encouraged the belief that the sleek lines of the Norse longship gave way to a chunkier design with high prows and sterns. These foreshortened representations, however, may simply be the result of the fact that these drawings were compressed for armorial purposes (Caldwell 2015b).

By the late thirteenth century, a stern-pivoted rudder appears to have replaced the steering board. West coast boats seem to have become beamier. Larger galleys had nine to twelve oars each side, while the *G birlinn* had six to nine (Caldwell 2015b, 354). This increased width may have allowed three men to each oar. Although, no doubt, these boats were also used to transport an elite around their ‘thallasocracies’ and for fishing, their pre-eminent function was the movement of troops.

The first record we have of ship building in Argyll comes from 1309 (McDonald 2019, 226). A Privy Council report from 1615 showed that MacLean of Duart possessed two galleys and eight birlinns, while the Earl of Argyll had just one galley (Rixson 1998, 186). A 1662 Tiree rental includes the payment of a ‘sail and hair taikle to a galey’ (*Scottish Historical Review* 1911, XII, 344, quoted in Rixson 1998, 143). There are two tapered slabs in Kirkapoll’s *G An Cladh Beag* ‘the small graveyard’ depicting a ‘galley with furled sail’, dated to a period from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century (RCAHMS 1980, 156 and 157). Two Tiree place-names – *Sloc na Birlinn* (see *Port Chloinn Nèill* in the Gazetteer) and *Port na Birlinn* (see Gazetteer) – reference these vessels.

10.6.5 Smaller Boats

Norse longships and knarrs often carried or towed dinghies, and smaller boats like the faering with two pairs of oars (ON *fer-æringr* ‘four-oared boat’: CV, 151) must have been used around Tìree to access the rich inshore fishing banks. The boat burials at Westness on Rousay, Orkney, involved two boats 4.5 m (14 ft) and 5.5 m (18 ft) in length (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 150). Those in Uist were 6 m (20 ft) and 12 m (39 ft) (McDonald 2019, 202).

10.6.6 Harbours and landing places

The 1654 Blaeu map, based on a late sixteenth-century survey, shows a wide estuary at Baugh. This suggests that the shores of this inlet may have provided the island’s most important location for boat landing in the Early Medieval period, although two names in ON *bryggja* ‘boat landing place’ nearby point to the fact that this may only have been accessible at high water (see *Bhìdeig*, *Dusprig*, *Eibrig* and *Ìbrig*). This estuary’s banks are likely to have been a suitable site for a beach market (see Cooke 2016). The derivation of *Biosd* at the Green, Kilmoluaig as ON **Býjarstøð* ‘harbour of the farm’ suggests that this was another significant Early Medieval landing site on the northern side of the island (see Gazetteer).

The estuary at Baugh appears to have been gradually overwhelmed with sand (see section 5.6.1). When Monro wrote, probably as early as 1549, that Tìree possessed ‘ane gude heavin [haven] for heiland galayis’ (Munro 1961, 65), he is more likely to have been referring to the inlet now known as *G Acarsaid an Dùin* ‘the harbour of the fort’ (see Gazetteer) lying below the commanding *G Dùn Mòr a’ Chaolais* ‘the large fort of Caolas’ at the eastern end of the island. This is the home of the island’s fishing fleet today.

John Fraser, the minister of Tìree and Coll from 1678 to 1704 (*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Argyll, 119), reported: ‘The Coast round this Ill [island] is verij dangerous for manij rocks sandij banks and violent tyds there are some harbours of bad entryes, yet when entered, pretty safe for small gellijs and barks ... The Coast of this Illand [Coll] is better than that of Tyrie or Gonna [Gonna] for ther entreth ane arme of the sea in the suth and sutheast syde called Loch Jern [*Loch Eatharna* at Arinagour], wher ships may saflië venter’ (Macfarlane 1907, 218).

Turnbull gave a full description of the island’s harbours in 1768:

The harbours in Tìry are Heanish [*Port a’ Mhuilinn*, Baugh], Scarnish, Skipnish [Ruaig], Down Helis [*An Acarsaid*, Milton], Lonamor [*Lònamar*,

Caolas] and Beist [*Biosd*, Kilmoluaig] ... Of all these Down Helis is the best though with a difficult entry occasioned by blind rocks (or rocks under water), off the mouth of the harbour, yet it is the safest when a vessel gets in. A ship of sixty tons may lie there with safety [the Viking longship *Skuldelev 2* displaced twenty-six tons]. The rest of the harbours are only fit for small boats. The harbour of Heanish is next best for small boats to be kept afloat in ... Scarnish harbour is most frequented by small boats on account of its entry being rather better than the rest. The harbours of Lonamar, Skipnish and Beist are bad. In stormy weather and at times of high spring tides, the surge is so great upon the shore that it is dangerous to have boats in any of the above harbours unless they are drawn up upon the shore.' (Turnbull Report 1768)

The 1654 Blaeu map names the harbour at Scarinish as *G Port Luing* '(the) inlet of (the) boat' (see Gazetteer). This was probably the bay described by Knox in 1786: '... and here we arrived about sunset, in a little creek so very narrow at the entrance that no vessel dare enter it, except with moderate weather and a leading wind; yet this was the only place in the island on which any money had been expended. Here is a ruinous pier, whose dimensions are proportioned to the size of the harbour where it is built. A small vessel may lay her side to it, and the harbour or creek will contain three or four vessels of that size' (Knox 1787, 71). This 'ruinous pier' is undated (but see Cregeen 1964, xxvi).

At *Lònamar*, *Caolas* (see Gazetteer), there are the remains of several small jetties of unknown age; this harbour was used for loading cattle into the eighteenth century (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.).

The southern and eastern shores of the island tend to be more protected from the prevailing Atlantic swell than those to the west and north, although no aspect is completely safe. The *Gunna Sound* – the passage between Tiree and Gunna and Coll – channels a strong tidal race of up to four knots at spring tides and can be subject to very disturbed sea conditions (see section 10.6.8). Having said that, there are many inlets and beaches around the island where a small boat could land safely if the conditions were right. John Gregorson Campbell describes such a beach landing in a story from the oral tradition set in the time of MacLean of Duart's bailiery:

[The steersman, a beggar] sat at the helm and told them to shorten sail, and make everything taut, and now, the boat did not take in a thimbleful of water. They made for Tiree, and the place come to was the lower part of Hynish, at the furthest extremity of the island. The first place of shelter

which the beggar saw, he let the boat in there. The little cove is still known as the Port of the Galley (*Port na Birlinn*) on the south side of *Barradhu* where the present dwellings belonging to the Skerryvore Lighthouse are. The company landed safely. (Campbell 1895, 14)

Tidal beach landings made a return in the late nineteenth century with coal puffers targeting suitable points around Tìree. Puffer captains appear to have been conservative about where they took their boats, depending, as they did, on landing gazetteers compiled by previous crews. They looked for a clear approach, a particular gradient of the beach and firm sand to allow heavily laden carts to come alongside. Landing points were *Port an t-Sruthain*, Caolas; Brock; less often the west end of Gott Bay; *Port a' Mhuilinn*, Baugh; the western end of *Tràigh Shòrabaidh*, Balinoe; *Port Wylie*, Greenhill; Kenovay; and Vault.

A number of boat landing site names survive, suggesting this somewhat decentralised landing pattern. There are seven surviving names in ON *bryggja*; in comparison, this element does not appear once among the Norse place-names of Islay or Carloway (Macniven 2015 and Cox 2002). And several small inlets have Gaelic names showing that they have been used to launch small boats: *Port na Luinge* in Balemartine; *Port a' Bhàta* in West Hynish and Sandaig; and *Port nam Bàtadhan* (see *Bàdagan*) in Cornaigbeg. Stony inlets cleared to create boat draws also suggest their use as small landing places. These can be seen at *An Acarsaid*, Caolas (this was mechanically dredged in the 1970s); *Port a' Mhuilinn*, Baugh; and *Port Bharabol*, Barrapol.

Beached vessels were always vulnerable to a change in the weather and rising surf, and needed to be pulled well clear of the high tide mark to be safe. In addition, in politically unstable times, 'once beached, Highland shipping was vulnerable to attack and destruction on land' (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 13). As an example, 'in the winter of 1228–9 King Reginald unexpectedly came to Man in the middle of the night and "set fire to all the ships of his brother King Olaf"' (Rixson 1998, 81). The Tìree place-name *G Glac nan Ràmh* 'the hollow of the oars' in Caolas references the story of the theft of a beached galley's oars (see Appendix 18.c.5).

Small jetties for the island's long-line fishing fleet were built in 1847 as a famine relief project after the failure of the potato harvest. These were at *An Acarsaid*, Milton; *Port a' Mhuilinn*, Baugh; *Port an Tobair*, Balemartine; *Port Riseag*, West Hynish; and *Port Bhiostadh*, The Green, Kilmoluaig. These are likely to have been in locations where boats were kept already.

Significantly, Tìree lacked a raid – a large body of protected water, such as that provided by the Sound of Jura or Castlebay, Barra – where large fleets could

assemble (McDonald 2019, 64). Turnbull reported in 1768 that ‘there is no anchoring place for ships around the island except for the bay of Kirkapoll where vessels may ride with safety, there being excellent holding ground in some parts’ (Turnbull Report). The wide mouth of this bay, however, means that it is exposed if the wind is from the southeast.

10.6.7 Nousts

Sailing in the exposed Atlantic Ocean was largely a summer occupation: ‘All the boats in Tiree, great and small, are hauled up high and dry during four months of the year, or from the end of November to the end of March. During this time the island is nearly locked up from all intercourse with other countries’ (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 21). Exceptions could be made when the occasion demanded. *Sveinn Ásleifarson* was said to have fled from Orkney to Tiree soon after Christmas 1135 (see Appendix 18.a.2), and in January 1581 a fleet of galleys brought a force of mercenaries to Ireland ‘in greate numbers’ (Rixson 1998, 51).

Boats were pulled up the beach using ON *hlunnr* ‘roller for launching ships’ (CV, 272). Whale ribs, commonly washed ashore on Tiree, were preferred for this as they became polished with use (Rixson 1998, 179). Boats were stored for the winter in stone-lined nousts, sometimes roofed but usually not because of a lack of timbers (Tait 2012, 477). There are surviving nousts at *Loch an Àir*, Milton; *An Acarsaid*, Milton; and at *Port a’ Mhuilinn*, Baugh. The most magnificent example on Tiree, capable of storing a longship, is at the western end of G *An Tràigh Mhòr* ‘the big beach’, Gott. A modern shed has been built inside it, but the outline is still clearly visible. Small nousts are still widely used in Shetland, and the Tiree nousts are not necessarily all medieval. No names in ON *naustr* ‘noust’ survive on Tiree.

In autumn or spring, boat timbers, ropes and woollen sails were tarred to protect them from winter rain and the intense summer sun: ‘Have [your ship] thoroughly coated with tar in the autumn, and if possible keep it tarred all winter’ (quoted from the Norwegian *The King’s Mirror* ca. 1250, in Martin 2017, 110). It is estimated that a large Viking longship needed 500 litres of tar during its construction, and large tar pits dating from the start of the Viking Age have recently been identified in Scandinavian forests. Resinous wood was burnt in a funnel-shaped pit above a pot. Around the eighth century, production increased to an industrial scale to supply the demand caused by a surge in large vessel construction (Hennius 2018). Norway remained Scotland’s principal supplier of tar into modern times (Shaw

1980, 169). What was known as ‘Stockholm’ or ‘Archangel’ tar was still used on island boats into the twenty-first century.

10.6.8 Portage

It was advantageous if boats could be ‘portaged’, or carried across land, which dictated against great size and weight. (Rixson 1998, 56)

A traditional Tìree story tells of a cursed boat that was taken from Salum to Heanish. Because of rough weather, it was hauled overland from Salum to Ruaig:

A fishing boat or skiff belonging to the people of *Gortendonald*, in the west end of Tìree, was sold because ‘things’ were said to have been seen about it till no one belonging to the village would venture to sea in it. It was brought by some persons in Scarinish (in the east end of the island), who professed not to believe in *taibhsearachd* or second sight. They gave the loan of it to people in Vaul, on the north side of the island. Here sights began again to be seen about it, and it was even said that at a time when it was hauled up on dry land, six men were seen rowing in it and one steering. At last no one at all would venture to sea in the boat, and it was sent back to Scarinish. So strong was the feeling that the Vaul men would not venture with it through the Black Water (*Am Bun Dubh*), as the sound between Coll and Tìree is called, but drew it across the land to Loch Gott, whence the Scarinish people took it home. After this its odour in the east end of Tìree became so bad that it was sold again to villagers in the west end, at some distance from the place it originally came from. Here it terminated its career in Tìree by drowning six men. (Black 2008, 260)

It has been suggested that boats were dragged up the stream draining *Loch Phuill* (see *Balephuill*).

10.7 IRON PRODUCTION

With its iron-rich bedrock, and with a flat, poorly draining and acidic hinterland, Tìree is likely to have been quite well-supplied with iron in the late prehistoric and Early Medieval periods. Many forms of the Lewisian gneiss complex have a high iron content, concentrated in its darker bands. This is slowly leached from

the surface of the rock by water in a process of chemical weathering. Iron-oxidising bacteria then feed on this iron-rich water. In doing so, they produce nodules containing iron oxyhydroxide, which collect in the banks of small streams on the *sliabh*. This is bog iron.

These flat landscapes cut by streams lined with darkly stained rocks, and pools of rust-coloured water with their characteristic iridescent film, were highly prized in late prehistoric and Early Medieval times. They are very common on Tiree. A plausible derivation of the Tiree primary settlement name Ruaig is ON **Rauðavík* ‘the red inlet’ from the iron-rich water in its hinterland (see Gazetteer). The modern name of the moorland east of this settlement is G *An Sliabh Dearg* ‘the red moor’. Bog iron is a renewable resource, and an area can be re-harvested approximately every generation.

Smelting and smithing were extremely fuel-intensive, however, and iron production and processing came at some environmental cost. Tiree’s woodlands are likely to have been much reduced by the Early Medieval period (see section 5.6.5). Most of the charcoal needed to create the high temperatures demanded must have been made by the controlled burning of peat over several days inside a turf-covered clamp. Bog iron nodules were first roasted to create surface cracks. Smelting was done in a small furnace called a bloomery. This was made from clay that was tempered with dung. After lighting a fire inside the furnace to dry the clay, the bog iron and peat-charcoal were loaded in equal proportions. After setting light to the mixture, the furnace was then pumped from below with bellows. Liquid waste slag collected at the base and could be drained through a small hole, leaving the sponge-like iron-rich bloom to be picked out of another hole with tongs. The bloom then had to be beaten and re-heated to purify it. Objects made with bog iron have a characteristic sheen due to the high silica content and are relatively rust-resistant. Bloomeries, with their unmistakable conical heaps of slag, were usually sited on the *sliabh* near the raw materials, and slag and pottery moulds have been found recently at *Baca Charachain*, a deflated dune in Balevullin.

10.8 CHRISTIANITY

The Tiree settled by Vikings in the mid-ninth century appears to have been an important Early Christian centre (see section 6.3.2.10). The Norse settlers, by contrast, brought with them the Old Norse religion. Their cosmology had many gods – such as *Óðinn* (Odin) and *Þórr* (Thor) – and a belief that the world lay in the branches of *Yggdrasill*, the tree that supported the universe.

Such evidence as survives suggests the cultural dominance of these Scandinavian immigrants (see sections 8.1 and 11.4), although it is plausible that Christianity survived among the remnant native population. Despite this, however, there are few surviving indications of paganism on Tiree. What appears to have been a Norse pagan cemetery was discovered in Cornaigbeg in the eighteenth century (see Appendix 18.b.2.1). The Hynish place-name *Thorramhull* possibly contains the specific ON *hǫrgr* ‘heathen place of worship’ (see Gazetteer). And a number of oval stone settings on the slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis* above *Dùn Shiadair* resemble those found on the island of Balta, Shetland; it has been suggested that these were pagan graves or cenotaphs (Turner, Larsen and Owen 2013, 91–100).

There could be several reasons for this lack of evidence. The most important is likely to be the settlers’ early conversion (see below). Another might be the custom of re-interring bodies from pagan burial mounds in later Christian graveyards, as described in *Egils Saga*. Here, the skeleton of *Egil* (identified by the unusual size and strength of the bones) was found below the altar of a new church at *Mosfell* in western Iceland, despite having been originally buried some distance away (Green 1893, chapter 91; see Kirkapol church below). Pagan graves may also have been robbed or cleared from land that was later cultivated, while coastal erosion may have destroyed other sites (see section 5.5). Many Old Norse religious ceremonies appear to have taken place in natural settings rather than in built structures.

Although parts of the Norse expansion zone may have endured the ‘violent promotion of Christianity as the official religion of the Norse world by Óláfr Tryggvason [king of Norway from 995 to 1000] in the closing years of the tenth century’ (Macniven 2015, 119), conversion in those areas of the Norse expansion zone that had a strong Early Christian presence is likely to have occurred earlier. Saga accounts certainly suggest early conversion in parts of the Hebrides:

Some of the original settlers of Iceland who came from the Hebrides were allegedly Christian, and since the original settlement-phase in Iceland extended from *circa* 870–930, Christianity seems to have been well established, if not universal, from an early date in the Scandinavian communities in Scotland. (Gammeltoft 2001, 162; see Clancy 2008, 25).

One such settler, attested in several sagas, was *Auðr djúpúðga Ketilsdóttir* (Aud the Deep-Minded). According to several accounts, Aud was the daughter of an early Norse strongman in the Hebrides, *Ketill flatnefr* (Ketil Flatnose). She is said

to have been baptised before she reached *Dalir* by *Breiðafjörður* in northwestern Iceland (Jennings and Kruse 2009b, 132). Here, she had crosses erected on her land at a site that is still known as *Krosshólar* ‘hills of the cross’ (*Landnámabók* 1900, 269). Aud’s cousin *Orlygg Hrappsson*, another early settler from the Hebrides, built (or possibly even re-built) a church in Iceland (Márkus 2012, 44; see *Teampall Phàraig*).

Secondary Scandinavian settlements on Tiree (see section 8.2) are likely to have been established towards the end of the ninth century. Two of these have Christian specifics: **Kirkjuból* (Kirkapol) ‘farm of the church’ may have been named after an existing ruined church site or a new church building, while **Krossaból* (Crossapol) means ‘farm of the crosses’ (see Gazetteer). Many Norse settlers to the Hebrides are thought to have been single men who set up households with native, presumably Christian, women. It is, therefore, plausible that the Scandinavians who moved to Tiree were among the first in the Norse expansion zone to convert.

By way of contrast, the pagan Viking boat burial at Swordle Bay in Ardnamurchan has been dated to the early tenth century (Harris *et al.* 2017). Conversion of the Norse on Islay also appears to have come later. Pagan burials at Cruach Mhor have been dated to the ninth or tenth century (Gordon 1990), and at Ballinaby (Canmore ID 37407) to 950–1000: ‘Among the upper echelons of Islay society at least, the expression of pagan Norse identity through burial practices appears to have remained strong until the late tenth century’ (Macniven 2015, 119).

After three decades of raids, Iona regained its position as the most important monastic centre in the region:

In 825, Iona was still the political head of one of the leading monastic federations within the Gaelic Church, and was still one of the most influential of Gaelic monasteries ... It would have been surprising if the continuing existence of such a cultural and religious centre did not exert a powerful influence on the minds of the newly settled Norse inhabitants of the Hebrides. (Jennings 1998, 41 and 43)

It has been argued that converted Viking settlers in the southern Hebrides were quick to adopt the cult of the pre-eminent local saint, Columba (see Whyte 2017, 66). Despite further Scandinavian raids in 986 (Jennings 1998, 42), ‘Iona remained the ecclesiastical centre of western Scotland, revered by Norse Christians as well as Gaels, and in 980 *Olaf Cuarán*, the Norse king of Dublin, came to spend his last days there’ (Power 2005, 29).

Drawing on parallels elsewhere in the Norse expansion zone, wealthy Norse landowners on Tiree plausibly began to build family chapels from the tenth century:

The church [*Cill Donnain*, in South Uist] must have been built within the first century or so after Christianity became established among the Norse communities of the Western Isles, and, in these circumstances, it is more likely than not that it started life as a private church belonging to a high-status individual, rather than as a community or district church. (Fleming 2012, 75)

Examples of Norse chapels in the Northern Isles are at St Ninian's Isle on the west coast of Shetland's Mainland, and at Lund on Unst. At Brough of Deerness on the Orkney Mainland, the stone walls of the eleventh- to twelfth-century chapel are still upstanding. This rectangular building is 5 x 3 m in size, with a door at the west end and a stone altar at the east (Morris and Emery 1986). In turn, this overlies a tenth-century timber chapel (Barrett and Slater 2009). Describing chapels on Rousay, Marwick writes:

They may be assumed to represent the first great burst of church-building fervour following on the general adoption of the Christian faith by Norse settlers in Orkney. In Iceland at the same period a similar erection of churches was going on, and in the *Eyrbyggja Saga* we find a hint of the motive force operating: 'This which was promised by the clergy made men very eager in church-building, namely that a man should have room in the kingdom of Heaven for as many men as could stand in the church that he had built'. (Marwick 1995 (1947), 23; see also CV, 339)

On other islands, these Norse family chapels were associated with more valuable landholdings; on Rousay, there was a chapel on most estates whose value was one unceland or more (Marwick 1995 (1947), 22). Continuity of resort – the building of later churches on earlier ecclesiastical sites – is also likely to have influenced their location: 'The majority, if not all, of the pre-Norse church sites were eventually re-occupied after the Norse populations were converted' (Crawford 2005, 93). Indeed, the choice of prehistoric mounds for the sites of many *thing* assemblies shows that the Vikings respected locations that suggested past significance. On Tiree, an island valued at different times at between 20 and 24 unceldands, evidence of pre-modern ecclesiastical structures, names or traditions survives at seventeen locations. Some of these must be good candidates for the sites of Norse family chapels (see section 6.3.2 for further details):

- Caolas: *An Annaid* (see Gazetteer). There is no visible structure, and the dedication, if one existed, is lost. There are two graveyard names nearby: G *Cladh na Croise* ‘graveyard of the cross’ and G *An Cladh Beag* ‘the small graveyard’. G *Creag a’ Mhanaich* ‘the rock of the monk’ is also nearby (see section 12.3 and Gazetteer)
- *Mithealum*, the promontory between Vaul and Salum: oral tradition speaks of a ‘church’ here, but the small, two-roomed structure known as G *Taigh Shearmonachadh* ‘the house of sermons’ is oriented north-south, had a small stackyard to the east and was roofed in 1878 (Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXV.2). It appears to be a dwelling that became a nineteenth-century preaching station. It may be, however, that this overlay an earlier building, or that this headland was larger at one time and earlier structures have been eroded. See section 6.3.1.1
- Kirkapol: a thirteenth-century mortared parish church (G *Teampall Choluim Chille*) and a mortared chapel (possibly called G *Teampall Odhrain*: see *Cladh Orain*) from the same period. There are two graveyards: G *Cladh Odhrain* (alias G *An Cladh Mòr* ‘the big graveyard’; see *Cladh Orain*), and *Cladh Beag Chornaig* (see section 6.3.2.8). The dedication of the larger church, as noted in a 1375 document, was to St Columba, while the larger graveyard, a nearby well and a small chapel were named after St Odhran (see section 6.3.2.9)
- Gott: *Tir Chaibeil* (see Gazetteer). There is no visible structure, nor is there a surviving dedication. The alias G *Cill Chaibeil* may be translated as ‘the burial ground of the chapel’ but no evidence of a graveyard can be seen today
- Scarinish: *Caibeal Thòmais* (see Gazetteer). There is no visible structure, and the exact site of the chapel itself is unclear. There is a tradition about the general location of G *Cladh Beag Thòmais* ‘the small graveyard of (the chapel dedicated to Saint) Thomas’ within the settlement of Scarinish
- Heylipol: *Tobhar an Teampail* (see section 10.2.1 and Gazetteer). There is no visible structure, no associated dedication, nor a tradition of a graveyard here
- Soroby: This was the site of the thirteenth-century parish church for the south of the island. The dedication was to St Columba, as recorded

in the 1421 name *Ecclesia Sancti Columbe* (SSPN). The modern churchyard contains the freestanding Early Christian *MacLean's Cross*. After 1618, this was the location of the parish church for the combined parish of Soroby, Kirkapol and Coll. Some time between 1786 and 1795, a storehouse in Scarinish was converted into a preaching station (Cregeen 1964, 5), and the medieval church at Soroby fell into disuse. A tradition became associated with the ruin: 'There was at that time a church at Soroby, the two gables whereof had fallen, but the side walls were standing. And it was the law in Tiree that, if the cattle were driven between the walls through the church, they were the property of *Mac Chailein* [the Duke of Argyll]' (*Big Jura John MacLean*, Dewar text, vol. 17, 74: translation in Inveraray Archives). By 1854, Reeves recorded that, 'all traces of its ancient church have of late disappeared' (Reeves 1854, 238), but its foundations, approximately 14 x 8 m (Canmore website, accessed 22 November 2019) can be made out in dry weather in the northeastern corner of the old graveyard

- Hynish: the 1509 historical form *AnnaHynisch* may represent another *annaid*-name (see *Hynish*). No dedication has survived. There are two graveyards in the township: *An Cladh Beag* (where there is some evidence of an earlier church structure) and the *Burial-Place of the Big Women*
- Balephuill: there appears to have been a tradition that some turfed footings aligned east-west on the eastern flank of *Cnoc Ghrianail* had religious significance. Hector Cameron speculated that, 'there is a flat, grassy area with the foundations of an ancient building in the centre. This is in the form of an oval measuring some 12 by 18 feet. The shape and dimensions suggest the site of an ancient chapel. The absence of any ecclesiastical building (on an island where practically every township had its own particular shrine), from a district which must always have been populous, and where the nearest places of worship were that of Hynish on the one hand and Temple Patrick on the other, is rather remarkable' (MacDougall 1937, 105). It was also said that *Dòmhnall a' Mhinisdeir* (Donald MacArthur, the Baptist minister, who was born in 1857) and *Bodach na Cùiltean* from West Hynish buried their bagpipes there when they became Christians (David McClounnan, pers. comm.)

- Kenavara: the mortared gable wall of *Teampall Phàraig* still stands (see Gazetteer). There is no evidence or tradition of a burial ground here
- Barrapol: a chapel and burial ground at *Cnoc a' Chluidh* (see section 6.3.2.8) have been covered by blown sand and the precise location is uncertain. There is no surviving dedication
- Kilkenneth: the four mortared walls of *Cill Choinnich* (see Gazetteer) – with the aliases *Eaglais Chille Choinnich*, *Teampall Chille Choinnich* and *Eaglais Choluim Chille* – still stand. *Kilquhynich* is first recorded as a farm township in the rental of 1509. This name possibly represents the re-dedication of an earlier chapel site (see *Kirkapoll*). There is an associated burial ground. The last person to be buried here was Feòras Kennedy, the great-great-great-grandfather of the late Neil Alec MacLean, Hough (Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, pers. comm.). But at the end of the eighteenth century, the minster wrote: 'They no longer bury here' (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 402)
- Hough: *Cill Tunnain* (see Gazetteer). There is no visible structure, and no tradition or evidence of a burial ground. The site is only identified to field level
- Kilmoluaig: *Cill Moluag* (see Gazetteer). There is no visible structure, no tradition of burial here, nor any identifiable graveyard. The site also is only identified to field level
- Cornaigmore: *Cill Brìde* (see Gazetteer). The chapel was demolished before Reeves's visit in 1854, but the site was pointed out to him. There is a tradition of burial here: 'The last person buried here was the grandmother of *Iain mac Eachainn*, John MacPhail, whose house, until a generation ago, stood the nearest to the south on the east side of the road' (MacDougall 1937, 90)
- Kenovay: *Cill-fhinnean* (see Gazetteer). The footings are still visible and there is a tradition of the burial of unbaptised children here. The dedication is possibly lost (see Gazetteer)
- Balephetrish: *Cill-fhinnein* (see Gazetteer). There is no visible structure, although part of the boundary of the graveyard, *Cladh Àird Chircnis*, can still be recognised. The dedication may be to St *Unniau*

There may also have been other medieval chapel sites that have not survived: for example, there is no evidence of an ecclesiastical structure in Ruaig, a farm township that was valued at over one ounceland in 1541.

The majority of Tiree's known pre-Reformation Christian graveyards were located a short distance from the post-medieval farm township settlements as mapped by Turnbull in 1768. Exceptions include *Cladh Thòmais* in Scarinish (see *Caibéal Thòmais*), located within the settlement itself, while *Cill Bhrìde* in Cornaigmore is as much as 1 km from *Clachan*. One factor in the siting of chapels may have been the acidity of the soil. Bones de-mineralise quickly in acidic soil (see Montgomery *et al.* 2014, 58), with little remaining after a century, whereas in sand they can last for thousands of years. An example of a medieval chapel located on sand is Kilkenneth chapel. Today, this lies amongst vegetated dunes, although these plausibly advanced during the Late Medieval period (see section 5.1): 'Its northern and eastern walls are heaped outside by drifted sand nearly up to their summit, although the inside is almost clear. Immediately to the north-east is a rocky mound upon which lay many ancient human bones with at least one skull, although we were told that many such had been re-interred' (Beveridge 1903, 152). With an estimated 20,000 deaths on Tiree between 900 and 1800, there may have been a concern that small, local graveyards might fill up. Indeed, two graveyard names survive in both Caolas and Hynish, suggesting a lack of space could have been an issue. Certainly, heavy, acidic ground appears to have been preferentially chosen for cemeteries on Tiree.

Great importance was – and still is – attached to the place of burial. The Norse skeleton found in the Vault broch may have been re-interred there to demonstrate family ownership under udal law (see section 8.4). *Cladh Beag Chornaig* in Kirkapoll was traditionally reserved for MacLeans from Cornaig for reasons unknown, arguments about which could sometimes lead to blows (Hector MacPhail, pers. comm.). The location of Norse family chapels and their graveyards can therefore be seen as dynastic territorial markers in addition to their other functions.

Dating Scottish ecclesiastical place-names presents major difficulties. The generic can be a guide. Although we should start with an assumption that place-names were carefully chosen to reflect form or function (Gelling 1998, 75–100), it is sometimes difficult to disentangle their precise meanings today. Some Tiree *caibéal* and *teampall* names may simply be a later re-branding of earlier *cill* sites (see www.uistsaints.co.uk accessed 16 January 2020).

Church names in *annaid* (see section 6.3.2.2) are generally thought to be older, or to have some sort of foundational status. Both Tiree *annaid*-names are

symmetrically located at either end of the island, and neither has a surviving dedication.

It has sometimes been assumed that a proportion of Hebridean *cill*-names date from the Early Christian period. However, much later examples have now been found: for example, *Kil-Catrin* in Cowal, which was established as late as the fifteenth century (see Márkus 2012, 536–8). Macniven has concluded that the *cill*-names on Islay, at least those that had become farm-names by the eighteenth century, were coined in the Late Medieval period: ‘As a class, and particularly in the context of Islay farm-districts, it seems that *cill* names are late’ (Macniven 2015, 69). This is despite the fact that a number of Islay *cill* dedications are to Early Christian saints: for example, *Slébhine*, who died in 767; *Colum Cille*; *Eithne*, mother of St Columba; and *Ciarán*, who died in 549 (Macniven 2015, 257, 266, 269 and 328). It seems likely, therefore, that most, if not all, of the Tiree *cill*-names also date from the Late Medieval period after the re-establishment of a Gaelic-speaking elite on the island.

Some Tiree chapel names in *caibeal* and *teampall* are now associated with upstanding remains with mortared walls, suggesting that these buildings date from the thirteenth century or later. There is some regional variation, *teampall* being commoner along the west coast and particularly in the northern Hebrides, while *caibeal* is mainly found in the southern Hebrides (SSPN).

Surviving dedications can also be a guide. It is certainly possible that some pre-Norse dedications did survive the Viking invasion of the Northern and Western Isles through the oral traditions of the remnant native population, if not their continued use:

There is no doubt at all as to the plausibility of the form *Cill* + saint’s name being formed prior to the Norse ... Andrew Jennings has shown how the monastery of Iona survived the first thirty years of Scandinavian assaults, an apparently continuous ecclesiastical presence on its island, to end up as an accepted presence under Norse occupation with its monastery, its name and its dedication intact. (Márkus 2012, 25)

Other dedications may have been established in the Norse Christian period. It seems plausible that these were in ON *kirkja* ‘church’, a word which the early Viking settlers on Tiree used (see, for example, *Circnis* on Kenavara). We learn from the *Orkneyinga Saga* that *Jarl Þorfinnr* built a church called *Kristkirkja* on Birsay (chapter 37); this was in the eleventh century. It is possible that the chapel in Cornaigmore now known as *Cill Bhrìde* was named by the Norse *Brígiðaskirkja*

‘the church of St Brigit’. But as no Scandinavian church names survive in the Hebrides, if they ever existed, this is entirely hypothetical. We do know that some saints were adopted enthusiastically by Norse Christians (Edmonds 2013), for example *Brigit*, Donnan and Columba himself (see 6.3.2.3).

Other ecclesiastical names with dedications to Early Christian saints such as *Mo-Luóc* may be Late Medieval foundations, as several figures had an enduring popularity. Church ownership may have played its part in influencing the choice of, or change in, dedication: for example, Kirkapol belonged to the monastery of Iona, Scarinish to the nunnery in the same island, while Soroby was held first by Ardchattan Priory and then Iona Abbey (see section 12.3). Biblical dedications such as that to Saint Thomas in Scarinish, are more likely to be late.

Starting in the twelfth century, church organisation in Scotland underwent a fundamental overhaul as Rome asserted its authority. Over a century or more, dioceses were created under the control of a bishop. Tiree was placed at first within the Diocese of Sodor (from the Norse name for the Hebrides and Man, *Suðreyjar* ‘southern islands’), also known as the Diocese of the Isles. This was formally constituted in Man in 1134 by King Olaf the Red (McDonald 2019, 272). Initially under the authority of York, it was subsequently placed within the archbishopric of *Niðaróss* (Nidaros, now Trondheim) in Norway in 1152 or 1153 (Power 2005, 25). The Tiree parishes remained part of the diocese of Sodor, in name at least, until the fifteenth century. A 1375 letter from the Pope to the Bishop of Lismore states: ‘*Ayg MacPetri perpertui vicarij parrochialis ecclesie sancte Columbe de Kerepol Sodorensis diocesis* [Hugh the son of Peter lifetime vicar of the parish of the church of St Columba of Kirkapol of the diocese of Sodor]’ (see *Ballyphetrish*). In 1469, King James III of Scotland married the daughter of the king of Denmark, with Orkney and Shetland the dowry. The following year, the Pope transferred the Diocese of the Isles to the newly created Archbishopric of St Andrews. The Diocese of Argyll was established on Lismore in the heart of MacDougall territory some time in the 1220s (McDonald 2019, 277) but never included the Tiree parishes.

Dioceses were then divided into parishes, with one family chapel site selected in each to become the parish church and to provide its name (see Fisher 2001, 1; Macniven 2015, 69 and 95; McDonald 1997, 221; and Marwick 1995 (1947), 23). At first, many of these new parish churches remained proprietary, ‘built by lay lords to serve their estates’ (Oram 2011, 351). However, pressure was later applied on landlords to give up control of these churches for ‘appropriation’ by nearby monasteries, which could then appoint the vicar and gather parochial dues of a

tenth, or *teind*, of any produce from the parish: ‘By 1421 ... the church of St Columba of Soroby had been appropriated by Iona Abbey, with which it remained until the Reformation’ (RCAHMS 1980, 166). This was one of the ways that foundations on Iona and in Ardchattan grew to become such substantial landowners on Tiree (Power 2005, 29).

Tiree was divided into two parishes (*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* 1923, 110 and 118) some time during the thirteenth century. The first mention of the reformed Benedictine monastery on Iona is in 1203. Its initial grant of lands did not include Tiree (McDonald 2019, 285). This may have been because Tiree was not under the control of the MacSorleys at that time, or that the Tiree parishes had not yet been created. By at least 1280, however, Ardchattan Priory (founded by Duncan MacDougall in 1230) was receiving revenue from the parish church of St Columba on Tiree (Cowan 1978, 26). It is reasonable to assign the creation of the Tiree parishes to some time between these two dates.

The elongated parish of *Kirkopollis* stretched from Caolas in the east to Balevullin in the west, while the more compact *Soreby* occupied the southwestern part of the island (ER 17 1509, 216–7; a 1680 estate sketch also shows the boundary between the two). Both parishes contained one chapel-name in *annaid* ‘mother church’, in Caolas and Hynish (see *Annaid* and *Hynish* in the Gazetteer). Surviving *cill*-names are not so evenly distributed. In the elongated parish of *Kirkopollis* (the western limit of which is 10 km from the parish church) there are five *cill*-names towards its western end, while there are just two at the northern extremity of the slightly more compact parish of *Soreby* (nowhere more than 8 km from the parish church). If we consider that names in *annaid*, *cill*, *caibeal* and *teampall* all represent pre-Reformation ecclesiastical sites of one sort or another, many of which were built on the sites of earlier chapels, *Kirkopollis* has six while *Soreby* has seven.

As on Man, where parishes had been created with roughly equal land valuations (McDonald 2019, 289), the two Tiree parishes were of equivalent rental value. The townships making up *Kirkopollis* were valued at 64 merklands in 1541, while those of *Soreby* added up to 61 merklands: in other words, around ten ouncelands each. This rough equivalence in value should not surprise us. An important function of the new parishes was to act as taxation districts for the church, and parishes were often based on older, secular territorial units (Taylor 2014, 98). It should be noted that the parish of *Kirkopollis* contained the sites of eleven presumed Iron Age forts and crannogs, while *Soreby* had nine.

Figure 5. The parishes of Soroby and Kirkapol based on the crown rental of 1509



There is some tantalising evidence that there may have been a physical boundary between the parishes: *G An Gàrradh-Fàil* ‘the turf dyke’ in Cornaig has been proposed as part of this (see Black 2008, 647), with another section possibly a broad turf dyke on the *Earnal sliabh* (see Gott). The two Tìree parishes may therefore represent Early Medieval, or even prehistoric, districts (see section 10.5.8 for a discussion of Norse *skipreiðir* ‘ship districts’).

A more natural dividing line between the two ‘halves’ of the island is *An Fhaodhail*, the stream at the eastern margin of *The Reef* that almost cuts the island in two. However, this produces a ‘west end’ valued at 110 merklands and an ‘east end’ of 41 merklands: ‘The division on the west side of the ford [*An Fhaodhail*] is the most considerable and contains at least two thirds of the whole population’ (*New Statistical Account* Tìree and Coll 1845, 196). Divided this way, the two parts of the island were known as *An Sgìreach Ear* and *An Sgìreach Iar* ‘the east and west districts’ (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1971.099, track ID 52413). See *An Fhaodhail*.

The mortared Kirkapol parish church (Canmore ID 21513) is likely to have been built on or near the site of the Norse chapel referenced by the ninth- or tenth-century name **Kirkjuból*. The (blocked) west end door is an early stylistic feature,

and this building is plausibly the original parish church dating from the thirteenth century (David Caldwell, pers. comm.):

The roofless remains of this church stand on the north side of a small enclosed burial ground ... The building may originally have been thatched, but the later roof-covering was probably of slate [a number of thick slates have been used as grave markers in both Kirkapol graveyards] ... The parish church of Kirkapol first comes on record in 1375; it was dedicated to St Columba. It is not known when this site was abandoned as a place of worship, but the church may have continued in use into the eighteenth century. (RCAHMS 1980, 153-8)

A recent project to repair the structure found a number of skeletons below the foundations:

Excavation along the line of the east gable wall of the medieval old parish church at Kirkapol was intended to expose the wall foundations beneath a large breach in the gable, which was to be rebuilt as part of a programme of consolidation. The excavation uncovered the disarticulated remains of at least ten individuals; many of the long bones, however, were aligned east-west, as if some care had been taken with their reburial to replicate the Christian rite. Below these, two articulated burials were exposed in sondages [a small, deep excavation] at the north and south ends of the trench beneath the gable wall. They had been laid in a small chamber built beneath the wall, defined by masonry faces at either side. After the burials were recorded, the disarticulated remains were replaced and the trench was backfilled to ground level. The chamber appeared original to the construction of the church, probably in the late fourteenth century. As the east wall of the church would have been considered an extremely holy and honourable place in which to be buried, the disarticulated remains may have been exhumed and reburied here after its construction. (Lelong 2001, 24)

Moving bones in this way was not uncommon: 'For the removal of a church, when all the graves were to be dug up and the bones "translated" to the new church' (*kirkja* in CV, 339; see also *Eyrbyggja Saga*, chapter 65). The fact that Kirkapol parish church had several skeletons reburied below its eastern gable wall suggests that it was not built by an incoming elite, but one that had its roots in the local community.

The second parish church was in Soroby (Canmore ID 21465):

This church is said to have occupied a site near the northwest corner of what is now a walled burial-ground at Soroby, but the last traces of the structure were evidently removed during the first half of the nineteenth century. The only visible surface remains comprise a number of architectural fragments, which survive in re-use as burial-markers and are distributed mainly in the northern half of the cemetery. Some are identifiable as window-rybats [the reveal or side], and may be ascribed to the thirteenth century. The church served the medieval parish of Soroby; it was dedicated to St Columba. (RCAHMS 1980, 166)

An informal system of tithes, a burden on tenants to support the landowners' chapels, is likely to have been set up in the Hebrides. (A similar system was in place in Iceland as early as 1097). But it was the creation of the Hebridean parish system in the thirteenth century that produced a more dependable income stream for the parish, monastic landlord, diocese and Rome. Tíree landowners now paid a substantial render to either of the two island parishes. Many local family chapels may have consequently become neglected. The associated graveyards, on the other hand, appear to have continued in use, in some cases until the eighteenth or even nineteenth centuries. There is likely to have been strong pressure to be buried locally, both for reasons outlined above and to escape the commitment necessary to carry the body long distances. Graveyard use depended on ecclesiastical licence; this may have been eventually withheld in the case of *Cill-fhinnean*, Kenovay, leading to its later use as unconsecrated ground for the burial of the stillborn (see section 6.3.2.3).

Many Early Medieval chapel dedications survived the growth in importance of the two new parish churches on Tíree; some did not. Some were overbuilt by Late Medieval church buildings, which were named in either *G caibeal* or *teampall*, depending on the date or their situation.

The two Tíree parishes were united after the Reformation: 'On the first of July 1618 the three parishes of Kirkapol, Sorobie and Coll were united' (*Fasti* 1923, 110 and 118). Soroby became the parish church of the combined parish: 'The Parish Church in the isle is called Soroby, and is a parsonage' (Martin 1994 (1695), 296; DSL: 'in parishes in the endowment of a monastery ... the parsonage teinds, formerly of grain only but later in the form of money, went to the endowed body').

11. NATIVE SURVIVAL AFTER NORSE SETTLEMENT

In the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland, the case used to be made that Norse colonisation cleared the land of place-names, and, by implication, the people who had created them (see Cox 2007a; Cox 2010a): 'It has been claimed that, to all intents and purposes, the effect of Norse settlement on the Western Isles was to clear out the Gaelic-speaking population' (Cox 2002, 118).

More recently, however, it has been accepted that a substantial native population survived the Norse invasion of the Hebrides. On Lewis, 'the evidence for a continuous Gaelic speaking presence during the Norse period is considerable' (Cox 2002, 118). Now, population genetics supports the idea that most of the native population did indeed weather the Viking storm on the insular west coast of Scotland, but it is not clear to what extent they remained Gaelic-speaking.

11.1 POPULATION GENETICS

While no community genetic analysis has been done specifically on Tiree, surveys of mitochondrial DNA (which passes down through the female line) and Y-chromosome DNA (which passes down through the male line) elsewhere provide some evidence about Early Medieval Norse migration to the Northern Isles and Hebrides.

Norse settlement in the Hebrides appears to have been predominantly by men:

There is a disproportionately high contribution from Scandinavian males ... Our results suggest that while areas close to Scandinavia, such as Orkney and Shetland, may have been settled primarily by Scandinavian

family groups, lone Scandinavian males, who later established families with female subjects from the British Isles, may have been prominent in areas more distant from their homeland. (Goodacre *et al.* 2005, 1)

Two studies of mitochondrial DNA (which in humans is inherited solely from the mother) of over 450 individuals from the Western Isles have indicated that the ancestral contribution of matrilineal lineages from Scandinavia is relatively low, at *circa* 11%. Interestingly, the survey of Y-chromosomal DNA (only passed from father to son) showed a much higher proportion of Scandinavian ancestry (22%), which suggests a stronger genetic legacy of Scandinavian males in the Outer Hebrides. (Schorn and Quinn 2014, 24)

This evidence is supported by the archaeology of Norse graves during the Migration Period. In Norway, male graves outnumber female by 10 to 1; by implication, men were treated to higher status burials. In contrast, this ratio in the Hebrides is around 1 to 1: 'The evidence from the Scottish islands may indicate that female Scandinavian culture was more highly prized on the Isles than it was in Scandinavia' (Downham 2015, 194).

Analysing migration from an economic point of view, 'the seaborne, and therefore comparatively expensive, nature of the Viking diaspora precluded large-scale or low-level participation' (Macniven 2015, 111). While the wealthiest settlers seem to have brought Norwegian wives, for many others the only strategy was to make the journey as a single fighting man and then find a Hebridean bride:

It has been amply shown ... that by the middle of the ninth century there had already begun a process of inter-marriage and cultural assimilation between Gaels and Norse, and that the most likely early venue for this process was the Hebrides ... Icelandic tradition linking early settlers with the Hebrides, as well as Gaelic names and bynames among Norsemen of this period demonstrate this well. (Clancy 2008, 23)

Although it is likely that most of the initial Scandinavian settlers in the Hebrides came from southwestern Norway, isotope analysis of bones from Norse graves in Ireland and Orkney shows a complex picture (Montgomery *et al.* 2014). It is quite likely that at least part of the Viking Age population of the Atlantic rim was highly mobile.

Research to date suggests that the number of Scandinavian settlers in the Hebrides was relatively small:

Our findings indicate an overall Scandinavian ancestry of about 44% for Shetland, about 30% for Orkney, with approximately equal contributions from Scandinavian male and female subjects in both cases. This contrasts with the situation for the Western Isles, where the overall Scandinavian ancestry is less (about 15%). (Goodacre *et al.* 2005, 1)

Estimating the number of ethnic Norwegian settlers on Tiree is fraught with difficulties. First, the local community genetic studies have not been done. And second, waves of subsequent in-migrations to the island from the fourteenth century – MacDougalls, MacDonalds and Campbells from Argyll, MacKinnons and MacLeans from Mull; some economic migration during the kelp boom when the population of the island tripled between 1747 and 1831 reaching a peak of 4,453 (Cregeen 1964, xxix); and the increasing in-migration of the last thirty years – will have all diluted Tiree’s Norse gene pool to some extent. This reduction in the frequency of Norse genetic markers has been found in Orkney, where there was considerable in-migration from the Scottish mainland after 1560. Men with older Orcadian surnames were more likely to have Scandinavian Y-chromosomes (Wilson *et al.* 2001).

Maldonado agrees out that the number of ‘ethnic Scandinavian’ colonists in the southern Hebrides may have been quite small: ‘To coin a phrase, *bólstaðrs* are not people, and there are numerous instances from Britain’s history to suggest that language change never *requires* population change’ (Maldonado 2020, 649).

On an island that that was probably fully settled by the Norse and that came to be taxed at just over twenty ouncelands, it is unlikely that there would have been less than that number of Scandinavian colonists. On the other hand, if we imagine that it might have taken two or three longships, each with a crew of sixty, to subdue the island, it is plausible that many of those young men stayed to reap the full benefit of their adventures.

11.2 PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE

Surviving place-names form the basis of our understanding of this period. Most place-names on Tiree were created by speakers of Old Norse or Norn, Scottish Gaelic or Scots. There is almost no trace of earlier names: ‘Most of the pre-Norse [place-]names in the islands appear to have been lost, including those recorded in the Inner Hebrides’ (Jennings and Kruse 2009a, 80). Excepting the name of the island itself, which is thought to date from at least the Pictish Iron Age, the

pre-Norse population appears to have left no trace, seeming to have lost all control over the landscape. The only pre-Norse names from Tiree that did survive in the early literature are *Artchain* and *Mag Luinge* (and possibly *Bledach*: see section 6.3.1). The usual explanation for this 'landscape silence' is population replacement. However, internal dislocation has also caused a substantial loss of traditional knowledge of the landscape in recent times.

Evidence for the effects of this dislocation can be seen if we compare two Tiree townships. The population of the farm township of Balephetrish was 85 in 1776. From 1864 to 1922, it was tenanted by the Barr family, who had been brought to the island from Ayrshire to start a dairy business. Barr employed few people permanently, summoning day-labour as required by hoisting a flag on Balephetrish Hill. The township population consequently fell dramatically; in the 1891 Census, the only people recorded as living there were the ten members of the Barr family and seven young farm servants. In 1922, new crofts were created in the township and filled by families from all over the island, particularly ones containing servicemen. In 1878, Ordnance Survey surveyors mapped a two-mile stretch of the Balephetrish coastline from *An Tràigh Bheag* to the Vault boundary; they collected twenty names. From another two miles of coastline from *Tràigh na' Gilean* to *Greasamull* in Sandaig-Greenhill on the western shore of Tiree, the surveyors mapped twenty-two names. My fieldwork, however, produced only two additional names in Balephetrish but eighty-two added place-names in Sandaig-Greenhill. The native but re-settled population of Balephetrish had considerably less knowledge of their 'new' coastline than the crofters of Sandaig whose families had lived in the township for generations.

It may therefore be that the loss of earlier names after Norse settlement was, to some extent, due to relocation of the remnant native population within the island.

11.2.1 The possible survival of pre-Norse place-names

The only evidence that Pictish place-names might have survived from the Iron Age on Tiree is negative: they do not fit into a form or language – Old Gaelic, Old Norse, Scottish Gaelic or Scots/English – that we recognise. Some names with a Norse generic but an obscure or strange specific may indeed be earlier names lexically adapted by the Scandinavian settlers: 'The example of Islay raises the possibility that a stratum of pre-Norse names may lie unidentified in the Norse onomasticon' (Jennings and Kruse 2009a, 83). And, writing of the Scandinavian settlement of the Isle of Man, Fellows-Jensen concludes: 'The not

immediately-recognisable Norse names are probably the best reflection we now have in Man of place-name survival' (Fellows-Jensen 2005, 109).

Watson's suggestion for the earliest name of the island itself, **Heth* (see *Týrvist* in the Gazetteer) is the only accepted name in this category. However, *Taelk* (see Gazetteer) could also be a pre-Norse, pre-Dalriadan name. However, Smith reminds us of a more prosaic, and more likely, cause of our bafflement: 'The main reason that we can't explain names is that we aren't clever enough, or that the names have become corrupt over the centuries, or both' (Smith 2001, 12).

I have already argued (see section 6.2) that Gaelic may not have been the only language spoken on Tìree at the time of Norse settlement. That having been said, there was a period of Gaelic place-name productivity on Tìree from around the sixth to the ninth century and quite possibly later. The dating of any such surviving names is a profound challenge, but there are a number of features that suggest that a name may be early (see Cox 2002, 111–118):

- The use of obsolete Gaelic words: for example, *tiompan* 'a small, abrupt hill' in *An Tiompan*, *Vaul* and *nodha* 'new', as in *A' Charraig Nodha* 'the new fishing rock'
- A close compound adjective-noun or noun-noun structure (Whyte 2014, 121; Cox 2002, 18), in contrast to the more usual noun-adjective order, as in *An Loch Beag* 'the small loch'. There are over twenty examples on Tìree of names where the specific precedes the generic: for example, *Dubh-sgeir* 'the black skerry', *Corr-eilean* 'the pointed island' and *Garbh-port* 'dangerous inlet'. See also the noun-noun structures *Cnù Lochanan*, *Mealbhach*, *Meileart*, *Muc Loch*, and *Toinisgeir*. These names are potentially earlier. As if to reinforce this point, there is a *Dubh-Chladach* in Kilmoluaig associated with a tradition collected by Gregorson Campbell: 'The *dubh-chladach* ('black shore'), as it is called, i.e. the shore below the line or roll of seaweed thrown up by the tide (*ròlag ròid*), is according to Highlands belief an asylum from all kinds of supernatural beings that haunt the night – fairies, ghosts or evil spirits. No being "at all, at all" of the kind (*seòrsa sam bith*, *sam bith*) can go below the tide-mark. The confidence of the timorous in this place of refuge is confirmed by the assurance that they are not exposed to a similar danger from the sea. It is a saying *Cha d'thig olc sam bith on fhairge* "Evil comes not from the sea"' (Black 2008, 272)

- Gender anomaly (see Glossary): for example, *Am Barradh**u**bh* instead of the modern *Am Barra Dbh*. Cox suggests that gender anomaly could date a name to as early as ‘the 10th century, after the loss of the neuter gender’ (Cox 2002, 115). Much later examples of gender anomaly can be found on Tiree: for example, *Balle**m**uling* 1541 > *Balle**w**illing* 1674 (the equivalent of the modern G *Bail’ a’ Mhuilinn*)
- The presence or absence of lenition of the specific in the genitive case within Gaelic constructions: for example, *Beinn Ghot* or *Beinn Got* ‘the hill of Gott’. This can be seen most clearly with personal names: ‘Possibly by the early part of the thirteenth century, lenition regarding [Gaelic] masculine personal names had become the rule’ (Cox 2002, 117). However, this change sometimes occurred much later on Tiree: for example, *Bale**m**artine* was recorded in 1768 instead of the modern form *Baile Mhàrtainn*; and *Baelly Petris* was recorded in 1695 rather than the modern G *Baile Pheadrais* (*Balephetrish*). Sometimes both forms co-existed: for example, *Balle**p**eteris* 1542 was recorded as *Ball**i**phetrish* in 1628 but *Baelly Petris* in 1695; *Beinn Got* and *Beinn Ghot* are both commonly heard today. Some Norse existing names remain unlenited today: for example, *Tràigh Balbhaig*. However, in general terms we can say that *Loch Got* is an older form than *Loch Ghot*
- The presence of the definite article makes it unlikely that the name was coined before the tenth century – in other words, pre-Norse (Whyte 2017, 103). On the other hand, the absence of a definite article, such as *Tom Èoin* ‘rise of (the) birds’ in Ruaid and *Port Luing* ‘inlet of (the) boat’ in Scarinish, encourages the view that the name is early
- Names with the Gaelic plural ending *-a* rather than *-an*, such as *Na Goirteana Tràgh’d* in Balephetrish (OS1/2/28/115), ‘may be no younger than the thirteenth or fourteenth century’ (Cox 2002, 117)
- Simplex Gaelic place-names – for example, *An Tiompan* in Vaul; *An t-Ard* ‘the headland’ (see *Bàgh*); *An Fhaodhail* ‘the ford’ (see *Gazetteer*); *An Fhadhlainn* ‘the gravel beach’, West Hynish; and *Gorten* ‘the field’ (see *Goirtean*) – are also likely to be earlier than qualified names such as *Àrd-a-Tuath* ‘the northern headland’, Caolas
- Sometimes the changing topography suggests a date: for example, *G Loch an Eilein* ‘the loch of the island’ in Heylipol must have been named before the islet, the site of a medieval castle, was joined to the shore by a causeway in 1747

However, none of these dating techniques are currently reliable enough to prove that any Tiree Gaelic names were pre-Norse or were coined during the period of Norse dominance. As discussed in chapters 12 and 13, it is plausible that few Gaelic place-names on Tiree are older than the thirteenth century.

The extremely common Gaelic phrase names (two nouns connected by a preposition: X of Y), such as *Cnoc na Mòine* ‘the hillock of the peat’ or *Port na Muice* ‘the inlet of the whale’, are generally thought to be ‘fairly modern’ (Watson 1993 (1926), 148). On Islay, there is a *Ballinabe* that dates to 1507 (Macniven 2015, 292). In a Tiree context, the first phrase names are *Ylen na Hyring*, *Skyr na Veuillen*, *Karrig na Mall*, and *Tobarbafanit* (possibly a scribal error for *Tobarnafanit*) on the 1654 Blaeu map, based on a Pont survey in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. Most Tiree phrase names may therefore be no earlier than the sixteenth century.

Another clue as to the existence of pre-Norse Gaelic names is ecclesiastical. None of the recorded monastic names have survived on Tiree. However, some of the *cill*-names, such as *Cill Bhrìde* in Cornaigmore, may recreate pre-Norse dedications (see sections 6.3.2.3 and 10.8).

Crucially, no pre-Norse existing names appear to be incorporated into the Norse place-names of Tiree:

There do not seem to be any names such as **Benmore* + *vatn* or **Tarbert* + *vík*. This is what one might expect to find when colonisers settle among people they communicate with; that the Norse would have adopted parts of the native nomenclature, at least for the most important natural features and settlements, and integrated them into their own onomasticon. This does not seem to have happened on Lewis, nor on Barra. (Kruse 2005, 161)

Nor on Tiree. This is strong evidence that Norse settlement overwhelmed the native population.

11.2.2 Loan words in Hebridean Norn borrowed from Gaelic

In England’s Danelaw, Old East Norse and Old English were both, in origin, Germanic languages. They were still, to some extent, mutually comprehensible at the time of Scandinavian settlement in the ninth century. There was, however, a considerable linguistic distance between Old West Norse and the Old Gaelic (and possibly Pictish)

spoken on Tìree in the ninth century. This meant that the two language communities were initially unable to understand each other, and a pidgin, sometimes called *gic-goc*, is thought to have developed between the Viking settlers in the Hebrides and the Old Gaelic speaking natives (see, for example, Chadwick 1962, 26).

Most evidence about the Norn spoken in the Hebrides comes from surviving place-names. Some Old Gaelic words were loaned into Norn. OG *áirge* ‘milking place’ was loaned as ON *ærgi* (Cox 2002, 122), as in *Tronsairigh* in Kilmoluaig (see Gazetteer). This is despite the fact that the Norse settlers had their own word for ‘shieling’, *sætr*, which gave rise to *Siader* in West Hynish (see Foster 2017 for a detailed discussion of this). OG *cró* ‘small cattle pen’ was loaned as ON *kró*, for example *Cnomhainn* in Baugh and *Cròdhabrig* in Sandaig. OG *corca* or *coirce* ‘oats’ was loaned as ON *korki* (CV, 351), for example *Coirce/Coirceal* in Ruaig. It is unlikely to be coincidental that these words are all concerned with farming, which suggests that shieling work and cattle herding became the work of the remnant, low-status, Gaelic-speaking population. ON *lón* ‘pool’ (see *Lònamar* in the Gazetteer) may have been another loan from Old Gaelic to Old Norse (Sandnes 2010a, 86); the fact that this word became very productive in west Iceland supports the suggestion that some settlers came from the Hebrides. The ON personal name *Konáll* derives from the elite Old Gaelic name *Conall* (see *Conslum* in the Gazetteer).

These words may have been loaned at any time between first Viking settlement and the demise of Norn on Tìree, possibly in the mid-fourteenth century. But the fact that they spread widely in the Norse expansion zone – *Kro*, *Krua* and *Kroa* are common place-names in Norway (NG), *Króbrekkan* occurs in the Faroe Islands, and *Ásgrimsærgin* occurs in the *Orkneyinga Saga* – suggest that the loans took place during an early phase of contact on Tìree between Old Norse and Old Gaelic speakers in the ninth and tenth centuries: ‘We are tolerably safe in regarding them as borrowings made in the distant Viking age’ (Marwick 1995 (1929), 13).

11.2.3 The uneven distribution of Norse names

Surviving Norse place-names are not evenly distributed over Tìree. Using the modern Tìree township boundaries as one way of subdividing the island, the analysis below shows that the density of Norse place-names is uneven, varying from 22% of the total names in Hough to none in Balinoe, Middleton or Kenovay (see section 12.1.10). This could be due to patchy Norse settlement.

However, Balinoe has a dated Viking Age structure (see *Baca na Putain* and section 18.b.6). Middleton appears to have cut Sandaig (ON **Sandvík*) off from its ‘sandy

beach', *Tràigh na Gilean* (see *Saundaig*), suggesting it was a later intrusive settlement. And it is hardly plausible that the first Norse settlers did not take over the land now known as Kenovay, with the most productive arable ground on Tiree (as recorded in 1794: Cregeen 1964, 38), control of the significant grazing on the northwestern quadrant of *The Reef*, an impressive presumed Iron Age fort, and good beach access. All three crofting townships with no surviving Norse names plausibly saw Scandinavian settlement.

11.3. THE ADVANTAGES OF MAINTAINING A NATIVE LOW-STATUS WORKFORCE

The ninth-century Norse who settled Tiree came from a society with a tiered social structure involving a warrior elite, farmers, tradesmen, labourers and slaves (see Brink 2008, 49). One of the 'pulls' for the first settlers to emigrate from Norway to Tiree may well have been the presence of a native, low-status, labouring population. Slavery, whatever that meant in a Tiree context, is thought to have changed profoundly after the adoption of Christianity towards the end of the ninth century. However, slave owning in a limited form appears to have continued in Scotland into the twelfth century (Oram 2011, 209). All new lands pose challenges for settlers, in particular Tiree's light, often calcareous, soils need a finely judged application of seaweed to maintain their fertility. Local expertise in many other areas, such as fowling and seal hunting, would also have facilitated the colonists' transition to their new environment.

However, after some time, and as young Norse men absorbed high-status native women into their households, the evidence from Norse-period memorial crosses on the Isle of Man is that, 'men and women of Manx origin and sympathies could achieve a reasonably high standing in the island and were not simply a semi-servile labour force' (Fellows-Jensen 2005, 103-4). Norse hegemony on Tiree lasted for around three centuries, and it is plausible that the Norse and native populations gradually merged to produce a stratified, Hebridean Norn-speaking, but culturally homogenous medieval community.

11.4 CONCLUSION

The evidence supports the hypothesis that the Norse invasion of Tiree was disruptive to the native population. Since slaves were a central means of generating wealth for the raider-settlers elsewhere in the Norse expansion zone, it seems

unlikely that the Vikings on Tiree did not trade islanders judged to have sufficiently high market value. However, much of the native population is likely to have remained as farm servants and farmers of peripheral units, while high-status women were absorbed into Scandinavian households. The same plausibly happened in Orkney and Shetland:

Barrett has demonstrated that the overall evidence in the Northern isles suggests that many Picts did survive the Norse settlement, but adopted Norse fashion as well as identity or ethnicity. The Norse, on the other hand, retained important parts of their own material language and culture. (Sanmark 2017, 196)

The native languages of Pictish and Old Gaelic must have survived for some time, but, using the evidence for language transition assembled in chapters 12 and 13, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Gaelic is unlikely to have endured three centuries of dominant Norse settlement on Tiree. Hebridean Norn, a development of Old Norse, evolved and this model suggests that this plausibly became the sole language of the islanders. Descendants of the native population are likely to have risen in status over the Early Medieval period, as the two populations mixed and a single culture emerged.

12. THE SHIFT FROM NORN TO GAELIC

This chapter looks at how the language shift from Norn to Gaelic on Tìrèe happened: in particular, how disruptive this process was and the extent to which the shift may have been driven by in-migration from Gaelic-speaking areas in Lorn and elsewhere in the Inner Hebrides.

12.1 PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE

A detailed examination of the island's place-names provides some of the best evidence we currently have to explore this transition.

12.1.1 The abundance of surviving Norse loan-names

Over two hundred Norn Tìrèe place-names were probably loaned into Gaelic: for example, ON **Heiðarnes* > G *Haoidhnis* > E *Hynish*. Not only did most of the township 'district' names survive the transition from Norn to Gaelic dominance, but so too did many minor 'farm' names.

Many Norn loan-names appear to have been extremely well 'curated' by the subsequent twenty or so generations of Gaelic-speaking islanders (see section 17.4.2), possibly better than they were on Rousay, Orkney (see Marwick 1995 (1947), 15). One can only admire the fidelity of transmission in *Grianatobht*, *Rosgail*, *Scarinish*, *Sgaracleit*, *Sgibinis* and *Tòdhrasdal*. This is particularly true of the important first syllable of the specific: 'In Norse names transmitted through Gaelic, the quantity [length: for example, a long *ì* or short *i*] of the first syllable

– can always be ascertained from native Gaelic pronunciation’ (Watson 1996 (1904), lv). In Orkney, by way of contrast, Sandnes found that, ‘examples of the shortening of original long vowels abound, e.g. *háland* > *Holland*’ (Sandnes 2010a, 293).

Many Norn loan-names acquired the Gaelic definite article, particularly when incorporated as an existing name into a new Gaelic construction: ‘Many Norse terms, of course, have been borrowed by Gaelic, the outward and visible sign of annexation being the prefixing of the definite article’ (Watson 1996 (1904), lvi). These include:

- *Baugh* and *Am Bàgh* (see *Baugh*)
- *Lùb Ceann a’ Bhalais* (see *Bhàlas*)
- *A’ Bhaoill* and *TheWill* (see *A’ Bhaoill*)
- *Abhuinn a’ Bhèidhe* (see *Bèidhe*)
- *Eilean nam Bà* (see *Bhò*)
- *Am Boidhegeir* (see *Boidhegeir*)
- *Druim a’ Bhordain* (see *Bordain*)
- *Am Broc* (see *Brock*)
- *Am Briundainn* (see *Bruthainne*)
- *Dìg a’ Challraig* (see *Callraig*)
- *Cnoc na Ceòsabh* (see *Ceansa*)
- *An Ciarraig* (see *Ciarraig*)
- *An Cnòmhainn* (see *Cro’-fhir*)
- *Cladach a’ Chrògain* (see *Crògain*)
- *An Dusprig* (see *Dusprig*)
- *An Earball* (see *Earball*)
- *Poll a’ Ghior* (see *Gior*)
- *An Grà’ dar*
- *Cnoc na h-Eala* (see *Heala*)
- *Ylen na Hyring* (see *Hyring*)

- *Cnoc an Ìlidh* (see *Ìlidh*)
- *An Ìosaig* (see *Ìosaig*)
- *Bogha na Laimh-sgeire* (see *Lamh-sgeir, Sandaig*)
- *An Langach* (see *Langach*)
- *Poll a' Bhallaire* (see *Malainn*)
- *Port na Meidhaig* (see *Meidhaig*)
- *Am Miodar* (see *Miodar*)
- *Sloc na Neòsaig* (see *Neòsaig*)
- *Tràigh na h-Osnaiche* (see *Osnaich*)
- *Baca na Putain*
- *An Ruighe* (see *The Reef*)
- *Sloc na Rèidh-sgeire* (see *Rèidh-sgeir*)
- *Gàrradh na Ribhinn* (see *Ribhinn*)
- *Uaimh a' Ruith* (see *Ruth*)
- *Cùil a' Sgàthain* (see *Sgàthain*)
- *An Sgìt*
- *An Sgudaig*
- *Fang an Treasdain* (see *Treasdain*)
- *Eilean an Treogh* (see *Treogh*)
- *An Urabhag*
- *Ru na Hurvaig, Caolas* (see *Urvaig*)

The addition of the Gaelic definite article to Norn loan-names was also common on Islay: for example, *Àird an *Istel, Cnoc na Corra Mhaoil, Loch na Maolaig, Tobar na Bearnaig, An Tri-dail, Loch a' Mhàla, Rubh' a' Mhàil, Ballinaby* and *Cnoc a' Chùil* (Macniven 2015, 128, 137, 155, 179, 193, 218, 258, 292 and 310). In Lewis, 'ordinary Norse names are sometimes found with the article' (Watson 1996 (1904), lvi), although they appear to have been less common in Carloway, one example being *Creagan an Tiongalairidh* (Cox 2002, 252).

The English definite article could also be added to place-names and words that were originally Norse as they were further loaned into English. The 1509 record of *Thewill* (ER 13, 216) may be the first documentary evidence of Scots influence on a Tìree name (but see *Hindebollis* under *Heylipoll*, and *Mannawallis* under *Mannel*). Other examples are *The Barradh* (see *The Barradh*), *The Barradhu* (see *Am Barradhu*), *The Gràdor* (see *Grà' dar*), *The Port Mòr* in Sandaig, *The Rel* (see *Rel*) and *The Reef*. This is also seen on Barra, with *The Stoung* and *The Hoe* (Stahl 1999, 359). It is common, too, in Orkney: 'The secondary addition of the Scots definite article, e.g. *Deal* 1786 > *The Dale*, and *Hammer* 1619 > *The Hammar ... The Geo*, *The Ouse* and *The Wart(s)*. Such names are most likely to be Scots coinings from loan words' (Sandnes 2010a, 349). In contrast, the Gaelic names *An Caolas*, *Am Bág*h and *Am Baile Nodha* have lost their definite articles in the English loan-names Caolas, Baugh and Balinoe.

12.1.2 The abundance of Gaelic loan words borrowed from Old Norse

As in other Hebridean islands, many Norn words were loaned into Tìree Gaelic and can be found in some of the island's place-names (from Cox 2002, 59, with additional sources as noted):

- G *Àbh* 'frame net' from ON *háfr* 'pock-net' (CV, 242): 2 examples are found in the Tìree place-name database. For example, *Carraig na h-Àbh*, Balemartine
- G *Acarsaid* 'anchorage' from ON *akkerissæti* or *akkerissát* 'anchorage' (CV, 10; Stahl 2000, 100; Ó Muirthe 2010): 2. *Acairseid an Dùin*, Caolas (see Gazetteer)
- G *Àir* 'gravel beach' from ON *eyrr* 'gravelly bank' (CV, 136): 1. *Loch an Àir*, Caolas
- G *Aoidh* 'promontory' from ON *eið* 'isthmus' (CV, 117; Oftedal 2009, 39; Cox 2002, 169; McDonald 2015, 157): 1. *Clach na h-Aoidh*, Heanish (see *Eadach*)
- G *Baca* 'sand dune' from ON *bakki* 'bank, ridge' (CV, 50; Stewart 2004, 408; McDonald 2015, 155): 29. *Baca Fhionnlaigh*, Balevullin. This is very common on dune-rich Tìree, while it occurs only fifty times in the whole of the rest of Scotland (SP), and not at all in Carloway (Cox 2002)

- G *Bàgh* ‘bay’ from ON *vágr* ‘large bay’ (CV, 684; see McDonald 2015, 153): 5. *Bàgh a’ Chotain*, Heanish
- G *Beireadh* ‘shore rock’ from ON *berg* ‘rock’ (CV, 60), possibly from the dative form *á bergi*. The developments ON *-e-* > G *-ei-*, the loss of a medial ON *-g-*, and the closure of an open final syllable with a terminal *-dh* are all regular (see section 17.4.2): 4. *Beireadh Shanndaig*, Sandaig; *Beireadh Ghrianail*, Greenhill (Alasdair Sinclair, pers. comm.); *Beireadh*; and *Bheir’ Shnòis* (for both see Gazetteer). *Beirgh* and *A’ Bheirgh* occur several times in Carloway (Cox 2002, 182), and see the Uist word *bearradh* ‘edge of a cliff’ (McDonald 1991, 40)
- G *Birlinn* from ON *byrðingr* ‘merchant ship’ (CV, 90): 2. *Sloc na Birlinn*, Hynish (see *Port Chloinn Nèill*)
- G *Bodha* ‘reef’ from ON *boði* ‘messenger’ (CV, 71; see McDonald 2015, 141): 40. *Am Bodha Cruinn*, Heanish
- G *Breac* ‘slope’ from ON *brekka* ‘slope’ (CV, 78): 1. *Breac nan Aighean*, Vault
- G *Briogais* ‘trousers’ from ON *brækr* (Stewart 2004, 408): 1. *Carraig nam Briogais*, West Hynish
- G *Bròg* ‘shoe’ from ON *brók* ‘breeches’ (CV, 82; Cox 2002, 191): 1. *Uirigh nam Bròg*, Kenavara cliffs
- G *Brùig* ‘decayed and fermented seaweed’ from ON *brúk* ‘dried heaps of seaweed’: 1. *Am Brùig*, Heanish
- G *Cambar* ‘overhang’ from ON *kambr* ‘comb, crest’ (CV, 330): 1. *Sloc Sgrìob a’ Chambair*, Kenavara. See *Cambar*
- G *Carabhanach* ‘bream’ from ON *karfi* ‘carp’ (McDonald 2015, 133): 2. *Port a’ Charabhanaich*, Kenavara
- G *Cleit* ‘large, rounded offshore rock’ (local meaning) from ON *klettr* ‘cliff, rock’ (CV, 332; see McDonald 2015, 165): 12. *Cleit Ruaig*. See *Cléit*
- G *Cnap* ‘hillock’ from ON *knappr* ‘head of a stick, stud or button’ (Jakobsen 1897, 78; CV, 345): 2. *An Cnap*, Vault
- G *Cuidhe* ‘enclosure’ from ON *kví* ‘pen’: 2. *Cuigeas* (see Gazetteer)
- G *Dail* ‘dale’ from ON *dalr* ‘dale’ (CV, 95; McDonald 2015, 156): 2. *Dail an Tobair*, Salum

- G *Doc* ‘hollow, pit’ from ON *dōkk* ‘water-filled hollow’ (Cox 2002, 264; McDonald 2015, 157): 3. *An Doc Greabhail Beag*, Barrapol
- G *Eilean* ‘island’ from ON *eyland* (McDonald 2015, 142): 78. *Eilean Ghreasamuil*, Greenhill
- G *Fa(o)dhail* ‘ford’ from ON *vōðull* ‘shallow water’ (CV, 673; McDonald 2015, 152): 2. *An Fhadhail Bhàn*, Sandaig
- G *Faolainn* ‘foreshore’ from ON *vaðillinn* ‘the shallow water’ (MacBain 1911): 2. *Skyr na Veuillen*
- G *Fidean* ‘meadow’ (‘green islet or spot uncovered at high-tide’: Dwelly) from ON *fit* ‘meadow land’, in Shetland denoting a fertile meadow stretching along a lake or river’ (Jakobsen 1936, 39; Rygh 1898, 49): 2. *Cachailleith nam Fidean*, Balephetrish (see *Abhainn* and *Fidden*)
- G *Gàrradh* ‘dyke’ from ON *garðr* ‘yard’ (CV, 191): 40. *An Gàrradh Tarsainn*, *Beinn Haoidhnis*. This is now usually applied to boundary walls between townships
- G *Geodha* ‘gully’ from ON *gjá* ‘chasm, rift’ (CV, 202; see McDonald 2015, 144): 4. *An Geodha Beag*, Hynish
- G *Gil* ‘coastal gully’ from ON *gil* ‘deep, narrow glen with stream at bottom’ (CV, 199; see McDonald 2015, 143): 4. *Tràigh na’ Gilean*, Barrapol. *Gil* was common in Shetland Norn and was loaned into the dialect there: for example, *Gill of Mangaster*
- G *Grùnn* from ON *grunn* ‘a shallow, shoal’ (CV, 217): 3. *Grùnn a’ Charabhanaich*, off Kenavara
- G *Iola* ‘terrace’ from ON *hjalli* (McDonald 2015, 163): 1. *Beinn Iolaireach*, Balephetrish (see *Gazetteer*)
- G *Laimrig* ‘jetty’ from ON *hlað-hamarr* (McDonald 2015, 115): 2. *An Laimrig*, Milton
- G *Lèig* ‘stream’ from ON *lækr* ‘stream’ (McDonald 2015, 166): 3. See *An Lèig* in the *Gazetteer*
- G *Màl* from ON *máli* ‘contract, soldier’s pay’ (CV, 417; Farren 2014, 43): 1. *Bodh’ a’ Mhàil*, off Caolas
- G **Meala* ‘marram-covered dunes’ from ON *melr* ‘marram-covered dunes’: see *Mealbhach* and *A’ Mheathalaich*

- G *Morghan* ‘gravel’ possibly from ON *morð* (Cox 2002, 110): 2. *Port a’ Mhorghain*, Scarinish
- G *Òb* ‘bay’ from ON *hóp* ‘small, landlocked bay’ (CV, 281; see McDonald 2015, 146): 1. *Loch nan Òb*, Balephetrish
- G *Rubha* ‘promontory’, probably from ON *hrúga* ‘heap’ (CV, 288; see McDonald 2015, 146): 42. *Rubha Nead a’ Gheòidh*, Caolas
- G *Sgarbh* ‘shag’ (an important food species) from ON *skarfr* ‘cormorant’ (CV, 539): 2. *Bruach Cnoc nan Sgarbh*, Caolas
- G *Sgarbh* ‘rock’ from ON *skarv* ‘flat rock’: 1. *Sgarabhain*, Hynish
- G *Sgeir* ‘skerry’ from ON *sker* ‘skerry’ (CV, 544; see McDonald 2015, 151): 92. *An Sgeir Mhòr*, Skerryvore
- G *Sgor* ‘crevice’ from ON *skor* ‘rift in a rock or precipice’ (CV, 554): 6. *Sgor a’ Chait*, Caolas
- G *Sloc* ‘gully’ from ON **slōkk* (Cox 2002, 110): 83. *Sloc an Uillt*, Hynish
- G *Snòig* ‘pointed rock’ from ON *knúkr* ‘high knoll’ (Jakobsen 1897, 76): 4. *An Snoig* (see Gazetteer)
- G personal name *Somhairle* from ON *Somarliði*: 1. *Lochan Nighean Shomhairle*, Kilmoluaig
- G *Spor* ‘talon, spur’ from ON *spori* ‘spur’ (CV, 583; MacBain 1911): 1. *An Spor*, Greenhill
- G *Stac* ‘sea rock’ from ON *stakkr* ‘stack’ (CV, 587): 6. *Stac a’ Bhodaich*, Gott
- G *Stalla* ‘low inland cliff’ (local meaning) from ON *stallr* ‘ledge’ (Stewart 2004, 408; Cox 2002, 252; McDonald 2015, 171): 7. *Stalla Dhòmhnail* *Iain ‘ic Dhonnchaidh*, Balephuill
- G *Stèarnal* ‘tern’ from ON *þerna* ‘arctic tern’ (McDonald 2015, 131): 3. *Cnoc nan Stèarnal*, Heanish
- G *Tanga* ‘point’ from ON *tangi* ‘spit of land’ (CV, 625): 1. *Lòn nan Tangan*, Sandaig. This is also a common borrowing in Orkney and Shetland. See *Na Tangan*
- G *Tobhta* ‘house site or wall head’ (but in modern Tìree usage meaning the turf-covered footings of a ruined house) from ON *topta* ‘square

piece of ground with walls but no roof' (CV, 636): around 120. *Tobhta Alasdair 'ic Iain 'ic Nèill An Iasgair*, Barrapol

- G *Trosg* 'cod' from ON *þorskr* 'cod' (McDonald 2015, 140): 1. *Glac nan Truisg*, Caolas. See *Trosgamul*
- G *Uinneag* 'window' from ON *vindauga* 'window' (CV, 707; Farren 2014, 42): 1. *Uinneagan Beum a' Chlaidheimh*, Kenavara cliffs
- G *Ùtraid* (Tiree dialect) = *ùdrathad* (Dwelly) 'common road to common pasture' (see also Donald Sinclair talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1968.040, track ID 61761). Cox has proposed that this word comes from the Scots *outroad* (Cox 2007b, 71), but it has also been suggested that it derives from ON *útreið* 'out-road' (MacBain 1911; Professor Donald Meek, pers. comm.), 'riding out, expedition' (CV, 672). This element is extremely common on Tiree, with 36 surviving examples. In contrast, it is uncommon on other islands (Ailean Boyd, pers. comm., and there are no examples in the Carloway register, Murray 2014 or SP). It is plausible that it became popular on Tiree during the creation of the crofting system in the early nineteenth century, when paths between the crofts were planned to allow all crofters access to the hill grazing: *Ùtraid Iain 'ic Dhonnchaidh*, Balephuill

It is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the social context of language contact from the raw number of loan words, but it has been argued that 'the greater the levels of bilingualism in the speakers of the borrowing language, the greater the probability of substantial borrowing' (McDonald 2015, 101).

12.1.3 The abundance of existing Norse loan-names in Gaelic names

We have already seen that, on Tiree, there may well be no Pictish or Old Gaelic place-names that were incorporated into Norse place-names. This is taken as strong evidence that Norse settlement on the island was highly disruptive (see section 11.2.1).

In stark contrast, there are numerous Tiree place-names where a Norse existing name has been integrated into a Gaelic construction: for example, *Oitir Bhoramuil* 'the sand bank of **Boramul*', *Pàirc Cnoc Chrisnis* 'the park of the hillock of **Crisnis*' and *Tràigh Rangasdail* 'the beach of **Rangasdal*'. Among these there are some tautologous names. These occur when a feature is inadvertently described twice

in two languages: for example, *Rubha Sgibinis* (G ‘headland’ + ON ‘headland of the ship’):

- G *rubha* ‘promontory’ + ON *múli* ‘promontory’: *Rubha Bhoramuil*
- G *rubha* ‘promontory’ + ON *nes* ‘headland’: *Rubha Laighnis*, *Rubha Hianis*, *Rubha Chràignis*, *Rubha Thaingis*
- G *port* ‘inlet’ + ON *vík* ‘inlet’: *Port Beag*, *Port Cuinneag*, *Port Mòr Shanndaig*
- G *tobar* ‘well’ + ON *keldur* ‘wells’: *Tobar Chiulair*
- G *carragh* ‘standing stone’ + ON **Steinn* ‘standing stone’: *Carra’ Staoin*

Tautologous names normally develop when ‘the meaning of the original name part is no longer known. They are mainly, therefore, late phenomena’ (Nicolaisen 2011, 125).

12.1.4 Transference

Transference – where a place-name has apparently been moved to a new feature – is not uncommon amongst medieval place-names on Tiree. The meaning of the Norse generic is then usually at variance with the feature to which the name now applies, something called ‘denotation shift’ (Sandnes 2010a, 275). Examples include:

- *Balaramaig*, Hough, a name in *vík* ‘bay or inlet’ and now an offshore rock
- *Creachasdal*, Caolas, a name probably derived from ON *støðull* ‘milking place’ and now an islet name almost 1 km offshore
- *Librig*, Caolas, a name in ON *bryggja* ‘boat landing place’ and now an islet name
- *Marasaig*, Greenhill, a name in ON *-vík* ‘bay or inlet’ and now a skerry name
- *Miasaig*, Heanish, a name in ON *-vík* ‘bay or inlet’ and now a sea rock
- *Rumidil*, Hynish, a name in ON *-dalr* ‘valley’ and now a fishing rock

Transference, too, can be taken as evidence of significant contact between Norn and Gaelic speakers. Scandinavian place-names – and especially coastal navigational

names (Professor Donald Meek, pers. comm.) – were pushed aside by a new generation of Gaelic toponyms but re-used.

12.1.5 The habitation name *Týrvist-each*

There are a number of suffixes in Old Norse to denote someone who belongs to a place, the most common being *-ing* and *-ari* (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.). The Gaelic habitation suffix is *-ach*, as in *Uibhisteach* (someone from Uist), *Connachtach* (a person from Connacht), or *Lochlannach* (a Norseman). It was Watson who pointed out that the modern Gaelic name for someone from Tíree, *Tiristeach*, derives from the Viking name for the island: *Týrvist* (see Gazetteer). This implies that subsequent Gaelic speakers on Tíree adopted the Norse name for the island, embedding the word *Týrvist-each* in the local vocabulary. The loss of the medial ON *-v-* is a regular development (see section 17.4.2.2). This may have been influenced by an Old Norse form **Týrvist-ari* ‘someone from Tíree’.

12.1.6 Variation between native and regional pronunciations of the island’s name

The modern Gaelic pronunciation of *Tiriodh* by islanders is markedly different to its pronunciation by Gaels living elsewhere, a situation that is very unusual in the Hebrides. Local people say *Tìr-eadh*, with first syllable stress. This has been strongly influenced by the Norse name *Týrvist*, with its emphasis on the specific element in the initial position. Modern Gaels from outwith the island say *Tir-ì-dhe*, with second syllable stress; this is ultimately derived from the pre-Norse Gaelic *Tìr iath*, with its emphasis on the second element specific (see *Týrvist* in the Gazetteer). An elite from Mull and Islay may have influenced this regional form of the island’s name. The fact that the local pronunciation persisted so strongly encourages the view that the shift from Norn to Gaelic occurred slowly.

12.1.7 Translation names

Translation names occur when a place-name is accurately translated from one language to another. They are rare, and only occur when many members of a biglossic community are bilingual:

Place-name translations are of real significance in assessing the amount of Norse-Gaelic contact. Translating place-names from one language to

another is arduous and relatively unnecessary ... but it testifies to name-users actually being able to function actively within two distinct onomasticons ... This type of name is very rare indeed. A recent study from Orkney suggests that less than one per cent of the place-names there seem to be translation loans. (Gammeltoft 2007, 491)

There are possibly two translation names on Tiree. The name *Coirceal* (see *Coirce*), probably derived from ON *korki* 'oats' and ON *hóll* 'hill', was collected with the alias *G Druim a' Choirce* 'the oat ridge'. A Gaelic to English translation name is the township name *G Am Baile Meadhanach* 'the middle township', which became *Middleton* in the nineteenth century after a factory was built there by an English industrialist (see *Gazetteer*).

In Shetland, where incoming Scots-speaking settlers moved into a Norn-speaking community, 'names may be fully translated, a process which requires practically full bilingualism, and would therefore not be associated either with the earliest phases of Scottish influx nor with the later stages when Scots had become so dominant that there was very little left of Shetland Norn' (Nicolaisen 2011, 125). In the Tiree context, therefore, a Norn to Gaelic translation name is likely to have been coined in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

12.1.8 Well names

Two significant wells have names in ON *kelda* 'well' and pre-Reformation ecclesiastical Gaelic names: *Ciular* (see *Gazetteer*) in Barrapol became *Tobar an Dòmhaich* and *Tauberba:fanit* (see *Tobar Poll Fannaid* and *Tobar an Dòmhaich* in the *Gazetteer*); and *Callraig* (see *Gazetteer*) in Balephuill became *Tobar Mhoire* (see section 6.3.2.9). This suggests a form of continuity of resort (see *Glossary*).

12.1.9 The Gaelic locational suffix

A few Gaelic place-names can be derived from a noun or adjective + the locational suffix *-ach* 'place of' (Cox 2002, 60; Márkus 2012, 518): for example, *Garroch Head* in Bute from *G garbhach* 'rough place' (Márkus 2012, 192). It also appears to occur in a few Tiree place-names. Possible examples are:

- *A' Bhiolarach* in Salum, speculatively derived from *G biolair* 'watercress': 'the place of watercress' (see *Gazetteer*)

- *A' Chlachanach* in Mannaal, from G *clachan* 'settlement': 'the place of settlements' (see Gazetteer)
- *A' Bhraonach*, in Hynish, from G *braon* 'drizzle': 'the place of drizzle' (see Gazetteer)
- *An Dòrnach* on Kenavara, from G *dòrn* 'fist': 'the place of fist-size pebbles' (see Gazetteer)
- *An Lànach*, Sandaig (see Gazetteer)
- *Brideineach* in Balephetrish, from G *brid-eun* 'oystercatcher': 'the place abounding in oystercatchers' (see Gazetteer)
- *An Uailleineach*, Vaul, from G *uileann* 'corner' (see Gazetteer)
- *Bledach*, location unknown and possibly not a Tìree place-name. This may derive from OG *bled* 'whale' (eDIL): 'the place abounding in whales' (MacDonald 2010; see section 6.3.1.1)

It has to be said that many of these are unusual names with little corroboration from other parts of Scotland.

There also appear to be a few Norse loan-words that have attracted the Gaelic locational suffix. An example from Carloway is *Fideach* or *An Fhideach* 'place of the water lea' < G **fid* < ON *fit* 'meadow near water' (Cox 2002, 281 and 60). Possible Tìree examples are *A' Bhaolach*, Caolas, possibly from **bhaol* < ON *vǫllr* 'field' (see Gazetteer) and *A' Bhriolachanaich*, Balephetrish, possibly from **briolachan* < ON **breiðlækinn* 'the broad stream' (see *Briolachain*). *A' Bhriolachanaich* is in the dative case, used in the locational sense 'at X' (Márkus 2012, 518; and see Glossary).

For other Gaelic locational suffixes, see also *Liùcaid*; *Ciaraig*, *Cisteag*, *Leacaig*, *Mollachdag*, *Naomhag* and *Riseag*; and *Carachan*, *Gribun* and *Tangan*.

12.1.10 The variation in Norse name density

Norse place-names are not evenly scattered over the island's landscape. One way of analysing this is to compare the numbers of probable Norse place-names within each modern crofting township with the total number of place-names in that township.

Table 7. Norse place-name density by township

Township	Total	Norse	%	Rental
Caolas +	357	19	5	6
Ruaig	205	13	6	7
Salum	53	6	11	1.5
Vaul	135	9	7	6
Kirkapol +	44	2	5	6
Gott +	77	7	9	3
Scarinish +	145	2	1	3
Heanish	91	4	4	3
Baugh	96	9	9	3
Crossapol	48	2	4	2
Heylipol	71	2	3	4
Balinoe	70	0	0	2.75
Balemartine +	119	4	3	1.5
Mannal	106	3	3	6
East Hynish	167	18	11	6
Balephuil +	283	10	4	6
Barrapol	242	4	2	6
Kenavara	132	14	11	
Middleton	23	0	0	3
Sandaig	117	13	11	
Greenhill	77	9	12	1.5
Kilkenneth	49	1	2	
Hough	124	27	22	6
Moss	63	2	3	
Balevullin	128	5	4	6
Kilmoluaig	171	6	4	6
Cornaig (both)	247	13	5	10.5
Kenovay	41	0	0	6
Balephetrish	97	9	9	4

Notes:

Column 1. The modern township name. The boundary between East and West Hynish has been taken to be *Dùn Shiadair*; Balephuil and West Hynish

have been aggregated; the headland of Kenavara, today shared between Barrapol and Middleton has been considered as one independent unit; Cornaigmore and Cornaigbeg have been aggregated. Medieval church ownership is marked by +

- Column 2. The total number of place-names recorded in the township, including croft and house names
- Column 3. The number of probable Norse place-names. A name and its dependent forms – for example, *Eibrig*, *Cnoc Eibrig* and *Loch Cnoc Eibrig* – are counted as one
- Column 4. The percentage of Norse names, expressed in terms of the total names in that township
- Column 5. The early rental value, usually from sixteenth-century fiscal sources in merklands (from Johnston 1991). 6 merklands is equivalent to 1 ounceland.

There is a striking variation in the proportion of Norse names, from almost a quarter in Hough to none in Balinoe, Middleton or Kenovay.

This may have been caused by incomplete Norse settlement, leaving some areas of the island to a remnant native population. However, this seems implausible in the case of Kenovay, which was the island's most productive arable township in the late eighteenth century (Cregeen 1964, 38) and was the site of a large prehistoric fort.

It seems more plausible that the Norse settlers took the best land and extended into every corner of the island, although there are likely to have been native peripheral farms (see chapter 9). The variation in place-name density that we see today, then, could be the result of the shift from Norn to Gaelic being unevenly felt in different farm townships. For example, in Hough, where so many Norse names have survived, it may be that a Norn-speaking chief tenant and sub-tenants remained for much of the Late Medieval period. Those farm townships that have the fewest surviving Norse place-names – for example, Scarinish, Balinoe, Middleton and Kenovay – may have seen a more disruptive replacement of the Norn-speaking language community. Uneven language loss was also seen in Orkney at the end of the shift from Norn to Scots, with 'rude Danish' persisting 'in only three or four parishes' (Sandnes 2010a, 25; see section 12.3).

Significantly, several Gaelic settlements in *G baile* or *cill* appeared in the rentals beside Norse-named settlements before subsuming them:

- *Balmartin* (see *Balemartine*) first appears in the records in 1654; *Sorobie* (see *Sorobaidh*) continues in the rentals until 1674 when it disappears as an independent farm
- *Ballefulye* (see *Balephuil*) first appears in the records in 1509; *Bee* (see *Bèidhe*) continues in the rentals until 1674 when it disappears as an independent farm
- *Kilquhynich* (see *Cill Choinnich*) appears in 1509; *Muirdale* (see *Muradal*) continues until 1801 when it disappears as an independent farm
- *Kilmolowag* (see *Kilmoluag*) first appears in 1509; *Bister* (see *Biosd*) continues in the rentals until 1794 when it disappears as an independent farm
- *Ballowhag* (see *Ùbhag*) first appears in the records in 1509, and was replaced in 1541 by *Ballepeteris* (see *Ballyphetrish*); *Rieff* (see *The Reef*) continues in the rentals until 1542 when it disappears as an independent farm

It may be significant that two Gaelic settlements were given names seemingly defined by their neighbouring Norse farm townships: *Am Baile Nodha* ‘the new town’ (between Heylipol and *Cu’ Dhèis*) and *Am Baile Meadhanach* ‘the middle town’ (between Barrapol and Greenhill).

Although the island was wearily accustomed to being passed from one colonial power to the next, Tìree may well have appeared to be a truculent, unruly and ‘foreign’ colony to settlers from the Inner Hebrides and Lorn. In a parallel situation some five hundred years later, Tìree remained hostile to the new landlord in Inveraray long after the Campbells finally wrested control of the island from the MacLeans of Duart in 1679. After the 1715 rebellion, ninety islanders admitted having remained loyal to the MacLeans and joined the Jacobite cause, afterwards surrendering their weapons in Scarinish (MacLean-Bristol 1998). Again, in 1745 up to eleven islanders joined Jacobite forces to fight at Culloden (Black 2017b, 403). The Dukes of Argyll therefore thought it prudent to employ a class of loyal major tenants, known as tacksmen and almost all of them Campbells, for the purposes of keeping the peace and extracting rent (Cregeen 1964, xiv). As late as the beginning of the twentieth century, more than two hundred years after the Campbells had taken control, a story about a well-known Barrapol crofter known as ‘Lord’ MacDonald showed his family had a long memory:

The Duke was in Tiree. And [‘Lord MacDonald’] and his brother were filling carts at the dung heap. And the old factor was driving the Duke of Argyll round the island. And he said to Lord MacDonald: ‘This is the Duke of Argyll. Are you going to shake hands?’ ‘No! No! Not me,’ he said. ‘The dirty Campbells of Argyllshire that killed my kin in Glencoe [in 1692]. Was I going to shake hands? Never!’ he said ... ‘He’s a Campbell, and I’m a MacDonald’. (Hector Kennedy talking to Eric Cregeen and Rev Donald MacKenzie on TAD SA1973.088, track ID 101133)

It is therefore plausible that any Gaelic-speaking settlers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did not find Tiree an altogether benign place and preferred to cluster together.

12.1.11 The Gaelic re-naming of the landscape

Some farm townships had changed their names from Norse to Gaelic by the first complete rental in 1509: for example, *The Kylis*, *Balliemanch*, *Kilquhynich*, *Ballimulin*, *Kilmallowag* and *Ballowhag*. But the majority of Tiree farm townships – such as *Rolbaig*, *Wall*, *Crossipole* and *Barapole* in the same 1509 rental – simply kept their Norse names. This is presumably because they were ‘district’ names in user group theory, names that were used by the whole island and therefore more likely to be conserved.

However, as they progressively took control of the landscape, Gaelic speakers re-named most of the important ‘farm-names’ on Tiree, both natural and man-made: the hills, freshwater lochs, streams, beaches, mills and shielings. Examples are *Beinn nan Each* ‘the hill of the horses’, *Loch a’ Bhleoghainn* ‘the loch of the milking’, *An Allt Bàn* ‘the sandy stream’, *An Garbh Port* ‘the difficult inlet’, *Am Muileann Beag* ‘the small mill’ and *An Àirigh Bhòidheach* ‘the beautiful shieling’.

The main reason for this was that Tiree’s fertile and crowded landscape was hotly contested. Many significant landscape features – such as *Beinn Ghot*, *Tràigh Chornaig*, *Loch Chirceabol* and *Abhainn Chu’ Dhèis* – were re-named using farm township names. This was a statement of ownership of that resource, be it hill grazing, seaweed collecting rights, peat diggings or water power.

Comparing the Ordnance Survey maps of Carloway and Tiree, the Lewis landscape appears, at first sight, to be more Scandinavian. Some names are pure Norse, such as *Sèabhal*, a hill-name in ON *fjal* (Cox 2002, 359). And a number of Gaelic

place-names in Carloway incorporate the original Norse toponym itself as an existing name. These include some 5% of the names in G *loch*, which contain a Norse loan-name in *vatn* ‘lake’, for example *Loch Langabhat*, and names in ON *gróf* ‘usually peaty, boggy streams, frequent in North Lewis’ (Fraser 1984, 39), such as *Allt Bhinasgro*.

There may be several reasons for this greater ‘Gaelicisation’ of the Tìree landscape. The Norse name for a stream that appears to have been favoured on Tìree – *á* – is easily lost over the centuries; the more durable *gróf* appears not to have been used on Tìree, Barra (Stahl 1999) or Islay (Macniven 2015). The Norse /f/ or /v/ of *fjall*, *vatn* and *vik* has a greater tendency to disappear in the southern Hebrides than the northern (see section 17.4.2.2), making these elements less transparent.

However, considering that an estimated nine-tenths of Norse place-names have not survived (see chapter 4), a surprising number of the significant Norse landscape names on Tìree can be retrieved, like lobsters from their crevices, although they may no longer denote their original referent. There are many examples. The Norse name for part of the *Beinn Hògh* ridge may have been **Ásahaga* (see *Àsasdh*); this was recorded as part of a house name at the foot of the hill. The Norse name of the dunes of Middleton’s *Tràigh na Gilean* may have been **Melin* (see *Malainn*), found today in the name of a small coastal pool nearby.

Some Norse names relating to the estuary at the eastern margin of *The Reef* (today reduced to a small stream) appear to have been transferred. A possible Norse name for the marshy area at its northern end, **Efjin* ‘the bog’, may be found as an existing name in *Sgeir Abhuinn*, a skerry in Balephetrish Bay (see *Abhuinn*). A reconstructed Norse name for the estuary itself, **Breiðlækinn* ‘the broad stream’, may have been transferred to the marshy area at its source (see *Briolachain*). A possible Norse **Iðribryggju* ‘inner landing place’ appears to have survived as an existing name referring to a presumed Iron Age fort one kilometre to the east, *Dùn Ibrig* (see *Ibrig*). And the Norse word *vøðull* ‘shallow water’ was loaned into Gaelic as *faodhail*; this became the modern Gaelic stream-name *An Fhaodhail* (see Gazetteer).

It may also be possible to reconstruct the Norse names for some of the Tìree hills. These must have been important as meids for fishermen and sailors, and were therefore possibly more likely to survive. The hill now recognised as *Beinn Haoidhnis* may have been known as **Lyngfjall* (see *Lingal*, Hynish); the summit of Kenavara as **Varða* (see *Kenavara*) and the neighbouring promontory ridge as

**Torfás* (see *Torbhas*); *Beinn Hògh* as **Hrauk* (see *Ròg*); the ridge defining *Lag na Cleite* (*Happy Valley*) in Hynish as **Víðisás* and the main summit as **Klett* (see *Mhiasumull* and *Cléit*); *Sithean Bheinn Ghot* as **Einarrhvál* (see *Earnal*); *Cnoc Fhòirnigeir* as **Fornakulu* (see *Fòirnigir*); and *A' Charragh Bhiorach*, Cornaigmore, as **Borðastein* (see *Bordain*).

There may be one surviving Tíree place-name in ON *lækr* 'stream' (see *Briolachain*), and three in ON *á* 'stream' (see *Àras*, *Cliar* and *Rangasdal*). As many as thirty-seven inlet names in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet' may have survived. In addition, two names in ON *vágr* 'large bay' and one name in ON *ffjörðr* 'fjord' may also have survived: *Hynish Bay* may have been known to the Norse as **Vág* (see *Baugh*), *Balephetrish Bay* as **Norður-Vág* (see *Kenovay*), and *Gott Bay* as **Melafjörð* (see *Meileart*). Sixteen Norse promontory names in ON *nes* appear to have survived. **Móirinn* may have been the Norse name for the central peat fen mapped by Turnbull as *The Great Common Moss* (see *Moirein*).

Township boundaries were often unstable. Features were frequently re-named: for example, *Beinn Haoidhnis* is no longer the exclusive hill grazing of Hynish farm, but is today subdivided between the crofting townships of East Hynish, West Hynish, Balephuill (that part of the hill being called *Beinn Bhaile Phuill*), Balemartine and Mannal (*Beinn Mhanail*):

- *Loch Vaull* (Turnbull Map 1768) is within the modern boundaries of Balephetrish
- *Loch Kirkapoll* (Turnbull Map 1768), now *Loch Riaghain*, is today in Gott
- *Beinn Ghot* is today in Scarinish
- *Gott Bay* was known as *Kirkapoll Bay* until the mid-nineteenth century
- *Tràigh Shòrabaidh* fronts the modern crofting townships of Crossapol, Heylipol and Balinoe
- The summit of *Beinn Haoidhnis* is today in Balephuill
- *Port Bharabol* is today in Middleton
- *Cnoc Bhiostadh* is south of *Loch Bhasapoll* on the Kilmoluaig *sliabh* (see *Biosd*)

12.1.12 Gaelic settlement and enclosure names

On Tìree, G *baile* usually denotes a (current or historic) farm township, G *clachan* may have signified a small cluster of pre-Improvement houses, while G *goirtean* referred to a pre-Improvement field (see *Baile nan Cràganach*, *Clachan* and *Goirtean* in the Gazetteer).

Scottish *baile*-names appear to date from no earlier than the late eleventh century (Márkus 2009, 52). It may be noted that several Tìree names in *baile* have an eponym as the specific: for example, *Baile Mhàrtainn* ‘Martin’s settlement’ (see section 17.2). This is not found in surviving *clachan* names (see *Clachan*). Several surviving *baile*-names, such as *Am Baile Nodha* (Balinoe), have grown to denote modern crofting townships; others, such as *Baile mhic Eòdha*, have been subsumed into a neighbouring farm township (in this case, Barrapol). It is striking that several Tìree *baile*-names are obscure: for example, *Baile mhic Eòdha*, *Balephuill* and *Baile nan Cràganach*. This might be evidence that they are of some age.

What can we learn about the Late Medieval Tìree landscape from the location of settlements marked on the 1768 Turnbull Map and the distribution of surviving Gaelic settlement and enclosure names in *baile*, *clachan* and *goirtean*?

- **Kelis:** there are 2 clusters of houses marked on Turnbull’s map in 1768. The first is G *Baile Chaolais*, alias G *Bail’ Uachdrach* or G *Am Baile Shuas* ‘the upper settlement’ to the east of *Croish*. And the second is G *Am Baile Shìos*, alias G *Am Baile Ìochdrach* ‘the lower settlement’. This last occupies the same land as the secondary Norse settlement *Raonabol*, mapped in 1768 as *Kelis Mains* by Turnbull and leased in 1782 as *Kerralonamair*. Gaelic field names in the farm township are: *Goirtean Pheadrais*, *Goirtean nan Tobhta*, *Goirtean MhicEachern* and *An Goirtean Mòr*
- **Ruaig:** 2 clusters. One, known as G *Am Baile Shìos* ‘the lower settlement’, alias G *An t-Seana Bhaile* ‘the old settlement’ at G *Tòrr a’ Bhaile* ‘the rise of the settlement’. The second is at the shore at *Brock*. A third, possibly more recent, settlement name, G *Am Baile Shuas* ‘the upper town’, lies to the north by the modern main road to *Caolas*
- **Saalum:** 1 cluster. No surviving *clachan*, *baile* or *goirtean* names
- **Vaull:** 1 cluster by the shore known as *Am Baile Shìos*. *Am Baile Shuas* is on G *Bràigh Bhalla* ‘the slope of Vaul’ and occupies much the same

land as the Norse peripheral farm at *Hùnisdeir*. No *clachan* or *goirtean* names

- **Kirkapoll:** 1 cluster, between the stream and the graveyard. *An Goirtean Mòr*
- **Gott:** 2 clusters, either side of the stream draining *Loch Riaghain*
- **Scarnish:** 1 cluster above the harbour. *Bail' a' Mhuilinn* 'the settlement of the (wind)mill' references an eighteenth-century project of the fifth Duke (Cregeen 1964, 2). *An Goirtean Bàn*
- **Heanish:** 2 clusters, one at *G Port a' Bhaile* 'inlet of the settlement', alias *Hianish Harbour* (Turnbull Map 1768), while the other lay to the west at *Port a' Mhuilinn*
- **Baugh:** 1 cluster beside *An Fhaodhail*
- **Crossapoll:** 1 cluster
- **Heylipoll:** 4 clusters in a semi-circle on the edge of the *machair*. *Goirtean a' Chromaich* and **An Cruadh Goirtein* (see *Cruairtein*)
- **Balinoe:** *G Am Baile Nodha* 'the new settlement'. This was first listed in the rentals in 1509, but the reduction in the value of neighbouring *Hindebollis* from one ounceland in 1495 to two-thirds of an ounceland in 1541 suggests that this settlement was established between 1495 and 1509 (see *Heylipoll*). 2 clusters, one mapped by Turnbull as *Balinoe*, the other as *Quiyeish*
- **Balemartine:** 1 cluster
- **Mannal:** 1 cluster
- **Haynish:** 1 cluster
- **Balephuill:** 1 cluster comprising three houses. *G Am Baile Shios* 'the lower settlement' and *Upper Balephuill* (1841 Census)
- **Kenvar:** 1 cluster comprising two houses
- **Barapoll:** 2 clusters, named by Turnbull as *Barapoll* and *Gortendoal* (see *Goirtean Dòmhnail*). Two further *baile*-names have survived: *Baile mhic Eòdha* (see *Gazetteer*) and *G An t-Seana Bhaile* 'the old settlement' (location is unknown; Donald MacLean talking to Eric Cregeen and Donald MacKenzie on TAD SA1976.135, track ID

103026). There are also two surviving *clachan* names: G *An Clachan Dubh* ‘the black hamlet’ and G *Clachan an Locha* ‘the hamlet at the lochside’

- **Balemenoch**: 1 cluster
- **Sandaig**: 1 cluster
- **Grianal**: 1 cluster. G *An Iodhlann Mòr* ‘the large stackyard’, referencing the position of the communal stackyard in the runrig township
- **Kilchenichmore** and **Kilchenichbeg**: 1 cluster each
- **Keranokile**: 1 cluster
- **Kerachrosegar**: 1 cluster
- **Kerahasagar**: 1 cluster
- **Murstat**: 1 cluster
- **Hough**: 1 large cluster containing thirty houses
- **Balewilline**: 3 scattered clusters
- **Kilmaluaig**: 2 clusters close together
- **Beist**: 1 cluster
- **Cornaigmore**: 1 cluster. *An Clachan Mòr* beside *An Iodhlann Mòr*; and *Bàile nan Cràganach* (see Gazetteer)
- **Cornaigbeg**: 1 cluster at *Am Baile*, an area of ground on the northern side of the road, straddling the fence line between Whitehouse and Ardbeg
- **Kenovay**: 2 clusters close together. *Gorten*. *An Iodhlann Mòr*
- **Balephetrish**: 2 clusters close together with *Bail’ Ùbhag* to the east. *Goirteana na Tràghad*

Post-medieval townships with several small clusters of houses were, therefore, not uncommon: ‘... we find a significant number of townships whose settlement is best described as loosely dispersed, usually in small clusters or groups, across the township’ (Dodgshon 1996, 188). On the 1768 Turnbull Map, two-thirds of the Tìree runrig townships had one cluster of houses, a quarter had two clusters, while *Balewilline* had three and *Heylipoll* four. Sometimes, as in *Balewilline*, this may have been because of the size of the runrig township’s arable fields. Protecting

fields of barley from stray cattle returning from the *sliabh* was crucial. But runrig townships like *Heylipoll* and *Balephetrish* had large clusters beside one another, and it may not be too fanciful to interpret this as an echo of a landscape where a Norn-speaking indigenous population lived beside – but separate from – late Gaelic-speaking immigrants. The reference to '*Lochlannan Bhaile Phuill* [possibly the Vikings of Balephuill]' in a story from the oral tradition about the drowning and burial of a young girl from Balephuill may be significant in this respect (see *Bèidhe*).

A few settlement names in *baile* – such as *Baile mhic Eòdha* in Barrapol and *Baile nan Cràganach* in Cornaigmore, their *baile*-name implying a past status as independent units – are not found in surviving rentals. Numerous Gaelic field names suggest that Gaelic-speaking farmers continued to use a closed-field system.

12.2 SURNAME ANALYSIS

Patronymic bynames tracing the father's lineage can be found in the Early Christian period: for example, the annals record 'the killing of Colmán Mór son of Diarmait' in 563, the year Columba founded Iona (AU U563.3); while the king of Man who died in 1153 was known as *Óláfr Guðrøðarson* 'Olaf the son of Godred Crovan'. The first records of surname use on the Scottish mainland appear among the elite in twelfth-century documents. While a largely illiterate population may not have had cause to use formal surnames or written forms of their name, clans were built on a fierce group identity when they emerged as social entities in the Highlands in the Late Medieval period (Dodgshon 1998, 87). A list of rebels handing in their arms in Scarinish after the 1715 uprising shows that most of the men had clan surnames (MacLean-Bristol 1998).

An analysis of the recorded surnames on the island may, therefore, give us some insight into the past status and influence of a clan. A serious weakness of this approach is the names' instability; some Highlanders appear to have changed their clan names to gain social and political advantage.

The Argyll estate carried out a detailed census of Tiree in 1779:

Table 8. Common surnames from the 1779 Tiree census

Surname	Tenants	%	1779		Total	%	T/O
			Other	%			
MacLeod	2	1	0	0	2	1	
MacDougall	3	2	0	0	3	1	
MacDonald	28	18	16	28	44	20	1.8
MacLean	75	48	21	36	96	45	3.6
MacKinnon	35	22	19	33	54	25	1.8
Campbell	14	9	2	3	16	7	7

Notes:

1. The 1779 census (Cregeen 1963) came at a time when the population of the island was 1,881, not far above that of the post-medieval period. This census is unusual, in that it records wives by their maiden names. Half a century later, the 1831 Census of Tiree would record a population of 4,453 (Cregeen 1964, xxix).
2. Only males 20 years and older have been counted from the 1779 census.
3. The census records the status of family members 'tenants', 'cottars' and 'workmen' (the last two categories have been lumped together here), with the odd exception such as 'minister', 'chamberlain and 'grasskeeper'.
4. T/O is the ratio of the number of tenants divided by the number of cottars + workmen. The higher the ratio, the higher the status of the clan name.

In contrast, by far the commonest surname on Tiree today with 58% is MacKinnon. (This is from a 2016 survey of medical practice records; in contrast with the 1779 Census, most women are registered under their married names). 'The MacKinnons themselves derive from a kindred which had shared in the expansionist policies of Somerled in the second half of the twelfth century, crossing from Knapdale into Mull and Tiree' (Bannerman 2016, 306). The clan's founder was said to be the twelfth-century *Airbheartach*, who settled twelve households in *Fionnlochlainn* 'among the Norwegians' on Mull and Tiree (Black 2015). The MacKinnons later held land at Gribun and Mishnish on Mull and had become associated with Dun Ara castle on the northwestern tip of the island by the late fourteenth century (Petrie 2019–20, 159). They may also have been associated with the Late Medieval church. In Kirkapol's *An Cladh Beag* graveyard, there is a decorated tombstone of the Iona pattern with a two-handed sword

with the inscription, '*Fingonius Prior de Y me dedid Philippo Johannis et Suis Filiis M CCCC XCII* [1492]. This prior was of the Clan MacFinnguine, now called MacKinnon, and thus noticed by Mac Firis "Finnguine, abbot of Hy [Iona]" (Reeves 1854, 241; Beveridge 1903, 150).

MacSherrie is a sept of the clan MacKinnon. John McShirie was recorded as a tenant in *Vuill* in 1709 (Argyll Papers, PFV 31/31). Three families of McSherie are recorded as tenants in Scarinish in 1779 (the heads of household could be brothers and all are married to MacKinnons); it might be noted that Scarinish farm was owned by the church before the Reformation. Rocks known today as *G Leacan MhicShiridh* 'the flat (possibly grave) stones of MacSherry' can be found on the cliffs of Kenavara (Brownlie 1995, 156).

The Census also shows that the Campbells were able to control the island's resources using relatively few settlers. This was also the case in Argyll generally: 'In the Campbell heartland [in 1685], the proportion of Campbells among the ordinary people is one in five. In mainland Argyllshire as a whole, it is more like one in ten' (Black 2017a, 599). Eighteenth-century Tiree was let to a small number of major off-island tenants, known as tacksmen, whose function was to collect rent and keep the peace. They lived in considerable style:

The rental of 1730 shows ... Tiree and the two ends of Coll [were let to] Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas ... The new population of sub-tacksmen and their sub-tenants lived as loyal, privileged and envied colonists amidst the dispossessed clans ... To realise the full value of the annexations, the land would have to be exploited as a source, not of men but of revenue, and peace and order would have to be established. (Cregeen 1964, xiv)

In the 1745 uprising, many islanders on Tiree remained loyal to the MacLeans and were extremely hostile to the Campbell lordship, threatening 'to sacrifice the factor ... they have constantly been upon the flutter' (Fergusson 1951, 99). It is therefore striking that by 1779, exactly a century after the Campbell take-over, there were just fourteen Campbell settlers on the island, one in ten of the tenants.

Some unusual and obsolete Gaelic surnames have survived in Tiree place-names: for example, *Sloc MhicCaoilteachain* (Irish *caoilteachan* 'thin person') in Scarinish; *Sloc MhicReathailt* in Cornaigmore; *Sgeir Mhic Cuileartaich* in Heanish; *Sgoth Mhic Cumha* in Kilmoluaig (see Gazetteer); and *Sloc Mhic Cnithealum* on the Kenavara cliffs.

Names of Norse origin such as MacLeod (*Ljótt*; see the place-name *Arileod* on Coll), MacAskill (*Áskill*), MacSween (*Sven*) or MacAulay (*Ólaf*) (see Fellows-Jensen 1995, 29) are almost entirely absent from the island's historical record. The exceptions may be two Tíree place-names containing the name *MacCoit* 'the son of ON *Óttar*' (see *Sgonn Mhic Coitch* in the Gazetteer). Most islanders of Norse descent on Tíree therefore appear to have chosen (whether for economic, political or family reasons) to be absorbed into local clans.

It would be a mistake to over-interpret this analysis. But more recent parallels suggest that control of the island by a succession of overlords was achieved by the plantation of clan loyalists (successively MacDougalls, MacDonalds, MacLeans and Campbells) and members of client clans such as the MacKinnons.

12.3 CHURCH INFLUENCE

Several ecclesiastical bodies in Argyll benefited from bequests over the medieval period to become significant landholders on Tíree. These included the reformed Benedictine monastery on Iona, established by 1203 (Oram 2011, 168), and that island's Augustinian nunnery, established in 1207 (McDonald 1997, 221; Power 2005, 29 and 38). Ardchattan Priory north of Oban was set up in 1230 by Duncan MacDougall, a grandson of Somerled, and before the end of the thirteenth century this was endowed with a teind (tenth), or tithe, payable by the parishioners of Soroby, Tíree. A seventeenth century account of Tíree described 'the largest pairte of the Island being Churchland' (Macfarlane 1907, 218).

The name of the island itself has long (and mistakenly) been derived from this connection: 'Tyree, i.e. *Tir-li* 'the land of *li*' so-called from its having belonged to the monastery of Iona' (MacDonald 1811, 720). The *Old Statistical Account* reported: '[Iona] was liberally endowed by the piety and munificence of the kings and great men of the kingdom of Scotland. Buchanan mentions several islands that belonged to it. The fertile island of Tíree once did, as the name indicates, and the divisions of it being still called Monk's portions' (*Old Statistical Account* Kilfinichen 1795, 201). A rock west of *An Annaid*, Caolas, and known as *G Creag a' Mhanaich* 'the rock of the monk' (see Gazetteer), may reflect this period of church ownership.

In fact, only the following seven Tíree townships have been recorded as being under church control at one time or another:

- *The Kylis* 1509: ‘*spectante episcopo Sodorensis* [under the consideration of the Bishop of Sodor]’ (1509 ER 13, 216); this bishopric was created around 1135. In 1578, *Keillis* was held by the Abbot of Iona (Gregory and Skene 1847, 178). See *Creag a’ Mhanaich*
- *Kirkople* 1509: ‘*pertinente monasterio de Columkill* [pertained to the monastery of Iona]’ (1509 ER 13, 216); in 1578 *Kirkebald* belonged to the Abbot of Iona (Gregory and Skene 1847, 178); and in 1631, the farm township belonged to Joannes Campbell, part of the holding (*tenedriam*) of Ardchattan (Retours ARG vol. 1, 40)
- *Woyll* 1587: held by the Abbot of Iona (Gregory and Skene 1847, 178; Reeves 1854, 238)
- *Gott*: held by the Prior of Ardchattan (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 81)
- *Scarinish*: held by the Prioress of Iona (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 81). In 1567, *Scarinish* was taken back from the church by a John MacLean (MacLean-Bristol 1999, 35)
- *Soroby*: the parish was annexed by Ardchattan Priory in the late fourteenth century, but by 1421 it had come under the control of Iona Abbey
- *Ballefulye* 1587: held by the Abbot of Iona (Gregory and Skene 1847, 178; Reeves 1854, 238)
- ‘Free land of the churches of Duror and Glencoe’ on Tiree (Monro 1986, 5)

Few Norse place-names (see section 12.1.10) survive in two of these farm townships – *Scarinish* and *Soroby/Balemartine* – suggesting a disruptive process.

12.4 TIREE GAELIC DIALECT

The grammar of modern Scottish Gaelic is simpler than that of Old Gaelic. There have also been a number of changes to the sound of Scottish Gaelic: for example, stress on the first syllable and strong pre-aspiration (such as the way *cnoc* is pronounced /kro^hk/). These changes appear to show a substantial influence from speakers of Old Norse learning Gaelic, rather than the other way round: ‘Taken together, these different strands of linguistic evidence indicate a break in the Gaelic tradition of the West Highlands, the post-medieval variety representing a

language which has been learned by speakers of Old Norse’ (Macniven 2015, 106–7).

It is plausible that the varying intensity and duration of Norse language dominance in different islands is one of the factors that created the wide range of Hebridean Gaelic dialects heard today. In general, Tiree Gaelic is similar to that of Coll and Mull, and different both from that in the northern and western Hebrides and that in Islay (Boyd 2014, 359). However, Tiree Gaelic does have some striking idiosyncrasies: ‘It was not for nothing that the late Rev Dr Donald Lamont of Ruaig on more than one occasion referred to “*Gàidhlig Chruaidh Thiristeach* / Hard Tiree Gaelic” in his prose writings’ (Boyd 2014, 357).

12.5 CONCLUSION

As Norse hegemony on Tiree waned, Gaelic regained its place as the island’s dominant language. We will look at when this might have happened in the next chapter.

The place-name evidence clearly shows that there must have been substantial interaction between the Norn and Gaelic language user groups on Tiree. This evidence includes the following: the number of Norse loan-names that have survived, many of which have acquired the Gaelic definite article; the number of Gaelic loan-words borrowed from Norn; the number of Gaelic place-names containing a Norse existing name; the number of transferred Norse names; the habitation name *Týrvist-each*; the difference between the native and regional pronunciations of the island’s name; the unusual find of a possible translation name – *Coirceal/Druim Coirce* in Ruaig – taken as evidence that a substantial proportion of the population was, for a time, bilingual; the Gaelic locational suffix attached to Norse loan-words; the variation in probable Norse place-name density from 22% in Hough to none in Balinoe, Middleton or Kenovay; and, finally, the fact that all the post-Scandinavian elites had their caputs off-island. All these points suggest that the language shift on Tiree from Norn to Gaelic took place over a considerable period.

Language shift can occur in the absence of large population movements. Indeed, the current shift from Gaelic to English on Tiree provides a good example of this. However, several historical parallels – for example, the Scandinavian settlement of the Norse expansion zone, Scots settlement of Orkney, or the eighteenth-century settlement of Tiree by Campbells after the acquisition of Tiree by the eighth Earl of Argyll in 1679 – encourage the view that the language shift on the island from Norn to Gaelic was partly driven by settlement from Mull, Islay and Lorn.

A model of language shift is therefore proposed. At some point between the mid-twelfth and the mid-thirteenth centuries an off-island elite and a small number of high-status settlers spoke Gaelic, while the native population continued to speak Norn. At first, any settlement appears to have been focussed in certain districts. At some time in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries the immigration of Gaelic-speaking settlers increased substantially. This led to a period, which may have lasted two or three generations, where the majority of Tíree farm townships were biglossic and many islanders bilingual. Over the next few centuries, the church became an early and significant landholder and wealth extractor on the island, holding at least seven farm townships, including Scarinish where the scarcity of surviving Norse place-names suggests a locally disruptive process. Hough may have remained a Norse tenancy for longer than other farm townships. The Norse place-names of the most significant landscape features – the shielings, lochs and streams – were transferred as Gaelic-speaking tenants in Late Medieval farm townships wrestled for territory, using place-names as statements of landscape control. Just a small number, possibly as few as a tenth, of Norse place-names have survived, creating the misleading impression that the Early Medieval Scandinavian settlement of Tíree was limited.

This model allows immigrant Gaelic-speaking tenants to co-exist alongside a native Norn-speaking peasantry. Many Norn-speakers appear to have remained on their own land. This seems to be born out by the siting of several new Gaelic settlements – such as *Ballefulye* – side-by-side with older Norse-named settlements – such as *Bee*. Several such settlement pairs appear to have co-existed for a century or more. Eventually however, Gaelic overwhelmed Norn. The main driver of this may have been the sheer number of colonists, as it was in Orkney.

13. THE DURATION OF NORSE DOMINANCE

How long did Norn remain the dominant language on Tiree? This chapter examines the evidence.

13.1 HISTORICAL AND LITERARY SOURCES

Surviving historical and literary sources provide very little information about Tiree in the medieval period. What evidence there is has to be handled with due caution: '[The Early Medieval history of the west coast of Scotland] is a process that is poorly documented, equally poorly understood and overly mythologised' (Oram 2011, 6).

Tiree has rarely written its own story, so understanding the wider history of Scotland's Atlantic rim and that of the Irish Sea is crucial to our understanding of the island. With its strategic position on the sea lanes halfway between Man and Orkney, its fertility (relatively speaking, in a Hebridean context) and vulnerability to attack, Tiree is likely to have been a contested prize in the Early Medieval period. In the background were the unsteadily coalescing kingdoms of Norway, Scotland and England. Centre stage were the unstable 'medieval thalassocracies' based on the Isle of Man, Orkney, and the dynasty founded by Somerled in Argyll. These vied for control of this seascape, periodically asserting themselves under one ascendant warrior-king or another before turning in on themselves with factional infighting.

Brought into the Argyll fold by Somerled and his descendants, Tiree is today firmly part of the Inner Hebrides. But during the Early Middle Ages, the island is likely

to have functioned for much of the time as part of the *Innse Gall* ‘islands of the non-Gaelic speaking foreigners’ (Oram and Adderley 2011, 126) sometimes taken to mean the ‘outer’ Hebrides (Whyte 2017, 64); during several manifestations of the ‘Kingdoms of the Isles’, its *caput* may well have been on the Isle of Man. It should be remembered that it has been a feature of Tiree’s history, unlike the histories of, say, Islay or Man, that its landlord has rarely been resident on the island.

13.1.1 Historical sources

The first century and a half of Scandinavian settlement on Tiree saw a succession of warlords of Norse heritage, often operating out of the Viking settlement of *Dyflinn* (Dublin), attempting to dominate kingdoms in the Hebrides and around the Irish Sea. One such was Olaf (*Amlaíb*) and his brother Ivar, who was accorded the title ‘king of the Norsemen of all Ireland and Britain’ when he died in 873 (McDonald 2019, 21). *Uí Ímair* ‘the dynasty of Ivar’ became important players in the region, and their reach extended, at its peak, as far east as York. The southwestern coast of Scotland became partitioned into *Airer Gáidel*, sheltering the retreating *Dál Riata* in what became modern mainland Argyll, and *Innse Gall*, which included most of the Hebrides. To the Norse, these remained simply *Suðreyjar* ‘the southern islands’ to distinguish them from *Norðreyjar*, the archipelagos of Orkney and Shetland. Brothers Maccus and Godred Haraldsson (*Gofraid mac Arailt*), products of the same dynasty, emerged to create something more substantial in the 970s and 980s, a polity that has become known as the ‘First Kingdom of the Isles’. Godred was lauded at his death in 989 as *rí Innsi Gall* ‘king of the Hebrides’. This was a time of increased prosperity, with an increase in the number of silver hoards deposited on Man. A hoard of silver coins dated to 970–980 was also found below *Dùn Mòr a’ Chaolais* on Tiree (Graham-Campbell 2011, 255; see Appendix 18.b.1).

If we are to believe the saga accounts, the increasingly powerful jarls of Orkney then advanced to dominate the western seaboard of Scotland following the collapse of this kingdom at the end of the tenth century: ‘According to the *Orkneyinga Saga*, the influence of [the earldom of Orkney and Caithness] extended, in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, to include tributary jurisdiction over parts of the Irish Sea region, including the Hebrides and Man’ (Gibbon 2017, 226). And a Jarl Gilli of Coll (or possibly Colonsay, David Caldwell, pers. comm.) is mentioned in *Njáls Saga* (chapter 85) as paying tribute to Earl Sigurd of Orkney (Gammeltoft 2001, 28). Sigurd’s chief lieutenant then visited Gilli after a summer’s raiding, ‘around Anglesey and about the Hebrides, Kintyre, Wales, and Man [where]

they took a great amount of booty' (chapter 89). They then sailed together to Orkney where Gilli married Sigurd's sister before returning to Coll (Bayerschmidt 1955, 189). It may not be unreasonable to place the imposition of the ounceland system on the Hebrides to this period (but see section 10.5.3).

The English, Gaelic, British and Norse languages appear to have been widely spoken across the region in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and only gradually did one language come to dominate in each area (McDonald 2019, 22).

Orcadian influence on the west coast reached a peak in the mid-eleventh century under Earl Thorfinnr the Mighty and then fell away (Oram 2011, 5). In 1079, Godred Crovan, probably another scion of the Olafsson dynasty of Norse rulers in Dublin, invaded the Isle of Man at the third attempt and proceeded to build the 'Second Kingdom of the Isles' that included many islands along the western seaboard and stretched, for a few years, as far south as Dublin. Godred died from the plague on Islay in 1095, having founded another dynasty that would play a significant role in the region over the next two centuries.

Three years after Crovan's death, taking advantage of the subsequent turmoil in Man, the King Magnus III of Norway – more usually known by his byname as Magnus Barelegs – led a major expedition down the west coast from Orkney to Anglesey to 'reduce the Isles'. He then established himself in Man (Duncan and Brown 1956, 193): 'In a single operation, Magnus had recreated the island core of the kingdom assembled by [Crovan]' (Oram 2011, 49). The poem *Magnússdrápa*, written by *Björn krepphendi* 'the crooked-handed', describes the progress of this expedition and includes two vivid lines about Tíree:

Tǫnn rauð Tyrvist innan / teitr vargr í ben margri [In Tíree the happy wolf coloured his tooth red in many a wound]. (Jónsson 1912, 404; see also Appendix 18.a.1)

Even allowing for poetic licence and the fact that Tíree must have been – at least to some extent – culturally Scandinavian, this passage suggests that Tíree was firmly part of the Second Kingdom of the Isles at this time. Magnus Barelegs was slain in Ireland in 1103 fighting to expand his empire still further. Before long, Norway was plunged into a century of civil war, allowing both the *Norðreyjar* and *Suðreyjar* to re-assert their independence. Into this power vacuum stepped Crovan's son Olaf Godredsson, seizing control of the 'Kingdom of the Isles' in 1113. Olaf the Red, as he is usually known, maintained his grip on power for forty years, providing stability and putting the Diocese of the Isles on a formal footing in 1134.

In the 1130s, as the Scottish crown was diverted by an opportunity to extend its influence southwards following the death of the English king, a new dynasty flexed its muscles along the west coast. A warrior king called Gillebrigte appears to have built an independent power base in Argyll, although he was forced at one stage to acknowledge the superior lordship of the Scottish king, David I (Oram 2011, 88). Gillebrigte's son Somerled was 'genetically of Norse descent' (McDonald 2019, 115), and, 'his background is to be found in the mixed Norse-Gaelic heritage of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Irish sea world' (McDonald 2019, 102). Marriage being an important tool of warrior-diplomacy, Somerled married an illegitimate daughter of Olaf the Red, named as *Ragnhildr* in the *Orkneyinga Saga*.

Following the murder of Olaf the Red by his nephews in 1153, his son Godred returned to Man and assumed the throne. His unpopularity with the Manx elite appears to have led them to ask Somerled, now married into the Manx royal family, to give his son Dugald as 'king over the isles'. When Godred resisted, Somerled led a force of eighty ships to Man, fighting a naval battle on the night of the Epiphany 1156. The two sides fought to a stalemate and the leaders agreed to divide the 'Kingdom of the Isles' between them. The details of this division have not survived, but it is usually assumed that Tiree fell to Somerled. The truce lasted just two years before Somerled returned to Man. This time Godred was driven into exile, and Somerled took control of the whole kingdom from the Isle of Man to the Butt of Lewis. On Man, the custom of carving inscriptions in Norse came to an end at this time (Power 2005, 6). Six years later, Somerled himself was killed attacking the forces of the Scottish king at the Battle of Renfrew, his force said to have included 160 galleys and some men from the Hebrides (McDonald 1997, 61). An obituary described him as 'King of *Innse Gall* [the Hebrides]' (Macniven 2015, 22).

Following Somerled's death in 1164, Godred Olafsson returned from exile in Norway to re-establish himself on the Manx throne. He was, however, unable to take control of the 'Kingdom of the Isles' in its entirety, being left with Man, Skye, Glenelg and at least some of the Outer Hebrides. The MacSorleys, the dynasty founded by Somerled, took the rest, divided between three sons. Dugald plausibly inherited the family's power base of Lorn and Mull along with Coll and Tiree, while Ranald held Islay, Jura and Kintyre, and Angus controlled Bute, Arran and the Uists (Oram 2011, 156). Somerled's daughter Beathag is said to have become the first prioress of the new Augustinian nunnery in Iona.

Godred died in 1187 and was buried in Iona. The rivalry between his sons Rognvald and Olaf was the defining storyline on the west coast over the next half century. Rognvald was the first to ascend to the throne of Man in 1187. He was later

mythologised as the, 'greatest fighting man in all the western lands. For three whole years he had lived aboard longships and had not spent a single night under a sooty roof' (quoted in McDonald 1997, 88). Olaf, on the other hand, inherited Lewis.

The long Norwegian civil war was finally resolved at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and a Norse attack on Iona was mounted in 1210. With the unified Norwegian crown recovering its colonial appetite, Rognvald of Man was forced to travel with his son to Norway where he, 'paid the tax that stood over [was due]; and swore them loyalty and obedience, and took their lands in fief of the king of Norway' (quoted in McDonald 2019, 138). This heralded the start of Norway's 'Golden Age', beginning with the long reign of King Hákon IV in 1217. For half a century, Norway resumed its place as the principal maritime super-power in the region. While Rognvald was being brought to heel by the Norwegian king, the MacSorleys in Argyll and Kintyre came under attack by the Scottish crown.

The ability to communicate in Norse is therefore likely to have remained an important skill for the Hebridean elite well into the thirteenth century: 'A hybrid society emerged in the west [in the thirteenth century] ... a hybrid kingdom, hybrid institutions, hybrid law, a hybrid church and an increasingly hybrid landowning class' (quoted in McDonald 1997, 157).

From 1153, the Archbishop of Nidaros (Trondheim) held ecclesiastical authority over the Diocese of the Isles, which included Man and the Hebrides. In 1224, 'many Hebrideans came to meet [the Norse king in Bergen] ... and they had many letters concerning the needs of their land.' And the *Manx Chronicle* records six visits to the Norwegian court by kings and nobles from the Isles between 1152 and 1253 (Caldwell 2015a, 73).

Rognvald's brother Olaf began a concerted attempt to oust his brother from the throne in 1224. First he subjugated the Isles and then invaded Man. In an echo of Somerled's invasion over sixty years earlier, an agreement was struck to give Olaf the Isles. As before, this was but a prelude for Olaf's return in 1229. This time his brother died on the battlefield. Respecting geopolitical reality and possibly under threat from Galloway, Olaf immediately travelled to Norway to seek the backing of King Hakon (McDonald 2019, 148).

Olaf must have been disappointed to find that King Hakon had already appointed one Uspak (who may in fact have been one of the MacSorleys) as king of the *Suðreyjar*, but he agreed to return south with a Norwegian fleet. This force sacked Bute but then retreated, leaving Olaf as undisputed king of Man (and presumably the Hebrides) after Uspak had died. The burial of the hoard of coins dated to the

period 1180–1242 and found near *Dùn Shiadair* in West Hynish (Graham-Campbell 2011, 255; see Appendix 18.b.1) may have been connected with this conflict. Meanwhile, Duncan, the son of Dugald and the grandson of Somerled, built Dunstaffnage Castle north of Oban. He, in turn, was succeeded by his son Ewen.

King Olaf of Man died in 1237 to be followed by his son Harald. As before, the new Manx king was compelled to journey at once to Norway to pay homage, and eight years later he was summoned again. This time he found Ewen of Lorn also at the palace in Bergen seeking kingship of the northern Hebrides. Harald had a diplomatically successful visit, marrying King Hakon's daughter, but the newlywed couple drowned off Shetland on their way home. Ewen was ordered south in his place to take over both the Isles and Man. But pressure from the Scottish crown was mounting. In 1249 Ewen was called to the court of the Scottish king, and ordered by King Alexander II to hand over four castles on the western seaboard that had been granted to him by Hakon. These were *Biarnaborg* (in the Treshnish islands) and three others, one of which may have been *Isleborg* (see Gazetteer), possibly on *Loch an Eilein* in Heylipol. When Ewen refused, Alexander attacked Argyll in 1249, only to die himself during the expedition (McDonald 1997, 101). Alexander was succeeded by his eight-year-old son, while Ewen seems to have been displaced by his cousin Dugald during the upheaval.

The next decade saw a rapid succession of kings in Man. In an attempt to reassert Norwegian authority over the 'kingdom of the isles', and possibly in reprisal for a violent attack on Skye by forces loyal to the Scottish crown, the fifty-nine-year-old King Hakon set sail in 1263 with a huge fleet. Leaving Norway late in the season, the flotilla reached Skye and then Kerrera, passing down the Sound of Mull and presumably witnessed from Tiree. Hakon had got wind that Ewen was minded to side with the Scots, so he was promptly detained. Ewen's cousin Dugald, sensing an opportunity, pledged his loyalty to Hakon and was rewarded with the kingship of the Hebrides. By September, the Norwegian fleet had reached Largs. The Scots, however, refused to accept the challenge of a naval battle and an autumn storm blew several Norse longships ashore. However it was later mythologised, the Battle of Largs was 'neither a great victory nor a total defeat, but rather a "series of disorderly skirmishes", which decided nothing ... and modern historians have concluded there were probably relatively few casualties' (McDonald 1997, 114).

After the battle, King Hakon set sail for home; but, as so often happened during the military expeditions of the time, he died on the return journey, this time in Orkney. The next year, forces of the Scottish king reached the Hebrides and took vengeance on those who had supported the Norse. Despite this, Dugald MacSorley remained loyal to the Norwegian king.

If the Norse did not lose the Battle of Largs, they certainly had not won. In 1266, the newly crowned King Magnus VI of Norway faced reality and agreed to the terms of the Treaty of Perth. In this, he 'granted, resigned and quit-claimed' the isles of Man and the Hebrides to the Scottish king, Alexander III for the sum of 4000 merks, paid over four years. As part of the agreement (and this may have been particularly relevant on Tiree), islanders previously loyal to the Norse were not to be victimised. Ewen MacDougall was re-established by the Scottish crown as Lord of Argyll, which included Lorn, Mull, Coll and Tiree. His son Alexander MacDougall was given the royal title of Sheriff of Lorn in 1293, showing that he had now truly become part of the Scottish establishment. Alexander was succeeded in turn by his son John.

An important but thorny problem is Tiree's colonial status during this long period of conflict. Until 1156, the island formed part of the 'Second Kingdom of the Isles' with its *caput* in the Isle of Man under the dynasty of Crovan. Following an inconclusive battle, Somerled then plausibly assumed control of Tiree. Following Somerled's death 1164, it is generally believed that Tiree became part of MacSorley territory, in particular that of Dugald, while Man, Skye and the northern Hebrides remained part of the smaller Manx kingdom. There is little evidence to guide us and it is plausible that, for part of the century between 1164 and 1268, the more effective Manx kings like Rognvald Godredsson, 'the greatest fighting man in the western lands', were able to wrest control of Tiree from the MacSorleys, particularly as the island lay on the route between Man and its dependent territories in Skye and Lewis. This is likely to have been relevant to the language shift from Norn to Gaelic on Tiree, because the Manx court is more likely to have used Norn than the MacSorleys in their Dunstaffnage base.

Following the Treaty of Perth, the Scottish state became locked in both a bitter civil war, following the death without heir of King Alexander III, and a resurgence of conflict with England. The leading west coast clans were drawn into this vortex: 'The dominant theme of Hebridean politics from about 1286 to 1329 is the struggle for dominance between the MacDougalls and the MacDonalds. Traditionally the two kindreds are regarded as occupying opposing sides in the Scottish civil war and the Anglo-Scottish conflict' (McDonald 1997, 159).

An additional factor during the first decades of the fourteenth century was the deteriorating climate, as the Medieval Warm Period swung into the Little Ice Age (see section 5.1). As well as experiencing poorer harvests, the Hebrides saw increased sand blow and less productive fishing. One answer to this climatic stress was a 'return to the predatory culture of raiding' (Oram 2017, 259).

At first, the MacDougalls took advantage of the political chaos to push back first the MacDonalds and then the Campbells. But following Bruce's victory over the English at Bannockburn in 1314, the MacDougalls, who had backed the losing English side and had also suffered a major defeat in 1308 at what is sometimes known as the Battle of the Pass of Brander (Paterson 2001, 22), were forced to forfeit their land. Angus Og MacDonald, fifth in line of descent from Somerled, was granted a swath of land from Lochaber to the Inner Hebrides, including Mull and Tiree.

This was confirmed by King David II of Scotland in 1344, by then in favour of John de Yle (of the Isles), the new MacDonald clan chief. Initially, John of Lorn (the MacDougall chief) refused to accept royal authority and only formally quitclaimed Tiree in a written agreement of 1354. In this, he managed to retain Coll and three unciates of land at the east end of Tiree, on which he undertook not to erect any buildings without permission (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 18; Munro and Munro 1986, 5).

Tiree thereafter, 'was callit in all tymes McConnell's girnell' [was always called the MacDonald's grain store] (Skene 1890, 437). John de Yle, now styling himself for the first time as '*Dominus Insularum* [Lord of the Isles]', came from a family that, 'stressed their Irish roots and were important patrons of Gaelic culture, but in reality a good deal of Scandinavian blood flowed in their veins and much of their way of life derived from a Viking past' (Caldwell 2015b, 350).

In 1390, Donald, the son of John of Yle and new Lord of the Isles, signed a charter assigning to Lachlan MacLean bailiery of, 'all the lands of Tyriage [Tiree], with lands of Mannawallis [*Mannel*], Hindebollis [*Heylipol*], and office of steward of the house of the said Donald of the Isles', as well as constabulary of Duart Castle on Mull (MacLean 1889, 29). John Gregorson Campbell collected this traditional story on Tiree about the assignation:

The wife of MacLean of Dowart was a daughter of the Lord of the Isles. Her father on visiting her at Aros had found her destitute of table-linen, and on her being spoken to on the subject, she said that there was no place on the estate where lint could be grown. Her father then gave her the island of Tiree as a good flax-growing country, that she might not be open to that reproach any longer. In this way the island of Tiree remained in the possession of the Dowart family till the forfeiture of the clan towards the end of the seventeenth century. (Campbell 1895, 13)

There is some evidence that this arrangement had actually been put in place a generation earlier (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 22):

What had evolved by the later fourteenth century were militarised kindreds like the MacLeans, MacKinnons and MacAskills, whose martial potential was employed by the Lords of the Isles to extend the reach of their political and economic lordship and, consequently, of the resource-base on which that edifice was sustained. The proliferation of castles across this period reflected the rise of these kindreds and the requirements of their leaders to maintain the culture of elite production and consumption, which secured the loyalty of the warriors and craftsmen who serviced that lifestyle. (Oram 2017, 259)

The office of bailie – the bailiery – allowed the new Lords of the Isles in Islay to sub-contract the control of, and extraction of revenue from, far-flung parts of their lands: in this case, to the MacLeans of Duart. In return, the MacDonalds expected loyal military support and a steady flow of revenue. This was a significant moment in the island’s history. Possibly for the first time, Tiree’s landlord was based close at hand, allowing him a more detailed control of the island landscape and island society. As well as this, there were two clan chiefs to be satisfied. Both facts plausibly meant an increased share of Tiree’s harvests being exported to Duart. I argue that this new arrangement was an important driver of settlement on Tiree, predominantly from Mull, leading ultimately to the language shift from Norn to Gaelic (see chapters 12 and 13). This also ultimately may have led to the re-configuration of closed-field farm townships into runrig (see section 10.2.2).

At some point during this period of turbulence, a garrison was built on Tiree to reinforce the claim to this valuable but vulnerable island territory. The first mention of a castle on an island in Loch Heylipol was in the fourteenth century: ‘*Insula Tyree, qua turris est fortissima* [The Isle of Tiree, where there is a very strong tower]’ (Skene 1871, 43).

Pont recorded the castle’s name as *Castel Loch Hyrbol* in the last two decades of the sixteenth century (Blaeu 1654). It appears to have been a simple tower circled by a ditch and wall, situated on an islet surrounded by water seven feet deep. A long, curving causeway from the north ended in a drawbridge (see Holliday 2018). The site had plausibly been a prehistoric crannog.

The prime function of *Castel Loch Hyrbol* was as a forward operating base, keeping a besieged elite military force protected until reinforcements arrived. In the medieval period, and possibly going back as far as the kingdoms making up *Dál Riata* in the sixth century, Tiree had been the furthestmost colonial outpost of polities with their *caput* on the mainland, Man or the large islands of the Inner Hebrides: the MacDougalls of Lorn, the MacDonalds of Islay and the MacLeans

of Duart. Tiree was agriculturally rich, and particularly suitable for growing the highly valued barley. But it was also remote, and, as we have seen, difficult to defend. Ultimately, however, jurisdiction over the island followed control of the island's fortress. This was shown most clearly by the Campbell siege of the castle in 1679, where two hundred regular troops were only able to break the siege of MacLean loyalists by firing the island's first cannon shot and by preventing reinforcement from Mull. The eighth Earl of Argyll may have been granted title to Tiree in court after purchasing the debts of Sir Allan MacLean (Cregeen 2004, 54), but it took the physical capture of the castle in Loch Heylipol to turn this into reality; overnight, MacLean claims to ownership of the island were fatally undermined.

By the end of the fifteenth century, the power of the Lords of the Isles had waned and the MacDonalds found themselves in conflict with the Scottish crown. John II Lord of the Isles finally forfeited his lands to King James IV of Scotland in 1493. In 1495, it was declared: 'The king now assumed possession of Islay and Tiree' (ER 10, lxvi). In an earlier bid to stabilise the crown's unsettled western seaboard, 'the bailliary of the southern half of Tiree was granted to John MacLean of Lochbuie [Mull] in 1492 with the consent of the Council' (Bannerman 2016, 313). Lochbuie had been an early supporter of the Scottish crown. This grant was extended to include the whole of the island in 1496 (MacLean-Bristol 1999, 20).

The Scottish crown proceeded to make a detailed audit of its new estates, publishing its valuation of Tiree in 1509 (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 81). Fiscal sources, in the form of crown rentals, are a valuable source of information about land use on the west coast in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although the officials sent to Tiree sometimes appear to have struggled with some of the names: for example, *Valdonovodanach* (1509 ER 13, 217).

The church became an increasingly significant landowner on Tiree (see section 12.3): 'A number of contemporary papal documents refer to the Lord of the Isles as patrons of the monastery [of Iona]. Concern for the impoverishment of that monastery's building and revenue caused Donald to petition the papacy to unite to it vicarages in Tiree and Mull, a petition granted in 1421' (Bannerman 2016, 346).

Gradually, the grip on power of the Lochbuie branch of the MacLeans weakened and Tiree once again came under the control of the MacLeans of Duart. Their clan leader between 1513 and 1523 was Lachlan Cattanach MacLean, 'one of the most controversial MacLean chiefs. Oral tradition has not been kind to him' (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 77). Gregorson Campbell recorded this Tiree story about him.

Cattanach's wife had begun an affair with an Irish nobleman named as *Uilleam O'Buaidh*. (This tradition appears to have coalesced around the family of O'Boyle or *Ó Baoighill*, the Lords of Cloughaneely. This is an area of Donegal also known as *Críoch Bhaoigheallach*: Breen 2017, 209). She began corresponding secretly with him. Growing suspicious, Cattanach handed his wife a knife saying it had come from O'Buaidh. Her reply did not leave him in much doubt: '*M'eudail 'chuir thugam an sgian / 'S fhada leam a thriall mi thar muir / 'S na 'n a mheall mi mo shlàint' / Mur docha leam i na 'n lamh 'sa bheil* [My darling who sent me the knife / I weary at his delay in coming across the sea / And may I not enjoy health / If I do love it better than the hand that holds it]'. Cattanach was furious. He sent for one of his relations, Lachlan MacLean from Hynish, telling him that if he brought him O'Buaidh's head, 'any crime you may commit ... will be over-looked by me'. Lachlan set off with his seven sons for Islay and thence to Ireland, making their way to O'Buaidh's estate. They soon met him coming towards them in a coach drawn by two white horses. As the carriage passed the Tíree men, the Irishman leaned out the window and asked them where they were from. When O'Buaidh learned was the party came from Tíree, he asked Lachlan to take a message to the wife of Cattanach. As he handed the letter over, the Tíree man took it with one hand and cut O'Buaidh's head off with the other. Making his escape, Lachlan and his sons returned to Tíree in their galley and proceeded to the castle on *Loch an Eilein*. Cattanach and his wife were at their breakfast. Lachlan burst in, set O'Buaidh's head on the table, and walked out. The wife of Cattanach recognising the head of her lover, died of shock. (Summarised from *Fair Lachlan of Dervaig*, Campbell 1895, 70–73).

The clan system took shape in the Highlands and islands during the Late Medieval period. At its apex was the clan chieftain, who maintained his position through feasting and patronage. This was maintained, to some extent, through feuding to acquire cattle and to weaken the food base of rival clans (Dodgshon 1998, 87). The chief demonstrated his control over a seasonally unforgiving landscape by collecting large quantities of food as rent, and supporting a retinue of musicians, storytellers and fighting men. The MacLeans of Duart were remembered on Tíree into the nineteenth century:

The MacLeans seem to have ruled the island with a rod of iron. There is still shewn the hillock called the Bank of the Gallows (*Bac na Croiche*), where the man who came last with his rent at collection time was hanged. A party of strong men called 'MacLean's attributes' (*buaidhean Mhic-'illeathain*) but more correctly oppressors and bullies, were kept in the island to overawe the people. (Campbell 1895, 13; see *Bac' a' Chrochaidh*)

While Tiree's Early Medieval oucelands may have paid their rent principally in silver (see section 10.5.3), Late Medieval burdens were largely reckoned in agricultural produce. In 1541, Tiree paid a rent of 653 stones of oatmeal (10% of the total crop), 686 bolls of bere or barley (50% of the total crop), 32 marts (cattle), as well as some sheep, poultry and horse corn. Cereals, overwhelmingly barley, accounted for 50–60% of the rent by value; in comparison, Coll was taxed at 240 stones of oatmeal, 150 bolls of bere, 600 stones of cheese, and 120 marts (Dodgshon 1998, 61–2; for the way this changed between 1541 and 1768, see Dodgshon 1996, 191). Barley was particularly valued because it could be malted to make beer, a staple drink. In addition, fishing rights to the surrounding seas, tariffs, and tolls on merchant ships passing through the Passage of Tiree (between Tiree and the Treshnish Isles) are likely to have enhanced the island's value (McDonald 2019, 208 and 283).

As the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries progressed, landlords increasingly reverted to 'silver-rent', although cereal-growing areas like Tiree were to some extent exempt:

The experience of Tiree provides a particularly good illustration of how trends ultimately worked against rent payments in grain, even on islands that were relatively productive. When seen in 1541, Tiree paid substantial amounts of bere [barley] as rent, with lesser amounts of oats. Over the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries its payment of bere fell progressively, disappearing altogether between 1680 and 1768. (Dodgshon 1998, 111)

In addition to paying rents in agricultural produce and money, tenants were also bound to their chieftain with a web of dues, renders and obligations. One such was the *G cuid-oidhche* 'a night quarter': 'The obligation of tenants to provide hospitality [at any time] for their chief or landowner and his household men' (Dodgshon 1998, 57). In 1662, 'Tirie was want to quarter all the Gentlemen's men that waited on McLean all winter, not under 80 or 100' (quoted in Dodgshon 1998, 90). Another was a duty, widespread in the Highlands, to provide a certain number of days labour to their chieftain (Dodgshon 1998, 67), called in Tiree Gaelic *mòrlanachd* 'free labour performed by tenants for their landlord'. (Elsewhere in the Highlands this was known as *bòrlanachd*: Dwelly; in Scots-speaking areas, the practice was known as *baillie days*: DSL). This servitude to the estate may have been formally abolished in 1737 (Cregeen 1973, 7), but persisted in practice on Tiree into the nineteenth century. This could be up to twelve days a year (John MacFadyen, Evidence to the Napier Commission 1884, para. 33466). Donald

Sinclair, West Hynish, who was born in 1885, remembered what this meant: 'There's a stone wall five or six feet high [at the back of his house] ... That wall was built for nothing [between 1861 and 1863]. The big shot would come round and tell you to give him so many days ... There was no refusing. I don't remember that, but my father remembered it well' (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1970.108, track ID 66514).

The sixteenth century saw bursts of conflict on the west coast of Scotland as another clan's star was rising. In 1527, the Campbells retaliated for an attack on their lands by the MacLeans and 'laid waste' to several MacLean possessions including Tiree (MacLean Sinclair 1899, 92). In 1543, the Campbells were reported to have, 'burnt the isle of Tiree, killed 10,000 oxen and kine and taken 1800 horses and mares' (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 117). Twenty years later, Tiree was the scene of another raid, this time by the MacDonalds, who also had a score to settle with the MacLeans (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 148). In 1567, Lachlan MacLean of Duart increased his power base considerably when the Bishop of the Isles handed over the church's extensive Tiree landholdings to him (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 155). And Angus MacDonald harried Tiree in a further tit-for-tat raid in 1589, following MacLean's attack on Gigha, Oronsay and Islay (MacLean-Bristol 1999, 102).

The Highland clan system had survived so long on the west coast of Scotland because of the region's isolation and relative poverty. This was despite the increasing influence of the French-inspired feudal system, which had gained ground in the Lowlands and east coast of Scotland (Dodgshon 1998, 11). The Scottish crown attempted to stop clan feuding with a 1598 Act, reinforced by the Statutes of Iona in 1609 (Dodgshon 1998, 106). Increasingly, market forces were turning 'chiefs into landlords' (Dodgshon 1998), and the Campbells were well placed to take advantage of the new system. Many chieftains struggled to stay out of debt: '[In 1659] the [eighth] Duke of Argyll purchased a heritable bond for the debts of Sir Allan MacLean and became his principal creditor, acquiring Tiree, the two ends of Coll, Morvern and part of Mull in the process' (Dodgshon 1998, 34).

13.1.2 Literary sources

The Icelandic sagas paint a seductively vivid picture of medieval life in the Norse expansion zone. However, historians today are wary about relying on them too heavily: 'In many ways the remarkable thing is that the Icelandic writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were able to retrieve so much genuine historical information from the oral traditions that came down to them. The problem for

us, however, is that they seem to have been wrong in detail as often as they were right' (Woolf 2009, 284).

The lines about Tíree in *Magnússdrápa* have already been referred to (see section 13.1.1). The *Orkneyinga Saga* remains the other medieval Scandinavian literary source in which Tíree features. This account implies that, at least in one high status household, the Norse language was understood on the island three hundred years after the start of Scandinavian settlement. After his father was killed in 1135, *Sveinn Ásleifarson*, an important character in the saga, murdered a man during a fight and was forced to seek sanctuary on the tiny island of Egilsay: 'The bishop let Svein stay there for the rest of the Christmas season, and afterwards sent him to Tíree in the Hebrides to a man called *Holdbodi Hundason*, a great chieftain, who gave him a good welcome. He stayed there over the winter and everyone thought well of him' (Pálsson 1978, 127; see also Appendix 18.a.2).

At this time, Orkney was a Norse-speaking community (Sandnes 2010a, 12). *Holbodi* makes a number of appearances in the *Orkneyinga Saga* (see Appendix 18.a.2), although his association with Tíree is by no means clear. He has a Norse name, is portrayed in the saga as culturally 'Viking', and has political ties to the Orkney elite. While taking care not to read too much into saga accounts, this passage does support the idea that the mobile warrior class based on Tíree in the twelfth century were still very much part of the Norse world.

13.2 ELITE FAMILY NAMES

Personal names provide some evidence about the cultural and linguistic influences felt by the elite: 'The adoption of foreign name-forms into an ancient lineage with an established repertoire of male names has been recognised elsewhere in Europe as symbolic of quite profound cultural orientation' (Oram 2011, 29). Somerled was given a Norse name, two of his five sons, Olaf and Ranald, also had Norse names, while his grandsons all had Gaelic names. One great-grandson, Alexander, was named after the Scottish king (McDonald 1997, 140).

Marriages, too, allow us some insight into family politics. Somerled married the illegitimate daughter of Olaf the Red of Man, but 'by the third quarter of the thirteenth century all three branches of the MacSorleys were actively forming marriage alliances with prominent members of the Scottish nobility' (McDonald 1997, 142).

13.3 THE SHIFT FROM NORSE TO SCOTS IN ORKNEY

There is a considerable body of evidence about the language shift from Norn to Scots in Orkney. This has been brought together by Sandnes (Sandnes 2010a).

For around four hundred years, ‘from some point before 900 until the fourteenth century, the earldom of Orkney can be seen as a purely Norse society’ (Sandnes 2010a, 12). But as early as 1320, the bishop in Orkney was accused of appointing Scotsmen rather than native Orcadians (Sandnes 2010a, 18). In 1468, Orkney was impignorated, mortgaged by the king of Norway to the Scottish crown as a dowry for his daughter. Although the first record of a scottified place-name in Orkney is the 1492 *Quoyis* with its Scots plural suffix (Sandnes 2010a, 269), there was little change in the status of Norn for a century. The Reformation (around 1560), however, was a watershed. Scottish immigration to Orkney increased markedly, with Scots forming over a quarter of the population by 1600 (Knooihuizen 2010, 96). This demographic change was a major factor in the decline of Norn. A Scots elite became the landholders of large estates, while the tenant class also became Scottish, relegating most Norn-speakers to the status of peasants. In 1633, one Scots commentator recorded Norn’s decline: ‘The Natives ... speak a Norse tongue which is much worn out’ (Sandnes 2010a, 25). By 1670, another report stated that, ‘it is very probable that the inhabitants of the Orchades of old did only speak Noords or rude Danish; but now there are only three or four parishes (especially upon the [Orkney] Mainland) wherein that language is spoken, and that chiefly when they are on their own’ (Sandnes 2010a, 25). Shetland Norn became extinct over the same period (Knooihuizen 2010, 88).

Norn therefore remained a vigorous community language in Orkney for two and a half centuries after the change of elite, but survived barely three generations after large-scale Scots immigration. This contact period allowed the survival of many Norse place-names (35–40% of her sample on the Orkney Mainland: Sandnes 2010a, 268); numerous Norse to Scots loan words; Norse names embedded as existing names in Scots constructions, such as *Upper Cottiscarth*; and Norse names with a Scots definite article, such as *The Hallans* and *The Leeans*. These are all features of the Tiree Gazetteer below.

13.4 THE SHIFT FROM GAELIC TO ENGLISH ON TIREE

Tiree also demonstrates the capacity of an island’s population to speak a different language from the landowner and elite for a prolonged period. In 1679, Archibald

Campbell the ninth Earl of Argyll finally took possession of the island from the Gaelic-speaking MacLeans of Duart. Campbell (1629–1685) had been educated at Glasgow University, had lived for two years in Italy and France, and had served in the British Army. His working language was Scots. The first surviving rental of Tìree in Inveraray Castle dates from 1674 and is also in Scots. His descendant, the fifth Duke, lived in London, from where he communicated extensively in English with his factor on Tìree from 1770 until his death in 1806: ‘He passed most of his time in London, and rarely spent more than several months in the year at Inveraray and Rosneath’ (Cregeen 1964, x). On the other hand, their estate managers on the island – chamberlains and factors – were Gaelic speakers until 1936, and their ground officers were Gaelic speakers into the 1950s.

In 1764, Walker noted on a visit to Tìree that, ‘having little or no Intercourse with Strangers, they have made no progress in the Acquisition of English, there are not above 20 Persons in the Parish who can understand a Sermon in that Language’ (McKay 1980, 183). In 1863, the English chemist Edward Stanford built a factory in Middleton. He lamented that, ‘very little English was spoken, and of course an interpreter was always by my side’ (Evidence to the Napier Commission 1884, Appendix H, 44379). The 1872 Education Act made school attendance compulsory in Scotland and English the language of tuition for all schools. Yet the archaeologist Erskine Beveridge noted in a diary entry of 1896 during one of his visits to the island that the Gaelic service was much better attended than the English one. The 1901 Census of Tìree recorded that 44% of the island’s population were monoglot Gaelic speakers.

However, although 38% of the population stated that they were Gaelic speakers in the 2011 Census, the construction of the huge RAF Tìree base with its influx of two thousand servicemen between 1942 and 1945; the increasing immigration of English speakers from the 1970s; the continuing emigration of young islanders to English-speaking Glasgow; and the communications revolution beginning in the second half of the twentieth century had finally tipped the balance. Many of the younger generations on Tìree today are third-generation ‘rememberers’ (see section 13.7), and we are living through a rapid language shift from Gaelic to English.

Some Gaelic place-names have made the transition as loan-names: for example, Balemartine, Balevullin and *Tràigh na’ Gilean*. Many more have become existing names within English constructions, such as *Balevullin Beach* and *Hynish Pier*. Since the late eighteenth century, a small number of English names have been coined: *Park* in Kilmoluaig by 1794 (Cregeen 1964, 36); *Milton* in Caolas; *The Green*, Kilmoluaig (1840s); possibly *The Land*, Barrapol (1840s); *The Lodge*, Kirkapol (1897); *The Perch* at the Gott pier (1915); *The Sahara Desert*, Kilmoluaig (1930s);

The Ringing Stone (1920s); *Happy Valley*, Hynish (1940s); *The Maze*, Hough (1980s); and *The Golf Ball* (1985). There was one Gaelic to English translation name: *Am Baile Meadhanach* became *Middleton* after Stanford had built *The Glassary*.

For around 270 years, most islanders on Tìree spoke a different language from their landlord in what might be interpreted in part as an act of cultural resistance. Unlike the situation in Orkney, this language shift was not accompanied by large-scale immigration.

13.5 THE POST-POSITIONED BOUND DEFINITE ARTICLE

The Norse post-positioned (also known as the post-nominal) bound definite article meaning ‘the’ has been proposed as a dating marker in place-names, although there is little agreement on what the date should be. The earliest known Norwegian place-name using this structure was recorded in 1336:

The [post-positioned bound definite] article was traditionally seen as an innovation in the Middle Norwegian period (1350 - 1500) but the date is being pushed backwards in modern research ... Considering that the suffixed definite article appears rather late in Norway, it is not a matter of course that the development should reach the Norse expansion zone. For this reason, it is interesting to observe the abundance of definite articles in the Orkney place-names, and this may also support an earlier dating of the definite article. (Sandnes 2010a, 321–2)

Earlier examples have been found in carved runestones: ‘Two instances of the word *andinni* ‘the spirit’ in two runic inscriptions are generally regarded as the first recorded definite forms in Scandinavia ... One of these inscriptions is dated to *circa* 1040’ (Stroh-Wollin 2016, 136).

The post-positioned bound definite article is marked by the attachment of the suffix *-inn* (masculine), *-in* (feminine) or *-itt* (neuter: *-ið* in Faroese) to the end of a noun. This suffix can be inflected for number and case (Barnes 2008, 56): for example, the common dative plural *-um*. However, although the Lewis names *Beirgh Làgha* and *Loch Fadagòdha* have been derived from ON *Bergit Lága* ‘the low promontory’ and *Vatnit Góða* ‘the good loch’ with the neuter gender (Cox 2007c, 17–18), Sandnes found only examples of uninflected masculine and feminine forms in her Orkney material (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.). I, too, have seen no convincing evidence for the neuter gender on Tìree (see, for example, *Bhabhainn*, *Breath-sgeirean*, *Sgàthain* and *Torrain*).

The post-positioned bound definite article is rare among surviving Icelandic farm-names (SAM), but found in other names in Iceland (NLSI) and is very common in the Faroe Islands (KO) and Norway (NG). It is also common in Orcadian Norse place-names, particularly among minor names rather than the older settlement names: ‘The origin of the /ən/-forms is unambiguous; they clearly reflect the post-positioned definite article ... The ending /ən/ ... is very common in place-names ... it enters into *circa* eighty of the names, or around 12%’ (Sandnes 2010a, 321). Examples from Orkney are *Croan* and *Cruan*, from ON *króin*, *krúin* ‘the small cattle pen’ (Sandnes 2010a, 106–7).

The Tíree onomasticon was therefore surveyed for names ending in *-an/-ann*, *ain/-ainn* or *-in/-inn*. There is not a single explanation for this heterogeneous group of names, and the possibilities include:

- A convincing Gaelic derivation: for example, G *Caolas an Dranndain* ‘the narrows of the murmur’ or G *Slios a’ Charrain* ‘the slope of the corn spurrey’
- The G plural suffix *-an/-ean*: this is first found in Scottish Gaelic place-names at the end of the fifteenth century (Whyte 2017, 163). The Gaelic plural suffix is very common on Tíree, occurring seventy times: for example, *Na Bràithrean*, *Na Càrnan*, *Na Cnocan Ruadha*, *Cnù-Lochanan*, *Na Creagan Breaca*, *Na Cùiltean*, *Na Dabhaichean*, *Feannagan Shandaidh Mhòir* and *Na Glacan*. Gaelic loan words borrowed from Norse may also carry it: for example, *Tràigh na(n) Gilean* derives from the ON *gil* ‘coastal gully’ > G loan word *gil* > plural *gilean*, while *Na Tangan* and *Lòn nan Tangan* derive from the ON *tangi* ‘point’ > G loan word *tang* > plural *tangan*
- The G diminutive suffix *-an* (Dwelly 1910, 30): this occurs eighteen times in the Tíree material, for example *An Dùnan*, *Lochan Nighean Shomhairle*, *Sruthan Chirceabol*, *An Càrnan* and *An Grunnan*. The older form of the Gaelic diminutive suffix was *-ín* or *-éin*, and its use has been proposed in the east of Scotland for names such as *Torry* (recorded as *Torrin* in 1235) in Fife, where Scots and Gaelic were in contact: ‘The use of diminutives in languages during certain periods is very frequently subject to the whims of fashion. It is conceivable that an upsurge in the use of diminutives may come about as a result of contact between two languages’ (Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 35)

- The G locational suffix *-an* meaning ‘place of’ (Cox 2002, 59): this appears to be uncommon in the Tíree material. Examples may include *Bàdagan*, *Carachan*, *Gribun* and *Tangan* (see Gazetteer)
- ON *endi* ‘end’: for example, *Tobson* in Lewis may derive from ON *Hóps-enda* ‘cove’s end’ (Oftedal 2009, 22). Sandnes suggested that *Garson* may derive from *‘garðsendi “dyke’s end”* [which] is quite common in Orkney’ (Sandnes 2010a, 114). The generic *endi* is common among Icelandic farm-names, as in *Hlíðarendi* (SAM). For a Tíree example, see *Lionar Sgeire*
- ON *engi* ‘meadow’ (CV, 130): this is less common (Whyte 2017, 254), occurring several times as a generic among Icelandic farm-names, as in *Krókengi* (SAM)
- ON *enni* ‘steep crag, precipice’ (CV, 130): this is very common in the Faroe Islands (KO)
- ON *vin* ‘meadow’: this is very common in Norway, for example the farm-name *Horgen* (Rygh, vol. 2, 78). However, *vin* was probably no longer productive by the start of the Viking Age (Sandnes 2010b, 4)

With the above in mind, some of these twenty-six Tíree place-names (some 8% of the probable Norse names) may contain the ON post-positioned bound definite article (probable Norse names in bold):

- ***Abhuinn***, Balephetrish, from ON **Effin* ‘the boggy place’
- ***Bhabhainn***, Ruaig, from ON **Vaðin* ‘the wading place’
- ***Biùrainn***, Kirkapol, possibly from ON **Björgin* ‘the rock’
- ***Breath-sgeirean***, Caolas, from ON **Breiðskerin* ‘the broad skerry’
- ***Briolachain***, Balephetrish, possibly from ON **Breiðlækinn* ‘the broad stream’
- ***Briundainn***, Vaul, from ON **Brennan* ‘the land cleared by burning’ (see *Bruthainne*)
- ***Cnòmhainn***, Baugh, possibly from ON **Króin* ‘the small cattle pen’ in Baugh (see *Cro’-fhir*)
- ***Crionan***, Cornaigmore, possibly from ON **Kringlan* ‘the circular feature’
- ***Crògain***, Vaul and Balephetrish, possibly from ON **Krókinn* ‘the hook’

- *Fhinnein*, Kenovay, possibly from ON **Lyngin* ‘the heathery place’ (see *Cill-fhinnein*)
- *Fidden*, possibly Balephetrish, possibly from ON **Fitin* ‘the meadow’ (see *Fidden*)
- ***Greòdhlainn***, Cornaigbeg, from ON **Grjóthlíðin* ‘the stony slope’
- *Gribun*, Hough, possibly from ON **Gnípín* ‘the cliff’
- ***Heren***, Hynish, from ON **Heiðrin* ‘the heath’
- *Hyring*, Gott, possibly from ON *Heiðarhrygginn* ‘the heathery ridge’
- ***Malainn***, Sandaig, from ON **Melinn* ‘the sand dunes’
- ***Manndalen*** 1496 (see *Mannel*)
- ***Moirein***, Cornaigbeg, from ON **Mórin* ‘the moor’
- *Mùlainn*, Kenavara, possibly from ON **Mq̄lin* ‘the cobbled beach’
- *Nighean*, Balephuill, possibly from ON *Iðan* ‘the eddy’ (see *Dùnan Nighean*)
- *Orain*, Kirkapol, possibly from ON *Aurrinn* ‘the wet ground’ (see *Cladh Orain*)
- ***Ribhinn***, Balephuill, from ON **Rifin* ‘the cleft’
- ***Sgàthain***, Hynish, from ON **Skarðin* ‘the notch’
- *Na Suacain*, Ruaig, possibly from ON *Sq̄kkin* ‘the quicksand’
- *Torrain*, Caolas, possibly from ON **Torfin* ‘the peat bank’
- *Tunnan*, Hough, possibly from ON *Tungan* ‘the tongue of land between two rivers’ (see *Cill Tunnain*)

Some of these – for example, *Gàrradh na Ribhinn* – have acquired a tautologous Gaelic definite article, a process also seen in Shetland, as in *de Hevdin* < ON *hǫfði* ‘promontory’ (Nicolaisen 2011, 114).

Other Scottish west coast islands also have candidates for names containing the post-positioned bound definite article. On Bute, Márkus has suggested *Quien* may be derived from ON *kvín* ‘the milking pen’ (Márkus 2012, 427). On Islay, although Macniven cautions that the post-positioned bound definite article is less likely because it is a relatively late phenomenon, examples may include *Am Ballan* from

ON *balinn* ‘the grassy bank’ (Macniven 2006, 358), *Laoigan* from ON *lækin* ‘the stream’ (Macniven 2015, 248) and *Tornabakin* from ON *bakkinn* ‘the hill’ (Macniven 2015, 154). On Mull, *Haun* may derive from ON *haugrinn* ‘the mound’ (Johnston 1991, 161). On Raasay, *Cleithbhinn* (MacKay 2013, 12) may derive from ON *kleifin*. On Lewis, Cox has proposed a number of examples, such as *Steinn Langa* < ON *steininn langa* ‘the long stone’ and *Bhatan Dìob* < *vatnit djúpa* ‘the deep loch’ (Cox 2007c, 17). Watson suggested ‘*Rosnavat*, loch of the horses, on Laxdale Moor, with the article suffixed’ (Watson 1996 (1904), 268).

On Tiree, the facts that one example may have been recorded in an early rental (*Mandalon* 1496); the post-positioned bound definite article was very common in Orkney, for a time an influential part of the Norse expansion zone; and most of the Tiree examples have multiple cognates in Norway, all support the hypothesis that the post-positioned bound definite article was used on Tiree. Later Gaelic speakers may have recognised it as a locational or diminutive suffix, which would have increased its chances of survival.

The Tiree place-names containing a possible post-positioned bound definite article are mostly minor names. The Ordnance Survey recorded just two examples: one comes from early rentals, while another was mapped by Blaeu. Most were recorded during my fieldwork. More detailed field research in other Hebridean islands may therefore throw up more examples.

13.6 KROSSGAIRTH: THE LAST -TH

Pont recorded the settlement name *Krossgairth* on Tiree in the last two decades of the sixteenth century (Blaeu 1654; see Fleet *et al.* 2012, 53). This name derives from ON **Krossagarð* ‘small farm of the crosses’. By 1716, the farm was known as *Crossigar*, with the loss of the terminal *-th* (see *Crossigar*). Another example may be the 1801 *Ben Chinevarth* (see *Kenavara*).

The Old Norse *ð* or ‘eth’ was pronounced as the initial *th-* in ‘thus’: technically, a voiced dental fricative. There is no equivalent in Scottish Gaelic, where the terminal *-th* is silent, as in modern words like *math* ‘good’ and *leth* ‘half of’ (see *Na Leth Leòidean* in Cox 2002, 313). The letter ON *ð* had disappeared from Norse loan words and names by the end of the medieval period: for example, the Islay *Kvinnagarð* had become *Kynnagarry* as early as 1507 (Macniven 2015, 220; see Cox 2007b for an extensive discussion of this).

In contrast, names derived from ON *garð* ‘farm or enclosure’ or *fjörðr* ‘fjord’ are common in the Northern Isles, where the terminal *-ð* has often survived as /th/: for example, *Veensgarth* in Tingwall and *Laxfirth* in Nesting, Shetland (SP).

In the Uists, the terminal *-ð* survived as late as Pont’s survey in the last two decades of the sixteenth century: for example, *Grogairth* and *Howyairth* (Blaeu 1654); these are now *Groigearraidh* and *Hougharry*. The same is true of the Lewis name *Bràgair*; this was recorded as *Bragairth* in 1583 and *Braiggarie* in 1630 (Cox 2002, 189). The persistence on Tiree of the Norse voiced dental fricative as least as late as in the Outer Hebrides is evidence of a persistent Scandinavian linguistic influence on the island. As Norn is likely to have been functionally extinct on Tiree at the end of the sixteenth century, it is likely that the informant who gave the form *Krossgairth* to Pont was a Norn ‘rememberer’ (see section 13.7). It may also be significant that this name was a small farm within the boundaries of Hough, the township with the greatest number of surviving Norse place-names today.

13.7 THE DATING OF GAELIC PLACE-NAMES

The possibility that some Gaelic place-names on Tiree date from before or during Norse settlement has been dealt with in section 11.2.1 (see Cox 2002, 111-124 for a discussion of this as it may relate to Lewis).

Documentary evidence for the crucial period of contact on Tiree between Hebridean Norn and Gaelic is almost non-existent. The farm township names *Hindebollis* and *Mannawallis* date from 1390, while *Crosoboll* and *Herne* date from 1496. The first written Gaelic settlement names on Tiree (29% of the total) appear in the crown rental of 1509: *Anna Hynisch*, *Ballefulye*, *Balliemanach*, *Ballimullin*, *Ballino*, *Ballowhag*, *Cornagmore* and *Cornagbeg* (with their Gaelic modifiers), *Kannavaye*, *Kilmalowag*, *Kilquhynich* and *The Kylis* (see chapter 9).

The Blaeu map of 1654, presumed to be based on a lost Pont manuscript dating from the last two decades of the sixteenth century, also recorded a number of Gaelic names (33% of the total): for example, *Keulis*, *Port Luing*, *Karig na Mall* and *Balnow*. This map also contained the significant Gaelic name *Kory Finmackoul* ‘the hollow of *Finn mac Cumail*’ (see *Kory Finmackoul* in the Gazetteer). This locates a hero of the Finn Cycle of Tales (the *Fiannaigheacht*) in a natural amphitheatre around a large glacial erratic covered with Neolithic cup markings on the shore of Balepethrish. Other parts of this cycle are located on Kenavara (see chapter 14). This naming of important landscape features on Tiree after Irish

Gaelic mythic figures (see also *Tobhta na Cailliche Bheir* in the Gazetteer) shows an island under strong Gaelic linguistic and cultural influence by the sixteenth century.

13.8 CONCLUSION

Estimates of the date that Norn gave way to Gaelic on the west coast of Scotland have varied widely: on the Argyll coast, '[Norse] is unlikely to have lasted beyond the second or third generation anywhere the Norse settlers were more thinly spread' (Barnes quoted in Whyte 2017, 75); '... The Norse period in Islay may have been winding to a close by the beginning of the eleventh century' (Macniven 2015, 79); 'Norse may have continued in use in the Outer Hebrides well after the Treaty of Perth in 1266' (Jennings and Kruse 2009a, 97); the late thirteenth century (Power 2005, 58); and as late as the early sixteenth century (Ofstedal, quoted in Jennings and Kruse 2009a, 97). This lack of agreement reflects the dearth of evidence, the range of scholarly opinion and the different trajectories of language transition on different islands.

Possibly the first direct evidence on Tiree that the language shift from Norn to Gaelic was complete was Martin Martin's 1695 observation on the island that '[the inhabitants] speak the Irish tongue' (Martin 1994 (1695), 296). However, the 1509 Tiree crown rental shows that a third of Tiree settlements had Gaelic names by the start of the sixteenth century: there were eleven farm townships with either Gaelic names, such as *Ballino*, or Norse names with a Gaelic modifier, such as *Cornagmore*.

After Somerled's attack on Man in 1156, it seems likely that Tiree was drawn away from the 'Kingdom of the Isles' based on Man and came under the influence of the MacSorleys. Their base was in Argyll and their elites are likely to have spoken Gaelic as their first language. A much later account described Argyll as inhabited by a 'ferocious and savage people, who ... knew only one mother tongue ... that is Scottish or Irish Gaelic, and they understand no other except that' (McDonald 2019, 277).

During the century that followed, it is plausible that Tiree became a contested land, claimed on the one hand by Somerled's son Dugald and his descendants, and on the other by the Kings of Man, who also held sway in Skye and Lewis. King Rognvald of Man, who ruled from 1187 to 1224, had a reputation as a powerful warrior with a large fleet, and it is quite plausible that he was able to regain Tiree, at least for part of his reign. While a warrior elite in the Hebrides

and the Isle of Man is likely to have remained bilingual throughout this period, Norn influence probably endured longer in the court in Man.

1266 marked the formal withdrawal of the Norwegian crown from the Scottish west coast, and this swung the balance of power decisively towards Ewen MacDougall of Lorn.

Two well-documented language shifts on Scottish islands – from Norn to Scots in Orkney and from Gaelic to English on Tiree – show that a native, low-status population can maintain their speech community for two to three centuries in the face of a small and isolated elite that speak a different language. Barnes has suggested that the institutions of law, education and religion are important in driving language shifts (Knooihuizen 2010, 90). While courts and schooling were not a feature of Late Medieval Tiree, there were two areas of life that must have strengthened the use of Gaelic on Tiree at this time, especially its use by influential men: the church and military service.

Latin was the administrative and probably the principal liturgical language of the medieval clergy on Tiree, as shown by the 1492 grave slab in Kirkapol (Reeves 1854, 241). Iona had rapidly regained its ecclesiastical importance once Norse settlement had stabilised, respected by many of the new Scandinavian elite. The priests serving Tiree are likely to have trained in Iona, in other monasteries of the west coast or in Ireland; Gaelic is likely to have been the first language of many (see *Ballyphetrish* concerning a 1375 letter about *Ayg Mac Petri*, the vicar of Kirkapol).

As well as the influence of church ministry, ecclesiastical land ownership became increasingly important. In the Later Medieval period, the church became an influential landowner on Tiree. The re-founded monastery and nunnery on Iona were both endowed with Tiree land in the thirteenth century. The MacDougalls founded Ardchattan Priory north of Oban in 1230; this had annexed either Soroby or Kirkapol parish before the end of the thirteenth century. As in the church estate in Orkney, it is likely that much of this church property was ‘taken over by ... incomers’ (Sandnes 2010a, 21), and these landholdings became an important focus for Gaelic influence on the island.

The second area that strengthened the use of Gaelic on Tiree during this period was the obligation for young men to serve in the military campaigns of the lordship of the time. This obligation is likely to have been in place as far back as the kingdoms of *Dál Riata*, and Somerled is recorded as drawing on men from the Hebrides for his force when he attacked Renfrew in 1164. Up to 300 Tiree men were retained on stand-by by MacLean of Duart, available at any time of the year

to fight campaigns (often in Ireland) lasting for months (Caldwell 2015b, 358). Their commanders, fellow soldiers and adversaries would often have been Gaelic-speaking. In addition, young island men wanting to win their fortune, or younger sons with less chance of a substantial inheritance, are likely to have sought short service as mercenaries:

Without question, one of the greatest exports of the western seaboard, from at least the thirteenth century but quite likely much earlier, was its fighting men – the *gallóclaig* or gallowglasses. The term means literally ‘foreign warrior’, and was applied to mercenary troops of mixed Gaelic and Norse extraction from Argyll and the Western Isles, employed by the Gaelic Irish in their struggle against the English. (McDonald 1997, 154)

The high status and wealth of fighting men returning to Tiree is likely to have given the Gaelic language greater prestige.

The main factor driving the language shift from Norn to Scots in Orkney appears to have been the sheer number of immigrants as landholders and tenants. Once immigration reached a certain level, the native language community was overwhelmed and Orcadian Norn was set on an inevitable path to extinction. It may be that the same process occurred on Tiree. It must be said, however, that a language shift can happen in the absence of large population movements.

Work in the Irish Gaeltacht has shown that a minority language community needs two out of three of its members to use the language daily to maintain stability (Giollagáin *et al.* 2020, 54). And recent analysis of the language shift from Scottish Gaelic to English in the Hebrides has identified that once less than 45% of a community can speak a language and less than 15% of families use it as a working language in the household, the language enters a ‘moribund’ phase (Giollagáin *et al.* 2020, 66). Dorian suggests that once this tipping point has been reached, language shift takes place over three generations, a period of little over half a century: ‘speakers’ give way to ‘semi-speakers’ (not taught the abandoned language by their parents but picking up some language from their surroundings, usually understanding more than they can speak), and finally ‘rememberers’, who remember a few words or phrases (Knooihuizen 2010, 88). Regarding the final phase, Sandnes writes: ‘Typically, the last remains of a dying language are rhymes, riddles and prayers’ (Sandnes 2010a, 38).

Using the evidence outlined above, a not unreasonable model of the medieval language shifts on Tiree is this. Old Norse, developing into its local dialect Hebridean Norn, was the dominant, high-status (and possibly, latterly, the only)

language on Tiree for almost three hundred years, from the late ninth to the mid-twelfth century. This was a period of 'ethnolinguistic stability' (Whyte 2017, 114). Once control of Tiree swung towards mainland Argyll, the plantation of a Gaelic-speaking elite began, having a function similar to the tacksmen introduced by the Campbells in the eighteenth century. A source suggests that MacKinnon settlement on Tiree began in the twelfth century 'among the Norwegians' (Black 2015). Some tenants and the majority of lower-status farm workers continued to speak Norn. This led to a period, which appears to have lasted several generations, where the majority of Tiree farm townships were biglossic and many islanders bilingual. Eventually, Gaelic overwhelmed Norn, which decompensated rapidly and was extinct around three generations later.

It is certainly possible that Gaelic influence and settlement from Mull increased substantially after MacLean of Duart was granted baliery of Tiree in the late fourteenth century, but there is only circumstantial evidence for this.

Norn may therefore have become extinct on Tiree around the end of the thirteenth century. From the evidence of prolonged language contact between Norn and Gaelic presented in the previous chapter, however, a date as late as the end of the fifteenth century is plausible.

14. ETHNOGRAPHY

The 'Norse' feature in a number of oral traditions collected on Tìree. The best-known story is *G Cath nan Sguab* 'The Battle of the Sheaves'. In the commonest version of the tale, a Norse raiding party is said to have come ashore at *Biosd* (today known as *The Green*, Kilmoluaig) near some fields where unarmed islanders were at harvest: 'The Norsemen used to come to plunder, taking away sheep and cattle and corn and anything else they fancied' (Mary Anne Campbell talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1969.159, track ID 43748). The harvesters sent a runner to *G Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais* 'the big fort of Caolas' at the other end of the island to collect their weapons, but before he returned they had slain the Norse using just the sheaves in their hands. The scene is recounted using violent imagery, words still quoted on the island today: 'The Norsemen attacked them, but a sheaf of oats was driven to the waist [the band binding the sheaf] in the Norsemen's body that day (*sguab coirce dol gu crios ann an cneas Lochlannaich*)' (Campbell 1891). This Tìree tradition is, in fact, a re-telling of a fourteenth century Irish Fingalian story given a local context (MacNeill 1904, 55 and 162; see 'The Battle of the Sheaves' in Appendix 18.c.1). A less common version locates the story on *Tràì' Bhì* in Balephuìl. It may be significant that, in the Tìree tradition, islanders use sheaves of corn as their weapon, possibly celebrating the fertility of *Tìr Ìseal an Eòrna* 'the low land of the barley'. Another version was collected on Colonsay (see, for example, Bella MacNeill talking to Calum Iain MacLean on TAD SA1953.120, track ID 5412), but the story has particularly deep roots on Tìree.

Gregorson Campbell recorded a version of the traditional tale *Daughter of the Norse King*, in which echoes of the Battle of Largs can be heard:

The third time the [Norse] King sent out his most powerful fleet. What they did then was to send, and try through spells, to dry up the wells of the *Fairy Hill* of Iona. The virtue of these wells was that wind could be

obtained from any desired quarter by emptying them in the direction of the wind wished for. When the [Norse] ships were seen approaching, the wells began to be emptied, and before the last handful was flung out the storm was so violent and the ships so near that the whole fleet was driven on the beach under *Fairy Hill*, and the power and might of the Norsemen was broken and so much weakened that they did not return to infest the land (*nach do thill iad riamh tuilleadh a dheanamh dòlais no a thoirt sgrios air an tìr*). (Campbell 1895, 104)

Inside *G An Uamh Mhòr* ‘the great cave’ below the cliffs of Kenavara is a bed-shaped platform known as *G Leabaidh Nighean Rìgh Lochlainn* ‘the bed of the daughter of the King of *Lochlann*’ (David McClounnan, Balephuill, pers. comm.; Brownlie, 1995, 78; MacDougall 1937, 101). This is a widespread tradition in the Hebrides, with a *Leac Nighean Rìgh Lochlainn* on Raasay (Mackay 2013, 22).

The oral traditions of Coll place the expulsion of the Norse in the fifteenth century. Lachlan MacLean, an historical figure who appears in a 1403 Papal Letter, is mocked into attacking, ‘the Norse Macaulays [who] had several strongholds on the island’ (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 34). Disguised as a harper he entered their fort and disarmed them before returning with a force to slaughter the occupants: ‘The other Norse strongholds were overcome and the Macaulays were finally defeated in a battle of Grimsary Hill’ (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 34).

In another surviving story from Tiree, an island boy from Kilmoluaig fights a ‘Viking’ chief who is extracting rent in Scarinish. The Tiree hero throws the ‘foreigner’ into the fire meant for disobedient islanders, thus ridding Tiree of the Norsemen. The hero of this tale appears in a number of other stories on the island set in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries (see Appendix 18.c.2). Elsewhere, a ‘Viking’ raiding party captures a Tiree woman and her children at *Loch Riaghain* and then escapes (see Appendix 18.c.4), and in another a ‘Viking’ raiding party’s oars are stolen in Caolas (see Appendix 18.c.5). The Norse therefore feature strongly as the ‘Other’ in the oral traditions of Tiree, on the west coast of Scotland more generally, and in Ireland (see Shaw 2008).

Despite these local references, MacDonald has remarked on a silence about the Norse in Hebridean tradition, a silence that I have also noticed on Tiree:

Mention of the establishment, or re-establishment, of Gaelic control in the Hebrides in the Middle Ages brings me to what must be one of the most remarkable features of all in this whole question of Norse tradition: that is the almost total loss of awareness in modern Gaelic

oral tradition that there was at any time a powerfully established Norse-speaking, or even bilingual Gaelic/Norse population in the Hebrides ... the surviving stories would usually confine the role of the Norse to that of a raiding and plundering enemy who were usually defeated. (MacDonald D.A. 1984, 277)

Perhaps this hostility and 'loss of awareness' towards the Norse in the oral traditions of Tiree have their roots in medieval geopolitics. Some Gaelic-speakers may have been settlers from Mull, who had been fighting on the side of the MacSorleys against the Norwegian king and his satellites in Man for two centuries. These new colonists had strong cultural connections with Ireland, and brought with them their own creation myths of military success against Norse invaders by the heroic Gaelic underdog. They might well have sympathised with the sentiments of Robert Monteith, a Scots settler in Orkney, who wrote in 1633: 'The Inclination of many of these of Norwegian Extract is base and Servile, Subtile and false, and Parasitick' (Sandnes 2010a, 25). This southern Hebridean suppression of their Norwegian history is in stark contrast to the enthusiastic (and profitable) cultural and economic promotion of the 'Viking' brand today in Shetland, Orkney and York.

Early Medieval Irish mythic tradition also became woven into the fabric of the Tiree landscape at other locations: on the Kenavara cliffs (see *Ruth* and *An Uamh Mhòr*), at *Loch Phuill* (see *Tobhta na Cailliche Bheir*) and at *Coire Finn Mac Cumail* on the Balephetrish shore, known today as *The Ringing Stone* (see *Kory Finmackoull* and *Sgoth Mhic Cumha*).

Diarmuid was a central heroic character in the Finn Cycle of tales, and his love affair with *Gráinne*, who was betrothed to his uncle, the older *Fionn*, is at the heart of a number of stories:

Some time after this *Diarmuid* went off with *Gráinne*, but where he passed the night he left unbroken bread to show that he was still blameless ... *Diarmuid* after this fled to a cave in the hill. Locally a cave in Kenavarra Hill in the west end of Tiree is said to have been the cave in question. This, however, may be merely the tendency of every place to localise tradition ... In another version of *Diarmuid's* flight with *Gráinne* ... at last they came to a cave, and when resting in it a giant (*Ciuthach*) came in with a string of fish. He then began disporting himself ... On this, *Diarmuid* killed *Ciuthach* ... There is also another version of the incident, to the effect: On the night of *Fionn's* marriage with *Gráinne* the Feinn were at Kennavara ... [*Diarmuid*] ran away with her to the Big Cave (*Uamh Mhòr*) ... In the spring *Manus* and his men

came. The *Féinn* gave a war cry ... *Fionn* and *Manus* fought hand to hand on *Trai-Bhì* [Balephuill]. (Campbell 1891, 53-6)

Place-names containing the element *Fionn* are usually found in particularly important or symbolic parts of the landscape (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2015):

What is perhaps most noticeable is how very much alive this cycle of tales and ballads actually was in Tìree in the mid-nineteenth century [John Gregorson Campbell noted that he took down the great poem *The Lay of Diarmuid* ‘from the recitation of John Sinclair of Barrapol, an old man of about eighty years of age, who said he had learned it in his youth from Peter Carmichael, Tìree, who was at that time an old man. It was written down in 1881’ (Campbell 1891, 57)]. The legends connected with *Fionn* had attached themselves to the topography of the island, becoming part of its *dinnshenchas* (‘lore of famous places’), and it is interesting to observe this process within an area of less than thirty-four square miles. (Meek 2014, 139)

These epic stories containing *Fionn* were written down in Ireland in the seventh century (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2015, 25) and became part of the medieval Hebridean Gaelic oral tradition from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries (Meek 1998, 149). Another Irish mythic figure, *A’ Chailleach Bheur* (see *Tobhta na Cailliche Bheir* in the *Gazetteer*), dating from possibly AD 900 if not earlier, provides a creation myth for *Loch Phuill*.

While it is possible that some of these traditions could have reached Tìree in the Late Iron Age with the *Dál Riata*, it is more likely that they were introduced to Tìree after the shift from Norn to Gaelic. It may be significant that Kenavara and *Loch Phuill* were part of, or bordering, *Am Baile Meadhanach* (Middleton), and that *Coire Finn mac Cumail* (*Kory Finmackoul*) is in Balephetrish, both farm townships that appear to have been settled comprehensively by Gaelic speakers.

The period of language shift from Norn to Gaelic, and its likely settlement pattern, spawned its own foundation myths. One example was collected on the island in the mid-nineteenth century by John Gregorson Campbell, describing the arrival of one settler (Campbell 1895, 12–17). He is named as a *Brunach*, possibly a corruption of MacBrayne, a family with Islay connections (Macniven 2015, 25). The wife of MacLean of Duart, who was the daughter of the Lord of the Isles, had been given Tìree because of its reputation for growing flax (see section 13.1.1). As she was attempting to sail to Tìree from Mull, a roughly dressed man arrived at the harbour at Croig and asked to join the crew. The captain refused, but Duart’s

wife intervened and made space for the stranger. As the weather deteriorated on the voyage and the boat started to take in water, the stranger took control of the galley and steered it to safety on a beach in Hynish (see *Port na Birlinn*). To thank him, the wife of Duart told the stranger to come and see her at Island House. When he arrived at the castle,

... the Lady of Dowart said that she would give him any place that he himself would fix upon. Apparently the island was not much tenanted then, and according to the custom of the time, he got a horse with a pack-saddle on, and on the ridge of the saddle (*cairb na srathrach*), he put the upper and lower stones of a quern (*bràthainn*), one on each side of the horse, secured by a straw, or sea-bent rope, and wherever the rope broke, it was lucky to build a house there. The beggar-man's quern fell at Sunny Spot (*Grianaid*), now better known as Greenhill. He built a bothy there, and a woman came to keep house for him. By her he had a son, whom he would not acknowledge. (*Browns of Tiree*, Campbell 1895, 15)

The woman therefore took the child to his father's family home in Ireland where he was brought up. When the boy came of age, the pair returned to Tiree. The young man confronted his father, wrestled him to the ground and was eventually acknowledged: 'They then lived together and built a house, and houses, and increased in stock of cattle.'

Some time later, 'they observed a stout looking man of mean appearance coming from Kilkenneth, still a township in that part of the island, and making straight for the house. "I never saw a bigger man than that beggar," said the son. "He is big," the father said, "I well know what man it is; he is coming after me and I will lose my life this night. I killed his brother, but it was not my fault, for if I had not killed him, he would have killed me" (Campbell 1895, 16). Brown's son caught the stranger off guard and made him promise not to harm his father. The family went on to become the first Browns on Tiree.

15. CONCLUSION

Tiree has a richly named landscape. In the late nineteenth century, the Ordnance Survey created more detailed maps on widely cultivated Tiree than on any other sizeable Hebridean island except Lismore. Their surveyors also had the considerable assistance of John Gregorson Campbell before his health deteriorated. Campbell was the island's minister and one of the most important Scottish folklorists of his day. Their Tiree survey recorded the highest density of place-names on the west coast of Scotland. Thirty years of fieldwork with 123 informants at the end of the twentieth century has now increased the number of recorded named features on the island almost fivefold, from the 676 collected by the Ordnance Survey to over 3,300. In the process, the list of surviving probable Norse place-names has increased from 122 to 215. It appears that Scandinavian elements in the island's place-names were often preserved better on Gaelic-speaking Tiree than they were in the Scots-speaking Northern Isles. Many puzzling Tiree Gaelic place-names – such *Mòinteach Thomaidh* in Heanish, *Uaimh a' Ruith* on the Kenavara headland, and *Poll a' Ghior* in Cornaigmore – turn out to contain plausible Norse elements (see *Homaidh*, *Ruth* and *Gior* respectively in the Gazetteer). A full list of these, along with some medieval Gaelic names, is presented and analysed here for the first time. This line of inquiry has suggested new insights into medieval Tiree.

The island's bedrock is predominantly Lewisian gneiss, moulded by glaciation into a low-lying, strandflat landscape. Its encircling rim of *machair* has spread inland to make up a quarter of the island's surface, making Tiree the world's pre-eminent *machair* island today. Now virtually treeless, there is evidence from place-names, such as *Birceapol* 'birch pool' in Moss, as well as charcoal found at a Viking period site in Balinoe, that the island's woodland was more extensive in the Early Medieval period.

In the Pictish Iron Age, Tiree is likely to have found itself on an unstable frontier between the kingdoms making up *Dál Riata* in what is today Argyll and a Pictish cultural zone to the north and west. Settlement at that time may have been linked with the twenty or so fortified sites. The principal languages spoken on the island at that time are likely to have been a dominant Old Gaelic (the high-status language of the Dalriadan elite and the church) and possibly some residual Pictish. From the sixth century, a strong Early Christian presence developed on the island, due to its proximity to Iona and Ireland and the hegemony of the kingdoms of *Dál Riata*. The evidence for this includes the documented foundation of at least three ecclesiastical centres as well as a substantial number of carved stone crosses.

The traditional picture of Scandinavian settlement in the Southern Hebrides has often been a patchy occupation by a small number of Norse settlers, who were quickly absorbed into the dominant Gaelic culture of the region. What remained of their influence was finally routed by Somerled and his dynasty in the twelfth century.

But far from being a short-lived intrusion, new place-name evidence and modern historical analysis suggest a different story. The island's multiple landing sites, ease of capture and strategic position on the sea lanes to Ireland all make it likely that Tiree became an early prize for Viking settlers. The Norse invasion of Tiree appears to have started in the mid-ninth century as part of a well-funded and coordinated campaign. There is even a suggestion that its leader may have been called *Ísleifr* (see *Isleborg*).

Norse settlement seems to have overwhelmed the native culture. Only one accepted pre-Norse, Pictish Iron Age place-name – that of the island itself – has endured. Significantly, no Gaelic or Pictish names seem to have survived as existing names inside Norse toponyms. A few Old Gaelic words, mostly agricultural, were loaned into Norse, probably during an early phase of contact between the two languages.

The eighteen proposed primary Viking estates on Tiree, as elsewhere in the Norse expansion zone, appear to have been extensive and may have been sited on or near existing Iron Age fort-estates. Up to five names in ON *ból* probably represent secondary divisions of these first estates. Other Norse enclosure names, such as those in ON *gerði*, are likely to represent later sub-divisions into peripheral holdings under udal law. Place-name evidence suggests that the Norse controlled the landscape and settled every corner of the island, although the remnant native population is likely to have regrouped on peripheral farms and possibly controlled some larger units. Almost three-quarters of the township names recorded in 1509

were of Norse origin, while the majority of Gaelic-named townships contain Norse farm-names. It is suggested that Norn and a hybrid Norse-Gaelic culture dominated the island for at least three centuries under a succession of kingships based in Dublin, Orkney and Man. Tíree has, in general terms, as many surviving Norse place-names as Carloway or Barra.

Despite this, circumstantial evidence suggests that Viking settlers made up only a minority of the island's population; a substantial native population is likely to have survived the Scandinavian invasion. Although no genetic research has been done on Tíree itself, Norse markers have been found in only 15% of modern Hebrideans, with a male to female ratio of 2:1. This suggests that many male Scandinavian settlers took native women as their wives. There is documentary, place-name and genetic evidence that some of the original settlers of Iceland (particularly women) came from the Hebrides.

Because of the number of Early Christian foundations on the island and the presence of two secondary farm-names with Christian specifics, it is plausible to suggest that some, at least, of Tíree's Norse colonists became converts within a generation or two of settlement. This appears to be in contrast to the situation on Islay. While the evidence suggests that Norn became the dominant language on the island in the Early Medieval period, this conversion implies a two-way cultural flow between the colonists and the native population.

An off-island Scandinavian landlord – possibly one of the Orkney jarls in the tenth century, possibly a kingship based on Man – established a taxation system based on *ouncelands*. *Ouncelands* on Tíree were divided into *mail lands*, an otherwise rarely-recorded unit of land tenure possibly deriving from the Old Norse word *mællir*. Farmers in many Early Medieval farm townships on Tíree appear to have developed a closed-field system, often avoiding the need for a head dyke. The survival of both *ouncelands* and *mail lands* into the seventeenth century is evidence of an enduring Norse influence on the Tíree landscape.

Scandinavian settlement on Tíree is likely to have produced a step change in the island's economy. The continental Germanic Norse invaders brought to the island a substantially different culture and language, a number of new technologies, and trade with the Norse expansion zone of the eastern Atlantic and many parts of continental Europe. Likely to have been largely economic migrants following their initial military success, most Norse settlers were plausibly what are now called 'transnational entrepreneurs'. Their clinker-built boats, the industrial quantities of tar needed to preserve them and newly developed deep-sea fishing techniques unlocked the offshore fishing potential of the island, and they plausibly introduced

cetacean hunting; their naval dominance allowed a raiding economy to flourish, with a transfer of wealth from the south; they settled land beyond the Iron Age fort-estates and largely created and named the farm township system with which we are familiar today; they built (or re-built) and financed the medieval chapels on Tiree and may have been involved in the creation of the medieval parish structure; they made more use of horses and introduced heavier ploughs along with the crops oats, rye and flax; their horizontal water mills, a design the Norse imported from Ireland, increased the efficiency of grain processing; they introduced a new breed of sheep, domestic poultry and expanded fodder production allowing the winter byring of cattle; it is plausible that the stronger maritime cordage needed to control their large sails allowed a more extensive exploitation of the seabird harvest of the Kenavara cliffs; their architectural traditions are likely to have influenced Tiree's unusual post-medieval house design; they brought with them fine-toothed antler combs, probably as much to do with lice control as fashion; they introduced a different style of pottery implying a new food culture; they introduced the domestic mouse, falconry and leprosy; and their learning of Gaelic appears to have influenced the island's subsequent dialect. However, while their cultural and economic impact appears to have been substantial, the genetic legacy of the Norse settlers was relatively small and is likely to have been further weakened by later waves of immigration from Argyll and the Inner Hebrides.

In some ways, the Scandinavian settlers saw Tiree at its best: a benign climate; unfished seas to explore; little sand blow, less extensive *machair* cover with consequently more in-bye land; previously untilled ground to exploit with heavier ploughs and new crops; and an abundance of fuel. The substantial size of the silver hoards found on the island show that considerable wealth could be accumulated on Tiree during the Early Medieval period. The argument is therefore put forward that Norn became the dominant, high-status (and possibly the only) language on Tiree for three hundred years, from the mid-ninth to the mid-twelfth century. It appears plausible that, after three centuries, the Norse and Gaelic language groups had integrated to become one medieval, Christian, Norn speech community that worked and named the entire landscape together.

Norse influence over the southern Hebrides – an influence rarely wielded by the Norwegian crown itself – faded in the second half of the twelfth, and the first half of the thirteenth, centuries. Somerled's partial naval victory off the Isle of Man in 1156 began a century of conflict between his descendants, the MacSorleys, and the Manx crown. Tiree, situated on their shared frontier, is likely to have been a contested land. After the Treaty of Perth in 1266, a succession of clans – the MacDougalls of Argyll, the MacDonalds on Islay and the MacLeans of Duart from

Mull – became colonial masters of the island. This was interrupted, but not abolished, by the forfeiture of the lands of the Lord of the Isles to the Scottish crown in 1493.

The evidence – in particular, an analysis of surviving place-names – strongly suggests that there was sustained contact between the two language communities before the shift from Norn to Gaelic. This evidence includes the following: the number of surviving Norse loan-names, many acquiring the Gaelic definite article, for example *Am Bàgh*; the number of Gaelic loan words borrowed from Old Norse, for example *G stalla* ‘low inland cliff’ from ON *stallr*; the number of existing Norse loan-names in Gaelic names, for example *Oitir Bhoramuil*; the habitation name *Týrvist-each*; the difference between the native and regional pronunciations of the island’s name; a possible translation name *Coirceal/Druim a’ Choirce*; and the Gaelic locational suffix *-ach* attached to Norse loan-words, for example *A’ Bhaolach*. A number of new Gaelic settlements, such as *Ballefulye*, were sited side-by-side with older Norse-named settlements, such as *Bee*; several such settlement pairs appear to have co-existed for a century or more. All these points suggest that the shift from Norn to Gaelic on Tìree took place over a considerable period. This was the polar opposite of ninth-century Norse settlement.

The language shift in Orkney from Norn to Scots was accompanied by considerable in-migration from mainland Scotland. The Campbells used an immigrant class of tacksmen to control Tìree in the eighteenth century. These parallels suggest that the Norn-Gaelic language shift may also have been driven by elite high-status settlers followed, under the MacLeans of Duart, by a wider plantation. The church became an early and significant landholder and wealth extractor on the island, holding at least seven farm townships. One of these was Scarinish, where the scarcity of Norse place-names suggests a locally disruptive process. The same may also have happened in Balinoe, Middleton and Kenovay.

The Norse place-names of the most significant landscape features – the shielings, lochs and streams – were often displaced as the new Gaelic-speaking tenants in Late Medieval farm townships wrestled for territory, using place-names as statements of landscape control.

There is little scholarly agreement on the date that Norn gave way to Gaelic on the west coast of Scotland, with estimates ranging from the early eleventh to the early sixteenth century. A review of the historical evidence as it relates to Tìree during this period suggests that the island was part of the dominion of the Isle of Man until 1156. The rival houses of Somerled and the Manx royal family are then likely to have fought for ascendancy over the island, before the island came

under the control of Ewen MacDougall after the Treaty of Perth in 1266. The *Orkneyinga Saga*, the historical veracity of which is questioned, describes one culturally-Norse family with links to Orkney living on Tiree in 1135. The presence of the post-positioned bound definite article in a number of Norse place-names suggests that these were coined at a relatively late date. Well-documented language shifts in Orkney and Tiree show that these two low-status native farming communities were able to maintain their native tongue for two-and-a-half centuries in the face of a Scots-speaking elite. The first crown rental in 1509 contains the first evidence of Gaelic-named townships. Taking all this into account, Norn is likely to have become extinct on Tiree at any time between the early fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries, with a later date being quite plausible.

As sand blow encroached on cultivated land from the fifteenth century following the start of the Little Ice Age, Late Medieval farmers on Tiree and some other *machair* islands in the Hebridean and Orkney archipelagos seem to have increasingly relied on seaweed. Cattle came to be wintered outside, using the *machair* as a standing crop in place of hay, and seaweed rather than dung came to be used as the predominant manure. As a consequence, independent Tiree farmers needed access to the shore, and the island was divided into triangles rather than isolated pockets of land. Transhumance seems to have been widely practised in these long, thin farm townships.

At the same time, it is plausible that the MacLeans of Duart, who were granted bailiery of the island in the mid- to late-fourteenth century, exerted pressure to extract higher rentals, especially in barley. With almost unlimited quantities of seaweed fertiliser available, and with little need to reserve land for hay meadows because of out-wintering, Late Medieval Tiree became famed for its barley crop as *G Tìr Ìseal an Èòrna* ‘the low land of the barley’, with many tenants adopting the more extensive cereal-based runrig system.

The evidence that survives from the oral tradition of Tiree, such as the well-known *Cath nan Sguab* ‘The Battle of the Sheaves’, implies a hostility to Norse settlement in later Gaelic culture. It is likely, however, that this tradition was imported from outside the island after the shift from Norn to Gaelic.

A fundamental feature of Tiree’s history is that the island’s small size and peripherality meant that it has been an offshore colony since the establishment of the kingdoms of *Dál Riata* on mainland Argyll. From around AD 500 up to the present day, the island’s superior did not live on Tiree, but made his headquarters at various times in Dublin, Orkney, Man, Dunollie, Finlaggan, Duart and Inveraray. A major consequence of this has been a significant transfer of portable wealth,

CONCLUSION

over a thousand years or more, from the island to other centres of power, where it created prestige and built castles, harbours and churches.

Although ‘certainty may elude us, yet there is something to be gained from pursuing these matters further’ (Stancliff 2010, 55). Despite the fact that we can deduce considerably more about Scandinavian settlement on Tiree than we can about the arrival of the *Dál Riata* some five hundred years earlier, evidence about the Norse period on Tiree is still frustratingly scanty, a matter of nudges, winks and whispers. This uncertainty is not unexpected, as few physical remains and a fraction of Norse place-names have survived on the island. The recent discovery of a midden dated to AD 790–990 and containing some Norse artefacts should help us understand this period in greater detail.

Having now sucked the marrow from surviving Norse and medieval place-names on Tiree, I hope that this research will encourage attention in the island from place-name scholars and medievalists, as well as stimulating further debate about the Scandinavian impact on the southern Hebrides. More research urgently needs to be done in the Outer Isles to collect the full surviving Scandinavian onomasticon, without which the detailed analysis of this area is impossible. Only by comparing the data from other islands will we be able to answer some of the many questions that remain.

16. GAZETTEER STRUCTURE

This Gazetteer contains a list of probable and possible Norse place-names and later medieval Gaelic settlement and enclosure names in the study area where these help us interpret medieval settlement patterns. It includes all the names on the 1654 Blaeu atlas.

Each place-name is laid out broadly following the structure of the Scottish Place-Name Record Sheet (see Whyte 2017, 154–5):

- **Head-name:** Where available, I have chosen the name-forms collected in the 1878 Ordnance Survey Name Book. Exceptions are the head-name *Kenavara*, which has been chosen ahead of the Ordnance Survey name-form *Ceann-a-bharra* and *Siader* in place of *Dùn Hiader*. Other head-names have been chosen as described in Márkus 2012, 9. The 215 probable Norse names are underlined. Head-names that have been reconstructed are followed by the symbol *, and those that are obsolete (not in the 1878 Ordnance Survey Name Books and no longer in the oral tradition) are marked #. In the text, the modern township names come from the generally familiar name-forms used on the OS Explorer Map 372 *Coll and Tiree*
- The three-letter **parish abbreviation:** Tiree is TIR (from <https://spns.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/ARG.pdf>, accessed 3 September 2020)
- **Site classification code:** A antiquity (marked by the use of Gothic script on the 1878 first edition of the Ordnance Survey), C coastal feature, D deserted settlement, E ecclesiastical feature, O other feature, R relief feature, W water feature, S settlement and V vegetation

- **Accuracy level of location:** 1 accurate location; 2 assumed location from early maps or sources; 3 general location to within 1 km; 4 general location to within 5 km; 5 vague location, like county or island
- **NGR** (National Grid Reference): with two-letter map code and grid reference to six figures as laid out on the OS Explorer Map 372 2007 (1:25,000). The easting – the first three digits – is preceded by 0 in NL (the west end of Tiree) and 1 in NM (the east); the northing – the last three digits – should be preceded by 7
- **Phonetic transcriptions** following the International Phonetic Alphabet. This is only provided for Norse names and where the name came from an oral source. The symbols are laid out below
- **The head-name meaning:** this is given for names where the derivation is assigned ‘probable’. Norse place-names are presented in the accusative case (following Cox: see Whyte 2017, 89)
- **Name-forms:** The oldest forms, likely to be truer to the original form, are listed first. It should be noted that the source *Na Baird Thirisdeach* (Cameron 1932) does not use accents. Independent names are followed by dependent names
- **Modern township | Topographic description** of the feature to which the name currently applies
- **Suggestions for a derivation:** for a derivation to be convincing it needs to sound much the same as the earliest (likely to be the closest to the original) name-forms, or follow a regular path of phonetic development (see section 17.4.2). It also needs to suit the topography, the lie of the land: for example, it might be tempting to explain the English name *Midford* as ‘middle ford’, but since the settlement lies at the junction of two streams, it is more likely that the name has as its ‘first element Old English *gemȳpe* “junction of streams”’ (Ekwall 1960, xi). A derivation also needs to make sense: for example, to translate *Fang an Treasdain* in Caolas as ‘the fank of the weavers paste’ is unconvincing (see *Treasdain* in the Gazetteer)
- **Phonetic development** (see section 17.4.2)
- **Referent:** the physical feature the name originally described

GAZETTEER STRUCTURE

- **Similar names** from elsewhere in the Norse expansion zone. Any derivation is more plausible if has cognates – other examples of names derived from the same root(s) – elsewhere in the Norse expansion zone
- Altitude and orientation are not included, given the low, flat Tیره landscape

17. GAZETTEER ELEMENTS

17.1 NORSE GENERICS ON TIREE

The Viking settlers of Tiree chose their words carefully: ‘There are in the Shetland place-names between twenty and thirty words standing for hill or height’ (Jakobsen 1897, 74; see *hóll*, *hváll* and *kollr* below). Gelling has demonstrated in England how names were picked with great precision when describing landscape features (Gelling 1998, 75–100). The words *nes*, *eið*, *høfði*, *berg*, *múli* and *tangi* were all used by the Norse to describe headlands, promontories and tongues of rock on the Tiree coastline of different size and shape. ON *garðr*, *gerði* and *geiri* described Scandinavian enclosures on Tiree, but they will have meant fields of quite different size, shape, tillage and function. Unfortunately, because of their weakly stressed position as generics, it is rarely possible to distinguish them in Tiree place-names today.

Some Norse place-name elements also appear to have undergone ‘sense-development’ in the varied landscapes of the Norse expansion zone (Fellows-Jensen 2016): ON *dalr* was used in Norway in the sense of long valleys, while on Tiree its meaning seems to have developed to include areas of flatter land (see below).

áss ‘the main beam running along the house ... metaphorically a rocky ridge’ (CV, 46, and Jakobsen 1936, 21). On Tiree, it denotes the ridge of *Beinn Hògh* (see *Àsadh*), *Lag na Clèite* (see *Mhiasumull*) and the tip of *Kenavara* (see *Torbhas*). This element also appears to denote prominent raised cobble beaches (see *Àras*, *Bhàlas* and *Kerreferguss*).

G *baca*. This is a very common Gaelic borrowing on *machair*-rich Tiree, with the sense of a ‘prominent sand dune’ and 31 examples. It derives from ON *bakki*

(dative *bakka*) ‘bank of a river’ (CV, 50). This loan is relatively uncommon elsewhere in Scotland, as in *Baca Glas* ‘a portion of the hillside’ in Kilmallie (OS1/2/68/224).

ból ‘farm or division of land’ (CV, 74) > *-bol* or *-pol*. Today, it is difficult phonologically to distinguish from ON *pollr* ‘pool’ (see below). *Ból* is a very common generic in some of the Hebrides (Macgregor 1986, 94), whereas *bólstaðr* predominates in others. It is likely that most, if not all, of the Tiree names in *-bol* or *-pol* should be regarded as deriving from ON *ból* rather than *bólstaðr* (Gammeltoft 2001; Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.). However, *Kirkapol* has one early form that hints at a derivation from *bólstaðr* (*Kirkapost* 1561). These are all likely to be subdivisions of primary Norse estates (see section 8.2). See *Raonabol*, *Kirkapol*, *Crossapol*, *Heylipol*, *Barrapoll* and *Basapoll*.

borg. This has two meanings: ‘Small dome-shaped hill, hence the Icelandic names of farms built near to such hills ... [and] a wall, fortification, castle ... [for example,] the famous Moussaburg in Shetland’ (CV, 73). It is a common element in the Norse expansion zone, even in islands with no Iron Age forts, as in the seven examples of *Borgin* in the Faroe Islands (KO) and the ten examples of *Borg* among Icelandic farm-names (SAM). All the surviving Tiree names in *borg*, however, have an associated fortification. See *Boidhegeir*, *Borabrig*, *Boraige*, *Boramul*, *Isleborg* and *Skarbarigh*.

bryggja ‘boat landing place’. This has a plosive terminal *-gg* > *-brig*. This is an extraordinarily productive generic on Tiree with seven surviving examples. All are serving primary or secondary settlements with high values in the 1541 rentals:

- *Borabrig* and *Cròdhabrig*: serving Kenavara
- *Dusprig*, *Eibrig* and *Ìbrig*: serving Baugh
- *Lìbrig*: serving *Raonabol* in Caolas
- *Lìbrig*: serving Hough
- *Sgràbraig*: serving Vaul

A survey of the Ordnance Survey 6 inch first edition found no examples on Coll and one on Uist, *Staoinebrig*. Cox (2002b) recorded none from Carloway, Lewis. Stahl recorded the names *Am Brioga Mòr* and *Am Brioga Beag* (Stahl 1999, 111), which she suggests are derived from ON *bryggja*. Barra has numerous sandy beaches like Tiree, but one pre-eminent harbour in Castle Bay. *Brig* may be found in the Northern Isles, for example *Muckle Brig* on Rousay and *Voe of the Brig* in Northmavine, although this is more usually derived from the Scots *brig* ‘bridge’ (Tait 2012, 70).

On the other hand, *The Sand Brig* on Rousay was used to unload small boats (Marwick 1995 (1947), 44), and ON *bryggja* in English place-names can imply a jetty, quay and occasionally a bridge (Styles 2016, 292). Names in *brygga/brygge* are quite common in Norway, for example *Steinbrygga* in Horten (NG), and Iceland, as in *Efribryggja* (NLSI), but there are none in the Faroe Islands (KO).

The presence of a name in *-bryggja* in Caolas – *Lìbrig* – does lend weight to the nearby *Raonabol* being a settlement name in *ból* rather than a coastal name in *pollr*, and the fact that Baugh has three names in *bryggja* encourages the view that this central settlement was of some importance. *Borabrig*, interestingly, is at the base of the fearsome Kenavara cliffs but accesses the Iron Age fortified roundhouse now known as *Dùn nan Gall* ‘the fort of the strangers’. This supports the idea that this area had strategic importance to the Norse as well as to earlier peoples.

The generic of *Croisprig* on Islay has been derived from ON *brekka* ‘slope’ or ON *berg* after metathesis (Macniven 2015, 229 and 331; see also MacDougall 1937, 79; but see *Beireadh*).

The Gaelic names *Port na Birlinn* in Caolas and Hynish, *Port Luing* in Scarinish and *Port na Luinge* in Balemartine also reference beach landing points (see Gazetteer).

This decentralised landing pattern re-emerged in the late nineteenth century as puffers landed their cargoes of coal at seven preferred beaching points around the island.

bær or **býr** ‘farmstead or village’. There are two forms of this element: the West Norse *bær*, very common in Iceland, and the East Norse *býr*, common in the English Danelaw. Of the two Tíree names, *Sorobaidh* could reflect either form because of this element’s position as a weakly stressed generic. **Bèidhe* is more likely to have developed from *býr*. The significance this is unknown. (See Macniven 2015, 77 for a fuller discussion of this).

dalr ‘dale’ (CV, 95) > *-dal*. In mountainous Norway, the Faroe Islands and Iceland, the common element *dalr* references long, steep-sided valleys, and may have been territorial in the sense that each valley from the valley floor to watershed was an agricultural unit. *Rumidil* and *Diubadal* in Hynish are the only features with this Norse generic that could be described as ‘valleys’ in the relatively flat Tíree landscape. But in the softer landscape of Denmark the word was also widely used (Fellows-Jensen 2016), and *dalr* can signify an area of gently sloping land (Nicolaisen 1976, 94; Sigmundsson 2005, 215). It might often be best understood on Tíree as ‘farm territory’. See *Mannel*, *Muradal*, *Origadal*, *Rachadal* and *Rosdal*.

deild ‘part; portion or share of land’ (CV, 98); ‘patch of ground, part of a field’ (Jakobsen 1936, 34). This could also develop to *-dal* as a weakly stressed generic. Marwick suggested *deild* for the derivation of *Ervadale*, Rousay, Orkney, ‘situated not in a valley but on the swelling southern slope of Kearfea’ (Marwick 1995 (1947), 50). In her work on Orkney, Sandnes agreed: ‘When *dale* appears on flat land, ON *deild* ‘part, portion or share’ ... is a more likely origin’ (Sandnes 2010a, 110).

As a generic, however, *deild* is found just twice in the Faroe Islands (KO), while in Iceland *deild* is much less common than *dalr* (NLSI). In addition, the development of G *-dal* is more likely to come from *dalr* rather than *deild* (Richard Cox, pers. comm.), and this is how the material is usually presented in the Gazetteer.

fjall ‘mountain’. *Fjall* is a common generic in the Faroe Islands and Iceland with their rugged topographies (KO and SAM). See *Lingal*, Hynish.

fjörðr ‘firth, bay’ [of which there is a saying in Iceland] “*fjörðr milli frænda, en vík milli vina* / Let there be a firth between kinsmen, but a creek between friends” (CV, 158). See *Meileart*.

garðr ‘yard or farm’ or ‘dyke’: ‘Dyke or yard, also applied to a piece of ground enclosed by such a dyke or yard, especially a cultivated piece of ground with a house on it’ (Jakobsen 1897, 104). This is a very common element in the Faroe Islands and Iceland (KO and SAM). See *Boidhegeir*, *Crossigar*, *Gorraig*, *Groideagal* and *Husagar*.

gerði ‘place girded round, a hedged or fenced field’ (CV, 197), a ‘fenced patch of ground’ (Jakobsen 1936, 45) > *-geir* (with a palatalised initial consonant). In Shetland, this element had a more precise meaning: ‘*Gerði* signifies a small piece of uncultivated ground enclosed either for pasture or with a view to cultivation, immediately outside the “toon-dyke” on the outskirts of the township. It may be cultivated later’ (Jakobsen 1897, 105). This practice, known as tathing, saw cattle folded overnight in small enclosures (see section 10.2.1). *Gerði* is quite common in the Faroe Islands (KO), and is an extremely common element among Icelandic farm-names (SAM). See *Adha-geir*, *Boidhegeir*, *Cascar Bàn*, *Croisgeir*, *Föirnigir*, *Groideagal*, *Inisgeir* and *Öinegeir*.

geiri ‘a triangular strip of land’ (CV, 196) > *-geir*. The triangular shape may have been emphasised to show that the land had to be spaded rather than ploughed. *Geiri* is absent in the Faroe Islands (KO), but is common in Iceland (NLSI). It is usually impossible to differentiate *gerði* and *geiri* in weakly stressed generics in the Tíree material. However, because of its widespread use in the Faroe Islands

and Iceland, *gerði* is the more likely source on Tiree, and this is how the ending *-geir* is treated in the Gazetteer. These two generics have been much more productive on Tiree than in Carloway, Lewis, presumably reflecting greater arable cultivation. On the other hand, the G borrowing *geàrraidh* ‘enclosure’, common in Carloway, and present eight times in Barra (Stahl 1999, 119 and 201) is entirely absent from the Tiree onomasticon, where *goirtean* is common.

gil ‘coastal gully’: in Iceland, *gil* had the meaning of ‘a deep, narrow glen with a stream at the bottom’ (CV, 199), while in the Faroe Islands it meant ‘gully ... small bay with rocks on both sides’ (Young and Clewer 1985, 175). See *Na Gilean*, *Rèidh-sgeir*, *Rosgaill*, *Rùnasgal* and *Ùisgil*.

gjá (ON plural *gjár*) ‘chasm, rift in fells or crags’ (CV, 202). ON *gjá* can be found in *Brataigea* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 190), but Fraser has observed that *gjá* ‘is absent in islands to the south [of Lewis] where it is replaced by *sloc* [itself a loan word from ON **slǫkk*]’ (Fraser 1984, 38). However, Macniven has proposed the Islay name *Saligo* derives from ON *gjá* (Macniven 2015, 294), and there are possibly six Tiree names containing this element: see *Boraige*, *Caidheagar*, *Sgiobagar*, *Soghaigir*, *Thallasgar* and *Tunagair*. The reflex in many of these is [gaʔ] rather than the expected [gʲaʔ]. This is exemplified in the derivation of the name of the isolated sea rock **Sgiobagar*, a name for which there are few other possible derivations.

haugr ‘burial mound, hill’: ‘[In Shetland] ON *haugr* denotes a height or hill, not so big as *ffall* but usually above the size of *hóll*. In ON, *haugr* is often applied to a thrown-up monumental mound, a burial mound’ (Jakobsen 1897, 75). *Haugr* has a fricative *-g-*. This element is not present in the Faroe Islands (KO), and occurs rarely among Icelandic farm-names (SAM). See *Hough*.

hóll ‘small rounded hill’ > *-al*. This may be the most productive element on Tiree for hills and may refer to the shape, rather than the height, of an eminence. This element occurs just once in the Faroe Islands (KO) but is very common among Icelandic farm-names (SAM). See *Coirce*, *Earnal*, *Grianal*, *Lingal* and *Stànal*.

hólmr ‘islet’ in fresh water or the sea (CV, 280 and 282). See *múli*.

hváll (sideform *hvoll*) ‘dome shaped hill, and in local names of farms lying under such hills’ (CV, 298). It is found in the Faroe Islands (KO). See the Tiree hill *Grianal* (and possibly *Ciofal*), where this characteristic domed profile can be seen.

kró ‘small animal pen’. See *Crò*.

kúla ‘ball, knob-like hill’ (CV, 360; and see *Coulabus*, Macniven 2015, 305), ‘round lump or protuberance’ (Jakobsen 1897, 77), and ‘elevation’ (Gammeltoft 2001,

107). Several Tíree Norse names have the ending *-gal*: for example, *Boidheagal*, *Foirneagal*, *Groideagal*, *Òdhrasgair* and *Rèisgal*. Cox recorded a *Theideagal* in Lewis (Cox 2002, 146). Some dialects of ON *garðr* can develop to *-gal* (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.). In a weakly stressed generic, it is impossible now to distinguish between *kollr*, *kúla* or *garðr*, although to Norn speakers, these words were easily distinguishable.

kví ‘fold, pen, especially [in Iceland] where sheep are milked’ (CV, 365). *Kví* developed to *quoy* in Orkney, where it was the ‘longest-lived and latest used of Norse farm-names’ (Fenton 1978, 29). In Shetland, *kwi* was a summer milking pen within a settlement (Tait 2012, 304). This element is quite common in the Faroe Islands (KO) and among Icelandic farm-names (SAM). See *Bruthainne* and *Cuinneag*.

múli ‘projecting upper lip, muzzle, often applied to the mouth of a horse. In place names it denotes a headland rounding down like such a mouth’ (Jakobsen 1897, 93). On Tíree, it seems to have been applied to small coastal promontories. The weakly-stressed final vowel is often lost through reduction > *-mul* (Cox 2002, 66), while metathesis > *-lum* can cause *hólmr* and *múli* to be confused (Gammeltoft 2006, 81; see *Fhàdamull* and *Mhiasumull* for examples where this has been recorded on Tíree). Coastal erosion may mean that some Norse headlands are now beach rocks or islands (see section 5.5). See *Boramul*, *Càrsamull*, *Fhàdamull*, *Gasamull*, *Greasamull* (Caolas), *Greasamull* (Greenhill), *Mhiasumull*, *Mithealum*, *Mula*, *Onamull*, *Thorramhull* and *Tromsalum* (Ruaig).

nes ‘headland’. Surviving names in *nes* are usually broad promontories, ranging in size from *Hynish*, which is 3 km across, to *Sgibinis*, 200 m long. See *Brimminis*, *Circnis*, *Circnis*, *Circnis*, *Craiknish*, *Crisnis*, *Hanais*, *Hianish*, *Hiatrainis*, *Hynish*, *Laighnis*, *Oснаich*, *Scarinish*, *Sgibinis* and *Taoinis*.

pallr ‘platform’ (CV, 474). Stahl translates this as ‘cliff’ in her Barra Gazetteer (Stahl 1999, 100), where *palla* occurs as a borrowing a number of times. *G palla* occurs ten times as a loan word in Carloway, which Cox derives from ON **palla* and translates as ‘ledge’ (Cox 2002, 348). Jakobsen gives *pallr* as a ‘rocky ledge’ and ‘ledges in a rocky wall facing the sea’ in Shetland, as in *de Pallens* (Jakobsen 1936, 88; Marwick 1995 (1947), 62). This is more likely to be the meaning of its use on Tíree. There is a *Pallaberg* in Unst, Shetland (SP), and *pallur* occurs seven times in the Faroe Islands (KO), and is common in Iceland (NLSI). See *Earball* for a further discussion of this element. See *Dùbal*, *Earball* and *Earblaig*.

pollr ‘pool or pond’ (CV, 478); in Faroese, *pollur* has the additional meaning of a ‘small round bay (partly closed by a reef)’ (Young and Clewer 1985, 439; Rygh

1898, 69) On Tiree, ON *pollr* denotes an inland lochan, as in *Birceapol* (see Gazetteer). This may refer to either *Loch Nalaig* (Feature no. 135 in the 1768 Turnbull Report, in which case it was 21 acres) or *Loch Achlair* (No. 136, recorded as 9 acres). Other possible examples of *pollr* are *Loch Barapoll* (No. 56), surveyed by Turnbull at 17 acres, and *Loch Heylipoll* (No. 7) at 50 acres. Other Tiree names containing this element may be *Raonabol* and *Àrabull*. Phonologically, it is impossible to distinguish *pollr* from ON *ból* ‘farm’ today, although the landscape can be a guide. Gaelic *poll* is unlikely to derive from ON *pollr* (McDonald 2015, 151)

Its Gaelic cognate *poll* is also common on Tiree, occurring thirty-seven times (both words probably derive from the Latin *palus* ‘marsh’ (MacBain 1911). OG *poll* meant ‘an opening or cavity in the earth ... in place-names, generally denotes a cave or pool’ (eDIL). Tiree names include G *Poll a’ Choire* ‘the (sea) pool of the valley’ off *Diubadal*; G *Am Poll Leathann* ‘the broad pool’ on the shoreline at Balevullin; and G *Poll na Dùcha*, the ‘(possibly exhausted) peat bank of *Dùcha*’ inland in Milton (see Cox 2002, 349).

setr ‘small farm’. This element is difficult to distinguish from *sætr*: ‘If a personal name forms the first part ... it is most probably *setr* ... [It] is most commonly abbreviated to *-ster* [in Shetland]’ (Jakobsen 1936, 94). See *Hùinisdeir*.

sætr ‘shieling, summer pasture for cattle in the outfield’ (Jakobsen 1936, 94; see Macgregor 1986, 98): ‘[*Sætr*] leads back to the coastal district between *Fjordane*, *Møre* and *Trøndelag* in southwestern Norway, which accommodates a high ratio of names containing this element’ (Stahl 2000, 110). *Setr* and *sætr* are difficult to distinguish in Scottish names: ‘The element which occurs in names like *Da Setters* or *Setter* in Shetland could, linguistically, be derived from ON *setr* “a hill farm” or ON *sætr* “a shieling”’ (Waugh and Brooke-Freeman 2013, 11; see also Oftedal 2009, 16). See *Siader*.

skáli: this word has two senses. The most common is that of ‘hut, shed, put up for temporary use; this is the earliest Norse sense’ (CV, 541; Sandnes 2010a, 89). In the Faroe Islands, *skáli* is a common generic in secondary farms, as in *Norðskáli* (Macgregor 1986, 88), and the element is also common among Icelandic farm-names (SAM). In Orkney, however, *skáli* appears to have had the sense of a large and important hall (Thomson 2012, 1–15; Harrison 2013, 133). The two Tiree names *Òdhrasgair* and *Rèitheasgeal* are on peripheral land, and a meaning of small hut might be more appropriate. On the other hand, these names have survived for over a thousand years, so the sites must have had some importance.

stǫðull ‘milking place’ (CV, 602; Jakobsen 1936, 104): ‘In Norway, [stǫðull] is frequently used as a settlement generic. [It] can easily be mistaken for a combination of -s- genitive and ON *dalr* ‘valley’, which happens to follow a similar sound pattern’ (Stahl 2000, 107; Whyte 2017, 298) > *-sdal*. In Shetland, a *stǫl* was ‘a form of pen specifically used as a cattle resting or milking place’ (Tait 2012, 304). Names in *-stǫl* are extremely common in Norway, and it is a common element in both the Faroe Islands (KO) and Iceland (NLSI). Given the demands of dairying, both for the cows and cleaning the equipment, milking places would have needed a good supply of water. See *Bàrasdal*, *Creachasdal*, *Miogasdal*, *Rangasdal*, *Tòdhrasdal* and *Ulbhaig*.

topt ‘a green tuft or knoll; green, grassy place; a place marked out for a house or building; a square piece of ground with walls but without roof’ (CV, 636). This is a common secondary farm-name in the Faroe Islands and Shetland, as in *Udalstof*, Shetland (Macgregor 1986, 90). The element does not occur among Icelandic farm-names (SAM). The ON > G loan word *tobhta* is now commonly used on Tiree for a roofless building. See *Grianatot* and *Murstat*.

vágr ‘large bay’ (CV, 684). This element is quite common in the Faroe Islands (KO), where it is used for long, thin inlets between 300 and 1900 m wide (KO). This is wider than *vík*, but the shape of the inlet was probably also important. See *Baugh*. *Vág* and *vík* may be difficult to distinguish in later Gaelic constructions as they are usually palatalised in the genitive case: for example, *Tràigh Chornaig*. *Vík* may also occasionally develop into *vag* (Oftedal 2009, 30).

vatn ‘loch’. *Loch Bhasapoll* (see *Basapoll*) is the only surviving Tiree name that may contain this element. Turnbull measured this loch as 83 acres, which compares to 50 acres for *Loch Heylipoll*, 71 acres for *Loch Kirkapoll* and 292 acres for *Loch Phuil* (Turnbull Report 1768). All these are likely to have had names in *vatn* but none have survived. Compare *pollr*.

vík ‘bay or inlet’ > *bhaig* or *-aig*. *Vík* is a common generic in the Faroe Islands (KO) and is very common among Icelandic farm-names (SAM). Names in *vík* on Tiree could be small rocky inlets 50 m across, such as *Saltaig* in Balephetrish. At the other extreme, the name *Breivig Bay* on the east coast of Barra is derived from ON *breið* and *vík* ‘broad bay’. It is 4–500 m wide, giving measure of what the Norse considered a large *vík*. *Tràigh na’ Gilean* in Middleton, a candidate to have been the ‘sandy beach’ of the primary Viking settlement of *Sandvík*, is 400 m wide. *Tràigh Bhì* in Balephuill is 1500 m long, and is probably too big to have generated a name in *vík*. It is important to remember that *vík* means the inlet rather than the beach. Today, G *tràigh* ‘beach’ or the English ‘beach’ are

a much more common way to describe a length of Tiree shoreline. This reflects the Norse cultural focus on approaching a shoreline from the sea, compared to the more recent focus on the opportunities presented by a sandy beach.

17.2 PERSONAL NAMES AS THE SPECIFIC

Sandnes has interpreted only 4% of her Orkney material as eponyms, generics compounded with personal names. She contrasts this with the findings by Fellows-Jensen of settlement names in *-by* in the English Danelaw, where the proportion is almost half. It has been proposed that personal names are more likely to be used when colonisation is rapid (see Sandnes 2010a, 286).

Of the probable Norse names in the Tiree Gazetteer, around 31 (14% of the total) have an ON personal name that is a plausible specific. The overwhelming majority are male, the only possible exception being the female personal name *Ragnhildr* (see *Rangasdal*). In contrast, 18% personal names in Lewis Norse place-names were female (Evemalm 2018, 158). However, given the way place-names have evolved, it is often impossible to be sure exactly which personal name was involved: for example, whether *Þórðr*, *Þórir* or *Þórvald* were the specific for *Tòrasa*.

The use of a personal name as the specific can suggest that this place-name denoted a land claim: ‘Place-names from the Viking period are not any longer only descriptive. Many farm-names from this period celebrate the individual who founded the farm, reflecting the big social upheaval that the break-up of a society funded on ancestry and kinship implied. From now on farms belong to individuals’ (Kruse 2007, 36). Examples are **Hognastað* ‘farm of *Hogni*’ (see *Hùiniseir*) and **Ingisgerði* ‘farm of *Ingjaldr*’ (see *Inisgeir*). Sometimes a personal name is added to a physical feature, such as a bay or valley, implying a settlement or farm, ‘a topographical term which had a quasi-habitative meaning’ (Gelling 1993, 39). A Tiree example might be ON **Arabakka* ‘the bank of *Ari*’ (see *Arabach*). In the Northern Isles, ‘it is common for islands to be attributed to their Norse owners ... but bays were much less likely to be thus attributed’ (Waugh 1998, 141). A Tiree exception may be ON **Bjarnarvík* ‘inlet of *Bjarni*’ (see *Beannaig*). That being said, there were many other reasons to name a place after a person: for example, farming usage (such as a milking place), a drowning, a fight or a birth (Evemalm 2018, 225). Examples on Tiree may be ON **Hrómundssker* ‘skerry of *Hrómundr*’ (see *Ròmasgeir*) and ON **Hreiðarsgil* ‘coastal gully of *Hreiðarr*’ on the cliffs of Kenavara (see *Rèidhsgeir*).

Personal names are also commonly used in Gaelic place-names on Tiree, even at remote sites. Most of these date from the Late Medieval period onwards: ‘In Ireland ... the widespread use of [Gaelic] personal names as specifics can only be traced back as far back as the thirteenth century’ (Macniven 2015, 64). Of the 44 Tiree names in G *bodha* ‘submerged sea rock’, by definition peripheral, 7 (16%) contain a G personal name as the specific: for example, G *Bodha Dhòmhnaiill Ruaidh* ‘the submerged rock of Red Donald’. Of the 133 Tiree coastal names in G *port* ‘inlet’, 19 (17%) contain a G personal name as specific: for example, G *Port Beag Peigi nighean Eòghainn* ‘the small inlet of Peggy the daughter of Hugh’. Of the 63 Tiree names in G *carraig* ‘coastal fishing rock’ (places by definition connected to people), 8 (15%) contain a Gaelic personal name as the specific: for example, G *Carraig Aonghais* ‘the fishing rock of Angus’. The use of personal names among Norse and Gaelic place-names on Tiree therefore appears to be similar.

Norse: *Arabach, Bàrasdal, Basapoll, Beannaig, Boghasum, Càrsamull, Conslum, Dearcaig, Earnal, Fòirnigir, Gasamull, Greasamull (Salum), Grèinemheall, Hùinisdeir, Hùnasgeir, Inisgeir, Òinegeir, Rachadal, Raonabol, Rèidh-sgeire, Rèithesgeal, Ròmasgeir, Thallasgar, Tòdhrasdal, Tòrasa, Tromsalum, Tromslum, Tronsairigh, Ùisgil, Ùlasgeir, Ùlastac*

Gaelic: *Baile mhic Eòdha, Balemartine, Ballyphetrish, Goirtean Pheadrais, Goirtean MhicEachern, Goirtein Dòmhnaiill, Kory Finmackoul, Port Chloinn Nèill, Sgonn Mhic Coitch, Sgoth Mhic Cumha, Sloc Mhic Cnithealum, Sloc Mhic Fhionnlaidh, Tobhta na Cailliche Bheir*

17.3 FOLK ETYMOLOGICAL RESHAPING

Once a loan-name becomes incomprehensible, usually after a language shift (for example from Norn to Gaelic), there is often a great hunger to make sense of it. This can be done by changing elements from the name into similar words from the new language. This may be called lexical adaptation (see Folk etymological reshaping in the Glossary):

- ON **Austrnes* ‘eastern headland’ may have been lexically adapted to G *osnach* ‘sigh’, as in *Tràigh na h-Osnaiche* (see *Osnaich*)
- ON *skriðubakki* ‘bank of the loose sand’ may have been lexically adapted to G *sgrèuchadh* ‘screaming’ (see *Sgrèuchadh*)

- The archaic G **An Tiompan* ‘narrow gully’ (Dwelly) may have been lexically adapted as G *siaban* ‘sea spray’ in *Eilean an t-Siabain*, *Vaul*
- ON *hella* ‘a tableland of rocks’ may have been lexically adapted to G *eala* ‘swan’ in *Cnoc na h-Eala* (see *Heala*)
- ON **Víðihlið* ‘slope of the willow’ may have been lexically adapted to G *filidh* ‘poet’, *ileach* ‘someone from Islay’ or *fitheach* ‘raven’ (see *Ìlidh*)
- The island name *Tiree* may have been lexically adapted several times (see *Týrvist*)

17.4 PHONOLOGY

17.4.1 Stress patterns

The pattern of emphasis or stress within a place-name can be a guide to the language of origin. With Norse or English names, the emphasis is almost always on the first, or specific, element: for example, *Alabhal* or *The Golf Ball*. In contrast, the specific part of Gaelic place-names usually follows the generic, and the stress is therefore later: for example, *An Tràigh Mhòr* ‘the long beach’.

To complicate matters slightly, there are a few place-names where this pattern is reversed: for example, G *Dubh-sgeir* ‘black skerry’ off West Hynish, and G *Corr-airigh* ‘pointed shieling’ in Cornaigbeg.

17.4.2 Phonetic development

Several Tiree place-names with a plausible Norse derivation have survived two language shifts over more than a thousand years. It is no surprise, therefore, that their pronunciation today is not exactly the same as it was in the ninth century. On Tiree, for example, the Norse farm township name *Baugh* – probably derived from ON *vágr* – was recorded in 1541 as *Baw*, and in 1768 as *Baugh* (see *Baugh*). In this case, ‘in all Scandinavian languages, ON *á* has been rounded, and is now pronounced /ɔ/, as in English *saw*. The spelling is *å*. The shift probably started around 1200’ (Sandnes 2010a, 65). We can be more confident of changes in a name’s pronunciation if the derivation is

relatively secure: for example, the development ON **Heiðarnes* ‘heather headland’ > *Haynish* 1768 > modern local usage G *Haoidhnis* (see *Hynish*). The development here appears to be *-ei-* > *-aoi-*, and might tentatively be described as ‘regular’ (see Marwick 1995 (1929), 30–37 for a similar analysis in Orkney). Phonetic development may have been different on Tiree compared to other islands in the Western and Northern Isles.

However, historical linguistics is a complex academic discipline, and the following analysis is put forward with due caution.

17.4.2.1 Vowels

Quite apart from the stress placed on them by their position in a word, vowels can also be short or long: for example, the difference between the English words ‘dip’ and ‘deep’. This is known as their ‘quantity’. Longer vowels in Old Norse and Gaelic are written with accents, such as *á* or *ù*. The quantity of the initial stressed vowel in Norse names is usually conserved when it is loaned into Gaelic: ‘In Norse names transmitted through Gaelic, the quantity of the first syllable can always be ascertained from native Gaelic pronunciation. The quantity of the following unaccented syllable or syllables (i.e. of the generic part) is lost’ (Watson 1996 (1904), iv). Therefore, *Lìbrìg* in Caolas might reasonably be derived from ON **Hlífarbryggju* ‘sheltered landing place’. The following generic component, with its weaker secondary stress, is more liable to change (Gammeltoft 2001, 53). In Orkney, by contrast, when Norse names were loaned into Scots, ‘vowel length is generally unstable’ (Sandnes 2010a, 70).

But although the initial stressed vowel of a Norse name usually keeps its ‘quantity’, its ‘quality’ can shift. Often there is no development and the initial vowel quality stays unchanged: for example, ON *skarfr* > G *Sgaracleit* [ˈska rə ,klɛi̯ ˈt̪]. But Norse vowels that had no Gaelic equivalent, such as *ø*, are very likely to develop. Plausible or regular developments found on Tiree may include:

ON *a* > G [ḁ̈] ON *sandr* > G *Sanndaig* [ˈsḁ̃ ð̪ ,ndæg̊]: see *Aulaig* and *Saundaig*

ON *a* > G [a:] ON *garðr* > G loan word *gàrradh*: see *Salum* and *Stànal*

ON *a* > G [ɔ] ON *hjalli* > G *iol*: see section 12.1.2 and *Iolaireach*, also *Bò*, *Gorraig*, *Homaidh* and *Mollachdag*

ON *á* > G [ɔ:] ON *vágr* > G *Baw* 1541 (see *Baugh*): ‘in all Scandinavian languages, ON *á* has been rounded, and is now pronounced /ɔ/, as in English *saw*. The spelling is *å*. The shift probably started around 1200’ (Sandnes 2010a, 65)

ON e > G [a] ON *vellir* > G *Bhalla*: see *Abhuinn*, *Callraig*, *Malainn*, *Salum* and *Vaul*

ON e > G [eɪ] ON *sker* > G loan word *sgeir* and ON *klettr* > G loan word *cleit*: see *Beireadh*, *Grèinemheall* and *Meileart*

ON e > G [ju:] local dialect form G *leac* ‘stone’ > *liùc* [lju:k]: see *Bruthainne*, *Ciular* and *Leacaig*

ON i > G [i:] ON *kirkja* > G *Circeabol* [ˈki:h kjə ˌboɫ]: see *Kirkapoll*, *Miodar* and *The Reef*

ON í > G [i-ə] ‘The development of *í* to [i-ə] is regular before non-palatal consonants’ (Oftedal 2009, 13): see *Ciarraig*, *Cliar* and *Siader*

ON kví- > G cui-: see *Cuigeas* and *Cuinneag*

ON vík > G -(bh)ag: this may be due to vowel affection (see below) or case changes (see *Meavig* in Oftedal 2009, 30). See *Cornaig*, *Cuinneag*, *Naomhag*, *Neòsaig*, *Ollag*, *Ruaig* and *Urabhag*

ON æ > G [ei:] ON *lækr* > G loan word *lèig*: see *Lèig*

ON œ > G [i-a] ON **Grænnhvál* > G *Grianal* (see Oftedal 2009, 35): see *Grianal* and *Griاناتot*

ON ú > G [i:-ə] ON *djúpr* > G *Diubadal* (see Whyte 2017, 208): see *Diubadal*

ON ú > G [ʝ:i] ON *knúkr* > G loan word *snòig*: see *An Snoig* and *Cròinigeir*

ON ý > G [u] ON *mýrr* > G *Murstainn* [ˈmʊ rə ˌstãĩn]: see *Baca na Putain*, *Chùrr*, *Duill*, *Dùdaire*, *Dusprig*, *Muradal*, *Rumidil* and *Uircean*

ON ø > G [ãõĩ] ON *vøllr* > G *Bhaoill*: see *A’ Bhaoill* and *Mùlainn*

ON ø > G [i-ə] (Oftedal 2009, 35): see *Lionar Sgeire*

ON ø > G [ʝĩ]: see *Bòid*, *Goibhneig*, *Mor-Mheall*, *Òinegeir*, *Snòis*, *Treogh*

ON ø > G [ɔ] ON **sløkk* > G loan word *sloc* [sɫɔʰk]; ON loan word *døkk* > G loan word *doc* [dɔʰk]; ON *møl* > G loan word *mol*; ON *ørfiris* > G loan-name *Orosay* (in many parts of the Hebrides, and *Orphir* in Orkney): see *Boghasum*, *Ceòl*, *Gott*, *Onamull*, *Solabhag*, *An t-Sròn*, *Thoramhull* and *T-Shomhairle*

ON ø > G [u] see *Biùrainn*, *Fiura*, *Gior*, *Hùinisdeir* and *Ulbhaig*

ON ei > G [ãõĩ] ON *eið* > G loan word *Aoidh* (see *Eadach*), and ON *seiðr* ‘coalfish, saithe’ > G loan word *saoidhean*: see *Hynish*, *Mhaois*, *Staoin* and *Taoinis*

ON æ or ey > G [i:-ə] ON *Sæbólstaðr* > G *Siabost*, Lewis (Oftedal 2009, 18 and 25): see *Hianish*, *Hiatrainis* and *Siader*

ON *au* > G [o:] and **G [o]**: see *Groideagal*, *Hough*, *Lò*, *Origidal*, *Robach*, *Ròg*, *Soa*, *Sorobaidh* and *Stròrn*

ON *au* > G [u:] ON *hraukr* > G loan word *rùc* ‘pile of hay’ (Stewart 2004, 412; MacBain 1911): see *Ruaig*

Gaelic has a fundamental rule about vowel combinations: *caol ri caol*, *leathann ri leathann* [slender (vowel) to slender, broad to broad]. Opposing vowels on either side of a consonant (or group of consonants) should agree; they should both be broad – *a*, *o* or *u* – or both be slender – *e* or *i*. An example of a Gaelic word with a broad-to-broad combination is G *rubha* ‘promontory’, while one with a slender-to-slender combination is G *gille* ‘boy’. On the other hand, the Germanic Norse language and English do allow opposing short and long vowels: for example, ON **Saltvík* (see *Saltaig*) or the English ‘pilot’.

Although some Norse loan-names conform to this rule – for example, ON *Hrossadal* (see *Rosdal*) – others put Gaelic speakers in the linguistically uncomfortable position of opposing broad and narrow vowels – for example, ON **Lyngvøll* (see *Lingal*). In this situation, one of the broad vowels sometimes then palatalises under the influence of its slender neighbour, a process called vowel affection. For example, ON **Mórin* is pronounced by modern Gaelic speakers as *Moirein* (see *Moirein*), and ON **Úlfsgil* as *Ùisgil* (see *Ùisgil*). See also *Bàrna-Sgeir*, *Boidhegeir*, *Croisgeir*, *Fòirnigir*, *Laighnis*, *Lamh-sgeir*, *Rosgaill* and *Scarinish*.

On the other hand, there are some Norse loan-names where slender and broad vowels are tolerated: see *Balbhaig*, *Borabrig*, *Boraige*, *Gorraig*, *Sandaig* and *Sgaramin*.

There are a number of examples where name-forms vary in the degree of vowel affection and consonant palatalisation (see 17.4.2.2 below), both between informants, and even between name-forms given by the same informant at different times: see *Earnal* and *Sorobaidh*. With the Hough name *Rèithesgeal*, Donald MacKinnon gave me *Rèithesgeal* and *Rèitheasgal* in the same breath.

There are several examples of Norse names that seem to show generic variation (see *Mannel*), where the vowel affection seen in one name appears to have influenced the other. The Vaul name *Boidhegeir* may be derived as ON **Borgargerði*; the narrow *-e-* of *gerði* has affected the medial *-ar-*, and this in turn has palatalised the consonant group /*rg*/. Another name-form *Boidheagal* has been derived as ON **Borgargarð*; this also shows the palatalised *-rg-* (see also *Fòirnigir*, *Groideagal* and *Òdhrasgair*).

Vowel affection may also work the other way, with the slender vowel broadening: for example, the local pronunciations of Ruaig and Corraig as ['ru· ,ak] and ['koɾ ,nak] and *Birceapol*.

17.4.2.2 Consonants

Voiced consonants (see Glossary) – such as /b/, /v/ or /g/, and their unvoiced equivalents, such as /p/, /f/ and /k/ – can alternate (Sandnes 2010a, 71): see *Balbhaig, Basapoll, Bòid, Earball and Fhàdamul*

ON *ð* > G /-/ (hiatus): the letter 'eth', written *ð* and pronounced as /th/ in 'thus', does not exist in Gaelic. In fact, *-th(-)* is usually silent, as in G *sruth* 'stream'. Any eth at the end of words is therefore usually deleted: for example, *eið* > *Aoidh* (see *Eadach*). In the middle of a word, ON *-ð-* becomes a hiatus: for example, ON *boði* 'submerged rock' > G loan word *bodha* and ON *vøðull* 'shallow water' > G loan word *fadhail*. There are numerous examples in the Gazetteer, such as *Adha-geir, An Fhaodhail, Crossigar, Dùn nan Nighean, Heren* and *Skyr na Veuillen*

ON *g-* > G *g-*: an initial ON *g-* behaves as a voiced velar plosive [g], as in the English 'gut'. It is retained in Gaelic, for example ON *garðr* > G loan word *gàrradh*. This is true for both specifics and generics, for example *Croisgeir, Gasamull, Gott, Na Gilean, Gribun* and *Rosgail*

ON *-g* > G *-gh* or it is lost: a terminal *-g* behaves as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ], as in the English exclamation 'ugh!'. See, for example, *Baugh, Bergh, Kenovay* or *Skarbarigh*

ON *-g-* can disappear: medial ON *-g-* is also usually a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] and is lost. See, for example, *Cruairtein, Daor, Gior, Hough, Laighsgeir, Rionasgeir, Thorramhull* and *Tunna*

ON *-gg-* > G *-g-*: geminate /gg/ is retained, as in ON *bryggja* > G *-brig*. See, for example, *Borabrig* or *Dusprig*

ON *h-* > G *t-*: 'Old Norse initial *h-* has been treated as the lenited form of Gaelic initial *t-* and subsequently delenited, c.f. ON *hóp'* > G *tòb* 'creek' (Cox 2008, 54). Examples on Tiree include ON *háfr* > G loan word *tàbh* 'net'; the 1674 form of *Hynish, Tayneish*; the 1776 form of *Hough, Tough*; and the 1509 form of *Heylipol, Tillipole*

ON *t-* > G *h-*: conversely, lenition means that Norse existing names with an initial *h-* could derive from an initial *t-*: for example, the Norse name *Tangabhair* becomes *Druim Thangabhair* (Cox 2002, 271). Occasionally, some older names do not show this change, as in the Lewis name *Tòlabhaidh* > *Leathad Tòlabhaidh* (Cox 2002, 312). See *Hanais*

ON k > G ch: some consonants show strong pre-aspiration in the Tiree Gaelic dialect. Sometimes this is so strong that the plosive /k/ develops to -ch(-) represented by [x]. See *Arabach, Briolachain, Creachasdal, Crochadair, Cruithneachd, Eadach, Langach, Mealbhach, Mòr Chléit, Robach, Sgrèuchadh* and *Ùlastac*

ON kn- > G sn-: see *Snoig*

ON kví > G cui-: ON *kví* > G loan word *cuidhe*. See *Cuigeas* and *Cuinneag*

ON -ld- > G -l- or -ll- by assimilation (Gammeltoft 2001, 106): see *Callraig, Ciular* and *Siolaig*

ON -ng- > G -n-: the consonant group -ng- or [ŋg] sometimes develops to -n- or [n]. See *Cill Tunnain, Crionan, Crìonaig, Gon, Hanais, Onamull, Rionasgeir, Stànal, Tunagair* and *Tunna*. In other names, such as *Lingal* and *Rangasdal*, the -ng- is maintained

-nn- <> -nd-: see *Kannavaye* 1509, *Kendvay* 1541 and *Kannavay* 1674 (*Kenovay*); see *Bruthainne* and *Kenavara*

ON -rð- > G -dh- [ɣ]: see *An Turdha*

ON -rð > G -rt: less commonly, ON -rð develops into G -rt. For example, the Islay name *Grunnfjörðr* ‘shallow firth’ has developed into *Gruinart* (Macniven 2015, 323). See *Meileart*

ON sk- > G sg-: see ON *sker* > G loan word *sgeir*, and *Sgaracleit, Sgibinis, Sgiobasal* and *Sgudaig*

ON v or f may be deleted, particularly in a medial position: for example, *langavǫllr* ‘long field’ developed into *Langavill* on Mull, but *Langal* in Moidart (Márkus 2012, 228). This development is particularly common on Tiree with ON -vík < G -aig. 5/29 (17%) of probable Tiree names in ON -vík have preserved their medial -v- > -bhaig: *Balbhaig, Solabhag, Ulbhaig, An Urabhag* and *Urvaig*. This compares to the situation in Carloway, where 7/9 (78%) of names in ON -vík > G -bhaig. ON *Kyrvík has developed to G *Ciaraig* on Tiree and G *Cirbhig* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 206). See *Beag, Beannaig, Bhideig, Boraige, Ciaraig, Cornaig, An Craca, Cragaig, Crìonaig, Cuinneag, Dearcaig, Earblaig, Fiura, Goighneig, Gorraig, Grìseag, Homaidh, Ìosaig, Mannel, Marasaig, Meidhaig, Miasaig, Neòsaig, Ruaig, Saltaig, Sandaig, Saundaig, Sgaracleit, Sgudaig* and *Týrvist*. A terminal ON -v is more likely to be preserved: see *Culaobh*

v > b Some consonants also changed when words were loaned from Norse to Gaelic though back-formation: ‘[This is] where ON loan words or loan-names have radical initials [such as v-] which correspond to lenited consonants in Gaelic [such as bh-], they may be “restored” to

appropriate radical forms in Gaelic, e.g. ON *vágr* > G *bàgh* “bay” (Cox 2002, 53). See *Baugh*

v < > w: ‘Old Norse and Norwegian do not differentiate between /v/ and /w/ ... There are numerous examples of /w/, e.g. Walls and Wasdale’ (Sandnes 2010a, 306). The same development was common on Tiree: *A’ Baoill* was documented as *Will* in 1541 and *Vuill* in 1768; *Vaul* was recorded as *Wall* in 1541, *Vaul* in 1561 and *Waal* in 1794; while *Skervinch* (1509) became *Skarwenys* in 1542 and *Skervinis* in 1642

ON Þ (known as a ‘thorn’ and pronounced as an unvoiced /th/, as in the English ‘thorn’) > **G t-**: see *Duill*, *Hanais*, *Tromsalum*, *Tromslum* and *Trosgamul*

Projected consonants: the final consonant of the first element (usually the generic) is interpreted as being the first consonant of the second element (see Cox 2002, 64). For example, the name-form *Am Port Daor* may have developed from the ON *qgr* with the final -t in G *port* being projected onto it. See *Chùrr*, *Daor*, *Dearcaig*, *Dùnan Nighean*, *Kerreferguss*, *Osnaich*, *Rèidh-sgeir (Sloc Ghreathasgail)*, and *Sliganish*. See also *Iosaig* and *Riseag*, where the reverse process has taken place

Prosthetic consonants: the insertion of a prosthetic *f-* before an initial vowel is common in the Tiree Gaelic dialect: for example, G *easgann* ‘eel’ > *feasgann*, G *àradh* ‘ladder’ > *fàradh* (Boyd 2014, 344)

Open final syllables are often closed by adding a -dh: ‘The velar fricative [ɣ] frequently terminates otherwise open final syllables ... e.g. *Bòstadh* < ON *Bólstað* “the farm”’ (Cox 2002, 64). An Islay example is *Óláfsstaðir* ‘Olav’s farm’ > *Óláfssta* > *Olistadh* (Macniven 2015, 344). Hear *Taigh na Croiseadh* on a recording of Hector Kennedy talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1971.096, track ID 52021, and *Cnoc na Croicheadh* on a recording of Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1968.245, track ID 59655. See *Adhraidh*, *Àsadh* and *Beireadh* in section 12.1.2, *Biosd*, *Bò*, *Eireadh*, *Sgrèuchadh*, *Smuckaberg* and *Týrvist*

/n/ and /nd/ are interchangeable by the linguistic processes of assimilation and hypercorrection (Sandnes 2010a, 308): see *Bruthainne*, *Kenovay*, *Mannel* and *An t-Sròn*

/l/ < > /n/: G *muinear* is a Tiree dialect variant of *muillear* ‘miller’: for example, *Gilleasbuig a’ mhuineir*, Archibald MacDonald, was the last miller to work the horizontal mill in Milton until around 1890. See *Heylipoll*, *Meannan* and *Meannan Bhalla*

Metathesis is common: for example, the Tiree dialect forms G *gorra-chritheach* ‘stork’ instead of the standard *corra-ghritheach*, and *tosgaid* ‘barrel’ in place of the standard *togsaid* (Ailean Boyd, pers. comm.). See *Boghasum*, *Cad-rum*, *Earnal*, *Fhàdamull*, *Greasamull*, *Greatharum*, *Lebhearraig*, *Miarum*, *Miasamull*, *Mithealum*, *Odarum*, *Rangasdal*, *Ròmasgeir*, *Tromsalum*, *Tromslum*, *Tronsairigh* and *Trosgamul*

Consonants are often palatalised under the influence of a neighbouring narrow vowel:

- The Hough name *Crossigar* is probably derived from ON *Krossagarðr* ‘farm of crosses’, whereas the Kilmoluaig name *Croisgeir* [ˈkrɔ̃ ˌjgʲeɪ̯] is probably derived from ON *Krossagerði* ‘field of crosses’
- Sometimes there is a ‘half-palatalisation’ as in *Òrisgal* (variably *Òirisgeal*: see *Òdhrasgair*) [ˈõ: r̥i̯ ˌjgʲaɫ] and [ˈõ: r̥i̯ ˌjgʲaɫ], where the -s- is palatalised but the -g- is not

In the Tiree dialect, this is especially true of a medial -r-. This is often palatalised so strongly that it almost disappears: ‘The quality of the slender /r/ heard in Tiree must surely be unparalleled in any other dialect of Scottish Gaelic, being realised as /j/ ... in the Tiree vernacular *fairis* and *Sgairinis* [*Scarinish*] could quite legitimately be spelt as *faighis* and *Sgaidhinis*’ (Boyd 2014, 362). See *Boidhegeir* for another good example of this.

17.5 REPETITION, CONVERGENCE AND CONFLATION

Repetition is common in place-names. There are no less than eight examples of G *Am Port Bàn* ‘the sandy inlet’ in Caolas, Ruaig, Scarinish, Baugh, Crossapol, Balemartine, Cornaig and Balephetrish. And there are four examples of *An Snoig*, a Gaelic borrowing from ON *knjúkr* and meaning ‘pointed sea rock’ in Heanish, Hynish, Kenavara and Sandaig.

Where these were farm-names (see ‘User group’ in the Glossary), there was less chance of confusion. Place-name user groups often remained local: ‘Families tended to stay for generations in one part of the island ... They rarely travelled far ... There was a certain rivalry and suspicion between east and west [ends of Tiree], which still survives, and differences in speech and character too’ (Cregeen 1973, 8). Township shoreline rights to cast seaweed, timber and fishing stations were jealously defended into modern times.

Identical district names needed an identifier. A shoreline feature was called *Tromsalum Ruaig* to distinguish it from the *Tromslum* in Salum (see Gazetteer). There is a *Crois* in Kilmoluaig and a *Crois a' Chaolais* in Caolas (MacDougall 1937, 128). Two Icelandic farms in one municipality were called *Kirkjuból* [church farm] *í* [in] *Bjarnardal* and *Kirkjuból í Korpudal* (SAM).

Sailors must have been careful to maintain distinctions between similar navigational (travellers') names.

There appear to be a few examples of repetition among the surviving Norse names of Tiree:

- *Heren* in Hynish and *Ylen na Hying*: ON **heiðrin* 'the heath' (see *Heren* and *Hying*)
- *Sandaig* in Balephetrish and *Sandaig*: ON *sandr* 'sand' with ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'
- *Sgaracleit* in Mannel and Hough: ON *skarfr* 'cormorant' with ON *klettr* 'sea rock'

However, older place-names with quite different derivations can grow increasingly similar over time, something called convergence. Ultimately, this can lead to conflation. To take two English examples, *Wing* in Buckinghamshire originally meant '*Weohthūn's* people', whereas *Wing* in Rutland derives from ON *vengi* 'field' (Ekwall 1960, 523). Sometimes this follows on quite independently from regular phonetic development: for example, *Lyngvøll* 'heathery field' and *Lynghóll* 'heathery hill' would both be expected to develop to G *Lingal* (see Gazetteer and section 17.4.2; see also *Grianal* in Gazetteer).

Sandnes also found conflation in Orkney: 'We have noticed a tendency for names of different origin to become homonymous' (Sandnes 2010a, 374). For example, *Isbister* in Rendall comes from ON *Óssbólstaðr* 'farm of the river mouth', whereas *Isbister* in Birsay is derived from ON *Eystríbólstaðr* 'eastern farm' (Sandnes 2010a, 125 and 361). See *Coulabus* on Islay for a possible example on that island (Macniven 2015, 305).

Convergence and conflation appear to be particularly common on Tiree. Many of these name pairs are found nowhere else in Scotland and yet are in neighbouring townships, as if they are exerting a 'gravitational pull' on one another:

- *An Callan Beag*, *Kenavara*, and *An Callan Mòr* in the sea west of Greenhill (see *An Callan Beag*)

- *Càrnan Mòr, Beinn Haoidhnis* (see Gazetteer) and *Càrnan Mòr, Kenavara* (OS1/2/28/222)
- *Cascar Bàn*, Kilmoluaig, and *Cascar*, Cornaigmore (see Gazetteer)
- *Cill-fhinnean* in Kenovay and *Cill-Finnein* in Balephetrish (see Gazetteer)
- *Circnis*, Kenavara, and *Circnis*, Sandaig (see Gazetteer)
- *Glas Eilean* in Cornaigmore and Cornaigbeg (see Gazetteer)
- *Greasamull* in Caolas and Salum (see Gazetteer)
- *Lionar Sgeire* in Greenhill and Hough (see Gazetteer)
- *Loch Achlair*, Moss (Feature no. 137, 1768 Turnbull Map) and *Loch a' Chlàir* 'a small narrow loch about half a mile north of *Loch an Eilein*' (OS1/2/28/93) are 2 km apart across the *sliabh* and almost intervisible. These are both likely to be Gaelic names, possibly with different derivations: G *clàr* 'smooth surface' (Dwelly) and 'board' (Hector Kennedy talking to Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1974.129, track ID 72991). It may be significant that both are drained by a stream called G *An Lèig* 'the stream' (see Gazetteer)
- *Raonabol* and *Raonabodha*, Caolas (see Gazetteer)
- G *An Stalla Mhòr* 'the big cliff', West Hynish and *An Stalla Mhòr*, Balephuill. These are just 1 km apart
- *Suacan*, Caolas, and *Na Suacain*, Ruaig (see Gazetteer)
- *Tràigh na Siolaig* in Scarinish and *Tràigh nan Siolag* in Baugh (see *Siolaig*)
- *Tromsalum*, Ruaig, and *Tromslum*, Salum (see Gazetteer)
- *An Uailleineach*, Vaul, and *An Uaireanaich*, Kirkapol (see Gazetteer)

The corollary of convergence is that at least one of the names in a pair has evolved to a greater extent, making any derivation even more conjectural.

17.6 CONTRACTION

Hebridean place-names of Norse origin – loaned into Gaelic and compressed by the weight of time – have a tendency to contract. This loss is most common in the central part of the name:

In the case of polysyllabic names, or in the case of compounds consisting of three words, there is, under certain circumstances a tendency to ‘telescope’, i.e. to slur or even wholly jump the middle part of the name. Thus *Askary* in Caithness is historically known to represent *Asgrimsergin*. (Watson 1996 (1904), lv)

Very few Hebridean place-names of Norse origin have more than four syllables; the great majority have two or three. Longer ON names can hardly avoid contraction, and we must be prepared to meet many names that cannot be explained except by substantial interpolation. Needless to say, all reconstructions obtained in this way must be regarded as highly conjectural. (Ofstedal 2009, 50)

For the few Tiree names where we do have older historical forms – the 1390 four-syllable name-forms *Mannawallis* and *Hindebollis*, for example – the reduction to form the *Mannel* and *Heylipol* of today is obvious.

To get a feel for the extent of this on Tiree, a selection of modern Icelandic farm-names and the existing names of probable Norse origin within modern Tiree place-names were compared: for example, **Basapoll* (three syllables) is inferred from the modern name *Loch Bhasapoll*. Icelandic farm-names beginning with *A-* and *H-* were selected from the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies database (SAM). Some single Norse vowels become disyllabic when loaned into Gaelic: for example, ON *Sætr* > *Shiader* (see Gazetteer):

Syllables	Iceland	%age	Tiree	%age
1	147	11	29	12
2	367	28	98	42
3	417	32	98	42
4	293	23	7	3
5	54	4	1	
6	7	0.5		
7	4	0.3		

Most Tiree names have two or three syllables, while almost a quarter of Icelandic names have four syllables.

Some polysyllabic Norse names – for example the five-syllable *Fladarabodha* as *Flat Urðaboði* – appear to have survived intact. Many single-syllable names have also survived. The problem comes with the two-, three-, and four-syllable Tiree

names, many of which appear to have lost a syllable, and occasionally far more than one.

Those Gaelic loan-names that have been reconstructed using three Norse words are particularly conjectural: see *Dùdaire*, *Earblaig*, *Hiatrainis* and *Neòsaig*.

17.7 THE GENITIVE MORPHEME

Words in the genitive case (the boat of Donald; Donald's boat) can help to date a Norse place-name. Before the twelfth century, weak Norse nouns, like the male ON personal name *Bassi*, had the genitive singular form *Bassa*, as in (possibly) *Basapoll*, and *Rakkadalr* (*Rachadal*). The genitive morpheme /s/, as in the English Donald's became increasingly common in Norway after 1150 (Gammeltoft 2001, 75). Eighteen names in the Tíree material may contain the genitive morpheme /s/: *Allamsa*, *Boghasum*, *Càrsamull*, *Conslum*, *Cascar Bàn*, *Inisgeir*, *Ìosaig*, *Rèitheasgal*, *Rùnasgal*, *Tòrasa*, *Tòdhrasdal*, *Tromsalum*, *Tronsairigh* and *Ùisgil*. However, the genitive morpheme /s/ may have been added later to an older name as a secondary development (see *Ingashowe*, Sandnes 2010a, 125).

17.8 OLD NORSE ELEMENTS

17.8.1 Index of Old Norse words

aðal ‘principal’ *Adha-geir*

akr ‘arable field’ *Cruithneachd Langach*

al-menning ‘common grazing’ *Allamsa Meanaidh*

auðr ‘desolate’ *Ùbhag*

aurr ‘wet ground’ *Cladh Orain Origadal*

austr ‘east’ *Oснаich*

á ‘stream’ *Àras Cliar Rangasdal*

áirge ‘milking place’ *Corrairigh Tronsairigh*

áill ‘eel ... deep, narrow channel in river’ *Alabhal*

áss ‘ridge’ *Àras Àsadh Bhàlas Kerreferguss Mhiasumull Torbhas*

bakki ‘bank’ Arabach Mealbhach Robach Sgrèuchadh

bali ‘grassy bank’ Balbhaig

barn ‘child or small feature’ Bàna-Druim Bàrna-sgeir

barð ‘escarpment’ Baraigh Bò

barr ‘barley’ Barrapoll

berg ‘rock’ Bergh A’ Bheirbh Smuckaberg

birki ‘birch’ Birceapol

björg ‘rock, boulder’ Biùrinn

bodði ‘submerged rock’ Bòdhab Fladarabodha Kirkabo Raonabodha

borði ‘border’ Bordain

borg ‘fort’ Boidhegeir Borabrig Boraige Boramul Isleborg Skarbarigh

ból ‘farm division’ Barrapol Basapoll Crossapoll Heylipol Kirkapol Raonabol

breið ‘broad’ Breath-sgeirean Briolachain

brekka ‘slope’ Brock Origadal

brennan ‘the land cleared by burning’ Bruthainne

brim ‘surf’ Brimminis

brú ‘causeway’ Brù

bryggja ‘boat landing place’ Bòdhab Borabrig Cròdhabrig Dusprig Eibrig Ìbrig
Lìbrig Lìbrig Sgràbraig

bygð ‘residence’ Beag

bytta ‘small tub’ Baca na Putain

býr ‘farm’ Bèidhe Biosd Sorobaidh

dagverðar ‘day meal’ T-Shomhairle

dalr ‘valley or piece of ground’ or **deild** ‘part; portion or share of land’ Diubadal
Mannel Muradal Origadal Rachadal Rangasdal Rosdal Rumidil Sgiobasal Tòdhrasdal

djúpr ‘deep’ Diubadal

døkk ‘water-filled hollow’ Eadach

dúfa ‘pigeon’ Dùbal

dúkr ‘cloth’ *Dùcha*

dys ‘cairn’ *Dusprig*

dý ‘bog’ *Dùdaire*

efja ‘boggy area’ *Abhuinn*

endi ‘end’ *Lionar Sgeire*

ey ‘island’ *Baraigh Soa Tòrasa*

eyrr ‘gravel bank’ *Earball Earblaig Eibrig Eireadh*

fit ‘meadow beside water’ *Fidden Tobar Poll Fannaid*

ffjall ‘mountain’ *Lingal*

ffjara ‘ebbtide; foreshore’ *Fiura*

ffjörðr ‘firth, bay’ *Meileart*

flatr ‘flat’ *Fladarabodha*

flotr ‘plain’ *Flèid*

garðr ‘yard or farm’ *Boidhegeir Crossigar Gorraig Husagar*

gás ‘goose’ *Gasamull*

gassi ‘gander’ *Gasamull*

gata ‘a road or path bounded by walls’ *Gott*

gerði ‘fence, field’ or **geiri** ‘a triangular piece of land’ *Adha-geir Boidhegeir Cascar BÀN Cròinigeir Croisgeir Fòirnigir Groideagal Inisgeir Òinegeir*

gil ‘coastal gully’ *Na Gilean Rèidh-sgeir Rosgail Rùnasgal Ùisgil*

gjá ‘gully’ *Boraige Caidheagar Sgiobagar Soghaigir Thallasgar Tunagair*

gjögr ‘cleft, rift’ *Gior*

gnípa ‘cliff’ *Gribun*

göng ‘corridor, passage’ *Goibhneig Gon*

grár ‘grey; spiteful, malicious’ *An Grà’ dar*

greiðr ‘passable’ *Greatharum*

gríss ‘pig; dangerous waters with many submerged rocks’ *Greasamull Grìseag*

grjót ‘rough stones, rubble, shingle on beach’ *Greòdhlaínn*

grautr ‘gravel’ *Groideagal*

grænn ‘green’ *Grianaig Grianal Grianatot*

gulr ‘yellow’ *Culaobh Gullaidh Guthalum*

hagi ‘pasture’ *Àsadh Bhotaidh Eireadh*

hali ‘tail’ *Aulaig*

hallr ‘slope; big stone’ *Thallasgar*

hamarr ‘hammer-shaped rock’ *Boghasum Cad-rum Greatharum Lònamar Miarum Odarum*

haugr ‘burial mound’ *Hough*

heiðr ‘heath’ *Heren Hynish Hying*

hella ‘table land of rocks’ *Heala*

hellir ‘cave’ *Eala*

hey ‘hay’ *Hianish*

hind ‘female deer’ *Heylipoll*

hlíð ‘slope’ *Cliar Fìdhlear Glaislinn Greòdhlainn Gullaidh Lì Lìbrig Lionar Sgeire T-Shomhairle Ulaidh*

hlíf ‘shelter’ *Lìbrig*

hnísa ‘porpoise’ *Ìosaig*

hóll ‘rounded hill’ *Coirce Earnal Grianal Lingal Stànal*

hólmr ‘islet’ *Conslum Fhàdamull Greasamull (Caolas) Greasamull (Greenhill) Guthalum Mhiasumull Mithealum Salum Tromsalum (Ruaign)*

hraun ‘bare rocks in the sea’ *Raonabodha*

hringr ‘ring’ *Ring Rionasgeir*

hross ‘horse’ *Rosdal Rosgaill*

hrúga ‘heap’ *Ruth*

hryggr ‘ridge’ *Callraig Lebhearaig*

hváll ‘dome-shaped hill’ *Ciofal Earnal Grèinemheall Grianal Mòr-mhill*

hús ‘house’ *Husagar Neòsaig*

hvalr ‘whale’ *Balbhaig*

- hvalbein*** ‘whale bone’ *Alabainn*
- hvammr*** ‘grassy slope’ *Homaidh*
- hvönn*** ‘angelica’ *Tobar Poll Fannaid*
- hæð*** ‘height or hill’ *Hiatrainis*
- höfuð*** ‘head-shaped prominence’ *A’ Bheirbh Ceansa Culaobh*
- høgr*** ‘a heathen place of worship’ *Thorramhull*
- iða*** ‘whirlpool, eddy’ *Dùn nan Nighean*
- iðri*** or ***innri*** ‘innermost’ *Ìbrig*
- kambr*** ‘comb; crest; ridge (of hills)’ *Cambar*
- kelda*** ‘well’ *Callraig Ciular*
- kirkja*** ‘church’ *Circnis Kirkabo Kirkapoll*
- kjøl*** ‘keel-shaped cliff’ *Ceòl*
- kjós*** ‘hollow’ *Ceansa*
- klettr*** ‘sea rock’ *Chléit Cléit Mòr Sgaracleit*
- klif*** ‘cliff’ *Cliar*
- knúkr*** ‘pointed summit’ *An Snoig*
- kollr*** ‘top, summit; head, crown’ *Boidhegeir Groideagal Tiacal*
- korki*** ‘oats’ *Coirce*
- korn*** ‘corn’ *Cornaig*
- kraki*** ‘pole, anchor’ *Craca Craga*
- kráka*** ‘crow’ *Craiknish Rachadal*
- krækiber*** ‘crowberry’ *Creachasdal*
- kringla*** or ***kringr*** ‘circle’ *Crìonaig Crìonan*
- kross*** ‘cross’ *Croisgeir Crossapoll Crossigar*
- kró*** ‘small cattle pen’ *Craosan Crò Cròdhabrig Cro’-fhir*
- krókr*** ‘hook or bend’ *Crochadair Cròg Crògain Crògain*
- krúna*** ‘crown or higher eminence’ *Cròinigeir*
- krysu*** ‘cross’ *Crisnis*

- kúla** 'ball, knob ... medically a hump' *Boidhegeir Fòirnigir Groideagal*
- kvern** 'mill' *Cornaig Greusgain Suacan Uircean*
- kví** 'milking pen' *Bruthainne Cuinneag*
- kyrr** 'calm' *Ciaraig Circnis Cìtinn*
- køttr** 'cat' *Cad-rum*
- land** 'land' *Land*
- langr** 'long' *Laighnis Lamh-sgeir Langach*
- langa** 'ling' *Lionar Sgeire*
- laugr** 'pool' *Lò*
- lágur** 'low' *Laighsgeir Lamh-sgeir*
- lína** 'line' *Lionar Sgeire*
- lón** 'inlet' *Lònamar*
- lykkja** 'enclosure' *Sliganish*
- lyng** 'heather, bilberry' *Cill-fhinnean Lingal*
- lækr** 'stream' *Briolachain An Lèig*
- maðr** 'man' *Mannel*
- maðra** 'bedstraw' *Mòr-mhill*
- man** 'slave' *Mannel*
- meðal** 'middle' *Meileart*
- meiss** 'basket or creel' *Miasaig*
- melr** 'marram grass' *Malainn Meileart*
- mið** 'middle' *Miarum Mìodar Mìthealum*
- mikill** 'large' *Miogasdal*
- mjór** 'narrow' *Mòr Chléit*
- mór** 'moor' *Moirein*
- múli** 'promontory' *Boramul Càrsamull Gasamull Greasamull (Caolas) Greasamull (Greenhill) Mhiasumull Mìthealum Mula Onamull Thorramhull Tromslum (Salum)*
- mynni** 'mouth of a river' *Sgaramìn*

mýrr ‘marsh’ *Muradal Murstainn Murstat*

mær ‘maiden’ *Meidhaig*

møl ‘pebbles, worn stones’ *Mùlainn*

møn ‘mane of a horse’ *Mannel*

nes ‘promontory’ *Brimminis Circnis Circnis Craiknish Crisnis Hanais Hianish
Hiatrainis Hynish Laignnis Osnaich Scarinish Sgibinis Sliganish Taoinis*

norður ‘north’ *Kenovay*

nýr ‘new’ *Neðsaig Uircean*

oddr ‘spit, knife-point’ *Crochadair Dùdaire An Grà’ dar Miodar Odarum*

óss ‘mouth of a river’ *Àras*

pallr ‘platform’ *Dùbal Earball Earblaig*

pollr ‘pool’ *Balephuill Barrapoll Birceapol Heylipoll*

rang ‘bend’ *Rangasdal*

rauður ‘red’ *Robach Ruaig*

rif ‘rib or [sea] reef’ *The Reef*

rifa ‘cleft’ *Ribhinn*

rófa ‘tail’ *Rò*

rymr ‘roaring’ *Rumidil*

røðull ‘edge, or crest, of a hill’ *Rel*

salr ‘hall’ *Sgiobasal*

salt ‘salt’ *Saltaig*

sandr ‘sand’ *Crosan Sandaig*

saurr ‘waterlogged ground’ *Sorobaidh*

sauður ‘sheep’ *Soa Soghaigir*

selr ‘seal’ *Salum*

set ‘seat’ *Eadach*

setr ‘small farm’ *Hùinisdeir*

sætr ‘shieling’ *Siader*

síld ‘herring’ *Siolaig*

skáli ‘hut or shieling’ *Òdhrasgair Rèitheasgeal*

skarðr ‘crevice, notch’ *Sgàthain Skarbarigh*

skarfr ‘cormorant’ *Scarnish Sgaracleit Sgaramìn*

skarvr ‘flat rock’ *Scarnish*

sker ‘skerry’ *Bàrna-sgeir Breath-sgeirean Cascar Bàn Cròmisgeir Hùnasgeir Laighsgeir/Lamh-sgeir Lionar Sgeire Rionasgeir Ròmasgeir Ùlasgeir*

skor ‘rift in a rock or precipice’ *Hùnasgeir Rèidh-sgeir*

skriða ‘landslip’ *Sgrèuchadh*

skip ‘boat’ *Sgibinis Sgiobagar Sgiobasal*

skítr ‘dirt’ *Sgìt*

skúti ‘little boat’ *Sgudaig*

sløkk ‘crevice’ *Sloc Mhic Cnithalum*

smug ‘narrow passage’ *Smuckaberg*

snøs ‘projecting rock’ *Snòis*

sql ‘dulse’ *Solabhaig*

staðir ‘farm’ *Biosd Hùinisdeir*

stakkr ‘sea stack’ *Ùlastac*

steinn(ar) ‘standing stone(s)’ *Bordain Murstainn Staoin Treasdain*

stól ‘stool, chair’ *Stòl*

straumr ‘current’ *Sròm*

støð ‘berth, harbour’ *Biosd*

støðull ‘milking place’ *Bàrasdal Creachasdal Miogasdal Rangasdal Sgiobasal Tòdhrasdal Ulbhaig*

støng ‘pole’ *Stànal*

strönd ‘beach’ *Sròn*

suðr ‘south’ *Suacan*

søkk ‘hollow, sinking’ *Na Suacain*

teigr 'strip of field, paddock' *Taoinis*

tindr 'spike' *Citinn*

topt 'house site or foundation' *Grianatot Murstat*

torf 'turf' *Thorramhull Torbhas Torrain*

tré 'tree' *Treasdain*

trøð 'cattle enclosure' *Hiatrainis Treogh*

trøllr 'troll' *Traoil*

tunga 'tongue' *Tunagair Tunna Cill Tunnain*

urð 'rock strewn slope' *Fladarabodha Kerrefergus An Turdha An Urabhag Urvaig*

vað 'wading place' *Bhabhainn*

valr 'falcon' *Balbhaig*

varða 'beacon' *Kenavara*

vatn 'water or loch' *Basapoll*

vágr 'large bay' *Baugh Kenovay*

vátr 'damp, wet' *Bhotaidh*

veisa 'pool' *Mhaois*

ver 'fishing station' *Allamsa Arbhair Boraige An Craca Dùdaire Fidhlear Fidhleir Fiura Ladhair*

víðir 'willow' *Fidhlear Ìlidh*

vík 'bay or inlet' *Aulaig Balaramaig Balbhaig Beag Beannaig Bhideig Boraige Ciarraig Circnis Cornaig Cragraig Crìonaig Cuinneag Dearcaig Earblaig Goibhneig Gorraig Grianaig Griseag Ìosaig Lebhearaig Leacaig Meidhaig Marasaig Miasaig Naomhag Neòsaig Ollag Ruaig Saltaig Sandaig Sandaig Sgudaig Siolaig Solabhaig Ùbhag Ulbhaig An Urabhag Urvaig*

víti 'beacon' *Bhideig*

vøllr 'field, meadow' *Alabhal A' Bhaolach A' Bhaoill Ciofal Earnal Grèinemheall Grianal Lingal Lingal Mannel Mòr-mhill Vaul*

vøttr 'glove' *Bòid Fhàdamull*

þing 'assembly' *Greòdhlainn*

þang 'tangle, seaweed' *Hanais*

þorskr ‘cod’ *Trosgamul*

þyrill ‘whirling gusts of wind’ *Duill*

øgr ‘inlet’ *Daor Òdhrasgair*

øngull ‘angle, hook’ *Onamull*

17.8.2 Index of Old Norse personal names:

The numbers in parentheses indicate how often the name is mentioned in the *Landnámabók* (1900). This book, listing the original Icelandic settlers and their families, dates from the thirteenth century and gives a measure of a name’s popularity in the Early Medieval Norse world of the North Atlantic.

Ari (8) *Arabach Arbhair*

Bassi *Basapoll*

Bárðr (19) *Bàrasdal*

Bjarni (13) *Beannaig*

Boðvarr (12) *Boghasum*

Breiðr (1) *Breath-sgeirean*

Einarr (28) *Earnal*

Eirekr (12) *Dearcaig*

Gassi *Gasamull*

Geirr (5) *Cascar Bàn*

Grenjaðr (2) *Grèinemheall*

Grettir *Greasamull*

Gríss (3) *Griseag*

Gulli *Gullaidh Guthalum*

Hallr (18) *Thallasgar*

Hreiðarr (3) *Rèidh-sgeir Rèithesgeal*

Hringr *Rionasgeir*

Hrómundr (3) *Ròmasgeir*

Húni *Hùnasgeir*

Hogni (6) *Hùinisdeir Hùnasgeir*

Ingjaldr (15) *Inisgeir*

Ísleifr (3) *Isleborg*

Kárr (4) *Càrsamull*

Konáll (5) *Conslum*

Kristr *Crisnis*

Oddr (24) *Odorum*

Ragnhildr (4) *Rangasdal*

Rognvaldr (1) *Raonabol*

Úlfarr (5) *Úlasgeir Úlastac*

Úlfr (21) *Ùisgil*

Váli (2) *Bhàlas*

Víðarr (2) *Mhiasumull*

Vífill (3) *Fidhlear*

Þórarinn (45) *Tronsairigh*

Þórðr (73) *Tòrasa Tòdhrasdal*

Þórir (56) *Tòrasa Tòdhrasdal*

Þórmóðr *Tromsalum*

Qrn (10) or **Qrnólfr** (8) *Òinegeir*

17.9 INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (IPA)

The International Phonetic Alphabet is a standardised system of representing on paper the sounds that go to create words. The IPA symbols used in this book are laid out below with their approximate pronunciation.

17.9.1 General

All phonetic symbols are enclosed inside square brackets, for example [ˈã:ĩ ,gʻeɪ].

Phonemes are enclosed by slashes, for example /t/.

Stress markers before a syllable are [ˈ] meaning primary (major) stress, and [ˌ] meaning secondary (minor) stress.

Length markers are [:] indicating a long vowel and [ː] indicating a half-long vowel.

17.9.2 Diacritics

These are symbols above and below a letter.

ã: a tilde above a vowel means it is pronounced nasally (partly through the nose), as in ‘ping-pong’

h: a breathy sound before or after a consonant (see *Aspiration* in Glossary)

j: a /y/ ending as in ‘key’

ɹ̥: this symbol below a letter means it is ‘devoiced’, or not sounded, as for example the ‘r’ in ‘dinner’

ˈ: this symbol indicates a palatalised sound, for example the ‘g’ in ‘give’

-: this symbol indicates a hiatus, as in ‘hi-atus’

17.9.3 Letters

17.9.3.1 Vowels

a as in ‘pat’

ɑ ‘part’

æ ‘make’

ɛ ‘pen’

ɜ ‘Sabbath’

ə ‘Pamela’: a svarabhakti, a vowel inserted as an epenthesis between consonants, as in the common Scottish pronunciation of ‘fil-u-m’ (see Glossary)

i ‘deep’

ɪ ‘difficult’

o ‘coat’

ɔ ‘not’

ø ‘herd’

õ 'orange'

u 'root'

ʌ 'but'

ʊ 'pull'

aɪ 'five'

aʊ 'now'

eɪ 'say'

ɔɪ 'boy'

17.9.3.2 Consonants

b as in 'but'

d 'dam'

d' 'June' or 'edge'

f 'fork'

g 'gather'

g' 'give'

h 'hot'

j 'yet'

k 'kite'

k' 'prick'

l 'low'

l' 'leap'

ɫ 'pull'

m 'man'

n 'no'

n' 'nit'

ŋ 'sing'

ŋ 'barn'

n the /ny/ of the Spanish ñ in '*mañana*'

p 'put'

r trilled as in the Scottish 'priest'

r not trilled as in the English 'programme'

s 'lass'

ʃ 'shall'

t 'top'

t' 'church'

θ 'thing'

v 'van'

w 'win'

x as in the Scottish ending 'loch' right at the back of the mouth

ɣ as in the exclamation of disgust 'Ugh!'

z 'puzzle'

17.9.4 List of informants

Flora Ann Anderson, Balevullin

Ailean Boyd, Balephuill

Alasdair Brown, Balephuill

Archibald Brown, Kilkenneth

Donald Archie Brown, Balevullin

Donald Archie Brown, Balephuill

Iain Brown, Crossapol

Margaret Brown, Silversands

Seonaid Brown, Balephuill

Eilidh and Murdoch Cameron, Balevullin

Iain Cameron, Crossapol

Lachlan Cameron, Balevullin

Alasdair Campbell, Tullymet
Hector J.C. Campbell (*Eachann Lachainn*), Cornaigbeg
Hugh Campbell, Garraphail, Cornaigmore
Lachlan Campbell, Garraphail and Crossapol
Mairi Campbell, Corrairigh, Cornaigbeg
Mor (Marion) Campbell, Balemartine
John Fletcher, Balemartine
Duncan Grant, Ruaig
Neil Johnston, Heanish
Archibald Kennedy (*Èirdsidh Peigi*), Crossapol
Annie Kennedy, Post Office, Scarinish
Donald Kennedy (*Dòmhnall Eachainn*), Balevullin
Donald Kennedy, *Am Port Bàn*, Caolas and Ruaig
Donald Kennedy, Post Office, Scarinish
Donald Iain Kennedy, West Hynish
Eilidh Kennedy (*Eilidh Bheag*), Balevullin
Gilleasbuig Kennedy, West Hynish
Mabel Kennedy, Sandaig
William Lamont, Manna
Alasdair MacArthur, Balemartine
Alasdair MacArthur, Roisgal
Alec MacArthur, Heylipol
Flora MacArthur, Moss
Iain MacArthur, Barrapol
Mary MacArthur, Sandaig
Tina MacArthur, Caolas
Archibald MacCallum, Balevullin
Donald MacCallum, Scarinish

Ethel MacCallum, Ruaig
 Hugh Archie MacCallum, Whitehouse, Cornaigbeg
 Jean MacCallum, Balevullin
 David McClounnan, Balephuill
 Alec Hector MacDonald, Hynish
 Alasdair MacDonald, Druimasadh, Balevullin
 Alasdair MacDonald, Kilmoluaig
 Ann MacDonald, Balevullin
 Iain MacDonald, Skipinnish, Ruaig
 John Alec MacDonald, Balevullin
 Mary Ann MacDonald, Heanish
 Murdina MacDonald, Kilmoluaig
 Neil MacDonald (*Niall Tais*), Balevullin
 Rena MacDonald, Clachan, Cornaigmore
 Alasdair MacInnes, Ruaig
 Norman MacIver, Kilmoluaig
 Allan MacFadyen, Balemartine
 John MacFadyen (*Iain Ian Fhortaidh*), *Baile mhic Eòdha*, Barrapol
 Lachlan and Chrissie MacFarlane, Hynish
 Margaret MacInnes, Sackhill, Ruaig
 William MacIntosh (*Uilleam a' Ghobhainn*), Caolas
 Donald MacIntyre, Gott
 Rosie MacIntyre, Scarinish
 Vindy (Hughina) MacKay, Balemartine
 Archibald MacKinnon (*Èirdsidh Teanaidh*), Cornaigmore
 Archibald MacKinnon, Gott
 Catriona MacKinnon, Parkhouse, Balephetrish
 Donald MacKinnon, Hough

Donald MacKinnon ('Donald the Plumber'), Sandaig
Duncan MacKinnon, Balephuill
Dorothy MacKinnon, Vault
Effie MacKinnon, Sandaig
Elsie MacKinnon, Kirkapol
Fiona MacKinnon, Kirkapol
Hugh MacKinnon, *Tòrr a' Bhaile*, Ruaig
Hugh MacKinnon ('The Dooley'), Baugh
Iain MacKinnon, Hillcrest, Balephetrish
Iain MacKinnon (*Iain Chaluum*), Kilmoluaig
John MacKinnon (*Iain Aonghais*), Kilmoluaig
Jessie MacKinnon (*Teasaidh Lachainn*), Battlefield, Mannal
Joanne MacKinnon, Barrapol
Lachlan MacKinnon, Brock
Lachlan MacKinnon (*Lachainn Sheumais*), Vault
Lachlan MacKinnon (Lachie Parkhouse), Balephetrish
Mairi MacKinnon, Parkhouse, Balephetrish
Margaret MacKinnon, Braeside, Heanish
Mary MacKinnon, Seaside, Vault
Nancy MacKinnon, Sandaig
Neil MacKinnon, Balevullin
Sandy MacKinnon (*Sandaidh Ghobhainn*), Kilkenneth
Tommy MacKinnon, Vault
Alasdair MacLean (*Ailig Mòr*), Cornaigbeg
Alexina MacLean, Mannal
Angus MacLean, Caolas and Scarinish
Archie John MacLean, Heylipol
Bobby MacLean, Mithealum

Donald MacLean (*Dòmhnall Dubh*), Kenovay
 Duncan MacLean, Caolas
 Hugh MacLean, Barrapol
 John Archie MacLean, Croish, Caolas
 John George MacLean, Scarinish
 Mairi MacLean, Ruaig
 Neil Alec MacLean, Hough
 Ronnie MacLean, Silversands
 William MacLean, Balinoe
 Hugh MacLeod (*Eòghann Charachain*), Carachan, Kilmoluaig
 Morag MacLeod, Balephuill
 Neil MacLeod (*Niall Charachain*), Carachan
 Alec MacNeill, Balevullin
 Donald MacNeill (*Dòmhnall an Tàilleir*), The Land, Barrapol, and Crossapol
 Duncan MacPhail, Balephuill
 Hector MacPhail, Ruaig
 Flora MacPhail, Ruaig
 William MacPhail, Clachan, Cornaigmore
 Duncan MacPhee, Scarinish
 William MacPhee, Scarinish
 Professor Donald Meek, Caolas
 Angus Munn, Heanish
 Janet Paterson, Crossapol
 Alasdair Sinclair (*Alasdair Neilidh*), *Cu' Dhèis*, Balinoe
 Alasdair Sinclair (*Alasdair Beag na Cachaileith*), Greenhill
 Alasdair Sinclair, Brock, Ruaig
 Murdoch Sinclair, Balephuill
 Alasdair Straker, Balemartine

17.10 GAZETTEER

ABHUINN TIR C 1 NGR NM011474 ['a ,vir']

ON **Ejfin* 'the boggy place'

Sgeir Abhuinn, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 54: no derivation offered)

An Sgeir Abhann, MacDougall 1937, 84: '*An Sgeir Abhann* marks the northern end of *An Fhaodhail*.'

Sgeir Abhainn, Hector MacPhail, Ruaig, 11/1993 (oral source): 'It marks the spot where *An Fhaodhail* came out on the northern side of the island many years ago.'

Sgeir Abhaill, Alasdair Campbell, Tullymet, 1/1994 (oral source)

Balephetrish | A small skerry 50 m offshore. At the start of the twentieth century, a steel rod was fixed here to guide puffers onto the beach.

These name-forms are all Gaelic constructions in G *sgeir* 'skerry'. The specific has been understood as G *abhainn* 'stream'. The folk etymology for the name is that this skerry marks the site where *An Fhaodhail*, the stream at the eastern edge of *The Reef*, has occasionally broken through the northern coastline of the island to divide it in two (Hector MacPhail, pers. comm.). Turnbull was the first to record this: 'The Northeast end [of the Reef] lies low and wet. The sea of spring tides comes up Phuil river as far as Balephetrish and Kenovay farms which lays the east of this plain often under water. When the sea comes this far up it is often not above 400 yards from the North shore and directly opposite that part of the coast at Balephetrish bay where the sea overflowed and made some encroachments on the bank at the said North shore twice within these twenty years. The sea from the North and South shore thus joining divided the island into two' (Turnbull Report 1768; see section 5.6).

G *abhainn* is a certainly a common specific in Gaelic place-names, but it is usually accompanied by the definite article in a phrase name (see section 11.2.1), such as *Geàrr na h-Aibhne* ‘enclosure of the river’ in Carloway (Cox 2002, 285). A rare example where it is not is *Caol Abhuinn* in Kildalton and Oa, Islay (SP).

Cox has derived the name *Àbhainn* in Arran from ON *hōfn* ‘harbour’ (Cox 2010b). This is considered unlikely here in this unprotected, north-facing bay, where the merchant vessels *Malve* (1931) and *Ingrid* (1942) were blown ashore and wrecked (Moir and Crawford 1994, 178 and 173). Neither have I recorded the development ON *q* > [a:] on Tiree (see section 17.4.2.1).

Instead, *Abhuinn* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name. This may be **Efjin* ‘the boggy place’, from OI *effja* fem. ‘mud, ooze’ (CV, 115) or ‘boggy area’ (Jakobsen 1936, 36). The post-positioned bound definite article appears to be attached (see section 13.5). The developments ON *-e-* > G *-a-* and *-f-* > *-v-* are regular (see section 17.4.2). This derivation is also topographically plausible, with an extensive area of wetland at the northern end of *An Fhaodhail* now known as *A’ Bhriolochanaich*. See *Briolachain* and *Fidden*.

Exact cognates include the sixteen examples of the Norwegian farm-name *Evjen* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 5, 112).

ACAIRSEID AN DÙIN TIR C 1 NGR NL086475 [ˈak əɹ̩ ,setʰ]

G ‘the harbour of the fort’

Achersitindyne, 1775 Mackenzie M., *The west side of the island Mull with the islands Tiri and Coll*, NLS EMS.s.654

Acairseid an Dùin, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 144, meaning ‘Anchorage of the Ancient Castle’)

An Achdarsaid, 1932 Cameron, 308: a song by Mary Flora MacDonald ‘*Gu bheil i anns an Achdarsaid* [that she is in the *Achdarsaid*]

An Acarsaid, common local usage

Caolas | This inlet is likely to have been an important harbour since the Iron Age, as the promontory fort *Dùn Mòr a’ Chaolais* commands the area. It may have been the ‘ane gude heavin [haven] for heiland galayis’ that Monro described in 1549 (Munro 1961, 65; see section 5.6). There is a noust on the western side of the harbour. Today, this is the main harbour of Tiree and the base for the island’s fishing fleet. The construction of modern quays in the 1970s and 2020 have largely covered earlier structures, and a major dredging project in the 1970s is likely to

have widened a pre-existing boat draw. There is what appears to be a complex fish trap on the eastern side of the harbour.

It is notable that this inlet was not named on the Blaeu map of 1654. Turnbull recorded the name *Down Kelis Harbour* (Turnbull Map 1768), while Reeves marked this as *Downkyfil Harbour* (Reeves 1854, map facing page 232).

Acairseid an Dùin, a Gaelic construction meaning ‘harbour of the fort’, may therefore be a relatively modern toponym for this important feature. G *acarsaid* may be a loan word from ON *akkeris-sæti* (see section 12.1.2). The promontory marking the western entrance to the harbour was known to the Norse as **Borgarmúla* (see *Boramul*), and it is possible that the harbour was known as ON **Borgarhøf* ‘harbour of the fort’, a name which is common in Iceland (NLSI). See also *Ciofal*.

ADHA-GEIR TIR R 1 NGR NM082496 [ˈãĩː ˌgʲeɪ̯]

ON **Aðalgerði* ‘chief farm’

Cnoc Adha-geir, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 5: ‘Grain Oil Hill’)

Cnoc Àigeir, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source)

Caolas | A hillock near the shore

Cnoc Adha-geir is a Gaelic construction in G *cnoc* ‘hillock’. Its specific *Adha-geir* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *gerði* ‘field’. The specific of this may be OI *aðal* ‘chief, head ... used in a great many compounds ... e.g. *Á-ból* (from *aðal-ból*), a farm inhabited by its master, manor house, as opposed to tenant farms’ (CV, 3 and 39). *Adelby* in England represented a ‘mother village’ (Ekwall 1960, 468). This reflects the disyllabic version, *Adha-*, collected by the Ordnance Survey, as ON *-ð-* usually develops as a hiatus (see section 17.4.2.2).

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common among names in the Norse expansion zone. *Adal* in Horten, Norway, recorded in 1400 as *Adaldale*, is derived from *aðal* (Rygh, vol. 6, 110) and there are two examples of *Alby* derived from *Aðalbýr* (Rygh, vol. 6, 186 and vol. 1, 353); *Aðalvík* was recorded at settlement in Iceland (*Landnámabók* 1900, 284), while *Aðalból* is common as an Icelandic farm-name (NLSI). *Gerði* is an extremely common generic among Icelandic farm-names (SAM).

ADHRAIDH TIR R 1 NGR NM084475 [ˈø̃ːriːh]

Clach Adhraidh, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/1995 (oral source)

Ruaig | A large perched boulder to the west of *Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais*

Clach Adhraidh is a Gaelic construction in G *clach* 'rock'. Its specific *Adhraidh* may be G *adhradh* (genitive *adhraidh*) 'worship'. This element is uncommon, but there is a *Loch Àraidh* in Barvas, recorded as 'worship loch' (OS1/27/31/26). There are no relevant traditions attached to this location in Ruaig.

Alternatively, *Adhraidh* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name. There is an *Aoradh* in Islay, which may be from ON (*á*) *eyri* '(at) gravel bank' (Macniven 2015, 324). However, this is how I have derived the Tíree name *Eireadh*, 1.5 km to the west (see Gazetteer). Local phonetic development (see 17.4.2.1) supports, instead, a name in ON *ǫgr* (dative *ǫgri*) 'inlet' (CV, 762): *á Ǫgri* 'at (the) inlet'. The loss of a medial ON *-g-* and the closure of open final syllables with *-dh* are both regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent may have been one of the numerous inlets on this convoluted stretch of coastline (see 1878 Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXV.7).

Ǫgur is a common name in Iceland (NLSI), and the prepositional *í Ǫgri* is a place-name in Iceland (CV, 762). See *Daor*.

ALABHAL TIR R 1 NGR NL476983 [ˈɑːləˌvaɫ]

ON **Álavǫll* 'field along the snaking river'

Alabhal, William MacPhail, Clachan, 6/1995; Hector Campbell, Cornaigbeg, 3/1994 (oral sources)

Cornaigmore | A raised area south of G *Abhainn a' Mhuilinn* 'the stream of the mill'. Before the mill – with its lade, millpond and straight drainage ditch – was built in Cornaigmore in 1803, the stream draining *Loch Bhasapoll* exited 200 m further north and then meandered through a meadow on its way to the sea. Turnbull described it thus: 'Field no. 150. Meadow. Part arable ... Partly good, but it is often overflowed by the runner from Loch Vassapoll in wet, rainy weather. There is not a proper channel for the water to flow' (Turnbull Report 1768).

Alabahal has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vǫllr* 'field'. I have previously suggested that its specific was the male ON personal name *Ǫlvir*. But

the topography supports ON *áll* (genitive *áls*) ‘eel ... deep, narrow channel in river’ (CV, 43) or a feature that ‘snakes through the landscape’, as proposed for *Allalladh* on Islay (Macniven 2015, 190).

ALLAMSA TIR C 1 NGR NM026434

Allamsa and *Cleit Allamsa*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 179, -): + G *cleit* ‘sea rock’
No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Baugh | Mapped by the Ordnance Survey as a small promontory between G *Port a’ Bhàta* ‘the inlet of the boat’ and G *Port a’ Mhuilinn* ‘the inlet of the mill’. The boundary between Heanish and Baugh, as surveyed in 1768 (Turnbull Map), is the mill stream draining into the western side of G *Port a’ Mhuilinn*.

Allamsa has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *ver* ‘fishing station’ (CV, 694). The specific may be OI *al-menning* ‘common or public pasture ... where cattle are grazed during the summer months’ (CV, 17): *Almenningsver* ‘fishing station on the common pasture’. The small headland forming the eastern margin of *Port a’ Mhuilinn* is called G *Rudha nan lasgairean* ‘the point of the fishermen’; this name may have referred to the use of the shore net at this inlet. In addition, the small rocky inlet of *Port Bhideig* (see Gazetteer) immediately to the west may have held a fish trap (see section 10.3.2).

Al-menning is a common specific in Norway and Iceland: for example, *Almenningsværet* in Norway (NG) and *Almenningskál* in Iceland (NLSI). Names in ON *ver* are common on Tiree (see *Am Fìdhlear*).

AN ANNAID E 1 NGR NM084488

G *An Annaid* ‘the mother church’

An Annaid, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 6/1995; John Archie MacLean, Caolas, 12/1993; Professor Donald Meek, Caolas, 8/2019 (oral sources)

Annaid Nèill Ailein and *Annaid Bean Iain*, Professor Donald Meek, Caolas, 8/2019 (oral source): + G *Nèill Ailein* ‘of Neil the son of Alan’ and *Bean Iain* ‘of the wife of Iain’

Caolas | Stones have been found while ploughing at this site (Professor Donald Meek, pers. comm.). The field names show that this name came to denote a

substantial area. A cross-marked stone has been found recently in a field nearby (Fisher 2001, 123).

This is probably the simplex Gaelic name *G annaid* ‘old church’ (see section 6.3.2.2).

ARABACH TIR R 1 NGR NL986394 ['a rə ,bax]

ON **Arabakka* ‘the bank of *Ari*’

An Cladach Arabach, Lachlan and Chrissie MacFarlane, Hynish, 1/1994; John Fletcher, Balemartine, 9/2009 (oral sources)

East Hynish | The shoreline to the east of the lighthouse complex, made up of a narrow sandy beach with numerous rocks and skerries, backed by a steep bank. This beach provides sufficient shelter for crofters to use it as a winter feed station today.

An Cladach Arabach is a Gaelic construction in *G cladach* ‘shore’. Its specific *Arabach* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *bakki* ‘bank’ (CV, 50). The specific of this may be a male ON personal name such as *Ari* (genitive *Ara*), which is common in *Landnámabók* (1900, 326). The development ON *-k* > G *-ch* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common among names in the Norse expansion zone. *Ari* may be found in *Arbhair*, Scarinish (see Gazetteer); in the Norwegian farm-name *Arlie*n (Rygh, vol. 4, 227); it is a common specific in Iceland, for example *Arabrekka* (NLSI); while *Arastaðir* was a settlement name in Iceland (*Landnámabók* 1900, 285). *Bakki* is a very common generic in the Norse expansion zone, as in *Croo Back*, Orkney (Sandnes 2010a, 182); the Norwegian farm-name *Elvebakken* (Rygh, vol. 12, 456); in the Faroe Islands, as in *Torkilsbakki* (KO); and in Iceland, as in *Árfarsbakkar* (NLSI).

ÀRABULL* TIR C 1 NGR NM025435

Lòn Àrabuill, 1878 OS (~~*Lòn-Earrabaiill*~~, JGC, OSNB, 178, meaning ‘Marsh of the Tail’) No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Heanish | The Ordnance Survey recorded that the name ‘applies to a small bay situated between Rudha Clach na h-Shòda and Glac Rachadail’ (OS1/2/28/178).

Lòn Àrabuill is a Gaelic construction in G *lòn* ‘pool’. Its specific *Àrabuill* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in OI *bæli* ‘farm, den or lair’ (CV, 91 and see 74). The Faroese cognate is *bøli* ‘animal shelter’ (Young and Clewer 1985, 73), and that in the Shetland dialect is *böl* ‘shelter for animals’ (Christie-Johnston 2010, 7).

The Norwegian farm-name *Baltebøl* contains the generic *bæli* (Rygh, vol. 3, 288); it occurs in the Faroe Islands, as in *Skúvabøl* (KO); while there are nine Icelandic farms in *bæli*, as in *Marbæli* (SAM).

However, topographically, ON *pollr* ‘small, round bay’ would also suit. The specific of *Àrabuill* is also opaque, and it is best to leave the whole name open at the moment.

ÀRAS* TIR R 1 NGR NM078496 [ˈɑː ˌras]

ON **Árás* ‘ridge of the stream’ or ON **Árós* ‘mouth of the stream’

Sruthan Àrais, William MacIntosh, Caolas, 2/1994; Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral sources)

Allt Àrais (‘Stream of Àras’), Professor Donald Meek 2021, 136

Caolas | A small stream that drains from *Crois* to the northern coast of Caolas. A sizeable pond builds up behind the raised cobble beach, and a channel through this may have been the site for the small horizontal mill that tradition locates here (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.). However, no evidence of this has survived modern widening of the channel to assist drainage.

Sruthan Àrais is a Gaelic construction in G *sruthan* ‘small stream’ (or possibly this should be *Sruth an Àrais* ‘the stream of **Àras*’). Its specific **Àras* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *áss* ‘ridge’. As well as referencing mountain ridges (see *Àsadh*), ON *áss* appears to have been used to describe prominent raised beaches on Tiree (see *Bhàlas*, *Kerrefergus* and *Torbhas*). An alternative would be a name in ON *óss* ‘mouth of a river’ (CV, 39), which in Orkney Norn has the meaning of ‘the opening from a saltwater lagoon to the sea’ (Sandnes 2010a, 230). The specific may be ON *á* (genitive singular *ár*) ‘stream’ (CV, 38–9). Exact cognates include the Norwegian farm-name *Aaraas* from *Árás* (Rygh, vol. 11, 422), and an *Árás* in Iceland (NLSI). *Áros* is a very common name in Norway (NG; see, for example *Aaros* in Rygh, vol. 6, 328), and *Árós* is also found in Iceland (NLSI).

ARBHAIR TIR C 1 NGR NM043444

Eilean an Arbhair, 1878 (JGC, OSNB, 171, ‘a small rocky point almost surrounded at high water, meaning “Corn Island”’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Scarinish | A tiny headland today, although its name implies that it has been a tidal islet in the past. This suggests that there has been sand accretion here.

Eilean an Arbhair is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* ‘island’. The specific **Arbhar* may be G *arbhar* ‘corn’ (Dwelly). *Arbhar* is quite a common specific in place-names in Scotland, usually combined with generics implying height and consequently dry ground: for example, *Meall/Tòrr/Cnoc/Dail an Arbhair* (SP). On Tiree, there is a G *Cnoc an Arbhair* ‘the hillock of the harvest’ at *Clachan*, Cornaigmore, beside G *An Iodhlann Mhòr* ‘the big stackyard’. This part of the shoreline in Scarinish, however, is very exposed and is some way from the post-medieval settlement and its infield. It is hard to believe it was ever considered a convenient and safe place to store crops.

Alternatively, **Arbhair* may have been lexically adapted from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *ver* ‘fishing station’ (CV, 694). The specific of this may be a male ON personal name such as *Ari* (genitive *Ara*): *Araver* (see *Arabach*). 100 m to the south is a rock known as G *Carraig MhicAoidh* ‘the fishing rock of MacKay’ (Margaret MacKinnon, pers. comm.). This was named after the Free Church minister Rev Donald Tulloch MacKay who lived in the manse nearby from 1882 to 1911.

Names in ON *ver* are common in the Norse expansion zone (see *Am Fìdhlear*).

ARTCHAIN # TIR E 4

‘Beati profetatio uiri de Findchano prespitero illius monasterii fundatore quod scotice Artchain nuncupatur in Ethica terra.’ Vita Columbae I, 36 (from Sneddon 2018, 75) [‘Findchán, founder of the monastery called in Irish Artchain on the island of Tiree’, Anderson and Anderson 1961, 279]

Location unknown | An obsolete monastery name. Because of the founder’s name *Findchán*, who is otherwise unattested, Reeves linked this name with *Cill-fhinnein* at either Ardkirknish in Balephetrish (see *Circnis*) or *Cill-fhinnean* in Kenovay (Reeves 1854, 241; see *Gazetteer*). Alternatively, it is tempting to place this name at the known monastery site on the headland of Kenavara now known as *Teampall*

Phàraig (see Gazetteer). The low-lying ecclesiastical sites at Kirkapol and Soroby are topographically less plausible for an *ard*-name. It is best, however, to leave the location of this monastery open at the moment.

The Old Gaelic name *Artchain* may contain the generic OG *ard* (*art*) meaning ‘high’ or ‘high place, height’ (eDil). In modern Scottish Gaelic, *àird* has the sense of ‘headland’ (Cox 2002, 70). The specific is opaque.

ÀSADH* TIR R 1 NGR NL956468 [ˈaːˌsəɥ]

ON **Ásahaga* ‘pasture of the ridge(s)’

Druimàsadh, John Alec MacDonald, Balevullin, 3/1997 (oral source)

Druimasadh, Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, 1990 (oral source)

Druimasaidh, Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, undated record (oral source)

Druimàsraig, Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, undated record (oral source)

Hough | Today, *Druimasadh* is the name of a 1920s croft house in Balevullin at the northern end of the *Beinn Hògh* ridge. Turnbull recorded that ‘Ben-Hough ... is one of the best pastures in the island’ (Field no. 113, Turnbull Report 1768). The house is located beside the race of a horizontal mill that may have given G *Bail’ a’ Mhuilinn* ‘the town of the mill’ its name. The name *Druimasadh* was used in the address by the principal informant’s grandfather and uncles when they wrote home from Australia in the 1930s (Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, pers. comm.).

Druimasadh is a Gaelic construction in G *druim* ‘ridge’. The folk etymology was that the specific **asadh* meant ‘machinery’, possibly connected with the old mill nearby. Instead, **Àsadh* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *hagi* ‘pasture’ (CV, 231). Its specific may be ON *ása* (genitive singular and plural *ása*) ‘ridge’ (CV, 46; see *Asabus* in Gammeltoft 2001, 101 and Macniven 2015, 137). The loss of a medial ON *-g-* and the closure of an open final syllable with *-dh* are both regular (see section 17.4.2.2). **Àsadh* has been variably lenited by the same informant at different times.

The ridge of *Beinn Hògh* is divided by a central cleft, G *Bealach na Beinne* ‘the pass of the hill’ (1878 Ordnance Survey 6 inch first edition). This led to the fishermen’s taboo name for the hill as seen from the sea: ‘A’ *Bheinn Bheàrnach no Sgoilte* (the Notched or Cloven Hill)’ (Black 2008, 131). The surviving modern hill names from north to south are G *Beinn Beag Bail’ a’ Mhuilinn* ‘the small hill of Balevullin’; *Beinn*

Bail' a' Mhuilinn; Beinn Hògh (alias *Beinn Ròg*: see *Ròg*); *Beinn Mhurstainn* (alias *Beinn Mhurstat*: see *Murstainn* and *Murstad*); *Cnoc Lingail* (see *Lingal*); *Gribun*; and *G Cnoc an Fhithich* 'hillock of the raven'.

Hagi is a very common element in Norway (see, for example, *Haag* in Rygh, vol. 2, 61); it is also a common generic in the Faroe Islands and Iceland (KO and SAM). *Aasehagen* is a Norwegian farm-name (Rygh, vol. 10, 173), while *Ås(e)hagen* is quite a common name in Norway (NG).

AULAIG TIR W 1 NGR NM021482

Loch Aulaig, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 53, -)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Balephetrish | A lochan 100 m from the shore between *Beinn Bhaile Pheadrais* and *The Ringing Stone*. Turnbull named this loch *Loch Nanoab* (Feature no. 226, Turnbull Report 1768; see *Loch nan Òb*). The confusion in loch names in this part of Balephetrish (see *Loch nan Òb*) may be due to their isolated position midway between *Vaul* and *Balephetrish*, or their disputed use as boundary markers (see section 10.2.2).

Loch Aulaig is a Gaelic construction in G *loch*. Its specific *Aulaig* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'. The specific may be ON *hali* (genitive singular *hala*) 'tail' (CV, 234) in a topographic sense (see *Rò*). The developments ON *-a-* > G *-au-* and the loss of a medial ON *-v-* are regular (see section 17.4.2). The referent was presumably the presently un-named rocky inlet to the north of the lochan.

There are no exact cognates, but names derived from *hali* are occasionally found in Norway (see *Halaas* in Rygh, vol. 13, 345); in the Faroe Islands, for example *Halavatn* (KO); and are quite common in Iceland, as in *Halatjörn* (NLSI).

BAC' A' CHROCHAIDH TIR R 3 NGR NL987433

G 'dune of the hanging'

Bac na Croiche, Campbell 1895, 13: 'There is still shewn the hillock called the Bank of the Gallows (*Bac na Croiche*), where the man who came in last with his rent at collection time was hanged.' + G *croich* 'gallows'

Baca a' Chrochaidh, MacDougall 1937, 117: + G *crochadh* 'hanging'

Bac a' Chrochaidh, Alasdair Brown, Balephuill, 11/1993; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 3/1994 (oral sources)

Baca na Croiche, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 1/2000 (oral source); Mary Ann Campbell, Balevullin, 1969; SSS 1974/234/B1

Bac a' Chrochaidh, Brownlie 1995, 104: 'Beside the Great Reef Dyke ... close to the farm steadings is *Bac a' Chrochaidh* 'The Bank of the Hanging'. According to oral sources, it was customary for the MacLeans, when they held sway on Tiree, to hang the person who was last to pay his rent. And the last person to suffer the indignity was a miller's son from Balevullin. His sister was gathering shellfish when word came to her that her brother had been arrested. In great haste she left for Island House to plead for his life. But the dastardly deed was done before she arrived. All MacLean could say to her was that, if she had arrived earlier, he would certainly have spared her brother's life. This is ... what a bard said at the time: "*A mhic an fhir à Baile Mhuilinn / Aig an robh an àth, a' ghràinn 's am muileann / Aig a' Bhàgh cha d' fhuair thu urram* [Son of him from Balevullin / Who had the kiln, the grain and the mill, / At the Bay you were dishonoured]."

Cnoc na Croicheadh, Donald Sinclair, West Hynish: 'The place of hanging is still to be seen [on the *machair* of] *Baile Nodha*, on the left hand side when you're going down. Do you know where the cemetery is? Well a bit this side of the cemetery, where the site is they used to hang the person ... *Cnoc na Croicheadh*.' (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1968.245, track ID 59655): + G *cnoc* 'hillock'

Cnoc a' Chrochaidh, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 3/2000; Ailean Boyd, Balephuill, 9/2011 (oral sources)

Cnoc an Crochadaire, Donald Archie Brown, Balephuill, 8/2018 (oral source): + G *crochadair* 'hangman'

Heylipol | The vegetated dune system here is likely to have expanded from the Late Medieval period onwards (see section 5.6.2). It remains relatively unstable, with some dunes currently eroding. Oral traditions of two gallows sites survive and others may have existed. Both are near G *Taigh an Eilein* 'the house of the island', the house of the Duke of Argyll's chamberlain; before that, this was the location of the medieval castle. This site may also have provided the setting for the Tiree *thing* (see section 8.4) and, before that, a prehistoric causewayed crannog (see *Heylipoll*). This place appears to have been a centre of power for a long time.

One informant identified a small hillock 100 m east of the gate leading into the field in front of Island House (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.); there are three large earthfast stones at its summit, and a 100-m-long turf-covered linear feature

follows a line connecting the hillock to the islet in the loch. A small scrape nearby demonstrates sand below a thick humified layer.

On the other hand, Mary Ann Campbell (below) described the 'Gallows Knoll' as a high dune on the *machair*, possibly one presently eroding 400 m southeast of the gate. Mary Ann Campbell's father was the Duke's ground officer, and she grew up in part of *Heylipol Cottages*, an estate house 0.5 km to the west of Island House:

Many's the time I played with my brothers and sisters on the 'Gallows Knoll'. Island House was, in earlier times, the home of the owner of the island when he was in residence here. It is built on a loch, and has an expanse of flat green field in front of it. Not far from the main gate, across the road on the common grazing ground, is a high sandbank called *Baca na Croiche*, where people were hanged for slight misdemeanours, or for none at all, to give entertainment to the people in power. Rent day was a great institution when people congregated from far and near, and chiefs from other islands came to take part in the sports and compete in several events. The owner of Tiree at the time had a rule that the last man in with his rent would be hanged on the gallows on the sand dune. On this day over two hundred years ago, a man and his sister who lived in the village of Balephuil, were hard put to it to find their rent, but at last had it ready for the day. Alas, on rent morning there was not a bite in the house to make their breakfast, and the sister said she would go to the shore as the tide was out and get some limpets. She did so and when she got back, she boiled them and they got something to eat. Then the man set off with the rent, but when he arrived, he was the last man there, so he was to be hanged for the entertainment of the visitors. As he was a good-looking man and had paid his rent several of the visitors objected and a great fight started, where several people were killed. In the melee the man made his escape and much bad blood was caused between the chiefs. This was the last time was allowed on the island of Tiree, although previously, a man could be hanged for stealing a sheep, or even ill-wishing a neighbour. (Mary Ann Campbell talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1969.159, track ID 43743)

Hector Kennedy from Heylipol had heard another story about how the custom ended:

Once upon a time in this island, the last man to go into Island House with his rent would be hanged on *Baca na Croiche* in the *Machaire*

Mhòr [the big *machair*] in front of Island House. And on this occasion, there was a man in Kilmoluaig whom they called *Gilleasbuig Làidir* ['Strong Archibald'], and he and his neighbour went to pay the rent. And he was ahead of his neighbour going to Island House. And the factor noticed him crossing the park, and he noticed the other man crossing. And *Gilleasbuig Làidir* said to his neighbour, Donald MacKinnon: 'You go in; I'm going out for some business of my own. And you go in while I'm away.' 'You're going in last, and you were ahead of me coming here?' 'That doesn't matter,' said *Gilleasbuig Làidir*. 'You go in.' And the man went in, and the factor asked him where MacLean was, when he didn't come in first, since it was he who had got to the place first. 'He went off on some business of his own,' said he. 'He told me to come in when he was away.' Anyhow, the factor took the rent from the other man, and then *Gilleasbuig Làidir* came in. The other man went out. The factor said to him: 'You're the last to pay the rent this time.' 'I am.' 'Why didn't you come in. You got here first.' 'Yes, but I had to go off on some business of my own, and I couldn't come in.' 'Well, you know what's going to happen to you, since you are the last.' 'I do,' said *Gilleasbuig Làidir*. 'I'm well aware of it.' But he jumped to his feet, and he grabbed the factor by the throat. And he said: 'You'll die before me!' And the factor begged for mercy, and said everything would be all right, and there would be no more about it. 'Well!' said *Gilleasbuig Làidir*. 'If I hear anything about it, wait!' said he. 'I'll get you by the throat,' said he, 'and I'll strangle you for sure before I let you go, even if I get hanged myself afterwards. You'll go before me.' And that is how an end was put to hangings on Tìree. What a terrible thing the hanging was? What? (Hector Kennedy, Heylipol, talking to Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1974.134, track ID 73360, translated by Jane MacGregor in *Tocher* 1979 32, 97)

The judicial rights of a clan chief, including that of 'pit and gallows', were removed after the 1745 Jacobite uprising in the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1746, although by that time they were, in practice, rarely used. Public execution by drowning dates back to at least the eighth century (Fraser 2009, 298). For example, 'Talorg, son of Congus, was held captive by his brother, handed over to the Picts and drowned by them' (AU U734.5). By the Late Medieval period, drowning was reserved for women. A drowning pit could be dug for the purpose, but lakes and rivers were used if beside the gallows hill. It is possible that *Loch an Eilein* was used in this way.

The richness of the associated oral tradition and the fact that these stories have survived for at least three centuries testify to the resonance of this place in the island's culture. These include a suite of Gaelic names in both *G baca* 'dune' and *G cnoc* 'hillock' meaning 'dune or hillock of the hanging, hangman or gallows'.

Hanging-names are common all over Scotland: for example, *Cnoc na Croiche* not far from Breacachadh Castle on Coll (OS1/2/30/22). In Shetland, gallows-names more credibly represent true execution sites if they are near seats of Late Medieval or early modern judicial power, have a wide viewshed (as the hanging of the body on a gibbet over a long period was intended to reinforce the authority of the landlord), and have associated oral traditions (Coolen 2016). All these features are found at the *Loch an Eilein* site on Tiree.

Another Tiree hanging name *G Bac' a' Chrochadair* 'dune of the hangman' is located on the boundary between Balevullin and Kilmoluaig. It is hard to know how to interpret this; it may record an extra-judicial killing or have another derivation. Finally, there is an *Eilean a' Chrochadair* on the isolated, rocky coast of West Hynish, but this has been interpreted as a lexically adapted Norse name (see *Crochadair*).

BACA NA PUTAIN TIR R 1 NGR NL987423 ['pu ,tʌɪn']

Baca na Putain, Archibald Kennedy, Crossapol, 1/1995; Mairi Campbell, Corrairigh, 8/2012; Alasdair Sinclair, Balinoe, 8/2012; John Fletcher, Balemartine, 8/2017; Iain MacArthur, Barrapol, 8/2016 and 5/2019; Alasdair Straker, Balemartine, 11/2019 (oral sources)

Balinoe | A steep-sided, flat-topped settlement mound, containing midden material that has been dated to a period from the ninth to the eleventh centuries (see Appendix 18.b.6). Local children came here at Easter to roll eggs and sometimes coins down the hillock (John Fletcher, pers. comm.).

Baca na Putain is a Gaelic construction in *G baca* 'dune'. Its specific may be *G putan*, a borrowing from English 'button'. Buttons may have been found here, or there may have been traditions involving buttons that have now been lost. *G putan* can also mean toggle and was a boat term for a short, tapered bar of wood to stop rope passing through a loop, as in a flag hoist (Dwelly). It is possible that there have been finds here that were interpreted as toggles. However, I could not find *putan* elsewhere in a Scottish place-name (SP). There is a folk etymology that the mound was given this name because it was a natural stage for 'butting' or fights (Iain MacArthur, Barrapol, from Mairi Campbell, pers. comm.).

Alternatively, *Putain* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *bytta* fem. ‘pail, small tub’ (CV, 91) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5): ON *Byttin* ‘the hill shaped liked an upturned tub’. The development from ON *-y-* > G *-u-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). This certainly suits the topography of this settlement mound today, although the Early Medieval landscape may have been different.

This element is quite common elsewhere in Scandinavian Scotland. There is a *Button* in Holm, Orkney; another *Button* in Stenness, Orkney; and a *Black Button* in Northmavine, Shetland (SP). *Butten* is common in Norway, as does *Bytte*, *Bytta*, and *Bytten* (NG); while the Norwegian farm-name *Betholmen* contains the element *bytta* (Rygh, vol. 17, 68).

BÀDAGAN* TIR C 1 NGR NL986479 [ˈvaː də ˌɡeɪn]

Tràigh Bhàdagain, William MacPhail, Clachan, 6/1995 (oral source)

Cornaigmore | Part of the shoreline just south of *Clachan*, where there was a fishing station in the nineteenth century. It may be of note that the name of a nearby inlet to the east was recorded as *Port nam Bàtachan* ‘the inlet of the small boats’ (OS1/2/28/40).

Tràigh Bhàdagain is a Gaelic construction in G *tràigh* ‘beach’. Its specific may be an existing Gaelic name from G *badag* ‘brush for rinsing pots, made of heather generally’ (McDonald 1991, 34) with the plural, locational or diminutive Gaelic suffix *-an* (Cox 2002, 59). The development ON *a* > G [a:] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1).

Badag is not common, but occurs twice in Argyll: *Badag Mholach* on Jura ‘hill pasture ... meaning “Hairy Branch”’ (OS1/2/32/97), and *Na Badagan* in Kilchoman, Islay ‘a group of flat rocks ... sig. “the tufts”’ (OS1/2/33/25).

BAGS # TIR R 1 NGR NM066482

Baggs or *Bags*, MacDougall 1937, 126

Cnoc nam Bagaichean, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 12/1995; Margaret MacInnes, Sackhill, 2/1994 (oral sources)

Ruaig | A hillock north of the old Ruaig School, now widely known as *Sackhill*

There are two folk etymologies for these names. One is that potato bags were hung out to dry on the fence here; another is that sacks of wool were gathered on the hillock after shearing at a nearby fank (Duncan Grant, pers. comm.). The name *Bags* was collected by the eminent local scholar Rev Hector Cameron in the 1930s. This must have been a very local variant (or ‘farm-name’), because it was not recognised by Angus MacLean, another knowledgeable informant brought up in Caolas 2 km away in the 1920s, or by Duncan Grant, who went to school in Ruaig in the 1940s.

BAILE NAN CRÀGANACH TIR D 1 NGR NL976476

Bist and *Ballenairaganaich*, 1674 MacPhail 1914: 3 merk-lands, ‘wast except ten maill-land, and which pays of money £27 6s 8d, victual 30 stones, malt 2 bolls 8 pecks

Baile nan Cràganach, Black 2008, 114

Baile nan Crògan, Alasdair MacDonald, Kilmoluaig, 1990; Iain Chaluim MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig, 1/1994, who translated it as, ‘the township of the large hands’ (oral sources); Brownlie, in Black 2008, 371

Baile nan Cràgan, John MacLean talking to Eric Cregeen and Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1975.208, track ID 102643

Cornaigmore | An area of vegetated dunes on the northern shores of *Loch Bhasapoll*. John MacLean from Cornaigbeg and Iain Chaluim MacKinnon from Kilmoluaig both remember seeing foundation stones here in the 1930s, and the odd surface stone is still visible. *Baile nan Cràganach* was not mapped as a settlement by Turnbull in 1768. But his map does show two small divisions of land on the northern shore of *Loch Vassapoll*, carved out of the runrig township of *Beist*. The natural stream originally draining the loch exited where the windsurfing school is today (William MacPhail, pers. comm.; see *Alabhal*).

This name features in a story collected on Tiree by John Gregorson Campbell in the mid-nineteenth century:

On the north side of this loch, which has been already mentioned as a haunt of the water-horse, there was a farm where there are now only blowing sandbanks, called *Baile nan Cràganach* (‘the Town of the Clumsy Ones’) from five men who resided there having each six fingers on every hand. They were brothers, and it was said the water-horse came every night in the shape of a young man to see a sister who staid [sic] with

them. With the tendency of popular tales to attach themselves to known persons, this incident is related of Calum Mòr Clark and his family. Calum had three sons, *Iain Bàn Mòr* ('Big Fair John'), *Iain Bàn Òg* ('Young Fair John') and *Iain Bàn Meadhonach* ('Middle Fair John'). The four conspired to beguile the young man from the loch – who came to see the daughter – into the house, and got him to sit between the two of them on the front of the bed. On a given signal these two clasped their hands round him and laid him on his back in the bed. The other two rushed to their assistance; the young man assumed his proper shape of a water-horse, and a fearful struggle ensued. The conspirators cut the horse in pieces with their dirks, and put it out of the house dead. (Black 2008, 114)

Malcolm Clark appears in other local traditions (see Appendix 18.c.2; Black 2008, 319).

Baile nan Cràganach is a Gaelic construction in OG *baile* 'place, settlement, farm' (eDIL). *Baile* appears as a settlement name in Scotland from the late eleventh century (Márkus 2009, 52). It continued to be productive on Tiree until the mid-nineteenth century, with the six shoreline houses of *G Bail' Ùr a' Bhàigh* 'the new town of Baugh' and *G Am Bail' Ùr* 'the new town' in Balephuill both the result of estate clearances. Tiree *baile*-names range from small settlements that were not mapped by Turnbull in 1768 and survive only as fragmentary footings, such as *Baile nan Cràganach*; to settlements subsumed into a larger unit, as in *Baile Mhic Eòdha* now part of Barrapol; all the way to modern crofting townships, such as *Baile Mhàrtainn*.

The specific is unclear. It was translated by Campbell as *G cràganach* 'in-footed or in-toed person; splay-footed person' (Dwelly). This is a very unusual element, however, not found elsewhere in Scotland (SP). The seventeenth-century name-form *Ballenairaganaich* suggests instead *G ràcanach* 'croaking', possibly referring to the corncrake for which the island is still famous. The variance in the name-forms means, however, that we should leave this open at the moment.

AM BAILE MEADHANACH TIR S 1 NGR NL945435

G 'the middle settlement'

Balliemanach, 1509 ER 13, 217

Ballemanach, 1541 ER 17, 647: 3 merklands (Johnston 1991, 97)

Ballemanach, 1542 ER 17, 532

Ballemeanache, 1638 RGS, 30

Balmeanach, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol

Ballemeanach, 1674, MacPhail 1914, 289: 3 merklands, ‘he pays nothing this year’

Balemenoch, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 33: 24 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 97)

Balemeanoch, 1794 Cregeen 1968, 35: 24 mail lands

Am Baile Meadhanach, common current local usage

Middleton, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 191)

Middleton | Modern township name located between Barrapol and Greenhill

Am Baile Meadhanach is a Gaelic construction in G *baile* (see *Baile nan Cràganach*). Its specific is G *meadhanach* ‘middle’. The English translation name *Middleton* probably appeared some time after the ‘Glassary’ iodine works was built here in 1863 by the English chemist and industrialist Edward Stanford.

As a Gaelic coinage, *Am Baile Meadhanach* is not uncommon: for example, *Bailemeonach* in Mull (Johnston 1991, 199) and examples of *Balmeanach* in Snizort and Kiltearn, Ross and Cromarty (SP). The English *Middleton* occurs frequently.

BAILE MHC EÒDHA TIR S 1 NGR NL964418 [vi: ʰkʲõ:-a]

G ‘the settlement of *Mac Aodh*’

Balviceon, Campbell 1895, 72

Baile-Mhic-Bheotha, Cameron 1932, 405: footnote, ‘Paul was Archibald MacFadyen, Baile-Mhic-Bheotha’

Baile Mhic Bheotha, MacDougall 1937, 104

Baile mhic Eòdha, John MacFadyen, Barrapol, 12/1993; common current local usage (oral sources)

Baile mhic Eògha, Ailig MacArthur, Heylipol (collected by Ailean Boyd)

Barrapol | Today, this name applies to an isolated croft house in the southeastern part of the township of Barrapol. Nearby is the site of a medieval mill, about which John Gregorson Campbell collected this story in the nineteenth century:

Fair Lachlan’s sons were taking peats home from Moss to Hynish. There were five of them with seven horses ... On account of Big Dewar of Balemartine, who was so fierce, they could not take the straight way by Balemartine to Hynish, but had to take the more rugged path by Hynish Hill ... At that time there was a mill past *Balviceon*, with a bridge across

the dam which had to be lifted before sundown, and on their way they had to pass across the bridge. It happened on this occasion that the young men, by their own folly, were later than usual of returning, and the bridge was withdrawn; and with the speed with which they were going on they did not observe that the bridge was lifted, and the foremost of the horses went headfirst into the dam and was choked. The lads made their way home and told their father how the miller had taken away the bridge, and what happened to them. He said, "If my horse was choked on his account, the same thing will be done to him tonight yet"; and that was what happened. He and his sons went back the same way, step by step, and they caught the poor man while he was asleep and took him with them and hung him on the hillock of the cross opposite Island House. (Campbell 1895, 72)

The name *Baile mhic Eòdha* is still in common usage on the island, despite its absence from rentals; the maps of Blaeu (1654) or Turnbull (1768); the censuses of 1776, 1779, and 1841; and from *Argyll Estate Instructions* (Cregeen 1964). Most Tìree names in *baile* signify Late Medieval settlement. *Baile mhic Eòdha* is likely to have been an independent farm township that was subsumed into *Kenvar* township before the first crown rental of 1509 (see the 1768 Turnbull Map). It was later subsumed into Barrapol.

Baile mhic Eòdha is a Gaelic construction in G *baile* (see *Baile nan Cràganach*). Its specific **mhic Eòdha* has probably developed from the medieval Gaelic personal name *Aodh* (genitive *Aodha*; MS) with G *mac* (genitive *mhic*) 'son'. *Aodh* has its roots in the common Old Gaelic name *Áed* or its diminutive *Áedan*. This name was attested on Tìree as far back as the Early Christian period: *Áed Dub* (recorded in the Latin as *Aidus Niger*, and described as of 'royal lineage') moved to Tìree from Ireland to live for a while at the monastery called *Artchain* (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 280). By the thirteenth century, the name *Àed* had generally rounded to *Aodh*; the Irish surname *MacAodha* 'the son of Aodh' and the modern G *MacAoidh* 'MacKay' both come from this form. Place-names followed: there is an *Eilean Mhic Aoidh* in Balephetrish, while *Baile Mhic Aodha* is common in Ireland (www.logainm.ie accessed 31 January 2019). Vowel affection (see section 17.4.2.1) between *mhic* and *Aodh* could have generated the palatalised /k/ in the Tìree version: [v̥i:k' i̯ō-a]. There is a suggestion from Campbell's name-form *Balviceon* that the original form may have been the diminutive *Aodhan*.

Phonologically less likely is the modern Gaelic *Eòghann*, or the medieval Gaelic name *Eóin*, which is an adaptation of the Latin *Ioannes*. This last was probably

pronounced [ˈo-anˈ] or [eɪnˈ] (MS). There is a *Tubhailt Mhic Ic Eoghainn* in Killmalie, Argyll (SP); *Baile Mhic Eoin* and a *Baile Mhic Eoghain* are settlement names in Ireland. However, no source for this well-attested name, apart from that collected by Gregorson Campbell, has a terminal *-n*.

Cameron derived this name, and that of *Tràigh Bhì* in Balephuill, from an Irish saint: ‘There were two Irish saints of the name, *Mo-Bhì mac Natfraich* and *Mo-Bhì mac Beoain*. The latter is the one evidently pertaining to Tíree, for in the vicinity of *Tràigh Bhì* and *Abhainn Bhì* we have the farm of *Baile Mhic Bheotha*, that is *Baile Mhic Bheothain* ‘town of the son of *Beoain*’. *Mo-Bhì* was abbot of *Innis Cuscraid* in Ireland’ (MacDougall 1937, 104). It is possible that Cameron’s *Baile Mhic Bheotha* was influenced by his later derivation. There is no evidence of an ecclesiastical structure in the area that would support this theory. *Bì* is more likely to derive from ON *býr* ‘farm’ (see *Bèidhe*).

BALARAMAIG TIR C 1 NGR NL929456 [ˈba la ra ,meɪkʰ]

Balaramaig, Sandy MacKinnon, Kilkenneth, 8/1995; Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1995 (oral sources)

Hough | One of four sea rocks off *Tràigh Thallasgair*

Balaramaig has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The polysyllabic specific is opaque and it is best to leave this part of the name open at the moment (see section 17.6). The loss of a medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent was plausibly *Tràigh Thallasgair* itself.

BALBHAIG TIR C 1 NGR NL973385 [ˈba lə ,veɪkʰ]

ON **Valavík* ‘inlet of the falcon’, ON **Hvalavík* ‘inlet of the whale’ or ON **Balavík* ‘inlet of the grass bank’

Tràigh Balbhaig, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 245, ‘meaning Beach of the Pebbles’)

Tràigh Balabhaig, John MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.145, track ID 103417

Tràigh Balabhaig, common current local usage

East Hynish | This southwest-facing cobbled beach lies at the end of the long, grassy valley *G Lag na Cleite* ‘hollow of the hill’, usually known today as *Happy*

Valley. The noise of surf pounding the shore here, amplified by the shape of the valley, is still used as a weather sign (see *Rumidil*). In 1878, the Ordnance Survey recorded that the ground inland from the beach was open sand (Argyllshire and Buteshire LXXVIII.15 Tiree), but it may have been vegetated in the Early Medieval period.

Tràigh Balbhaig is a Gaelic construction in G *tràigh* ‘beach’. The folk etymology for the specific *Balbhaig* is G *balbhan* ‘a dumb person’ because the beach is quiet most of the time (David McClounnan, pers. comm.). Instead, *Balbhaig* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vik* ‘bay or inlet’. Several interpretations are possible for its specific.

Firstly, ON *valr* (genitive plura *vala*) is a general term for falcons (Lie 2018, 729; CV, 676). The chicks of peregrine falcons, which nest today above this beach, were greatly prized by elites throughout the Norse expansion zone for falconry (see section 10.3.5). *Valvik* in Norway derives from *valr* (Rygh, vol. 16, 202), and there is a *Valavik* in Iceland (NLSI). The development ON *v-* > G *b-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

Secondly, ON *hvalr* (genitive plural *hvala*) means ‘whale’. There are six surviving Gaelic place-names referencing whales on Tiree: for example, *Tràigh nam Muc* ‘beach of the whales’ in Scarinish. Presumably these commemorate natural strandings or drive hunts (see section 10.3.3). The Norwegian farm-name *Kvalvik* derives from *hvalr* (Rygh, vol. 10, 413), and there are two examples of *Hvlavik* in the Faroe Islands (KO).

And finally, OI *bali* (genitive *bala*) means ‘soft grassy bank, especially if sloping down to the shore’ (CV, 51). *Balabhair* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 171) may contain this element, and there is a *Balevika* in Balestrand, Norway (NG). This suits the topography today, but the twentieth-century sand blow that has buried the large sheep fank and fence line at the head of *Happy Valley* is a reminder that this may not have been true a thousand years ago.

The referent was plausibly *Tràigh Balbhaig* itself.

Donald Sinclair gave an alias for this beach: ‘It’s not *Tràigh Balbhaig* that’s the right name, but *Tràigh Solabhaig*. They found the body of the daughter of the loch, daughter of the [*Lochlainn*] Vikings on the beach there ... *Tràigh Solabhaig* is the right name, but *Tràigh Balbhaig* is what we use’ (Donald Sinclair talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1968.038, track ID 61327). Given that the name *Tràigh Balbhaig* is so widely attested, however, and its remote location, it is likely that he is conflating two similar neighbouring names (see *Solabhaig*).

BALEMARTINE TIR S 1 NGR NL985415

G ‘the settlement of Martin’

Balmartin, 1654 Blaeu

Ballemartyne, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 289: 1.5 merklands, £26 13s 4d

Balemartine, 1747 Tiree rental

Balemartine, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 25: 22 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 92)

Balemartine, 1768 Turnbull Map

Balemartine, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 217)

Baile Mhàrtainn and *Balemartin*, common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Balemartine | Modern township name

Balemartine is a Gaelic construction in G *baile* (see *Baile nan Cràganach*). Its specific is G *Màrtainn* ‘Martin’. The church’s ownership of *Soreby* came to an end in 1567 when the land was granted to MacLean of Duart (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 155). Almost a century later, in a 1654 rental, the runrig township of *Balmartin* is documented for the first time. By 1674, it was valued at 1.5 merklands (one-quarter of an ounceland). The slightly smaller *Sorobie* farm still existed at that time, paying a rent of 1.25 merklands; this disappears from the records after 1679, presumably absorbed by its larger neighbour. *Ballimartin* on Islay first appears in the records in 1631 in similar circumstances: ‘It is safe to assume that the change from *Stainepoll* to *Ballemertine* [on Islay] reflects a change in ownership or tenantry ... at some point in the early seventeenth century’ (Macniven 2015, 249).

The township acts as the setting for a story entitled ‘Big Dewar of Balemartine’ collected by Gregorson Campbell. A John MacLean ‘held the township of Balemartine’. He refused to pay tax, and when a Campbell enforcer sailed to the island to collect due payment, he was sent packing. This tale is likely to mythologise a number of conflated clan conflicts, between Duart and Lochbuie, and Duart and the Campbells:

He was John MacLean, a native of Dowart [Duart] in the island of Mull, who fled to Jura (JGC note: The cause of John Dewar’s flight to Jura is said to have been occasioned by his having given information to MacLaine of Lochbuie which was injurious to MacLean of Dowart in a dispute that occurred between them [possibly in 1498 – see MacLean-Bristol 1995, 78]). He is said to have been the first man from that island to have settled in Tiree, and on that account was known as Dewar (*Diùrach*). (JGC note: several of John Dewar’s descendants are at the

present day in Tiree. They are known as *Na Diùraich*, one family who are descended from the elder of his sons being cottars in Balemartine).

(Campbell 1895, 51–3; for another version see Dewar Manuscripts 1862–6, vol. 6, 217–224; MacLean Manuscripts 1879–81, vol. 17, 72–77, Inveraray Castle Archives uncatalogued; see MacLean-Bristol 2015, 24 for a full analysis of this story)

A house name in the village, *G Taigh Mhàrtainn* ‘the house of Martin’ just above the harbour, has survived. This Martin is said to have died from a broken heart on the same day as his wife, having previously seen two coffins leaving the house, suggesting he had second sight (David McClounnan, pers. comm.). This is presumably a later coinage and may represent folk etymology.

Martin is an uncommon name in the Tiree records, occurring once apiece in the 1776 and 1841 Censuses. There is a *G Sloc Mhàrtainn* ‘the gully of Martin’ in Sandaig; there is a *Balmartin* on North Uist, an *Allt Mhartuinn* on South Uist, a *Geodha Mhartin* in Uig, Lewis, and a *Sron mhic gille Mhartain* in Kingussie (SP). In Scotland generally, place-names containing this element often relate to St Martin of Tours (Whyte 2017, 35), but there is no evidence that this is the origin here and the identity of the eponymous Tiree Martin is unknown.

BALEPHUIL TIR S 1 NGR NL960405 [ˌba lʲə ˈfuː- jɪlʲ]

Ballefulye, 1509 ER 13, 216: 4 lib. (Johnston 1991, 94)

Balequhoill, 1541 ER 17, 647: listed between *Will* and *God*, 6 merklands (Johnston 1991, 94). Possibly, there has been a mis-transcription of q for p.

Ballephuill, 1561 Coll. de Reb. Alba, 3: 4 lib. (Johnston 1991, 94)

Ballefulye, 1578 Gregory and Skene 1847, 178: six mark lands, [rent in kind] ‘48 males of oat meal’

Bailephuile, 1587 RMS vol. 4, no. 1491 (Johnston 1991, 94)

Balefuil, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): the settlement symbol is on the northwestern side of *L. fuil*, on land that is part of Barrapol today.

L. fuil, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

Bellephuill, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 289: 3 merk-land ‘all wast’

Ballfulze, 1674 Retour vol. 2 no. 82: 6 merklands (Johnston 1991, 94)

Balephuill, 1686 SRO E60/7/3, 3 (Johnston 1991, 94)

Balifulzie, 1696 Retours ARG vol. 1, 93: the z in this historical form is the Scots yogh represented by the phoneme /ʎ/ found in the medial *-ll-* of the Gaelic word *cailleach* (Whyte 2020c, 23)

Balephuill, 1747 Tiree rental

Balephuill, 1768 Turnbull Map

Loch Fuil, 1768 Turnbull Map

Balephuill, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 27: 32 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 94)

Loch Fuil, 1775 MacKenzie M., NLS EMS.s.654

Balliphuill, 1811 Neele, S.J., London, NLS Marischal 75

Balephuill and *Upper Balephuill*, 1841 Census

Balephuill, 1878 OS (~~*Baile-phuill*~~, no JGC, OSNB, 214)

Loch a' Phuill, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 213, 'meaning "Loch of the Pool"')

Balephuill Bay, 1878 OS (JGC, alt. *Balephuill Bay*, OSNB, 223). I have never heard anyone use this name, or any other, for this striking bay.

Loch Phuill, common local usage amongst older informants, although *Loch a' Phuill* is generally the commoner name-form today

Balephuill | Modern township name. *Loch Phuill* is the largest inland body of water on Tiree at 292 acres (Feature no. 36, Turnbull Report 1768). It lies at an elevation of approximately 5 m (25-inch first edition Ordnance Survey map, Argyllshire and Buteshire LXXVIII.6) on a raised beach plain of little more than this, although the eastern shore slopes more abruptly towards *Beinn Haoidhnis*. The area formed an inlet of the sea during the mid-Holocene Marine Transgression. Today, the stream draining the loch, *Abhainn Bhi*, cuts deeply through the *machair* plain separating the loch from the sea. However, the ground level here may have been raised considerably following sand accretion during the Little Ice Age, forcing the loch inland and impeding its drainage. Consequently, the loch's size, height above sea level and distance from the sea were possibly different in the Early Medieval period.

It has been suggested that Norse longships were dragged into the fresh water of *Loch Phuill* for winter harbourage (Valerie Alexander, pers. comm.). The stream channel gradient here is estimated to have been less than 1° (using the height of loch surveyed by Turnbull in 1768 and the present distance from the shore to the loch margin). This would have been 'well within the haulage possibilities of shallow draft vessels' (quoted in Crawford 2020, 4).

In 1768, Turnbull proposed that 'no less than 500 acres of ground would be gained' if the loch was partially drained (Turnbull Report). The Duke must have accepted this advice, as a comparison of the Turnbull Map and the 1878 Ordnance Survey map shows that the stream draining the loch was straightened, *L(och) Barapoll* drained, and *Loch Phuill* diminished in size. The Ordnance Survey map also marks the northern and southern shores of the loch as 'Liable to Floods', and Walker, following his visit to Tiree in 1764, described the 'Banks [of *Loch Phuill*] covered with fine Verdure' (McKay 1980, 180).

The name *Ballefulye* first appears in the records in 1509; this settlement appears to have existed alongside *Bee* for some time (see *Bèidhe*). By 1541, *Balequhoill* was assessed in the second crown rental of 1541 as having the value of six merklands (one ounceland), a substantial holding. In the same year, *Bee* was valued at three merklands before being lost from the rentals after 1674.

**Bèidhe* is likely to have survived in the beach-name *Tràigh Bhì* and in the name of the stream draining the loch, *Abhainn Bhì*. The location of these dependent names suggests that the existing name **Bèidhe* was situated towards the shore by the Late Medieval period. The Blaeu map of 1654 – based as it was on the survey work of Timothy Pont at the end of the sixteenth century – places the settlement of *Balefuil* to the north of the loch, around what is now *Main Road Farm*. The 1841 Census may echo this division with its distinction between *Balephuill* and *Upper Balephuill*. The name *Meanaidh* – which may derive from ON *al-menning* ‘common pasture between farm townships’, and which is on the brow of the hill occupied by the house now called *Manitoba* – suggests a possible location of the boundary between the two. This is supported by the name *G Cnoc na Crìche* ‘the hillock of the boundary’ on the hill above this (see *Cnoc na Crìthe*). Oral tradition locates a significant burial site below *Manitoba*; burials were sometimes used as boundary markers in Norse tradition (see *Bèidhe*).

Balephuill is a Gaelic construction in *G baile* (see *Baile nan Cràganach*). Its specific **Phuill* is opaque. Early forms of the Tìree loch name, such as *L. Fuil* 1654, agree with oral tradition: ‘The [Tìree] loch was locally called *Loch Phuill*, and not *Loch a’ Phuill* as we see on maps. On that analogy, *Baile Phuill* is preferable to *Bail’ a’ Phuill’* (Ailean Boyd, pers. comm.). The definite article is increasingly added today by the process of back-formation.

The simplest explanation is the way the name is usually understood today: *G poll* (genitive *phuill*) ‘mud’, as in ‘*Baile Phuill* Mud/mire Town’ (Brownlie 1995, 82). The shallow, easily-flooded banks of the loch (see above) may be relevant here. *G poll* has a range of meanings, including ‘deep stagnant water’ (Dwelly). It may be relevant that the southwestern quadrant of the loch contains a trough known as *An Rabhagach* measured at 18 ft deep (William MacLean, pers. comm.). *G poll* is a common specific among Gaelic names elsewhere in Scotland, as in *Loch a’ Phuill* meaning ‘muddy loch’ in Lochs (OS1/27/90/15).

However, there are a number of difficulties with this derivation. Firstly, some historical forms – *Ballefulye* 1509, *Ballefulye* 1578, *Bailephuile* 1587, *Ballfulze* 1674 and *Balifulzie* 1696 – suggest that there has been an additional final syllable. It is also notable that *Baile Phuill* and *Loch Phuill* appear to share the same specific. This implies that it has incorporated an older existing name. This is common in

loch-names, as in *Loch Kirkapoll*, but seems to be unusual in *baile*-names (but see *Ùbhag*). Finally, there is the pronunciation by older informants as [ˌba l'ə 'fu--jɪl]. One suggestion for the specific *Phuill* is a Norse simplex name for the loch in ON *pollr* (dative *polli*) 'pool'. Another possibility is ON *Fuglahlið* 'slope of the birds'. The loss of a medial ON *-g-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2), as in the Shetland island of *Foula*. A colony of Black-headed Gulls, whose eggs would have been an important food source in the past, nests there today (John Bowler, pers. comm.). *Fuglelia* occurs several times in Norway (NG) and see several examples of the Norwegian farm-name *Fuglli* (as in Rygh, vol. 1, 15).

In view of the considerable uncertainties, however, it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

BALINOE TIR S 1 NGR NL980415 [əm ˌba lə 'no--a]

G 'the new settlement'

Ballino, 1509 ER 13, 216

Ballenoe, 1638 RGS, 30

Balnow, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

Ballenoe, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 288: 1.5 merkland, £38 13s 4d, victual 30 stone, malt 1 b[oll], butter 2 quarts, and 'the casualties of 4 mail and a half land, for mairts and sheep'

Balinoe and *Cuiyeish*, 1747 rental

Balinoe, 1768 Turnbull Map

Ballinoe and *Quyeish*, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 23: 30 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 92)

Balinoe, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 215)

Am Baile Nodha and *Balinoe*, common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Balinoe | Modern township name. This name was first listed in the rentals in 1509, but the reduction in the value of neighbouring *Hindebollis* from one ounceland in 1495 to two-thirds of an ounceland in 1541 suggests that this settlement was established between 1495 and 1509 (see *Heylipoll*). *Balinoe* appears to have subsumed the neighbouring settlement of *Cu' Dhèis*.

Balinoe is a Gaelic construction in G *baile* (see *Baile nan Cràganach*). Its specific is the obsolete G *nodha* 'new', a reflex of OG *núa* (see eDIL). This element is also survives on Tiree at G *A' Charraig Nodha* 'the new fishing rock' in West Hynish, but is relatively uncommon elsewhere: for example, *Creag Nodha* in Kilmallie, Inverness (SP).

BALLEVULLIN TIR S 1 NGR NL955475

G ‘settlement of the mill’

Ballimulin, 1509 ER 13, 216

Ballemuling, 1541 ER 17, 647: 6 merklands (Johnston 1991, 102)

Ballewilling, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 290: 6 merk-land, £118 6s 8d, victual 117.5 stone, malt 4 bolls and 4 pecks, with the full casualties of a six maill-land, and ane maill and a half for mairts and sheep only

Ballemulling, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 82 (Johnston 1991, 102)

Ballowilling, 1677, ICA PV19/1

Balevuline, 1747 Tiree rental

Balewilline, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 44 (Johnston 1991, 102)

Balewilline, 1768 Turnbull Map

Balewilline, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 44: 48 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 102)

Ballamhulin, 1779 Estate census

Ballevullin, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 36)

Bail’ a’ Mhuilinn and *Balevullin*, common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Balevullin | Modern township name. There are ten surviving Gaelic mill names on Tiree (see section 10.2.3), so the fact that a township was named because of its mill suggests a particular size or importance. The site of at least one horizontal water mill on G *An Abhainn Bhàn* ‘the sandy stream’ is known to have been to the east of the house *Druimasadh* (see *Àsadh*). See also *Uircean*.

Ballevullin is a Gaelic construction in G *baile* (see *Baile nan Cràganach*). Its specific is G *muilinn* ‘mill’. Historical forms show the un-lenited *muilinn* (see Cox 2002, 115). *Balevullin* appears to have replaced a proposed Norse settlement name **Bjarnarvík* after the shift from Norn to Gaelic (see section 8.1.7).

This is a common name, other examples being *Balevulin* in Torosay, and *Bailamhuilinn* in Glenelg (SP).

BALLYPHETRISH TIR S 1 NGR NM015475

G *Baile Pheadrais* ‘the settlement of *Peadras*’

Ballepeteris, 1541 ER 16, 647: 4 merklands (Johnston 1991, 106)

Ballepeteris, 1542 ER 17, 532

Balliphetrish, 1628 Sasine vol. 2 no. 235: 3 merklands (Johnston 1991, 106)
Ballephetries, 1638 RGS, 30
Balfedre, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol
Ballephetris and *Balwag*, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 291: 4 merk-land, £66 13s 4d, bear 4 bolls
Belliepetlis, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 86
Baelly Petris, 1695 Martin, 296
Balephetrish, 1741 Tiree rental
Balephetrish, 1768 Turnbull Map
Ballephetrish, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 65: 32 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 106)
Ballyphetrish, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 55)
Baile Pheadrais and *Balephetrish*, common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Balephetrish | Modern township name

Ballyphetrish is a Gaelic construction in G *baile* (see *Baile nan Cràganach*). The specific is probably the Gaelic male personal name *Peadras* (genitive *Peadrais*). This is derived from the Latin personal name *Petrus*, found sporadically in the Irish Annals in the twelfth century, and which had developed to *Peadras* by the fifteenth century (MS). Rev Hector Cameron (MacDougall 1937, 21) speculated that there was a connection between the Tiree place-name *Balephetrish* and one particular individual, the *Ayg' Mac Petri* described in 1375 as the vicar of Kirkapol: '... *episcopo Lismorensi salute et ap. ben. Exhibita nobis pro parte dilecti filij Ayg' Mac Petri perpetui vicarij parrochialis ecclesie sancta Columbe de Kerepol Sodorensis diocesis ...*' (*Diplomatarium Norvegicum* b07 s307 no. 293). There are no surviving records indicating that *Balephetrish* was church property in the medieval period, although part of the township is drawn as the *Minister's Glebe* on Turnbull's 1768 map, and this could reflect an older connection to the church.

Peadras is an uncommon specific in Scotland. Interestingly, there is a G *Goirtean Pheadrais* 'the field of *Peadras*' in Ardeas, Caolas, although this may be a product of convergence (see section 17.5). The element also occurs in *Glac an da Pheaderish* on Mull and *Carn Mhic Pheadereis* in Jura, Argyll (SP); *Creagan Mhic Fheatrais* in Carloway derives from the modern Scots *MacPhetrish* (Cox 2002, 256). The plant name *Curran-Petris* (Martin 1994 (1695), 160; *Curran Phetruis* McDonald 1991, 94) was collected in the Barra archipelago.

BÀNA-DRUIM TIR C 1 NGR NL925458

Bàna-Druim, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 11, ‘meaning unknown’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | A small rock off the tip of Craignish

Bàna-Druim may be a Gaelic name with the close compound adjective-noun structure (see section 11.2.1). The specific may be G *bàn* ‘pale’ – but often in coastal place-names on Tiree meaning ‘sandy’ – while the generic may be G *druim* ‘ridge’. However, this is not topographically persuasive on this headland of rocks and cobble beaches. There are no other *bàn*-initial names on Tiree or in Carloway (Cox 2002, 393), nor have I been able to find others in Scotland (SP).

Alternatively, *Bàna-Druim* has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON **Oddahamar* ‘anvil-shaped rock of the points’ (see *Odarum* and also *Cadrum*, where there has been a similar development from *-drum* to *-druim*). The specific of this may be ON *barn* ‘child or small feature’ (see *Bàrna-sgeir*): ON **Barnoddahamar* ‘the little anvil-shaped rock of the points’. To support this, the Norwegian farm-name *Homdrum* has been derived from *Hámundarhamarr* (Rygh, vol. 8, 56).

BARAIGH TIR C 1 NGR NL932400 [ˈbaˌraɪ]

Leac na Ciarraiche a Baraigh, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source)

Leac na Ciarraich, Brownlie 1995, 153

Kenavara | A rock at the tip of the headland, part of *Eilean nam Bà* (see *Bò*).

The following story was not linked by the informant to this place-name, but nevertheless contains some common elements. A man called *Dòmhnall Phàraig* lived in Barrapol. Known as a strong swimmer, he swam one day to a rock on Kenavara to collect eggs. On his return, he was caught under a mat of tangles and drowned. His body was later washed up on Barra (William MacLean, pers. comm.). Records show that eighteen-year-old Donald Lamont ‘drowned while bathing at the North Side of Kenavara Hill’ at 12 noon on 29 July 1877 (Statutory registers Deaths 551/1 41). His death was registered on Tiree rather than Barra.

Leac na Ciarraiche a Baraigh is a Gaelic construction in G *leac* ‘flat stone or gravestone’. The specific *Ciarach a Baraigh* contains the element G *ciarach* ‘swarthy person of

either sex' (Dwelly), here treated as a feminine noun. The element *Baraigh* might be understood as G *Barraigh* 'the island of Barra'. The full name could therefore be translated as 'the gravestone of the swarthy woman from Barra' with its implied backstory, although the informant did not volunteer this interpretation.

Alternatively, *Baraigh* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *ey* 'island'. The specific of this may be ON *barð*: **Barðsey* 'island of the escarpment'. The Gaelic name of this 'island', *Eilean nam Bà* 'the island of **Bà*', may also derive from ON *barð* (see *Bò*).

There are no exact cognates, but *Bardøya* and *Bardholmen* are names in Norway (NG), and there is a *Barðshólmi* in Iceland (NLSI).

BÀRASDAL* TIR C 1 NGR NL940472

ON **Bárðarstøðull* 'the milking place of *Bárðr*'

Port Bhàrasdail, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 60, 'meaning unknown')

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | A small inlet

Port Bhàrasdail is a Gaelic construction in G *port* 'inlet'. Its specific **Bàrasdal* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *støðull* 'milking place'. The specific of this may be the common male ON personal name *Bárðr* (genitive *Bárðar*), which is common in *Landnámabók* (1900, 331). The loss of ON -ð- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

An exact cognate may be *Barrisdale* in Glenelg, Skye (SP). *Bárðardalur* was an early settlement name in Iceland (*Landnámabók* 1900, 286), and *Bárðar-* is a common specific today in Iceland, for example *Bárðarstaðir* (NLSI).

BÀRNA-SGEIR TIR C 1 NGR NL980486 ['ba:ɾ nə ,sk'eɪ]

ON **Barnasker* 'small skerry'

Bàrna-sgeir, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 38, 'no meaning got')

Bainsgeir, Cameron 1932, 432

Barnaisgeir, William MacPhail, Clachan, 6/1995; Archibald MacKinnon, Cornaigmore, 8/1994; and Iain MacDonald, Ruaig, 2/2016 (oral sources)

Cornaigmore | An inshore sea rock

Bàrna-sgeir has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *sker* ‘skerry’. The specific is ON *barn* (genitive plural *barna*) ‘child or small feature’ (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.; CV, 52; the Scots *bairn* is a reflex). There has been vowel affection across the medial *-sg-* consonant group (see section 17.4.2.1).

There are many Norwegian place-names containing the element *barna-*, for example *Barnkjenn* (Rygh, vol. 2, 326); it occurs several times in the Faroe Islands, as in *Barnagjógv* (KO); while *Barnasker* is the name of some sea rocks off the west coast of Iceland.

THE BARRADH TIR R 1 NGR NL955445 [ˈbãː ˌrəʊ]

The Barradh, Hector Kennedy talking to Eric Cregeen and Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1977.074, track ID 102725: ‘I don’t know why they call it *The Barradh*. It must be because it’s higher than the rest of the ground [in Kilkenneth].’

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Kilkenneth | An area of higher ground forming part of the western boundary of the *Great Common Moss* (see Turnbull Map 1768). It is topped by a robbed Bronze Age burial mound, on which a nineteenth-century monument *G Tùr MhicChaluim* ‘the cairn of [Rev Donald] MacCallum’ has been overbuilt.

The Barradh may be a Gaelic name in *G barradh* ‘eminence’, a side form of *bàrr*: ‘*A’ suidh air a bharradh (bharr) ud* [sitting on the brow of yonder hill]’ (Dwelly).

There are just two other examples in Scotland, both within the Norse expansion zone: *Barradh Mor* in Kilmore and Kilbride, Islay and a *Barradh-greine* in North Uist (SP).

AM BARRADHU TIR R 1 NGR NL987392

G A’ Bharr Dhubh ‘the dark eminence’

Am Barradhu, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 234, ‘significance Black Projecting Point’)

Barradhu, 1895 Campbell, 14: ‘the south side of *Barradhu*’

Dun a’ Bharragho, MacDougall, 1937, 109: + *G dùn* ‘fort or pile’

Am Barrgho, Seonaid Brown, Balephuill, 3/2015; Mairi Campbell, Corrairigh, 3/2015 (oral sources)

Am Barradhu, John MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.145, track ID 103417; John Fletcher, Balemartine, 3/2015 (oral sources)

The Barragho, Iain Cameron, Crossapol (who has this croft today), 4/2015; Ailig Eachainn MacDonald, Hynish, 5/2015 (oral sources)

Barradhubh Haoidhnis, Flora MacArthur, Moss, 3/2015 (oral source)

Uamh a' Bharradhubh, Jessie MacKinnon, Mannal, 5/1996; Lachlan MacFarlane, Hynish, 5/1996 (oral sources): + G *uamh* 'cave'

Sròn a' Bharradhubh, Lachlan and Chrissie MacFarlane, Hynish, 1/1994; William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral sources): + G *sròn* 'point'

Mullach a' Bharradhubh, Lachlan and Chrissie MacFarlane, Hynish, 1/1994 (oral sources): + G *mullach* 'summit'

East Hynish | A brooding, rocky coastal eminence. This was the site of a substantial presumed Iron Age promontory fort, now almost entirely robbed.

Am Barradhu is a Gaelic construction in OG *barr* or G *bàrr* 'eminence'. The specific is G *dubh* 'black'. The rocks here are not black, but *dubh* also has the meaning of 'dark, sad, mournful ... disastrous' (Dwelly). *Bàrr* is masculine in modern Scottish Gaelic, but here displays gender anomaly with a definite article suggesting the masculine gender and a lenited adjective suggesting the feminine. This is evidence that it may be an older name.

There are several other examples of *Barr Dubh*, as in Kilcalmonell, Argyll (SP).

BARRAPOLL TIR S 1 NGR NL953429 ['ba·rə ,pɒl]

ON **Barrsból* 'farm of barley'

Barapole, 1509 ER 13, 217: 4 lib. (Johnston 1991, 96)

Bairrepoill, 1541 ER 17, 647: 6 merklands (Johnston 1991, 96)

Bairrepoile, 1542 ER 17, 532

Barrepoill, 1638 RMS ix, 828

Barrabol (settlement symbol) and *L. Barrabol*, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

Barrapoill, 1674, MacPhail 1914, 289: 4.5 merk-land, £80, victual 120 stone

Barrepoill, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 86

Baraboll, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives

Barrabol, ca. 1734 van Keulen

Barapoll and *L. Barapoll*, 1768 Turnbull Map

Barrapoll and Kenvar, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 31: 64 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 96)

Barapole and Kenovar, 1794 Cregeen 1964, 38: 1 tack, 64 mail lands
Barrapoll, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 198, ‘meaning unknown’)
Barabol, common current local usage in Gaelic and English
Port Bharaboil, Brownlie 1995, 158

Barrapol | Modern township name, the western boundary of which lies at the base of the Kenavara headland. *Barrapoll* expanded eastwards in the Late Medieval period to subsume the settlements of G *Goirtein Dòmhnail* ‘the field of Donald’ (see *Goirtean*) and *Baile mhic Eòdha* (see Gazetteer).

Barrapoll has probably developed from a Norse loan-name. Given that it became a significant medieval settlement, the generic is probably ON *ból* ‘farm’. However, Gammeltoft has suggested instead ON *pollr* ‘pool’ (Gammeltoft 2001, 301; see section 17.1). The Turnbull Map and Report of 1768 certainly shows a 17-acre *Loch Barapoll* on the northern side of *Loch Phuill* (Feature no. 56). This was similar to the size of other lochans named in ON *pollr*, for example *Loch Stànail* (see *Birceapol* and *Heylipol*). It was drained around 1800.

Its specific may be ON *barr* ‘barley’ (Gammeltoft 2001, 301; CV, 53). In 1768, *Kenvar* contained just 11 acres of infield (Field no. 37), while *Barrapoll* had 53 (Nos. 44 and 45, Turnbull Report). The tack of *Barapole & Kenovar* paid 30 bolls of barley as rent in 1794, an amount no more than average for the island at that time (Cregeen 1964, 38). This name may therefore be understood as contrastive with the rugged headland, rather than other farms on Tiree.

Barr is not uncommon as a specific among Norwegian farm-names, for example *Barlund* (Rygh, vol. 4, 60).

BASAPOLL* TIR D 1 NGR NL972470 [ˈba sə .boL]

ON **Vatnsból* ‘farm of the loch’ or ON **Bassaból* ‘farm of *Bassi*’

Bassapole, 1509 ER 13, 216
Bassapoill, 1638 RMS ix, 828
L. Basbol, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)
Bassobull, 1662 ICA NE11, no. 15
Bassepoill, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 290: £10, victual 20 stones, malt 1 boll
Bassaboll, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives
Bassapole, 1716 MacLean-Bristol 1998
Loch Vassapoll, 1768 Turnbull Map

Loch Barsabil, 1775 Mackenzie M., *West Side of the Island of Mull with the Islands of Tiri and Coll*, NLS EMS.s.654

Loch Bhasapoll, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 71, 'significance unknown')

Loch Bhasabol, common current local usage

Kilmoluaig | Today, *Basapoll* survives in the name of the island's second largest freshwater loch, but this was the name of an independent runrig township until the eighteenth century. **Vatnsból* is likely to have been a secondary settlement from **Býjarstöð* (*Biosd*).

Basapoll has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *ból* 'farm' (Gammeltoft 2001, 302). At least two interpretations are possible for the specific. The first possibility is ON *vatn* (genitive *vatns*) 'lake' (CV, 681): *Vatnsból* 'loch farm'. The development ON *v-* > G *b-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). This derivation is topographically appropriate. *Wasdale* in England derives from ON *Vatnsdalr* 'the valley of the lake' (Ekwall 1960, 499); this element is common in Orkney, as in *Wasbister*, *Wasday*, *Vassay* and *Vassquoy* on Rousay (Marwick 1995 (1947), 73-4), and *Wasbist* on Westray (Gammeltoft 2001, 160); the Norwegian farm-name *Vassætr* derives from *vatn* (Rygh, vol. 12, 363); while *Vats-* was a common specific at Icelandic settlement (*Landnámabók* 1900, 318) and the name *Vatnsból* is very common today in Iceland (NLSI).

Alternatively, this may be the relatively uncommon male ON personal name *Bassi* (genitive case *Bassa*; Gammeltoft 2001, 301). The Norwegian *Bassebu* derives in this way (Rygh, vol. 7, 81); there are two examples of *Bassastaðir* in Iceland (NLSI). However, this name was not recorded at Icelandic settlement (*Landnámabók* 1900, 331). Also, Gammeltoft found that personal names are rare as specifics in *bólstaðr* names (Gammeltoft 2001, 55), and this has been confirmed in Lewis (Evemalm 2018, 161). The same may, or may not, be true of names in *ból*. See *Raonabol*.

BAUGH TIR S 1 NGR NM025437 ['am ,ba:y]

ON *á *Vági* '(the settlement) at Bay'

Bayech, 1509 ER 13, 216

Baw, 1541 ER 17, 648: 3 merklands (Johnston 1991, 87)

Baigh, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol

Baw, 1674 Retour vol. 1 no. 82: 3 merklands (Johnston 1991, 87)

Baiglie, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 288: 3 merklands

- Bag*, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives
Baw, 1695 Retours ARG vol. 1, 93
Baw, 1716 MacLean-Bristol, 1998
Baugh, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73
Baugh, *Baugh Bay* and *Loch Baugh* (inland), 1768 Turnbull Map and Report
Baugh, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 57: 24 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 87)
Travay Bay, 1775 MacKenzie M., NLS EMS.s.654
Baugh, 1794 Tiree rental, Cregeen 1964, 38
Baugh, 1804 Cregeen 1964, 93
Travay Bay, 1818 Huddart J., NLS EMW.X.108
Travay Bay, 1846 Wyld J., NLS Marischal 111
Baugh, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 180) and 1986 OS Landranger 46
Sgeir Bhàigh, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 216, 'A flat rock in Sorobaidh Bay and northeast of Cuigeas Sig. "Friendly Rock"): + G *sgeir* 'skerry' + G *bàidh* 'kindness'
Tràigh Bhàgh, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 95, 'A large sandy beach ... It forms the southern boundary of The Reef. Meaning "Bag Beach"): + G *tràigh* 'beach'
Tràigh a' Bhàigh, OS1/2/28/180
Am Bàgh, common current local usage in Gaelic (with the definite article): hear, for example, Hector Kennedy talking to Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1974.135, track ID 90341
Bag [bag], common current local usage in English
Tra' Bhàigh, common current local usage

Baugh | Modern township name. In the medieval period, this settlement is likely to have been situated on the eastern shore of a substantial estuary (see the 1654 Blaeu Map). However, this estuary was progressively narrowed by sand migration westwards along the beach. The remnant waterway is now just a narrow stream known today as *G An Fhaodhail* 'the ford' (see *An Fhaodhail* and *Briolachain*), which drains into the sea through a pipe dug into the beach (see section 5.6). Possibly as a consequence of becoming landlocked, the township has lost influence, being described by the Ordnance Survey in 1878 as 'a small hamlet at the Western extremity of Heanish' (OS1/2/28/180).

There are a number of features that suggest that this was an important primary Norse settlement: it had a simplex topographical name (see section 8.1.1); possibly the most sheltered beach landing on Tiree, and a plausible beach market site (see section 10.6.6); three surviving boat landing place-names (see *Eibrig*, *Ìbrìg* and *Dusprìg*); and a probable share in the 1,034 acres of *machair* grazing on *The Reef* to the west.

Baugh has probably developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *vágr* (dative *vági*) ‘bay’ (CV, 684). The referent is likely to have been the wide but shallow bay between Hynish and Heanish; the mouth of this is 7 km across. This may well have been known to the Norse explorers and settlers as **Vág*. This interpretation is supported by the name *Sgeir Bhàigh* in the middle of *Tràigh Shòrabaidh*. (This name may have been transferred from the more significant feature mapped on the 1878 Ordnance Survey 6 inch first edition as *Crossapoll Point*). Because of the good harbourage provided by the tidal estuary, the bay of **Vág* was plausibly an important destination for Early Medieval sailors. Perhaps because of the diminishing importance of the estuary for beach landing, cartographers have given this bay a succession of English names: *Baugh Bay* and *Sorby Bay* (1768 Turnbull Map), *Travay Bay* (1775 MacKenzie chart) and *Hynish Bay* (1878 Ordnance Survey 6 inch first edition Argyllshire LXXVIII). I have not heard a name for this body of water in current local usage.

In turn, the original Scandinavian half-ounceland farm township on the eastern side of the tidal estuary may have been known as **á Vági* ‘(the settlement) at **Vág*’.

By the sixteenth century there had been three phonological changes to this name: the initial ON *v-* developed to G *b-* by the process of back-formation; there was a vowel shift ON *-á-* > G [ɔ:]; and ON *-g* > G *-gh* (see section 17.4.2).

ON *vágr* was widely loaned into Gaelic as *bàgh* (McDonald 2015, 153). There are two other examples of G *bàgh* on Tiree: for example, G *Bàgh a’ Mhuilinn* ‘the inlet of the mill’ in *Millton* (see also *Kenovay*). This loan was also common in others islands that saw a succession of Gaelic from Norn: for example, G *Bàgh a’ Chaisteil* ‘the bay of the castle’ in Barra. The Gaelic name for the beach *Tràigh Bhàgh* probably comes from the loan-name for the bay rather than from the township name: ‘the beach of (the) Bay’ rather than ‘the beach of Baugh township’. Today, this strand is more usually called *Crossapol Beach*. The modern English loan-name *Bag* has developed from G *Am Bàgh* rather than the Norse loan-name *Baugh*, possibly quite recently.

Voe and *Walls* (derived from ON *vágr*) are settlements in Shetland (SP); *Våg* is extremely common in Norway (NG; see, for example, *Vaag* in Rygh, vol. 16, 19); *Vágar* or *Vágur* occur several times in the Faroe Islands (KO); while the names *Vogur* and *Vogar* are extremely common in Iceland (NLSI).

BEAG TIR C 1 NGR NM071469 ['bi ,g'eiɾ']

Port Beag, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 137, -)

Port Beagaig, Lachlan MacKinnon, Brock, 1990 (oral source)

Ruaig | A small inlet on the headland facing *Soa*

Port Beag(aig) is a Gaelic construction in G *port* 'inlet'. From the name-form collected by the Ordnance Survey team (including John Gregorson Campbell), its specific is G *beag* 'small', although, significantly, no meaning is suggested here (OS1/2/28/137). G (*Am*) *Port Beag* '(the) small inlet' is a common name in Argyll (SP).

The name-form *Port Beagaig* collected during my fieldwork, however, possibly contains the existing name *Beagaig*. This may have developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'. The specific of this may be ON *byggð* (genitive *byggðar*) 'dwellings and the whole cultivated neighbourhood' (CV, 89): ON **Byggðarvík* 'inlet of the settlement'. The Gaelic equivalent would be *Port a' Bhaile* 'inlet of the settlement', of which there are examples in Heanish and Balemartine. The developments ON *-gg-* > G *-g-*, the loss of ON *-ð-* and the loss of a medial ON *-v-*, are all regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent may have been the shore below the sub-township of *Brock*. This became an important beaching point for puffers discharging coal at the start of the twentieth century.

There is an *Amhainn Bheagaig* and an *Inbhear Beagaig* 'Mouth of the little river' in Kilmallie, Argyll (OS1/2/68/51). A number of names in the Norse expansion zone have ON *byggð* as their specific, for example *Bigland* on Rousay (Marwick 1995 (1947), 41), the Norwegian farm-name *Bygdnes* (Rygh, vol. 16, 396), and *Byggðarsandur* in Iceland (NLSI).

BEANNAIG TIR A 1 NGR NL956481 ['b'iaʊ ,neɪk']

ON **Bjarnarvík* 'inlet of *Bjarni*'

Dùn Beannaig, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 29, -)

Dùn Beannaig, Hugh MacLeod, Carachan, 5/1995; Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, 5/1995 (oral sources)

Balevullin | *Dùn Beannaig* is the name of a presumed Iron Age promontory fort at the eastern end of *Tràigh Bhail' a' Mhuilinn* (Canmore ID 21423).

Dùn Beannaig is a Gaelic construction in G *dùn* ‘fort’. Its specific *Beannaig* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The specific of this is likely to be the common male ON personal name *Bjarni*, which is common in *Landnámabók* (1900, 332). The loss of a medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The fact that there is no lenition of the initial *b-* suggests that this is an older Gaelic construction. The referent is likely to have been *Tràigh Bhail’ a’ Mhuilinn* itself, and this may have been a Norse primary settlement (see section 8.1.7). There is a *Tobar na Bearnaig* on Islay (Macniven 2015, 179), and the island of *Beàrnaraigh*, Carloway, derives from ON *Bjarnarøy* (Cox 2002, 176); *Bjarni* is a very common specific in Norway, as in *Bjørnevik* (Rygh, vol. 13, 339); while *Bjarnavik* occurs twice in Iceland (NLSI).

BÈIDHE* TIR S 1 NGR NL955405 [bi:h]

ON **Bý* ‘farm’

Bee, 1541 ER 17, 648: 3 merklands (Johnston 1991, 108)

Bee, 1542 ER 17, 527

Bee, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 86

Tràigh a’ Bhèidhe, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 223, ‘significance The Beach of Nourishing’)

Abhuinn a’ Bhèidhe, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 223 sig. ‘Nourishing River’): + G *abhainn* ‘river’

Traigh-Bhi, Cameron 1932, 355

Trà’ Bhi, common current local usage

Abhainn Bhi, common current local usage

Balephuill | An obsolete settlement name. *Ballefulye* was documented for the first time in 1509, implying that the two farms may have existed side by side until at least 1674 (see *Balephuill*). It should be noted, however, that **Bèidhe* does not appear on the Blaeu map of 1654, which was based on a Pont survey in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. The two surviving dependent names are at the Balephuill shore.

The beach here is a less common setting for G *Cath nan Sguab* ‘the Battle of the Sheaves’ (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1968.240, track ID 69437).

Tràigh a’ Bhèidhe is a Gaelic construction in G *tràigh* ‘beach’. The Ordnance Survey derived the specific **Bèidhe* from G *biadh* (genitive *bèidhe*) ‘food’ (Dwelly). Hector

Cameron suggested the name came from a Celtic saint's name *Do-Bhi* (see *Baile mhic Eòdha* and Johnston 1991, 94).

Instead, **Bèidhe* has probably developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *býr* 'farmstead'. Phonologically, this appears more likely to come from the East Norse *býr* rather than the West Norse *bær*. Macniven argues that on Islay this could imply that part of the Scandinavian settlement came from eastern Norway (Macniven 2015, 78). See *Siader* for a possible shieling site connected with this settlement.

Donald Sinclair from West Hynish had the tradition that a young Norse woman called *Solabhag* was drowned at a beach in Hynish and was buried here: '*Solabhag Bheag Nighean an Loch*. She was buried in Balephuill ... A princess, that's right ... On your left hand side when you're leaving Balephuill, before you reach Angus MacArthur [NL962412] ... that's where she was brought up ... *Solabhag Bheag Nighean an Loch, Lochlannan Bhaile Phuill* [small *Solabhag* daughter of the loch, the Vikings of Balephuill]' (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.146, track ID 84887, translated by the author). See also *Balbhaig, Balephuill, Meidhaig, Solabhag* and *Ulbhaig*.

There is a *Ballinaby* (derived as *Baile na *Bý*) on Islay (Macniven 2015, 292), and a *Loch Bee* on South Uist; 'in Shetland *býr* occurs eight times as a simplex' (Sigmundsson 2005, 213); *By* is common among Norwegian farm-names, and is derived from *býr* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 2, 144); and the simplex *Bær* is very common in Iceland (NLSI).

BEINN IOLAIREACH TIR R 1 NGR NM018474 [ˈiː laɪ ˌjɑːx]

G *Iolarach* 'place of a ledge'

Beinn Iolaireach, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 56, 'a small hill situate a short distance N.E. of Ballyphetrish Hill. sig Hill abounding with Eagles'): + G *beinn* 'hill'

Beinn Iolaireach, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 1/1994 (oral source)

Balephetrish| This low, flat-topped hill in Balephetrish was mapped as *Ben Balephetrish* by Turnbull in 1768. The Ordnance Survey noted it as *Ballyphetrish Hill* in 1878, with *Beinn Iolaireach* at its eastern end. However, I was told that the latter was the older name for the whole hill (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.). The western aspect of the hill has been substantially modified, having been used for quarrying during the Second World War to provide aggregate for the runways of RAF Tiree; its natural profile is suggested in an early twentieth-century postcard (An Iodhlann

cat. no. 1998.130.10). Incomplete remains of the substantial presumed Iron Age fort *Dùn Taelk* survive at the summit.

Beinn Iolaireach is a Gaelic construction in G *beinn* ‘hill’. Its specific is unlikely to be G *iolaireach*, the adjectival form of G *iolair* ‘eagle’. This low Tíree hill has no natural cliffs and is a very unlikely nesting ground for sea eagles, while the island does not provide (and probably has never provided) the predation opportunities for golden eagles (John Bowler, pers. comm.). Nor does the hill’s profile resemble an eagle. Alternatively, **Iolarach* has possibly developed from an existing Gaelic name in G *iola* ‘ledge’, with the suffix combination *-ar* and *-ach* (Cox 2002, 60). *Iola* is a loan word from ON **hylla* (Cox 2002, 305; see *hjalli* ‘terrace in hillside’ in CV, 265; see McDonald 2015, 163). **Iolarach* ‘the terraced hill’ accurately describes the contour of the hill.

There are no exact cognates. *Iol* is an uncommon element in Scottish place-names, but is found as *An Iola* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 305) and *Iol a’ Chàirn Deirg* in Lochbroom (SP).

BEIREADH* TIR C 1 NGR NM050487 [ˈber ˌɛɣ]

Stalla Bheireadh, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, 11/1993 (oral source)

Vaul | Some shore rocks on the western shore of *Loch Bhalla*, behind which is a low rock face

Stalla Bheireadh is a Gaelic construction in G *stalla* ‘low cliff’. Its specific **Beireadh* is probably the Gaelic loan word *beireadh*, which is derived from ON *berg* ‘rock’ (see section 12.1.2). The referent may have been any one of a number of rock names nearby: *Creag Bhruthainne*, *An Cnap* or *Eilean an t-Siabain* (1878 Ordnance Survey 6 inch first edition Argyllshire LXV; see *Siaban*).

Am Berradh is found on Raasay (MacKay 2013, 27) and there is an *A’ Bheirgh* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 182).

BERGH TIR C 1 NGR NL935434 [ˈbe ˌrɛɣ]

ON **Berg* ‘rock’

Bergh, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

Bearg, Brownlie 1995, 159

Bearadh, Nancy MacKinnon, Sandaig, 12/2012; Effie MacKinnon, Sandaig, 10/2020 (oral sources)

Sandaig | Today, this denotes a large, flat fishing rock forming the northwestern margin of *G Am Port Mòr* ‘the large inlet’.

Bergh has probably developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *berg* ‘rocky boulder’ (CV, 60; and see Cox 1998, 59–65 for a full discussion of this element). The word was loaned into Gaelic (see *Beireadh* above and 12.5.2), but there is no evidence of a Gaelic definite article among the name-forms and this is likely to have developed directly from the Norse. The development of ON *-g* > to G *-gh* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

The simplex *Berg* is very common among names in the Norse expansion zone. The Lewis township name *Berie* derives from *bergi*, the dative form of *berg* (Oftedal 2009, 31); there is a *Berg* in Whalsey, Shetland (SP); it is a common simplex Norwegian farm-name, for example *Berg* (Rygh, vol. 2, 57); *Bergið* is common in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Berg* is very common in Iceland (NLSI).

BHABHAINN TIR R 1 NGR NM064478 [ˈvãö: ,weɪn]

ON **Vaðin* ‘the wading place’

Baca Bhabhainn, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 and 3/2010; Lachlan MacKinnon, Vul, 12/1993; Duncan Grant, Ruaig, 10/2011; Alasdair MacInnes, Ruaig, 9/2014; Mairi MacLean, Ruaig, 9/2014; Ethel MacCallum, Ruaig, 9/2014 (oral sources): + G *baka* ‘sand dune’

Ruaig | This name was located by some informants to a site north of the road to Caolas and west of Ruaig schoolhouse. It had originally been a large sand dune, but this was partially eroded by the 1930s and there is no trace of it today. Other informants, however, suggested an alternative location south of the road and west of Carsamul House. Dunes are, by their nature, relatively ephemeral formations and the existing name **Bhabhainn* appears to have denoted a wide area one kilometre north of the sand tombolo between Ruaig and the tidal islet of *Soa* (see Gazetteer). This can be crossed for two hours either side of low water. *Soa* provided significant grazing for sheep and cattle, a night pen (see *Traogh*), and it provided most of the seaweed for the township. Tidal access was therefore important.

There is no documentary evidence for this name, but it survives strongly in the oral tradition. Informants suggested the folk etymologies *G Bo Dhuinn* ‘the yellow cow’ and *G Bha Uain* ‘was sheep’.

Baca Bhabhainn is a Gaelic construction in *G baca* ‘dune’. Its specific **Bhabhainn* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vað* neuter ‘wading place’ (CV, 673) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5). The developments ON *-a-* > G [ãö] and the loss of ON *-ð-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2). The referent is likely to have been the *Soa* tombolo.

There is a *Vad* in North Uist, where ‘this neck of 100 yards being the only place where access can be got by land to the North East district of North Uist’ (OS1/18/7/61); *Vadet* is extremely common in Norway (NG); there are six examples of the simplex *Vaðið* in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Vaðið* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

BHÀLAS* TIR C 1 NGR NL932458

Lùb Ceann a’ Bhàlais, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 61, ‘a small bay situated a very short distance northwards of Port Hannish’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | The most westerly of two small inlets at the southeastern corner of the Craignish peninsula. The steep storm beach here is made up of impressive, large round cobbles, *G buthagan*.

Lùb Ceann a’ Bhàlais is a Gaelic construction in *G lùb* ‘bending of the shore or creek, curvature’ (Dwelly). Its specific is the existing Gaelic name *G Ceann a’ Bhàlais* ‘the promontory of **Bhàlas*’. The referent may have been the striking rocky promontory separating this inlet from *Port Hanais* to the east. The final element **Bhàlas* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *áss* ‘ridge’ (CV, 46), a term that can be associated on Tiree with raised cobble beaches (see *Àras*, *Kerreferguss* and *Torbhas*). The specific of this may be the male ON personal name *Váli*, which is found twice in *Landnámabók* (1900, 379; CV, 675; see *Valby* in Rygh, vol. 6, 292). This name may be found as the specific in Iceland, for example *Válamýri* (NLSI).

A' BHAOILL TIR D 2 NGR NM031471 [ə vɑ̃øi:lʲ]ON **vǫll* 'field'*Thewill*, 1509 ER 13, 216*Will*, 1541 ER 13, 648: 1 merkland (Johnston 1991, 84)*Will*, 1542 ER 17, 527*Woyll*, 1588 Gregory and Skene 1847, 179: 'one mark land 14 males of [oat] meal, 1 mart'*Weill*, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol*Revaig* and *Vuill*, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 291: 6 merk-land, £80, victual 16 bolls*Waill*, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 86*Vill*, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives*Waill*, 1695 Retours ARG vol. 1, 93*Geatt* and *Vuill*, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll (NAS E106/3/2/73)*Vuill*, 1768 Turnbull Map*Gott* and *Vuille*, 1794 Cregeen 1964, 39: 'possessed by the minister'*The Wyle*, Reeves 1854, 238*A' Bhaoill*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 1/1994 and 5/2009 (oral source)

Gott | A 1680 estate map in the Inveraray archives locates this settlement to the west of Kirkapol. It was linked with Ruaig in the seventeenth century, with Gott in the eighteenth century, while in 1794 it contributed to the living of the minister. The sole informant from the oral tradition gave its location as north of *Ylen na Hyring* (see *Hyring*) on the northern side of *Loch Riaghain*, Gott. Here, there is a group of four small, turfed footings, possibly at one time shielings. However, if *A' Bhaoill* was a primary Norse settlement as suggested by its simplex name (see section 8.1), it was more plausibly sited above the beach to the west of the Kirkapol churches, where the land is graded as 4.2 (fertile for Tiree) on the Land Capability Analysis, where there is a substantial area of archaic rigs and where there are further footings. It appears that this farm was largely subsumed, first by *Kirkjuból* and later by Gott.

A' Bhaoill has probably developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *vǫllr* 'field'. The alternation of /v/ and /w/ is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). This may be part of a contrasting pair with the settlement-name *Vaul*, which probably derives from ON *vellir* 'fields' (see Gazetteer).

Vell is a farm-name in Westray (E326/10/4/238); the common Norwegian farm-name *Vold* derives from *vǫllr* (for example, Rygh, vol. 2, 57); while the simplex *Völlur* is very common in Iceland (NLSI).

A' BHAOLACH TIR R 1 NGR NM085479 [ˈv̥øː ˌl̪əx]

A' Bhaolach, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 6/1999 (oral source)

Caolas | An area of land at the southern end of *Ùtraid Mhilton*

A' Bhaolach is possibly derived from an otherwise unattested Gaelic borrowing **bhaol* from ON *vǫllr* 'field' with the locational suffix *-ach* 'place of' (see section 12.1.9).

I could find no other examples in Scotland (SP).

BHEIR' SHNÒIS TIR C 2 NGR NL934427 [ˌver' ˈhn̪õːɪ]

Sloc Bheir' Shnòis, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 12/1995 (oral source)

Sandaig | A shoreline feature beside *Snòis* (see Gazetteer). There are a number of fishing rocks near this site (Effie MacKinnon, pers. comm.).

Sloc Bheir' Shnòis is a Gaelic construction in G *sloc* 'gully'. The stress pattern of the specific *Bheir' Shnòis* suggests that this is a Gaelic construction too, possibly in G *beireadh*, a Gaelic loan word from ON *berg* 'rock' (see section 12.1.2) with lenition. The specific of this, **Snòis*, has developed from the existing Norse loan-name **Snøs* 'nose-shaped promontory' (see *Snòis*): **A' Bheir(eadh) Shnòis* 'the rock of *Snòis*'. This interpretation is supported by the coastal names to the north: *Beireadh Ghrianail* (a fishing rock) and *Beireadh Shanndaig* (Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, pers. comm.).

A' BHEIRBH TIR C 1 NGR NM049488 ON [ə ˈveɪ ˌjəv]

A' Bheirbh, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 106, 'a small knoll ... sig. Unknown')

Stalla Bheireimh, Mary MacKinnon, Seaside, Vaul 1/1995 (oral source): + G *stalla* 'cliffs'

Vaul | A slope at the southern end of Upper Vaul

A' Bheirbh has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hǫfuð* 'headland' (CV, 306). The specific may be ON *berg* (genitive plural *berga*) 'rock': ON **Bergahǫfuð* 'headland of the rocks'. The developments ON *-e-* > G *-ei-* and the

loss of ON *-g-* and *-ð* are regular, and there has been vowel affection (see section 17.4.2). This loan-name appears to be in the dative case. It may be a contrastive pair with *Culaobh* on the east side of *Mithealum*.

There are four examples of *Berghov(da)* in Norway (NG), where *hovde* is a common generic, as in *Selhovde* (Rygh, vol. 9, 221).

BHIDEIG TIR C 1 NGR NM025435

Port Bhideig, 1878 OS (JGC, ONSB, 180, meaning ‘pool of the crane’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Baugh | A small rocky inlet just to the west of the harbour of G *Port a’ Mhuilinn* ‘the harbour of the mill’. There are many rock pools here, which may have acted as a natural fish trap (see *Allamsa*).

Port Bhideig is a Gaelic construction in G port ‘inlet’. The specific *Bhideig* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vik* ‘inlet’. The specific of this may be ON *viti* ‘beacon’ (CV, 712; Young and Clewer 1985, 670; see *Dusprig*, *Eibrig* and section 6.1.2): *Vitavik*. The loss of a medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). In view of its location beside one of the island’s main harbours (see section 10.6.6), the referent was plausibly *Port a’ Mhuilinn*.

Viti is found elsewhere in the Norse expansion zone. There is a *Fitty Hill* on Westray (OS1/23/26/184); the Norwegian farm name *Vetviken* contains the element *viti* (Rygh, vol. 12, 337); there is a *Viti* in the Faroe Islands (KO); and a *Vitanesvik* in Iceland (NLSI).

A’ BHIOLARACH TIR C 1 NGR NM064488 [ə ‘vi ,lə rax]

A’ Bhiolarach, 1878 OS (*A’ Mhillerich*, JGC, OSNB, 115)

A’ Bhiolarach, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source)

Am Biolarach, Tina MacArthur, Caolas, 4/2018 (oral source): said to have been a patch on the shore where whelks were plentiful at spring low tides

Salum | The Ordnance Survey Name Book described this name as applying ‘to a few reefs visible at low water situate near the centre of Salum Bay’. A small, unnamed stream drains into the northeastern part of this bay.

A' Bhiolarach could be a Gaelic name from G *biolaireach* 'place abounding in water-cress' (see section 12.1.9). For this derivation to be correct, the name must have been transferred some way from the stream to the inter-tidal part of the beach. Nor is this a common element: *Lòn Biolaireach* in Kilninian and Kilmore, Mull may be the only example of its use in Scotland (SP). It is best, therefore, to leave this name open at the moment.

BHOTAIDH TIR D 3

Cuil Bhotaidh, Cameron 1932, 53: 'Nuair theid Ailein ann ad' dhail / Cha bhi easbhuidh ort, a ghraidh, / Gheibh sibh croit anns a Phort Bhan, / No ait' ann an Cuil Bhotaidh. [When Alan comes to your place / You will not want for anything, my darling / You will get a croft in *Port Bàn* [Caolas] / Or a place in *Cuil Bhotaidh*]' No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Possibly Caolas | The poem *Duanag do Chaileig Bhig* 'A Small Rhyme to a Young Girl' by John MacLean, *Iain mac Ailein* or *Bàrd Thighearna Cholla*, from Caolas (1787–1848) was written for his niece. The location can only be inferred from the township of the poet and the mention of G *Am Port Bàn* 'the sandy inlet', presumed to be that in the southeastern part of Caolas.

Cuil Bhotaidh is a Gaelic name in G *cùil* 'corner, nook'. The specific *Bhotaidh* is possibly an existing Norse loan-name in ON *hagi* 'pasture' (CV, 231). Its specific may be ON *vátr* 'wet, damp' (ONP): ON **Vátahaga* 'wet pastures'. The developments ON *-á-* > G [ɔ:], the loss of a medial ON *-g-*, and the closure of an open final syllable with *-dh* are all regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The ground around G *Am Port Bàn* is acidic grassland and heather with rocky outcrops.

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common in the Norse expansion zone, for example the Norwegian farm-name *Vaatvik* (Rygh, vol. 12, 416) and *Votigeiri* in Iceland (NLSI). For *hagi* see *Àsadh*.

A' BHRAONACH TIR R 1 NGR NL966402

G 'the place of drizzle'

A' Bhraonach, Black 2008, 131

Balephuill | This was the taboo (or *noa*) name for *Beinn Haoidhnis*:

It was deemed unlucky by east coast fishermen coming to Tiree (as several boats used to annually to prosecute the cod and ling fishing) to speak in a boat of a minister or a rat. Everywhere it was deemed unlucky among seafaring men to whistle in case a storm should arise. In Tiree, Heynish Hill (the highest in the island) was known as *a' Bhraonach* [footnote 430: *A' Bhraonach* is 'the showery/drizzly/dewy female' because of the tendency of Heynish Hill to attract cloud]. (Black 2008, 131 and 387; see a similar derivation for the Hebridean mountain name *Hekla* in Kruse 2007, 30)

A' Bhraonach is a Gaelic name from G *braon* 'drizzle, rain, shower' with the Gaelic locational suffix *-ach* (see section 12.1.9).

There is a *Cnoc Braonach* in Assynt, with the adjectival *braonach* 'showery' (SP). There are no other examples of *A' Bhraonach* in Scotland (SP).

BIOSD* TIR S 1 NGR NL967483 [poɾˈt ˈviː ˌhstəɹ]

ON **Býjarstøð* 'harbour of the farm' or ON **Býjarstað* 'farm annexe of the farm'

Bastawe 1509 ER 13, 216

Bister, 1541 ER 17, 647: 3 merklands (Johnston 1991, 103)

Biste, 1638 RMS ix, 828

Bistie, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol

Byst, 1662 ICA NE11 no. 15

Birster, 1674 Retours vol.1, 86

Bist and *Ballenairaganaich*, 1674 MacPhail 1914: 3 merk-lands, 'wast except ten maill-land, and which pays of money £27 6s 8d, victual 30 stones, malt 2 bolls 8 pecks

Byst, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives

Beist, 1716 MacLean-Bristol 1998

Beist, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73

Beist, 1768 Turnbull Map

Beist, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 48: 24 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 103)

Biest, 1776 Mackenzie M., *West Side of the Island of Mull with the Islands of Tiri and Coll*, NLS EMS.s.654

Beist, 1794 Tiree rental, Cregeen 1964, 36

Biest, 1832 Thomson's Atlas of Scotland

Bista, 1865, Donald Cameron in Campbell J.G 1891, 172

Port Bhiosd and *Rudha Port Bhiosd*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 30, ‘no meaning got’): + G *port* ‘inlet’

Cnoc Bhiosta, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 73): + G *cnoc* ‘hillock’

Bosd, Cameron 1932, 21: *Eadar Bosd agus Cornaig*

Port Bhiostadh, Archibald MacKinnon, Cornaigmore with John MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig, 8/1994 (oral sources)

Cnoc Bhiostadh, Iain MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig, 11/1993 and 4/1994 (oral source)

Kilmoluaig | An obsolete settlement name. Kilmoluaig and *Biosd* are recorded side by side from 1509 to 1794. Kilmoluaig then subsumed *Biosd* around 1800 during Improvement. *Port Bhiostadh* is situated on the northern tip of Kilmoluaig. There is a harbour here, and a pier was built in 1846 to encourage long line fishing during the potato famine. The area around this is now known as ‘The Green’, named by fishermen from the east coast in the nineteenth century. The hillock *Cnoc Bhiostadh* is 1 km inland. This could have been a navigation mark for entry into the harbour of *Port Bhiostadh*, or, more likely, it may mark an earlier extent of the settlement. *Biosd* is the most common setting for the traditional story of G *Cath nan Sguab* ‘The Battle of the Sheaves’ (Campbell 1891, 172; see section 18.c.1).

Biosd has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in either ON *stǫð* ‘berth, harbour’ (CV, 602) or ON *staðir* ‘farm’ (the derivation of *Bjástad* in Ski, Norway: Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.). *Stǫð* and *staðir* are often hard to distinguish in Norwegian place-names (Sandnes 2010a, 361), but the topography here favours the former: ‘Where the specific is overtly maritime and where there are local mooring places, as in Knarston in St. Ola and Knarston in Rousay, ON *stǫð* is preferred’ (Whyte 2017, 200). The specific may be ON *býr* ‘farm’. The developments of the loss of ON *-ð* and the closure of open final syllables with *-dh* are both regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

There is a *Beest* in Harray, Orkney (SP), and *Bæjarstaður* occurs twice in Iceland (NLSI).

BIRCEAPOL* TIR R 1 NGR NL966447 [ˈbiːr̩ kʲə ˌpɔl]

ON **Birkipoll* ‘pool of the birches’

Cnoc Bhirceapol, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 91, -)

Cnoc Bheiceapuil, 1938 Cameron, 64

Cnoc Bhirceapoll, common current local usage

Moss | The highest hillock in an area that once formed an extensive peat fen, some two square kilometres in size (see the 1768 Turnbull Map). This had been exhausted by the eighteenth century.

Cnoc Bhirceapol is a Gaelic construction in G *cnoc* ‘hillock’. Its specific **Birceapol* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in either ON *ból* ‘farm’ or ON *pollr* ‘pool, pond’ (CV, 478; Gammeltoft 2001, 302). The latter is more likely, as there can have been little agricultural land here in the medieval period. ON *pollr* may have referred to one of two lochans to the east of the hillock: *Loch Stànail* or G *Loch a’ Chlàir* ‘the loch of the board’ (see *Stànail* in the Gazetteer). The specific is likely to be ON *birki* ‘birch’ (CV, 63; Gammeltoft 2001, 302). There has been vowel affection around the medial *-rc-* consonant group (see section 17.4.2.1). Birch charcoal dated to AD 790–990 has been recovered from a settlement mound in Balinoe (Ramsay 2018).

Birkiból occurs twice in Iceland (NLSI). Otherwise, there are no exact cognates, but both elements are common among the names of the Norse expansion zone.

BIÙRAINN* TIR W 1 NGR NM049473 [ˈbjuː ˌriŋ]

ON **Björgin* ‘the rock’

An Abhainn Bhiùrainn, Lachlan MacKinnon, *Vaul*, 2 and 4/1996 (oral source)

Kirkapol | *An Abhainn Bhiùrainn* is an alias for G *Sruthan nan Clachan Dubha* ‘the streamlet of the black rocks’ (OS 1/2/28/126); this watercourse drains the Kirkapol *sliabh* east of *Sruthan Kirkapoll*. The beach here is dynamic. The whole beach was said to have been ‘stony’ before a large sand dune G *Am Baca Ruadh* ‘the red dune’ eroded in the nineteenth century (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.; and see section 5.6.2). I was also told that the inter-tidal section of these rocks was largely covered by sand before the 1968 hurricane (Fiona MacKinnon, pers. comm.). These rocks

may therefore have been more prominent in times past. Stretching out into *Loch Ghot*, the line continues as G *Na Sgeirean Dubha* ‘the black skerries’, forming a significant navigational hazard.

An Abhainn Bhiùrainn is a Gaelic construction in G *abhainn* ‘river’. Its specific **Biùrainn* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *björg* ‘rock, boulder’ (OI *bjarg*, plural *björg*: CV, 65) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5). It is cognate with, and often confused with, ON *berg* ‘rock’. The developments ON *-ǰ-* > G [u·] and the loss of a medial ON *-g-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2).

The Biorg is a place-name in Shetland, applied ‘to a large hill feature’ (OS1/31/17/198); *Bjørgan* accounts for twenty Norwegian farm-names, deriving from *björg* (for example, Rygh, vol. 15, 42); *á Björgum* occurs twice in the Faroe Islands (KO); while the simplex *Björgin* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

BÒ TIR C 1 NGR NL933400 [ba:] and [ba:-əʏ]

ON **á Barði* ‘at (the) edge of a hill’

Eilean na Bò Mòire, 1878 OS (JGC with Alexander MacLean, shep[her]d, Kenvar, OSNB, 149, ‘A very rocky peninsula, isolated from the rest of the mountain by a deep ravine, and forming the west corner of the south point of Ceann-a-bharra, meaning ‘Island of the Big Cow’): + G *mòr* ‘big’

Eilean nam Bà ‘The Cows’ Isle’, Brownlie 1995, 76 and 153

Eilean nam Bàthadh, William MacLean, Balinoe, 1/1994; Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 4/1998; and David McClounnan, Balephuill, 11/1997 (oral sources)

Eilean nam Bà, Flora MacArthur, Moss, 8/2016 (oral source)

Eilean nam Ba, MacDougall 1937, 102

Dun Eilean na Ba, Beveridge 1903, 96: + G *dùn* ‘fort’

Dùn Eilein nam Bà, Brownlie 1995, 153

Kenavara | An outcrop at the southwestern extremity of Kenavara, separated from the body of the headland by a deep gully. This gully is above the high tide mark but, is littered with flotsam. A striking feature of the outcrop is an undated stone causeway across the gully, described as ‘a solid bridge ... about 5 feet in width, 3 feet high to the north, and 6 feet to the south where it joins the island, with large stones at its base’ (Beveridge 1903, 96). At the very tip of the promontory, a steel pin has been inserted into the rock, something that may have been previously

noted as ‘marks of some erection’ (Beveridge 1903, 97). Its purpose is obscure. It was possibly fixed as part of a salvage attempt; two boats did sink near here in the nineteenth century. A similar pin, put in for salvage purposes, can be seen at *Clach na h-Aoidh* in Heanish.

Beveridge classed the flat but slightly sloping summit of this outcrop as a fort site, although the Ordnance Survey did not collect a fort name here twenty years previously. However, he reported that the site was, ‘disappointing as regards its state of preservation. Indeed, one is tempted to think that the Tíree boys must have made a special point of spending their Sunday afternoons in throwing down its walls’ (Beveridge 1903, 96). A recent authoritative survey agrees, describing ‘traces of the stone footings of two round-houses ... on a terrace on the NW’ (*An Atlas of Hillforts of Great Britain and Ireland* 2016, SC2487). The National Record of the Historic Environment has also classified the site as a fort (Canmore ID 21481). However, this low outcrop is extremely exposed and is less than one kilometre from one of the island’s best defensive locations at *Dùn nan Gall*. It would certainly be an unusual place to find a cow.

Eilean na Bò Mòire is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* ‘island’. The specific *Bò* or *Bà* may have been lexically adapted as either G *bò* (nominative plural and genitive singular *bà*) ‘cow’ or G *bàthadh* ‘drowning’ (see *Baraigh*). Instead, the name has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *barð* (dative *barði*) ‘escarpment’ (CV, 51; see Rygh 1898, 43). The developments ON *-a-* > G [ɔ], the loss of ON *-ð-* and the addition of a terminal *-dh* to close an open vowel are all regular (see section 17.4.2). This derivation is topographically very appropriate.

Barr on Islay has been derived in this way (Macniven 2015, 196); there is a *Bard* in Bressay, Shetland (SP); the simplex *Barden* is common in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Baret* derives from *barð* (Rygh, vol. 13, 304); *Barðið* occurs twice in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Barði(ð)* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

BÒDHAB TIR C 1 NGR NM059488 [ˈboː-ab]

Sgeir Bòdhab, Lachlan MacKinnon, *Vaul*, 4/1996 and 11/1999 (oral source): G *sgeir* ‘skerry’

Vaul | A rock visible at low tide on *Tràigh Chrògain* just east of *Mithealum*

Sgeir Bòdhab is a Gaelic construction in G *sgeir* ‘skerry’. Its specific *Bòdhab* is possibly derived from an existing Norse loan-name. Sandnes found in Orkney that

a very few Norse place-names lose their generic: for example, the sea rock *Brya*, the specific of which is ON *breiða* ‘broad’ (Sandnes 2010a, 373). A plausible specific here, then, might be ON *boði* (genitive *boða*) ‘messenger ... especially as a nautical term, a breaker boding hidden rocks’ (CV, 77), while a plausible lost generic at this location beginning with /b/ might be ON *bryggja* ‘boat landing place’: ON **Boðabryggju* ‘landing place of the submerged rock’. I could find no exact cognates for this name elsewhere in the Norse expansion zone. See *Sgràbraig* in the same bay.

BOGHASUM TIR C 1 NGR NL985388 [ˈbo-ə ,sʌm]

ON **Bqðvarrshamar* (accusative case singular) ‘rock of *Bqðvarr*’

Boghasum, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 246, -)

Boghasum, William Lamont, Manna, 9/1995 (oral source)

Hynish | An offshore rock

Boghasum has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hamarr* ‘hammer-shaped rock’ (CV, 235). The specific is likely to be a male ON personal name such as *Bqðvarr*, which is common in *Landnámabók* (1900, 334), followed by the genitive morpheme /s/. The development from ON -q- > G [ɔ] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). ON *hamarr* appears to have developed to -rum on Tìree (see *Odarum*). This is either the result of metathesis, or from the dative plural form *hqmrum* (see the Norwegian farm-name *Hamrum* in Rygh, vol. 12, 145).

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common among the names of the Norse expansion zone. See *Odarum*.

BÒID* TIR R 1 NGR NL969413 [bõĩ:tʰ]

Cuil Bhoìd, Cameron 1932, 167. A song by John MacLean, Balemartine: ‘*Tha e nuas Cuil-Bhoìd na Sgrìob*’. + G *cùil* ‘nook’ + G *sgrìob*: the more usual meaning is ‘track’, but here it may mean ‘calamity’ (Dwelly). There is a traditional story about a funeral party carrying a coffin on the way to the Soroby graveyard. They stopped here and started fighting.

Cuil Bhoìd, Cameron 1932, 359. A song by Colin MacDonald: ‘*Chi thu Rifrinn, ’s chi thu ’n Airidh / ’S an Carnan os cionn an loin / Chi thu Hoighnis is Cnoc Ghrianail / Glac nan Smiar, agus Cuil Bhoìd*’

Cuil-Bhoid, Cameron 1932, 405. A song by Donald Sinclair: ‘*Gu’ n chuir i fiamhachd orr’ aig Cuil-Bhoid*’

Bòid, Alasdair Brown, Balephuill, 11/1993 (oral source)

Cùl Mhòid, Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.146, track ID 84884: ‘That’s the opening between Balemartine and Balephuill. And that’s where the old people in the olden times, whatever was to be settled, that’s the meeting place, and they decided there what was to happen and what was not going to happen.’

Cùl Mhòid, Mor Campbell, Balemartine, 11/1993; Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, 11/1993 (oral sources): + G *cùl* ‘rear or back part’ (Cox 2002, 83)

Cachaileith Mhòid, Mor Campbell, Balemartine, 11/1993; Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, 11/1993; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 12/1996, and common current local usage (oral sources): + G *cachaileith* ‘gate’

Balephuill | An area of land on either side of the modern road as it turns at the boundary between Balephuill and the Balemartine *sliabh*

The folk etymology is that this name is derived from G *mòd* ‘court, trial, meeting’ (itself a borrowing from ON *mót*: MacBain 1911; see the quote from Donald Sinclair above). *Mòd* is a common specific, as in the seven examples of G *Tom a’ Mhoid* ‘the hillock of the assembly’ (SP).

Alternatively, *Bòid* has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vøtt* ‘glove-shaped area of land’ (see *Fhàdamull*). This is fairly speculative because we do not understand what a ‘glove-shaped piece of land’ looked like, and it is difficult to identify any prominent feature in this area today (although the farmhouse and substantial farmyard nearby may overlie something). The developments ON *-q-* > G [ʃi] and ON *v-* > G *b-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2).

Vøttr is relatively uncommon as a simplex place-name. There are six examples of *Votten* in Norway (NG) and one of *á Vøtti* in the Faroe Islands (KO).

BOIDHEGEIR TIR C 1 NGR NM047494 [ˈbʰɔ̃i̯ jə ɡˈeɪ̯]

ON **Borgargerði* ‘farm of the fort’ or ON **Borgagerði* ‘farm of the forts’

Boidhegir, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vault, 11/1993 (oral source)

Am Boidhegir, Mary MacKinnon, Seaside, Vault, 11/1993; Alasdair Sinclair, Brock, 4/2002 (oral sources)

Port a' Mhorghain, 1878 OS (~~*Port Bhoirgeir*~~, JGC, OSNB, 101, sig: Unknown, Meaning 'Shingle Port'). *Port Bhoirgeir*, not crossed out, also appears in the entries for *Eilean an t-Siabain* and *Sgeir Bharrach* on the same page of the Name Book: + G *port* 'inlet' + G *morghan* 'gravel, shingle' (Dwelly)

Niall Boidhegeir, the byname of Neil MacFarlane, who lived at *Am Boidhegeir* in a tiny house with his mother Sarah; Alasdair Sinclair, Brock, 4/2002 (oral source)

Boidheagal, Mairi MacKinnon, Balephetrish, 2/1994 (oral source)

Port Bhoidhegeir, Mary MacKinnon, Seaside, Vaul, 5/1995 (oral source)

Vaul | This denotes a triangle of land just south of G *Dùn Beag Bhalla* and east of *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* 'the small and large forts of Vaul'. Today, cultivation strips, a settlement mound and a large rectangular turf-covered structure are obvious (see Canmore oblique aerial photograph DP210159). Maričević investigated the mound using geophysics. He found 'a complex set of structural remains, which probably represent multi-period settlement and perhaps also burial activity', including a 13 x 7 m sub-rectangular building (Maričević 2009). In view of the name's survival and these findings, this is likely to represent a Norse peripheral farm site. *Port Bhoidhegeir* is the north-facing inlet just to the west of *Dùn Beag Bhalla* containing the remains of a fish weir.

Boidhegeir has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *gerði* 'field'. There has been some generic variation (see *Mannel*), with one name-form suggesting that the other generic may have been ON *garðr*, *kollr* or *kúla* (see *kúla* in section 17.1). The specific is ON *borg* (genitive singular *borgar*, genitive plural *borga*) 'fort'. The developments of the loss of ON *-ð-* and a medial ON *-g-* are both regular, and there has been vowel affection (see section 17.4.2).

Borgargerði is common in Iceland (NLSI).

BORABRIG TIR C 1 NGR NL936412 ['bɔ rə ,brɪg']

ON **Borgabryggju* 'landing place of the forts' or ON **Borgarbryggju* 'landing place of the fort'

Rinn Borbrig, Brownlie 1995, 155

Borabrig, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd; and William MacLean, Balinoe, 4/1998 (oral sources)

Rinn Borabrig, William MacLean, Balinoe, 4/1998; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd (oral sources): + G *rinn* 'point'

Rinn Borbraig, Brownlie 1995, 155

Kenavara | A tidal islet at the mouth of a narrow gully below, and 300 m to the north of, G *Dùn nan Gall* ‘the fort of the strangers’. An alias is G *An t-Eilean Dubh* ‘the black island’ (Brownlie 1995, 155). A boulder has fallen between this islet and the headland, forming a natural bridge; this is known today as G *Drochaid an Eilein Dhuibh* ‘the bridge of the black island’. The remains of a structure on the rock, named *An Dùn* (OS1/2/28/207), plausibly represents the footings of another small fort (see Canmore ID 21482 and Beveridge 1903, 99).

Borabrig has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *bryggja* ‘boat landing place’. The specific is ON *borg* ‘fort’ in the singular or plural. The loss of a medial ON *-g-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). Although this would be an exposed and dangerous landing, a sizeable boat could be hauled ashore at this key strategic site.

There are no exact cognates elsewhere.

BORAIGE TIR A 1 NGR NL947476 [ˈbɔ ræ ,kʲə]

ON **Borgavíkurgjá* ‘gully of the bay of the forts’ or ON **Borgavíkurver* ‘fishing station of the bay of the forts’

Dùn Boraige Bige, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 25, ‘meaning not known’): + G *beag* ‘small’
Dùn Boraige Mòire and *Rudha Boraige Mòire*, 1878 OS: + G *mòr* ‘large’ + G *rubha* ‘promontory’

Dùn Boraige Mòr and *Dùn Boraige Beag*, Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, 8/1998 (oral source)

Carraig Boraige, Donald Archie Brown, Balevullin, 5/1998 (oral source): + G *carraig* ‘fishing rock’

Balevullin | There are two promontory forts, 200 m apart, on rocks to the west of the beach at Balevullin. The drystone dyke marking the medieval and Improvement boundary between Hough and Balevullin goes through the larger (and most westerly) of the two.

Dùn Boraige is a Gaelic construction in G *dùn* ‘fort’. Its specific *Boraige* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in either ON *gjá* ‘gully’ or ON *ver* ‘fishing station’ (CV, 694). The specific of this may be **Borgavík* ‘inlet of the forts’, with ON *borg* (probably in the genitive plural *borga* rather than the genitive singular *borgar*) ‘fort’ and ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The losses of a medial ON *-v-* and

ON *-g-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent for a gully may have been *Sloc Boraige Mòire* or G *Sloc Fachaich* ‘gully of the lobster hole’. The referent for the *vík* ‘bay’ may have been the currently unnamed rocky inlet between the two forts (see 1878 Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXIV.5 Tیره).

There is a *Dùn Bhoraraig* derived from **Borga(r)vík* ‘the bay of the fort(s)’ on Islay (Macniven 2015, 273); there is a *Boreraig* in Harris, and a *Borwick* in Sandwick, Orkney (SP); there is a *Borgarvika* in Lødingen, Norway (NG); while *Borgarvík* is a common name in Iceland (NLSI). For ON *gjá* see section 17.1. Names in ON *ver* are also common (see *Am Fidhlear*).

BORAMUL TIR C 1 NGR NM085474 [ˈbɔ̃ rə ,mʌl]

ON **Borgarmúla* ‘headland of the fort’

Boramul and *Rubha Bhoramuil*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 10/1996 (oral source):
+ G *rubha* ‘promontory’

Caolas | A small promontory forming the western entrance of the harbour, and on which the modern quay stands. Its name was recorded by the Ordnance Survey as G *Rubha na h-Acarsaid* ‘the headland of the harbour’.

Boramul has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *múli* ‘promontory’. The specific is ON *borg* (genitive singular *borgar*) ‘fort’. The loss of a medial ON *-g-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The presumed Iron Age broch G *Dùn Mòr a’ Chaolais* ‘the large fort of Caolas’ stands above the harbour. There is an *Eilean Bhoramuil* on Coll (SP).

BORDAIN* TIR R 2 NGR NL975462 [ˈbo ˌɹstɛɪn]

ON **Borðastein* ‘stone of the boundary’

Druim a’ Bhordain, 1932 Cameron, 139–41. A poem by Rev John Gregorson Campbell: ‘*Dh’ fhiach mi ’n Druim a’ Bhordain i / Ri feadagan gun d’ sheol mi i / I tried her in Druim a’ Bhordain / I aimed her at some plovers*’ (translated by Black 2008, 647)

Druim a’ Bhordain, Lachlan Campbell, Crossapol, 10/1994 (oral source)

On the boundary between Kilmoluaig and Cornaigmore | A ridge north of *Àirigh na h-Aon Oidhche*

Druim a' Bhordain is a Gaelic construction in G *druim* 'ridge'. Its specific **Bordain* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *steinn* 'standing stone'. The specific may be ON *borði* (genitive *borða*) 'border' (CV, 72). No standing stone survives on the ridge, but the referent could instead have been G *A' Charragh Bhiorach* 'the pointed stone', a striking natural outcrop and fishing meid nearby; there are several Neolithic cup markings on a ledge on its western side.

There is a *Borðusteinur* in the Faroe Islands (KO).

BREATH-SGEIREAN TIR C 1 NGR NM088469 ['brɛɪ̯, sk'ɛɪ̯ən]

ON **Breiðskerin* 'the broad skerries'

Breath-sgeirean, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 153 'meaning The Layer Rocks'): this derivation is from G *breath* 'row, rank, layer, stratum' (Dwelly)

Breathsgeirean, Angus MacLean talking to Ian Fraser on TAD tape ID PN1976.008, track ID 103056

Breath-sgeireanean nan Ròin, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2 and 10/1996 (oral source)

Milton, Caolas | A large skerry

This name has been lexically adapted as G *Breith Sgeirean nan Ròin* 'the birthing skerries of the seals'. However, *breith* is uncommon in Scottish place-names, occurring only in Ardnamurchan as G *Torr na Breith* 'the hillock of the birthing' (SP), and seals do not pup here today (although their distribution may have been different in the medieval period).

Instead, *Breath-sgeirean* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *sker* neuter 'skerry' (CV, 544) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5). The specific may be the common ON *breið* 'broad', or possibly the male ON personal name *Breiðr*, which occurs once in *Landnámabók* (1900, 334; Oftedal 2009, 24). The loss of ON *-ð-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

There are three examples of *Breiskjæret* in Norway (NG).

BRÌDEINEACH* TIR C 1 NGR NM018486

Rudh' a' Bhrìdeineich, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 19, 'Point of the Sail' crossed out [presumably G *bréid* 'sail': Dwelly])

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Balephetrish | A low rocky promontory northwest of an lochan now known as *Loch na Gile*.

Rudh' a' Bhrìdeineich is a Gaelic construction in G *rubha* 'promontory'. Its specific is possibly G *brìd-eun* 'oyster catcher' (Dwelly) with the Gaelic locational suffix *-ach*: *Brid-eunach* 'the place of oystercatchers' (see section 12.1.9). This bird is certainly common along the coastline of the island. Support for this derivation comes from other ornithological names along this coast: G *Uamh an Druideig* 'cave of the starling'; G *Creag na Cràdh-Gèoidh* 'rock of the shelldrake'; and G *Meall an Fhithich* 'eminence of the raven'. See section 10.2.2 for a relevant story about birds.

I could find no other similar names in Scotland (SP).

BRIMMINIS TIR C 1 NGR NL978484 ['bri mi ,n'ij]

ON **Brimnes* 'promontory of the surf'

Brimminis, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 37, 'no meaning got')

Briminis, Archibald MacKinnon, Cornaigmore, 8/1994; William MacPhail, Clachan, 6/1995 (oral sources)

Cornaigmore | Today this is a coastal fishing rock. The whole headland is now known as G *An Àird Mhòr* 'the big promontory'.

Brimminis has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *nes* 'promontory'. The specific is ON *brim* 'surf' (CV, 80; Nicolaisen 1976, 116). This was a navigational danger name (see *Greasamull*, Greenhill).

The name *Brim Ness* occurs several times in Shetland; the Norwegian farm-name *Brimnes* derives from *brim* (Rygh, vol. 12, 209); *Brimnes* occurs several times in the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Brimnes* is very common in Iceland (NLSI).

BRIOLACHAIN TIR W 1 NGR NM017463 ['bri lə ,xain']

Am Briolachain, Kate McMaster, Kenovay, via Neil MacDonald, Balevullin (1/2012), who provided this note about an incident she had recalled once: '*Chaidh i an grèim 'sa Bhriolachain / The car got stuck in the Briolachain*'. Kate, *Ceit Alasdair*, was a daughter of the shepherd on *The Reef*, who knew the area intimately.

A' Bhriolachanaich, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 1/1994; Donald MacLean, Kenovay, 1/2012 (oral sources)

Briolcanaich, John Gregorson Campbell, Cameron 1932, 140: '*Chaidh mi leath' do'n Bhriolcanaich / I went with her [the gun] to the Briolcanaich*'

Loch nam Braoileagan, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 1/1994 (oral source): G *braoileag* 'whortleberry, bilberry, cranberry' (Dwelly) + G *loch*

Balephetrish | An extensive area of boggy ground at the source of *An Fhaodhail*, the stream forming the eastern border of *The Reef*

Am Briolachain has possibly developed from the Old Norse loan-name **Breiðlækinn* 'the broad stream'. The generic of this is ON *lækr* masc. 'brook, rivulet' (CV, 403) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5), while the specific is ON *breiðr* 'broad'. Some name-forms include the Gaelic locational suffix *-ach* 'place of' (see section 12.1.9) and are in the dative case. The developments ON *-k-* > G *-ch-* and the loss of ON *-ð-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent is likely to have been the broad historic waterway at the eastern margin of *The Reef* (see section 10.6.6).

This name was lexically adapted by one informant as *Loch nam Braoileagan* 'loch of the bilberries' (Dwelly). This element is rare in place-names, one example being *Allt Ruigh na Braoileig* (OS1/17/45/14). Bilberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*) was recorded once in Barrapol, but usually grows in 'rocky places and ravines on moorlands' (Pearman and Preston 2000, 142) rather than on wet *machair* that floods regularly.

Breiløken is a name in Norway (NG), and *Breiðilækur* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

BROCK TIR S 1 NGR NM067473 [brɔːk]

ON **Brokku* 'slope'

Brock, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 133, 'applies to two small a few houses situated at the east end of Traigh Mhor')

Broc or *Am Broc* and *Brock*, common current local usage in Gaelic and English
Ùtraid a' Bhroic, Angus MacLean, *Scarinish*, 2/1996; Alasdair MacInnes, *Ruaig*,
 2/1994 (oral sources): + G *ùtraid* 'side-road'

Ruaig | Today, this name denotes a sub-township of cottars' houses near the shore; an earlier cluster of five houses and a small enclosure can be seen here on the pre-Improvement 1768 Turnbull Map.

There are two folk etymologies, often quoted on the island. In the first, east coast fishermen visiting Tìree in the mid-nineteenth century stayed in this hamlet and called the area after the Gaelic name for Fraserburgh: *A' Bhruaich* (Duncan Grant, pers. comm.). Fraserburgh is still known in the northeast as 'The Broch'. This derivation does not explain the plosive terminal *-k*. In the second, the name derives from *Brock Township* in Ontario, Canada, an early settlement destination in the first half of the nineteenth century: 'Tìree emigrants first made their appearance in Brock Township during the 1820s' (Campey 2005, 101). This Canadian *Brock*, first surveyed in 1817, was named after Major General Sir Isaac Brock, who died nearby fighting the American army at the Battle of Queenston Heights in 1812.

Instead, *Brock* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *brokk* or *brokke*; this is a south Norwegian side-form of *brekke*, which is a reflex of ON *brekka* 'slope' (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.). There is strong pre-aspiration before the terminal *-k* (see section 17.4.2.2).

Dialect side-forms like this tend to be less common in Scandinavian names overseas (Kruse 2007, 14). However, *Cliasproc* in Carloway derives from ON *brokka* (Cox 2002, 213); there is a *Brockan* in Stromness, Orkney (SP); there are three Norwegian farms called *Brokke(n)* that derive from *brekke* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 8, 225); while *Brekka* itself is a very common simplex name in Iceland (NLSI).

BRÙ* TIR O 2 NGR NL982455 [vru:]

Tobht' a' Bhrù, Hugh Campbell, *Garraphail*, 2/1994 (oral source)

Cornaigmore | An unlocated feature around a small lochan called G *Lòn a' Charraigh* 'the pool of the rock'. This has been drained recently. The land around this is now acidic grassland and heath, but has been extensively cultivated in the past with evidence of cord rig. There is no evidence of footings today, although some large stones deposited at the side of the lochan during drainage suggest an older structure.

Tobht' a' Bhrù is a Gaelic construction in G *tobhta* 'unroofed building'. Its specific **Brù* is possibly an existing Norse loan-name in ON *brú* 'a word used both about real bridges and about causeways across wet or boggy land' (Oftedal 2009, 17; see Rygh 1898, 45).

The element ON *brú* has been very productive in the Norse expansion zone. The name *Am Brù* denotes the narrow strait between Ulva and Gometra. The Ordnance Survey team there, which included John Gregorson Campbell, recorded that 'the name means "The Strait"' (OS1/2/73/77). There are a number of tidal causeways between the two islands of uncertain age. There is a *Loch Bru* or *Loch a' Bru* in North Uist: 'This name is applied to a portion of Loch an Duin. It is said to be an ancient name, and that a small island near the eastern extremity of this creek, is the site of an ancient dwelling, but I could see no trace of such' (OS1/18/7/41). There is a *Brue* in Lewis (Oftedal 2009, 17); *Brue* occurs in Lady and in Stronsay, Orkney (SP); *Bru* is common as a Norwegian farm-name, all derived from *brú* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 6, 299); *Brúgvín*, the Faroese cognate, is common in the Faroe Islands (KO); and the simplex *Brú* is common as a farm-name in Iceland (SAM).

An alias is G *Tobht' a' Briùthais* (Hugh Campbell, pers. comm.); G *briuthas* 'distilling hut' is a Tìree dialect word (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1969.164, track ID 102383). The folk etymology of the name is that the lochan contains the worm of an abandoned still, although the recent drainage work did not confirm this (Lachlan Campbell, pers. comm.).

BRÙIG TIR C 1 NGR NM028437 [bru:-ik']

Am Brùig, Angus Munn, Heanish, 6/1995; Neil Johnston, Heanish, 5/1994 (oral sources)

Heanish | East of *Rubha Clach na h-Aoidh*, this inlet was described as the best local source of cast seaweed. This was the reason the croft's rent was two shillings a term higher than the rest in the township (Angus Munn, pers. comm.).

Am Brùig is probably G *brùig* 'decayed and fermented seaweed' (McDonald 1991, 51). This word is possibly cognate with G *brùc* 'seaweed cast ashore (Lewis)' (MacBain 1911), itself a loan word from ON *brúk* 'dried heaps of seaweed' (CV, 84). See the nearby *Miasaig* for another reference to seaweed collecting nearby. I could find no other names in Scotland containing the element *brùig* (SP).

BRUTHAINNE* TIR R 1 NGR NM048489 ['brju: , 'dein]

ON **Brennan* 'the land cleared by burning'

Creag Bhruthainne, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 106, sig. 'Sultry Knoll'): + G *creag* 'rock' + G *Bruthainne* may have been understood as the modern surname 'Brown'

Creag Briùndainn, Black 2008, 594

Creag Co' Briundainn, Mary MacKinnon, Seaside, Vault, 11 and 12/1993; Dorothy MacKinnon, Vault, 12/1993; Tommy MacKinnon, Vault, 6/2013 (oral sources)

Creag am Briundainn, Tommy MacKinnon, Vault, 6/2011 (oral source)

Vault | A rocky outcrop on the western side of Vault Bay. There was a tradition that there was preaching here 'in the days of the Covenanters' (Dorothy MacKinnon, pers. comm.), presumably in the mid-seventeenth century, while a neighbouring depression is known as G *Glac nan Salm* 'hollow of the psalms' (Mary MacKinnon, Seaside, pers. comm.).

Creag Bhruthainne is a Gaelic construction in G *creag* 'rock'. Its specific **Bruthainne* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *brenna* fem. 'denoting heathery or wooded land which has been burnt for agricultural purposes, e.g. *Brenja*' (Jakobsen 1936, 30) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5). The development ON *-e* > G [ju:] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). The development ON *-n* > G *-nd-* through hypercorrection is also regular (see Sandnes 2010a, 308), although 'the past perfect tense *brennr* 'burnt' also occurs sometimes in Shetland place-names, e.g. *Hulen brenda* on Unst' (Jakobsen 1936, 143). This derivation is topographically appropriate: to the west, there is a huge expanse of moorland now known as G *An Druim Dearg* 'the red ridge'. Heathery land was often burned to stimulate new and more nutritious grazing (Dodgshon 2015, 257).

The name-form *Creag Co' Briundainn* suggests the additional element ON *kví* or its borrowing G *cuidhe* 'pen' (see *Cuigeas*), with the initial *c-* absorbed into the terminal *-g* of *creag*. Cox collected a similar construction in Carloway, *Cnoc O Dòmòd*, which he interpreted as the Irish *Úi* 'descendants of' (Cox 2002, 238).

There is a *Brenda* in Evie, Orkney (SP); see *Brendo* and *Brinhyan* in Orkney (Sandnes 2010a, 101 and 171); *The Brinnyan* on Rousay also has the same derivation (Marwick 1995 (1947), 45); *Brennan* and *Brenden* are extremely common place-names in Norway (NG; see, for example, Rygh, vol. 12, 314); *Brennan* is a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Brenna* is very common in Iceland (NLSI).

THE BURIAL-PLACE OF THE BIG WOMEN TIR E 3

The Burial-Place of the Big Women, Black 2008, 267

East Hynish | John Gregorson Campbell collected this story in the mid-nineteenth century:

Stones from a disused burying-ground called ‘the Burial-Place of the Big Women’ on the farm of Hynish in Tiree were used for building one of the farm outhouses. In this house a servant-man from Mull was sent to sleep. Through the night he was disturbed by his dog jumping into bed between him and the wall and, with its forefeet resting upon his body, snarling fiercely at something he could not see. He heard feeble voices through the house saying, “This is the stone that was at my head.” Nothing more came of this visit of the spirits than that the Mull man (who was likely the victim of a hoax) positively refused to sleep in that house again. (Black 2008, 267)

This story has similar elements to one connected with G *An Cladh Beag* ‘the small graveyard’ (see section 6.3.2.8), and they may have been conflated.

Campbell is likely to have translated the name *The Burial-Place of the Big Women* from a Gaelic-speaking informant. Black has derived this as G *Cladh nam Ban Mòra*, writing that, ‘It probably relates to nuns – “great women” rather than “big women”?’ (Black 2008, 511, note 896).

There may have been an *annaid* name in Hynish (see 6.3.2.2), supporting the idea of an early religious foundation of some sort in this farm township. And the use of the modifier ‘small’ in *An Cladh Beag* certainly implies a second, larger graveyard in Hynish; *The Burial-Place of the Big Women* may represent this. The footings of an enclosure and structure on the hillside above *An Cladh Beag* (NL979395) have tentatively been ascribed as a graveyard.

One of two possible cairnfields on the slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis* (one above the aqueduct and the other west of *Linne Thorramhuill*) suggests another possibility: that this name referred to a prehistoric structure.

CAD-RUM TIR R 1 NGR NL978413 ['ka ,dr̩m]

Cad-rum, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 217, 'a rocky knoll, sig. unknown')

Cadruim, Cameron 1932, 183. A song by John MacLean, *Bàrd Bhaile Mhàrtainn*: 'Tha teine shuas an Cadruim / 'S da fhichead gunna mor air. / There is a fire up in Cadruim / with forty big guns on it.'

Cadruim and *Creagan Chadruim*, Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, 10/1993; Mor Campbell, Balemartine, 11/1993; David McClounnan, Balephuill, 10/1994 (oral sources) and common current local usage: + G *creagan* 'rocks'

Balemartine | A striking 200-m-long ridge on the skyline, with a panel of Neolithic cup markings on its summit

Cad-rum has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hamarr* 'hammer-shaped rock' (CV, 235). The specific may be ON *køttr* (genitive singular *kattar*, genitive plural *katta*) 'cat' (CV, 368): ON *Kattahamar* 'the hammer shaped rock of the cats'.

No cat bones were found at the Iron Age broch in Vaul (MacKie 1974, 190–6), but the domesticated cat (*Felis catus*) was introduced to Ireland in Early Christian times (McCormick 1988) and may have been brought to Tiree during Dalriadan settlement. Viking settlers also carried cats throughout the Norse expansion zone (Jackson *et al.* 2018). These rocks may therefore have provided shelter for a family of wild cats. Cats, however, were also part of Scandinavian mythology, with the chariot of Freyja, the goddess of fertility, being drawn by them. This prominent ridge, a ritual centre in the Late Neolithic period, may also have played a symbolic part in the Norse landscape.

Ballychatrigan on Islay may contain the element **Kattahryggum* 'ridge of the cats' (Macniven 2015, 140); the Norwegian farm-name *Kathammer* derives in this way (Rygh, vol. 13, 370). For *hamarr*, see *Boghasum* and *Odarum*.

CAIBEAL THÒMAIS TIR E 2

G 'the chapel dedicated to St Thomas'

Caibéal Thòmais, MacDougall 1937, 76; Brownlie 1995, 23: + G *caibéal* 'chapel' + G *Tòmas* 'Thomas'

Cladh Thòmais, Donald Kennedy, Scarinish, 10/1993 (oral source): + G *cladh* 'graveyard'

Cladh Beag Thòmais, Margaret MacKinnon, Heanish, 11/1993 (oral source): + G *beag* ‘small’

Scarinish | Cameron describes the location of this medieval chapel: ‘*Caibeal Thomais*, the Chapel of St. Thomas, was the ancient church of Scarinish and was situated with its burying ground immediately to the north-west of the village, about 60 yards from the road leading north [to Gott] and 50 yards east of the fence enclosing the arable portion of the Scarinish Farm. Not a vestige of it now remains’ (MacDougall 1937, 76).

G *Cladh Thòmais* ‘the graveyard of St Thomas’ was located in an area of hummocky ground at NM043448 to the west of the modern post office (Donald Kennedy, Scarinish, and John George MacLean, pers. comm.), and bones have been occasionally been dug up here during building work. The name G *Cladh Beag Thòmais* ‘the small graveyard of St Thomas’ suggests the possibility that there were two burial grounds connected to this chapel. The farm township of Scarinish was owned by the nunnery of Iona in the Late Medieval period, and this chapel may have been used by sailors before a voyage from Scarinish harbour (see Thomas 2015, 75).

The Gaelic name *Caibeal Thòmais* means ‘the chapel of St Thomas’. This dedication, possibly to the apostle or St Thomas of Canterbury, is unusual in the Hebrides (SSPN).

CAIDHEAGAR TIR C 1 NGR NL987477 [ˈkaɪˌəˌɡaɾ]

Cadha-gearr, 1938 Cameron, 64: ‘... *bàta Shaluim*, a *thog Niall Mac-Dhòmhnail ic Thearlaich ann an Cadha-gearr* [the Salum boat that Neil the son of Donald the son of Charles built in Cadha-gearr]’

Caidheagar, Hector Campbell, Cornaigbeg, 3/1994 (oral source)

An Caidheagar, William MacPhail, Clachan, 6/1995 (oral source)

Cornaigbeg | All informants agree that this name is east of G *Abhainn a’ Mhuilinn* ‘the stream of the mill’ and therefore on the Cornaigbeg shoreline. At low water, this is a large area of soft sand and long, black rock outcrops (see *Dùdaire*). There was indeed a boat builder in Cornaigbeg named Neil MacLean, *Niall mac Dhòmhnail ic Thearlaich* (Hector MacPhail, *An Iodhlann* cat. no. 1998.44.3; see Hector Kennedy talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1970.102, track ID 103761 for a story possibly connected to him). There were two ‘master boatbuilders’ in Cornaigbeg recorded in the 1861 Census.

Caidheagar is possibly a Norse name in ON *gjár* ‘gullies’. The specific is opaque and should be left open at the moment.

CAINDEIG* TIR C 1 NGR NM066468 [ˈkaɪn ˌdʰaɪkʰ]

Lòn a’ Chaindeig, Alasdair Sinclair, Brock, 8/1995 and 3/1994 (oral source)

Lòn nan Sgàinteag, Duncan Grant, Ruaig, 2/2020 (oral source)

Ruaig | A sea pool just west of *Càrsamull*, which was used for shoreline net fishing and lugworm digging at low tide (Duncan Grant, pers. comm.). See *Naomhag*.

Both name-forms are Gaelic constructions in G *lòn* ‘pool’. The variance in the name-forms, however, means that it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

AN CALLAN BEAG TIR 1 W NGR NL937403 [ən ˈka ˌlən]

An Callan Beag, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 4/1994 (oral source): + G *beag* ‘small’

Kenavara | An area of wet ground at the tip of the headland (see *Torbhas*)

This is an unusual name. *An Callan Mòr* (Hugh MacLean, pers. comm.) is the name of a fishing ground to the west of Tiree, possibly identified with an unsettled sea area marked *The Overfalls* on Admiralty Chart no. 1778. It seems plausible that this name might be derived from G *callan* ‘noise, clamour’ (Dwelly). The two names *An Callan Mòr* and *An Callan Beag* may be subject to convergence (see section 17.5), and it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

CALLRAIG TIR R 1 NGR NL258400 [ˈkaul ˌreɪkʰ]

ON **Kelduhrygg* ‘ridge of the well’

Sloc ‘ic Callraig David McClounnan, Balephuill, 2/1996 (oral source)

Dig a’ Chalraig, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 10/1996 (oral source)

Balephuill | A gully (used latterly as a rubbish dump) at the end of a small ridge on the shore side of G *Am Bail’ Ùr* ‘the new town’. 50 m to the south is a stone-built well that is known as G *Tobar Mhoire* ‘the well of the Virgin Mary’ (see *Tobar Mhoire*).

Sloc 'ic Callraig and *Dig a' Challraig* are Gaelic constructions in G *sloc* 'gully' and *dig* 'ditch' respectively. Their specific **Callraig* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *hryggr* 'ridge' (see Sandnes 2010a, 237; Kruse 2007, 18). The specific may be ON *kelda* (genitive singular *keldu*) 'well, spring' (CV, 335). The developments ON *-e-* > G *-a-* and ON *-ld-* > G *-l-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2).

The folk etymology – possibly interpreting the element *'ic* as a contraction of G *mhic* 'of the son' – was that *'ic Callraig* was a Gaelic personal name. This, however, is not found elsewhere in Scotland (SP). Instead, it may represent the ON preposition *i* 'in' (see Li): **i Kelduhrygg*.

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common among the names of the Norse expansion zone.

CAMBAR* TIR R 1 NGR NL935405 ['kam ,bər]

G *Cambar* 'crest'

Lag Sgrìob a' Chambair, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source)

Sloc Sgrìob a' Chambair, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source)

Kenavara | A cleft in the sea cliffs

Lag Sgrìob a' Chambair and *Sloc Sgrìob a' Chambair* are both Gaelic constructions in G *lag* 'hollow' and G *sloc* 'gully' respectively. Their specific is also Gaelic: *Sgrìob a' Chambair* meaning G *sgrìob* 'the mark or furrow of **Cambar*'.

The element **Cambar* is probably an existing Gaelic name in G *cambar* 'crest, ridge' (Dwelly). In turn, G *cambar* is loaned from ON *kambr* 'properly "comb" or "crest", and is applied to a hill or ridge of hills rising like a crest' (Jakobsen 1897, 77; see also Cox 2002, 109 and 361, as well as CV, 330). This is topographically appropriate. ON *kambr* (nominative plural *kambar*) was also loaned into the dialects of the Northern Isles: for example, *Kame of Hoy* in Hoy and Graemsay, Orkney, or one of the spectacular cliffs on Foula called *Da Kame* (SP).

Alternatively, **Cambar* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name. *Campa* is a place-name in Islay (Macniven 2015, 295); the name *Kamben* is common in Norway (NG; see, for example, Rygh, vol. 5, 108); while the simplex *Kambur* is also very common in the Faroe Islands and in Iceland (KO and NLSI).

CAOLES TIR S 1 NGR NM090490

G *An Caolas* ‘the straight’

The Kylis, 1509 ER 13, 216: ‘*spectante episcopo Sodorensis*’ [under the consideration of the Bishop of Sodor]

Kilis, 1541 ER 17, 647: 6 merklands

Keillis, 1588 Gregory and Skene 1847, 179: ‘six mark lands [48 males of oat meal], Augmentation on lands in Tiree, 2 marks’

Kyllis, 1628 Sasine vol. 2, no. 235 (Johnston 1991, 76): 6 merklands

Keulis Yc., and *Keulis ocr*, 1654 Blaeu

Keyles, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 291: 6 merk-land, £113 6s 8d, victual 4 bolls

Kelis, 1747 Tiree rental

Kelis, 1768 Turnbull Map

Kelis Mains, 1768 Turnbull Map

Kelis, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 75 (Johnston 1991, 76): 48 mail lands

Runa Kelis, 1811 Neele, S.J., London, NLS Marischal 75

Caoles, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 143)

An Caolas, common current local usage in Gaelic

Caolas | Modern township name. In 1354, the MacDougalls renounced all land on Tiree in favour of the MacDonalds except for three ouncelands at the east end (possibly Caolas, Ruaig and Salum). As well as being a large landholding in itself, this meant that they retained control of the island’s best harbour at Milton, the inlet later used for loading the island’s cattle at *Lònamar*, and an important horizontal mill site.

The settlement name *Caolas* is G *caolas* ‘firth, straight’ (Dwelly), referring to the passage between the east end of Tiree and the west end of Coll. A farm at the west end of Coll also known as *Caoles* (OS1/2/64/65) was referred to on Tiree as *An Caolas Collach* (Professor Donald Meek, pers. comm.). The name *An Caolas* is never used today on Tiree to refer to these strongly tidal, and therefore often rough and dangerous, straights. Instead, the names *Gunna Sound* (common local usage), G *Sruth a’ Chaolais* ‘the stream of Caolas’ (John Archie MacLean, pers. comm.), G *Sruth Gunnaigh* or the taboo-name G *An Sruth* ‘the stream’ is used (Professor Donald Meek, pers. comm.).

Caolas was valued at one ounceland. But there may have been an earlier land division into two parts, with two significant presumed Iron Age fort sites. In the sixteenth century, two settlements were mapped (Blaeu 1654): *Keulis ocr* = *Caolas*

Uachdarach ‘upper’, and *Keulis Yc = G Caolas ìochdarach* ‘lower’ (see *G Am Baile ìochdrach* ‘the lower township’ of Caolas, Black 2008, 507; c.f. *Holm ocrach* and *Holm ycrach* on the Blaeu map of Lewis). The 1768 Turnbull Map subdivides Caolas into two unequal parts: a larger *Kelis* in the north and a smaller *Kelis Mains* to the south. Turnbull’s Report gives more detail: ‘*Kelis* (namely three quarters of it)’ had 475 acres, while ‘*Kelis* (the East quarter that is set in tack to Alex. McLean in Gott)’ had 204 acres. A 1782 lease includes the *ceathramh*-name *Kerralonamair* (see Gazetteer and section 10.5.6).

Caolas is quite rare as a simplex name in Scotland, but extremely common in a qualified form, occurring twenty times on Tìree alone: for example, *Caolas Bhriminis* in Cornaigmore.

CARACHAN TIR R 1 NGR NL965469 [ˈka rə ˌχan]

Carachan, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 70: ‘applies to three small houses quite close to *Cnoc Charrachan* and [takes] the name from the wild liquorice root abounding in the neighbourhood’)

Cnoc Charrachan, 1878 OS (note the different spelling): + *G cnoc* ‘hillock’

Carachan, common current local usage, particularly as the byname of the family that lives there today: for example, the late *Niall Charachain*, well-known as a postman

Cnoc Charachain, Neil MacLeod, *Carachan*, 2/1996 (oral source)

Baca Charachain, Flora MacPhail, *Ruaig*, 6/1994 (oral source): + *G baca* ‘dune’

Croit Charachain, Iain Chaluim MacKinnon, *Kilmoluaig*, 4/1994 (oral source): + *G croit* ‘croft’

Balevullin | A hillock and surrounding area

Carachan is probably a Gaelic name; the derivation is opaque. The folk etymology is that the place is so named after the rough-skinned local potatoes that grow here (Hugh MacLeod, *Carachan*, pers. comm.). This is *G carrach* ‘itchy, mangy, scorbatic; stony, rocky; of uneven surface; crustaceous, as potatoes; curved’ (Dwelly) with the locational suffix *-an* (Cox 2002, 59): ‘the place of roughness’.

There is a *Carrachan* in Applecross; *Carrachan Mor* in Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Mull; *Carrachan Dubh* in Assynt, Sutherland; and an *Allt Creag nan Carrachan* in Kintail (OS1/28/48/156).

CARNAN MÒR TIR R 1 NGR NL966402

Carnan Mòr, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 226, ‘This name is applied to the highest point of Ben Hynish, sig.”Big Cairn”’)

An Carnan, Cameron 1932, 359: ‘*Chi thu Rifrinn, ’s chi thu’n Airidh, / ’S an Carnan os cionn an loin; / Chi thu Hoghnis is cnoc Ghrianail, / Glac nan Smiar, agus Cuil Bhoid’ Loch a’ Chàrnain*, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 10/1994 (oral source)

An Càrnan Mòr, Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, 10/1993 (oral source)

Na Càrnain, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 10/1994 (oral source)

Carnan Mor, the official name for the CAA/NATS radar station on the hill

Mullach nan Càrnain, Hector Brown, Balephuill, 3/1997 (oral source): + G *mullach* ‘summit’

Loch a’ Charnain, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 10/1994 (oral source): a low-lying area on the summit that fills with water during wet weather

Balephuill | The summit of *Beinn Haoidhnis*, now somewhat overbuilt by the Civil Aviation Authority radar station

Carnan Mòr is a Gaelic construction. The commonest meaning of G *càrn* is ‘cairn’ (Cox 2002, 200). It appears to include both the diminutive suffix *-an* (Cox 2002, 59) and the modifier G *mòr* ‘large’. Two name-forms – *Mullach nan Càrnain* ‘the summit of the little cairns’ and *Na Càrnain* ‘the little cairns’ – suggest that there were several cairns, as does *Carnan Mòr* ‘the big little cairn’, which implies the presence of smaller structures.

Cairns could be natural: for example, *Na Càrnain* in Kirkmichael, Banff was described by the Ordnance Survey as ‘a tract of moor ... full of small hillocks, hence the name’ (SP). They were more commonly built, and for a variety of reasons.

The term was sometimes used to describe prehistoric monuments, and there are the footings of one prominent surviving kerb cairn on the western edge of the summit of *Beinn Haoidhnis*. The trig point and a television mast nearby may also have been built on top of earlier structures. The Late Medieval turf and stone march dyke nearby may have robbed others. *Carnanmore* is a hill-name in Antrim with a Neolithic passage-grave on its summit, while *Slieveacarn*, a hill-name on Rathlin Island, may refer to a Bronze Age cairn (Scott and Ó Néill 2012, 89).

The commemorative function of cairns extended into modern times: for example, the folk etymology explaining the name *Càrnain Iseabail* on the Kilmoluaig *sliabh* is that it memorialises the murder described in the well-known song *Mo Nighean Donn a Cornaig* (Hector Kennedy on SSS note 1977/72/B7a). Existing or purpose-built cairns on the skyline were often used as fishing marks, (Tait 2012, 482), and

the modern trig point on the summit here was built over a whitewashed cairn called *G Tùr an t-Saighdeir* ‘the cairn of the soldier’. This lined up with another cairn on Kenavara to mark the fishing ground called *An Callan Mòr* or *The Overfalls* 5 km west of the island. Other cairns were built to guide travellers in poor visibility (Tait 2012, 72), and it may be noted that the taboo-name used by fishermen for *Beinn Haoidhnis* was ‘*A’ Bhraonach*, the showery/drizzly/dewy female’ because the summit was often shrouded in cloud (Black 2008 131; see Gazetteer). Cairns could also mark boundaries (see section 10.2.2) and could be used to tell the time of day (Tait 2012, 72).

OG *carn* can also have an older sense of ‘mountain’: for example, *Cairngòrm* (Cox 2002, 200). However, I have never heard *Carnan Mòr* used on Tiree as the modern ‘district name’ for the hill (see *Hynish*), and several older maps and charts suggest otherwise: *Bin heaness* (Blaeu 1654, based on Pont surveys made in the last two decades of the sixteenth century); *Ben Hynish* (Turnbull Map 1768); and *Benhynish Hill* (Mackenzie nautical chart 1775, NLS cat. no. EMS.s.65).

Carnan is a common element (SP), and occurs seven times on Tiree. *An Càrnan Mòr* occurs at least four times in Scotland, with examples in Harris and Carloway (Cox 2002, 201). Interestingly, it occurs twice on Tiree (compare *Tromsalum*), with the other example being at the tip of the Kenavara headland.

CÀRSAMULL TIR C 1 NGR NM069468 [ˈka:ɾ sə ,mʌL]

ON **Kársmúla* ‘the promontory of *Kárr*’

Carsumal More, 1768 Turnbull Map: + G *mòr* ‘large’

Càrsamull, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 138, -)

Càrsamul Mòr and *Beag*, Lachlan MacKinnon, Brock, 1990 (oral source): + G *beag* ‘small’

Càrsamul, common current local usage

Ruaig | An islet 100 m from the shore

Càrsamull has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *múli* ‘promontory’. This implies considerable coastal erosion here since the Early Medieval period (see section 5.5). The specific may be the male ON personal name *Kárr*, which occurs several times in *Landnámabók* (1900, 360), with the genitive morpheme /s/.

There are no exact cognates. *Càrsaig* on Mull may derive from ON *Kársvík* (Whyte 2021, 8), while *Kársnes* occurs twice in Iceland (NLSI).

AN CASCAR TIR C 1 NGR NL986477

An Cascar, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 41, ‘a portion of sandy beach between the high water line and *Eilean a’ Mhùrain*, meaning “the cup”)

Cornaigbeg | The Ordnance Suvey first edition maps *An Cascar* to an inter-tidal area of the beach, beside a patch described as ‘Saltings’ (perhaps a depression in the sand).

An Cascar is possibly a Gaelic name in G *cascar* ‘cup’ (Dwelly). However, I could not find this element elsewhere in Scotland except *Cascar Bàn* below (SP). Convergence makes any derivation more speculative, and it is best to leave this name open at the moment (see section 17.5).

CASCAR BÀN TIR C 1 NGR NL968484 [ˈgɛĩː ˌɟʲeɪ̯]

Cascar Bàn, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 32, ‘a small circular sandy port ... meaning “White Cup”)

Geisgeir, Archibald MacKinnon, Cornaigmore with John MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig, 8/1994 (oral sources)

Gèisgeir, Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, 5/1995; Archibald MacKinnon, Cornaigmore with John MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig, 9/1995; and Hugh MacLeod, Carachan, 5/1995 (oral sources)

Kilmoluaig | A gully just to the west of, and opening into, *Port Bhiosdadh*

There is no doubt that all of the name-forms denote the same feature. Given that the name *Cascar* is found nowhere else in Scotland apart from Cornaigmore, 2 km to the east (see *Cascar*), the weight of evidence is that the name-forms *Geisgeir* or *Gèisgeir* are a more accurate representation of the name and that convergence has occurred (see section 17.5). These have probably developed from a Norse loan-name in either ON *gerði* ‘field’ (in which case, it could have been a peripheral farm), or ON *sker* ‘skerry’ in view of its coastal location. Its specific may be the well-attested male ON personal name *Geirr*, which was common among early Icelandic settlers (*Landnámabók* 1900, 340): ON **Geirsgerði* ‘field of *Geirr*’ or **Geirssker* ‘skerry of *Geirr*’. The development ON /r/ to G /y/ through palatalisation is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

There are no exact cognates, but all these elements are common individually among the names of the Norse expansion zone. The Norwegian farm-name *Gjersvik* is one of many deriving from *Geirr* (Rygh, vol. 16, 164); *Geirrvøllin* and *Geirishelli* are settlement names in the Faroe Islands (KO); and names containing *Geir-*, such as *Geirshlíð* are found among Icelandic farm-names (SAM).

CASTEL LOCH HYRBOL # TIR A 1 NGR NL986437

Castel Loch Hyrbol, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

L Hirbol C., 1807 Homann Erben, *Charte von Scotland*, Nürnberg, NLS EMS.s.590

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island of Tiree

Heylipol | Mapped by Blaeu on an islet in *L. Hylebol*, now known as *G Loch an Eilein* ‘the loch of the island’.

Castel Loch Hyrbol is a Gaelic construction in *G caisteal*, itself derived from the Middle Irish *castél* (MacBain 1911). This element is common in areas of Scotland where Gaelic has been spoken, as in *Castel Brekkach* on Coll and *Castel Chreiggenes* in mainland Argyll (from the 1654 Blaeu maps *Mula Insula* and *Iura Insula*). One-fifth of names in *caisteal* in Argyll have personal names as their specific (SP): for example, *Caisteal Mhic Dhòmhnuille* in Killarow and Kilmeny, Islay (SP). The specific of *Castel Loch Hyrbol* is an existing Gaelic name in *G loch: Loch Hyrbol*. The specific of this, *Hyrbol*, is likely to be the township name *Heylipoll* (see Gazetteer). The significance of the two historical forms *L. Hylebol* and *Castel Loch Hyrbol* is not clear. See *Isleborg*.

CEANSA TIR R 1 NGR NL973428 [ˈkjõːˌsəf]

ON **Kjóshqfuð* ‘head-shaped hill of the cleft’

Ceansa, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 197, ‘meaning unknown’)

Cheos-thaobh, Cameron 1932, 228

Ceòsaibh, Brownlie 1995, 100

Ceòsabh, common current local usage

Cnoc na Ceòsabh, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 3/1994 (oral source): + *G cnoc* ‘hillock’

Mullach Cheòsabh, William MacLean, Balinoe, 12/1996 (oral source): + *G mullach* ‘summit’

Heylipol-Balinoe boundary | A hill with a deep fissure containing a well. It is said today to be the site of the highest inhabited house on Tiree.

Ceansa has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *høfuð* ‘head ... head-shaped things’ (CV, 307), ‘a common generic denoting hills and mountains all over the country’ (NS). The specific may be ON *kjós* ‘deep or hollow place’ (CV, 340), ‘small valley or dell’ (Oftedal 2009, 46). The historical form *Ceansa* collected by the Ordnance Survey may reflected the nasal quality of the first syllable [ˈkjõ:].

There is a *Keose* in Lochs, Lewis (Oftedal 2009, 46); *Kjos* is extremely common as a simplex in Norway (NG), while there is a *Kjósarhöfði* in Iceland (NLSI).

CEATHRAMH MHURDAT # TIR D 3

G ‘the quarter of **Murstat*’

Ceathramh Mhurdat, 1895 Campbell, 31: ‘*Ceathramh Mhurdat*, or Fourth Part called Murdat, now embraced in the farm of Hough’: + G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’
No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | Obsolete settlement

This is a Gaelic construction in G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’ (see section 10.5.6). The specific has probably developed from the existing Norse name ON **Myrartoft* ‘the house site on the moor’ (see *Murstat*).

CEÒL TIR R 1 NGR NL938399 [kjõ·L]

ON **Kjøl* ‘keel-shaped ridge’

Ceòl-a-Deas, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source): + G *deas* ‘south’
Ceòl-a-Tuath, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd (oral source): + G *tuath* ‘north’
Ceall, Brownlie 1995, 152: ‘G *ceall* cell/church’

Kenavara | Two fishing rocks off *Rinn Chircnis* at the southwestern tip of the Kenavara cliffs

**Ceòl* has probably developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *kjǫlr* ‘keel-shaped range of mountains’ (CV, 341). Its Faroese reflex *kjølur* means ‘keel ... mountain ridge or edge’ (Young and Clewer 1985, 299). The development ON *-ǫ* > G [ɔ] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). The cliff face nearby above the rounded slope of *An Dòrnach* (see Gazetteer) does resemble the keel of an upturned boat. *The Kell* ‘applies to the passage between Spur Ness and Holms of Spurness’ in Lady Parish, Orkney (OS1/23/2/210); *Kjølur(in)* occurs several times as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Kjölur* is a very common simplex in Iceland (NLSI).

A' CHLACHANACH TIR R 1 NGR NL987409 [ə 'χLa χa ,nəχ]

A' *Chlachanach*, William Lamont, Mannal, 7/1995 (oral source)

Mannal | An area of rising ground with multiple rock outcrops behind a row of nineteenth-century houses known today as ‘The Terrace’. There are no dwellings at this site marked on Turnbull’s 1768 map.

A' *Chlachanach* appears to be the Gaelic name G *clachan* meaning either ‘rocks’ or ‘small settlement’ with the locational suffix *-ach*.

There is one other example of this name on Iona (OS1/2/37/7) described as a ‘farm steading’.

A' CHORAIRIDH TIR D 1 NGR NL985466

G *Corr-airigh* ‘pointed shieling’

A' *Chorairidh*, 1878 OS (~~Corr-airidh~~, JGC, OSNB, 75, ‘stormy shieling’)

Tobar na Corairidh, 1878 OS (~~Tobar a' Chorairidh~~, JGC, OSNB, 75): + G *tobar* ‘well’
Corrairigh, common local usage

Mairi Corrairigh, well-known local personal byname

Cornaigbeg | Today, this is well-known as a house name. Just behind this is a prominent rock outcrop.

A' *Chorairidh* is a Gaelic name in G *airigh* ‘shieling’ (see section 10.2.4). This is in a close compound adjective/noun-noun structure (see section 11.2.1) with G *còrr* ‘snout, bill horn’ (Dwelly), a reflex of OG *corr* adjective ‘peaked, pointed ... including geographical features’ (eDIL).

Corr is often found in an initial position, and is a very common specific in Argyll place-names, as in *Corr Dhùnan* in Colonsay (SP). There are seven examples on Tiree alone: for example, *Còrr Sgeir* in Ruaig, and three examples of *Corr-eilean*. There is a *Corr Airigh/Corrarry* on Islay (Macniven 2015, 201). See *Corrairigh*.

CHÙRR* TIR C 1 NGR NM088493 [ju:ɪl'] and [u:l]

Clach Chùirr, 1878 OS 6 inch first edition (JGC, OSNB, 117, 'A large stone situated between Port Ruadh and An Traighlachan and close to the low water mark. Name means "Corner Stone"')

A' Chlach Iùill, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source)

Clach Ùl, Professor Donald Meek, Caolas, 8/2019 (oral source)

Caolas | A large erratic on the northern side of the inlet *G Am Port Ruadh* 'the red inlet'. This was a relatively safe place to launch boats, including the small Tiree to Coll ferry. Despite its striking appearance, *Clach Ùl* was a navigational hazard rather than mark (Professor Donald Meek, pers. comm.). Lobsters used to hide in a pool below it, and could be pulled out at low tide from the *G fàiche* 'lobster hole'.

Clach Chùirr is a Gaelic construction in *G clach* 'stone'. In view of the name-forms collected from the oral tradition, it is likely that the initial *Ch-* has been projected from the terminal *-ch* of the generic *clach* (see section 17.4.2.2). The terminal *-irr* has been transcribed in the palatalised form, and may have been capturing a /j/ sound. The name-form *Chùirr* appears to have been lexically adapted from *G cùrr* 'corner' (Dwelly). Alternatively, the specific may be *G iùl* 'landmark at sea' (Dwelly) or *G iulla* or *iola*, a loan word from an unattested ON **ile*, which may have had the meaning of a trough in the sea bed or a stone used for mooring (Roderick McDonald, pers. comm.). There is an *iulla an Tuim* 'a small rock about two chains outside of low water mark' in Uig (OS1/27/94/82), and an *iola Bhàn* 'a small low water rock' in Lochs (OS1/27/133/14).

CIARAIG TIR C 1 NGR NL934423 ['ki:-a ,reɪk']

ON **Kyrrvík* 'calm inlet'

Ciaraig, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd; Brownlie 1995, 157

An Ciaraig, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 4/1995 (oral source)

Ciaraig, Brownlie 1995, 157: 'Dark Bay'

Sandaig | A rock on a shingle beach

An Ciarraig may be a Gaelic name in G *ciar* ‘dusky’ with the Gaelic locational suffix *-ag*. If the name is indeed G *Ciarag* ‘a dark place’ (Cox 2002, 82), the palatalised ending indicates that it is in the dative case: *Ciarraig* (Richard Cox, pers. comm.). A sea pool 1 km to the north is called *Poll an Ciaraidh* (Mary MacArthur and Alasdair Sinclair, pers. comm.); possibly related, Donald Kennedy, Sandaig, born in the mid-nineteenth century, had the byname *An Ciaradh* ‘the dark complexioned person’. Instead, in view of its location this has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The specific is plausibly ON *kyrr* ‘still, quiet, at rest’ (CV, 367), implying a safe landing place. The developments ON *-í-* > G [i-ə] and the loss of a medial ON *-v-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2). The referent is likely to have been *Port Bharrapoll*, where a boat draw is evident today.

There is a *Kirivick* in Lochs, Lewis (Ofstedal 2009, 20); a *Cnoc* and *Lòn Ciarraig* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 225); see *Kiriwick* (Watson 1996 (1904), 272); the Norwegian farm-name *Kjørviggen* derives from *Kyrvík* ‘calm inlet’ (Rygh, vol. 9, 193); and there is a *Kyrruvíkurskriður* in Iceland (NLSI).

CILL BRÌDE* # TIR E 1 NGR NL978468

G ‘the chapel dedicated to Saint *Brigit*’

Kilbride, 1854 Reeves, 240

Creag Bride, MacDougall 1937, 90

Creag Ghille Bhrìde, Hugh Campbell, Garraphail, 11/1995 (oral source): the referent is a rock beside the road and 400 m south of the farm of *Lag nan Cruachan* + G *creag* ‘rock’ + G *gille* ‘boy’: ‘Names beginning with *gille* are characteristic of the period after 1000 when *gille* began to displace the older *maol*’ (Watson 1993 (1926), 126). ‘The prefixes *maol* or *gille* have the same meaning, servant or devotee of a saint’ (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 4).

Cornaigmore | ‘[*Kilbride*] is on the northern side of the farm of Cornaigmore [an area now known as G *Lag nan Cruach* ‘the hollow of the piles’] and human remains which are found here indicate a cemetery where a small chapel is known to have existed, the walls of which were removed to help in building some ancient cabins [thatched houses]’ (Reeves 1854, 240).

Hector Cameron wrote: ‘The last burial that took place at Kilbride was that of the grandmother of *Iain mac Eachainn*, John MacPhail, whose house, until a generation

ago, stood the nearest to the south on the east side of the road' (MacDougall 1937, 90; John MacPhail was born in 1889, so his grandmother's burial would have been in the last decades of the nineteenth century). One informant reported that, when he was a boy in the 1950s, some graves were open in the stackyard behind the byre (Hector MacPhail, pers. comm.).

Cill Brìde is a Gaelic construction in G *cill* 'chapel or graveyard'. The dedication is to Saint *Brigit*. See section 6.3.2.3.

Kilbride is a common name in Scotland (SP).

CILL CHOINNICH* TIR E 1 NGR NL943448

G 'the chapel dedicated to Saint *Cainnech*'

Kilquhynich, 1509 ER 13, 217 (between *Barapole* and *Murtod*)

Kilkyne, 1541 ER 17, 614

Kilchainie, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement and ecclesiastical symbol

Kilchanneth, 1695 Retours ARG vol. 1, 93

Kilchenichmore and *Kilchenichbeg*, 1716 MacLean-Bristol 1998, 21: + G *mòr* 'big'
+ G *beag* 'small'

Kilchenich More and *Kilchenich Beg*, 1747 Tیره rental

Kilchenichmore and *Kilchenichbeg*, 1768 Turnbull Map

Kilchennichmore and *Kilchennichbeg*, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 31: 12 mail lands each (Johnston 1991, 98)

Kilchenichbeg, 1776 estate census

Kilkennethmore, 1779 estate census

Kilkenneth, 1794 *Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tیره, 402

Cill Choinnich (in ruins), 1878 OS

Cille Choinnich and *Kilkenneth*, common current local usage in Gaelic and English
Eaglais Chille Choinnich, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 5/1994 (oral source): + G *eaglais* 'church'

Abhainn Chille Choinnich, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1995 (oral source): + G *abhainn* 'stream'

Ùtraid Chille Choinnich, Sandy MacKinnon, Kilkenneth, 11/1993 (oral source): + G *ùtraid* side-road

Kilkenneth | Modern township name. Drifting sand has partly covered the Late Medieval church: 'The walls of Kilkenneth Chapel are still in very complete

preservation ... Immediately to the northeast corner is a rocky mound upon which lay many ancient human bones with at least one skull, although we were told that many such had been reinterred' (Beveridge 1903, 152; see also *Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 402). Oral tradition maintained that the last man to be buried here was a Feòras Kennedy (Hector Kennedy talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1975.022, track ID 102472). *Feòrus* is an unusual name in Scotland (MS).

Cill Choinnich is a Gaelic construction in G *cill* 'chapel or graveyard'. The dedication is to Saint Kenneth. One informant, however, gave the alias G *Eaglais Choluim Chille* (David McClounnan, pers. comm.) 'the church of Saint Columba'. See *Killyne*. See section 6.3.2.3.

CILL-FHINNEAN TIR E 1 NGR NL994468 [kil' 'i: ˌɲən]

Kilfinnian, 1854 Reeves, 241: 'a rocky space still known as *Kilfinnian*, having the faint vestiges of a quadrilateral building, measuring about 21 feet by 10, and lying east and west. Here still-born children have been occasionally buried.'

Cill-fhinnean (in ruins), 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 77: 'a faint mark of an old burying place in the district of Kenovay, where [illegible]')

Cill-Fhinnain, 1937 MacDougall, 88

Cladh Chill Fhinnein, Hugh Archie MacCallum, Whitehouse, 2/2010 (oral source): + G *cladh* 'graveyard'

Kenovay | The antiquarian Erskine Beveridge, who visited the site in 1896, reported: 'The outlines of the churchyard are still distinct, and the foundation of the chapel are even more marked, measuring 22 by 11 feet inside' (Beveridge 1903, 147). However, the 1972 Canmore report is more circumspect:

Chapel (possible) and Burial-ground, Kenovay. The remains of the former burial-ground of Kilfinnian comprise an enclosure of irregular pentagonal plan ... In the southeast quarter of the enclosure there are the turf-covered remains of a small oblong building, partly surrounded by a scatter of boulders which may represent burial-markers ... The orientation of the building lends some support to its identification as a chapel, but its remains are otherwise untypical of structures of this class. The burial-ground is marked ['Burial Place'] on Turnbull's map of 1768. (Canmore ID 21428; www.canmore.org.uk accessed 17 August 2015)

Beveridge also reported: ‘A spot was pointed out as the site of the latest burial some sixty years ago [implying the 1830s]’ (Beveridge 1903, 147). Hector Cameron noted that, ‘the tradition latterly was that only unbaptised children were buried here’ (MacDougall 1937, 88). The site, therefore, seems to have functioned as an Irish *cillín* (Thomas 2015; see section 6.3.2.3).

Cill-ghinnean is a Gaelic construction in G *cill* ‘chapel or graveyard’. The dedication is conjectural but may be the saint *Fínán Lobor* ‘Finan the leper’ (see *Kilennan* in Macniven 2015, 216). The proximity of another chapel with the same name (see *Cill-ghinnein* below) presumably reflects convergence (see section 17.5). See *Artchain*.

Alternatively, it is just possible that **Fhinnean* has developed from the existing Norse loan-name **Lyngin* ‘the heathery place’ (see section 13.5). The modern name for this area is G *Druim an Fhraoich* ‘the ridge of heather’, described as ‘a small ridge extending from Kenovay in a westerly direction towards Cornaigbeg and is about a quarter mile Southwards of Cill-ghinnein’ (OS1/2/28/76). Ecclesiastical names with existing names as their specific are not common, but do occur. Examples may include *Cill Earnadeal* (OS1/2/32/57); *Cill Luchaig* (OS1/2/36/155); *Cill Aiseig* (OS1/16/10/28); *Teampull Bhaltois* (OS1/27/42/67); and *Teampull Mhealastadh* (OS1/27/78/64). See *Cill Tunnain* and *Cladh Orain*.

There is a *Ling* in Kilninian and Kilmore, Mull, and a *Glen Ling* in Lochalsh (SP); *Lyngen* is very common in Norway (NG; see, for example, Rygh, vol. 15, 131); while there is an *á Lyngi* in the Faroe Islands (KO). See *Lingal*.

CILL-FHINNEIN # TIR E 1 NGR NM018474

G ‘the chapel dedicated to Saint *Uinniau*’

Cill-ghinnein, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 58, ‘applies to a small piece of green pastureland supposed to be an ancient burying ground. There are no remains in connection that would lead anyone to believe it to have been so.’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Balephetrish | The first edition of the Ordnance Survey (1878 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXIV.8) shows only an enclosure of a presumed graveyard, and a length of turfed footings visible today is likely to be part of the surrounding wall. The graveyard here had the alias *Cladh Àird Chircnis* (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.).

Cill-fhinnein is a Gaelic construction in G *cill* ‘chapel or graveyard’. Reeves suggested that the chapel had been dedicated to St *Findchan* (Reeves 1854, 241). Convergence makes any derivation more speculative (see section 17.5), but the dedication here may be the British sixth-century saint *Uinniau* (see Márkus 2012, 119). By the misreading of the initial *U-* for *V-* and the terminal *-u* for *-n*, *Uinniau* became *Vinnian* and thus *Finnan*. *Uinniau* was highly influential figure in the Early Christian period and was subsequently widely culted as *Finnan* or *Ninian*. *Uinniau* had come to Ireland from Britain as a *peregrinus* ‘voluntary exile’ and became a bishop, possibly training Columba at the monastery of Moville. His *Penitentialis Vinniani* dealt with how sinners could become absolved ‘by penance and by very diligent devotion of heart and body’ (Fraser 2009, 74). See section 6.3.2.3.

CILL TUNNAIN TIR E 2 NGR NL949453 [kil' 'tu ,nain']

G ‘the chapel dedicated to Saint *Donnán*’

Cill Tunnain, Archibald Brown, Kilkenneth, 2/1994 (oral source)

Cill Dònainn, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 2/1994 (oral source, who said the chapel was dedicated to ‘St Donan’. This may have affected his version of the name)

Cill Tuinnean, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993 (oral source)

Cill Tunnain, Donald MacKinnon, Hough, 7/2013 (oral source)

Kilkenneth | A modern house called ‘Kildonan’, built in 1961, took its name from an area of ground not far away to the northeast. No structure has been identified to date.

Cill Tunnain is a Gaelic construction in G *cill* ‘chapel or graveyard’, possibly here in the latter sense. The dedication appears to be to Saint *Donnán* (martyred on Eigg in 617). See section 6.3.2.3.

Alternatively, it is just possible that **Tunnan* has developed from the existing Norse loan-name ON *Tungan* ‘the tongue of land at the meeting of two rivers’ (CV, 644; see section 13.5). This certainly suits the topography here (see Field 907 on 1878 Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXIV.13 Tیره). The development ON *-ng-* > G *-n-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2), although the name-form *Cill Tuinnean*, with its palatalised consonant cluster *-nn-*, cannot be reconciled with this. Names derived from *tungan* are very common in Norway (see Rygh, vol. 4, 4), the Faroe Islands (KO) and Iceland (NLSI). See *Cill-fhinnean* and *Cladh Orain*.

There is a *Cille Donnain* in South Uist (OS1/18/12/25), and a *Kildonnán* on Eigg and another in Wigtonshire (SSPN).

CIOFAL TIR A 1 NGR NM083476 ['ki ,fal] and ['ki ,t'al]

Dùn Ciofal, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 6/2009 (oral source)

Dùn Citeal, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 3/2006 and 3/2010 (oral source): + G *dùn* 'fort or pile'

Dùn Ceteal, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 3/2006 (oral source)

Downkyfil Har., 1854 Reeves, facing page 233: 'Map of Tiree, reduced from an eighteenth-century survey of the island by Langlands, in the possession of His Grace, The Duke of Argyll'

Caolas | The name *Downkyfil* is an alias for G *Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais* 'the large fort of Caolas', a presumed Iron Age fort that lies above the strategically important harbour at *An Acarsaid*, Milton. It is notable that no Gaelic name survives for the hill on which this is situated; the hill is widely known today simply as *Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais*. The Turnbull Map (1768) marks the fort and the inlet as *Down Kelis* and *Down Kelis Harbour*. See *Acairseid an Dùin*.

This is a Gaelic construction in G *dùn* 'fort'. The variance in the name-forms from the oral tradition, however, means that we should leave this name open at the moment.

CIRCNIS TIR C 1 NGR NL937401 ['ki·r'hk' ,n'ii]

ON **Kirkjunes* 'headland of the church'

Rinn Chircnis, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 221, 'no meaning got')

Rinn Chircnis, Brownlie 1995, 152; Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source)

Kenavara | Today, the name *Rinn Chircnis* marks one tip of the Kenavara headland beyond the monastery site at *Teampall Phàraig*. The dangerous rocks of *Kirkabo* lie just offshore (see Gazetteer). *Rinn Thorbhais* to the west marks the other tip (see *Torbhas*).

Rinn Chircnis is a Gaelic construction in G *rinn* 'point or tip'. Its specific **Circnis* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *nes* 'promontory'. The specific of this is likely to be ON *kirkja* 'church'.

There is a *Kirkness* in Sandwick, Orkney (SP); *Kirkenes(et)* is common in Norway (NG; see Rygh, vol. 15, 184); while there is one example of *Kirkjunes* in Iceland (NLSI).

CIRCNIS* TIR C 2 NGR NL934425 ['xi.j^hk' ,n'ij]

ON **Kyrrvíknes* 'promontory of the calm inlet'

Eilean Chircnis, Brownlie 1995, 158

Eilean Chircnis, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 11/1995 (oral source)

Sandaig | A coastal rock that has not been accurately located

Eilean Chircnis is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* 'island'. Its specific **Circnis* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *nes* 'headland'.

Convergence makes any derivation more speculative (see section 17.5). Although there was a medieval chapel in Barrapol (see *Cnoc a' Chluidh* in section 6.3.2.8), ON *Kirkjunes* 'church headland' is unlikely here, as **Kirkjunes* on Kenavara is just 2 km away. Instead, the specific of **Circnis* may have developed from ON **Kyrrvík* 'calm inlet'. The loss of a medial ON -v- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). A rock called *Ciarraig*, probably derived from ON **Kyrrvík* 'calm inlet', is nearby (see Gazetteer). The referent was plausibly G *Ard Mòr* 'the large point' at the northern end of the bay of *Tràigh na' Gilean* (1878 Ordnance Survey 6 inch first edition Argyllshire LXXVIII); this also provides the southern shoreline of *Port Bharabol*.

CIRCNIS* TIR C 1 NGR NM013483 ['xi.j^hk' ,n'ij]

ON **Kirkjunes* 'promontory of the church'

Ardkirknish, Reeves 1854, 233-244, quoting Langland's map

Ard Chircnis, 1878 OS (JGC, ONSB, 58: 'applies to a piece of rough pasture ground where formerly stood some houses')

Àird Chircnis and *Cladh Àird Chircnis*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 1/1994 (oral source): + G *cladh* 'graveyard'

Balephetrish | Two Norse headland names have been recorded close to one another: *Circnis* and *Crisnis* (see Gazetteer). There is only one large headland forming the eastern corner of Balephetrish Bay, although there are three names

in G *rubha* marking smaller promontories along the coastline to the east: *Rudh' an Fhaing*, *Rudha Saltaig* and *Rudh' a' Bhrideineich* (Ordnance Survey first edition, Argyllshire LXIV). The dangerous rocks of *An Grà' dar* (see Gazetteer) lie just offshore.

Ard Chircnis is a Gaelic construction in G *àird* 'promontory'. Its specific **Circnis* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *nes* 'promontory'. The specific of this appears to be ON *kirkja* 'church'. See *Cill-fhinnein* and section 6.3.2.3.

The Kenavara headland has the secure navigational name **Kirkjunes*, and Early Medieval sailors are unlikely to have used the same name for two headlands so close to one another. This is particularly true because they present such severe navigational hazards. It seems plausible, therefore, that **Krysines* (see *Crisnis*) was the original navigational name here, replaced at a later date by **Kirkjunes*.

CISTEAG TIR R 1 NGR NL961393 ['kĩ ,t'ak]

Cisteag, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 9/1995; Gilleasbuig Kennedy, West Hynish, 6/2020 (oral sources)

An Ciste, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 3/1996 (oral source)

Ceidhe Chisteig, Gilleasbuig Kennedy, West Hynish, 11/2017 (oral source)

West Hynish | The feature known today as *An Ciste* is a large, flat rock at the southern end of the gravel beach called G *An Fhadhlainn* 'the raised beach' (Dwelly). A natural, inter-tidal rock ledge nearby is known as G *Ceidhe Cisteig* 'the quay of **Cisteag*'.

G *ciste* 'chest, box, coffin' (Dwelly), from the Latin *cista*, is a common generic on Tiree, used to describe striking cuboid rocks: for example, G *Ciste an Fhoimheir* 'the chest of the giant' on *Greasamull*, Greenhill. The element is widespread elsewhere in Scotland, too, as in *Ciste a' Phuill* in Ardnamurchan (SP). The name-form *Cisteag* appears to include the Gaelic locational suffix *-ag* (Cox 2002, 59): 'the place of the coffin-shaped rock'.

This name, however, appears to be unique in Scotland (SP).

CITINN* TIR C 2 NGR NL935424

Eilean Chitinn, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Sandaig | A coastal rock, exact location not pinpointed

Eilean Chitinn is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* 'island'. Its specific **Citinn* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *tindr* 'spike, tooth, as of a rake ... also frequently in local names' (CV, 632). In view of the nearby *Ciaraig* (see Gazetteer), the specific might again be ON *kyrr* 'still, quiet, at rest' (CV, 367): ON **Kyrrtind* 'calm pointed rock'.

The simplex *Tinndir* is found referring to pointed rocks in 'a cove' in Carloway (Cox 2002, 381); *tindr* is very frequent in Norway as *Tinden* (NG), in the Faroe Islands as in *Tindarnir* (KO), and among Icelandic farm-names as *Tindar* (SAM). It is also a common generic in Norway, as in *Steigtinden* (Rygh, vol. 16, 202) and the Faroe Islands, for example *Eysturtindur* (KO). For *kyrr* see *Ciaraig*. There are three examples of *Kyrjasteinur* in the Faroe Islands (KO).

CÌTINN* TIR R 2 NGR NL962444 ['kiːˌhʲtʲiŋ]

Croit a' Chitinn, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 6/1994 and 8/1996 (oral source)

Moss | Part of a croft

Croit a' Chitinn is a Gaelic construction in G *croit* 'croft'. Its specific is opaque, and it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

CIULAR* TIR R 2 NGR NL945432 ['kjuːˌlɛɪ]

ON **Keldur* 'wells'

Tobar Chiulair, William MacLean, Balinoe, 2/1996; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 3/1994 and 12/1996 (oral sources)

Barrapol | *Tobar Chiulair* is said to have been a well with healing properties on the modern border between Middleton and Barrapol. Its precise location is now lost. Blaeu (1654) maps *Tauberba:fانيت* in this area and the site of another important

well, known as G *Tobar an Dòmhnach* ‘the well of the Lord’, is still known (see *Tobar Poll Fannaid* and *Tobar an Dòmhnach* in the Gazetteer).

Tobar Chiulair is a Gaelic construction in G *tobar* ‘well’. Its specific **Ciular* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *keldur* ‘wells, springs’ (CV, 335). The developments ON *-e-* > G [ju:] and ON *-ld-* > G *-l-* are regular (see section 17.4.2). The name may therefore be tautological.

There is a *Calda House* in Assynt, Sutherland (SP); *The Kell* on Birsay and *Keldie* on Papa Westray (SP) are place-names in Orkney; the Norwegian farm-names *Kjelle* and *Kjølle* derive from *kelda* (Rygh, vol. 2, 183 and vol. 3, 386); *Keldurnar* is common in the Faroe Islands (KO); while the simplex *Keldur* is very common in Iceland (NLSI). See *Callraig*.

CLACHAN

The term G *clachan* ‘village or hamlet’ (Dwelly) was applied locally to small pre-Improvement settlements. It is an extremely common generic, particularly in Argyll (SP). The three surviving Tیره *clachan* names are:

1. **An Clachan Dubh** NGR NL949429

An Clachan Dubh, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 3/1992 (oral source)

Barrapol

G *An Clachan Dubh* ‘the black settlement (in other words, that on peaty, wet ground)’

2. **Clachan an Locha** NGR NL955424

Clachan an Locha, Joanne MacKinnon, Barrapol, 10/1994 (oral source)

Barrapol | An isolated area beside the loch in Barrapol, a site where no houses are marked on the 1768 Turnbull Map and where there is no surviving evidence of footings.

G *Clachan an Locha* ‘the settlement of the loch’

3. **An Clachan Mòr** NGR NL985476

An Clachan Mòr 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 43, ‘applied to three crofts ... meaning big hamlet’)

Clachan, common current local usage

Cornaigmore | ‘Clachan Mor in the days of the runrig system was the communal residence of the Cornaigmore tenants. An lothlann Mor (The Big Corn-Yard) still proclaims the place of their common garner’ (MacDougall 1937, 89). A modern farmhouse on this site is widely known as *Clachan*. However, *G clachan* can also have the meaning of ‘stepping stones’ (Cox 2002, 209), and there are some stepping stones at the mouth of *G Abhainn a’ Mhuilinn* ‘the stream of the mill’ (Hector Campbell, pers. comm.).

This is a Gaelic construction in *G clachan* with the modifier *G mòr* ‘big’.

CLADH ORAIN TIR E 1 NGR NM043474 [kləy ‘ō ,rain’]

G Cladh Odhrain ‘the graveyard dedicated to *St Odrán*’

Claodh-Odhrain, 1854 Reeves, 241: ‘About 30 yards on the south-east [of the old parish church] is another, but seemingly more modern, cemetery, called *Claodh-Odhrain*.’

Cladh Orain, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 130, ‘A small burying ground in which are the ruins of an old chapel ... Meaning “Oran’s Burying Place”’)

Claodh Odhrain, 1903 Beveridge, 151 (possibly following Reeves): ‘At a distance of some thirty yards to the south-east is a larger cemetery known as *Claodh Odhrain*, or *Claodh Mor*. This is still in regular use as a burial-ground, and now contains no visible traces of a chapel, although within the past few years a gravedigger came upon what are evidently the foundations of one – dedicated no doubt to *St Oran*.’

Cladh Odhrain, 1995 Brownlie, 116: ‘There are two cemeteries in Kirkapol, *Cladh Odhrain* (“Churchyard of Oran”, after Oran of Iona) and the *Cladh Beag* (“Small Churchyard”). There is no trace of the chapel in *Cladh Odhrain*, but the walls of the chapel in *Cladh Beag* are still in a reasonable state of preservation.’

Cladh Odhrain, Elsie MacKinnon, Kirkapol, 9/1994; Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 3/2010 (oral sources)

Tobar Odhrain, Rosie MacIntyre, Gott 8/1994 (oral source): said by the informant to have been ‘the original name’ of a nearby healing well that became known as *G Tobar Eachainn* ‘the well of Hector’

Teampall Odhrain, Gordon 1950, 185 (see section 6.3.2.4): referring to the small chapel to the north of the graveyard

Kirkapol | The Ordnance Survey team – including the minister of the Kirkapol parish Rev John Gregorson Campbell, who himself came to be buried there – recorded *Cladh Orain* as the name of the smaller graveyard attached to the old parish church, with *Cladh Kirkapoll* as the name for the larger and ‘present graveyard for the east end of Tyree’ (OS1/2/28/130). However, earlier evidence from Reeves, oral tradition and the location of the well-name *Tobar Odhrain* (see section 6.3.2.9) all suggest that the name *Cladh Odhrain* actually denoted the larger of the two stone-walled graveyards in Kirkapol. There is a reasonable case that the names *Cnoc Grianail* and *Cnoc na Crithe* in Balephuill were similarly transposed (see *Grianail*). Gregorson Campbell was minister of the whole of Tiree from 1861 and of the parish of Kirkapol from 1875 until his death in 1891. The new Kirkapol Parish Church was built 0.5 km to the west in 1844 (Scott 2014, 127), although this never had an associated graveyard.

The confusion in graveyard names is plausibly due to the evolution of this important ecclesiastical centre over a millennium or more.

A newly-erected Norse ninth-century family chapel may have been behind the name ON *Kirkjuból* ‘farm of the church’ (see *Kirkapoll*). This was possibly on the site of an Early Christian monastery (see section 6.3.1.5). The surviving dedications to St *Odrán* hint that this may have been its dedication too. The location of this family chapel is unknown, but the principle of continuity of resort suggests that it was either in *Cladh Odhrain* or underneath the later parish church. In the thirteenth century, one of Tiree’s two parish churches dedicated to St Columba was built here (see section 10.8). A small graveyard that came to be known as G *Cladh Beag Chornaig* was established around this; Rev John Gregorson Campbell was buried here in 1891. A roughly contemporaneous small chapel was built on a knoll nearby; a surviving name suggests that this was dedicated to St *Odrán*. There is no evidence of an associated graveyard at this rocky site. Possibly because of physical constraints at *Cladh Beag Chornaig* (the present graveyard contains approximately 100 gravestones or markers), a second graveyard over twice the size, and probably known as *Cladh Odhrain*, was created to the east of the parish church. The earliest dated gravestone here may be that of Farquhar Fraser, Dean of the Isles, who died in 1680 (RCAHMS 1980, 157). *Cladh Odhrain* expanded to the east some time after 1878 to incorporate an adjacent stackyard, a dwelling and outbuildings (compare the 1878 Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXV.5 Tiree with modern aerial photographs). The presence of this house and stackyard makes any

identification of a ‘chapel’ in the larger graveyard by gravediggers around 1900 (Beveridge 1903, 151) problematic. An additional fenced section was added to the south of *Cladh Odhrain* in the 1930s (Brownlie 1995, 116).

G *Cladh Orain* is presumably ‘the graveyard of St *Odrán*’. Given the strong connection between Tiree and that island, this is likely to have been *Odrán* of Iona, although there was at least one other saint of this name (see SSPN). There is a later tradition that *Odrán* of Iona volunteered to be buried alive as a foundation sacrifice to consecrate monastic ground on Iona (Herbert 1988, §52). Other probable dedications to this saint elsewhere include *Tobar Oran* on Colonsay and the famous burial ground on Iona, *Réilig Orain* (SSPN).

Alternatively, it is just possible that **Orain* has developed from the existing Norse loan-name ON *Aurrinn* ‘the wet ground’ (CV, 34). This is the derivation of the frequent Norwegian name *Auren* (NG and see, for example, Rygh, vol. 4, 50) and the very common *Aur*, *Aurar* and *Aurinn* in Iceland (NLSI). The development ON *-au-* > G [o] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1), and this derivation is topographically plausible. See *Cill-fhinnean* and *Cill Tunnain*.

Aliases for *Cladh Orain* are G *An Cladh Mòr* ‘the big graveyard’ (Elsie MacKinnon, pers. comm.) and G *Cladh Kirkapoll* (OS1/2/28/130).

CLÉIT TIR R 1 NGR NL976384 [ˈkleɪ ˌhtʰə]

Cléit Mhòr and *Cléit Bheag*, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 244)

Cleit Mòr, *Cleit Meadhanach* and *Cleit Beag*, William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral source)

Cleite Mòr and *Cleite Beag*, Alec Hector MacDonald, Hynish, 11/2015 (oral source)

East Hynish | A ridge with four ‘peaks’ forming the southeastern border of G *Lag na Cleite* ‘the hollow of the hill’, now more often known as *Happy Valley*. The name of the smallest conical summit nearest the sea was recorded by the Ordnance Survey as *Mòr-Chlèit*. The second, to the east, is larger, and was recorded by the Ordnance Survey as *Cléit Bheag*. It is topped by the presumed Iron Age roundhouse G *Dùn na Cleite* ‘the fort of the *Cleite*’. The notched and most easterly peak is the largest, and was recorded by the Ordnance Survey as *Cléit Mhòr*. One informant had the additional name *Cleit Meadhanach* for a middle summit. On the eastern side of the ridge, there are some cliffs and rock shelters.

This suite of names may be Gaelic constructions in G *cleit* ‘rock’ with the modifiers G *mòr* ‘large’, G *meadhanach* ‘middle’ and G *beag* ‘small’. G *cleit* is a loan word from ON *klettr* ‘rock, cliff’ (CV, 342); its Faroese cognate *klettur* means ‘perpendicular but not high rock face’ (Young and Clewer 1985, 302). In the ten other examples on Tiree, the name denotes large, domed offshore rocks, as at *Cleit Ruaig*. Here, as elsewhere in Scandinavian Scotland, there is gender anomaly with this element: it is usually feminine, as in *Cleit Dhubh* in Kintyre, but sometimes masculine, as in *Cleit Buidhe*, in Kildalton and Oa, Islay (SP). See *Mòr Chleit*.

Given that so many Norse hill-names appear to have survived on Tiree (see section 12.1.1.11) and that G *cleit* is otherwise used on Tiree for domed sea rocks, *Cleit* here is possibly a development of a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *klettr* ‘rock, cliff’ (CV, 342): *Klett* ‘cliff’.

Klett(e) is very common in Norway (NG); *Klette* derives from ON *klettr* (Rygh, vol. 5, 42); *á Kletti* occurs several times in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Klettur* is extremely common in Iceland (NLSI).

CLIAIR TIR C 1 NGR NL964386 [kl’i:-aɹ]

ON **Hlíðir* ‘slopes’ or ON **Klifar* ‘cliffs’

Leac Cliar a-Staigh, *Leac Cliar a’ Mheadhain* and *Leac Cliar a-Mach*, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 9/1995 (oral source)

West Hynish | A line of sea rocks off the steep rock face of *Dùn Shiadair*, to the north of which runs a stream

These are Gaelic constructions in G *leac* ‘flat stone’. Their specific **Cliar* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name. There are three plausible derivations, all of which would be topographically appropriate on this rocky coastline below *Beinn Haoidhnis* with its striking presumed Iron Age roundhouse on a pinnacle of rock with its entrance causeway (see *Siader*).

This may be a name in ON *hlíð* (plural *hlíðir*) ‘slope, mountainside’ (CV, 271). *Hlíð* is ‘one of the most common words in Norse place-names’ (NS). The development ON *í* > G [i-ə] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). *Lia* is a very common name in Norway (NG) and derives from *hlíðir* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 3, 72); *Líðin* occurs frequently as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); and the simplex *Hlíðar* is also common in Iceland (NLSI). There could have been a projection of the initial c- from the preceding Gaelic generic *leac* (see section 17.4.2.2).

Alternatively, this may be a name in ON *klif* (plural *klifar*) ‘cliff’ or ‘steep rocky ascent (especially with a path)’ (Cox 2008, 54) with the loss of the medial *-f-* (see section 17.4.2.2). This, too, is a common name, as in *Cliff*, Lewis (Oftedal 2009, 31); *Clyver* on Rousay (Marwick 1995 (1947), 47); the Norwegian farm-name *Kleiver* (Rygh, vol. 2, 2); *Klivar* is a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Kleifar* is extremely common in Iceland (NLSI).

Finally, this may be ON *Klifá* ‘stream of the cliffs’. There is an example of this name in Iceland (NLSI).

The names contain the modifiers G *a-staigh* ‘inner’, G *meadhan* ‘middle’ and G *a-mach* ‘outer’.

CNOC NA CRITHE TIR R 2 NGR NL964403

Cnoc na Crithe, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 224, ‘a hill on the west side of Ben Hynish and east of Balephuill. Sig.: ‘Shaking Hill’)

Cnoc na Crithe, Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, date unrecorded (oral source)

Cnoc na Criche, David McClounnan, Balephuill, date unrecorded (oral source)

Balephuill | See *Grianal*, Balephuill

Cnoc na Crithe is a Gaelic construction in G *cnoc* ‘hillock’. The specific G *crith* fem. ‘trembling’ seems unlikely on this rocky outcrop. It is an uncommon element anyway, with a *Loch na Crithe* in Kilninian and Kilmore, Mull (SP) being the only obvious example.

However, one informant gave the specific G *crioch* (genitive *criche*) fem. ‘boundary’. This is extremely common in place-names, as might be expected: for example, *Allt na Criche* in Inverchaolain and Dunoon, Argyll (SP). This suggests that this eminence was a *hagmark* for the Late Medieval boundary between *Balequhoill* (1541) and *Bee* (1541). Indeed, it provides a setting for the intersection of three stone and turf dykes. These meet at the top of a length of cliff known as G *Stalla Dhòmhnail Iain ‘ic Dhonnchaidh* ‘the cliff of Donald the son of Ian the son of Duncan [Campbell]’, which would also provide an effective barrier to livestock. See section 10.2.2, *Hynish* and *Meanaidh*.

CNOC AN DEALGAIN TIR R 1 NGR NL997448 [ˈdʲe lə ˌɡaɪnʲ]

Knockdelkin, 1639–51 MacTavish 1943, 56

Knockindelgin, 1768 Turnbull Report

Cnoc an t-Seilgein, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 93, sig. ‘Hill of the little chase’)

Cnoc nan Deilgean, 1995 Brownlie, 34: ‘The Knoll of Thorns’

Cnoc nan Deiligeanan, Iain MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig, 6/2000 (oral source)

Cnoc an Dealgain, Iain MacKinnon, Hillcrest, 4/2020; Iain Brown, Crossapol, 4/2020 (oral sources)

Crossapol | A hillock. The magnificent expanse of *machair* known as *The Reef*, described as ‘this 1,034 acre common’ (Cregeen 1964, 8), lies to the west. This feature was said to be a fairy mound (Archibald Kennedy, pers. comm.), and a skeleton with crossed feet placed inside a circle of stones was found when a Royal Observer Corps monitoring post was built here in 1966 (John George MacLean, pers. comm.). The hillock is criss-crossed with multi-period archaeology, including a possible kerb cairn and emplacements dating from the Second World War airfield nearby. It is plausible that this mound is partly artificial and includes a prehistoric monument, which suits its impressive setting.

In the seventeenth century, it was chosen as the site for a church to serve the whole island, as the minutes of the Synod of Argyll record:

Because the yle of Tirie is but short eight myles of length, and that as good and plaine and dry as can be desyred, and whereas there is now two kirks there served by one minister at ilk [each] severall end of the paraoch, wherethrow the people gets preaching but once in the fourteen dayes, Therefore it is thought expedient that there be onely one kirk in the ysle, and this kirk to be builded at Knockdelkin, being the centre of the ysle, that so the people may have weekly preacheing.
(MacTavish 1943, 56)

This church was never built. Until 1936, the Tiree Association held its annual sports day here. Although it has a somewhat abandoned air today, this feels as though it has been a culturally significant site over a long period.

Cnoc an t-Seilgein is a Gaelic construction in G *cnoc* ‘hillock’. The specific **Delkin* (1639) is opaque. The Ordnance Survey interpreted it as G *seilg* ‘hunt, chase’ with the diminutive Gaelic suffix *-an*. *Seilg* is a common element – for example, *Cnoc na Seilg* in Killean and Kilchenzie, Argyll (SP) – but there are no other examples in the diminutive form *seilgean* (SP). It is best to leave this name open at the moment.

CNÙ LOCHANAN TIR W 1 NGR NM027475

G *Crudha Lochanan* ‘the horseshoe-shaped group of small lochans’

Cnù Lochanan, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 125, ‘a group of small freshwater lochs – four in number ... Meaning ‘Nut’s Little Loch’): from G *cnù* or *cnò* ‘nut’

Balephetrish | A cluster of lochans between *Loch na Gile* and *Loch Riaghain*

Cnù Lochanan appears to be a Gaelic close compound noun-noun structure (see section 11.2.1): G *crudha* ‘horseshoe’ and G *loch* with both plural and diminutive suffixes. This name structure is potentially early (see section 11.2.1).

Two small lochs in Milton, also creating a horseshoe shape, are known as *Na Crudh’ Lochan* (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.). There is a *Crù-lochan* in Torosay, Mull, which Gregorson Campbell translated there as ‘Horse-shoe Lakelet’ (Black 2008, 368).

COIRCEAL and **COIRCE** TIR R 1 NGR NM075482 [ˈkʷiː ˈkʷjaː]

ON **Korkahól* ‘oat hill’

Coirceal, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 (oral source)

Druim Coirce, 1878 OS (JGC, OS1/2/28/133, ‘meaning “ridge of the oats”’)

Druim a’ Choirce, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 (oral source)

Ruaig | This feature is described thus: ‘A small ridge situated at the north east of Ruaig and about ½ mile Northwest of Dùn Mòr a Chaolais’ (OS1/2/28/133). Today, it stands out as an island of green surrounded by G *An Sliabh Dearg* ‘the red moorland’. Turnbull described this land as ‘Outfield this soil inclines mostly to loam not deep and partly covered with rocks (Field no. 246, Turnbull Report 1768). Lidar shows that this area has been rigged, and there is a nineteenth-century house known as G *Taigh Anna Mhòr* ‘the house of Big Anne’ on its southern margin, with footings of a possibly earlier dwelling beside it.

The name-form collected from the oral tradition, *Coirceal*, has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hóll* ‘hill’. The specific may be ON *korki* (genitive *korka*) ‘oats’, a rare Gaelic-to-Norse loan word from OG *corca* or *coirce* ‘oats’ (eDIL; CV, 351; see *Curquoy*, Marwick 1995 (1947), 49; and Sandnes 2010a, 109). The

medial consonant group *-rc-* has been palatalised, implying that the loan word on Tíree was derived from OG *coirce*.

The historical form collected by the Ordnance Survey, *Druim Coirce*, is a Gaelic construction in G *druim* ‘ridge’. Its specific *Coirce* may be the existing name *Coirceal* with some reduction: *Coirce*’.

However, the other name-form collected from one of the most knowledgeable local informants, G *Druim a’ Choirce*, raises the possibility that this was a translation name with G *coirce* ‘oats’ (Dwelly; see section 12.1.7). Angus MacLean made a point of emphasising to me that ‘*Coirceal* was the proper name.’

There are no exact cognates. Surprisingly, *coirce* is not a common specific among Gaelic place-names in Scotland, but examples do include *Camasachoirce* in Ardnamurchan and Morven (SP) and possibly *Drumfork* in Dalry (see kcb-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk, accessed 25 November 2020). Not unexpectedly, as it was a borrowing from Gaelic, *korki* is also uncommon among names in the Norse expansion zone. It occurs in Norway in names such as *Korkedalen* (NG); *Korkadalur* is a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); and there is a *Korkanes* in Iceland (NLSI).

CONSLUM TIR C 1 NGR NL936472 [ˈkɔn sə ˌlʌm]

ON **Konállshólm* ‘islet of *Konáll*’

Conslum, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 59, ‘meaning illegible’)

Consalum, Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, 5/1996 (oral source)

Hough | A large domed offshore rock, used until the mid-twentieth century for hunting shags, an important food source

Conslum has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hólmr* ‘islet’. The specific may be the male ON personal name *Konáll*. This was recorded several times in *Landnámabók* (1900, 363), while the name *Álfdrís Konállsdóttir* also appears (*Landnámabók* 1900, 325). This was a loan-name into Old Norse from the OG *Conall*, for which there are examples in the Irish literature from the sixth century onwards: the *Cenél Conaill* was a branch of the Irish *Dál Riata*, while *Conall* was the abbot of the Columban Tíree monastery *Mag Luinge* (Reeves 1854, 240; see Lind 1905; Gammeltoft 2001, 26; MS). There is a possible crannog site in *Loch Bhasapoll* called G *Eilean MhicChonuill* ‘the island of the son of Conall’. The 1779 Tíree census contains eleven people with the surname McConnell, all living in Caolas (see Black 2008, 510).

There are no exact cognates elsewhere in the Norse expansion zone.

CORNAIG TIR S 1 NGR NL978476 [ˈkoɾ ,neɪkʲ], less commonly in native speakers [ˈkoɾ ,nak]

ON **Kornvík* ‘inlet of the corn’ or ON **Kvernarvík* ‘inlet of the mill’

Cornagmore and *Bassapole*, 1509 ER 13, 216: 6 lib. (Johnston 1991, 104)

Cornagbeg, 1509 ER 13, 216: 4 lib. (Johnston 1991, 104)

Cornekmoir, 1541 ER 17, 648: 7.5 merklands (Johnston 1991, 104)

Cornegbeg, 1541 ER 17, 647: 3 merklands (Johnston 1991, 104)

Kornaig M and *Kornaig beg*, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): both settlement symbols, *Kornaig beg* in red

Cornagmore, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 290: 5.5 merk-land, ‘rent free’

Cornagbeg, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 290: 3 merk-land, £65, victual 12.5 stone, malt 1 boll 12 pecks, ‘with the casualties of two mailling and a half’

Cornaigmore, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 49: 40.5 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 104)

Cornaigbeg, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 51: 40.5 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 104)

Cornaigmore and *Cornaigbeg*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 75 and 76)

Cornaig Mòr and *Cornaig Beag*, common current local usage in Gaelic

Cornaig | Two modern township names

Cornaigmore and *Cornaigbeg* are both Gaelic constructions with the existing name *Cornaig* and the Gaelic modifiers *mòr* ‘large’ and *beag* ‘small’. *Cornaig* has developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. There has been a loss of the medial ON *-v-*, and the final element ON *vík* can occasionally develop to G *-(bh)ag* (see section 17.4.2). The referent is likely to have been the inlet to the east of the medieval settlement of *Clachan* rather than *Tràigh Chornaig*.

The specific may be ON *korn* ‘corn, grain’ (CV, 351). This element occurs in Norway, as in *Kornbrekke* (Rygh, vol. 8, 150), while *Kornvatn* is a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO) and *korn* is a common element in Iceland (NLSI).

However, Macniven has suggested that the specific of the Islay Norse farm-name *Cornabus* may be derived from ON *kvern* (genitive singular *kvernar*) ‘mill’ (CV, 363; Macniven 2015, 163). There were certainly two mill sites in Cornaigmore in modern times: an eighteenth-century horizontal mill on the stream draining G *An Lèanag Mhòr* ‘the small meadow’, and a more recent one built beside a new lade leading from *Loch Bhasapoll*. Turnbull recommended that a ‘water mill at Cornaigmore where there seems to be a better fall or a greater supply of water would be sufficient for grinding the whole victuals of the island’ (Turnbull Report 1768). A new mill with a vertical breast-driven wheel was duly opened in 1803

(Cregeen 1964, 82), running until the Second World War. *Kvernvika* is a common name in Norway (NG), and *kvern* is a common specific among Norwegian farm-names, as in *Kvernevik* (Rygh, vol. 12, 396).

The names *Cornaigmore* and *Cornaigbeg* are also found on Coll (1881 Ordnance Survey Argyllshire ca. XXII), implying that this, too, was a large primary Norse farm that was subdivided; there is the *Cornabus* on Islay already mentioned (Gammeltoft 2001, 108); and there is a *Cornaig Bay* on Barra (Stahl 1999, 178).

CORRAIRIGH TIR D 1 NGR NM029477

Corrairigh, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, 9/1994 (oral source)

Balephetrish | An area of *sliabh* just to the west of *Cnoc Mòr Èirneil*

This could have the same derivation as *A' Chorairidh* (see *Gazetteer*), which is 4 km to the west in *Cornaigbeg*. Alternatively, this name may be the product of convergence (see section 17.5). *Corrairigh* has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *ærgi* 'shieling' (see section 10.2.4 and *Tronsairigh*). The specific may be the poorly-attested personal name *Kori*: ON **Koraærgi* 'the shieling of *Kori*'. This name was noted once at the time of Icelandic settlement (*Landnámabók* 1900, 363): '[*Ketil Gufa*] had been on viking expeditions in the British Isles and brought Irish slaves from there ... the third [was called] *Kori*' (Pálsson and Edwards 1972, 62–3). The slaves ran away, looting and setting fire to a neighbouring farm. *Kori* was re-captured on a headland known to this day as *Kòranes* (*Landnámabók* 1900, 304) west of *Borgarnes*. His fate was not described. *Kori* is a Norse loan from an unattested Old Gaelic personal name.

There is a *Corrary Hill* on Islay, possibly derived from *Kàraærgi* (Macniven 2015, 150).

AN CRACA TIR C 2 NGR NL957396 ['kra ,kə]

An Craca, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

An Cnaca, Brownlie 1995, 155

Kenavara | A feature on the headland of Kenavara, its precise location unknown

An Craca has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *ver* 'fishing station' (CV, 694). The specific may be ON *kraki* (genitive *kraka*) 'stake' (CV, 354), 'boat

hook' (ONP): ON *Krakaver* 'fishing rock of the stake'. The loss of a medial ON -v- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). This suits the topography; there are five names in G *carrraig* 'fishing rock' along the base of the cliffs of Kenavara.

There are no exact cognates, although both elements are fairly common among names in the Norse expansion zone. The Norwegian farm-name *Krakhellen* derives from ON *kraki* (Rygh, vol. 12, 221); ON *kraki* is a very common specific in Iceland, for example *Krakatindur* (NLSI). Names in ON *ver* are also common (see *Am Fídhleair*).

AN CRAGA TIR C 1 NGR NM056488 ['kra ,gə]

An Craga, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, 4/1996 (oral source)

Vaul | The bay at Vaul, despite its numerous skerries, was much used by puffers in the early twentieth century. To assist navigation, a flag was placed on this sea rock. A skerry just to the east on the Salum beach has a six-foot cart axle fixed into the rock today, presumably put there for the same purpose.

An Craga has possibly developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *kraki* 'stake' or 'anchor' (CV, 354), 'boat hook' (ONP): ON **Kraka*. Both senses might be appropriate here.

Creya is an Orcadian farm-name, possibly derived from ON *kraki* 'pole' (Sandnes 2010a, 106), and there is a *Craga* in South Yell, Shetland (SP). There appear to be no other exact cognates in the Norse expansion zone.

CRAGAIG TIR C 1 NGR NL988409 ['kre ,keɪk']

Cragaig, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 217, 'a small sandy bay situated at the southeast corner of Balemartine, significance unknown')

Creagaig, John Gregorson Campbell 1915, 415: 'the well of *Creagaig* on the farm of Manna'

Port Chreagaig, Lachlan MacFarlane, Hynish, 1/1994 (oral source): + G *port* 'inlet'
Tràigh Chreagaig, John Fletcher, Balemartine (oral source): + G *tràigh* 'beach'

Balemartine | A small inlet where the modern boundary between Balemartine and Manna meets the shore

The form *Cragaig* collected by the Ordnance Survey is at variance with the three other name-forms. **Creagaig* could be a Gaelic name in G *creag* 'rock' with the

locational or diminutive Gaelic suffix *-ag* in the dative case. There is an *Allt na Creagaig*, translated as ‘burn of the little rock’, in Glenelg (OS1/17/12/144).

In view of its coastal location, however, *Cragaig* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The specific is unclear, and we should leave this part of the name open at the moment. The loss of a medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent is likely to have been the short length of beach known as *Port Chreagaig*.

CRAIKNISH TIR C 1 NGR NL925458 [ˈkr̥ɑːi̯ ,ʰn̥ʲi]

ON **Krákanes* ‘headland of the crows’

Kraginess, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

Craignish, 1768 Turnbull Map of Tiree

Cragnish, 1776 Mackenzie M., *West Side of the Island of Mull with the Islands of Tiri and Coll*, NLS EMS.s.654

Craiginnis, 1862 Black 2008, 632

Craiknish, 1878 OS: this name is not on the map, but is part of the Ordnance Survey Name Book (JGC, OSNB, 10, ‘*Craiknish* is supposed to have received its name from the various points and crags it is formed of. ‘Craic’ means a rugged rock, ‘nish’ a point.’)

Rudha Chràiginis, 1878 OS: + G *rubha* ‘promontory’

Cràignis, common local current usage in Gaelic

Cragnish, common current local usage in English

Craignis, Donald MacKinnon, Hough, 9/2019 (oral source)

Hough | A kilometre-long peninsula, made up of rocky outcrops and huge cobble storm beaches

Craiknish has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *nes* ‘headland’. The specific is OI *kráka* (genitive plural *kráka*) ‘crow’ (CV, 354; NS): ‘*Krak/krag-* in Scandinavian place-names is derived from “crow”’ (Sandnes 2010a, 106). This derivation may sometimes be literal, although the hooded crow was relatively uncommon on Tiree and Coll, with just three to four pairs apparently breeding in 1939 (Bowler and Hunter 2007, 177). Its use here is more likely to be metaphorical, a reference ‘derogatively to an outlying farm’ or poorer ground: in other words, land only fit for crows (Macniven 2015, 150, referencing Gammeltoft). ‘Crow-names are also applied to features that are grey-black, or are dangerous and made

taboo, as the crow is a bird of ill fate' (NS). This is topographically very appropriate. This is a very common name in the Norse expansion zone. There is a *Craignish* in Ardfern, Argyll, a *Craakinish* on Berneray and a *Kraiknish* in Bracadale, Skye (SP); *Kråk(e)nes* is very common in Norway (NG); and the Norwegian farm-name *Kraakenes* is derived from *kráka* (Rygh, vol. 7, 349).

CREACHASDAL TIR C 1 NGR NM105482 [ˈkrɛ xə ˈdɑl]

Creachasdal Beag, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 124, -)

Creachasdal Mòr, 1878 OS

Creachasdal Mòr and *Creachasdal Beag*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 (oral source)

Oitir Chreachasdal, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/1996 (oral source): + G *oitir* 'sandbank'

Caolas | Today, this name denotes two islets off the coast of G An Àird-a-Deas 'the southern headland'.

Creachasdal has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *stǫðull* 'milking place' (see section 17.1). The specific is unclear. One possibility is ON *krækiber* 'crowberry (*Empetrum nigrum*)' (CV, 357): **Krækiberjastǫðull* 'the milking place of the crowberries'. This plant is no longer found on Tiree, but is found on 'rocky heath and moorland' on Coll and Gunna (Pearman and Preston 2000, 82). The land west of *Am Port Bàn* would provide a suitable habitat, being described as 'bare gravelly soil and greatly mixed with rocks' (Field no. 277, Turnbull Report 1768). Crowberry pollen has been found in peat cores in Coll (Wicks 2012, 158). The crowberry is eaten and has medicinal uses, and still has great cultural importance in Iceland (Whitney *et al.* 2012, 784). The development ON *-k-* > G *-ch-* is regular, as is the loss of ON *-ð-* (see section 17.4.2.2). The ground inland from *Am Port Bàn* provides shelter and a stream, a plausible location for a 'milking place'. This name appears to have been transferred a kilometre offshore.

There are no exact cognates, but crowberry-names such as *Krekebærholmen* are not uncommon in Norway and they are also found in Iceland, for example *Krækiberjabrekka* (NLSI).

CREAG A' MHANAICH TIR R 1 NGR NM083485 [krek' ə 'van ,aix]

G 'the rock of the monk'

Creag a' Mhanaich, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 6/1995 and 2/1996; Professor Donald Meek, Caolas, 3/2016 (oral sources)

Caolas | A small rock face on the eastern slopes of G *Druim nan Caorach* 'the ridge of the sheep'. The ecclesiastical names *Annaid* (see Gazetteer) and *Crois* (see section 6.3.2.8) are nearby. Caolas was under the ownership of the Bishop of Sodor (this episcopacy, based on the Isle of Man, was established around 1135).

Creag a' Mhanaich is a Gaelic construction in G *creag* 'rock'. The specific is G *manach* 'monk'. Halfway down the rockface is a ledge known as G *Cùbaid a' Mhanaich* 'the pulpit of the monk' (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.).

There are no exact cognates, but G *manach* is a common element in place-names, as in *Carn a' Mhanaich* in Kilchoman, Islay (SP).

That part of the Balevullin shoreline where the *Vivo* was wrecked in 1875 has the name G *Poll a' Mhanaich* (Cameron 1932, 432). *Manach* here is likely to mean 'pool of the hooded skate or angelfish' (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen and Donald MacKenzie on TAD SA1972.088, track ID 82703; see Dwelly).

CRÌONAIG TIR C 1 NGR NM074472 ['kri-ɔ ,neik']

ON **Kringluvík* 'semi-circular inlet'

Tràigh Crìonaig, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 134, ~~*Chrìonaich*~~, 'Meaning Decayed Beach')

Tràigh Chrìonaig, Cameron 1932, 154

Trà' Crìonaig, common current local usage

Ruag | The western end of this beach merges with the sand tombolo connecting the tidal islet of *Soa* with the shore, and the east end is formed by the promontory *Rubha Sgibinis*, thus creating a deep, protected inlet.

Tràigh Crìonaig is a Gaelic construction in G *tràigh* 'beach'. Cox derived *Beinn Chrìonaig* in Carloway, Lewis, as the Gaelic 'mountain of the withering one' from G *crìon* 'withered' (Cox 2002, 59 and 178). Instead, *Crìonaig* here has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'. The specific may be

ON *kringla* (genitive *kringlu*) ‘disc, circle, orb’ (CV, 355). The loss of the medial ON *-v-* and the development *-ng-* > *-n-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent is likely to have been *Tràigh Crìonaig* itself with its semi-circular shoreline.

There is a *Gleann Chrionaig* in Lochs, Lewis, the only other example of **Crionaig* in Scotland that I could find (SP). In contrast, *Kringla* is a very common element among names in the Norse expansion zone. There are two examples of *Kringlevik(a)* in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Kringlebakken* is derived from *kringla* (Rygh, vol. 8, 62); while *Kringluvatn* occurs several times in Iceland (NLSI).

CRIONAN* TIR O 1 NGR NL981467 [ə 'xri-ɔ̃ ,nan]

Fearann a' Chrionain, Hugh Campbell, Garraphail, 11/1995 (oral source)

Earann a' Chrionain, Alasdair MacLean, Cornaigbeg, 2/1994 (oral source)

Pàirc a' Chrionain, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, undated (oral source): + G *pàirc* ‘park’

Croit a' Chrionain, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, undated (oral source): + G *croit* ‘croft’

Cornaigmore | A piece of land to the east of G *An Eaglais Ùr* ‘the new church’

This set of names are all Gaelic constructions. G *fearann* ‘land, estate’, from OG *ferand* (MacBain 1911), is not common elsewhere (SP). However, it occurs eight times on Tiree. Its use continued into modern times; the Moss place-name G *Fearann an Rìghe* ‘the land of the “King”’ (an ironic nickname) was coined at the end of the nineteenth century.

The specific is opaque. The only similar place-name in Scotland is a *Cnoc Chrionain* ‘the signification of which is obscure’ in Sutherland (OS1/33/30/47). It may be the male Old Gaelic personal name *Crínán*, which was loaned into Old Norse as *Krínán*. Alternatively, **Crionain* has possibly developed from the Norse loan-name *Kringlan*, with ON *kringla* fem. ‘disc, circle, orb’ (CV, 355; see *Crìonaig*) and the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5).

Cringlin in Orkney has been derived in this way from *kringlan* ‘the circular feature’ (Sandnes 2010a, 181); there are six examples of *Kringlen* among Norwegian farm-names, all derived from *kringla* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 12, 335); there is a *Ringurin* in the Faroe Islands (KO); while the simplex *Kringla* is extremely common in Iceland, with one *Kringlan* (NLSI).

CRISNIS* TIR R 1 NGR NM019475 [ˈkriːʃ, nˈiʃ]

ON **Krysines* ‘headland of the cross’ or ON **Kristnes* ‘promontory of the church land’

Pàirc Chrisnis and *Pàirc Cnoc Chrisnis*, Mairi MacKinnon, Balephetrish, 2/1997 and 9/2009; Lachlan MacKinnon, Balephetrish, 6/2013 (oral sources); + G *cnoc* ‘hillock’ *Pàirc Cnoc Chrisnis*, Catriona MacKinnon, Parkhouse, 5/2015 (oral source)

Balephetrish | A field just to the west of the medieval chapel site *Cill-fhinnein*. See *Circnis*, Balephetrish, for a discussion about which headland this may refer to.

Pàirc Chrisnis is a Gaelic construction in G *pàirc*, a loan word from the English *park* that was first recorded on Tiree in 1794 (Cregeen 1964, 36). Its specific **Crisnis* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *nes* ‘point’. The specific of this may be ON *krysu* ‘cross’ (Mowat 1931, 30): ‘the earliest poets used the Latin form ... *crúci* ... which form remains in ... *Krysi-vík* in southern Iceland, probably from a harbour cross being erected there’ (CV, 356–7). Another possibility is ON *Kristr* ‘Christ’ (genitive *Krists*) (CV, 355): *Kristsnes*. Helgi the Lean, one of the first settlers in Iceland, called his farm *Kristnes* (*Landnámabók* 1900, 304; this name exists today: NLSI). In addition, documents from twelfth-century Iceland refer to ‘*Krist-bú*, “Christ-estate”, glebe land given for the support of the poor’ (CV, 355). **Krysines* was plausibly an Early Medieval navigational name. Erecting crosses on the skyline appears to have been a feature of Icelandic settlement (see a discussion about Aud the Deep-minded in section 10.8), a custom likely to have been influenced by the Early Christian culture encountered in the Hebrides. There is an *Ardchrishnis* in Mull (Johnston 1991, 177). See *Circnis* in Balephetrish.

CRÒ TIR O 2 NGR NL965398 [kroː]

G *Crò* or ON **Kró*, both meaning ‘small cattle pen’

Pàirc Crò, Gilleasbuig Kennedy, West Hynish, 10/2016 (oral source)

West Hynish | The name *Pàirc Crò* denotes the large triangle of hillside that makes up the bulk of the common grazing of West Hynish. This area contains several archaic enclosures and hut footings, any one of which could have been the referent. The name G *An Seann Fhang* ‘the old fank’ was collected from the same hillside (David McClounnan, pers. comm.).

Pàirc Crò is a Gaelic construction in G *pàirc* ‘park’ (see *Crisnis*). The specific *Crò* is an existing name that may be Gaelic or Norse. G *crò* ‘fold, pen’ (Dwelly) derives from OG *cró*, which has the same meaning (eDIL). This element remained productive on Tìre into early modern times; the other example on the island is G *Crò a’ Mhairt* ‘the pen of the cow’, which denotes a small pen in the shelter of a large outcrop near the summit of *Beinn Haoidhnis* (John Brown, pers. comm.). *Crò* is common in areas that have been Gaelic speaking, for example *Dùnan Crò* in Kilninian and Kilmore, Mull (SP), and a *Crò nan Gobhar* in Kildalton and Oa, Islay (SP).

OG *cró* was loaned into Old Norse during Scandinavian settlement:

ON *krú*, *kró* ‘pen’ is a loan from the synonymous G *crò*. It is one of the extremely rare Celtic loan words to become productive in ON place-name formation. Most examples in the material are simplex formations ... The word *kru* appears in Norway, but with a strictly limited distribution in parts of Trøndelag in central Norway. I was born in this area, and to me *kru* conveys the sense ‘small enclosure’ (used of a pen directly attached to the shieling cow-stable). The word could have been loaned directly from Gaelic, but an indirect loan through the Norse settlements in Scotland seems more likely. (Sandnes 2010a, 83; see also *Crowrar* in Sandnes 2010a, 107)

ON *kró* has probably survived in the Tìre names *Cro’-fhir*, *Crosan* and *Cròdhabrig* (see Gazetteer); there is a *Cro* in Dunrossness, Shetland (SP); there are two Norwegian farms called *Kro* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 10, 330); while *Kró* – meaning ‘a small pen or fence, in Iceland the pen in which lambs when weaned are put during the night’ (CV, 356) – occurs once in western Iceland (NLSI).

CROCHADAIR* TIR C 2 NGR NL965387 [əˈxɾɔːχɑːdɑːɹ]

Eilean a’ Chrochadair, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 6/1998 (oral source): ‘That’s where a man was hanging people. There was a small boat taking people across: it wasn’t that far anyway.’ (David McClounnan, Balephuill, 2/1994 on An Iodhlann audio recording 65)

West Hynish | A sea rock off a heavily indented coastline. The exact location was not determined, but it lay between *Dùn Shiadair* and *Port Snòig*.

Eilean a’ Chrochadair is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* ‘islet’. Its specific appears to be G *crochadair* ‘hangman’. This is a common element in Scotland, for example *Cnoc a’ Chrochadair* in Knapdale, Argyll (SP). However, there is nothing bigger than

a sea rock along this length of coastline, and certainly nowhere that a hangman would want to ply his trade.

Alternatively, **Crochadair* has possibly been lexically adapted from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *oddr* (plural *oddar*) ‘point of land’ (CV, 462). Its specific may be ON *krókr* ‘a hook, anything crooked ... a nook’ (CV, 365–6): ON **Krókoddá* ‘hooked points of land’. This suits the topography of the coastline here. The development ON *-k-* > G *-ch-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common among the names of the Norse expansion zone.

CRÒDHABRIG TIR C 1 NGR NL935426 [ˈkrõː-ə ,brɪgʲ]

ON **Króarbryggju* ‘landing place of the small cattle pens’

Cròdhabrig, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 12/1995 (oral source)

Crodhabraig, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Crodh Breig, Brownlie 1995, 158: ‘Bay of the Prominent Rock’

Sandaig | A coastal rock between the two inlets *Port Flèid* and *Port Laighsgeir*

Cròdhabrig has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *bryggja* ‘boat landing place’. Its specific may be ON *kró* (plural *króar*: Cox 2002, 225) ‘small cattle pen’. This is a loan-name from ON *cró* (see *Crò*).

There are no exact cognates. *Cnoc Chrodhair* in Carloway derives from *króar* (Cox 2002, 225), as does the Lewis settlement name *Croir* (Ofstedal 2009, 21); *Crowrar* is found in Orkney (Sandnes 2010a, 107), while *Cruar* is a place-name on Rousay (Marwick 1995 (1947), 48); the Norwegian name *Kroer* is derived from *króar* (Rygh, vol. 2, 65).

CRO’-FHIR* TIR C 1 NGR NM026437 [ˈkʰrõː ˌʷiɲ]

ON **Króin* ‘the small cattle pen’

Bodha Chro’-fhir, 1878 OS (OS1/2/28/255): ‘a small rock visible only at half tide situate immediately northwest of Cleit Allamsa.’

An Cnòmhainn, Donald MacCallum, Scarinish, 6/1994 (oral source)

Bodh’ Chro-fhin, Angus Munn, Heanish, 6/1995 (oral source): + G *bodha* ‘submerged sea rock’

Baugh | A piece of ground around a 1920s house known today as *G Taigh Theag* ‘the house of Jake’. This area contains several slumped turf dykes forming a number of incomplete rectangular enclosures, one of which is marked on the first edition Ordnance Survey map (Argyllshire and Buteshire LXV.13). There are also two rectangular footings, one of which was roofed in 1878. A row of six houses, *G Bail’ Ùr a’ Bhàigh* ‘the new town of Baugh’, was built along the side of *Port a’ Mhuilinn* in the mid-nineteenth century when Baugh Farm was cleared.

An Cnòmhainn has probably developed from the Norse loan-name ON *Króin* ‘the small cattle pen’ with the post-positioned bound definite article (see *Crò* and section 13.5), although the historical form *Chro’-fhir* supports a derivation from ON *króar* ‘small cattle pens’.

There is an *Allt Bealach Crodhain* in Urray, Ross and Cromarty (SP); *Crò-nean* in the Outer Isles was described as ‘a place for keeping sheep’ (OS1/18/7/44); *Croan* or *Cruan* in Orkney is derived from *króin* or *krúin* (Sandnes 2010a, 107); *Crowana* is a place-name in Stronsay, Orkney (SP); six Norwegian farms have the name *Kroen* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 8, 214): while there is a *Króin* in Iceland (NLSI).

CRÒG* TIR C 1 NGR NL922455 [ə 'xrõi: ,gjə] and [ə 'xrõi:gʻ]

Ceann a’ Chròige, William MacLean, Balinoe 11/2009; Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, 3/1994; Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 1/1995 (oral sources)

Lùb Cheann a’ Chròig, Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, 3/1994 (oral source): + *G lùb* ‘curve’

Craignish, Hough | A gully just west of *Am Meall*, near the tip of Craignish. In strong winds, cormorants tend to cut across the middle of the headland rather than fly around it and could be shot more easily. A bowl-shaped hide dug out of the shingle bank can still be seen.

Ceann a’ Chròige is a Gaelic construction in *G ceann* ‘headland’. Several different interpretations are possible for its specific **Cròige*. It may be *G cròg* (genitive *cròige*) ‘hand’ in a topographical sense (see *Crògain* below). This does not appear to be common, but may be found in *Maol na Croige*, Torosay (SP). It may also be *G cròg*, a loan word from ON *krókr* with the sense of ‘claw’. This has been proposed for *Staca na Cròige* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 374).

Finally, it may have developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *krókr* (dative *króki*) ‘hook, anything crooked ... a nook’ (CV, 356–7): *ú Króki* ‘at (the) hook’. The

referent may have been the tapering, curved point of the headland. ON *krókr* has certainly been extremely productive among names in the Norse expansion zone. *Croig* (*Croag* 1824) in Kilninian and Kilmore on the northern coast of Mull (SP) may be one; there are examples of *Crook* in Orkney (Sandnes 2010a, 107; Mowat 1931, 4) and in Shetland (OS1/31/16/98); five Norwegian farms are called *Krok*, all derived from *krókr* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 1, 82); *Krókur(in)* is common as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while the simplex *Krókur* is very common in Iceland (NLSI).

CRÒGAIN* TIR C 1 NGR NM005471 [ə 'xro: ,gɔɪnʔ]

ON **Krókinn* 'the hook'

Cladach a' Chrògain, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 54, 'significance "Hook's Beach"')

Cladach a' Chrògain, Black 2008, 75

Cladach a' Chrògain, MacDougall 1937, 87

Cladach a' Chrògain, current local usage, for example Iain MacKinnon, Hillcrest 10/2020 (oral source)

Balephetrish and Kenovay | A long curved beach, which you might describe as having a 'hooked' westerly end, often covered with a thick deposit of seaweed. A traditional portent of bad weather is the rumble described as *Cladach a' Chrògain a' gladhach* 'Balephetrish Beach shouting' (Iain MacKinnon, Hillcrest, oral source).

Cladach a' Chrògain is a Gaelic construction in G *cladach* 'shore'. Several different interpretations are possible for its specific **Crògan*. Cameron proposed G *crogan* 'graip [muck-fork]' (MacDougall 1937, 87). This is encouraged by the large amount of cast seaweed that is frequently deposited on the beach, but does not account for the long [o:]. Black proposed that the name derives from '*cràg, cròg*, 'a large and clumsy hand' in a topographical sense (Black 2008, 371; see *Cròg* above). *Croggan* in Torosay, Mull has also been derived in the same way, with the diminutive suffix *-an* (Whyte 2017, 145 and 193).

Instead, **Crògain* here has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *krókr* masc. 'hook, anything crooked' (CV, 356) with the post-positioned bound definite article: *Krókinn* 'the hook' (see section 13.5). *Traichroagan* was recorded in Barra in 1823 (Stahl 1999, 132); *Kroken* is a very common Norwegian farm-name, often derived from *krókinn* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 6, 195); while there are seven examples of *Krókurin* in the Faroe Islands (KO) and three examples of *Krókurinn* in Iceland (NLSI).

CRÒGAIN* TIR C 1 NGR NM058492

ON **Krókinn* ‘the hook’

Tràigh Chrògain, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 114, ‘significance Crooked Beach’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Vaul | The shoreline at the angle between the promontory of *Mithealum* and Salum beach

Tràigh Chrògain is a Gaelic construction in G *tràigh* beach’. See *Crògain* above.

CRÒINIGEIR TIR C 1 NGR NM066497 [ˈkr̥õːi nʲi ˌgʲeɪ̯]

ON **Krúnugerði* ‘field of the crown-shaped elevation’

Eilean Cròinigeir, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 111, ‘significance unknown’)

Eilean Chròinigeir, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source)

Salum | A rock off the northern coast of Salum just west of *Fhàdamull*

Eilean Cròinigeir is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* ‘island’. Its specific *Cròinigeir* is probably derived from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *gerði* ‘field’. The specific may derive from ON *krúna* ‘crown, crown of the head’ (CV, 357) in a topographical sense: ‘As a place-name in Shetland, *krūn* denotes a circular hilltop, a hill with a circular top’ (Jakobsen 1936, 74). It may stand in contrast with *Groideagal* ‘stony field’, a short distance to the east (see Gazetteer). The development ON *-ú-* > G [õːi] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). A plausible referent was the low round hillock just south of *Loch Mòinteich Mhòir* (1878 Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXV.2 Tیره).

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common among the names of the Norse expansion zone.

CROISGEIR TIR D 1 NGR NL965474 [ˈkr̥õ ˌgʲeɪ̯]

ON **Krossgerði* ‘field of the cross’

Croisgearr, MacDougall 1937, 96

Croisgearr, Cameron 1932, 28: ‘between Croish and Carachan, Kilmoluaig’
Croisgeir, Hugh MacLeod, Carachan, 12/1994; Angus MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig,
 12/1995; and John MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig, 1/1997 (oral sources)

Kilmoluaig | This name is now applied to the most southerly in a line of three black roofed houses on the Kilmoluaig *machair*, 2 km east of *Crossigar*, Hough. 1 km to the north is the place-name G A’ *Chrois* ‘the cross’ and the presumed location of the chapel from which the present township name, G *Cill Moluag* ‘the chapel dedicated to Saint Moluag’, comes. Nearby are the footings of two small enclosures, one inside the other, that have been partly hidden by sand blow.

Croisgeir is probably derived from a Norse loan-name in ON *gerði* ‘field’. Its specific is ON *kross* ‘cross ... in local names *Krossa-vík*, *Kross-holt*’ (CV, 356). This is a good example of vowel affection, with the medial *-s-* becoming palatalised – [ɔs] to [ɔʝ] – under the influence of the following short vowel (see section 17.4.2.1).

There is a *Crossgerd* in Cunningsburgh, Shetland (SP); *kross* is common as a specific in Norway, as in *Krossevolden* (Rygh, vol. 10, 81); while *Krossgerði* occurs twice as a farm-name in Iceland (SAM).

CRÒMISGEIR TIR C 1 NGR NL931425 [ˈkr̥õː mə ˌgʲeɪʲ]

G *Crom-sgeir* ‘crooked skerry’

Cròmisgeir, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994 (oral source)

Sandaig | An offshore rock

Cròmisgeir is probably a Gaelic construction with the close compound adjective-noun structure (see section 11.2.1). G *crom* ‘crooked, bent’ is in the initial position with the generic G *sgeir* ‘skerry’. *Crom*-initial names occur twice out of fourteen names with the element in Argyll: for example, *Cròm Dhoire* ‘the crooked wood’ in Jura, Argyll (OS1/2/67/154).

CROSAN* TIR C 1 NGR NM078474 [ə ˈxr̥œ̯ ˌsɑɪnʲ]

Poll a’ Chrosain, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 142, ‘Pool of the Peevish Man’)

Poll a’ Chraosain, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/2005; Hugh MacKinnon, Ruaig, 3/2010 (oral sources)

Ruaig | This wide, sandy inlet contains the footings of drystone walls making up a complex of small enclosures. It is difficult to know how to interpret these. On the western side of the inlet there is a straight, mortared wall behind which the beach has made inroads. The enclosures may, therefore, have been originally on grassland – now eroded – and were thus created for livestock. The island of *Soa*, derived from ON **Sauða-ey* ‘sheep island’, is less than a kilometre to the west across a tombolo. Another possibility, however, is that this is a large fish trap. This could be quite old. Supporting an early date, it is noteworthy that the 100-metre-long causeway linking the shore to the islet *An Dùnan* in Salum (Canmore ID 21502, and possibly prehistoric) is largely intact.

Poll a’ Chrosain is a Gaelic construction in G *poll* ‘pool’. Several different interpretations are possible for its specific **Crosan*. One folk etymology for this element is that it derives from G *croasan*. This was translated in the Ordnance Survey Name Book, presumably by Gregorson Campbell, as ‘peevish man’. It is interesting to note that exactly the same phrase appears in Edward Dwelly’s dictionary. Dwelly started collecting words around 1881, following a stint working for the Ordnance Survey. He published the first section of his dictionary in 1901, with the full work only appearing in 1911. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that Campbell was the source of this entry.

Another folk etymology is that **Crosan* is derived from G *croasan* ‘wide-mouthed fellow’ (Dwelly). This may have been used in a topographical sense; the only other name in Scotland with this element that I could find was *Eas a’ Chraosain* ‘the waterfall of the mouth’ in Lochbroom (OS1/28/35/69). However, the word is used locally to describe fish of the gurnard family. These distinctive fish have a large head and eyes because of their normal habitat on the sea floor. The species usually inhabits moderately deep water, rather than shallow, tidal coastal pools (but see above, the suggestion that this was a fish trap).

Alternatively, **Crosan* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *sandr* (plural *sandar*) ‘sand, sandy ground’ (CV, 513). The specific of this may be ON *króar* in the sense of ‘small cattle pens’ (see *Cròdhabrig*), although the Shetland dialect cognate *krø* can also be used to describe a fish trap (Tait 2012, 486): ON **Króarsanda* ‘sands of the small pens’.

There are no exact cognates, but ON *sandr* is a very common element among names in the Norse expansion zone: for example, the Norwegian *Finnesand* (Rygh, vol. 10, 269), *Langasandur* in the Faroe Islands (KO), and *Steinasandur* among Icelandic farm-names (SAM).

CROSSAPOLL TIR S 1 NGR NL995432 ['krɔ sə ,bɔL]

ON **Krossaból* 'farm of the crosses'

Crosboll, 1496 RMS ii, 2329 (Johnston 1991, 89)

Crossipole, 1509 ER 13, 217

Crossipoll, 1539 RMS iii, 2065

Crosopell, 1541 ER 17, 648: 2 merklands (Johnston 1991, 89)

Crosopole, 1542 ER 17, 527

Crosinpolle, 1630 RMS viii, 1610

Crossiboill, 1638 RMS ix, 828

Krossbol, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): red settlement symbol

Crossiboill, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 288: 1 merkland

Trassiboill, 1695 Retours ARG vol. 1, 93

Crossapoll, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 55: 8 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 89)

Crossapole, 1794 Tiree Rental, Cregeen 1964, 35–9

Crossapoll, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 200)

Crossapoll, common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Crossapol | Modern township name

Crossapoll has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *ból* 'farm' (Gammeltøft 2001, 305). Its specific is ON *kross* (probably here in the genitive plural *krossa*) 'cross' (CV, 356). Although this is most commonly used in its religious sense, it could also have other meanings: for example, a cross erected as a navigational mark for boats (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.; see *Crisnis*):

ON *kross* 'cross' appears frequently in place names, and may have been applied for various reasons. Such a name can indicate: (a) a wayside cross marking a praying site (e.g. at a spot where a church came into view); (b) a burial site; (c) cross-roads; (d) ground pertaining to some particular church or chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross; (e) property boundary. (Marwick 1995 (1947), 47)

There is no evidence today of a religious site in the township, but crosses were not infrequently erected by converted Norse settlers: for example, by Aud at *Krosshólar* in Iceland (see section 10.8). Cameron speculated that a feature that appears to be a robbed Bronze Age cist opposite the community hall (see *Ulbhaig*) may have marked the site: 'Although this is mere conjecture, there may have been a votary cross erected here from which Crossapol derived its name' (MacDougall 1937, 86).

'*Krossbolstadr* is a fixed compound [see 'Qualified' in the Glossary] which is found at five locations in the Western Isles at [*Corsapoll*], Islay [see Macniven 2015, 303]; Crossbost Lewis; Crossapoll, Coll; and Crossapoll, Mull. It is absent from the place name nomenclature of Orkney, and Shetland has only two examples, one at Crossbister, Fetlar, and another on Unst' (Johnston 1991, 89–90); *Krossby* is common in Norway (NG); *Krossbøl* is recorded once as a Norwegian farm-name (Rygh, vol. 2, 223); while *Krossbólið* occurs twice as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO).

CROSSIGAR # TIR D 2 NGR NL947453

ON **Krossagarð* 'small farm of the crosses'

Krosgairth, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol, some way north of *Bin How*
Krossiegers, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 290 (listed between *Reranakeil* and *Hodgh*): 1.5 merk-land, 'wast'

Crossigar, 1716 Nicholas MacLean-Bristol, 1998, recorded between Murdat and Kilchenichmore: 'eleven men [of the township] gave up their arms'

See *Kerachrosegar*

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | Turnbull (1768) mapped *Kerachrosegar* as overlying the southern third of the *Beinn Hògh* ridge. It was evacuated after a sand blow in 1816. The place-name *G Cill Tunnain* 'the church of Saint *Donnán* of Eigg' lies within the township (see Gazetteer).

Crossigar has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *garðr*, translated here as 'farm' rather than an enclosure as the name is present in later documentary records as a runrig township (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.). Its specific is ON *kross* (genitive plural *krossa*) 'cross' (CV, 356). This can have a number of meanings (see *Crossapoll* above).

There are three examples of *Krosgaarden* in Norway (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 6, 328), while *Krossgarður* occurs several times in Iceland (NLSI).

CRUAIRTEIN TIR D 1 NGR NL970438 ['kru:-ʒɹ̥ ,ftaɪn']

G *Cruaidh-goirtein* 'clay field'

Croy-Gortan, John Gregorson Campbell 1900, 108: 'You will have two daughters, one of whom will marry and settle in Croy-Gortan (*Cruaidh-gortain*, stone-field)'

An Cruairtean, Brownlie 1995, 102: 'the Gaelic name *An Cruairtean* is a contraction of *An Cruaidh-ghoirtean* ('The Hard Field)'

Cruairtein, John MacLean, Cornaigbeg (*Iain Alasdair Iain*) talking to Eric Cregeen and Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1975.208, track ID 102643:

JMcL: '*Cruairtein*, *Cruairtein*! Whether that's the right Gaelic or not, that was how it was pronounced on Tiree, as far back as I can remember.'

EC: 'Would the old people use that word instead of using Hilibol?'

JMcL: 'Yes they would, in my younger days.'

Cruairtein, Donald MacKinnon, Hough, 8/2015; Alec MacArthur, Heylipol, 12/2019 (oral sources)

Cruairtein, Alasdair MacDonald, Kilmoluaig, 12/1999 (oral source). He also explained the name as coming from *An Cruaidh-Ghoirtean* 'the hard field'.

An Cruairtean, Murdina MacDonald, Kilmoluaig, 8/2015 (oral source)

An Cruairtean Heylipol, modern road sign

Gàrradh Mòr a' Chruairtein, Iain MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig, 4/1994 (oral source): + G *gàrradh* 'dyke' + G *mòr* 'big'. This lies between Heylipol and Kilmoluaig, and was built in 1786 (Cregeen 1964, 8)

Gàrradh Chonaisg a' Chruairtein, Donald Kennedy, Caolas, 1/1994; Rena MacDonald, Cornaigmore, 2/1994 (oral sources): + G *conaisg* 'gorse'. This was planted by the chamberlain John Campbell, who was in post from 1846 to 1864.

Cachaileith a' Chruairtein, Hugh Campbell, Garraphail, 4/1994 and 1/1995 (oral source): + *cachaileith* 'gate'. This lies between the Heylipol *sliabh* and Cornaigmore.

Rathad a' Chruairtein, Donald Kennedy, Caolas, 2/1994; Hugh Campbell, Garraphail, 2/1994 (oral sources): + G *rathad* 'road'. This post-Improvement road connects Island House and Heylipol Church.

Ùtraid a' Chruairtein, unrecorded informant: + G *ùtraid* 'crofting sideroad'

Sliabh a' Chruairtein, Rena MacDonald, Cornaigmore, 2/1994; Donald Kennedy, Caolas, 1/1994 (oral sources): + G *sliabh* 'moorland common grazing'

Mans a' Chruairtein, Donald Kennedy, Caolas, 1/1994; Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, 10/1993; Alec MacArthur, Heylipol, 11/1994 (oral sources): + G *mans* 'manse'. This was built after Tiree was divided into the parishes of Kirkapol and Heylipol in 1875. It may have been given this more specific name to indicate where in the parish of

element is found several times in Scotland: for example, *Tom a' Chruineachd* in Kilmallie, Argyll (SP).

However, wheat may not have been cultivated on Tiree in the cooler climate of the Late Medieval period (see section 10.2.3) implied by this Gaelic phrase name. Alternatively, the specific **Cruithneachd* has possibly been lexically adapted from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *akr* 'arable land, homefield' (see *Langach*). Its specific is best left open at the moment. The development ON *-k* > G *-hk* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common among the names of the Norse expansion zone.

CUIGEAS TIR S 1 NGR NL984418 [ˌko ˈjɛːɪ]

Ownglesch, 1509 ER 13, 216

Cowelche, 1541 ER 17, 647

Cowelche, 1542 ER 17, 527

Cowelche, 1638 RMS ix, 828

Cowzeife, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 288: 2.25 merk-land, £60, victual 90 stone: the z in this historical form is the Scots letter yogh and the phoneme /ʌ/ (approximately a 'ya' sound) and the f is a long s.

Covelsh, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 86

Quicheish, 1716 MacLean-Bristol 1998

Quiyeish, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73

Qyeish, 1768 Turnbull Map

Qyeish, 1794 Tiree Rental, Cregeen 1964, 38

Quinish, 1832 Thomson's Atlas of Scotland

Cuigeas, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 215, -)

Cu' Dhèis, common current local usage in Gaelic

Balinoe | This sub-township of Balinoe is separated from Soroby graveyard to the west by the substantial stream *Abhainn Chu' Dhèis*. The settlement is likely to have been a subdivision of the Norse farm of **Saurby*. G *Am Baile Nodha* 'the new town' (Balinoe) was established to the east around 1500 (see *Balinoe*), eventually subsuming *Cu' Dhèis*. A turf and stone enclosure at NL984418 has the name G *Fang a' Mhachaire* or *Fang a' Bhaile Nodha* 'the fank of the *machair* or the new township'.

Folk etymology links this name to its location beside the graveyard and medieval parish church site, which was possibly the location of the Early Christian monastery *Mag Luinge*. Cameron wrote: ‘The scattered village of *Cu’ Dhéis*, as it is now pronounced. This is undoubtedly *Cuil Dhé*, which might be translated “the Treasury of God”’ (MacDougall 1937, 114). An alias was *G Baile Dhè* ‘the town of God’ (Alasdair Sinclair, Balinoe, pers. comm.). One inhabitant told me once that its blessed name and location was ‘the reason we didn’t have a power cut today!’ *Cuigeas* is possibly a Gaelic construction in *G cuidhe* ‘cattle-fold’ (McDonald 1991, 89; alternative spellings *cuidh* and *cuith*), itself a borrowing from ON *kví* ‘milking pen’ (MacBain 1911). The specific may be a personal name; if so, it is obscure, and it is best to leave this part of the name open at the moment. The element *cuith* is not uncommon, for example *Cuith* *Lianaclett* in North Uist (OS1/18/6/158).

CUINNEAG TIR C 2 NGR NL935425 [ˈkuːˌɲak]

Cuinneag, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 12/1995; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 11/1995 (oral sources)

A’ Chuinneag, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Port Chuinneig, Brownlie 1995, 158: + *G port* ‘inlet’

Port Cuinneag, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993; Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994; Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 12/1995; Effie MacKinnon, Sandaig, 10/2020 (oral sources)

Creag na Cuinneige, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd: + *G creag* ‘rock’

Carraig Cuinneag, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994 (oral source): + *G carraig* ‘fishing rock’

Sandaig | A coastal rock with two rings. The father of the informant Donald MacNeill, whose by-name was *G An Tàillear* ‘the tailor’, kept a boat at the inlet here.

The folk etymology of this name is *G cuinneag* ‘milk pail’. Alternatively, *Cuinneag* has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. Its specific may be ON *kvína* ‘milking pens’. The developments ON *kví* > *G cui-*, the loss of a medial ON *-v-*, and ON *vík* > *G -(bh)ag* are all regular (see section 17.4.2). The referent for *Port Cuinneag* may have been an inlet north of the ‘Sheepfold’ marked on 1878 Ordnance Survey map (6 inch first edition Argyllshire LXXVIII). It should

be noted that the name *Cròdhbrig*, probably derived from ON **Króarbryggju* ‘landing place of the small cattle pens’, is nearby.

There is a *Cuinneag* in Assynt (OS1/33/18/244, ‘meaning obscure’); there are two examples of *Kvívík* in the Faroe Islands (KO).

CULAOBH TIR C 1 NGR NM065494 [ˈkuːh̥ ,Ləv]

Culaobh Mòr and *Culaobh Beag*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 111, ‘sig[nificance] unknown’) *An Cùlabh Mòr* and *An Cùlabh Beag*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source)

Salum | Two rocks on the headland west of *Fhàdamull*

Culaobh has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hǫfuð* ‘headland’ (CV, 306; Jakobsen 1897, 92). Its specific may be ON *gulr* ‘yellow’ (CV, 221): ON **Gulhǫfuð* ‘yellow headland’. This is topographically appropriate, as the rocks here (as, it has to be said, at many other locations around the coastline of Tiree) are covered with the bright yellow lichen *Caloplaca marina*. The two features are distinguished by the Gaelic modifiers *mòr* ‘big’ and *beag* ‘small’. This name may be part of a contrastive pair with *A’ Bheirbh* (see Gazetteer) on the other side of Vaul Bay.

There are no exact cognates, but both elements individually are common among the names of the Norse expansion zone.

The name collected during my fieldwork has a number of phonological differences from the nineteenth-century name-form. It may have been lexically adapted as G *cùlaibh* ‘back part’ (Dwelly). This is common in everyday speech but quite rare in Gaelic place-names. I could find just one example: *Lochan a’ Chulaibh* in Kingussie (SP).

CÙNGAIR TIR C 1 NGR NL935424

Cùngair Bharabol and *Cùngair Bhaile Meadhanach*, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 6/1994 (oral source)

Cumhaingean Shanndaig, Brownlie 1995, 158: ‘The Narrows of Sandaig’

Cumhaingean a’ Bhaile Mheadhanaich, Brownlie 1995, 158: ‘The Narrows of Middleton’

Cumhagan a’ Bhaile Mheadhanach, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, and Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1995 (oral sources)

Cumhangan a' Bhaile Mheadhanach, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Aileen Boyd

Cumhaigeir a' Bhaile Mheadhanach, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 12/1995 (oral source)

Cumhagan Shannaig, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, and Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1995 (oral sources)

Barrapol | Unidentified shoreline features, some of which may have acted as boundary markers

This collection of names along the Sandaig-Middleton-Barrapol coastline suffers from poor fieldwork and possibly convergence (see section 17.5) making them thoroughly opaque.

G *cumhang* 'a narrow place' may be rare elsewhere as a generic in Gaelic place-names (SP), but occurs several times on Tiree: for example, G *Cumhang Dubh Bhaile Phèadrais* 'the black narrows of Balephetrish' (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1968.245, track ID 59657), and *Cumhang Haoidhnis* 'the narrows of Hynish', a gap blasted in *Am Meall* in the mid-twentieth century to create a road between Mannal and Hynish (David McClouannan, pers. comm.).

DAOR TIR C 1 NGR NL948477 [øɪr̥]

ON **Qgr* 'small inlet'

Am Port Daor, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 22, 'Dear Port'): + G *daor* 'dear, costly, scarce, precious' (Dwelly)

Port Aoir, Flora Ann Anderson, Balevullin, 3/1994; Sandy MacKinnon, Kilkenneth, 6/1994; Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, 8/1998 (oral sources)

Am Port Saor, Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, 6/1994 (oral source): + G *saor* 'free'. The informant gave the folk etymology of the hard work done in the old days gathering tangle there.

Sùil Aoir Bheag, Donald Archie Brown, Balevullin, 5/1998 (oral source): + G *sùil* 'eye, opening' + G *beag* 'small'. A nearby fishing rock

Balevullin | An inlet that has been used as a harbour in calm weather (Sandy MacKinnon, pers. comm.). See *Boraige*.

Am Port Daor is a Gaelic construction in G *port* 'inlet'. Its specific *Daor* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *qgr* 'inlet, small bay

or creek ... a local name in western Iceland, *Ögr, í Ögri, Ögrs-vatn'* (CV, 762). It is likely that the initial *d-* in the name-form **Daor* collected by the Ordnance Survey has been projected from the terminal *-t* in the generic *Port* (see Cox 2002, 64 and section 17.4.2.2). The referent is likely to have been *Am Port Daor* itself (see *Boraige*), and this derivation suits the topography here. I have previously derived this name from ON *eyrr* 'gravel bank', but this has plausibly developed as the Ruaig name *Eireadh* (see Gazetteer).

There is a *Port Aoir Ard-innis* in Coll, 'an inlet near the mouth and on the west side of Breachacha Bay. Meaning not ascertained' (OS1/2/30/29), and a *Rudha na h-Aoir* in North Uist (SP); there are four examples of *Ögur* in Iceland (NLSI); and the *Fóstbræðra saga* describes a man known as *Grima* coming from *Qgr* (Korecká 2019, 150).

DEARCAIG TIR C 2 NGR NM048447 ['d'ɛ rə ,k'ɛk']

ON **Eireksvík* 'the inlet of *Eirek*'

Àird Dearcaig, Donald Kennedy, Scarinish, 10/1993; Donald MacCallum, Scarinish, 6/1994; and Duncan MacPhee, Scarinish, 6/1994 (oral sources)

Scarinish | The name *Àird Dearcaig* applies to a feature in or around *Port Sgairinis*, although its exact location was not established. Today the two inlets at the harbour (which are now divided by a causeway, but which used to be continuous at high water) are bordered by three Gaelic promontory names: *Rudh' an Fhaing* 'headland of the fank', *Rudha nan Iasgairan* 'headland of the fishermen' and *Rudha Port na Banaich* 'headland of *Port na Banaich*' (1878 Ordnance Survey 6 inch first edition Argyllshire LXV). The name *Port na Banaich* (~~*Port a' Mhanaich*~~) was derived by the Ordnance Survey at the third attempt as 'Weaveress's Bay' (OS1/2/28/175). It is not clear which promontory the 'redundant' name G *Àird Dearcaig* 'the headland of **Dearcaig*' might refer to, but its survival shows the tenacious way place-names cling to the landscape.

Àird Dearcaig is a Gaelic construction in G *àird* 'headland'. Its specific has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'. The specific of this may be the common male ON personal name *Eirekr*, which is common in *Landnámabók* (1900, 336). The initial *d-* may have been projected from the terminal *-d* in the generic *Àird* (see *Daor*), while the loss of the medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent may have been either *Port na Banaich*

or the neighbouring Scarinish Harbour, *Port Sgairinis*, itself. Blaeu (1654) mapped this as G *Port Luing* ‘inlet of (the) boat’.

There are six examples of *Erik(s)vik(a)* in Norway (NG); *Eirekr* was a common personal name during the settlement of Iceland, as in *Eireksvágr* (*Landnámabók* 1900, 290).

DÌUBADAL TIR R 1 NGR NL972389 [ˈdʲiː-ə ba ,dɑl]

ON **Djúpidal* ‘deep valley’

Bo Deobedal, 1846–65 Admiralty Chart 2635: + G *bodha* ‘submerged rock’

Diubadal, common current local usage

Port Dhiubadail, William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral source): + G *port* ‘inlet’

East Hynish | One of Tiree’s very few true valleys on the southeastern slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis*. This has been adopted as the Scarinish house name *Deobedal* (NGR NM046454 on OS Explorer Map 372).

Diubadal has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *dalr* ‘valley’, used here, unusually on Tiree, in its original sense. Its specific is ON *djúpr* ‘deep’ (CV, 100). The development ON -ú- > G [iː-ə] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1).

This name has legions of exact cognates in the Norse expansion zone. There is a *Dibidil* on Mull (Whyte 2017, 207) and a *Dibadale* in Lewis (Ofstedal 2009, 34); *Djubidaal*, Yell, is one of many such names in Shetland (Brooke-Freeman 2020 in <https://www.shetlandamenity.org/place-name-of-the-week-deep-ida-daals>, acc. 9 February 2020); *Djupedal* is a common Norwegian place-name (NG); *Djúpadalur* occurs several times as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Djúpidalur* is extremely common in Iceland (NLSI).

AN DÒID TIR D 2 NGR NL946417

G ‘little farm’

An Dòid, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 3/1994; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd (oral source)

Baca na Dòid, Donald Archie Brown, Balephuill, 10/2014; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 3/1994 (oral sources): + G *baca* ‘dune’

Barrapol | This name denotes an area west of *The Land* (see Gazetteer) now covered with huge vegetated sand dunes. The sand blow that increased from the Late Medieval period (see section 5.6.2) is likely to have progressively covered a considerable area of cultivated land here. In 1674, the half-ounceland runrig township of *Kenavar* was still able to produce 30 stones of oatmeal and 2 bolls of malted barley as rent (MacPhail 1914, 289). Turnbull's 1768 map shows one dwelling house in *Kenvar*. A field above this was chosen in 1758 as the site for the first planting of potatoes on Tiree (Turnbull Report 1768 and Donald MacKinnon, Sandaig, pers. comm.). By 1794, it had been subsumed by *Barapole* into one tack (Cregeen 1964, 38). The 1878 Ordnance Survey map showed the settlement of *Kenvar* as three roofed buildings surrounded by 'Blown Sands & Bent' (25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXXVIII.5); one of these was known as G *Taigh a' Chìobair* 'the house of the shepherd' (Donald MacNeill, pers. comm.).

An Dòid is probably a Gaelic name from G *dòid* 'little farm' (Dwelly). This may derive from OG *doé* 'forearm, hand' (eDIL; see MacBain 1911), in the sense of it being a subsidiary holding of a larger farm. The referent is unlikely to have been the medieval township of *Kenavara*, which was valued at more than half an ounceland as late as 1674 (see *Kenavara*); it was plausibly the small, remnant area of cultivated land surrounded by blown sand shown on the 1768 Turnbull Map (see the eleven-acre infield Field no. 37 in the Turnbull Report).

Dòid is an uncommon element, rare examples being found on Islay at *Dòid Mhàiri* 'Mary's croft' (Macniven 2015, 183), and *Doid* in Argyll (OS1/2/57/148).

AN DÒRNACH TIR R 1 NGR NL 933402

G 'the place of fist-sized stones'

An Dòrnach, Brownlie 1995, 153: 'place of fist-shaped stones'

An Tòrnach, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd (oral sources)

Kenavara | An area of scree at the base of cliffs at the tip of the *Kenavara* headland

An Dòrnach is probably a Gaelic name from G *dòrn* 'fist' with the locational suffix *-ach* (see section 12.1.9). The voiced /d/ and unvoiced /t/ can alternate (see section 17.4.2.2).

Dornoch in Sutherland is likely to be derived in the same way, but this may be the only other example in Scotland (SP).

DÙBAL TIR C 2 NGR NM086474 [ˈduːh̥ ,baL]

ON **Dúfupall* ‘ledge of the doves’

Dùbal, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 and 5/2009 (oral source)

Milton, Caolas | An area of rocky shoreline east of *An Acarsaid*

Dùbal has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *pallr* (plural *pallar*) ‘platform’. Its specific may be ON *dúfa* (genitive singular *dúfu*) ‘dove, pigeon’ (CV, 109). The loss of a medial ON *-f-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The rock dove (*Columba livia*) is common on Tiree and Gunna (Bowler and Hunter 2007, 131), and was a valuable target species (see section 10.3.5).

There is no exact cognate, but Macniven suggests *dúfa* in his derivation of *Duisker* on Islay (see Macniven 2015, 260); there is a *Loch Duvat* in South Uist (SP); *Dúfa* is suggested as the derivation of the Norwegian names *Duesund* and *Davanger* (NS); names in *Duf(v)-* are very common in Norway (NG), for example the farm-name *Duvsten* derived from *Dúfusteinn* (Rygh, vol. 14, 278); the element is also common in the Faroe Islands, as in *Dúvuhelli* (KO); *Dúfunesskeið* was an early settlement in Iceland (*Landnámabók* 1900, 289), while there is a *Dúfulundur* in modern Iceland (NLSI). See section 17.1 and *Earball* for a discussion of this element.

DÙCHA TIR V 1 NGR NM084483 [ˈduː ,χa]

Poll na Dùcha, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 6/1995 (oral source)

Caolas | A low lying area, possibly old peat diggings

Poll na Dùcha is a Gaelic construction in G *poll* ‘pool’. The folk etymology was that the specific *Dùcha* was the byname of the informant’s great-great-great-great-grandfather. Alternatively, it has possibly developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *dúkr* (dative *dúki*) ‘cloth’ (CV, 109): ON **á Dúki* ‘at the cloth-like ground’. The development ON *-k-* to G *-ch-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

ON *dúkr* has been sporadically productive among names in the Norse expansion zone, possibly describing the texture of the ground (see Rygh, vol. 13, 127). *Duk* and *Duken* are names in Norway (NG); *á Dúkum* is a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Dúkur* and *Dúkar* are not uncommon in Iceland (NLSI).

DÙDAIRE TIR C 2 NGR NL987478 [ən 'du: h'daɪ jə]

An Dudaire, Cameron 1932, 140 (there are no accents in this book): ‘*Thog mi leam do Chornaig i, / An t-aite ‘n robh mi eolach ann; / ‘S gur tric bha lacha leointe leath’, / ‘S a bha na geoidh fo chreuchdan. / Aig eilean sin an Dudaire / Is tric a chuir mi smuid aiste* [I took my gun to Cornaig / To a place I knew / Often were duck wounded with it / And disaster fell upon the geese / At that islet the Dudaire / It is often that I fired it], an undated poem called *G Oran a’ Ghunna* ‘The song of the Gun’ by John Gregorson Campbell

An Dùdaire, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 12/1994 (oral source: re-transcribed with an accented first syllable)

Cornaig | An unidentified ‘islet’ on the Cornaig shoreline. At low water, this area is an expanse of black rock outcrops, pools, treacherously soft sand and piles of rotting seaweed. It is unclear why this name was not collected by the Ordnance Survey, despite the fact that Gregorson Campbell is listed as an ‘authority’ for all the other names on this stretch of coastline in the Name Book. The storyline of the poem *Oran a’ Ghunna* is unlikely to have taken place later than the Ordnance Survey visit, because Campbell became increasingly disabled after that time (see Chapter 3).

An Dùdaire is an opaque name. *G dùdaire* means ‘trumpeter’ (Dwelly; see Black 2008, 647). However, the only similar name is *Loch an Dudair* in North Uist: ‘A small lake call [sic] Loch an Dudair (long oo accent on the first syllable of the last word). Not much is now known of the remote personage “Dudair”’ (Fergusson and MacDonald 1984, 13).

Alternatively, *Dùdaire* has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *ver* ‘fishing station’ (CV, 694). The specific may be ON *dý* (genitive plural *dýja*) ‘bog’ (CV, 111) with ON *oddr* (accusative plural *odda*) ‘a point’ (CV, 462): *Dýjaoddaver* ‘fishing station of the boggy points of land’. The developments ON *-ý-* > G *-u-* and the loss of the ON medial *-v-* are regular (see section 17.4.2). This derivation would certainly suit the topography. *G Carraig Nèill* ‘the fishing rock of Neil’ (described as ‘a small island of rock’ in OS1/2/28/40) is in the bay to the east of *Clachan*. *G Port a’ Bhàta* ‘the inlet of the boat’ has a very narrow outlet at low tide, and looks as though it may have been suitable for the *G tarraing* ‘shore net’ (see section 10.3.2). The only suitable referent is an unnamed islet off the tip of *An Àird Beag* (see 1878 Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXIV.7). However, Gaelic loan-names derived from three Norse words are very conjectural (see section 17.6).

There are no exact cognates. See *Am Fidhlear* for names in *ver*, and *Miodar* for names in *oddr*. Names derived from ON *dý* are not common, but can be found in the Norwegian farm-name *Dyene* (Rygh, vol. 1, 202) and *Dýjatangi* in Iceland (NLSI).

DUILL TIR R 2 [dũilʲ]

Tobar an Duill, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 3/1992 (oral source)

Barrapol | Exact location uncertain

Tobar an Duill is a Gaelic construction in G *tobar* ‘well’. Its specific is unlikely to be G *dùil* fem. ‘hope, desire, delight’ (Dwelly), as this would be *Tobar na Dùile* ‘the well of hope’. One of the few place-names in Scotland with this element is *Clach na Dùile* ‘stone of hope’ in Kilmorack (OS1/17/50/91).

Alternatively, its specific *Duill* has possibly developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *þyrill* ‘whisk with a fringe at the end, with which to whip milk ... the name of a farm and mountain-peak in [*Hvalfjörður*] Iceland, from the whirling gusts of wind to which it is liable’ (CV, 755): ON **þyrill* ‘windy place’. The developments ON *þ*- > G *t*-; /t/ > /d/; the weakening of a strongly palatalised /r/; and ON *-y-* > G *-u-* are all regular (see section 17.4.2). There are several places on Tiree where this might be an appropriate name.

This is not a common element, but there is another *Tobar an Duill* in Barra (SP); *Tyrilie* and *Tyrilia* are found in Norway (NG); *Tørten* may derive from *þyrill*, a rod with a woolly tassel to whip milk (Rygh, vol. 13, 179), possibly a reference to the cloud formations it attracts; *Tyri* occurs twice in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *þyrill* occurs twice in Iceland (NLSI).

DÙN NAN GALL TIR A 1 NGR NL935412

G ‘the fort of the strangers’

Dùn nan Gall, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 210, ‘significance Lowlands Castle’)

Dùn nan Gall, Brownlie 1995, 154

Dùn nan Gall, common current local usage

Kenavara | The turfed footings of this promontory fort (Canmore ID 21483) can still just be seen through thick grass. *Dùn nan Gall*, accessed across an eight-

metre ridge with vertiginous drops on either side, certainly enjoys a strategically powerful location. In particular, it secures enough defended ground to maintain a considerable quantity of livestock (see *Hiatrainis*). The Norse landing-name *Borabrig* nearby (see Gazetteer and derived as ON **Borgabryggju* ‘landing place of the fort(s)’) suggest that *Dùn nan Gall* was used as a fort in the Early Medieval period.

The Gaelic name *Dùn nan Gall* appears to have replaced the earlier Norse name **Skarðaborg*, which was in use at least until Pont’s survey in the last two decades of the sixteenth century (see *Skarbarigh*). The phrase name construction of *Dùn nan Gall* – ‘X of Y’ – also suggests that this is a Late Medieval name (see section 11.2.1). A 1680 map (Frederik de Wit, NLS, EMS.s.8) marks a fort symbol here. However, in the absence of excavation, it is difficult to say much more about the dates of this site’s occupation or its function.

Dùn nan Gall is a Gaelic construction in G *dùn* ‘fort’. Its specific G *gall* means ‘foreigner, stranger, especially a native of the south of Scotland, or a Scot that cannot speak Gaelic’ (Dwelly). It has often been assumed that *gall* in this context meant Norse (see, for example, Beveridge 1903, 97n). However, the toponymic evidence suggests that this name is more likely to date from the time of the baliery of the MacLeans of Duart. G *gall* can also mean ‘standing stone’ (Márkus 2012, 549; and see Cox 2002, 374), but there is no evidence of such a monument at this location.

Gall is an extremely common element in Argyll and beyond, from *Coire nan Gall* in Kilmodan to *Eilean nan Gall* in Kilmallie, Argyll (SP), and *Sgurr nan Gall* on Raasay (Mackay 2013, 2). There are exact cognates in Kildalton and Oa, Islay and Kilmore and Kilninian, Mull (SP). These names presumably reflect territorial incursions of one sort or another in Late Medieval and post-medieval times.

DÙNAN NIGHEAN TIR A 1 NGR NL956402

G ‘the fort of the girls’

Dùnan Nighean, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 224, significance ‘Daughters Little Castle’)
Dùn nan Nighean, common current local usage

Balephuill | A presumed Iron Age promontory fort (Canmore ID 21450) below G *Am Bail’ Ùr* ‘the new town’. The antiquary John Sands dug here:

I spent days and weeks in digging at the dun ... called *Dun a' Nighean* ... on a peninsulated rock ... Bones of small sheep, short-horned cattle, and of swine were abundant. I found many tusks of boars – one of them measuring, although the point seems to have been rubbed off, seven inches in length. Large quantities of limpet and periwinkle shells were amongst the rubbish, which lay to a depth of four and five feet on the floors of the citadel, and on the sides of the rocks. I found a *crotag* ['mortar'] and a pestle, which had been used for grinding (as I infer from the smoothness of the cavity) and not for pounding grain. This shows that the ancient tenants of those forts used meal to a certain extent ... I found pieces of the bones of a whale bearing the marks of a tool on the ends. I found no implements of bronze or iron, and I think if such had been used, I could scarcely have failed to discover a specimen ... I found innumerable flakes of stone, many of them ground flat on one side, which had apparently been used as saws and knives; I found a stone hammer and two pieces of bone that may have been the heads of spears. Every dish seems to have been decorated, and some with great taste and delicacy. The patterns are various, although the zigzag predominates. I found three clay whorls. (Sands 1881–2, 460)

Dùn nan Nighean is a Gaelic construction in either G *dùn* 'fort' or *dùn nan* 'small fort' with the diminutive Gaelic suffix. Its specific appears to be G *nighean* 'girl', as in *Dùn an Nighean* 'fort of the girl' or *Dùn nan Nighean* 'fort of the girls'. One version of the folk etymology for the name is this:

Dùn nan Nighean down there. It was a convent at one time ... there was a bridge then. And this could be raised so no one could get there or back. Over time, this bridge broke up ... I don't want to tell you the whole story! There was one amongst them – a red headed one. Soon every girl in that convent had a baby. It was a man! ... There was also a man supervising the girls. And there's a well over there still called *Tobar na Gruagaich*. The girls drowned this man that was governing them in the well ... It's good water (Donald Sinclair talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1968.029, track ID 59149, translated by the author).

G *Tobar na Gruagaich* can be translated as 'well of the young woman' although *gruagach* can also mean 'virgin, or, in derision, man with long hair' (Dwelly). It is possible that this name is the result of lexical adaptation. The specific *Nighean* may have developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *iðra* 'whirlpool,

eddy' (CV, 313) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5): *Iðan*. The initial *N-* may be projected from the preceding Gaelic definite article (*n*)*an*, while the loss of ON *-ð-* to become a hiatus is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). I have not heard of a notable tidal eddy offshore from this site, but it is possible. Another promontory fort on Islay also has the name *Dùn nan Nighean*. Here the folk etymology is that it 'got this name from two young women taking refuge in it, and stayed there for some time' (OS1/2/33/82).

Iða has not bequeathed much of a legacy among the place-names of the Norse expansion zone. There is an *Idd* in Halden, south of Oslo that may derive in this way (NS). There is a coastal settlement in the Faroe Islands called *Iðan* (KO), and another *Iðan* on a river in Iceland (NLSI).

DUSPRIG TIR C 1 NGR NM023436

ON **Dysjabryggju* 'landing place of the cairns'

An *Dusprig*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 180, -)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Baugh | This feature was described by the Ordnance Survey as 'a small rocky point situated on the West side of *Port a' Bhàta* ['the inlet of the boat']' (OS1/2/28/180). This long, narrow inlet provided an excellent harbour for small boats into the twentieth century. There are a number of rocks, including *Bogha Chro'-fhir*, *Cleit Allamsa* and *A' Chleit* (see 1878 Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXXIX.1) around its entrance.

An *Dusprig* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *bryggja* 'boat landing place'. The specific may be ON *dys* (genitive plural *dysja*) 'cairn' (CV, 111), which may have been used to navigate a course through the hazardous approaches. The development ON *-y-* > G *-u-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). The referent is likely to have been *Port a' Bhàta* itself.

There are no exact cognates, but the element *dys* is common among names in the Norse expansion zone, as in *Dysjanaset* in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Dysvik* (Rygh, vol. 11, 8); it is common in the Faroe Islands, as in *Dysjaleiti* (KO), and in Iceland, as in *Dysjatangi* (NLSI). See *Ìbrig* and *Eibrig*.

EADACH* TIR C 1 NGR NM029435 [ən 't'æ ,dæx]

An t-Eadach, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 177, no derivation offered)

An t-Eadach, Angus Munn, Heanish, 6/1995 (oral source)

Heanish | Mapped by the Ordnance Survey as a nondescript flat rock platform in the centre of a tidal pool (see *Lòn Alabainn*) just to the east of *G Port a' Mhuilinn* 'the inlet of the mill'. The tidal pool is, in turn, a short distance west of *G Clach na h-Aoidh* 'the rock of the promontory' (Donald Kennedy, Scarinish, and Angus Munn, pers. comm.). This rock was recorded by the Ordnance Survey as *Clach na h-Shòa* and described as a 'very large stone' (OS1/2/28/252). *G aoidh* 'promontory' is a loan word from ON *eið* 'promontory' (Oftedal 2009, 39). This striking glacial remnant is three metres high with a seat-shaped ledge facing the sea.

An t-Eadach has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *dqkk* 'water-filled hollow' (Cox 2002, 264). The specific may be ON *sæti* 'seat' (CV, 524 and 619), whose Faroese reflex *setur* means 'place, especially on the rocks, where birds sit' (Young and Clewer 1985, 483): ON *Sætisdqkk* 'the hollow of the seat'. The development ON *-k* > G *-ch* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). This derivation is topographically plausible.

There are no exact cognates, but the individual elements are common among names in the Norse expansion zone. A number of Norwegian farm-names derive from *sete*, indicating a stone ledge, for example *Setberg* (Rygh, vol. 11, 32); the Faroe Islands has a number of settlement names in *setur*, including *Sethjalli* (KO); and *Setberg* is a common Icelandic name (NLSI), often meaning 'fells [that] were looked on as the mountain-seats of tutelary giants' (CV, 524). ON *dqkk* was loaned into Gaelic on Tiree (see section 12.1.2) and Carloway (Cox 2002, 264); it is also common in Norwegian farm-names, as in *Rognedokken* (Rygh, vol. 5, 102).

EALA TIR C 1 NGR NL933398 ['ɛ ,lɔ]

An Eala Mhòr, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd; Donald MacNeill, 1/1994 (oral sources)

An Eala Mhòr, Brownlie 1995, 152

Kenavara | A sea rock off *Rinn Thorbhais* at the tip of Kenavara. On the shore here is *G Uamh a' Mhèirlich* 'the cave of the thief'. I heard a story about this cave: 'Four men were playing cards in a house at *The Land* one night and Colin MacDonald from

the *Bail' Ùr* asked if anyone knew where *Uamh a' Mhèirlich* was. No one did, so he offered to show them the next day. The cave is hidden at the base of *Uinneagan Beum a' Chlaidheimh*, a large gash down the side of Kenavara at a part they call *An Dòrnach*. In front of the cave there is a jumble of stones "as though they've been blasted." You have to crawl between them to get in. Inside, they found a stone like a square table and three clay cups. "Do you believe me now?" asked Colin' (David McClounnan, pers. comm.).

An Eala Mhòr is possibly a Gaelic name meaning 'the big swan'. Sea rocks are not uncommonly named after animals, often as navigational danger names (see *Òisgean* and *Greasamull*, Greenhill). *G eala* is a common element in Scottish place-names, but there is only one example as a simplex: *An Eala* 'a small hillock' on Iona (OS1/2/37/26). See *Heala*.

Alternatively, *An Eala Mhòr* has possibly been lexically adapted from a Norse loan-name in ON *hellir* 'cave' (CV, 255). *Helle* is extremely common in Norway (NG), and derives from *Hellir* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 8, 226); *Millum Hellir* is a settlement in the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Hellir* is a very common name in Iceland (NLSI).

EARBALL TIR C 1 NGR NL925456 ['ɛ rə ,bəl]

ON **Eyrarpall* 'platform of the cobble beach'

An Earball Mòr and *An Earball Beag*, Neil MacKinnon, Balevullin, 2/1994 (oral source)

Craignish, Hough | Two shore rocks

An Earball appears to be a Gaelic name in G *earball* 'tail' with the modifiers G *mòr* 'big' and G *beag* 'small'. Although it makes a rare appearance as *Airidh nan Earball* and *Loch nan Earball* in Uig (SP), this is not a common element in the Hebrides, and is absent from the Carloway Gazetteer (Cox 2002). Added to this, islanders with the Tìree dialect clearly pronounce *earball* as ['u rə ,bəl].

Instead, *An Earball* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *pallr* 'platform' (CV, 474) or 'step' (ONP). The specific may be ON *eyrr* (genitive singular *eyrar*) 'gravel bank ... a small point of land running into the sea' (CV, 136), which is topographically very appropriate. The development /p/ > /b/ is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent is likely to have been the impressive flat expanse of cobbles beyond the ruin of G *Taigh na Camshronaich* 'the house of the Camerons' on Craignish.

There are no exact cognates, but both elements individually are common among the names of the Norse expansion zone. *Oyrar-* is common as a specific in the Faroe Islands, as in *Oyrargjógv* (KO); *eyrar-* is common among farm-names in Iceland, including an *Eyrapollar* (NLSI). The simplex *Pallen* is very common among Norwegian farm-names (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 14, 106); *pallur* occurs several times as a generic in the Faroe Islands, for example *Smørpallur* (KO), and commonly in Iceland, as in *Hvítpallur* (NLSI). See *Earblaig*.

EARBLAIG TIR W 1 NGR NL944463

Loch Earblaig, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 66, *Loch Farraballach* ‘meaning Loch of the Many-Tails’)

Loch Eallabal, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 12/1993 (oral source)

Loch na Buaile, Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, 2/2006 (oral source): *G na buaile* ‘of the cattle fold’

Hough | The 1768 Turnbull Map marked a stream and settlement here but no loch. In 1878, the Ordnance Survey described this as ‘a small loch situated a quarter of a mile westwards of Beinn Hough’ (OS1/2/28/66). A modern alias is *G Loch Cùl na Beinne* ‘the loch at the back of the hill’ (Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, pers. comm.; before 1816, this was the ‘front of the hill’). The spring filling the loch was known as *G Tobar an Naoinear Beò* ‘the well of the nine living’ (Duncan MacPhee, pers. comm.). One of the folk etymologies for this name was that, ‘in a season of great scarcity [this well] supported a widow and her eight children without any nourishment but itself and shellfish’ (Black 2005, 229). This story possibly dates from 1816.

The beach at Hough is made up of cobbles today. but there was a major sand blow here in the first decades of the nineteenth century, culminating in the abandonment of at least two runrig townships in 1816 and the creation of the Hough *machair* extending to the base of the hill (see section 5.6.2). This impacted the drainage on the western side of the hill.

All three name-forms are Gaelic constructions in *G loch*. There is significant variance, however, in the specific. The oldest, *Earblaig* 1878, suggests that it has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The specific might even be the existing name **Eyrarpall* (see *Earball*), which denotes the southern arm of the bay: ON **Eyrarpallavík* ‘beach of the platforms of the cobble beach’. The loss of the medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). In this case, the referent

may have been *Tràigh Hògh*. This derivation would certainly suit the topography, but Gaelic loan-names derived from three Norse words are very conjectural (see section 17.6).

EARNAL TIR D 1 NGR NM027471 [ˈɛ̃ː.ɪə.ɲal] and [ˈe.ɲal]

ON **Einarrhól* ‘hill of *Einarr*’ or ON **Einarrhvál* ‘domed hill of *Einarr*’

Earnal, 1878 OS, marked as three houses with enclosures (*Aineol*, JGC, OSNB, 125, ‘two three small crofts immediately south of Cnoc Earnal’)

Cnoc Earnal, 1878 OS (*Cnoc Aineol*, JGC, OSNB, 125, Meaning ‘Stranger’s Hill’): + G *cnoc* ‘hillock’. Possibly G *aineolach* ‘ignorant’ (Dwelly)

Èirneal, Mairi MacKinnon, Balephetrish; Lachlan MacKinnon, Balephetrish, 6/2015 (oral sources); common current local usage

Èarnal, Mary Ann MacDonald, Heanish, 6/2015 (oral source)

Cnoc Mòr Èirneil, Donald MacIntyre, Gott, 9/1994; Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, 9/1994 (oral sources): + G *mòr* ‘big’

Gott | Until the start of the twentieth century, this was a sub-township of Gott. The land denoted by the name *Earnal* extends over a wide area of *sliabh* from the march between Baugh and Balephetrish in the west to *Loch Riaghain* in the east. There is evidence of two small settlements: the cluster of footings around *Cnoc Èirneal* were probably originally shielings (see *A’ Chorairidh*); that to the west is likely to have been a group of nineteenth-century cottars’ dwellings.

Two variants of the name have survived in modern local usage. These are represented by the modern forms *Èirneal* and *Èarnal*, or the forms *Earnal* and *Aineol* collected by the Ordnance Survey in 1878. These name-forms differ in their palatalisation of the medial consonant group *-rn-*. It may be that the historical form *Earnal* chosen by the Ordnance Survey has been locally influential. Or it may be that some informants have a tendency to use vowel affection more than others (see section 17.4.2.1).

Earnal has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hóll* ‘rounded hill’, ON *hváll* ‘domed hill’ or ON *vǫllr* ‘field’ with any /v/ disappearing (see section 17.4.2.2). Its specific may be the common male ON personal name *Einarr* after metathesis. This is extremely common in *Landnámabók* (1900, 336). The referent may have been the low rise of *Cnoc Èirneil* itself, or the name may have been transferred from G *Sìthean Bheinn Ghot* ‘the domed hill of *Beinn Ghot*’ at the

southeastern end of the *Beinn Ghot* ridge. With a presumed Iron Age fort at its summit, this has been strategically important.

Einar, with or without the genitive morpheme, is a common specific in Norway, as in *Einarfjellet* (NG); there are three examples of *Einarshóll* in Iceland (NLSI).

EIBRIG TIR C 1 NGR NM922437 [ˈe̞i̯ ,brigʲ]

ON **Eyrarbryggju* ‘gravel landing place’

Cnoc Eibrig and *Port Eibrig*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 97, ‘meaning not known’)

Eibrig, 1903 Beveridge, 112: ‘pronounced Aybrich’

Cnoc Eabraig, Cameron 1932, 166

Cnoc Eibrig, Hugh MacKinnon, Baugh (oral source), with a plosive terminal -g

Baugh | A coastal hillock, chosen in 1911 as the site for a memorial to Dr Alexander Buchanan, the island’s long-serving doctor. The summit has a wide viewshed, and was used by the Home Guard as a lookout post during the Second World War.

Cnoc Eibrig and *Port Eibrig* are Gaelic constructions in G *cnoc* ‘hillock’ and G *port* ‘inlet’. Beveridge derived the specific *Eibrig* as a ‘bilingual compound meaning “the east [G *ear* ‘east’] fort (*ear-borg*)”’ (Beveridge 1903, 112). His transcription *Aybrich* suggests a development from an element with a fricative terminal -g. However, not only is there no evidence of a fort at this site, but hybrid Gaelic-Norse names are rare: ‘The common view in Finnish contact onomastics [is]: mixed names formed in two languages can normally be ruled out’ (Sandnes 2010a, 20).

Instead, its coastal position suggests that *Eibrig* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *bryggja* ‘boat landing place’. Its specific may be ON *eyrr* (genitive *eyrar*) ‘gravelly bank’ (CV, 136). A strongly palatalised medial -r- can develop to [j] (see section 17.4.2.2). The inlet to the west *Port Riasgail* has poor access, and the referent is likely to have been *Port Eibrig*, which was mapped by the Ordnance Survey in 1878 as having a cobble beach (25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXIV.16), as it has today.

There are no exact cognates, but *Øravig(a)* occurs several times in Norway, and *Eyrarvík* in Iceland (NLSI).

Baugh has three names in -*bryggja*: *Dusprig*, *Eibrig* and *Ìbrig*, with *Ìbrig* only accessible at high water. This suggests its importance as a harbour in the Early Medieval period (see *Baugh*).

ÈIGINN TIR E 1 NGR NL945426 ['eɪ: ˌɡɪnʲ]

Bruach na h-Èiginn, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 3/1994 (oral source); Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Barrapol | A footpath leads down the slope from a right-angle bend in the B8065. At the bottom of this was G *Knock-a-Chlaodh* ‘the hillock of the graveyard’ (see section 6.3.2.8). This was out of use and buried under sand by 1852 (Reeves 1854, 232 and 243).

Bruach na h-Èiginn is a Gaelic construction in G *bruach* ‘slope’. Its specific is G *éiginn*, which has a number of meanings, including ‘distress’ (Dwelly). The folk etymology of the name is ‘the slope of grief’ because women mourners left the funeral procession here as it proceeded towards the graveyard. This reflects traditional mourning customs on the island (anyway up until the 1980s), in which women left the cortege before the graveyard (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen and Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1973.137, track ID 90186). Whether this tradition was followed in earlier times is not known.

Èigin(n) is not a common element in Scotland, but occurs a handful of times: for example, *Creag na h-Eiginn* ‘difficulty or the difficult rock’ in Kilmuir, Skye (OS1/16/5/33), and *An Eigin* in Lochbroom, ‘applies to a precipitous hill difficulty of ascent [sic]’ (OS1/28/37/250).

EIREADH TIR C 1 NGR NM068474 ['ēĩ ˌjəɣ]

ON **Eyrarhaga* ‘pasture of the cobble beach’

Eireadh Mòr and *Eireadh Beag*, Lachlan MacKinnon, Brock, 1990 (oral source)

Ruaig | Two rocks at the shore

Eireadh has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hagi* ‘pasture’ (CV, 231). Its specific may be ON *eyrr* (genitive case *eyrar*) ‘gravelly bank, either of the banks of a river or small tongues of land running into the sea’ (CV, 136). The loss of a medial ON *-g-* is regular, as is the addition of the final intrusive consonant *-dh* to an open ending (see section 17.4.2.2). This does not fit the modern topography with its shell-sand beach, but the Early Medieval shoreline may have been quite different (see section 5.6.2). The name has been loaned into Gaelic with the modifiers *mòr* ‘large’ and *beag* ‘small’.

ON *eyrr* may also be found as a loan word in the Tiree place-name *Loch an Àir* in Caolas; *Aoradh* on Islay has been derived from *eyrr* (Macniven 2015, 324). *Øyrahagen* is a name in Norway (NG), and *Oyrahagi* occurs in the Faroe Islands (KO). For *hagi*, see *Àsadh*.

ÈITEAGAIN TIR C 2 NGR NL970388 ['ei t'ə ,geɪn']

Meall Èiteagain, Lachlan MacFarlane, Hynish, 2/1994; William Lamont, Manna, 9/1995; David McClounnan, Balephuill, 12/2003 (oral sources)

East Hynish | A mound behind the raised cobble beach at *Diubadal*, said to have been a good vantage point for driftwood (William Lamont, pers. comm.)

Meall Èiteagain is a Gaelic construction in G *meall* 'lump'. The specific may be G *éiteag* 'white pebble, precious stone, from English *hectic*, [Latin] *lapis hecticus* [the stone of recurrent fever], the white hectic stone' (MacBain 1911). The suffix *-an* may denote either the plural or the diminutive (see Cox 2002, 59).

Martin Martin recorded the following custom in Skye in 1695: 'The lapis hecticus, or white hectic stone, abounds here in both land and water: the natives use this stone as a remedy against dysentery and diarrhoea; they make them redhot in the fire, and then quench them in milk, and some water, which they drink with good success. They use this stone in the same manner for consumptions, and they likewise quench these stones in water with which they bathe their feet and hands' (Martin 1994 (1695), 192).

Martin came across a hectic stone on Tiree in different circumstances: 'The ale that I had in the inn being too weak, I told my host of it, who promised to make it better; for this end he took a hectic-stone, and having made it red hot in the fire, he quenched it in the ale' (Martin 1994 (1695), 295).

Eiteag is not a common element, but there is a *Muileann Eiteag Bagh* 'pebble bay of the mill' in South Knapdale (SP).

FHÀDAMULL TIR C 1 NGR NM068496 ['fa da ,mʌl]

ON **Vattarhólm* 'glove-shaped island'

Vadelum, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

Fadumull Isle, 1768 Turnbull Map

Fhàdamull, 1878 OS (Fad na moile, JGC, OSNB, 118, 'sig. unknown')

Lòn Fhàdamuill and *Cnoc Fhàdamuill*, 1878 OS: + G *lòn* ‘pool’ + G *cnoc* ‘hillock’
Fadamul, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source)

Salum | A large, grassy tied islet linked to the shore by a striking gravel tombolo. There is a possible fish trap on its western side.

The earliest historical form *Vadelum* suggests that *Fhàdamull* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hólmr* ‘islet’. Its specific may be OI *vöttr* (genitive *vattar*) ‘glove, pillow, personal name ... in local names *Vattar-nes*, *-tunga*, *-fjörðr*’ (CV, 723). Pálsson has commented: ‘The common noun *vöttr* masc. “a glove” is to be found as the first component in place-names in Iceland (*Vattarnes*) and Norway (*Vattøy*). The precise onomastic function of this element is not entirely clear, but the most likely explanation is that it serves to indicate the shape of the topographic features involved’ (Pálsson 1996, 11). The development ON *v-* > G *f-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

There are no exact cognates. *Vatternish* in Skye has probably also developed from *vöttr*; there is a *Vatti Stack* in Northmavine, Shetland (SP); *á Vøtti*, *Vattaklettur* and *Vattarheyggjur* are settlement names in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Vattarnes* occurs twice among Icelandic farm-names (SAM).

AN FHAODHAIL TIR W 1 NGR NL018440 [ən ð-aɪl’]

G *An Fhadhail* ‘the ford’

Fouyl, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): denoting the mouth of the estuary

Phuil River, 1768 Turnbull Map: denoting the whole length of the stream

Foadhail, 1845 *New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll, 196: ‘a small inlet ... a small rivulet ... runs into this inlet’

An Fhaodhail, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 81, ‘meaning ~~Swift Running Stream~~ “The Ford”’): denoting the whole length of the stream

An Fhadhail or *The Fadhail*, current local usage for the whole stream

Baugh | The Blaeu map of 1654 suggests that there was a large estuary here (see section 5.6.1). This may have been known as *Breiðlækinn* ‘broad stream’ (see *Briolachain*).

This presented a significant obstacle to travel between the two ends of the island. The 1654 name *Fouyl* indicates that there was a crossing at low tide here at least by the sixteenth century (see below). This was described in an eighteenth-

century account: ‘When swelled with rain and a high spring tide, being without a bridge, [the river] greatly obstructs travellers. Here there is some danger of the island being cut in half’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 399). By the nineteenth century, a small bridge, now known as *G Seann Drochaid a’ Bhàigh* ‘the old bridge of Baugh’, had been built: ‘Spring tides often render the passage across the ford impracticable at the usual place and a small stone bridge has been built half a mile further up for the convenience of travellers’ (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 196). The first edition of the Ordnance Survey in 1878 drew a second narrow footbridge at the mouth of the stream, but still indicated a ‘Ford’ where presumably cattle and horse-drawn carts crossed at low tide. A story from that time illustrates this. The uncle of ‘Clayver’ from Balephuill – the nickname of a crofter – went to Scarinish with a horse and cart to collect something. To save time he went over the ford at Baugh rather than going all the way up to the old bridge. On his way home, the loaded cart sank in the sand of *An Fhaodhail* and became completely stuck. Clayver’s uncle freed the pony, put himself between the traces and pulled the cart out himself. As he said afterwards, ‘I wouldn’t ask any man or beast to do something I wouldn’t do myself!’ (John Fletcher, pers. comm.). In 1878, *G Drochaid Ùr a’ Bhàigh* ‘the new bridge of Baugh’ was built on the site of the old ford.

Since at least the sixteenth century, sand has migrated eastwards along *Tràigh Bhàigh* and the mouth of the stream has progressively narrowed (see section 5.6.1). Today, the name *An Fhaodhail* is almost extinct as the stream has dwindled in size, while access has been restricted by the airport and the need to protect ground-nesting birds.

In the nineteenth century, this stream was used as a boundary: ‘A small, sluggish rivulet, having its origins in a marsh a mile and a half inland, and forming the eastern boundary of Reef, runs into this inlet and constitutes the two divisions of this island called the east and west end’ (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 196). This was not the thirteenth-century dividing line between the parishes of *Kirkopollis* and *Soreby* (see section 10.8).

An Fhaodhail is the Gaelic simplex *G fadhail* (or *faodhail*) fem. ‘ford, space between islands when rendered passable on foot through the tide receding’ (Dwelly). The ford-name appears to have been transferred to denote the whole stream by 1768, although in 1845 it again denotes just the mouth of the creek: ‘On the east side of Reef there is a small inlet called the ford, or in Gaelic *faodhail* [sic]’ (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 196). Today, it is used to describe the whole watercourse. The name is found in other areas: *Loch Fadhail*, *Ardchattan*, *Tob na Fadhail* and *Faodhail Seilebost*, Harris (SP), and *An Fhadhail* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 277).

G *fadhail* is a borrowing from ON *vaðill* or *vøðull* ‘shallow water, especially places where fjords or straits can be passed on horseback’ (CV, 673; see McDonald 2015, 152). It is plausible that this tidal ford was also important in the Early Medieval period (see *Ìbrig*), and that *An Fhaodhail* was a translation name from the original Norn. *Vaðall* occurs several times in Iceland (SAM).

FIDDEN # TIR W 3

Fidden, Black 2008, 75

Cachla nam Fidean, Black 2008, 75: + G *catchaileith* ‘gate’

Plausibly Balephetrish | The marshy area known as *A’ Bhriolachanaich* around the head of *An Fhaodhail* (see also *Abhuinn* and *Briolachain*) dries out in summer to provide grazing, although spring tides could flood up to 2 km inland (see section 5.6.1). There are a number of substantial medieval turf boundaries on the eastern shore of the waterway, any one of which could have provided the setting for a gate.

Gregorson Campbell collected (or possibly reconstructed) this name in a story about a fairy dog. The tale’s subject was walking along *Cladach a’ Chrògain*, the beach at Balephetrish, when she heard the bark of this beast: ‘Her father’s house was at a place called Fidden, of which no trace now remains beyond the name of *Cachla nam Fidean* (the Fidden Gate) given to a spot where there is no gate’ (Black 2008, 75 and see 344).

Fidden has probably developed from G *fidean* ‘green islet or spot uncovered at high-tide’ (Dwelly). This, in turn, is a borrowing from ON *fit* fem. ‘meadow land on the banks of a firth, lake, or river’ (CV, 155; see McDonald 2015, 143). This element is uncommon, but is found as *Fidden* in Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Mull (MacLean 1997, 145; *Fiddin* 1674 in Johnson 1991, 184), and at *Fidean Molach* in Uig (OS/1/27/58/109).

But *Fidden* could equally well have developed directly from a simplex Norse loan-name with the post-positioned bound definite article: either *Fitin* ‘the meadow’ or *Fitjarnar* ‘the meadows’ (see section 13.5). This is very common among names in the Norse expansion zone, as in *Sand of Fidgeon* in Orkney (Sandnes 2010a, 240); numerous examples among Norwegian farm-names (for example, *Fitjan* in Rygh, vol. 14, 90); two Faroese examples of *Fitin* (KO); and eight Icelandic examples of *Fitin*, while *Fitjar* is also very common (NLSI).

AM FÌDHLEAR TIR C 1 NGR NL972386 [ən 'i: ˌl'əʃ]

Am Fìdhear, John MacDonald, Mannal, talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.144, track ID 84881; Lachlan and Chrissie MacFarlane, Hynish, 1/1994; William Lamont, Mannal 9/1995; David McClounnan, Balephuil, 8/1999 (oral sources)

East Hynish | A fishing rock at the northern end of *Tràigh Balbhaig*. Today, there is a solitary eared willow tree clinging to the rocks on the slopes above *Port Dhiubadail* nearby (see *Mhiasumull*).

Am Fìdhear is possibly a Gaelic name in G *fìdhear* ‘fiddle player’, which is how John MacDonald understood this toponym (see above). There are some fantastically sea-carved rocks and arches at the shore here, one of which may have inspired the name. However, although *Fìdhear* does occur as a specific elsewhere in Scotland, as in *Fuaran an Fhìdheir* in Kingussie (SP), it does not occur as a simplex (SP). Alternatively, *Am Fìdhear* has possibly been lexically adapted from a Norse loan-name in ON *ver* ‘fishing station’ (CV, 694; see section 10.3.2). The loss of a medial ON -v- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). Names in *ver* are common among Norwegian farm-names, as in *Lyngvær* (Rygh, vol. 16, 19), and in Iceland, for example *Hringver* (SAM).

The specific is opaque, but may be *Víðihlið* ‘slope of the willow’ (see *Ìlidh*). Another possibility is the male ON personal name *Vífill*, which was recorded several times at Icelandic settlement (*Landnámabók* 1900, 380). There is no exact cognate, but *Vífill* is a common specific among Norwegian farm-names, as in *Viulstad* (Rygh, vol. 5, 312); and in Iceland, as in *Vífilsfall* (NLSI).

It may be too much of a coincidence that there is another fishing rock in Balemartine called *Carraig Fìdheir* (see below).

FÌDHLEIR TIR C 2 NGR NL987414 [ˈfi: ˌleɹʲ]

Carraig Fìdheir, John Fletcher, Balemartine, 5/2001(oral source)

Balemartine | A fishing rock just offshore from Balemartine village. The location was not precisely confirmed.

Carraig Fìdheir is a Gaelic construction in G *carraig* ‘fishing rock’. Its specific *Fìdheir* may be G *fìdhear* ‘fiddle player’ (see *Am Fìdhear* above). Alternatively, it may also have developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *ver* ‘fishing station’ (CV, 694).

FIODHAG TIR O 2 NGR NL971426 [fi:-ak]

Fang nam Fiodhag, William MacLean, Balinoe, 5/2009 (oral source)

Balinoe | This fank is now overlain by the byre north of the informant's house. The name was carved into the lintel of one of the buildings, but is now covered with roughcast.

Fang nam Fiodhag is a Gaelic construction in G *fang*, a borrowing from Scots *fank*. Its specific *Fiodhag* is possibly also Gaelic; the folk etymology was that *fiodhag* is a sort of berry. Dwelly gives 'bird-cherry or hardberry', but neither is found on Tiree (Pearman and Preston 2000).

FIURA TIR C 2 NGR NL958393 ['fju· ,ra]

ON **á Fjǫru* 'at the foreshore' or ON **Fjǫruaver* 'fishing rock of the ebb tide'

An t-Eilean Fiura, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 3/1996 (oral source)

West Hynish | An offshore islet

An t-Eilean Fiura is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* 'island'. Its specific *Fiura* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *fjara* (genitive and dative singular *fjǫru*) 'ebbtide; foreshore, features visible at the ebb' (CV, 156; Jakobsen 1936, 40). The development ON -ǫ- > G [u·] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). The Norwegian farm-names *Fjæra* and *Fjæren* are derived from *fjara* (Rygh, vol. 7, 87, and vol. 13, 342), and the simplex *Fjara* occurs twice in Iceland (NLSI).

An alternative is the name ON *Fjǫruaver* 'fishing rock of the ebb tide' with the loss of the medial ON -v- (see section 17.4.2.2). *Fjærvær* is a name in Norway (NG).

FLADARABODHA TIR C 1 NGR NM086506 ['fla da ra ,bo:-a]

ON **Flat Urðarboði* 'the flat submerged rock off **Urðar*'

Fladara Bodha, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 9/1997 (oral source)

Caolas | A sea rock off the impressive raised cobble beaches at *Urvaig*, now extensively quarried

Fladara Bodha has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *boði* ‘submerged reef’. Its specific may be an obsolete existing Norse name for the headland at the northeastern point of Tiree: **Urðar* from ON *urð* (genitive singular and nominative plural *urðar*) ‘pile of stones at the shore’ (see *Urvaig*, Caolas). The Norse modifier appears to be ON *flatr* ‘flat, level’ (CV, 159). This derivation would certainly suit the topography, but Gaelic loan-names derived from three Norse words are often conjectural (see section 17.6).

Flat is a common modifier in the Faroe Islands, for example *Flatidrangur* (KO), and among Icelandic farm-names, as in the five examples of *Flatey* (SAM). There are examples of *Urðarboði* in the Faroe Islands (KO) and Iceland (NLSI).

FLÈID TIR C 1 NGR NL935425 [fle:ɪdʲ]

Flèid, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd; Brownlie 1995, 158
Am Flèid, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 11/1995
 (oral sources)

Fleit, Brownlie 1995, 158: ‘Flat Rock’

Port Flèid, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994 (oral source): + G *port* ‘inlet’

A’ Charraig Flèid, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 12/1995 (oral source): + G *carraig* ‘fishing rock’

Sandaig | A shore rock with fishing station. By the nineteenth century, an extensive area here was mapped by the Ordnance Survey as ‘Blown Sand & Bent’ (Argyllshire and Buteshire LXXVII.1 Tiree), but the topography is likely to have been different in the Early Medieval period.

Flèid has possibly developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *flotr* ‘plain’ (Jakobsen 1928, 181; CV, 163). The Shetland dialect reflex is *flet* (DSL).

There is an *Allaflod* and a *Talamh Flod* in Carlway (Cox 2002, 157 and 379); *Fletts* and an *Aikel of Flett* in Orkney (see Marwick 1952, 20), a *Flett* in Delting, Shetland (SP), and a *de Flets* in Dunrossness (Jakobsen 1936, 41); the Norwegian farm-names *Flete* and *Fletene* may be derived from *flotr* (Rygh, vol. 12, 61 and 322); *Fløttur(in)* is common as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Flötur* occurs very frequently in Iceland (NLSI).

FÒIRNIGIR* TIR R 1 NGR NL986986 ['fɔɪ:ɹ̥ nə ,geɹ̥]

Fornigair Hill, 1768 Turnbull Map

Cnoc Fhòirneigir, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 78, -): + G *cnoc* 'hillock'

Cnoc Fionigir, 1922 Mann, *PSAS*, 56, 119

Fornigearr, MacDougall 1937, 87

Croit Fhòirneigir, 1973 SSS card index, SA1973/135/B21: + G *croit* 'croft'

Croit Fhòirneagal, 1973 SSS card index, SA1973/135/B21

Tobar Fhoirneigir, Hector Campbell, Cornaigbeg, 10/1995 (oral source): + G *tobar* 'well'

Tobar Fhoirneagail, Hector Campbell, Cornaigbeg, 10/1995 (oral source)

Cornaigbeg | A striking conical hill with a large rock outcrop on its summit. Standing out on the generally flat Tiree skyline, it was an important fishing mark. There are prehistoric cup markings on its summit. In 1768, Turnbull described the area around the hill as outfield with a 'very bare soil' (Field no. 166: Turnbull Report). There is a large extent of cord rig and some small turf enclosures to the west, although this area is now heather-covered. There are also the footings of two rectangular structures on the hill of uncertain age.

Fòirneigir has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *gerði* neuter 'field'. There appears to be generic variation (see *Mannel*) with one name-form appearing to be in ON *kúla* fem. 'knob-like hill' (CV, 360). The specific is opaque, but may be ON *forn* 'old' (CV, 165): ON **Forntgerði* '(the) old (uncultivated) field', and **Fornakulu* '(the) uncultivated hill'. The Faroese word *forni* means 'land which has lain uncultivated for a long time' (Young and Clewer 1985, 141), and this may be the sense here. There has been vowel affection of the medial consonant group *-rn-* in the name-form derived from **Forntgerði* (see section 17.4.2). However, it has also occurred in **Fornakulu* where it would not be expected (see *Groideagal*). The Norwegian farm-name *Fornebu* has been derived from *forn* 'old' (Rygh, vol. 2, 134), while *forn-* is a very common specific in Iceland, with one example of *Fornagerði* (NLSI).

GASAMULL TIR C 1 NGR NL982388 ['ga sa ,mʌL]

ON **Gásamúla* 'promontory of the geese'

Gasamull, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 248, 'applies to a small island situated at the S.W. point of Rudha Dubh, meaning Archibald's Rock no meaning got')

Gasamul, John MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.145, track ID 103417

Gasamul, William Lamont, Mannaal, 9/1995 (oral source)

Caiseamul, Brownlie 1995, 90: The referent of Brownlie's name-form is at variance with the other evidence: 'West of Hynish farmhouse is the sheltered glade of Caiseamul. Some locals and incomers refer to it as 'Happy Valley'.

East Hynish | A small promontory (see 1878 Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXXVIII.15 Tiree)

Gasamull has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *múli* 'promontory'. Phonologically, the specific is more likely to be ON *gassi* (genitive *gassa*) 'gander ... metaph[orically] noisy fellow' (CV, 192) rather than ON *gás* (genitive plural *gása*) 'goose' (CV, 193).

Names derived from ON *gás* are very common, for example the Norwegian farm-name *Gaasholm* (Rygh, vol. 13, 186); *Gaaserud* may derive from the male ON personal name *Gassi* (Rygh, vol. 5, 217); while there is a *Gassasker* in Iceland (NLSI).

NA GILEAN TIR C 1 NGR NL936413 ['gi·,lən']

G 'the gullies'

Na Gilean, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 212, Meaning 'The Jaws'): + G *cibhlean* 'jaws' (Dwelly)

Tràigh nan Gilean, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 207, Sig. 'Beach of the White Stones Jaws'): + G *tràigh* 'beach'

Carraig na' Gillean, common local usage, and Brownlie 1995, 78: 'The Rock of the Lads, so named in memory of three young fishermen who were swept away and drowned when a huge wave from the shallows of the headland engulfed them': + G *carraig* 'fishing rock'

Na Gilean, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source)

Tràigh nan Gilean, Brownlie 1995, 156: 'The Beach of the Clefts'

Trài' na' Gilean, common current local usage

Middleton | A heavily indented length of the northeastern coastline of Kenavara

Na Gilean is a name in G *gil* (plural *gilean*) 'gully', a loan word from ON *gil* 'coastal gully' (Cox 2002, 110). The dependent name *Trài' na' Gilean* denotes the beach

to the north of this. The tradition associated with the name G *Carraig na' Gillean* 'fishing rock of the boys' with G *gille* 'boy' is likely to be folk etymology, with the name having been lexically adapted from G *Carraig na' Gilean* 'fishing rock of the gullies'.

GIOR* TIR C 1 NGR NL983486 [ə ʲi:ɾ]

ON **Gjǫgrar* 'clefts'

Poll a' Ghior, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 38, 'pool of the loud voice')

Poll a' Dhiùr, Archibald MacKinnon, Cornaigmore, 8/1994; William MacPhail, Clachan, 6/1995 (oral sources)

Poll an Dhiùr, Iain MacDonald, Ruaig, 2/2016 (oral source)

Cornaigmore | A coastal pool

Poll a' Ghior is a Gaelic construction in G *poll* 'pool'. Its specific **Gior* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *gjǫgr* (plural *gjǫgrar*) 'cleft, rift ... rare, but still existing as the local name of a fishing place in northwest Iceland' (CV, 202). The development ON -ǫ- > G [u-] and the loss of a medial ON -g- is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). The referent is likely to have been the nearby deep gully between the shore and a fishing station on G *Eilean Uilleim* 'William's island' with its house footings (see 1878 Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXIV.7 Tiree).

There is a *Giùr-bheinn* on Islay, which Macniven suggests may derive from *gjǫgr* (Macniven 2015, 275); there is a *Gjǫgri* in Norway (NG); *Gjøra* in Norway comes from *gjǫgr* 'cleft' (NS); *Gjögur* occurs several times as a simplex farm-name in Iceland (SAM); while *Gjǫgrar* is a coastal settlement near *Patreksfjörður* in northwestern Iceland.

GLAS EILEAN TIR C 1 NGR NL995476 ['glɑːʃ ,l'ən] and ['glɑːʃ ,l'ɪn]

Glas Eilean, 1878 OS (~~*Glais Eilean*~~, JGC, OSNB, 42, 'grey island')

An Glas Eilean and *Glaislean Mòr*, Archibald MacKinnon, Cornaigmore, 8/1994 (oral source)

Glaislein Mòr and *Glaislein Beag*, William MacPhail, Clachan, 6/1995 (oral source)

Cornaigmore | A lichen-covered sea rock just north of *Eilean Uilleim* (see 1878 Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXIV.7; and see *Tòrasa*)

Convergence makes any derivation more speculative (see *Glas Eilean* below and section 17.5). However, two informants gave the name-form *Glaislin*, and this suggests that this name has developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *hlíðin* ‘the slope’ in a contrasting pair with the nearby *Greòdhlainn* (see Gazetteer). The specific is opaque and we should leave this part of the name open at the moment.

GLAS EILEAN TIR C 1 NGR NL986482

G *Glas Eilean* ‘green-grey island’

Glas Eilean Mòr and *Glas Eilean Beag*, 1878 OS (~~*Glais Eilean Mòr*~~, JGC, OSNB, 46, ‘an elevated, rocky island ... it is on the foreshore and accessible at low water. Meaning “Big Grey Island”.’)

An Glaislein Mòr and *Glaislean Beag*, Hector Campbell, Cornaigbeg, 11/1994 (oral source): described by the informant as ‘two rocks way out on the point near White House’

Cornaigbeg | A pair of lichen-covered sea rocks on the northeastern coast of *An Àird Mòr*

Glas Eilean is probably a Gaelic close compound adjective-noun name in G *eilean* ‘island’ (see section 11.2.1). G *glas* has the meaning ‘grey, pale, green as grass’ (Dwelly; see Black 2008, 326). A grassy hillock on the Barrapol *machair*, said to be a fairy knoll, is called *An Cnoc Glas* because of its fresh, green colour. However, this shoreline rock gets its colour from lichen.

Glas Eilean is a very common name in Argyll, as in Ardchattan: ‘a rocky islet ... signification “Gray island”’ (OS1/2/1/3), and other *glas*- initial names abound; there are five examples of *An Glas Allt* in Carloway alone (Cox 220, 299).

GOIBHNEIG TIR C 1 NGR NL983388 [ˈgʷi̯ːˌneikʲ]

ON **Gönguvík* ‘inlet of the passage’

Goibhneig, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 250, ‘applies to a channel between Eilean Mòr and Rudha Dubh’, -)

Goinneag, Cameron 1932, 148

Goinneag, John MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.145, track ID 103417

Goinneag an Iar and *Goinneag an Ear*, William Lamont, Mannaal, 9/1995; Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 12/1994; Alec Hector MacDonald, Hynish, 10/2020 (oral sources): + G *iar* ‘west’ + G *ear* ‘east’

East Hynish | A sea channel between G *Bogha Mòr* ‘large submerged rock’ on the one hand, and G *Eilean Mòr* ‘large island’ and *Gasamull* on the other (see 1878 Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXXVII.15)

Goi bhneig has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. Its specific may be ON *gong* ‘corridor, passage’ (CV, 223) used in a topographic sense. The developments ON *-ǫ-* > G [ǿ], ON *-ng-* > G *-n-* and the loss of a medial ON *-v-* are all regular (see section 17.4.2). The fact that this inlet, known today as G *An Doras Mòr* ‘the big opening’ (Dwelly), is still used to moor fishing boats in good weather supports this interpretation.

There is no exact cognate, but *gong* is a common specific in Iceland, as in the multiple examples of *Gönguskarð* (NLSI). See *Gon*.

GOIRTEAN

The Gaelic enclosure name *goirtean* ‘small patch of arable land; little field’ (Dwelly) is derived from the diminutive form *gortín* (Fraser 1984, 37) of OG *gort* ‘a field of arable or pasture land’ (eDIL). This is reflected in the local dialect form *goirtein* (Alasdair Whyte, pers. comm.). In one example on Tiree – *Gorten* 1841 (see below) – it briefly became a farm township name.

Goirtean appears to have been a common generic on Tiree with twelve surviving examples, although the Ordnance Survey recorded only one of these. Many contain modifiers – for example G *An Goirtean Mòr* ‘the big field’ on the march between Caolas and Ruaig – implying other lost examples nearby; there are three *goirtean*-names in Caolas alone. *Goirtean* is a common generic in Scotland with fifty-seven examples on SP, forty-seven of which are in Argyll. There is just one example in Carlouay, *Loch nan Gortan* (Cox 2002, 332); in Lewis, G *geàrraidh* ‘enclosure’ (a loan word from ON *gerði*) largely takes its place.

Its use is likely to have become widespread after the shift from Norn to Gaelic. An enclosure denoted *Na Goirteana Tràgh’d* in 1878 (Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXV.1 Tiree) is over-ridden by the Improvement

dyke dividing Vaul and Balephetrish. And the Improvement dyke erected in 1786 between Caolas and Ruaig over-rides G *An Goirtean Mòr* ‘the large field’ (Cregeen 1964, 8), proving that this enclosure is older than the dyke.

The only example whose boundaries can reasonably be inferred is *An Goirtean Mòr* in Caolas, later divided into four large holdings. The exact location of many of the other *goirtean* names has been lost:

1. ***Goirtean Pheadrais***, Donald Kennedy, Caolas, 2/1994; Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/1996 (oral sources)
Unknown exact location in Ardeas, Caolas | ‘the field of Peter’
2. ***Goirtean nan Tobhta***, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 10/1996 and 3/2010 (oral source)
Unknown exact location in Caolas | ‘the field of the ruins’
3. ***Goirtean MhicEachern***: ‘I’m thinking it’s over in Caolas’ (Hector Kennedy talking to Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1974.142, track ID 74118).
‘Alexander Son of John McEachern and Janet Campbell in Gortenviceachin. Baptised the 13th December 1801’ (Old Parish Register Births 551/1 10 213 Tyree)
Unknown location, possibly in Caolas | ‘the field of Henderson’
4. ***An Goirtean Mòr***, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 10/1996 (oral source).
Caolas and Ruaig | ‘the large field’

An Goirtean Mòr was later subdivided into:

- G *Goirtean Mòr aig Eòghann Lachainn mhic Eòghainn ‘ic Iain Bhàin*, ‘the large field of Hugh the son of Lachlan the son of Hugh the son of Fair Iain’, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 6/ 1995 and 10/1996 (oral source)
- G *Goirtean Mòr aig Iain a’ Ruaidh*, ‘the large field of Iain of the *Ruaidh* family’, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 10/1996 (oral source)
- G *Goirtean Mòr aig Iain Chlèirich*, ‘the large field of Iain Clark’, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 6/1995 (oral source)
- G *Pàirc a’ Ghoirtein Mhòir*, ‘the park of the large field’ Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 10/1996 (oral source)

Additionally, the Ruaig/Caolas name G *Mullach nan Goirtean*, ‘the summit of the fields’, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 (oral source), implies that there was more than one *goirtean* on the ridge between Caolas and Ruaig.

5. **An Goirtean Mòr**, Elsie MacKinnon, Kirkapol, 8/1994 (oral source)
Unknown exact location in Kirkapol | ‘the large field’
6. **Na Goirteana Tràgh’d** 1878 OS
Mapped by the Ordnance Survey on the northern shore of Balephetrish, near the Vaul boundary | ‘the fields (plural) of the beach’. The form *goirteana* is archaic (see section 11.2.1).
7. **An Goirtean Bàn**, Donald MacIntyre, Gott, 12/1995; Donald MacCallum, Scarinish, 11/1993 (oral sources)
An enclosure on the slopes of *Beinn Ghot*, Scarinish | ‘the sandy field’
8. **Cruairtein**
Heylipol | See Gazetteer
9. **Goirtean a’ Chromaich**, Donald Sinclair, West Hynish, talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1970.100, track ID 67379
Heylipol | ‘field of the person bent over from old age’ (Dwelly)
10. **Gortenachonstrie**, 1812 Tiree Kirk Session Minutes (Henderson 2016, 50 and 60)
Unknown township, but from the context of the source material it may be near Kenovay
The specific may be *G comh-stri* ‘strife’. This implies a contested area, possibly at a boundary: examples are the Oronsay skerry *Sgeir na Comh-stri* and *Eilean na Comh-Stri* in North Uist (SP).
11. **Goirtein Dòmhnail**, *Gortendoal*, 1768 Turnbull Map; *Gortandonuil*, 1779 Estate Census; *Gortendonald*, Black 2008, 260: *Goirtein-Domhnuill*, Cameron 1932, 191; *Goirtein Dòmhnail*, Hector Campbell, Cornaigbeg (oral source); *Goirtein Dhòmhnail*, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol (oral source); *G Fang Ghoirtein Dòmhnail*, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 2/1997 and Donald MacKinnon, Sandaig, 2/1995 (oral sources); *G Sliabh Ghoirtein Dhòmhnail*, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 3/1994 and Archibald Kennedy, Crossapol, 1/1995 (oral sources). The name is still in fairly common local usage.
Barrapol | ‘the field of Donald’. This settlement was in modern-day Barrapol. *Gortendoal* was mapped as a cluster of houses on the 1768 Turnbull Map. *Gortandonuil* was used as an alias for the whole township of Barrapol in 1785 (Cregeen 1964, 6), and this is generally how the name is understood today.
The folk etymology is that this name dates from the time of the Lord of the Isles (1314–1494): ‘It got its Gaelic name ... because it was here that the MacDonald chamberlain resided when the Lord of the Isles held sway on Tiree’ (Brownlie 1995, 70). Modern Gaelic lenites the personal

name ‘Donald’ when used as a specific: *Goirtein Dhòmhnail* ‘the field of Donald’. The unlenited form *Goirtein Dòmhnail* is older (see Cox 2002, 117).

12. **Gorten** 1841 Census, Households 795 to 802

Between Kenovay and *The Reef* and containing eight households | ‘the field’

This simplex name (see section 8.1) is likely to have been coined soon after the shift from Norn to Gaelic.

GON* TIR W 2 NGR NL425940 [ə ɣɔ̃ɪnʰ]

Tobar a’ Ghoin, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994 (oral source):

Sruth a’ Ghoin, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994 (oral source): + G *sruth* ‘stream’

Tobar a’ Choin, Hugh MacLean, Barrrapol, 12/1996; William MacLean, Balinoe, 2/1996 (oral sources: the informants were brothers)

Middleton | A spring. Today, the small stream that issues from it disappears into the *machair* plain before reaching the shore. This area was recorded as ‘Blown Sand and Bent’ in 1878 (Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXXVIII.1) and the medieval land surface is presumably buried.

Tobar a’ Ghoin is a Gaelic construction in G *tobar* ‘well’. Its specific may be either G *gon* (genitive case *ghoin*) masc. ‘wound; charm’ (Dwelly) or G *cù* (genitive singular *coin*) ‘dog’. It is unlikely that G *choin* (a common word) would be lexically adapted to *ghoin* (which is much less common), which suggests that the latter is the older name-form. *Loch Goin* in Eaglesham, Renfrew, may be the only name in *gon* in Scotland (SP), but names in *coin* are extremely common: for example, *Eas a’ choin* in Archattan, Argyll (SP).

Alternatively, **Gon* has possibly developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *gong* ‘corridor, passage’ (CV, 223; ‘gangway’ is a reflex), used here in a topographic sense (see *Goibhneig*). The developments ON -*g*- > G [ɣɔ̃ɪ] and ON -*ng*- > G -*n*- are both regular (see section 17.4.2). Although sand blow has smothered the land here, the coastline is heavily indented and one of the inlets – for example, *Port Bharabol* where a boat draw survives – could be described as a passage. See *Ciarraig, Cròdhbrig* for landing names on the shoreline here.

There is an *Eilean na Gonna* in South Uist; *The Gun* occurs in Sandwick, a *Gun Geo* in Nesting and a *Gon Firth* in Delting, Shetland (SP); in Norway, there are three examples of *Gonga* and *Gonge* (NG); while there are two examples of *Göngur* in Iceland (NLSI).

GORRAIG TIR D 1 NGR NL987413 ['gɔ ,reɪk']

ON **Garðavík* 'inlet of the farms'

Gorraig, Neil MacDonald, Balevullin, 1/1994; Eilidh and Murdoch Cameron, Balevullin, 3/1994; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 3/1994; and John Fletcher, Balemartine, 7/2014 (oral sources)

Dùn Ghorraig, Mairi Campbell, Corrairigh, Cornaigbeg, 3/1994 and Neil MacDonald, Balevullin, 5/1995 (oral sources): + G *dùn* 'fort or pile'

Cnoc Ghorraig, Neil MacDonald, Balevullin, 5/1995 and Alasdair MacArthur, Balemartine, 1/2007 (oral sources): + G *cnoc* 'hillock'

Bacanan Mòra Ghorraig, Mairi Campbell, Corrairigh, Cornaigbeg, 3/1994 and 9/2009 (oral source): + G *bacanan mòra* 'large sand dunes'

Sreath Ghorraig, Neil MacDonald, Balevullin, 1/1994; Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/2009 (oral sources): + G *sreath* 'row'. This line of houses is now known as 'Shore Street'.

Balemartine | That part of Balemartine around the westerly end of today's Shore Street. *Dùn Ghorraig* referred to that part of the shore where the township's rubbish was dumped; *Na Gorrageaich* was used as an insulting nickname for people from Balemartine in the early twentieth century (Jessie MacKinnon, pers. comm.; see *An Lèig*, Balemartine). There is a possible rectangular settlement mound at NL986412 that may be relevant.

Folk etymology of the name *Gorraig* suggested that 'it looked like Gourock from the sea' (Sandy MacKinnon, pers. comm.). Instead, *Gorraig* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'. Its specific may be ON *garðr* (genitive plural *garða*) 'yard, farm' (CV, 191). The developments ON *-a-* > G [ɔ], and the losses of ON *-ð-* and *-v-*, are all regular (see 17.4.2.1). The referent may have been the inlet at the nineteenth-century Balemartine pier.

Gardvik(a) is an extremely common name in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Garvik* is derived from *Garðvik* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 7, 324); while *Garðavík* occurs once in Iceland (NLSI).

AN GOT TIR C 1 NGR NM096484 [ˌən ˈɡɔʰt]

An Got, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/1996 (oral source)

Caolas | A channel between some rocks and the shore

This may be a Norse loan-name in ON *gat* ‘hole’ (CV, 192).

GOTT TIR S 1 NGR NM037462 [ɡɔʰt]

ON **á Gǫtu* ‘at track’

God, 1541 ER 17, 648: 2 merklands (Johnston 1991, 84)

God, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol

Gott, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 291: 1 merk-land, £26 13s 4d

Gort, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives

Ged, 1695 Retours ARG vol. 1, 93

Geatt, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73

Gott, 1768 Turnbull Map

Gott, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 63: 12 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 84)

Gott, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 127, -)

Got, Ailean Boyd (pers. comm.), who notes strong pre-aspiration before the terminal *-t*; and common current local usage in Gaelic

Beinn Ghot, common current local usage

Loch Ghot, less common current local usage among older informants. Much more common today is *Gott Bay* (1878 OS) and *Gott Bay Pier* (common current local usage). Earlier maps mark this bay as *Loch Kirkabul* (1818 Huddart, J., NLS EMW.x.108) and *Kirkapoll Bay* (1768 Turnbull Map)

Gott | Modern township name

Gott has probably developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *gata* (dative *gǫtu*) ‘a thoroughfare, way, path or road’ (CV, 192), or a ‘track for cattle, droveway’ (Sandnes 2010a, 192). The developments ON *-a-* and *-ǫ-* > G [ɔ] are both regular (see section 17.4.2.1).

The referent may have been a recently discovered six-metre-wide turf dyke stretching for one kilometre northwest across the *sliabh* between the present dump and *An Fhaodhail*. This feature corresponds to no known modern boundary,

but possibly follows an inferred march between the medieval parishes of Soroby and Kirkapol (see 1509 crown rental). Only two visible sections remain, the rest probably the victim of turf extraction in the eighteenth century. The 1768 Turnbull Report stated of this area: ‘The cause of Druimdeargh Common being so bare and rocks so much exposed to the view is owing to the inhabitants cutting turf upon them annually, and the soil, not being half a foot deep in many parts, is totally destroyed. Cutting turf is very prejudicial to these common pastures, and if continued will in time make the whole of this unfit for pasture and of no value.’ This was driven by fuel poverty (see section 5.6.6).

There is a *Beinn Ghòt* and a *Gro Ghot* in Uist (OS1/18/11/180 and 183); there are three examples of *Gott* or *Goat* in Shetland (see Fellows-Jensen 2010, 110–121); names in ‘*gata*, **i gøtu* [the dative case], are common in Norway as farm-names’ (Jakobsen 1936, 45; see, for example, *Gutu* in Rygh, vol. 6, 37); and *Gata* and *Götur* are common in Iceland (NLSI). It is possible, therefore, that this name does not refer to a local feature at all but was brought to Tiree as a commemorative name.

AN GRÀ’ DAR TIR C 1 NGR NM009489 [ˈgrɑː-a ˌdɑː]

ON **Gráodda* ‘malicious points of rock’

An Grà’ dar, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 17, ‘meaning “The Ugly Man”’): *G grànnda* ‘ugly’ *The Gràdor*, Black 2008, 76: ‘a low water rock, over which the sea breaks with terrible violence in stormy weather’

Gràthadar, Iain MacKinnon, Hillcrest, 6/2015 (oral source)

Balephetrish | A small rock beyond *G Na Sgeirean Mòra* ‘the large skerries’, likely to be the ‘reef’ after which *Rif* was named (see *The Reef*). The Finnish vessel *Malve* was lost here in 1931 (Moir and Crawford 1994, 178).

An Grà’ dar has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *oddr* (plural *oddar*) ‘point of land, point of weapon’ (CV, 462; Cox 2002, 346), ‘a sharp point’ (Jakobsen 1897, 95). Its specific may be ON *grár* ‘grey ... metaphorically spiteful’ (CV, 212). This was a navigational danger name (see *Greasamull*, Greenhill).

There is a *Graada Stacks* in Walls, Shetland (SP). Reflexes of *grár* are extremely common throughout the Norse expansion zone: as in the Norwegian farm-name *Graaberget* (Rygh, vol. 3, 326), *Gráasker* in the Faroe Islands (KO), and many examples of *Grásteinn* in Iceland (NLSI). *Oddr* occurs less commonly as a generic,

for example the Norwegian farm-name *Fugleodden* (Rygh, vol. 10, 81), and the Faroese settlement name *Sandsoddi* (KO).

GREASAMULL* TIR C 1 NGR NL932443 [ˈgre sə ˌmʌl]

ON **Grísamúla* ‘dangerous promontory’

Eilean Ghreasamuill, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 8, -): + G *eilean* ‘island’

Greasamul, Brownlie 1995, 159

Greasamul, common current local usage

Port Ghreasamuil, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 10/ 1993 and 4/1994 (oral source):
+ G *port* ‘inlet’

Tràigh Ghreasamuil, Brownlie 1995, 159

Greenhill | A long, narrow islet south of Craignish, connected to the northern end of the beach of Greenhill at very low tide. There are a number of threatening skerries at its tip, but there is also a small inlet immediately to the south known as *Port Ghreasamuil*, alias *Port Wylie*, after the name of a puffer captain who beached here as the closest suitable beach to the Glassary factory in Middleton (see *Lionar Sgeire*).

Greasamul, Greenhill, has developed from a Norse loan-name. It is hard to know whether ON *múli* or *hólmr* is the more appropriate generic (see *Greasamull*, Salum, below). The specific may be ON *gríss* (genitive plural *grísa*). The literal meaning of *gríss* is ‘pig’ (CV, 216), but applied to coastal rocks it is often used as a navigational danger name (Smith 2019, 5): ‘Norwegian island names containing words for pigs, dogs, oxen etc., are often thought to signal dangerous water or passage with submerged reefs and strong currents’ (Gammeltoft 2005, 124). Similarly, the Faroese cognate *grísa* means ‘(of the sea) be (slightly) disturbed or rough ... the sea is said to “grísa” when the choppy surface has white crests around a point of land washed by the current or tide’ (Young and Clewer 1985, 196). The development ON *-í* > G *-e-* is not regular, but may have been influenced by vowel affection (see section 17.4.2.1). Other possible navigational danger names are *Brimminis*, *Eala*, *An Grà’ dar*, *Greasamull* in Caolas, *Griseag*, *Mollachdag*, *Òisgean* and *Sùghachan*.

There are three examples of *Grísanes* in Iceland (NLSI).

GREASAMULL* TIR C 1 NGR NM087496 [ˈgre sə ˌmʌl]

ON **Grísamúla* ‘dangerous promontory’

Greasamul, Meek 2019, 30

Eilean Ghreasamuill, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 8)

Eilean Ghreasamuil, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source)

Caolas | An islet off the east coast of G An Àird-a-Tuath ‘the northern promontory’, Caolas. Described in the poem *Greasamul* as ‘green-maned’ and ‘joined to Tیره by tidal causeway’ (Meek 2019, 30).

Eilean Ghreasamuill, Caolas, is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* ‘island’. The specific **Greasamull* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name. From the referent today, this seems to have been in ON *hólmr* ‘islet’ after metathesis, but it could also have been in ON *múli* ‘promontory’ and refer to the northeastern tip of Caolas. Convergence makes the derivation of the specific more speculative (see *Greasamull*, Salum, below and section 17.5), but this is likely to have been another navigational danger name (see *Greasamull*, Greenhill).

GREASAMULL TIR C 1 NGR NM066494 [ˈgre sə ˌmʌl]

Greasamull, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 87, -)

Greasamul Beag, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source): + G *beag* ‘small’

Salum | A small tidal islet

Greasamull, Salum, has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *múli* ‘promontory’. Convergence with *Greasamull*, Caolas, makes any derivation speculative (see *Greasamull* above and section 17.5). But its specific may be a male ON personal name such as *Grettir*, which occurs several times in *Landnámabók* (1900, 342).

There is no exact cognate, but *Grettir* is the derivation for both examples of *Græsvik* amongst Norwegian farm-names (Rygh, vol. 1, 315, and vol. 16, 278); this is also a common specific in Iceland, for example *Grettissker* (NLSI).

GREATHARUM TIR C 1 NGR NL920457 [ˈgre-ə ˌrʌm]

Greatharum, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 9, ‘applies to a group of rocky islands situated on the west side of “Rudha Craiginish” and close to the mainland’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | A rock at the tip of the Craiginish headland

Greatharum has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hamarr* ‘hammer ... metaphorically, a hammer-shaped crag, a crag standing out like an anvil’. The specific may be ON *greiðr* adj. ‘passable’ (ONP; CV, 213): *Greiðhamar*. ON *greiðr* may be found in the Norwegian farm-names *Greaaker* (Rygh, vol. 1, 113) and *Grehammer* (Rygh, vol. 4, 310). For *hamarr*, see *Boghasum* and *Odarum*.

GREIN TIR R 1 NGR NL955465 [ˈgrɛiː ˌnə]

Garradh Grein, MacDougall 1937, 95: ‘there is one interesting place name on the Balevullin side of *Beinn Hògh – Garradh-Grein*’

Gàrradh Grèine, Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, 9/1994 (oral source)

Balevullin | An area on the eastern side of the *Beinn Hògh* ridge, which runs approximately north-south

Gàrradh Grèine is a Gaelic construction in G *gàrradh* ‘dyke’. The specific **Grein* may be G *grian* (genitive *grèine*) ‘sun’. For a farmer, an important feature of an area of land is its aspect: the direction the ground faces. This determines how much sun it gets. In mountainous Norway, south-facing fields are more productive than those that are more often shaded. A system known as *solskifte* developed, where sunnier ground was valued more highly; this became formally codified in fourteenth-century Scandinavia (Göransson 1961). This concern with aspect is reflected among Icelandic farm-names, where names in ON *sól* are common: for example, *Sólgarður* ‘the sunny farm’ (SAM). Gaelic names that include the element *grian* in the form *X na Grèine* ‘X-of the sun’ are also common in Scotland: for example, *Cnoc na Grèine* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 235). Shade, however, was rarely a problem on Tìree, the ‘flattest country perhaps in Scotland’ (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tìry 1794, 393).

Alternatively, the lack of a Gaelic definite article suggests that the specific has developed from an existing Norse loan-name. If so, the reconstruction is not clear and this name should be left open at the moment.

There is a *Beul Gréin* and a *Grean* on Barra (Stahl 1999, 147 and 217); a *Grain* on Rousay (OS1/23/16/24); and a *Grèinir* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 303).

GRÈINEMHEALL TIR R 1 NGR NM023468 [ˈgr̥eĩːnəˌvaɫ]

ON **Grenjaðarvǫl* ‘field of *Grenjaðr*’ or ON **Grenjaðarhvál* ‘domed hill of *Grenjaðr*’

Grèinemheall, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 82, ‘significance ~~Decayed~~ Hill’)

Grèinemheall Beag, 1878 OS: + G *beag* ‘small’

Grèineabhal Mòr and *Grèineabhal Beag*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1997 (oral source)

Cachaileith Ghrèineabhail, Donald Kennedy, Scarinish, 1/1994 (oral source): + G *cachaileith* ‘gate’

Todhar Ghrèineabhail, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1997 (oral source): + G *todhar* ‘field manured by folding cattle upon it’ (Dwelly)

Gott | A pair of heather-covered hillocks, between five and ten metres high, on the *sliabh* at the modern boundary between Gott and Balephetrish townships. On the southern side there are the footings and yard of a small house, which was roofed in 1878 (Ordnance Survey 25 inch first edition Argyllshire and Buteshire LXV.5).

Grèinemheall has probably developed from a Norse loan-name. This may have been in ON *vǫllr* ‘field’. There are numerous irregular enclosures nearby, and lidar images show that some of these were rigged. The name *Todhar Ghrèineabhail* suggests that at least one of these was used as a tathfold (see section 10.2.1). Alternatively, *Grèinemheall* may be been a name in ON *hváll* ‘dome-shaped hill’ (see section 17.1), although somewhat smaller than the other Tìree examples (see *Ciofal*, *Earnal* and *Grianal*). The specific may be the male ON personal name *Grenjaðr*, which is found twice in *Landnámabók* (1900, 342). The development ON *-e-* > G *-ei-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). The name has been loaned into Gaelic with the modifiers G *mòr* ‘large’ and G *beag* ‘small’.

There are two examples of *Grèineabhal* in Lewis, in Lochs and Carloway (Cox 2002, 303); *Grenjaðr* is found as a specific in the Icelandic settlement name *Grenjaðarstaðr* (*Landnámabók* 1900, 294), and is very common among modern Icelandic names, for example *Grenjaðarhjalli* (NLSI).

GREÒDHLAINN TIR R 1 NGR NL986473 ['grjø ,lɪŋ']

Eilean Greòdhlainn, Hector Campbell, Cornaigbeg, 3/1994 (oral source)

Cornaigbeg | A raised green 'island' in the centre of G *An Lèanag Mòr* 'the large meadow or swampy plain' (Dwelly), which is, in fact, an area of worked-out peat diggings (Feature no. 162, Turnbull Map 1768). To the east is an extensive series of outcrops known today as G *Na Creagan Breaca* 'the dappled rocks'.

Eilean Greòdhlainn is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* 'island'. Its specific *Greòdhlainn* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name. Names such as *Gruline* are not uncommon in the Hebrides, variants occurring in Torosay on Mull, Islay and Eigg, and as *Greaulin* on the western side of Trotternish, Skye (Blaeu 1662).

Whyte has examined the Mull name *Gruline* in detail. One possible derivation is that some of these are names in ON *þing* 'assembly place' (Whyte 2014, 104). The specific may be ON *grjót* 'rough stones, rubble, shingle on beach' (CV, 216; see *Groideagal*): ON **Grjótþing* 'stony assembly place'. The Tìree *Greòdhlainn*, however, feels an unlikely 'thing' site' (see section 8.4). Another possibility for the Mull *Gruline* is ON **Grjýting* 'stony place', using *grjýt*, a side form of *grjót*, and the Norse locational suffix *-ing* (Whyte 2017, 244).

Instead, the Tìree *Greòdhlainn* is more likely to be a name in ON *hlíðin* 'the slopes', with the post-positioned definite article (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.; see section 13.5): **Grjóthlíðin* 'the stony slope'.

Lien is one of the commonest place-names in Norway; there is one example of *Grøliin* (NG), while *Grøtlien* occurs twice as a Norwegian farm-name (see Rygh, vol. 3, 388); *Grjóthlíð* is a name in Iceland (NLSI).

GREUSGAIN* TIR C 1 NGR NM075496 ['gri:-əʃ ,g'eɪn'] and ['kri:f ,d'eɪn']

Eilean Ghreusgain, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 4, 'applies to an island situated about 1/4 mile NNW of Meadair)

Lòn Ghreusgain, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 4, 'applies to a bay dry at low water a short distance west of Meadair): + G *lòn* 'pool'

Eilean Chrisdein, William MacIntosh, Caolas, 2/1994; Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral sources)

Lòn Ghreasgainn, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source)

Caolas | A tidal pool and offshore rock

Eilean Ghreusgain is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* ‘island’. Two modern informants appear to have lexically adapted the specific as G *Crìsdean* ‘Christopher’. *Allt Chrisgein* in Carloway may contain a Gaelic personal name (Cox 2002, 161). Alternatively, its specific **Greusgain* may have developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *kvern* ‘mill’ (CV, 363); there is certainly a tradition that there was a mill here (see *Àras* and *Suacan*). In view of the considerable uncertainty in name-forms, however, it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

GRIANAIG* # TIR C 2 NGR NL938442

Grinock, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol
No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Greenhill

There is only one early documentary attestation, which may be a mis-transcription of *Grianal*. If this historical form is valid, however, this has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The specific may be ON *grænn* ‘green’: ON **Grænavík* ‘green inlet’. The developments ON -æ- > G [i-a] and the loss of a medial ON -v- are both regular (see section 17.4.2). The referent may have been *Tràigh Ghrianal*.

There is a *Grianaig* in Argyll (OS1/2/53/189); *Grønvik(a)* is a common name in Norway (NG); while there are two examples of *Grænavík* in Iceland (NLSI).

GRIANAL TIR S 1 NGR NL944442 [ˈgri-a ,naL]

ON **Grænnvǫll* ‘green field’

Grennall, 1638 RMS ix, 828

Grianaill, 1674, MacPhail 1914, 289: 1.5 merk-land, £16 13s 4d, victual 23 stone, malt 2 bolls 8 pecks, and the casualties of 2 mail-land

Griyenll, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives

Grianaill, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73

Grianal, 1768 Turnbull Map

Griana, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 35: 24 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 97)

Griana, 1794 Tiree Rental, Cregeen 1964, 35–9

Tràigh Ghrianal, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 86, meaning ‘Sunny Beach’): + G *tràigh* ‘beach’

Greenhill House, 1878 OS

Grianal and *Greenhill*, common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Greenhill | Modern township name

Given the lack of a nearby hill, and the fact that it has survived as a settlement name, *Grianal*, now Greenhill, has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vǫllr* ‘field’. The specific may again be ON *grænn* ‘green’ (see above). See *Grianaig*. The loss of a medial ON -v- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

Grainel on Islay has been derived as *Grænnvǫll* (Macniven 2015, 324). *Grønvoll(d)* is a very common name in Norway (NG).

GRIANAL TIR R 2 NGR NL964404 [ˈgʰri--ɑ̃ ,nɑɪˈlʲ]

ON **Grænnhvál* ‘green domed hill’

Cnoc Grianal, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 224, ‘a hill on the north west side of Ben Hynish and northeast of Cnoc na Crithe. Sig.: ‘Sunny Hill’)

Cnoc Ghrianal, Gregorson Campbell: ‘A herdsman at Balephuill, in the west end of Tiree, fell asleep on *Cnoc Ghrianal*, at the eastern [should be the western] base of Heynish Hill’ (Black 2008, 56)

Cnoc Ghrianaill, Brownlie 1995, 82

Cnoc Ghrianaill, Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, 2/1994; Morag MacLeod, Balephuill 9/1994; Donald Archie Brown, Balephuill, 12/2012; Seonaid Brown, Balephuill, 5/2020 (oral sources)

Balephuill | The Ordnance Survey named the prominent, rounded hill on the western flank of *Beinn Haoidhnis* as G *Cnoc na Crithe* (translated as ‘Shaking Hill’: OS1/2/28/224). The name *Cnoc Grianal* is mapped by the Ordnance Survey to a lower rocky elevation 250 m to the northwest and above G *Stalla Dhòmhnail Iain Dhonnchaidh* ‘the cliff of Donald the son of Ian the son of Duncan [Campbell]’.

However, the Ordnance Survey may have swapped the names of the two hillocks (see *Cnoc na Crithe*), as modern informants are quite clear that the name *Cnoc Ghrianaill* applies to the larger green domed hill. This may have been a simple error. But it is notable that the Ordnance Survey team included a relief minister from Islay and twenty-four-year-old Duncan MacQuarrie, whose father had cleared the

land that is now West Hynish to enlarge the Hynish Farm sheep run around 1862. He possibly had a motive to displace place-names at the boundary between Hynish and Balephuill. The footings of a structure and a turf-walled, grassy enclosure can be seen on the sheltered eastern slopes of *Cnoc Ghrianail* today (see section 10.8).

Cnoc Grianal, Balephuill, is a Gaelic construction in G *cnoc* ‘hillock’. Its specific *Grianal* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in either ON *hváll* ‘domed hill’ – because of its characteristic profile (see section 17.1) – or ON *vǫllr* ‘field’. The specific of *Grianal* may be ON *grænn* ‘green’, which suits the topography. See *Grianaig*. The loss of a medial ON -v- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

This is a very common name in the Norse expansion zone, as in *Cnoc Grianail* in Islay (Macniven 2015, 155) and *Grianal* in Stornoway (SP); the many examples of *Grønholen* and *Grønvold* in Norway (NG); and *Grænhóll* in Iceland (NLSI).

GRIANAL TIR R 3 NGR NM039479 [ˈgʰri-aˌnalʲ]

ON **Grænnvǫll* ‘green field’ or ON **Grænnhóll* ‘green hill’

Loch Grianal, 1768 Turnbull Map: + G *loch*

Loch Ghrianal, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 126, ‘meaning Sun Bright Loch’): NGR NM039479

Cnoc Grianal, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1997 (oral source)

Cnoc Mòr Ghrianail, Elsie MacKinnon, Kirkapol, 8/1994 (oral source): + G *mòr* ‘big’

Gott | Turnbull mapped *Loch Ghrianal* within Kirkapol, while today it lies in Gott. It has been largely drained. There are a number of low elevations nearby in this strandflat landscape. There is also a small, grassy enclosure and rectangular footings half a kilometre to the north in Vaul.

There are a variety of Gaelic constructions in G *cnoc* ‘hillock’ and G *loch*. Its specific *Grianal* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in either ON *hóll* ‘hill’ or ON *vǫllr* ‘field’. By analogy with the other Tíree names with initial *Grian-*, the specific of this is likely to be ON *grænn* ‘green’. See *Grianaig*. The loss of a medial ON -v- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

GRIANATOT TIR D 1 NGR NM019453 [ˈgriː-ɑ nə ˌtoʰt]

ON **Grænatopt* ‘green house site’

Grianatot, Donald MacCallum, Scarinish, 11/1993 (oral source)

Baugh | A grassy raised area west of the end of the Baugh side road containing a patch of cord rig and a saddle quern. There are no footings, but a nearby Improvement dyke may account for this.

Grianatot has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *topt* ‘house site or foundation; farm’ (CV, 636). The specific is probably ON *grænn* ‘green’. See *Grianaig*.

There is a *Grenitote* in North Uist (OS1/118/6/63), but I could find no other exact cognates among names elsewhere in the Norse expansion zone.

GRIBUN TIR R 1 NGR NL946453 [ˈgriː ˌbʌn]

ON **Gnīpin* ‘the cliff’ or G *Grioban* ‘the place of the cliff face’

Gribun, 1974 OS 1:10,000, but not on 1878 OS 6 inch first edition

Grioban, Neil Alec MacLean, Hough, 11/1993; Flora Ann Brown, Balevullin, 11/1995; Archibald Brown, Kilkenneth, 5/2015 (oral sources)

Hough | A small cliff face on the southeastern slopes of *Beinn Hògh*. The fact that this name only appears on more recent maps suggests it has been adopted as a modern house name. Indeed, Neil Alec MacLean told me that this hillside had been ‘named after big cliffs in Mull where the family came from’. Flora Ann Brown (an older informant), however, said that *Grioban* was an old Tiree name, in place long before a house was built on the spot. The summit of *Beinn Mhurstat* is 113 m, and the steep slope and cliffs on the eastern side of this were considered dangerous enough for cattle that they were fenced off in the 1930s (Archibald Brown, pers. comm.).

Gribun may, therefore, be a commemorative name from Mull, although it seems unlikely that Tiree was settled later. It could be a Gaelic name in G *griob(a)* ‘precipice’ (Dwelly) with the Gaelic locational suffix *-an* denoting ‘place of’ (Cox 2002, 59). G *Griob(a)* is a borrowing from ON *gnípa* ‘cliff’.

Instead, it is more likely that *Gribun* has developed directly from a Norse loan-name in ON *gnípa* with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5): *Gnípin* ‘the cliff’. This is the probable derivation of *Griobann*, the widely known coastal name below high cliffs on the western coast of Mull opposite Ulva (Whyte 2020b, 34).

There is a *Greepe* in Duirinish, Skye (SP); *Nipen* is very common in Norway (NG), and derives from *gnípin* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 17, 14); there are three examples of *Nípan* in the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Gnípa* occurs in Iceland (NLSI).

GRÌSEAG* TIR C 1 NGR NM085498 [ˈgriː ˌjeɪkʰ]

ON **Grísavík* ‘dangerous inlet’ or **Grísarvík* ‘inlet of *Gríss*’

Sgeir Grìseig, William MacIntosh, Caolas, 1/1994 (oral source)

Caolas | A sea rock off G *Port nan Spàinneach* ‘the inlet of the Spanish men’. The folk etymology is that four or five bodies were washed ashore and buried here (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.).

Sgeir Grìseig is a Gaelic construction in G *sgeir* ‘skerry’. Its specific *Grìseig* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The specific may be either the male ON personal name *Gríss*, which occurs several times in *Landnámabók* (1900, 343), or the navigational danger name ON *gríss* (genitive plural *grísa*) (CV, 216; see *Greasamull*, Greenhill); the latter might be more appropriate on this heavily indented coast with its numerous offshore rocks. The loss of a medial ON -v- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent was plausibly the narrow inlet to the east of the mill site with its recently built stone harbour. There is a *Grísivick* on Barra (Stahl 1999, 275); *Grisevika* occurs several times in Norway (NG); *gríss* ‘pig’ is the basis for the Norwegian farm-name *Grisvaag* (Rygh, vol. 13, 439), whereas the personal name *Gríss* is behind the Icelandic place-name *Grísartunga* (CV, 216); there are two examples of *Grísavík* in Iceland (NLSI).

GROIDEAGAL TIR R 1 NGR NM069489 [ˈgr̥õĩː d̥e ˌgaɫ]

Groideagal, *Pàirc Mòr Groideagail* and *Pàirc Beag Groideagail*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source): + G *pàirc* ‘park’ + G *beag* ‘small’ + G *mòr* ‘big’
**Groidigearr*, Cameron 1932, 264: ‘Nuair theid mi null do Ghroidigearr’

Salum | A field near the shore, just inland from the tidal island of *Fhàdamull* with its impressive cobble tombolo

Groideagal has probably developed from a Norse loan-name. There appears to have been generic variation (see *Mannel*), with one name-form in ON *garðr* (see *kúla* in section 17.1) and the other in ON *gerði* ‘field’.

The specific may be ON *grjót* ‘rough stones, rubble, shingle on beach’ (CV, 216): ‘Jakobsen defined ON *grjót* primarily as “stone, stony ground”, proposing that in Shetland it commonly denotes rocky ground, although in some cases refers to “cleared and cultivated ground”, and “is also used in a special sense: low-lying rocky neck or tongue of land, connecting a smaller piece of land with a larger one”’ (Whyte 2014, 123). This last sense would be topographically very suitable.

However, ON *grjót* would generally develop with a palatalised *-r-* > G **greòd* (Richard Cox, pers. comm.). An alternative, then, might be ON *grautr* (genitive singular *grautar*) ‘porridge’ (CV, 211). This is not uncommon in place-names, where it has the sense of ‘gravel’ (see the Norwegian farm-name *Grautaasen* in Rygh, vol. 5, 289). The development ON *-au-* > G [o:] is regular and the medial *-d-* of *Groideagal* may have been palatalised by vowel affection (see section 17.4.2.1 and see *Fòirinigir* for a similar case of generic variation): ON **Gautargarð* and **Gautargerði* ‘gravelly farm’ and ‘gravelly field’.

There is no exact cognate, but ON *grautr* is also found in the Norwegian farm-name *Grautlien* (Rygh, vol. 3, 60); the Faroese settlement *Greytarheyggjur* (KO); and is common in Iceland, for example *Grautarvöllur* (NLSI).

GULLAIDH* TIR C 1 NGR NL960392 [ˈɣuːliːh]

ON **Gulahlíð* ‘golden slope’ or ON **Gullahlíð* ‘slope of *Gulli*’

Port a’ Ghullaidh, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 9/1995 (oral source)

West Hynish | An inlet to the north of *Port Driseag* (see *Riseag*)

Port a’ Ghullaidh is a Gaelic construction in G *port* ‘inlet’. Its specific may be a Gaelic borrowing from English *gully*. This, however, does not seem to be common in names in Scotland, one example being *Allt Port na Gullaidh* in Strath, Skye (SP). Alternatively, **Gullaidh* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *hlíð* ‘slope’. The specific of this may be ON *gulr* ‘golden’, often used in laudatory names (see, for example, *Gulla* in Rygh, vol. 13, 414). An alternative

may be the male ON personal name *Gulli*. The referent was presumably part of the western slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis* above the shore here. See *Guthalum* below.

Gulli is quite a common Norwegian farm-name, at least some of which have been derived from *Gullahlíð* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 5, 370).

GUTHALUM* TIR C 1 NGR NL966489

ON **Gulahólm* ‘yellow islet’ or ON **Gullahólm* ‘islet of *Gulli*’

Bodha Ghuthalum, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 15, ‘meaning ~~Back of the Shoulder~~’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Bodha Ghuthalum is a usually submerged sea rock north of *Biosd*, Kilmoluaig, but the referent is likely to have been a complex of reefs closer inshore and known today as *G An Sgeir Mhòr* ‘the big skerry’.

Bodha Ghuthalum is a Gaelic construction in *G bodha* ‘submerged sea rock’. Its specific **Guthalum* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *hólmr* ‘islet’. Its specific may be ON *gulr* ‘yellow’: ‘*Gul* also occurs in place names such as *Gulahamar*, so-called from the yellowish colour of the rock’ (Jakobsen 1897, 35). The Norwegian farm-name *Guldholmen* derives from *gulr* (Rygh, vol. 17, 5): **Gulahólm*. Another possibility is the common male ON personal name *Gulli*, the specific for many Norwegian farm-names, as in *Guldvik* (Rygh, vol. 16, 387). *Gulli* is a short form of *Guðleifr*, which was recorded several times during the settlement of Iceland (*Landnámabók* 1900, 343): **Gullahólm*.

The name *Gullholmen* is common in Norway (NG).

HANAIS TIR C 1 NGR NL933456 [ˈhaˌnɪj] and [ˈhãi̯ŋɛi̯]

ON **Þangnes* ‘headland of the kelp’

Dùn Hanais and *Rudha Hanais*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 61, ‘meaning unknown’): + *G dùn* ‘fort’

Dùn Thainis, Sandy MacKinnon, Kilkenneth, 11/1993 (oral source)

Dùn Thaingis, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993 and Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, 9/1994 (oral sources)

Dùn Thaingnis, Iain MacDonald, Ruaig, 2/2016 (oral source)

Hough | A small headland, the location of an Iron Age broch (Canmore ID 21446). It lies just south of the Craignish headland, which was the most productive centre of kelp production on Tiree in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The substantial G *Seada Thaingis* ‘the shed of **Taingis*’ was built on the promontory soon after 1863 by Edward Stanford. This was to store dried tangle for his factory in Middleton, later known as The Glassary.

Dùn Hanais is a Gaelic construction in G *dùn* ‘fort’. Its specific *Hanais* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *nes* ‘promontory’. The specific of this may be ON *þang* ‘kelp’ (CV, 730). The developments ON *þ-* > G *t-* and ON *-ng-* > G *-n-* are both regular, and there has been some vowel affection (see section 17.4.2). The referent is likely to have been the stubby headland itself.

There is a *Tainnis* in Uig, Lewis, (SP); at least one of the Norwegian farm-names *Tangnes* is derived from *þang* (Rygh, vol. 3, 117); while there is a *þangtangi* in Iceland (NLSI).

HEALA* TIR R 2 NGR NM028470 [ˈhɛː,la]

ON **Hella* ‘tableland of rocks’

Cnoc na h-Eala, Rosie MacIntyre, Scarinish, 9/1994; Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, 9/1994 (oral sources)

Gott | A hillock on the Gott *sliabh*

Cnoc na h-Eala is a Gaelic construction in G *cnoc* ‘hillock’. The specific appears to have been lexically adapted as G *eala* ‘swan’. There are three species of swan on Tiree (Bowler and Hunter 2007, 43-4), and the three small lochans a short distance to the north might provide a suitable habitat. *Eala* is quite a common specific in Argyll, usually related to water features, as in *Port na h-Eala* in Kildalton and Oa, Islay, but also to hillocks, as in *Cnoc Dubh nan Eala* in Colonsay and Oronsay (SP). Instead, the specific *h-Eala* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *hella* ‘a tableland of rocks’ (CV, 253). This is an evocative description of the surrounding moorland with its low rock outcrops now known as G *An Druim Dearg* ‘the red ridge’ (see section 10.2.1).

Names derived from *hella* are extremely common in the Norse expansion zone. There is a *Hella* in Fetlar, Shetland (SP); there are many Norwegian farms called *Helle* that derive from *hella* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 7, 41); *Hellur(nar)* is common in the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Hella(r)* is common among Icelandic farm-names (SAM).

HEREN # TIR D 2

ON **Heiðrin* ‘the heath’

Herne, 1496 RMS ii, 2239 (grouped as *Mandalon, Crosoboll, Herne*)

Nyerin, 1509 ER 13, 216 (listed after *Manwell* in the parish of *Soroby*)

Herene, 1539 RMS iii, 2065 (grouped as *Mandalon, Crossipol, Herene*)

Iryne, 1541 ER 17, 647 (listed: ... *Bee, Manvall, Crosopell, Iryne, Kilis* ...): 20 s. (Johnston 1991, 107)

Heryn, 1542 ER 17, 527 (listed: *Manwel, Crosopole, Heryn, Cowelche* ...)

Heren, 1603 Retours ARG vol. 1, 7 (‘Hector Makcleane de Dowart: *Mandalon, Crossipoill et Heren*’)

Heren, 1615 Retours ARG vol. 1, 16 (‘Hector Makcleane de Dowart: *Mandalon, Crossipoill et Heren*’)

Heren, 1617 RMS vii, 1628

Heren, 1630 RMS viii, 1610 (grouped as *Crosinpole, Mandalone, Heren*)

Hyillen, 1638 RMS ix, 828 (grouped as *Mannell, Crossiboill, Hyillen*)

Hyring, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol, in Hynish

Heren, 1662 Retours ARG vol. 1, 67 (‘Dominus Georgius M’Kenzie de Taret: *Mandalon, Crossiepoll et Heren*’)

Eyren, 1662 Estate Rental, Inveraray Archive no. 1209-2531-22-02

Eyrme, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 289: 1 merkland, £32 13s 4d, victual 15 stone, butter 1 quart [22% of island’s rental supply], cheese 1 stone [100% of island’s rental supply]

Torren (vel [or] Horon), 1695 Retours ARG vol. 1, 93 (‘Archibaldus Campbell, Comes [Latin: Earl] de Argyle: *Mandalon, Traffiboill, Torren (vel Horon)*’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

East Hynish | Obsolete farm-name. This well-attested name was recorded for the first time in the 1496 fiscal records. In the 1509 *Exchequer Rolls*, the name is listed in the parish of *Soroby*, and thereafter was, more often than not, rented in combination with *Crossapol* and *Mannal*. The 1654 Blaeu map, based on a Pont survey made in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, places *Hyring* between *Heanes* (Hynish) and *L fuil (Loch Phuill)*. The 1674 rental lists *Eyrme* between *Tayneish* and *Bellephuill* (MacPhail 1914, 289). There is extensive evidence of pre-Improvement cultivation on the plateau on the southeastern slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis*. This is therefore a plausible site for the medieval settlement of *Heren*.

Heren may have been an Early Medieval *utset* expansion settlement from *Hynish* (see Tait 2012, 59). The farm was valued in 1674 at one merkland (one sixth

of an ounceland). This was among the lowest rents on Tiree. In the same year, Hynish and Balephuill were each valued at six merklands (Johnston 1991). The last documentary record was in a 1695 rental.

In fact, the configuration of dykes and enclosures on the plateau of *Beinn Haoidhnis* suggests there were two small farms at one point. The second may be represented by the surviving name **Lyngvøllu* ‘heathery fields’ (see *Lingal*).

The name *Heren* has probably developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *heiðr* ‘heath; in Iceland ... chiefly used of a low barren heath or fell; thus, in local names *heiðr* is a common name for the barren tracts of fell between the foot of one fjord or dale and another’ (CV, 247) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5): ON **Heiðrin* ‘the heath’. The disappearance of a medial ON -ð- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). This derivation is topographically appropriate on the heather-clad slopes above ON **Heiðarnes* (see *Hynish*). See *Hyring*.

Hayon in Orkney may derive from *heiðrin* (Sandnes 2010a, 120); *Heidane* occurs several times in Norway, all examples clustered in the western county of *Møre og Romsdal* (NG); *Heien* is extremely common among Norwegian farm-names, and is derived from *heiðrin* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 15, 307), and *Heieren* derives in the same way (Rygh, vol. 1, 275); *Heiðan* and *Heiðarnar* are common as settlement names in the Faroe Islands (KO); while the simplex *Heiði* is very common as a farm-name in Iceland (SAM).

HEYLIPOLL TIR S 1 NGR NL965433 [ˈhi·li·bɔl]

ON **Hindaból* ‘farm of the deer’

Hindebollis, 1390 Munro and Munro 1986, 17: ‘dimedia unciata terre’ [half ounceland]

Hindebollis, 1495 RMS vol. 2 no. 2264: 1 unciata (Johnston 1991, 87)

Tillipole, 1509 ER 13, 217: 4 lib. (Johnston 1991, 87)

Inch of Teinlipeil, 1519: ‘Donald Gauld [or *gallda*, Sir Donald MacDonald of Lochalsh] after this went to Tyree and died in the Inch [small island] of Teinlipeil, five weeks after he was proclaimed Lord of the Isles’ (Gregory and Skene 1847, 324; and MacKenzie 1881, 149). Not all sources agree: ‘MacVurich [see *The Book of Clanranald* at <https://celt.ucc.ie//published/T402566/index.html>, accessed 29 August 2020, page 165] and Hugh MacDonald, in their MS, both agree as to the fact of Sir Donald’s death very soon after the slaughter of Macian [in 1519]; but they differ as to the place where he died; the former making it Carneburg, near

Mull, the latter the Inch of Teinlpeil in Tyree' (Gregory 1836, 126). The *Inch of Teinlpeil* may be the islet on *G Loch an Eilein* 'loch of the island'.

Hynnepols, 1541 ER 17, 648: 4 merklands (Johnston 1991, 87)

Hynnepols, 1542 ER 17, 532

Huilepoill, 1638 RMS ix, 828

L. Hylebol and *Castel Loch Hyrbol*, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): there is an un-named settlement symbol marked north of the loch

Heillieboill and *Miln of Hulliboill*, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 288 and 291: 5 merk-land, £67 13s 4d, victual 75 stone, butter 1 pynt

Hurnepolss, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 86

Hinleboill, July 1679 ICA Bundle 472/180 (Argyll Estate papers uncatalogued)

Island of Inaboll Qrby, 1679 (Argyll Estate papers uncatalogued; Maclean-Bristol 2015, 28)

Fort of Hinlaboill, 1679 ICA Bundle 472/177 (Argyll Estate papers uncatalogued)

Hilleboill, 1680 ICA 472/198 (Argyll Estate papers uncatalogued)

Hiliboll, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives

Hinlapoll, 1716 MacLean-Bristol 1998, 142

L. Hirbol C., 1744–61 James Dorret, NLS EMS.s.640

Heylipol, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73

Heylipoll, 1768 Turnbull Map

Heylipoll, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 21: 40 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 87)

Hinapoll, 1770 OPR Tyree Baptismal Roll (Five entries: 14 January; 12 February; 13 and 20 April; 18 September: Duncan Grant, pers. comm.)

Loch Inipul, 1775 MacKenzie M., *West Side of the Island of Mull with the Islands of Tiri and Coll*, NLS EMS.s.654

Hilipole, 1786 Tiree Rental, Cregeen 1964, 8

Hilapole, 1803 Cregeen 1964, 80

Heylipoll, 1832 Thomson *Atlas of Scotland*

Heylipoll, 1878 OS (no JGC, Geekie the factor in his place, OSNB, 199, -)

Hilibol, common current local usage in Gaelic; variably *Hilibol* with older informants. (Compare *Circeabol* and *Circeabol*: this is likely to be local dialectal variation)

Heylipol, common current local usage in English

Heylipol | The number of recorded name-forms demonstrates the importance of this central farm township, containing the island's only substantial medieval fortification, *Castel Loch Hyrbol* (see *Isleborg*); the post-medieval and early modern administrative *caput*; and land valued in 1495 as one ounce-land. *G Am Baile Nodha* 'the new settlement' appears to have taken over the western half of the farm township between 1495 and 1509 (see *Balinoe*).

The variety of historical forms of this important name has provoked much debate. *Heylipoll* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *ból* ‘farm division’ (see section 8.2). However, ON *pollr* ‘pool, pond’ is also possible; this would reference G *Loch an Eilein* ‘the loch of the island’, although this body of water is somewhat larger at 50 acres (Feature no. 7, Turnbull Report 1768) than the other accepted names in ON *pollr* on Tiree (see section 17.1).

It has been proposed that the specific may have been ON *heilagr* (*helga-* in compounds) ‘holy’ (CV, 248; see, for example, Johnston 1991, 88). *Heilagr* is very commonly compounded with the generic *bólstaðr* (making up 10–15% of the Norwegian examples), as in *Hellebust* (Gammeltoft 2001, 55). This suits the modern versions, but early historical forms suggest that the specific may have been ON *hind* (genitive plural *hinda*) ‘female deer’ (see section 10.3.6) with a later weakening of the *-nd-* consonant cluster (Alasdair Whyte, pers. comm.; Gammeltoft 2001, 122). The historical forms *Hindebollis* (1390 and 1495), *Hynnepols* (1541) and *Hurnepolss* (1674) may carry the Scots plural suffix, implying that the farm township had two or more divisions at one stage (Whyte 2017, 289; see also *Krossiegers* 1674 under *Crossigar*).

An alternative explanation might be that this list of historical forms actually represents two or more farm townships (compare *Mannel*). The huge proposed primary Norse estate named **Ísleifsborg* (see *Isleborg*) may have split into three rather than two: *Krossaból* (see *Crossapoll*) on the eastern side of the stream draining *Loch an Eilein*, with **Hindaból* ‘the farm of the deer’ and **Ísleifsból* ‘the farm of *Ísleifr*’ on its western side. In support of this, is the fact that the value of *Hindebollis* jumped from half an ounce-land in 1390 to one ounce-land in 1495, and the fact Turnbull mapped an unusually large number of *clachanan* (four) here in 1768. *Ísleifsstaðir* was an early farm-name in Iceland (*Landnámabók* 1900, 302). There are no exact cognates. *Hjartafjall* ‘mountain of the stags’ has been proposed as the derivation of the Islay name *Beinn Tart a’ Mhill* (Macniven 2015, 38); *Dýrey* ‘deer island’ is likely to be the derivation of the island name *Jura*, and *Dýrnes* that of Deerness, Orkney; *Kershader* in Lewis may derive from *hjartsetr* ‘deer farm’ (Ofstedal 2009, 48); while *Hind* is a common specific in Norway, as in *Hindaraa* (see Rygh, vol. 16, 120). See *Birceapol*.

HIANISH TIR S 1 NGR NM038433 [ˈhi--ə ,niʃ]

ON **Heynes* ‘hay headland’

Hanys, 1509 ER 13, 216 +: 40 s. (Johnston 1991, 86)

Haynis, 1541 ER 17, 648 +: 3 merklands (Johnston 1991, 86)

Haynys, 1542 ER 17, 532 +

Hyaneis, 1638 RMS ix, 828

Heanes (red settlement symbol) and *Clet Heanes*, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): + G *cleit* ‘sea rock’ +

Haynis, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 86

Heanneish, 1674 HP vol. 1, 289

Heannish, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 288: 3 merk-land, £80 0s 0d, victual 120 stone

Hianish, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73

Hianish, 1768 Turnbull Map +

Hianish, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 59: 24 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 86)

Ruihanish, 1776 Mackenzie M., *West Side of the Island of Mull with the Islands of Tiri and Coll*, NLS EMS.s.654: + G *rubha* ‘promontory’ +

Hianish, 1779 List of Inhabitants of Tyree and their Age in September 1779 +

Hearnish, 1780 James Meuros, NLS EMS.s.760 +

Hianish, 1794 Tiree Rental, Cregeen 1964, 37 +

Hianish, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 181, -) +

Hianis, common current local usage in Gaelic

Note: *Hianis* and *Hynish* share many similar historical forms, and it is not always clear which settlement is referred to in the early documents. Names are marked + if we can be reasonably certain, using township order or mapping, which township is being referred to.

Heanish | Modern township name

Hianish has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *nes* ‘promontory’. Its specific may be ON *hey* ‘hay’ (CV, 260). The development ON *-ey-* > G [i--ə] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). The referent for *Hianish* is likely to have been the headland at the western end of *Tràigh an Dùin*. This name may be understood as a contrastive navigational name with ON *Heiðarnes* ‘heather headland’ on the other side of ON *Vág* or *Hynish Bay* (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.; see *Baugh*).

There is an *Eilean an Àrd Heynish* in Coll; *Høynes(et)* is common in Norway (NG); and *Heynes* occurs once in Iceland (SAM).

HIATRANIS TIR R 1 NGR NL932407 ['hi-ə trə ,ni]

Hiatrainis, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Hiadainis, Brownlie 1995, 155

Kenavara | A fishing rock below *Dùn nan Gall* (see Gazetteer). This promontory fort is approached along a narrow ridge. Beyond this, there is a grassy slope with sharp drops down to the sea on both sides. The inlet to the south is known as G *Sloc nan Damh* 'the gully of the cattle', while that to the north is called G *Sloc na h-Ursainn* 'the gully of the gatepost'.

Hiatrainis has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *nes* 'promontory'. Its specific, however, is opaque. This is partly because the two name-forms do not agree, and partly because it is polysyllabic (see section 17.6). The first element may be ON *hæð* 'height or hill' (CV, 304). The second element may be ON *traða* 'a piece of fallow land where cattle are kept grazing ... in Iceland a pen for cattle during the night' (CV, 643). A possible derivation using common elements, therefore, is ON **Hæðartraðanes* 'headland of the high cattle pen'. The developments ON -æ- > G [i-ə] and the loss of ON -ð- are regular (see section 17.4.2). This derivation would certainly suit the topography, but Gaelic loan-names derived from three Norse words are very conjectural (see section 17.6).

There are no exact cognates, but all the elements individually are common among the names of the Norse expansion zone.

HOMAIÐH* TIR R 1 NGR NM038440 ['ho: ,maɪ^h]

ON **á Hvammi* 'at (the) grassy slope'

Mòinteach Thomaidh, Margaret MacKinnon, Heanish, 5/1995 (oral source)

Heanish | An area of wet ground, where a stream crosses the road between Scarinish and Heanish. On the shore side of this is the Heanish *machair*.

Mòinteach Thomaidh is a Gaelic construction in G *mòinteach* 'moor'. The informant suggested that the specific might derive from G *tumadh* 'dipping', although there seem to be no other names deriving from this in Scotland (SP). Instead, *Thomaidh* has probably developed from an existing Norse simplex name in ON *hvammi* (dative *hvammi*) 'grassy slope ... very frequent as an appellative in every Iceland

farm or as a local name' (CV, 296), or 'a small valley, not so deep as *dalr*' (Jakobsen 1897, 91). The developments ON *a* > G [ɔ] and the loss of an ON *v*- are regular (see section 17.4.2.1).

The word ON *hvammr* has left a rich legacy among the place-names of the Norse expansion zone. *Vam* occurs in Orphir, Orkney (SP); *Whome* on Rousay is derived from *hvammr* (Marwick 1995 (1947), 75); *Homme* in Norway derives from *hvammr* (Rygh, vol. 7, 351); *Hvammur*, *Hvam* and *Hvamm* are settlement names in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Hvammur* is extremely common as a simplex farm-name in Iceland, with thirty-five examples (SAM). This Tíree name, therefore, may represent a peripheral Norse farm (see section 8.3).

HOUGH TIR S 1 NGR NL952455 [ho:h]

ON **Hauga* 'burial mounds'

Howe, 1509 ER 13, 217: 4 lib. (Johnston 1991, 100)

Howfe, 1541 ER 17 i, 647: 6 merklands (Johnston 1991, 100)

Houfe, 1638 RMS ix, 828

Howe, 1643 RMS ix, 1310

How and *Bin How*, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

Hodgh, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 290: 6 merk-land, £133 6s 8d

Houff, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 86

Horgh, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives

Hoigh, 1681 ICA bundles 132 (Argyll estate papers uncatalogued)

Hough, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73

Hough, 1768 Turnbull Map

Hough, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 42: 48 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 100)

Tough and *Bentough Hill*, 1776 Mackenzie M., *West Side of the Island of Mull with the Islands of Tiri and Coll*, NLS EMS.s.654

Hough, 1794 Tíree Rental, Cregeen 1964, 35–9

Tough and *Bentaugh Hill*, 1804 W. Heather, *A new and improved chart of the Hebrides*, NLS EMS.s.580

Ben-loch, 1811 Neele, S.J., London, NLS Marischal 75

Hough and *Hough Bay*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 67)

Beinn Hough, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 65: 'Its correct meaning is unknown, but it is stated by the oldest inhabitants that the word 'Hough' is a term often expressed by clans [?] whilst doing [?] battle which runs thus Ho, ho etc. and it is quite possible that from this expression the hill Beinn Hough received its name'). It is difficult to

know quite how to interpret this entry.

Hough, 1895 Campbell, 31: ‘pronounced *Hoch*’

Hògh, common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Hough | Modern township name. To the east of the hill is a significant prehistoric monument comprising three stone circles, three burial mounds and a number of linear cemeteries (Maričević 2009, 58–122). The township of Hough has by far the greatest surviving number of Norse names on the island. Medieval settlement was to the west of the hill, but this was abandoned around 1816 following a series of devastating sand blows. After this, the land was appropriated by the estate and run as a farm tenanted by the island factor with one manager. When this was broken up in 1914, new crofts were created on the eastern side of the hill.

Hough has probably developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *haugar* ‘burial mounds or hills’. The development ON *au* > G [o:] is regular. The fricative *-g-* has also been lost, although it was still in evidence as late as the nineteenth century (*Hoch* in Campbell 1895); all that is now left of this is a terminal aspiration [ho:h] among older informants.

It is possible that the referent was the long ridge of *Beinn Hògh* itself, a distinctive landmark in a flat landscape: ‘[In Shetland] ON *haugr* denotes a height or hill, not so big as *ffall* but usually above the size of *hóll*’ (Jakobsen 1897, 75). However, several plausible Norse names for the hill have survived (see *Gribun*, *Liongal* and *Ròg*).

Instead, the referent was more plausibly the complex of prehistoric monuments to the east of the hill (MacDougall 1937, 98), in particular the prominent Bronze Age burial mound near the most southerly stone circle: ‘In Old Norse, *haugr* is often applied to a thrown-up monumental mound, a burial mound’ (Jakobsen 1897, 75). Coll also has a *Ben Hogh* (SP); *How*, *Howe* and *Howar* are common in Orkney, and *Hoga* occurs several times in Shetland (SP); *Hauger* is an extremely common place-name in Norway (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 2, 61); *Heyggjurin* is common in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Haugar* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

HÙINISDEIR TIR R 1 NGR NM047487 [ˈhũː nif dˈeɪʃ]

ON **Hqgnastað* ‘farm of *Hqgni*’

Hùinisdeir, Tommy MacKinnon, Vaul, 1/1994 and 12/2013 (oral source)

Cnoc Hùinisdeir, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, 4/1996 (oral source): + G *cnoc* ‘hillock’

Vaul | An area 100 m southwest of *Òinegeir*, in what is now called ‘Upper Vaul’

Hùiniseir has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *staðir* ‘farm’ (see Akselberg 2005, 10). *Staðir* is the second commonest Norse generic on Islay (see Macniven 2015, 74); these farms are usually found around primary settlements and (presumably) were dependent on them (Whyte 2017, 141). Another possibility for the generic is ON *setr* ‘small farm’, although this is much commoner in the Northern than the Western Isles. The specific here may be a male ON personal name such as *Høgni* (genitive *Høgna*), which is common in *Landnámabók* (1900, 356): ‘*staðir* is usually preceded by a personal name’ (Ofstedal 2009, 34). The development ON *-ǫ-* > G [u·] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1).

The Norwegian farm-name *Hognestad* is derived from *Høgnastaðir* (Rygh, vol. 10, 141); *Høgnastaðir* occurs several times as a farm-name in Iceland (SAM).

HÙNASGEIR TIR C 2 NGR NL932405 [ˈhūː nə ˌsgʻeɪ]

ON **Høgnaskor* ‘rift in a rock or precipice of *Høgni*’

Hùnasgeir, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source)

Huinisgeir, Brownlie 1995, 154

Kenavara | A fishing station at the base of the cliffs

Taking the site’s topography into account, *Hùnasgeir* is more likely to have developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *skor* meaning ‘rift in a rock or precipice’ (CV, 554) or a flat ledge at the base of a mountain (Rygh 1898, 75) than ON *sker* ‘skerry’. The specific may be the male ON personal name *Høgni*. The development ON *-ǫ-* > G [u·] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). Such names often memorialise fowling accidents (see *Rèidh-sgeir*), in which case the referent is likely to have been *Sloc mhic Fhionnlaigh* (see Gazetteer).

There is a *Hùnisgeir* in Lewis, for which the male ON personal name *Húni* has been proposed (Evemalm 2018, 125); there is a *Høneskjæret* in Norway (NG); and there is a *Høgnasker* in Iceland (NLSI). ON *skor* also generates some place-names: the Norwegian farm-name *Hildeskaar* is derived from the personal name *Hildir* and *skor* (Rygh, vol. 12, 92); *Tórissskor* is a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); and there is a *Þorgeirsskora* in Iceland (NLSI).

HUSAGAR* # TIR D 1 NGR NL942456

ON **Húsagarð* ‘farm of the houses’

Kerahasager, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73: + G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’

Kera Husagar, 1768 Turnbull Map

Kerachusegar, 1794 Cregeen 1964, 35

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | A township ‘quarter’ evacuated after sand blow in 1816

Kera Husagar is a Gaelic construction in G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’. Its specific **Husagar* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *garðr* ‘yard or farm’. The specific of this is ON *hús* (genitive plural *húsa*) ‘house ... in compounds *húsa-garðr* the yard-wall’ (CV, 294). The loss of an ON *-ð-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). See *Kerahasager*.

There is a *Housigarth* in Shetland (Macniven 2015, 140); there is a *Housegord* in Weisdale, Shetland (SP); and there are three examples of *Húsagarður* in Iceland (NLSI).

HYNISH TIR S 1 NGR NL983392 [ˈhãøĩ: ,niʃ]

ON **Heiðarnes* ‘heather headland’

AnnaHynisch, 1509 ER 13, 216 +

Hynis, 1541 ER 17, 647 +: 6 merklands (Johnston 1991, 93)

Hynys, 1542 ER 17, 532 +

Hyneis, 1638 RMS ix, 828

Bin Heanes and *Heanes* (settlement symbol), 1654 Blaeu (Pont): + G *beinn* ‘hill’ +

Tayneish, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 289: 6 merklands, £40

Heynish, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives

Hyenish, 1716 MacLean-Bristol 1998

Haynish, 1747 Tiree Rental +

Hainish and Mannall, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73

Haynish, 1768 Turnbull Map +

Benhynish Hill, 1775 MacKenzie M., NLS EMS.s.654 +

Heanes, circa 1780 James Meuros, NLS EMS.s.760 +

Hynish, 1794 Tiree Rental, Cregeen 1964, 38 +

Hynish, 1832 Thomson's *Atlas of Scotland*

Hynish, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 233) +

Haoidhnis, common current local usage in Gaelic, with an initial nasal triphthong

Note: Names are marked '+' if we can be reasonably certain, using township order or mapping, which township is being referred to.

East Hynish | Modern township name. Today, the whole hill is known to the rest of the island as *Beinn Haoidhnis* 'the hill of Hynish': this is the modern 'district' name (see 'user group' in the Glossary). This has been true from at least the late sixteenth century (*Bin Heanes*, 1654 Blaeu).

However, the hill's grazing is shared between the surrounding townships, and there are two additional 'farm' names. The 1878 Ordnance Survey mapped *Ben Hynish* on the eastern side of the hill; *Ben Mannel* covering the slopes belonging to Mannal; while the hill on the Balephuill side – and the location of the actual summit – is still known locally as *Beinn Bhaile Phuill* (Alasdair Brown, pers. comm.).

Beinn Haoidhnis is a Gaelic construction and is therefore likely to date from the twelfth century onwards. It seems plausible that, at some point during the medieval period, Hynish expanded its extent to include the summit. This implies that the substantial stone and turf dyke now known as G *Gàrradh nan Each* 'the dyke of the horses' (Cregeen 2004, 256) may have become the frontier between *Haoidhnis* and *Ballefulye* and *Bee* (see *Cnoc na Crithe*) for a while.

Hynish has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *nes* 'promontory'. Its specific may be ON *heiðr* 'heath; in Iceland ... chiefly used of a low barren heath or fell; thus, in local names *heiðr* is a common name for the barren tracts of fell between the foot of one fjord or dale and another' (CV, 247). The development ON *-ei-* > G [ãõĩ] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). This is plausibly an early navigational name, which may have been contrastive with ON *Heynes* 'hay headland' (see *Hianish*) on the eastern side of *Vág* or *Hynish Bay* (see *Baugh*). The referent is likely to have been the large headland around the foot of *Beinn Haoidhnis*, from *Tràigh Shòrabaidh* to *Tràigh Bhì*, and the extensive, heather-clad southeastern hill slopes make this topographically appropriate. See *Heren* and *Lingal*.

The earliest documentary form may include the element G *annaid*, often interpreted as an early chapel-name (see *Annaid*). Also in Hynish are the ecclesiastical names G *An Cladh Beag* 'the small graveyard', which had an associated chapel, and *The Burial-Place of the Big Women* (see section 6.3.2.8). Three Early Christian crosses from the township survived until the end of the nineteenth century. Two have since been lost, but one was moved to a position 50 m east of G *An Cladh Mòr* 'the large graveyard' in Kirkapol.

There is a *Hinish Point* in Barra (SP), a *Heineset* and a *Heieneset* in Norway (NG), and a *Heiðarnes* in Iceland (NLSI).

Haoidhnis (Hynish) and *Hianis* (Heanish) would have been clearly distinguishable to Norse speakers as **Heiðarnes* and **Heynes*. They are therefore likely to be a contrasting pair of farm-names on either side of *Hynish Bay*: ‘heath headland’ with its huge hill grazings, and ‘hay headland’; both became valuable primary settlements. Once the medial *-ð-* was lost, the two names obviously confused those creating the rental records.

HYRING TIR R 2 NGR NM033476

Ylen na Hyring, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): + G *eilean* ‘island’

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Gott | An islet, possibly to some extent artificial, on the northern side of *Loch Kirkaboll*. There is an oral tradition of an attack on a house here (see section 18.c.4). Blaeu marked a ‘tree’ map symbol on the islet (see section 5.6.5). After partial drainage to expose peat banks in the eighteenth century, this became a peninsula jutting into the northern side of the loch (see Turnbull Map 1768). Water levels have now risen again. The loch was mapped in the late sixteenth century as *Loch Kirkaboll* (Blaeu 1654), in 1768 as *Loch Kirkapoll* (Turnbull Map) and in 1878 by the Ordnance Survey as *Loch Riaghain* (see *Riaghain*).

Ylen na Hyring is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* ‘island’. Cameron proposed *Hyiring* and *Earnal* had a common root (MacDougall 1937, 80), but I have not been able to reconstruct this to my satisfaction. Instead, *Hyiring* has probably developed from an existing Norse name in ON **Heiðrin* ‘the heath’. This derivation is also topographically suitable; to the north is a large extent of heathland now known as G *An Druim Dearg* ‘the red ridge’: ‘Drimdeargh Common ... a great part of it rocky and what of it has a sward is inclined to heath’ (Turnbull Report 1768). See *Heren*.

ÌBRIG TIR R 1 NGR NM027443 [ˈiː ,brigʲ]

ON **Iðribryggju* ‘inner landing place’

Dùn Ìbrig, *Cnoc Ìbrig* and *Loch Cnoc Ìbrig*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 169, -): + G *cnoc* ‘hillock’

Dun Ibrig, 1903 Beveridge, 112: ‘pronounced *Eebrich*’

Cnoc Ìbrig and *Dùn Ìbrig*, Hugh MacKinnon, *Baugh* (oral source), recorded with a plosive terminal *-g*.

Baugh | *Dùn Ìbrig* is the site of a presumed Iron Age roundhouse (Canmore ID 21533) 1 km east of the stream *G An Fhaodhail* ‘the ford’. This fort was surrounded by a lochan (*Loch Baugh*, Turnbull Map 1768), now drained.

Dùn Ìbrig is a Gaelic construction in *G dùn* ‘fort’. Beveridge derived its specific *Ìbrig* as ‘a bilingual compound meaning ‘the west fort’ (*iar-borg*)’ (Beveridge 1903, 112), from *G iar* ‘west’.

Instead, this has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *bryggja* ‘boat landing place’. This implies there was an inland tidal landing point, probably just below the point at which the stream draining *Loch Baugh* enters *An Fhaodhail*, which is where Turnbull drew the settlement of *Baugh* in 1768. At this time the estuary here was much wider (see the Blaeu map 1654, and section 5.6.1). Even as late as 1878, the first edition Ordnance Survey marks ‘the highest point to which ordinary spring tides flow’ as being fully 1 km inland. The specific may be either ON *iðri* ‘inner’, i.e. further inland (Marwick 1995 (1947), 58; CV, 313), or *innri* ‘innermost’ (CV, 315).

There are no exact cognates. See *Dusprig* and *Eibrig*.

ÌLIDH TIR R 1 NGR NL984417 [ˈiː ˌliʰ], [ˈiː ˌliːx], [iː-ix] and [ˈiː ˌlʰəx]

ON **Víðihlíð* ‘slope of the willows’

Cnoc an Fhilidh, 1932 Cameron, 183. A poem by John MacLean, Balemartine, includes the line: ‘*Chithear danns air Cnoc an Fhilidh* [dancing will be seen on *Cnoc an Fhilidh*]: + *G filidh* ‘poet, orator’ (Dwelly)

Cnoc an Ìlich, Allan MacFadyen, Balemartine, 5/2009 (oral source)

Cnoc an Fhithich, Mairi Campbell, Corrairigh, 7/2009 (oral source): + *G fitheach* ‘raven’

Cnoc an Ìleach, Donald Iain Kennedy, West Hynish, 2/1994 (oral source)

Cnoc an Ìlidh, John Fletcher, Balemartine, 6/2013 (oral source): no explanation offered

Cnoc nan Ìlich, Alasdair MacArthur, Balemartine, 12/2003 (oral source): the folk etymology of this name was that people collected here before they sailed from the nearby *G Port na Luinge* ‘the inlet of the boat’ to Bunessan to collect peat: + *ìleach* (plural *ìlich*) ‘someone from Islay’

Balemartine | A rocky hillock west of the old Soroby graveyard. It is relatively inaccessible today, being bounded to the north by *Abhainn Chu' Dhèis* as the stream cuts a deep gully before it opens onto the beach, and to the west by boggy ground. To the southwest is the marshy ground of ON **Saurby* 'wet farm'.

The name-forms are all Gaelic constructions in G *cnoc* 'hillock'. There are a dizzying variety of forms and folk etymologies for the specific of this well-attested name. This suggests that they have been lexically adapted from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *hlíð* 'slope'. The specific of this may be OI *víðir* 'willow ... in Iceland especially willow-scrub, dwarf-willow (*Salix repens*) ... used for thatching, but especially fodder ... Many local names are derived from this plant: *Víði-dalr*, *-nes*, *-hjalli'* (CV, 714). The loss of an initial ON *v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The native Eared Willow (*Salix aurita*), Creeping Willow (*Salix repens*) and the introduced Osier (*Salix viminalis*) are common nearby (Pearman and Preston 2000, 128–9; see section 5.6.5).

Víðihlíð is very common in Iceland (NLSI).

INISGEIR* TIR R 1 NGR NL951428 [ˈin iʃ ˌg'eɪr]

ON **Ingjaldsgerði* 'farm of *Ingjaldr*'

Druim Innis Geir, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 12/1996 (oral source)

Barrapol | A strip of ground north of *The Land*

Druim Innis Geir is a Gaelic construction in G *druim* 'ridge'. Its specific *Innis Geir* may be the Gaelic G *innis* 'island, field, pasture' (Dwelly) and G *geur* 'pointed'. *Innis* is found, for example, in *Port Aoir Ard-Innis* in Coll (SP), *An Innse Mhòr* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 305) and *An Innis* in Kiltearn and Alness (SP). *Geur* occurs in names such as *An Coire Geur*, Barrapol (Hugh MacLean, pers. comm.).

Instead, *Innis Geir* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *gerði* 'fence; field; enclosed piece of land'. The specific of this may be a male ON personal name such as *Ingjaldr*, which is common in *Landnámabók* (1900, 357), or *Ingi* (CV, 313). There appears to be a genitive marker: 'The personal name [*Ingi*] does not take the s-genitive in classical ON but this may be a secondary development' (see *Ingashowe* in Sandnes 2010a, 125).

Ingjaldr is found in many Norwegian farm-names, including *Engelsgerd*, derived from *Ingjaldsgerði* (Rygh, vol. 11, 67).

ÌOSAIG TIR C 1 NGR NL986388 ['i: ,seik']

ON **Hnísavík* ‘inlet of the porpoises’

An ìosaig, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 246, -)

An ìosaig, John MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.145, track ID 103417

Ìosa, William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral source)

East Hynish | A fishing rock with an impressive number of large bait holes to the west of the beach now known as *Tràigh Sgiobasdail*

A modern folk etymology is that this is an ‘easy’ rock to climb. Instead, *An ìosaig* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. Its specific may be ON *hnísa* (genitive plural *hnísa*) ‘porpoise’ (CV, 276). The name may have acquired the Gaelic definite article through re-interpretation; this occurs when a later Gaelic speaker, encountering a name with an initial *n-* containing an incomprehensible word, assumes and introduces a ‘missing’ definite article *an*’ (Cox 2002, 54). The loss of a medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The harbour porpoise (*Phocoena phocoena*) is common in the waters around Tìree, and the name may have arisen from either a natural stranding or from the use of a nearby beach for drive hunts (see section 10.3.3). In the Faroe Islands today, only certain bays are regarded as suitable (and are now licensed as a *grindapláss*) for a pilot whale hunt. The nearest such bay may be *Port na Birlinn* to the east. There is a *Nisevikane* in Norway (NG); *Nísutúgva* is a settlement in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Hnísuvík* occurs several times in Iceland (NLSI).

ISLEBORG # 0 5

Iselborgh, 1343 Webster 1982, no. 72, 113

Hystylburch, 1354 Munro and Munro 1986, 5

Isleborg, 1390 RMS 1882, para. 2264, 480

Isleborg, 1493 Gregory 1881, 69

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island of Tìree

Isleborg has been proposed as the fort-name on an islet in G *Loch an Eilein* ‘the loch of the island’, Heylipol (Holliday 2016). This loch, mapped in 1654 by Blaeu as *L.[och] Hylebol*, is drained by G *Abhainn Chrossapol* ‘the stream of Crossapol’, on which was the island’s largest (and latterly only) medieval mill. A 130-metre-long

curving causeway to the north suggests that this islet had earlier been the site of a prehistoric crannog.

This medieval castle is quite well-attested. In the late fourteenth century, Fordun listed the island as '*Insula Tyree, qua turris est fortissima* [The Isle of Tiree, where there is a very strong tower]' (Skene 1871, 43). In 1654, Blaeu noted, using information from Pont's surveys in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, that, 'on [Tiree] is a fresh-water loch, and in that an old castle' (Blaeu text 1654). The word 'old' might be taken to mean that it was well established, or that it was no longer fit for habitation. By the end of the seventeenth century, John Fraser (the minister on Tiree between 1678 and 1697) reported on the monument's further decay, adding details of the surrounding structure: 'In one [loch] is a small Illand on which standith ane ruinous tour surrounded with ane trintch of stone and earth' (Macfarlane 1907, 218). Ruinous or not, forces loyal to MacLean of Duart made their last stand here in 1679, surrendering only after the Earl of Argyll ordered his troops to fire their canon. This action reduced one section of the castle walls to rubble. Almost two decades later, Martin Martin recorded its abandoned remains: 'There is a fresh-water lake in the middle of the isle, on the east side of which there is an old castle, now in ruins' (Martin 1994 (1695), 296). Its walls had stood for at least three hundred years.

The Campbells demolished what was left of the castle in 1749, joining the islet to the loch's shore with a second causeway to the south and building a new house for the chamberlain in its place (Holliday 2018). Today, there are no surface remains of the medieval structure mapped by Blaeu in 1654 as *Castel Loch Hyrbol* (see section 13.1.1), although aerial imaging and geophysics have now revealed a buried square structure behind the house, which may be the castle foundations.

Turnbull sounded the loch in 1768, finding a maximum depth of seven feet around the islet. At the mouth of the stream draining the loch, there are the remains of a wall, which may have supported a sluice gate. There is likely to have been conflict between the demands of the miller downstream, who needed waters from the loch to power his millwheel, and those defending the castle, who needed to keep levels high during the summer raiding season.

The important fortification name *Isleborg* looms out of the historical mists blanketing the west coast of Scotland, and then vanishes. There are four documentary sources. In 1343, King David II granted '*custodias castrorum nostrorum* [possession of our castles] *de Kernoborgh* [Cairn na Burgh More Castle in the Treshnish Isles, Canmore ID 21822], *Iselborgh et Dunchonall* [*Dùn Chonail* on the Garvellachs, Canmore ID 22374]' to John of Islay (Webster 1982, no. 72, 113). In 1354, John of Lorn relinquished the castles of *Kerneburgh* and *Hystylburch* to John of Islay (Munro

1961, 122; *Origines Parochiales* vol. 2 pt. 1, 322). In 1493, Hector MacLean of Duart was recorded as the 'hereditary keeper of the following castles [...] *Isleborg*, the locality of which is uncertain' (Gregory 1881, 69). In a 1495 confirmation of a 1390 charter, Donald of Islay granted '*constabulariam et custodiam castrorum de Kernaborg et Isleborg, unacum minutis Floda et Lunga* [command and possession of the castles of Kernaborg and Isleborg together with small Floda and Lunga]' to Lachlan *Lubanach* MacLean (RMS 1882, para. 2264, 480).

If the name *Isleborg* does indeed refer to Fordun's *turris*, the castle's name changed some time after the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493. While the Norse name *Isleborg* is last recorded in 1495, Pont's survey in the last two decades of the sixteenth century (Blaeu 1654) records it in the Gaelic form *Castel Loch Hyrbol* (see Gazetteer). With raids on Tiree continuing until at least 1589 (see section 10.1), the site is likely to have remained strategically important until the end of the sixteenth century. This possible sixteenth-century name change may reflect a change in status after feudal control was ceded to the Crown, or a major re-building project. A name without a place, *Isleborg* has provoked intense debate. Duncan argued that '*Isleborg* has never been satisfactorily identified, but certainly lay, with *Cairnburghmore*, in the Treshnish group ... In RMS ii, 2264 the Treshnish group is listed as *Kernaborg, Isleborg, Floda* and *Lunga*. '*Isle-*' may be the Gaelic *iosal* 'low', but this does not help identify the castle' (Duncan and Brown 1956, 208). The Royal Commission agreed:

The identity of the castle of *Isleborgh* ... has been the subject of considerable discussion, but since early charters generally couple it with *Cairnburgh* and other islands in the Treshnish group, there appear to be good grounds for accepting the view that is an early name for *Cairn na Burgh Beg* 'the cairn of the little castle'. The first element of the name is probably the Gaelic *iosal* 'low' in reference to the fact that this island rises to a lesser height than its neighbour *Cairn na Burgh More* 'the cairn of the big castle'. (RCAHMS 1980, 189)

However, the antiquarian Erskine Beveridge argued in 1903 that 'after much consideration, the present writer inclines to the belief that the *Isleborg* of ancient Scottish charters is more probably to be identified with the island-fort formerly existing in *Loch an Eilein* [on Tiree]' (Beveridge 1903, 112n). Munro also came to the conclusion that Tiree may have been the location of *Isleborg*:

One of the puzzling place-names of the Hebrides is *Isleborg* ... Two earlier references associate it with *Cairnburghmore* in the Treshnish Islands and *Dunchannel* in the Garvellachs, and the 1390 charter (in a

1495 confirmation) gives a curious mixture of lands and offices ... I do not think this is sufficient evidence that *Isleborg* 'certainly' lay in the Treshnish group, as *Kernaborg* undoubtedly does; why should there be two castles there? ... If therefore we have to look beyond the Treshnish group, why not in Mull, or even in neighbouring Coll or Tiree? (Munro 1977, 9)

The name has not survived in oral tradition, and it noteworthy that the first historical form of the farm township name is the 1390 *Hindebollis* (but see *Heylipoll*). An alternative Tiree location for *Isleborg* might be G *Dùn Mòr a' Caolais* 'the large fort of Caolas' (see *Ciofal*). This might explain the documentary connection with *Kernaborg* (see above), which is intervisible across the Tiree Passage. An enclosure below this fort is called G *Fang nan Ileach* 'the fank of the Islay men' (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.). The folk etymology is that the bodies of sailors from Islay were washed up and buried here. But while this hill fort has not been excavated, all the surface indications are that it is an Iron Age broch (see Canmore ID 21485).

Isleborg is convincingly a Scandinavian place-name in ON *borg* 'wall, fortification, castle' (CV, 73). Names in *borg* are common in Norway and Iceland, although many of these derive from its other sense of 'small dome-shaped hill' (CV, 73; see *Skarbarigh*). Personal names commonly provide the specific in Norwegian *-borg* names: for example, *Iversborg* (NG). One possible specific on Tiree might be the male ON personal name *Ísleifr*: ON **Ísleifsborg* 'castle of *Ísleifr*'. This personal name occurs several times in *Landnámabók* (1900, 358).

Islibhig (*Islivick* Oftedal 2009, 33) in Lewis has been derived from *Ísleifr* (Evemalm 2018, 126); there is an *Islesburgh* in Northmavine, Shetland, the site of a broch (1878 Ordnance Survey map XXIX; Canmore ID 786); *Ísleifsstaðir* was an early settlement in Iceland (*Landnámabók* 1900, 302), and the name survives in modern Icelandic names, as in *Ísleifsmór* (NLSI).

KENAVARA TIR R 1 NGR NL935404 [ˌkɛ̃ãə nə 'vɑ ra]

Kenmarre, 1541 ER 17, 648: 3.5 merklands (Johnston 1991, 95)

Kennewar, 1638 RMS ix, 828

Keandavet, 1653 Robert Gordon, *Scotia Antiqua*, EMW.X.015: one of only three place-names marked on Tiree

Keand dauar, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): marked with a settlement symbol on the west side of the mouth of the stream draining *L fuil*. (*Keandavar* appeared on maps of Scotland until at least 1765: see Lotter, NLS EMS.s.222A).

Kenavar, 1674, MacPhail 1914, 289: 3.5 merk-land, £52, victual 30 stone, malt 2 bolls, and the casualties of 3 mail-land

Bennary, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 86

Kainvarr, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives

Barapol and Kenvarh, 1751 *Roll of Valuation for the shire of Argyll*, SRO E106/3/2/73: 64 maillands

Kenvar and Ben Kenvar, 1768 Turnbull Map

Benchinivarrh Hill, 1776 Mackenzie M., *West Side of the Island of Mull with the Islands of Tiri and Coll*, NLS EMS.s.654

Barapole and Kenovar, 1794 Cregeen 1964, 38

Kinavar, 1801 Cregeen 1964, 60

Ben Chinevarth, 1801 John Cary, London, NLS Marischal 63

Benchinivarrh Hill, 1804 W. Heather, *A new and improved chart of the Hebrides*, NLS EMS.s.580

Ben Chinevarth, 1811 S.J. Neele, London, NLS Marischal 75

Ceann-a-Mhara, 1845 *New Statistical Account Tiree and Coll*, 196

Kenavara, 1854 Reeves, 242

Ceann-a-bharra, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 220, ‘meaning undecided’)

Beinn Ceann-a-bharra, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 211, ‘applies to a hill, the most southwesterly point of the Island of Tiree and presenting a romantic and precipitous face to the sea; it is perforated with a good many caves, they are not accessible unless by boat’)

Ceann a’ Mhara, 1898 OS 25 inch second edition Argyllshire LXXVIII.9 (Tiree)

Kenavara, common current local usage

Barrapol/Middleton | This kilometre-long headland with its towering sea cliffs is likely to have been of great military, economic and cultural importance in the medieval period. It provided the setting for one major promontory fort. This is *G Dùn nan Gall* (see *Gazetteer and Skarbarigh*), the best defensive site on the island. There may have been two other smaller forts (see *Bò* and *Borabrig*). There are forty-four place-names on the headland’s northern aspect, a fact that emphasizes the major role fowling played (see section 10.3.5). It is ‘clear that the exploitation of wild fowl, for food, feathers and oil, [was] common practice in the Norse period’ (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 219), and several surviving Kenavara cliff names are Norse (see *Ceòl*, *Hiatrainis*, *Hùnasgeir*, *Mùlainn*, *Rèidh-sgeire*, *Ruth* and *Toinisgeir*). Lidar images show cultivated rigs below the sward of Barrapol *machair*, and it may be that sand blow here reduced the acreage of arable during the Late Medieval period (see section 5.6.1). The 1674 rental, however, shows that the farm township was still growing some barley. The headland also provides 107 acres of

hill grazing, ‘reckoned the 2nd best pasturage on the island’ (Field no. 41, Turnbull Report 1768, and see *Miogasdal*). Despite its exposed position, the topography provides good shelter for livestock from most wind directions. *Kenavara* was also the site of an eremitic Early Christian monastery (see section 6.3.1.5) and a Late Medieval chapel (see *Teampall Phàraig*).

There are two surviving myths associated with a giant who was said to live in the caves on the *Kenavara* headland. In one, stones thrown after an intruder landed at G *Spitheagan an Fhoimheir* ‘the stone flakes of the giant’ in Cornaigbeg (see *Mòr-Mhill*). A similar missile became the prehistoric standing stone at Barrapol G *Creag an Fhoimheir* ‘the rock of the giant’ (David McClounnan, pers. comm.) alias G *A’ Charragh Bhiorach* ‘the sharp standing stone’. Both of these story remnants may be associated with *A’ Chailleach Bheur*, who is associated with origin myths for a number of landscape features in Ireland and Scotland, including *Loch Phuill* (see *Tobhta na Cailliche Bheir*). She is especially associated with the *Béarra Peninsula* on the Cork-Kerry border, on the northern coast of which is a settlement known as *Kenmare* (in Irish *Ceann Mara*).

The headland is likely to have had a sequence of names. The first may have been EG *Artchain* (see section 6.3.1.4 and *Artchain*). The Norse navigational name for the headland may have been **Kirkjunes* ‘the headland of the church’ (see *Circnis*). In view of its natural advantages, it may have become a Norse primary settlement known as **Skarðaborg* (see *Skarbarigh*). By the mid-sixteenth century, it appears in the rentals as the Gaelic-named *Kenmarre*. In 1768, the headland formed part of the farm township of *Kenvar* along with the ground around *Loch Phuill* (Turnbull Map); this situation continued until 1800, when Barrapol was enclosed into crofts as part of Improvement (Cregeen 1964, 51). Today, most of the headland forms part of Barrapol common grazing, with the northeastern shoulder belonging to Middleton. After the 141-m *Beinn Haoidhnis*, the summit of *Kenavara* is the second highest point on the island at 103 m. In the late sixteenth century, this was called *Bin Sckarbarig* (see *Skarbarigh*). By 1774, the hill was mapped as *Benchinivarrh Hill*. Since the enclosure of Barrapol crofting township, the highest point has simply been known as G *Am Mullach Mòr* ‘the big summit’. A saddle in the ridge separates this from a secondary summit (see *Skarbarigh*). A substantial undated stone cairn stands on this, and appears to have been built as a fishing meid (see *Carnan Mòr*).

I have used the modern form *Kenavara* as the head-name rather than the 1878 Ordnance Survey name-form *Ceann-a-Bharra*. The consonant cluster *-nn-* and *-nd-* have interchanged in some early name-forms (see section 17.4.2.2).

Kenavara appears to be a Gaelic construction in G *ceann*. This commonly has the meaning of ‘headland, promontory’, and this is how *Kenavara* is commonly

understood. *Ceann* also means ‘end’, and this is the more usual meaning on Tìree, where the generic is common: for example, G *Ceann Tràigh Ghot* ‘the (sheltered west) end of the beach on Gott Bay’. It may be noted that the saddle between the two summits is known as G *Leathad nan Ceann* (Hugh MacLean, pers. comm.). This, situated as it is beside the fort, was understood by the informant as ‘the slope of the heads’, but might also be translated in the topographical sense.

A number of authors have tried to shed light on the specific. Cameron derived *Kenavara* as ‘G. Ceann, head + N. Barrow’, relating it to the specific of the township name *Barrapoll* and the ‘remarkable’ cairn described by Beveridge on the boundary between Barrapol and Middleton (MacDougall 1937, 98-9; see *Cnoc a’ Chluidh* in section 6.3.2.8). Brownlie favoured ON *bjarg* (plural *björg*) ‘rocks, precipice’ (CV, 64; Brownlie 1995, 76). *Bjarg* and *Björg* are quite common simplexes in Iceland (NLSI), but, although this would suit the topography here, the phonetic development is irregular.

The name-form from the second edition of the Ordnance Survey, *Ceann a’ Mhara* 1892, turns to G *muir* (genitive *mara* and *mhara*) ‘sea’, and this has been picked up in other sources (see Murray 2014, 93 and *muir* in Dwelly). ‘Headland of the sea’ seems an unconvincing name, but there a number of parallels in Argyll, such as *Port a’ Mhara* in Saddell and Skipness (SP).

The specific may, instead, be G *bàrr* (genitive singular *barra*) masc. ‘summit’ (Dwelly): *Ceann a’ Bharra* ‘the headland of the summit’. There are no exact cognates, but *bàrr* is very common in Argyll, both as a simplex as in *Am Barr* in South Knapdale and in compound names such as *Sgòr a’ Bharra* (OS1/28/33/134). However, *Am Barradhu* in Hynish, a much smaller elevation, may be a local archetype for this generic, and the *Kenavara* summit has twice been given a name in G *beinn*, a more substantial hill: *Bin Sckarbarig* (see *Sckarbarigh*) and *Ben Chinevarth* 1801.

Alternatively, the specific **Bharra* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name. This may have been ON **Varða*, one meaning of which is ‘beacon’ (CV, 679; see Jakobsen 1936, 113 and section 6.1.2). This may be supported by the topography and the 1801 name-form, *Ben Chinevarth* (see section 13.6). Simplex names derived from ON *varða* are very common in the Norse expansion zone: ‘A number of hills in Orkney are called (*The*) *Ward* or *Wart*. The ultimate derivation is ON *varða* “beacon” (Sandnes 2010a, 258). It is a common generic among Norse loan-names in Carlway (see Cox 2002, 221, 271, 303, 361 and 369); the simplex *Varden* is extremely common in Norway (NG; see, for example, Rygh, vol. 9, 217); *Vørðan* is common in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Varða* is very common in Iceland (NLSI).

A name in ON *varða* may have been lexically adapted to one in G *bàrr*. However, given the uncertainty, it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

KENOVAY TIR S 1 NGR NL995475 [ˌkjaʊ nə ˈvaɪ]

G *Ceann a' Bhàigh* 'the end of the bay' or G *Ceann *Norður-Vág* 'the end of **Norður-Vág*' from ON **Norður-Vág* 'northern bay'

Kannavaye, 1509 ER 13, 216

Kendvay, 1541 ER 17, 614: 6 merklands (Johnston 1991, 105)

Kendway, 1542 ER 17, 532

Kendway, 1638 RGS, 30

Kenbay oc. and *Kenbay ycrach*, 1654 Blaeu: + G *uachdarach* 'higher' and G *iochdarach* 'lower'

Kennavay, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 291: 6 merk-land, £139 13s 4d, victual 115 stone, malt 4 b[oll] 12 p[e]cks, a pynt of butter and the casualties of 4 mail-land

Kineway, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 86

Kenovay, 1747 Tiree rental

Kenovay, 1768 Turnbull Map

Kenovay, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 53: 48 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 105)

Ceannabhagh, 1779 Estate census

Kenovay, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 76)

Ceann a' Bhàigh and *Kenovay*, common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Kenovay | Modern township name at the western end of Balephetrish Bay, a stretch of water that is almost 2 km wide

Kenovay is a Gaelic construction in G *ceann* 'end or headland'. Its specific may be G *bàgh* 'bay', a loan word from ON *vágr* (see *Baugh*). The referent was presumably Balephetrish Bay. There is a *Kennavay* in Harris, and there are examples of *Ceann a' Bhàigh* in Gairloch and Lochbroom (SP).

One problem with this derivation, however, is that it implies that Balephetrish Bay was known by the loan word G **Am Bàgh* at the same time as *Hynish Bay* was plausibly known as G *Am Bàgh* and the farm township at Baugh called *Bayech* (1509). One solution to this might be that Balephetrish Bay was distinguished by the Norse with the name **Norður-Vág* 'North Bay'; *Ceann *Norður-Vág* may then have been reduced and lexically adapted to *Ceann a' Bhàigh* (*Kannavaye* 1509). The loss of an ON -ð- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

Barra has both *Bàgh a' Chaisteil* 'the bay of the castle' and *Bàgh-a-Tuath* 'north bay'; there is a *Norwick* in Unst, Shetland (SP); *Nordvåg* is common in Norway (NG) and *Nordvaag* is a Norwegian farm-name (Rygh, vol. 16, 269); while there is a *Norður-Vík* among Icelandic farm-names (SAM).

KERACHROSEGAR # TIR D 2

G ‘the quarter of **Crossigar*’

Kerachrossger, 1747 Tیره Rental: + G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’

Kerachrossa, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73

Kerachrosegar, 1768 Turnbull Map

Kerrechrosegar, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 38 (Johnston 1991, 99): 12 mail lands

Kerachrossegar, 1776 Estate Census: 41 inhabitants noted

Kerencrossigair, 1779 Tیره Census: 60 inhabitants recorded

Kerachrosegar, 1794 Cregeen 1964, 35

Kerachrasgar, 1832 Thomson’s Atlas of Scotland

Kerachrasgar, 1862 Adam Black map, NLS

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | Obsolete township name, valued at a quarter of an ounceland in 1768

This is a Gaelic construction in G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’ (see section 10.5.6). The specific has probably developed from the existing Norse loan-name ON **Krossagarð* ‘farm of the crosses’ (see *Crossigar*).

KERAHUSAGAR # TIR D 2

G ‘the quarter of **Husagar*’

Ballehusiger, 1663 LAS Rixson: + G *baile* ‘settlement’

Kerachusagar, 1743 LAS Rixson

Kerachusagar, 1751 RHP8826, LAS Rixson

Kerrehusegar, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 40 (Johnston 1991, 99): 36 mail lands: + G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’

Kerachusagar, 1768 Turnbull Map

Kerachusegar, 1794 Cregeen 1964, 35

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | Obsolete settlement name

This is a Gaelic construction in G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’ (see section 10.5.6). The specific has probably developed from the existing Norse loan-name ON **Húsagarð* ‘farm of the houses’ (see *Husagar*).

KERANOKILE # TIR D 2

G ‘the quarter of the chapel’

Kerrienakill, 1663 LAS Rixson

Reranakeill, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 290: 1.5 merk-land, £13 6s 8d, victual 20 stone

Keranokile, 1768 Turnbull Map

Keranokill, 1794 Cregeen 1964, 36

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Kilkenneth | Obsolete settlement name, valued in 1674 as a quarter of an ounceland

This is a Gaelic construction in G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’ (see section 10.5.6). The specific is G *cill* ‘chapel or graveyard’.

On Turnbull’s map this farm township lies adjacent to, and to the north of, *Kilchenichmore*. The referent could therefore have been *Cill Choinnich* or *Cill Tunnain*.

KERATRINVOIR # TIR D 3

G ‘the quarter of the large third’

Keratrinvair, 1747 Tíree rental

Keravintrianvoir, 1751 LAS Rixson

Kerahinvair and *Kerahianvoir*, 1776 Estate census

Keratrianvoir and *Kerameanoch*, 1794 Cregeen 1964, 36

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | Obsolete settlement name, situated between *Kerachrosegar* and *Keranokill* (Cregeen 1964, 35–6)

This is a Gaelic construction in G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’ (see section 10.5.6). The specific is the existing Gaelic name **An Trian Mòr* ‘the large third part’ (Dwelly). G *trian* is a borrowing from ON *Þriðjungr* ‘the third part of a thing; a political division, the third part of a shire ... in Iceland, every *þing* was subdivided into three parts’ (CV, 745; see section 10.5.5).

On Man, *Treen* is a common element (Muhr 2002, 42), although its derivation there is not well understood. *Trian* is less common, however, in Scotland (Denis

Rixson, pers. comm.): examples may include *Trian* in Monzievaird and Strowan, Perthshire (SP), and *Treen* and *Faoileann an Triain* in Bracadale Skye (OS1/16/2/98 and OS1/16/1/17). It does not occur in Carloway (Cox 2002). *Treungen* in Norway derives from *Þriðjungrinn* (NS); *Suðurtriðingur* is one of three parts of the village of *Sørvág* on the Faroe Islands; while *Þriðhyrningur* is a farm-name in Iceland (SAM).

KERRALONAMAIR # TIR D 2

G ‘the quarter of **Lònamar*’

Kerralonamair, 1782 ‘Tack to Archibald Campbell, South quarter of Kelis’ (Inveraray Castle estate paper)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Caolas | Obsolete settlement name. The 1776 estate census includes *South Quarter of Kelis*, ‘tacksman Alexander McLean, Gott’. Turnbull mapped this as *Kelis Mains* in 1768.

This is a Gaelic construction in G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’ (see section 10.5.6). The specific has probably developed from the existing name *Lònamar* (see Gazetteer).

KERREFERGUSS # TIR D 3

G ‘the quarter of **Furgus*’

Kerreferguss, 1663 LAS Rixson

Kerrefergus, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 290: 1.5 merk-land, £2 6s 8d, victual 27.5 stone, malt 1 boll, and the casualties of 2 mail-land

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | Obsolete settlement name. It was listed between *Grianail* and *Kerremeanach*, and valued at a quarter of an ounceland, in the 1674 rental (MacPhail 1914, 289-290).

This is a Gaelic construction in G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’ (see section 10.5.6). The specific is somewhat opaque. **Ferguss* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *áss* ‘ridge’ (CV, 46). This appears to have also had the meaning of ‘raised cobble beach’ on Tiree (see *Àras*, *Bhàlas* and *Torbhas*). The

specific may be ON *urð* ‘a heap of stones on the sea beach’ (CV, 657): ON **Urðar-ás* ‘cobble ridge’. The initial *f*- could have been projected from the terminal -*v* of *ceathramh* (see section 17.4.2.2), becoming unvoiced in the process (Cox 2002, 63). The striking, cobble storm beaches of Craignish and the place-name *An Turdha* (possibly derived from *urð*: see Gazetteer) are nearby. **Furguss* could be a contrasting pair with another Craignish name *Bhàlas* (see Gazetteer).

Urðarás(ar) occurs several times in Iceland (NLSI).

KERREMEANACH # TIR D 3

G ‘the middle quarter’

Kerremeanch, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 290: 1.5 merk-land, £20, bear 2 bolls

Kerameanoch and *Keratrianvoir*, 1794 Cregeen 1964, 36

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Kilkenneth | Obsolete settlement name. It was listed between *Kerrefergus* and *Reranakeil*, and valued at a quarter of an ounceland, in the 1674 rental (MacPhail 1914, 290).

This is a Gaelic construction in G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’ (see section 10.5.6). The specific is G *meadhanach* ‘middle’.

Kerremenach is found in Kintyre (Dalgligh 2003, 121).

KILLYNE # TIR E 4

Killyne, 1541 ER 17, 647: 6 merklands or 1 ounceland (see Johnston 1991, 98)

Kilkyne, 1541 ER 17, 614

Killyne, 1542 ER 17, 532

Kylline, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 82 and 86 (... *Hurnepolff, Kylline et terras de Bee* ...)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Between Hough and Middleton | Obsolete township name, listed between *Murtost* (at the southern end of Hough) and *Ballemanach* (Middleton) in the 1541 rental.

Killyne is a Gaelic construction in G *cill* ‘chapel or graveyard’. The dedication is opaque. One possibility is St John. Precedents for this include *Killeán* in Torosay,

Mull, with its di-syllabic specific (Whyte 2017, 26). There is also a *Killeyan* on Islay, which Macniven suggests may also come from ‘a dedication to the Biblical Saint John. If this explanation is correct, it is likely to point to a later medieval coinage’ (Macniven 2015, 161). There is another *Killean* on Lismore, also possibly dedicated to St John (SSPN).

The referent for this medieval chapel or graveyard is also obscure. *Cill Choinnich* in Kilkenneth has a surviving structure (see Gazetteer); *Cill Tunnain* in Hough does not. An un-named chapel in the relevant area may be one suggested by the name *G Cnoc a’ Chluidh* ‘the hillock of the graveyard’ on the boundary of Barrapol and Middleton (see section 6.3.2.8). Reeves reported that in 1852 there had been a chapel here: ‘*Knock-a-chlaoidh*, close to some cabins which, it is stated, were built out of the walls of a chapel that formerly stood here’ (Reeves 1854, 243; these ‘cabins’ are likely to have been at *The Land*: see Gazetteer). The mystery is deepened by the high value of this holding: one ounceland in 1541.

The most plausible explanation, since they never appear in the same listing, is that *Killyne* and *Cill Choinnich* refer to the same farm: *Kilquhynich* (1509), *Kilkyne* (1541), *Killyne* (1541), *Killyne* (1542), *Kilchainie* (1654), *Kylline* (1674), *Kilchanneth* (1695), *Kilchenichmore* and *Kilchenichbeg* (1716), and *Kilchennichmore* and *Kilchennichbeg*, (valued at half an ounceland in 1768). See *Cill Choinnich*. Whether this represents a mis-transcription or the presence of two dedications is not clear.

KILMOLUAG TIR S 1 NGR NL965482 [kil mɔ 'lu-ak]

G *Cill Mo-Luóc* ‘the chapel dedicated to Saint *Mo-Luóc*’

Kilmalowag, 1509 ER 13, 216

Kilmolowag, 1541 ER 17, 647: 6 merklands (Johston 1991, 102)

Kilmolowaig, 1654 Blaeu

Kilmaluag, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 290: 6 merk-land, ‘wast except 4 maill-land, which pays £6 13s 4d, of malt 1 b[oll] 8 pecks’

Kilmaluag, 1679, ICA Bundle 472/194

Kilmaluag, 1716, MacLean-Bristol, 1998

Kilmaluaig, 1747 Tiree rental

Kilmaluaig, 1768 Turnbull Map

Kilmaluaig, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 46: 51 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 102)

Kilmaluag, 1776 List of Inhabitants of Tiree

Kilmaluag, 1779 List of Inhabitants of Tyree and their Age in September 1779

Kilmoluag, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 70)

Cill Moluag and *Kilmoluag*, common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Kilmoluag | Modern township name. The site of the original chapel is thought to be to the west of the modern Croish farmhouse.

Kilmoluag is a Gaelic construction in G *cill* ‘chapel or graveyard’. The dedication is to Saint *Mo-Luóc*, the Abbot of Lismore, who died in 592. The OG *mo* ‘my’ prefix is hypocoristic, relating to a nickname and indicating familiarity with that person (Woolf 2007a, 311).

There is a *Kilmaluag* in Mull (Johnston 1991, 161), and names derived from *Mo-Luóc* are widespread, found from Lismore to Barvas in Lewis (SSPN).

KIRKABO # TIR C 1 NGR NL935397

ON **Kirkjuboða* ‘submerged rock of the church’

Kirkabo, 2009 Admiralty Chart no. 1778 *Stanton Banks to Passage of Tiree* 1:100,000, UK Hydrographic Office

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Kenavara | A row of sea rocks off the promontory of *Rinn Chircnis*. There were documented shipwrecks here in 1868 and 1870. The captains of both vessels lost their lives, demonstrating how dangerous the rocks are to shipping, and how important it was for sailors to name them and learn their location.

Kirkabo has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *boði* ‘submerged rock’. The specific is ON *kirkja* (genitive *kirkju*) ‘church’. The referent was presumably an Early Christian foundation on the site of *Teampall Phàraig* (see Gazetteer).

There is a *Kirkjuboði* in Iceland (NLSI).

KIRKAPOLL TIR S 1 NGR NM045475 [ˈkiːʰkjə ˌbɔl]

ON **Kirkju-ból* ‘church farm’

Kerepol, 1375 *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* b07 s307 no. 293: see *Balephetrish*)

Kirkopollis parish and *Kirkople*, 1509 ER 17, 216: *pertinente monasterio de Columkill* [pertained to the monastery of Iona]

Kirkepoll, 1541 ER 17, 648: 6 merklands (Johnston 1991, 81)

Kirkapost, 1561 Coll. de Reb. Alba, 3 (Johnston 1991, 81)
Kirkebald, 1578 Gregory and Skene 1847, 178: six mark lands, [rent in kind 48
males of oat meal]
Kirkcapell, 1599 RMS, 891
Kirkcapoll, 1602 RMS vi, 1377
Kirkcapoll, 1631 Retours ARG vol. 1, 40: *ecclesia de Kirkcapoll* – belonging to
Joannes Campbell, part of the holding (*tenedriam*) of Ardchattan
Kirkabol and *Loch Kirkabol*, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol with church cross
Kirkapoill, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 291: 3 merk-land, £40
Kirkapoll, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 67: 24 mail lands
Kirkapole, 1794 Tiree Rental, Cregeen 1964, 37
Kirkapoll, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 128, -)
Circeabol, variably *Circeabol*, common current local usage in Gaelic
Kirkapol, common current local usage in English

Kirkapol | Modern township name. This settlement contains the original thirteenth-century parish church, first mentioned in the documentary record in 1375 (see section 10.8). Its boundaries appear to have been fluid. *Loch Riaghain* was mapped by Blaeu as *Loch Kirkabol* in 1654, while the rental of Kirkapol halved between 1674 and 1768.

Gammeltoft believed that *Kirkapoll* has developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *ból* ‘farm’ (Gammeltoft 2001, 308), although one or two historical forms (for example, *Kirkapost* 1561) may suggest a name in ON *bólstaðr* ‘farm’. This suggests that it was a secondary Norse settlement. The specific is ON *kirkja* ‘church ... in local names *Kirkju-ból*’ (CV, 339).

This name could reference a pre-existing Early Christian site (Kirkapol has two Early Christian crosses inscribed into the bedrock, and is a candidate for the location of Columba’s monastery on Tiree, *Mag Luinge*: see section 6.3.1.5). In the English Danelaw, ‘the 47 settlements known as *Kirby* or *Kirkby* would all seem to have begun life as English settlements and to have been given this ... name by the Danes because they already possessed a church by the time the Vikings arrived on the scene’ (Fellows-Jensen 2005, 115).

But the name could also derive from a Norse settler who built a new church on his land. Both theories could be true: there was often continuity of resort when Norse churches were built on the site of older Celtic churches (Crawford 1987, 178; see Glossary). In Iceland, ‘Ketil made his home at Kirkby [from ON *kirkja* ‘church’, *bær* ‘farmstead’], where the Papar [priests] had been living before’ (*Landnámabók*, 123, quoted in Márkus 2012, 44; see Johnston 1991, 82). Another possibility is that

this was land owned by a church elsewhere on the island.

Names derived from *Kirkjubólstaðr* are common in the Western Isles and in Orkney (Johnston 1991, 81); *Kirkjuból* is common as a farm-name in Iceland (SAM).

KORY FINMACKOUL # TIR A 1 NGR NM027487

G ‘the hollow of *Finn mac Cumail*’

Kory Finmackoul, 1654 Blaeu

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Balephetrish | At the centre of a natural amphitheatre created by the raised beach above the Balephetrish shoreline is a rock known as G *Clach a’ Choire* ‘the rock of the hollow’ (Mairi MacKinnon, pers. comm.). More commonly today, it is called *The Ringing Stone*, because of the sound it produces when struck (Canmore ID 21529). This rounded glacial erratic stands as a perched boulder 1.8 m high. It has been pock-marked by over sixty cup markings. Some may be Neolithic in origin, but many have been enlarged during historical times (Tertia Barnett, pers. comm.). It is unique in Scotland: ‘A rock gong ... listed by John MacKenzie as one of the seven wonders of Scotland ... *Clach a’ Choire* was “said to contain a crock of gold, but if it ever split Tíree will disappear beneath the waves” (Black 2008, 396–7).

There are other rock gongs or lithophones in Scotland: for example, the Iron Stone at Huntly in Aberdeenshire (Canmore ID 17827), which, like *The Ringing Stone*, ‘has been wedged off the ground by small rocks placed at both ends’ (Fagg 1997, 5). This is possibly to enhance the stone’s resonance. There are also two *Ringing Rocks* on Iona. Lithophones are common in Africa, where ‘the voice of the rock is believed to be the voice of an ancestor or other spirit with power to summon the supernatural’ (Fagg 1997, 3). It is possible it was played as a musical instrument: ‘Two people working at the same site, knocking stone upon stone, might well have set up quite complex rhythms, as Nigerian tribesmen do to this day using resonant rocks, sometimes singing through bits of tubing and other items to distort their voices, which are intended to be those of their ancestors speaking from another world’ (Purser 1992, 25). Limestone and granite seem to be the commonest rocks forming rock gongs, the most important characteristic being their crystalline structure (Fagg 1997, 6).

Kory Finmackoul, which may be transcribed *Coire Finn Mac Cumail*, is a Gaelic construction in G *coire* ‘circular hollow surrounded by hills’ (Dwelly). *Coire* occurs

in two other locations on Tìree: G *Poll a' Choire* 'the pool of the hollow' in Hynish, and G *An Coire Geur* 'the sharp hollow', a low-lying area of croft land in Barrapol. It is a very common element throughout Gaelic-speaking Scotland: for example, *Coire Liath* in Torosay, Mull (SP).

The specific is the mythic Old Gaelic personal name *Finn mac Cumail* (*Fionn mac Cumhail*, Campbell 1891, 16). *Finn*-names based on this warrior-hunter, who lived 'outside society in a wilderness boundary zone' (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2015, 28), are found throughout Europe, but particularly in Ireland, Man and Scotland: for example, *Seefin* in County Wicklow and *Suidhe Coire Fhionn* or *Fingal's Cauldron Seat* (Canmore ID 39705), two stone circles on Arran. These names derive from Gaelic ballads including the Finn Cycle of Tales (the *Fiannaigheacht*), which appear for the first time in Ireland as early as the seventh century (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2015, 25). Most of the Scottish Gaelic ballads that survive were composed in the later Middle Ages in both Ireland and Scotland (Meek 1998). *Finn*-names are particularly located in places of geological transition or prehistoric significance (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2015). This isolated spot on the northern shore of Tìree appears to have been a place of story and mystery in both prehistoric and medieval times (see *An Uamh Mhòr*; and see Martin 1994 (1695), 206).

LADHAIR TIR C 1 NGR NM019437

Port an Ladhair, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 96, meaning 'Hoof Bay')

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Baugh | An inlet forming the eastern border of *An t-Àird*, the low headland at the eastern end of *Tràigh Bhàigh*. On the western side of *Port an Ladhair* is the impressive G *Carraig MhicEòghainn* 'McEwen's fishing rock', named after Jack McEwen who frequently fished here in the 1930s.

Port an Ladhair is a Gaelic construction in G *port* 'inlet'. Its specific is probably G *ladhar* 'hoof'. This is not uncommon as an element in Gaelic place-names: for example, *Rudh' an Ladhair* in Kilninian and Kilmore (OS1/2/43/19) possibly describes a hoof-shaped feature. From the air, this tapering inlet does have a conical outline near the beach.

As an alternative derivation here, *Ladhair* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *ver* 'fishing station' (CV, 694; see *Am Fidhlear*). If so, the specific is obscure.

LAG AN T-SEAGAIL TIR R 1 NGR NL952418

G ‘the hollow of the rye’

Lag an t-Seagail, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd (oral sources)

Barrapol | An area of *machair* south of the row of cottars’ houses known as *The Land*. Lidar images show a large area of rigged ground here.

This is a Gaelic construction in G *lag* ‘hollow’. Its specific is G *seagal* ‘rye (*Secale cereale*)’ (Dwelly), derived from OG *secal* (eDIL).

G *seagal* is an uncommon element in Scottish place-names; one example is *Cnoc an t-Seagaill* in Assynt (SP).

LAIGHNIS TIR C 1 NGR NM078475 [ˈLãĩːˢ nɪj]

ON **Langanes* ‘long headland’

Laighnis, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/2009 and 3/2010; Hugh MacKinnon, Ruaig, 3/2010 (oral sources)

Laingis, Iain MacDonald, Ruaig, 5/2009 and 2/2016 (oral source)

Rudha Laighnis, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 141, -): + G *rubha* ‘promontory’

Ruaig | *Rudha Laighnis* is a thin rocky promontory forming the eastern side of *Poll a’ Chrosain*.

Laighnis has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *nes* ‘promontory’. The specific of this may be ON *langr* ‘long’. The development ON *-ng-* > G *-n-* is regular, and there has been vowel affection (see section 17.4.2). The referent is likely to have been G *An Rubha Liath* ‘the grey headland’, a more substantial promontory just to the east.

There is a *Langa Ness* on Birsay, Orkney, and a *Lainganis* in Lochs, Lewis (SP); there are several examples of *Langanes* in Norway (NG); *Langanes* occurs several times among settlement names in the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Langanes* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

LAIGHSGEIR TIR C 1 NGR NL933442

ON **Lágsker* ‘low skerries’

Laighsgeir Mòr and *Beag*, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 10/1993 (oral source)

Greenhill | A pair of long, thin, low skerries between *Sgeir mo/ma Li* and *Lionar Sgeire*. The larger one is to the south.

Laighsgeir, Greenhill, has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *sker* ‘skerry’. Its specific may be ON *lágr* ‘low’. The loss of a medial ON *-g-* is regular, and there has been vowel affection (see section 17.4.2). This name is likely to be contrastive with *Lamh-sgeir*, Sandaig (below). The name has been loaned into Gaelic with the modifiers G *mòr* ‘large’ and G *beag* ‘small’. See *Lionar Sgeire*, Greenhill.

There is a *Lågskjæret* in Norway (NG), and a *Lágsker* in Iceland (NLSI).

LAIGHSGEIR TIR C 1 NGR NL989404

Laighsgeir, Jessie MacKinnon, Mannal, 11/1993 (oral source)

Mannal | A skerry outside *Port an Tunna* (see *Tunna*)

Laighsgeir, Mannal, has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *sker* ‘skerry’. Its specific may be ON *lágr* ‘low’. There has been vowel affection (see section 17.4.2.1).

LAMH-SGEIR TIR C 1 NGR NL933426 [ˈLãĩ̃ ˌjɫˈeɪ̃]

ON **Langasker* ‘long skerry’

Lamh-sgeir, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 193, ‘significance unknown’)

Bogha na Laimh-sgeire, 1878 OS: + G *bodha* ‘submerged rock’

Lainisgeir, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Lainnsgeir, Brownlie 1995, 158

Sandaig | An offshore rock

Lamh-sgeir, Sandaig, has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *sker* ‘skerry’. The name-forms from the oral tradition suggest that its specific may have been ON *langr* ‘long’. There has been vowel affection (see section 17.4.2.1). This is plausibly a contrasting pair with the nearby *Laighsgeir*, Greenhill.

Langaskjeret is a common name in Norway (NG); *Langasker* occurs twice as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO), and is very common in Iceland (NLSI).

LÀMH-SGEIR TIR C 1 NGR NM051488

ON **Lágsker* ‘low skerries’

Làmh-sgeir Mhòr, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 100, ‘significance Near Big Reef’)

Làmh-sgeir Bheag, 1878 OS

Laimhsgeir na Tràghad, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, 4/1996 (oral source): + G *na tràghad* ‘of the beach’

Vaul | Sea rocks near the shore, west of *Mithealum*

Làmh-sgeir, Vaul, has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *sker* ‘skerry’. The specific may be ON *lágr* ‘low’. There has been vowel affection (see section 17.4.2.1). The name has been loaned into Gaelic with the modifiers G *mòr* ‘large’ and *beag* ‘small’.

AN LÀNACH TIR C 1 NGR NL935430 [ˈlɑː-ə ,nax] and [ˈlɑː-əɾ ,nax]

An Lànach, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 191, ‘a rocky point west of Port Bàn, sig. unknown’)

An Lathanach, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993; William MacLean, Balinoe, 8/2010 (oral sources)

An Latharnach, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol (undated); Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 12/1995 (oral sources)

Sgeir an Latharnaich, Brownlie 1995, 159: ‘The Lorn Man’s Reef’

Sandaig | A small rocky point on the southern side of the entrance to G *Am Port Mòr* ‘the big inlet’

This is an opaque name. The folk etymology from several informants was that a puffer called the *Maid of Lorn* (G *Latharna*) was wrecked here in 1882. This was

after the visit of the Ordnance Survey. It was said that some bricks from its cargo could be found on the beach at Greenhill; part of the wreck could be seen at G *Caolas na Windlass* ‘the straight of the windlass’ nearby (Mary MacArthur, pers. comm.); and the vessel’s hawse pipe was used in the wall of a (now derelict) steading on the Barrapol road. These details are not backed up by the incomplete documentary record, however, which suggests a site for the wrecking of the *Maid of Lorn* as Iona and the date as 1896, although the boat was travelling from Tiree (Canmore ID 250693; Moir and Crawford 1994, 203).

This is an unusual name. There is a *Lairig Lanach* in Argyll (OS1/2/52/35), but I could find no examples of *Latha(r)nach* elsewhere in Scotland (SP).

This may be a name with the Gaelic locational suffix *-ach* (see section 12.1.9). But if so, the derivation is obscure and it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

LAND TIR D 1 NGR NL948422 [Land]

An Land, song by *Cailean Fhearchair ‘Òran an Tàilleir’*: ‘*Mar chluinneas gach duine ‘s tha fuireach ‘s a Land’*, Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin (oral source)

Land Lag an t-Seagail, Niall Brownlie 1995, 72: + G *lag an t-seagail* ‘hollow of the rye’

The Land, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994; Niall Brownlie, Barrapol, 3/1995; common current usage (oral sources)

Land a’ Mhachaire, John Brown, Balephuill, talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1974.075, track ID 70411; William MacLean, Balinoe, 1/2009; Mabel Kennedy, Sandaig (oral sources): + G *a’ mhachaire* ‘of the machair’

Sruth an Land, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 5/1994 (oral source): + G *sruth* ‘stream’
Tobar an Land, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 5/1994; Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994; Donald Archie Brown, Balephuill, 10/2014 (oral sources): + G *tobar* ‘well’
 Common in the modern oral tradition

Barrapol | A row of roofless cottars’ houses on the Barrapol *machair*. There are no documentary records for this well-attested name. The first man to build a house here is said to have been Donald MacNeill (his grandson Donald MacNeill, *Dòmhnall an Tàilleir*, pers. comm.), who was born around 1804 and who married in 1836. The 1851 Census shows him on the Barrapol *machair* and it is likely that this is roughly when the first house on *The Land* was built (see *Cnoc a’ Chluidh* in section 6.3.2.8; Reeves visited Tiree in 1852). Several of the cottars who came to live here were displaced from Middleton in 1863, when *The Glassary* kelp factory was built by the English-speaking chemist Stanford.

An area of ground to the west is known as *G An Dòid* ‘the small farm’ (Dwelly), and the name *G Lag an t-Seagail* ‘hollow of the rye’ is nearby (see Gazetteer). Sand blow has meant that huge dunes have encroached to within a few hundred metres to the west, while the loch is to the east.

The Land is likely to be one of the earliest Scots place-names on the island. *Sc Land* has a number of meanings, including ‘soil which has still to be turned over by the ploughshare; arable land as opposed to pasture’. Samuel Johnson, in his *Journey to the Western Isles* in 1775, wrote: ‘According to the different mode of tillage, farms are distinguished into *long land* and *short land*. Long land is that which affords room for a plough, and short land is turned up by the spade’ (‘land’: DSL). On the other hand, it is not impossible that *The Land* has developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *land* (plural *landir*) ‘land, estate’ (CV, 370). This occurs twice among Norwegian farm-names (Rygh, vol. 4, 229 and vol. 5, 54), and the plural *Lande* is not uncommon in Norway (NG); *Landið* occurs twice in the Faroe Islands (KO); and there are nine examples of this simplex in Iceland (NSLI). Some Norwegian *Landir* names, however, are thought to be very old (Særheim 2005, 228). See section 8.3.

LANGACH TIR C 1 NGR NL983478 [ˈLan̩ ˌsax]

ON **Langanakr* ‘long homefield’

Langach, 1878 OS (~~*Langaich*~~, JGC, OSNB, 39, ‘A group of rocky points which show above the high water mark on the foreshore west of Àrd Mòr. No meaning got’)
An Langach, Hector Campbell, Cornaigbeg, 3/1994 (oral source)

Cornaigbeg | Rocks on the foreshore at the tip of *G An Àird Mòr* ‘the big headland’. This is now occupied by Whitehouse Farm, one of the most productive on the island.

Langach is an unusual element in Scotland (SP). A *Loch Langach* on Skye collected by the Ordnance Survey (OS1/16/5/46) was later deleted. The source form collected by the Ordnance Survey has no definite article.

Langach has probably, therefore, developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *akr* ‘arable land, homefield’ (CV, 10; see *ekra*: CV, 125). Its specific may be ON *langr* ‘long’ (CV, 372). The development ON *-k* > G *-ch* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). Since the name now applies to a coastal rock, it has presumably been transferred.

The derivation **Langakr* complements the derivation of *Taoinis* as ON **Teiganes* ‘the headland of the cultivated strip’ as well as modern land use.

Langåker is common in Norway (NG; see, for example, Rygh, vol. 10, 384), while there are two examples of *Langekra* in Iceland (NLSI).

LEBHEARAIG TIR C 1 NGR NM078459 [ˈlɛv ə ,rɛɪkʰ]

Bodha na Lebhearaig, Iain MacDonald, Ruaig, 5/2016 (oral source)

Ruaig | A submerged rock between *Cleit Ruaig* and *Soa*. The islets of the *Soa* archipelago surround an inlet now known as *G Port na h-Acarsaid Fhalaich* ‘the inlet of the hidden harbour’. There is a small cove on the western side of this where it is said that a dismasted boat can hide from vessels patrolling the Tiree Passage. Oral tradition has it that whisky smugglers used this in the nineteenth century to evade excise cutters. A small quay was built at *G Port nan Sgadan* ‘the inlet of the herring’ during the herring boom of 1915–1921 to unload small, local fishing boats.

Bodha na Lebhearaig is a Gaelic construction in *G bodha* ‘submerged sea rock’. Its specific *Lebhearaig* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *hryggr* ‘ridge’ or ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’ after metathesis. The specific of this is obscure, and it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

LEACACH TIR C 1 NGR NM087473 [ˈlɛ kʰə ,nʰɛɪx]

Rubha Leacach, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 153 ‘meaning point of the flags [flat stones]’) *Rubha na Leacanaich*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 (oral source)

Milton, Caolas | A low rocky promontory west of *G Bagh a’ Mhuilinn* ‘the inlet of the mill’ and the stream draining *G An Loch Fada* ‘the long loch’, which powered the nineteenth-century horizontal mill here.

Rubha Leacach is a Gaelic construction in *G rubha* ‘promontory’. Its specific *G leacach* ‘abounding in slabs’ (Dwelly) is a common element in Argyll, but *Leacanach* was not recorded by the Ordnance Survey elsewhere in Scotland (SP). The Tiree dialect form of *leac* is *liùc*. It is best, therefore, to leave this name open at the moment.

LEACAIG TIR C 1 NGR NM039432 ['ljũ: ,keɪk']

Sgeir Leacaig, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 253, 'Meaning rock of the little flag')

Liùcaig, Neil Johnstone, Heanish, 4/1996; Margaret MacKinnon, Heanish, 1/1994 (oral sources)

Heanish | The Ordnance Survey mapped *Sgeir Leacaig* offshore. *Liùcaig* is a fishing rock at the eastern end of G *Eilean nan Gobhar* 'the island of goats', itself at the southwestern end of G *Tràigh an Dùin* 'the bay of the fort'.

Sgeir Leacaig is a Gaelic construction in G *sgeir* 'skerry'. Its specific **Leacag* may be G *leac* 'slab, flag stone' in the local dialect form *liùc* with the Gaelic locational suffix *-ag*: **Liùcag* 'place of flat rocks'. This would suit the topography.

Alternatively, *Leacaig* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'. The specific is obscure and should be left open at the moment. The loss of a medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent is likely to have been the small bay defined by *Tràigh an Dùin*.

AN LÈIG TIR W 1 NL986442 [ˌən 'leɪ:g']

G *An Lèig* 'the stream'

An Lèig, Donald Kennedy, Caolas, 2/1994 (oral source)

The Léige, John Gregorson Campbell in Black 2008, 58: the location of this place-name is not clear. But the story, set at the time of the American War of Independence (1775–1783), references *An Cruairtein*. *Léige* is in the genitive case here (Black 2008, 334)

Heylipol | The name of the low gradient stream draining the Heylipol *sliabh* into *Loch an Eilein*

An Lèig is probably a Gaelic name in G *léig* 'marshy or miry pool' (Dwelly) but also referring to a slow-moving stream. G *lèig* is a borrowing from ON *lækr* 'brook, rivulet' (see Cox 2002, 79), although it sounds more similar to the Icelandic reflex *lækr* (CV, 403).

This loan word is common in the Western Isles, for example *Lèig Mhòr* in Stornoway (OS1/27/24/40) and *Cnocan Ma Lèig* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 241).

AN LÈIG TIR W 2

A' Lèig, Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, 5/1996 (oral source)

An Lèig, Cameron 1932, 356: a satirical song by Colin MacDonald, Balephuill: '*Gu'n dean i'n Leig a chiosnachadh* [that (the ship) was conquering *An Leig*']

Air an léige deas, Black 2008, 44: 'The *Lèigich* or "Marsh people" of Balemartine were the fishing community there. JGC's *air an Léige deas*, better perhaps *air an Lèig a-deas* ("on the Southern marsh"), is intended to distinguish the *Lèig* of Balemartine from that of Kilmoluaig in the north.' (Black 2008, 325)

Lèig-a-Deas, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 12/1996 (oral source): + *G deas* 'south'

Lèigeach, Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, 5/1996; Donald MacNeill, Crossapol; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, dates unrecorded (oral sources): a byname for people from Balemartine

Balemartine | There are three streams in Balemartine shown on Turnbull's 1768 Map: those forming the boundaries between Balemartine on the one hand, and Balinoe and Balephuill on the other, and another ditch draining Field no. 25 and cutting the township in two. The Norse name for the township was ON **Saurbý* 'marshy farm' (see *Sorobaidh*).

This is also probably a Gaelic name in G *lèig* 'stream'. However, *An Lèig*, Balemartine, was said by one informant to have been the 'old name' for district (Eilidh Kennedy, pers. comm.), and it forms the basis for one of the bynames of its inhabitants (see also *Gorraig*). This suggests that it denoted a land holding at some point, and it is possible that this was a Norse peripheral farm called **Læk*, whose referent was G *Abhainn Chu' Dhèis*, the large stream between Soroby and Balinoe. *Løkken* is a common name in Norway (NG); *Løkurin* is found in the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Lækur(inn)* is a common name in Iceland (NLSI).

AN LÈIG TIR W 1 NL975460

An Lèig, Norman MacIver, Kilmoluaig, 12/1993 (oral source)

The Léig, John Gregorson Campbell in Black 2008, 32: 'the long hollow, covered in winter with water'. This story features a well-known eighteenth-century figure from Kilmoluaig, Malcolm Clark (Black 2008, 319).

Loch Nalaig, 1768 Turnbull Map and Feature no. 135, Turnbull Report

Kilmoluaig | The stream that drains *Loch Stànail* (see *Stànail*) into *Loch Bhassabol*

This has been widened and straightened in parts, partly to drain a section of Moss township, and partly to allow the miller to control the flow of water going through the mill. The alias *G An Dig* ‘the ditch’ (Iain MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig, pers. comm.) may reflect this.

See *Lèig*, Heylipol.

LÌ TIR C 1 NGR NL938445 [ˌmɔ ˈliːh] and [ˌma ˈliːh]

ON **Hlíð* ‘slope’

Sgeir mo Lì and *Sgeir ma Lì*, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 10/1993 (oral source)

Greenhill | A rock in the inter-tidal zone at the mouth of *G Abhainn Ghrianail* ‘the stream of Greenhill’

Sgeir mo/ma Lì is a Gaelic construction in *G sgeir* ‘skerry’, and is likely to be a prepositional name (see Sandnes 2010a, 147) with the preposition *G ma* ‘nearby’ (Cox 2002, 28).

A preposition is a word like under, towards or after that adds context to the word following it. Prepositions can be found in English place-names, for example my home village *Cley-next-the-sea*; in Scots, as in the Orkney place-name *Atween the Dykes* (Sandnes 2010a, 336); in Gaelic, as in the Carloway name *Cnocan ma Lèig* ‘the hillock by the brook’ (Cox 2002, 28), *Loch Eadar Dà Bhaile* ‘the loch between two settlements’ on Raasay (Mackay 2013, 191) and *De’n Bhuaille* ‘of the cattle pen’ on the Hianish *sliabh*; or among names in the Norse expansion zone, as in the Orcadian name *Howenalidna* from ON *haugrinn á hliðinni* ‘the mound on the slope’ (Sandnes 2010a, 336), or the Faroese name *Tangi á Barmi* ‘the point at Barm’ (KO). Among Scottish Gaelic place-names, prepositional names are rare and usually archaic (Cox 2002, 27).

The final element *Lì* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *hlíð* ‘slope’ (see Sandnes 2010a, 78). This name, along with *Lionar Sgeire* and *Librig* in Hough (see Gazetteer), suggests that what are now spectacular dune cliffs along *Tràigh Thòdhrasdail* (see Gazetteer) had the existing Norse name ON **Hlíð* or **Hlíðir* ‘slope’ or ‘slopes’. Loss of ON -ð- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). Simplexes derived from *hlíð* are among the commonest names in the Norse expansion zone (see *Cliar*).

LÌBRIG TIR C 1 NGR NM098474 ['li: ,brig']

ON **Hlifarbryggju* 'sheltered landing place'

Ìbrig Mhòr and *Ìbrig Bheag*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 148, 'meaning Spotted Rock')
Ìbrig Mhòr, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 (oral source)

Caolas | The name denotes two islets lying just south of *G Am Port Bàn* 'the sandy inlet', a wide straight inlet leading to a sandy beach that is sheltered from all but an easterly wind (Alice Renton, pers. comm.). A traditional story about a 'Viking' raiding party, said to have had their oars stolen, is set nearby (see section 18.c.5 *Glac nan Ràmh*).

Ìbrig, Caolas, has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *bryggja* 'boat landing place'. The specific here may be ON *hlif* (genitive *hlifar*) 'shelter, cover, protection' (CV, 271; Marwick 1995 (1947), 61). The loss of a medial ON -f- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent is likely to have been *Am Port Bàn* itself. The name has been loaned into Gaelic with the modifiers *G mòr* 'large' and *G beag* 'small'.

ON *hlif* is not uncommon as a specific among names in the Norse expansion zone: for example, *Lee Hellia* in Orkney (Sandnes 2010a, 78) and names such as *Hlífartjörn* in Iceland (NLSI). There are no exact cognates, however.

LÌBRIG TIR C 1 NGR NL947476 ['li: ,brig']

ON **Hlíðbryggju* 'landing place at **Hlíð(ir)*' or ON **Hlíðabryggju* 'landing place of the slopes'

Ìbrig, William Neill, Balevullin, 9/1994; Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, 5/1996; and Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, 9/1994 (oral sources)

Hough | A well-known fishing rock just west of the promontory fort of *Dùn Boraige Mòr*

Ìbrig, Hough, has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *bryggja* 'boat landing place'. The specific here may be ON *hlíð* (genitive singular *hlíðar*, genitive plural *hlíða*, accusative plural *hlíðir*) 'slope'. Other names on this stretch of coastline – the two examples of *Lionar Sgeire* and **Li* (see Gazetteer) – suggest

that the spectacular dune cliffs along *Tràigh Thòrasdail* were known as **Hlíð* or **Hlíðir*. Loss of a medial ON -ð- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent may have been one of the small bays to the west of *Librig*, known today as G *Na Puirt Bheaga* ‘the small inlets’.

An *Librig* is in Kildalton and Oa, Islay (SP). *Hlíð* is an extremely common element in names throughout the Norse expansion zone.

LINGAL TIR R 1 NGR NL978397 [ˈliːŋˠal]

ON **Lyngvøll* ‘heather field’, ON **Lyngvøllu* ‘heather fields’ or ON **Lyngfjall* ‘heather mountain’

Lingal, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 236, -)

Cnoc Lingail, Lachlan MacFarlane, Hynish, 6/1995 (oral source): + G *cnoc* ‘hillock’
Cnoc Linain, 1922 Mann: ‘At Hynish House, some 900 yards from the signal station, is a rocky hillock called Cnoc Linain, the Linen Rock’ (Mann 1922, 119). The place-names recorded elsewhere in this article are problematic.

East Hynish | A slight eminence on the southeastern slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis*. There is a large, rigged enclosure a short distance to the north.

Lingal, Hynish, has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in either ON *vøllr* ‘field’ or ON *hóll* ‘rounded hill’. Its specific may be ON *lyng* ‘heather’ (CV, 401; see *Cill-fhinnean*). Heather (*Calluna vulgaris*) and Bell Heather (*Erica cinerea*) are both very common on Tiree (Pearman and Preston 2000, 67 and 84). The layout of turf and stone dykes on this hillside plateau suggests that there may have been two small upland farms here at one time; one may have been called ON **Lyngvøllu* ‘heathery fields’ and the other ON **Heiðrin* ‘the heath’ (see *Heren*).

Another possibility is that the name has been transferred from the summit of *Beinn Haoidhnis*, the highest point on Tiree or Coll at 141 m, and may, in fact, be a name in ON *fjall* ‘mountain’ (CV, 156): **Lyngfjall*. The phonetic development is regular: ‘The ON element *fjall*, in the Western Isles often modified to *-val*, only covers high mountains’ (Stahl 2000, 104); the loss of a medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). A small elevation on the northern slope of *Beinn Haoidhnis* is called *Cnoc Grianail*, **Grianal* being possibly derived from ON **Grænnhvál* ‘green domed hill’ (see *Grianal*) It is hardly likely that the main summit would be a name in *hóll* (see Jakobsen 1897, 75): ‘Of all the possibilities that existed to name a mountain or hill on the west coast of Norway during the Viking period, *fjall* ... is completely

dominant in names of heights in the North Atlantic settlements' (Kruse 2007, 19). Most other Hebridean islands have hill names in *fjall*: *Cnoc Garbh a' Mhill* on Islay at 120 m (Macniven 2015, 291); *Ben Feall* on Coll at 66 m; *Heaval* on Barra at 383 m; *Stulaval* on South Uist at 374 m; *Eaval* on North Uist at 347 m; *Leosaval* on Harris at 412 m; and *Beinn Sheihaval* in Lewis at 102 m.

As you might expect, ON *lyng* is found in names all over the Norse expansion zone. There is a *Lingal* in Walls and Flotta, Orkney (SP). *Lynghóll* is very common in Iceland (NLSI). There are several examples of *Lyngvold* in Norway (see Rygh, vol. 12, 451) and a *Lyngvellir* in Iceland (NLSI). And *Lyngfjell(et)* is also common in Norway (NG), with two examples of *Lyngfell* in Iceland (NLSI).

LINGAL* TIR R 1 NGR NL947455 ['li ,ŋ^əal]

ON **Lynghóll* 'heather hill' or ON **Lyngvǫll* 'heather field'

Cnoc Lingail, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 6/1994; Neil Alec MacLean, Hough, 11/1993 (oral sources)

Hough | The name denotes a rounded hillock on the eastern aspect of the southern end of the *Beinn Hògh* ridge. There is a traditional saying in Balevullin: '*Tha a' ghrian a dol seachad air Lingail* [the sun is going past Lingail]'; this means that spring is coming (Ann MacDonald, pers. comm.). This tracking of the sun's position as it rose or set against a landmark was widely used to mark mid-winter and mid-summer. Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, noted the mid-winter solstice by the position of the setting sun against a particular fence post as seen from his kitchen window (Alasdair MacLean, pers. comm.). See the very common Norwegian farm-name *Solberg* 'sun rock' (Rygh, vol. 2, 31).

Cnoc Lingail, Hough, is a Gaelic construction in G *cnoc* 'hillock'. The specific **Lingal* has developed from an existing Norse loan-name in either ON *hóll* 'hill' or ON *vǫllr* 'field'. As the specific is presumably again ON *lyng* 'heather', and as *Cnoc Lingail* itself is grass-covered today, ON *vǫllr* may be more likely.

LIONAR SGEIRE TIR C 1 NGR NL935441

ON **á Línaskeri* 'at (the) skerry of the lines' or ON **á Lǫnguskeri* 'at (the) skerry of the ling'

Lionar Sgeire, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 89, ‘meaning Numerous Islands’): G *lionmhor* ‘numerous’ (Dwelly)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Greenhill | ‘Applies to three small Reefs situated at the north end of “Traigh Ghrianal” and connected with the latter named place at low water mark’ (OS1/2/28/89). This cluster of inter-tidal rocks forms the southern border of *Port Ghreasamuil*, alias *Port Wylie*, an inlet named after the captain of a puffer which landed here in the early twentieth century (see *Marasaig* for its Norse name). There are three rings in the rocks around this inlet (put there by Edward Stanford some time after 1863), showing that it can be a relatively protected harbour for small boats in good weather. The most seaward of these rocks is a fishing rock now known as G *An Cnap* ‘the knob’; indeed, there are six fishing rocks around *Greasamul* (Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, pers. comm.). G *cnap* is a loan word from ON *knappr* (see section 12.1.2). The pair of beach rocks immediately to the south are *Laighsgeir*, possibly derived from ON **Lágarsker* ‘low skerries’ (see Gazetteer).

Convergence makes any derivation more speculative (see *Lionar Sgeire* below and section 17.5). *Lionar Sgeire*, Greenhill, has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *sker* (dative singular *skeri*) ‘skerry’.

The specific may be ON *lína* (genitive plural *lína*) ‘line or rope, bowline’ (CV, 393). *Lineskjeret* and *Linaskjæra* are two Norwegian place-names (NG). The phonetic development is regular (see section 17.4.2.1).

Alternatively, the specific may be ON *langa* (genitive singular *lǫngu*) ‘ling’ (CV, 372). The name *Löngusker* is common today in Iceland (NLSI), although some of these names may be derived from ON *lang* ‘long’ in the dative case. The development ON -ǫ- > G [i-ə] may be regular (see section 17.4.2.1).

The name *Lionar Sgeire* occurs nowhere else in Scotland (SP).

LIONAR SGEIRE TIR C 1 NGR NL938472

ON **á Hlíð(a)r*endaskeri ‘at (the) skerry of the end of **Hlíð(ir)*’

Lionar Sgeire, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 26, ‘a small island of rock on the foreshore opposite *Am Poll Bàn*, meaning “Numerous Rocks”)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | A skerry at the northern end of Hough, just to the west of the modern boundary between Hough and Balevullin, which goes through *Dùn Boraige Mòire*. The well-attested fishing rock *Lìbrig* (see *Gazetteer*) is a short distance to the north.

Convergence makes any derivation more speculative (see *Lionar Sgeire* above and section 17.5). *Lionar Sgeire*, Hough, has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *sker* (dative *skeri*) ‘skerry’. The specific may be ON **Hlíðarendi*. This contains the elements ON *endi* ‘end’ (CV, 129) and the existing name **Hlíð(ir)* from ON *hlíð* ‘slope’. This suggests that the striking dune cliffs along *Tràigh Thòrasdail* were known to the Norse as ON *Hlíð(ir)* (see *Lìbrig* and *Lì*).

Lienden is a common name in Norway (NG); and *Hlíðarendi* ‘the end of the slope’ is a common name in Iceland, with many examples of its use as a specific, as in *Hlíðarendaklettur* (NLSI).

LIÙCAID TIR C 1 NGR NM019435 [ˈl̪üːːkætʰ]

G ‘place of the flat rocks’

Sloc Liùcaid, Hugh MacKinnon, Baugh, 1/1996 (oral source)

Baugh | A coastal gully on the tip of a small headland

Sloc Liùcaid is a Gaelic construction in G *sloc* ‘gully’. Its specific *Liùcaid* may be an existing Gaelic name in G *liùc*, the local dialect form of G *leac* ‘slab, flat stone, tombstone ... ledge of rock jutting out from the foot of a cliff on the foreshore and covered by the sea at flood tides’ (Dwelly; see *Leacaig*). *Liùcaid* may include the Gaelic locational suffix *-id* (Cox 2002, 60), similar to that in the island name *Earraid* (Alasdair Whyte 2020a). This suits the topography at the end of the headland at Baugh.

There are no other examples of *Leacaid* or *Liucaid* in Scotland (SP).

LÒ TIR C 2 NGR NL932400 [l̪oː]

Clachan Lò, Flora MacArthur, Moss, 8/2016 (oral source)

Kenavara | A 40 cm-thick horizontal basalt dyke at the very tip of *Rinn Thorbhais*, 100 m south of *Dùn Eilean nam Bà* (see *Bò*). Many local people have carved their names here (and still do), as well as Squadron-Leader Preston-Potts, the last

commanding officer at RAF Tiree during the Second World War (Flora MacArthur, pers. comm.).

Clachan Lò is a Gaelic construction in G *clachan* ‘rocks’. Its specific *Lò* has possibly developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *laug* ‘bath, basin’ (ONP; CV, 374; see McDonald 2015, 148). The development ON *-au-* > G [o:] and the loss of ON *-g* are regular (see section 17.4.2). The referent was plausibly a spectacular 4-metre rock cut basin filled with clear water 100 m south of this rock face.

There is a *Log Geo* in Westray, Orkney (SP); *Laug* and *Laugen* are common in Norway (NG; see Rygh, vol. 7, 88); while *Laug* is common in Iceland, where many hot springs were used as baths (NLSI).

LOCH NA GILE TIR W 1 NGR NM026481 [nə 'gi ,l̪ən]

G *Loch na Gilean* ‘loch of the gullies’

Loch Nagilan, 1768 Turnbull Map

Loch na Gile, 1878 OS (JGC, ONSB, 125, ‘~~Loch na Cille, Loch of the Burying Ground~~’)

Loch na Gilean, Mairi MacKinnon, Balephetrish, 1/1994: ‘this is not G *gillean* [ˈgiː.l̪ən] “boys”’; Donald MacIntyre, Gott, 12/1995 (oral sources)

Balephetrish | A sizeable loch inland from *The Ringing Stone*; it may contain a crannog (Canmore ID 21521).

Loch na Gile is a Gaelic construction in G *loch*. Its specific is the borrowing G *gil* (plural *gilean*) from ON *gil* ‘coastal gully’. The referents are likely to have been a series of gullies along the rocky shoreline nearby.

G *gil* is commonly found on the west coast of Scotland: for example, *Loch na Gile* in Uig, Ross and Cromarty (SP) and *Taca na Gilean* (Cox 2002, 377 and 405). See *Gilean*.

LOCH NAN ÒB TIR W 1 NGR NM028485 [nan 'oː ,ban]

G ‘the loch of the small inlets’

Loch Nanoab, 1768 Turnbull Map

Loch nan Òb, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 103, ‘a small loch with a number of small islands ... sig. unknown’)

Loch nan Òban, Mairi MacKinnon, Balephetrish, date unrecorded (oral source)

Balephetrish | The Ordnance Survey applied this name to the southernmost of a pair of lochans southwest of *The Ringing Stone*. Turnbull had earlier mapped this feature as *Loch Vaull* (Feature no. 227, Turnbull Report 1768), with *Loch Nanoab* (No. 226, Turnbull Report 1768) denoting the lochan mapped by the Ordnance Survey as *Loch Aulaig* (see *Aulaig*).

Loch nan Òb is a Gaelic construction in G *loch*. Its specific may be G *òb* ‘bay, creek, harbour, shallow pool’ (Dwelly): ‘the loch of the small inlets’. G *òb* is a borrowing from ON *hóp* ‘bay’ (see section 12.1.2).

The element *òb* is relatively uncommon, but one example is *Òb Gorm Mòr* in Applecross (OS1/28/46/51).

LÒN ALABAINN TIR C 1 NGR NM028436 [Lo: 'na lə ,beɪn']

Lòn Alabainn, Angus Munn, Heanish, 6/1995 (oral source)

Heanish | A 40-m tidal rock basin above the shore, filled only at spring highs, and which looks as though it could have been used as a natural fish trap

Lòn Alabainn is a Gaelic construction in G *lòn* ‘pool’. Its specific **Alabainn* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name derived from ON *hvalbein* ‘whalebone or skeleton’ (CV, 55). The loss of ON *v-* is regular (see 17.4.2.2). G *Tràigh nam Muc* ‘the beach of the whales’ is 2 km to the west in Scarinish.

Hvalbein may be the derivation of the Norwegian farm-name *Kvalbein* (Rygh, vol. 10, 96). *Hvalbeinsrönd* ‘whalebone beach’ is on the northeastern coast of Iceland (NLSI).

LÒNAMAR TIR C 1 NGR NM097482 ['Lo: nɜ ,mɑː]

ON **Lónahamar* ‘anvil-shaped rock of the inlets’

Lonamer Harbour, 1768 Turnbull Map

Kerralonamair, 1782: ‘Tack to Archibald Campbell, South Quarter of Kelis’ (Inveraray Castle archive; see *Kerralonamair*): + G *ceathramh* ‘quarter’

Lònamar, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1993 and 5/1996 (oral source)

Caolas | An inlet with a large, flat rock on its southern side, a short length of quay and several stone jetties. It was used into early modern times as the main transhipment point for cattle being taken to Bunessan and Croig on Mull. It may have been less sand-filled in earlier times, but, even so, the dog-leg passage entering the harbour would have restricted the size of boats that could have used it.

Lònamar has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hamarr* ‘hammer ... metaphorically, a hammer-shaped crag, a crag standing out like an anvil ... frequently in local names in Iceland and Norway’ (CV, 235–6; Jakobsen 1897, 80). Its specific may be ON *lón* (genitive plural *lóna*) ‘inlet, sea loch ... frequently in local names’ (CV, 399). Its Faroese reflex *lón* means ‘cove, shallow bay with rocky beach or shore’ (Young and Clewer 1985, 361; see Jakobsen 1936, 79). This suits the topography.

Of the possible Norse loan-names in ON *hamarr* on Tiree (see *Cad-rum*, *Greatharum*, *Miarum* and *Odarum*), *Lònamar* is the only one that has not metathesised to *-rum*. In contrast, only one of six *hamarr*-names in Carloway has metathesised (Cox 2002, 478). It is possible, therefore, that *Lònamar* is in fact a Gaelic close compound noun-noun structure (see section 11.2.1) in G *lòn* ‘pool’ and G *amar*, a loan word from ON *hamarr* (see *Amar na h-Eite* in Cox 2002, 169; see McDonald 2015, 159). *Lòn Fearna* in Kilninian and Kilmore (SP) has a similar construction.

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common individually in the Norse expansion zone. The Norwegian farm-name *Lonebu* derives from *lón* (Rygh, vol. 8, 132); *lón* is a common element in the Faroe Islands, as in *Lónsbrekka* (KO); it occurred twice among Icelandic settlement names, as in *Lónland* (*Landnámabók* 1900, 306); and it is common in Iceland today, as in *Lónbjörg* (NLSI). For *hamarr*, see *Boghasum* and *Odarum*.

MAG LUINGE # TIR E 4

OG ‘plain of the boat’

Mag(h) Luinge

Campus Navis

Campus Lunge (all source forms from *Vita Columbae*, see Anderson and Anderson 1961)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

The principal Columban monastery on Tiree, but its precise location is not known (see section 6.3.1.5).

Mag(h) Luinge is a Gaelic construction in OG *mag* ‘plain, open stretch of land’ (eDIL). Its specific is OG *long* (genitive singular *luinge*) ‘ship, vessel’ (eDIL). The Latin translation name is L *campus* ‘field, plain’ with L *navis* (genitive *navis*) ‘boat’. *Campus Lunge* is a Latin-Old Gaelic hybrid name.

MALAINN* TIR C 1 NGR NL936422 [ˈvaːˌlɪŋ]

ON **Melinn* ‘the sand dunes’

Poll Mhalainn, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Poll Mhallainn, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 11/1995 (oral sources)

Poll Bhallain, Brownlie 1995, 157: ‘The Pool of the Tub’ (G *ballan* ‘tub’)

Poll a’ Bhaltaire, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994 (oral source): + G *ballaire* ‘great black cormorant’ (Dwelly)

Sandaig | A coastal pool at the northern end of *Tràigh na’ Gilean*, where, it is said, seals and fish shelter in bad weather

Poll Mhalainn is a Gaelic construction in G *poll* ‘pool’. Its specific **Malainn* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *melr* masc. ‘marram grass, sand dunes’ (CV, 423) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5). The development ON *-e-* > G *-a-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). The referent was plausibly the huge area of ‘sand ... much blown, some bent grows on part of it’ (Feature no. 66, Turnbull Report 1768), also mapped by the Ordnance Survey in 1878 as ‘Blown Sand and Bent’ (25 inch Argyllshire and Buteshire LXXVIII.5 Tیره). This has now developed into vegetated dunes.

There is a *Mel* in Bressay, Shetland (SP); *Melen* is extremely common in Norway (NG) and see the Norwegian farm-name *Mælen* (Rygh, vol. 5, 88); *Melin* is common in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Melurinn* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

MANNEL TIR S 1 NGR NL987404 [ˈmaˌnɑː]

Mannawallis, 1390 Munro and Munro 1986, 17: ‘unciata terre’

Mandalon, 1496 RMS ii, 2239: 1 unciata (Johnston 1991, 93)

Manwell, 1509 ER 13, 217: 4 lib. (Johnston 1991, 93)

Mandalon, 1539 RMS iii, 2065

Manvall, 1541 ER 17, 648: 6 merklands (Johnstone 1991, 93)

Manwell, 1541 ER 17, 614
Manwel, 1542 ER 17, 527
Mandalon, 1617 RMS vii, 1628
Mandalone, 1630 RMS viii, 1610
Mandulon, 1603 Retours ARG vol. 1, 7
Mandalon, 1615 Retours ARG vol. 1, 16
Mannell aut [or] *Mandalen*, 1638 RMS ix, 828
Mannol, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol
Mandalon, 1662 Retours ARG vol. 1, 67
Manuel vel [or] *Mandalon*, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 82
Mannall, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 289: 3.125 merklands, ‘all wast’
Mandalon, 1695 Retours ARG vol. 1, 93
Mannall, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73
Mannal, 1751, Roll of Valuation, Argyll (NAS E106/3/2/73)
Mannal, 1768 Turnbull Map
Mannal, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 25: 72 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 93)
Manal, 1794 Tiree Rental, Cregeen 1964, 38
Mannet, 1832 Thomson’s Atlas of Scotland
Mannel, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 232)
Manal, Ailean Boyd, pers. comm. and common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Mannal | Modern township name

Mannel has probably developed from a Norse loan-name. Documentary sources stretching back to the fourteenth century give us a rare opportunity to track the complex development of this settlement name or names. There has been considerable reduction, from four syllables in the 1390 form to two today; there has been some weakening and deletion of /v/; while the consonants /v/ and /w/ have often alternated (see section 17.4.2.2). The historical forms *Mandalon(e)* may contain the ON post-positioned bound definite article. This is often found in qualified names in Norway: for example, *Manndalen*, *Østerdalen* and *Sognefjorden* (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.). See section 13.5.

The fact that the name-forms can be divided into two sub-groups – for example, *Mannawallis* (1390) and *Mandalon* (1496), with the simultaneous *Mannell aut* [or] *Mandalen* (1638) – suggests that the rentals recorded two different names with different generics: a name in *vøllr* ‘field or farm’ and another name in *dalr* ‘area of land’. This is called generic variation (see Macniven 2015, 353; see also *Heylipoll* and *Boidhegeir*, *Fòirnigir*, *Groideagal*, *Òdhrasgair* and *Rèidh-Sgeir*).

Man- is a common element among names in the Norse expansion zone: for example, *Manish* on Bernera (SP); the ten examples of *Mann dalen* in Norway (NG); *Mannaskarð* in the Faroe Islands; and the Icelandic farm-name *Manheimar* (SAM). Several interpretations are possible.

One derivation is ON *man* (genitive plural *mana*) ‘bondsmen, slaves’ (CV, 409). This may be the derivation of the Norwegian farm-name *Mansaaker* (Rygh, vol. 11, 446) and the Icelandic farm-name *Manheimar* (CV, 409).

Secondly, the specific could be ON *maðr* (genitive plural *manna*) ‘man’ (CV, 407): ‘names like this were coined at a time when the places in question were populated exclusively by men or women’ (Macniven 2015, 219). *Mannaskarð* is found in the Faroe Islands (KO), while *Mannamótshóll* is a name in Iceland (NLSI).

Thirdly, ON *mǫn* (genitive *manar*) ‘mane of a horse’ (CV, 444), is occasionally used in a topographical sense to describe the contours of an undulating ridge. The Norwegian farm-name *Manerud* derives in this way (Rygh, vol. 2, 337), as does *Månefossen* (NS), while there is a *Manarklettur* in Iceland (NLSI). The skyline to the west of the farm may have suggested this.

Given the generic variation, we should not assume that any names in *vǫllr* or *dalr* have the same specific: for example, these names might be derived as *Manavǫll* ‘the farm of the slaves’ and *Mannadalinn* ‘the ground of the men’. The earliest form *Mannawallis* (1390) may also contain the Scots plural suffix, implying that the farm township had two or more divisions at one stage (Whyte 2017, 289; see *Hindebollis* in *Heylipoll*).

However, given the number of options it is best to leave the specific(s) open at the moment.

MARASAIG TIR C 1 NGR NL934442 [ˈma ra ,seɪkʰ]

Marasaig, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993 (oral source)

Greenhill | A shoreline rock, part of the *Lionar Sgeire* complex

Marasaig has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The simplex is opaque and it is best to leave this part of the name open at the moment. The loss of a medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

The referent was plausibly the inlet now known as *Port Wylie* and used in the late nineteenth century to beach puffers (see *Lionar Sgeire*).

MEALBHACH TIR C 1 NGR NM059478

G *Mealbhach* ‘an area of *machair* and dunes’

Mealbhach, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 131, ~~Am Mealbhach~~, ‘a piece of rough pasture abounding in little knolls situated between Vaul and Ruaig and stretching from near the Independent Chapel, Ruaig for about half a mile in a southwesterly direction. Name means “hilly” or “abounding in sand hills”’) No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

The boundary between Vaul and Ruaig | Oral tradition holds that there was once an enormous dune here, known as G *Am Baca Ruadh* ‘the red dune’. This was the highest point in the east end of the island, but the dune eroded spectacularly (see section 5.6.2). This must have been before 1768, when this low-lying area by the shore was described as ‘blown sand ... with some spots of grass among it’ (Field no. 250, Turnbull Report 1768). As mapped in 1878, this was an extensive area of hummocky *machair* dune fields, while today this site has become a flat and stable *machair* plain.

Mealbhach is probably G *mealbhach* ‘a stretch of *machaire* with bent-covered hillocks’ (McDonald 1991, 176). This is a close compound noun-noun structure (see section 11.2.1) with two Norse-to-Gaelic borrowings: the otherwise unattested G **meala* ‘marram grass (bent)’ (see Watson 1996 (1904), 227) from ON *melr* ‘sand dune grown with bent grass’ (CV, 423), and the common G *baca* ‘sand dune’ from ON *bakki* ‘bank’ (CV, 50; see section 17.1; see J.L. Campbell in McDonald 1991, 177; see McDonald 2015, 167). The development ON *-k* > G *-ch* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The second noun has been lenited, as in the Kilmoluaig place-name *Dubh-chladach* ‘the black shore’. See *A’ Mhealathaich*.

Mealbhach does not appear as a place-name elsewhere in Scotland (SP), although there is an *A’ Mheallach* in South Uist, where ‘this name is sometimes applied to “bent grass” and this place abounds with that class of grass’ (OS1/18/12/40). *Melabakkar* occurs several times in Iceland (NLSI).

AM MEALL TIR C 1 NGR NL989405

G *Am Meall* ‘the mound’

Am Meall, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 231, ‘A small rocky knoll situated at the roadside ... meaning “The Knoll”’). There is another *Am Meall* on Craignish, Hough (OS1/2/28/63).

Karrig na Mall, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): + G *carraig* ‘fishing rock’

Carraig a’ Mhill, Jessie MacKinnon, Mannal, 5/1995 (oral source)

Geat a’ Mhill, Vindy Mackay, Balemartine, 6/1994; John Fletcher, Balemartine, 8/2009 (oral sources): + G *geata* ‘gate’

Port a’ Mhill, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 231); John MacDonald, Mannal, talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.144, track ID 84881; Alexina MacLean, Mannal, 1/1994 (oral sources): + G *port* ‘inlet’

Mannal | A bulbous outcrop which marks the boundary between Mannal and Hynish.

Am Meall derives from G *meall* masc. ‘great shapeless mound, knob’ (Dwelly). *Meall*, from OG *mill*, is a common element on Tiree, with ten examples. There has been a change in gender of *Am Meall* from feminine in 1654 to masculine in 1878. Gender anomaly is a sign of a relatively older Gaelic formation (see section 11.2.1). A similar example in Carloway, *Caolas a’ Mhill*, also shows this (Cox 2002, 198). The name *Am Meall* is fairly common in Scotland, for example in Lismore and Appin (SP).

MEANAIDH* TIR R 1 NGR NL965409 [ˈven ,eɪʰ]

Bruach Mheanaidh, Murdoch Sinclair, Balephuill, 5/1997 (oral source): + G *bruach* ‘rise’

Croit a’ Mheanaidh, Duncan MacPhail, Balephuill, 6/1994; Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, 2/1995 (oral sources): + G *croit* ‘croft’

Taigh Mheanaidh, Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, 12/1996 (oral source): + G *taigh* ‘house’

Balephuill | The brow of the hill over which the road to Balephuill passes. The site was plausibly on the boundary of the farm townships of **Bèidhe* and *Balephuill* (see *Cnoc na Crithe*).

This clutch of dependent names are all Gaelic constructions in G *bruach* ‘slope’, G *taigh* ‘house’ or G *croit* ‘croft’. Their common specific **Meanaidh* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *al-menning* ‘common or public pasture ... where cattle are grazed during the summer months’ (CV, 17).

An alias is *Manitoba*, which also appears in the dependent name *Croit Mhanitoba* (Hector Kennedy talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1971.089, track ID 50860). This

name comes from a family of MacLeans who emigrated from this croft to Manitoba in Canada around 1877, and who are commemorated in the well-known song *Òran Mhanitoba* composed by John MacLean, the Balemartine bard (Cameron 1932, 164).

There are twenty-three examples of *Almenningen* in Norway (NG); while *Almenningur* is also common in Iceland (NLSI).

MEANNAN* TIR D 2 NGR NM093477

'*Mun Mheannan*' and '*Às a' Mheannan anns a' Chaolas*', Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, talking to Ailean Boyd, 12/1986 (oral source): + G *mun* 'around' and *às* 'from', both prepositions that take the dative case

Croit and *Bothag a' Mheannain*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 (oral source): + G *croit* 'croft' and G *bothag* 'hut'

Àirigh Mhealain, Donald Kennedy, Caolas, 2/1994 (oral source): + G *àirigh* 'shieling'

Caolas | An enclosure with turf-covered footings northwest of *Am Port Bàn*

Meannan may have developed from G *meallan* 'small hill'. The development *-l- > -n-* is found on Tiree (see section 17.4.2.2).

There is a *Meannan* in Stornoway, described as a 'large hill' (OS1/27/51/12), another described as 'a small or rather middling size hill the surface of which is mostly composed of rocky, heathy pasture' (OS1/27/54/9), and a *Meannan Beag* in Lochs, 'a small, rocky, heathy hill' (OS1/27/91/8). *Meallan*, by contrast, is extremely common, as in *Am Meallan*, Kilmorack (OS1/17/51/83).

MEANNAN BHALLA TIR R 1 NGR NM040490

Meannan Bhalla, unknown informant: + G *Bhalla* 'Vaul'

Vaul | An area of common grazing southwest of *Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais*

See *Meannan* above.

MEANNAR* TIR R 1 NGR NM072483 [ə 'vãœ ,naɪ]

A' Mheannair Mhòir, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 and 3/2010 (oral source):

+ G *mòr* 'big'

Bruach a' Mheannair Mhòir, Angus MacLean, Scarinish (11/1996 (oral source): +

G *bruach* 'slope'

Ruaig | A rise in the road between Ruaig and Caolas after it passes through a small quarry. The site is on the boundary between Ruaig and Salum.

It is best to leave this name open at the moment.

MEIDHAIG TIR C 2 NGR NL967387 [nam 'maɪ ,h'd'erk]

ON **Meyjarvík* 'inlet of the maiden'

Port na Meidhaig, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 239, 'meaning of the name not ascertained')

Port Bàn nam Maighdeag, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 2/1994; William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995; Gilleasbuig Kennedy, West Hynish 6/2020 (oral sources): + G *bàn* 'sandy' + G *maighdeag* 'cowrie shell' (Dwelly)

West Hynish | A small inlet just to the north of *Diubadal*. The wild coastline in question is mid-way between the settlements and road ends of East and West Hynish; it was therefore not possible to visit the site with the informants to identify its exact location.

The name-form collected from the oral tradition, *Port Bàn nam Maighdeag*, is a Gaelic construction meaning 'the white or sandy beach of the cowrie shells' (see McDonald 1991, 173). The element G *maighdeag* occurs three times on Tiree. *Port nam Maighdeag* is in Caolas. Another *Port Bàn nam Maighdeag* is on the Kenavara headland. Edward Stanford, who built the Middleton seaweed factory in 1863, took an interest in this beach: 'Cowrie shells are found in considerable quantity in Tyree, but though very pretty would not do for [Africans], not white enough for their money. Sent sample to London, but given an estimate of 25/- a hundredweight' (Edward Stanford notebook, page 62, An Iodhlann cat. no. 2003.177.9).

Instead, the name-form *Port na Meidhaig* collected by the Ordnance Survey suggests that the specific *Meidhaig* has developed from an existing Norse loan-

name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. Its specific may be ON *mær* (genitive singular *meyjar*) ‘maiden’ (CV, 443). The loss of a medial ON -v- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

Mær-names are common in the Norse expansion zone, including possibly *Meireabhal* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 340); *Møyvatnet* in Norway (NG); Norwegian farm-names such as *Møisund* (Rygh, vol. 5, 310); a *Moyggjagilið* in the Faroe Islands (KO); and two examples of *Meyjarvatn* ‘lake of the maiden’ in Iceland (NLSI).

Several of these names are water features. It is tempting to speculate that some may have been named after a drowning tragedy, and it is noteworthy that there is also a drowning tradition in this area. See *Balbhaig*, *Bèidhe*, *Solabhaig* and *Ulbhaig*.

MEILEART* TIR C 2 NGR NM049450 [ə 'mʲe̞ ˌl̪aɾtʲ]

Rudha Mheileirt, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 170, ‘A small point situated on the coast about ¼ mile Eastwards of Scarinish’)

Am Meall Àird, Donald Kennedy, Scarinish, 10/1993 (oral source)

Scarinish | *Rudha Mheileirt* was mapped by the Ordnance Survey as a small promontory east of Scarinish harbour, but making up part of the headland defining the westerly end of *Loch Got*, Gott Bay. *Am Meall Àird* is the low, flat eminence on which the War Memorial stands above the modern pier head.

Rudha Mheileirt is a Gaelic construction in G *rubha* ‘headland’. Its specific **Meileart* has possibly developed from a Gaelic close compound noun-noun structure (see section 11.2.1) – G *Am Meall Àird* ‘the lump promontory’ – rather than G *Am Meall Àrd* ‘the high lump’. This suits the stress pattern, but not the topography. We may take the striking contours of *Am Meall* in Mannaal as the local archetype of a *meall* feature.

However, it is also possible that **Meileirt* has developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *fjǫrðr* ‘firth, bay’ (CV, 158). Macniven has argued that this process of lexically adapting Norse place-names was quite common on Islay (see, for example, *Cnoc Crun na Maoil* in Macniven 2015, 125). The reflex of ON *fjǫrðr* in Gaelic Scotland is usually *-art* or *-ort* (see Cox 2007b for a full discussion of this): for example, *Loch Gruinart* and *Loch Muchairt* on Islay (Macniven 2015, 323 and 139), *Loch Eireasort* in Lewis (Evemalm 2018, 109), and *Loch Ainort* and *Loch Snizort* in Skye.

The specific of this Tیره name could be ON *melr* (genitive plural *mela*) ‘bent, dunes ... frequently in Icelandic local names’ (CV, 423): ON *Melafjǫrð* ‘sand dunes bay’. The development ON *-e-* > G *-ei-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). This certainly

suits the topography of this *machair*-rimmed bay (see *Mealbhach*).

Another possibility for the specific is ON *meðal* ‘middle’ (CV, 420), as in the two examples of *Melfjorden* in Norway that have been derived from *Meðalfjorðr* ‘middle fjord’ (NS; see Rygh, vol. 16, 166). Approaching Tiree and Coll from the southeast by sea, Gott Bay (three kilometres in length) certainly lies between the equally impressive Hynish Bay and Coll’s Crossapol Bay.

There is a *Loch Melfort* in Kilninver and Kilmelfort, Argyll (OS1/2/21/6); while *A’ Mheallaird* (Roger Auger, pers. comm.), *Eilean na Meallairt* (meaning ‘Island of the High Lump’ OS1/18/9/83) and *Loch na Mèallaird* (OS1/18/10/2) can be found in Benbecula/North Uist; there are several examples of *Melfjorden* in Norway (NG); and there are three examples of *Melavík* in Iceland (NLSI).

MHAOIS TIR C 1 NGR NM042494

ON **Veisa* ‘stagnant pool’

Sloc Mhaois, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 99, ‘Keosses [?] creek’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Vaul | A steep-sided inlet to the west of the Iron Age broch at Vaul, *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*. It is known today as *G Am Fang Domhainn* ‘the deep fank’ (Tommy MacKinnon, pers. comm.).

Sloc Mhaois is a Gaelic construction in *G sloc* ‘gully’. Its specific may be *G maois* fem. ‘a load of cut seawrack that can float tied up with heather ropes and towed from the skerries where it is cut after a boat’ (McDonald 1991, 174; Duncan MacPherson, Gairloch, talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1962.018, track ID 51330). This was not a common practice on Tiree, nor is *maois* a common element in place-names; *Leabaidh na Maoise* in Uig, Lewis is one example (SP).

Instead, *Mhaois* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *veisa* ‘pool, pond of stagnant water’ (CV, 691). The development ON *-ei-* > G [ãøĩ] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). This suits the topography. Just to the west of *Sloc Mhaois*, a small undated dam has been built. This created what is known today as *G Loch na Faing* ‘the loch of the fank’ (OS1/2/28/99), a small pool presumably used by cattle before being left for the night in this natural pen.

Veisa(ne) and *Veiset* are common in Norway (see Rygh, vol. 11, 547); ‘[*Veisa* is the name of a farm [in Iceland and] the name of a tarn in Lister, Norway’ (CV, 691).

A' MHEALATHAICH TIR C 1 NGR NM086491 [ə 've ,lax] and [ə 've ,lə-ɛix]

G 'at the place of *machair* and dunes'

A' *Mhealach*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/1996 (oral source)

A' *Mhealathaich*, Professor Donald Meek, Caolas 3/2020 (oral source)

Caolas | A sandy track leading up from the shore

This name is probably G *mealathaich* 'a stretch of *machaire* with bent-covered hillocks' (McDonald 1991, 176). Watson recorded G *Mealach* as 'full of marram grass (bent)' (Watson 1996 (1904), 227). It is in the dative case here. See *Mealbhach*. There is a *Mealathach* in Barra (Campbell in McDonald 1991, 177).

MHIASUMULL* TIR C 1 NGR NL977385 ['vi--ə sa ,lʌm]

Poll Mhiasumuill, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 241, -)

Poll Mhiasumuill, 1878 OS (~~*Poll Mhiasaluim*~~, JGC, OSNB, 241)

Poll Mhiasaluim, John MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.145, track ID 103417; William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral sources)

Sgeirean Poll Mhiasaluim, John MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.145, track ID 103417: + G *sgeirean* 'skerries'

East Hynish | A small inlet to the south of the ridge defining *Lag na Cleite* or *Happy Valley*

Poll Mhiasumuill is a Gaelic construction in G *poll* 'pool'. Its specific **Mhiasumull* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in either ON *múli* 'headland' referring to the headland here, or ON *hólmr* 'islet' after metathesis referring to the offshore rock called today G *Eilean an Aodaich* 'the islet of the sail'. The specific of **Mhiasumull* may have been a name in ON *Víðisáss* 'ridge of the willow' referring to the ridge made up by *Cleite Mòr* and *Cleite Beag* (see *Cléit*): *Víðisássmúla* or *Víðisásshól*. A solitary eared willow tree grows today, out of reach of grazing animals, on a low cliff on the northern side of *Diubadal*. The Norwegian names *Vidås(en)* occur several times, and the farm-name *Vidnes* derives from *víðr* (Rygh, vol. 13, 5), while *Víðías* occurs several times in Iceland (NLSI).

Alternatively, the male ON personal name *Víðarr* was recorded twice at Icelandic settlement (*Landnámabók* 1900, 380) and is found in a few modern names there (NLSI): *Víðarshól*.

MIARUM TIR C 1 NGR NL934444 ['mi--ə ,rʌm]

ON **Miðhamar* 'middle hammer-shaped rock'

Miarum, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 87, -)

Miarum, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993 (oral source)

Poll Mhiaruim, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993 (oral source): + G *poll* 'pool'

Greenhill | A small sea rock on the northern side of *Greasamull*

Miarum has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hamarr* 'hammer ... metaphorically, a hammer-shaped crag, a crag standing out like an anvil' (see *Lónamar*) after metathesis. The modifier is ON *mið* 'middle' (CV, 426); this suits its position relative to *Greasamull*. The development of ON -ð- to a hiatus is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

For *hamarr*, see *Boghasum* and *Odarum*. There is a *Mehammar* in Norway derived in this way (Rygh, vol. 11, 140); there are three examples of *Miðhamar* in the Faroe Islands (KO), and three in Iceland (NLSI).

MIASAIG TIR C 1 NGR NM030434 ['mi--ə ,seɪk']

ON **Meisavík* 'inlet of the panniers'

Miasaig, Angus Munn, Heanish, 6/1995; Neil Johnstone, Heanish, 5/1994 (oral sources)

Heanish | A small offshore rock. There is a boat draw on the shore here.

Miasaig has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'. Its specific may be ON *meiss* 'basket ... of wicker-work' (CV, 423). The development ON [eɪ] > G [i:-a] is also found in *Hianish*, while the loss of the medial ON -v- is regular (see section 17.4.2). Baskets woven from straw or willow shoots were used to carry seaweed. See *Brùig* in the Gazetteer; this is just a few metres away.

Meis- is a common specific in Norway, with two examples of *Meisavika* (NG); the Norwegian farm-names *Meisfjorden* and *Mesfjorden* are derived from *meiss* (Rygh, vol. 13, 216, and vol. 16, 295).

MILLTON TIR S 1 NGR NM087477

Scots ‘mill town’

Millton, OS 2006 Explorer Map 372; not on 1878 OS 6 inch first edition

Milton, Cameron 1932, 262: *Air cheilidh ‘m Milton*, poem by John MacLean, Caolas, who died in 1895

Sliabh Mhilton, John Archie MacLean, Caolas, 4/1994 (oral source): + G *sliabh ‘moor’*

Ùtraid Mhilton alias *Ùtraid a’ Chaolais*, Donald Kennedy, Caolas, 1/1994; Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral sources): + G *ùtraid ‘sideroad’*

Milton, common current local usage

Caolas | An area of common grazing at the shore, extending from *An Acarsaid* to the boundary at *Loch an Àir* (Duncan MacLean, pers. comm.). It includes half of the promontory fort *Dùn Mòr a’ Chaolais* and the best harbour on the island, as well as a significant horizontal mill site. The MacDonalds ‘had been millers in Caolas ever since the year 1725’ (Beveridge 1903, 71). An ‘Allan MacDonald, miller in Kelis’ was in receipt of an order for timber in 1788 (Cregeen 1964, 13), although there was also a mill on the northern coast of Caolas at one time (see *Àros* and *Greusgain*). By the 1841 Census, the miller was an Alexander MacDonald. The mill stopped working around 1885 (Beveridge 1903, 71 and photograph 73).

There is no indication that *Millton* is an old name, or anything but a Scots coinage. The name was not mapped by Turnbull or at the 1878 visit of the Ordnance Survey. Neither is *Milton* mentioned in the estate Instructions 1771–1805 (Cregeen 1964). The name was reportedly given to the area by the factor in the mid-nineteenth century (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.).

Milton is one of the commonest place-names in Scotland (SP).

MÌODAR TIR C 1 NGR NM079499 [ˈmi-ə ,dɑː]

ON **Miðodda* ‘middle points’

Mìodar, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 6, -)

Mìodar, common current local usage

Am Mìodar, Flora MacPhail, Ruaig, 1/2016 (oral source)

Cachaileith Mhiodair, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source): + G *cachaileith* ‘gate’

Caolas | A house and croft name on the northeastern headland of Caolas

G *miadar* ‘meadow’ (Dwelly) has been reasonably proposed as a derivation (Johnston 1991, 78), although ‘[meadow] does not seem to fit the conditions here’ (MacDougall 1937, 129). There are certainly examples of *Am Miadar* in Gigha, Jura, Islay and Kintyre (SP).

Instead, taking into account the topography *Miodar* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *oddr* (accusative plural *odda*) whose Icelandic reflex is *oddi* ‘a point, tongue of land ... frequently in local names’ (CV, 462; Cox 2002, 346). The specific may be the common modifier ON *mið* ‘middle’ (CV, 426). The developments ON *-i-* > G *-i-* and ON *-ð-* to a hiatus are both regular (see section 17.4.2). The referent may have been a line of sea rocks mapped by the Ordnance Survey as G *An Cléireach* ‘the clerk’, a navigational marker on the eastern side of a channel suitable for a small boat. In view of the name’s robust survival, however, **Miðodda* may have been the important navigational name for the northeastern tip of the island later mapped by Turnbull (1768) as *Ru na Hurvaig* (see *Urbhaig*) or the district name for this peninsula (see Glossary).

There is a *Midodden* in Norway (NG); the simplex *Oddi*, *Oddin*, and *Oddarnir* are present in the Faroe Islands (KO); and there is a *Miðoddi* in Iceland (NLSI). See *An Grà’ dar*.

MIOGASDAL TIR C 2 NGR NL936408 [ˈmi·gə ˈdaɫ]

ON **Myklistǫðull* ‘large milking place’

Miogasdal, William MacLean, Balinoe, 4/1998 (oral source)

Miogasdal, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd (oral source)

Miogasdal, Brownlie 1995, 155

Kenavara | An area of cliff top. This headland provided the ‘2nd best pasturage on the island’ (Field no. 41, Turnbull Report 1768), while *Barapole & Kenovar* provided grazing for 140 cattle in 1794 (Cregeen 1964, 38). There is a large degraded turf and stone enclosure in the middle of the headland here. The inlet at the end of the headland is today known as G *Fang Dubh* ‘[the] peaty fank’ (OS1/2/28/222). This last name may have referred to a wet area at the end of the promontory that is now covered by lazy beds and may previously have been used as a peat bank (see *Torbhas*).

Miogasdæl has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *stōðull* ‘milking place’ (see section 17.1). The specific may be ON *mikill* or *mykill* ‘large in size; great’ (CV, 427).

Myglestøl, derived from *Myklistōðull*, is a farm-name in Norway (Rygh, vol. 9, 251).

MITHEALUM TIR C 1 NGR NM057488 [ˈmiːə ,lʌm]

ON **Miðhólm* ‘middle islet’

Mealum, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

Mialum, 1768 Turnbull Map

Mithealum, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 114, ‘significance ~~The Bare Headland~~’)

Mithealum, common current local usage

Vaul | A promontory, tipped by a number of islets, dividing the bays of Vaul and Salum

Mithealum has probably developed from a Norse loan-name. This may have been in ON *hólmr* ‘islet’. This may either refer to the long, thin islet at the tip of the headland, now known as G *Mithealum an Fheòir* ‘*Mithealum* of the grass’. Or it may be that the entire headland was in fact an island in the Early Medieval period, before the substantial sand blow that buried the medieval field system under the modern golf course. Alternatively, this may have been a name in ON *múli* ‘promontory’ after metathesis. The specific is the modifier ON *mið* ‘middle’ (CV, 426) or the related *miðja* ‘central’ (CV, 426; Oftedal 2009, 30). The development of ON -ð- to a hiatus is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

There are two examples of *Midholmen* in Norway (NG); while *Miðhólmi* is common in Iceland (NLSI). *Miðmúli* occurs several times in Iceland (NLSI). See *Craga*.

MOIREIN* TIR R 1 NGR NL985465 [ˈmɔ̃iː ,jeɪnʰ]

ON **Móirinn* ‘the moor’

Garradh Mhoirein, MacDougall 1937, 90

Gàrra’ Mhoirein, Alasdair MacLean, Cornaigbeg, 12/1993 (oral source)

Cornaigbeg | An old turf dyke on the informant's croft. A souterrain was discovered nearby (MacDougall 1937, 90). Not far to the southwest is *Drimbuieg Common* and *Great Common Moss* (Turnbull Map 1768), known today as *G A' Mhòinteach Ruadh* 'the Red Moss'.

Garradh Mhoirein is a Gaelic construction in *G gàrradh* 'dyke'. The folk etymology of the specific **Moirein* is that it derives from Saint Mirren (MacDougall 1937, 90). But there are no known ecclesiastical remains nearby and there are no dedications to St Mirren in the Hebrides (SSPN).

Instead, **Moirein* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *mór* (plural *móar*) masc. 'moor, heath ... frequently in local names *Mór, Móar*' (CV, 435) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5). Vowel affection has palatalised the medial *-r-* (see section 17.4.2.1).

There is a *Mo* on Harris and two examples of *Moan* in Firth and in Harray, Orkney (SP); *Murren* and *Moan* on Rousay have been derived from *mórin* (Marwick 1995 (1947), 64–5); there is a *Moon* in Deltung, Shetland (SP); *Mo* is a common Norwegian farm-name (see, for example, *Moen* in Rygh, vol. 4, 186); *Móran* and *Mórar* occur several times among settlement names in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Mórin* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

MOLLACHDAG TIR C 1 NGR NM066473 ['mɔ̃ ləx ,kək] and ['mã ləx ,kək']

G 'place of the curse'

Mollachdag, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 157, ~~*A' Mhallachag*~~, 'meaning Cursed Rock')

Mallachdaig, MacDougall 1937, 120

Mallachdaig, Brownlie 1995, 112: 'On the magnificent *Tràigh Mhòr* ('Big Beach') there is a small flat rock known as *Mallachdaig* ('Little Accursed One'). According to oral sources, St Columba – during a visit to Tiree – tied his coracle to a bunch of seaweed growing on this rock. On his return, he found the coracle adrift, the seaweed anchor having given way. So angry was the saint that he put a curse on the rock and ordained that nothing would ever grow on it. And bare it is to this day.' (See also MacDougall 1937, 120 and Severin 1978, 99)

Am Mallachdaig, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, 9/1994 (oral source)

Mollachdag, Archibald MacKinnon, Gott, 5/2013 (oral source)

Gott | An inter-tidal rock, now almost buried in the sand, on which a little seaweed grows today. This end of Gott Bay is significant because of its shellfish (the beach

here is known as G *Tràigh nam Muirsgian* ‘the beach of the razorfish’), and its shelter from the prevailing southwesterly winds (there is a substantial noust above the beach here).

Mollachd is probably the Hebridean dialect form of G *mallachd* ‘curse’ (Dwelly; see an equivalent phonetic development on Mull, *Malarás* > *Moloros*, in Whyte 2017, 93), with the Gaelic locational suffix *-ag*: *Mollachdag* ‘place of the curse’. A beach rock at the east end of Gott Bay, known as *Naomhag* ‘the holy place’ (see Gazetteer), has a complementary tradition as the other half of a contrastive pair. There are examples of *Sgeir Mollachdag* on Barra and South Uist (Stahl 1999, 262) and *Mollachdag* is also the name of a sea rock off the southern coast of Canna (map by Tuulikki 2014, Canna House Archives; Campbell in McDonald 1991, 182). Some of these may be navigational danger names (see *Greasamull*, Greenhill).

MÒR CHLÉIT TIR C 1 NGR NL974384

Mòr Chléit, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 245, ‘applies to a rocky knoll rising abruptly from the sea coast’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

East Hynish | Marked on the Ordnance Survey first edition as the most seaward and smallest of three elevations on the southern side of the valley G *Lag na Cleite* ‘hollow of the hill’, today more usually known as *Happy Valley*. Seen from the slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis*, *Mòr Chléit* and *Cléit Bheag* appear as two striking cones of rock. See *Cléit* and *Mhiasumull*.

Mòr Chléit may be a Gaelic construction using a close compound adjective-noun structure (see section 11.2.1), with the specific G *mòr* ‘large’ in the initial position and the loan word G *cleit* ‘rock’ (see section 12.1.2) as the generic. There are two other *mòr*-initial names on Tiree: *Mòr-Mhill*, Cornaigbeg, and *Mòr-Mheall*, Kilmoluaig. However, this does not suit the topography, as it is the lowest point on this ridge.

Instead, *Mòr Chléit* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *klettr* ‘rock’. Its specific may be ON *mjór* ‘narrow ... tapering’ (CV, 433): *Mjófakletta* ‘tapering outcrops’. The development ON *k-* > G *ch-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). This derivation is topographically very convincing.

Meathacleit in Lewis may be derived from *mjó-klettr* (Watson 1996 (1904), 269); the well-known Shetland place-name *Mavis Grind* derives from *mjó-eiðs grind*

‘gate of the narrow isthmus’; *Mjosundet* in Norway is derived from *mjór sund* ‘the narrow sound’ (Rygh, vol. 15, 381); *mjó-* is a common specific in the Faroe Islands, as in *Mjóvarók* (KO); and the element is extremely common in Iceland, for example *Mjóuhryggir* (NLSI).

MÒR-MHEALL TIR C 1 NGR NL969492

Mor-Mheall, 1878 OS (alternative spelling *Mòr-Mheall*: JGC, OSNB, 15, ‘an island and foreshore of rock situated a little to the northeast of *Sgeir Mheadoin*. Meaning “Big Lump”)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Kilmoluaig | The outermost and smallest skerry in a chain of sea rocks stretching northeast from *Port Bhiostadh*

Mòr-Mheall was derived by Gregorson Campbell as a close compound adjective-noun structure (see section 11.2.1), with G *mòr* ‘large’ in the initial position and G *meall* ‘lump’ (Dwelly). This is not entirely convincing, but I have no better suggestion. Of note, there is an outcrop on the coast opposite called *Meall Mòr* (OS1/2/28/31).

Meall is an extremely common generic in Argyll. While G *mòr* is not uncommon in the initial position in everyday speech, for example *mór-chliùiteach* ‘greatly renowned’ (Dwelly), it is less common in place-names. One example is a sea rock in Kilninian and Kilmore, *Mor-Cheannach* ‘meaning Big headed’ (OS1/2/43/6).

MÒR-MHILL TIR R 1 NGR NL985465 [ˈmɔ̃iː ˌə ˌvaɫ]

ON **Mqðruvqll* ‘field of Lady’s Bedstraw’ or ON **Mqðruhvál* ‘hill of Lady’s Bedstraw’

Cnoc Mòr-mhill, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 79, ‘meaning Knoll of the Big Lump’)

Moidhir-mheall, MacDougall 1937, 90: this feature’s creation myth goes, ‘the giant dwelt in one of the Kenavara caves and threw the stone after an intruder’

Uchd Mhòinearbhail, Mairi Campbell, Corrairigh, Cornaigbeg, 12/1993; Alasdair MacLean, Cornaigbeg, 12/1993; Hector Campbell, Cornaigbeg, 1/1994 and 1/1995 (oral sources): + G *uchd* ‘breast or eminence’

Cornaigbeg | A small inland hill topped by a number of visually striking glacial erratics. The tradition about these is that they were thrown from Kenavara by a giant (see MacDougall above).

Cnoc Mòr-mhill is a Gaelic construction in G *cnoc* ‘hillock’. Its specific **Mòr-Mhill* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in either ON *vǫllr* (plural *vellir*) ‘field’ or *hváll* ‘dome-shaped hill’ (CV, 298). The specific of this may be ON *maðra* (genitive *mǫðru*) ‘a plant [*Galium*] ... frequently in local names, *Möðru-dalr*, *Möðru-fell*, *Möðru-vellir*’ (CV, 408). The development ON *-ǫ-* > G [ǿ] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). Several *Galium* species are common on Tiree (Pearman and Preston 2000, 91). *Galium verum* ‘Lady’s Bedstraw’ appears to have been cultivated in Icelandic monastic gardens as a medicinal plant (Kristjánsdóttir *et al.* 2014, 571), as well as being used to make dyes, bedding and plant rennet.

There are six examples of *Möðruvellir* among Icelandic farm-names (SAM).

MUC LOCH TIR 1 W NGR NM079476

G ‘pig loch’

Muc Loch, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 142, meaning ‘Pig Loch’)

Muc Loch, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 (oral source)

Ruaig | A lochan northwest of *Poll a’ Chraosain*

Muc Loch appears to be a Gaelic close compound noun-noun structure (see section 11.2.1), with G *muc* ‘pig’ and G *loch*.

I could find no other name in Scotland like this, although there is a G *Loch nam Muc* ‘the loch of the pigs’ in Argyll (OS1/2/53/240).

MULA TIR C 1 NGR NL933425 [ˈmuːlə]

ON **Múla* ‘promontories’

Mula, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994 (oral source)

Sandaig | The outermost in a line of coastal rocks

Mula has probably developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *múli* (accusative plural *múla*) ‘promontory’. The referent was plausibly part of the strikingly jagged coastline of Sandaig including the promontory known as G *An t-Sròn* ‘the promontory’ (1878 Ordnance Survey 6 inch first edition Argyllshire LXXVIII).

There is a *Moolie* on Rousay (Marwick 1995 (1947), 64); there is a *Mula* in Unst, Shetland (SP); the Norwegian farm-name *Mula* is derived from *múlar* (Rygh, vol. 16, 129); *Múlin* is very common in the Faroe Islands (KO); and the simplexes *Múli* and *Múlar* are extremely common in Iceland (NLSI),

MÙLAINN TIR C 1 NGR NL935411 [ˈmuːˌliŋ]

Ceum na Mùlainn, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 2/1997 (oral source), who said, ‘[*mùlainn*] does not mean mill’

Ceum nam Muileann, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd: G *nam muileann* ‘of the mills’

Ceum a’ Mhaoilein, Brownlie 1995, 153: ‘The Path of the Bare-topped Hill’

Kenavara | A sweeping gully leading up from the shore, part of a promontory on the Kenavara cliff complex

Ceum na Mùlainn is a Gaelic construction in G *ceum* ‘step, as of a stair or ladder; path’ (Dwelly). As far as the specific goes, there is considerable variance in the name-forms. There is certainly no plausible mill site here. Brownlie records the element G *maoilean* ‘brow of a bleak hill’ (Dwelly). This element occurs several times in Argyll, as in *Tobar a’ Mhaoilein* in Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Mull (SP), and is topographically very plausible.

Alternatively, *Mùlainn* has possibly developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *mǫl* fem. ‘pebbles on the beach’ (CV, 443) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5): **Mǫlin*. The developments ON *-ǫ-* > G [ǎǫ̃:] and ON *-ǫ-* > G [u·] are regular (see section 17.4.2.1). There is a large and striking shingle beach at the end of the headland known today as G *Am Fang Dubh* ‘the black cattle pen’, although this is some distance away.

Mølen is common in Norway (NG); *Mølin* is very common in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Mölin* occurs once in Iceland (NLSI).

MULLACH NAN GALL TIR R 1 NGR NM092486

Mullach nan Gall, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 119, ‘meaning Lowlanders Height’)

Mullach nan Ceall [kʲauL], Hector MacPhail, *Ruaig*, 4/1994; Angus MacLean, *Scarinish*, 5/1996 (oral sources): one informant described the footings of what he called ‘cells’ beside the modern house of this name.

Mullach nan Geall, Professor Donald Meek, *Caolas*, 8/2019 (oral source)

Caolas | A low north-south ridge

Mullach nan Gall is a Gaelic construction in G *mullach* ‘eminence’. The specific is opaque with a range of name-forms. It is best to leave this name open at the moment.

MURADAL* # TIR D 2 NGR NL945459

ON **Mýrardal* ‘moor ground’

Murdoll, 1674 HP vol. 1, 290: 3.5 merklands (Johnston 1991, 101)

Muirdale, 1801 (Cregeen 1964, 57): ‘Muirdale or Murstal was situated immediately south of the farm of Hough.’

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | The long ridge of *Beinn Hògh* divides the township of Hough in two: the western side of the hill slopes down to the *machair* and the shore, the eastern side to the Moss *sliabh*.

**Muradal* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *dalr* ‘valley or piece of ground’. Its specific may be ON *mýrr* (genitive singular *mýrar*) ‘a moor ... frequently in local names *Myri*, *Myrar*’ (CV, 441). The development ON -ý- > G -u- is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). This name presumably referred to land on the eastern side of the hill.

Myrdal is a Norwegian farm-name derived from *mýrr* (Rygh, vol. 11, 172); *Mýradalur* occurs several times in the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Mýrdalur* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

MURSTAINN* TIR R 2 NGR NL945459 ['vu rə ,stāin']

ON **Mýrarsteinna* 'standing stones on the moor'

Beinn Mhurstainn, Lachlan Cameron, Balevullin; Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin; and Sandy MacKinnon, Kilkenneth, 11/1993 (oral sources)

Hough | This now denotes the southern peak of the *Beinn Hògh* ridge (see *Ròg*).

Beinn Mhurstainn is a Gaelic construction in G *beinn* 'hill'. Its specific **Murstainn* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *steinn* (plural *steinnar*) 'standing stone'. For the specific, see *Muradal*. The referent was plausibly one or more of the three standing stone circles on the Hough *sliabh*. See *Staoin*. The name *Myrstein(en)* occurs several times in Norway (NG); there is one example of *Mýrarsteinn* in Iceland (NLSI).

MURSTAT # TIR D 2 NGR NL945459 ['vu rə ,stat]

ON **Mýrartoft* 'house site on the moor'

Murtod, 1509 ER 13, 217: 4 lib. (Johnston 1991, 101)

Murtost, 1541 ER 17, 647: 6 merklands (Johnston 1991, 101)

Murdod, 1638 RMS, 828

Murtosk, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 86

Murdost, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives

Murdat, 1716 MacLean-Bristol 1998

Muirdat, 1768 Turnbull Map

Murstat, 1779 List of Inhabitants of Tyree and their Age in September 1779

Beinn Mhùrstat, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 67, -): + G *beinn* 'hill'

Beinn Mhurstat, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 6/1994 (oral source)

Beinn Mhurstar, Flora MacArthur, Moss, 5/2019 (oral source)

Ceathramh Mhurdat, 1895 Campbell, 31

Hough | The name now denotes the southern summit of the *Beinn Hògh* ridge (see *Ròg*). The thin strip of the farm township *Murstat* was mapped in 1768 by Turnbull stretching from just south of Craignish, over the middle of the hill and onto the Hough *sliabh*. There are a number of rectangular turf footings on the eastern side of the hill, including two near the three stone circles.

By analogy with the similar names above, this is also probably a Norse name. From the earliest historical form *Murtod* 1509, *Murstat* may have developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *toft* (Sandnes 2010a, 93) ‘knoll, grassy place ... place marked out for a homestead’ (CV, 636; see *Mugstot* in Cox 2007b, 70). For the specific see *Muradal*.

There is a *Murtost* in Coll, whose derivation is ‘obscure’ (Gammeltoft 2001, 310). *Toft-* is a fairly common generic among Norwegian farm-names, as in *Fjørtoft* (Rygh, vol. 13, 203), and in the Faroe Islands, as in *Fransatofir* (KO).

NAOMHAG* TIR C 1 NGR NM044463 [ˈn̥øːˌveɪkʰ] and [ˈn̥øːˌvak]

G *Naomhag* ‘blessed place’

Sgeir Naomhaig, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 135, ‘meaning Spiritual Rock’)

Sge’ Naomhaig, Duncan Grant, Ruaig, 4/2015 (oral source)

Sge’ Naomhag, Duncan Grant, Ruaig, 12/2019 (oral source)

Ruaig | A boomerang-shaped beach rock, which creates the inlet *Lòn a’ Chaindeig* with *Càrsamull* to the southeast (see *Caindeig*)

Sgeir Naomhaig is a Gaelic construction in G *sgeir* ‘skerry’. Its specific **Naomhag* may be G *naomh* ‘blessed’ with the Gaelic locational suffix *-ag* (Cox 2002, 59). *Sgeir Naomhaig* shares a tradition with *Mollachdag* (see Gazetteer) in a contrasting pair of skerry names. After St Columba had cursed the rock *Mollachdag* ‘the accursed place’ for not providing a secure anchorage, he crossed the bay to Ruaig, where he was able to tie his boat safely to *Naomhag* (John Henderson talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1960.197.199, track ID 79612).

G *naomh* is a relatively uncommon element in Scottish place-names, but occurs in, for example, *Cnoc Beag Gille Naomh* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 221). The only exact cognate is *Dùn Naomhaig* on Islay, which Macniven has derived from ON *Útvík* ‘outer bay’ (Macniven 2015, 168). Likewise, **Naomhag* on Tiree has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. If so, the specific is obscure. ON *vík* occasionally develops to G *-(bh)ag* (see section 17.4.2.1).

NASKETAIN # TIR W 2 NGR NL955435

L. *Nasketain*, 1768 Turnbull Map, Feature no. 57: ‘a small loch near West End of Great Common Moss’ (Turnbull Report)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Barrapol-Middleton boundary | After drainage, this is now a marshy area of *sliabh*.

L. *Nasketain* is a Gaelic construction in G *loch*. Its specific is opaque and it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

NEÒSAIG* TIR C 1 NGR NL956402 [ˈnoː ˌseikʰ]

Sloc na Neòsaig, Duncan MacKinnon, Balephuill, 3/1995 (oral source)

Sloc na Neòsbag, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 2/1994 and 2/1996 (oral source)

Balephuill | A large coastal gully just to the north of the presumed Iron Age fort *Dùnan Nighean*

Sloc na Neòsaig is a Gaelic construction in G *sloc* ‘gully’. The folk etymology for the specific was that *Neòsbag* was a personal byname, possibly derived from E ‘nosebag’ (David McClounnan, pers. comm.). The first name-form *Neòsaig*, however, suggests it has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The specific of this may be ON *Nýjahús* ‘new house’: ON **Nýjahúsavík* ‘inlet of the new house’. The loss of a medial ON -v- is regular, while ON *vík* can occasionally develop to G *-(bh)ag* (see section 17.4.2). The referent is likely to have been *Sloc na Neòsaig* itself. However, Gaelic loan-names derived from three Norse words are very conjectural (see section 17.6).

There is no exact cognate, but the Norwegian farm-name *Njø̆s*, which occurs several times (NG), may derive from *Nýhús* (Rygh, vol. 12, 128); the name *Nýhús* occurs twice in Iceland, with one *Nýhúshóll* (NLSI).

ODARUM TIR C 1 NGR NM070458 [ˈɔ da ˌrum]

ON **Oddahamar* ‘anvil-shaped rock of the points’

Odrum Point, 1768 Turnbull Map

Odrum, 1915 Campbell, 415

Odarum, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 and 3/2010; Hugh MacKinnon, Ruaig, 3/2010 and 5/2014 (oral sources)

Dùn Ottir, 1903 Beveridge, 84: + G *dùn* ‘fort’

Dùn Odair and *Dùn Odaruim*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 3/2010 (oral source)

Ruaig | Currently applied to the southwestern tip of *Soa*, where an elliptical platform suggests an anthropogenic structure: ‘Here are many loose stones, though apart from its traditional name this Dùn is very unsatisfactory, being much ruined and overgrown and presenting no definite traces of human occupation’ (Beveridge 1903, 84). The footings of a bothy and a short headland dyke nearby may account for some loss of stones. This seems unlikely, however, to have been an Iron Age Atlantic roundhouse.

Odarum has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hamarr* ‘hammer ... metaphorically, a hammer-shaped crag, a crag standing out like an anvil’ after metathesis. Its specific may be ON *oddr* (nominative plural *oddar*, genitive plural *odda*) ‘point or tongue of land ... frequently in local names *Odda-staðr*’ (CV, 462; Jakobsen 1897, 87, 88 and 95; Cox 2002, 346). An alternative may be the male ON personal name *Oddr* (CV, 462; Jakobsen 1936, 152), which is very common in *Landnámabók* (1900, 366). The referent is likely to have been a prominent flat outcrop topped by a cairn at the southwestern tip of *Soa*, and we may take this as the local archetype of a *hamarr* feature. This was plausibly a navigational mark. There is an *Odarum* in North Uist (SP), and there is an *Oddhammaren* in Norway (NG). The Norwegian farm-name *Ossvik* derives from the male personal name *Oddr* (Rygh, vol. 13, 121), whereas *Oddeskar* derives from *oddi* (Rygh, vol. 8, 218). *Hamar* is an extremely common element in Scandinavian Scotland, as in *Ullamar* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 389); among Norwegian farm-names, as in *Kraakhammer* (Rygh, vol. 5, 142); in the Faroe Islands as in *Lynghamar* (KO); and in Iceland, for example *Kálfshamar* (SAM). See *Boghasum*, *Cad-rum*, *Greatharum*, *Lònamar*, *Miarum* and *Odarum*.

ÒDHRASGAIR TIR D 1 NGR NM016455 [ˈõĩ : řĩ ,gɑL] and [ˈõĩ : řĩ ,gʲɑL]

ON **Qgrsgarðr* ‘farm of the pool’ and ON **Qgrsskála* ‘shieling hut of the pool’

Òdhrasgair and *Poll Òdhrasgair*, 1878 OS (JGC, OS1/2/28/83, *Orisgairr*, -)

Orisgairr, OS1/2/28/180: this form appears under an entry for *Baugh* in the phrase ‘and includes *Orisgairr*

Orisgal and *Poll Orisgal*, 1974 OS 1:10,000 map and 2007 OS Explorer Map 372 Coll and Tiree

Orisgeal and *Oineasgeal*, Ailean Boyd, 9/2011 (oral source)

Òrisgal, Mairi MacKinnon, Balephetrish, 6/2013 (oral source); common current local usage

Òirisgeal, Lachlan MacKinnon, Balephetrish, 3/2016 (oral source; Lachlan and Mairi MacKinnon were siblings)

Baugh | This name denotes the site of a ruined house on the eastern side of the stream *An Fhaodhail*; a footing with a bowed wall beside this suggests an older settlement. The footings of a small hut can be seen on the headland forming the northern shore of *Poll Òdhrasgair*. The 1768 Turnbull Report described the ground here as, ‘Outfield, situate on the North end of the farm. A compound of loam and gravel, a good soil’ (Field no. 178). The Baugh *sliabh* stretches to the east, and *Òdhrasgair* could have been a shieling site that became a medieval *utset* expansion settlement from Baugh (see *Heren*). After Improvement, the land became a croft, *Croit Òrisgail*, and the tenants lived on their holding until the mid-twentieth century.

To the north, the stream widens; this was mapped in 1878 as *G Poll Òdhrasgair* ‘the pool of *Òdhrasgair*’. The same pool was drawn on the 1768 Turnbull Map and also the 1654 Blaeu Map. This waterway is likely to have been tidal and much more significant in the medieval period (see section 5.6.1). Indeed, the estuary may have been known to Scandinavian settlers as ON *Breiðlækinn* ‘the broad stream’ (see *Briolachain*). *Poll Òdhrasgair* may have played an important role during the Early Medieval period providing a winter berth for large boats, although there is no surviving evidence of noust sites.

Òdhrasgair has probably developed from two Norse loan-names showing generic variation (see *Mannel*): one name-form may be in ON *garðr* ‘farm’ and others suggest a name in ON *skáli* ‘shieling hut’ (see section 17.1). Its specific may be ON *qgr* (genitive *qgrs*) ‘inlet, small bay, creek ... a local name in western Iceland, *Ögr, í Ögri, Ögrs-vatn*’ (CV, 762). The developments of the initial ON *q* > G [ɔ̃] and the weakening of a medial ON *-g-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2). There has been variable vowel affection (see section 17.4.2.1).

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common individually in the Norse expansion zone. *Øgredalen* is found in Norway (NG); *Ögr(s)vík* occurs in *Landnámabók* (1900, 321); while *ögur* is quite a common specific in Iceland, for example *Ögurkirkja* (NLSI).

ÒINEGEIR TIR R 1 NGR NM047488 [ˈɔ̃iː nə ,gʻerʲ]

ON **Qrnagerði* ‘farm of *Qrn*’

Cnoc Òinegeir, Tommy MacKinnon, Vaul, 2/1994 and 5/2013; and Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, 4/1996 (oral sources)

Vaul | A hillock on G *Bràigh Bhalla* ‘the brae of Vaul’ or *Upper Vaul*

Cnoc Òinegeir is a Gaelic construction in G *cnoc* ‘hillock’. Its specific *Òinegeir* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *gerði* ‘field’. The specific of this may be a male ON personal name such as *Qrn* (genitive *Qrna*) or *Qrnólfr*, which were common at Icelandic settlement (*Landnámabók* 1900, 403). The development ON -*ǫ*- > G [ɔ̃i] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1).

There are no exact cognates, but both elements occur individually in the Norse expansion zone. *Ørnasteinur* occurs twice as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO), while *Qrnólfsstaðir* was recorded as a farm at Icelandic settlement (*Landnámabók* 1900, 322).

ÒISGEAN TIR C 1 NGR NL987388

Na h-Òisgean, Lachlan and Chrissie MacFarlane, Hynish, 1/1994 (oral source)

Na h-Òsgan, John MacDonald, Mannal, talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.144, track ID 84881

Othasgan, William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral source)

Cladach nan Òisgean, John Fletcher, Balemartine, 3/2015 (oral source): + G *cladach* ‘shore’

Pàirc nan Òisgean, John Fletcher, Balemartine, 8/2009 and 3/2015 (oral source): + G *pàirc* ‘park’

Pairc na Nòsgan, Lachlan MacFarlane, Hynish, 11/1995 (oral source)

East Hynish | Coastal rocks off *Tràigh Sgiobasdál* at the eastern end of the Hynish headland

Na h-Òisgean is a well-attested name. There is variable palatalisation of the medial -s-. The most obvious derivation is from the Gaelic *óthaisg* (plural *óthaisgean*) ‘one-year old ewe’ (Dwelly), and this is clearly how several of the informants understood the name. Sea rocks are not uncommonly given animal names, as in G *An t-Each*

Dubh ‘the black horse’ off Baugh, *An Coileach Beag* ‘the small cockerel’ off Mannal and examples of *Am Muc* ‘the whale’ off Balemartine and West Hynish. These were probably coined as navigational danger names (see *Greasamull*, Greenhill), with the sense that these submerged rocks are somehow alive. The element *òthaisg* is uncommon in place-names, however: rare examples being *Allt nan Oisgean* in Killarow and Kilmeny, Argyll (SP), and *Creagan na h-Othaisg* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 257). It is not found as a simplex name (SP). Anyway, the variety of name-forms makes any derivation conjectural, and we should leave this name open at the moment.

OLLAG TIR C 1 NGR NL986480

An Ollag, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 41, ‘no meaning got’)
No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Cornaigmore | The channel leading to a nineteenth-century fishing station on G *Eilean Uilleim* ‘the island of William’

Given the topography, *An Ollag* has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘inlet’. Its specific is opaque, and is best left open at the moment. There has been a loss of the medial ON *-v-*, and ON *vík* can occasionally develop to G *-(bh)ag* (see section 17.4.2).

The only other example in Scotland is (*An*) *Ollag*, a small settlement above an inlet on *Loch Bee* in South Uist, whose ‘meaning [is] obscure’ (OS1/18/10/105).

ONAMULL TIR C 1 NGR NL931462

ON **Qngulsmúla* ‘promontory of the angle’

Sgeirean Onamull, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 64, ‘meaning ~~One Type of Rock~~):
No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | Submerged rocks at the angle between *Tràigh Hògh* and Craignish

Sgeirean Onamull is a Gaelic construction in G *sgeirean* ‘skerries’. The specific *Onamull* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *múli* ‘promontory’. The specific of this may be ON *qngull* ‘angle, hook’ (CV, 765). The developments ON *-q-* > G [ɔ] and ON *-ng-* > G *-n-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2). This suits the topography.

There is no exact cognate. However, *ongull* is quite common as a specific in Norway, as in *Ongelsneset* and *Ongelskjæret* (NG), and there are three Icelandic farms called *Öngulsstaðir* (SAM).

ORIGADAL TIR R 1 NGR NL945445 ['ɔ ri gə ,dɑL]

Origadal, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 5/1994 (oral source)

Kilkenneth | A field name

Origadal has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *dalr* 'valley or piece of ground'. The specific may be ON *aurbrekka* 'muddy slope' with ON *aurr* 'wet clay, loam' (CV, 34): ON **Aurbrekudal* 'portion of land of the muddy slope'. The development ON *au-* > G [o] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). This derivation suits the topography along the banks of G *Abhainn Chille Choinnich* 'the stream of Kilkenneth'. However, Gaelic loan-names derived from three Norse words are very conjectural (see section 17.6).

There are no exact cognates, but the Norwegian farm-name *Aurdal* is derived from *aur* and *dalr* (Rygh, vol. 10, 451); while *Aurbrekka* occurs twice and *Brekudalur* is very common in Iceland (NLSI).

OSNAICH* TIR C 1 NGR NM095491 ['hɔ̃ jə ,niʃ]

ON **Austrnes* 'eastern headland'

Tràigh Shoisnis, Angus MacLean talking to Iain Fraser, 8/1976; Professor Donald Meek, Caolas, 8/2019 (oral sources)

Tràigh Hoisnis, and *Bodha Hoisnis*, William MacIntosh, Caolas, 1/1994; Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/1996 and 3/2010 (oral sources): + G *bodha* 'submerged sea rock'

Ceann Trà' Hoisnis, Professor Donald Meek, Caolas, 8/2019 (oral source): + G *ceann* 'end'

Caolas | The north-facing beach to the west of G *An Rubha Dubh* 'the dark (dangerous) promontory'.

Tràigh Shoisnis is a Gaelic construction in G *tràigh* 'beach'. Its specific *Shoisnis* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *nes* 'promontory'.

The specific of this may be ON *austr* ‘east’ (CV, 35). The development ON *-au-* > G [o] is regular, and the initial *H-* of **Hoisnis* may have been projected from the generic *tràigh* (see section 17.4.2). The weakening of /st/ to /s/ is not regular, but may have parallels in the Islay name *Bolsa* (see Gammeltoft 2001, 92 and 96). This derivation is topographically very appropriate, the referent possibly having been the large headland forming the southeastern tip of Tìree known today as G *Àird-a-Deas* ‘the southern promontory’. Indeed, **Austrnes* was plausibly the name of the primary Norse farm township valued at one ounce-land that is now called G *An Caolas*.

ON *austr* has also been proposed as a derivation for the specific of **Oshmal* on Islay (Macniven 2015, 201); *Estiber* ‘eastern rock’ is a name on Rousay (Marwick 1995 (1947), 50); *Austrnes* is a Norwegian farm-name (Rygh, vol. 10, 400); and there are three examples of *Austrnes* in Iceland (NLSI).

The beach to the south of *An Rubha Dubh* was recorded in 1878 as G *Tràigh na h-Osnaiche* ‘the beach of sighing’ (OS1/2/28/121). G *osnach* also means ‘blustering as wind’ (Dwelly), so this may have had a topographical meaning. Alternatively, it may have been lexically adapted from **Hoisnis*. There is a *Cnoc na h-Osnaiche* on Coll: ‘A hill situate about half a mile South of the farm of Cliad and west of Loch Cliad, the name means “Sighing hill”’ (OS1/2/64/38), and there is an *Achosnich* in Ardnamurchan (OS 1/2/61/10). See, though, **Sgrèuchadh* close by.

PORT NA BIRLINN TIR C 1 NGR NL987394

G ‘the inlet of the galley’

Port na Birlinn, 1895 Campbell, 14: ‘The little cove is still known as Port of the Galley (*Port-na-Birlinn*) on the south side of *Barradhu* where the present dwellings belonging to the Skerryvore Lighthouse are.’

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

East Hynish | An inlet, now bisected by the pier built during the construction of Skerryvore Lighthouse between 1838 and 1844. The name presumably has not survived because it was within land bought by the Northern Lighthouse Board in 1836 for their (predominantly Scots-speaking) workforce. It was sold back to the estate in 1892, when the Board’s operations moved to Erraid.

Port na Birlinn is a Gaelic name in *port* ‘inlet’. Its specific is G *birlinn* ‘galley’. See section 10.6.6 and chapter 14 for the traditions behind this name. See also *Port Chloinn Nèill* below.

Birlinn is an uncommon element in Scotland, with *Innis na Birlinne* in Killmalie being a rare example (SP).

PORT CHLOINN NÈILL TIR C 1 NGR NM082502

G ‘the inlet of the MacNeills’

Port Chunn [sic] *Nèill*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 5, ‘applies to a sandy bay on the sea coast at the SE point of Urraig [Urvaig] ... sig. MacNeil’s Bay): + G *port* ‘inlet’ + G *clann Nèill* ‘clan MacNeill’

Port Chloinn Nèill Mòr, William MacIntosh, Caolas, 2/1994 (oral source): + G *mòr* ‘large’

Port Chloinn Nèill Beag, William MacIntosh, Caolas, 2/1994 (oral source): + G *beag* ‘small’

Caolas | This sandy bay, containing numerous rocky bars across its mouth, faces east. An outcrop divides the beach into a larger northern section and a smaller southern one.

Port Chloinn Nèill is a Gaelic construction in G *port* ‘inlet’. Its specific is G *chlann Nèill* ‘clan MacNeill’ in the genitive case. The name commemorates a fifteenth-century foundation tradition of how ‘*Iain Garbh* MacLean won back Coll from the MacNeills of Barra’ (MacDougall 1937, 45). The mother of G *Iain Garbh* ‘Rough Iain’ had re-married a MacNeill from Barra, who then took possession of Coll and imprisoned her son. *Iain* escaped and fled to Ireland. On returning to Coll with one companion – the G *Gille Riabhach* ‘the grey or grizzled serving man’ – he gathered his supporters and overcame the MacNeills at Grishipol. The defeated MacNeills fled, first to Gunna, where many were killed at G *Sloc na Dunaich* ‘the gully of misfortune’, and then to Tiree (MacDougall 1937, 45–7):

When Iain Garve MacLean of Coll defeated the remnants of the MacNeills at the bloody battle of *Bàgh Ghunnaidh* [‘the bay of Gunna’], the survivors fled across Gunna sound to a small cove near *Urbhaig*, hotly pursued by the MacLean galley. The pursuers landed at a small gully known as *Sloc na Birlinn* ‘the hollow of the galley’ to this day. As night was falling, the MacLeans hid there till morning. Then they set out to hunt down the enemy, putting them all to the sword. That was how this cove got the name of *Port Chloinn Nèill*. (Brownlie 1995, 128)

The bodies of the MacNeills are said to have been buried below G *Pulag Chlann Nèill* ‘the large round stone of the MacNeills’ (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.). Their bones were exposed during twentieth-century building work (Agnes MacKenzie talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1969.166, track ID 102390). *Sloc na Birlinn* is likely to be the inlet 100 m north of *Port Chloinn Nèill*. This has deep sides, which may well have hidden a galley with its mast down. Rocks at its mouth mean that it can only be entered at high water.

PORT LUING TIR C 2 NGR NM045446

G ‘the harbour of (the) boat’

Port Luing, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Scarinish | Mapped by Blaeu as the harbour in Scarinish

See *Port na Luinge* below. The lack of a definite article suggests that this is an older Gaelic name (see *Dearcaig*).

PORT NA LUINGE TIR C 1 NGR NL988415

G ‘the inlet of the boat’

Port na Luinge, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 216, sig. ‘Ship’s Port’)

Port nan Long, John Gregorson Campbell 1895, 51

Port na Luing, Jessie MacKinnon, Mannal, 11/1993 (oral source)

Port nan Long, Neil MacDonald, Balevullin, 5/1995 (oral source)

Balemartine | A narrow, sheltered inlet at the southern end of *Tràigh Shòrabaidh*, with a number of steel mooring pins set in the rocks. Hector MacNeill (*Eachann an Tàilleir*), Balemartine, kept a small boat here into the 1970s.

Port na Luinge is a Gaelic construction in G *port* ‘inlet’. Its specific is G *long* (genitive *luing* or *luinge*) from the OG *long* ‘ship, boat, vessel’ (eDIL): *Port na Luing(e)* ‘inlet of the boat’ or *Port nan Long* ‘inlet of the boats’.

Adomnan wrote of a *Portus campi Lunge* being near the Columban monastery on Tìree (Anderson and Anderson 1961, 357). This hybrid name contains the Latin

elements *portus* ‘harbour’ and *campus* ‘plain’ with the Old Gaelic *long*. It has been suggested that the modern name *Port na Luinge* in Balemartine is evidence that this monastery, *Mag Luinge* (see Gazetteer) was in Soroby (see, for example, Reeves 1854, 239 and section 6.3.1.5). It is highly unlikely, however, that the name *Portus campi Lunge* – by inference the Old Gaelic **Port Maige Luing* – survived the period of Norse cultural dominance.

Port (na) Luing(e) and *Port nan Long* are common names in the Hebrides today, with, for example, a *Port na Luinge* on Coll (SP).

RACHADAL* TIR R 1 NGR NM036442 [ˈra h̥kə ˌd̪al]

ON **Krákadal* ‘piece of land belonging to *Kráki*’

Glac Rachadail, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 177, -)

Glac Racadail, Angus Munn, Heanish, 6/1995 (oral source)

Heanish | A coastal pool east of *Rubha Clach na h-Aoidh*. The cultivable coastal strip is quite narrow here.

Glac Rachadail is a Gaelic construction in G *glac* ‘hollow’. Its specific **Rachadal* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *dalr* ‘valley or piece of ground’. The specific of this may be OI *kráka* (genitive plural *kráka*) ‘crow ... [or] as a nickname’ (CV, 354; see *Craiknish*). The initial ON *k-* may have become absorbed into the preceding G *glac*.

Kråkedal(en) is common in Norway (NG). At least one Norwegian farm-name, *Kraakdal*, derives from the male personal name *Kráki* (Rygh, vol. 14, 142); there is a *Krákadalshyrna* in Iceland (NLSI).

RANGASDAL TIR C 1 NGR NL958480 [ˈra ŋ̊ə ˌd̪al]

ON **Rangástqðull* ‘milking place at the bend in the stream’

Rangasdal, Archibald MacKinnon, Cornaigmore with John MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig, 8/1994 (oral sources): an area of *machair* on the Balevullin-Croish boundary *Tràigh Rangasdail*, Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, 3/1994; Hugh MacLeod, Carachan, 5/1995; and Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, 5/1995 (oral sources): + G *tràigh* ‘beach’

Ceann Darangstail, 1974 OS 1:10,000 (not on 1878 OS 6 inch first edition): + G *ceann* ‘end, headland’

Ceann Tràigh Rangasdail, Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, 3/1994 (oral source)

Ceann ‘a’ Rangasdail, Jean MacCallum, Balevullin, 4/2009 (oral source)

Balevullin | The eastern end of Balevullin beach. A gully nearby is called G *Sloc an Fhaing* ‘the gully of the cattle pen’ (Archibald MacKinnon, pers. comm.; alias G *Sloc na Crèise* ‘the gully of the tallow’), and the outline of an enclosure can still be seen below blown sand.

Rangasdail has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *støðull* ‘milking place’ (see section 17.1). Its specific may be ON *Rang-á* ‘crooked water’ with ON *rang* ‘not straight’ (CV, 482) and ON *á* ‘stream’ (CV, 38). This name was commonly applied to rivers with a sharp bend. Today, the watercourse G *An Abhainn Bhàn* ‘the sandy stream’, follows a wide loop before it discharges onto the beach. On Turnbull’s 1768 map, the stream is also marked as taking a turn to the west at this point. Its earlier course before the *machair* extended in the Late Medieval period is unknown. A layer of fibrous peat can be seen in the eastern bank of the stream, presumably an old ground surface before it was covered with wind-blown sand.

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common individually in the Norse expansion zone. The name *Rangåa* is common in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Rangnes* is derived from *rang* (Rygh, vol. 13, 463); *rang-* is a common specific in the Faroe Islands, as in the four examples of *Rangagjógv* (KO); *Rangá* is also a common specific in Iceland, for example *Rangárstígur* (NLSI).

Alternatively, the specific may be the female ON personal name *Ragnhildr*, which occurs several times in *Landnámabók* (1900, 369) and is found (after metathesis) in several Norwegian farm-names such as *Rangsæteren* (Rygh, vol. 13, 80), and in Iceland as *Ragnildarhólmi* (NLSI).

RAONABODHA TIR C 1 NGR NM105492 [ˈr̥øː nə ˌboːɑ]

ON **Hraunboða* ‘the bare submerged rock’

Roan Bogha, 1846 Admiralty Chart of Scotland West Coast, surveyed 1846–65, NLS shelf no. 2635: this rock ‘just dries’

Raonabodha, Donald Kennedy, Caolas, 11/1995; Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/2009; Professor Donald Meek, Caolas, 5/2016 (oral sources)

Caolas | A buoyed reef at the southern end of the Gunna Sound, opposite *Tobar Raonabol*

Raonabodha has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *boði* ‘submerged reef’. Its specific may be ON *hraun* ‘... in Norse local names, bare rocks in the sea’ (CV, 280). The phonetic development is not regular, but there may have been convergence (see section 17.5) with *Raonabol* on the shore opposite. The Norwegian farm-name *Rogneskær* is derived from *hraun* (Rygh, vol. 2, 91), and there are examples of *Hraunboði* and *Hraunboðar* in Iceland (NLSI).

RAONABOL TIR C 1 NGR NM096482 [ˈrøː nə ˌboɫ]

ON **Rognvaldsból* ‘farm of *Rognvaldr*’

Tobar Raonabol, Donald Kennedy, Caolas, 11/1995; Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/1996 (oral sources)

Caolas | A well at the shore

Tobar Raonabol is a Gaelic construction in G *tobar* ‘well’. Its specific *Raonabol* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *ból* ‘farm’, suggesting a secondary settlement in this ‘quarter’ of Caolas. To support this idea, there is a surviving Norse loan-name in *bryggja* ‘boat landing place’ nearby (see *Lìbrig*, Caolas); another inlet that was the island’s main port for loading cattle in post-medieval times (see *Lònamar*); a name in ON *støðull* ‘milking place’ (see *Creachasdal*); and, finally, this area was documented as an independent holding – valued at a quarterland – in the eighteenth century (see *Kerralonamair*). ON *pollr* ‘pool’ is also possible (but see *Lònamar*).

The specific of *Raonabol* may be the male ON personal name *Rognvaldr*, which appears once in *Landnámabók* (1900, 369). Another notable figure with this name was *Rognvaldr Brúsason* (1010–1046), one of the jarls of Orkney. Personal names, however, are rare as the specifics of *bólstaðr* names (Gammeltoft 2001, 55; Macniven 2015, 198), and the same may also be true of names in *ból* (but see *Basapoll*). The loss of a medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). Derivation is made more difficult by possible convergence (see section 17.5) with the nearby *Raonabodha* (see above).

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common individually in the Norse expansion zone. There is a *Cnoc Rhaonastil* on Islay (Macniven 2015, 147) and

a *Raonapoll* on Rum (SP); two islands in Orkney are called *Ronaldsay* (*Rognvaldsey*); *Rovelstad* in Norway is derived from *Rognvaldsstaðir* (Olsen 1926, 98), and the Norwegian farm-name *Rongestveit* may derive from *Rognvaldsþveit* (Rygh, vol. 11, 191); while this personal name is also found in Iceland, as in *Rögnvaldurtótt* (NLSI). See *Raonabodha* above.

THE REEF TIR D 1 NGR NM005455 [ri·f]

ON **Rif* ‘reef’

Reiff, 1541 ER 17, 647

Reiff, 1542 ER 17, 532

Ryfmoir, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol

Ryff, 1695 Retours ARG vol. 1, 93

The Rive, 1695 Martin Martin, 294

The Rieve, 1764 Walker (McKay 1980, 182)

The Reef or Great Green Plain, 1768 Turnbull Map

The Reef, 1801 Cregeen 1964, 58

Reef, 1841 Census, households 799 to 802

Reef, 1845 *New Statistical Account*, 196: ‘About the middle of the island lies the plain called Reef’

The Reef, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 95, -)

An Ruighe, MacDougall 1937, 85

An Rif, Seonaid Brown, Balephuil, 3/2015; Flora MacArthur, Moss, 3/2015 (oral sources)

An Ruighe, 1974 Hector Kennedy: ‘Donald Campbell, *Dòmhnall an Ruighe*, who farmed at Balephetrish’ (Hector Kennedy talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1974.079, track ID 70614)

The Reef, current common local usage

Gàrradh Mòr na Ruighe, Hugh MacKinnon, Torr a’ Bhaile, Ruaig, 5/2008; Donald MacLean, Kenovay, 10/2015 (oral sources): + *G gàrradh* ‘dyke’ + *mòr* ‘large’

Dòmhnall an Ruighe, the by-name of Donald Campbell, the farmer at Baugh (Hector Kennedy talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1974.079, track ID 70614; see 1861 census)

This name denotes a huge expanse of dry and wet *machair* in the centre of the island between the townships of Balephetrish and Baugh on the east and Crossapoll and Kenovay on the west. Martin described it in the seventeenth century: ‘There

is a plain piece of ground about six miles in compass on the east coast called the Rive; the grass is seldom suffered to grow the length of half an inch, being only kept as a common, yet is believed to excel any parcel of land of its extent in the isles, or opposite continent' (Martin 1994 (1695), 294). Walker described it in 1764: 'About the first of June when the Cattle are put upon it, it is all over as white as a Cloth, with Daisies, and white Clover. In that Season, there may be seen pasturing upon it at once, about 1000 Black Cattle, 2000 Sheep and 300 Horses ... it is a common Pasturage, to all the Farmers in the Island, and while it remains so, must remain the finest unimproved spot in Scotland' (McKay 1980, 182). This '1,034 acres common' (Cregeen 1964, 8) is now hained for winter grazing for crofters in the contiguous townships. Much of it was appropriated by the War Office in 1940 and now belongs to Highlands and Islands Airports Ltd.

The Reef has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *rif* 'a reef in the sea' (Johnston 1991, 107; see CV, 497). The phonetic development from ON [i] > G [i:] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). *Reef* was, for a period, lexically adapted as G *ruighe* or *righe* 'outstretched part or base of a mountain, shieling ground' (MacBain 1911 and Dwelly). The referent is likely to have been the large complex of rocks in Balephetrish Bay, including G *Na Sgeirean Mhòra* 'the big skerries' and *An Grà' dar* (see Gazetteer).

Riof or *Reef* is a settlement name on the Valtos peninsula, Uig, Lewis, made famous by the Reef Farm raiders of 1913: '*Reef* [in Lewis, comes from] ON *rif* 'reef' ... *De Riv, de Rif* is common in Shetland, but apparently not as a farm-name. The possibility that the name is from English *reef* may be safely discarded' (Ofstedal 2009, 31). There is a *Reeva* in Dunrossness and a *Reevi* in Walls, Shetland (SP); the Norwegian farm-name *Reve* is derived from *á Rifi* (Rygh, vol. 10, 134); *á Rivi* is a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Rif* is a common simplex in Iceland (NLSI).

RÈIDH-SGEIR* TIR C 1 NGR NL934412 ['rer: .ʒg'íl]

ON **Hreiðarsgil* 'coastal gully of *Hreiðarr*' and/or ON **Hreiðarsskor* 'cleft of *Hreiðarr*'

Sloc na Rèidh-sgeire, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 209, 'applies to a long narrow creek [gully] on the coast ... sig. "creek of the smooth rock"')

Sloc Ghreathasgail, Brownlie 1995, 155

Reaisgil, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Sloc Rèisgal, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source)

Kenavara | A gully on the cliffs north of *Dùn nan Gall*

Sloc na Rèidh-sgeire is a Gaelic construction in G *sloc* ‘crevice or gully’. Its specifics *Rèidh-sgeire* and *Rèisgal* have probably developed from existing Norse loan-names in ON *gil* ‘coastal gully’, and ON *skor* ‘rift in a rock or precipice’ (CV, 554), Faroese ‘cleft, fissure’ (Young and Clewer 1985, 509), in another case of generic variation (see *Mannel*). The medial -s- has been variably palatalised.

The specific in both cases may be the male ON personal name *Hreiðarr* with the genitive morpheme /s/. This name appears several times in the listing of Icelandic settlers (*Landnámabók* 1900, 354). A number of clefts on the cliff faces of Kenavara have names that memorialise men involved in climbing accidents: for example, *Sloc Mhic Fhionnlaigh* and *Sloc Mhic Cnithealum* (see *Gazetteer*).

There is a *Reisgill* in Latheron, Caithness (SP); there is a *Reisgil* in Suldal, Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Reiarsdalen* derives from *Hreiðarr* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 9, 137); while the specific is common in Iceland, including *Hreiðursgil* (NLSI).

RÈITHESGEAL TIR R 1 NGR NL952462 [ˈr̥e̞ĩ-ə ˌjɡaɫ] and [ˈr̥e̞ĩ-ə ˌjɡʲaɫ]

ON **Hreiðarsskála* ‘hut of *Hreiðarr*’

Rèisgal, Neil Alec MacLean, Hough, 6/1994; Lachlan Cameron, Balevullin, 8/1994 (oral sources)

Rèithesgeal (and *Rèitheasgal*) *Èirdsidh Hògh*, Donald MacKinnon, Hough, 1/1995 and 6/2014 (oral source): + G *Èirdsidh* ‘Archie’

Rèithesgeal, Donald MacKinnon, Hough 8/2019 (oral source)

Rèisgeal Àrd and *Rèisgeal Ìseal*, Archibald Brown, Kilkenneth, 11/2014 (oral source): + G *àrd* ‘high’ + G *ìseal* or *iosal* ‘low’

Hough | A field name on the eastern slopes of *Beinn Hògh*. There are the turf footings of a small house beside a probable medieval boundary wall nearby, although settlement before 1816 was on the other side of the hill (see section 5.6.2).

Rèithesgeal has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *skáli* ‘hut or shieling’ (see section 17.1). The specific may be the male ON personal name *Hreiðarr* with the genitive morpheme /s/. The medial consonant group -sg- has been partially or fully palatalised by vowel affection (see section 17.4.2.1) depending on the informant.

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common individually in the Norse expansion zone. *Hreiðarsstaðir* occurs twice as a farm-name in Iceland (SAM). *Skáli* is quite a common generic in Iceland, as in *Hólsskál* (NLSI). See section 17.1.

REL TIR R 1 NGR NL960443 [reL]

An Rel, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 8/1996; Archibald Kennedy, Crossapol, 10/1996 and 8/1997 (oral sources)

Moss | Pointed out (by AS, whose mother came from near this site) as a ‘track’ into the western edge of *The Great Common Moss*, Tiree’s largest peat fen. Digging peat here was halted by the estate at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but continued unofficially into the twentieth. The area around the peat cuttings was widely squatted during the population boom of the early nineteenth century. An extensive drainage programme meant that *G A’ Mhòinteach Ruadh* ‘the red peat fen’ became the small crofting township of *Moss* in its own right between the censuses of 1841 and 1851. The landscape here is thus likely to be much altered since the medieval period.

An Rel has possibly developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in OI *röðull* ‘edge, crest of a hill, cliff or the like’ (CV, 507). The phonetic development ON *-ø-* > G *-e-* is not otherwise attested, but is not unreasonable. The name may describe its position at the margin of the peat diggings.

The simplex *Röðull* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

RIAGHAIN TIR W 1 NGR NM035472 [ˈr̥iːə ˌyeɪnʲ]

Loch Riaghain, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 126, ‘meaning loch of the snare’): + G *loch*
Loch an Riadhain, Cameron 1932, 263: John MacLean, *Urvaig*, composed a song containing the passage ‘*Easgannan a Loch an Riadhain* [the eels from *Loch an Riadhain*]’

Loch Riaghain, fairly common local usage

Gott | This body of water was mapped as *Loch Kirkabol* by Blaeu in 1654, as *Loch Kirkapoll* by Turnbull in 1768, and as *Loch Riaghain* by the Ordnance Survey in 1878.

Although the name is in fairly common local usage today, it may not be of great antiquity. *Loch Riaghain* is a Gaelic construction in G *loch*. Its specific was presented as G *riadh* ‘snare’ by the Ordnance Survey (Dwelly). A more plausible derivation is G *riadhan* ‘temporary passage for water to run in’ (Dwelly). The loch was partially drained in the eighteenth century: ‘By the appearance of the descent [from Loch Kirkapol], and a trial the factor caused the tenants to make some years ago of draining it in order to get peats, there seems to be no difficulty in draining effectually’ (Turnbull Report 1768).

Riaghain is an unusual element in Scotland, examples being *Meall Riaghain* in Ardchattan (derived from G *riaghan* ‘swinging’: OS1/2/52/48), *Rudha Riadhain* in Snizort, Skye, and *Abhuinn an Riadhain* in North Uist (SP).

Given the uncertainty, it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

RIASGAL* TIR C 1 NGR NM022437

Port Riasgail, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 96, ‘meaning Marshy Bay or Port’): G *riasgail* ‘marshy’

Am Port Riasgach, Hugh MacKinnon, Baugh (oral source): G *riasgach* ‘peaty’

Baugh | A narrow rocky inlet

Port Riasgail is a Gaelic construction in G *port* ‘inlet’. The specifics *riasgail* and *riasgach* imply marshy ground. However, this land is quite dry today, while in 1768 it was described as ‘blown sand’ (Field no. 182, Turnbull Report).

RIBHINN TIR R 1 NGR NL972403 [ˈriːˌviŋ]

ON **Rifin* ‘the cleft’

Rifrinn, Cameron 1932, 359: a song written by Colin MacDonald contains the line ‘*Chi thu Rifrinn, chi thu ‘n Airidh.*’

Gàrradh na Ribhinn, John Brown, Balephuul, talking to Eric Cregeen and Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1973.135, track ID 88450; Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, 2/1994; David McClounnan, Balephuul, 5/1994 (oral sources): + G *gàrradh* ‘dyke’

Balephuul | A deep horizontal cleft on the northern aspect of *Beinn Haoidhnis*, containing a partially circumferential dyke

The name was translated to me as *G righe* ‘field, bottom of a valley’ with *bheinn* ‘of the hill’, although this does not suit the topography.

Instead, *Ribhinn* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *rifa* fem. ‘rift, cleft, fissure’ (CV, 497) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5).

ON *rifa* is the derivation of the names *Rivvo* in Rousay, Orkney, (Marwick 1995 (1947), 68), as well as *Riva* and *de Riva* in Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 91); *Rive* is a Norwegian farm-name that derives from *rifa* (Rygh, vol. 1, 185), and *Riven* occurs several times in Norway (NG); *Rivan* occurs several times as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Rifa* and (*Ólafs*) *Rifa* are coastal names on the west coast of Iceland (NLSI).

RING TIR C 2 NGR NL987394 [riŋ]

Poll a’ Ring, unrecorded informant

East Hynish | A sea pool just off *Cùil a’ Sgàthain* (see *Sgàthain*)

Poll a’ Ring is a Gaelic construction in G *poll* ‘pool’. Its specific may be a borrowing from the English word *ring*. There is another small inlet called *Poll a’ Ring* in Heanish, the folk etymology of which was that small boats were kept attached to a ring in the rock there. Certainly, the building of Skerryvore lighthouse in the nineteenth century from the shore station in Hynish meant a number of sea rocks here acquired English names: for example, *Ringdove Rock* and *Pelly’s Rock* (Admiralty Chart 1778).

Alternatively, *Ring* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *hringr* ‘ring, circle’ (CV, 285). *Ring* is a settlement in Westray, Orkney (SP); the Norwegian farm-name *Ring* derives from *hringr*, while *Ringen* derives from *ringin* (Rygh, vol. 15, 188, and vol. 4, 112); *á Ringi* and *Ringurin* are settlement names in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Hringur* is a common simplex in Iceland (NLSI). All of these presumably refer to a circular feature of some sort.

RIONASGEIR TIR C 1 NGR NL938472 [ˈri nə ˌskʲeɪʃ]

ON **Hringasker* ‘ring-shaped skerries’ or ON **Hringssker* ‘skerry of *Hringr*’

Rionasgeir, Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, 3/1994 (oral source)

Hough | A beach rock

Rionasgeir has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *sker* ‘skerry’. Its specific may be either ON *hringr* (genitive plural *hringa*) ‘ring, circle’ (CV, 285) or the male ON personal name *Hringr*. The development ON *-ng-* > G *-n-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

Ring- is a common specific in Norway, as in the five examples of *Ringaskjeret* (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Ringstad* derives from the personal name *Hringr* (Rygh, vol. 2, 184) whereas the name *Ringhus* comes from *hringr* ‘ring’ (Rygh, vol. 7, 439).

RISEAG TIR C 1 NGR NL960392 [ˈriːˌjak]

Port Riseag, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 228, ‘significance unknown’)

Port Driseag, Gilleasbuig Kennedy, West Hynish, 11/2013 (oral source), and common current local usage

West Hynish | One of the few Tiree inlets facing the great fishing banks around Skerryvore. A small pier was built here after the potato famine of 1846 to encourage long line fishing.

Port Riseag is a Gaelic construction in G *port* ‘inlet’. Its specific may be G *dris* ‘bramble’ (Dwelly) with the Gaelic locational suffix *-ag* > *driseag* ‘the place of brambles’. Bramble (*Rubus* spp.) is found today in sheltered locations around Tiree, with one microspecies found ‘on two ungrazed rock ledges between Hynish and West Hynish’ (Pearman and Preston 2000, 125).

There is a *Cnoc nan Driseag* in Salum (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.); a *Monadh Driseag* in Argyll (OS1/2/49/149); and a *Driseag* in Uig (SP).

AN RÒ TIR C 1 NGR NL998464 [roː]

G *An Ròdha* ‘the top of the beach’

An Rò, Flora MacLean, Druimfraoich, 5/2014 (oral source)

The Rò, George Campbell, Kenovay, 5/ 2014 (oral source)

An Ròr, Hugh Archie MacCallum, Whitehouse, 6/2014 (oral source)

Kenovay | A former track (now a metalled road) on a section of the beach head at the western end of *Cladach a’ Chrògain*

None of the informants knew the meaning of this name, but it is probably the word G *ròdha* ‘top of the beach’ collected in South Uist (McDonald 1991, 202). It is an unusual element. There is a *Rodha* in Stornoway, described as a ‘sharp projecting p[...] of the coast at high water’ (OS1/27/24/66); *An Rògh* is a name in Carloway, although no derivation is offered (Cox 2002, 353).

RÒ TIR R 2 NGR centred on NL413946 [ro:]

ON **Rófa* ‘tail’

Baca Rò, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd (oral source)

Barrapol | An area of vegetated dunes between the row of houses known as *The Land* and the eastern shoulder of the Kenavara headland

Baca Rò is a Gaelic construction in G *baca* ‘dune’. Its specific has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *rófa* ‘pronounced *róa* ... tail’ (CV, 502). Its cognate in Faroese is *reyv* ‘arse (vulgar), stern of boat’ (Young and Clewer 1985, 454). The loss of a medial ON *-f-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent may have been the striking eastern flank of G *Am Mullach Mòr* ‘the big summit’ of Kenavara, known today as G *A’ Ghualainn Mhòr* ‘the big shoulder’.

Hole of Roe is found in both St Andrews and in Deerness, Orkney (SP); there is a *Rova Head* in Shetland (OS1/31/14/22); the Norwegian farm-name *Rova*, of which there are four examples, has been derived from *rófa* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 1, 20); there are two settlements named *Reyvin* in the Faroe Islands (KO); while the simplex *Rófa* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

ROBACH TIR R 2 NGR NL982472 [ˈroˌbæx]

Am Fang Robach, Hector Campbell, Cornaigbeg, 3/1994 (oral source)

Cornaigmore | An area of rising ground, mainly *sliabh*, between G *An Eaglais Ùr* ‘the new church’ and the Cornaigbeg boundary. The only relevant structure that can be seen today is a fank on the Cornaigbeg side, built onto the Improvement march dyke between the two townships. Turnbull noted two small ‘mosses’ nearby in 1768 (Field nos. 152 and 153).

Am Fang Robach is a Gaelic construction in G *fang* ‘fank’. Its specific may be G *robach* ‘rough, filthy’. *Robach* is common in everyday speech on Tiree, but it is an unusual element in place-names. One example may be *Liathanach Robach* in Torosay, Mull (SP), which appears to be Gaelic. *Robach Well* ‘meaning obscure’ in Snizort, Skye (OS1/16/7/52) and *Loch Ròbach* ‘filthy loch’ in South Uist (OS1/18/10/72) are less convincingly Gaelic in origin. The element *robach* was not recorded in Carloway (Cox 2002).

Alternatively, *Robach* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *bakki* ‘bank’ (CV, 50). The specific may be ON *rauðr* ‘red ... in local names ... from the reddish colour of bogs and moorlands, which was supposed to be a sign that there was iron in the soil’ (CV, 484): ON *Rauðabakka* ‘red bank’. The developments ON *-au-* > G [ɔ] and ON *-k* > G *-ch* are both regular (see section 17.4.2). This derivation is topographically plausible.

Rau(d)bakken is a common name in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Raubakken* derives from *rauðr* and *bakki* (Rygh, vol. 4, 150); while *rauður* is a common specific in Iceland (NLSI).

RÒG TIR R 2 NGR NL948462 [ˈrõ:g]

ON **Hrauk* ‘pile’

Beinn Ròg, Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, 3/1994 (oral source)

Hough | An alias for *Beinn Hògh* itself (Alasdair MacDonald, pers. comm.). At 119 m, this is the highest summit along the ridge. To the south lies the 113-meter-high *Beinn Mhurstainn* or *Beinn Mhurstat* topped by a communications mast (see *Murstainn* and *Murstat*).

Beinn Ròg is a Gaelic construction in G *beinn* ‘hill’. Its specific *Ròg* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *hraukr* ‘small stack’ (CV, 282). The Faroese reflex *rúgvá* means ‘pile, heap, mass’ (Young and Clewer 1985, 465). The probable Gaelic loan word *rùc* means ‘a pile of hay or corn’. The development ON *-au-* > G [o:] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1).

There are similar names throughout the Norse expansion zone. There is a *Loch Roag* in South Uist (OS1/18/10/138); a *Roag* in Skye described as ‘a narrow strip of rock of considerable height’ (OS1/16/4/9); a *Loch Ròg* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 333); a *Big* and *Little Roag* in Unst, Shetland (SP); the Norwegian farm-names *Rauk* and *Rauken* derive from *hraukr* (see Rygh, vol. 5, 102 and vol. 3, 280); and there are several examples of *Hraukur* and *Hraukar* in Iceland (NLSI).

RÒMASGEIR TIR C 1 NGR NM057461 ['ro: mə ,sk'ɛɪ]

ON **Hrómundarsker* 'skerry of *Hrómundr*'

Ròmasgeir, Hugh MacKinnon, Ruaig, 3/2010; Duncan Grant, Ruaig, 3/2010 (oral sources)

Ormasgeir, Duncan Grant, Ruaig, 5/2019 (oral source)

A group of rocks in the centre of Gott Bay, sometimes used as a haul-out site by harbour seals

Ròmasgeir has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *sker* 'skerry'. Its specific may be the male ON personal name *Hró(ð)mundr*, which occurs several times in *Landnámabók* (1900, 355). The name-form *Ormasgeir* appears to show metathesis. The name has been lexically adapted as G *Sgeirean an Ròin* (OS1/2/28/163) and *Sgeirean nan Ròin* 'the skerries of the seals' (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.).

There is a *Hrómundarsker* in Iceland (NLSI).

ROSDAL TIR R 1 NGR NL945440 ['rɔ: ,zdɑL]

ON **Hrossadal* 'ground of the horses'

Rosdal, Sandy MacKinnon, Kilkenneth, 11/1993; Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 5/1994 (oral sources)

This was anglicised in the late twentieth century into the house name 'Rosedale'.

Greenhill | A field name

Rosdal has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *dalr* 'valley or piece of ground'. Its specific may be ON *hross* (genitive plural *hrossa*) 'horse ... local names *Hross-ey*' (CV, 287).

Both *Rhaoil* and *Rossal* on Mull derive from ON *Hrossvöll* 'horse field' (Whyte 2017, 288 and 292); the name *Ross(e)dalen* is very common in Norway (NG) and derives from *hross* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 8, 107); while *Hrossadalur* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

ROSGAIL TIR C 1 NGR NM096487 ['rɔ̃ ,ʃiɡɪl] and ['rɔ̃ ,ʃɡal]

ON **Hrossagil* 'coastal gully of the horses'

Rosgail, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 120, -)

Roisigil, Professor Donald Meek, Caolas, 8/2019 (oral source)

Roisgal, Alasdair MacArthur, Caolas, whose byname was *Alasdair Roisgal*, 4/2014 (oral source), and common current local usage

Caolas | A coastal gully

Rosgail has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *gil* 'coastal gully'. Its specific is ON *hross* (genitive plural *hrossa*) 'horse'. There has been vowel affection (see section 17.4.2.1), with the 'narrow' vowel of *gil* palatalising the consonant group -sg-. The unstressed last syllable has a variable quality.

There is a *Ross Geo* in Westray, Orkney (SP); there is one example of *Rossagil* in the Faroe Islands (KO); while there are nine examples of *Hrossagil* in Iceland (NLSI).

ROTHAGAG TIR W 1 NGR NL988404 ['rɔ̃-a ,ɡak], ['rɔ̃: ,ɡeɪk'] and ['rɔ̃-a ,ɡat']

Sruth Rothagag and *Cnoc Rothagag*, Jessie MacKinnon, Mannal, 11/1993 (oral source): + G *cnoc* 'hillock'

Sruth Rògaig, John MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.144, track ID 84881, and SA1972.145, track ID 103417

Sruth Rothagaid, William Lamont, Mannal, 8/1995 (oral source)

Mannal | A stream name. A small hillock nearby (now largely demolished) was said by one of the informants (JMCK) to have been a fairy mound. This tradition is often found in association with prehistoric structures.

Sruth Rothagag is a Gaelic construction in G *sruth* 'stream'. Its specific is opaque, however, and the diversity of name-forms makes any derivation conjectural. It is best to leave this name open at the moment.

RUAIG TIR S 1 NGR NM065473 ['ru·,eɪk'] and (less often) ['ru·,ak]

ON **Rauðavík* 'red-land bay'

Rolbaig, 1509 ER 13, 216

Roweg, 1541 ER 17, 647: 7 merklands (Johnston 1991, 78)

Roweg, 1638 RMS ix, 828

Rowag (settlement symbol) and *Clet Rowag*, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

Revaig and *Vuill*, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 291: 6 merk-land, £80, victual 16 bolls

Rowbeig, 1674 Retours ARG vol. 1, 86

Ruaig, 1768 Turnbull Map

Ruaig, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 71: 44 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 78)

Ruag, 1776 Mackenzie M., *West Side of the Island of Mull with the Islands of Tiri and Coll*, NLS EMS.s.654

Ruaig, 1794 Tiree Rental, Cregeen 1964, 37

Rouaig, 1807 Homann Erben, Nürnberg, NLS EMS.s.590

Ruaig, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 139, -)

Ruaig, common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Ruaig | Modern township name

Ruaig has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'. Its specific may be ON *rauðr* 'red ... in local names ... from the reddish colour of bogs and moorlands, which was supposed to be a sign that there was iron in the soil' (CV, 484). The development ON *-au-* > G [u:] is regular; there has been a loss of the medial ON *-v-*; while the final syllable has variably lowered in native speakers as ON *vík* can develop to G *-(bh)ag* (see section 17.4.2). The moorland of *Ruaig* is known today as G *An Sliabh Dearg* 'the red *sliabh*' because of the high iron content of the ground which colours the surface water. Bog iron was a highly prized resource in the Early Medieval period (see section 10.7). The referent is likely to have been the narrow inlet still used as a harbour, *Port Sgibinis* (see *Sgibinis*).

The Norwegian farm-name *Rauvik* derives from *rauðr* (Rygh, vol. 13, 48), and there are three examples of *Rauðavík* in Iceland (NLSI).

RUMIDIL TIR C 1 NGR NL972384 [ˈru: mə ,dɑL]

ON *á *Rymdali* ‘at roaring valley’

Rumidil, 1878 OS (no JGC, Duncan MacQuarrie in his place, OSNB, 240, ‘the derivation of the name is unknown’)

Rùmadal, John MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.145, track ID 103417

Rùmadal, William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral source)

Rùmadal a-Mach, *Rùmadal Meadhanach* and *Rùmadal a-Staigh*, Alec Hector MacDonald, Hynish, 6/2019 (oral source): + G *a-mach* ‘outer’, *meadhanach* ‘middle’ and *a-staigh* ‘inner’; presumably this was for fishing at different stages of the tide
Lòn Rùmadail, William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral source): + G *lòn* ‘pool’

East Hynish | A fishing rock at the end of G *Lag na Cleite* ‘the hollow of the hill’, now more often known by its English name *Happy Valley*. Situated just south of *Diubadal* ‘the deep valley’, *Lag na Cleite* is the only other true valley on Tiree. Surf pounding the shingle on this southwest-facing beach generates a loud booming noise which is amplified by the topography. Heard all over the southwestern corner of the island, this is the source of a local tradition predicting the weather: ‘*Tha Tra’ Balbhaig a’ glaothach* [*Tràigh Balbhaig* is shouting].’ Somewhat counter-intuitively, if this beach is ‘shouting’ in August, it is a sign of good weather to come (Alec Hector MacDonald, Hynish; David McClounnan, pers. comm.). See *Balbhaig* and *Gasamull*.

Rumidil has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *dalr* ‘valley’ (dative *dali*), used here, unusually on Tiree, in its original sense. The name has presumably, therefore, been transferred from the nearby valley now known as G *Lag na Cleite* ‘hollow of the *Cleit*’. Its specific may be Ol *rymr* ‘roaring ... *rym-fjall* the roaring fell’ (CV, 505). The development ON -y- > G -u- is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). There are no exact cognates. The Norwegian names *Rømsjøen* and *Rømskog* derive from *rymja* ‘to bellow’ (NS), as does the Norwegian farm-name *Raundal* (Rygh, vol. 7, 422–3).

RÙNASGAL TIR C 3 [ˈruː nə ˌʃkɑːl]

Rùnasgal, Archibald MacKinnon, Cornaigmore with John MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig, 9/1995 (oral sources)

A sea rock off Kilmoluaig, precise position unknown

Rùnasgal has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *gil* ‘coastal gully’. But without seeing the feature itself, this has to be very speculative. Its specific may be a male ON personal name.

RUTH* TIR C 1 NGR NL934410 [rũːh]

ON **Hrúgu* ‘heap’

Uaimh a’ Ruith, David McClounnan, Balephuill 4/1994; Donald MacKinnon, Sandaig, 12/1995; Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 2/1998 (oral sources)

Uaimh a’ Ruith, John Henderson talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1960.197.199, track ID 79613

Uaimh Ruic, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Kenavara | A cave on the sea cliffs: ‘There is no access to it except by means of a rope’ (MacDougall 1937, 101). Its inaccessibility, except to those fowling on the cliffs, must have lent the cave a magical aura. An alias of *Uaimh a’ Ruith* is *G Uamh an Fhir Dhuibh* ‘the cave of the Black Man (the Devil)’ (Brownlie 1995, 155, and Hugh MacLean collected by Ailean Boyd). This cave is also connected to the tradition of a piper entering it (David McClounnan, pers. comm.; John Henderson talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1960.197.199, track ID 79613; see *An Uamh Mhòr*).

Uaimh a’ Ruith is a Gaelic construction in *uamh* (in the Tìree dialect form *uaimh*) ‘cave’. Its specific may be *G ruith* ‘to run or flow’. This does not make much sense here, however. Nor is it a common element, with *Coire Ruithe* in North Uist and *Alltan Ruithe* in Inveraray, Argyll, being rare examples (SP).

Instead, **Ruth* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *hrúga* ‘heap’ (CV, 288). *Hrúga* has a fricative *-g-*, which often weakens (see section 17.4.2.2). The form *ruic* may be the result of hypercorrection.

In Orkney there is a *Roo* in Burness and a *Roo Clett* on Papa Westray (SP); *Kolbein*

Hrúga (*hrúga* was his byname) was a Norse chieftain who appears in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, chapter 48, and is said to have built *Cubbie Roo's Castle* on Wyre, Orkney; in Shetland there is a *Roog* in Aithsting (SP).

SALTAIG TIR C 1 NGR NM016483

ON **Saltvík* 'salt inlet'

Port Saltaig, 1869 Letter from Gott crofters about seaweed rights (An Iodhlann cat. no. 2001.128.1): 'We are to get taking seaware from any place in Port Saltaig'. + G *port* 'inlet'

Saltaig and *Rudha Saltaig*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 53, -): + G *rubha* 'promontory'
No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Balephetrish | A rocky bay just to the east of *Beinn Bhaile Pheadrais*

Saltaig has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'. Its specific is ON *salt* 'salt'. The loss of the medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

Salt has been used in the North Atlantic to preserve meat and dairy products since at least medieval times. It could simply be scraped from small hollows in rocks by the shore where the sun had dried seawater. Larger amounts could be obtained by evaporating seawater in a salt kettle at the shore. And, 'in Norway and Iceland salt was chiefly procured from burning seaweed ... Salt appears in local names, e.g. *Salt-eyrr* ... *Salt-karl* "one who burns salt" as the humblest and poorest occupation' (CV, 510).

Salt Hellyie is, 'a fishing rock in Leean [Evie, Orkney]: ON *salt-hellur*, salt rocks; evidently the rocks at this spot have been utilized as collecting places for dried sea salt' (Marwick 1995 (1947), 68). 'There is a *Saltapöl* ('salt pool') at Haroldswick [Unst], so called because formerly people used to gather salt there, left in small hollows in the rock after the seawater had evaporated. This salt was gathered chiefly for the purpose of putting it into butter' (Jakobsen 1936, 105). There is a *Saltavik* in Uist (SP); *Saltvík* is a common place-name in Norway (NG; see, for example, Rygh, vol. 16, 292); while *Saltvík* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

SALUM TIR S 1 NGR NM065485 [ˈsɑː-ɑ ,lʌm]

ON **Selahólma* ‘islets of the seals’

Salem, 1628 Sasine vol. 2 no. 235: 20 s. (Johnston 1991, 79)

Salim, 1638 RMS ix, 828

Scalum, 1654 Blaeu (Pont), possibly a mis-transcription of *Saalum*: settlement symbol

Salim, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 291: 1.5 merk-land, £56

Salaum, 1679 ICA Bundle 472/194 (Argyll estate papers uncatalogued)

Saalum, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73

Saalum, 1768 Turnbull Map

Salum, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 73: 12 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 79)

Salim, 1776 Mackenzie M., *West Side of the Island of Mull with the Islands of Tiri and Coll*, NLS EMS.s.654

Salum, 1794 Tیره Rental, Cregeen 1964, 37

Saalum, 1811 Neele, S.J., London, NLS Marischal 75

Säalum, Campbell in Black 2008, 37

Salum, 1878 OS (no JGC, the factor Geekie and two crofters, OSNB, 116, -)

Tràigh Shathalum, 1878 OS (~~Fràigh Salum~~, JGC, OSNB, 115): + G *tràigh* ‘beach’

Sathalum, Black 2008, 360 quoting Alexander Carmichael

Loch Shaluim, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, undated (oral source)

Salum | Modern township name. *Salum* lies on the eastern side of Salum Bay facing the headland of *Mithealum* and with a halo of rocks and islets to the north. The area has a particular concentration of harbour seals, and Malcolm MacLean – ‘Calum Salum’ – a well-known local shopkeeper who lived in the mid-twentieth century, famously used to stand on the shore and play his bagpipes to them.

Salum has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hólmr* (plural *hólmar*) ‘islet’. The specific may be ON *selr* (genitive plural *selja*) ‘seal’ (CV, 521). The developments ON *-e-* > G *-a-* and ON *-a-* > G *-à-* are regular (see section 17.4.2.1). This derivation is topographically plausible. Seals were an important resource and their haulouts were carefully observed and often ‘owned’ by families or settlements (see section 10.3.4).

Selholmen occurs several times in Norway (NG); the two Norwegian farm-names *Seløen* derive from *sel* ‘seal’ (Rygh, vol. 11, 180, and vol. 16, 101); and *Seleyrar* is a common name in Iceland (NLSI).

SANDAIG TIR W 2 NGR NM036485

ON **Sandvík* ‘sandy inlet’

Loch Sandaig, 1768 Turnbull Map

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Balephetrish | An inland loch, mapped by the Ordnance Survey in 1878 as *G Loch Dubh* ‘the dark (peaty) loch’.

Loch Sandaig is a Gaelic construction in *G loch*. Its specific *Sandaig* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The specific of this is ON *sandr* ‘sand ... frequent in local names, *Sand-vík*’ (CV, 513). The loss of the medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent is likely to have been the sandy bay on the northern shore of Balephetrish below *G Na Goirteana Tràgh’d* ‘the fields of the beach’ (1878 Ordnance Survey 6 inch first edition Argyllshire LXV). There is a *Sanaig* in Islay (Macniven 2015, 348); a *Sandwick* in Stornoway and commonly in Orkney and Shetland (SP); ‘there are well over fifty farms of this name in Norway’ (Oftedal 2009, 38); *Sandvík(ar)* is common as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Sandvík* is also common in Iceland (NLSI).

SAUNDAIG TIR S 1 NGR NL941435 [ˈsãũ ˌˈdeɪkʲ]

ON **Sandvík* ‘sandy bay’

Sandaig, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): red settlement symbol

Samdaig, 1674, MacPhail 1914, 289: 1.5 merk-land, £33 6s 8d, victual 30 stone, malt 8 pecks, casualties of a mail-land

Sandaig, 1768 Turnbull Map

Sandaig, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 35: 12 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 96)

Sandaig, 1794 Tiree Rental, Cregeen 1964, 35: 12 mail lands

Saundaig, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 189, -)

Sanndaig and *Sandaig*, common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Sandaig | Modern township name

Saundaig has also probably developed from the Norse loan-name *Sandvík* ‘sandy bay’ (see *Sandaig* above). The developments ON *-a-* > G [ãũ] and the loss of a medial ON *-v-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2.1).

The referent is less straightforward. The main bay below the modern settlement of Sandaig is *G Am Port Mòr* ‘the big inlet’, which today has a steep shingle beach. The referent may therefore have been *Tràigh Ghrianail* to the north. However, it is more likely to have been the sandy bay 1 km to the south now known as *Tràigh na’ Gilean*; the modern boundary between Sandaig and Middleton is at its northern end. Despite its late appearance in the fiscal records, the settlement model proposed in section 8.1.7 shows **Sandvík* originally extending to the base of Kenavara. It may have lost much of its land to Middleton from the fourteenth century onwards as a result of an intrusive new settlement.

SCARINISH TIR S 1 NGR NM042445 [ˈskɑi̯i̯ ,nʲi̯]

ON **Skarfanæs* ‘headland of the shags’

Skervinch, 1509 ER 13, 216: 40 s. (Johnston 1991, 85)

Skevenis, 1541 ER 17, 648: 3 merklands (Johnston 1991, 85)

Skarwenys, 1542 ER 17, 527

Skervenis, 1591 RMS v, 891

Skarenich, 1616 RMS vii, 1377

Skarrenich, 1623 RMS viii, 547

Skarweynis, 1630 RMS viii, 1610

Skervenis, 1635 Retours ARG vol. 1, 56

Skawerneish, 1695 Retours ARG vol. 1, 93

Skervinis, 1642 RMS ix, 1068

Skareness, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): red settlement symbol

Scarveneis, 1674 HP vol. 1, 289: 3 merklands (Johnston 1991, 85)

Skawerneish, 1695 Retours ARG vol. 1, 93

Scarinish, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 61: 18 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 85)

Scarnish, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 178)

Sgairinis, common current local usage in Gaelic

Scarinish | Modern township name

Scarinish has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *nes* ‘point, headland’ (CV, 453). Its specific may be ON *skarfr* (genitive plural *skarfa*) ‘green cormorant [shag] *Pelicanus graculus* ... frequently in local names, *Skarfa-klettr*, *Skarfa-hóll*’ (CV, 539). The loss of the medial ON *-f-* or *-v-* is regular, and there has also been vowel affection (see section 17.4.2). This is ornithologically plausible.

Shags and cormorants were an important food source on Tiree (see section 10.3.5), and roosts where they could be hunted were frequently namechecked: for example, *Sgaracleit* (see Gazetteer). Suitable offshore rocks in Scarinish include *G An t-Eilean Liath* ‘the grey island’; shags are still seen here, but numbers were probably higher before the banks between Tiree and Mull became fished out in the nineteenth century, and Scarinish became such a busy settlement. The referent is likely to have been the headland that forms the western side of Gott Bay (see *Meileart*).

Names in *skarfr* are common in the Northern Isles: ‘*Scaraber*, a frequent shore name in Orkney, indicating a spot where skarfs (cormorants or shags) are wont to sit: ON *skarfa berg*’ (Marwick 1995 (1947), 68); *Skarveneset* is common in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Skarnes* derives from *skarv* (Rygh, vol. 3, 182); while *Skarfsnes* and *Skarfanes* were settlement names in Iceland (*Landnámabók* 1900, 313).

An alternative derivation is ON *skarv* ‘flat rock’ (see *Sgarabhain* below). *Skarvanes*, a settlement in the Faroe Islands, may derive in this way (Magnussen 2010, 126).

SGARABHAIN TIR C 2 NGR NL983387 [ˌska ra ˈvaɪnʲ]

Sgaramhain, Lachlan and Chrissie MacFarlane, Hynish, 1/1994 (oral sources)

Sgarabhain, Lachlan MacFarlane, Hynish, 5/1996 (oral source)

East Hynish | An offshore rock opposite the mouth of *G An Abhainn Bhàn* ‘the sandy stream’

Sgarabhain may be a Gaelic construction in *G sgarbh* ‘crag, bare stony hill’, itself perhaps a borrowing from ON *skarv* ‘flat rock’ (Sigurðardóttir 2010, 126). The specific may be *G bàn* ‘pale’ from the guano of seabirds that roost on these rocks in large numbers (see *Sgaramin* below).

The Islay name *Sgarbh Dubh* may derive in this way (Macniven 2015, 255), and *Sgarbh Beag* and *Sgarbh Breac* are other hill names in Killarow and Kilmeny, Islay (SP); *Sgarbh* in Carloway may be the same (Cox 2002, 360); see also the Norwegian farm-name *Skarvedalen* (Rygh, vol. 8, 104) and *Skarva* in Hedmark, Norway (NS).

SGARACLEIT TIR C 1 NGR NL926456 ['ska ra ,klɛɪ̯ht']

ON **Skarfaklett* 'pointed rock of the shags'

Sgaracleit, Sandy MacKinnon, Kilkenneth, 9/1995 (oral source)

Hough | A rock on southern side of Craignish

Sgaracleit has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *klettr* 'sea rock'. The specific is ON *skarfr* (genitive plural *skarfa*) 'cormorant ... frequent in local names *Skarfa-klettr*' (CV, 539; see section 10.3.5). The loss of a medial ON *-f-* or *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

There is a *Sgaracleit* in South Uist (SP); there is a *Skarvkletten* in Alvdal, Norway (NG); *Skarvaklettur(in)* is common among settlement names in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Skarfaklettur* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

SGARACLEIT TIR C 1 NGR NL988405

ON **Skarfakletta* 'pointed rocks of the shags'

Sgaracleit Mòr and *Sgaracleit Beag*, Jessie MacKinnon, Mannal, 11/1993; William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral sources)

Mannal | Two domed sea rocks close to the shore

Sgaracleit, Mannal, is likely to have the same derivation as *Sgaracleit*, Hough. The name has been loaned into Gaelic with the modifiers G *mòr* 'large' and G *beag* 'small'.

SGARAMÌN TIR C 1 NGR NL983387 ['ska ra ,mi:n']

ON **Skarfamynni* 'stream mouth of the shags'

Sgaramin, William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral source)

East Hynish | A fishing rock at the shore, near the mouth of G *An Abhainn Bhàn* 'the sandy stream'. Shags resting in rows on the offshore rocks here were shot from a boat into the 1950s (William Lamont, pers. comm.), and there are still large numbers present today.

Sgaramin has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in OI *mynni* ‘mouth of a river’ (Jakobsen 1897, 99; Jakobsen 1936, 83): ‘ON *mynni* “a mouth or opening into which a stream disgorges” was generally associated with a burn or river entering the sea’ (Baldwin 2005, 29). Its specific may be ON *skarfr* ‘cormorant’.

There are no exact cognates. There is a *Mina* on Foula, Shetland (Baldwin 2005, 29); there is a *Skoraminn* on Bressay, Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 83); and *Dalsmynni* is common as a farm-name in Iceland (SAM).

SGÀTHAIN TIR R 1 NGR NL985395 [ˈskaː.əɪŋ]

ON **Skarðin* ‘the notch’

Cùl Sgàthain, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 236, ‘A small piece of foreshore situated about a quarter of a mile east of Hynish’)

Cùl a’ Sgàthain, William Lamont, Manna, 8/1995 (oral source); John MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.144, track ID 84881: + G *sgàthan* ‘mirror’

East Hynish | A rocky outcrop on the shoreline between Manna and Hynish

Cùl Sgàthain is a Gaelic construction in G *cùl* ‘rear or back part’ (Cox 2002, 83). The folk etymology of the specific *Sgàthain* is that a pool of water often collected here. Lighthouse keepers’ wives from the Hynish shore station, who ‘we looked up to in these days’ (William Lamont, pers. comm.), used to adjust their hats beside a pool here on their way to church. The specific, by this way of it, is G *sgàthan* ‘mirror’. This story certainly generates an attractive image. The lighthouse shore station at Hynish was occupied from 1844 to 1892, while the Ordnance Survey collected this name in 1878.

Instead, *Sgàthain* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *skarðr* neuter ‘notch, chink in the edge of a thing; an empty, open place, in a rank or a row ... frequently in local names’ (CV, 539) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5). The development ON *-a-* > G *-à-* and the loss of ON *-ð-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2).

Skardet is an extremely common name in Norway (NG); *Skarðið* is common in the Faroe Islands (KO); while the simplex *Skarð* is very common among Icelandic farm-names (SAM).

SGIBINIS TIR C 1 NGR NM078472 [ˈskʲi pə ,nʲi]

ON **Skipanes* ‘headland of the boats’

Sgibinis Bheag, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 149, ‘Little Island of the Boat’)

Rudha Sgibinis and *Port Sgibinis*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 149 and 150, ‘meaning Point of the Little Ship’): + G *rubha* ‘promontory’ + G *port* ‘inlet’

Sgibinis Mhòr, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 (oral source)

Sgibinis, common local usage and the byname of several islanders

Skipinnish, the name of a popular traditional music band

Port Sgibinis and *Loch Sgibinis*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 (oral source): + G *loch*

Dun Sgibinis, 1903 Beveridge, 83: + G *dùn* ‘fort’

Ruaig | A promontory

Sgibinis has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *nes* ‘promontory’. Its specific is ON *skip* (genitive plural *skipa*) ‘boat ... including ships of every size and shape’ (CV, 547). The referent was presumably the small headland on which *Dùn Sgibinis* is sited. *Port Sgibinis*, on the eastern side of this, provides a small harbour that held eighteen boats at one time (Iain MacDonald, Ruaig, pers. comm.). It is also plausible that there were noust sites here though there is no evidence of this today. The name has been loaned into Gaelic with the modifiers G *mòr* ‘large’ and G *beag* ‘small’.

This is a common name in the Norse expansion zone. There is a *Skipness* in Saddell, Argyll (SP); there are many examples of *Skipnes(et)* in Norway (NG; see, for example, Rygh, vol. 12, 429); *Skipanes* occurs twice as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Skipanes* occurs several times in Iceland (NLSI).

SGIOBAGAR* TIR C 1 NGR NL934488

ON **Skipagjár* ‘gullies of the boats’

Bodha Sgiobagair, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 21, ‘meaning not got’)

Bodha Sgiobadal, Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, 2/2006 (oral source)

The Ordnance Survey described *Bodha Sgiobagair* as ‘a small isolated rock a mile northeast of Hough skerries’ (OS1/2/28/21).

Bodha Sgiobagair is a Gaelic construction in G *bodha* ‘submerged rock’. Its specific **Sgiobagar* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *gjár* ‘coastal gullies’. The specific of this seems to be ON *skip* (genitive plural *skipa*) ‘boat’. This may have been the Norse name for at least part of G *Sgeirean Hògh* ‘Hough skerries’, a fearsome cluster of sea rocks one kilometre northwest of Hough. Numerous ships have foundered here: in historic times, the ‘Nancy of Dublin’ in 1885, ‘Arandhu’ in 1891 and the trawler ‘Saxon’ in 1931 (Moir and Crawford 1994, 153 and 191). A name in ON *dalr* ‘valley’ implied by the name-form collected from the oral tradition is less plausible at this location.

There is a *Skipageo* in Unst, Shetland (SP), and two examples of *Skipagjógv* in the Faroe Islands (KO). For ON *gjá* see section 17.1.

SGIOBASAL* TIR R 1 NGR NL984390 ['ski pə ,ˈdal']

ON **Skipasal* ‘hall of the ships’

Tràigh Sgiobasail, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 247, ‘meaning Beach of the Low Boat’): + G *iosal* ‘low’

Tràigh Sgiobasdail, John MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.144, track ID 84881, and SA1972.145, track ID 103417; Lachlan MacFarlane, Hynish, 9/1995 (oral sources)

East Hynish | A small shingle beach southwest of *Am Barradhu* and below the post-medieval settlement of *Haynish* (see Turnbull Map 1768). A cluster of offshore rocks makes this an uninviting landing place.

Tràigh Sgiobasail is a Gaelic construction in G *tràigh* ‘beach’. Its specific **Sgiobasal*, has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *salr* ‘hall’ (CV, 510). The specific of this is ON *skip* (genitive singular *skips*, genitive plural *skipa*) ‘boat’. *Tràigh Sgiobasdail* itself is not suitable for a noust or as a landing site. It is possible that a wrecked ship accounted for the name. In 1872, the barque *Regina* was wrecked here (Canmore ID 256038) and her windlass lay on the shore for many years. On the other hand, this name may reference *Goibhneig* a short distance to the west (see Gazetteer) – where there was a harbour of sorts – or G *Port na Birlinn* ‘inlet of the galley’ below the lighthouse shore station.

The name-form from the oral tradition, *Tràigh Sgiobasdail*, encourages a derivation from ON *stǫðull* ‘milking place’ or ON *dalr* ‘piece of ground’. But the Islay name *Cnoc Rhaonastil* was recorded as *Krokrenissale* in 1550 and only developed a

dental stop in 1686 as *Knokryndsay* (Macniven 2015, 147); a similar development of -s- to -sd- in **Sgiobasdal* may therefore be secondary.

There are no exact cognates. The element ON *salr* may occur in Islay in *Cnoc Rhaonastil*; is common in Norway; and occurs in Iceland, as in *Versalir* (SAM).

AN SGÌT TIR C 1 NGR NL980387 ['ski:ˈtʰ]

ON **Skít* 'filthy place'

An Sgit, Lachlan and Chrissie MacFarlane, Hynish, 1/1994; William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral sources)

East Hynish | An offshore rock with a central gravel-filled cleft

An Sgit has probably developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *skítr* '[excrement, shit]' (CV, 551), whose Faroese reflex is *skittur* 'dirt, filth, mud' (Young and Clewer 1985, 506). It may have been used here in the sense of 'stagnant pools on the beach where seaweed rots' (see *Puldrite* in Sandnes 2010a, 137).

The Norwegian farm-names *Skeiten* and *Skjete* are derived from *skítr* (Rygh, vol. 4, 81, and vol. 5, 242); there are three examples of *Skíturin* among settlement names in the Faroe Islands (KO); while it is found as a specific in Iceland, as in *Skítmýri* (NLSI).

SGITHEAG TIR R 1 NGR NM048484 ['ski ˌjæk]

Cnoc Sgitheag, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 108, 'Knoll of the Little Wing'): + G *sgíath* 'wing'

Cnoc Sgitheag, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, 11/1993 (oral source)

Vaul | A hill overlooking Vaul Bay topped by a robbed Bronze Age burial mound

Cnoc Sgitheag is a Gaelic construction in G *cnoc* 'hillock'. The folk etymology of the specific *Sgitheag* was that the name referred to a weary herd boy resting here: G *Cnoc Sgith Aige* 'the hillock where the tiredness was at him' (Donald MacIntyre, pers. comm.). G *sgitheag* 'small hawthorn tree' (Dwelly) may be behind the name *An Sgitheag*, a 'wooded hollow' on Jura (OS1/2/67/121), and this may have been the case here too. Hawthorn grows on the island today (see section 5.6.5 and Pearman and Preston 2000, 76).

There is a *Cnoc Sgitheag* in Kells (OS1/20/55/5).

SGONN MHC COITCH TIR C 1 NGR NL958485

G ‘the shapeless hill of *Mac (C)oitir*’

Sgonn Mhic Coitch, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 1/2/28/27, ‘a small island of rock at *Meall an Fhithich*, no meaning got.’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Kilmoluaig | A coastal rock

Sgonn Mhic Coitch is a Gaelic construction in G *sgonn* ‘shapeless hill’ (Dwelly). This is an uncommon element, appearing just twice in Scotland: as the simplex *An Sgonn* at Kilmallie, Argyll, and in Lochbroom, Ross (SP). Its specific *Mhic Coitch* may have related to the Gaelic surname *Mac (C)oitir*, common in Ireland and which translates as ‘the son of (the male ON personal name) *Óttar*’. This name also appears on the Craignish headland on Tiree as *Sgeir MhicCoit*, but I have been unable to find another example in Scotland (SP). These two features appear to be the only ones on Tiree referencing a Gaelic surname derived from Norse (see section 12.2).

SGOTH MHC CUMHA TIR C 1 NGR NL958485 [ˌsko·vi ˈhku-ə]

G ‘the steep rock of *Mac Cumha*’

Sgoth Mhic Cumha, Alasdair MacDonald, Balevullin, 4/1995; Hugh MacLeod, Carachan, 5/1995 (oral sources)

Kilmoluaig | Close to *Sgonn Mhic Coitch*

I have previously regarded *Sgonn Mhic Coitch* and *Sgoth Mhic Cumha* as variants of the same name.

Sgoth Mhic Cumha is a Gaelic construction in G *sgoth* ‘steep rock, abrupt hill’ (Dwelly). Its specific appears to be a Gaelic personal name. *Mac (Mhic) Cumha* is not found elsewhere in Scotland (SP), and may relate here to the mythical Irish figure *Fionn mac Cumhaill*. See *Kory Finmackoul*.

Like *sgonn* above, *sgoth* is rare in Scottish place-names: examples may be *Loch Dubhar-Sgoth* in Duirinish, Skye (SP) and *Sgo* on South Uist (OS1/18/13/54).

SGRÀBRAIG TIR C 1 NGR NM051485 ['skra: ,brig'] and ['skra: ,beig']

Sgràbraig and *Sgrabaig*, Mary MacKinnon, Seaside, Vaul, 11/1993 (oral source)

Vaul | This is a small inlet at the west end of *Tràigh Bhalla*, served by a well-made track and still used to launch small boats. An unrelated local tradition is that a Donald MacLean from Tiree was abducted by the French vessel *L' Heureux*, which was on its way to *Loch nan Uamh* near Mallaig to rescue Bonny Prince Charlie in 1746. On his journey home, 'Donald the Pilot' escaped and fled to Coll and then Tiree, where he hid from the British army for nine months in a small cave on the shore here.

Given the topography, *Sgràbraig* has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *bryggja* 'boat landing place'. However, the variance in its name-forms and the obscurity of its specific mean that this name should be left open at the moment.

SGRÈUCHADH* TIR C 1 NGR NM093492 ['skri:-ə ,xer]

Creag Sgrèuchaidh, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 118, 'a piece of flat rock on the Sea Coast visible only at Low water, meaning "Screaming Rock"')

Sgeir Sgreuchaidh, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/1996 (oral source), translated by the informant as 'the skerry of screams': + G *sgeir* skerry'

Caolas | A shore rock at the eastern end of a sweeping beach backed by low sand cliffs at the tip of the headland known today as G *An Rubha Dubh* 'the black promontory'

Creag Sgrèuchaidh is a Gaelic construction in G *creag* 'rock'. Its specific may be G *sgreuchadh* 'screaming' (Dwelly), possibly connected to the name G *Tràigh na h-Osnaiche* 'the beach of sighing' (see *Osnaich*) nearby. The sound of crying at the shore was interpreted as a portent of a drowning to come (see Black 2008, 263). And a traditional story recorded on Tiree had, as one of its main characters, a girl called *Sgreuchag* (see Black 2008, 498). However, the element *sgreuchadh* is not found elsewhere in Scotland, and G *sgreuch* 'scream' occurs just twice in Argyll, at *Maol nan Sgreuch* on Mull and *Sgreuch a' Chleirich* in Kildalton and Oa, Islay (SP). Alternatively, *Sgreuchadh* might be a lexical adaptation of an existing Norse loan-name in ON *bakki* 'bank' (CV, 50). The specific of this may be OI *skriða* 'landslips on a hillside ... frequent in local names' (CV, 557): ON **Skriðubakka* 'bank of the loose

sand'. In the Faroe Islands, *skriðbakki* means 'steep slope with loose ground where walking is difficult' (Young and Clewer 1985, 512). Reduction is very common (see section 17.6), and the developments ON *-k-* > G *-ch-*, the disappearance of ON *-ð-*, and the addition of a *-dh* to close an open final syllable are all regular (see section 17.4.2.2). There is a *Loch Scriachavat* in Carloway (Cox 2000, 334); there are six examples of *Skridubekken* in Norway (NG), and there is a *Skriðubakki* in the Faroe Islands (KO).

Given all this, however, it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

SGUDAIG TIR C 1 NGR NL940405 ['sgu ,deɾk']

ON **Skútuvík* 'inlet of the small boat'

An Sgudaig, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source)

Kenavara | A coastal rock at the northern end of *Tràigh Bhì*

An Sgudaig has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'. Its specific may be ON *skúta* (genitive *skútu*) 'little boat' (CV, 561): '*Skúta* describes a light coastal vessel, with speed being the hallmark' (Rixson 1998, 115; see CV, 561). The loss of a medial ON *-v-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent may have been G *Port a' Charabhanaich* 'inlet of the bream' beside G *Am Bodha Ruadh* 'the red submerged rock'. The fact that this inlet was chosen by an Irishman chased by an Excise cutter – reputedly the first Kennedy to come to Tìree – suggests it provides a reasonable landing place (Hector Kennedy talking to Eric Cregeen and Donald W. MacKenzie on TAD SA1975.071, track ID 100587).

There are two examples of *An Sgùdag* on Barra (Stahl 1999, 125); *Skutvik(a)* is common in Norway (NG), and the Norwegian farm-name *Skutvik* derives from *skúta* (Rygh, vol. 17, 121); in addition, there is an example of *Skútuvogur* in Iceland (NLSI).

SGURBHAI DH TIR C 2

Leac an Sgurbhaidh, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd (oral source): + G *leac* 'flagstone'

Leac na Sgòr-bheinn, Brownlie 1995, 154: 'The Sharp Rock Slab'

Kenavara | Exact location unknown

Leac an Sgurbhaidh is a Gaelic construction in G *leac* ‘slab of rock’. The specific is opaque with marked variance between the two name-forms. *Sgurbhaidh* also appears in *Tobar an Sgùrbhaidh* in Torosay, Mull (SP) but nowhere else. The folk etymology in that case is that cottars would collect watercress there as a preventative from getting scurvy (MacLean 1997, 158). This seems less likely on the cliffs of Kenavara, and it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

SIABAN* TIR C 1 NGR NM046495 [ˈʃiː-ə ˌm̩bən]

G *An Tiompan* ‘the small hill with one vertical side’

Eilean an t-Siabain, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 101, sig. ‘Island of the Spray’)

An t-Siombain, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, 6/1995 and 4/1996 (oral source)

An Siombain, Mary MacKinnon, Seaside, Vaul, 11/1993 and 5/1995 (oral source)

Vaul | An islet just to the north of *Dùn Beag Bhalla*

Eilean an t-Siabain is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* ‘island’. Its specific *an t-Siabain* was derived by the Ordnance Survey from G *siaban* ‘sand-drift, sea-spray ... the dry sand in which the *muran* (sea-maram) always grows is called *siaban* when it drifts in a storm. The breaking of sea waves in a storm drifts in the same manner and is called *siaban nan tonn móra*’ (Dwelly). There is no *machair* here, but ‘island of sea spray’ is quite persuasive on this exposed headland.

However, the name-forms collected from the local oral tradition suggest that this name-form has been lexically adapted from another, older name: G *tiompan* ‘one-sided knoll’ (Dwelly) or ‘small, abrupt hill’ (Cox 2002, 381). The referent, in this case, was probably the nearby elevation mapped by the Ordnance Survey as G *An Cnap* ‘small hill’, the site of a trig point.

Tiompan is an archaic word, but is found at *Lochan Meall an Tiompain* in Argyll (OS1/2/50/9) and *Tiompan* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 381).

SIADER* TIR A 1 NGR NL966388 [ˈʃiː-ə ˌdɑːr]

ON **Sætr* ‘shielings’

Dùn Hiader, 1878 OS (no JGC, Duncan MacQuarie instead, OSNB, 237, ‘the derivation of the name is unknown’): + G *dùn* ‘fort or pile’

Siadar, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 9/1995; William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral sources)

Dùn Shiadair, common current local usage

Fang Shiadair, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 9/1995 (oral source): the exact location of this was not recorded. G *fang* is a probably loan word from Scots *fank*, and is usually applied to post-Improvement livestock enclosures.

West Hynish | *Dùn Shiadair* is a promontory fort on an eye-catching, steep-sided coastal outcrop. There is a vigorous stream on its western side, and it is roughly equidistant between the proposed primary Norse settlements at **Bý* (see *Bèidhe*) and **Heiðarnes* (see *Hynish*). In fact, *Dùn Shiadair* became a *hagmark* between the post-medieval townships of *Haynish* and *Balephuill* (Turnbull Map 1768, and see section 10.2.2). A large silver hoard dating from the Early Medieval period was found here (see Appendix 18.b.1).

There is a tradition about a giant that lived at this fort. One day he went dowsing with hazel twigs, looking for spring water. First, he found G *Tobar an Dèideidh* ‘the well of the toothache’ but he scorned it as being too shallow. He continued north to discover G *Tobar an Fhoimheir* ‘the giant’s well’ (David McClounnan, pers. comm.). A ledge-name on the eastern side of the outcrop is called G *Leabaidh an Fhoimheir* ‘the bed of the giant’. There are a number of secondary footings inside the fort that may represent shieling sites.

Dùn Hiader is a Gaelic construction in G *dùn* ‘fort’. Its specific **Shiadar* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in either ON *setr* ‘small farm’ or ON *sætr* ‘shieling’ (see section 17.1). Given its remote situation, the steep topography and the absence of signs of cultivation nearby, the latter is more likely. The development ON *-æ-* > G [i-ə] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). If this site was indeed used for transhumance at the start of Norse settlement, it may have related to either the primary estate at **Heiðarnes* or one at **Bý*; it may even have been a shared resource. Dairying needed dependable summer water supplies, something that is in short supply on the western side of the hill. Given this, and given that the Late Medieval upland farm, a sub-division of **Heiðarnes*, came to be called **Heiðrin* (see *Heren*) rather than **Sætr*, it is more likely that it served as the shieling for **Bý*.

There is a *Sheader* on Barra (Stahl 1999, 267); *Shader* (G *Siadar*) in Lewis may be derived from ON *sætr* (Oftedal 2009, 16 and 20; Cox 2002, 366); and the Norwegian farm-name *Sæter* (Rygh, vol. 3, 33) may be derived from *sætr*, as may *Sæteren* (Rygh, vol. 4, 34). See *Cliar* and *Heren*.

SIOLAIG TIR C 1 NGR NM047447

Tràigh na Sìolaig, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 171, meaning ‘Beach of the Sand Eels’)
No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Scarinish | A small beach between *Eilean an Arbhair* and *Port Sgairinis*

Tràigh na Sìolaig is a Gaelic construction in G *tràigh* ‘beach’. Its specific may be G *siolag* ‘sand eel’ (Dwelly), as suggested by the Ordnance Survey. These eel-like fish (actually, a number of species) are extremely common on sandy Atlantic shores and can reach a length of 35 cm. Despite their small size, they can be eaten, and Dwelly recorded that ‘this little reptile comes to the shallow fords of Uist in myriads and is largely used as food’.

Alternatively, the specific **Sìolaig* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The specific of this may be ON *síld* ‘herring’ (genitive plural *sílda*): ON **Síldavík* ‘inlet of the herring’. Walker reported in 1764 that ‘every year the herrings constantly abound in great shoals all about Tiree from the beginning of October to the end of December’ (McKay 1980, 180). Gott Bay was later the centre of this fishery on Tiree (see section 10.3.2).

This may be an example of convergence (see section 17.5). 2 km away at the eastern end of *Tràigh Bhàigh* ‘the beach of Baugh’ there is a *Tràigh nan Sìolag* (OS1/2/28/96, meaning ‘Beach of the Sand Eels’). Nearby, the Ordnance Survey collected the name *Eilean nan Siolag* (OS1/2/28/97, meaning ‘Unknown’); in 1768, this feature had been recorded as *Sand Eel Isle* by Turnbull (Turnbull Map; see *Skyr na Veuillen*).

There is a *Silwick* in Sandsting, Shetland (SP); *Sildevik(a)* is a common name in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Sillevik* derives from *síld* (Rygh, vol. 8, 32); while there is a *Síldarvogur* in Iceland (NLSI).

SIONNACH* TIR R 1 NGR NL979480 [ən 't'i ,naɪx]

Cnoc an t-Sionnach, William MacPhail, Clachan, 6/1995 and 11/2009 (oral source):
+ G *cnoc* ‘hillock’

Cornaigmore | A hillock on the promontory *An Àird* a short distance from the shore. It is certainly a significant site. The informant said that fairies were reputed to live here. Rev Hector Cameron, who was born nearby in 1880, may have been referring to this when he wrote:

An Carragh, about 400 yds. to the point of Cornaigmore, *Brimminis* ... Fifty years ago [around 1870] the respective herds of the two farms of Clachan had a well-appointed bothy on this site. It was well-built of good faced stone, and had a regular flight of steps leading into it, for the whole structure except the roof, was underground ... The fact that this shelter was underground suggests that the herd laddies utilised an already existing subterranean vault. (MacDougall 1937, 91)

Cameron believed that this may have been a *dùn*. Lidar shows a buried square structure inside a rectangular enclosure here.

Cnoc an t-Sionnaich is a Gaelic construction in G *cnoc* 'hillock'. The specific may be G *sionnach* 'fox' (Dwelly). Foxes are not found on Tiree today. But the bones of a variety of fur-bearing animals dating from prehistoric times to the medieval period, some with the marks of having been skinned, have been found on a number of Scottish islands. These include fourteenth-century fox bones from Breacacha Castle on Coll, as well as similar ones on Iona and Islay and Islay. Martin reported of seventeenth-century Mull: 'Foxes abound in this isle' (Martin 1994 (1695), 285). The suggestion has been made that these animals were released on these islands to create a population that could be culled for their fur (Fairnell and Barrett 2007, 471).

Another possibility, given credibility by the buried structures, is the unusual Gaelic word *sionn* 'of the otherworld' (Black 2008, 332) and *Rìgh Sionnach* 'King of Enchantments' (see Black 2008, 233 and 497-499).

Names in G *sionnach* are common, particularly in Argyll: for example, *Eilean an t-Sionnaich* in Kilninian and Kilmore, Mull (SP).

SKARBARIGH* # TIR A 1 NGR NL934408

ON **Skarðaborg* 'fort of the saddles' or 'hill of the clefts'

Skarbarigh, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): settlement symbol

Bin Sckarbarig, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): + G *beinn* 'hill'

C[astle] *Bin Sckarbarig*, 1705 Peter Schenk, NLS EMS.s.235

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Kenavara | Mapped by Blaeu on the headland known today as Kenavara: the first beside a settlement symbol and the second as a hill name. It corresponds with the significant promontory fortification now known as G *Dùn nan Gall* 'the fort

of the strangers' (see Gazetteer). One historical attribution may reference this name: 'At that time [1325] or shortly afterwards, the king [Bruce] appointed Neil [MacLean], Malcolm's second son, constable of the castle of "Scraburgh", which is in all probability a misreading for Karnaburgh [in the Treshnish Isles] ... In 1329 Neil received ten pounds in part payment for keeping the castle' (MacLean Sinclair 1899, 43). Other suggestions for the location of *Scraburgh* have been Castle Sween and Tarbert (MacLean-Bristol 1995, 13).

On the shore below *Dùn nan Gall*, there is a gully protected by another small monument. Today, this is called *G An Dùn* 'the fort' or *G Dùn an Eilein Dhuibh* 'the fort of the black island' (MacDougall 1937, 100; Brownlie 1995, 155). This gully is known as ON *Borabrig* 'the landing place of the fort' (see Gazetteer). This small inlet is very exposed, is at the base of high cliffs and is 1–2 km from later settlements (Kenavara, Barrapol and Sandaig). It is difficult to see a 'civilian' use for this landing-name. To the sea side of *Dùn nan Gall* there is a flat area (see *Hiatrainis*). This fort therefore controls ground that could accommodate scores of people and their livestock, making it one of the most important strategic resources on the island. Taken together, this suite of place-names suggests the area's use as a significant military base during the Early Medieval period.

Skarbarigh has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *borg*. In this location it plausibly denoted a 'fortification, castle' (CV, 73). However, ON *borg* can also mean a 'small dome-shaped hill, hence the [numerous] Icelandic names of farms built near to such hills' (CV, 73), and it is possible that the referent was the main summit on the Kenavara headland. ON *bryggja* 'boat landing place' is considered less likely, as landing sites are few and far between on this rocky headland, and there is a transparent *bryggja*-name nearby (see *Borabrig*).

Its specific is likely to be ON *skarð* (genitive singular *skarðs*, genitive plural *skarða*): 'crevice ... frequent in local names *Skarð*, *Skarð-strönd*' (CV, 539; Mowat 1931, 4), or 'gap in a hill ridge' (Sandnes 2010a, 105). This is topographically very appropriate. It may refer to the saddle between the two summits of the headland, the numerous clefts in the cliff face or the glacial troughs on the northern side of the main summit.

Scarrabus on Islay has been derived from ON *skarð* with *bólstaðr* 'farm' (Macniven 2015, 231); *Scord* is a common loan-name in Shetland (SP); names with *skard-*, as in *Skardejell*, are common in Norway (NG); the element *skarð* is also common among Icelandic farm-names, with one example of *Skarðaborg* (SAM).

SKYR NA VEUILLEN # TIR 1 C NGR NL018440

Skyr na Veuillen, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Baugh | *Skyr na Veuillen*, shown on the 1654 Blaeu map at the entrance to the tidal estuary at Baugh, probably corresponds to the feature mapped by Turnbull in 1768 as *Sand Eel Isle* and by the Ordnance Survey in 1878 as the shore-bound *G Eilean nan Siolag* ‘the island of the sand eels’ (OS1/2/28/97). A huge sand bar appears to have developed since the Early Medieval period, preventing the stream *An Fhao dhail* from draining into *Hynish Bay* (see section 5.6.1).

Skyr na Veuillen is a Gaelic construction in *G sgeir* ‘skerry’. Its specific is probably *G faolainn* ‘foreshore, upper beach ... it applies to the raised beaches between salt and fresh water lakes’ (Cox 2002, 69 and 227). *Faolainn* is a borrowing from ON *vaðillinn* ‘the shallow water’ (MacBain 1911).

An Fhaoileann is common in its various spellings and genders, as in *Am Faoileann*, West Hynish (OS1/2/28/238: ‘a shingly sea-beach ... meaning ‘The Seagull’); *An Fhaoileann* in Kildalton and Oa; and *Faoilinn* in Barvas (SP). See *An Fhao dhail*.

SLIGANISH* # TIR C 3 NGR NL965390

Ardsliganish, 1775 Murdoch MacKenzie (senior), *West Side of the Island of Mull with the Islands of Tiri and Coll*, NLS EMS.s.654

Ardstiganish, 1804 Heather, W., *A new and improved chart of the Hebrides, or Lewis Islands and adjacent coast of Scotland*, NLS EMS.s.580

Fang na h-Àirde, Gilleasbuig Kennedy, West Hynish, 6/2020 (oral source): an alias for *Fang a’ Bhàird* on the slope above *Dùn Shiadair* (see below)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Probably West Hynish | With just two references on nautical charts and with the name no longer known in the oral tradition of the island, the location of this point is now unclear.

It may not have been Tíree. *Ardslignish* is also a farm-name in Ardnamurchan ‘on the promontory of *Aird Sligneach*’ (OS1/2/61/91). The tacksman of Hynish in the late eighteenth century was ‘John Campbell [born ca. 1712] of Ardsignish [who] had a tack of Laudil [Laudale] in Morvern and Mannal and Hynish in Tíree’ (Cregeen 1964, 111; see also Gaskell 1980, 124 and Frazer 1820, 44).

It does seem quite a coincidence that this Tiree headland was on the Hynish farm rented by a tacksman with this byname. However, the first historical form *Ardsliganish* appears on a nautical chart of the west coast of Scotland in the 1770s. This map was commissioned in 1751 from Murdoch MacKenzie, a grandson of the Bishop of Orkney, and published in 1774 and 1776. John Campbell of Ardslnish fought on the government side in the Jacobite rising of 1745–6 (Campbell 1885, 439). If he had been rewarded by the Duke of Argyll with a tack on Tiree after this, he would only have been on the land (and that, possibly, as an absentee tenant) for just a few years before MacKenzie's survey. This time sequence supports the Tiree name *Ardsliganish* being a local coinage.

Ardsliganish is a Gaelic construction in G *àird* 'promontory'. Its specific **Sliganish* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *nes* 'promontory'. Its specific is less clear, but may be ON *lykkja* (genitive singular *lykkju*, genitive plural *lykkja*) 'lock, loop ... closed field' (CV, 401). The Faroese cognate *lykkja* means '... (in place-names) enclosure' (Young and Clewer 1985, 367): ON **Lykkjunes* 'headland of the enclosure' or **Lykkjanes* 'headland of the enclosures'. The initial S- may have been transcribed as a projection from the terminal consonant cluster in the generic G *Àird* [ɑ:ɹʲtʰ] (see section 17.4.2.2). This derivation suits the topography. The hillside is crisscrossed with 'dragons teeth' walls that are likely to be pre-medieval. There are two later fold-names in West Hynish: G *Fang a' Bhàird* 'the fank of the poet' (said to have been built by John MacLean, 1827–1895) and the unlocated G *Fang Shiadair* (see *Siader*, a Norse name from *sætr* 'shielings'). Another sheepfold was built on the West Hynish *sliabh* in 1963.

There is a *Lykkjneset* in Norway (NG); the Norwegian name *Strandlykkja* may be derived from *lykkja* 'enclosure' (NS), as may *Lykkedrang* (Rygh, vol. 9, 22); there is a Faroese settlement *Lykkjugjóvin* (KO); while in Iceland there is a *Lykkjutangi* (NLSI).

SLOC MHIC CNITHEALUM TIR C 1 NGR NL934404

G 'the gully of *Mhic Cnithealum*'

Slock VickCrelim, 1768 Turnbull Map

Sloc Mhic Cnithealum, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 219, *Cnialum*, 'no meaning got')

Sloc mhic Cnithaluim, SSS card index B1 75/67/A1c

Sloc Mhic Crithealaim, Brownlie 1995, 154

Sloc Mhic Cnithaluim, David McClouunan, Balephuil, 2/1996 (oral source)

Kenavara | A deep cleft at the highest part of the cliff face, in whose shelter hundreds of seabirds nest

Sloc Mhic Cnithealum is a Gaelic construction in G *sloc* ‘crevice or gully’. Its specific is an otherwise unattested personal name **Mac* (the son of) *Cnithealum*. The folk etymology for this gully-name (which was recorded in 1768) is that it was named after an old man from Kilmoluaig who was shepherding on Kenavara. His daughter brought him dinner one day and then left him. He was never seen again; all that was left was his bowl at the cliff edge. He was presumed to have slipped while collecting eggs, fallen down this gully and drowned (David McClouannan, pers. comm.).

Names with this form are very common in Scotland, and in Argyll in particular: for example, *Eilean Mhic Ghille-ghleithidh* in Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Mull (SP).

Fowling accidents were probably behind many eponymous cliff names. But the headland was also important for grazing, and shepherding here could also be dangerous, as the folk etymology above suggests. Sheep often became trapped in G *Toll Dubh nan Caorach* ‘the black hole of the sheep’ below *Hùnasgeir*, lured down by a succession of grassy ledges, and had to be rescued using a rope (William MacLean, pers. comm.).

SLOC MHIC FHIONNLAI DH TIR T 1 NGR NL934405

G ‘the gully of the son of Finlay’

Sloc Mhic Fhionnlaidh, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 220, ‘A curved narrow creek on the west coast of Ceann-a-bharra at the north end of Carraig nan Gillean, Meaning “Creek of Finlay’s Son”’)

Sloc Mhic Fhionnlaigh, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994; David McClouannan, Balephuill, 11/1997 (oral sources)

Kenavara | A cleft north of *Sloc Mhic Cnithealum* (see Gazetteer)

Sloc Mhic Fhionnlaidh is a Gaelic construction in G *sloc* ‘crevice or gully’. The specific **Mac Fhionnlaidh* means the ‘son of Finlay’. This is not uncommonly found in eponymous Argyll place-names, such as *Baca Fhionnlaigh* in Balevullin, and *Sgeir Nighean Fhionnlaidh* off Colonsay (SP).

An alias is G *Sloc mhic Stioraidh* ‘the gully of the son of Steery’. This commemorates a boy who fell here (and survived) around 1900. ‘Steery’ was the nickname of the fisherman Neil Lamont from Balemartine, *Niall Chornaig*.

SMUCKABERG TIR C 2 NGR NL935435 [ˈsmu ɣə ˌber ˈjaɪ]

ON *á *Smugubergi* ‘at rock with a cleft’

Row Smuckaberg, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): + G *rubha* ‘headland’

Smugabearg, Brownlie 1995, 159

Smugabearradh, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 10/1993 (oral source)

Smugaberi, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994 (oral source)

Sandaig | The referent for this name is unclear. Both informants placed the name somewhere on the southern shore of G *Am Port Mòr* ‘the large inlet’, where there is certainly a rock bisected by a fine gully. By far the most convincing site, however, is a rock tunnel in *Bergh* on the northern side of the inlet (see Gazetteer), which acts as a spectacular marine geyser in certain sea conditions. An alias for this is G *Sloc Buirean* ‘the roaring gully’ (Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, pers. comm.).

Smugabearradh has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *berg* (dative *bergi*) ‘rock’ (CV, 60). Its specific is less clear. An initially convincing candidate is ON *smuga* ‘a narrow cleft to creep through, hole’ (CV, 572) and ‘a narrow passage, then a hiding place or refuge’ (Jakobsen 1897, 67). However, ON *smuga* had a fricative *-g-* (Richard Cox, pers. comm.) and this is usually lost (see section 17.4.2.2). Certainly, in Latheron, Caithness, *smuga* developed into *Smoo* (SP), while in Orkney it developed into *Smooan* and entered the local dialect to give *Smoo Field* (Sandnes 2010a, 246). In Shetland, however, *smuga* developed into ‘*de Smogas, De Smog* [and] *de Pitta-Smog* ... a passage down to a ledge in a rock facing the sea’ (Jakobsen 1928, 844), and *Smugga of Setter*, ‘a narrow portion of road’ on Fetlar (OS1/31/12/57; see Sandnes 2010a, 246). It is also possible that *Smuckaberg* has been understood on Tiree as the Gaelic close compound noun-noun *Smugaid Beireadh* ‘spittle rock’ (see section 11.2.1), although *smugaid* is not found in place-names elsewhere in Scotland (SP).

There is no exact cognate. *Smuga* is an uncommon element, but is found in the Norwegian farm-name *Smaage* (Rygh, vol. 14, 67), in the Faroe Islands as *Smugurók* (KO), and in Iceland as *Smugan* (NLSI). *Berg* (see *Bergh*) is a very common generic in Scandinavian Scotland, as in *Haberry Head* in Latheron, Caithness; *Melberry* in Walls, Orkney (SP); and *Skelberri* in Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 24). It is also common among Norwegian farm-names, as in *Haugeberg* (Rygh, vol. 7, 306), in the Faroe Islands as in *Gjóberg* (KO), and among Icelandic farm-names as in *Stakkaberg* (SAM).

AN SNOIG TIR C 1 NGR NL935435 ['sn̩:ɪg']

G 'pointed rock'

An Snoig, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 190, 'significance unknown')

An Snòig, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994 (oral source)

Sandaig | A fishing rock at the shore

The name (*An*) *Snoig* occurs at four locations on Tiree, always referencing small, pointed coastal rocks. It is probably a Gaelic loan word derived from ON *knúkr*. A similar loan occurred in Shetland: '*Snoog* or *Snjoogi* is ON *knúkr* or *knjúkr* "high knoll or peak hill-top". It usually denotes a hill whose top shapes into a knoll or peak' (Jakobsen 1897, 76). Marwick found a similar phonetic development in Orkney: 'A change of 'kn' > 'sn' initially can be shown in Orkney Norn, e.g. **snök*, **snøk*, hill peak, point. Now only as a place-name, ON *knúkr*. This is common in Shetland Norn' (see *snoddy* in Marwick 1995 (1929), 353).

The name *Sneuk* occurs in Hoy and Westray, Orkney; *Da Sneug* is one of the peaks of Foula, Shetland, and *Sneugie* and *Sneugans* are common place-names in Shetland (SP); the Norwegian farm-name *Knuken* comes from *knúkr* (Rygh, vol. 3, 170); and *Knúkur*, *Knúkurin* and *Knúkarnir* are common settlement names in the Faroe Islands (KO).

AN SNOIG TIR C 1 NGR NL970385

An Snoig, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 240, 'An island, a mere rock, meaning not ascertained')

Snòig, John MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1972.145, track ID 103417; William Lamont, Mannal, 9/1995 (oral source)

An Snòig Mhòr, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 2/1994 (oral source): + G *mòr* 'big'

Bùirean Shnòig, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 2/1994 (oral source): + G *bùirean* 'roar'

Carraig Shnòig, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 8/1999 (oral source): + G *carraig* 'fishing rock'

East Hynish | A thin rocky promontory. *Bùirean Shnòig*, the blowhole or marine geyser on the western side of the promontory, can be spectacular at mid-tide and with a large onshore swell, and the sound it generates can sometimes be heard

as far away as West Hynish (David McClounnan, pers. comm.). The fishing rock (NL97040 38601), also on the western side, has three bait holes.

See above.

SNÒIG TIR C 1 NGR NM037432

Snòig, Neil Johnstone, Heanish, 5/1994 and 5/1996 (oral source)

An Snòig, Margaret MacKinnon, Heanish, 1/1994 (oral source)

Heanish | A fishing rock on the western end of G *Eilean nan Gobhar* ‘the island of the goats’

See above.

AN SNÒIG TIR C 2 NGR NL933402

Snòig, Brownlie 1995, 153

An Snòig, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd (oral sources)

Eilean Shnòig, Brownlie 1995, 158

Kenavara | A coastal rock, whose exact position could not be determined

See above.

SNÒIS* TIR C 1 NGR NL934427 [snõ:iʃ]

Eilean Shnòis, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 11/1995; and Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 12/1995 (oral sources)

Sloc Shnòis, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993; Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994; and Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 11/1995 (oral sources): + G *sloc* ‘gully’

Sandaig | Shoreline features on a heavily indented, rocky coastline

These two names are Gaelic constructions in G *eilean* ‘island’ and *sloc* ‘gully’. Their shared specific **Snòis* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-

name in ON *snøs* (see OI *snös* ‘projecting rock, pot-hook’ in CV, 577): ‘*De Snøs* is the name of a headland in Foula, *snøs* being the word ‘nose’ in its pure form’ (Jakobsen 1897, 92). The development ON *-ǫ-* > G [ɔ̃] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). *Snøsen* occurs several times in Norway (NG), while *Snös* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

SOA TIR C 1 NGR NM072463 [ˈsoː-eɪ]

ON **Sauða-ey* ‘sheep island’

Soa Rowaig, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

Soa-Ruaig Isle, 1768 Turnbull Map

Soa and *Soa Point*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 163, -)

Sòthaigh, common current local usage

Ruaig | A large tidal island with a sand tombolo. A small bothy in the centre of the island is known as G *Tobhta na Sinnsireachd* ‘the ruin of the ancestors’ (Alasdair Sinclair, Brock, pers. comm.). A cart track for seaweed collection from G *An Sgor Mòr* ‘the large cleft’ was created in the nineteenth century. There is a headland dyke across the southwestern point of the island. A large pool behind a raised beach has two ruined wells constructed in its sides, but water is likely to have been a limiting factor during the summer.

Soa has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *ey* ‘island’ (CV, 134). Its specific is ON *sauðr* (genitive plural *sauða*) ‘sheep’ (CV, 515). It is likely to have been an early name in Scandinavian settlement: ‘Islands are among the first localities to be named’ (Gammeltoft 2005, 123). The development ON *-au-* > G [o:] is regular, and ON *-ð-* becomes a hiatus (see section 17.4.2).

This is a common name in the Norse expansion zone. Exact cognates are a tiny *Soy Gunna* off Gunna and a *Soa* off Coll; this is probably the reason that some historical forms include the modifier ‘Ruaig’. There is a *Soa Island* off Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Mull; a *Soay* off Bracadale, Skye; a *Soay More* off Harris; while *Soay* is part of the St Kilda archipelago (SP). There are two examples of *Sauðeholmen* in Norway (NG), and three of *Sauðey(jar)* in Iceland (NLSI).

SOGHAIGIR* TIR C 1 NGR NL935458

ON **Sauðagjár* ‘gullies of the sheep’

Clachan Torra Shoghaigir, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 13, ‘meaning unknown’)

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | Rocks at the tip of Craignish headland, beyond a tidal channel

Clachan Torra Shoghaigir is a Gaelic construction in G *clachan* ‘rocks’. Its specific **Torra*’ *Shoghaigir* is another Gaelic construction in G *tòrr* (plural *tòrran*) ‘mound, large heap’ (Dwelly): *Clachan Tòrra*’ *Shoghaigir* ‘the rocks of the mounds of **Soghaigir*’. The specific of this **Soghaigir* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *gjár* ‘gullies’. **Shoghaigir* has been lenited and palatalised in the genitive case and there has been vowel affection (see section 17.4.2.1). The first element of this is probably ON *sauðr* (genitive plural *sauða*) ‘sheep’ (CV, 515). The development ON *-au-* > G [o:] is regular, and ON *-ð-* becomes a hiatus (see section 17.4.2).

There is a *Sauðagjá* in Iceland (NLSI). For ON *gjá* see section 17.1.

SOLABHAIG TIR 3 C [ˈsɔ lə ,veɪkʰ]

ON **Sǫlvavík* ‘inlet of the dulse’

Tràigh Solabhaig, Donald Sinclair talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1968.038, track ID 61327; Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen and Donald MacKenzie on TAD SA1972.135, track ID 84492 at 5 min

East Hynish | An unidentified beach near *Dùn na Cleite*

Tràigh Solabhaig is a Gaelic construction in G *tràigh* ‘beach’. Its specific *Solabhaig* may be a personal name. This is certainly the implication of the folk etymology: ‘[The little beach next to *Dùn na Cleite*] is called *Tràigh Solabhaig*. She was the daughter of a Viking: they called her *Solabhag*. And that beach has been called after that Viking man’s daughter until today. She was drowned on that beach’ (Donald Sinclair talking to Eric Cregeen and Donald MacKenzie on TAD SA1972.135, track ID 84492, translated by the author). *Sólveig* is a female ON personal name, found at Icelandic settlement (*Landnámabók* 1900, 375). See *Bèidhe* and *Meidhaig*.

It is difficult not to accept this oral tradition, but it is more likely that *Solabhaig* has developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. The specific of this may be ON *spl* (genitive *splva*) ‘dulse’ (CV, 621). This edible seaweed was widely dried and eaten in the Norse expansion zone as an anti-scorbutic (to prevent scurvy), including on long voyages. It was eaten on Tiree into the mid-twentieth century: see, for example, the Ruaig name G *Sgeir an Duilisg* ‘the skerry of the dulse’ (Iain MacDonald, Ruaig, pers. comm., and Eliza MacLean talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1969.163, track ID 25644). The developments ON *-ǫ-* > G [ɔ] and the loss of an ON *-v-* are regular (see section 17.4.2).

There are several examples of *Sǫlevik* in Norway (NG), and names with *spl* are common in Iceland, including two examples of *Sölvavík* (NLSI).

SOROBaidh TIR E 1 NGR NL984418 [ˈsõ: ra ˌberʰ] and [ˈsõĩ: ˌə ˌberʰ]

ON **Saurbý* ‘marshy farm’

Soreby, 1509 ER 13, 217

Soiribe, 1561 Coll. de Reb. Alba, 3 (Johnston 1991, 90)

Soirby, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): red settlement symbol

Sorobie, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 289: 1.25 merklands, £10

Soribie, July 1679, ICA Bundle 472/194 (Argyll estate papers uncatalogued)

Soroby, 1695 Martin Martin, 296: ‘the Parish Church in the isle is called Soroby’

Sorby Cross, 1768 Turnbull Map

Sorbey old Chapel, 1768 Turnbull Report, Field no. 21

Tràigh Sorobaidh, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 201, -): + G *tràigh* ‘beach’

Garradh Shoiribidh, MacDougall 1937, 114: + G *gàrradh* ‘dyke’. A boundary name at the foot of *Beinn Haoidhnis*, presumably marking the extent of the Soroby farm ownership at one time (see 1768 Turnbull Map)

Sòiribidh, Ailean Boyd, 5/2013; Donald MacKinnon, Hough, 6/2014; Donald Archie Brown, Balephuill, 6/2014 (oral sources). See section 17.4.2.2 for a discussion of the pronunciation of the strongly palatalised /r/ in the Tiree Gaelic dialect.

Sòrabaidh is also common, for example, Archibald MacCallum, Cornaigbeg, 6/2014

Sorabaidh is increasingly common today, possibly influenced by the written form *Soroby*

Gàrradh Shòrabaidh, Eilidh Kennedy, Balevullin, 2/1994; Neil MacDonald, Balevullin, 3/2014 (oral sources)

Cladh Shòrabaidh, common current local usage: + G *cladh* ‘graveyard’

Balemartine | Obsolete township name, now incorporated into Balemartine. The land of this settlement once stretched to the foot of *Beinn Haoidhnis* (see *Garradh Shoiribidh* above). The name *Sorobaidh* is still in common usage to describe the modern graveyard serving the west end of the island. The name is not listed in the 1541 crown rental; this may have been because it was owned by the church (see Macniven 2015, 28 and 58).

Sorobaidh has developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *býr* ‘farmstead or village’ (Nicolaisen 1976, 101; for other Hebridean examples of names in *býr* or *bær*, see Grant 2005, 137). Its specific is ON *saurr* ‘mud, dirt ... in local names *Saurar*, *Saur-bær*, especially the latter is frequent in Iceland of sour [acidic] soil, swampy tracts’ (CV, 515). The development ON *-au-* > G [o:] is regular and some name-forms show vowel affection (see section 17.4.2.1).

Much of the land here is indeed wet. Turnbull found *Balemartine* contained just 16% infield, compared to 30% in neighbouring *Balinoe* and *Quyeish*, while its pasture was variously described as ‘a bad soil’, ‘low and wet’ and ‘bare and rocky’ (Field nos. 18, 19 and 20, Turnbull Report 1768). The township is one of very few on Tiree with virtually no *machair* (just 3% blown sand in 1768: Field no. 21 Turnbull Report). *Cnoc an Ìlidh* on its northern flank has been derived as ON **Víðihlið* ‘slope of the willows’ (see *Ìlidh*). An old nickname for the people of the township was *Na Lèigeich*, which can be translated as ‘the marsh people’ (Black 2008, 325; see *An Lèig*). And a large area at the base of *Beinn Haoidhnis* – now the Manna *sliabh* but possibly part of **Saurbý* farm township at Norse settlement – was drained by the tacksman in the eighteenth century: ‘Field no. 25, meadow, a good natural quality much improved by Mr John Campbell of Ardslnish, the present taxman, by enclosing it with an open ditch and drain’ (Turnbull Report 1768).

Sorobaidh was replaced in the fiscal records by the name G *Baile Mhàrtainn* ‘the town of Martin’, which appears for the first time on the 1654 Blaeu map as *Balmartin*. The shift from Norn to Gaelic also brought about the re-naming of the farm township to the east as G *Am Baile Nodha* ‘the new township’ around 1500 (see *Balinoe*). The historic extent of *Sorobaidh*, however, is suggested by the dependent name of the large beach to the northeast. This is still known as *Tràigh Shòrabaidh* rather than *Tràigh Hilibol* or *Tràigh a’ Bhaile Nodha*.

The name is contrastive with *Bý* (see *Bèidhe*) on the other side of the southwestern tip of the island.

This name is common in the Norse expansion zone: ‘ON *saur-bær* “mud or swamp village” ... was a common name-type applied to any farm with poor soil or adverse conditions’ (Grant 2005, 129). There is a *Soroba Farm* near Oban (OS1/2/19/65), a *Soriby* on Mull (Land tax roll E106/3/2/71), and many examples in Galloway, the

Isle of Man and northern England; *Saurbu* is a common name in Norway (NG; see, for example, *Sørby*, Rygh, vol. 2, 197); and *Saurbær* is common as a farm-name in Iceland (SAM).

SRÒM TIR C 1 NGR NL932426 [s'ro:m]

ON **Straum* 'tidal race'

Sròm, Brownlie 1995, 159

Sròm, William MacLean, Balinoe, 8/2010; and Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993 (oral sources)

Sròim (alternative orthography *An Sròm*), Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Sandaig | A channel between coastal rocks

Sròm has probably developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *straumr* 'stream, current, race of sea or tide ... local names *Straumr*' (CV, 597). The development ON *-au-* > G [o:] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). Alternatively, this may be the Gaelic loan word *stròm* (see McDonald 2015, 152).

The simplex *Strom* is found in North Uist; Lochs, Lewis; and Whiteness, Shetland (SP); the Norwegian farm-names *Straum*, *Strøm* and *Strømme* derive from *straumr* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 8, 225); *Millum Streymar* is a coastal settlement in the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Straumur* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

AN T-SRÒN TIR C 1 NGR NL932426 [s'ro:n]

G *An Sròn* 'point of land' or ON **Strǫnd* 'shore'

An t-Sròn, 1878 OS (no JGC, OSNB, 193, 'sig. 'point')

An t-Sròn, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994 (oral source)

Sandaig | A cobble beach

This is probably a simplex Gaelic name in G *sròn* 'nose or point of land'. This is common as a generic on Tìree, for example *Sròn Thaingis*.

Alternatively, it is possible that *An t-Sròn* has developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *strǫnd* 'strand, shore' (CV, 599). The developments ON *-ǫ-* > G [ɔ]

and [ʃi], and ON *-nd* > G *-n* are regular (see section 17.4.2). This element appears to have left little mark in the Hebrides, with no surviving examples in Carloway (Cox 2002), Raasay (MacKay 2013) or Islay (Macniven 2015). The simplex *Strand* is found in Fetlar (SP); is very common in Norway (but not the southwestern part of the country: NG); *Strond* occurs once in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Strönd* is very common in Iceland (NLSI).

STÀNAL* TIR W 1 NGR NL967444 ['sta ,nɔL]

ON **Stangarhól* 'hill of the pole'

Loch Stànail, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 92, 'significance not known')

Loch Stanail, 1937 MacDougall, 119

Loch Stanail, 1938 Cameron, 61

Staineal, Neil MacArthur, Moss, 4/2015 (oral source)

Loch Staineal, Niall MacDonald, Balephuill, 9/2019 (oral source)

Loch nan Stèarnail, Donald Kennedy, Caolas, 2/1994 and Rena MacDonald, Cornaigmore, 2/1994 (oral sources): + G *stèarnal* 'tern' (Boyd 2011)

Cnoc Stanail, Alasdair MacDonald, Kilmoluaig, 1/1990 and Lachlan Cameron, Balevullin, 2/1994 (oral sources): + G *cnoc* 'hillock'

Moss | The most northerly of a series of three shallow lochans stretched in a line between Heylipol Church and *Loch Bhasapoll* in an area of worked-out peat diggings. It was mapped by Turnbull as *L. Nalaig* (Feature no. 135, Turnbull Map 1768; see *An Lèig*, Moss).

L. Achlair (Feature no. 136, Turnbull Map 1768) is to the south of *Loch Nalaig*. This is G *Loch a' Chlàir* 'loch of the smooth surface or plane; plank' (Dwelly). The folk etymology of this name is that the tacksman, *Fear Chill Moluag*, put up a board telling people not to cross this loch at the boundary of Heylipol and Kilmoluaig (Hector Kennedy talking to Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1974.129, track ID 72991). *Cnoc Stanail* has the alias G *Cnoc Ruadh* 'the red hillock' (OS1/2/28/91).

Loch Stànail is a Gaelic construction in G *loch*. Topographically, in this area of undulating moorland, the specific **Stànail* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hóll* 'hillock' (CV, 280). Its specific may be ON *stǫng* (genitive *stangar*) 'pole' (CV, 603). The developments ON *-a-* > G *-à-* and ON *-ng-* > G *-n-* are both regular (see section 17.4.2). The referent was most plausibly *Cnoc Bhirceapol*, the largest feature in the area and central to the *Great Common Moss*. A pole on this hill marking a safe path to peat cuttings through these wet lands seems quite

plausible. The name appears to have been lexically adapted by two informants into Gaelic as ‘hill of the terns’.

There is a *Stang Ayre* in Cross and Burness, Orkney (SP); *stang-* is a common specific in Norway, as in *Stangeberget* (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Stangeland* derives from *stǫng* (see Rygh, vol. 10, 126); *Stangarhøvdíð* is a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Stangarhóll* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

STAOIN* TIR R 1 NGR NL945472 [ˌka ra ˈst̪ɑ̃ĩːnʲ]

ON **Stein* ‘stone’

fo Charragh Phuirt-Staoin, 1932 Cameron, 432. A song written by Hector Cameron: ‘*Siar i o’n traigh gu sail an Rudha / O’m Fhang ge guineach a’ ghaath / A staigh mar a b’ aill gu ban Phuill a’ Mhanaich* [see *Creag a’ Mhanaich*] / ‘*S gun dail fo Charragh Phuirt-Staoin*’

Carrastaoin, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 59, ‘meaning “Christian Knoll”’)

Carra’ Staoin, common current local usage

Loch Charrastaoin, 1878 OS: + G *loch*

Cnoc Charrastaoin, 1878 OS: + G *cnoc* ‘hillock’

Rubha Carrastaoin, 1878 OS: + G *rubha* ‘promontory’

Dun Charragh-Staoin, MacDougall 1937, 96: + *dùn* ‘fort’

Hough | *Carrastaoin*, described by the Ordnance Survey as ‘a small district’ (OS/1/2/28/23), is an extensive area of the northwestern part of Hough; it has generated dependent names in *Loch*, *Rubha* and *Cnoc* (on which a Coastguard look-out hut was built in the early twentieth century). Beveridge recorded this as a fort site: ‘The remains of this Dun are very indistinct, but upon the west of its summit could be traced 12 yards of a semi-circular wall composed of quite small stones’ (Beveridge 1903, 101). There is a scatter of apparently set stones here, but a fortified site is unlikely as the hillock has gently sloping sides and *Loch Charrastoin* only floods in winter. There is also a much better defensive site at *Dùn Boraige Mòr*, half a kilometre to the north.

The turf footings of a large sub-rectangular structure just to the east of *Cnoc Charrastaoin*, probably a house attached to a large triangular enclosure, were surveyed in 2016 (ACFA 2018, xiii).

Several settlements on the western side of *Beinn Hògh* with their cultivated fields were submerged by sand blow in the early nineteenth century: ‘Some of the houses collapsed before they came out of it. And they had to go in with

some others further up, and the sand was coming nearer every winter' (Alasdair MacDonald talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1979.06, track ID 102818). These farm townships were finally abandoned in 1816, and there are no signs of them on the vegetated surface of the *machair* plain today. This account suggests that this extensive farming landscape has been buried by sand at least two metres deep.

The name-form **Carragh Phuirt-Staoin* from a poem by Rev Hector Cameron, who was born in Cornaigmore, is a Gaelic construction in G *carragh* 'standing or upright stone'. *Carragh* is quite common as a generic on Tiree. It can refer to a natural feature, as at G *An Carragh Maol* 'the bare upright stone' in Cornaigmore. But more often the word refers to a prehistoric standing stone, as at G *A' Charragh Bhiorach* 'the pointed upright stone' in Balinoe.

Its specific **Puirt Staoin* is another Gaelic construction in G *port* (nominative plural *puirt*) 'inlet', which may reference the beaches a short distance to the west now known as G *Na Puirt Bheaga* 'the small inlets'.

The specific of this, *Staoin*, has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *steinn* 'stone' (CV, 591). The development ON *-ei-* > G [ãðĩ] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1).

The stress pattern suggests that the name-form *Carrastaoin* is likely to be another Gaelic construction in G *carragh*: *Carra' Staoin*. This would be tautologous – *Carragh Staoin* 'the standing stone at Standing Stone'. This may have been lexically adapted as G *a' charra(gh) staoin* 'the oblique [leaning] standing stone' (Dwelly).

There are a multitude of simplex place-names based on ON *steinn* in the Norse expansion zone. There is a *Staoin* derived from ON *steinn* and an *Abhainn Staoin* in Kildalton and Oa, Islay (Macniven 2015, 177); in Norway, the simplex names *Stein*, *Steine* and *Steinen* are extremely common (NG, and see, for example, Rygh, vol. 3, 196); and the simplex *Steinar* is frequent in Iceland (NLSI).

From the location of the dependent names, this feature would have been located in the northern part of Hough. One slight flaw in this derivation is that there is no obvious referent today, nor did Beveridge (1903) or the Ordnance Survey (1878) describe a prehistoric monument in the area. Standing stones were rarely disturbed, but they often fell and this one may have been buried by sand blow (see above). The existence of this simplex name would explain why the standing stone circles on the eastern side of *Beinn Hògh* were given the qualified name **Myrarsteinnar* 'standing stones on the moor' (see *Murstainn*).

STIDEIL TIR C 2 NGR NL936435 ['sti ,d'el']

Sloc an Stideil, Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994 (oral source), which she translated as 'gully of the spray'

Sloc na Stideag, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993 (oral source), which he translated as a measure of water poured onto grain as it is ground.

Greenhill | A coastal gully

This is a Gaelic construction in G *sloc* 'gully'. The second element appears to have been understood by both informants as G *stideag* 'drop formed by splashing water – e.g. drops off a revolving grindstone' (Dwelly). This could be persuasive as a description of salt spray bursting from this gully. *Stideal* and *stideil*, however, are unattested in Gaelic, while neither *stideag* nor *stideal* is the basis for a place-name elsewhere in Scotland (SP).

The variance in the name-forms means that this name should be left open at the moment.

AN STÒL TIR C 1 NGR NL921458 [sto:L]

G *Stòl* or ON **Stól*, both meaning 'stool'

An Stòl, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 9, 'A small creek situated about 1/4 mile eastwards of Greatharum in the north Coast of Rudha Craiginis. Meaning 'The Seal')

An Stòl, Sandy MacKinnon, Kilkenneth, 11/1993 (oral source)

Tòn Stòil, Sandy MacKinnon, Kilkenneth, 11/1993 (oral source): G *tòn* 'arse' (Dwelly; see *Toinisgeir*)

Hough | A striking stool-shaped rock visible at low tide on the northwestern tip of Craignish. It is a fishing point.

An Stòl is possibly G *stòl* 'stool'. However, this is an uncommon element as a simplex with only two other examples in Scotland: *An Stòl* in Kingussie, and another on Canna (SP).

However, the Norse cognate ON *stól* 'stool, chair' (CV, 596) is much more productive, with a *Stole* in Northmavine, Shetland, and a *Stolan* in Westray, Orkney (SP). *Stol* and *Stolen* are common in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Stol* derives from *stól* (Rygh, vol. 10, 384); *Stólur(in)* occurs several times among settlement

names in the Faroe Islands (KO); while there is one example of *Stóll* in Iceland (NLSI).

NA SUACAIN TIR C 1 NGR NM074465 ['su:-ə ,kain']

Na Suacain, 1878 OS (*An-Sugain*, JGC, OSNB, 167, Meaning 'The Snout')

Na Suacain, Lachlan MacKinnon, Brock, 1990 (oral source)

Ruaig | A collection of tidal rocks between the eastern coast of *Soa* and *Ruaig*

Na Suacain and *Suacan* (below), less than 2 km apart in open water (see 1878 Ordnance Survey 6 inch first edition Argyllshire LXV), may be examples of convergence (see section 17.5). Because of the difficulties this throws up, any derivation is more conjectural than usual. One possibility, however, is ON *sǫkk* 'sinking, hollow' (CV, 620) with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5): ON **Sǫkkin* 'the quicksand'. The development ON -ǫ- > G [u:] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). This is topographically appropriate on this extensive sand tombolo, which is only dry for a short time at low tide.

Sukken occurs several times among Norwegian farm-names (see, for example, *Sukken* in Rygh, vol. 1, 4).

SUACAN TIR C 1 NGR NM093469 ['su: ə ,hkan]

Suakin Rocks, 1768 Turnbull Map

Suacan Mòr, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 156, significance 'Great Rope'): + G *mòr* 'large'

Sgeirean nan Suacan, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 154, significance 'Rocks of the Rope Clay'): + G *sgeirean* 'skerries'

Na Suacain, 1932 Cameron, 52. A poem by John MacLean, *Iain mac Ailein*, includes the line: '*Chaidh ur call aig na Suacain*', lamenting the death of Neil MacLean, Lachlan MacDonald and Neil MacDonald, who were drowned on these rocks in 1809 in their boat *The Cailin* on their way back from Islay (see also Brownlie 1995, 134)

An Suacan Mòr and *An Suacan Beag*, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 (oral source): + G *beag* 'small'

Bodhaichean nan Suacain, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 (oral source): + G *bodhaichean* 'submerged rocks'

Taigh na Suacain, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 and 3/2010 (oral source): + G *taigh* 'house'; this house was a meid, or navigation point, for *Na Suacain*

Milton, Caolas | A menacing line of rocks to the east of the harbour entrance. The main mill for the eastern end of the island is on the shore here (see *Millton*).

Suacan has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *kvern* ‘mill’ (CV, 363). Its specific may be ON *suðr* ‘south’ (CV, 603): ON *Suðurkvern* ‘southern mill’. This may be a contrastive name with *Greusgain* (see *Gazetteer*). ON *-ð-* often develops into a hiatus (see section 17.4.2.2), and vowel affection may have changed the final vowel quality (see section 17.4.2.1). The name has been loaned into Gaelic with the modifiers G *mòr* ‘large’ and G *beag* ‘small’. See *Na Suacain* above.

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are common in the Norse expansion zone. The element *suður* occurs, for example, in the Faroese settlement name *Suðurhvelt* (KO); and Icelandic farm-name *Suður-Hvammur* (SAM).

AN SÙGHACHAN TIR C 1 NGR NM018433 [ˈsu: ə ˌxan]

G *Sùghachan* ‘syphon’

An Sùghachan, 1878 OS (JGC, ONSB, 204, ‘forms the most extreme point of *An t-Ard*, meaning “rock of the heavy swell”’)

An Sùghachan, Angus Munn, Heanish (oral source): ‘it means “the sucking”’

Baugh | The tip of *Rubh’ a’ Bhàigh*, around which the tidal race often gives rise to disturbed water

An Sùghachan is possibly derived from a Gaelic name in either G *sùgh* (plural *sùghaichean*) ‘wave, billow’ (Dwelly and MacBain 1911), or G *sùghachan* masc. ‘syphon’ [a tube to suck water] (Dwelly). This was probably a navigational danger name (see *Greasamull*, Greenhill), its importance possibly heightened by the existence of a medieval harbour at the tidal estuary here (see section 5.6.1).

This is a very unusual name, the only example in Scotland (SP). See *Na Suacain*.

SÙL TIR C 2 NGR NL933399 [su:l]

Camas Sùl, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source): + G *camas* ‘bay, creek, harbour’ (Dwelly)

Camas Ul or *Camas Sùl*, Niall Brownlie 1995, 152

An t-Eilean Camas Sùil, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source)

Kenavara | A small, horseshoe-shaped inlet on the southwestern tip of the Kenavara headland. There are a number of deep gullies at the western end of *Am Fang Dubh*, over one of which two boulders are lying to form a spectacular arch.

Camas Sùil is a Gaelic construction in G *camas* ‘small bay’, a very common element in Argyll. Its specific *Sùil* is probably an existing Gaelic name in G *sùil* fem. (genitive *sùil* and *sùla*) ‘eye’ in the topographic sense. This is used as a generic in *Sùil Dubh Chuidhbhig* in Carloway which Cox derives as ‘the black eye of *Cuidhbhig*, of a hole through a section of cliff’ (Cox 2002, 376). Elsewhere, it has been used as a specific: for example, *Cnoc na Sula* on Islay (SP).

TAE LK # TIR A 1 NGR NM015474

Taelk, 1695 Retours ARG vol. 1, 93

Dun-Taelk, 1695 Martin Martin, 296: ‘Dun-Taelk in Baelly Petris’

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Balephetrish | An obsolete name for the hilltop fort on *Beinn Bhaile Pheadrais*. This was mapped as *Dùn Ballyphetrish* on the 1878 Ordnance Survey 6 inch first edition.

This is an obscure name, one that is best left open at the moment.

NA TANGAN TIR C 1 NGR NL93425 [ˈta ,ŋʱan]

G *Na Tangan* ‘the points of land’

Na Tangan, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 11/1995; Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1994; and Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 12/1995 (oral sources)

Na Tanngan and *Na Tàngan*, Brownlie 1995, 157

Lòn nan Tangan, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 4/1995 (oral source): + G *lòn* ‘pool’

Coirealair or *Coralair nan Tanngan*, Brownlie 1995, 157

Comhairle nan Tang, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd; Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 12/1995 (oral source)

Sandaig | A cluster of rocks at the shore

Na Tangan is probably the G **tanga*, a borrowing from ON *tangi* ‘spit of land’ (CV, 625) with the same meaning in the plural: *Na Tangan* ‘the spits’ (Cox 2002, 59).

This Gaelic loan word is uncommon, but there is a *Loch na Tanga* in South Uist (OS1/18/12/38). The borrowing *taing* ‘point’ also entered the dialects of Orkney (*Taing of Midgarth*: Sandnes 2010a, 250) and Shetland (*Taing of Sandsayre* in Sandwick: SP).

The obscure generic *Coirealair/Corralair/Comhairle* has been recorded elsewhere on Tiree: for example, *Corralaidh* and *Corralaidh Shanndaig* (Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, pers. comm.). The answer may be found in the name-form *Corralaidh*, an alias for *Corr-eilean* in Scarinish (Donald Kennedy, pers. comm.).

TAOINIS TIR R 1 NGR NL995435 [ˈtãøĩ n’i]

ON **Teiganes* ‘headland of the fields’

Cùl Taoinis, Donald MacLean, Kenovay, 3/2000 and 10/2015 (oral source)

Cùl Taoingis, Donald MacLean, Kenovay, 10/2015 (oral source)

Cornaigbeg | *Cùl Taoinis* denotes a small cluster of footings southwest of G *Dùn Cheann a’ Bhàigh* ‘the fort of Kenovay’. It is probable that **Taoinis* denotes the headland now known as G *An Àird Mòr* ‘the large headland’ at the western end of Balephetrish Bay and now within Cornaigbeg. A pagan cemetery was found here in the eighteenth century (see section 18.b.2.1).

Cùl Taoinis is a Gaelic construction in G *cùl* ‘rear or back part’ (Cox 2002, 83). Its specific *Taoinis* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *nes* ‘promontory’. The specific of this may be OI *teigr* (genitive plural *teiga*) ‘strip of field or meadow-land ... local names *Teigr* and *Teigar-á*’ (CV, 627), a ‘cultivated piece of ground’ (Jakobsen 1897, 114). The *-g* of *teigr* is fricative and tends to weaken or disappear after diphthongs (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm., and see Sandnes 2010a, 298), while the development ON *-ei-* > G [ãøĩ] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). This derivation is topographically appropriate as Whitehouse Farm, with its neat array of fields covering *An Àird Mòr*, remains one of the most fertile on the island. There is a *Texsa* on Islay, which Macniven derives from *teigr* (Macniven 2015, 181); there is a *Taienish* in South Uist (SP); *Teigenes* is a farm-name in Norway (Rygh, vol. 12, 226); while there is one example of *Teiganes* in Iceland (NLSI).

TEAMPALL PHÀRAIG TIR E 1 NGR NL938402 [tʲjɑʊ ˈpəɫ ˈfɑ: reɪkʲ]

G ‘the chapel dedicated to St Patrick’

St Patricks Chapel, 1768 Turnbull Survey, Field no. 41: ‘an old place of Worship’

Temple Patrick, 1854 Reeves, 232

St Patrick’s Temple, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 221, ‘tradition says that formerly it was a Roman Catholic chapel ... Teampull Phadruig’)

An Teampull Pharaig, 1932 Cameron, 151. A song by John MacLean, Balemartine: ‘*An Teampull Pharaig chualas farum / Ruidhleadh aighear, agus ceol / Sithichean a seinn na pioba / Le toil-intinn thu bhi beo* [A noise can be heard in *Teampall Phàraig* / Fast reels and music / Fairies playing the pipes / You are pleased to be alive]’

Teampall Phàraig, common current local usage

Other relevant names:

An Dabhaich, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 221, ‘quite close to the ruin [*Teampall Phàraig*] on the west side stands a vat cut in the rock which is called in Gaelic by the inhabitants *An Dabhaich* meaning vat’)

Dabhach Pharig, 1881–2 Sands, 461: ‘tradition says that when the water is baled out of this reservoir, a shower immediately and miraculously falls and fills it again’
Tobar Phàraig, Donald Sinclair talking to John MacInnes on TAD SA1968.029, track ID 59517; Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source): + G *tobar* ‘well’

Poll Phàraig, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994; Hugh MacLean Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd (oral sources); Brownlie 1995, 152: + G *poll* ‘pool’ referring to a sea pool just off *Teampall Phàraig*

Kenavara | A ruined, mortared Late Medieval chapel, 6 x 2.6 m in size (Canmore ID 21477). It is built on the site of what was probably an Early Christian eremitic monastery (see section 6.3.1.5). Much of the eastern gable survives, possibly helped by a cautionary tale that two boys who pulled stones off it were dead within a year (Donald Sinclair talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1968.040, track ID 61740).

It remains an entrancing place to visit, with many people remarking on the atmosphere of the hollow. Some white rocks beyond the chapel are known as *G Na Cailleachan Bhàna* ‘the white old women’ (oral source, identity not recorded). It was also believed to be a fairy haunt (see the quotation above from John MacLean, the ‘Balemartine Bard’); Donald MacArthur, Balephuill (*Dòmhnall an t-Slèibh*, born 1835) was said to have been captured and kept by fairies here (Jessie MacKinnon, pers. comm.).

St Patrick's Chapel, *Temple Patrick* and *St Patrick's Temple* are translation names. *Teampall Phàraig* is a Gaelic construction in G *teampall* 'temple'. The dedication was to St Patrick, a fifth-century Romano-British missionary who is credited with bringing Christianity to Ireland. Surviving dedications to St Patrick are not common in the Hebrides (SSPN). However, the regional cult of St Patrick in oral culture remained strong into the nineteenth century (see Black 2008, 547). One relevant tradition was recorded on Barra:

There is a place on Tiree, the site is still there, where St Patrick had his church. And Tiree people still believe to this day that St Patrick comes every St Patrick's Day. This is the 21st of March [Old Style] on Tiree, but its the 17th that we have [on Barra] ... St Patrick comes on St Patrick's Day from Ireland to pay a visit to Tiree. In the morning the wind comes from the south to aid his coming, and in the afternoon it changes to the north to help his return to Ireland. (Nan MacKinnon from Barra talking to Mary MacDonald and Dr Emily Lyle on TAD SA1974.107, track ID 81720, translated by the author)

The fact that the chapel of *Kilpatrick* near Duart Castle in Mull may have been a private oratory chapel for the MacLeans (Whyte 2017, 28), who were granted the bailiery of Tiree in the mid- to late-fourteenth century, may be significant.

St Patrick's well, *Dabhach Phàraig*, slightly east of the monastery's boundary wall, played an important part in this local cult. This rock-cut basin was believed to replenish itself miraculously: 'If you baled it out and came back tomorrow, it would be as full as it ever was' (Donald Sinclair talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1968.029, track ID 59157). Its water was believed to have been holy: 'It was blessed water that St Patrick was keeping in that well' (Donald Sinclair talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1966.107, track ID 64947). This had powerful healing properties: 'You had to go round the temple three times before sunrise with a mouthful of water from the *dabhach* in your mouth ... anything that was wrong with you would go away' (Donald Sinclair talking to Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1968.040, track ID 61740). See *An Callan Beag*.

Today, this might be considered a remote site for a substantial Late Medieval chapel. However, there may have been a number of reasons for choosing this location. The site would have been considered propitious through the principle of continuity of resort (see Glossary). Although the promontory merely provides hill grazing to Barrapol crofting township today, *Kenvar* used to be an important medieval settlement valued at half an ounceland in 1541 (see *Kenavara*). The chapel is near valuable fowling cliffs, and it may have been that one function of the chapel was to allow fowlers to ask for divine protection before undertaking this

high-risk-high-gain activity. Lastly, a number of features in the surviving traditions suggest that this could have been a site of pilgrimage. These were not uncommon in the Hebrides. For example, people from Harris would travel to St Kilda to seek a cure at a holy well there (Cannon and Geddes 2015, 54–57). Votive offerings in the forms of coins were left in *Dabhach Phàraig* into the mid-twentieth century (John MacPhail, pers. comm.). Nan MacKinnon from Barra regarded the site as important: ‘And I myself got a piece of soil and a piece of turf from *Teampall Phàraig* from Lyzie Sinclair who was there and sent it to me in a letter. And I have kept it a long time!’ (Nan MacKinnon talking to Mary MacDonald and Dr Emily Lyle on TAD SA1974.107, track ID 81720, translated by the author).

THALLASGAR* TIR C 1 NGR NL931459

ON **Hallsjár* ‘gullies of *Hallr*’ or ‘gullies of (the) slope’

Tràigh Thallasgair, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 61, ‘meaning unknown’): + G *tràigh* ‘beach’
No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Hough | A steeply-sloping cobble beach on the southern side of the Craignish peninsula

Tràigh Thallasgair is a Gaelic construction in G *tràigh* ‘beach’. Its specific *Thallasgair* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *gjár* ‘coastal gullies’. The specific of this could equally well be the common ON male personal name *Hallr*, frequently found among the early settlers of Iceland (*Landnámabók* 1900, 348), or ON *hallr* (genitive *halls*) ‘slope ... boulder’ (CV, 235; see *Hallans*, Sandnes 2010a, 203).

There are no exact cognates. There is a *Hallilee* in Dunrossness, Shetland (SP); the Norwegian farm-name *Halleset* derives from the personal name *Hallr* (Rygh, vol. 5, 149); *Hallatangi* is a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *hall-* is a common specific in Iceland, for example *Hallstjörn* (NLSI). For ON *gjá* see section 17.1.

THORRAMHULL* TIR R 1 NGR NL976391 [ˈhɔ rə ˌmʌlʲ]

ON **Horgamúla* ‘ridge of the pagan altar’ or ON **Torfamúla* ‘ridge of peats’

Linne Thorramhuill, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 233, ‘meaning ~~Dun~~ coloured Pool’)
Linne Horramuil, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 6/1998 (oral source)

East Hynish | A lochan on the slopes of *Beinn Haoidhnis* above *Happy Valley*, said to have once been peat workings (David McClouunan, pers. comm.). There is a spectacular perched rock on the ridge above the western end of the lochan, set against the skyline. There is a short line of large stones in front of this, most likely to be a section of prehistoric ‘dragons teeth’ wall.

Linne Thorramhuill is a Gaelic construction in G *linne* ‘pool’. Its specific **Thorramhull* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *múli*, here in the sense of ‘ridge’ (CV, 439). The specific of this may be OI *hǫrgr* (genitive singular *hǫrgs*) ‘a heathen place of worship’ (CV, 311), possibly referencing the erratic. An alternative may be ON *torf* ‘peat’ (see *Torbhas*). The development ON *-ǫ-* > G [ɔ] is regular, and the fricative *-g-* often weakens (see section 17.4.2).

A similar site has been described in the Faroe Islands: ‘*At í Køtlum in Norðuroyar*, a rather striking *thing* site on top of a plateau on top of a rather high cliff with stunning views of the fjord below, a large boulder called *Tingsteinur* (‘*thing*’ rock) is found, around which smaller stones have been erected. This site is reminiscent of some Icelandic assemblies, such as *Hegranesþing*’ (Sanmark 2017, 181). Human sacrifice by drowning may have been a feature of such sites (Sunqvist 2015, 260), and there was sometimes a *blót-kelda*, literally a ‘sacrifice well’, or ‘a fen near the heathen temples, in which animals (or men) were killed by drowning’ (CV, 70).

There are no exact cognates, but *Na Horgh* on Barra may derive from *hǫrgr* (McDonald 1991, 149; Cox 2000, 346); *horg-* is a common specific in Norway, as in *Horgevatnet* (NG), while the Norwegian farm-name *Horgelien* derives from *hǫrgr* (Rygh, vol. 4, 94); the simplex *Hörg* occurs twice as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *hörg-* is common as a specific among Icelandic farm-names, for example *Hörgshóll* (SAM).

TIACAL* TIR R 1 NGR NL965388 [ən 't'i:-a ,^hkɑl]

An t-lacal, David McClouunan, Balephuill, 9/1995 (oral source)

West Hynish | The name may refer to a small enclosure built at the base of a rock face on the southern side of the pinnacle that provides a spectacular setting for the promontory fort *Dùn Shiadair*. This is likely to have been a prehistoric rock shelter, as I have found worked flints here.

An t-lacal has possibly developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *kollr* ‘top, summit’ (CV, 348). The specific is opaque and this part of the name should be left open at the moment.

Kollr is a common generic in Norway, for example *Blåkoll* (NG); as a Norwegian farm-name, for example *Dyrkoll* (Rygh, vol. 7, 108); and in the Faroe Islands, as in *Rógvukollur* (KO).

TÌOBAR TIR C 1 NGR NL934429 [ˈtʲiː ˌbaɾ]

Port an Tiobair, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993; Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994 (oral sources)

Sandaig | A small cove just south of G *Am Port Mòr* ‘the big inlet’

Port an Tiobair is a Gaelic construction in G *port* ‘inlet’. One informant suggested that the specific *Tiobair* meant a ‘fishing rod’, possibly from G *sioblach* ‘cast of a fishing line’ (Dwelly); the other a derivation from G *siabair* ‘wiper, snatcher’ (Dwelly). *Tiobar* is also an alternate spelling of G *tobar* ‘well’ (Dwelly; Tobermory was recorded as *Tibbermore* in 1540).

This range of folk etymologies suggests the lexical adaptation of an existing Norse name. If so, it is opaque and it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

TÌR CHAIBEIL TIR E 1 NGR NM040457 [tʲiːɾ ˈxa ˌbeɪlʲ]

G ‘the land (or burial ground) of the chapel’

Tìr Chaibeil, Neil Johnston, Heanish, 6/1994; Flora MacPhail, Ruaig, 1/1994 (oral sources)

Tìr-Chapull, Cameron 1932, 166. A poem by John MacLean, *Bàrd Bhaile Mhàrtainn*: “*N am bhi dìreadh ri Tìr-Chapull*”. Cameron possibly transcribes this using G *capull* ‘mare’

Tìr-Chapull, Cameron 1932, 324. A poem by Neil MacLaine: “*Na shinteagan gu Tìr-chapull*”

Tìr Chaibeil, MacDougall 1937, 120: Hector Cameron, who was the author of the Tìree half of the book, now transcribes this using G *caibeal* ‘chapel’. These may be different features.

Cill Chaibeil, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 1/1994 and 2/1996 (oral source)

Gott | A small rocky outcrop to the west of the road leading from Scarinish to Gott. The site is on the modern boundary between The Glebe (the manse was completed in 1832: see Cregeen 1964, 45 and 75) and Gott, but formerly firmly within the

farm township of Gott (Turnbull Map 1768). One informant (AMcL) stated that there had been a chapel and burial ground here. The nineteenth-century drystone boundary dyke probably explains the absence of a structure.

Tìr Chaibeil is a Gaelic construction in G *tìr* ‘land’. Its specific is G *caibeal* ‘chapel, family burial ground’ (Dwelly). The name-form *Cill Chaibeil* is a Gaelic construction in G *cill* ‘chapel or graveyard’. This implies that the *caibeal* here has the meaning of ‘chapel’. I have previously assumed that this was land associated with *Caibeal Thòmais* in Scarinish (see Gazetteer), but they are likely to have been in different farm townships and *Tìr Chaibeil* in Gott is more plausibly connected with an independent ecclesiastical structure.

TOBAR AN DÒMHNAICH TIR E 1 NGR NL954437

G ‘the well of the Lord’s day’

Toubir in Donich, 1695 Martin Martin: ‘The water of the well called *Toubir in Donich* is by the natives drunk as a catholicon [cure] for diseases’ (Martin 1994 (1695), 296).

Tobar an Dòmhnach, 1902 John Gregorson Campbell: ‘the well of our Lord’ (Black 2008, 564) + G *tobar* ‘well’

Tobar an Dòmhnach, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 4/1994 (oral source) and common current local usage (listen, for example, to Angus MacLean talking to Eric Cregeen and Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1976.123, track ID 102542)

Middleton | An obsolete well set in a wet, low-lying area on the modern boundary between Barrapol and Middleton. The well water was believed to have had healing properties, but ‘you had to draw it on a Sunday’ (AS). See section 6.3.2.9, *Ciular* and *Tobar Poll Fannaid*.

Tobar an Dòmhnach is a Gaelic construction in G *tobar* ‘well’. Its specific is G *Dòmhnach* ‘The Lord’ (McDonald 1991, 102). Gregorson Campbell wrote: ‘The name *Dòmhnach* for our Lord is not common. It is evidently derived from the Latin *Dominus*’ (Black 2008, 564). MacBain suggests that it is more likely to derive from the Old Gaelic *domnach* ‘the Lord’s day, name of a shrine’ (eDIL), which in turn comes from the Latin *dominica* ‘the Lord’s’ (see Black 2008, 601).

There is a *Tobar an Dòmhnach sa Ghleann* on Raasay (Mackay 2013, 181).

TOBAR MHOIRE TIR E 1 NGR NL954402

G ‘the well of the Virgin Mary’

Tobar Mhoire, Mor Campbell, Balemartine, 11/1993; David McClounnan, Balephuill, 10/1996 (oral sources)

West Hynish | A stone-built well that still flows freely through a dense growth of *G biolair* ‘water-cress’. The ‘magical’ productivity of the well is celebrated in this story, set in the early twentieth century. A fishing boat had called in at G *Am Port Mòr* ‘the large inlet’, a short distance to the east and which contained a pier. Its crew asked local fisherman Neil Sinclair (born 1875) where they could replenish their water supplies. ‘*Tobar Mhoire*,’ Neil replied, teasing them. The sailors initially took him to mean Tobermory on the Isle of Mull. The sailors had eight barrels to fill and looked doubtfully at the little well, when they were finally shown it. ‘If the water level goes down a quarter of an inch after you’ve filled one barrel, I’m a Dutchman,’ said Neil. They filled fourteen barrels (David McClounnan, pers. comm.).

Tobar Mhoire is a Gaelic construction in G *tobar* ‘well’. Its specific is G *Màiri* (genitive *Moire*), here meaning the Virgin Mary. This dedication is also found at *Cill Mhoire* on Oronsay (SSPN) and *Tobar Mhoire* in the parish of Kilninian and Kilmore, Mull (OS1/2/43/58). See section 6.3.2.9.

TOBAR POLL FANNAID TIR W 2 NGR NL934425 [pɒl ˈfaːnətʰ]

Tauberba:fanit, 1654 Blaeu (Pont)

Tobar Poll Fannaid, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993; Mary MacArthur, Sandaig, 5/1994; Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 11/1995 (oral sources)

Sandaig | The name’s inclusion on Blaeu’s map suggests the importance of this feature in the sixteenth century. There appears, however, to be some disagreement over its location. Blaeu maps it inland. All modern informants, however, place *Tobar Poll Fannaid* firmly at the shore, with MMcA describing it as the coastal pool where some of the bodies from the shipwrecked *HMS Sturdy* were washed ashore in 1940. The name may have been transferred. *Tobar an Dòmhnai* ‘the well of the Lord’, which was recorded as early as 1695, was another well nearby (see Gazetteer). The Norse name *Ciular* (see Gazetteer) implies there were at least two significant wells in the area.

Tobar Poll Fannaid is a Gaelic construction in G *tobar* ‘well’. Its specific, *Poll Fannaid*, is an existing Gaelic name in G *poll* ‘sea or marshy pool’. The specific of this, *Fannaid*, is less transparent. It has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *fit* ‘meadow on the banks of a lake’ (CV, 155). The specific of *Fannaid* may be ON *hvǫnn* (genitive plural *hvanna*) ‘wild angelica being common in Iceland, the word is frequent in local names, *Hvann-á*, *Hvann-eyri*, *Hvann-dalr* [see *Landnámabók* 1900, 300] ... In olden times the angelica seems to have been much used to give flavour to ale’ (CV, 303): ON **Hvannafit* ‘the meadow of wild angelica’. /v/ and /f/ may alternate, and the disappearance of a medial ON -f- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The leaves, stem and roots were eaten, the roots used to make a natural blue-grey dye, while it was also highly regarded medicinally. The Norse traded Norwegian angelica, *Angelica archangelica*, possibly introducing it to Iceland and the Faroe Islands. Indeed, angelica still has great cultural importance in Iceland (Whitney *et al.* 2012, 784). The related wild angelica, *Angelica sylvestris*, is very common on Tiree, particularly in wet, marshy areas (Pearman and Preston 2000, 60).

There are no exact cognates, but the element *hvǫnn* is found in many Norwegian place-names such as *Kvanneid* (NG) and *Kvannes* (Rygh, vol. 8, 155); it is common too in the Faroe Islands, as in *Hvannagjógv* (KO); while it is found in Iceland, for example at *Hvannavellir* (NLSI).

TOBHAR AN TEAMPAILL* TIR E 2 NGR NL982427

Tobhar an Teampuill, MacDougall 1937, 116

Dobhar an Teampauill, Brownlie 1995, 102

Heylipol | This name denotes land around the modern Heylipol Farmhouse. Hector Cameron wrote: ‘The height is called to this day *Tobhar an Teampuill*, for *Dobhar an Teampuill* (G Water of the Temple)’ (MacDougall 1937, 116). There is no other evidence or tradition that there has ever been an ecclesiastical building or graveyard at this location. A parish school and teacher’s house were built here in 1804 (Cregeen 1964, 76). When the school was moved following the 1872 Education Act, a Church of Scotland manse was erected beside the old building. This is now Heylipol Farmhouse.

A small stream – which was marked on the 1768 Turnbull Map but which has now largely been widened and straightened to form a ditch – is known today as G *Abhainn a’ Ghoidein* (recorded in 1878 as *Allt a’ Gheadain* in OS1/2/28/201; see *Tyngoodein*, Field no. 4, Turnbull Report 1768); this runs eastwards from here onto *Tràigh Shòrabaidh*.

Tobhar an Teampaill is a Gaelic construction. The generic may be G *todhar* ‘field manured by folding cattle upon it’ (Dwelly), a reflex of OG *tuar* ‘manuring of land’ (eDIL). Tathing was used as a way of temporarily increasing the fertility of parts of the outfield (see section 10.2.1). This derivation, however, is made somewhat less secure by the facts that the ground here was graded as infield in 1768 (Field no. 1, Turnbull Report); that the *Hilipole* tack sold 46 bolls of barley in 1794, one of the highest figures on the island (Cregeen 1964, 38); and that Heylipol Farm today has some of the best land on the island.

Alternatively, Rev Hector Cameron interpreted the generic as G *dobhar*, an archaic word meaning ‘water’. Cameron’s 1937 book *Handbook to the Islands of Coll and Tiree* was very influential, and Niall Brownlie, from neighbouring Barrapol, may have taken his lead from this. The specific is G *teampall* ‘chapel’ (see section 6.3.2.4).

Neither *todhar* or *dobhar* are productive elements among Scottish place-names, with *Todhar Dubh* in Kilninian and Kilmore, Mull, a rare example of the former (SP).

TOBHTA NA CAILLICHE BHEIR TIR O 1 NGR NL954416

G ‘the ruined house of the old woman of Beare’

Totachun na Cailleacha Beura ‘Roofless Walls of the Bera Wives’, John Gregorson Campbell 1915, 415

Tobhta na Cailliche Bèire, Brownlie 1995, 72

Tobhta na Cailliche (Bheir), Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source)

Tobhta nan Cailleach, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Barrapol | A jumble of rocks at the end of a small promontory on the western shore of *Loch Phuill*

G *Tobhta na Cailliche Bheir* may be translated as ‘the ruined house of the old woman of Beare’. A’ *Chailleach Bheur* was a supernatural being known in Scotland, the Isle of Man and Ireland, where she is particularly associated with the country around *Béarra* on the border of Kerry and Cork. Scottish creation myths involving her were particularly strong in Argyll (Whyte 2020c). She is said to have lived at, amongst other places, *Loch Bà*, near Knock on Mull. On the Ross of Mull, there is a natural circle of rocks called *Tobhtaichean na Cailliche Bheir*, where she was said to have herded her goats. At the Falls of Connel, north of Oban, there are some rocks called *Clacharan na Cailliche Bheir*, which she laid down to allow her goats to cross Loch Etive (Campbell 1915, 413).

She was often associated with creation myths involving flooding: for example, at Loughs Foyle and Neagh in Ireland. This flooded land could sometimes magically re-appear: ‘For Bran it is a wondrous delight / To go across the sea in his little boat. / For me, in my chariot from afar / It is a flowery plain which he traverses’ (Carey 1999, 33). In Argyll, she was said to have been the guardian of a well on the top of Ben Cruachan. Her duty was to cover it at night, but one afternoon she fell asleep and the well overflowed, cascading down the mountain to form Loch Awe. She herself was then turned to stone and sits there still overlooking the pass of Brander. This flooding tradition associated with *A’ Chailleach Bheur* was also known on Tiree, placing her as the central character in the creation myth of *Loch Phuill*. The *Cailleach* lived at *Tobhta na Cailliche Bheir*, and her nightly duty was to cover a nearby well. As at Loch Awe, one evening she forgot and the waters overflowed, creating the loch we see today.

John Gregorson Campbell collected this version of the tradition:

In Tiree it is said that, when her age was asked by the Prior’s daughter, she said her memory extended back to the time when the Skerryvore rocks ... were covered with arable fields, and that she had seen the waters of *Loch Phuill* ... before they had attained any size: ‘Little sharp old wife, tell me your age’ / ‘I saw the seal-haunted Skerryvore / When it was a mighty power / When they ploughed it, if I’m right / And sharp and juicy was its barley. / I saw the Loch at Balefuil / When it was a little round well / Where my child was drowned / Sitting in its circular chair.’ In *Loch Phuill*, which is the largest sheet of fresh water in Tiree, there is said to be a small spot that never freezes, however hard bound the rest of the loch may be, and from this eye the loch took its rise. (Campbell 1915, 413)

This story is still told locally:

Chunnaic mi Loch Phuill mar thobar beag cruinn, agus Sgeir Mhòr nan Ròn fo eòrna breac gorm / I saw Loch Phuill as a small round well, and Skerryvore of the seals covered with dappled, green barley. (David McClounnan, pers. comm.)

Loch Phuill is generally shallow (depth 3-9.5 ft on Turnbull Map 1768). But there is one deeper spot in the southwestern quarter of the loch called *G An Rabhagach* ‘weeds growing at the bottom of water’ (Dwelly; William MacLean, pers. comm.; see *Balephuill*). During the mid-Holocene Marine Transgression around 8000 years ago, the sea covered the present loch, reaching the site of the present Heylipol Church. On the Hynish coast to the north of Happy Valley, there is a gully called

G *Leum nan Each* ‘the leap of the horses’ (OS1/2/28/239). This memorialises the spot where the son of *A’ Chailleach Bheur* and his bride were said to have escaped on horseback from his jealous mother, their horse’s hoof marks still visible on the rock.

The first documentary appearance of *A’ Chailleach* is in the early Irish poem ‘Lament of the Old Woman of Beare’, probably dated to around AD 900. Embedded within this are several Christian motifs (Carey 1999), but the origins may be older.

TÒDHRASDAL* TIR C 1 NGR NL938455 [ˈhõ: ra ,ˈdɑːl]

ON **pórisdal* ‘land of *pórir*’ or **pórðarstøðull* ‘milking place of *pórðr*’

Tràigh Thòdhrasdail, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 90, -)

Tràigh Thòrsasdail, common current local usage

Hough | A long beach, christened *The Maze* by windsurfers in the 1980s because of its long approach track winding through the dunes. This new name has now been generally adopted on the island.

Tràigh Thòdhrasdail is a Gaelic construction in G *tràigh* ‘beach’. Its specific **Tòdhrasdail* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in either ON *dalr* ‘valley or piece of ground’ or ON *støðull* ‘milking place’ (less likely because of the absence of free-flowing water here: see section 17.1). The specific of this is probably a male ON personal name formed in *pór-*, such as *pórðr*, *póri* or *pórir*, all of which are common in *Landnámabók* (1900, 386 and 392; see Whyte 2017, 97). The development ON *p* > G *T*- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2); this has then been lenited and the genitive morpheme /s/ suffixed.

Torsdal(en) and *Torstøl(en)* are common in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Torsdalen* derives from *pórir* (Rygh, vol. 7, 395); *Tórshavn*, *Tóriskor* and *Tórisurð* are settlement names in the Faroe Islands (KO); while names in *pór-* are very common in Iceland, for example *pórðardæl* (NLSI).

TOINISGEIR TIR C 3 NGR NL933427

Toinisgeir, Brownlie 1995, 160: ‘The Twisted Bay’

Kenavara | This feature has not been identified

Toinisgeir is possibly derived from a Gaelic close compound noun-noun structure (see section 11.2.1). The first element may be G *tòn* ‘arse’ (Dwelly), the end of a feature or one that looks like a buttock; the second may be G *sgeir* ‘skerry’.

There are no exact cognates, but G *tòn* is common in Argyll, as in *Tòn Stòil* on *Craiknish* (see *Stòil*), *Tòn Mhòr* ‘a large knoll’ on Islay (OS1/2/33/8) and *Tòn Tìre* on Torosay (Whyte 2017, 312).

TÒRASA TIR C 1 NGR NL986482 [ˈt̪oː ra ˌsa] and [ˈh̪oː ra ˌseɪ]

ON **Þórisey* ‘island of *Þórir*’

Tòrasa, Mairi Campbell, Corrairigh, 1/1995 and 1/2016 (oral source)

Torosa, modern house name in Cornaigbeg, OS Explorer map 372, which was ‘called after a rock at sea’, Hector Campbell, Cornaigbeg, 12/1993 (oral source)

Bodha Thòrasaigh, William MacPhail, Clachan, 4/2014 (oral source): + G *bodha* ‘submerged rock’

Cornaigmore | A sea rock northeast of *Clachan* outside G *Bodha mhic Lachainn* ‘the sea rock of the son of Lachlan’

Tòrasa has developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *ey* ‘island’. Its specific is the male ON personal name *Þórir*. The development ON *þ*- > G *t*- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent is likely to have been the nearby islet known today as G *Eilean nan Teantaichean* ‘the island of the tents’, alias G *Eilean Uilleim* ‘the island of William’. On this islet are the footings of an L-shaped building. This was used in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by fishermen, who used the islet as a summer base and erected shelters using their sails as tents.

There is a *Torosay* on Mull (Whyte 2017, 97); the Norwegian farm-name *Torsøen* derives from *Þórir* (Rygh, vol. 9, 25); and there is a *Þórðarey* in Iceland (NLSI).

TORBHAS* TIR R 1 NGR NL934402 [ˈh̪o rə ˌvaʃ] and [ˈh̪o rə ˌʏaʃ]

ON **Torfás* ‘ridge of the peat’

Rinn Thorbhais, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 222, ‘no meaning known’)

Eilean Rinn Thorbhais, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 222): + G *eilean* ‘island’

Rinn Thoirbheis, Brownlie 1995, 152

Rinn Thorbhais, Donald MacNeill, Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral source)

Rinn Thòrbhais, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Leanag Thorbhais, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd: + G *leanag* ‘wet meadow’

Leanag Thordhais, Donald MacKinnon, Sandaig, 12/1995 (oral source)

Kenavara | A bowl-shaped wet area at the far end of the headland containing slumped lazy beds

Rinn Thorbhais is a Gaelic construction in G *rinn* ‘point’. Its specific **Torbhas* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *áss* ‘ridge’ (CV, 46). The specific of this may be ON *torf* ‘turf [peat]’ (CV, 636).

Torv- is an extremely common specific in Norway, with three examples of *Torvåsen* (NG); *torv-* is also very common in the Faroe Islands, as in *Torvhjalli* (KO) and among Icelandic farm-names, for example *Torfnes* (SAM). *Ás* is extremely common as a generic in Norway, as in *Vatnsås* (NG); and *-ás* is common as a generic in Icelandic farm-names, for example *Hlíðarás* (SAM).

TORRAIN TIR R 1 NGR NM086483 [ˈtɔ̃ˌraɪnʲ]

Toll Torrain, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 7/1995 (oral source)

Caolas | A low-lying area on the eastern side of the Milton *ùtraid*

Toll Torrain is a Gaelic construction in G *toll* ‘hole’. Its specific *Torran* is opaque. The folk etymology was that a hermit had lived in this hole and that *Torrain* was a saint’s name. This is a very wet spot, however, there is no evidence of a structure, nor is *Torran* listed as a Scottish saint (SSPN). It more likely that this is a name in G *torran* ‘little hill, rising ground, grave’ (Dwelly; Iain Fraser, pers. comm.). This latter is supported by the name G *An Cladh Beag* ‘the small graveyard’ nearby (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.). *Torran* is extremely common in Argyll: for example, *Torran* in Ardnamurchan (SP).

However, another perfectly plausible derivation is that this is a name in ON *torf* neuter ‘peat’ with the post-positioned bound definite article (see section 13.5): ON **Torfin* ‘the peat banks’. This certainly suits the topography. The weakening and disappearance of the medial ON *-f-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). This is a common name in the Norse expansion zone. *Torget* occurs frequently in Norway and derives from Norwegian *torv* ‘peat’ (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 15, 12); there are five examples of *Torvan* among settlement names in the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Torfur* is extremely common in Iceland (NLSI).

AN TRÀIGH-LOCHAIN TIR C 1 NGR NM084495

An Tràigh-lochain, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 117, *tachain*)

Tràigh Lochlainn, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source)

Caolas | A sandy bay on the east coast of Caolas

An Tràigh-lochain is a Gaelic construction in G *tràigh* ‘beach’. The specific is opaque. It could be a Gaelic close compound noun-noun structure with G *lochan* ‘small loch’ (see section 11.2.1), although the location of such a body of water is not immediately obvious.

The second name-form suggests the element *lochlan*. In medieval Gaelic writing, this enigmatic word was coined to mean the Norse-dominated regions of Scotland: ‘By the middle of the eleventh century, Gaelic chroniclers had begun to experiment with new or resurrected terms such as *Lochlann* ... in order to distinguish the more fully Scandinavian people from the more Gaelicized’ (Woolf, quoted in Clancy 2008, 26). In modern Gaelic, it has come to mean Norway, and *Lochlannach* to mean ‘Norseman’. *Lochlainn* is also an early form of the male Gaelic personal name *Lachlann*, found from the eleventh century (MS). The only other example of this element among Scotland’s place-names is an inlet in Caithness, *Lochlainn*, where ‘the name originated from a Norwegian vessel being repaired in it many years ago’ (OS1/7/15/148).

The name-forms here do not agree, however, and it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

TRAOIL* TIR C 1 NGR NM040437 [trãøĩ:ɪ]

Port an t-Sraoil, Margaret MacKinnon, Heanish, 5/1996 (oral source)

Port an t-Sraoib, Neil Johnston, Heanish, 5/1994 (oral source)

Heanish | A small inlet below the Old Fever Hospital

Port an t-Sraoil is a Gaelic construction in G *port* ‘inlet’. The specific, with its conflicting name-forms, is opaque. No plausible Gaelic solution suggests itself. It may be that *an t-Sraoil* has developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *trøllr* ‘troll’ (see CV, 641; and *trøll* in Young and Clewer 1985, 612). The development ON *-ø-* > G [ãøĩ:] is regular (see section 17.4.2.1).

Troll-names are quite common in the Norse expansion zone, indicating locations

where trolls were believed to have lived or to have been turned into stone: ‘Whereas Norwegian trolls are mountain-dwellers, Orkney trolls and fairies tend to have their habitat in the sea, and *Troll-* names on the coast are to be expected’ (Sandnes 2010a, 253). *Glen Drolsay* in Islay may be one (Macniven 2015, 232); there is a *Trolle Geo* in Orkney (Sandnes 2010a, 253); *Trolla* is common in Norway (NG); while there is a *Trøllið* in the Faroe Islands (KO) and two examples of *Tröllin* in Iceland (NLSI).

TREASDAIN TIR O 1 NGR NM085478 [ˈtrɛː ˌstɑɪn]

Fang an Treasdain, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 6/1995 (oral source)

Caolas | An area of ground west of the Milton *ùtraid*

Fang an Treasdain is a Gaelic construction in G *fang* ‘fank, pen’. The folk etymology is that *treasdain* was a substance used in linen manufacture. Dwelly gives *treisginn* ‘weavers paste (Argyll)”; *treasdainn* was possibly the Tìree dialect variant of this word. Weaver’s paste was a form of starch, often collected by steeping oat husks and meal in water for a week, sieving off the husks and drying the jelly left behind. It was used to stiffen woven material in order to attract a higher price. No other place-names with *treisgin(n)* or *treasdain* are found in Scotland, however (SP).

‘The fank of the weaver’s paste’ is an unpersuasive name. Instead, the specific *Treasdain* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *steinn* ‘stone’ (CV, 591). The specific may be ON *tré* ‘tree’ (see section 5.6.5): *Trésstein* ‘stone of the tree’. The referent may have been an unnamed prehistoric standing stone less than a kilometre to the west.

An Tri-dail on Islay has been derived from ON *tré* (Macniven 2015, 193); both South Ronaldsay, Orkney and Northmavine, Shetland have a *Tre Geo* (SP); there are two examples of *Tresteinen* in Norway (NG); Norwegian farm-names containing the specific *tré* are not uncommon, for example *Trædal* (Rygh, vol. 9, 160); while *Tréstaðir* is a farm-name in Iceland (SAM).

TREOGH TIR C 1 NGR NM075462 [tr'au]

OI *Tröð 'night pen for cattle'

Troigh Isle, 1768 Turnbull Map

Eilean an Treogh, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 167, ~~*Eilean an Traodhaidh*~~ 'ebbing island')

Eilean an Treabh, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 3/2010 (oral source)

Ruaig | A rocky islet making up the eastern part of the *Soa* archipelago, connected to it by a gravel tombolo. Consisting of poor grazing, the 1768 Turnbull Map shows it was not cultivated, and the islet was subsequently much used for kelp collecting.

Eilean an Treogh is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* 'island', with *Troigh Isle* being a translation name. Its specific *Treogh* has probably developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in OI *tröð* [plural *traðir*] 'in the Norse, a piece of fallow land where cattle are kept grazing ... in the Icelandic sense, a pen for cattle during the night ... in local names, *Traðir*' (CV, 643). The development ON *-ø-* > G [ɔ̃ɪ] is regular and suits the earliest historical form, while the addition of a terminal *-dh* to close an open syllable is also common (see section 17.4.2). This derivation is topographically plausible, the tidal islet forming a natural cattle pen.

The element is common among names in the Norse expansion zone. *Dun na Traoith* in Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Mull may, or may not, be an example (SP); the Norwegian farm-name *Traa* derives from *trøð* (Rygh, vol. 11, 486); there are six examples of *Trøðin* among the settlement names of the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Tröð* is common in Iceland (NLSI).

TRINDEIN TIR C 2 NGR NL957389 ['tri-n ,t'eɪn']

Eilean na Trindein, Gilleasbuig Kennedy, West Hynish, 10/2017 (oral source)

Eilean an Trindeir, Gilleasbuig Kennedy, West Hynish 7/2012 and 6/2020 (oral source)

Eilean na Trionaid, David McClouunan, Balephuill, 9/1995 (oral source)

West Hynish | Sea rocks off the cobble beach at *An Fhaolainn*

Eilean na Trindein is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* 'island'. The specific *Trindein* is opaque. The name *Tobar Mhoire* (see Gazetteer) is 1 km to the north, but there are no other ecclesiastical references nearby; the form G *trionaid* 'trinity' is therefore

taken to be a lexical adaptation. The variety of name-forms makes any derivation conjectural, and it is best to leave this name open at the moment.

TROMSALUM TIR C 1 NGR NM067473 [ˈtrõ: ˈsɑ ˌlʊm]

ON *Þórmóðshólm ‘islet of Þórmóðr’

Tromsalum, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 115, -)

Tromsalum Ruaig, Duncan Grant, Ruaig, 12/2018 (oral source)

Ruaig | An inter-tidal beach rock

It is noteworthy that there are just two examples of the name *Troms(a)lum* in Scotland, and they are both on Tiree, 1 km apart (SP). This is likely to be an example of convergence (see *Tromslum*, *Salum*, and section 17.5).

Topographically, *Tromsalum* in Ruaig has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *hólmr* ‘islet’. Its specific may be the male ON personal name *Þórmóðr*, which was extremely common at Icelandic settlement (*Landnámabók* 1900, 395), after metathesis. The development ON *þ*- > G *T*- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). Beach rocks were often used as territorial markers, and place-names with personal names as their specific can sometimes denote boundaries (Evemalm 2018, 224). Seaweed collecting rights from individual bays were jealously guarded in the nineteenth century (see An Iodhlann cat. no. 1998.1.12).

There is no exact cognate. There is a *Tormisdale* on Islay, which Macniven derives from *Þórmóðr* (Macniven 2015, 354); there is a *Gleann Tormosdale* in North Uist (SP); the Norwegian farm-name *Tormodsgaard* is derived from *Þórmóðr* (Rygh, vol. 5, 139); and this personal name is common in Iceland, as in *Þormóðssker* (NLSI).

TROMSLUM TIR C 1 NGR NM062486 [ˈtrõ: ˈsɑ ˌlʊm]

ON *Þórmóðsmúla ‘promontory of Þórmóðr’

Tromslum Mòr and *Tromslum Beag*, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 135, -)

Tromsamul, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source)

Tromasgal, Bobby MacLean, Mithealum, 11/1999 (oral source)

Tromsalum, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vault, 11/1999 (oral source)

Tromsalum a’ Chrògain, Duncan Grant, Ruaig, 12/2018 (oral source): see *Crògain*, Vault

Salum | A small headland separating *Tràigh Chrògain* and *Tràigh Shathalum*. This feature was used a *hagmark* (see section 10.2.2) at the eighteenth-century and modern boundary between Ruaig and Vaul (see the Turnbull Map 1768). A line between *Tromsalum*, Ruaig, and *Tromslum*, Salum, may have denoted a medieval march.

Topographically, *Tromslum* in Salum has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *múli* ‘promontory’ after metathesis. Convergence makes matters more conjectural (see *Tromsalum* above and section 17.5), but the specific of *Tromslum*, Salum, may also be the male ON personal name *Þórmodr*. The name *Tromsalum a’ Chrògain* shows how such names were later distinguished. The name has been loaned into Gaelic with the modifiers *G mòr* ‘large’ and *G beag* ‘small’.

TRONSAIRIGH TIR R 1 NGR NL971462 [kal 'tron sə ,rɛʰ]

ON **Þórarinnsærgi* ‘shieling of *Þórarinn*’

Ca’l Tronsairigh, Norman MacIver, Kilmoluaig, 12/1993; Iain Chaluim MacKinnon, Kilmoluaig, 11/1993 (oral sources)

Kilmoluaig | The northern slope of *Cnoc Bhiostadh*

The stress pattern of *Ca’l Tronsairigh* supports its derivation as a Gaelic construction in *G cachailleith* ‘temporary gap in a wall or between rocks to allow cattle to pass’ (Dwelly). This is common as a generic on Tiree. Indeed, at the bottom of this slope there is a post-Improvement gateway – now known as *G Cachailleith a’ Bhaile* ‘the gateway of the township’ – where an *G ùtraid* ‘trackway’ opens onto the township *sliabh*.

Its specific **Tronsairigh* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *ærgi*, a loan word from OG *áirge* ‘milking place’ (Cox 2002, 122). The specific of this may be an ON personal name such as the common male name *Þórarinn* after metathesis with the genitive morpheme /s/. The development ON *Þ*- > *G T*- is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

There is no exact cognate, but *Þórarinn* is a very well-attested Norse name, with forty-five references in *Landnámabók* (1900, 383). It occurs in many Icelandic names such as *Þórarinsdalur* and *Þórarinsstaðir* (NLSI). Names in OG *áirge* are very common on Islay: for example, *Brahunisary* which has been reconstructed as *G bràigh* ‘slope’ with ON **Hunisærgi* ‘Huni’s shieling’ (Macniven 2015, 186);

Conas-airigh derived from *Konungsærgi* (Macniven 2015, 171), *Sornasairidh* (Macniven 2015, 219), and *Calumsary* (Macniven 2015, 309). *Ásgrimsærgin* appears in the *Orkneyinga Saga* (Cox 2002, 220).

TROSGAMUL TIR C 1 NGR NM105479 [ˈtrɔ̃ːˈgə̃ːmʌl]

ON **Þorskamúla* ‘promontory of the cod’

Sgeir Trosy-bheul, Admiralty Map WGS84: + G *sgeir* ‘skerry’
Trosgamul, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/1996 (oral source)

Caolas | *Trosgamul* is a small rock off the coast of G *Àird-a-Deas* ‘the south promontory’ and south of *Creachasdal* (Angus MacLean, pers. comm.).

Trosgamul has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *múli* ‘promontory’. Its specific may be ON *þorskr* (genitive plural *þorska*) ‘cod ... *þorska-fjörður*, a local name in western Iceland’ (CV, 742; see McDonald 2015, 140) after metathesis. The development ON *p-* > G *T-* is regular (see section 17.4.2). Coincidentally or not, G *Glac nan Truisg* ‘the hollow of the cod’ is nearby. In modern times around Tiree, fishing for demersal species such as mature cod has been done using long lines on deep-water fishing banks. In the Early Medieval period, however, large fish may have been caught inshore (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 215). On the other hand, the promontory may have been a meid for an offshore fishing bank. There is no exact cognate. *Torskenes(et)* is a common name in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Torsken* derives from *þorskr* (Rygh, vol. 17, 77); while the specific is also found in Iceland, as in *Þorskafjörður* (NLSI).

T-SHOMHAIRLE TIR C 1 NGR NL937414

ON **Dǫgurdarhlíð* ‘slope of breakfast time’

Eilean t-Shomhairle, 1878 OS (~~*Eilean an Dubh-Mhìil*~~, JGC, OSNB, 212, ‘sig. not known’)

Bogha Eilean t-Shomhairle, 1878 OS (~~*Bogha Eilean an Dubh-Mhìil*~~, JGC, OSNB, 212): + G *bogha* ‘submerged rock’

Eilean Shomhairle, 1898 OS 6 inch second edition (Argyll and Bute LXXVIII)

Bogha Eilean Shomhairle, 1898 OS 6 inch second edition (Argyll and Bute LXXVIII)

Eilean Shomhairle, Brownlie 1995, 156: ‘Somerled’s Isle’

Bogha Eilean t-Somhairle, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Middleton | A small islet off the southern end of *Tràigh na' Gilean* with an associated submerged rock. Immediately to the south is the steep slope leading to the summit of the Kenavara headland.

Eilean t-Shomhairle is a Gaelic construction in G *eilean* 'island'. Its specific *t-Shomhairle* was then lexically adapted as the Gaelic personal name *Somhairle*, a common name on Tiree in the eighteenth century (Black 2008, 319). There is a *Lochan Nighean Shomhairle* at a location associated with Kilmoluaig (Black 2008, 32–3), and this eponym occurs elsewhere in Scotland, as in *Doire Shomhairle* in Kilmallie, Argyll (SP).

However, the oldest name-form contains the specific *t-Shomhairle*. This has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *hlið* 'slope, mountainside' (CV, 271). The specific of this may be ON *dǫgurðr* or *dagverðr* 'day meal, the chief meal of the Old Scandinavians, taken in the forenoon ... [They] used to take a hearty meal before going to work ... Several places in Iceland took their name from the settlers taking their first "day meal"' (CV, 95). The developments *d-* > *t-*, ON *-q-* > G [ɔ], and the loss of the fricative ON *-g-* and ON *-ð-* are all regular (see section 17.4.2).

This might seem an unlikely derivation, but reflexes of *dǫgurðr* or *dagverðr* are common among names in the Norse expansion zone. The element *dugurd-* occurs frequently in Norway, as in *Dugurdsbergi* (NG); it is very common in Iceland too, as in *Dǫgurðartunga* and one example of *Dagverðarárhlið* (NLSI). Names such as this usually denoted a point in the landscape touched by the sun at breakfast time (see *Dugulsodden* in Rygh, vol. 5, 77): 'Determining the time of day by means of skyline markers, which were often man-made, was commonplace throughout the [Northern Isles]. It was more widespread in such places as Walls, where the hilltops were lower ...' (Tait 2012, 72). Due to the way the sun angle changes with the seasons, measuring time in this way must have been quite a sophisticated process.

TUNAGAIR TIR C 2 NGR NL933427 [ˈtʊ neɪ ˌgʻeɪ]

ON **Tungugjár* ‘gullies of the tongue of land’

Tunagair, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd

Tonnaigeir, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, 11/1995 (oral source)

Sandaig | A coastal rock

Tunagair has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *gjár* ‘coastal gullies’. The specific may be ON *tunga* (genitive *tungu*) ‘tongue ... tongue of land ... very frequent in Icelandic local names’ (CV, 643-4). The development ON *-ng-* > G *-n-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). There are several flat, rocky points around G *Am Port Mòr* ‘the large inlet’ that would make this suitable.

There is a *Tungugjógv* in the Faroe Islands (KO), while *Tungugil* is common in Iceland (NLSI). For ON *gjá* see section 17.1.

TUNNA TIR C 1 NGR NL988402 [ˈtʊ ˌnɑ]

Port an Tunna, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 232, ‘significance Port of the Ton’)

Port an Tunna, Jessie MacKinnon, Mannal, 11/1993 (oral source)

Mannal | A small rocky inlet

Port an Tunna is a Gaelic construction in G *port* ‘inlet’. The folk etymology is that the specific *tunna* is a borrowing from the English ‘ton’. It is said that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, dried fish were loaded into small boats here and ferried out to merchant vessels lying in Hynish Bay. This is certainly possible. Several small boats fished out of Mannal during the heyday of the Tiree long line fishery, and at low water the remains of a tiny pier at the southern end of G *Port an Dòirinne* ‘the inlet of the tomobolo’ are visible nearby. And dried fish at that time were sold by the ton: ‘Each of the country fishing boats cures 1.5 to 2 tons ling’ (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 215). The substantial pier nearby at Hynish, built by the Northern Lighthouse Board between 1835 and 1844 would seem to have been a more suitable location. But there may have been commercial or practical reasons why this was not possible. As an example, when Edward Stanford set up his seaweed-processing factory in Middleton in 1863, he was refused permission to unload coal at the Hynish pier until the Duke intervened on his behalf.

Alternatively, *tunna* has possibly developed from an existing simplex Norse loan-name in ON *tunga* ‘tongue of land’ (CV, 643). The development ON *-ng-* > G *-n-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). The referent is likely to have been the large outcrop marking the Mannal-Hynish boundary now known as G *Am Meall* ‘shapeless hill, knob’ (see Gazetteer).

Tongue in Sutherland derives from ON *tunga*, as does *Tunga* in Lewis (Oftedal 2009, 36); *Tunga* on Birsay, Orkney, was described as ‘a narrow point of rocky foreshore’ (OS1/23/1/132); the simplex *Tunga* is extremely common in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Tunge* derives from *tunga* (see, for example, Rygh, vol. 10, 206); *Tunga(n)* is common in the Faroe Islands (KO); and *Tunga* is extremely common among Icelandic farm-names (SAM).

AN TURDHA TIR C 1 NGR NL925457 [ˈuːrəˌɣɑ]

G *Urdha* ‘cobble beach’

An Turdha Beag, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 13, ‘meaning Little Maggot’): + G *beag* ‘small’ + G *durrag* ‘maggot’ (Dwelly)

Urdha Chràignis, Donald Kennedy, Balevullin, 9/2004 (oral source)

Craignish, Hough | A small rock at the edge of a bank of shingle at the very tip of the Craignish headland. The *Nancy* of Dublin broke up on the Hough skerries in 1885, and oral tradition has it that the body of the captain was washed ashore here.

An Turdha is likely to be a Gaelic loan word derived from ON *urð* fem. ‘a heap of stones on the sea beach’ (CV, 657; see Jakobsen 1936, 111 and McDonald 2015, 173). On Tiree *urdha* was assigned the masculine gender – *An t-Urdha* – while on Lewis it is treated as feminine (see *An Urrdhag* and *Na h-Urrdhannan* in Cox 2002, 390). Its use is topographically very appropriate here. See *Earbal*.

I could find no other examples of this loan word in Gaelic-speaking Scotland. But ON *urð* has spawned names throughout the Norse expansion zone, for example the Norwegian farm-name *Ure* (see Rygh, vol. 11, 568); *Urðin* is common as a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while *Urðir* was an early farm-name in Iceland (*Landnámabók* 1900, 317) and is very common today (NLSI).

TÝRVIST

i tír iath seach Íle ‘to Tir-iath beyond Islay’, BB 205 a 11
ort ocht turu Tíri iath ‘razed eight towers in Tíree’, Rawlinson B 502, 115 a 5
inter Ethicam insulam (accusative case), Anderson and Anderson 1961, 246
Aethici pilagi (genitive), Anderson and Anderson 1961, 246
in Ethica terra (ablative), Anderson and Anderson 1961, 278
ad Aethicam terram (accusative), Anderson and Anderson 1961, 356
ad Etheticam terram (accusative), Anderson and Anderson 1961, 358
in Ethica terra (ablative), Anderson and Anderson 1961, 422
ad Ethicam terram (accusative), Anderson and Anderson 1961, 482
Týrvist, Magnúss Berfætr Saga (Sturluson 1907, *Heimskringla*, chapter 8)
Tirieth, 12th century Reginald of Durham
Tiryad, 1343
Teryed, 1354
Tiriage, 1390
Tyree, Fordun II 10 (Skene 1871, 43)
Tyriage, 1494
Tiereig, 1496 (CPNS, 86)
Thiridh, MWIS §118
Tir-iy, MM 267
Tír igedh (i.e. *Tír-igheadh*), 16th century
Terrigh, 1603 Retours ARG vol. 1, 7
Teirig, 1615 Retours ARG vol. 1, 16
Teiri, 1631 Retours ARG vol. 1, 40
Tyrie, 1635 Retours ARG vol. 1, 56
Tierig, 1662 Retours ARG vol. 1, 67
Terie, 1674 and 1695 Retours ARG vol.1, 82 and 93
(sources Anderson and Anderson 1961, 130, 151 and 155–6; Watson 1993 (1926), 85; and Broderick 2013, 12)

Island name

There have been many folk etymologies of this name:

The Isle of Tíree is so called from *Tíre* ‘a country’ [G *tír*], and *Iy* ‘an isthmus’ [G *ùidh*, a loan word from ON *eið* in MacBain 1911]; the rocks in the narrow channel seem to favour the etymology. (Martin 1994 (1695), 294)

The etymology of Tiree is somewhat uncertain. In the [*Old*] *Statistical Account* the name is said to be derived from *Tir-i* ‘the land of Iona’, commonly called in the Gaelic language *I*, or more agreeably to the sound *ee* [see *Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 393]; it being supposed that Tiree was of old in the possession of the church and was used as a granary for the religious establishment which flourished in that once celebrated island. (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 195)

Others again are of the opinion that the name is derived from *Tir-reidh* (pronounced *Tir-re*), signifying ‘the flat or level land’. (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 195)

The name ‘*Tir-iodh*’, land of corn, is singularly applicable to this low-lying, fertile island. (Carmichael 1900, 292)

‘I heard that trees grew [on Tiree] and that gave it its name: *Tir-fhiodh* [land of wood]’ Nan McKinnon, Barra, talking to D.A. MacDonald *et al.* on TAD SA1976.176, track ID 62308 (translated by the author)

The idea that the island was the ‘granary of Iona’ – celebrating its fertility and its ecclesiastical history – is deeply embedded in the culture of Tiree today. In fact, the development of the island’s name, written today as G *Tiriodh* or E *Tiree*, has taken place over more than two millennia. We can try to reconstruct this through at least five language shifts.

1. ***Heth, Pictish Iron Age:** The kernel of the name is certainly pre-Norse, probably pre-Celtic and possibly has its origins in prehistory. To date, no one has improved on Watson’s 1926 analysis. He reconstructed the oldest form of the name as **Heth*, pronounced as in the English ‘heath’ [hi:θ]: ‘The ancient forms [of the name Tiree], ancient and modern, cannot be reconciled with each other, and their diversity indicates that the second part is not Gaelic, possibly not even Celtic’ (Watson 1993 (1926), 85). Nicolaisen used the term ‘linguistic fossil’ to describe similar Hebridean island names (quoted in Broderick 2013, 21). **Heth* may be a cognate of the Proto-Germanic **haiþī* [hɛ:θi] ‘heath, wasteland’.
2. ***Tir-iath*, Gaelic AD 500 - 800:** The Old Gaelic-speaking settlers of *Dál Riata* appear to have incorporated the name **Heth* as an existing name in their **Tir iath* ‘the land of *iath*’, with the stress on what they now considered the ‘specific’ second element. *iath* may have been understood as OG *ith* ‘corn’

(eDIL) or as *iath* ‘territory’ (eDIL; Watson 1993 (1926), 85). Watson discussed the various stages of the name’s evolution as it was recorded in early documents in Latin and Old Gaelic (Old Irish):

Ethica Terra, ‘the land of *Eth*’, also called *Ethica insula*, ‘the isle of *Eth*’, is Tíree; the sea between Tíree and *Hí* [Iona] is called *Ethicum pelagus*. In other Latin Lives of the Saints, [Tíree] is called *Heth*, *Heth regio* [and] *terra Heth* ... In Irish literature, the name [Tíree] occurs, so far as I have noted, only twice, once in the Book of Ballymote (205 a 11), where the *Cruithne* [Picts] are said to have gone from Ireland to ‘*Tir-iath* beyond Islay’ (*i tír iath seach Íle*), and again in Rawlinson B 502 (115 a 5) where *Labraid Loingsech* is stated to have razed eight towers in Tíree (*ort ocht turu Tíri iath*). The poem in Rawlinson is very old. The fact that Adomnan’s [Latin] *Eth-* becomes Old Irish *iath* proves that the *e* of *Eth-* is the long Early Celtic *e* (for *ei*), which is retained in the very oldest specimens of Old Irish and in some Irish names in the Latin Lives of the Saints, but which by AD 800 had been broken to *ia* when it was followed by a broad vowel in the next syllable. Thus *ēth* became *iath*, as *Cēran* (the saint’s name) became *Ciaran*. This, as Kuno Meyer has pointed out, is fatal to Dr Reeves’ derivation [of the island’s name] from Old Irish *ith*, genitive case *etho*, ‘corn’, attractive as it is in view of Tíree’s proverbial richness in barley. (Watson 1993 (1926), 85)

3. **Týrvist, Norse circa 800 for an unknown period:** Most of the inhabited islands in Orkney have Norse names ending in ON *-ey* ‘island’: for example, *Hrólfsey* (Rousay) and *Vestrey* (Westray). The Viking settlers ignored the existing native tradition and coined new Norse names. But when the first Scandinavian explorers or traders sailed to the Hebrides in the last decades of the eighth century, they often adapted existing Gaelic island names rather than creating new ones: ‘Of the ten place names which have been borrowed into Old Norse from the native people of the Hebrides, five are definitely, or most probably, transferred from Gaelic ... [for example] *Tir iath*’ (Gammelfoht 2007, 485).

Just as the Dalriadan Gaels had done, the Norse lexically adapted the name *Tír iath*. OG *Tír* may have been understood as ON *Týr* ‘the name of another of the *Æsir* [the collective term for the Old Norse gods]’ (CV, 647; see Byock 2005, 35) or even ON *þyrill* ‘whirling gusts of wind’ (CV, 755). The second element was understood as ON *vist* ‘dwelling’ (CV, 711). However, as is often the case in lexically adapted names, the new coinage does not quite make sense:

Names like *Tyrvist* have not only undergone phonetic development, they have also undergone lexeme [word] substitution ... With *Tyrvist*, however, only the final element *-vist* can be recognised as being ON *vist*. What is evident is that the ‘meanings’ of these place-names are not very place-name-like ... It is the very strangeness, onomastically speaking, of the specific elements that cause these names to stand out and reveal themselves as foreign place-names having undergone adaptation in Old Norse. (Gammeltoft 2007, 488)

Sandnes points out that usually just one element (normally the generic) is translated or replaced, and the specific is linguistically adapted so that it can be pronounced in the new language. The Norse might have associated *Týr-* with the god *Týr*, but this is impossible to prove now (Berit Sandnes, pers. comm.).

Crucially, the stress pattern changed. In general, Old Norse has the specific in front of the generic: *Lynqvøll* ‘heather field’. Gaelic places the specific last: *An Druim Fraoich* ‘the ridge (of) heather. OG **Tir lath* became ON *Týr Vist* with the emphasis on the first element, which the Norse settlers now considered to be the new ‘specific’.

As Watson showed, the modern word to describe someone coming from Tiree derives from this Scandinavian place-name: ‘The modern [word] *Tiristeach*, a Tiree man, must come from this Norse form [*Týr Vist*]’ (Watson 1993 (1926), 85). The word *Tiristeach* follows the Norse stress pattern with its emphasis on the first syllable. Regular phonetic development has weakened the medial ON *-v-* to the point of disappearance (see section 17.4.2.2).

4. ***Tir-idhe*, Gaelic in the wider region, 800 to the present day:** While the Norse settled and culturally dominated the island they called *Týrvist*, a form of the Gaelic name that had been derived from **Tir lath* must have continued in use in Gaelic-speaking areas of the west coast of Scotland. *lath* was lexically adapted once more, either as OG *ith* (eDIL) ‘corn’ or as ‘*Idhe*, *lthe*, the genitive case of *Ì*, Iona’ (Watson 1993 (1926), 85): *Tir Etho* or *Tir Idhe*.

This adaptation has led to the form *Tir-ì-dhe* [tʰi ʰri: jə] – with stress on the second syllable – being common in Argyll (Ailean Boyd, pers. comm.).

5. ***Tir-eadh*, Gaelic locally circa 1400 to the present day:** Gaelic speakers, influenced by the Argyll version of the Gaelic name for the island, **Tir Idhe*,

came into prolonged contact with an indigenous Norn *Týr Vist*. This contact appears to have resulted in a hybrid name, maintaining both Gaelic elements but adopting a Norse stress pattern. In this process, the element *Idhe* has become reduced to a vestigial schwa [ə] (see Glossary; see also Broderick 2013, 12). Regular phonetic development saw extreme palatalisation of the /r/, and an addition of the terminal intrusive consonant *-dh* (see section 17.4.2.2) to produce *Tír-eadh* [ˈtʰiː ˌjəɣ]. After two lexical adaptations, the pre-Celtic **Heth* has all but vanished. This has left the modern Gaelic pronunciation of *Tiriodh* by islanders quite different from its pronunciation by Gaels in the rest of Scotland, a situation that is rare, if not unique, on the west coast.

As Jennings and Kruse have argued, ‘if the modern Gaelic form of the island had come via Norse it would have been **Tirbhist*’ (Jennings and Kruse 2009a, 83). This happened in Uist, where the ON name for the island was *Ivist*.

6. **Scots:** The modern Scots form *Ti-ree*, with its stress on the second element, derives from the regional Gaelic form *Tir-ì-dhe*. Confusion with *Tyrie* in Aberdeenshire forced the Post Office to alter the official postal spelling from *Tyree* to *Tiree* in 1889 (MacKay 1979, 33).

AN UAILLEINEACH TIR C 2

An Uailleineach, 1878 OS (~~*Ant-Uallaich*~~, JGC, OS1/2/28/100, ‘applies to a small rock only visible at low water situated 1/4 of a mile NNE of Dun Beag and immediately SE of Bogha na h-Uailleinich, significance unknown’)

Bogha na h-Uailleinich, 1878 OS (~~*Boghan-Uallaich*~~, JGC, OS1/2/28/102); Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 3/2010 (oral source)

Vaul | A sea rock east of *Dùn Beag Bhalla* at the mouth of Vaul Bay

An Uailleineach is possibly derived from the Gaelic *uileann* ‘elbow, corner, angle’ (Dwelly) with the Gaelic locational suffix *-ach* (see section 11.1.9). This is topographically suitable at the entrance to this sea loch.

There are no exact cognates, but there is an *Uileann* in Morven ‘meaning Elbow or Bend’ (OS1/2/72/89) and an *Uilinn Fhibhig* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 389). See *Uaireanaich* below and section 17.5.

AN UAIREANAICH TIR 1 T NGR NM051474

An Uaireanaich, Margaret Brown, Silversands, 6/1995 (oral source)

Nuailleanaich Chaluim Mhòir, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, 4/1996 (oral source)

Morag Uaireanaich, Ronnie MacLean, Silversands, 5/1996 (oral source): the byname of Morag MacIntyre, who ran the shop at Silversands

Uileanar, *Uidheana* and *Muineanaich*, Lachlan MacKinnon, Vaul, and Mary MacKinnon, Seaside, Vaul, 12/1993 (oral sources)

Kirkapol | An area of *machair* west of Silversands house

This name has a variety of name-forms and is likely to have converged with *An Uailleineach* in the next township (see section 17.5). It is best, therefore, to leave it open at the moment.

AN UAMH MHÒR TIR C 1 NGR NL934409

G ‘the big cave’

An Uaimh Mhòr, Hugh MacLean, Barrapol, collected by Ailean Boyd; Donald MacNeill Crossapol, 1/1994 (oral sources): + G *uaimh*, the Tìree dialect form of *uamh* ‘cave’

Kenavara | A large cave at the bottom of cliffs below *Dùn nan Gall*. It is certainly an impressive location: ‘An Uamh Mhor (The Great Cave) has in the mouth of it a great boulder over which one has to climb in order to enter. We are informed that it can be traversed so far that a lighted candle ceases to burn for lack of oxygen, and the explorer has to take warning thereby to retrace his steps’ (MacDougall 1937, 101). In fact, the cave tapers rapidly and is about 50 m deep.

This significant feature has a number of aliases and associated traditions, showing its considerable past cultural and economic importance.

The cave was woven into a local retelling of the Fingalian story of *Fionn*, *Gràinne*, *Diarmad* and the Norsemen (Donald Sinclair talking Dr John MacInnes on TAD SA1960.070, track ID 46237): ‘*Nach eil Uamh Dhiarmaid thall an sin an Ceann-a-Bharra?* [Isn’t Diarmad’s cave over there in Ceann-a-Bharra?]

(Donald Sinclair in Cregeen 2004, 158). Nearby is G *Leabaidh Nighean Rìgh Lochlainn* ‘the bed of the daughter of the King of Norway’ (David McClounnan, pers. comm.): ‘On the right hand side from the entrance is what is known as the bed of the daughter of the

king of Lochlin. It is a flat shelf of rock in the form of a natural couch' (MacDougall 1937, 101; see Brownlie 1995, 79).

It was also known as *Uaimh an Òir* 'the cave of gold':

North of the fort is the *Uamh Mhòr* ('Great Cave'), a huge opening that penetrates far into the hill. In my young days it was often referred to as *Uamh an Òir* ('The Cave of Gold'), and oral tradition maintains that it traverses the entire island. As a boy I heard my mother relate how a piper, accompanied by a dog, set out to traverse the Great Cave but was never seen again. When a neighbour went to the mouth of the cave in search of him, he found only the dog, still alive – but hairless from nose to tail. 'Without three hands – two for the pipes and one for the sword – no human will ever traverse the Cave of Gold,' my mother would say most emphatically. (Brownlie 1995, 78)

This widespread traditional folk tale – connected to caves in Mull (*MacKinnon Cave*, MacLean 1997, 158), Skye (Manson 1901, 247; Martin 1994 (1695), 204) and Carloway (Cox 2002, 389), among others – has also been associated with *Uaimh a' Ruith* (see Gazetteer). The loss of hair from a dog was often associated with conflict with supernatural forces (Black 2008, 56).

Another alias was G *Uaimh an Fhuamhaire* 'the cave of the giant' (Niall Brownlie, pers. comm.; see *Kenavara* and *Mòr-Mhill*). Yet another was G *Uamh nan Calman* 'the cave of the doves' (Sandy MacKinnon, pers. comm.): 'It is the home of innumerable rock pigeons' (MacDougall 1937, 101; see section 10.3.5). In the early twentieth century, guano was collected from it for use on lazy beds on the Balephuill *sliabh* (David McClounnan, pers. comm.).

ÙBHAG TIR D 1 NGR NM022483 [u:-ak]

Ballowhag, 1509 ER 13, 216

Ballephetrìs and *Balwag*, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 291: 4 merk-land, £66 13s 4d, bear 4 bolls

Baluaig, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives, coupled with *Balephetrìs*

Ballihug, 1681 ICA Bundles 132 (Argyll estate papers uncatalogued)

Baluaig, 1747 Tìree Rental

Bail' Ùbhaig, Lachlan MacKinnon, Balephetrish, 1990 and 3/2016 (oral source): + G *baile* 'township'

Bail' Ùbhag Lachlan MacKinnon, Balephetrish, 1/2019; Archie John MacLean, Heylipol, 1/2019 (oral sources)

Balephetrish | An extensive area of *sliabh* stretching from *Beinn Bhaile Pheadrais* to *The Ringing Stone*. The turf-covered footings of a small settlement can be seen on the raised beach at NM017482, although these have been considerably disrupted by the creation of an access track.

This settlement name is a Gaelic construction in *G baile*. The specific *Ùbhag* may be *G uamhag* ‘small cave’ (Dwelly). The referent may have been the insignificant *G Uamh an Druideig* ‘applies to a small cave ... Sig. Cave of the Little Starling’ (OS1/2/28/19) a short distance to the east. This is not a common element, but there is an *Uamhag Labhruinn* in Torosa (SP) and a *Cnoc na h-Uamhaig* in Carloway (Cox 2002, 237).

Alternatively, the specific *Ùbhag* has possibly developed from a Norse existing name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. Its specific may be ON *auðr* ‘desolate’ (CV, 32): *Auðavík* ‘desolate inlet’. The developments ON *-au-* > *G [u-]* and the loss of a medial ON *-ð-* and *-v-* are regular (see *Ruaig* and section 17.4.2). This is topographically appropriate on this remote stretch of coastline. ON *auðr* is common in the Norse expansion zone, as in *Audevika* in Norway (NG); the Norwegian farm-name *Aueland* (Rygh, vol. 10, 33); the Icelandic settlement name *Auðartoptir* (*Landnámabók* 1900, 285); and the modern Icelandic name *Auðnavík* (NLSI).

UIRCEAN* TIR O 1 NGR NL956468 [ˈu̯i̯r̥ˠkʲi̯ən]

Tobar an Uircein, Alec MacNeill, Balevullin, 2/1996 (oral source)

Balevullin | A well, situated a short distance north of the old mill site (see *Àsadh*) in *G Bail’ a’ Mhuilinn* ‘the town of the mill’

Tobar an Uircein is a Gaelic construction in *G tobar* ‘well’. Its specific is *G uircean* ‘piglet’ (Dwelly). The folk etymology is that this well got its name after a piglet fell into it. Pigs were certainly very common on Tiree in the nineteenth century: ‘For some years back a great number of pigs have been reared in this parish and are found to be a very profitable kind of stock ... Last spring upwards of 500 of them were shipped off the island’ (*New Statistical Account* Tiree and Coll 1845, 213). Despite this, *uircean* is an unusual element in Scottish place-names, with the only example I could find being *Eas nan Uircean* in Dalavich, Argyll (SP).

Alternatively, *Uircein* may have been lexically adapted from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *kvern* fem. ‘handmill’ (CV, 363: Scots *quern* is a reflex) or horizontal mill. The specific of this may be ON *nýr* ‘new’ (CV, 649): *Nýjakvern*. The development

ON *-ý-* > G *-u-* is regular, the initial *n-* may have been absorbed into the preceding Gaelic definite article, while a palatalised /r/ in Tíree Gaelic is realised as /j/ (see section 17.4.2).

Names derived from *nýr* are common in Norway, as in *Nysætre* (NG); the element *nýggur* is also common in the Faroe Islands, as in *Nýggjagarðsá* (KO); and it is also frequent among Icelandic farm-names, for example *Nýjaland* (NLSI). *Kvern* is a very common element in Norway, with one example of *Nykværna* (NG).

ÙISGIL TIR C 1 NGR NL961392 [ˈü: ˌjgˈilʲ]

ON **Úlfsgil* ‘coastal gully of *Úlfr*’

Ùisgil, David McClounnan, Balephuill, 3/1996; Gilleasbuig Kennedy, West Hynish, 7/2012 and 6/2020 (oral sources)

Bodha Ùisgil, Gilleasbuig Kennedy, West Hynish, 6/2020 (oral source): + G *bodha* ‘submerged rock’

West Hynish | A coastal fishing rock

Given its coastal location, *Ùisgil* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *gil* ‘coastal gully’. Its specific may be the male ON personal name *Úlfr*, which is common in *Landnámabók* (1900, 377), with the genitive morpheme /s/. The loss of the medial ON *-f-* is regular, and there has been some vowel affection (see section 17.4.2).

There are many Norwegian farm-names derived from *Úlfr*, for example *Ulset* (Rygh, vol. 1, 230); *Úlvisgjógv* is a settlement name in the Faroe Islands (KO); while there are two examples of *Úlfsgil* in Iceland (NLSI).

ÙL* TIR C 1 NGR NM050487 [u:l] and [ˈu:l]

Clach Uill and *Clach lùl*, Mary MacKinnon, Seaside, Vault, undated (oral source)

Vault | A rock on the western shore of *Loch Bhalla*. G *Poll Feum* ‘the useful pool’ is just offshore

These names are Gaelic constructions in G *clach* ‘rock’. Given the two different name-forms, we should leave this name open at the moment (but see *Chùrr*).

ULAIDH TIR R 1 NGR NM082483 [ˈuːlɑɪˠh]

Druim an Ulaidh, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 2/1996 and 3/2010 (oral source)

Druim an Uilidh, Donald Kennedy, Port Bàn, 11/1995 (oral source)

Caolas | A ridge parallel to G *Druim nan Caorach* ‘the ridge of the sheep’, described by the Ordnance Survey as ‘a ridge situated at the west end of Caolas and about one mile NNW of Dùn Mòr a’ Chaolais’ (OS1/2/28/119)

Druim an Ulaidh is a Gaelic construction in G *druim* ridge’. The folk etymology is that the name comes from the oily sheen on the standing water here, with G *ulaidh* or *uilidh* the Tìree dialect word for ‘oil’ (see section 10.7; *An Sliabh Dearg* is a short distance to the west: see *Ruaig*). G *ulaidh* fem. also means ‘treasure’, and names such as *Clach na h-Ulaidhe* ‘Stone of the Treasure’ in Croy and Dalcross, Inverness-shire (OS1/17/18/29) are not uncommon.

Alternatively, **Ulaidh* has possibly developed from an existing Norse loan-name in *hlíð* ‘slope’. The specific is obscure and it is best to leave this part of the name open at the moment.

ÙLASGEIR TIR C 3 NGR NL841265 [ˈuːlɑːskʲeɪ]

ON **Úlfarssker* ‘skerry of *Úlfarr*’

Ùlasgeir, William MacLean, Balinoe; Donald MacNeill, Crossapol (undated oral sources)

Skerryvore reef complex

Ùlasgeir has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *sker* ‘skerry’. Its specific may be a male ON personal name such as *Úlfarr*, which is common in *Landnámabók* (1900, 377). The loss of the medial ON *-f-* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2).

The exact location of this sea rock was not identified. Long line fishing around these treacherous and distant rocks using small, open boats became uneconomic after the arrival of steam trawler fleets in Tìree waters in the 1890s. The naming traditions of this sea area had therefore weakened by the time of my fieldwork at the end of the twentieth century. However, the referent is likely to have been *MacKenzie’s Rock*, which ‘dries 4 ft’ (1908, Admiralty Chart 2635); this is 2 km

southwest of Skerryvore. *Mackenzie's Rock* has been a significant hazard for sailors: the *SS Labrador*, with sixty-two passengers and a cargo of grain, was wrecked here in 1899 *en route* from America to Liverpool.

There are no exact cognates, but both elements are very common among names in the Norse expansion zone, from *Ùlabrac*, a fishing rock on Barra (Stahl 1999, 301), to *Úlfarsfell* in Iceland (NLSI).

ÙLASTAC TIR C 3 NGR NL841265 ['u: lə ,sta^hk]

ON **Úlfarsstakk* 'high sea rock of *Úlfarr*'

Ulstay, 1860 Police report: 'Ulstay fishing banks 4 miles south west of the Skere Vore light house' (An Iodhlann catalogue no. 2005.52.4)

Ulestach, quoted in a letter from the Tiree chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll: 'I am glad to inform your Grace that the crew of the *Duchess* fishing boat had a very good fishing, the weather very fine once they took courage and went out where the Tyree boats were fishing outside the lighthouse and remained for two days and brought in 300 fine ling fish and an innumerable number of eels ... out to *Ulestach* this week during the spring tides' (Inveraray archive uncatalogued papers). The *Duchess* was a large fishing boat built by the Duke of Argyll in 1860; it sank at her moorings in 1871.

Ùlastach, Donald Sinclair, West Hynish (re-transcribed from a tape with Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1971.099, track ID 52312)

Ùlastach, Alasdair Brown, Balephuill, no date recorded (oral source)

Ùlastac, William MacLean, Balinoe, 6/2004 (oral source)

Today, this name appears to refer to *Mackenzie's Rock* (see the recording by Donald Sinclair). However, given that this was probably a Norse loan-name in ON *stakkr* (see below), the referent is likely to have been Skerryvore itself, G *An Sgeir Mhòr* 'the big skerry'. This is 19 km southwest of Tiree.

Skerryvore must have been as dangerous to Norse sailors as it was in the nineteenth century, when the Northern Lighthouse Board built Skerryvore Lighthouse. Between 1806 and 1844, twenty-eight vessels were known to have foundered on Skerryvore, as well as 'very many vessels were wrecked on this dangerous reef whose names could never be learned' (Stevenson 1848, 24).

Ùlastac has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *stakkr* 'stack'. The specific could also be the male ON personal name *Úlfarr* (see *Ùlasgeir*). The use

of a personal name as the specific for a sea rock and skerry implies a medieval wreck of some significance. The development ON *-k* > G *-ch* is regular (see section 17.4.2.2). Convergence, however, may have been a factor here (see *Raonabodha* and section 17.5).

ON *stakkr* may have been loaned into Gaelic as *stac* (MacBain 1911; Cox 2002, 373). There are six examples of this on Tiree: for example, *G Stac a' Bhodaich* 'the stack of the old man' on the western side of Gott Bay. It was also loaned into Scots in the sense of 'a tall column of rock rising out of the sea in front of a cliff of which it had originally formed part till separated by weathering' (DSL). This meaning is very common in the Northern Isles: for example, *The Stack of Yarphey* in Eday, Orkney (SP). A reflex, the Faroese *stakur* 'high rock in the sea' (Young and Clewer 1985, 548), or 'a high-pointed rock in the sea' (Jakobsen 1897, 103; Nicolaisen 2011, 117) has the sense which is most relevant here, although the Skerryvore complex is estimated at no more than six feet above high water (from an engraving *ca.* 1848, Canmore catalogue no. 881832). The element also occurs as a Norse coinage in Orkney as *Stack Ber*, and in Shetland as *Fugla Stack* in Unst (SP); and *stakur* is a common generic in the Faroe Islands, as in *Ásmundarstakur* (KO).

ULBHAIG TIR C 2 NGR NM996428 [poɾˠt̪ ˈũ lə ˌveɪk̪]

ON **Stǫðulvík* 'inlet of the milking huts'

Port Ulbhaig, Mairi Campbell, Cornaigbeg, 12/2013 (oral source)

Port Ulbhadh, Janet Paterson, Crossapol Farm, 11/1993 (oral source)

Crossapol | One of a number of small inlets below the site of the old cattle mart, although the exact location was not identified. Above the shore here is a small pointed mound, which has the appearance of a robbed Bronze Age cist. The construction of the mart in the 1950s may have destroyed other monuments. Cameron speculated that this mound had been the site of at least one of the crosses behind the name *Crossapoll* (see Gazetteer).

There is variance between the two name-forms, but the informant who gave me *Port Ulbhaig* was an experienced informant and had grown up in the house here. The name is a Gaelic construction in G *port* 'inlet'. The specific **Ulbhaig* has probably developed from an existing Norse loan-name in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'. The specific of this may be ON *stǫðull* 'milking place' (CV, 602). The developments ON *-ǫ-* > G [u·], the loss of ON *-ð-* and the closure of an open vowel with a terminal *-dh*

are all regular (see section 17.4.2). The initial *st-* may have been concealed by the terminal *-rt* of the Gaelic generic *port*. The presence of running water here makes a milking place plausible.

There are no exact cognates among names in the Norse expansion zone, although *stǫðull* and *vík* are both common elements.

It appears that this name has spawned two folk etymologies. In a 1925 collection, K.W. Grant published this rhyme: '*Miosachan beag rìgh Lochlainn / Fo chlachan ann am Baile Phuill / Is Ulabhag nighean rìgh Lochlainn / Fo chlachan ann an Crosapol ud thall*' (Grant 1925, 12). This has been translated as 'The little calendar of the king of Norway / Underneath stones in Balephuill / And Ulabhag daughter of the king of Norway / Underneath stones in Crossapol yonder' (Black 2008, 511). This suggests that the specific **Ulghaig* was understood as the personal name] *Ulabhag*. This story has strong similarities with another tradition – set in Hynish and Balephuill – describing the grave of a young Norse woman called *Solabhag*, who also drowned. See *Solabhaig*, and also *Balbhaig*, *Bèidhe* and *Meidhaig*.

This name was also connected to a well-known nineteenth-century poem:

Above the Crossapol beach and below the public road there is a small artificial mound with an erection in the middle of it of about three feet diameter on the inside. This is the spot that local tradition points to as the grave of Lord Ullin's daughter, the subject of Thomas Campbell's famous poem. It is supposed that her drowned body came ashore on the beach below and is buried here. (MacDougall 1937, 86)

My informant agreed that the body of Lord Ulva's (sic) daughter was washed up on this shore and buried here.

The popular Romantic poem *Lord Ullin's Daughter* was written by Thomas Campbell and published in 1809. Campbell was from Glasgow but his family had come from Kirnan in Argyll, and he spent the summer of 1795 working as a tutor at Sunipol on the north coast of Mull. A work of fiction, the poem tells the story of the chieftain of Ulva trying to cross the Sound of Ulva in the company of Lord Ullin's daughter, with whom he was eloping. The ballad starts with the stanza: 'A Chieftain to the Highlands bound / Cries "Boatman, do not tarry! / And I'll give thee a silver pound / To row us o'er the ferry!"' Lord Ullin then rides up, only to see his daughter drown in front of his eyes.

AN UNGA TIR C 1 NGR NM042438 [ˈuŋ ˌu̯ɑ]

G *Unga* ‘ounce-land’

Sloc an Unga, Angus Munn, Heanish, 6/1995 (oral source)

Heanish | This deep coastal gully marks the modern boundary between Heanish and Scarinish crofting townships. The sinuous turf and stone dyke shown on the 1768 Turnbull Map between the two farm townships also ends here, and it is plausible that this was the Early Medieval march too.

Sloc an Unga is a Gaelic construction in G *sloc* ‘gully’. Its specific is G *unga* ‘ounceland’ (Dwelly; from the Latin *uncia* ‘ounce’), evidence that the Norse ounceland system cast a long shadow over the Late Medieval Tiree landscape (see section 10.5.3).

G *unga* is an unusual element elsewhere among Scottish Gaelic place-names; a possible example may be *Cnoc an Ungaidh* in Harris (SP). There are no names containing *unga* in Bute or Carloway.

AN URABHAG TIR C 1 NGR NL926457 [ˈü rə ˌveɪkʰ]

ON **Urðarvík* ‘cobble inlet’

An Urabhag, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 10, ‘a piece of stony ground a little above the high water mark’, -)

Urbhaig, Alasdair Sinclair, Greenhill, 11/1993 (oral source)

Craignish, Hough | A large expanse of raised cobble beach at the tip of the headland

An Urabhag has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* ‘bay or inlet’. Its specific may be ON *urð* (genitive singular *urðar*) fem. ‘a heap of stones on the sea beach’ (CV, 657). The loss of ON *-ð-* is regular and the variable lowering of the unstressed final vowel could be due to the fact that ON *vík* occasionally develops to G *-(bh)ag* (see section 17.4.2). The referent is likely to have been either a small, tangle-rich inlet on the southern side of the tip of the headland or the larger bay at the southeastern corner of the Craignish peninsula.

There is a *Loch Urbhaig* on Coll (1881 OS 6 inch first edition) beside *Loch Eatharna*, suggesting that **Urðarvík* was the Norse name for the main harbour on that island; there is an *Urabug* in Yell (‘this name applies to a small bank of shingle penetrating

NW into Lady Voe': OS1/31/15/34); the Norwegian farm-name *Urvik* derives from *urð* (Rygh, vol. 13, 184) and *Urvika* is common in Norway (NG); while there is an *Urðarvík* in Iceland (NLSI).

URVAIG TIR C 1 NGR NM078502 ['ũ rə ,veɪk']

ON **Urðarvík* 'cobble inlet' or 'inlet at **Urðar*'

Ru na Hurvaig, 1768 Turnbull Map, a rendering of *Rubha na h-Urbhaig*: + G *rubha* 'promontory'

Urvaig, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 6, -: 'Applies to a point at the N.E. point of Caoles being the most North Easterly point of Tiree')

Iain Mac Lachainn na h-Urbhaig, the byname of John MacLean, Caolas, Cameron 1932, 261

Urbhaig, Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 11/1996 (oral source) and common current usage

Caolas | Now a widely known house name above the sandy bay G *Port Chloinn Nèill* 'the inlet of the MacNeills' (see Gazetteer). The northeastern tip of Caolas is dominated by an impressive expanse of raised cobble beach, recently heavily quarried.

Although by 1878 the name referred to the whole headland, *Urvaig* has probably developed from a Norse loan-name in ON *vík* 'bay or inlet'. The specific is either ON *urð* (genitive singular and accusative plural *urðar*) fem. 'a heap of stones on the sea beach' (CV, 657), or an obsolete simplex Norse name for the area **Urðar*. There are a number of inlets on this headland to which the name may have originally applied. It may be the impressive gully with a cobbled beach known today as G *Sloc na Birlinn* 'the gully of the galley', or the sandy G *Port Chloinn Nèill* 'the inlet of the MacNeills' itself (see *Port Chloinn Nèill*). See *Fladarabodha*.

Urðir is a very common name in Iceland (NLSI).

VALDONOVODANACH # TIR D 4

Valdonovodanach, 1509, ER 13, 217

No longer known in the oral tradition of the island

Settlement name | In the parish of *Soreby*, listed between *Ballino* and *Annhynisch*. *Manwell* is also listed.

It is best to leave this name open at the moment.

VAUL TIR S 1 NGR NM046487 [vã ,lə]

ON **Vøllu* (accusative case plural) ‘fields’

Valdarorich, 1509, ER 13, 216 (this is likely to be *Bhalla* + either G *uachdrach* ‘upper’ or *iochdrach* ‘lower’)

Wall, 1541 ER 17, 647: 6 merklands (Johnston 1991, 80)

Wall, 1542 ER 17, 532

Vaul, 1561 Col. de Reb. Alba, 3 (Johnston 1991, 80)

Vaule, 1628 Sasine, vol. 2 no. 235: 6 merklands (Johnston 1991, 80)

Wall, 1654 Blaeu (Pont): red settlement symbol

Vaul, 1674 MacPhail 1914, 291: 6 merk-land, £90 6s 8d, victual 77 st[one], malt 1 boll, with the casualties of 4 maill-land

Vall, 1680 Estate map, Inveraray Castle Archives

Vaul, 1686 SRO E60/7/3, 6 (Johnston 1991, 80)

Vall, 1716 MacLean-Bristol 1998

Vaull, 1751 Roll of Valuation for the Shire of Argyll, NAS E106/3/2/73

Vaull and *Loch Vaull*, 1768 Turnbull Map

Vaull, 1768 SRO RHP 8826/2, 69: 48 mail lands (Johnston 1991, 80)

Vaal, 1776 MacKenzie M., *West Side of the Island of Mull with the Islands of Tiri and Coll*, NLS EMS.s.654

Vall, 1779 Estate Census

Vaull, 1794 Tiree rental, Cregeen 1964, 35–9

Waal, 1794 Robert Campbell, NLS Marischal 57

Vaul, 1878 OS (JGC, OSNB, 131, -)

Bhalla and *Vaul*, common current local usage in Gaelic and English

Loch Bhalla, uncommon local usage, referring to the deep inlet here

Vaul | Modern township name

Vaul has previously been derived as a simplex name in ON *ffjall* ‘mountain’. However, this would be expected to yield G **fealla* (Richard Cox, pers. comm.). *Tràigh Feall* at the west end of Coll more plausibly derives from *ffjall* (Johnston 1991, 117).

Instead, *Vaul* has probably developed from a simplex Norse loan-name in ON *vǫllr* (plural *vellir*) ‘field ... frequently in local names, *Völlr* and *Vellir*’ (CV, 721), probably here in the plural form. This would then make it part of a contrasting pair with *A’ Bhaoill* – from ON *vǫllr* ‘field’ in the singular – one kilometre to the east, presumably signifying its larger cultivated extent. Beveridge also offered this derivation (Beveridge 1903, 76). The developments *v* <> *w* and ON *-e-* > G *-a-* are regular (see section 17.4.2).

There are five examples of the place-name *Valla* in Shetland (SP); *Valla*, *Valle* and *Velle* are all common in Norway (NG); several examples of the Norwegian farm-name *Valla* derive from *vellir* (for example, Rygh, vol. 16, 35); *Vellir* in *Svarfaðardalur*, Iceland, was an early major estate (Vésteinsson 1998, 10), and *Vellir* is common as a farm-name in Iceland (SAM).

18. APPENDIX: NON-PLACE-NAME SOURCES RELATING TO SCANDINAVIAN TIREE

18.A LITERARY SOURCES

18.a.1 *Magnúsdrápa*

*Hungrþverrir lét herjat / hriðar gagls á Skíði / Tǫnn rauð Tyrvist innan / teitr vargr
í ben margri / grætti Grenlands dróttinn / gekk hátt Skota stökkvir / (þjóð rann
mýlsk til mæði) / meyjar suðr í eyjar*

‘The hunger-diminisher of the goose of battle (bird of prey, warrior) harried in Skye; in Tiree the happy wolf coloured his tooth red in many a wound; the ruler over Greenland grieved young women in the south of the isles; the banisher of the Scots was lucky; the men of Mull fled until they were exhausted’ (*Magnúsdrápa* by *Björn krepphendi* (Jónsson 1912, 404))

18.a.2 *Orkneyinga Saga*

Sveinn Ásleifarson lived circa 1115 to 1171. He is one of the principal characters in the *Orkneyinga Saga*. As told in this source Svein murders Svein Breastrope and then escapes to seek sanctuary in Egilsay:

Lét byskup Svein þar vera um jólin, en eptir þat sendi byskup hann til Suðreyja í Tyrvist til þess manns, er Holdboði hét ok var Hundason; var hann þar hqfðingi mikill ok tók allvel við Sveinni. Dvalðisk hann þar um ventrinn ok var vel virðr af allri alþýðu.

[The bishop let Svein stay there for the rest of the Christmas season, and afterwards sent him to Tiree in the Hebrides to a man called Holdbodi Hundason, a great chieftain, who gave him a good welcome. He stayed there over the winter and everyone thought well of him.] (Guðmundsson 1965, 155; Translation from Pálsson 1978, 127)

Then Svein had a message from *Holboði* of the Hebrides asking for his help against a chieftain from Wales, a man called Robert, of English descent, who had arrived in the islands, driven him off his estate and stolen a great deal of money.

Svein went to Orkney ask Earl Rognvald for men and ships to carry out this mission to help someone who had helped him:

‘Not many Hebrideans are to be trusted, so better part while you’re still friends,’ said the Earl. ‘Still, you must do whatever your sense of honour requires: I’ll give you two ships, both fully-manned.’ Svein was very pleased with that and set off right away for the Hebrides, but there was no sign of *Holboði* till he reached the Isle of Man, to which *Holboði* had escaped. (Pálsson 1978, 145)

At that, Svein and *Holboði* set out on a raiding expedition with five ships. They attacked Wales, going ashore at a place called Jarlsness, and created havoc there. One morning they came to a settlement, which offered hardly any resistance. The farmers ran for their lives as Svein and his men looted the whole settlement and burned six farms before breakfast ... After that they went back to their ships and spent the rest of the summer sea-raiding and winning a great deal of plunder. (Pálsson 1978, 146)

Holboði then went on to make an alliance with Robert behind Svein’s back, and the two former partners fell out:

It is said that when Svein Asleifarson heard *Holboði* had arrived in the Hebrides, he asked Earl Rognvald for troops to avenge himself ... As soon as *Holboði* heard about Svein’s movements he ran from the Hebrides. Svein and his men killed a lot of people there, plundering and burning in a number of places. They picked up plenty of loot, but couldn’t catch up with *Holboði*, who never came back to the Hebrides. (Pálsson 1978, 149–50)

18.B ARCHAEOLOGY

18.b.1 Hoards

British, Danish and other small silver coins in earthen vessels, have often been dug out of mosses and sandy ground [on Tiree]. (*Old Statistical Account* Parish of Tiry 1794, 402)

There has been considerable discussion about two (or possibly three) major coin hoards, found on Tiree in the eighteenth century. The hoards' division, mixing and poor record keeping have meant that around three-quarters of the coins have subsequently been lost.

In 1789, Lord Frederick Campbell, the third son of the fourth Duke of Argyll, donated a collection of 121 coins from the Anglo-Saxon period and the twelfth century. It appears that this donation amalgamated two (or possibly even three) finds. The first was dug up in 1780 at *Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais* and dated from 970–980. There was possibly a second find in 1782. A third was found in 1787 at *Dùn Shiadair* and came from the period 1180–1242. A weight of the original hoard(s) when they were found gives an estimate of between 200 to 500 coins (Graham-Campbell 2011, 255). This means it was originally one of the largest Scottish coin hoards so far discovered (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 233):

The above coins were all found on the Isle of Tiry ... some in the year 1780 by a tenant of the Duke of Argyle, who, whilst he was digging potatoes [introduced to Tiree around 1758] accidentally lighted upon them, concealed as he imagined in some sort of cloth, which, however, was chiefly mouldered away. The others were found in 1787, likewise by a tenant of the Duke while he was planting potatoes. These were contained in an earthenware pot. Both parcels lay between two and three feet below the surface of the earth; and both pots are within a small distance of two Danish forts, the former near Dun a' Chalish, and the latter near Dun Hiadin.

Sands recorded that, 'there is a rhyme which says that Fionn left his gold in Dun Shiatar, which is situated near Hynish' (Sands 1881–2, 461). A fragment of this verse was collected by the School of Scottish Studies: *'Tha mo bhàta-sa gun iarainn / 'S bidh i bliadhna gun dòigh. / O nach maireann nan Fiantach / A dh'fhàg an fhead air an òir* [My boat is without iron, / And it will be out of commission for

a year. / The Fenians who are no longer with us / That kept guard on the gold]' (Donald Sinclair talking to Dr John MacInnes on SA1968.029, track ID 59095).

Fiantach can also mean 'big strong fellow' (McDonald 1991, 124). There are several traditions about giants living in *Dùn Shiadair*, possibly because of the large numbers of huge stones that have been moved in its construction. A rock shelf on the eastern side of the fort, from which there is a line of sight to *Dùn na Cleite* is known as *G Leabaidh an Fhuamhaire* 'the bed of the giant', also known as *G Leabaidh Fear Fàire* 'bed of the lookout' (David McClounnan, pers. comm.). It was said that one of the inhabitants of the fort was, 'seven foot tall; people used to come and see him from all over the island' (Gilleasbuig Kennedy, pers. comm.). This giant went looking for spring water, dowsing with hazel twigs. First, he found *G Tobar an Dèideidh* 'well of the toothache' below the fort, but it was too shallow. He therefore went on towards West Hynish and found *G Tobar an Fhoimheir* 'the giant's well' (David McClounnan, pers. comm.; *foimheir* is the Tíree dialect form of *fuamhair*). When they came to put the capping stone over the well, the giant held one end and six men the other (Gilleasbuig Kennedy, pers. comm.).

Several years later, Lord Campbell made a second donation to the British Museum, this time of a Scandinavian period ingot, which had been found with one of the hoards:

In 1807 the British Museum was presented with an ingot (1807, 03-14.1 and OA 3040), which was, according to the Register, 'found among a parcel of Saxon and other coins in Scotland in the year 1780 upon the estate of the Duke of Argyll'. The ingot can no longer be identified with certainty, although there is in the Museum an un-numbered ingot which, in the absence of any other un-numbered specimens, may be equated with this find. (Stevenson 1966, xxiii)

The hammered ingot is just 5 cm long and weighs 17 gm. It has five nicks (to test purity) along one edge and two on another (Graham-Campbell 2011, 83).

A total of around ninety coins survive from these large hoards. Much of the collection and the ingot are in the British Museum; a proportion of them must have been held back by the Campbells and some found their way to the National Museum of Scotland. It may be noteworthy that in 986 the annals recorded:

'Iona, of Colum Cille, was plundered by the *Danair* on Christmas night, and they killed the abbot and fifteen elders of the monastery.' We see here for the first time in the Irish chronicles the use of the word *Danair*,

literally ‘Danes’ ... *Danair* had never previously been used for the [Norse], and here must mean new invaders coming directly from Scandinavia ... almost certainly had their origins in Denmark proper or southeastern Norway. (Woolf 2007b, 217–8)

Other coins have been found sporadically on Tiree: ‘Several old coins, chiefly copper, are reported to have been found from time to time, but little or no authentic information can be given regarding them. A small silver coin was found in a sand bank about fourteen years ago. It was somewhat larger than a sixpenny piece, seemed pretty entire, and was inscribed in Gaelic with the words *Rìgh Callum Ceanmor*, or King Malcolm Ceanmor, who flourished in the eleventh century’ (*New Statistical Account Tiree and Coll 1845*, 206).

18.b.2 Burials

18.b.2.1 Pagan graves

Probable Norse pagan graves were discovered in Cornaigbeg at the end of the eighteenth century:

In a stackyard at Cornaigbeg in Tiry, in digging pits in sandy ground to secure potatoes during winter and spring, there were found at different times human skeletons, and nigh them the skeleton of horses. They seemed to have been completely armed, according to the times. Two-handed swords were found diminished with rust; silver work preserved the handles; there were also shields and helmets with a brass spear. Nigh this was discovered another skeleton holding the skeleton of an infant in its arms. It is proposed to dig more of this ground. Some of these curiosities are in the possession of the Duke of Argyle. (*Old Statistical Account Parish of Tiry 1794*, 402)

Potatoes had been introduced to Tiree around 1758. Turnbull wrote: ‘[Islanders] have housedung for their potato ground. A great quantity of them are planted here annually ... It is about ten years since they were first planted here’ (Turnbull Report 1768). At first, potatoes were usually planted in lazy beds above the shore and away from in-bye land, so as not to reduce the acreage available for barley and oats. But by 1794, they were starting to become a main crop in the runrig townships: ‘Potatoes, of which a great quantity is planted, mostly in lazy beds. Drilling potatoes is now introduced’ (*Old Statistical Account Parish of Tiry 1794*, 396). Interestingly, Whitehouse Farm is still the main producer of potatoes on Tiree today.

The skeletons and artefacts are now lost. The ‘helmets’ were probably shield bosses. This account appears to describe a pagan cemetery. If an early conversion to Christianity on Tiree is accepted, these graves are likely to date from early in the Norse settlement, although similar graves on Islay come from the second part of the tenth century (Macniven 2006, 59).

The find spot is not entirely clear. The post-medieval settlement of Cornaigbeg is marked on the 1768 Turnbull map. There are no visible remains today, but a patch of ground on the northern side of the road between Kenovay and Cornaigmore, straddling the fence line between Whitehouse and Ardbeg, is still known as *G Am Baile* ‘the township’ (Donald MacLean, Kenovay, pers. comm.). Rev Hector Cameron, who was born in 1880 in Cornaigmore and went on to publish the collection of Tiree poetry *Na Bàird Tirisdeach*, wrote: ‘The existing tradition is that these skeletons were found midway between Whitehouse and Port-na-Criche [G ‘the harbour of the boundary’] to the south-east’ (MacDougall 1937, 91). ‘Sandy ground’ implies a site close to the shore. *Port na Criche* (Hector Campbell, Cornaigbeg, pers. comm.) is an inlet marking the boundary between the modern crofting townships of Cornaigbeg and Kenovay. It is unclear where the eastern boundary of the Norse primary farm **Kornvík* lay.

18.b.2.2 Vault skeleton

A skeleton, dated to within the Scandinavian period on Tiree, was found in *Dùn Mòr Bhalla*, the Iron Age broch at Vault. The bones were in layer 2 in the broch interior, and Carbon-14 dating gave a figure of 805 +/- 155: ‘All parts of the body were represented but the bones had clearly been gathered together some time after the death of the individual concerned and deposited in a heap where they were found’ (MacKie 1974, 214). The skeleton was of a man in his forties, and showed some arthritis of his spine: ‘A fragment of the cranium was found which has a straight, clean-cut edge which gives the impression of having been caused by a blow from a sword or axe’ (MacKie 1974, 214).

18.b.2.3 Tortoise brooches

A pair of Norse brooches was found on Tiree prior to the eighteenth century. One has since been lost:

A pair of ‘tortoise’ brooches and a bronze pin are said to have been found in a grave somewhere on Tiree. One of the brooches and the pin were donated to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1872 (Accession nos: IL 219 & 220), and what may have been the other brooch was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in

1847, but it cannot now be traced. No further details of the burial are known. (RCAHMS 1980, no. 236 and plate 3)

One of a pair found in the island of Tiree was presented to the Museum in June 1872 by the late Rev Dr Norman MacLeod [1812–1872, a famous Gaelic-speaking minister in Glasgow, who is likely to have known many Tiree people]. Nothing further is known concerning the circumstances of their discovery than that they were found in a grave along with the peculiarly-shaped and massive bronze pin here figured ... This brooch measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. It is double, the under part having a flat rim with a band of lacertine [intertwined] ornamentation in panels. The plain portion of the under shell has been gilt. The upper shell has a raised boss in the centre, pierced with four openings. Two similar bosses are placed at the extremities of the longer and shorter diameters of the oval, and halfway between each pair of these bosses there are spaces for beads or studs, four in number, which have been fastened on by rivets of brass, one of which still remains in situ. From the central boss to the other bosses there are channelled depressions in the metal, in which are laid three rows of a small silver chain formed of two strands of a very fine wire twisted together, and forming a double diamond figure on the oval surface of the brooch. On 15th March 1847 a notice of a similar brooch found in Tiree was read to the Society and the brooch exhibited by Sir John Graham Dalzell [or Dalzell, an Edinburgh advocate with a keen interest in antiquities]. It is described as 'resembling, to minuteness, several in the Museum', and as these brooches usually occur in pairs, it was probably found with the one presented by Rev Dr MacLeod. (Anderson 1874, 554 and 560; PSAS 9, 446 and 532)

This is assumed to have been from the burial of a Norse female. The find spot is now unknown.

18.b.2.4 Armlet

A gold armlet and a possible skeleton were found on Tiree in the 1790s: 'Two years ago was discovered a bent, tubular piece of gold, about £2 value, the two ends not closely joined, and not unlike a sort of earing' (*Old Statistical Account Parish of Tiry 1794*, 402). The following account seems to report the same find:

About forty years ago, a circular piece of gold, supposed to have been an ornament for the arm, was found by a person while digging a stony knoll in a farm near the ford formerly mentioned [the location is not clear]. He described it as quite circular, at least five inches in diameter, about one inch broad, so thin as to be easily flexible, and evidently intended to clasp or lock. Some decayed bones were found at the same time, scattered among the earth and stones. This ancient relic was soon afterwards sent to Glasgow, and sold there for a trifle. (*New Statistical Account Tiree and Coll 1845*, 206)

This item is now lost.

18.b.3 Comb

Euan MacKie found a Norse period comb during his excavation of *Dùn Mòr Bhalla* in 1962–4:

A composite, tri-partite, single-edged bone comb consisting of a central flat plate, in four sections and carved with sixty four teeth, and two strengthening bars fastened along each side of the top edge with five iron rivets. A bronze rivet has been inserted as a repair at one end. The teeth seem to have been cut after the three components were fastened together since notches appear on the transverse bars at the base of the teeth. The inequality of the wear of the tooth points at one end is striking, all of the points are undamaged. The decoration is simple and consists of incised lines on both of the strengthening bars. Length of comb 4.1 inches. The comb is thought to be Norse in origin. (MacKie 1974, 143-4 and plate XIIIg)

These antler combs were often imported from Norway (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 222).

18.b.4 Ring

In 1961 a, 'bronze swivel ring ornamented with animal heads was found in *Crois Tìree* by WA Munro and presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland' (*PSAS* 1960–1, xciv, 327).

18.b.5 Pottery

Norse pottery has been found on Tìree:

Distinctive sagging and flat-based open bowls and cups as well as flat circular pottery discs or platters. These new vessel forms are coil built but are joined in a different, simpler way. The common occurrence of grass-marked bases (not grass-tempering) is likewise an indication of a new construction tradition though the fabrics are only sometimes partially distinguishable from the pre-Viking material. My analysis of the Udal [an important reference site in Uist] Viking and pre-Viking ceramics allowed me to identify similar material throughout the Outer Hebrides and to identify a zone of Early Medieval ceramic use running from the North of Lewis to the islands of Coll and Tìree. (Lane 2007, 5; 1983, 29)

A shard of Norse pottery from Balephuill was identified recently by Ewan Campbell (An Iodhlann catalogue no. 2000.91.19).

18.b.6 Settlement mound at *Baca na Putain*, Balinoe

This settlement mound 100 m from the beach (NGR NL0985 7421; Canmore ID 357723) has seen two preliminary investigations led by Dr Heather James in 2017 and 2019 (Calluna Archaeology Report 003). Eroding stones suggest structural remains. A number of artefacts have eroded out of three cattle scrapes: an Early Medieval bone pin now in National Museum of Scotland, a loom weight and Early Medieval pottery (Ewan Campbell, pers. comm.) as well as a boar tusk and the shells of *Arctica islandica*. Part of a midden was excavated. This contained large gadid fish bones and burnt material yielding charcoal from alder, birch, hazel, heather and peat as well as oats and barley grains (Susan Ramsay, pers. comm.). The charcoal gave dates of AD 865–990 (93% probability; SUERC-82066) and 967–1030 (SUERC-82067).

18.C TRADITIONAL STORIES

18.c.1 *Cath nan Sguab* 'Battle of the Sheaves'

The prose story 'Battle of the Sheaves' is still widely known today on Tiree. In outline, the plot goes as follows. A party of Viking raiders came ashore on Tiree. They surprised some unarmed islanders in Kilmoluaig at work in the fields. The harvesters fought back using only the sheaves of barley they were holding, plunging them into the bodies of the Norsemen up to the bands that tied the sheaf and driving off the attackers (Shaw 2008, 248).

A number of versions of this tale have been collected on Tiree. The first was transcribed by the folklore collector and Church of Scotland minister of the island, Rev John Gregorson Campbell. He gives the account in Gaelic and English:

This story was written as it was told by Donald Cameron, a native of Tiree, in the year 1865. Many other tales (*sgeulachdan*) and songs (*orain*) were taken down from him at the time, and the writer cannot but express his admiration of Cameron, as the best reciter he has ever fallen in with, as well as his own good fortune in having met him, and in the stories having been at the time written down.

The Day of the Battle of the Sheaves [*Cath nan Sguab*] in the True Hollow of Tiree [*Fior-Lagan Thiridhe*]

The Fians [*an Fhèinn*] were at harvest work in Kilmoluaig (note 1) in the true hollow of Tiree [*fior lagan Thireadh*]; it was oats they were harvesting. The day on which they went to reap they left their weapons of war in the armoury of the Fairy Hill of Caolas [*Dùn a' Chaolais*] (note 2). When they were reaping they saw the Norsemen coming ashore at Besta [*Bista*]. The Fians had neither spears nor any weapons of war. They sent away Thinman [*Caoilte*] and Back of the Wind MacRae, son of Ronan [*Cùl Guith Mac Rath, 'ic Ronain*], for the weapons. The Norsemen attacked them [*thoisich iad fhein 's na Lochlannaich air a chéile*], but a sheaf of oats was driven to the waist in Norsemen's body that day [*sguab coirce dol gu crios ann an cneas Lochlannaich*]. Then Fionn said to the man near him:

'Look if you can see any man coming with the armour.'

'I see one man.'

'What is he like?'

'He is as if he had bare wood (i.e. wood stripped of leaves) on his shoulder [*coille lomain air a ghuallain*].'

'Are you seeing anyone else?'

'I do not see anyone but him.'

In a little while Fionn again said: 'What is his appearance now coming?'

'He is though he has three heads on.'

'My child (*mo leanabh*) is at full speed, that is his feet going as high as the top of his head as he comes (*sin agad a chasan dol co ard ri mullach a chinn*). Do you see any other?'

'I do see another.'

'Is he making any speed?'

'Yes, enough.'

Thinman [*Caoilte*] came, and every man took his weapons, and they and the Norsemen commenced to attack each other, and they drove the Norsemen to the shore.

Campbell also included the following two notes:

Note 1: Kilmoluaig is farmland on the northwest of Tiree. It is now densely populated by a crofter population, but bears traces of having been at one time very fertile. It must suffer a great deal from sand blowing. *Moluag*, the saint from whom the name is derived, has many places named after him. There is a Kilmoluaig in Lismore and one in Skye.

Note 2: The distance from the scene of their labours to Caolas would be about five miles. The fort is a hillock, in which there is to be seen a small hollow called the armoury (*ciste nan arm*), and was, within the memory of those still living, considered a place of strength. It was surrounded by a dry stone dyke, but the stones have been removed to build houses with. (Campbell 1891, 172-4)

Other versions of this story were collected on Tiree a hundred years later by the School of Scottish Studies. Eric Cregeen recorded Mary Anne Campbell, Balevullin, in 1969:

The Norsemen used to come to plunder, taking away sheep and cattle and corn and anything else they fancied. And the people were very much annoyed by them. We had lookouts all round the island and on this particular fine autumn day someone must have come to tell the

harvesters that the Norsemen were coming. So they took up their scythes and a sheaf of corn – and it was barley, so you may know how hard that would be slashed across your face. With these sheaves of corn and the scythes they drove the enemy back until they got them right out into the sea ... There's a song, *Sguab eòrna gu crios ann am fuil Lochlannaich*. (TAD SA1969.159, track ID 43748)

Eliza MacLean, Cornaigmore, told Eric Cregeen, 'The Norsemen came ashore up behind Croish, Kilmoluaig' (TAD SA1969.163, track ID 25737).

In 1970, Hector Kennedy, Heylipol, gave Cregeen this version, which includes the burial place of the slain Vikings:

They came on the north side of the island, on the north side of *Loch Bhasapoll* was the Battle of the Sheaves, *Batal nan Sguab*. They had no arms, weapons. It was in the autumn time, and there were sheaves out. That place on the north side of *Loch Bhasapoll*. There were crofts, there were houses there once upon a time and that's where *Batal nan Sguab* was. They came ashore at *Port Bhiostadh*. And there's a lot of these people buried at *Lag nan Cruach* stackyard ... Some had weapons and some had sheaves. If that's true, I quite believe it.' (TAD SA1970.097, track ID 69657)

There was indeed a graveyard behind *Lag nan Cruach* farm in Cornaigmore, which used to be known as *G Cill Bhrìde* 'the chapel of Saint Bridget'. The next year, Hector Kennedy gave this additional detail to the story: 'That was the last battle they had on Tìree, down at *Loch Bhasapoll* ... They were from Norway. They were from Norway!' (talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1971.093, track ID 50186).

However, Donald Sinclair from West Hynish insisted that the battle had taken place in Balephuìl. He was recorded by Eric Cregeen in 1968:

That was at Balephuìl, on that beach over there [*Tràigh Bhi*] ... The Norsemen at that time were coming to every country, pillaging and stealing. But that day they saw the Norsemen coming ashore, but they met them. It was autumn, and they fought a battle on the beach. The Norsemen were beaten; they were all killed. Some had only sheaves of corn and they pushed them to their bands into the Norsemen's bodies. After that they didn't come back to the island ... Not one came back to Tìree after that day. There are many things on the island of Tìree that the Norsemen made. There's a dun over there, there's an old building

on it, it's not far: *Dùn Shiadair* they call it. And it's the Norsemen that built it, built the stonework and the tower. The Norsemen had another dun [*Dùnan Nighean*], over at the village and that one was safer. There was a cave running between it and the land, and there was a bridge at the mouth of the cave. It was safer and nobody could get to it. The dun can still be seen. But I understand that the dun there [*Dùn Shiadair*] is the main dun itself. The stones are still visible. It's not easy to reach it. There are cliffs around it, and on this side is the only way towards it. So it is easy enough to keep people away ... they would be dead. What time was this? Three hundred years since the Norsemen were coming to the island to plunder!' (TAD SA1968.240, track ID 69439)

In yet another version, John Brown and John MacPhail from Balephuill described a runner called *Caol na Féinne*, who ran so fast that, 'one can see him three times'. (talking to Eric Cregeen on TAD SA1975.077, track ID 100903).

These versions, collected one hundred years after the first, have far fewer details, and show the 'thinning' of oral tradition on Tiree over the course of the twentieth century.

This story has been analysed by Donald A. MacDonald from the School of Scottish Studies (MacDonald D.A. 1984, 265). The tale, which was also collected in a simpler form in Colonsay (Bella MacNeill talking to Calum Iain MacLean on TAD SA1953.120, track ID 5412), is in fact a Fenian or Ossianic medieval Irish ballad. A summary of this ballad goes:

Oisín, standing over the grave of his son Oscar, tells of Oscar's exploits, and in particular of the Battle of the Sheaves. Fionn held a chase near Tara. A little deer outran the hounds, and took refuge in a great field of ripe corn belonging to Caoilte's wife. Fionn called on his followers to reap the field so that they might take the deer, and at the same time do a helpful turn to the lady. As they were reaping, a great force of Norsemen suddenly approached. Caoilte hastened to Tara, and brought back the weapons of the Fiana before the Norsemen could attack. The Fiana, led by Oscar, routed the invaders. Oisín concludes by directing how Oscar and his comrade, MacLughach, are to be laid in the grave. (MacNeill 1904, text 55, translation 162)

The full text goes as follows:

The Battle of the Sheaves that the Fian fought, the which is famous ever since, no better battle was ever fought in the land of Scotland or of Ireland.

One day that Fionn the Fenian prince from Formaoil was hunting merrily, he let loose his good hounds through the lands (?) of Tara.

He chanced to find on the plain a little fawn . . . that outran both men and hounds until it came to Collamair.

Caoilte's wife had on the plain a field of ripe corn: the shelter that the deer found was to make for this from afar.

Just then came from her house the daughter of haughty Barrán in her chariot on her two horses through the hunt and the chase.

She gives welcome to the king, to Cumhall's son of comely hue: she proposes to bring him with her to her house: the Fenian king did not consent.

'By thy hand we will not go with thee, youthful daughter of Barrán, till we know whether the little foot-swift antlered deer comes out.'

'It is in vain for you all to hunt the wild beast of the plain: never trod the level world hound or deer but it would leave behind.'

We were ten hundred in turn hunting and pursuing it – Caoilte's household, the active band – and we made nothing of that deer.

Then Fionn bade Aodh Beag of the ready arms to go at the field without slackness, with the Glais-fhian and the clan of Neamhnann.

'Reap ye quickly the corn for Caoilte's wife with all your might: we shall find our game thus, and it will be a help to the wife of Caoilte.'

There were twenty hundred of the Fian and ten hundred in one array reaping wheat in the plain for the wife of Caoilte of Collamair.

That is the happiest chance for a housewife that I have heard of in my day, Aodh Beag along with the Glais-fhian reaping the corn of Caoilte's wife.

Caoilte's wife in her shapely car, eastwards westwards until evening through the band of reapers, and Daighre chanting a melody plaintively for her in her car.

It was this way with the king, Fionn son of Cumhall of comely hue: he had a fork of four prongs piling up the sheaves.

And great Goll son of Morna, and Art the royal heir, and rugged Conán of horrid guise, and Fionn Mór son of Cúán.

And Modh Smala son of Smól and Dubhthach from Lethmhóin, Oisín there, and Fionn without slackness, Aodh son of Fionn and Oscar.

There were not in the reapers' band but three swords guarding us, my sword and the sword of Fionn, and the sword of Oscar of ready weapons.

Once that the high-king of the host glanced over the vast open plain, he saw approach him seven battalions under Dolor son of Trénfhlaithe.

Dolor son of grave Trénfhlaithe, who became high-king of Loch-lann, coming with seven battalions to Bregia to win the mastery of Tara.

Then said Fionn the seer, 'Goll son of Morna, beloved, what shall we do, the valorous bands (?), shall we retreat or stand fast?'

'A man lives after his life,' said Goll the royal prince, 'and he lives not after his honour, I say full surely.'

'My help will be good for you,' said Caoilte of the comely form; 'I will fetch out all your arms through the gates of Tara.'

Ten hundred swords, ten hundred shields, were Caoilte's load, great was his worth, like the blast of a keen wind, from Tara of the swift Fian.

Not a man had fallen in the battle till Caoilte of the spoils arrived bringing his burden of weapons to the steadfast, unyielding Fian.

It was thou that gavest the battle, Oscar, my victorious son, thou followedst northward the rout till thou earnest to the Craobh-ruadh.

If I had fallen there, I swear by my shield, by my helmet, that Tara had been waste at present from the fierce fight we should have made.

Alas, that I have not left Ireland of the bright land to my son, to my kinsman, yea, and the whole level world, if I might not find shelter for Oscar.

Ah, man of learning, man of learning, pity thou hast not dug the tomb (?); settle aright the clean stone that is under the heads of the heroes.

Lay Oscar on this southern side – it is a bitterness to my heart and body – Mac Lughach without quarrel or hatred, lay him quickly on the north side.

Rise up, my friends without fault, fix the coffin without stain, straighten its front to the wall, let the bed of our beloved be dug.

Dig ye the bed (reference as above)

Tara is in County Neath and is the location where the High King of Ireland was crowned.

It is highly unlikely that the tale of the 'Battle of the Sheaves' has much basis in historical fact. Campbell made this clear: 'Though these tales are not of historical value, they are of great value as the power of language, and remains of habits of thought now rapidly passing away. The name of places in Tiree, and other islands near, bear evident traces of Norsemen having been here at one time

subsequent to the settlement of the Gaelic-speaking race; and there are also traces in the names of some race to which no name can be positively given.' (Campbell 1891, 172–4)

MacDonald agreed: 'I have already indicated that the ballads and hero-tales [concerning the Vikings] reflect a strange and marvellous world of champions and romance and weird creatures that has little relevance to day-to-day reality. Materials of this kind can have a function in reinforcing a people's awareness of their own identity, history and tradition, but few, at least in recent times, would consider them to be based on fact' (MacDonald D.A. 1984, 275). What is particularly interesting is why this medieval Irish ballad became so embedded on Tiree.

18.c.2 The Clarks of *Biosd*

This story comes from Angus MacLean, Scarinish, and was collected by the author in 1996:

There was a man called Clark who was farming in *Biosd*, where the Green is today, in the fifteenth century. He had the best-kept farm on the island. He had two sons who were thirteen and fifteen. He went out to work every morning, and every dinnertime his wife would bring the men a basket of food. One day she couldn't go and she asked the youngest boy to take the food down in her place. On the way to the fields, he lifted the cloth and the food tasted so good he tried one scone. That was so delicious he ended up eating the whole basketful. That night, the farmer said to his wife, 'How did you forget us at dinner time?' She replied, 'I sent down the basket with the youngest boy.' 'Come here!' said his father. On being questioned, he admitted eating the whole basket of food. 'Seeing you have eaten the food of seven men, perhaps I will have work for you one day,' said his father. Every year at that time it was the custom for a Viking to come to Scarinish harbour in his longship and demand rent from the island. A large fire was lit where the lighthouse is today and the last man to pay his rent was thrown into the fire. A couple of years later, Clark and his younger son set off to pay their rent. At *Loch Bhasapoll* they had to jump over a wide ditch. The father said to his son, 'You didn't jump that badly. Now we are going to fight and if I win I am going to kill you!' They fought, and the old man just came out on top, pinning the young man to the ground. 'You're ready now for the work I had in mind for you,' was all

he said as he let the boy go. When they came to Scarinish, the Viking said to the old farmer, 'Why are you so late with your rent?' Clark replied, 'You don't need to fight with me. Fight my son.' 'Him?' snorted the Viking. 'He's only a boy!' But they fought and the boy lifted up the Viking and threw him into the hottest part of the fire. And that was the end of the Vikings coming to Tiree.

Clark was, in fact, a well-attested figure. Living in *Port Bhiostadh* (The Green, Kilmoluaig), he was awarded a position that allowed him to collect one herring from every basket caught on the island as a form of tax, and his name became associated with stories about the killing of a water horse (Black 2014, 35). A fuller version of the above story is:

In the 1860s John Dewar collected a Gaelic story about Barnacarry [Archibald Campbell from Barnacarry, south of Oban, a factor for the Duke of Argyll on Tiree] and Malcolm Clark, Bista [*Biosd*]. A prize-fighter called MacRae arrives from Ross-shire and challenges the men of Tiree. Barnacarry is keen to arrange a match. He asks Clark (*Callum Cleirach*) to take him on, because, as he says, '*a ta thuse nad bhonnanach gu gleachd ann an Tiriadh*' / 'you are the champion wrestler in Tiree.' Clark refuses, saying: '*Tha ro dhroch coiligin orm*' / 'I have very bad colic. Barnacarry consults his ground-officer MacKinnon. Clark is lying, he is told – for being the best fighter in Tiree he gets the head and hide of every cow slaughtered, and this he is terrified of losing. It is clearly a traditional memory of Clark's 'fish from every basket'. MacKinnon adds that there is a stronger man than Clark in the island, Donald MacDougall in Scarinish. MacDougall fights the stranger and wins, so Barnacarry awards him the prize. The rest of the story is devoted to the low tricks employed by Clark and his three sons to defeat, discredit or murder their rival, but MacDougall always triumphs. He obtains the right to the head and hide of every cow, and the Clarks leave Tiree for Ireland. In Records of Argyll Lord Archibald Campbell tells a variant which puts Barnacarry in the frame with one of Malcolm's sons, here called Charles. Barnacarry is at the Mull Fair and meets a Skyeman who challenges anyone from 'the five islands' to beat him at putting the stone. I take it the five islands are Mull, Iona, Ulva, Coll and Tiree. Barnacarry tries his hand and is 'with difficulty taken away by his friends'. On the road home he meets Charles Clark coming with three years arrears of rent. 'Glad to see you here,' says Barnacarry. 'I am sorry I could not come sooner to

pay,' says Charles. 'Never mind that,' says Barnacarry, 'it is another business altogether.' He tells him about the Skyeman, brings him back to the fair, buys a bottle of whisky, drinks a glass himself, then gives Charles the bottle, saying, 'Take just as much as you like, but don't spoil yourself.' Charles drinks the lot. He watches the Skyeman throwing, then picks up the stone. Without taking off his plaid, he throws the stone as far as the Skyeman has done. After a couple more shots the Skyeman is falling behind. Charles tells him he was a fool to make the challenge, then strips off his plaid and throws the stone three yards further still. Lord Archibald concludes, 'Charles got a discharge for his three years' rent, and the money to himself, for upholding the character of the island. (Black 2014, 37; see Dewar Manuscripts 1862–6, vol. 7, 393–402; MacLean Manuscripts 1879–81, vol. 18, 111–17, Inveraray Castle Archives uncatalogued)

18.c.3 *Iain Glas*

A story in the oral tradition of Tiree tells of raid targeting a man called *Iain Glas*. It is likely to refer to the Late Medieval period. Three versions have been collected:

There was man who lived in *Earnal* called G *Iain Glas* 'Grey Iain', and he was being hunted by three pirates led by G *Dùghall Dubh* 'Black Dugald' [they were from Colonsay: Donald Kennedy, Scarinish, pers. comm.]. They came to his house looking for him. *Iain Glas* had been tipped off and had disguised himself as a poor man. He told the visitors that *Iain Glas* was away but would be back later and offered them whisky. The party became drunk, and *Iain Glas* attacked them. Two ran off in the direction of *Beinn Ghot*. *Iain Glas* caught them in the pass between *Beinn Ghot* and G *Dùn an t-Sithein* 'the fort of the rounded hill', killed them and buried them there. The last one was killed in G *Croit a Bhùth* 'the croft of the shop' (John George MacLean, pers. comm.). *Iain Glas* was recorded twice more in the oral tradition:

There used to be warning fires on all the hills of Tiree, for example at G *Dùn Mòr a' Chaolais* 'the big fort of Caolas'. *Iain Glas* was keeping watch on G *Sithean Bheinn Ghot* 'the rounded hill of *Beinn Ghot*' one night, but he was tired and fell asleep. When he awoke at dawn he saw a boat coming in to Scarinish harbour. He ran down to see what they wanted and they said they were from Jura and visiting Iona. They had become becalmed and had had to row against the tide to reach Tiree. In fact, they were pirates. They asked *Iain Glas* if they could get shelter, so he

took them to his house in *Earnal* and plied them with drink. When they fell asleep, he took their swords and slaughtered some while they slept. The chief ran away but he became bogged down near *G Cachaileith Iain Ghlais* ‘the gate of Grey Iain’ and Iain cut his head off. (Lachlan MacKinnon, *Vaul*, and Duncan MacPhee, pers. comm.; see *Earnal*)

‘I’ve heard of *Cachaileith Iain Ghlais*, and *Dòmhnall Glas* was his son. [The gate is] between the common grazing of Gott and what is known today as Scarinish. The ruins of the old home are still to be seen there. That was the house of *Iain Glas*, but I couldn’t say who he was ... His son *G Dòmhnall mac Iain Ghlais* ‘Donald the son of Grey Iain’ was in the army.’ (John MacLean talking to Eric Cregeen and Dr Margaret Mackay on TAD SA1975.208, track ID 102643)

For an older version see Dewar Manuscripts 1862–6, vol. 7, 404–7; MacLean Manuscripts 1879–81, vol. 18, 118–20, Inveraray Castle Archives uncatalogued.

18.c.4 *Loch Riaghain*

This story was told to Donald MacDonald by his mother-in-law Isabella MacIntyre, Gott, while they were haymaking in 1951. A band of ‘Vikings’ plundered a farm on an islet in *Loch Riaghain* in Gott while the man of the house was away. The invaders set fire to the building and left with the mother and three children. During the exceptionally dry summer of 1955, the contractor Danny Gillespie was clearing *G An Dig Mhòr* ‘the big ditch’ that drains *Loch Riaghain* when he dug up what appeared to be burnt wood (Donald MacDonald, Heanish; Rosie and Barbara MacIntyre, Gott, pers. comm.). This is some distance from the islet.

Donald MacIntyre, Gott, also found ‘charcoal’ west of this islet (Donald MacIntyre, pers. comm.). The 1654 Blaeu map shows this island as *Ylen na Hyring* in Loch Kirkabol, with a tree symbol drawn on it. This is the only such map symbol for Treee and Coll, although they are quite common on the Blaeu map of Mull. This is likely to have been a crannog.

18.c.5 *Glac nan Ràmh*

The folk etymology of the place-name *G Glac nan Ràmh* ‘the hollow of the oars’ (Angus MacLean, Scarinish, 5/1996; Alice Renton, *Am Port Bàn*, 11/2015: oral sources) tells how a boat with ‘Viking’ raiders landed at *G Am Port Bàn*, Caolas. While the men were away, islanders stole their oars and buried them here. If

based on historical fact, his story is likely to date come from the Late Medieval period or later. Oars were certainly a valuable prize, and an effective way of disabling a raiding party. However, there is another *Glac nan Ràmh* in nearby Ruaig, and it is as likely that this was a site for storing boat fittings in winter.

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Ruaig: *Adhraidh*, *Bags*, *Beag*, **Bhabhainn**, **Brock**, *Caindeig*, **Càrsamull**, **Coirceal** and *Coirce*, *Crìonaig*, *Crosan*, **Eireadh**, *Goirtean*, **Laighnis**, *Lebhearaig*, *Mealbhach*, *Meannar*, *Muc Loch*, *Naomhag*, **Odarum**, *Ruaig*, **Sgibinis**, **Soa**, *Na Suacain*, **Treogh**, **Tromsalum**

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Vaul: *Beireadh*, *A' Bheirbh*, *Bòdhab*, **Boidhegeir**, **Bruthainne**, *An Craga*, **Crògain**, **Hùinisdeir**, **Lamh-sgeir**, *Mealbhach*, *Meannan Bhalla*, **Mhaois**, **Mithealum**, *Òinegeir*, *Sgitheag*, *Sgràbraig*, *Siaban*, *An Uailleannach*, *Ùl*, **Vaul**

Kirkapol: **Biùrainn**, *Cladh Orain*, *Goirtean*, **Kirkapoll**, *An Uaireanaich*

Gott: **A' Bhaoill**, **Earnal**, **Gott**, **Grèinemheall**, **Grianal**, **Heala**, *Hyring*, *Mollachdag*, *Riaghain*, **Ròmasegir**, *Tìr Chaibeil*

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Heanish: Àrabull, Brùig, Eadach, **Hianish, Homaidh**, Leacaig, Lòn Alabainn, Miasaig, **Rachadal**, Snòig, Traoil, An Unga

Baugh: **Allamsa, Baugh, Bhideig, Crò-fhir, Dusprig, Eibrig**, An Fhaodhail, **Grianatot, Ìbrig**, Ladhair, Liùcaid, **Òdhrasgair**, Riasgal, Skyr na Veuillen, An Sùghachan

Crossapol: Cnoc an Dealgain, **Crossapoll, The Reef, Ulbhaig**

Heylipol: Bac' a' Chrochaidh, **Ceansa**, Castel Loch Hyrbol, Cruairtein, Goirtean, **Heylipoll**, An Lèig, Tobhar an Teampail

Balinoe: Baca na Putain, Balinoe, **Ceansa**, Cuigeas, Fiodhag

Balemartine: Balemartine, Cad-rum, **Cragraig**, Fidhleir, **Gorraig, Ìlidh**, An Lèig, Port na Luinge, **Sorobaidh**

Mannal: A' Chlachanach, **Laighsgeir, Mannel**, Am Meall, Rothagag, **Sgaracleit, Tunna**

East Hynish: **Arabach, Balbhaig**, Am Barradhu, A' Bhraonach, **Boghasum**, The Burial-Place of the Big Women, Cléit, **Diubadal**, Èiteagain, Am Fìdhlear, **Gasamull, Goibhneig, Heren, Hynish, Ìosaig, Lingal, Mhiasumull, Mòr Chléit**, Òisgean, Port na Birlinn, Ring, **Rumidil**, Sgarabhain, Sgaramìn, **Sgàthain, Sgiobasal, An Sgit, An Snoig, Solabhaig, Thorramhull**

West Hynish: Cisteag, **Cliar**, Crò, Crochadair, **Fiura**, Gullaidh, **Meidhaig**, Riseag, **Siader**, Sliganish, Tiacal, Tobar Mhoire, Trindein, **Ùisgil**

Skerryvore: **Ùlasgeir, Ùlastac**

Balephuil: Balephuil, A' Bhraonach, **Bèidhe**, Bòid, **Callraig**, Carnan Mòr, Cnoc na Crithe, Dùnan Nighean, **Grianaid, Meanaidh, Neòsaig, Ribhinn**

Kenavara: Baraigh, **Bò, Borabrig**, An Callan Beag, Cambar, **Ceòl, Circnis**, An Craca, An Dòrnach, Dùn nan Gall, Eala, **Hiatrainis, Hùnasgeir**, Kenavara, **Kirkabo**, Lò, **Miogasdal**, Mùlainn, **Rèidh-sgeire, Ruth, Sgudaig**, Sgurbhaidh, **Skarbarigh**, Sloc mhic Cnithealum, Sloc Mhic Fhionnlaidh, An Snòig, Sùl, Toinisgeir, **Torbhas**, Teampall Phàraig, An Uamh Mhòr

Barrapol: Baile mhic Eòdha, **Barrapoll, Ciular**, Clachan, Cùngair, An Dòid, Duill, Èiginn, Goirtean, **Inisgeir**, Lag an t-Seagail, Land, Nasketain, **Rò**, Tobhta na Cailliche Bheir

Middleton: Am Baile Meadhanach, Na Gilean, Nasketain, Gon, Tobar an Dòmhnach, T-Shomhairle

Sandaig: **Bergh**, *Bheir' Shnòis*, **Ciaraig**, **Circnis**, *Citinn*, **Cròdhabrig**, *Cròmisgeir*, **Cuinneag**, *Flèid*, **Lamh-sgeir**, *An Lànach*, **Malainn**, **Mula**, **Saundaig**, **Smuckaberg**, *An Snoig*, **Snòis**, **Sròm**, *An t-Sròn*, *Na Tangan*, *Tìobar*, *Tobar Poll Fannaid*, **Tunagair**

Greenhill: **Greasamull**, *Grianaig*, **Grianaid**, **Laighsgeir**, **Lì**, **Lionar Sgeire**, **Marasaig**, **Miarum**, **Rosdal**, *Stideil*

Kilkenneth: *The Barradh*, *Cill Choinnich*, *Cill Tunnain*, *Keranokile*, *Kerremeanach*, *Killyne*, **Origadal**

Hough: *Àsadh*, **Balaramaig**, *Bàna-druim*, **Bàrsdal**, *Bhàlas*, *Ceathramh Mhurdat*, **Conslum**, **Craiknish**, *Cròg*, **Crossigar**, **Earball**, *Earblaig*, **Greatharum**, *Gribun*, **Hanais**, **Hough**, **Husagar**, *Kerachrosegar*, *Kerahasagar*, *Keratrinoir*, *Kerrefergus*, **Librig**, **Lingal**, **Lionar Sgeire**, **Muradal**, **Murstainn**, **Murstat**, **Onamull**, **Rèithesgeal**, **Rionasgeir**, **Ròg**, **Sgaracleit**, **Soghaigir**, **Staoin**, *An Stòl*, **Thallasgar**, **Tòdhrasdal**, *An Turdha*, **An Urabhag**

Balevullin: *Balevullin*, **Beannaig**, **Boraige**, *Carachan*, **Daor**, **Grein**, **Rangasdal**, *Uircean*

Moss: **Birceapol**, *Citinn*, *Rel*, **Stànal**

Kilmoluaig: **Basapoll**, **Biosd**, **Bordain**, **Cascar Bàn**, **Croisgeir**, **Guthalum**, *Kilmoluag*, *An Lèig*, *Mòr-Mheall*, *Rùnasgal*, *Sgonn mhic Coitch*, *Sgoth mhic Cumha*, **Tronsairigh**

Cornaigmore: **Alabhal**, *Bàdagan*, *Baile nan Cràganach*, **Bàrna-sgeir**, **Bordain**, **Brimminis**, *Brù*, *Cill Bhrìde*, *Clachan*, **Cornaig**, *Crionan*, *Dùdaire*, **Gior**, *Glas Eilean*, *Ollag*, *Robach*, *Sionnach*, **Tòrasa**

Cornaigbeg: *Caidheagar*, *An Cascar*, *A' Chorrairigh*, *Dùdaire*, **Fòirnigir**, *Glas Eilean*, **Greòdhlainn**, **Langach**, **Moirein**, **Mòr-Mhill**, **Taoinis**

Kenovay: *Cill-Fhinnean*, *Crògain*, *Cruithneachd*, *Kenovay*, *The Reef*, *An Rò*, **Taoinis**

Balephetrish: **Abhuinn**, **Aulaig**, *Ballyphetrish*, *Beinn Iolaireach*, *Brideineach*, *Briolachain*, *Cill-Fhinnein*, **Circnis**, *Cnù Lochanan*, *Corrairigh*, **Crisnis**, **Crògain**, *Fidden*, **An Grà' dar**, *Kory Finmackoul*, *Loch na Gile*, *Loch nan Òb*, **The Reef**, **Saltaig**, **Sandaig**, *Taelk*, *Ùbhag*

No township: *Artchain*, *Mag Luinge*, *Isleborg*, **Sgiobagar**, **Týrvist**, *Valdonovodanach*

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The Norse origin of many Tìree township names – such as Cornaig and Crossapol – has never been in doubt.

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Dr John Holliday was the general medical practitioner on Tìree for thirty years. Before that he worked for the Pintupi people in central Australia, where his interest in landscape stories took root.

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RUAIRIDH MACILLEATHAIN

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