

??trm

Place ID 5805 NF 78286 75081 North Uist V1allay

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Niclain writes 'This reef got its name because it was here that the Harris people threw away their weapons while fleeing from the people of Bhalaigh.'

I had thought it might represent the shape of a helmet but the reef is relatively flat. Sgeir a' Chatha (P#5804) would be closer to this description and is less than 100m to the N.

Perhaps ON hjálm = 'helmet' is the root? There are instances of other place names where the /l/ has become an /r/ in this word.

Not convinced either way.

Sgeir an Airm

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

A' Bhàd

Place ID 231 NF 90771 73684 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON ford of the river

ON ár vað

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

The OSNB writes rather more fully than usual: 'Is applied to a narrow neck of land separating Loch Mhic Phail from Loch Sheaginish [Siginish]. The name signifies "Step". [an addendum reads: "Probably horse vað, or ford or crossing place this neck of 100 yards being the only place where access can be got by land to the North East district of North Uist"]' I am unsure where 'step' comes from. Carmichael as ever steers towards the Gaelic and ScG Aird Fhada = 'narrow headland'. It would however be very unusual to lose the /rd/ as the sound is strong.

As a consequence of this interpretation however, the name has migrated to the E to fit the narrow headland description, albeit poorly.

The root is ON vað = 'ford' - the OS surveyor even writes vað in his addendum. In the first edition mapping this was the whole name but by the modern mapping the added a' could well be ScG àth = 'ford'. A degree of tautology is always comforting.

The A could come from ON ár = 'of the river'.

Less than a km to the W is the narrow Clachan Leastrom, the crossing point that takes you out to the Lochportain peninsula. This must be the ford referred to here.

I have noticed that in Assynt Bad occurs regularly in place-names and ScG bad = 'a spot'. Many of these places however are next to fords of rivers.

Vað occurs as a place name 25 times in Iceland and Vadet (the definite singular of vad) occurs over 120 times in Norway.

A' Bhàd	2014	Modern OS mapping
Vad	1877	OS 1st edition
Aird Fhada	1877	OS name book
Àrd Fada	1877	OS name book

A' Bhuaile

Place ID 2121 NF 78145 62823 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG The fold

ScG a' bhuaile

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

An alternative name for Balilleray?

This is the dative case in action - i.e. 'the place of the fold' or 'at the fold'.

A' Bhuaile

1971

Macdonald Two townships

A' Bhuaile

Place ID	5882	NF 79544 73112	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG The fold			ScG a' bhuaile		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
A' Bhuaile			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

A' Chachaileith Mheadhain

Place ID 5947 NF 79466 73839 North Uist S1ollas

ScG The middle gate ScG a' chachaileith mheadhain

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A' Chachaileith Mheadhain

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

A' Cheàrdach

Place ID	5953	NF 79540 73685	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG The smithy			ScG a' cheàrdaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
A' Cheàrdach			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

A' Cheàrdaich

Place ID	6057	NF 82862 74848	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG The smithy			ScG a' cheàrdaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
A' Cheàrdaich			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

A' Chìr Ghorm

Place ID 6204 NF 80829 23647 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG The grey corrie ScG a' choire gorm

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us: This name Signifies "Blue Comb", and applies to a high rock. This is presumalby based on ScG cir = 'comb'. It however seems unlikely.

I suspect that the original name was from ScG coire = 'corrie, kettle'. This is a good description of the topography here.

A' Chìr Ghorm	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

A' Chìr Ghorm	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

A' Chlach Dhubh

Place ID	5784	NF 79071 76305	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG The black stone			ScG a' chlach dhubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
A' Chlach Dhubh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

A' Choileag Loisgte

Place ID	2174	NF 77892 61542	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG The burnt sand dune			ScG a' choileach loisgte		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
A' Choileag Loisgte			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

A' Choilleag Mhòr

Place ID	5820	NF 79893 75324	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG The big dune			ScG a' choilleag mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
A' Choilleag Mhòr			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

A' Choilleag Shlignich

Place ID	5797	NF 79943 75685	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG	The shelly dune		ScG a' choilleag shlignich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
	This dune is full of shells, Niclain tells us				
	A' Choilleag Shlignich		1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

A' Chreag Ghlas

Place ID	1674	NF 84883 57515	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG	The grey crag		ScG a' chreag ghlas		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
	A' Chreag Ghlas		2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

A' Chròic Bheag

Place ID 5984 NF 82474 78532 North Uist S1ollas

ScG the small place where seaweed gets caught ScG a' chròic bheag

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water Bay

complete?

Niclain writes and google mangles 'A croc is his support for a seaweed that has been left ashore by the tide. This bay got its name because of the abundance of seaweed that came ashore there, and at one time some people seaweeds in it.'

There is a similar place on Heisker, Croic (P#5622). Basically in both languages the word means a hooky thingy!

A' Chròic Bheag

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

A' Chuaraidh Mhòr

Place ID	5943	NF 79580 73908	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG The big quarry			ScG a' chuaraidh mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
A' Chuaraidh Mhòr			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

A' Cuidhe Ghorm

Place ID	2192	NF 78592 62456	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG the blue fold			ScG a' cuidhe ghorm		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
A' Cuidhe Ghorm			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

a' Gheodha

Place ID 5099 NF 85767 80561 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG The place of the gully

ScG a' gheodha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Gully

complete?

The article ScG a' indicates that this is in the dative case.

The OS 1st edition name is an interesting variant A'Yeoie - almost consonant-less!

a' Gheodha

2014

Modern OS mapping

A'Yeoie

1877

OS 1st edition

A' Ghlas-Abhainn

Place ID	5363	NF 81113 51238	Benbecula	Loch Uisgeabhagh	
ScG the grey river			ScG a' ghlas-abhainn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ScG glas = 'grey' generally follows the noun but here precedes it. This could be a sign of an older name. Interestingly of the many names Cox cites including ScG glas, the only ones with the usual order reversed as here are ScG glas allt = 'grey stream' names.

Here as ScG abhainn = 'stream' is feminine, we would expect ScG ghlas.

The river was of importance as there is a loch and a hillock named after it. As it follows the path across the moor from Griminis to the E coast and Loch Uisgeabhagh, one imagines it was a drove road of sorts.

A' Ghlas-Abhainn	2014	Modern OS mapping
A' Ghlas-abhuinn	1877	OS 1st edition
An Glas Abhuinn	1877	OS name book

A' Ghuseid

Place ID 5914 NF 79661 74510 North Uist S1ollas

ScG The gusset ScG a' ghuseid

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Quite why this place is called 'The gusset' I don't know.
I suspect the root is ON á kúa set = 'towards the dairy lands of the cows'.
k > gh initially is not regular but quite reasonable in the desire to resemanticise.

There is a Kuset, a Kusætra and a Kuseten in Norway

A' Ghuseid

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

A' Mheallairt

Place ID 751 NF 87050 58540 North Uist Eaval

ScG The high round hill or ON sand-bank fjord ScG am meall àird or ON mela + fjörðr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Headland

complete?

I think the feature is the hillock at the E end of the peninsula.

The article in front is grammatically correct and ScG meall = 'a round hill' in this context. It is then followed by ScG airð = 'high (genitive case)' and the /d/ has become a /t/ which is not impossible at all.

With the article at the front and the two words put together, I suspect this is an older name. Gaelic pronunciation for Mheallairt would be anglicized to v é ll a rsht. A similar sounding place on North Uist is Veilish Point from the OS 1st series mapping on the Udal Peninsula.

It is worth noting that the nearby Eilean na Meallairt does not have the lenition and so the 'h' here could be a Gaelic 'correction'

Without this, the sound is 'méllarsht' and this could be mela-stað = 'town of the sand-banks'. Whilst ON melr is generally thought to refer to a sand dune, Vigfusson writes 'generally a sand-bank, whether overgrown or bare'. Here the banks are tidal but very extensive.

Equally extensive is Holliday's discussion on Tiree's Meileart*:

It is also plausible that this is actually a re-semanticisation of an older Norse name in ON fjörðr 'firth, bay' (CV, 158). Macniven has argued that this process was quite common on Islay. (See, for example, Cnoc Cruin na Maoil in Macniven 2015, 125).

The reflex of -rðr in fjörðr in Gaelic Scotland is usually -art or -ort: for example, Gruinart and Loch Muchairt on Islay (Macniven 2015, 323 and 139), Eireasort in Lewis (Evemalm 2018, 109), Ainort and Snizort (see Cox 2007b for a full discussion of this).

The specific could be ON melr (genitive plural mela) 'bent, dunes ... frequently in Icelandic local names' (CV, 423). The phonetic development e > ei is regular (see section 17.4.2.1). This suits the topography of the machair-rimmed bay. However, the two examples of Melfjorden in Norway have been derived from Meðalfjörðr 'middle fjord' (NS; see Rygh, vol. 16, 166), with ON meðal 'middle' (CV, 420).

Approaching Tiree and Coll from the southeast by sea, Gott Bay (three kilometres in length) certainly lies between the equally impressive Hynish Bay and Crossapol Bay on Coll.

Both elements are very common in the Norse expansion zone (see Mealbhach and A' Mhealathaich). There is a Loch Melfort in Kilninver and Kilmelfort, Argyll (OS1/2/21/6).

As a result of this, I think ON fjörðr is the best root for the generic and the sand banks would persuade me that ON melr is the best specific, although topographically the North Ford is a way across Uist in the middle so that would not be unreasonable.

There is a Loch na Meallaird just S of Baile a' Mhanaich.

The cognate Melstaður occurs 12 times in Iceland.

A' Mheallairt	2014	Modern OS mapping
A' Mheallairt	1877	OS 1st edition
High Hill Pt	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

A' Mhuilichinn

Place ID 6118 NF 75990 29661 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG The mill of the head

ScG a' mhùilean chinn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OSNB gives us: its signification is the sleeve' from ScG muilcheann = 'sleeve' although I can see no reason why!

I do wonder if the stem is actually a combination of ScG muilean and ScG ceann = 'head'.

ScG A' mhùilean chinn = 'The mill of the head' would work I think and makes a lot more sense.

A' Mhuilichinn

1877

OS 1st edition

A' Phàirc' Mhòr

Place ID	5970	NF 78975 73300	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG The big field			ScG a' pàirce mhàr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
A' Phàirc' Mhòr			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

A' Pheighinn Bhioghreach

Place ID 6069 NF 83364 74576 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG the Boraraigh pennyland

ScG a' pheighinn Bhioghreach

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Google mangles 'This applies to a section of land. This division probably began with the Vikings. An ounce of silver was paid as rent for a piece of land: this piece of land was called an ounce. The ointment was sometimes divided into smaller pieces, probably making eighteen or twenty parts. These pieces were called epein (Dwelly. 1967: 719). Pennyghaireach included many of the Dramans (on the north side of the road) and out to Muileann nan Geireann.'

A' Pheighinn Bhioghreach

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

A. Loch na Fullan

Place ID 4990 NF 79828 28654 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the gulls stream ScG abhainn loch nam faoileann

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One imagines that A. is an abbreviation for ScG abhainn = 'stream'.

A. Loch na Fullan 1804 Bald mapping

Abhainn a' Charra

Place ID 2263 NF 78476 69626 North Uist Central West

ScG river of 'Charra'

ScG abhainn a' charra

Fresh water

Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

see Loch a' Charra (P#2264) for a discussion of that element.

Abhainn a' Charra

2014

Modern OS mapping

Abhainn a' Charra

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Allt Loch a' Charra

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhainn a' Choire Dhuibh

Place ID 6306 NF 78636 32488 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG dark corrie stream

ScG abhainn a' choire dhuibh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

Abhainn a' Choire Dhuibh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn a' Choire Dhuibh

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhainn a' Ghleannain

Place ID 4982 NF 78628 27058 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG stream of the small glen

Scg abhainn a' ghleannain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

This must mean 'stream of the small glen' although as with An Gleannain (q.v.), I have reservations about the grammar although the article and lenition here is as one would expect.

Abhainn a' Ghleannain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn a' Ghleannain

1877

OS 1st edition

Aven Glenan

1877

OS name book

Abhainn a' Mhoil a Tuath

Place ID 6458 NF 85316 35024 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG stream of the north shingle bank ScG abhainn a' mhòil a tuath

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Abhainn a' Mhoil a Tuath 2014 Modern OS mapping

Abhunn a' Mhoil a Tuath 1877 OS 1st edition

Avhin Ruag 1804 Bald mapping

Abhainn a' Mhuilinn

Place ID 2221 NF 74945 68303 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG stream of the mill

ScG abhainn a' mhuilinn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

MacAulay writes 'ABHAINN A' MHUILINN (The Mill River) runs from Loch a' Mhuilinn into the sea at Bayhead. The river and the loch both got their names from the mill that stood where the river runs into the sea. This mill worked with the flax that was grown in Knockline, about 200 years ago. Knockline became so called due to the flax that was grown there - in Gaelic it is Cnoc a' Lìon, the Hill of Flax. We know that the mill stood where it did as its foundations were discovered in 1938 and 1939. Some of the stones were used in the building of one of the houses in Bayhead".

MacAulay, 1978:2.

Abhainn a' Mhuilinn

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Abhainn a' Mhuilinn

Place ID 2486 NF 82746 74050 North Uist Central North

ScG stream of the mill

ScG abhainn à' mhuilinn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

The mill referred to must be the one where Lochan Geireann empties to the sea - it seems a fair way away....

Abhainn a' Mhuilinn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Abhainn Muileann 'Ic Iain

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Abhuinn a' Mhuilinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhainn Àirigh Amhlaidh

Place ID 6435 NF 79696 35180 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Àirigh Amhlaidh' + ScG river

ScG abhainn + 'Àirigh Amhlaidh'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

See Loch Àirigh Amhlaidh (P#6433) for a discussion of this name.

Abhainn Àirigh Amhlaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn Airidh Aulaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhainn an Duin Mhor

Place ID	2147	NF 78191 62151	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG stream of the big fort			ScG abhainn an dùin mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Abhainn an Duin Mhor			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Abhainn an Leigidh

Place ID 6496 NF 83430 37311 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG river of the drainage channel

ScG abhainn an leigidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

This seems to be a tautologous name. One does wonder if there was an older Norse name here initially - ON lækr = 'brook'.

Abhainn an Leigidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn an Leigidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhainn Aon-uillt

Place ID 6321 NF 84292 33068 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG river of the one steep-sided stream Scg abhainn aon - uillt

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I find this name difficult as it contains ScG abhainn = 'river, stream' and ScG uillt = 'of the steep-sided stream' from ScG allt. ScG aon = 'one' although even this could be a mis hearing of ScG abhainn! This would give 'river of the one steep-side stream'.

At first site this looks odd but satellite imagery does show that Allt na Criche is well described as a 'steep-sided stream' and so could be the 'one'

Bald's name Avhin Chreadle references it.

Abhainn Aon-uillt	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Aunnillt	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Aonallt	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Chorodail	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Aon-uillt	1877	OS 1st edition
Avhin Chreadle	1804	Bald mapping

Abhainn Bhaghasaraidh

Place ID 2249 NF 74813 68872 North Uist B1ayhead

'Bhaghasaraidh' + ScG stream

ScG abhainn + 'Bhaghasaraidh'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

For the anglophones the OS 1st edition of this name is easier to say - Vausary. See Loch Bhaghasaraidh (P#1591) for a discussion.

Abhainn Bhaghasaraidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn Vausary

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Abhuinn Vausary

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn Fausairidh

1877

OS name book

Abhainn Ceann a' Bhàigh

Place ID 2318 NF 78831 72579 North Uist Central West

ScG 'bay head' stream ScG abhainn ceann a' bhàigh

Fresh water Stream

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The stream runs down to the (Bhalaigh) bay head.
Ceann a' Bhàigh is being treated here as an onomastic unit.

Abhainn Ceann a' Bhàigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhainn Chinn a' Bhaigh	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Abhainn an t-Sraith	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Abhuinn Ceann a' Bhaigh	1877	OS 1st edition

Abhainn Charataig

Place ID 6131 NF 75122 27901 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON strip of land of the brushwoods + ScG river ScG abhainn + ON kjarra teig

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is no obvious ScG root. Bald's name Avhin Caraleck (PN#12605) although the final component might be different shares elements. For this name ON kjarra læk = 'stream of the brush-wood would work and has a pleasing tautology. For the modern name the generic seems to have swapped to ON teigr = 'strip of land'

Abhainn Charataig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Gleann Chilldonnain	1877	OS name book
Kildonan River	1877	OS 1st edition
Avhin Caraleck	1804	Bald mapping

Abhainn Cheap

Place ID 2626 NF 90527 81074 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ScG stream of the clods ScG abhainn cheap

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop (p18) gives us 'The river of the clods' saying it was created c1900 by the Borve crofters to drain the machair here.

Abhainn Cheap 2014 Modern OS mapping

An Abhainn Cheap 2013 Place nAmes of Berneray

Abhainn Cormasgot

Place ID 5036 NF 82327 29218 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Cormasgot[+ ScG stream

ScG abhainn + 'Cormascot'

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Gleann Cormasgot for a discussion about this name.

Abhainn Cormasgot	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cormas-cleit River	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Cormasgot	1877	OS 1st edition

Abhainn Corodale

Place ID 6292 NF 82313 31285 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Corodale' + ScG river ScG abhainn + 'Corodale'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion about Choradail see Coire Ruadail (P#5582).

Abhainn Corodale	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Chorodail	1877	OS name book
River Corodale	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Corodale	1877	OS 1st edition

Abhainn Drolla

Place ID 2290 NF 75842 71143 North Uist Central West

ON wild terrain river + ScG stream

ScG abhainn + ON troll á

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

In <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/> the following is written ' - in nature names become common utility to characterize wild and rugged terrain' and so whilst ON troll ='a giant or a fiend' the word has taken on other meanings. This is then combined with ON á = 'river'.

Abhainn Drolla

2014

Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn Trolla

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhainn Drolla

Place ID 2323 NF 76163 72899 North Uist Central West

ON wild terrain river + ScG stream

ScG abhainn + ON troll á

Fresh water

Stream

ScG?

ON?

complete?

This is the second stream of this name in the area. See Abhuinn Trolla for more details.

Abhainn Drolla	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Abhainn Drolla	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Abhainn Drolla	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
----------------	------	-------------------------------

Abhuinn Droulladh	1984	The Hebridean Connection
-------------------	------	--------------------------

Abhuinn Trolla	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Abhuinn Trolla	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Abhainn Dubh

Place ID	266	NF 91490 77500	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG black stream			ScG abhainn dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The obvious root is ScG abhainn dubh = 'black river' although river is strong for the tidal creek here. There is the faint possibility that here the original name was ON höfn dý = 'quagmire haven'. A better Norse possibility is ON höfn djúp when ON djúp here takes the meaning of a 'large bay' and so overall 'large bay harbour' would be the meaning. The existence of three dubh names here, all referring to different features slightly supports the Norse interpretation. The confusion between ScG abhainn and ON höfn is recorded elsewhere, e.g. Loch Eynort and the Norse name of Sanday, Kintyre.

There are nine Abhuinn Dubh names on the OS 2nd edition mapping, seven on Uist.

Abhainn Dubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Dubh	1877	OS 1st edition
Aven Du	1866	Admiralty mapping

Abhainn Dubh

Place ID	6630	NF 80346 42051	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG black river					<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input type="checkbox"/> complete?
Abhainn Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Abhuinn Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Abhainn Dubh

Place ID	6774	NF 75493 32532	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG black stream			ScG abhainn dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Abhainn Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Abhuinn Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Abhainn Dubh nan Each

Place ID	6377	NF 79148 34211	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG black river of the horses			ScG abhainn dubh nan each		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Abhainn Dubh nan Each			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Abhuinn Dubh nan Each			1877	OS 1st edition	

Abhainn Ealay

Place ID 1599 NF 73866 72651 North Uist Central West

ON river of the ledges+ ScG stream ScG abhainn + ON hjalla á

Fresh water Stream

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The useful website <http://www.norskstadnamleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx> talks about ON íla = 'spring' and what google translates as a 'springing river', presumably a river that emanates from a spring and this is probably the root here. It is possible that the generic ON á = 'river' added on to provide the length of the final vowel.

The initial vowel here is not perfect however.

ON hjal = 'chatter' would work well as a river name ON hjal á = 'chatter river'. The cognate notes however convince me that in fact the root is ON hjalla á = 'river of the ledges' or possibly 'river of the fish drying racks'.

The Hebridean connection name of the nearby stream, Abhuinn a Riaghain, is discussed under Abhuinn an Riadhain (P#2398).

Whilst there is not an exact cognate in Iceland there are over 80 place names Illagil which perhaps has the same meaning although I suspect have ON illr = 'bad' as their roots.

In Norway there are four streams or rivers called Ila.

In Iceland there is a Hjallaá

Abhainn Ealay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Ealladh	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Abhuinn Ealay	1877	OS 1st edition
Abhuinn Ealaidh	1877	OS name book

Abhainn Ealtry

Place ID 6184 NF 74722 23044 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON water course down a valley + ScG river ScG abhainn + ON fjall - drög

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The course on the modern map is very much that of a drainage cut, the OS 1st edition slightly less so. There is no clear root in Gaelic. The best suggestion I had is ON fjalla trog = 'mountain trough which could be a description of the area here as it is the gap in the hills created by Loch Baghasdail. Thinking however about /d/ rather than /t/ , Vigfusson lists fjalla-drög = 'the water course down a valley' coming from the plural of ON drag = 'isthmus'.

In Norway there are 17 Fjelldraget place names.

Abhainn Ealtry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Ealtrai	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Ealtry	1877	OS 1st edition

Abhainn Eashader

Place ID 2476 NF 81482 72548 North Uist Central North

'Eashader' + ScG stream ScG abhainn + 'Eashader'

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Eisiadair for details.

Abhainn Eashader	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Eashader	1877	OS 1st edition
Easad Burn	1877	OS name book
Allt Easadair	1877	OS name book

Abhainn Eig

Place ID 2345 NF 75581 74419 North Uist Central West

ScG stream of the 'Eik' ScG abhainn + 'Eik'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Eig (P#2348) for a discussion of the 'Eik' component.

Abhainn Eig 2014 Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn Eik 1877 OS 1st edition

Abhainn Galtarsay

Place ID 2596 NF 89211 70195 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON dyke of the hog's back + ScG stream ScG abhainn + ON galta áss eið

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
 ON?
 complete?

A complicated and difficult one.

The stream is a relatively important one linking the extensive Loch Fada to Loch an t-Sruith Mhòir and the sea. For this reason the name is discussed here rather than under Loch

The Galta- component must stem from one of three variants in Norse meaning 'boar,hog': ON galti; ON galtr; ON göltr. The genitives in the singular are respectively: ON galta; ON galts; ON galtar but are all ON galta in the plural.

The second provides a genitival /s/. In that case, I suspect a vowel was inserted in the cluster /lts/ to create /ltas/- the fact this vowel is the same as the previous one is encouraging. Oftedal discusses this /s/ re Galson on p15. This misses the /r/ however with á > ar this is not surmountable.

There is no island nearby and so I suspect that it is a river name *ON galtars á = 'river of the boar' although the final sound is not as it should be.

However ON galtar = 'of the boar' is too good a match to ignore but there are problems with the /s/.

There are two features here of interest. One is a long narrow and very distinctive isthmus (eið) in the upstream loch which could be described as a hog's back. It is cut by a ditch at the N end and this might just be the feature referred to. More likely is the kilometre long dyke that is flooded by Loch Galtarsaigh at the NW end and is the course of Abhainn Galtarsay at the SE end.

Taking this topographical detail into account, I suggest a solution is considering ON galta ás = 'ridge of hogs' or in more current terms 'hogback ridge' as the specific with ON eið = 'isthmus ' as the generic. This then works topographically and phonetically although Norse names with three components are rare.

Curiously the stream is described as a 'double-stream' in the OSNB.

Of the 46 places in GB on the OS 2nd edition mapping only Galtres in Yorkshire contains the /s/ but this is thought to derive from ON galta hrís = 'brushwood of the boars'

There are over 100 place-names in Iceland beginning with Galt but not one includes a genitival /s/ and likewise in Norway which reinforces concern over the medial /s/.

In Iceland we have Galtá as a river name twice and in Norway three Galtelva.

There are at least 30 river names Galta in Norway as well as a Galtåa.

Galtås occurs in 11 Norwegian names, eight times as a simple Galtås(en)

Abhainn Galtarsay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Galtarsay	1877	OS 1st edition
Abhuinn Ghaltarsaidh	1877	OS name book

Abhainn Ghearraidh nan Ceap

Place ID 2156 NF 78242 62668 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG stream of the enclosed area of the turves ScG abhainn gheàrraidh nan ceap

Fresh water Stream

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Fraser records 'A place which supplied turf for thatching, dykes, etc.

There is a 'Ceap' place name on Berneray.

Abhainn Ghearraidh nan Ceap

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Abhainn Gheatraidh

Place ID 6338 NF 76953 33544 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON hollow - shieling + ScG river ScG abhainn + ON gjóta ærgi

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Looking at earlier forms such as Bald's Avhin Gheaddery (P#13242) one suspects that the generic might be ON ærgi = 'shieling', especially as there is a large group of shielings on the course of this river at NF 77737 32837.

A possible specific is ON gæta = 'to watch, take care of (sheep)' (aliter gjáta) or ON gjóta = 'hollow, narrow lane'.

The first would seem very appropriate however the cognate notes lean me to the latter

I could find no Iceland place names beginning with Gját- or Gæt- but 21 beginning with Gjót.

There is a similar pattern in Norway with many more Gjot place names including Gjotsætra and othe rnazmes for shielings.

Abhainn Gheatraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
River Eadary	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Eadaraidh	1877	OS name book
Avhin Gheaddery	1877	OS name book
Aven Gheadary	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Gheatry	1877	OS 1st edition
Avhin Gheaddery	1804	Bald mapping

Abhainn Glac Auscar

Place ID 6287 NF 78401 31897 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Glac Auscar' + ScG river ScG abhainn + 'Glac Auscar'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Glac Auscar (P#6285) for a discussion of that component.

Abhainn Glac Auscar	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Glac Ouscar	1877	OS 1st edition
Abhuinn Glaic Ausgair	1877	OS name book

Abhainn Hamascleitt

Place ID 6516 NF 80685 38605 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Hamascleitt' + ScG river

'Hamascleitt' + ScG abhainn

Fresh water

Stream

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Rubha Hamascleit (P#6490) for a description of that component.

Abhainn Hamascleitt

2014

Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn Hamascleitt

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn Hamas-cleit

1877

OS name book

Abhainn Heileasdail

Place ID 6268 NF 83124 30817 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Heileasdail' + ScG stream

ScG abhainn + 'Heileasdail'

Fresh water

Stream

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Sheileasdail (P#6266) for a discussion of that component.

Abhainn Heileasdail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hellisdale River	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Fheilisdail	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Hellisdale	1877	OS 1st edition
Aven Hellisdale	1877	OS name book
Avhin Hillisdale	1804	Bald mapping

Abhainn Horasraidh

Place ID 2259 NF 76461 68560 North Uist B1ayhead

'Horasraidh' + ScG stream ScG abhainn + 'Horasraidh'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For details of Horasraidh (P#700) see that place name.

Abhainn Horasraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Horisary River	1877	OS 1st edition

Abhainn Hornaraidh

Place ID 6193 NF 77205 24595 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON shieling of the corner + Scg river ScG abhainn + ON horn ærgi

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The order indicates that the name is probalby Norse with a generic of ON ærgi = 'shieling'. There are tow possible specific that come to mind; ON horn = 'corner' and ON hörgr = 'pagan sanctuary'. Both have a genitival /s/ and so if one of these is correct it is likely to be a close compound. Topographically there is an obvious 90 degree bend in the valley here where the shielings lie at NF 77396 24390 and there is a chambered cairn a few hundred metres form where the river joins the loch.so either would work. ON horn is closer phonologically and so this is the one I opt for.

Hornsel in Iceland.

Abhainn Hornaraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Avhin Hornary	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Hornairidh	1877	OS name book
Hornary River	1877	OS 1st edition
Avhin Hornary	1804	Bald mapping

Abhainn Hucrabhat

Place ID 6419 NF 77831 36619 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Hucrabhat' + SCG river Scg abhainn + 'Hucrabhat'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Glac Hukarvat (P#6420) for a discussion of the second component.

Abhainn Hucrabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Chugaibhat	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Hukarvat	1877	OS 1st edition
Hookervat Burn	1877	OS name book

Abhainn Hungavat

Place ID 2570 NF 87458 72790 North Uist Central North

'Hungabhat' + ScG stream ScG abhainn + 'Hungbhat'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Hungabhat for a discussion on this component.

Abhainn Hungavat 2014 Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn Hungavat 1877 OS 1st edition

Abhainn Husabost

Place ID 2115 NF 77757 62330 North Uist B1aleshare

'Husabost' + ScG stream

Scg abhainn + 'Husabost'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

See Husabost (P108) for a discussion of that name.

Abhainn Husabost

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Abhainn Husabost

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Abhainn Lachlainn

Place ID	6062	NF 81707 74839	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG stream of Lachlan			ScG abhainn Lachlainn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Abhainn Lachlainn			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Abhainn Lamasaigh

Place ID 6316 NF 84115 32434 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Lamasaigh' + ScG river

ScG abhainn + 'Lamasaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

For a discussion of the second component see Rubha Lamasaigh (P#6317).

Bald's Avhen a Vade fits well with the name for the bay, Port a' Mhadaidh and stems from Abhainn a' Mhadaidh.

Abhainn Lamasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Lamasaidh	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Lamasay	1877	OS 1st edition
Lamasay River	1877	OS name book
Avhen a Vade	1804	Bald mapping

Abhainn Liadail

Place ID 6262 NF 82347 30179 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Liadail' + ScG river

ScG abhainn + 'Liadail'

Fresh water

Stream

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Liadail (P#6264) for a discussion of that element.

Abhainn Liadail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Liadale	1877	OS 1st edition
Aven Liadal	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Liadail	1877	OS name book
Leadale River	1877	OS name book
Avin Liedale	1804	Bald mapping

Abhainn Loch a' Cheann dubhain

Place ID 6376 NF 79381 34818 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG lake of the head of darkness stream ScG abhainn loch a' cheann dubhain

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'This name signifies " Black Stream of the Heather ropes"'.
It is hard to see how the 'loch' fits into this and indeed no loch is involved in the stream's course. Cheann dubhain looks like an onomastic unit in itself, probalby ScG ceann dubhain = 'head of darkness'. This could be a reference to Gleann Dorchaidh = 'valley of the darkening'.

Abhainn Loch a' Cheann dubhain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Loch a' Cheann dubhain	1877	OS 1st edition

Abhainn Loch Bèin

Place ID 6498 NF 84530 37424 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Loch Bèin' + ScG stream ScG abhainn + 'Loch Bèin'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Bèin (P#6500) for a discussion of that component.

Abhainn Loch Bèin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Loch Bein	1877	OS 1st edition

Abhainn Loch na Leige

Place ID 998 NF 92880 65040 North Uist Lees

ScG stream of the loch of the marshy area ScG abhainn loch na lèige

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name is however odd as there is no loch in this particular river system other than where the stream joins the sea. I suspect that ON læk = 'stream' is involved somewhere, perhaps as part of the name of the sea loch. The most logical solution would be if the loch at the top was originally called Loch na Leige rather than the modern Loch Lee. It is not far away in terms of sound. To add to the confusion ScG abhainn = 'stream' is often confused with ON höfn = 'harbour' both of which are present here.

There is a Loch na Leighe in Lewis , very much in a bealach too.

Abhainn Loch na Leige	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Loch na Leige	1877	OS 1st edition

Abhainn Loin

Place ID	2507	NF 81173 68478	North Uist	Central South	
ScG stream of the marsh			ScG abhainn loin		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Abhainn Loin			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Allt nan Serrach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Abhainn Luachrach

Place ID	6339	NF 77450 33492	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG rushy river			ScG abhainn luachrach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Abhainn Luachrach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Abhuinn Luachrach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Abhainn Luachrach

Place ID	6390	NF 85774 34199	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG prushy river			ScG abhainn luachrach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Abhainn Luachrach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Abhuinn Luachrach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Abhainn Mhòr

Place ID 743 NF 73990 67610 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG big stream

ScG abhainn mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

The main drain for Loch Sandary although it is possible it drained to the W in earlier times. Historic water levels in this area are a fascinating area and could give real insight to the land use.

Abhainn Mhòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn Mhòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhainn na Beinne Duibhe

Place ID 2483 NF 82866 72645 North Uist Central North

ScG stream of the black mountain ScG abhainn na beinne duibhe

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This presumably reference Beinn Dhubh Sholais.

Abhainn na Beinne Duibhe 2014 Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn na Beinne Duibhe 1877 OS 1st edition

Abhainn na Ceàrdaich

Place ID	6056	NF 82829 74838	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG stream of the smithy			ScG abhainn na ceàrdaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Abhainn na Ceàrdaich			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Abhainn na Fala

Place ID 5917 NF 79800 74459 North Uist S1ollas

ScG river of the + ON field

ScG abhainn na + ON völlr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

Niclain writes 'The river got its name from the time of the clearances. When the bailiffs and constables expelled the locals from the area in 1849, they were at times in a rage, wiping them out as fast as they could. Although the locals were polite while the bailiffs and bailiffs were evicted, the day came when the people could no longer endure it. Blår Sollas took place on the second day of August 1849, during a bitter feud between the mayors and the locals. The women of the area in particular were the opponents. Locals stripped the guards with stones and stones from the shore and were attacked by the constables. Afterwards, many of the locals were wounded, and a great deal of blood was shed. They went to the river to clean their lots. And that is how it got its name from the River of Blood. The river is also known as the Malaclete River.'

There is another ScG fala = 'blood' name at Carinis with a similar folk etymology. The explanation is I suspect simpler: ON valla á = 'river of the fields'. This also has the comfort of tautology.

Simpler still it could just be ON völl = 'field' although the initial vowel sound would not be the best fit. Cox however cites examples of

Abhainn Mhalacleit

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Abhainn na Fala

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Abhainn na h-O

Place ID 544 NF 80550 63570 North Uist C1arinish

ScG stream of the + ON mound

ScG abhainn na + ON haug

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

This name looks odd and reminiscent of Hoa on Griomasaigh. The solution there was ON haugr = 'mound' and that works here too with a prominent mound nearby.

Abhainn na h-O

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Abhainn Ollay

Place ID 6254 NF 77956 30604 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Ollay' + ScG river ScG abhainn + 'Ollay'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Olaidh an Ear (P#6282) for a discussion of the last component.

Abhainn Ollay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Olia	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Ollay	1877	OS 1st edition
Hollay River	1877	OS name book

Abhainn Robach

Place ID 2294 NF 74053 70811 North Uist Central West

ScG rough stream ScG abhainn robach

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

It is interesting to see this name mirroring the nearby ON Trollá which has an almost identical meaning in Norse. There is a Am Fang Robach on Tiree and Holiday (p590) wonders if it comes from ON rauða bakka = 'red bank'. There is certainly an impressive bank here although red is probably not the best colour to describe it.

Abhainn Robach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhainn Robach	1877	OS 1st edition

Abhainn Ròdhag

Place ID 2103 NF 77379 34834 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON boat-shed bay + ScG river

ScG abhainn + ON hróf vág

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

The earlier names are of interest. Blaeu called this important river Auon Rownig (albeit slightly misplaced) before Bald called it Avhin Roag before the modern name came into usage.

With the possibility that Choradail (P#80) has its roots in ON rauðr = 'red' then this could have the same derivation, especially as one of its tributaries is ScG Abhuinn Ruadh = 'red river'.

The /g/ at the end could reflect Gaelic pronunciation of ruadh, /Ruəɣ/. This however leaves us without a specific.

The full root could be ON ruað-vagr or ON rauð-vik = 'red bay', the bay where the river enters the sea by Howmore.

Blaeu's spelling of Rownig might be further evidence of a ON vik = 'bay' name. This is helped by the existence of Loch Rodhag. ON rauðr can also refer to gold.

With a focus on the bay, the most obvious feature is that this river divides it. I think this means the root could be ON raufar vág = 'bay of the sluice'.

Cox's derivation of 'of the cormorants/shags' for Loch Roag in Lewis cannot be correct here as these birds would not be occurring this far up a relatively small river such as this one although they could use the loch for fishing.

A final alternative is ON hrófa vág = 'bay of sheds under which ships are built or kept'. This is the only inland access from the sea for 10km N or S and so it is likely that it would have been used for taking boats away from the open sea. In the end this is my preferred option. Vigfusson lists two local names including Hróf-berg writing 'pronounced Hró-berg'.

Cox (p599) derives Ròg (as in Loch Ròg) from ScG ròg = 'shag', a loan word from ON hrók, but shags are marine rather than fresh water birds so this is unlikely here.

Rauðá has the advantage of appearing as a river name in Iceland 14 times whilst in Norway Raudå and Rauå occur 35 and 17 times respectively.

In Norway there is bay name Rauvika and four Rauva place names.

Hróf occurs as the start of around 30 place names in Iceland

Abhainn Ròdhag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Roag	1877	OS 1st edition
Roag River	1877	OS name book
Avhin Roag	1804	Bald mapping
Auon Rownig	1654	Blaeu mapping

Abhainn Rosgaidh

Place ID 2319 NF 77894 72691 North Uist Central West

ScG stream of the lookout

ScG abhainn rosaidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

ScG rosaidh = 'of observing' and so the name here could mean 'the stream of the lookout' and this would make sense as it is the stream that overlooks the access to Cladach Bhalaigh.

The ending here is often a pointer to ON kví = 'pen' and with that generic the obvious specific would be ON hross = 'horse'.

Carmichael's alternative name in the OSNB of Abhuinn Rosari hints at an ON ærgi name which could be support for the Norse interpretation.

On balance though, I think the ScG root is more likely here.

Whilst ON hross or ros is a common specific in Icelandic and Norwegian place names, I could not find a cognate. There might be a special word for 'horse pen' that I am unaware of.

Abhainn Rosgaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhainn Rosaidh	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Abhuinn Rosgay	1877	OS 1st edition
Abhuinn Rosari	1877	OS name book
Rosgay River	1877	OS name book

Abhainn Ruadh

Place ID	6379	NF 80568 34529	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG red river			ScG abhainn ruadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Abhainn Ruadh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Abhuinn Ruadh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Abhainn Scalan

Place ID 180 NF 96028 70532 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Scalan' + ScG stream ScG abhuinn + 'Scalan'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Scalan (P#4934) for details.

Abhainn Scalan 2014 Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn Scalan 1877 OS 1st edition

Abhainn Shèrmean

Place ID 744 NF 75860 67130 North Uist B1ayhead

ON basin of the sea + ScG stream

ScG abhainn + ON sær mund

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Stahl writes '200 years ago the sea did not come in where it does now, between Kirkibost and the opposite shore, and between Kirkibost and Kyles. Seemingly another town existed between Kyles and the island of Kirkibost and it washed over as _____ as Claddach Kyles. Then in 1821, where once there was only a river called Abhainn Shèrmean, the sea broke in. The town was submerged beneath the sea, which came as far in as Bayhead, as it is now called.'

The second word looks like a close compound based on one of the ON words for sea, sær, sjár or sjór.

At first glance ON munnr = 'mouth' and used for a river entering the sea is the obvious choice with the ON munn being the relevant reflex.

However after consideration of the cognate notes, I think the root is ON sæ-mund = 'sea hand'. Vigfusson writes about mund-laug 'usually spelt and sounded munn-laug' and meaning a basin for washing. Here one can imagine the word ON sæmund/sæmun referring to a (hand shaped) basin of the sea, a perfect topographical description for the area here between Baleshare, Kirkibost and the main island.

In Iceland there are no places with any of the sea words followed by ON munn and likewise in Norway.

However in Iceland there are 29 places with Sæmund as the first component and in Norway we have four places beginning with Sæmundset. In most cases 'sea-basin' is an appropriate description.

Abhainn Shèrmean

Other

Abhainn Thorro

Place ID 5061 NG 04279 84060 Harris Harris general

ON strong river + ScG river

ScG abhainn + ON harð á

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

Whilst I am not sure, I wonder if this comes from ON haugr á = 'mound river' as it passes very close to the prominent mound at the W end of Loch Thorsageàrraidh.

Whilst ON a > ScG o is regular it would not be for ON á but in Orkney and Shetland, Hogro being a similar example to this one that to stem from ON hauk = 'hawk'.

Rather setting the cat amongst the pigeons, Cox (p955) derives Torraigh (Lewis) from ON harð á = 'the strong river'. It is probalby foolish to think otherwise.

There are at least five Haugå place names in Norway whilst in Iceland there are river names Haugsá and Haugaá.

Abhainn Thorro

2014

Modern OS mapping

Abhuinn Horro

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhainn Torra

Place ID 6335 NF 75817 33204 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON turf river + ScG river

ScG abhainn + ON torf á

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

The OSNB cannot provide a root and so looking for a Norse one makes sense.

There is a knoll at the S end of the river which could be the referent although there are no obvious remains there.

Alternatively ON torf á = 'turf river' might be a better bet. An element of tautology is always comforting.

Abhainn Torra

2014

Modern OS mapping

Aven Torra

1877

OS name book

Abhuinn Torra

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhainn Uisdein

Place ID 2454 NF 79512 72608 North Uist Central North

ScG Hugh's or ON The abode + ScG stream ScG abhainn uisdein or ON vistin

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst Hugh is the literal translation, the fact there is a Loch and an Abhainn with the same specific indicates that the Uisdein might be functioning as an onomastic unit.

ON vistin = 'The abode' works well.

The cognate Visten appears twice in Norway but ON vist is very common as a component of their place names.

The stream has an older name of which we have five forms. Abhuinn Bacaulasary would be easiest to interpret with ON bak = 'behind' preceding Aulasary, a name referred to in three other places locally.

It is somewhat odd however that this was not picked up and so I suspect that Backlasary Burn is a better name to investigate. ON bak = 'behind' seems a good starting point and the ending is ON ærgi = 'shieling' leaving the central portion to untangle. ON lágs = 'of the hollow ' works with the medial /g/ disappearing as so often is the case. Indeed one wonders if this might be where the /aulasary/ names come from. The whole root would therefore be ON bak lags ærgi = 'behind the shieling of the hollow'..

Niclain writes: 'This river was also known as Abhainn Bhaclaisairidh. It was here that my grandmother's great - grandfather, Angus Donn of Skye, owned a mill from 1760 to 1830. Hugh, Angus' son, took over the mill after his father.' (p49 based on Lawson)

Visten occurs four times in Norway.

Abhainn Uisdein	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhainn Uisdein	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Abhainn Bhaclaisairidh	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Backlasary Burn	1877	OS 1st edition
Abhuinn Bhachlasairidh	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Backlisary	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Bacaulasary	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Bhaclasairi	1877	OS name book

Abhainn Uisinis

Place ID 6388 NF 85294 34093 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Uisinis' + ScG river SWcG abhainn + 'Uisinis'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Uisinis (P#6463) for a discussion of that element.

Abhainn Uisinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Usinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Abhuinn Huisnis	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Uisnis	1877	OS name book

Abhuainn an t-Seanna-mhuilinn

Place ID 2301 NF 73438 70839 North Uist Central West

ScG stream of the old mill

ScG abhuainn an t-seanna-mhuilinn

Fresh water

ScG?

ON?

complete?

No evidence for the mill exists and the new mill was built lower down at Hough Mill.

Abhuainn an t-Seanna-mhuilinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn a Mhuilinn

Place ID 6584 NF 80867 40421 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG stream of the mill ScG abhainn a' mhuilinn

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst there is not an obvious mill visible here on satellite imagery, the site is good for one.

Abhuinn a Mhuilinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn a' Phuind

Place ID	6215	NF 81578 23499	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG river of the pound			ScG abhainn a' phuinnnd		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Abhuinn a' Phuind			1877	OS 1st edition	

Abhuinn an Ionair-uidh

Place ID 6519 NF 80734 38067 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG river of the + 'Ionair-uidh' ScG abhainn an + 'Ionair-uidh'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch an Ionair-Uidh (P#6518) for a discussion of the 'Ionair' element.

Abhuinn an Ionair-uidh 1877 OS 1st edition

Abhuinn an Riadhain

Place ID 2398 NF 72042 72880 North Uist B1alranald

ScG stream of the temporary passage for water ScG abhainn an riadhain

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This name is also given to us in the Hebridean Connectuon as a modern version of the older Abhainn Ealay, a name still extant for the reaches above Loch Hosta.

The OS name book gives us a rather vague 'River of the narrows' or such'. Dwelly however gives us a much more concise ScG riadhan = 'temporary passage for water to run in'.

This could indicate it was created to drain Loch Hosta.

Abhuinn a Riaghain	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Abhuinn an Riadhain	1877	OS 1st edition

Abhuinn an Sgadain

Place ID 6198 NF 78941 23694 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG stream of + ON The protrusion of high land ScG abhainn an + ON skotin

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst ScG sgadan = 'herring'. It is hard to see how this species of marine fish could reach this stream that is 50m above sea-level at its lowest. This component occurs elsewhere on Uist.

Rygh writes: *Skata f., the same word as the vernacular Skata f., which according to Ross

is used in Bygland in Sætersdalen for a branchless tribe. Occurs as a

farm name also in Tysnes (GN. 156). In both places the name seems to

refer to a projecting mountain. It is closely related to

the vernacular's Skat m., the top end of a tree, and Skate m., tree trunk, tree without

branches, ' This is presumalby the same root as ON skot = 'shot' and has come to mean 'projecting headland' or as

NSNL gives us "'Protrusion of land', especially high land'.

It is possible that Maoladh nan Damh and Beinn Hurabhat could be described as this protrusion.

In Iceland there are 29 simplex Skot names and three Skotið placenames, the latter being the definite acc and nom. In Norway there is a Skoten and a Skotene along with over 80 Skotet place names.

Abhuinn an Sgadain

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn Bhàn

Place ID	5299	NF 80976 48808	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG white river			ScG abhainn bhàn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Allt Bhàn			1877	OS name book	
Abhuinn Bhàn			1877	OS 1st edition	

Abhuinn Bolum

Place ID 4948 NF 82279 28324 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON Bolum + ScG stream

ScG abhainn + ON Bolum

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

The line of the stream is marked on the Bald map as 'March between Bornish and Clandonald'. See Bholuim (P#4943) for a discussion of the element 'Bolum'

Abhuinn Bolum

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn Bhòlum

1877

OS name book

Abhuinn Bonnabras

Place ID 983 NF 91690 66550 North Uist Lees

ScG stream of the swift drop ScG allt boinne bras

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Abhuinn Bonnabras 1877 OS 1st edition

Allt Boinne-brais 1877 OS name book

Abhuinn Bratt

Place ID 5709 NF 85599 60990 North Uist Eaval

ON cleared path + ScG stream

ScG abnainn + ON braut

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

The only reason this name is known is that it is mentioned in the OSNB as connecting Loch 'ic Colla to Loch Caravat.

ON bratt = 'steep' is the obvious root but that would not work with ScG abhuinn.

ON braut = 'cleared path' might be better but the initial vowel is not perfect unless mis-transcribed initially. One would have expected ScG brött.

Abhuinn Bratt

1877

OS name book

Abhuinn Dubh

Place ID 6786 NF7977912300 South Uist Eirisgeigh

Fresh water

Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This stream flows into Bàgh na h-Aibhne Duibhe which contains Sgeir na h-Aibhne Duibhe (also known as An Sgeir Mhòr in the Place names of Eirisgaigh booklet)

With the bay to the W called Haun, I suspect this is another example of ScG abhainn = 'stream' being confused with ON höfn = 'haven'.

See Abhainn Dubh (P#266) in Lochportain for more details.

Abhuinn Dubh

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn Dubh nan Each

Place ID 4966 NF 79559 29286 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG black stream of the horses ScG abhainn dubh nan each

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Two different looking names, Avhin Duin na Neach and Abhuinn Dubh nan Each are in fact close when one slurs one word into the next.

There is no obvious dun in the area so I suspect the OS name is not the correct one.

That said the Admiralty Chart name Aven Dubh na'n Each gives some weight to an 'na neach' option. However ScG neach = 'person or apparition' is not very helpful.

There is another Abhuinn Dubh nan Loch that joins Abhuinn Roag.

Abhuinn Dubh nan Each	1877	OS 1st edition
Aven Dubh na'n Each	1877	OS name book
Avhin Duin na Neach	1804	Bald mapping

Abhuinn Ealtaig

Place ID 5681 NF 71327 69789 North Uist B1alranald

ON bay of swans + ScG river

ScG abhainn + ON elfta vág

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

'the River Ealtaig was flowing west and north west into the western sea out of Loch Paible'.

This river has probably now reversed with the drain cut out of Loch Paible.

ScG ialtag = 'bat' is unlikely as bats are very rare on Uist.

However swans are not - indeed are common. ON álptra = 'of the swans' would seem to work well here. Especially in the side form ON elptr or its genitive plural ON elpta.

The loss of the /p/ is regular and Cox (p183) cites ON alpt-nes > Ailltinis (Lewis).

Concern over the cognates and I reread Vigfusson who writes that 'ÁLPT, more correctly álft, f. the common í eel. word for swan'. This actually makes the transition ever easier.

Possibly a better solution might be ON á = 'river' as the generic but this would have produced -aigh not -aig.

I was concerned that there appear to be no álptra- or elptr-names in Iceland but plenty of Hjalt ones. The word seems to have been replaced with Svan and there are three Svansvik place names - indeed there is a Swanick in Derbyshire. Further research revealed the proper word was álft- which appears commonly in Iceland and there are three Àlftavík and an Àlftavogur whilst in Norway there is an Elftervika.

Abhuinn Ealtaig

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Abhuinn Featag

Place ID 5025 NF 77587 29733 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG place of rushes stream

ScG abhainn fead -ag

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

OSNB 'feataag is a name applied to 'marine grass'. I suggest that ScG feadag = 'plover is better although quite why this stream should be associated with plover is unclear.

ScG fead = 'rush' and with the suffix ScG -ag = 'place of' this is probalby the best topographical fit.

Abhuinn Featag

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn Ideidh

Place ID 921 NF 83280 65530 North Uist Langass

ScG stream of the place of the water meadow ScG abhainn fhidaid

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Cox suggests that ScG fid has been borrowed from the ON fit = 'meadow land on the banks of a firth, lake, or river' and then has the added suffix ScG -aid = 'place of'.

With lenition this would become 'fhidaid' and with the 'fh' being silent would sound like 'Ideidh'

Abhuinn Ideidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn Loch Gille-ghoid

Place ID 198 NF 95944 70907 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG stream of the loch + 'Gille-ghoid' ScG abhainn + loch + 'Gille-ghoid'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Gille-ghoid for details.

Abhuinn Loch Gille-ghoid

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn na Breaclaidh

Place ID 6434 NF 79796 35710 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG river of + ON 'route of the slope'

ScG abhainn na + ON brekka leið

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'This name signifies "River of the Spotted Slope"'. ScG breac = 'spotted' is clear but the slope is less so. The order is also odd for the adjective preceding the noun.

This is odd, so much so that I think there is a Norse root here: ON brekka leið = 'route of the slope' and probalby could refer to a route over into Gleann Uisinis from the W, a route still marked on the OS 1st edition mapping.

Abhuinn na Breaclaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn na Cairidh

Place ID 6523 NF 82488 38031 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG river of the fish trap

ScG abhuinn na cairidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

With this river flowing into Poll na Cairidh, I think the trap will be a marine one - albeit the name of the stream leading into this one was the 'stream of the big trouts'.

Abuinn na Carra

1877

OS name book

Abhuinn na Cairidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn na Cairidh Mòire

Place ID 6216 NF 81619 24034 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG stream of the big fish trap ScG abhainn na cairidh mòire

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Bàgh na Cairidh Mòire (P#6208) for details of this site.

Abhuinn na Cairidh Mòire 1877 OS 1st edition

Abhuinn na Carnaich

Place ID 278 NF 91000 75800 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG stream of the rocky ground

ScG abhainn na carnach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

The article here is odd as ScG carnaich = 'rocky ground' is masculine and so one would expect ScG a' = 'of the' with lenition.

Abhuinn na Carnaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn na Muile

Place ID 1263 NF 81490 61540 North Uist C1arinish

ScG stream of the ScG/ON mill

Scg abhuinn na muile or ON myllu

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

There are ruins where this stream leaves the loch and although the word is unusual for 'mill' and closer to the Norse ON mylla that is what it must be. 'island of the mill' is in the bay where this stream reaches the sea.

The problem is the ScG muileann (and indeed ScG mul - 'heap' with a genitive ScG muil are both masculine and so the article should be ScG a' with lenition. As so often this could indicate a Norse root and the obvious one is ON mylla as mentioned above. The other names are then based on that but this seems a little odd.

More likely is ON möl = 'shingle beach' which exists here and indeed the stream runs onto it and it connects the main island to Eilean na Muile.

Abhuinn na Muile

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn nam Breac Mòra

Place ID 6521 NF 81921 37988 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG river of the big trouts

ScG abhuinn nam breac mòra

Fresh water

Stream

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Allt nam Breac Mòra

1877

OS name book

Abhuinn nam Breac Mòra

1877

OS 1st edition

Abhuinn nan Clach Mora

Place ID 2303 NF 73146 70964 North Uist Central West

ScG stream of the big stones

ScG abhainn nan clach mòra

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

There are the same grammatical problems as with Loch nan Clach Mora.

The two names with the onomastic unit 'clach mora' tend me to think that unit might have an ON derivation. ON mor á = 'moor river' and ON klakk seems to have taken on a life of its own, meaning originally 'the peg of a pack-saddle' then to 'heavy peaked clouds' and fishing grounds' and then - at least in Faroese - to 'cliff' and finally in Norway 'steep mountain'.

All that said the obvious ScG solution is the best.

Móra appears twice in Iceland whilst in Norway there are seven Mora place names and Klakk is a common specific in both countries.

Abhuinn nan Clach Mora

1877

OS 1st edition

Acairseid Fhalaich

Place ID 989 NF 91190 63730 North Uist Lees

ScG hidden harbour ScG acairseid + fhalaich

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Topographically it is hidden away behind two headlands.

There are two other identical names, one of Ronaigh and one on Lewis.
The other four places containing just Fhalaich are all on the W coast.

Acairseid Fhalaich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Acairseid Fhalaich	1877	OS 1st edition
Hidden Harbr	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Acairseid Fhalaich

Place ID 1725 NF 90476 57034 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG hidden harbour

ScG acairseid fhalaich

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Hiding Harbour' which has a rather different meaning.

Acairseid Fhalaich

2011

Taylor Place-names of Scotland

Acairseid Fhalaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Concelaed Harbour

1861

Thomas chart

Acarsaid Fhalaich

1861

Thomas chart

Acairseid Mhòr

Place ID 6785 NF 79348 09679 South Uist Eirisgeigh

ScG big harbour ScG acarseid mhòr

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A rather mundane name but one that fits topographically.

A booklet on the place names of Eirisgaigh writes 'Cracabhaig, from Norse Cracavík 'crook bay', which now gives its name to Beinn Cracabhaig and Loch Cracabhaig, was probably once the Norse name for Acairseid Mhòr (discussed later).

Another name for Loch Cracabhaig is Loch Eòsa Bhig 'Little Joseph's loch'. No tradition was recorded as to Little Joseph's identity. Could this have originally been a Norse vík name reanalysed into a Gaelic name?'

I think the answer to this question is yes - ON kjós = 'deep or hollow place' is a good match for the specific creating ON kjósar vík = 'bay of the hollow', another good topographical fit. The sound is helped by the /ch/ of ScG loch carrying over to the start of Eòsa.

In Iceland there is a cognate Kjósarvík and in Norway there are two Kjosvik.

Loch Eòsa Bhig	2019	Eirisgaigh Place Names
Cracabhaig	2019	Eirisgaigh Place Names
Acairseid Mhòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Acairseid Mhòr	1877	OS 1st edition

Acairseid Nighean Thearlaich

Place ID 1173 NF 92720 69040 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG harbour of the daughter of Charles ScG acairseid nighean thearlaich

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I do not know who Charles it although Otter on his chart neglected to mention the daughter bit.

There is a Nighean Thearlaich at the W end of the Ardmeananch peninsula, Mull.

Acairseid Nighean Thearlaich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Acairseid Nighean Thearlaich	1877	OS 1st edition
Charles Harbour	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Acarsaid Falaich

Place ID 6505 NF 85505 37133 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG hidden harbour ScG acarsaid falaich

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A name that occurs frequently.

Acarsaid Falaich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Acairseid Falaich	1877	OS 1st edition
Hidding Harbour	1804	Bald mapping

Acarsaid nam Madadh

Place ID	1022	NF 94370 67440	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG harbour of the dogs			ScG acarsaid nam madadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Acarsaid nam Madadh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Acairseid nam Madadh			1877	OS 1st edition	
Maddy Boat H			1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh	

Acarseid Li

Place ID 988 NF 90800 64120 North Uist Lees

ScG 'Li' harbour ScG acarseid + 'Lí'

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG acairseid = 'harbour' is a loan word ON akkarsæti = 'anchor seat'.
For details on the first component see 'Lì a Deas'

Acarseid Li	2014	Modern OS mapping
Acairseid Lee	1877	OS 1st edition
Lee Harbour	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Achlais a' Chorrain

Place ID	5997	NF 82840 77244	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG armpit of the 'Chorrain'			ScG achlais a' 'Chorrain'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Achlais a' Chorrain			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Adam Fraoich

Place ID 2566 NF 87078 70985 North Uist Central South

ON ford island + ScG of heather

ON vað hólm + ScG fraoich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Heather Island' which is what it is but I have no idea quite why!

The -am ending is a common form of ON hólmr = 'islet' and so is perhaps the second half of it.

ScG fraoch = 'heather' is odd as when it appears with an island it usually appears in front of it - Fraoch-eilean. Again no idea why!

One possibility is ON vað hólm = 'ford island'. I haven't tried to see if it is possible to ford across here although there are stories that it was done by shepherds (perr Alasdair Croismoireag).

/v/ > /-/ is regular in a medial position but can occur elsewhere (Holliday p312)

Vad occurs in several Shetland place names. Marwick derives Vaday probably from ON vað-eið = 'wading isthmus'.

Fraoich occurs in 63 place names as the final component on the OS 2nd edition mapping with a real concentration on Lewis and a slightly puzzling gap on the mainland opposite the Outer Hebrides. Fraoch occurs 69 times on the OS 2nd edition mapping with a concentration opposite the Outer Hebrides. In coire and eilean names (as well as one beinn and one choille names) it unusually generally precedes the generic. These are presumably close compound examples.

Adam Fraoich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Adam Fraoich

1877

OS 1st edition

Ahmore

Place ID 2405 NF 85646 74165 North Uist A1hmore

ScG big ford or ON towards the landing place ScG àth mòr or ON að vörr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Beveridge's states the pronunciation is /ah-vore/ and so equates it with ScG àth-mhòr = 'big kiln'. MacDonald agrees saying it was once part of the Orinsay farm along with the Crogàire hill pasture. ScG àth also has the meaning of 'ford' and that would seem more appropriate here and presumably could refer to the ford across to the good agricultural land that is Oronsay. However ScG àth = 'ford' is masculine and would require ScG mòr not ScG mhòr which does not produce the /vore/ sound

The lack of a long /a/ at the start and the fact the two words are written as one is a further possible problem and this then would bring us back to Beveridge's kiln for which there is no evidence.....

ON að = 'towards' is a preposition, a preposition taking the dative case. The obvious other component is ON mór = 'moor' however the dative is either ON mó or mói which is a less good fit.

Taking Beveridge's pronunciation into account, another possibility is ON vörr = 'lip or landing place' and in this case the dative is ON vörr. This then would seem to be a good fit.

I am not 100% sure that Watson's ð > th works.....

Ahmore	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ahmore	1877	OS 1st edition
Achamor		n/a
Athamhor		n/a
Athmhor		MacDonald sketch history

Aileodair

Place ID 533 NF 89020 72750 North Uist Central North

ScG ford of ON the people

ScG àth + ON lýðr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Beveridge writes (p46) 'clearly the Gaelic àth-Leòdair for 'Leod's ford'. MacDonald agrees. I think he is right about the ford but see Cnoc Leodair (P#5655) a discussion of the /leodair/ component.

ON á as a prefix means a variety of things but here 'towards' make sense but better is probably ScG àth = 'ford', a ford now traversed by a short causeway.

This does pose problems though as these mixed names are rare.

Aileodair	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------	------	-------------------

Ath-leodair	1877	OS name book
-------------	------	--------------

Alioter	1877	OS 1st edition
---------	------	----------------

Ath-Leodair		MacDonald sketch history
-------------	--	--------------------------

Aird

Place ID 1890 NF 76322 54676 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG height ScG àird

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A simplex name such as this is likely to be an earlier one.
Bald's plan shows two settlements here, Aird More and Aird Beg.

Àird	2014	Modern OS mapping
Aird	1877	OS 1st edition
Airdmore and Airdbeg	1832	Thomson atlas
Aird More and Beg	1804	Bald mapping

Àird a' Bhaile

Place ID 1160 NF 92150 68030

North Uist

Lochmaddy

ScG point of the township

ScG Àird a' bhaile

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Àird a' Bhaile

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ard a' Bhaile

1877

OS 1st edition

Ard a Vaile

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Àird a' Chonnaidh

Place ID 157 NF 90898 73346 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG height of Onisland of the women ScG Àird + a' + ON konu + ey

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The fuel point' based upon ScG connaidh = 'fuel (esp. firewood)' however with several other religious place names in the vicinity, one wonders if the real root was ScG Choinnich = 'of Kenneth'? That it is liable to misinterpretation is for example found in the Kinlochbervie history 'Eilean a Chonnaidh does not mean, as is generally assumed, the island on which the people of Oldshore pick up broken pieces of wreckage for firewood, but the habitation of the Mission Band or Brotherhood, Eilean a Chomhnuidh.' I am not voting for either side here just observe the confusion.

Firewood is very unlikely here anyway in the inner recesses of Loc h nam Madadh.

Real confusion is even more possible when looking at the topography, this feature is a tidal island. Either ON ey = 'island' or ON eið = 'isthmus' would work.

ON kona = 'woman', ON kóngr = 'king', ON kanna = 'pot', OV hvönn = 'wild angelica' or ON kýr = 'cow' all have attractions.

Although wary of shapes, I think it could be described as pot or jug like and so the ON könnu eið = 'isthmus of the jug' works well but to my mind the simplest is the best ON konu eið = 'isthmus of the woman'.

Could this be a reflection on the nearby presence of shielings with the presumption that they were mainly the place where women worked?

There is a Könnulækur in Iceland and Konu (from the 'woman' alternative) appears as a specific eight times with 35 place names starting with ON kvenna = 'of the women'

Àird a' Chonnaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ard a Chonnaidh	1877	OS 1st edition

Àird a' Mhachair

Place ID 63 NF 74360 45870 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG point of the machair ScG àird a mhachair

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Ardivachar 2014 Modern OS mapping

Àird a' Mhachair 2014 Modern OS mapping

Ardivachar 1877 OS 1st edition

Aird a' Mhachair 1877 OS name book

Ardavachir 1804 Bald mapping

Ardmachrianich 1654 Blaeu mapping

Àird a' Mhachair

Place ID	2209	NF 75154 60524	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG height of the machair			ScG àird a' mhacair		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Àird a' Mhachair			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Àird a' Mhòrain

Place ID 1325 NF 83126 79089 North Uist S1ollas

ScG headland of the ON The landing place ScG àird a' + ON vörrin

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Headland

complete?

ScG moran = 'heath rush, juncus squarrosus' is the plant referred to here and presumably the 'deer-grass' referred to by Beveridge (p46). In the OS 1st and 2nd series mapping the spelling is Bhioran although the Gaelic 'Bh' and 'Mh' here make the same sound 'v'.

The onomastic unit 'Mhorain' occurs in four place names overall here but one is telling - Caolas a' Mhorain - for which the OS name book gives us 'The sea-bent narrows'.

Caolas Aird a' Mhorain would make some sort of sense but Moran cannot grow in a Caolas!

An alternative could be ON vörr = 'a small inlet or creek where boats land' which is a common place name in Iceland, occurring as a simplex name, Vör, nine times and three times at Vörin, a version the indefinite article ON vörrin = 'the landing place'. It also occurs regularly in Norway.

The definition in Faroese is more precise, Far vørr = 'slipway at the beach, where all stones are removed and lumbers laid out to haul the boats onto land' which pretty well describes nearly every Hebridean landing place not on the beach! It makes sense to have a landing place here with the offshore islands being used for livestock as evidenced by Soay = 'sheep island' amongst others.

The area here is full of what look like man made ridges to assist landing. MacDonald writes it formed of old part of the farm of Borera.

Àird a' Mhòrain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ardavuran	1911	Beveridge
Ard a' Bhorain	1877	OS 1st edition
Ardavoran	1877	OS name book
Ardavaran Point	1877	OS name book
Ardworan Head	1877	OS name book
Ardnamoran	1877	OS name book
Ardavoran	1832	Thomson atlas
Ardivoran Head	1806	Stockdale mapping
Ardavoran	1799	Reid mapping
Ard-Nim-boothin	1703	Martin book
Row Ardineen	1654	Blaeu mapping
Aird a Mhorrain		MacDonald sketch history

Àird a' Phuind

Place ID 2427 NF 79326 74450 North Uist S1ollas

ScG headland of the cattle pound ScG àird a' phuind

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain wrote 'The place got its name from the fact that it was here that the men of Vallay impounded the Malacians' livestock, if they crossed the dyke of the land of Vallay.'

Beveridge writes (P218) 'the traditional site of some ancient building. Here remains the foundations of walls both curved and straight, but these can hardly be considered as of special importance.'

Àird a' Phuind	2014	Modern OS mapping
Aird a' Phuind	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Ard a' Phuind	1877	OS 1st edition

Aird an Aisig

Place ID 496 NF 87780 56580 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG promontory of the ferry

ScG àird + an + aiseig

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Marked only on the Thomas chart of 1861, the situation is good being one of the places where the two islands Griomasaigh and Ronaigh are closest but not in the strong currents of the narrow channel. The promontory is actually a tidal island but there are stepping stones present to make access easier. The spelling of /Aisig/ is not as it would be nowadays.

Aird an Aisig

1866

Admiralty mapping

Àird an Fhraoich

Place ID 2302 NF 72886 70974 North Uist B1alranald

ScG height of the heather ScG àird an fhraoich

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Àird an Fhraoich 2014 Modern OS mapping

Àrd an Fhraoich 1877 OS 1st edition

Aird an-fhraoich 1877 OS name book

Aird an Rainich

Place ID 934 NF 85900 64890 North Uist Langass

ScG promontory of the ON neck of the nout ScG aird + an + ON rana hnakka

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I think that the definite article should be ScG na = 'of the' here as ScG rainich is in the genitive and is feminine. This gender anomaly can point to an early name.

Cox's one name with an article and Rainich had the correct ScG na.

ON rana + hnakk = 'neck of the snout' is probably a good topographical description of this long headland.

There is no cognate in Iceland although both elements occur. In Norway we have six Rannekle(i)v which could well share the same start.

Looking at all the Rainich names with preceding articles in Scotland on the OS 2nd edition, 15 have ScG na, 2 have ScG a' and 4 have ScG an. All four of the ScG an names are on the Western Isles hinting at Norse origins

Aird an Rainich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Aird an Rainich	1877	OS 1st edition

Aird an Runair

Place ID 2091 NF 69239 70761 North Uist B1alranald

ScG height of the point of the look-out or ON hea ScG aird an rubha an fhaire or ON hrannir

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

As Beveridge points out, the name as it currently stands means ScG 'point of the secretary' however the Blaeu version is significantly different and might refer to an earlier root.

It is interesting to see Blaeu has three names here with the same component, Ardrenil, Balrenil and further inland Ylen Dunikrannil and these look like the equivalent of ScG Raghnaill, the modern anglicized Ranald.

Since that family name had been involved in the politics and squabbles over ownership since the 15th century, it must be an old name. Quite why the name changed to ScG runair when ScG Ragnaill was a perfectly good Gaelic word that would have been recognized as such, unless the name had fallen out of favour.

All one can imagine is that Blaeu heard correctly Balrenil and Dunikrannil and then on hearing Ard Runair took it to have the same root.

As for Runair, I think 'the secretary' is a construct and the original name was ScG rubha an fhaire = 'promontory of the lookout' remembering that ScG fh is silent and ScG Rubha is often seen abbreviated to ScG Ru'.

The initial 'Aird an' just adds 'height of' to the mix.

However going further back in time, an interesting Norse word is ON hrannar which Vigfusson defines as 'the heaps or swathes of seaweed and shells along the beach' describing exactly the beach at the end of the headland and inside it. Is this just a coincidence?! I wonder.

There are eight places in Iceland starting with Hrannar but none in Norway.

Aird an Runair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ard an Runair	1877	OS 1st edition
Point of Hougary	1799	Reid mapping
Arderuner	1789	Ainslie mapping
the Row	1703	Martin book
Ardrenil	1654	Blaeu mapping
Aird a Runair		MacDonald sketch history

Aird Beg

Place ID 1914 NF 76317 54966 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG small height

ScG àird beag

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

One would expect ScG bheag here as ScG àird is feminine. This would make a significant difference to the sound - /ard veyg/.

This could reflect that Àird is an onomastic unit here.

Aird Beg

1804

Bald mapping

Àird Bheag

Place ID 987 NF 90780 64350 North Uist Lees

ScG small point ScG àird + bheag

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A common name with a simple translation.

It stands opposite Àird Mhòr on the entrance to Bàgh Sith, perhaps emphasising its importance.

Àird Bheag	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------	------	-------------------

Ard Bheag	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------	------	----------------

Àird Bhuidhe

Place ID 4996 NF 79756 27926 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG yellow point ScG àird bhuidhe

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is presumably Bald's Ard Vuie and must mean 'yellow point', a common Hebridean name.

Àird Bhuidhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ard Bhuidhe	1877	OS 1st edition
Ard Vuie	1804	Bald mapping

Aird Choinnich

Place ID	2100	NF 75864 45912	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
Kenneth's headland			ScG àird Choinnich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Township			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The excellent Uist Saints site has a detailed discussion on this place name: <https://uistsaints.co.uk/south-uist/aird-choinnich-ardkenneth/>

The /oi/ before a /nn/ would sound to Anglophonic ears as /uey/. This opens up the possibility of ON kvía hnakki = 'promontory'. Jakonsen (p85) writes ON nakki (hnakki), m., the back of the head: in Norway common as a mountain-name. Fær.nakkur, m., roundish mountain, promontory.' and quotes two Shetland names with this element.

There is an Àird a' Chonnaidh on the northwestern shore of Loch nam Madadh.

11 place names in Iceland contain 'hnakk'

Aird Choinnich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ardkenneth	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ardkenneth	1877	OS 1st edition
Aird Choinnich	1877	OS name book
Kilehainie	1654	Blaeu mapping

Àird Cumhang

Place ID 5311 NF 83892 47874 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG narrow height

ScG àird chumhang

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

A good topographical description of this narrow ridge. I suspect that Thomas' lenited version is more accurate grammatically.

Àird Cumhang

2014

Modern OS mapping

Àrd Cumhang

1877

OS 1st edition

Aird Chumhang

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Aird Fhada

Place ID 602 NF 89220 74360 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG long point ScG àird fhada ScG?
 ON?

Contour Rise complete?

Aird Fhada	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ard Fada	1877	OS 1st edition
Aird-fada	1877	OS name book

Àird Fhada

Place ID 2565 NF 87491 71060 North Uist Central North

ScG long height

ScG àird fhada

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

With two fada names one wonders if there is something else going on?

It is possible that in fact fhada comes from ON *vað* = 'ford' and this would help make sense of Adàm Fhaoich.

Àird Fhada

2014

Modern OS mapping

Àrd Fhada

1877

OS 1st edition

Aird Finlay

Place ID 5296 NF 81982 47638 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG Finlay height ScG àird Fionnlaidh

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I have no idea who the Finlay here is. One wonders if the Bailfinlay on the W coast share a common person or group of people. Could this be that township's access to the Minch?

Aird Finlay 1832 Thomson atlas

Aird Finlay 1804 Bald mapping

Àird Gaidinis

Place ID 6125 NF 73509 28596 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON road headland + ScG promontory

ScG àird + ON gatna ás

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The last component looks Norse with ON nes = 'headland' as the generic reinforced by the tautologous ScG àird = 'promontory'. The obvious specific is ON gata = street, road' in a close compound ON gata nes = 'road headland'. The site is adjacent to a narrow isthmus that separates two extensive lochs and so one would expect there to be on a route between the machair and the inland pasture.

A modern path is still shown on the OS mapping.

The cognates notes give another possibility ON gatna ás = 'ridge of the roads'. This in fact probalby makes more sense.

In Iceland there are eight Gatnaásand and one atnás place names.

Àird Gaidinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gaidinish Point	1877	OS name book
Aird Gheidnis	1877	OS name book
Àrd Gaidinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Ard Geddernish	1804	Bald mapping

Aird Ghabhail

Place ID 1831 NF 88295 47353 Benbecula W1iay

ScG height of the fork

ScG àird

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ScG gobhail = 'of the fork' and the 'h' would be the effect of lenition although I would not have expected lenition here. The 'fork' presumably refers to the headland where you have the choice of entering the lochs to the W or keep heading S and enter the lochs from there.

With a silent /bh/ this is very close to the Rubha Cam nan Gall name of the headland adjacent to this name.

Aird Ghabhail

1866

Admiralty mapping

Àird Ghaineamhach

Place ID 362 NF 85540 58220 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG sandy promotory

ScG àird ghaineamach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

A rare area of sandy soil on Griomasaigh, probably blown through from the Baleshare area. It helps explain why this area of Grimsay was one of the three foci of settlement as shown on the Reid map of 1799. It is still known as better agricultural ground than most.

Àird Ghaineamhach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ard Ghaineachail

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Àrd Ghaineamhach

1877

OS 1st edition

Aird Ghall

Place ID 5279 NF 88090 47306 Benbecula W1iay

ScG height of the lowlanders ScG àird ghall

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

In this context, the lowlanders would normally be the Norse.

Aird Ghall 1804 Bald mapping

Àird Glas

Place ID 1059 NF 78250 73670

North Uist

Central West

ScG grey/green point

Scg àird glas

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

I suspect it should be ghlas?

Àird Glas

1877

OS 1st edition

Àird Heisgeir

Place ID 699 NF 76193 67193 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG promontory of 'Heisker'

ScG àird + 'Heisker'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

See Heisker for a discussion of that place name.

Stahl writes 'The first part of this name is G àird, 'height, promontory'. The second part is of ON origin and may be derived from ON heið, 'heath' or ON hellu, 'flagstone'. The last part of this name is based on ON sker, 'skerry'.

According to the OSNB this name is applied to a crofter's house. OSNB, Reel 107, p. 181.'

Whilst Heisker is undoubtedly Norse, I wonder in fact if the explanation is simpler than this. The boats from Heisker to the W used this area for landing (THC p175 perhaps convenient for the possible market at Horaisearaidh) and this could have been a shore base. The islands are visible from here, through the opening to the sea.

In the Hebridean Connection (p69) 'The croft which he occupied at Claddach Kirkibost was known as the croft of Heisgeir in my day because it was rented by the people of Heisger for keeping their stock on it prior to sales' provides evidence for this view.

Àird Heisgeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ardheisker	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Ardheisker	1877	OS 1st edition
Aird Heisker	1877	OS name book
Àrd Heisgeir	1877	OS name book

Àird Horragaigh

Place ID 6530 NF 83093 38904 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON sanctuary headland + ScG headland

ScG àird + ON hörg ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

This is another name that looks like it should be an island but is not obviously so.

However as observed elsewhere ON ey can refer to a peninsula and presumably that is what is happening here with the tautologous ScG àird = 'headland'.

The specific looks like it will be ON hörgr = 'pagan sanctuary' in the genitive plural form ON hörga or in the close compound form ON hörg ey. The addition of the vowel between the /r/ and the /g/ is an example of stressed epenthesis (Cox p123 §42 ii h).

The only problem is that I am unaware of any possible 'sanctuary' site on the headland. One imagines the area around the farmstead at NF83173901 is the most likely position (Canmore ID# 278763) or the green mound just to the NW of it.

Àird Horragaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Àrd Horragay

1877

OS 1st edition

Àrd Choradhaidh

1877

OS name book

Àird Innis

Place ID 208 NF 92310 74215 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG meadow headland

ScG àird innis

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

An alternative might involve ON nes and possibly ON innr giving 'inner headland', ON inn - nes looks closest, an apt topographical description.

It might just make a pair with Otternish as 'outer headland' to the north.

There are four Inranes place names in Iceland and two Innnes whilst in Norway there are around 50 Innernes(et) names.

Àird Innis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ardennish	1877	OS 1st edition
Ardtrurash	1832	Thomson atlas
Ardininsh	1799	Reid mapping

Aird Ma-Ruibhe

Place ID 2623 NF 91595 79934 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ScG Maelruba's headland ScG àird Maelruba

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bernera place names gives us (p23) 'it would appear that the name is derived from St. Maelruba, who was Abbot of Bangor before he sailed to Britain in 671 AD. He is thought to have founded a monastery at Applecross which can be seen across the Minch from here.

The name is spelt in a bizarre variety of ways. This page: <https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=133> gives a fair amount of information about him.

Aird Ma-Ruibhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Aird Ma-Ruibh	2013	Place nAmes of Berneray
Ard na Mardha	2013	Place nAmes of Berneray
Aird Mo-Ruibhe	2013	Place nAmes of Berneray
Ard Maree	1934	Maclver Place-names of Lewis an
Ardmaree	1877	OS 1st edition
Aird Maol-rithe	1877	OS name book
Ru Artmaree	1877	OS name book
Airdmore	1832	Thomson atlas
Ru Aird more	1804	Bald mapping

Àird Mhic Caoilt

Place ID 1091 NF 78370 75700 North Uist V1allay

'Mhic Caoilt' + ScG point ScG àird + 'Mhic Caoilt'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Quite who MacCalter is, I have no idea. The name occurs in other places on North Uist. For a discussion of the onomastic unit 'Mhic Caoilt' see Sgier Mhic Caoilt (P#2166)

Here the headland is good for the description of 'hog's back'.

Niclain writes 'No one had any idea who Caoilte was, or what the connection was he had to Vallay. This name appears in several ancient tales. Caoilte in the tales may be related to the one who once lived on Vallay.'

Àird Mhic Caoilt	2014	Modern OS mapping
Aird Mhic Caoilte	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Àird Mhic Caoilt	1877	OS 1st edition

Àird Mhic Neacail

Place ID 2556 NF 86093 70483

North Uist

Central South

ScG son of Nicholas' height

ScG àird mhic Neacail

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

I have no idea who these people are.....

Àird Mhic Neacail

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ard Mhic Neacail

1877

OS 1st edition

Aird Mhicfhraing

Place ID 5653 NF 88912 73746 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG MacFrancis ' headland

ScG àird Mhicfhraing

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

MacDonald writes (pdf p211) 'The promontory of the son of Francis. It lies near Dun Torquil, on the north side. Francis, or Frank was certainly of Norse origin but the place name is Gaelic.'

[Aird Mhicfhraing](#)

[MacDonald sketch history](#)

Aird MhicFhraing

Place ID 5676 NF 88871 74105 North Uist Clachan Shanda

ON ring - bay ScG height

ScG Àird + ON hring vik

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The position is described as 'it lies near Dun Torcuill, on the north side'.

The name MacFhraing is anglicized to Rankin although the Fraing becomes Frank or Francis. If Norse I suspect ON hring = 'ring' as the bay to the N of Dun torcuill could be described as round.

There is a Uamh Fhraing on Eigg and five Fraing place names on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

In Norway there are three Ringvika and whislt there are several Hring names. In Iceland there is not a cognate.

Aird MhicFhraing

MacDonald sketch history

Aird Mhicfhraing

MacDonald sketch history

Àird Mhòr

Place ID 967 NF 90300 63980 North Uist Lees

ScG big point ScG àird + mhòr

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The 'h' in the second component arises because it is an adjective attached to a feminine noun.

In various forms this is a common name across the Gaelic speaking part of Scotland. This one is grammatically correct.

Àird Mhòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Àrd Mhòr	1877	OS 1st edition

Àird Mhòr

Place ID	1221	NF 82450 59270	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG big point			ScG àird mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Àird Mhòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Àird Mhòr

Place ID 6764 NF 80111 45939 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG big promontory

ScG àird mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Àird Mhòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ardmore

2014

Modern OS mapping

Airdmhor

1877

OS name book

Ardmore Point

1877

OS name book

Ardmore

1877

OS 1st edition

Àird Mòr

Place ID	236	NF 91670 75040	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG big height			ScG àird mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Àird Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Aird more

Place ID 1915 NF 76152 54674 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG big height

ScG àird mòr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Aird here is a place.

One would expect ScG mhòr here as ScG àird is feminine. This would make a significant difference to the sound - /ard vore/.

This could reflect that Àird is an onomastic unit here.

Aird more

1804

Bald mapping

Aird na Craoibhe

Place ID 148 NF 92103 72034 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG height of the tree ScG àird na craoibhe

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Just one tree which is pretty typical for Uist!

Aird na Craoibhe 2014 Modern OS mapping

Ard na Craoibhe 1877 OS 1st edition

Àird na Monadh

Place ID 6739 NF 77548 45591 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG height of the moor ScG òird na mònachd

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Àird na Monadh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ardnamonie	2014	Modern OS mapping
Airdnamoine	1877	OS name book
Ardnamonie	1877	OS name book
Ardnamonie	1877	OS 1st edition

Aird na Muile

Place ID	265	NF 92200 77210	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
scG promontory of the ON mill			ScG àird na + ON mylna		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input type="checkbox"/> complete?

Whilst ScG moil = 'of the shingly beach' is the conventional genitive, mhuile also works - e.g. Cox. The article remains a problem as ScG mol = 'shingly beach' is masculine so one would expect ScG a' = 'of the' with lenition as occurs on Lewis. Perhaps ON muli = 'jutting crag' was the original. On satellite imagery there is little sign of a shingle beach or, however, of a jutting crag.

Ic mylle must derive from ON mylna and so this is not inconceivable. y > u is regular.

In Iceland there are two Mylna place names and twenty Mylla(n) ones.

Aird na Muile	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ard na Muile	1877	OS 1st edition

Aird na Saille

Place ID 5598 NF 83264 56043 Benbecula Rueval

Scg headland of the blubber

ScG àird na saille

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Thomas suggests 'Blubber Point' based upon ScG saille = 'of blubber'. Whilst there are seals around Flodaigh, this seems an odd name. ScG sàile = 'of salt water' might be better if this was a place where salt was produced. The multitude of bays would be appropriate and there are visible linear constructions at the site here below the high water mark, akin to those as Carinis.

This interpretation however creates a grammatical mismatch as SCG sàl = 'salt water' is masculine.

And it was going so well.....

Aird na Saille

1861

Thomas chart

Blubber Point

1861

Thomas chart

Aird na Struban

Place ID 4909 NF 91023 80197 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ScG headland of the cockles ScG àird nan srùban

Coastal Headland

One would have expected more than one cockle!

Aird na Struban

1804

Bald mapping

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Aird nam Feodag

Place ID 521 NF 87210 57510 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG point of the grey plovers ScG àird nam feodag

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is a site named by Thomas on his 1861 chart. It is a promontory on the shores of Bagh nam Feodag and just S of his Eilean nam Feodag. Ornithologically it is more likely to be a species of plover other than Grey Plover.

Aird nam Feodag 1861 Thomas chart

Àird nam Fiadh

Place ID 5404 NF 81402 55041 Benbecula Rueval

ScG headland of the deer ScG àird nam fiadh

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Not far from a hunting name, this could be part of that scheme.

Àird nam Fiadh	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Hunting Tryst	1877	OS name book
---------------	------	--------------

Àrd nam Fiadh	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Àird nam Madadh

Place ID 1015 NF 94690 66890 North Uist Lees

ScG point of the dogs ScG àird nam madadh

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Àird nam Madadh 2014 Modern OS mapping

Ard nam Madadh 1877 OS 1st edition

Ardmady 1832 Thomson atlas

Ardmaddy 1799 Reid mapping

Arđnamaddy 1789 Ainsie map

Aird nan Ceapan

Place ID 689 NF 77180 66540 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG height of the turves ScG àird nan ceapan

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There are two other ceap names, one on Berneray and one on Baleshare.

Aird nan Ceapan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Aird nan Ceapan	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Ard nan Ceapan	1877	OS 1st edition

Àird nan Gobhar

Place ID	6124	NF 73805 28135	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG headland of the goats			ScG àird nan gobhar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Àird nan Gobhar			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Àrd nan Gobhar			1877	OS 1st edition	

Àird nan Laogh

Place ID 228 NF 91595 73961 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG point of the calves or ON lagoon

ScG àird nan laogh or lög

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I do wonder if in fact the lagoon here was called ON lög about which Vigfusson writes 'a local name of large lakes, e. g. Lögr = the Melar in Sweden or of a great estuary'.

This would seem to be a good name for the whole area here - a lagoon is pretty perfect and unusually there is no obvious other Norse name for this large body of water.

In Norway there are two Log place names both adjacent to large bodies of water.

Àird nan Laogh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Àird nan Laogh

Place ID 799 NF 84950 61440 North Uist Eaval

ScG point of the ON lagoon

ScG àird nan + ON lög

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

I am increasingly of the view that many of the ScG laogh (IPA /Lw:ɣ/) = 'calf' names are in fact ON lög (IPA /lœ:ɣ/) names.

ON lögr is defined by Vigfusson 'a local name of large lakes, e. g. Lögr = the Melar in Sweden, Ó. H.; or of a great estuary'. The accusative reflex is ON lög.

This headland is in the middle of the extensive waterway that is Loch Carabhat.

Àird nan Laogh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Àrd nan Laogh

1877

OS 1st edition

Àird nan Srùban

Place ID 389 NF 84550 57230 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG point of the cockles ScG àird + nan + srùban

Coastal Headland

ScG?

ON?

complete?

ScG srùban = 'cockle' gives the obvious interpretation.

However the area is not known for cockles but is sited on the shores on the current on the North Ford. ScG sruthan = 'of the currents' would make more topographical sense. There is some evidence of a similar confusion on the other place with the same name on the N of North Ford. The vowel sounds however should be diagnostic.

For one of the larger settlements on Griomasaigh, it is odd that it does not appear on the OS 1st or 2nd series.

The other place containing Sruban on the OS 2nd edition mapping is Allt Loch Sruban Mòra, Ullapool but at least 12km inland!

Àird nan Srùban

2014

Modern OS mapping

Àird nan Srùban

Place ID 903 NF 83390 59280 North Uist Eaval

ScG point of the cockle.

ScG àird nan srùban

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Might this be sruthan?

Àird nan Srùban

2014

Modern OS mapping

Aird nan Sruban

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Aird nan Sruban

1877

OS 1st edition

Aird na Stroban

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Àird Reamhar

Place ID 2529 NF 84181 72925 North Uist Central North

ON sluices + ScG point

ScG Àird + ON raufar (ræfar)

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

Beveridge (p222) writes '.. Extends a long jutting point marked Àrd Reamhar upon the Ordnance Survey map - more strictly speaking, an island accessible by stepping-stones.' He talks about the water level being reduced 'by about two feet' by the removal of the sluice by the old mill.

ScG reamhar = 'fat' or 'broad' as the OSNB gives us seems more negative than one would expect.

ON raufar = 'gaps' or 'sluices' describes exactly what the river does nearby to the N, indeed there are still sluices there today.

The initial vowel sound is a reasonable match although au > ea is not regular. That said in Norwegian Bokmål the word is now ræv which would be a regular development.

It might be ON rabbr = 'elongated knoll' is a better match. This word is not in Vigfusson but Rygh discusses it. Again though the initial vowel a > ea is not an ideal vowel change and indeed is further away than the one suggested above.

The distribution of the 120 Reamhar names is slightly odd with many S of the Great Glen in the Gaelic hearland but north of the Great Glen, most are in the Norse area.

The existence of 44 Meall Reamhar and 26 Cnoc Reamar speaks to me of tautologous names being created...

ON rauf occurs as simplex Rauf (2), Raufir, Raufin and Raufar (3) in Iceland whilst in Norway it occurs as a regular specific along with Ræva occurring as a simplex four times.

The one Icelandic name is Rabbarbarasletta indicating the ON *rabbar as a reflex.

The Component Rabb is however a common start to Norwegian place names with two Rabba names and over 100 Rabban(e).

Àird Reamhar	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ard Reamhar	1877	OS 1st edition

Àird Salach

Place ID 1219 NF 82840 59160 North Uist C1arinish

'Salach' + ScG height ScG àird + 'Salach'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is a nearby Bàgh Salach (P#1218) where there is a fuller discussion of the onomastic unit 'Salach'

Àird Salach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Àrd Salach	1877	OS 1st edition
Arde Cailleach	1861	Thomas chart
Ard a Cailleach	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Àird Smeilis

Place ID 2557 NF 86536 68613 North Uist Central South

ON narrow ridge + ScG height

Scg àird + ON *smæl áss

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Beveridge gives us 'perhaps to be explained as smyl-nes or 'point of the evil one' but this rings poetic alarm bells. This looks like one of those difficult Norse -is or -ais endings. I suspect here the generic is ON áss = 'ridge'. See Bharlais for details of how this might work.

If so the generic is probalby Icelandic smæð = 'smallness' or ON smalr = 'narrow'. The last one here has the best phonetical match. æ > ei is regular as is ð > l. Somewhere I expect the word *smæl evolved meaning 'small' or 'narrow' echoed by the Norwegian and Danish smal = 'slim or narrow'.

That said, the /i/ here could well be required to create the slender consonant /l/ and so would sound that same as /e/ and a > e is regular.

Another alternative is ON smali = 'livestock'.

In Norway there are ten Smalåsen which are cognates. Rygh wrtes about one : 'Smalaasen. Located by the narrow water, which must have the name of being long and narrow.'

Àird Smeilis	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Ard Smeilish	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

Aird Smealais	1877	OS name book
---------------	------	--------------

Ard Smialais	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Aird Smeilish		MacDonald sketch history
---------------	--	--------------------------

Àird Thanais

Place ID 206 NF 92119 75693 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON high headland + ScG height

ScG àird + ON há nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

A /t/ is often inserted in the Gaelicized version of places and in this case the OS 1st series Airdhainish is easier to interpret.

MacNiven writes about Eilean an Tannais'sgeir in Islay arriving at Háness (p307). He also points out this name occurs regularly in Norway - I could find 12 - as well as three instances of Haanes in Iceland

Àird Thanais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Heinish Point	1877	OS name book
Ardhainish	1877	OS 1st edition
Aìnnis	1877	OS name book

Àird Thormaid

Place ID 249 NF 92690 76930 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG Norman's height ScG àird Thormaid

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An interesting alternative could be ON haugr/høgr + meid = 'isthmus of the mounds'. With the two duns on this headland it is an attractive option.

The proximity of Cnoc Mòr Thormaid is perhaps a hint that Thormaid is an onomastic unit in itself.

There is a discussion of the last component in Cnoc Mòr Thormaid (q.v.)

Àird Thormaid	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ard Thormaid	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru Norman	1866	Admiralty mapping
Ru Norman	1860	2Otter Sound of Harris

Aird Vullin

Place ID 6105 NF 73502 29280 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG headland of the mill

ScG àird mhuilinn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Whether this refers to this small promontory or the more prominent one in the sea farther west is hard to tell. However as Bald marks a mill just upstream here, that is the one that must be the referent.

Aird Vullin

1804

Bald mapping

Àird-nan-Laogh

Place ID 6706 NF 82392 43927

South Uist

Aird a' Mhachair

ScG promontory of the calves

ScG àird nan laogh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

As ever ON lögr = 'lagoon' is a possibility.

Àird-nan-Laogh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Àrd-nan-laogh

1877

OS 1st edition

Airdrialish

Place ID 5040 NF 93979 71081 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON Ridge of slaves + ScG height

ScG àird + ON þræla áss

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

This is another example of an -ish ending (e.g. Bharlais q.v.). This has been shown to be ON áss = 'ridge' in other places. The specific is almost certainly ON þræll or the genitive plural ON þræla. The first component is ScG àird or àrd.

There is a Trelås and two Trælåsen names in Norway.

There are other names with the root ON þræll on Uist and they also appear as Trial-

Airdrialish

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Ardtrialish

1832

Thomson atlas

Airdthrialish

MacDonald sketch history

Airidh an Thoroghas

Place ID 5637 NF 76472 70457 North Uist Central West

'Thoroghas' + ScG shieling ScG àirigh ab 'Thoroghas'

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This site is recorded as Canmore 10082. See Toroghas for a discussion of that name.

Airidh an Thoroghas

2021

Donald Macaulay

Airidh Loch nan Cuisseag

Place ID 438 NF 85430 56110 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Shieling of the loch of the 'Cuisseag' ScG àirigh + loch + nan + 'Cuisseag'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

See Loch nan Cuisseag (P#414) for more details as to its possible roots of the element 'Cuisseag'. Here it is being treated as an onomastic unit.

Airidh Loch nan Cuisseag

1877

OS 1st edition

Airidh MhicCuish

Place ID 5677 NF 77567 65856 North Uist B1ayhead

'MhicCuish' + ScG shileing

ScG àirigh + 'MhicCuish'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

According to a clan website, the surname MacCuish was first found on the Isle of Uist.
For details about it, see Loch Liath Mhic-cuis (P#591)

[Airidh MhicCuish](#)

[MacDonald sketch history](#)

Airidh na h-Aon Oidche

Place ID 5387 NF 81694 52495 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

'h-Aon Oidche' + ScG shieling

ScG àirigh + 'h-Aon Oidche'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

For a discussion of the onomastic unit 'h-Aon Oidche' see Airaigh na h-Aon Oidhche (P#755).

Airidh na h-Aon Oidche	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------------	------	-------------------

Airidh na h-Aon Oidhche	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------------------	------	----------------

Airidh na h-Aon Oiche	1877	OS name book
-----------------------	------	--------------

Watching of one Night	1832	Thomson atlas
-----------------------	------	---------------

Watching of one Night	1804	Bald mapping
-----------------------	------	--------------

Airidhan an t'Sruthain Ghairbh

Place ID 2500 NF 79581 69363 North Uist Central South

ScG sheilings of the small wild stream

ScG airighean an t' sruthain ghairbh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Airidhan an t'Sruthain Ghairbh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Airidhan an t'Sruthain Ghairbh

1877

OS 1st edition

Àirigh a' Phuill

Place ID 5670 NF 91021 59765 North Uist Eaval

ScG shieling of the ON farm

ScG àirigh a' + ON farm

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

This is the site of MacCodrum's last home with the 'pool' referring to Loch a' Gheàdais.

ScG poll = 'pool' is masculine and so the grammar all correct.

It does seem like quite a big pool?

Indeed Holiday on Tiree has several names that have ended up as -pol having started life as ON ból = 'farm'. He writes

'Heylipol is an example that alternated between -bol and -pol until the last -bol in 1680. For Kirkapoll that date was

1653 and Crossapoll in 1695, whilst Barrapoll and Basapoll are still in common usage.'

I suspect that the thing has happened here and the name was originally a simplex ON ból.

Àirigh a' Phuill

2021

Donald Macaulay

Airigh an Lagain

Place ID 5014 NF 81602 28485 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG sheilnig of the small hollow

ScG àirigh an lagain

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The obvious interpretation is 'sheiling of the small hollow'. The article is as one would expect for a masculine genitive noun.

Topographically there is a hollow just behind the ridge here. This could reflect the ON interpretation of Bealach na Cridhich

Airigh an Lagain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Airidh an Lagain

1877

OS 1st edition

Airigh Aonaghuis 'ic Iain Bhain

Place ID 5610 NF 80181 66523 North Uist Central West

ScG shieling of Angus son of pale Ian ScG àirigh aonaghuis mhic iain bhain

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This name appears in THC (p45) as one of three small hillocks.

Airigh Aonaghuis 'ic Iain Bhain

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Àirigh Àrd

Place ID 6561 NF 83246 39493 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG high shieling

ScG àirigh àrd

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

This site does sit on top of a small height and this probably explains the name.

Àirigh Àrd

2014

Modern OS mapping

Airidh-Àrd

1877

OS 1st edition

Arriard

1804

Bald mapping

Airigh Dhubh ni 'n Ruair

Place ID 1602 NF 76106 68843 North Uist Griminish

ScG black sheiling of the daughter of Ruairidh scG àirigh dhubh nighean Ruairidh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

The Hebridean connection (p14) names it 'the black shieling of ni'n Ruari' and describes it as 'a small hillock not a mile from Loch an Dudair'. 'three hillocks

Airigh Dhubh ni 'n Ruair

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Airigh Eichcaclett

Place ID 6373 NF 78323 34861 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON to rise crag + ScG shieling

ScG àirigh + ON hækka klett

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The final phrase would seem to be ON klett = 'crag'.

However Eichcaclett could form eich cac cleit = 'horse crap outcrop'. Quite how and why I am unsure and it does not feel very grammatical.

The closest I can find in Norse is ON hækka klett = 'to rise crag'.

Airigh Eichcaclett

2014

Modern OS mapping

Airidh Eichcaclett

1877

OS 1st edition

Airigh Ghocmain

Place ID 952 NF 88710 64530 North Uist Lees

ScG sheiling of the domestic sentinel

ScG airigh + ghocmain

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Dwelly writes extensively about what a ScG gocaman was : 'An officer employed in the Hebrides in the days of Martin, who saw a gocaman at the house of MacNeill of Barra. He was stationed at the top of the house, where he watched night and day and strangers were never allowed to draw near the house until they gave satisfactory answers to his questions concerning the purport of their visit.'

Here ScG gocomain would the genitive and the 'h' appears as part of the lenition process.

McDonald derives this as a loan word from ON gauksman = gauks mann.

Martin's reference would indicate that a Gocoman was meant to live near the presence of the clan chief and there is no evidence one is near to here.

A Norse alternative is ON gjögr munn = 'rift mouth'. This is a good topographical description of the narrow entrance to Oban Spónais 200m to the SW.

This is the only occurrence of the word on the OS 2nd series mapping.

Gjógr occurs over 20 times in the Faroes as part of a place name and seven times as the first element of place names in Norway and Juv-, its derivate, over 120 times.

Airigh Ghocmain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Airidh Ghocmain	1877	OS 1st edition
Airidh Chocmain	1877	OS name book

Airigh Làmacleit

Place ID 6090 NF 81942 72932 North Uist S1ollas

'Làmacleit' + ScG shieling.

Sch àirigh + 'Làmacleit'

Settlement

Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Lamacleit (P#5633) for a discussion of the element.

Airigh Làmacleit

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Airigh Mhic Ruairidh

Place ID 1056 NF 76600 74590 North Uist Central West

ScG sheiling of the son of Rory

SCg àirigh mhic ruairidh

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An important place in the Sennashies stories with an assembly site in the area. MacDonald states it formed part of the farm of Griminish.

Airigh Mhic Ruairidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Airidh Mhic Ruari

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Airidh MhicRuairidh

MacDonald sketch history

Airigh MhicAmhlaigh

Place ID 5860 NF 80600 74164 North Uist S1ollas

ScG MacAulay's shieling

ScG àirigh MhicAmhlaigh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

Presumably this refers to the start of the shieling grounds rather than to any structure. Is this the same name as Amhlasairraigh referred to in several place names towards the centre of the island?

Airigh MhicAmhlaigh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Airigh na Gaoithe

Place ID 2522 NF 82678 67683 North Uist Central South

ScG sheiling of the wind

ScG airigh na gaoithe

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

'sheiling of the wind' is the literal Gaelic translation. Poetic?

I think the sound is /gyj/. The start of this is close to ON kúa = 'of cows' from ON kýr = 'a cow'. A possible generic would be ON hjall = 'shed (for fish drying)'. The cognate notes seem to indicate that that fish need not be involved and in Iceland it now means 'poorly built house'.

ON kúla = 'rounded hill' would fit topographically.

The Hebridean Connection has a story about this sheiling (p76) On the 8th of August 1761, whilst 20 years old Sir James, the 8th baronet of Sleat was hunting deer 'in his own forest of Mointeachmhor' (ScG mòinteach mhòr = 'big moorland') at Airigh na Gaoithe, he was accidentally shot by Colonel Macleod of Talisker.

He was carried across to Vallay on blankets and the blankets were provided by Marion, 'nighean Domhuill 'ic Iain 'ic Iomhair' who was using the shieling for summer pasturage at the time as she did every year.

A popular man, a crowd formed at Vallay wanting to kill Colonel Macleod but were eventually persuaded it was a genuine accident.

Sir James had suffered from ill health as a child and the accident was a setback. He attempted to regain his health in a warmer climate when he left the British Isles for Italy in 1765. His health, however, finally failed him in 1766, when on 26th July, he died in Rome aged 25..

An endearing quote about Sir James from 'The Clan Donald Vol iii' was: 'Though an Oxford bred student, his was too robust a personality to be spoiled by an English education.'

In Iceland there are 17 Kúahjall(i/en) and in Norway two Kuhjell(en/ane).

Airigh na Gaoithe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Airigh na Gaoithe

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Airidh na Gaoithe

1877

OS 1st edition

Airigh na h'Aon Oidhche

Place ID 907 NB 01900 28500 Lewis Lewis general

ScG sheiling of + 'h'Aon Oidhche' ScG àiring na + 'h-aon oidhche'

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of the onomastic unit 'h'Aon Oidhche' see Airigh na h'Aon Oidhche (P#755).

Airigh na h'Aon Oidhche

Other

Airigh na h-Aon Oidhche

Place ID 755 NF 80460 64310 North Uist C1arinish

ScG sheiling of the ON pasture protruberance ScG àirigh na + ON höfn - ögg

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst not on OS 1st series this name occurs regularly and is the subject of a piece by Simon Davies.

One view is that these sheilings were placed midway between the principal residences and the mountain or moor pasture and so were a 'half-way' house used en passant for one night, hence the name.

To my ears the pronunciation is 'hawn oyycke' (IPA /hw:n ɥĩçə/) and this could come from a generic ON akr = 'arable land' with

The specific is a good match for ON höfn = 'pasture', a word that somewhat confusingly also means 'harbour' which it could do here.

Whilst ON akr = 'arable land' is close, the initial vowel is not correct. Interestingly Jakobsen writes that the Shetland version of akr is oker or oger. ON ókkr = 'lump, protuberance' and is a good match phonetically.

The final series of vowels is not perfect but can be explained by the desire to resemanticise.

Airigh na h-Aon Oidhche

2014

Modern OS mapping

Airidh na h-aon oidhche

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Airigh Na h-aon Oidhche

Place ID 909 NB 27770 43240 Lewis Lewis general

ScG sheiling of 'h-aon Oidhche' ScG airigh na + 'h-aon oidhche'

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion on the onomastic unit 'h-aon Oidhche' see Airigh Na h-aon Oidhche (P#755)

Airigh Na h-aon Oidhche

Canmore

Airigh na h-Aon Oidhche

Place ID 912 NF 95772 75835 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON shieling of the + 'na h-Aon Oidhche' ScG àirigh na + 'h-aon oidhche'

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name here comes from Haswell-Smith in his section on Sursay (7.21 p260).
For a discussion of the onomastic unit 'h-Aon Oidhche' see Airaigh na h-Aon Oidhche (P#755).

Airigh na h-Aon Oidhche 1996 Haswell

Àirigh na h-Aon Oidhche

Place ID 911 NL 97665 45636 Tìree Tìree general

ScG shieling of the + ' h-Aon Oidhche' ScG àirigh na + 'h-Aon Oidhche'

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For the onomastic unit 'na h-Aon Oidhche', see Airaigh na h-Aon Oidhche (P#755)

Àirigh na h-Aon Oidhche

Other

Airigh nan Luchag

Place ID 2577 NF 88433 72383 North Uist Central North

ScG sheiling of the + ON brook bay

ScG airigh nan + ON læk vík

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The literal translation is 'sheiling of the mice'. The nearby stream has the same component in its name Allt nan Luch which is a consideration.

I think in fact that the common root is ON læk = 'brook', a simplex name.

For this place ON vík got added to create 'brook bay'.

In Iceland there are seven close cognates Lækjarvík whilst in Norway we have six Løkvika

In Caithness there is a stream Allt an Luchain which I suspect has ON lækinn = 'The stream'.

Airigh nan Luchag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Airidh nan Luchag

1877

OS 1st edition

Airigh nan Seilicheag

Place ID 2526 NF 83651 68830 North Uist Central South

ScG sheiling of 'Seilicheag'

ScG airigh + nan + 'Seilicheag'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

See Allt na Seilicheag for details

Airigh nan Seilicheag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Airidh nan Seilicheag

1877

OS 1st edition

Airigh Nighean Ailein

Place ID 731 NF 71780 67880 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG sheiling of Allan's daughter ScG àirigh nighean ailein

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is some material in the Hebridean Connection about this place which I currently cannot find again. The site is now tidal and so would not be a good site on which to build a sheiling.

Airigh Nighean Ailein	2014	Modern OS mapping
Airigh Nighean Allein	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Airidh Nighean Allein	1877	OS 1st edition

Airigh Phàdruig

Place ID 2254 NF 75813 68709 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG Patrick's sheiling

ScG airigh + Phadruig

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

There is no tradition I am aware of that identifies this Patrick, Christian or not.
The more usual spelling nowadays is Pàdraig but also can mean Peter.

The scatter of Phàdruig names is as one might expect across the whole of the Gaelic speaking heartland.

Airigh Phàdruig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Airidh Phadruig

1877

OS 1st edition

Airigh Raonuill

Place ID 5609 NF 80181 66523 North Uist Central West

ScG Ronald's shieling

ScG?

Settlement

Building

ON?

complete?

This appears in THC (p53) as one of three low hillocks

Airigh Raonuill

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Airighean Dubha

Place ID	617	NF 89700 73770	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG black shielings			ScG àirighean dubha		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Airighean Dubha			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Airidhean Dubha			1877	OS 1st edition	

Airighean Horisarry

Place ID 5635 NF 75773 72643 North Uist V1allay

ON shieling of the sanctuary + ScG shieling ScG àirighean + ON hörgs ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

This is an example of a tautologous name. The initial ScG àirigh was added to the existing onomastic unit of 'Horisarry'. This second component has a Norse structure with ON ærgi = 'shieling' as the generic.

The second element could be simply referring to Horaisearaidh (P#700) on the shore near Bayhead, but there is some evidence that the shieling was attached to Tigharry (Donald Macaulay from, Tobar an Dfulchas)

Here ON haugs = 'of the cairn' or ON hörgs = 'of the cairn' would be the best topographical fit although the initial vowel sound is not quite right in terms of quantity.

Hauga kot in Iceland would have a similar meaning as would the two Haugssel names there.

Airighean Horisarry

2021

Donald Macaulay

Airighean na Pollaig

Place ID 5632 NF 83330 71870 North Uist S1ollas

ScG shielings of the little pool

ScG àirighean na poll -aig

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

A name given to me by Donald Macaulay with the meaning ScG 'shielings of the pool below the waterfall'. I can find no reference to the 'below the waterfall' component but ScG pollag is the diminutive of ScG poll = 'pool' and the /i/ is the effect of the genitive case.

The shielings lie withing the Sollas township grazings.

Airighean na Pollaig

2021

Donald Macaulay

Airigh-mhuilinn

Place ID	6147	NF 74458 26664	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG shileing of the mill			ScG àirigh mhuilinn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Township			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Airigh-mhuilinn			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Airidh-mhuilinn			1877	OS 1st edition	

Airight nam Bàn

Place ID 4987 NF 79160 28518 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG sheiling of the women

ScG airigh nam bàn

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

This settlement clearly has a long history. The 't' in the modern name must be an error and the names means 'sheiling of the women' which works grammatically. This is often taken to refer to nuns - e.g. in From Machair to Mountain Carmichael calls it 'the sheiling of the women (nuns)'. The main building here was thought to be called Tigh Geal = 'white house'.

It was also thought to be the site of an inn with some evidence for that, possibly taking over the hospitality provided by a religious establishment.

Airight nam Bàn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Arinambane	1877	OS 1st edition
Airinamban	1877	OS name book
Arrienabain	1877	OS name book
Airidh na Ban	1877	OS name book
Arrie na bain	1804	Bald mapping

Airneabhal

Place ID 88 NF 78030 25630 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON eagle's mountain

ON arnar + fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ON arnar = 'of the eagle' fits well here. Eagles still breed in the area.

There is a cognate Arnarfjöll in Iceland and two Arnesfjellet in Norway but the cognate Ørnefjell is much commoner appearing over 100 times.

Airneabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Arnaval	1877	OS 1st edition
Arnisfeald	1654	Blaeu mapping

Airneabhal

Place ID 2104 NF 78034 25614 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON mountain of eagles

ON arna fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

I suspect that the correct declension of ON örn = 'eagle' here is ON arna = 'of the eagles' and so possibly indicating a nesting site.

The Blaeu name would appear to be Arnisfeald but the /s/ is drawn as a long /s/ and could be a scribal error. It is unlikely that the /s/ would disappear.

There is another Arnaval on Skye

In Norway there are four Arnafjord but no fjalls.

Airneabhal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Arnaval

1877

OS 1st edition

Arnisfeald

1654

Blaeu mapping

Aisgerbheinn

Place ID 6183 NF 75386 23727 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Aisger' + ScG mountain

'Aisger'+ ScG bheinn

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

This is similar to Triuibheinn where the ON fjell = 'mountain' must have been replaced by ScG bheinn. Criribheinn is another nearby example. It is interesting to see that the lenited /h/ appears in both for no obvious reason. The specific must be shared with that of Aisgernis (P#6178) where there is a discussion.

Aisgerbheinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Askervein	1877	OS 1st edition
Aisgirbheinn	1877	OS name book

Aisgernis

Place ID 155 NF 91530 72791 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON headland of small boats

ON aska nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

ON askr has amongst other meanings, 'ash tree' or 'small boat'. In this place in a corner of Loch nam Madadh, one suspects the latter. ON askar is the nominative plural.

Rygh and Google gives us 'other Names, not very many, are sms. with the derived Word eski n., 'with Ash overgrown Place'.

An interesting alternative could be ON eiðs þing = 'thing of the peninsula'. The ON ð is pronounced as the /th/ is 'father' and so is often lost whilst the ON þ is pronounced as the /th/ in 'thank'.

Aisgernis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Askernish	1877	OS 1st edition
Eskin	1610	Speed mapping
Eskin	1607	Hole mapping
Eskin	1595	Mercator later

Aisgernis

Place ID 6178 NF 74436 24042 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON headland of the ash trees

ON aska nes

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Whilst the generic looks like ON nes = 'headland' there is no coastal headland here. The original meaning was 'nose' and this could describe the mountain of Aisgerbheinn which is separate to the other hills and does protrude from the rest of the hills here.

The easiest specific would be ON askr = ash tree, anything of ash'.

There is a cognate Asknes in Iceland and in Norway there are five Askaneset, one Askaneset and one Asknes place names.

Aisgernis	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------	------	-------------------

Askernish House	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Askernish	1804	Bald mapping
-----------	------	--------------

Aite Feaech

Place ID 280 NF 78400 57790 North Uist B1aleshare

ON bay of the isthmuses

ON eiða vík

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

This is recorded on the Thomas chart only and the obvious translation is from ScG aite + fiadhaich = 'wild place'. It is possible however that it started as a Norse name ON eiða + vik = 'isthmus bay', a very good topographical fit.

Aite Feaech

1861

Thomas chart

Aite Feaech

n/a

Allt a' Bhealaich

Place ID	5029	NF 78023 29769	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG stream of the pass			ScG allt a' bhealaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
The OSNB sagely gives us 'the burn of the pass'.					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Allt a' Bhealaich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Allt a' Mhuilinn

Place ID	456	NF 87960 55410	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG mill brook			ScG allt + a' + mhuilinn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
No sign however of the mill.					
Allt a' Mhuilinn			1877	OS 1st edition	

Allt a' Mhuilinn

Place ID 1122 NF 72690 75110 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG mill brook

ScG allt a' mhuilinn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

An easy one although there is no evidence of a mill. The lake was partly drained in the early 19th century and this probalby meant the end of any mill.

Allt a' Mhuilinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Allt a' Mhuillinn

Place ID 2513 NF 80701 64338 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG stream of the mill Scg Allt a' mhuilinn

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Useful evidence of a mill in the area especially when combined with Loch na Maoile Duibhe (q.v.)

Allt a' Mhuillinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Allt a' Mhurtair

Place ID 522 NF 84560 57330 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Brook of the + ON location of the beacon ScG allt + a' + ON vörðu stað

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With ScG murtair = 'assassin', one imagines there is some story attached to this name but I am not aware of it! It could be connected with the story about the arrow and the quiver connected to Eilean nan Saighead and Eilean a' Bhàigh-ghlais on the N coast of Griomasaigh.

It does seem unlikely and ON varð= 'watch' would be a good first element, or more particularly its genitive ON vörðu. The second element could be the simple ON á = 'river'. This matches the ScG allt = 'stream' well and the ON á matches ScG air phonetically reasonably.

A simpler solution may be presented by the Cognate notes observing that Varða is a common name in Iceland and it means 'beacon'. The ending is not as long as one would like however ON vördur = 'beacons' is the accusative plural case and this would develop to provide Mhurtair.

Topographically a good place for a beacon as it is where the ford arrives from Benbecula.

All the above was based on my forgetting that there would be an /st/ sound inserted between the /r/ and the /t/!

The argument about ON varða still applies with ON vörðu = 'of the cairn' probably being the best case. I suspect that the generic could be ON stað = 'location or position' creating ON vörðu stað = 'location of the cairn', a good topographical fit.

Varða occurs over 30 times in Iceland and Varðar occurs as the start of two place names. In Norway too, varda is a common start to place names occurring over 300 times with one Vardestadhøyen.

There are a plethora of Ward like names in Shetland and Orkney that share this root.

There are no other occurrences of Mhurtair on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Allt a' Mhurtair

1877

OS 1st edition

Allt Altisary

Place ID 4950 NF 80541 28738 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG stream + ON sheiling of the rough rocky ridge ScG allt + ON holts ærgi

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The generic is almost certainly ON ærgi = 'sheiling' and the genitival s is further evidence for a Norse root.

One possibility for the specific is ON altaris, the genitive of ON altari = 'altar'. The 'r' appears in one of the OS name book options, Alltrisaridh.

With a nearby Crosgard and Eilean an Easbuig (Island of the Bishop) where the stream joins the sea, there are strong Christian connections here.

Further reflection gives us ON hjalt = 'hilt' or ON holt = 'coppice'. The first has no clear topographical bearing whilst the second is a better potential root. Vigfusson adds the meaning of 'rough rocky ridge' in Iceland to the word and so ON holts = 'of the rough rocky ridge' is a good fit phonetically and topographically.

ærgi is rare in iceland but Holtshús, Holtsbeitarhús, Holtsbúð and three Holtssel have a similar meaning.

In Norway the (almost) cognate Holt(a/e)setra occurs 11 times with an additional six names with the older '-sætra' ending.

Allt Alltrisaridh	1877	OS name book
Allt Altisary	1877	OS 1st edition
Altisary Burn	1877	OS name book
Ault Alasary	1804	Bald mapping

Allt an t-Searraich

Place ID 1769 NF 85755 56336 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG mstream of the yung animal

ScG allt an t- searraich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

Thomas gives us 'Foul Stream'. I can see little reason. ScG searach = 'easterner' and ScG searrach = 'young of large animal' would both work

The stream passes Creag nan Saor = 'crag of the joiners' and the first sound looks similar but on reflection is not that close.

ON sjá rák = 'sea pasture' would to me ears work well with the ScG being pronounced /jɛRəx/

There is a Sjoaråkeren in Norway and both components occur commonly there.

45 Searraich names are scattered across the Gaelic heartland on the OS 2nd edition mapping. There are three others on Uist and nine on Lewis.

Allt an t-Searraich

1861

Thomas chart

Allt Bà-finne

Place ID 2530 NF 84948 73298 North Uist Central North

ScG stream of the + ON escarpment fields ScG allt + ON barð vinja

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG bò-fhionn was an old form of cattle. The disappearance of the /h/ however is a problem as the sound would then change significantly as initial ScG /fh/ is silent.

ON vin = 'field' would work well for the specific although there are problems with chronology as it ceased to be productive early on. That said it survived in Shetland later and it is possible that this happened on Uist also.

ON barð = 'escarpment' works for the specific as part of a close compound and the overall meaning of 'escarpment fields' is a good topographical fit here.

Allt Bà-finne

2014

Modern OS mapping

Allt Ba-finne

1877

OS 1st edition

Allt Bholagair

Place ID 4938 NF 79902 29705 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG stream + ON boundary of fields

ScG allt + ON valla garð

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ScG allt = 'stream' is clear for the first component.

As so often the OS 1st series name is the most helpful - Allt Volagir. ON valla = 'of the fields' or ON vallar = 'of the field' both fit well topographically and one of the alternative in the OS name book Bholagarry is helpful towards the ON garð = 'boundary'.

Feannagan are visible to the E of the stream as it nears the sea and not on the W and so one can assume that the best land lay to the E in Gaelic times as well as in Norse times with the stream forming a boundary. Natural features such as streams were commonly used as boundaries.

Both elements occur commonly. Vollgarden and Vollegarden in Norway could be cognates as are the 15 occurrences of Vallargarður in Iceland.

Allt Bholagair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Allt Volagir	1877	OS 1st edition
Allt Mholiger	1877	OS name book
Allt Mholagir	1877	OS name book
Allt Bholagarry	1877	OS name book
Ault Varelgarr	1804	Bald mapping

Allt Bun an Amair

Place ID 6206 NF 81572 24849 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Bun an Amair' + ScG stream ScG allt + 'Bun an Amair'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Bun an Amair (P#6205) for a discussion of that component.

Allt Bun an Amair 1877 OS 1st edition

Allt Camber

Place ID 2650 NF 93047 82623 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigearraidh

ON ridge + ScG stream ScG allt + ON kambr

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Port a' Camber for a discussion of Camber.

Allt Camber

1877

OS 1st edition

Allt Chiasacro

Place ID 2554 NF 86963 71963 North Uist Central North

ON stream of the small valley + ScG brook ScG allt + ON kjóssar gróf

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

On Lewis -cro endings often stem from ON gróf = 'stream' but more generally 'pit' or 'hole'. Here 'stream' works well topographically. The Norsk place name site quotes 'dug depression at all, produced by human labour or by forces of nature'.

The specific is probably OMN kjóssar = 'of the small valley'.

The ending is relatively common in Lewis, e.g. Scaliscro, Cliascro.
In Norway there is a Kjosgraven which a cognate I suspect.

Allt Chiasacro	2014	Modern OS mapping
Allt Chiasacro	1877	OS 1st edition

Allt Chruaidh

Place ID 5365 NF 81939 51256 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG hard stteam

ScG allt chruaidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'hard burn' which makes sense with ScG cruaidh = 'hard' although I am not sure what makes a 'burn' 'hard'.

Allt Chruaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Allt Chruaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Avhin Croubh

1804

Bald mapping

Allt Dubh

Place ID	5213	NF 81228 47523	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG black stream			ScG allt dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Allt Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Allt Dubh

Place ID	6698	NF 81133 44164	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG black stream			ScG allt dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Allt Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Allt Fhaothlach

Place ID 5403 NF 81737 54064 Benbecula Rueval

ON isthmus stream + ScG stream

SCg allt + ON eið læk

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A stream name ending in /lach/ is likely to be Norse with the generic ON læk = 'stream'.
I suspect the generic is ON eið = 'isthmus'.

There is an Eiðalækur in Iceland

Allt Fhaothlach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Allt Fhaothlach

1877

OS 1st edition

Allt Gleann-tùis

Place ID 1008 NF 93550 66840 North Uist Lees

ScG stream of the ON house of the green spot am scG allt + ON glenna hús

Fresh water

Stream

ScG?

ON?

complete?

A slightly odd phrasing.

In a similar situation E of Eaval one solution was ON glenna = 'an opening or green patch among trees or rocks'.

If it was then ON hús = 'house' would be the obvious generic. There are ruins here where the stream reaches the sea and it is a green spot in among the rocks.

Ben Tuishaval (Lewis), Allt an Tùis (Argyll) and Allt Tuishanain (Arran) are the only other names on the OS 2nd edition mapping containing /tuis/. All could easily contain ON hús as a root.

Allt Gleann-tùis

2014

Modern OS mapping

Allt Gleann-tùis

1877

OS 1st edition

Allt Gulabaidh

Place ID 625 NF 88445 76663 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON jarl's fasrm + ScG stream

ScG allt + ON goða bæ

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

Beveridge gives us ON gulr-bær = 'yellow farmstead'. There was called Goulaby Burn.

The generic ON bær = 'town, farm' probably in the dative here ON bæ and the word tends to indicate a decent sized settlement and often an early name. (Marwick)

ON gulr is a possible root but with ð > l in the Gaelicization process (Henderson e.g. ON byrðingr > ScG birlinn) so are ON guð or ON goð both = 'god' or ON goði = 'jarl'.

The first two have an 's' for the genitive whilst the last has ON goða = 'of the jarl' as the genitive. ON goða + bær = 'jarl's farm' is an attractive ad not impossible root.

The Jarl was an important person and described as chief of a þing. In Iceland there were 48 of these title holders.

MacDonald writes 'The name was wont to be associated with St. Columba.'

The only other place in Scotland with Goula as the first component is Goular which is adjacent to North Uist's other parish church, presumably another area of importance for the leadership of the islands.

In Iceland there are ten close cognates Goðaborg place names.

Allt Gulabaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Goulaby Burn

1877

OS 1st edition

Gulbay

MacDonald sketch history

Allt Mhollach

Place ID	6372	NF 77758 34577	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG rough stream			ScG allt mhollach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Allt Mhollach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Allt Mhollach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Allt Mille nan Con

Place ID 6443 NF 81858 36772 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG stream of the lump of the dogs Scg allt mill nan con

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'This name signifies Stream of the "Kild Dogs'

Allt Mille nan Con	2014	Modern OS mapping
Allt Mille nan Con	1877	OS 1st edition

Allt na Bèiste

Place ID	6452	NF 84788 36022	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG stream of the otter			ScG allt na bèiste		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Allt na Bèiste			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Allt na Bèiste			1877	OS 1st edition	

Allt na Criche

Place ID 6344 NF 83739 33518 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG stream of the boundary ScG allt na criche

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Quite what is was the boundary of is unclear.

Allt na Criche 2014 Modern OS mapping

Allt na Criche 1877 OS 1st edition

Allt na Liana Glaise

Place ID 2545 NF 86128 73705 North Uist Central North

ScG stream of the green water meadow ScG allt na liana glaise

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Burn of the green meadow' which must be right.

Allt na Liana Glaise	2014	Modern OS mapping
Allt na Liana Glaise	1877	OS 1st edition

Allt na Muile

Place ID 1050 NF 75450 75620 North Uist Grim1inish

ScG stream of the mill

ScG allt na muile

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

There is some evidence of a mill just below the E end of Loch Olabhat. This seems to be a variant on the usual ScG muileann = 'mill'. The gender is also a problem as the masculine ScG muileann would usually give ScG a' with lenition. However this seems to be a common change and might reflect a different gender for this variation of the word. Elsewhere the interpretation of this component is ON muli = 'headland' e.g. Cox p342 or ON möl = 'storm beach'.

There are only two Muile names on the OS 2nd edition mapping, both on North Uist. It is somewhat odd how Muileann names are restricted to the W coast.

Allt na Muile

1877

OS 1st edition

Allt na Mùilne

Place ID 5103 NF 85106 80387 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG stream of the ON gravel shore

ScG allt na + ON mölina

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Although the name never made it to the OS 1st series mapping, it was recorded in the OSNB but deemed 'unnecessary' citing 'There had been a corn mill at this bay some time ago'.

There is a problem with the article as ScG muileann = 'mill' is masculine and so we would expect ScG a' with lenition.

This has been an indicator of a Norse root in other instances along with the vague 'some time ago' rings alarm bells.

Here perhaps ON mölina = 'The gravel (shore)' would be a better interpretation and fits well topographically. One expects an epithetic vowel between /l/ and /m/ in ScG and so it is not impossible for one to appear here in mùilne to produce mùilina which is a good approximation to the sound.

Allt na Mùilne

1877

OS name book

Allt na Seilicheag

Place ID 2520 NF 82426 68848 North Uist Central South

ScG stream of the ON shieling cairn

ScG Allt na + ON selja haug

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

There is confusion over which stream is which between the modern OS mapping and the 1st edition. As well as the ScG allt = 'stream' name there is an ScG airigh = 'shieling' name suggesting that the feature does not refer to either but another feature in the area.

The OS name book gives us "Stream of the snails' but this seems unlikely give the comments above. It is a Carmichael name and so should be in proper Gaelic form but the article is unexpected as it is in the singular. One snail seem quite excessive to name a burn after. The IPA pronunciation is /jeleçag/

A good Gaelic version, ScG seilich-ag = 'place of willows' but it is odd that Carmichael did not pick up on this.

With two streams containing Seilicheag and the shieling name, it suggest a place here called Seilicheag. To my mind there are two good Norse options both with a specific of ON selja = 'of the shielings'. For the generic ON haga = 'pasture' or ON haug = 'mound' both work with the first being closer phonetically but the latter better topographically. Indeed ON selja haug = 'shieling mound' is a perfect description of this site that started life as a chambered cairn and ended it as a set of shielings. The /ch/ sound is a problem as might be whether ON sel was used in Scotland as it was common in Iceland not Norway where ON salr was prevalent.

In Iceland there are five Selhagi, two Selhagar and two Seljahagar place names. In Norway Selhaugen occurs 11 times. S of Inverness is a place now mapped on the OS as Loch Duntelchaig but went through Dún na Seilcheig and Dun Seilcheig to get there. (PN of Inverness p176) Watson writes about it too (p232)

Allt na Seilicheag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Allt na Seilicheag

1877

OS 1st edition

Allt nan Luch

Place ID 2578 NF 88396 72330 North Uist Central North

ScG stream of the + ON brook

ScG allt nan + ON læk

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A typically tautologous name. See Airigh nan Luchag for a fuller discussion.
The ScG nan reflects an understanding on luch as ScG luch = 'mouse'.

Allt nan Luch

2014

Modern OS mapping

Allt nan Luch

1877

OS 1st edition

Allt nan Searrach

Place ID 2521 NF 82603 68363 North Uist Central South

ScG stream of the foals

ScG allt nan searrach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

There is a good Gaelic root here: ScG searrach = 'colt' and so here probably the genitive plural 'of the colts'.
Something slightly odd is however going on with Loch an t-Searraich being 2km NE on a different water course.
A Norse alternative is hjarð - rák = 'herd cattle track' which could work, especially bearing in mind that the herd might have lived in either of the nearby sheiling areas.

There are fourteen name son the OS 2nd mapping containing Searrach spread pretty well over the Gaelic speaking heartland.

Allt nan Searrach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Allt Lona

1877

OS 1st edition

Allt nan Seilicheag

Place ID 2492 NF 83293 70465 North Uist Central South

ScG stream of the ON wood of willows

ScG allt nan + ON selja skóg

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The snail burn' however with an Airigh nan Seilicheag as well, it seems unlikely the snails got everywhere.

An alternative could be ScG seilich -ag = 'place of willows but you would expect this to be singular and so not have the ScG nan article.

However with two streams of this name and a sheiling of this name, I would suggest that there is a place here Seilicheag, probalby based on the cairn and shieling mound.

I have no obvious Norse alternative. The best I could do is ON selja skóg = 'wood of willows'. It is possible the 's' was lost to help create the known ScG snail.

I think the cognate evidence is relatively strong to support this derivation.

In Norway we have five Seljeskog(en/an) names and a Seljaskógar in Iceland.

Allt nan Seilicheag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Allt nan Seilicheag

1877

OS 1st edition

Allt Rossel

Place ID 6456 NF 85271 36719 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Rossel' + ScG stream ScG allt + 'Rossel'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This rather counteracts my initial interpretation of Rubha Ròiseal (P#6391) as 'headland of the waves' as the stream cannot have waves.....

Allt Rossel 2014 Modern OS mapping

Allt Rossel 1877 OS 1st edition

Allt Ruadh

Place ID	2276	NF 78301 67933	North Uist	Central West	
ScG red stream			ScG ALLT RUADH		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Allt Ruadh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Allt Ruadh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Allt Scalavat

Place ID 6386 NF 84765 34187 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Scalavat' + ScG stream ScG allt + 'Scalavat'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Scalavat (P#6387) for a discussion of that element.

Allt Scalavat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Allt Scalavat	1877	OS 1st edition
Scalavat Burn	1877	OS name book
Abhuinn Sgalabhat	1877	OS name book

Allt Slignis

Place ID 6218 NF 82290 23039 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON headland of the mown field + ScG stream ScG allt + ON slægju nes

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The generic is clearly ON nes = headland and must refer to one of the smallish headlands up or down the coast from this stream. The S one has Torr Usinish as a name for th hill there so I suspect it is the headland to the N, one that is the entrance to Caolas Stulaigh.

Three possibilities occur for the specific. ON sleggja = 'stone with a round hole; ON slok = 'sluice' and slægju = 'mown field'.

The cognate notes made me look at satellite imagery and there does appear to be a decent area of grass above the headland, a green spot in a brown coast. In this area is a considerable area f feannagan suggesting that a mown field is feasible here.

!7 places in Iceland begin with Sleggj-, 28 with Slægj- but only three with Slok-.

There is a Slægjunes, the only nes name with these three options.

Abhuinn Sliginish	1877	OS 1st edition
Allt Sliginnis	1877	OS name book
Sliginish Burn	1877	OS name book
Allt Slignis	1877	OS name book

Allt Spotal

Place ID 4941 NF 83532 35701

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ON Spotal + ScG stream

ScG allt + ON spotal

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

See Loch Spotail for a discussion.

Allt Spotal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Allt Spótail

1877

OS name book

Allt Spotal

1877

OS 1st edition

Alltan Chaluum

Place ID	6457	NF 85214 35632	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG Calum's small stream			ScG allt -an Chaluum		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Alltan Chaluum			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Alltan Chaluum			1877	OS 1st edition	

Am Bagh Caol

Place ID	2059	NF 97692 74835	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG	The narrow bay		ScG am bàgh caol		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
	Am Bagh Caol		1983	Sea names of Berneray	

Am Bagh Salach

Place ID 2060 NF 96525 74267 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Salach' + ScG the bay

ScG am bàgh + 'Salach'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

See the rather similar to Bàgh Salach (P#1218) on Carinis for a fuller discussion of the component 'Salach', it is possible that the root here is ON salr = 'hall or room' which evolved to mean simply '(small) farm house with ON sal as the acc. Or dat. The ScG -ach could conceivably sound like -aig which is a common version of ON vik = 'bay'. This would give us 'small farm house bay'.

There is a good sheiling mound here and that would fit the description.

Am Bagh Salach

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Am Banca Mòr

Place ID 6077 NF 81780 73688 North Uist S1ollas

ScG the big track ScG am banca mòr

Settlement Track

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes, google mangles 'This is the name given to a section of cul-de-sac that leads up the mountain Solas. It was built by the locals at the beginning of this century. It was a big work in fact, they used hand bars at work. It was estimated that the area's workers received two shillings a day, while those from other areas received two shillings and sixpence a day. It was never completed, because there was not enough money. He had a right to reach down to the Black Lochs on the other side of the mountain.'

ScG banca generally means 'bank' but here reading Niclain it must mean track too.

Am Banca Mòr

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Am Bearradh Ard

Place ID 5806 NF 80411 75520 North Uist S1ollas

ScG the high ridge

ScG am bearradh àrd

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Niclain writes 'This shows how the land, and especially the plains, are changing. The sea used to reach as far as the High Cliff long ago. Today, all of this cliff was covered with white sand, but it is now covered with grass. As you can see from the map, the cliff is very long, over a mile long.'

The word ScG bearradh = 'cutting' can also mean 'ridge or precipice' and that is the meaning here as there is a steep drop here as one heads north,

Am Bearradh Ard

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Am Bearradh Ard

Place ID 6004 NF 81621 76153 North Uist S1ollas

ScG the high ridge ScG an bearradh àrd

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is an obvious ridge that separates the flat higher agricultural land from the lower grazing area.

Am Bearradh Ard

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Am Bearradh Iseal

Place ID 5788 NF 80536 76127 North Uist S1ollas

ScG The low ridge

ScG am bearradh ìseal

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Niclain writes 'The beaches are constantly changing. At one time they could descend to the Lower Beach with a cart anywhere, all three miles; you cannot today'. You still cannot today!

Am Bearradh Iseal

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Am Bota Dubh

Place ID	5887	NF 78856 73002	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG The black river bank			ScG am bota dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Botarua is nearby.					
Am Bota Dubh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Am Braigh Ban

Place ID 1581 NF 94070 80750 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG The fair + ON pier

ScG am + ON bryggja + ScG bàn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop who gives us the name gives the meaning as 'The Fair Breast'.

ON bryggja = 'a pier or landing stage' is too good topographically for it not to be involved.

I think the name started as a simplex ON bryggja = 'pier' name, an excellent topographical fit, and then the Gaels added the article and the descriptor, possibly because of the existence of another landing place nearby.

Less likely but worth considering - in Iceland there are four Banabrekka where ON brekka = 'slope' and Vigfusson writes about ON brekka = 'slope' 'freq. in local names in Icel.: as a law term, the hill where public meetings were held and laws promulgated, etc.' With ON banað = 'killing' is there a possibility this was an execution site? One imagines 'bana brekka' being heard as 'ban a brekka' by a Gael who recognises each section but thinks they are in the wrong order and reorders them according to his grammar.

There are ten simplex Bryggja names in Iceland and over 20 in Norway.

Am Braigh Ban

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Am Bràighe Luim

Place ID	5725	NF 77862 76257	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG The bare brae			ScG am bràighe luim		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Am Bràighe Luim			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Am Bruach Ruadh

Place ID	5755	NF 76918 74607	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG The red bank			ScG am bruach ruadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Am Bruach Ruadh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Am Buaile

Place ID	5967	NF 79508 73416	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG The town			ScG am buaile		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Am Buaile			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Am Mol Mòr

Place ID	5971	NF 83483 79716	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG the big shingle beach			ScG am mol mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Am Mol Mòr			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Am Muileann Luaidh

Place ID 6070 NF 82449 74187 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG The fulling mill ScG am muileann-luaidhaidh

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A mill used to be operated here. The mill influenced the names of surrounding places.
ScG muileann-luadhaidh = 'fulling mill', i.e. a mill where the felting process happens.

Am Muileann Luaidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Am Mullach Mòr

Place ID 6051 NF 81683 74919 North Uist S1ollas

ScG the big summit

ScG am mullach mòr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The big summit seems a little extreme although its position does command a fine view. ScG mullach can also mean 'crest' or 'height' and these might be closer topographically.

Am Mullach Mòr

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Am Pol Gorm

Place ID	5796	NF 79238 75691	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG The green pool			ScG am poll gorm		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Am Pol Gorm			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Amar a' Mhùin

Place ID 6042 NF 82452 75070 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG channel of the urinemu ScG amar a' mhùin

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes 'It was at this drain that they used to collect the urine for the Tweed Works.'

ScG amar = 'channel' and ScG mùn = 'urine' would seem to explain it and the presence of a fulling mill on the hill behind this place helps.

It does seem a little unlikely though.

ON hamarr = 'crag' and ON munnr = 'opening' could have a part to play as this is where the once extensive lake here drained out towards the sea.

A Hamramön in Iceland is interesting.

Amar a' Mhùin

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Amhuinn Lòna

Place ID 5491 NF 83899 52578 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG river of the meadows

ScG abhainn lòn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Thomas' version of 'river of the pools' seems sensible although I am unsure where the /a/ has come from. ScG lòn also means 'meadow' and that seems most appropriate here. Perhaps ScG lònan = 'small marshy meadow' which got truncated?

A long shot would be ON lóna höfn = 'haven of the pools' which the Gaels then reordered to make sense to them. It is not impossible.

Amhuinn Lòna

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

River of the Pools

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

An Aird

Place ID 2122 NF 78937 63419

North Uist

B1aleshare

ScG The height

ScG an àird

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

This is the dative i.e. 'at the height'

An Aird

1971

Macdonald Two townships

An Aird Chaol

Place ID 2042 NF 94874 76394 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG The narrow headland

ScG an àird chaol

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

This narrow headland is probably Eilean na Cille which is a tidal island connected to Bhotarsaigh so works with Mackillop's (p31) 'A narrow point of land which forms part of the island of Votersay.' If not the above named island then the peninsula just to the E.

An Aird Chaol

1983

Sea names of Berneray

An Ataireachd Ard

Place ID 1125 NF 72640 74680 North Uist S1colpaig

ON out to the foaming sea

ON út á rok

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

This might be an alias for Druim Skilivat. The Sennashies talk of distillation in this corner of the island and this could be one of the sites. ScG the fermentation height is a direct translation albeit with a slightly odd order.

With an IPA of /ahdɪrʲəxg/ an initial ON út = 'out' or útarr = 'outer' is a possibility with its position on the NW corner of Uist.

There are several possibilities for the generic. ON hryggr = 'ridge, ON rok = 'foaming sea' or ON rák = 'pasture' would all make some form of sense. The former is the easiest to understand but has problems with the vowel. Unusually I suggest the middle one, the most poetic, might be appropriate here.

One thing to consider is that as a nautical phrase ON út often means going out to Iceland from Norway. No better stepping off point for Iceland than here.

An Ataireachd Ard

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Bota Creadha

Place ID 5690 NF 91697 80045 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ScG The mound of clay ScG an bota creadha

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop gives us 'The mound of clay' and writes that the clay here is considered to be of a good quality.

An Bota Creadha

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

An Caisteal

Place ID 2369 NF 69646 71207 North Uist B1alrinald

ScG The castle

ScG An Caisteal

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Sadly however little remains of the 'castle' here.

A simple name ,like this tends to be an old one, particularly as the ON kastali is a very similar word, both based on the Latin castellum

An Caisteal

1877

OS 1st edition

An Caolas Mor

Place ID 2045 NF 96677 74432

North Uist

Lochp1ortain

ScG The big narrows

ScG an caolas mòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop (p33)gives us 'The big fairway'.

An Caolas Mor

1983

Sea names of Berneray

An Carra

Place ID 6095 NF 77030 32122 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG The standing stone

ScG an carra

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Tis refers to the impressive standing stone here - details at <https://canmore.org.uk/site/9886/south-uist-loch-an-athain-an-carra>

An Carra

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Carra

1877

OS 1st edition

Clach Barnach Fionn

Other

An Carran Dubh

Place ID 2013 NF 95307 80643 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG The place of the black rocky shelf ScG an carr -an dubh ScG?
 ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef complete?

Mackillop gives three possible names. ScG carr = 'rocky shelf' in this context with suffix ScG -an = 'place of' works for the generic.

An Carran Cuil	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Na Carrain	1983	Sea names of Berneray
An Carran Dubh	1983	Sea names of Berneray

An Ceòthan

Place ID 1880 NF 77682 55739 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG The + ON haven of the skuas or little terns ScG an + ON kjóa höfn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

This name occurs here and as part of Sgeir a' Cheothain and Tobar a' Cheotain.

The OS name book provides nothing.

ScG ceòthar = 'mist,smoke' would be the obvious Gaelic root, but the existence of nearby Sgeir a' and Tobar a' Cheòthain nearby slightly militates against it and topographically it is not that applicable for the most sheltered corner of an extensive bay.

With a pronunciation of /kʲɔ:.ən/ A phonetical possibility is based on ON kviðr = 'belly', possibly in the form ON kviðinn = 'The belly' or as the compound ON kviðar vin = 'meadow of the belly' but this is not a component I can find in Iceland or Norway.

A little further away in sound but very common in place names is ON hvítr = 'white' or 'shining'. The compound ON hvit-vin = 'white meadow' would be a good topographical description of the hay meadows where the airport now sits.

However these all seem a trifle contrived. I think the solution is simpler ON kjöl höfn = 'keel haven'. Topographically as mentioned it is the best place on the beach to draw up a keel.

The /l/ disappearing is a problem although at the end of the first phrase and with reduction it is not impossible. The initial sound is good - e.g. on Tíree Holliday writes that Ceòl could have as its root ON kjölr as its root.

Near this is ON kjóll = 'flat bottomed ship' with ON kjólana = 'the ships'. The linear strip nature of the reef here could be construed as the upturned keels of several ships.

One way around this is ON kjói = 'skua' with its genitive reflex ON kjóa and these birds breed in the area but it seems a slightly less likely name topographically although the cognate notes are to my eyes a trifle surprising and lean me to this meaning.

Nearby is Calla Geodha which could stem from ON kili gjá = 'keel cove' where ON kili is the dative of ON kjölr.

Kjólsvík occurs as the first component of a name seven times in Iceland as a close cognate whilst in Norway Kjølahovet and Kjølshamn are cognates.

ON kjóa is a surprisingly common specific in Iceland occurring around 100 times but less common in Norway.

An Ceòthan

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Ceòthan

1877

OS 1st edition

An Cnoc Loisgte

Place ID	2186	NF 79102 63399	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG The burnt hillock			ScG an cnoc loisgte		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Cnoc Loisgte			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

An Corran

Place ID 5098 NF 85827 80283

North Uist

B1oraraigh

ScG The sickle headland

ScG an corran

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

An Corran

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Corran

1877

OS 1st edition

An Corran

Place ID 5118 NF 78366 49080 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG The point of land reaching far inot the sea ScG an corran

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

As the OSNB tells us the name means 'point of land reaching far into the sea', the coastal shape has changed significantly and the feature here is now an island.

The article could indicate an older name, not a surprise for a large feature at the entrance to the whole of the Benbecula inland waterway.

An Corran	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Corran	1877	OS 1st edition

An Cotan

Place ID	5808	NF 80988 75587	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG the small cottage			ScG an cotan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Cotan			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Creagan Beag

Place ID 6049 NF 81681 75062 North Uist S1ollas

ScG The small little crag ScG an creagan beag

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This forms a contrasting pair with An Creagan Mòr (P#6053)

An Creagan Beag

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Creagan Biorach

Place ID	5859	NF 80575 74287	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG the pointed small crag			ScG an creagan biorach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Creagan Biorach			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Creagan Biorach

Place ID	5902	NF 80413 74573	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG	The pointed small crag		ScG an creag -an biorach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
	An Creagan Biorach		1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

An Creagan Mòr

Place ID 6053 NF 81907 74899 North Uist S1ollas

ScG The big small crag ScG an creagan mòr

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A slightly odd little and large name.....

It is explained by the contrasting pair with nearby An Creagan Beag (P#6049).

An Creagan Mòr

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Crois-eilean

Place ID	682	NF 79890 64070	North Uist	Berneray	
ScG the cross-island			ScG an crois-eilean		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Crois-eilean			2014	Modern OS mapping	
An Crois-eilean			1877	OS 1st edition	

An Dam

Place ID 6050 NF 81403 74884 North Uist S1ollas

ScG the + Eng dam

ScG an + Eng dam

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Niclain writes 'The name is derived from the English word dam. This was where they stopped the water with cement before World War II. During the war the water ran down to the soldiers' billets on the machair.'

An Dam

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Dàn Shligneach

Place ID 5752 NF 77438 74891 North Uist V1allay

ScG

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

'There are lots of shells, whole and broken, in this ford.' A direct translation would be 'The fate of crustaceans' and this seems extremely unlikely.

ON tangi = 'spit of land' would make some form of topographical sense.

An Dàn Shligneach

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Dìthean

Place ID 5897 NF 80500 74666 North Uist S1ollas

ScG The knoll

ScG an dìthean

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The word ScG dìthean can mean 'daisy', 'any flower' or 'knoll' amongst others. Knoll seems appropriate here. The sound is getting quite close to ON tjörn = 'tarn'.

An Dìthean

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Doc Mòr

Place ID 6063 NF 82769 74719 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG the big ??

ScG an doc mòr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Niclain wrties 'This was where the horses were buried if they were not killed and had burial on the machair. This was because the ground was soft and that it was so easy to dig a hole in it.'

I am unsure as to what /doc/ might mean.

An Doc Mòr

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Doirlinn

Place ID 5711 NF 73120 17395 Lochboisdale South Uist

Scg The tidal causeway ScG an dòirlinn

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

'The isthmus' is what the OSNB gives us.
Blaeu's Loch dawhorligh must share a root but is misplaced.

An Doirlinn

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Drèine Tharsainn

Place ID	6035	NF 81556 75206	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG the cross drain			ScG an drèine tharsainn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
As on the tin....					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Drèine Tharsainn			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Dubh-sgeir a Deas

Place ID 1804 NF 87096 44437 Benbecula W1iay

ScG The south black skerry ScG an dubh-sgeir a deas

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The initial article could be a sign of an earlier name.

An Dubh-sgeir a Deas	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------------	------	-------------------

Du' Sgeir a' Deas	1866	Admiralty mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Black Id	1832	Thomson atlas
----------	------	---------------

An Dùn

Place ID	5066	ND 14080 25668	Mainland	Caithness	
ScG The fort			ScG an dùn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Dùn			2014	Modern OS mapping	
An Dùn			1877	OS 1st edition	

an Easgainn Mhor

Place ID 5684 NF 65065 61747 North Uist Heisker

ScG The big eel

ScG an easgainn mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

A jagged rock 'in the channel between Stocaigh and Ceann Ear' involved in the drowning of the raiding party. Macaulay cites 'ScG easgann = 'eel' describing it as a low lying tidal rock'.

It is slightly odd that there are several Easgainn names close to harbours but I can find no other explanation.

.There does however seem to be a problem with the grammar as ScG mhòr would indicate feminine nominative case but ScG easgainn is the genitive (or possibly genitive?). These grammar glitches are often an indicator of a Norse root. ON naustanna = 'of The boatsheds' is a possibility if one accepts the desire to romanticize to ScG easgainn. ON vörr = 'landing place' is a good match for ScG mhòr and so we have ON naustanna vörr = 'landing place of the boat sheds'.

There is a Naustavör in Iceland with many Naust(a)vík.

an Easgainn Mhor

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

Easgainn

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

An Eist

Place ID 5685 NF 67250 62891 North Uist Heisker

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

Macaulay gives us 'sea-rock to the east of Stocaidh'. Perhaps however ScG éist = 'listen' might be involved.

An Eist 2020 Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

An Fhadail Mhòr

Place ID	5852	NF 78778 74469	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG The big ford			ScG an fhadail mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Fhadail Mhòr			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Fhaoileanaich

Place ID 6080 NF 82152 73985 North Uist S1ollas

ScG The place of gulls ScG an faoilean -aich

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am not sure quite why this place should be associated with gulls.

An Fhaoileanaich

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Fhèith Mhòr

Place ID	5940	NF 80240 74033	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG the big ditch			ScG an fhèith mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Fhèith Mhòr			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Gairbh-sgeir

Place ID 1167 NF 93940 68570 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG The rough skerry

ScG an gairbh-sgeir

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Could this have come from ON scarfa sker = 'skerry of the cormorants' and lost the initial /s/ as can happen. This would explain the slightly odd word order.

The only five name son the OS 2nd edition mappiung with Gairbh- as the initial component are aside from this one are all Gairbh-eilean names and all in the northern end of th North Ford.

An Gairbh-sgeir

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Gairbh-sgeir

1877

OS 1st edition

Rough Rock

n/a

An Garaidh Grànda

Place ID 5985 NF 81923 78348 North Uist S1ollas

ScG The + ON isthmus of the houses

ScG an + ON garða grandi

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Niclain writes about a 'bad' arch' based I imagine on ScG grànnda = 'ugly, nasty' The indicated site was in the middle of the bay and there are no Durdle Door remnants visible....

I suspect some Norse is going on.

ON grandi = 'an isthmus, a strip of beach above the water at ebb tides, or on the edge of the snow' would be perfect for the sand that connects either of the two headlands here to their mainland.

ON garða = 'of the houses' would work for the specific although the meaning found in compounds of 'of the strongholds' is attractive as Crawford claimed to have excavated a Norse fort here.

I am not sure that the order makes more sense in reverse and this could have happened with a desire to resemanticise.

There is a Granagarður and a Garðagrandi in Iceland - 1-1 - whilst in Norway there is a Grandgard.

An Garaidh Grànda

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Gearra Duinnidh

Place ID	5839	NF 80544 74920	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG	The enclosure of the place of the dún		ScG an gearraidh dùinnich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
	An Gearra Duinnidh		1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Geàrraidh Beag

Place ID	5863	NF 80129 73839	North Uist	S1ollas	
SCG	The small enclosure		ScG an Geàrraidh beag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
	An Geàrraidh Beag		1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

An Gearraidh Buidhe

Place ID	2189	NF 78652 62767	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG The yellow enclosed area			ScG an gearraidh buidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Gearraidh Buidhe			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

An Gàrraidh Buidhe

Place ID	5746	NF 76071 75457	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG The yellow enclosure			ScG an gàrraidh buidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Gàrraidh Buidhe			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Gearraidh Leathann

Place ID	2191	NF 78449 62452	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG the broad enclosed area			ScG an gearraidh leathann		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Gearraidh Leathann			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

An Glais-eilean Meadhonach

Place ID 1168 NF 94040 68690 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG The middle grey-island

ScG an glais-eilean meadhonach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

An Glais-eilean Meadhonach

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Glais-eilean Meadhonach

1877

OS 1st edition

Middle Glas

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

An Gleannain

Place ID 4981 NF 78648 26922 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG the small glen ScG An Gleann - an

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

OS name book 'The Glen'.

ScG gleannan = 'small glen or valley and ScG gleannain is the genitive. I do not quite understand why the genitive would be used here but it is also the plural and so this could be the case but then ther ScG an would be wrong..

However the article is then odd as the noun is masculine.

I suspect a variant on ScG gleann - an = 'small glen'.

An Gleannain	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Gleannain	1877	OS 1st edition

An Gob Fada

Place ID 5975 NF 82981 79119 North Uist S1ollas

ScG the long corner

ScG an gob fada

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

This could be the same place as Rubha Caol (P#1324) as the meaning is the same.

However the most obvious feature here is a gully and ScG gob can mean 'corner' which might work.

An Gob Fada

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Gunna Mòr

Place ID 5919 NF 79954 74468 North Uist S1ollas

ScG The + ON passage onto the moor

ScG an + ON göng á mór

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Quite why this should be called 'The cannon' I am unsure.

ON göng = 'long and narrow walk in a turf farm' however is appropriate. ON göng á mór = 'passage to the moor' would tick many boxes.

There are over 80 places in Iclenad that start with Göng-. In Norway there are four Gongemyr<-2;a1;ane1> and a Gongmyra which are close to cognates.

An Gunna Mòr

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Lag Dhubh

Place ID	5849	NF 80563 74835	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG	The black hollow		ScG an lag dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Depression			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
	An Lag Dhubh		1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

An Laimhrig Dhomhain

Place ID 2029 NF 93863 75322 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG The deep landing place

ScG an laimhrig dhomhain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop writes 'At one time it was in constant use when the people of Berneray had the use of the island of Stromay for peat-cutting. Allotted to Berneray in 1923.'

An Laimhrig Dhomhain

1983

Sea names of Berneray

An Laimrig

Place ID 1641 NF 86293 58188 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG The landing-place

ScG an laimrig

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This word often refers to a natural landing place and there still exists two god landing places in the vicinity. The situation directly opposite the S shore on North Uist make it an obvious and the shortest place for a crossing to Griomasaigh.

An Laimrig

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

An Lige Mòr

Place ID 6252 NF 76530 30606 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG The big drain

ScG an lèig mòr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

I am not 100% on the grammar and vocabulary here - as so often - but this is the gist.

The OSNB writes: 'This name is applied to a large artificial canal or river specially cut for to drain the swampy ground in the S [South] West of the Island of South Uist also to allow the water escape out of the many lochs in its S [South] West End which previous to its cutting had no outlet, it flows chiefly in a S [South] and S E [South East] direction.'

An Lige Mòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Lige Mòr

1877

OS 1st edition

An Linne Bhorasdal

Place ID 5795 NF 78590 75829 North Uist V1allay

ScG The pool of + ON milking place of the fort ScG an linne + ON borgs stöðull

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water Current or Strait

complete?

My initial thought was ON borgs = 'of the fort' but this is not the correct genitival form - it should be ON borgar - and it isn't really a 'dale'.

The solution would appear to be ON stjðull = 'milking place' instead of ON dalr = 'dale'.

The referent fort is presumably the dùn 200m to the N

There is a Loch Borasdail on Benbecula that shares this root.

An Linne Bhorasdal

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Linne Mhòr

Place ID	5753	NF 77721 74656	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG The big pool			ScG an linne mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Linne Mhòr			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Linne Rò

Place ID 5739 NF 77751 76137 North Uist V1allay

ScG The pool of the headland ScG an linne rubha

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is the pool formed in the bay of òird Mhic Caoilt.

An Linne Rò

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Lìonadh Bheag

Place ID 5907 NF 79775 74542 North Uist S1ollas

Fresh water

Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An Lìonadh Bheag

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Loch

Place ID 5450 NF 84376 55440 Benbecula Rueval

ScG loch + 'Floda' ScG loch + 'Floda'

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

'Floda' is discussed under 'Flodaigh' (P#191)

An Loch 1861 Thomas chart

Loch Floda 1804 Bald mapping

An Lòn Cuilce

Place ID	5824	NF 80275 75107	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG	The pool of reeds		ScG an lòn cuilce		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Marsh			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Lòn Cuilce			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Lòn Dubh

Place ID	5900	NF 80085 74797	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG The dark pool			ScG an lòn dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Marsh			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Lòn Dubh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Oitir Shiolaig

Place ID 5778 NF 79744 76696 North Uist V1allay

ScG The sandeel sandbank

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Niclain writes (and mangled by google translate) 'In the eighteenth century three women gathered sand eels on this shore, at a place now known as Eitir nam Ban. The tide came between the shore and land. The women left a young woman on the lookout for the ford to run between them and land. When they had finished their work, they returned to where the girl was, but she was asleep and they were about to have the tide; the ocean was between them and land. The women were wearing aprons and tied their belts together to hold them together, but a bow went off and the three women drowned. Their bodies were found in Geodha a' Ghuil the next day.'

Rather than sand eels I wonder if the root for the last element is ON sjó lög = 'sea lagoon'.

An Oitir Shiolaig

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Oitir Shrùban

Place ID	6006	NF 82787 75995	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG the cockles' mud flat			ScG an oitir shrùban		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Oitir Shrùban			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Raon-laighe

Place ID 5801 NF 81257 75662 North Uist S1ollas

ScG The airstrip ScG an raon - laighe

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Niclain writes 'The runway was built by the Army around 1937 it began. Tthey worked with a cart and a horse and a spade. They put pipes under it , it was said to be as good as a runway in Scotland at that time. Workers were paid eight shillings a day (Lawson. 1995: 16).'

An Raon-laighe

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Rathad Mòr Beag

Place ID 5906 NF 80405 74704 North Uist S1ollas

Settlement

Track

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name is odd if directly translated as 'The big small track.'
I wonder if ON mór = 'moor' is in action here along with reið = 'riding'.

An Rathad Mòr Beag

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Riof

Place ID 2009 NF 94177 80756 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG The ScG reef or ON reef

Scg an riof or ON rif

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A simple and simplex name for an important feature. It probably began life as ON rif = 'reef'. These simplex names tend to be old.

An Riof

1983

Sea names of Berneray

The Reef

1866

Admiralty mapping

An Rubha

Place ID	5911	NF 79343 74407	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG The headland			ScG an rubha		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Rubha			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Rubha Bhreac

Place ID	5758	NF 77070 74515	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG	The speckled promontory		ScG an rubha bhreac		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
	An Rubha Bhreac		1997		Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Rubha Dubh

Place ID	6089	NF 83644 73463	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG The balck promontory			ScG an rubha dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Rubha Dubh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Seann Wireless Station

Place ID 5807 NF 80866 75699 North Uist S1ollas

ScG the old + Eng wireless station

ScG an seann + Eng wireless station

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

An Seann Wireless Station

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Sgeir Bhuidhe

Place ID	1583	NF 94049 80106	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG the yellow skerry			ScG An sgeir bhuidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
Admiralty chart as Yellow Rock					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Sgeir Bhuidhe			1983	Sea names of Berneray	
Yellow Rock			1866	Admiralty mapping	

An Sgeir Bhuidhe

Place ID	2010	NF 93442 81196	B1earnaraigh	Ru1isigearraidh	
ScG	The yellow skerry		ScG an sgeir bhuidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
	Mackillop says on account of the colour of the seaweed growing on it.				
	An Sgeir Bhuidhe		1983	Sea names of Berneray	

An Sgeir Dubh

Place ID 6013 NF 82646 75676 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG the balck skerry Scg an sgeir dubh

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

It is said that seven priests are buried under this rock.

An Sgier nan Seachd Sagart

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Sgeir Dubh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Sgeir Fhada

Place ID	5995	NF 83789 77657	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG the long skerry			ScG an sgier fhada		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Sgeir Fhada			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Sgeir Ghlas

Place ID 2026 NF 93821 75562 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG The grey skerry

ScG an sgeir ghlas

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

It is not impossible that the root here might be ON skerja-klasa = 'cluster of skerries'.

An Sgeir Ghlas

1983

Sea names of Berneray

An Sgeir Lèigh

Place ID 6011 NF 81928 75745 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG The grey skerry

ScG an sgeir liath

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Whilst the obvious root is ScG lèith = 'surgeon', it is more likely to be ScG liath = 'grey'.

An Sgeir Lèigh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Sgeir Ruadh

Place ID	5718	NF 75994 76535	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG The red skerry			ScG an sgeir ruadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Sgeir Ruadh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Sgrot Mor

Place ID 5647 NF 63387 60700 North Uist Heisker

ScG The + ON notch landing place

ScG an + ON skarð-vörr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Macaulay gives us 'G Sgrot - bothy. G Mor - large. A grass covered rock resembling a dwelling' whilst THC p247 writes 'In those [olden] times there were strong springs at the foot of Sgrot Mhor which flowed into Loch Sniograbhat.' I can't find the word Sgrot currently.

ON skrið would be close but the meaning of 'skree' seems unlikely here. Rygh gives ON skrova the meaning of foam which would be a good match but the ending is wrong.

Metathesis might help here as or > ro occurs elsewhere e.g. brog > borg. In Shetland skord is common as a place name deriving from ON skarð = 'notch'.

The Hebridean Connection version of Sgrot Mhor opens up the possibility of ON vörr = 'landing place' as the generic.

ON skarð vörr = 'notch landing place' would be a good topographical description of the sandy bay in the notch between the main island and the lump to the W.

This is the only occurrence of Scrot on the OS 2nd edition.

An Sgrot Mor	2020	Alick Macaulay Heisgeir
Sgrot Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgrot Mhor	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Scròt Mòr	1877	OS 1st edition
Sròt Mòr	1877	OS name book

An Staidhre

Place ID 1662 NF 90628 56303 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG the steps

ScG an staidhre

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

A bit of a mystery and indeed it is unclear quite what feature the name refers to.

Coincidentally whilst surveying Ronaigh for historical and archaeological remains, David Newman and I came across a series of possible rock cut steps at NF 9050056465.

One imagines this is too much of a coincidence for them to not be one and the same.

An Staidhre

2000

Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)

An Starsach Mhòr

Place ID 6091 NF 81228 73221 North Uist S1ollas

ScG big track from the peats

ScG an stairseach mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Track

complete?

ScG stairsneach = 'threshold' but ScG stairseach-mhòna = 'temporary path from a peat bank (usually stepping stones and turfs)'. I suspect the meaning is the latter.

An Starsach Mhòr

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Stròm Bàn

Place ID	5786	NF 79794 76457	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG	The pale current		ScG an sròm bàn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Stròm Bàn			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Stùghadh

Place ID 5062 NG 04809 84357 Harris Harris general

ScG The + ON harbour isthmus

ScG an + ON ON stöð-eið

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The name here just over 1km from Stuidh which I interpret as ON stöð-eið = 'harbour isthmus' is odd in the extreme. It could be that the impressive promontory fort there was the key site in the area and so a nearby settlement adopted the name itself.

It clearly was an important area with the early Christian church here too.

An Stùghadh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Stuigha

1877

OS 1st edition

An Stiogh

1877

OS name book

An t-Aigeach

Place ID 1010 NF 93990 64390 North Uist Lees

ScG headland of the stallion ?

ScG an t-àigeach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Cliff or slope

complete?

The word here has two very different meanings ScG aigeach = 'stallion' or 'male brown crab'. A bare 'Stallion' on Otter's chart persuaded me to stick with the former.

ON eikr + vagr = 'bay of the oak' is a remote possibility. A few kilometres to the S of this place are two headlands, Eigneig Mhor and Eigneig Beag (q.v.). It is possible they all share a root.

I looked at the map of all six of the places called An t-Aigeach on the OS 2nd edition mapping and every one is prominent on its stretch of coast.

An t-Aigeach

2014

Modern OS mapping

An t-Aigeach

1877

OS 1st edition

Stallion

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

An Taigh-Cloiche

Place ID 5878 NF 79255 73162 North Uist V1allay

ScG The stone house

ScG an taigh-cloiche

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Niclain writes 'At one time there was a barpa-like stone house here. Some of the circle is still visible, but most of the stones were used to build houses.' The site is not recorded on Canmore.

An Taigh-Cloiche

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Targaid

Place ID 5799 NF 80785 75866 North Uist S1ollas

targaid

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The Target was a pre-war zinc hut built by the Army. The soldiers would shoot at her from Mishgarry.

An Targaid

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Teang

Place ID 2175 NF 78337 62184

North Uist

B1aleshare

ScG The tongue

ScG an teanga

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

'tongue' as in a spit of land.

An Teang

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

An t-Eileaban

Place ID 1552 NF 91970 80510 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ScG The + ON safe haven

SCg An t- + ON heila höfn

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Mackillop could offer no explanation for the name and consequentially it is unlikely to be Gaelic.

The latter component sounds a little like ScG abhainn if it were lenited and this has been confused with ON höfn = 'haven' many times.

With a specific of ON heill = 'safe' or more specifically ON heila, the feminine accusative reflex, we get 'safe haven', an excellent fit as this is still where many boats are kept today.

ON heill does not seem to appear in Iceland but ON heilagr = 'holy' does and with post-vocalic 'g' having a habit of disappearing this could be a different interpretation of the root, sitting as it does under the hill with Cladh Maolrithe upon it.

Whilst both components are common in Norway, I could find no cognate.

An t-Eileaban

1983

Sea names of Berneray

An t-Innsearnach

Place ID	2079	NF 91528 78290	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG	The place of the islands		ScG an innsean -ach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
See Rubha an Innsearnaich (#2078) for details.					
	An t-Innsearnach		1983	Sea names of Berneray	

An t-Ionaire Mòr

Place ID 6441 NF 81866 36887 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG The + ON moor of the watch point ScG an t- + ON sjónar mór

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch an Ionair-Uidh (P#6518) for a discussion of the 'Ionair' element.

An t-Ionaire Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
An t-Ionaire Mòr	1877	OS 1st edition
Inerercnemoire	1804	Bald mapping

An t-Oban Uaine

Place ID 2188 NF 78749 62939 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG the small green creek

ScG an t-óban uaine

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

It is not inconceivable that this is an ON höfn = 'haven' name as the anchorage although difficult of access is very sheltered seeing as ON höfn > ScG uan on Wiay.

An t-Oban Uaine

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

An Tobar Beag

Place ID	6048	NF 81613 75067	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG The small well			ScG an tobar beag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Tobar Beag			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Tom

Place ID 1877 NF 79152 56924 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG The knoll

ScG an tom

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

ScG tom = 'knoll' would work but also ON tóim - 'emptiness' makes good sense as it is an empty area of rough pasture. This is presumably Blaeu's 'Prdhinbeuel' = ScG Aird an Beul = 'headland of the mouth' with the nearby 'beul' name still extant.

The initial article might indicate an earlier name.

An Tom	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Tom	1877	OS 1st edition
An Tom	1861	Thomas chart
Toam	1832	Thomson atlas
Toam	1804	Bald mapping
Prdhinbeuel	1654	Blaeu mapping

An Tràigh Bheag

Place ID	5994	NF 82754 77761	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG The small beach			ScG an tràigh bheag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Tràigh Bheag			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An Treanai

Place ID 1661 NF 90347 57791 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG the + ON group of three island

ScG an + ON þrenna ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

There is a Treanaigh in Loch Eport at its E end and this is presumably the same name.

The generic is clearly ON ey = 'island' but the specific is less clear. Ic trjóna = 'a small boat used as a tender' along with 'snout' and 'of a pole' is a possible.

However the best bet is ON þrenna = 'a group of three' and this works as there are three islands in each place.

The addition of the ScG an tends to indicate an older name.

There is a Þrenningarsker = 'skerry of the trinity' in Iceland.

An Treanai

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Dreannaigh

2000

Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)

Eilean Trenoi

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

An t-Seana Chuidhe

Place ID	5783	NF 78324 76344	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG The old fold			ScG an t-seana chuidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An t-Seana Chuidhe			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An t-Seòlaid Bheag

Place ID	5716	NF 75214 76839	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG The small passage			ScG an t-seòlaid bheag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An t-Seòlaid Bheag			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

An t-Seolaid Mhor

Place ID 2031 NF 93093 75255 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG The big sea passage

Scg an t-seolaid mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This 'fairway' is 'to the south past the Craobhagan Islets towards Ardeanais Point.{modern Àird Innis}'. The route is clear in satellite imagery.

An t-Seolaid Mhor

1983

Sea names of Berneray

An t-Seòlaid Mhòr

Place ID 5715 NF 75564 76849 North Uist V1allay

ScG The big passage an t-seòlaid mhòr

S1alt water Current or Strait

ScG?

ON?

complete?

This acts as a counterpoint to the An t-Seòlaid Bheag the other side of Sgier Dubh Mòr.

An t-Seòlaid Mhòr

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

An t-Seolaid Thriaghte

Place ID	2072	NF 91766 78322	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG	The ebbd sea passage		ScG an t- seolaid tràighte		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
ScG traighte = 'ebbed or dried'					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An t-Seolaid Thriaghte			1983	Sea names of Berneray	

An Turn

Place ID	6043	NF 82460 75069	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG The + Eng turn			ScG an + Eng turn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Track			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Turn			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Anchor Rk

Place ID 1935 NF 85885 58416 North Uist Eaval

Eng anchor rock Eng anchor rock

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Presumably ScG acaire or ON akkeri was the root of this place name.

Anchor Rk 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Àrd a' Mhaide

Place ID 892 NF 84710 59270 North Uist Eaval

ScG height of the flag pole

ScG Àrd a' mhaide

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

These flag pole were used for signalling various messages, presumably here across to Griomasagih or, closer, Garbh Eilean.

Àrd a' Mhaide

1877

OS 1st edition

Ard Fhillte

Place ID 2613 NF 72371 71142 North Uist B1alranald

ON ploughed land + ScG headland

ScG àird + ON velta

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Jakobsen writes (PNOS p114) 'ON velta , f., turned-over soil, ploughed strip of land' and lists many places there with this root. Marwick cites a few more in Orkney.

velta > filta > fillte > fhillte is all pretty regular.

Looking at satellite imagery, the headland is almost cut off by boggy ground and this would have made it an easy place to keep stock out of and hence plough and use for crops. The water levels are difficult to judge as there is evidence of a mill dam here.

Ard Fhillte

1877

OS 1st edition

àrd Fhillte

1877

OS name book

Ard Michael

Place ID 6323 NF 73175 33353 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG Michael's headland ScG àird micheil

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ST Michael is often associated with the sea.
That said ON mikill = 'great' is always an interesting alternative.

Ard Michael 1804 Bald mapping

Àrd na Saltrach

Place ID 374 NF 85600 57800 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG promontory of the ON salt field

ScG Àrd + na + ON salt + akr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OS name book quotes 'Tramplng Height' based upon ScG saltraich = 'trampling' but there seems little reason for this.

However the word has an alternative ScG saltair = 'salt-monger' as one of its meanings. 'Psalter' is another.

With a strong local tradition of the saltings nearby being used to produce salt, the salt-monger seems the most appropriate. There is no tradition of a nearby chapel.

However the gender does not work as one would expect ScG an rather than na. In many other cases this is an indicator of a Norse root.

An option however might be the Norse ON salt akr = 'salt arable land' but this could be in context of 'land where salt is harvested' and would apply topographically well here and fit with the oral tradition of salt production.

Whilst salt is a common specific in Iclenad and Norway, there is no matching cognate.

Àrd na Saltrach

1877

OS 1st edition

Àrd nam Feannag

Place ID 1882 NF 77260 55556 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG height of the crows

ScG àrd nam feannag

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

ScG feannag is one of those annoying words with two good meanings, 'crow' and 'rig'. I opt for 'crow' here as there is little evidence of run rigs there today.

See Barpa nam Feannag (P#2540) for a possible Norse interpretation of the 'Feannag' element.

Àrd nam Feannag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ard nam Feannag

1877

OS 1st edition

Àrd Neacail

Place ID 5128 NF 79763 51382 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG Nicholas' high point ScG Àrd Neacail.

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Nichols high point' although who Nichol was is not known.

Àrd Neacail 1877 OS 1st edition

Àrd-an-eoin

Place ID 5199 NF 81036 47058 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG height of the bird ScG àrd an eoin

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Just as the OSNB gives us. It is rather odd that there is just one biurd though....
The Bald mapping name of Aird Noan might point to a different root.

Àrd-an-eoin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ard-an-eoin	1877	OS 1st edition
Aird Nean	1832	Thomson atlas
Aird Noan	1804	Bald mapping

Ardanroin

Place ID 1120 NF 73140 74920 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG promontory of the foam

ScG àrd an roinn

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Whilst the derivation appears to clear ScG àird + an + roin = 'height of the seal', the settlement here seems a way from the sea for seals. The OS name book settles for 'The Seal's Point'

One would have expected an accented ròin however.

Cox helps here however with an alternative meaning of = 'of the heap of stones' loaned from ON hraun. This then works perfectly as the place is the point of the heaps of stones, referring to the dun on the island in the loch here.

There are other possible solutions ScG roinn can mean ' 1 Share, portion. 2 Division, dividing, class, distribution, proportion. 3 Sect, division, schism. 4 Section in writing, paragraph (§). 5 Pair of compasses. 6 Part of a sword distinct from the point' although with this feminine noun, one would expect the article ScG na and ScG roinne.

Finally ScG ronn = 'sm Slaver, spittle. 2 Any drop of liquid of a ropy consistency. 3 Rheum' has a genitive ScG roinn. As a masculine noun both the case and the article work.

With a nearby Port na Copa also referencing spume, I think this last is the most likely root, although slightly misplaced.

Ardanroin

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ardanroin

1877

OS 1st edition

Arhdysedv<o?u>r

Place ID 4954 NF 77580 28389 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON landing place of the sheiling + ScG headland ScG àird + ON set vörr

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name is not easy to read off the Bald map and is not easy to read etymologically!
The first component must be ScG àird = 'headland' which is a good topographical match.
The last component looks like ON vörr = 'enclosed landing point' and is again a good topographical fit.
This leaves the central element to be ON setr = 'sheiling'.

There is a Settubörð, three Selvörður, a Selvarðan, three Selvarða and a Seljavörður in Iceland.
Interestingly the commonest nwear names are two Seljavogur and five Selvogur.
In norway no vörrnames but six Setervågen.

Achdysedvor	1804	Bald mapping
-------------	------	--------------

Arhdysedv<o?u>r	1804	Bald mapping
-----------------	------	--------------

Ariard

Place ID 1110 NF 74080 75860 North Uist Griminish

ScG high shieling ScG àirigh àrd

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is a shieling site here sited well above
e the rest of the township at Foshigarry and presumably hence the name. The OS name book agrees.

Ariard

2014

Modern OS mapping

Arisaig

Place ID 5654 NF 75533 68068 North Uist B1ayhead

ON river mouth -bay

ON àr óss vík

Coastal

Shore

ScG?

ON?

complete?

ON ár-oss-vik = bay at the mouth of the river' is what MacDonald gives us.

Arisaig

MacDonald sketch history

Arisaig

Place ID 5675 NF 75045 68267 North Uist B1ayhead

ON bay of the river-mouth

ON ár-óss vík

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

ON ár-óss = 'river mouth' works well here where the stream from Loch a' Mhuilinn joins the sea.

There is an Airsaig just south of Mallaig.

Whilst there are over 30 Aros names in Norway there is not a cognate however in Iceland there are two Àrósvík place name cognates.

Arisaig

MacDonald sketch history

Arnish

Place ID 5354 NF 84052 50730 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON headland of the ewes

ON á nis

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Thomas gives the name as Ruarnis and the OSNB had Rarnish but then deleted it. I suspect there is confusion with Rarainis to the N and Rarnish to the S. Thomas' name can be explained by Ru' Aranis = 'headland of Aranis'. Arnish crops up regularly and is usually explained as from ON orn (?or arn) = 'eagle' with ON nes = 'headland'. With the lack of nearby cliffs and the proximity to sheilings, I wonder here if the root is from ON ær = 'ewe' and has the genitive plural ON á = 'of the ewes'.

There are ten examples of Arnish on the OS 2nd edition mapping. The one in Galasheils appears to be a house name and the remaining nine are on the Outer Hebrides or Skye with effectively three clusters.

Arnish	2014	Modern OS mapping
Arnish	1877	OS 1st edition
Rarnish	1877	OS name book
Ruaranis	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Arrienacappen

Place ID 6163 NF 77274 25368

South Uist

Loch Eynort

ScG shileing of the lumps

ScG òirigh nan ceapan

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Arrienacappen

1804

Bald mapping

Ashdaill Cottages

Place ID 2228 NF 74878 67971 North Uist B1ayhead

ON valley of ashes + Eng cottages

ON aska dal + Eng cottage

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The cottages are named after the old name for the W side of the bays here.

ON aska = 'of the ash trees' and is a common component of place names in the UK. Eskdale is an example of a cognate and there are well over 100 Askedal(en) places in Norway and slightly oddly, none in Iceland.

MacDonald thinks the name is a confusion with Asdainn.

Ashdaill Cottages

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Ashdaill

MacDonald sketch history

Ath a' Chorrain

Place ID	2123	NF 78931 64426	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG ford of the headland			ScG àth a' chorrain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Ath a' Chorrain			1971	Macdonald Two townships	

Àth Cumhang

Place ID	6626	NF 80289 41440	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG narrow ford			ScG àth cumhang		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Àth Cumhang			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Àth Cumhang			1877	OS 1st edition	

Ath Leathan

Place ID 5139 NF 79498 49517 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG broad ford

ScG àth leathan

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

There is now a causeway where I imagine this ford once way. It involved crossing the main outflow from the Loch Fada river system.

Ath Leathan	2014	Modern OS mapping
An t-Ath Leathann	1877	OS name book
Àth Leathann	1877	OS 1st edition
Arh Leathann	1877	OS name book
Broad Bay	1832	Thomson atlas
Broad Bay	1804	Bald mapping

Àth nam Fiadh

Place ID 6625 NF 80224 41290 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG ford of the deer

ScG àth nam fiadh

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One caution is to see the notes on Fiag (P#6621)

Àth nam Fiadh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Àth nam Fiadh

1877

OS 1st edition

Athan Trolamul

Place ID 5324 NF 81005 49858 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

'Trolamul' + ScG little ford

ScG ath - an + 'Trolamul'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

It could be the plural ScG àthan but it looks like one small crossing of a narrow stream and the suffix ScG -an can mean either 'small' or 'place of' either of which work here.

For a discussion of other component of the name see Trolamul (P#5328)

Athan Trolamul

2014

Modern OS mapping

Athan Throlamull

1877

OS name book

Athan Trolamul

1877

OS 1st edition

Avhin a Feddan

Place ID 4962 NF 82249 27461 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG stream of the channel ScG abhainn a' feadan

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The first component is clearly ScG abhainn = 'stream'.

For the specific ScG feadan = channel or runnel' looks the likely answer as there is a clear geological linear feature here that the stream follows.

On might have expected the article ScG an with lenition but Bald was not 100% grammar accurate.

Avhin a Feddan

1804

Bald mapping

Avhin Barp

Place ID 6145 NF 76269 25973

South Uist

Loch Eynort

ScG river of the chambered cairn

ScG abhainn barpa

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

Avhin Barp

1804

Bald mapping

Avhin Garva

Place ID	6511	NF 76825 37992	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG rough river			ScG abhainn garbh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Avhin Garva			1804	Bald mapping	

Avhin na Crave

Place ID 4959 NF 81213 27937 South Uist Loch Eynort

? ScG stream of the boundary

? ScG abhainn a' criche

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The first component is clearly ScG abhainn = 'stream'. It is marked as a march and it is possibly 'Grave' not 'Crave'. In 'Machair to Mountain' the root is given as meaning 'the stream of bones'.

Taking into account the boundary aspect, I think that the specific is ScG crìche, the genitive of ScG crìoch = 'boundary'. The vowel sound is not a good match but the meaning is too good to not be true. There are still problems with the article.

Craichidh, Aberdeen would sound similar and is thought to mean 'shaking place'.

Avhin na Grave

1804

Bald mapping

Avhin na Crave

1804

Bald mapping

B. Bunalike

Place ID 6507 NF 84000 37886 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Bunalike' + ScG bay ScG bàgh + 'Bunalike'

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Bunalike (P#6508) for a discussion of the component.

B. Bunalike

1804

Bald mapping

Baca Strom

Place ID 5509 NF 85233 50749 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON currnet of the bank

ON bakka straumr

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The order is odd here as the first word appears to be in the genitive and the second not. This makes me think of Norse roots which come easily here ON bakka straum = 'current of the bank'.

Baca Strom

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bac-a-stoc

Place ID 1213 NF 90040 72070 North Uist Central North

ON bank on narrow beds of a river between two r ON bakka á stoc

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book conjures up 'seat of the oar'. ScG bac = hollow' or 'peat bank' whilst ScG stoc = 'stump' amongst other might help, although without an oar in sight.

This does seem unsatisfactory and the Norse provide a good alternative as soon as one spots that there is a ford here across Loch nam Madadh with OS aerial mapping being just at the correct state of the tide to show the races here between this place and Ceallasaigh Mor. For the generic ON stokkr = narrow bed of a river between two rocks' (vigfusson) and its For the specific ON bakki = 'ridge' the genitive reflex ON bakka gives us ON bakka and putting them together we have a topographical match. ON bakka stoc = 'the narrow bed of a river between two rocks of the ridge'. Reordering would help and this can be achieved. The structure here of three words hyphenated indicates that it might be a prepositional name, relatively rare. ON á is such a preposition. It precedes a noun in the accusative case and means 'on'. With ON stoc being the accusative this gives ON bakka á stoc = 'bank on the narrow beds of a river between two rocks', a perfect fit I would suggest both phonetically and topographically. Theo Iny disappointment is the lack of cognates but with prepositional names being relatively rare this is not a surprise.

With no cognates for this name, an alternative is ON stígr = 'path' with is accusative reflex ON stig. The development of í > o would not be regular whilst g > c would be less problematic.

In Iceland there are five Bakkastígur names

Bac-a-stoc

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bachdanan

Place ID 1096 NF 78420 77100 North Uist V1allay

ScG snad dunes

ScG bacannan

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OS name book provides 'Big Banks' and whilst ScG mor = 'big' works, I cannot find a sensible generic - ScG bacannan = 'sand dunes' seems best as /chd/ has evolved into /c/. (viz sloc)

In Argyll, a place called Na Bachdannan was described as 'The Knots' and topographically as 'a piece of bumpy ground' which is what we have on Bhalaigh.

Alternatively ON bakka = 'ridge or bank' looks good for a specific.

Bachdanan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bachda Mora

1877

OS 1st edition

Bad fo-leac

Place ID 1723 NF 89233 57229 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG place under the slab

ScG bad fo leac

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Surveying Ronaigh, David Newman and I discovered an impressive rock shelter in the fallen slabs at the base of a crag here - undoubtedly the 'place under the slab'.

If my very limited understanding of Gaelic grammar is correct, one would expect ScG leac ='slab' to be in the dative case ScG lice.

Prepositional names such as this are supposed to be amongst the oldest, not surprising for a site that is probably at least Iron Age in its antiquity.

Bad fo-leac

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bad fo-leac

1877

OS 1st edition

Bad Loch

Place ID 2080 NF 84062 64471 North Uist Langass

Eng bad loch Eng bad loch

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Quite why this loch has misbehaved is unclear.

Perhaps ScG fada = 'long' - but it isn't so. Perhaps ON vað = 'wade' or ON vatn = 'lake'.

Odd!

Perhaps ON beit = 'pasturage' might work - Badella in the Shetlands (p134) is thought to derive from ON beit hlíð = 'slope of the pasture'

Bad Loch

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Bàgh a' Bhiorain

Place ID 820 NF 90760 63000 North Uist Eaval

ON The fishing place + ScG bay ScG bagh a' ON verinu

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst the most obvious translation is ScG biorain = 'of the stick' this seems unlikely.

A better option might be ScG bùirean = 'bellow of a deer'.

The name of the Otter chart Bagh Eioran gives us ON eyrrin = 'The gravel bank'. Quite why the /bh/ did not appear is interesting as it usually would sound as a /v/.

One possibility was that the initial letter was /f/ which sounds similar in Gaelic to /b/. However /fh/ is silent and so would disappear. The name is one given by Carmichael and he has a habit of 'hyper-correction'.

There are plenty of gravel banks here especially in the bay in the SW corner of the larger bay.

This would then take us to ON vörr = 'landing place' which would work well here but there are no cognates as opposed to the choice above and the initial vowel in not as it should be

A final option, and possibly the best, is ON ver = 'a fishing place' and indeed No vær has come to mean 'fishing harbour' or 'fishing village'. The dative definite form is ON verinu = 'The fishing place'

In Iceland there are 16 simplex Eyrin names and in Norway 14 Øyren and over 70 Øyran(e) so a common name.

There are nine simplex Vör names in Iceland and a couple of Vøra in Norway.

There is a Verið place name in Iceland and 20 Været place names in Norway.

Bàgh a' Bhiorain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bagh a' Bhiorain	1877	OS 1st edition
Bagh Eioran	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Bàgh a' Bhràoige

Place ID 1780 NF 87724 47337 Benbecula W1iay

ON bay towards the landing stage ON vág á bryggja

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Wrecking Rock Bay' referring to the rock in the middle of the bay. The root seems to have been ScG braga = 'seaweed covered semi-submerged rock/skerry' ON bryggja = 'bridge' or 'landing stage' is the obvious Norse root here. The central vowel sound is difficult. It could possibly be fully Norse with ON vág and the preposition ON á = 'towards'.

ON bryggja is a common component in Tíree place names. In Iceland it is a regular specific with Bryggjuvór = 'landing place of the landing stage' as an example.

Bàgh a' Bhràoige	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bagh a' Bhraoige	1877	OS 1st edition
Camus nan Gall	1866	Admiralty mapping
Eagle Rock Bay	1804	Bald mapping

Bàgh a' Chàise

Place ID 117 NF 96183 73098 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Bàgh a' Chàise'

'Bàgh a' Chàise'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

See Bàgh a' Chàise (P#118), the salt water bay, for details.

Bàgh a' Chàise

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cheese Bay

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh a' Chàise

Place ID 118 NF 96990 73401 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON narrow creek of the bays

ON vága kjóss

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Taylor asserts “Chàise, ‘spume’ is an uncommon word of Norse origin which sounds identical to the word for ‘cheese’ hence the English mistranslation”. The closest I can find to his word is ON hvæs = hiss, a good description of the noise spume makes. With ON hv sounding like 'ch' this would work phonetically. Taylor’s original root then would have been ON hvæsa + vágr = Bay of the hisses. (Hvittr-fjosa = 'foam white' is an alternative)

However reading Ferguson's Place Names of Berneray, referring to Rubha Chàise, he cites ON gaus, gàise [accent?] as 'spray of waves'. Both probably come from ON gjósa and Zoega gives 'gys; gaus, gusum, gosinn' alongside ON gjósa. It is presumably close to where Geyser comes to us.

The bay however is not a rough one and there is a problem with the order here however. Would a Gael have recognised the word ON vágr and changed it to ScG bàgh? Loch Uisgeabhagh is an example on Benbecula where the ON vágr has not been recognised and left with the uisge as one unit with a Loch prefix then added.

As the Admiralty chart indicates with the name 'Calm Bay', the bay is not one full of spume and so wonders if the root is not spume. That said Calm is an OS name book alternative for Callam in Loch nam Madadh which could stem from ON hjalla hólms = 'islet of fisdh drying racks. This could work here too for a small islet in the area.

Whilst ScG chàise = cheese would seem unlikely, another possibility for the root is ScG chaise = steepness. ScG bàgh + chaise = 'bay of steepness' would fit well topographically with the steep sides of Crogearraidh na Tobha reaching the shore on the S side of the bay. The only problem is the shortness of the initial vowel but this could have come about from a desire to use the word for 'cheese'.

This was heard as Bachaash as recorded by Ainslie and Anglicized to Cheesebay. There is even a story about cargoes of cheese being washed ashore here – a good example of a folk etymology developing to explain a place name!

However on further reflection and using the excellent Norwegian website:

<http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx>, a good option would be ON kjós = 'a hollow or deep place' which has taken on the meaning of 'a narrow creek'. This would work topographically, even more so for the creek just to the E.

Phonetically the initial ON jó would work for the ScG ài. The final 'e' is probalby in place to create 'chàise' for the Gaelic speakers comfort.

The problem of the order could be resolved by the specific being ON vága = 'of the bays' and the whole thing meaning 'narrow creek of the bays'.

'Chais' occurs 136 times in Scotland on the OS 2nd series mapping and the placements reflect the Gaelic speaking part of the country, noticeably being absent from Sheltand and Orkney.

There is a Cais-Bhaigh near Inverkirkaig, Assynt.

Oftedal gives ON kjóss as the root of Keose, Lewis and there are two names in Sheltnad Keostinse and Keostran that might share this root.

The name occurs in simplex form 11 times in Iceland and well over 50 times in Norway.

Bàgh a' Chàise	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bagh Chaise	1877	OS 1st edition
Calm Bay	1866	Admiralty mapping
Cheesebay	1832	Thomson atlas
Cheesebay	1799	1799 rental
Cheesebay	1799	Reid mapping

Cheesebay

1794

Old Statistcal Account

Bachaash

1789

Ainslie mapping

Bágh a' Ghlinn Mhòir

Place ID 6173 NF 81972 25547 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG bay of the dark glen

ScG bògh a' ghlinne mhòir

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Gleann Mòr (P#6169) is the referent.

Bágh a' Ghlinn Mhòir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bágh a' Ghlinn-mhòir

1877

OS 1st edition

Bagh a' Ghriasaiche

Place ID 289 NF 81690 60600 North Uist C1arinish

ScG place of hot battle bay

ScG bàgh a' ghriosaich

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

This reflects the OS name book's 'The Shoemakers Bay' although perhaps the meaning of ScG greusaiche = 'cobbler fish' or 'angler fish' might be more appropriate.

However an ON gras-akr = 'grassy field' seems more prosaic and likely.

All that said, ScG griosach = 'hot battle' with ScG griosaich as its genitive must be the solution as this was where the Battle of Carinis was fought. The gender here would be the dative emphasising place

Bagh a' Ghriasaiche

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh a' Ghriasaiche

1877

OS 1st edition

Bagh a' Mhagairle

Place ID 1813 NF 86467 46483 Benbecula W1iay

ScG bay of the testicle ScG bàgh a' mhagairle

S1alt water Bay

One imagines that the word ScG magairle has evolved to mean a stone.

Bagh a' Mhagairle

1866

Admiralty mapping

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bàgh a' Mhanaich

Place ID 6562 NF 83690 39159 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG bay of the + 'Mhanaich' ScG bàgh a' + 'Mhanaich'

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is also a nearby Rudh' a' Mhanaich (P#6541) q.v.

Bàgh a' Mhanaich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh a' Mhanaich	1877	OS 1st edition
Black Bay	1804	Bald mapping

Bàgh a' Phrionnsa

Place ID 5973 NF 83834 79735 North Uist S1ollas

ON bay of the well

ON vág brunns

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The obvious root is ScG prionnsa = 'prince' but it is surprising that there is no story attached.

Alternatively ON brún = 'rim or edge' is close perhaps ON vága brún = 'edge of the bays'.

ON vágs brún could conceivably have the /s/ transferred as part of the Gaelicization process?

However looking at place names in Iceland several have Brúns as the first element (e.g. Brúnslækur)

Hold that - I suspect that the stem is ON brunnr = 'spring or well' with a genitive of ON brunns and could be referring to the 'holy well' to the S or the nearby Tobar na h-Airde (P#5974).

This would still require a reordering from ON brunns vág = 'bay of the well',

With ScG prionnsa pronounced /pr'ũ:Nsə/, the transition from u > io is not difficult to understand with a desire to resemanticise.

Brunns is the first element of 20 Icelandic place names and in Norway we have two Brunnsvik place names.

Bàgh a' Phrionnsa

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Bàgh a Tuath

Place ID	6712	NF 74932 46507	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG bay of the north			ScG bàgh a' tuath		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bàgh a Tuath			2014	Modern OS mapping	
North Bay			1877	OS 1st edition	

Bàgh a' Tuath

Place ID	6602	NF 85185 40523	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG bay to the north			ScG bàgh a' tuath		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bàgh a' Tuath			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Bàgh a' Tuath			1877	OS 1st edition	

Bagh Abhainn a Mortair

Place ID 523 NF 84400 57300 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Bay of the stream of the assassin

ScG bàgh abhainn a' mhurtair

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

It is only named in the OS name-book but is clearly close to ScG Allt a' Mhurtair (q.v. P#522) and so must come from the same story.

The spelling of /mortair/ is different but a recognised variant of ScG murtar. One would however expect lenition. The word here ScG mortar = 'lime or mortar'. It is possible that there was some form of lime kiln here.

Bagh Abhainn a Mortair

1877

OS name book

Bàgh Abhainn Aon-uillt

Place ID 6319 NF 84927 32884 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Abhainn Aon-uillt' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Abhainn Aon-uillt'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

See Abhainn Aon-uillt (P#6321) for a discussion of that component.

Bàgh Abhainn Aon-uillt

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh Abhuinn Aon-uillt

1877

OS 1st edition

Bagh Aird nam Madadh

Place ID 1007 NF 93730 67260 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG bay of the height of the dogs scG bàgh àird nam madadh

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here Aird nam Madadh is being treated as an onomastic unit.

Bagh Aird nam Madadh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bagh Ard nam Madadh	1877	OS 1st edition
Ardmaddy Bay	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Bàgh an Ackara

Place ID 1067 NF 76320 75400 North Uist Grim1inish

ScG bay of + ON Bay of anchors

ScG bàgh an + ON (váginn) akkera.

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

An interesting name. ON akkera = 'of anchors' whilst ScG acair = 'anchor' (or 'acre of land', 'small stack of corn' or 'stone holding thatch on roof!') both provide interest and Beveridge seems to have Gaelicized the name of the bay. However the genitive of the ScG option is ScG acrach = 'of the anchor' and the 'ch' sound here does not disappear. Also ScG acair is feminine and so ScG na h- = 'of the ' should have been used rather than ScG an.

The word order however indicates a ScG root. However I wonder if Beveridge completed a Gaelicization process already started. The history would go as follows: The Norse name the bay 'akkeravágr' = 'bay of the anchors'. The Gaels recognise both the fact it is a bay and the 'vágr' component - it is a very common one - and so rename it Bàgh an Akkera and this is the name the OS used; Beveridge then knew that the word 'akkera' meant 'anchor' and so changed the name to pure ScG in his book, as did Carmichael try.

In the confusion it is also quite possible that the specific root was in fact ON akkar = 'the fields' or possibly ON akra = 'of the fields' although there is no reason that the vowel would have been added between the /k/ and the /r/ as these consonants are often adjacent in Gaelic words.

To add more confusion the first component could be ON váginn = 'the bay' (acc definitive singular)

There is an Akkerisvík in Iclenad and three Akkevika in Norway.

Bagh an Acaire

1911

Beveridge

Bagh an Acair

1877

OS name book

Bàgh an Ackara

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh an Eireannach

Place ID 1655 NF 90852 56583 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG bay of the place of + ON neck of the gravel b ScG bàgh + ON eyra hnakka

S1alt water

Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With the early church arriving in the Hebrides from Ireland, this would tend to be another example of a place name with religious connections on Ronaigh.

The pronunciation is /e:r'əNəx/. Although not reflected on the map, the initial /e/ is long.

With ON eyrr = 'gravel bank' is often Gaelicized to 'eire', options for the generic include ON hnakka = 'neck' or ON hnakk = 'saddle'. This is good topographically but is it close enough phonetically? The closest is ON eyra hnakka = 'neck of the gravel banks'

A better fit might be ON eyrina = 'The gravel bank' in the accusative case followed by a locative ScG -ach = 'place of'.

My feeling however is that it is the neck option that is the best.

Eireannach occurs nine times on the OS 2nd edition mapping including Rudha nan Eireannach on South Uist.

Bàgh an Eireannach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bagh nam Faochag	2000	Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)
Bàgh an Eireannach	1877	OS 1st edition
Irishman's Bay	1861	Thomas chart
Bagh an Eirionnaich	1861	Thomas chart

Bagh an Leigh

Place ID 335 NF 79910 61540 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG bay of the miry pool

ScG bàgh na lèig

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The Physician Bay' from ScG léigh = 'physician, surgeon' and this works grammatically. I did wonder however if the rather more prosaic ScG lèig = 'miry pool' or 'shallow stream' is a rather better fit topographically, although the article would then be incorrect. This however could have been changed to fit with the 'physician' meaning. However the ending is significantly different and so this can be discounted.

Marcus discusses this component (p239) and proposed alternatives of ScG liagh = 'ladle or spoon' or ScG laogh = 'calf'. The shape of the inlet is distinctive with it opening out after a narrow entrance and so ladle or spoon might just work - ScG lèigh is the genitive form.

The comment above about the article would however still apply.

An incorrect article can be a pointer to a Norse root. ON lægð = 'hollow' works well as would ON lækr = 'stream'

It is indeed possible that the name is entirely Norse with ON váginn 'The bay' as the first element.

.

Bagh an Leigh

1877

OS 1st edition

Bagh an Rodain

Place ID 510 NF 83990 56580 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG bay of the place of seaweed cast ashore ScG bagn an ròd -ain

S1alt water Bay

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Only shown in Thomas' 1861 chart and he gives the alternative of 'Rat Bay'. It is a bay on the W side of Eilean Mor and one would imagine there are plenty of rats living there - the ScG an = 'the' used here is in the singular. It does seem odd to have just one!

A better alternative to my mind would be ScG ròd = 'seaweed cast ashore' with the locative suffix ScG -an as this bay is one that catches flotsam and jetsam.

ON hrútinn = 'The ram' might be a Norse alternative although something involving 'red' might be better.

Bagh an Rodain

1866

Admiralty mapping

Rat Bay

1861

Thomas chart

Bagh an Rubha Bhain

Place ID	2171	NF 77634 62619	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG bay of the fair promontory			ScG bàgh an rubha bhàin		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bagh an Rubha Bhain			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Bàgh an Rubha Bhuidhe

Place ID	5141	NF 79393 48902	Benbecula	T1orlum	
ScG bay of the yellow headland			ScG bàgh an rubha bhuidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bàgh an Rubha Bhuidhe			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Bàgh an Rudha Bhuidhe			1877	OS 1st edition	

Bagh an Tobair

Place ID	349	NF 80180 61850	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG bay of the well			ScG bàgh an tobair		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bagh an Tobair			1877	OS 1st edition	

Bagh an t-Salainn

Place ID 1157 NF 91970 68340 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG salt-pan bay ScG bàgh an t- salainn

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With stories from Sennashies about salt production in this area of Loch nam Madadh, this name makes sense.

Bagh an t-Salainn

1877

OS 1st edition

Bagh an t-Seilisdeir

Place ID	439	NF 85400 55950	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG Bay of the 'Seilisdeir'			ScG bàgh an t- seilisdeir or ON síla stað		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

A common plant on Uist, one imagines this bay has plenty of the iris on display. It is odd that the singular article ScG an t-is used.

That said ON *sælu-setr* = 'a refuge, hospice in deserts or mountains to receive travellers' would fit well phonetically for the beginning. ON *sælu-stað* = 'blessed place' is closer.

The more one listens to a pronunciation of this place, the initial sound is close to that of Shillay with a root of ON *sílda* or *síla* = 'of the herrings'.

See Lag Sheilisdeir (P#5694) for a further discussion of the component 'Seilisdeir'

Of the 18 Seilisdeir names on the OS 2nd edition mapping, all bar two on Lewis and one in Perth are coastal.

Bagh an t-Seilisdeir

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Bhiorain

Place ID 5775 NF 79238 76952 North Uist V1allay

ON The landing place bay

ScG vág - vörrin

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The beach here is called Tràigh Bhiorain. Niclain writes 'This place gets its name from the presence of sticks and wood chips landing there. 'This would be Scbioran = 'stick'.

Whilst not impossible as a beach where drift wood could be collected, For me the fact the name of the bay could be interpreted s 'bay of the harbour', I think ON vörr = 'fenced in landing place' is the root here. The lack of article is also a pointer towards an older name.

The cove is sandy and would be relatively sheltered to anything from the S or W.

It cloud easily stem from both elements being Nors

Bàgh Bhiorain

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Bàgh Bholuim

Place ID 4946 NF 82771 28111 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON bholuim + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + ON bholuim

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

See Bholuim (P#4943) for a discussion of the element 'Bholuim'

Bàgh Bholuim

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh Bhòlum

1877

OS name book

Bolum Bay

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Blasguidh

Place ID 1103 NF 72860 76540 North Uist S1colpaig

'Blàisgidh' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Blàisgidh'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The possible derivation of 'Blàisgidh' (#1099) is under that place.

Bàgh Blasguidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bagh Blaaskie

1877

OS name book

Bagh Loisgh

1877

OS name book

Bàgh Chapuill

Place ID	377	NF 86270 58100	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG bay of the small horse			ScG bagh chapuill		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Possibly mare or pony, the nearby landing place has the same word within it and so it could have been a place where horses were transferred across from North Uist. It only appears on the Thomas 1861 chart although the locals still use the name regularly.

Now called 'Aida Bay' by one of the inhabitants with a love of that opera!

It is odd that there is not an article.

The story is that this was where horses were driven across the North ford from North Uist.

ON kú poll = 'pool of the cows' would be a reasonable alternative although the initial vowel is a problem. That said ú > u (Cox §53 l b) before a hiatus is regular. The rest could be accomplished by a desire to resemanticise.

ON kú ból = 'cow shed' makes more sense and would work phonologically.

The 71 names starting with Chapu- on the OS 2nd edition mapping are scattered across the Gaelic heartland.

Stewart (p51) gives Cubil and Coubal as derived from ON kú ból.

In Iceland there is a Kúaból, nine Kúabolli and a Kúabæli.

Mare Bay	1861	Thomas chart
Bàgh Chapuill	1861	Thomas chart

Bàgh Charaigearraidh

Place ID 993 NF 92590 63660 North Uist Lees

'Carraigearraidh' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Carraigearraidh'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

See Buaille Charaigearraidh (P# 1509) for details of the 'Chariagearriadh' element.
The /h/ is as a result of lenition.

Bàgh Charaigearraidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ceargarry Bay

2014

Modern OS mapping

Caragarry Bay

1877

OS 1st edition

Caragary Bay

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Bàgh Charmaig

Place ID 6531 NF 83376 38813 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG Cormack's bay ScG bàgh Charmaig

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Cleit Charmaig (P#1798) for a discussion of this name.

Bàgh Charmaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
McCormack Bay	1877	OS name book
Bàgh Charmaig	1877	OS 1st edition

Bagh Cheann Leirabhagh

Place ID 5597 NF 82711 55568 Benbecula Rueval

ScG bay of the head of the ON bay of the muddy s ScG bàgh cheann + ON leiru vág

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Few places in Uist deserve the description muddy shore as much as this one. ON leiru = 'of the muddy shore' therefore is a perfect topographical fit.

Bagh Cheann Leirabhagh

1861

Thomas chart

Bàgh Chlann Neill

Place ID 1019 NF 95010 67480 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG Clan Neil's bay ScG bàgh + chlann + Neill

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There are several bays with this name on the coast of Uist.

The Clan Neil is closely associated with Barra having Kisimul Castle as their base. They were known as pirates, especially Ruairi an Tartair, and this could have been one of their anchorages.

See the other two Bàgh Clann Neill for a discussion

Bàgh Chlann Neill	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bagh Chlann Neill	1877	OS 1st edition
McNeils Port	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Bàgh Choradail

Place ID 6269 NF 83678 30850 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Choradail' + ScG bay ScG bàgh + 'Choradail'

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion about Choradail see Coire Ruadail (P#5582).

Bàgh Choradail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Corodale Bay	1877	OS 1st edition
Chroadle Bay	1877	OS name book
Bàgh Chorodail	1877	OS name book
Bay of Chroadle	1804	Bald mapping

Bàgh Clann Alasdair

Place ID	5704	NF 85303 39881	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ON puny farm			ON klénn bölstaðr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The obvious translation is ScG bay of the progeny of Alasdair. I suspect that the /clann/ was part of a tidying up process. Then, as in Loch Bà Alasdair (P#5340) on the S shore of Benbecula, I think the root could be ON bólstaðr = '(secondary) farm settlement'.

The /gh/ in ScG bàgh = 'bay' almost disappears leaving bà alasdair. The developments thereafter are nearly regular. ö > a rather than à is regular and here the effect of the resemanticization process would probably overcome this.

ON klénn = 'snug' would sound very similar to ScG clann although again e > a is regular whilst è > a is not.

Name containing Clann are surprisingly uncommon on the OS 2nd edition mapping and indeed all 18 bar possibly none could be considered to be in what was the Norse speaking world. Uist is a focus with seven names, three Clann Néill, a Clann a' Phiocair, a Clann Torr and a Clann Raonuiull Mhic Aonais in addition to this one.

I could find no cognates in Norway or Iceland although there are plenty of Norwegian names beginning with Klen-.

Bàgh Clann Alasdair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh Clann Alasdair	1877	OS 1st edition
Alexander Bay	1877	OS name book

Bàgh Clann Neill

Place ID 1076 NF 76019 76020 North Uist V1allay

ON small baty of the slabs

ON vág klénn hella

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

There is a similarly named bay on both Ronaigh and near the Lees. The Clan was known for its piracy in the Mediaeval period and this could have been one of their anchorages.

Beveridge writes (p213) From the north-west end of Lingernish across the mouth of a small bay marked Bàgh Clann Néill, is a row of massive stone evidently there set in position, this barrier acting as a breakwater and keeping back the tide much in the same manner as a line of boulders afterwards described as stretching between Lombaidh-skerry and Rudha nan Corr.'

With /clann/ identified elsewhere as ON klénn = 'snug', it is worth looking for a Norse root of Neill.

It is possible that with elision, the /n/ sound from Clann carries over to the start of Neil and in fact we should be looking for /eil/.

There would appear to be three possibilities, ON hellir = 'cave', ON hæli = 'shelter' and ON hella = 'paving stone, slab'.

There is no known cave here but the feature that is prominent enough for Beveridge to describe would fit with ON hellur = 'slabs'. 'puny slabs' would not however fit well but ON hella klénn vág 'small bay of slabs' would be an excellent topographical description although I am not sure if the order is correct.

There are two other Clann Néill places names, both on Ronaigh.

Bàgh Clann Neill

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Clann Nèill

Place ID 1704 NF 88648 55839 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG bay of the Clan Neil

ON vág klénn hæli

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The Clan Nèill is closely associated with Barra having Kisimul; Castle as their base. They were known as pirates, especially Ruairi an Tartair, and this could have been one of their anchorages.

Alternatively see Bàgh Clann Neill (P#1076) for a discussing of that name.

There is no line of stones here but the bay would be a sheltered one and so ON hæli would work as would ON hæll = 'heel' but used to describe an outlying protuberance on a larger hill.

ON grenna = 'green spot among the rocks' would work here as the area on the shore to the N is some of the best land on Ronaigh.

There is an adjacent Rudha Clann Néill and another Bàgh Clann Neill (P#1076) on Valley.

Bàgh Clann Nèill	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh Clann Néill	1877	OS 1st edition
McNeill's Bay	1861	Thomas chart
Bagh Chlann Neill	1861	Thomas chart

Bagh Cnoc an Fhudair

Place ID 900 NF 82420 60220 North Uist C1arinish

ScG bay of 'Cnoc an Fhùdair ' ScG bàgh 'Cnoc an Fhudair'

S1alt water Bay

See Cnoc an Fhùdair (P#899) for a discussion on the element 'Cnoc an Fhùdair'

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bagh Cnoc an Fhudair

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Cnoc nan Gobhar

Place ID	1869	NF 80617 56176	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ScG bay of the hillock of goats			ScG bàgh cnoc nan gobhar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bàgh Cnoc nan Gobhar			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Bagh Cnoc nan Gobhar			1877	OS 1st edition	

Bàgh Creag a' Chuilbh

Place ID 6645 NF 84462 41638 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG bay of the crag of the column. ScG bàgh creag a' chuilbh

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here Creag a' Chuilbh is treated as an onomastic unit

Bàgh Creag a' Chuilbh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh Creag a' Chuilbh	1877	OS 1st edition
Bay Craig a Cuilf	1804	Bald mapping

Bàgh Dubh

Place ID 436 NF 84860 56780 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Black bay

ScG bàgh + dubh

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

A common name and one of three on Griomasaigh.

The headland here Rubha Dubh, matches this name. Thomas names the creek to the south, Ob Dubh and one wonders if that is where this name should be.

Thomas however had a much more useful and instructive name for it on his 1861 chart: Ob Leigairidh.

The ScG ob = creek but the 'Leigairidh' is Norse. See Loch Ligarry (P#392) for a discussion of its meaning.

Bàgh Dubh

1877

OS 1st edition

Ob Leigairidh

1861

Thomas chart

Bagh Eilean Treobhaidh

Place ID 1231 NF 81140 60046 North Uist C1arinish

'Eilean Treobhaidh' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'EileanTreobhaidh'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

For details see Eilean Treobhaidh (P#288).

Bagh Eilean Treabhadh

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Bagh Eilean Treobhaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Fhionnlaidh

Place ID 6762 NF 79997 46399 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG Finlay's bay ScG bàgh fhionnlaidh

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is a nearby Rudha Fhionnlaidh (PN# 14412) too.
Carmichael's name is discussed against Rudha Fhionnlaidh.

Bagh Airi-an-rudha	1877	OS name book
Bàgh Fhionnlaidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Bach Fheuladh	1877	OS name book

Bagh Gearraidh Mhic Aulaidh

Place ID 1230 NF 81870 58970 North Uist C1arinish

ScG bay of Macaulay's enclosed area

ScG bàgh gearraidh mhic aulaidh

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Macaulay is still a relatively common name on Uist although the identity of this one is unclear.

Bagh na Sgeir Ruaidh

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Bagh Gearraidh Mhic Aulaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

McCaulay's Bay

1861

Thomas chart

McCauly B

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Bàgh Gheallt

Place ID 5430 NF 86005 53765 Benbecula Rueval

ScG bay + ON inlet - path

ScG bàgh + ON kíl - tá

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

ScG geallta = 'bleached' is probalby the root.

It does seem odd for such a distinctively shaped bay.

ON kíl = 'inlet or canal' is possibly a good alternative for the specific with th feature of a long straight inlet to the loch to the W. It is difficult to think of a specific but ON tá = 'toe or path' is probably the best although the topography is not 100% clear.

Bàgh Gheallt	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh Ghealt	1877	OS 1st edition
Bàgh Gheallt	1877	OS name book
Bàgh Altt	1877	OS name book

Bàgh Hacanais

Place ID 5629 NF 62067 62304 North Uist Heisker

ScG headland of the pasture + ScG bay ScG bàgh + ON haga nes

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Macaulay (p55) gives us to my mind a slightly confusing 'ON hah-nes or hak-lettr - a high rock'.

The generic is clearly ON nes = 'headland'.

To my mind the specific must be ON hagi = 'pasture' in the genitive case ON haga and this is strongly supported by the cognate notes.

The change from /g/ to /c/ is regular, e.g. Allt Chliasacro (#2554)

There are 12 instances of the cognate Haganes in Iceland and over 40 Haganes(et) in Norway.

Hacanais	2020	Alick Macaulay Heisgeir
Bàgh Hacanais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hakinish Bay	1877	OS 1st edition

Bàgh Hiùrabhagh

Place ID 5356 NF 83871 50978 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON behind the door + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Hiùrabhagh'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Bàgh Hiùrabhagh leads inland to Loch Hiùrabhagh reminding me of the two Loch nan Geireann on North Uist and even more Hurivagh and Loch Hurabhaig, Lochportain. The area surrounding them is the focus for settlement. There appears to be an almost skerry free direct root into the bay from the Minch.

My first thought was that the obvious specific is ON hjörð = 'herd' or its genitive plural reflex ON hjarða. One imagines this is a place where the herd was assembled prior to be taken off as provisions. It is possible that the generic is ON vegr = 'way' rather than ON vágr = 'bay'.

However this had neglected to consider the fact that initial ScG sh and initial ScG th sounds like /h/ and so one should consider 'shiùrabhagh and thiùrabhagh.

The former immediately bring ON sjór = 'sea' to mind with its genitive ON sjóar or sjóvar. This produces ON sjóvar veg = 'way of the sea' although a close compound ON sjór - veg is probably closer.

It is possible that the generic is ON vágr = 'bay' but 'bay of the sea' becomes tautologous.

When a Gael tries to say this, they would not enjoy the juxtaposition of the /r/ and the /v/ (or /bh/) and would insert an epenthetic vowel matching the previous one, here /a/ and this explains the central /a/ in the name as we now have it.

The initial vowel sound is not perfect but is good in terms of quantity.

A simpler solution presents itself if the root is the same as Hurivag (P#258) further N, a root suggested by Stewart, ON hurðar vág = 'back of the door'. It would seem likely not to be coincidental but for the two places to share the root. The initial vowel however is different enough to cause concerns.

In Norway there is an Hjørungavåg, an Hjørnevegan and an Hjørungavågan which are possibly cognates. Hjordfjellet which occurs twice is more likely.

In Iceland there is a Sjárvegur and a Sjóvegur place name.

Bàgh Hiùrabhagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bay Sheurabhaigh	1877	OS name book
Heouravay Bay	1877	OS 1st edition
Bagh Theorabhaigh	1877	OS name book
Bagh Sheurabhaigh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Bay Hearebah	1804	Bald mapping

Bàgh Hogha Glan

Place ID 673 NF 70640 72230 North Uist B1alranald

ON estate of the mounds bay

ON hauga land vág

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The OS 1st series name is probably more helpful - Hoglan Bay - indicating the two components split at a more explicable hog + lan. The first, the specific is ON hauga = 'of the mounds' as in several names in the area and the easiest root for the generic would be ON land = 'estate'.

Indeed English bay names are not common on the OS 1st edition and with that entry being Hoglan Bay, I suspect the original was ON hauga - land vág = 'estate of the mounds bay'

With 300 places in Norway containing the component 'Haugland' it is clearly a common name. For many of them Ryugh quotes an old version of the place name as 'hau' glann'.

Højaland occurs in Denmark once and in Sweden Högland is the start of 168 place names.

With no exact match, 40 place names in Iceland begin with 'Hauga'.

Bàgh Hogha Glan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bagh Hoglan

1877

OS name book

Hoglan bay

1877

OS 1st edition

Hoglan

MacDonald sketch history

Bàgh Holmair

Place ID 6637 NF 83542 42336 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Holmair' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Holmair'

Coastal

Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Tholmair (P#6638) for a discussion of that element.

Bàgh Holmair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Holmar Bay	1877	OS name book
Bàgh Holmer	1877	OS name book

Bagh Hornari

Place ID	519	NF 86570 57740	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
'Hornari' + ScG bay			ScG bàgh + 'Hornari'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

For a discussion on the meaning of the element 'Hornari', see Loch Hornaraigh (P#395).

This name only appears on Thomas' 1861 chart and interestingly he excavated the extensive broch, Dùn Bàn, which lies on an island in Loch Hornaraigh.

The bay here is just below the Griomasaigh wheelhouse mentioned there.

Bagh Hornari	1861	Thomas chart
--------------	------	--------------

Bàgh Iain Oig

Place ID	6014	NF 82661 75597	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG bay of young John			cG bàgh Iain Oig		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bàgh Iain Oig			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Bàgh Kersivay

Place ID 1159 NF 92020 68160 North Uist Lochmaddy

'Kersivay' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Kersivay'

S1alt water

Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Kersavagh (P#1146) for details of that element.

Carmichael's alternative, Bàgh an Tigh-mhòir, must refer to the old inn which is now the museum.

Bàgh an Tigh-mhòir

1877

OS name book

Bàgh Kersivay

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Lamasagh

Place ID 6318 NF 84561 32394 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Lamasagh' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Lamasagh'

Coastal

Shore

ScG?

ON?

complete?

For a discussion fo the second element see Rubha Lamasagh (P#6317)

Bàgh Lamasagh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lamasay Bay

1877

OS 1st edition

Gary Camus

1804

Bald mapping

Bàgh Lathach

Place ID 4992 NF 79404 28378 South Uist Loch Eynort

?ON stream + ScG bay

ScG bàgh lathach

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Mud Bay' which presumably comes from ScG làthach = 'mire, ooze, sludge or ground with strong suction'. However there is not a muddy foreshore here as far as I can remember.

One might expect the genitive ScG lathaich and some sources have an /à/.

It is however the obvious solution.

Bàgh Lathach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh Lathach	1877	OS 1st edition
Bàgh Làthach	1877	OS name book

Bàgh Làthaich

Place ID 6760 NF 79899 45491 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair
ScG muddy bay ScG bàgh vathaich ScG?
Coastal Shore ON? complete?

Bàgh Làthaich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Langoed Bay	1877	OS name book
Bagh Lathcha	1877	OS name book
Bàgh Làthaich	1877	OS 1st edition
Bàch Làchad	1877	OS name book

Bàgh Leachdach

Place ID 311 NF 78880 62860 North Uist B1aleshare

ON bay of the brooks + ScG bay

Scg bàgh + ON lækja + vágr

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

ON lækja = 'of the brooks' fits well with ON vágr = 'bay' to create the OS name book alternative Licebghagh. I am not quite sure where the 'd' appears from, in the difference between these two names unless it is a version of the 'bh' or 'v' sound.

There are three Lækjarvegur in Iceland whilst in Norway whilst våg is unusual there are 18 løk(e)vika place names.

Bàgh Leachdach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Licebagh	1877	OS name book
Bagh Leachdach	1877	OS 1st edition

Bágh Leireabhagh

Place ID	973	NF 90610 67710	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ON bay of the mud-shore + ScG bay			ScG loch + ON leiru v àg		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ON leiru v àg = 'mud-flat bay' is a perfect topographical fit and works phonetically too.

It is interesting to see Otter name the bay simply Lerivah on the earliest mapping we have. The tautologous bágh was probalby a later 'correction'.

The area was known for its pottery and details are given in The Hebridean Connection (p69).

There are two Leir(u)vik, a Leiruvik and three Leir(u)vogur in Iceland and over 120 places in Norway starting with Leirvåg including over 35 with just this word.

Bágh Leireabhagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Leurabhagh	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Leiravay Bay	1877	OS 1st edition
Bay Leavig	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Bagh Lobhta

Place ID 1226 NF 82470 59010 North Uist C1arinish

ScG rotten bay

ScG bàgh lobhta

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Being adjacent to Bagh Salach = 'dirty bay' this is clearly an unpleasant part of Cairinis!

Cox (p44&) does see the development ON lopt > ScG lobhta but ON lopt = 'loft' or more generally but that is hard to understand topographically.

Bagh Lobhta

1877

OS 1st edition

Bagh Mhic Rath

Place ID 1682 NF 82245 60262 North Uist C1arinish

ScG MacRae's or ON bay of the corner + ScG bay ScG bàgh mhic rath or rá vík

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Tobar Mhic Rath for an erroneous discussion on that name!

Thinking again, there is a small corner bay towards the end of Bagh Mor, the main bay here that would fit ON rá = 'of the corner' or 'of the nook' perfectly creating ON rá vik = 'bay of the nook'.

This then was the name of the bay and then the Gaels added their ScG bàgh for the bay here.

Cox lists ON Kráargrof > ScG Crathagro which is almost exactly what we need here.

There is a Rávik in Iceland and over 30 names in Norway including Ravik as the initial component, eleven of them being a simple Ravik(a).

Bagh Mhic Rath

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Bàgh Mhic Rath

Place ID	400	NF 87780 56960	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG MacRae's bay			ScG bàgh + ON vík rauf		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

This could well be a personal name that is usually Anglicized to MacRae about which I have no idea of its significance. ScG ràth = 'artificial mound or barrow' as one of its meaning and this could refer to the mound nearby to the N. 'ràth' is a word that is thought possibly to go back to Pictish roots. It is possible that this was a rare place name from before the Norse time.

There is a Norse alternative that works well topographically. ON rauf vik = 'bay of the sluice'. It works as this is where there is a strong current here rushing through the sound between Griomasagih and Ronaigh. The order is reversed as the Gaels have equated ON vik with ScG mhic = 'son of' and reordered the elements to fit this understanding.

Mhic Rath appears in three other place names in Scotland on the OS 2nd edition mapping. One is Port Mhic Ratha on Lismore.

Bàgh Mhic Rath	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh Mhic Rath	1877	OS 1st edition

Bàgh Mhoroghanais

Place ID 5729 NF 76441 76084 North Uist V1allay

'Mhoroghanais' + SCg bay

ScG bàgh + 'Mhoroghanais'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

See Morornish for a discussion on the 'Mhoroghanais' element.

Bàgh Mhoroghanais

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Bàgh Mile-Feala

Place ID 6394 NF 86790 34650 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Mile-feala' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Mile- Feala'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The OSNB gives us "Bay of the Honey" based upon mil = 'honey'. I cannot find an obvious word for the /feala/ section. The section Mile-feala is repeated in Gleann Mile-feala (P#6467 q.v.)

Bàgh Mile-Feala

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh Miile-Feala

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Mòr

Place ID 403 NF 87400 56210 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG big bay ScG bàgh + mòr

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An important natural harbour on the N coast of Griomasaigh that has the disadvantage of a drying entrance.

Bàgh Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------	------	-------------------

Bàgh Mòr	1877	OS 1st edition
----------	------	----------------

Great Bay	1861	Thomas chart
-----------	------	--------------

Bagh Mor	1861	Thomas chart
----------	------	--------------

Bàgh Mòr

Place ID 901 NF 82520 59890 North Uist Eaval

ScG big bay

ScG bàgh mòr

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Bàgh Mòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Baymore

2014

Modern OS mapping

Am Bagh Mor

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Bàgh Mòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Bloody Ditch

1861

Thomas chart

Bloody ditch

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Bàgh Mòraig

Place ID 769 NF 91140 58810 North Uist Eaval

ON moorland bay + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + ON mór vík

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The obvious interpretation is ScG Morag's bay although another meaning of ScG morraig = 'to moor a boat'. The OS 1st edition version was Bay Moireaig which has suggestions of ScG Moire = 'Mary the Virgin'.

Looking at this with fresh eyes, I ponder if it actually comes from ON mór + vagr/vík = 'moorland bay'.

There are seven Morviks in Norway and many other with that as a component.

Bàgh Mòraig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh Moireaig	1877	OS 1st edition
Moireag Harbour	1861	Thomas chart
Moireag Harbour	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
L. Rueval	1806	Stockdale mapping
Loch Rueval	1789	Ainslie mapping
Ba M:	1654	Blaeu mapping

Bàgh na Caiplich

Place ID 1656 NF 90349 56061 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG bay of the + ON stream of the mares ScG bàgh na + ON kapla læk

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Local tradition has this as 'bay of the horse'. The best way I can see to explain this is the ON capall = 'horse or mare' which is however a masculine noun. ScG capaill would be the genitive and an ScG -ach suffix indicates 'place of'. To add to any confusion the only way ScG na = 'the' can work in the singular is if ScG caiplich is feminine and in the genitive but as mentioned above I think ScG capall is, oddly, feminine.

I am not sure why the central /a/ or /ai/ has disappeared.

Unusually Thomas and the OSNB do not help with a translation.

There are too many issues here for me not to consider a Norse root.

ON kapall = 'horse or mare' is thought by MacxBain to have been borrowed from Gaelic. The plural forms lose the central vowel as in this place name.

Perhaps for the generic ON lög = 'lagoon or lake' or ON læk = 'stream'. The latter is closer phonetically I think.

The nearby Loch na Caiplich is connected to this place by a stream and this could be the original ON kapla læk.

However a better answer to my mind is ON vík = 'bay' as this is a perfect fit.

There is a nearby Loch na Caplich.

In Iceland there are several place names beginning with Kapl including one cognate Kaplavogur. There are no names in Norway beginning with /Kapl/.

There are seven Caiplich place names in Scotland on the OS 2nd series mapping, all in the Gaelic speaking area.

Effectively the other three are all the floor of river valleys, a place where horses could graze.

Bàgh na Caiplich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh na Caiplich	1877	OS 1st edition
Bagh na Caiplich	1861	Thomas chart
L. Bahnacaplich	1806	Stockdale mapping
Loch Bahnacaplich	1789	Ainlsie map

Bàgh na Cairidh Mòire

Place ID 6208 NF 82182 23909 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG bay of the big fish trap

ScG bàgh na cairidh mòire

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The bay is relatively narrow and has a headland that sticks out into the main channel but there is no evidence on satellite imagery of any trap.

Bàgh na Cairidh Mòire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh na Cairidh Mòire

1877

OS 1st edition

Bay na Carra

1804

Bald mapping

Bàgh na Craoibhe

Place ID 5972 NF 83541 79888 North Uist S1ollas

ScG bay of + ON pit

ScG bàgh na + ON gröf

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Niclain rather despairs 'It is not known why this place is called - No trees can be seen there today. It is possible that there used to be some at one time, just as it did with Bun na Craibhe in Vallay.'

Bàgh nan Craobhag on Vallay is similar but is in the plural. Here ON gröf = 'pit' or 'grave' and ties in with Lòh Hulabhaig. The development g > c is not regular but could be driven by the desire to resemanticise.

Gröf occurs as a simplex name over 60 times in Iceland

Bàgh na Craoibhe

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Bagh na Creige

Place ID	1809	NF 87102 47128	Benbecula	W1iay	
ScG bay of the crag			ScG bàgh na creige		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bagh na Creige			1866	Admiralty mapping	

Bàgh na Creige Loisgte

Place ID	6772	NF 82084 45048	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
Scg bay of the burnt crag			ScG bàgh na creige loisgte		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bàgh na Creige Loisgte			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Bàgh na Creige Loisgte			1877	OS 1st edition	

Bagh na Creimhig

Place ID 5621 NF 64224 61102 North Uist Heisker

ON bay of the corner + ScG bay ScG bàgh + ON krár vík

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Macaulay (p45) gives us ScG creimhig = 'maggot' but it seems unusual that the article is ScG na reflecting a singular maggot. With ScG /mh/ pronounced as /v/ the ending looks like a ON vík = 'bay'.
A possible and appropriate first component would be ON krá = 'corner'.

Bagh na Creimhig

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

Bagh na Deich-Ramhaich

Place ID 1635 NF 87966 54761 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG bay of the + ON dyke - corner bay

ScG bàgh na + ON dík - rá vík

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The local story describes a rowing boat with ten oars finding the narrows at the entrance to this bay precisely that and so breaking oars as the boat entered the bay. ScG ràmh = 'oar'

Unfortunately there is a good chance this is purely a folk etymology, particularly as we would expect the article ScG nan I think.

There is a good ON alternative ON díkja + hamarr = 'cliff of the dykes' which is a good description of the cliff above the narrow straight bay just to the W of the larger bay that the name is now associated with.

Cox notes two examples of what is called metathesis acting on ON hamarr in his book on Gaelic place names of Lewis. In both cases the /r/ and the /m/ interchange and produce a '-ram' ending. A similar effect is often observed /l/ and /m/ in ON holmr.

This would change the original ON hamarr to /haram/ and then the /ha/ disappearing would appear to create /ram/. However one must remember (i.e. I didn't) that the /mh/ will sound as /v/ here. The IPA spelling would be /dʲeç/ /Ra:vɪç/

The first component could easily be ON díkja = 'of the dykes' although the simple root ON dík would be easier and topographically this would be applicable as there are several EW natural dykes here. The last component must be ON vík = 'bay' and this leaves ON rá = 'corner' giving 'corner of the dykes bay'.

I am not sure of the stresses but expect the /bàgh/ component to be fully stressed and not the rest.

Prosaic, dull and nowhere near as exciting as oars breaking on the narrow gully but probably accurate.

The Thomas name, Daramhaich, is significantly different in missing the /ch/ sound.

There is a Rudha nan Ochd Ramhaich on the shores of Loch Spelve on Mull. (öggr?!)

There is a Dikkevika (along with a Dikhammaren and a Dikhammarelva) in Norway.

Bagh na Deich-Ramhaich

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Bagh na Daramhaich

1861

Thomas chart

Bagh na h-Àirde Mòire

Place ID 598 NF 91190 75240 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG bay of the big height

ScG bàgh na h- àirde mòire

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Here 'Àird Mòr' is being treated as an onomastic unit.

Bagh na h-Àirde Mòire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bagh na Airde Moire

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh na h-Àirde Mòire

Place ID 6763 NF 80029 46176 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG bay of + 'Àirde Mòire'

Scg bàgh na h-+ 'Àirde Mòire'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Here the onomastic unit is Àird Mhòr (PN#14425), the nearby settlement

Bàgh na h-Àirde Mòire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh na h-Àirde Mòire

1877

OS 1st edition

Bay of Ardmòr

1804

Bald mapping

Bàgh na h-Allt Duibhe

Place ID 5212 NF 81365 47200 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG bay of the black stream

ScG bàgh na h-allt

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

With ScG allt = 'stream' as a masculine noun, I would expect ScG an rather than ScG na h- and the mysteries of the declension of ScG dubh = 'black' are beyond me.-

Bàgh na h-Allt Duibhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Bagh Na 'Han-Sha'

Place ID 1658 NF 90228 56036 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG bay of the 'Han-Sha'

ScG bàgh na 'Han-Sha'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

One imagines this is the name of a boat - perhaps that of Captain Allan Macdonald who started building a house in the bay.

Bagh Na 'Han-Sha'

2000

Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)

Bagh na Muice

Place ID 5496 NF 84688 51888 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG bay of the whale

ScG bàgh na muice

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The one whale would indicate a washed up carcase rather than driven hunting as would the position.

Whale Bay

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bagh na Muice

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bàgh na Muice

Place ID 5431 NF 86274 54028 Benbecula Rueval

ScG bay of the whale

ScG bàgh na muice

S1alt water

Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bàgh na Muice

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh na Muice

1877

OS 1st edition

Bagh Allt

1861

Thomas chart

Bàgh na Murla

Place ID 1784 NF 86266 46292 Benbecula W1iay

ScG bay of the + ON narrow route

ScG bàgh na + ON mjór leið

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The Admiralty chart gives us 'basket bay' with the name Bagh na Murlaig an based upon ScG mùrla = 'conical creel'. Carmichael did not quote this which must count against it.

'Murla' occurs in a couple of other places on Uist and I think stems from ON mjórri-leið = 'narrow route or course' using the strong declension of ON mjór.

This would seem to work topographically here too with a narrow entrance to the bay or a narrow entrance between the two sea-lochs here..

The name could well have started as ON mjórri-leið vágr and then been Gaelicized to its current form.

There are five Murla names on the OS 2nd series mapping, two on Uist.

There are 29 Mjó(a)sund in Iceland which is close to a cognate.

Bàgh na Murla	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh na Murla	1877	OS 1st edition
Basket Bay	1866	Admiralty mapping
Bagh na Murlaig	1866	Admiralty mapping
Port More	1804	Bald mapping

Bagh nam Faochag

Place ID 1004 NF 92720 67240 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG bay of the whirlpools

ScG bàgh nam Faochag

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

ScG faochag also means whirl, eddy or whirlpool' and that would seem more appropriate.

A remote Norse possibility involves ON vögn = 'orca' in its root form being used as an adjective with ON vág = 'bay'

I was surprised to see 28 Faochag names on the OS 2nd edition mapping spread across the Gaelic heartland, including many inland.

Bagh nam Faochag	1877	OS 1st edition
Bagh na Fuochag	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
Banaseuchag	1832	Thomson atlas
Banafeuchag	1799	Reid mapping

Bàgh nam Faoilean

Place ID 5229 NF 83877 44834 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG bay of the fords

ScG nam fadhail

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

I am not sure of the grammar of ScG fadhail = 'ford' in terms of the genitive plural.

The OSNMB gives us 'The Ford Bay' and this makes sense apart from the article ScG nam which is of the plural.

Bàgh nam Faoilean

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh nam Faoileann

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh nam Faoileann

Place ID	6644	NF 83991 41837	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG bay of the gulls			ScG loch nam faoileann		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bàgh nam Faoileann			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Bagh nam Feadag

Place ID 397 NF 87060 57470 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG bay of the + ON bay of the meadwos on the b ScG bagh nam + ON fitja vág

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

This bay is still home to Ringed Plover, Oystercatcher and Golden Plover, all of which could be the ScG feadag = 'plover'. An intriguing possibility bearing in mind the fact there are three 'Fe Closer would be ON fit = adag' names here is ON fjarðar vág = 'bay of the firth' - a long way to resemanticise though. Closer would be ON fit = 'meadow land on the banks of a firth, lake, or river'.

ON fitja vág = 'bay of the meadow lands on the banks of a firth, lake, or river' would be a pretty good description of what I see out of my window as I type.

On the OS 2nd edition mapping there are three Feadag names - two here and a Bealach Luib nam Feadag inland from Skye.

In Norway there is a Fitjavågen.

Bagh nam Feadag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh nam Feadag	1877	OS 1st edition
Bagh nam Feadag	1861	Thomas chart
Plover Bay	1861	Thomas chart

Bagh nam Feannag

Place ID 1262 NF 81410 61630 North Uist C1arinish

ScG bay of the rigs ScG bàgh nam feannag

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG feannag also means 'crow'
See Barpa nam Feannag (P#2540) for a possible Norse interpretation of the 'Feannag' element.

Bagh nam Feannag 1877 OS 1st edition

Bàgh nam Fiadh

Place ID 6620 NF 78955 41395 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG bay of the deer ScG bàgh nam fiadh

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Fiag (P#6621) for an alternative possibility.

Bàgh nam Fiadh 2014 Modern OS mapping

Bàgh nam Fiadh 1877 OS 1st edition

Bagh nam Fiasgan

Place ID 941 NF 86730 63720 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG bay of the mussels

ScG bagh nam fiasgan

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

MacIver (p11) gives an interesting alternative for 'fiasgan' as ON fjar skjáni = 'gentle slope of the sheep' although I cannot find a reference for the second word.

Bagh nam Fiasgan

1877

OS 1st edition

Bagh nam Fiasgan

1861

Thomas chart

Bagh nan Cisteachan

Place ID	497	NF 87570 56590	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG bay of the coffins			ScG bagh nan cisteachan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Whilst Chest Bay is another interpretation, Cox recognises ScG ciste to mean 'pass' having been borrowed from the ON kista. Topographically it is exactly that, a pass between two smallish hills and the plural could have arisen as part of the Gaelicization process although it is hard to see how.

Looking at ScG ciste again, one meaning is 'coffin'. It is not unlikely that bodies from Ronaigh were transported across via the ferry to be buried on the main island and so calling this the bay of the coffins would make sense.

ScG cisteaghan = 'small chests' is a similar plural as that of ScG ciste

The componet Cisteachan occurs 16 times on the OS 2nd edition mapping. There are two simplex Na Cisteachan places, both on coastal Islay where there is also a Tràigh nan Cisteachan. Not all however are coastal.

On the N shore of Loch Lochy is a Cisteachan Dubha with the same name in Ross and Cromarty. Both of these seem to refer to steep slopes.

Bagh Cirtecham	1877	OS name book
Chest Bay	1861	Thomas chart
Bagh nan Cisteachan	1861	Thomas chart

Bàgh nan Craobhag

Place ID 1084 NF 77310 76790 North Uist V1allay

ScG bay of the + ON bay of the folds

ScG bagh nan + ON króa vág

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The existence of (small) trees in Gaelic-speaking times helps with a Norse name of 'clearing' as discussed under Rubha. That said here it is more likely that the derivation is ON króa vág = 'bay of the corners'. It is a bay that is more enclosed than the usual Hebridean bay.

That said, the initial vowel is not as good as it should be.

ON gröf = 'grave or pit' would be close especially with the side form that is *ON græf (Vigfusson includes a similar word 'græfr, adj. [grafa], fit to be buried (according to the eccl. law)' and OE græf = 'grave'. There are also side forms along the lines of Da grube = 'pit'.

That said ON gróf = 'pit' is a lot simpler as ó > ù is regular (Cox p163)

Without being sure of exactly which reflex is being used, I think that could be the root and the slightly irregular g > k is as a desire to resemanticise.

topographically this is an area where the winds has blown pits into the sand.

However the simplest kró is probably the best.

Niclain writes 'Although Bågh na Craobhag is written on the map, it is known as Bun na Craibhe. Trees are mentioned here, but no tree or tree can be seen today. Beveridge says that there was such a thing when he lived in Vallay at the beginning of this century. They may have been overtopped by sand, or swept away by the tide.'

See Craobhagain (P#244)

In Norwegian grøft = 'ditch or trench and there are three Gr<01/ø2>ftvika.

Bàgh nan Craobhag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bun na Craoibhe

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Bàgh nan Craobhag

1877

OS 1st edition

Bun na Craoibh

1877

OS name book

Bagh nan Stearnan

Place ID	5498	NF 85818 52215	Benbecula	Loch Uisgeabhagh	
ScG bay of the terns			ScG bàgh nan steàrnan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The second component here is remarkably close to the start of Steòrnabhaigh on Lewis. Oftedal thought it was based upon ON stjarna = 'star' with nom definite ON stjarnar. The alternative was ON stjórn = 'ruling, steerage' and 'rudder'. Here only 'The rudder' might be appropriate and with the eye of faith, the bay could be described to be shaped as a rudder.

It is also possible that the first two elements could be ON váginum = 'The bay' in the dative case.

I will try and go and see if there are still any terns there next summer.....

There are sixteen names involving Stearn- on the OS 2nd edition mapping with only Rudh' an Stearnail on Gigha away from Western Isles. This one is adjacent to a crossing place Tarbert, and could indicate where to 'steer'. (perhaps with a generic of ON hóll = 'hill')

Odd really as there are plenty of terns breeding away from the Western Isles.

Bagh nan Stearnan	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgeabhaig
Sea Swallow's Bay	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgeabhaig

Bàgh nan Togsaiden

Place ID 1177 NF 92010 69220 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG bay of the hogsheads

ScG bàgh nan togsaiden

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The OS name book provides 'Hogshead bay' when in fact it is in the plural. It is good to see that they have introduced lenition into the English language here!

It is also a good example of how an initial /h/ is often replaced by a /t/ when a word is Gaelicized.

The initial word begins with /h/ but with a word in Gaelic beginning with either a broad /sh/ or a broad /th/ , the /s/ and the /t/ are ignored in the pronunciation. Here then the /t/ has been recreated (a process called back-formation) to create /th/ but then the /h/ is removed as it is deemed part of an un-necessary lenition process.

The word has clearly been lifted straight out of English where 'hogshead' refers to a large cask of liquid generally containing alcohol. The volume was in the region of 240 litres in current money.

Bàgh nan Togsaiden

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh nan Toll

Place ID 6595 NF 83770 40219 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG bay of the hollows

ScG bàgh nan toll

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

I am unclear where Bald's Bay na Fullan (PN#14011) has come from but looks to derive from ScG mhuilinn = 'of the mill. The stream from the loch above looks suitable and there would seem to have been some straightening.

Bàgh nan Toll	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hall Bay	1877	OS name book
Bàgh nan Toll	1877	OS 1st edition
Bay na Fullan	1804	Bald mapping

Bàgh nan Uain

Place ID 1793 NF 86736 45257 Benbecula W1iay

ScG bay of the ON harbour

ScG bàgh nan + ON höfn

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The OS 1st edition and Haswell-Smith both record Bagh na Haun = 'ScG bay of the + ON haven'. The name was a late change from Carmichael's preferred ScG anhainn = 'stream' option.

The surveyors wrote: 'I should much doubt this etymology. There is no river near. There are two similar cases in South Uist and Eriskay where a bay is called Bay na Haun[e crossed out] although there is no river. It is probably Havn, Norse = haven or harbour.' The note refers to the overwritten meaning of 'The River Bay'.

The OS are clearly keen to go half way back to Carmichael with their new version of ScG Uain = 'lambs'.

Apart from Creag Haundroman at Uig, Lewis and a settlement on Mull called Haunn (with two associated names including the tautologous Port Haunn), the three names mentioned above are the only three with Haun- on the OS 2nd edition mapping. In Shetland the word has become Hamn with 28 occurrences and elsewhere on the east coast and Orkney it has become fully Anglicized to Haven. Cox cites Tamnabagh on Lewis as an example.

There are around 40 simplex Höfn names in Iceland.

Bàgh nan Uain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bay na Haune	1877	OS name book
Bagh na h-Abhuinn	1877	OS name book
Bagh na Haun	1877	OS 1st edition
Bagh na h-Amhunn	1866	Admiralty mapping

Bàgh nan Uamh

Place ID 1657 NF 89433 56856 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG bay of the caves ScG bàgh nan uamh

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is a cave of sorts on the N side of this bay so topographically it is good.

Thomas is better using ScG uamha = 'the caves' and so on balance I expect it is meant to be the plural - I know of only one so need to find another!

It could be the ScG uamh is the genitive plural - this works for lots of nouns.

The OSNB gives us 'The Lambs bay' presumably based, erroneously, upon ScG uan = 'lamb'.

ScG uamh = 'cave' occurs 501 times on the OS 2nd edition mapping spread across the Gaelic heartland with unsurprisingly a coastal emphasis.

Bàgh nan Uamh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bagh Nuath	2000	Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)
Bàgh nan Uamh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch nan Uamha	1861	Thomas chart

Bàgh Neill

Place ID 2052 NF 96772 74840 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG bàgh Niall

ScG Niall's bay

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

This name, or its alternative Bagh Clann Neill occurs commonly on the Uist and possibly refers to the MacNeills of Barra, famed for their piracy.

MacKillop gives us Neil MacKillop and his family using it to load and transport home peats.

Bàgh Clann Neill

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Bàgh Neill

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Bàgh Niabhag

Place ID 5392 NF 85336 52234 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ON north bay + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + ON njarð vág

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The obvious interpretation is ON ný vág = 'new bay' but I am unclear as to how a bay becomes new unless it is new to use.

The alternative of Neavag and the like offer another alternative. The genitive of ON Njörðr = 'North' is Njarðar and the prefix ON Njarð is used in place names.

Here then the root could be ON Njarð vág = 'North bay' which works phonetically and it is the bay on the N of Loch Uisgeabhagh.

Sorted!

Whilst vogur names are rare in Iceland, the similar ON vík provides us with six Njarðvík names .

In Norway Rygh thinks a cognate could be Narvik.

Bàgh Niabhag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bagh Neàbhaig	1877	OS name book
Neavag Bay	1877	OS 1st edition
Bagh Neamhaig	1877	OS name book
Bagh Niamhaig	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Bay Neavay	1832	Thomson atlas
Bay Neavay	1804	Bald mapping

Bagh Nighe

Place ID 5293 NF 87660 49351 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG washing bay

ScG bàgh nighe

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

there is a Loch Nigheadh a few hundred metres to the NW and this could be the referent.
Bald's name is an oddity Bay mitus - 'bay with house' to a German?!

Washing Bay

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bagh Nighe

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bay mitus

1804

Bald mapping

Bàgh Orasaigh

Place ID 925 NF 83770 64260 North Uist Langass

'Orasaigh' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Orasaigh'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

See Orasaigh (P~5357) for details of the onomastic unit 'Orasaigh'

Bàgh Orasaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Orasay Bay

1877

OS 1st edition

Salt Bay

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Bàgh Roisinis

Place ID 949 NF 87680 63960 North Uist Lees

'Roisinis' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Roisinis'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

ON hrossa = 'of the horses' works well here - there is another Ròisinis (P#438) at the NE corner of Benbecula where the element 'Roisinis' is discussed.

Bàgh Roisinis

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh Roisinnis

1877

OS name book

Roisinish Bay

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Rossel

Place ID 6455 NF 85812 36371 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Rossel' + ScG bay ScG bàgh = 'Rossel'

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Rubha Ròiseal (P#6391) for a discussion of that component.

Bàgh Rossel 2014 Modern OS mapping

Bàgh Rossel 1877 OS 1st edition

Bàgh Rubha Chnaip

Place ID 1692 NF 88248 56172 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG bay + 'Rubha Chnaip' ScG bàh + 'Rubha Chnaip'

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Rubha Chnaip (P#563) for a discussion of that element.

Bàgh Rubha Chnaip	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh Rudha Chnaip	1877	OS 1st edition
Bagh a Chnaip	1861	Thomas chart

Bagh Rubha ma-dheas

Place ID 5209 NF 81589 46760 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG headland to the approximately south bay ScG bàgh rubha mu-dheas

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am not sure that ma is correct.

Bagh Rubha ma-dheas

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh Rudha na-dheas

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Rudha Bhualte

Place ID 754 NF 87590 58440 North Uist Eaval

'Rudha Bhualte' + ScG bay ScG bàgh + 'Rudha Bhualte'

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Rubha Bhualte (P#753) for a discussion on this component of the name.

Bàgh Rudha Bhualte 1877 OS 1st edition

Bagh Salach

Place ID 1218 NF 82650 59190 North Uist C1arinish

ScG dirty bay

ScG bagh salach

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Being adjacent to Bagh Lobhta = 'rotten bay' this is clearly an unpleasant part of Cairinis!

It does seem odd to have both a Bàgh Salach and an Àird Salach and this hints at a place *Salach.

Holliday writes (p312) ON k > ch some consonants show strong pre-aspiration in the Tìree Gaelic dialect. Sometimes this is so strong that the plosive /k/ develops to -ch(-) represented by [x]' and then cites 12 examples.

It is not unreasonable that this effect could happen on Uist too.

This would make ON salt vík = 'salt bay' a remote possibility for the original name of this bay. There is evidence of some intra-tidal structures here.

It would however require the non-regular development of lt > ll which could be explained by the desire to resemanticise to ScG salach = 'dirty'.

There are 59 Salach place names on the OS 2nd edition mapping with most, but not all, being coastal.

An interesting one is on Mull, Salann Salach with the addition of 'liable to floods'.

In Iceland there are 11 Saltvík(ur) names whilst in Norway there are over 70 places beginning with Saltvik-. Rygh refers to a couple of these names as a place where salt-boiling was once practised.

Bagh Salach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bàgh Salach

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Salach

Place ID 336 NF 80212 61549 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG dirty bay ScG bàgh salach

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

'Place of mud or salt water' might be less aggressive!

There is another Bàgh Salach at Carinis (P#1218) where I have discussed other possibilities.

Here, like there, there are some curious intra-tidal stone settings.

Bàgh Salach

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Scalan

Place ID 182 NF 96292 70393 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Scalan' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Scalan'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

see Scalan (P#5048) for details.

Bàgh Scalan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bay Scalan

1877

OS name book

Bagh Sealg

Place ID 1746 NF 89183 57586 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG hunting bay ScG bàgh sealg

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is one of several names in area referring to (deer) hunting.

Bagh Sealg 1861 Thomas chart

Bàgh Sgaraileòd

Place ID 5370 NF 85139 51666 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG bay + 'Sgaraileòd

ScG bàgh + 'Sgaraileòd'

S1alt water

Bay

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Sgaraileòd (P#53911) for a discussion of that component.

Bàgh Sgaraileòd

2014

Modern OS mapping

Scarilode Bay

1877

OS 1st edition

Bay Haray

1832

Thomson atlas

Bay Haray

1804

Bald mapping

Bagh Sgarbhcleit

Place ID 1832 NF 88292 46640 Benbecula W1iay

ON cormorent rock + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + ON skarfa klett

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The order makes it a Norse construct rather than a Gaelic one - the words would be virtually the same.

In Iceland there are 15 Sharfaklettur and foyr Skarfaklettur place names

Bagh Sgarbhcleit

1866

Admiralty mapping

Bagh Sgolpaig

Place ID 1114 NF 72740 75640 North Uist S1colpaig

'Scolpaig'+ ScG bay

ScG bagh + ON sgolpaig

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

For the roots of 'Scolpaig' (P#1117) see that place.

Bagh Sgolpaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Scolpeg Bay

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Sgotbheinn

Place ID 419 NF 86490 55650 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG 'Sgotbheinn' bay ScG bàgh + 'Sgotbheinn'

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Possible roots for the onomastic unit Scotbheinn (P#417) are discussed under that place.
The bay here is a good harbour and was one of the sites of boat building on Griomasaigh

Bàgh Sgotbheinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bagh Scoitbheinn	1861	Thomas chart

Bàgh Spònais

Place ID 965 NF 88950 64130 North Uist Lees

'Spònais' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Spònais'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

See Spònais (P#591) for details of that component.

Bàgh Spònais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bagh Spoinis

1877

OS name book

Bay Sponish

1877

OS 1st edition

Bàgh Teileam

Place ID 226 NF 91979 74619 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Teilem' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Teilem'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

See Teilem (P#238) for a discussion of that name. It is one of three names with this component here.

Bàgh Teileam

2014

Modern OS mapping

Teilem Bay

1877

OS 1st edition

Bagh Tharmasaig

Place ID 5620 NF 64224 61102 North Uist Heisker

ON bay of the crag + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + ON hamars vík

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Macaulay gives the obvious ScG bagh = 'bay' but writes 'Harmasaig ON otherwise unknown.

The -aig ending looks like ON vik = 'bay' providing a tautology which is often a good sign.

Whilst ON harmr = 'grief' this seems unlikely and a more likely option is ON hamarr = 'crag or cliff' in the singular genitive form ON hamars and with the /r/ and the /m/ transposed.

There are no Icelandic names beginning Harm- but many with Hamr- including two Hamravík and three Hamarsvík.

Bagh Tharmasaig

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

Bàgh Tràight

Place ID	370	NF 86217 57485	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG bay of the beach			ScG bàgh tràghad		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ScG tràghad is the genitive singular of ScG tràigh = seashore (often sandy).

However the OI tráigid = 'to ebb' was a verb with a past participle OI tráite = 'ebbed' which seems closer here and might reflect an earlier root.

This was an important site as it was where the main track came across from the North Ford for routes heading either N or S. The track from here to Ceallan, the Maclean base on Griomasaigh, was the only track marked on Grimsay on the OS 1st edition.

This was part of the area drained for forty years in the early 1800s.

Bàgh Tràight	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh Tràight	1877	OS 1st edition

Bàgh Uaine

Place ID	890	NF 85240 63530	North Uist	Langass	
ScG green bay			ScG bàgh uaine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bàgh Uaine			2014	OS modern underlying	
Bagh Uaine			1877	OS 1st edition	

Bàgh Uisinis

Place ID 6349 NF 85240 33197 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Uisinis' + ScG bay

ScG bàgh + 'Uisinis'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

See Uisinis (P#6463) for a discussion of that element.

The Bald name Moulfouy Ess (P#13273) is almost certainly a contrast to Mol a' tuath and is ScG mol a' deas = 'shingle bank of the south'.

Bàgh Uisinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bagh Uisnis	1877	OS name book
Usinish Bay	1877	OS 1st edition
Bagh Huisnis	1877	OS name book
Moulfouy Ess	1804	Bald mapping

Baghasdail

Place ID 92 NF 79180 19490 South Uist Lochboisdale

ON bay valley ON vágs dal

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Taylor gives us 'Baegi's Valley'. With the spelling Baghasdail going back to Blaeu's Baghastil, the root seems clear as ON vágs dal = 'valley of the bay' which to my mind is an excellent topographical fit.

/gs/ is probably an uncomfortable combination for a Gaelic speaker and so an epithetic vowel is inserted, usually a copy of the previous one, here /a/.

The earliest form Baegastallis might offer support for Taylor but Blaeu's Baghastil is encouraging.

Boisdale	2014	Modern OS mapping
Boisdale	2014	Modern OS mapping
Baghasdail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Boisdale	1804	Bald mapping
Baghastil	1654	Blaeu mapping
Byisdail	1654	Blaeu mapping
Baegastallis	1505	RMS

Bail' Iochdrach

Place ID	1234	NF 81760 59480	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG lower town			ScG baile iochdrach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Township			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bail' Iochdrach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Baile Iochdrach			2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island	

Bail Uachdraich

Place ID 1246 NF 81810 60220 North Uist C1arinish

ScG upper town ScG baile uachdraich

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One of the two townships in Cairinis with unsurprisingly the other being 'lower'.

Bail Uachdraich 1877 OS 1st edition

Bail-ard

Place ID	2428	NF 79784 74265	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG high township			ScG baile ard		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Township			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bail-ard			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Bail-ard			1877	OS 1st edition	

Baile

Place ID 4911 NF 93278 81554 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigrearraidh

ScG township

ScG baile

ScG?

Settlement

Building

ON?

complete?

ScG baile = 'township' or ON hvalr = 'whale'?!

Baile

2014

Modern OS mapping

Risgarry

1877

OS 1st edition

Rissigarry

1804

Bald mapping

Baile a' Mhanaich

Place ID 1879 NF 77700 55316 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG township of the monk

Scg baile a' mhanaich

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

There is the story of St. Torranan arriving and trying to build a chapel near the shore but each night an angel picked up the stones and moved them to an island in a nearby loch. Eventually the saint gave up and built his chapel on the island - Teampall Chaluim Chille as it is today.

A name that reflects the long tradition of Christianity on Benbecula.

That said there is only one monk here with the ScG a' = 'of the'

Ballevanich	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
Bellnamanach	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
Balivanich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Baile a' Mhanaich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Balivanich	1877	OS 1st edition
Bailemhanaich	1877	OS name book
Balavanich	1877	OS name book
Balevanich	1877	OS name book
Bailemanaich	1877	OS name book
Bail' a Mhanaich	1861	Thomas chart
Monk Town	1861	Thomas chart
Balivanich	1832	Thomson atlas
Balivanich	1804	Bald mapping
Baluannich	1654	Blaeu mapping

Baile Fhlodaidh

Place ID 5585 NF 83672 54268 Benbecula Rueval

'Flodaigh' + ScG fold

ScG buaile + 'Fhlodaidh'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

I suspect that Thomas meant ScG buaile = 'fold' as this is still the site of a fold. For a discussion about Fhlodaidh see (P#191)

Baile Fhlodaidh

1861

Thomas chart

Baile Gharbhaidh

Place ID 2102 NF 76560 47004 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON farm island + ScG township

ScG baile + ON garð vág

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

The second component is recorded in the OS name book as 'Rough Ford'. I suspect however that it is more likely to be ScG aoidh = 'peninsula' as that would be a better topographical fit referring to the long sandy peninsula protruding into the South Ford. It is called Gualan but this would not be a problem if that was a Norse name, q.v.

That said the name sounds very similar to an odd 'Ylandgarvy' written as an addenda in a list of North Uist terungs in a 1505 charter. I wonder if in fact it stems from ON garð-vág = 'farm bay'. On the Bald mapping drawn before the major drainage in the area, the principal settlement of 'Balgarva' is on an island.

There is are two Garðavík in Iceland and five Gardavik and a Gardavågen in Norway.

Baile Gharbhaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Balgarva	2014	Modern OS mapping
Balgarva	1877	OS 1st edition
BaileGhaibhaith	1877	OS name book
Balgarva	1804	Bald mapping
Garraua	1654	Blaeu mapping

Baile Glas

Place ID 390 NF 84860 57690 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG grey walls ScG balla glas ScG?
 ON?

Settlement Township complete?

ScG glas = 'grey' or 'green' but this area is a relatively fertile one and as the island is approached from North Uist, appears green.

The OSNB gives 'Grey Walls' based upon ScG balla = 'wall'. The ScG glasa however would be a plural adjective with ScG ballachen the plural noun and so there is a dichotomy here.

ScG balla is also an anglicization of ScG baile = 'township' but it is odd that Thomas chose 'wall' as he is usually accurate.

Baile Glas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Am Baile Glas	2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)
Balla Glasa	1877	OS name book
Ballaglasa	1877	OS 1st edition

Baile Loch

Place ID 2333 NF 72526 73149 North Uist B1almartin

ScG loch township or ON stream of the grassy ban ScG baile loch or ON bala læk

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Township

complete?

The easy interpretation is ScG baile loch = 'township of the loch' although with the loch names being Loch Hosta and that township being on the S shore, it does not seem obvious. I think one might expect ScG locha, the genitive. ON valla lög = 'lake of the fields' is not impossible however the best Norse root to my mind would be ON bala lög = 'lake of the grassy banks' which is a pretty good topographic and phonetic match. The referent would be Loch Hosta. ON læk = 'stream' would not be far off.

There are two Vallalækur and four Balalækur in Iceland. In Norway although not cognates there is a balaviki and a Balavågen.

Baile Loch	2014	Modern OS mapping
Baleloch	2014	Modern OS mapping
Baleloch	1877	OS 1st edition
Baleloch	1832	Thomson atlas
Baleloch	1799	Reid mapping
Ballekinloch	1718	1718 rental
Baleloch		MacDonald sketch history

Baile Loin

Place ID 2334 NF 72948 73911 North Uist B1almartin

ScG township of the small brook with marshy ban ScG baile loin

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Beveridge gives us (p43) township of the marsh whilst in fact the ground there is quite good. This is possibly after drainage, the resident here Dr. Alexander MacLeod undertook several drainage schemes on Uist in the early 19th century. Cox cites ScG lòn = 'pool'

However in Dwelly there is an alternative ScG loin = 'of the meadow' or 'small brook, especially with marshy banks (Skye)' either of which is a much better topographical fit.

The latter is more distinctive and so is the option I prefer.

In Norse ON lón f is now used for a deep stream with weak current and the Gaels loaned this for their ScG lón which generally means damp meadow (Cox p337).

Modern Icelandic has an interesting further meaning of 'the source of water within a sand drift by the sea'. There is a good example of this in the dunes between Balelone and Balmartin. NSNL quotes 'In Iceland, the word is also, already from ancient times, of the genitals, but is used only on almost completely enclosed bays of the lake.'

This could then have come from ON valla lón = 'stream or enclosed bay of the fields' as the ON /v/ and ScG /b/ often become interchanged.

Loch Hosta would be a perfect candidate for 'the almost enclosed bay' being marked by Blaeu in 1652 as a loch connected to the sea.

Baile Loin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bail' an loin	1911	Beveridge
Balelone	1877	OS 1st edition
Baile an Loin	1877	OS name book
Balelone	1832	Thomson atlas
Balelone	1799	Reid mapping
Balloan	1718	1718 rental
Balelone		MacDonald sketch history

Baile Mhàrtainn

Place ID	2332	NF 72521 73689	North Uist	B1almartin	
ON mark stone landmark + ScG township			ScG baile + ON mark-steinn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Township			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Looking at the long list of previous place names, as Beveridge observes there were clearly two versions of the name, Baile Martin or Talamh Mhartainn. The former means the township of 'Martin' whilst the latter means the land of 'Martin'.

Things are perhaps not that simple however as Dwelly gives us ScG An Talmhantan = 'the lands or cultivated lots of a crofting township' and this looks very similar to the earlier versions of the name. It also might help explain Vannt or Mant, other names associated with the area about which I have posted on my blog:

<http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/where-and-what-is-watna>

Lawson can usually be relied on to find a link with a local name and writes here: 'it is not a surname one would associate with North Uist'.

ScG Martainn = 'Martin' itself is open to Norse interpretation. The /h/ would have been inserted as it would be part of the lenition process changing the original ScG Mårtainn. In ScG (except on Lewis!) between an /r/ and /t/ an 'sh' sound is inserted. Mårtainn then sounds like 'marshtainn' (in IPA /ma:RʃdɪNʲ/).

This could come from ON mar- steinn = 'sea rock' or better still 'sea hermetic cell'. Further evidence comes from the usual '-ein' endings in the earlier versions of the place name. With Balmartin adjacent to St. Clement's Chapel, a hermitic cell on the shore, this must be a possibility.

However the simplest version for the specific is ON mark = 'mark, landmark' which regularly corrupts to become mar-. This could refer to the rock at the summit of Carra-crom (ScG bent pillar) acting as a marker for some land division.

Mark-steinn is quoted in Vigfusson to mean 'a mark-stone, landmark'

ScG talla = 'rock or cleft of a rock' according to Dwelly and this fits nicely in a classically tautologous name 'rock of the marker rock'

Bhalaigh too has two Cille sites and places names involving Martainn and so has strong religious connections. The coincidence of the Martin name adjacent to the only extant early chapels on North Uist would be a big one.

Markklettur and Markaklettur are close Icelandic cognates but Marksteinn occurs three times as an exact match whilst the equally good Markastein occurs 11 times.

Markstein occurs in Norway twice as does Markastein(en).

In all three examples of Marstein quoted by Rygh (vol4 p56, vol10 p120 and vol 13 p234) he cites the naem as stemming from Mark

Balmartin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Baile Mhàrtainn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Balamartin	1911	Beveridge
Talamhartuinn	1911	Beveridge
Balmartin	1877	OS 1st edition
Talbowmartein	1850	Retours
Tallowmartein	1850	Retours
Tallowmartein	1850	Retours
Balmartin	1832	Thomson atlas
Balmartin	1799	Reid mapping

Tallowmairtin	1657	The Clan Donald
Tallowmairtine	1657	The Clan Donald
Belmerteinn	1657	The Clan Donald
Balmertein	1657	The Clan Donald
Belmertein	1657	The Clan Donald
Talawmartin	1505	RMS
Talmertane	1505	RMS
Tallawmartin	1505	RMS

Baile Mhic Conain

Place ID 1600 NF 88683 77924 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG MacKinnon's or ON kings' bay + ScG township ScG baile mhic conain or ON konunga vík

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Township

complete?

This is one of the three townships cleared to create Newton Farm in the early 19th century. The Hebridean Connection (p10) talks about the Fergusons given this land after the Hosta battle.

The name has an Irish feel but Lawson (p155) could find no examples of it but knew that there were MacKinnons in the area. There was a St Conan who had, amongst other things, a chapel in Uig Bay on Skye.

Looking at Norse roots, one is instantly drawn to ON konungr = 'king'. With ON vik = 'bay' this would fit ideally well with Thomas' hypothesis that this was the Sanday of the Sagas.

Bailevic Conen	1986	Easson land assessment
Baile Mhic Conain	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Balmhieconan	1832	Thomson atlas
Balmhiconan	1799	Reid mapping
Ballivicconnan	1770	Grianam evidence
Balliviconen	1718	1718 rental
Baile Mhic Conain		MacDonald sketch history

Baile Mhic' Phail

Place ID 640 NF 89040 77360 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG son of Paul's township

ScG baile mhic Phail

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

There is no knowledge I can find of who Paul was although the family name MacPhail was found here. (Lawson p152) Newton is a name that presumalby was created when the land here was made into an extensive farm in the 19th century.

ON pallr = 'platform' and seems to have come to mean 'ledges'. I ma not sure the topography here supports it but it would be a good phonological match.

I suppose the one obvious 'step' is form the sea into Loch Sticir.

Loch and Amhuinn Uidh Phail form an interesting pair of names in Uig, Lewis where ScG uidh = ON eið = 'isthmus'. I see no reason of ran isthmus to belong to Paul!.

Pall is a relativley ocmmon speicfic in Icelandic place names occuring over 30 times and over 150 times in Norway with one Pallavik.

Baile Mhic' Phail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Balevicfail	1986	Easson land assessment
Newton	1877	OS 1st edition
Balmhicfail	1832	Thomson atlas
Balmhicfail	1799	Reid mapping
Baile MhicPhail		MacDonald sketch history

Baile Mòr

Place ID 35 NF 73620 67430 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG big township

ScG baile mòr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

An obvious name although ScG mor = 'big' often leads to confusion. The placing and spelling of Blaeu's Balmoir lead me to suspect it is somewhere other than modern day Baile Mor. This is discussed in the 12 lost townships book in the Penmore section.

MacDonald writes it appears in a document in 1635.

Baile Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Balemore	2014	Modern OS mapping
Balemore	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Bhaile Mhoir	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Ballimore	1911	Beveridge
Balemore	1877	OS 1st edition
Balmore	1862	Black mapping
Balmore	1832	Thomson atlas
Ballymore	1806	Stockdale mapping
Balmore	1799	Reid mapping
Ballymore	1789	Ainslie mapping
Balimore	1776	Mackenzie mapping
Ballmore	1718	Judicial Rental
Balmoir	1654	Blaeu mapping
Balemore		MacDonald sketch history

Baile na Creige

Place ID	2180	NF 78850 63619	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG township of the crag			ScG baile na creige		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Township			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Baile na Creige			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Baile nan Cailleach

Place ID 54 NF 77390 52810 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG township of the nuns

ScG baile nan cailleach

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Martin Martin wrote in 1703 'Bael-nin-Killach, id est, Nuns-Town' showing that the two names were both being used at that time.

It is interesting to see that the OS 1st series used only Nunton whilst the modern OS mapping only uses Baile nan Cailleach.

Balnacallech	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
Baile nan Cailleach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ballienangalleach	1900	OS 1"
Ballienangealleach	1894	Originales Parochiales
Baileuancailleach	1877	OS name book
Ballienangalleache	1850	Retours
Balinincalsih	1806	Stockdale mapping
Balinincailach	1789	Ainslie mapping
Balnin Killach	1751	Dorret mapping
Bael-nin-Killach	1703	Martin book
Ballinnagallach	1654	Blaeu mapping
S. Maria	1610	Speed mapping
St Maria	1607	Hole mapping
St Maria	1607	Hole mapping
S. Maria	1595	Mercator later
S. Maria	1564	Mercator mapping
Ballinangalloche	1505	RMS
Ballincayloche	1505	RMS
Ballienangalleache	1505	RMS

Baile Rìgh Ghoraidh

Place ID 5846 NF 79705 74692 North Uist S1ollas

ScG township of the King Godfrey

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Township

complete?

Niclain writes 'At one point, part of Malaclete was the support of Vallay. This place has since been named after Gorry, Vallay.'

I am not sure about the king - elsewhere this sound has been taken to be ScG ruighe = 'slope' and this seems somewhat more likely.

Baile Rìgh Ghoraidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Baile Sear

Place ID 45 NF 79130 61320 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG east town or ON east town ScG baile + sear or ON austr tún

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Township

complete?

Tradition asks that if there is an East town, where is the West town? Tradition replies by talking about coastal erosion. A full discussion of this can be found in the 12 Lost Townships book.

The island was traditionally called eraigh, or some version of that name, and it was only in Reid's mapping of 1799 that the island was called 'Island of Baleshare'. The only other early reference to this name was a settlement marked on the Blaeu mapping as 'Balshen' whilst early documents in 1644, there is a township named Castertoun (with the 'c' almost certainly a transcription error for 'e' and in 1657 Eastertoune.

It is possible that these two names refer to an earlier name, ON austr-tún = 'east town'.

Balshen itself sounds Norse. ON bali = 'a soft grassy bank, esp. if sloping down to the shore' with the genitive ON bala is almost too good a topographic fit to not be used. On Shetland 'shun' generally comes from ON tjörn = 'tarn' (Jakobsen p86). ON bala tjörn = 'tarn of the grassy banks sloping down to the shore'.

ON austr-tún = 'east town' a name that occurs twelve times in Iceland as Austurtún along with Austtun occurring thirteen times as a component in Norwegian place names.

There are two Balatjörn place names in Iceland.

Baile Sear	2014	Modern OS mapping
Baleshare	2014	Modern OS mapping
Balleshahr	1911	Beveridge
Baleshare	1877	OS 1st edition
Baleshare	1861	Thomas chart
Castertoun	1850	Retours
Island of Baleshare	1832	Thomson atlas
Baleshare	1832	Thomson atlas
Balishar	1806	Stockdale mapping
Baleshare	1799	Reid mapping
Island of Baleshare	1799	Reid mapping
Ballishar	1794	Old Statisitcal Account
Balishar	1789	Ainlsie map
Balfshen	1751	Dorret mapping
Eastertoune	1657	The Clan Donald
Balshen	1654	Blaeu mapping
Baleshare		MacDonald sketch history

Bailfinlay

Place ID 55 NF 77150 53670 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG Finlay's township

ScG baile Fionnlaidh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

The 'Finlay' here refers to a cadet branch of the Clanranald originating in 1625. Burnett's book on Benbecula has much more detail.

Belfinlay	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
-----------	------	------------------------

Bellfindlay	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
-------------	------	------------------------

Bailfinlay	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------	------	-------------------

Bail-Fhionnladh	1877	OS name book
-----------------	------	--------------

Bellfinlay	1877	OS name book
------------	------	--------------

Bailfinlay	1877	OS 1st edition
------------	------	----------------

Bellfinlay	1832	Thomson atlas
------------	------	---------------

Bell Finlay	1804	Bald mapping
-------------	------	--------------

Baleandlay	1654	Blaeu mapping
------------	------	---------------

Baishunes Grave

Place ID 4903 NF 84442 65392 North Uist Langass

ON harbour of the bay + Eng grave

ON vágis höfn + Eng grave

Historic

Burial

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The slabs here include some cup marks.

Beveridge tells us (p257) that 'The name 'Baishune' has given some difficulty, but we are told that Baistain represents a still common Uist form of Archibald'.

Without more provenance, it is difficult to find any roots. One possibility is ON vágis höfn = 'harbour of the bay' which would fit topographically with Loch Langais below.

In Norway there is a Vågshamna and a Vågehavn.

Baishunes Grave	1832	Thomson atlas
Baishunes Grave	1822	Johnson mapping
Baishunes Grave	1799	Reid mapping

Baleban

Place ID 2338 NF 73086 74201 North Uist B1almartin

ScG pale township

ScG baile bàn

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

The OS name book lists two alternative, 'Bhaile a Ban' and 'Beinn a Mhan' and gives the root as 'The white towns'. The first would mean 'township of the woman' except we would have expected ScG an = 'of the' rather than ScG a. 'Beinn a Mhan' would be the name of a mountain and seems inappropriate here.

The Gaels knew their Bailes and so this is possibly different.

Carmichael's version is particular odd.

ON bali = 'a soft grassy bank, esp. if sloping down to the shore' would be a good description of the shore to the W of here especially where one sees the genitive plural or singular is ON bala.

Perhaps ON bæinn = 'The town' (acc) might work as a generic,

Baleban	2014	Modern OS mapping
Baleban	1877	OS 1st edition
Beinn a Mhàn	1877	OS name book
Bhaile a ban	1877	OS name book

Balilleray

Place ID 10 NF 78200 62800 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG township of 'Illeray'

Scg baile + 'Illeray'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Detail of where 'Illeray' ' comes from can be found under the name Iolaraigh, P#44.

Balilleray

2014

Modern OS mapping

Balilleray

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Ballach na Bran

Place ID 6468 NF 84573 36086 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG place of lofty walls of the mountain stream ScG ballach

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Two words I have seen elsewhere. ScG ballach = 'having lofty walls, spotted' and here topographically the lofty walls is perfect.

ScG bran = 'raven, mountain stream'. This is a masculine noun which causes problems with the article as one would expect ScG a' with lenition.

Whilst the first is an adjective, it is not know for adjective to be used as nouns.

Ballach na Bran

1804

Bald mapping

Balranald

Place ID 2238 NF 72325 70063 North Uist B1alranald

ScG ranald's township ScG baile raghnaill

Settlement Township

- ScG?
 ON?
 complete?

The siting of this place is difficult. Blaeu marks it on the coast and then it moves inland and on the modern mapping it ends up as a large area without a specific centre. This location gives the building that was thought to be the tack house in the 18th century if not earlier and this is reflected in the named marked on the modern mapping here: Seanaval = ScG seanna bhaile = old township.

The name Ranald is discussed more fully on the Aird an Runair entry.

'Long before Godfrey Crovan was ruling over us and long after it,....Proceeding north from ther Bight of Ronald's Cape [Achlais Rubha Raghnaill] to the mouth of the River Ealtaig the area was known as the Townland of the son of Cormac.[Baile Mhic Carraig]

Balranald	2014	Modern OS mapping
Baile Raghail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Balranald	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Baile Mhic Carraig	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Baile Mhic Cuinn	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Seanaval	1877	OS 1st edition
Balranald	1877	OS 1st edition
Balranald	1862	Black mapping
Balranald	1832	Thomson atlas
Balranald	1799	Reid mapping
Baldrichen	1751	Dorret mapping
Balranald	1657	The Clan Donald
Balrenil	1654	Blaeu mapping
Balrannald	1505	RMS

Bannock Rk

Place ID 1917 NF 88672 58899 North Uist Eaval

Eng bannock rock Eng bannock rock

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With only this one version of the name, there is little to go on.

ScG breacag = 'bannock' could be the stem and this itself could come from ON virki vík = 'bay of the fort', apposite with the dun on the loch behind.

Bannock Rk

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Bannyfughad

Place ID 6572 NF 84508 39486 South Uist Loch Sgioport

Settlement

Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The last component is almost certainly Feuchaig as there are two nearby places with this as part of their name. ScG faochag = 'whelk' or 'winkle' is probably the root. ScG bàgh nan feochag = 'bay of the whelks' perhaps although the /y/ in unexpected.

Bannyfughad

1804

Bald mapping

Barp Bay

Place ID 1941 NF 84370 59656 North Uist Eaval

Eng barp bay Eng barp bay

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This will have been Bàgh Barpa in Gaelic before the surveyors translated it into English.

Barp Bay 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Barp Frobost

Place ID 6189 NF 75467 24931 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Frobost' + ScG chambered cairn' ScG barp + 'Frobost'

Historic Burial

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Frobost (P#89) for a discussion of that component

Barp Frobost 2014 Modern OS mapping

Barp Frobost 1877 OS 1st edition

Barp Hacklett Cairn

Place ID 773 NF 85380 59920 North Uist Eaval

'Hacklett' + ScG cairn + Eng cairn ScG barp 'Hacklett' Eng cairn

Historic Burial

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Haclait (P#5203) for a discussion of the 'Hacklett' element.

Barp Hacklett Cairn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Barpa Langass

Place ID 923 NF 83820 65720 North Uist Langass

'Langais' + SCG cairn

ScG barpa + 'Langais'

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Burial

complete?

Barp is a curiously Hebridean term for a cairn, normally a neolithic chambered cairn. I suspect it is a loan word from the ON varða = 'a beacon' or to quote Vigfusson 'a pile of stones or wood to 'warn' a wayfarer; in Icel. Varða is the popular name of stone cairns erected on high points on mountains and waste places, to 'warn' the wayfarer as to the course of the way'.

The order here indicates it has come through ScG rather than ON direct.

Beveridge (p241) writes about the tymology citing ON varða = 'to throw', ON varða = 'a throwing or casting' or ON vera = 'to throw up a cairn of the like'. The Statistical Accounts throw in their tuppeneworth.

One of the Icelandic definitions in Wiktionary of Ic varp is 'a long elevation in the landscape, especially one that acts as a watershed (drainage divide); ridge'

I suspect that the root is the verb ON verpa = 'to throw or to heap up' and from it some form of noun *ON verp = 'cairn' which has now become Barp, defined by Collins 'Northeast Scotland , a mound or cairn of stones'

Rygh is as ever helpful writing 'Verp n . The word has probably actually meant a collapsed stone mound in general and is probably to be understood as such here' referring to the farm name Verp. More generally he explains that Varp has tow meanings - 'a place where one throws' and 'folded'. NSL elaborates 'gno. warp n. (Gen. warp) 'Throw' (from the verpa 'throw'), has in Names two different Meanings:

- 1) Place where you cast, expose Fishing gear of different Art.
- 2) collapsed mound of stone

One also finds the forms verpi n. And varpa f. (In Trondhjem now mostly in the form Vorpa), though probably only in the first of the two meanings.'

Either way the consensus is that the word means a large heap of stones and is of ON origin and since loaned in ScG.

That said MacBain derives it from ON hvarf = 'turning'.....

See Langais (P#922) for a discussion of the unit 'Langass'.

I worry a little about Cox's derivation for Barvas!

Barpa Langass	2014	Modern OS mapping
Barpa Langass	1877	OS 1st edition
Barp Langais	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Barp Langais	1832	Thomson atlas
Barp Langais	1799	Reid mapping

Barpa nam Feannag

Place ID 2540 NF 85676 72045 North Uist Central North

ScG barp of the crows

ScG barpa nam feannag

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

ScG feannag can mean 'lazy bed' as well as 'crow' but there is no evidence of lazy beds in the vicinity.

There is a possible Norse interpretation of Feannag as ON fjánda = 'fiend' with ON fjánda as the genitive singular and plural.

Combine this with ON haugr = 'cairn' and one gets 'cairn of the fiend' which is just the sort of name one could imagine this extremely large cairn would attract.

Barpa nam Feannag

1877

OS 1st edition

Barradh-greine

Place ID 5089 NF 85772 81281 North Uist B1oraraigh

ON point of the landing place

ON varrar grein

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The OSNB says 'This name is applied to a small point of head land'.

In ScG grèine is the genitive singular of ScG grian = 'sun' and ScG barrag = 'small crown' or ScG bara = 'boat cradle' and so 'sunny hillock' or 'sunny boat cradle' is a possibility. The hyphen is slightly odd.

ON grein generally means 'branches' however it can also mean 'point' or 'head'. For the generic ON varrar = 'of the landing place' would be close, especially if the initial /b/ was lenited.

To me 'point of the landing place' is a better fit than 'sunny hillock'.

An interesting alternative might be ON grind = 'whale pen' used in drive hunting whales.

ON grein is a relatively common component of Norwegian place names with over 70 beginning with Grein-. It is however complicated by the variety of meaning for the word.

There is a Leac a' Bharriach by the main settlement on Heisker, a Barra-Mhail at the W end of Loch Euphort and several Barra- names on Tiree which Holliday ascribes to a variety of roots. There is a possibility that some could have a root in ON vörr = 'fenced in landing place'.

On Lewis Barra na Luinge on Loch Seaforth looks purely Gaelic and on Bernera there are a Locxh Barraglom.

Barraglom, a Sgeir Barraglom and a Tiddaborra place names (possibly however ON borg names). The 43 names on the OS 2nd edition mapping are scattered across the Gaelic heartland although exhibit a coastal bias.

Barradh-greine

2014

Modern OS mapping

Barradh-greine

1877

OS 1st edition

Barra-mhail

Place ID 916 NF 83110 64100 North Uist Langass

ScG boat cradle of the rents or ON whale landing ScG barra-mhail or ON varra - hval

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water Bay

complete?

Whilst ScG barra and ScG bara have various meanings, ScG bara = 'boat cradle' is the most attractive as this is still a place where boats are stored. ScG mail = 'of the rents' and the 'h' would appear as a result of lenition. It would be a good place in the days of boat travel to collect rent and is not far from the kelp factory where the money to pay the rent would have been distributed.

Just to the E, Otter marks the headland as Rent House Pt, a helpful addition.

However the hyphen is odd and so other root might be considered.

MacNiven (p196) however discusses Barr on Islay. He arrives at ON barð = 'brow or ridge' and mhail could easily be interpreted as ON hváll and so the name could be interpreted as 'hillock of the ridge'.

Going further with hypercorrection, the root could have been ON varða = 'cairn' generally used for signalling.

The second element could just be ON hvalr = 'whale' and the hyphen is explained by some sort of close compound giving 'whale landing place'. It would be the perfect spot for drive whale hunting at the ne of Loch Euphort.

It is interesting to see another Barra name on Boreray possibly being involved with whale-hunting too.

Barra-mhail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Barra-mhail	1877	OS 1st edition
Old woman's Bay	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Bay Craavat

Place ID 904 NF 83510 59550 North Uist Eaval

Eng bay of the + ON lake of the corner Eng bay + ON krár vatn

S1alt water Bay

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Bay of the neck-tie is attractive but unlikely! The /craavat/ component is Norse with the generic ON vatn 'water'. It is likely the specific is ON krá = 'nook' or 'corner' which works well topographically as the bay is well tucked away. I have seen somewhere the meaning of 'inn' for this word but unfortunately cannot find the reference as it would provide an interesting alternative. [It was in wiktionary]

The continued use of Eng bay is unusual as is ON vat being used for a tidal inlet. Perhaps d ON vað = 'ford' might work better?

There are 15 Krávatnet place names in Norway

ON krá does not seem to have been used in Iceland.

Bay Craavat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cragavat	1877	OS name book
Cravasal Bay	1861	Thomas chart
Cragaval Bay	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Bay na nuan

Place ID	6608	NF 83443 40577	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG bay of the birds			ScG bàgh nan eun		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bay na nuan			1804	Bald mapping	

Bay of Liedale

Place ID 6265 NF 83802 30419 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

Eng bay of + 'Liedale' Eng bay of + 'Liedale'

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Liadail (P#6264) for a discussion of that element.

Bay of Liedale 1804 Bald mapping

Bayhead

Place ID	6119	NF 76556 29827	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
Eng bay head			Eng bay head		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Township			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bayhead			1804	Bald mapping	

Beala More

Place ID 6171 NF 81269 25330 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG big bealach ScG bealach mòr

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The /t/ first appeared in the Johnston mapping.

I think the earliest name we have from the Bald mapping is the correct one with the transcription error of /t/ for /l/ creeping in thereafter.

The description of the bealach here is appropriate. The nam could be a reference to Gleann Mòr at the top of which sits this bealach.

Beatamoire	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beatamore	1877	OS 1st edition
Beala More	1804	Bald mapping

Bealach a' Sgail

Place ID 999 NF 92570 65550 North Uist Lees

ScG mountain pass of the ON hollow

ScG bealach a' + ON skál

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Along with Sgal-Sàile these form as confused a pair of names as exist on Uist! See Sgal Saile (#997) for a discussion on the second component however to my mind it is clear that there is an onomastic unit here /sgal/ with a genitival /i/ added to form /sgail/ in this case. However Am Faclair Beag gives the genitive as ScG sgala. However ScG sgàl = 'trough. Tray' has ScG sgàil as the genitive.

With an incorrect article here, one suspects it might have a Norse root. This confusion of gender and genitival form also applies to the same name on Lewis (Cox p173). However it is unlikely that a place called Sgal would come from ScG sgail = 'echo'.

Here the name ties is with the story of the murder here of Archibald the Black creating a folk etymology.

To my mind there are two good Norse options. The first is ON skál = 'bowl' as this describes the topology here, as it does on the other sites with this component. Shouting in a bowl is likely to create an echo hence possibly the confusion. We then end up with an almost tautologous name 'pass of the hollow' which is always a good sign.

However ON skál = 'hollow' is not quite right topographically and ON skarð = 'cleft' or 'mountain pass' is perfect. rð > rl is a common change in the Gaelicization process as is k > g and that takes us to /sgarl/ and if one says that aloud, the /r/ can disappear leaving us with the 'Sgal' as required. Indeed on Tìree Holliday notes that l <> r.

Either of these two options seem sensible and the Sgal-Sàile name takes this discussion on.

There is a very similar Bealach an Sgail on Lewis that Cox defines as 'the pass of the echo' but the modern OS mapping does call the loch there Loch Bealach a' Sgail. Bealach a' Sgail on Bernera has the same topographical fit. Both of these names are part of a cluster of three or four other names including /sgail/ which indicates to me that the 'echo' meaning is unlikely.

Names on the OS 2nd edition mapping with Skail as a component have a very Norse look.

There are 73 place in Iceland called Skál and 80 Skarð - a close-run thing.

Bealach a' Sgail	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------	------	-------------------

Bealach a Sgail	1877	OS name book
-----------------	------	--------------

Bealach a' Sgail	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------	------	----------------

Bealach-an-Sgail		MacDonald sketch history
------------------	--	--------------------------

Bealach Airneabhail

Place ID 4980 NF 78276 26206 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG bealach + 'Airneabhail'

ScG bealach + 'Airneabhail'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

See Airneabhall for details of that part of the name. Bealach is a shoulder between two hills and has become a loan word into English.

Bealach Airneabhail

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bogach Arnival

1877

OS name book

Bealach Arnaval

1877

OS 1st edition

Bealach an Airgid

Place ID 1083 NF 76180 76540 North Uist V1allay

ScG gap of the silver coin

ScG bealach an airgid

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The Silver Gap'. ScG bealach = 'gap' is clear for the generic.

ScG airgid = 'silver' or 'money'. It can mean 'silver' as in colour and this might be the best option here with the white sand of the land appearing silvery however in that case, I wouldn't expect the ScG an = 'of the'.

ON eyrr = 'gravel bank' would look like a useful Norse start or more particularly ON eyra = 'of the gravel bank'

The generic is harder to find - ON kyta = 'hovel'?

Surprisingly 'airgid' occurs in 24 places in the Gaelic speaking part of Scotland.

Bealach an Airgid

1877

OS 1st edition

Bealach Bolum

Place ID 4947 NF 81934 28659 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON bolum + ScG bealach

ScG bealach + ON bolum

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Bholium

Bealach Bolum	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Bealach Boelam	1877	OS name book
----------------	------	--------------

Bealach Bhòlum	1877	OS name book
----------------	------	--------------

Bealach Bolum	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Bealach Carra Dhomhnuill Ghuirm

Place ID 6308 NF 79878 32967 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG Blue Donald's pillar bealach

ScG bealach carragh Dhomhnuill ghuirm

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Bealach Carra Dhomhnuill Ghuirm

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bealach Carra Dhòuil Ghuirm

1877

OS 1st edition

Bealach Crossgard

Place ID 5034 NF 81659 29862 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON croiss dyke + ScG bealach

ScG bealach + ON kross garð

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Whilst the components are clear it is difficult to interpret ON kross here.

Vigfusson defines kross-band as 'a band cross-wise' so perhaps here ON kross-garð = 'across dyke' which reflects the fact the dyke runs across to the next dale. However there are religious name sin the area so there could be some Christian connection, perhaps the dyke marking the edge of the church owned land?

In Iceland we have three Krossgarð(a/u)r as cognates and in Norway there are four Krossgard(en) names.

Bealach Crossgard

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bealach Crosgard

1877

OS 1st edition

Bealach Gaoithe

Place ID 6382 NF 82840 34734 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG bealach of the wind

ScG belach gaoithe

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

One imagines it is a breezy spot!

Bealach Gaoithe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bealach Gaoithe

1877

OS 1st edition

Bealach Guithe

1877

OS name book

Bealach Heabhal

Place ID 4976 NF 77264 26975 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG bealach + ON Heabhal

ScG bealach + ON eyja fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Heabhal (P#6129) for a discussion of that component.

Bealach Heabhal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bealach Sheaval

1877

OS 1st edition

Bealach Heileasdail

Place ID 6310 NF 81547 32298 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Heileasdail' + ScG bealach ScG bealach + 'Heileadail

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Sheileasdail (P#6266) for a discussion of that element.

Bealach Heileasdail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bealach Hellisdale	1877	OS 1st edition

Bealach Maari

Place ID 2547 NF 86488 73030 North Uist Central North

'Maari' + ScG shoulder

ScG belach + 'Maari'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Maari for a discussion of that place name.

Bealach Maari

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bealach Maari

1877

OS 1st edition

Bealach na Beinne

Place ID 579 NF 90210 76600 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG pass of the mountain ScG bealach + na + beinne

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Grammatically correct, It would seem however that the two mountains here were considered as one.

Bealach na Beinne

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bealach na Cridhich

Place ID 4949 NF 81708 28218 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScH bealach of the ON nook

ScG bealach na + *ON kræk

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

OS name book gives us an odd "Pass of [Heastinoss]"?

From Machair to Mountain however we get an alternative 'the pass of the rieved cattle'.

Dwelly lists six meanings for Cridhe of which the only one that makes much topographical sense is 'centre' as in 'the middle'. This works for an observer in the Hafn area. However the noun is masculine and so we would expect the article ScG a' with lenition.

With the dh reduced to a y sound, ON krækja = 'hook' might work as it could be described as 'the pass of the hook' although 'bent pass' is more appropriate.

A close alternative is ON krók, the accusative of ON krókr = 'hook or anything crooked'

Rygh writes 'somewhat curved. Very common. in Farm Names; but it is often difficult to determine its meaning in the individual cases. Very often it refers to a curvature of a river, in some, as it seems, to a bay of lake or water (curvature of a shoreline). In some places it is undoubtedly a matter of remote location, which may be the reason why you have to travel "to Kroks" to get there.'

The word order is wrong.

An alternative meaning of ON krókr however is 'nook' and this would seem to fit well with the nearby Airigh an Lagain. There is a hollow at the top of the bealach here, one that could be described as a nook. To help the sound, it is possible that there was an equivalent *ON kræk

krækja occurs as a name in Norway. Over 3000 place names begin with Krok in Norway and 17 of these are a simple Krok.

There are five Cridhe names recorded on the OS 2nd series mapping but no Cridich.

Bealach na Cridhich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bealach na Cridhich	1877	OS 1st edition

Bealach na h-Oidhche

Place ID 914 NG 83481 14144 South Uist Lochboisdale

ScG pass of the night ScG bealach na h-oidhche

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bealach na h-Oidhche

Other

Bealach nam Beanna Beag

Place ID 5028 NF 78499 29621 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG bealach of the little mountains ScG belach nam beann beag

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

OSNB Pass of the "Little Mountains," looks good although I do not quite see where the 'a' at the end of the Beanna comes from as ScG beann is the genitive plural of ScG beinn = 'mountain'

It is the only occurrence of Beanna on the OS 2nd series mapping.

Bealach nam Beanna Beag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bealach nam Beanna Beag	1877	OS 1st edition

Bealach Spin

Place ID 6288 NF 79875 31460 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Spin' + ScG bealach

ScG bealach + 'Spin'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

See Spin (P#6286) for a discussion of that name.

Bealach Spin

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bealach Spín

1877

OS 1st edition

Bealach Tigh Iarras

Place ID 6256 NF 79035 30608 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG bealach of the house 'Iarras' ScG bealach tigh + 'Iarras'

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

see Loch Iarras (P#6255) for a discussion of this component.

The OSNB help with 'its signification is the pass of "Earish's House," Earish is a fairy's name'.

Fairy houses tend to have their roots in prehistoric structures, usually souterrains. Although no such site is visible here on Canmore there are extensive sheilings in the area that could be restructuring of the original prehistoric structure.

Bealach Tigh Iarras	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bealach Tigh Iarais	1877	OS 1st edition
Bealach Tigh Iarras	1877	OS 1st edition
Bealach Iaras	1877	OS 1st edition

Beàrna nam Mairbh

Place ID 5740 NF 77609 76092 North Uist V1allay

ScG gap of the dead

ScG beàrna nam mairbh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Track

complete?

Niclain writes 'This is the route taken when burying'. ScG mairbh has occurred as ON varp = 'pile of sotnes' elsewhere and the island here could fit that description.

Beàrna nam Mairbh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Beàrnaraigh

Place ID 25 NF 91200 81980 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ON bear's island

ON bjarnar ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The ON björn = bear became the personal name ON Björn with connotations of warrior - the Old English word beorn = 'warrior' - and this is at the root of the name. One would expect the genitive of a personal name to be 'Björns' which would not work here whilst the genitive of ON björn = 'bear' is ON bjarnar = 'of the bear- works better phonetically. This difference is borne out in Iceland where there are plenty of Bjorn's names, presumably from Bjorn the personal name, but only one Bjorn followed by something else. There are also plenty of names beginning Bjarna, presumably from ON bjarnar = 'of the bear'.

Quite where the bear came from is uncertain - perhaps Hercules appeared there in an earlier life!

Cox cites Björn's Island as the root for the equivalent name on Lewis.

There are four places in Iceland called Bjarnarar.

There is a Berneray as one of the Bishop's Isles south of Barra as well as the Bernera group off SW Lewis.

Beàrnaraigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Berneray	2014	Modern OS mapping
Berneray	1877	OS 1st edition
Bernarray	1850	Retours
Benera	1832	Thomson atlas
Benera I.	1806	Stockdale mapping
Benera	1794	Old Statistical Account
Benera I.	1789	Ainslie map
Benera	1776	Mackenzie mapping
Barreray	1730	Tiddeman chart
Benrera	1703	Martin Martin map
Benera	1654	Blaeu mapping
Burnecia	1654	Blaeu mapping
Barneraia	1654	Blaeu mapping
Beanara	1654	Blaeu mapping
Berneray	1560	Monro Western Isles

Bearran

Place ID 5376 NF 86373 51163 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ON the boulders

ON bergin

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

An odd name for which I can find nothing close in the Gaelic lexicon. It brings to mind Bearranan (P#263) on North Uist which I ascribed to ON berga nánd = 'the neighbourhood of the boulders' although here the form would be ON bergin = 'the boulders'.

The article was then added to some examples as the name felt odd to a Gaelic speaker.

~With the addition of an epithetic vowel between the /r/ and the /g/ this explains the Beuradhan where the /dh/ will be the final remnants of the /g/.

Thinking again, there is a Gaelic option ScG beàrn = 'fissure, breach' pronounced /bja:RN/. The article is an issue as it either reflects a plural in the nominative or dative or a plural in the genitive. The genitive is unlikely here and the noun looks singular and so I shall stick with the Norse option.

Bearran	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bearran	1877	OS 1st edition
Na Beuradhan	1877	OS name book
Na Bearrain	1877	OS name book
Na Beuradhan	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bearranan

Place ID 263 NF 91240 76630 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON neighbourhood of the boulders

ON berga nánd

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'rigging' possibly based on ScG ball-beairte = 'rigging'. It seems an odd name and some way removed from the proper root.

The specific looks the same as that of Bearasay (Cox p176) ON berg = 'elevated rocky ground' or 'boulder'. ON berga = 'of the boulders' would be best fit phonetically.

For the generic ON nánd = 'proximity' works, particularly with the similar Cro-neann nearby.

A simpler possibility might be ON bergunum = 'The boulders' in the dative case which tends to end up meaning 'the boulders place'

Bearranan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bearranan

1877

OS 1st edition

Beasdaire

Place ID 24 NF 93120 82440 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigrearraidh

ON small farm

ON bólstaðr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Usually in the Hebrides the ON bólstaðr = 'small farm' ends up as -olsta or the like. Here it has remained closer to the original although ends up having a French look to it!

Maclver is confident!

Beasdaire	2014	Modern OS mapping
Basdarra	1934	Maclver Place-names of Lewis an
Besdarra	1877	OS 1st edition
Bestarra	1877	OS name book
Beslarre	1804	Bald mapping
Beuisd	1654	Blaeu mapping

Beatamoire

Place ID 6171 NF 81269 25330 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG big bealach ScG bealach mòr

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The /t/ first appeared in the Johnston mapping.

I think the earliest name we have from the Bald mapping is the correct one with the transcription error of /t/ for /l/ creeping in thereafter.

The description of the bealach here is appropriate. The nam could be a reference to Gleann Mòr at the top of which sits this bealach.

Beatamoire	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beatamore	1877	OS 1st edition
Beala More	1804	Bald mapping

Beinn a' Bhaile

Place ID 567 NF 71000 69240 North Uist B1alranald

ScG the township hill ScG beinn a' bhaile

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

There are ruins almost buried in the sand here - one imagines there are others.

The problem here with sand blow would have probably caused the township to move inland nearer to the site of the current Balranald House.

The Blaeu mapping records 'Balvenil' on the coast and this is probalby its location.

On Reid's 1799 mapping, the township has moved inland and a large section of the coast here is shaded as sand rather than arable land.

Beinn a' Bhaile	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn a' Bhaile	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Beinn a' Bhaile	1877	OS 1st edition
Ben Vali	1877	OS name book
Brenishader	1806	Stockdale mapping
Brenishader	1789	Ainslie mapping

Beinn a' Chaolais

Place ID 574 NF 90400 78350 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG hill of the strait

ScG beinn a' chaolais

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The 1789 Ainslie name seems significantly different and might refer to the nearby Beinn Mòr.
The close compound ON hóll - áss = 'hill - ridge' would be a starting point phonetically and topographically.
More simply the /c/ could have been left out in error.

Beinn a' Chaolais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn a' Chaolais	1877	OS 1st edition
Benhulis	1806	Stockdale mapping
Benhulis	1789	Ainslie mapping

Beinn a' Charnain

Place ID 1649 NF 88988 56326 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG hill of the small cairn

ScG beinn a' charnain

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

ScG carnan = 'small cairn' is a common component, here in the genitive.

The Sennashies talk of beacon fires lit on Ronaigh and this would be the obvious place. Several other of the beacon sites include /carn/ in their modern name.

Beinn a' Charnain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beinn a' Chàrnain

1877

OS 1st edition

Bein Carnan

1861

Thomas chart

Beinn a' Chàrnain

MacDonald sketch history

Beinn a' Charra

Place ID 2493 NF 78783 69120 North Uist Central West

SCG mountain of the ScG standing stone and ON t scG beinn a' charra or ON kjarr á

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ScG carragh = 'erected stone' and with ther prominent standing stone here, this must be the root.

The presence however of the river and loch name and it is not impossible that the area was called ON kjarr á = thicket river' and the Gaelic names (this one, Beinn a' and Loch a') have all stemmed from there.

<http://www.norskstadnamleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx> gives us "Scrub, Collection of Shrubs, especially one, which stands on damp, moored grounds', a pretty good topographical fit.

THC p271 calls the stone Clach na Forud = 'sentinel stone'

Canmore records 'This massive standing stone is known as Clach Bharnach Bhraodag - "limpet stone of Freya". It measures 9ft 3ins above the surface of the surrounding peat, 6ft 6ins in breadth and 2ft 6ins maximum thickness.'

There is a Kjarra in Iceland and 18 Kjerra in Norway.

Beinn a' Charra	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Beinn a' Charra	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Beinn a' Charra		MacDonald sketch history
-----------------	--	--------------------------

Beinn a' Charra

Place ID 6283 NF 77925 31786 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG mountain of the place of the erected stone ScG beinn a' charragh

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here the article is presumalby in the dative case.

Beinn a' Charra	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn a' Charra	1877	OS 1st edition
Ben Chare	1804	Bald mapping

Beinn a' Chlaidh

Place ID 2622 NF 91300 80629 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ScG hill of the burying place ScG beinn a' chlaidh

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

At the top fo the hill is a standing stone along with a rectangular enclosure.

Beinn a' Chlaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beinn a Deas

Place ID 1794 NF 86254 45542 Benbecula W1iay

ScG hill of the south ScG beinn a deas

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beinn a Deas 2014 Modern OS mapping

Beinn a' Deas 1877 OS 1st edition

Beinn a' Dheas

Place ID 6350 NF 85864 33498 South Uist B1einn Mhòr
ScG hill of the south ScG beinn a' dheas ScG?
Contour Rise ON?
 complete?

Beinn a' Dheas	2014	Modern OS mapping
South Hill	1877	OS name book
Beinn fo Dheas	1877	OS name book
Beinn a' Dheas	1877	OS 1st edition
South Hill	1804	Bald mapping

Beinn a' Ghuail

Place ID 6781 NG 23830 48044 Skye Duirinish

Contour Rise

Forbes gives coal
beinn a' ghoill = 'hill of the lowlander;

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beinn a' Ghuail

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beinn a' Mhuilinn

Place ID	6143	NF 75876 26789	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG hill of the mill			ScG beinn a' mhuilinn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Beinn a' Mhuilinn			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Beinn a' Mhuilinn			1877	OS 1st edition	

Beinn a' Phortair

Place ID 6559 NF 80299 39206 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG mountain of the ferryman Scg beinn a' phortair

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Presumably the ferryman refers to the local portage (ScG taireirt).

Beinn a' Phortair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn a' Phortair	1877	OS 1st edition
Ben Phorster	1804	Bald mapping

Beinn a' Tuath

Place ID 1785 NF 87089 46340 Benbecula W1iay

ScG hill of the north

ScG beinn a' tuath

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

I might have expected ScG na rather than ScG a' but with Uibhist a' tuath as the Gaelic version of North Uist, I am clearly wrong!

Beinn a' Tuath

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beinn a' Tuath

1877

OS 1st edition

Hill of Wiay

1804

Bald mapping

Beinn a' Tuath

Place ID 6464 NF 86724 35263 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG hill to the North

ScG beinn a' tuath

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Black's and Johnston's name of Ben Ghaode (PN#13596) must be a confusion with Beinn Ghòt.

Beinn a' Tuath	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn a' thuath	1877	OS name book
Ben Ghaode	1877	OS name book
Ben Tua	1877	OS name book
Beinn a Tuath	1877	OS 1st edition
North Hill	1804	Bald mapping

Beinn Ailein

Place ID 5003 NF 79721 26009 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG meadow hill

ScG beinn àilein

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OSNB transcript records it as Ellan with the 'a' being added before publication. This strengthening of the initial vowel sound would lean me to ScG àilean = 'green, meadow' rather than the personal name.

Beinn Ailein	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ben Eallan	1877	OS 1st edition
Beinn Farlain	1877	OS name book
Ben Ellan	1877	OS name book
Ben Iallan	1877	OS name book
Ben Ellan	1804	Bald mapping

Beinn Amhlasaraigh

Place ID 2459 NF 80284 70460 North Uist Central South

ON sheiling of the hill + ScG mountain ScG beinn + ON hól's ærgi

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beveridge gives us (p103) 'Norse, Óláfs-erg or 'Olaf's sheiling' '.

If one imagined an 'h' at the front, then we get 'hau' which becomes 'hals on the transition als > au.

ON hals = 'neck' and so overall we get ON hals ærgi = 'sheiling of the neck', a good topographical description of the site of the possible sheiling.

Another possible is ON hól = 'hill' with its genitive reflex ON hól's.

The other group of Olaf's sheiling names are in Loch Portain (P#210)

ON hólshús is a common component of Icelandic place names.

In Norway Holsæter occurs twice .

Beinn Amhlasaraigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------------	------	-------------------

Ben Aulasary	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

Beinn Aulisary		MacDonald sketch history
----------------	--	--------------------------

Beinn an Fhaireachaidh

Place ID 132 NF 96310 71346 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG hill of the watching

ScG beinn an fhaireachaidh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

A prominent look out position.

Beinn an Fhaireachaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beinn an Fhaireachaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Beinn An Fhithich

Place ID 1651 NF 89631 54933 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG hill of the raven ScG beinn an fhithich

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This would be good habitat for ravens, probably with a nest.

Beinn An Fhithich 2000 Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)

Beinn an t-Sagairt

Place ID 1646 NF 88719 56711 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG hill of the priest

ScG beinn an t- sagairt

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Several place names of a religious nature perhaps confirm Martin Martin's chapel on Ronaigh although no physical evidence has been found.

Listening to a Gaelic pronunciation of /t-Sagairt/ to my ears it sounds like /hagəRʃd/. This cloud stem from ON haga stað = 'place of the pasture(s)'. This would be an appropriate topographical name for this area.

Beinn an t-Sagairt

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beinn an t-Sagairt

1877

OS 1st edition

Beinn an t-Sagairt

MacDonald sketch history

Beinn Bhanasaradh

Place ID 1593 NF 74976 73348 North Uist Central West

ON sheiling of the angelica ridge + ScG mountain ScG beinn + ON hvanna áss ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Beveridge (p103) suggests 'Magnus-erg' gaelicised into Mhanas-airidh or Magnus' shieling' and although the PN is helpful for the 's', it seems unlikely.

ON væns = 'beautiful (gen)' would work with ON ærgi = 'shieling' as the generic. Some form of 'warning' would be tempting but ON varnan does not provide the 's'. ON hvönn = 'angelica' or its reflex ON hvanna is also close but has the same problem with the 's'.

However the cognate notes show that it is possible that a central component of ON áss = 'ridge' could provide this 's' Slightly tongue in cheek, a more controversial and interesting idea is that this might be a rare example of an old Gaelic name being taken on by the Norse. Certainly Beinn Bhan was an important hill in the area regularly mentioned by the Sennashies in their stories. With the nearby chapel here, there is the possibility of Gaelic being spoken pre-Norse in the area as it is thought the language spread through the medium of Christianity. The Norse arrive and see a shieling on the hill there and not understanding the name treat it as a unit and convert it to the genitive which usually means adding an 's' in Old Norse arriving at Beinn Bhan 's sheiling. At a later stage when Gaelic asserted its dominance, the name then reverted to the name of a mountain as it now does. Works for me!

Kvann is an extremely common start to Norwegian place names with over a thousand examples. There are eight examples of places with the initial component of Kvann and the final component of Sætra and including a central 'dal' or the like. One is Kvannåssæter where the central section is from ON áss = 'ridge'. Kvannås occurs itself 14 times.

Beinn Bhanasaradh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ben Vanisary	2014	Modern OS mapping
Banabharai	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Banisary	1832	Thomson atlas
Banisary	1799	Reid mapping

Beinn Bheag

Place ID 5084 NF 85597 81798 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG small hill ScG beinn bheag

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The counterpoint to Mullach Mhòr.

Beinn Bheag 2014 Modern OS mapping

Beinn Bheag 1877 OS 1st edition

Beinn Bheag Dheas

Place ID 4988 NF 78740 28870 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG small south hill ScG beinn bheag dheas

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Small South hill' which is eminently sensible.

Beinn Bheag Dheas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn Bheag Dheas	1877	OS 1st edition
Little South Hill	1804	Bald mapping

Beinn Bheag Tuath

Place ID 82 NF 78500 30280 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG little North hill ScG beinn bheag Tuath

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beinn Bheag Tuath 2014 Modern OS mapping

Bheinn Bheag Tuath 1877 OS 1st edition

Ben Beg Tua 1877 OS name book

Little North Hill 1804 Bald mapping

Bin beg 1654 Blaeu mapping

Beinn Bhreac

Place ID	578	NF 90490 76900	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG speckled mountain			ScG beinn + bhreac		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Beinn Bhreac			2014		Modern OS mapping
Beinn Bhreac			1877		OS 1st edition
Beinn Bhreac					MacDonald sketch history

Beinn Choradail

Place ID 80 NF 81964 32961 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Choradail' + ScG mountain

scG beinn + 'Choradail'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

This is an odd one as the current name only occurs on mapping for the first time in the modern OS mapping whilst the name itself Choradail appeared from Bald's mapping if not earlier, albeit in various forms.

For a discussion about Choradail see Coire Ruadail (P#5582).

Bald's Taic an Truse must refer to Blau and his Cassin in Trewish. See Cas fo Tuath.

Beinn Choradail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Taicaunniss	1877	OS name book
Taic an Truse	1804	Bald mapping
Cassin in Trewish	1654	Blaeu mapping

Beinn Chrombaigh

Place ID 1654 NF 90046 54946 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG hill of the bent bay

ScG beinn chrom bàigh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Topographically this works well as the inlet here bends twice as it snakes inland.

Initially the word order looks wrong and that the root was ON krum + vagr = 'bent bay', however ScG crom = 'bent' seems to be one of those rare Gaelic adjectives that precedes the noun. It could be either!

Beinn Chrombaigh

2000

Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)

Beinn Coraraigh

Place ID 6122 NF 75550 28333 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG corrie of the shieling hill

ScG beinn coire àirighe

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

My initial thought for the specific was ON kȳr = 'cow' but it difficult to see how the \acute{y} > o. Indeed these appears to be no suitable specific.

Turning it around ScG coire àirighe = 'corrie of the shieling' works well and there are several shielings in this corrie.

There is a Corary on North Uist which could stem from ON króa ærgi = 'shieling of the folds' and this could work here.

Beinn Coraraigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Beinn Corairidh	1877	OS name book
-----------------	------	--------------

Ben Coray	1877	OS name book
-----------	------	--------------

Ben Coraray	1877	OS name book
-------------	------	--------------

Ben Corary	1877	OS 1st edition
------------	------	----------------

Beinn Dhubh Sholais

Place ID 2484 NF 82333 73513 North Uist Central North

'Sollas'+ ScG black mountain

ScG beinn dhubh + 'Sollas'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Here Sholais is the genitive form of Sollas which has been treated as a unit in the Gaelic language.

Beinn Dhubh Sholais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beinn Dhubh Sollas

1877

OS 1st edition

Beinn Dubh Shollais

MacDonald sketch history

Beinn Ernaigeitir

Place ID 2315 NF 77999 71100 North Uist Central West

ON road of the shielings/eagles + ScG mountain ScG beinn + ON ærgja/ arna gata

ScG?

ON?

Contour Rise

complete?

This place seems to have undergone a serious name change between the OS 1st series Ben Aricaiter and the modern Beinn Ernaigeiter with an /n/ appearing early on. Buail' Ernakater (P2283) has a similar chequered path. I find it inexplicable.

For the first Beveridge (p102) suggests ScG airigh Caitir = 'Catherine's sheiling' whilst the latter version looks as if the specific is ON arna = 'of the eagles' or 'of the elevated platforms'. It is still one of the places to go to on Uist to see eagles but topographically the second option works too. The generic is probably ON gata = 'road'.

MacDonald writes 'Caiter appears to be Gaelic but cannot be Catherine, as Beveridge suggests' without giving his reason!

The other forms probalby stem from ON ærgja = 'of the sheilings'

The current road here, known as The Committee road links the two obvious settlement areas of Ceanna' Bhaigh and Sollas and so would be an obvious route for an early path. There are also clear sheeling sites at the summit fo the road. The Hebridean Connection writes about it (p25)as somewhere to 'light a warning beacon for Sollas'.

I can find no similar names.

Beinn Ernaigeitir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn Airidh Caitir	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Ben Aricaiter	1877	OS 1st edition
Beinn airi Caitir	1877	OS name book
Benaricaiter	1832	Thomson atlas
Benaricaiter	1799	Reid mapping
Beinn Aricaiter		MacDonald sketch history

Beinn Ghainche

Place ID 2645 NF 93525 82943 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigrearraidh

ScG hill of sand ScG beinn ghainche ScG?
 ON?

Contour Rise complete?

ScG gainich = 'of sand' which is probalby close enough. It is reflected in the OS 1st edition name of Sand Hill.

Beinn Ghainche	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sand Hill	1877	OS 1st edition
Creen Hill	1804	Bald mapping

Beinn Ghòt

Place ID 6392 NF 86272 34498 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Ghòt' + ScG mountain

ScG beinn + 'ghòt'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Goats Hill' but I think this is from the English rather than ScG gobhar = 'goat' - a similar thing applies to Goatfell on Arran.

One option is that ScG got = 'cave, hole' albeit an archaic meaning. This does make more sense.

However the existence of Gro Ghot (P#6389) requires a rethink.

Ben Ghoade	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------	------	-------------------

Beinn Ghòt	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------	------	-------------------

Ben Ghoade	1877	OS name book
------------	------	--------------

Beinn Ghòt	1877	OS 1st edition
------------	------	----------------

Ben Ghoade	1804	Bald mapping
------------	------	--------------

Beinn Grotta

Place ID 136 NF 95543 71020 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Grotta' mountain

ScG beinn + 'Grotta'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Grota (P#4929) for details.

Beinn Grotta	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Beinn a' Ghrota	1877	OS name book
-----------------	------	--------------

Beinn Grota	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Beinn Hurabhat

Place ID 6195 NF 78041 23965 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Hurabhat' + ScG lake ScG loch + 'Hurabhat'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Hurabhat (P#6196) for a discussion of the second element.

Beinn Hurabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn Shouravate	1877	OS name book
Ben Shuravat	1877	OS 1st edition
Beinn Shùrabhat	1877	OS name book
Ben Shouravate	1804	Bald mapping

Beinn Langais

Place ID 947 NF 84250 65110 North Uist Langass

'Langais' + ScG hill

ScG beinn + 'Langais'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Langais for details.

Beinn Langais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ben Langass	1877	OS 1st edition
Bein Langais	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Ben Langais	1832	Thomson atlas
Benlangais	1799	Reid mapping
Beinn Langash		MacDonald sketch history

Beinn Mhòr

Place ID 580 NF 89800 76170 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG big hill ScG beinn + mhòr ScG?
 ON?

Contour complete?

Beinn Mhòr 2014 Modern OS mapping

Beinn Mhòr 1877 OS 1st edition

Gougar Hill 1789 Ainslie mapping

Beinn Mhor MacDonald sketch history

Beinn Mhòr

Place ID 1143 NF 80530 31710 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG big hill

ScG beinn mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

This name and the other name for this hill are discussed in a post on my blog: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/white-hills>

Beinn Mhòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn Mhòr	1877	OS 1st edition
Beinn Mòr	1877	OS name book
Ben More	1877	OS name book
Ben More	1804	Bald mapping
Keadefeald	1654	Blaeu mapping

Beinn na Bile

Place ID 134 NF 95732 71722 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG hill of the edge

ScG beinn na bile

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The edge hill' from ScG bile = 'edge' or 'margin'. Edge of the better pasture perhaps?
An alternative is ON á-býli = 'an abode on an estate or farm' and then the grammar got corrected to create the ScG na.

Beinn na Bile

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beinn na Bile

1877

OS 1st edition

Beinn na Coille

Place ID 797 NF 84070 61490 North Uist Eaval

ScG hill of the + ON knob-shaped hill ScG beinn na + ON kúla

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The obvious root is ScG coille = 'wood' and this is reflected in Carmichaels' OSNB 'Hill of the Wood' although this seems topographically unlikely until the millennium forest was planted in 2000 and twenty years later it would still struggle to be called a forest!

The hill is distinctive and prominent in the landscape and ON kúla = 'knob-shaped hill' or ON kollr = 'a rounded protrusion, such as a rounded mountain top' describes it well. With a pronunciation /kʌLʲə/, the former seems closer. The discrepancy in the quantity of the initial vowel is probably explained by the desire to resemanticise as ScG coille = 'wood' and the fact that it is before the /ll/.

All of Kollur, Kolliland, Kolla and Kollar appear as place names in Iceland although the first is the commonest appearing 20 times. Kúlur and Kúa appear five and eight times respectively.

Kúla appears as a simplex name eight times in Iceland.

Beinn na Coille	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn na Coille	1877	OS 1st edition
Ben Choille	1877	OS name book
Ben a' Coill	1877	OS name book
Bein a Coille	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Ben acoill	1832	Thomson atlas
Ben ??oill	1799	Reid mapping
Beinn-na-Coille		MacDonald sketch history

Beinn na h-Aire

Place ID 766 NF 90050 58850 North Uist Eaval

ScG hill of the look-out

ScG beinn na fhaire

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

ScG faire = 'look-out' but here after the ScG na h- = 'of the' and then there is lenition producing 'na h-fhaire. The 'fh' is silent and so we end up with 'na h-Aire'.

The /h-/ seems a later addition in the OSNB, probalby as a result of Carmichael's intervention.

A similar named hill near Hecla, South Uist produces five names in the OSNB, OS1/18/11/170, perhaps showing the confusino this can cause.

Beinn na h-Aire	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn na h-Aire	1877	OS 1st edition
Aire	1877	OS name book
Arrie	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Beinn na-h-aire		MacDonald sketch history

Beinn na h-Aire

Place ID 2518 NF 81583 69958

North Uist

Central South

ScG mountain of the look-out

ScG beinn + na h- + fhaire

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The Gaelic 'fh' is silent.

Beinn na h-Aire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beinn na h-Aire

1877

OS 1st edition

Beinn na h-Aire

Place ID 6453 NF 84175 35707 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG hill of the lookout

ScG beinn na h-fhaire

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The ScG initial /fh/ is silent hence this common name. The site is good for a lookout overlooking the entrance to Loch Sgiopoint.

Beinn na h-Aire	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Beinn na h-Aire	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Beinn na Harra	1877	OS name book
----------------	------	--------------

Ben na Faire	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Ben Chare	1877	OS name book
-----------	------	--------------

Beinn na Laire

Place ID 6383 NF 82965 34884 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG hill of the filly

ScG beinn na làire

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Not the obvious place for a horse.

Beinn na Laire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beinn na Laire

1877

OS 1st edition

Beinn na Tobha

Place ID 5013 NF 81602 28485 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG mountain of the mound

ScG beinn an(?) tobha

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The obvious translation would be 'mountain of the mound' although the article is not as one would expect - something that happens elsewhere on Uist with ScG tobha and so one wonders if the gender is different on the islands.

Beinn na Tobha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Maol Hoe

1877

OS name book

Ben na Hoe

1877

OS 1st edition

Ben Hoe

1877

OS name book

Maol Hoe

1804

Bald mapping

Beinn nan Caorach

Place ID 5033 NF 81555 29554 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG hill of the sheep

ScG beinn nan caorach

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OSNB gives us the obvious 'Sheep hill'

Beinn nan Caorach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beinn nan Caorach

1877

OS 1st edition

Beinn nan Druidhneach

Place ID 1653 NF 89429 55651 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG hill of the ON pasture - saddle

ScG beinn nan + ON tröð - hnakk

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Whilst ScG draoidhneach = 'druid' this seems unlikely even with the OSNB giving us 'Druids Loch'. With ScG dh and ScG gh sounding similar or even disappearing, ScG droighneach = 'briar patch' is rather more prosaic and likely.

Local tradition makes a case for ScG druineach = 'artisan, artificer, craftsperson (esp. one who works with fine fabrics, an embroiderer but also a sculptor)'.
I suspect with other local traditions of tanning on the island that the 'artisan' referred to here was a tanner rather than an embroiderer.

However a good topographical fit can be found with the Norse ON tröð - hnakk = 'pasture - saddle'. A saddle is precisely what this is.

See Loch Druidibeag for a discussion on [//druid/](#) names generally.

Beinn nan Druidhneach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn Nan Druinneach	2000	Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)
Beinn Nan Druidhneach	1877	OS 1st edition

Beinn Riabhach

Place ID	2340	NF 74053 74374	North Uist	Central West	
ScG	greyish brown hill		ScG beinn riabhach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Beinn Riabhach			2014		Modern OS mapping
Beinn Riabhach			1877		OS 1st edition
Beinn Riabhach					MacDonald sketch history

Beinn Rìsearaidh

Place ID 1594 NF 76678 72275 North Uist Central West

ON sheiling of the cairns + ScG mountain ScG beinn + ON hreysa ærgi

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beveridge gives us either ON hríss-ærgi, 'sheiling of the brushwood' or possibly Hring's-erg. 'Hring's shieling'. Of these the former fits well with the possible ON kjarr - 'thicket' names just to the S.

An alternative came through Marwick and Roy (OFN p91) but occurs elsewhere in the UK. ON hreysi = a heap of stones' an indeed in Iceland has come to mean a 'poor wretched cottage, a hovel.'

This is too good a coincidence to not accept with the remains here of an Iron Age building excavated by Beveridge. Rygh emphasises the possible confusion with ON ruð = 'ruddy' and ON hross = 'horse' (v5 p12 #49 Røsholmen)

The specific occurs commonly in Iceland and Norway and although I could find no exact cognates. Nine Hrisakot, one Hrískot and three Hríasel in Iceland have a similar meaning and the Risseter, the three Risesætra and two Rissætra in Norway mean almost the same using ON sætr rather than the ON ærgi loaned from the Gaels.

Four names in Iceland begin with Hreysi- whils tin Norway there are over 130 places beginning with Røys-

Beinn Rìsearaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn Rionnsairi	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Ben Ronsary	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Ben Risary	1877	OS 1st edition
Benrvisary	1832	Thomson atlas
Benrvisary	1799	Reid mapping
Beinn Rissary		MacDonald sketch history

Beinn Rodagraich

Place ID 1650 NF 89441 54644 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG Hill of the + ON ram bay

ScG beinn + ON hrúta kriki

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The ScG beinn = 'hill' is clear, the rest less so. Also ScG -ach = 'place of' is a modifier, the remainder does not seem Gaelic although ScG roideagach = 'bog myrtle' is a starter that Thomas liked.

A broad /d/ in ScG is sounded as /t/ and the /g/ would sound like a /c/ and so ON hrúta + kriki = 'creek of the rams' would work phonetically. There is a 'creek' just to the W of the hill here and clearly an island would be a sensible place to keep rams when you want them away from the ewes.

A better option might be Krikr = 'corner, angle' in the form Krik which NSL states is found in several farm names.

Rodagrìch appears nowhere else on the OS 2nd series mapping.

There is a Hrútavogur in Iceland.

Beinn Rodagraich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn Na Rodagraich	2000	Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)
Beinn Rodagrìch	1877	OS 1st edition
Beinn Rodagrìch		MacDonald sketch history

Beinn Ruigh Choinnich

Place ID 2109 NF 80652 19681 South Uist Lochboisdale

ScG mountain of the slopes of Kenneth. ScG beinn ruighe Choinnich

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The shoulder here is a very clear feature from the approach from the W.
The excellent Uist Saints website writes extensively about this place.
<https://uistsaints.co.uk/south-uist/beinn-ruigh-choinnich/>
Blaeu made one of his rare errors in placing the name, putting it to the S of Loch Baghasdail.

Beinn Ruigh Choinnich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn Ruigh Choinnich	1877	OS 1st edition
Ben Gillykenich	1832	Thomson atlas
Ben Gilly Kenich	1804	Bald mapping
Bin Kilohainic	1654	Blaeu mapping

Beinn Scapar

Place ID 178 NF 95556 70128 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Scapar' + ScG hill ScG bheinn + 'Scapar'

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Scapar for details.

Beinn Scapar	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Beinn Sgaapar	1911	Beveridge
---------------	------	-----------

Ben Scaapar	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Beinn Sgaapar		MacDonald sketch history
---------------	--	--------------------------

Beinn Scolpaig

Place ID 1107 NF 73540 76080 North Uist Griminish

'Scolpaig' + ScG mountain

ScG beinn + 'Scolpaig'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See 'Scolpaig' for a derivation of the root of that place.

There are 11 occurrences in Iceland of Skjöl as the specific. In Norway there are several Skjold names and one Skjol

Beinn Scolpaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beinn Sgalabhat

Place ID 6384 NF 83953 34871 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Sgalabhat' + ScG mountain

ScG beinn + 'Sgalabhat'

Contour

Rise

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Skalavat (P#6387) for a discussion of this name.

Beinn Sgalabhat

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ben Sgalabhat

1877

OS name book

Ben Scalavat

1877

OS 1st edition

Beinn Shleibhe

Place ID	2647	NF 92840 83281	B1earnaraigh	Ru1isigearraidh	
ScG moor	ScG hill		ScG beinn shlèibhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Even though ScG sleibhe = 'of the hillside or moor' Mackillop anticipates a Norse root. With the /bh/ sounding as a /v/ then the sound is close to /hlive/ which would work for ON hlið = hill-side. All a bit circular!

The pure Gaelic interpretation is almost an internal tautology which seem unlikely.

Beinn Shleibhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Beinn an t-Sleibhe	2013	Place nAmes of Berneray
Moor Hill	1877	OS 1st edition
Moor Hill	1804	Bald mapping

Beinn Tairbeirt

Place ID 6557 NF 80732 39542 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Tairbeirt' + ScG mountain ScG beinn + 'Tairbeirt'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Ceann an Tairbeirt (P#6585) for a discussion of the first element.

Beinn Tairbeirt	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ben Tarbert	1877	OS 1st edition
Bein an Tairbeart	1877	OS name book
Ben an Tarbet	1877	OS name book
Ben an Tarbet	1804	Bald mapping

Beinn Thacleit

Place ID 135 NF 95463 71419 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Thacleit' + ScG hill

ScG beinn + 'Thacleit'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Haclait (P#5203) for a discussion of the 'Thacleit' element. It is worth remembering that an initial ScG /th/ just sounds the /h/.

In Iceland there are over ten examples of both Háiklettur and Háuklettur, the first exapmle being the singular and the second the plural.

Beinn Thacleit

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ben Hacklett

1877

OS 1st edition

Bellemteem Island

Place ID	5188	NF 76838 51833	B1enbecula	B1aile nan Cailleach	
ScG township of the bird + Eng ilsнад			ScG baile an t-eun + Eng island		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Now no longer an island, the closest place on the modern mapping is Peighinn a Bhaile. This gives us evidence that the first component is probably ScG baile and possibly this is followed by the article ScG an t- leaving us to find a (masculine) meaning for 'eem'.

I wonder with this being a key bird-watching place today if that word could be ScG eun = 'bird'

Bellemteem Island

1804

Bald mapping

Ben Carnan

Place ID 6167 NF 81059 25561

South Uist

Loch Eynort

ScG hill of the piles of stones

ScG beinn càrnan

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Ben Carnan

1804

Bald mapping

Benbecula

Place ID 59 NF 82080 51860 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Coastal Island

NB Loch Beag Chul na Beinne Scalpay
 beinn bak-cula = mountain of the behind the hill
 veggja = of the walls
 'de insula de Huwyste cum castro de Uynvawle'
 peighinn

Uist, thirty miles long, where whales and other sea-monsters abound. There also is the castle of Benwewyl (Benbecula). Fordun c1380

Benbecula	2014	Modern OS mapping
Benweia	1894	Originales Parochiales
Benvole	1894	Originales Parochiales
Bendbagle	1894	Originales Parochiales
Beanbeacla	1894	Originales Parochiales
Beambeculla	1850	Retours
Beambecula	1850	Retours
Benbecula Isle	1806	Stockdale mapping
Benbecula	1794	Old Staitistical Account
Benbecula Island	1751	Dorret mapping
Benbecula I.	1714	Moll mapping
Benbecula	1703	Martin Martin map
Benbecula	1703	Martin book
Benvill	1657	The Clan Donald
Beambecula	1657	The Clan Donald
Benhuill	1657	The Clan Donald
Beanbecula	1657	The Clan Donald
Beambecula	1657	The Clan Donald
benevill	1657	The Clan Donald
Bimdbhaohla	1654	Blaeu mapping
Buchagla	1560	Monro Western Isles
Benvalgha	1560	Monro Western Isles
Vynvawle	1505	RMS
Uynvawle	1505	RMS

Benwewyl	Other
Benbecula	Other
Beanweall	Reg. Mag. Sig
Beanbeacla	Reg. Mag. Sig
Beandmoyll	Reg. Mag. Sig
Benbecula	Other
Beanveill	Reg. Mag. Sig
Benbekula	Other
Beambecula	Reg. Mag. Sig

Beul a' Chaolais

Place ID 2280 NF 73781 65505 North Uist Kirkibost

ScG mouth of the narrow / ON sea mouth ScG beul a' chaolais or ScG abhainn + ON sær mun

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water Bay

complete?

A good topographical fit. An older name here is Sruth Hearmain and Abhainn Sherman which are probably Norse. Macaulay writes '200 years ago the sea did not come in where it does now, between Kirkibost and the opposite shore, and between Kirkibost and Kyles. Seemingly another town existed between Kyles and the island of Kirkibost and it washed over as _____ as Claddach Kyles. Then in 1821, where once there was only a river called Abhainn Shèrmean, the sea broke in. The town was submerged beneath the sea, which came as far in as Bayhead, as it is now called. The informant who told me this story recalled that when he was a boy, he could see the foundations of this lost village, when he was out fishing for flounders. This story verifies the correct name of a rock which is called Sgeir na Lion by most people today. According to my informant its correct name is SGEIR A' CHRUIITH (The Cattle Rock), which is due to the fact that the rock stands at sea, where the cattle-fold of the Kyles people stood before the sea broke in. In 1821 many of the cattle in this cattle-fold were drowned by the sea breaking in." MacAulay, 1978:3-4
The root could be ON sær + munnr = 'sea mouth' which ends up with the same sense as the Gaelic name. It is such a clear feature that this is not a surprise. It however does not however help the chronology of the folk etymology quoted.

Beul a' Chaolais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bial a' Chaolais	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Abhainn Shermean	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Bun Sruth Hearmoin	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Herman's river	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Sruth Hearmain	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Bial a' Chaolais	1877	OS 1st edition

Beul an Toim

Place ID 338 NF 77930 57090 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG mouth of the hillock

ScG beul an toim

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

Blaeu's Prdhinbeuel = ScG Aird an Beul = 'height of the mouth' would fit well topographically although is more likely to be An Tom (P#1877) rather than the mouth itself.

Beul an Toim

2014

Modern OS mapping

Beul an Toim

1877

OS 1st edition

Beul an Tuim

1861

Thomas chart

Beul an t-Slugain

Place ID 2110 NF 76865 64110 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG mouth of the + 'Slugan'

ScG beul an t- + 'Slugain'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

See Slugan (#293) for details. This name is telling as if ScG slugan was the root it would be a tautologous 'mouth of the sluice' name.

Beul an t-Slugain

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Beul na h-Otha

Place ID 494 NF 87800 57570 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG mouth of the + ON mounds ScG beul na + ON hauga

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Appearing on the Thomas 1861 chart, it describes the open area of sea that you enter having just come through the narrows between Griomasaigh and Ronaigh.

One possible confusion could be that he names Meall na Hoa as Meall na h-Otha and so could be confusing 'hoa' with 'h-otha' in his other place names too.

Also ScG oth = 'open sea' is masculine and so one would expect ScG an = 'of the' rather than ScG na h-.

This has been a pointer to ON roots and here ON hauga = 'mounds' would fit well.

This leads me to think that Thomas is incorrect here and the root is ON haugr.

Beul na h-Otha

1861

Thomas chart

Bhacasaigh

Place ID 1555 NF 97753 74630 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigrearraidh

ON island of the bay

ON vágs + ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Martin Martin writes about this island with details of 'a foundation of a house, built by the English as a magazine to keep their cask, salt, etc..'

The ON vágs ey = 'island of the bay' would work well and would be a regular development.

Vágsøy occurs in four Norwegian place names but I am surprised that there are not more cognates as both components are common in the Norse expansion zone. I am also surprised that this name does not occur in Iceland, even with the commoner ON vík.

Gammeltoft writes about Bhacsaigh in Uig, ross-shire that it comes from ON vágs ey and cites earleir forms of Vaxay 1549; Vexa 1654; Vexaia 1659.

Bhacasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Vacasay	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Vaccasay	1877	OS 1st edition
Vaccacy	1866	Admiralty mapping
Vaccacy I.	1832	Thomson atlas
Bachaash	1806	Stockdale mapping
Facacy I.	1804	Bald mapping
Vacksay	1703	Martin book

Bhaiteam

Place ID	1297	NF 93917 80253	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ON ford islet			ON vað hólm		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop gives us 'Wet Island' from the Norse identifying the generic as ON holmr = 'islet' which makes a lot of sense. His specific is ON vátr = 'wet' however this is not a great way of distinguishing islets as most are wet! There are also problems with the reflex as one would expect ON vátan (acc) or ON vátum (dat) neither of which are great phonetically. Maciver (p46) writes 'Vaidam is vaet-holm, wet island; Fuam is ú am , the island far out'.

Further evidence is that there are no names beginning with Vá- in Iceland of this name.

I wonder if instead ON hvítr = 'white' with the declension ON hvíta in this case. The island lies in the middle of ScG An Sgeir Bhuidhe = 'The yellow skerry' and so a colour description makes sense. There is a Hvitholmen in Norway. Another possibility is ON veiðr = 'a catch, fishing or hunting' with ON veiði often used as a specific e.g. ON veiði-strönd = 'a fishing beach'.

The simplest however is probably the best, ON vað hólm = 'ford islet' would describe the island before a route was cleared through the reef when one could have forded to it.

There are ten Vaðhólmi and another with a medial 's' and one with a medial 'la' in Iceland and there are also 38 Vadholmen in Norway so it is clearly a common name.

There are no Vot*holm in Iceland, the closest I could get was two Vattarnes. In Norway there are eight V<å,o>tholmen (5,3) although most of these are associated with fresh water.

Bhaiteam	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bheiteam	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Vaidam	1934	MacIver Place-names of Lewis an
Vaitam	1877	OS 1st edition
E. Vatuia	1866	Admiralty mapping
Yellow Rock	1866	Admiralty mapping

Bhalaigh

Place ID 1089 NF 77830 76580 North Uist V1allay

ON island of whales

ON hvala ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Topographically the generic must be ON ey = 'island'.

Beveridge is clear that the root is ON vaðill = 'a shallow water' or 'ford' and applied especially to fords and coming from ON vaða = 'to wade'. Whilst a /ð/ sound can disappear, it looks too long here and as , more importantly, the genitive is ON vaðils = 'of the shallow water' and the /s/ sound would not disappear. The plural genitive ON vaðla = 'of the fords' might work better phonetically but perhaps not topographically.

To me a better alternative is ON hvala = 'of the whales' as there are several other references to whales in place names nearby. So much so I have posted on my blog about whales and Uist at:

<http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/category/whaling> .

A final alternative is ON völlr = 'field' which has as its genitive plural ON valla = 'of the fields'. This has traditionally become 'wall' which has a very different sound to the 'valley' initial sound here.

There is a Vallae, a Valsey a Hvalseyjar and two Hvale, place names in Iceland.

In Norway we have 15 Kvaløya place names but no other ones starting with Kv. There are over 120 names there beginning with Hval- but no øy names - odd!

Bhalaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Vallay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Valay	1911	Beveridge
Island of Vallay	1832	Thomson atlas
Valay I.	1806	Stockdale mapping
Island of Valay	1799	Reid mapping
Vallay	1794	Old Statistcal Account
Valay I	1751	Dorret mapping
Valay	1703	Martin book
Valay	1703	Martin book
Valay	1703	Martin Martin map
Valay	1560	Monro Western Isles
Wala	1505	RMS
Vallay		MacDonald sketch history

Bharlais

Place ID 1135 NF 71800 74230 North Uist B1almartin

ON shingle ridge

ON malar + áss

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

As Beveridge writes the -lais or -lish endings are difficult to understand.

Although there is a Bharcias place name a few km N and I did originally think they were linked, I have now moved away from that view.

There are two helpful names Bàlas on Tiree and Moloros on Mull discussed by Holliday and Whyte respectively and both possibly stemming from Malarás.

Shingle ridge could be named as ON malar áss = 'ridge of pebbles'. When put into Gaelic the genitive process would make it Mhalaris and then with metathesis between the 'r' and the 'l' which happens relatively frequently (e.g. holmr) we get to Mharalis and with reduction to Mharlais.

With ScG mh sounding the same as ScG bh we eventually arrive at Bharlais. I wouldn't have got there but two others have headed this way.

There is however a large raised shingle beach here which is good topographical evidence to support the above root.

Aside from the two names mentioned above there is a Malarás farm name in Iclenad along with 22 other places with the same specific and three in Norway. The version Møllåsen occurs twice in Norway.

Bharlais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Varlish	1877	OS 1st edition
Varlish		MacDonald sketch history

Bhatam

Place ID 1580 NG 00507 79632 Harris Sound of Harris N group
'Bhataim' 'Bhataim' ScG?
Coastal Island ON?
 complete?

See Bhaiteam (P#1297) for a discussion about the meaning.

Bhatam	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bheiteam	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Bhatam	1877	OS name book
Vatem	1877	OS 1st edition

Bhoisinis

Place ID 159 NF 90228 73362 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON headland of the cow-shed

ON fauska + nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS 1st edition Voiskinish is a significantly different sound and would make it sound different to the Rubha Bhoisinis on Berneray. Whilst the generic is Cleary ON nes = 'headland' the specific could be ON fiski = 'fishing'.

For the name as is now spelt, ON fjós= 'cow shed' seems the most likely.

ON fauskr = 'a rotten dry log, esp. dug out of the earth' is the best phonetically and one can imagine digging out such logs from the peat here. Interestingly at the other Boisinis there are logs buried in the silt dating back 4000 years.

There is an accent on the 'o' in the alternative spelling for the other Voisinish on Bhearnaraigh and so I assume it is the same here.

I was surprised how often 'Fausk' appeared as an element in Icelandic place names -40.

There was one Fasuskanes.

There was six places in Norway starting with Fauskenes.

There is only other Bhoisinish in the whole of Scotland.

Bhoisinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Voiskinish	1877	OS 1st edition

Bholuim

Place ID 4943 NF 82765 28526 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON farm islet

ON bæli hólmi

ScG?

ON?

To decide

complete?

The OS 1st edition consistently uses Bolum as well as the name book citing Boelum and Bòlum.

I would suggest this is good evidence that the specific is ON ból = 'farm, dwelling, abode' with ON bæli as an alternative more Icelandic spelling rather than ON völr = 'field'.

For the generic then this could be ON múli = 'a jutting crag' which nearly always ends up as 'lam' or 'lum' as a result of metathesis. This is a good description of the headland here.

However and based on the cognate notes, with the island present it is more likely to be ON hólmi = 'islet'.

Topographically this works well with a small set of ruins in a small arable area just a few hundred metres W of the island. These ruins are the one named by Bald as Boelum.

A final suggestion that works topographically in terms of shape is ON böll hólmi = 'penis island'

In Norway Bollholmen or variants are relatively common with c30 occurrences with no bolmul or equivalent.

In Iceland there are two Böllhólmi names

Bholuim	2014	Modern OS mapping
Boelam	1877	OS name book
Bòlum	1877	OS name book
Bolum	1877	OS 1st edition
Boelam	1804	Bald mapping

Bhorogaigh

Place ID 296 NF 78270 64120 North Uist B1aleshare

ON fort island

ON borg ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

At first sight this has the appearance of the generic being ON ey = 'island'. However the Ainslie map of 1789 shows a peninsula in the area rather than an island although this could be accounted for by the ON eið. The /g/ however is problematic.

Approaching from the other way, for the specific, Icelandic however provides *lc vör* (gen. *varar*, pl. *varar*) = *vörr* = 'a fenced-in landing-place' and ON *kvi* = 'fold'.

On the shore almost opposite is Clach Mhor a Che, the latter part of which sounds very similar.

Further consideration of some of the earleir forms and in particular Carmichael's Borogheidh, have made me rethink. ON borg = 'fort' when pronounced in Gaelic would insert an epithetic vowel /o/ between the /r/ and the /g/ to become /borog/ and then this could have ON ey added to become 'fort island'. This is much more encouraging in terms of cognates.

There is not however an obvious fort on the island but plenty on the main island of Baleshare.

The Hebridean Connection (p207) has a story in Godfrey's time from about Dun Bhorogaidh translating it to Fort Island. On p208 'Murdoch son of the Lord of the Isles arrived on the scene and he built a large stronghold on Fort Isle on the site of the earleir stronghold by the Norsemen.' This would be c1400.

In Iceland we have five Borgarey and two Borgareyrar along with five Borgey place names.

In Norway there are two Borgøyna, one Borgarøya and a Borgarøyne place names.

Bhorogaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Vorogay	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Vorogay	1877	OS name book
Borogheidh	1877	OS name book
Vorgay		Other
Mhorgay		Other
Vorghay		MacDonald sketch history

Bhotarsaigh

Place ID 256 NF 94890 76110 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON island of the mitten

ON vattar ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ON báts = 'of the small boat' works for the specific and could be interpreted as the place where small boats were left to use as tenders in the shallow waters of the sea-lochs here. The problem here is the medial 'r'.

Both ON vátr = 'wet' and ON vatr = 'water' seem attractive to start with but it hard to arrive at the medial 's' from the former and the 'r' replacing an 'n' from the latter.

'island of the water' seems to be the general view although this does seem odd to me as, by definition, most islands are 'of the water'.

I suspect the solution might lie with ON vötr = 'glove' as both this island and Vatersay S of Barra are shaped in a peculiar way with long 'fingers'. That said the word now means 'mitten' I in most Scandinavian languages and so it could only be a thumb wee are looking for.

If this word had a genitival 's' then I would be convinced but it doesn't. The genitive is ON vattar.

However sometimes this /s/ has been added in other places and that could be the process here. So many islands in the area here end in /sey/ it could have been thought appropriate to 'correct' this one.

Holliday cites Fadamul on Tiree as a possible name containing ON vötr and certainly this feature does stick out like a thumb from the coast.

Vatnsey occurs three times in Iceland. Vatterøya.

The name is probably the same as Vatersay/Bhatarsaigh near Barra. Gammeltoft cites ON vatrs ey as a possible root with ON vatr being a side form of ON vatn.

There are four Vatternes names in Iceland. For example one is a promontory with a thin isthmus across to it.

Vottestadøya

Bhotarsaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Votersay	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Vatersay	1877	OS 1st edition
Vortersay	1866	Admiralty mapping
Vattersay Id.	1832	Thomson atlas
Vottersay I.	1804	Bald mapping

Bidneon

Place ID 6123 NF 76392 28082 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG pinnacle ScG spidean

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Although there is little to go on, I suspect that this refers to ScG spidean = 'pinnacle' and refers to the peak here. Where the central /n/ arises from is not clear. Could this explain Spin (P#6286) too?!

Bidneon

1804

Bald mapping

Big Point

Place ID	2061	NF 97584 75055	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigrearraidh	
Eng big point			Eng big point		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

An inspirational name - presumably based upon Rubha Mhòr.

Big Point	2014	Modern OS mapping
Big Pt	1866	Admiralty mapping

Big Reef

Place ID	1561	NF 99215 73442	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
Eng big reef			Eng big reef		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Big Reef			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Big Reef			1877	OS 1st edition	

Bior Cheann a' Bhaigh

Place ID 5888 NF 78920 72979 North Uist V1allay

ScG point of 'Cheann a' Bhaigh' ScG bior + 'Cheann a' Bhaigh'

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here 'Cheann a' Bhaigh' is being treated as an onomastic unit.

Bior Cheann a' Bhaigh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Bior-eilean

Place ID 695 NF 76110 65120 North Uist Kirkibost

ScG sharp island ScG bior eilean

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bior-eilean 2014 Modern OS mapping

Bior-eilean 2000 Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Bior-eilean 1877 OS 1st edition

Bird Island

Place ID	5272	NF 84224 46512	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
Eng bird island			Eng bird island		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bird Island			1804	Bald mapping	

Black Bay

Place ID 1924 NF 87397 59526 North Uist Eaval

Eng black bay

Eng black + bay

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

One imagines however it was called ScG Bàgh Dubh = 'black bay' but the surveyors had enough Gaelic to know both words.

Black Bay

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Black Cow Rks

Place ID 1928 NF 88332 58394 North Uist Eaval

Eng black cow rocks Eng black cow rocks

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I would suspect these started life as Bo Dubh where Bo is a common abbreviation for ScG bodha = 'sunken rock' but the surveyors heard ScG ba = 'cow'. The rocks were then added to make anglophonic sense.

Black Cow Rks

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Black I.

Place ID	6619	NF 77504 41377	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
Eng black island			Eng black island		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Black I.			1804	Bald mapping	

Black Id

Place ID 1953 NF 83837 63506 North Uist Langass

ScG black island Eng black island

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Undoubtedly this would have started life as Eilean Dubh

Black Id 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Black Island

Place ID	5478	NF 86410 51137	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
Eng black island			Eng black island		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Black Island			1804	Bald mapping	

Black Islands

Place ID 5277 NF 86929 45241 Benbecula W1iay

Eng black islands Eng black islands

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Black Islands 1804 Bald mapping

Black Port

Place ID	6540	NF 82777 38369	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
Eng black port			Eng black port		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Black Port			1804	Bald mapping	

Black Rock of Steigha

Place ID 5276 NF 85095 44801 Benbecula Peter's Port

Eng black rock of + 'Steigha' Eng black rock of 'Steigha'

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

The 'Steigha' component must relate to the nearby Steiseigh (P#929 q.v.)

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Black Rock of Steigha

1804

Bald mapping

Blad Sgeirean

Place ID 1549 NF 96930 75560 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ON The wet skerries

ON blaut sgerin

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The position is not clear. Mackillop writes that ScG blad = 'a wide mouth' and so the meaning is 'wide mouth skerries'. The order seems odd as does the meaning.....

ON skerin = 'The skerries' in the accusative case and that is a good option for the generic.

The clear choice for the specific is ON blautr = 'wet' and here the reflex would be ON blaut

Blad occurs nowhere else on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

I was a little surprised that, whilst both componetns occur in Norway and Iceland, I could find olny one cognate, Blautusker in Iceland.

Blad Sgeirean

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Blàisgidh

Place ID 1099 NF 73070 76720 North Uist S1colpaig

ON stripped bare

ON blása gjá

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This sounds very Norse. The generic is clear. ON gjá = 'gully'.

The obvious specific would be ON blása which Vigfusson defines as 'of land, to be laid bare, stripped of the turf by wind' which is exactly what had happened here today.

Blåskjær<a,et> 10 Norway plus six names including Blåskjer

Blåskär Blaskåberg Sweden

Bláskorar 4 Faroes (probalby rift or score)

Blàisgidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Blaaskie

1877

OS 1st edition

Blathaisbhal

Place ID 1211 NF 89420 71070 North Uist Central North

ON barren hill

ON blása fjall

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Beveridge gives us ON blása + fjall = 'barren hill' which works well with the old OS spelling of Blashaval. The modern spelling emphasises the quantity of the first vowel, the 'á' of ON blása.

On the N coast of North Uist is a Blaaskie which I think has rthe same specific. In Norway there is a Blåsfjellet, a mountain with a lot of exposed rock.

Blathaisbhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Blashaval	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------	------	----------------

Blaishval	1832	Thomson atlas
-----------	------	---------------

Blaishval	1799	Reid mapping
-----------	------	--------------

Blathaisbhal

Place ID 2600 NF 89191 71453 North Uist Central North

ON bare mountain

ON blása + fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Beveridge gives us for his Blashaval (p103) 'Norse, blása-fjall or 'bare hill' which seems a good option. It might not work quite so well with the modern spelling.

Blathaisbhal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Blashaval

1877

OS 1st edition

Bo' a Chomhara

Place ID 5504 NF 87293 50668 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG mark sunken rock

ScG bodha a' chomh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Thomas gives us 'Mark Rock' as did the OSNB for a similar name, Sgeir a' Chomara (P#2397) near Balmartin, North Uist. Here though it looks correct as ScG comhar = 'mark'. The final /a/ is a little odd.

Bo' a Chomhara

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Mark Boe

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bo Carrach

Place ID	1968	NF 92542 63426	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG sunken pillar			ScG bo carrach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bo Carrach			1859	Otter Loch Eport chart	

Bo' Carrach

Place ID	1759	NF 89078 53729	North Uist	Ronaigh	
ScG submerged pillar			ScG bodha carragh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bo' Carrach			1861	Thomas chart	

Bo' Carrach

Place ID 1805 NF 88441 47698

Benbecula

W1iay

ScG rough sunken rock

ScG bodha carrach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Bo' Carrach

1866

Admiralty mapping

Bo' Cuarsgaig

Place ID	505	NF 85276 55419	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
'Cuarsgaig' + ScG sunken rock			ScG bodha + 'Cuarsgaig'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

It appears only on the Thomas 1861 chart. There is however a nearby reef called Cuarsgag (P#486) and more detail is provided there.

The way Gaelic works is that the 'dh' in ScG bodha = 'sunken rock' would almost disappear to become 'boa'.

Bo' Cuarsgaig	1861	Thomas chart
---------------	------	--------------

Bo' Ghrianamoil

Place ID 5563 NF 88988 48330 Benbecula Peter's Port

'Ghrianamoil' +ScG sunken rock

ScG bodha + 'Ghrianamoil'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This sunken rock lies almost half a kilometre to the SE of Greanamul Deas. For a discussion of 'Ghrianamoil' see that place Greanamul (P#5396).

'Ghrianamoil' is in the genitive and has lenition and with those stripped away would become 'Grianamol' which is a good match to 'Greanamul'.

Bo' Ghrianamoil

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bo' Iain Ghlais

Place ID 1807 NF 88061 47686

Benbecula

W1iay

ScG sinken rock of grey John

ScG bodha Iain ghlais

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

No idea who John is/was!

Bo' Iain Ghlais

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bo Lea

Place ID 1969 NF 92942 63344 North Uist Eaval

ON slope + ScG sunken rock ScG bodha + ON hlíð

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

Here presumably it is named after the hill South Lee.

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bo Lea 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Bo Mhic Iain Bhain

Place ID	1823	NF 87075 44748	Benbecula	W1iay	
ScG	sunken rock of the son of fair John		Scg bodha mhic Iain bhàin		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
	Bo Mhic Iain Bhain		1866	Admiralty mapping	

Bo' Mor

Place ID 1761 NF 89198 53274 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG large submerged rock ScG bodha mòr

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bo' Mor 1861 Thomas chart

Bo' na Cneipe

Place ID 1760 NF 88900 53756 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG submerged rock of the lump ScG bodha na cnaip

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am unclear as to how this name arose.

The article is incorrect with this root as ScG cnap = 'lump' is masculine.

Bo' na Cneipe 1861 Thomas chart

Bo' na Seolaid

Place ID	5507	NF 86160 50806	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG	sunken rock of the sea passage		ScG bodha na seolaid	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal				<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
	Bo' na Seolaid		1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bo' na Traghad

Place ID 1758 NF 88585 54281 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG submerged rock of the seashore ScG bodha na tràghad

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Whilst ScG traghad = 'of the beach' is the usual meaning, 'of the shore' also works.

Bo' na Traghad

1861

Thomas chart

Boali achkir

Place ID 5453 NF 85746 54052

Benbecula

Rueval

ScG lower part cattle fold

ScG buaile ìochdar

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Boali achkir

1804

Bald mapping

Boannan Beaga

Place ID 1806 NF 88281 47870 Benbecula W1iay

ScG small sunken rocks

ScG bodhachan beag

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

I am not quite sure where Boannan comes from but expect it is to do with the plural of ScG bodha = 'sunken rock' although not the usual ScG bodhachan. ScG beaga = 'small' is the plural reflex.

Boannan Beaga

1866

Admiralty mapping

Boannan Beaga

Place ID 5562 NF 88291 47873

Benbecula

Peter's Port

ScG small sunken rocks

ScG bodhachan beaga

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Small Boe's

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Boannan Beaga

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bod Iain Bhain

Place ID	5578	NF 85008 45390	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG fair Iain's sunken rock			ScG bodha Iain bhàin		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bod Iain Bhain			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Bodha an Fhèidh

Place ID 1701 NF 91076 56659 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG submerged rock of the ON isthmus ScG bodha an + ON eið

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG fiadh = 'deer' has ScG fèidh = 'of the deer' as the genitive. The 'h' is an effect of lenition. The singularity is odd and one looks for a Norse alternative.

With the ScG fh being silent a good alternative is ON eið = 'isthmus or narrow of land'. This would be a good topographical fit for the narrow neck separating Bagh na Caiplich and Bagh nan Uamh.

The nearby Eilean an Fheidh to my mind strengthens the ON case.

Bodha an Fhèidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bogh an Fhèidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Deers Rock	1861	Thomas chart
Bo' an Fheidh	1861	Thomas chart

Bodha Gleann Dobhar

Place ID 2077 NF 96136 76742 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG 'Glendour' sunken rock

ScG bodha Gleann Dobhar

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Mackillop explains the glen appearing mid-ocean (p37) 'The Glendour' was the name of a kelp boat which may have struck this rock. This was a large type of boat which collected seaweed from the smaller local boats and shipped it down South. The seaweed was of course processed into kelp on the islands before it was taken on board.'

Bodha Gleann Dobhar

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Bodha Mhor

Place ID	1296	NF 95793 80037	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG big sunken rock			ScG bodha + mhor		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bodha Mhor			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Bodha Mor Cheann na Riofa

Place ID 1546 NF 94970 80230 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG large sunken rock at the head of the reef ScG bodha mòr cheann na riofa

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bodha Mor Cheann na Riofa

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Bodha Mor Cheann na Riofa

Place ID 2008 NF 96960 79636 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigrearraidh

ScG big stone of the head of the reef

ScG bodha mòr cheann na riofa

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I am not sure of the position of this rock. I think however it is clearly visible form a long way indicating its size.
The article is odd with ScG riof being feminine.

Bodha Mor Cheann na Riofa

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Bodha nan Lion

Place ID 1579 NF 97670 79340 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigrearraidh

ScG skerry of the + ON rock projecting like a pier i ScG bodha nan + ON hlein

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The position of this skerry is not clear. One would anticipate it has to be big enough and tall enough to dry nets. That said ScG bodha generally means 'a sunken rock' and so not a great place to dry nets. Perhaps instead a sunken rock that catches nets.

Vigfusson gives us ON hlein = 'a rock projecting like a pier into the sea' and I suspect that this is the root.

Hlein(in) occurs as a simplex 23 times in Iceland whilst in Norway Lein occurs as the first componet of over 350name sbut it is not clear the etymology of them.

Bodha nan Lion

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Bodha Ruairidh Alasdair

Place ID 2015 NF 97622 81083 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG Roderick Alasdair sunken rock

ScG bodha Ruairidh Alasdair

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop writes ' The rest of this name is personal, Roderick son of Alasdair (MacLean). This Roderick was a herring fisherman as well as a lobsterman. In his day he had the largest boats in the island. He was a veteran of the first world war.'

Bodha Ruairidh Alasdair

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Bogach Dritil

Place ID 2468 NF 80247 73583 North Uist Central North

ON sh*t hollow + ScG bog

ScG bogach + ON drit hol

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Uneven bog' but as far as I can see, only because it is.

The word 'dritil' sounds more Norse than Gaelic.

The only specific beginning with 'd' I can find is ON drit = 'dirt esp. of birds' hence guano. The meaning also seems to extend to humans.

The best option for a generic I can see ON hol = 'hollow' as so we get ON drit hol = 'sh*t hollow'. Not far from the main settlement but in a hollow, it might not have been a bad place for a primitive WC.

Interesting the Eng bog has taken on the meaning too!

'Bogach' appears 16 times on the OS 2nd series mapping, with 15 of those occurrences on North Uist. ON bjúg-akr = 'crooked arable land' is not far away as is ON buga akr = 'arable land of the bends'.

However ON akr = 'arable land' or 'the crop' and many of these 'Bogach' are not in an area that could be called arable. I think therefore it stays Gaelic.

However all that said there is ON trítill = 'a top' with no other explanation - a shirt? a hill? a toy? In modern Icelandic trítill = 'a small man' which doesn't really help.

ON trýtill = 'a bird' almost takes us back to square one!

There is a nearby Buaille Dhritil, a Dritness, Stronsay, Orkney and an Allt Dritil on Harris. Drit is common as a first component of place names in both Norway and Iceland.

There are three name sí nclenad beginning with Trít- which seem to be related to crags?

A Dritfell in Iceland is the closest I could find to cognate there, whilst in Norway

Drittholet, Dritarhol, Drithol x2, dritarholen

Bogach Dritil	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bogach Dritil	1877	OS 1st edition
Bogach Dridil		n/a

Bogach Druim Reallasgeir

Place ID 2536 NF 85148 66915 North Uist Langass

ScG bog of the ridge + ON crag of the slaves ScG bogach druim + ON þræla sker

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

However if a 't' was reinstated at the start then ON þræla = 'of the slaves' would work well. An inland ON sker = 'rock' is unusual but not unheard of and the meaning is 'bedrock that protrudes into fields and meadows'. This crag is the most prominent feature of the flat expanse here.

As poor land, it would be appropriate for it to be owned by slaves.

Bogach Druim Reallasgeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bogach Druim Reallasger	1877	OS 1st edition

Bogach Eik

Place ID 2344 NF 75493 74241 North Uist Central West

ScG bog of the 'Eik'

ScG bogach + 'Eik'

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Eig (P#2348) for a discussion of the onomastic unit 'Eik'

Bogach Eik

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bogach Eik

1877

OS 1st edition

Bogach Fliseabhal

Place ID 2583 NF 88448 69813 North Uist Central South

ON rounded hill of exposed rocks + ScG bog ScG bogach + ON 'Fliseabhal

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bogach Fliseabhal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bogach Flisaval

1877

OS 1st edition

Bogach Loch Fada

Place ID	2567	NF 87496 71870	North Uist	Central North	
Scg long loch bog			ScG bogach loch fada		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bogach Loch Fada			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Bogach Loch Fada			1877	OS 1st edition	

Bogach Loch nan Eun

Place ID 2533 NF 84258 68005 North Uist Central South

ScG loch of the birds bog ScG bogach + loch + nan + eun

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bogach Loch nan Eun	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bogach Loch nan Eun	1877	OS 1st edition

Bogach Loch Steinavat

Place ID 613 NF 88120 73926 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG bog of the loch of the + ON lake of rocks ScG bogach loch + ON steina vatn

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bogach Loch Steinavat

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bogach Loch Steinavat

1877

OS 1st edition

Bogach Locha Dubh

Place ID 2491 NF 83308 72210 North Uist Central North

ScG black loch bog ScG bogach locha dubh

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The a is at the end of ScG loch here is presumably because it is in the genitive case.

Bogach Locha Dubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Bogach Locha Dubh	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------------	------	----------------

Bogach Maari

Place ID 2553 NF 86463 71808 North Uist Central North

ON bog ScG bog

ScG bogach + ON Maari

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

A really tautologous name!

Bogach Maari

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bogach Maari

1877

OS 1st edition

Bogach Mhic-fhearghuis

Place ID 2480 NF 82774 71335 North Uist Central North

ScG McVicar's bog ScG bogach mhc-fhearghuis

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'McVicar's bog'. I am struggling to see how Fergus becomes Vicar....

One does wonder if with a silent ScG fh, there is mileage in ON ærgi-hus = 'house of the pasture'. The ScG mhc could have been added as it was familiar with ScG Fearghuis. Probably quite fanciful.

In Iceland we have three Selhús which is an almost equivalent.

Bogach Mhic-fhearghuis	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------------	------	-------------------

Bogach Mhic-fhearghuis	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------------	------	----------------

Bogach nan Curracag

Place ID 2310 NF 73973 71794 North Uist Central West

ScG bog of the peat heaps ScG bogach nan curracag

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst I would love ScG curracag to mean 'lapwing' here, I suspect on habitat grounds it is more likely to be the 'peat heaps' meaning.

Bogach nan Curracag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bogach nan Curracag	1877	OS 1st edition

Bogach nan Sgadan

Place ID 2506 NF 80886 68745 North Uist Central South

ScG bog of + ON The cave formed by protruding r ScG bogach nan + ON skútin

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The Herring bog' which for somewhere 5km from the sea - hard enough on North Uist - is to say the least odd. The pattern the peats were laid out in?!

The best I could find was *ON skútin = 'The cave formed by jutting rocks'. This could refer to one of the many Neolithic remains in the area - several of which would be well described as 'a cave from by jutting out rocks'. There are problem eich the ending -see cognate notes.

The initial vowel development ú > a is regular (Henderson)

ON skarð = 'mountain pass' made good topographical sense but it is hard then to explain the 'n' at the end

Skaten in Norway is explained by Rygh as ' the name seems to have regard to a protruding mountain. It is closely related to the Skat of the vernacular, etc., the top end of a tree, and Skate m., Tree trunk, tree without branches, Swedish skate, the uppermost, outermost of something, end, tip' with apologies for the google translate mangling. This idea of a protruding mountain would work well here with this boggy area set between two distinct ridges of mountains.

Skaten occurs eight times in Norway with one Skaden. There are four Skåden and three Skåten.

In Iceland we have four Skútar and two Skúta simplex place names whilst in Norway Skute occurs as a simplex over 20 times and Skuten occurs 18 times

Bogach nan Sgadan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bogach nan Sgadan

1877

OS 1st edition

Bogach Sholais

Place ID	5857	NF 80821 74463	North Uist	S1ollas	
'Sholais' + ScG bog			ScG bogach + 'Sholais'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Marsh			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
A' Bhogaich			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	
Bogach Sholais			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Bogach Vallaquie

Place ID 610 NF 87880 74280

North Uist

Clachan Sands

'Vallaquie' + ScG marsh

ScG bogach + 'Vallaquie'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Vallaquie (P#654) for more details

Bogach Vallaquie

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bogach Vallaquie

1877

OS 1st edition

Bogachan

Place ID 2418 NF 83401 74585 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG place of the bog

ScG bogach -an

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book gives us a very inspirational 'The bog'. There could be a few places with name in the hinterland of Uist.

Bogachan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bogachan

1877

OS 1st edition

Bogagh Aulasary

Place ID 2461 NF 80922 72108 North Uist Central North

'Aulasary' + ScG bog ScG bogach + 'Aulasary'

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Beinn Amhlasaraigh (P#4304) for details

Bogagh Aulasary 2014 Modern OS mapping

Ben Aulasary 1877 OS 1st edition

Bogha Liath

Place ID 5503 NF 87478 51230

Benbecula

Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG grey sunken rock

ScG bodha liath

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Although if it was sunken.....

Bogha Liath

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Grey Bo'

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bogha Lìr

Place ID 5768 NF 78762 78800 North Uist V1allay

ON sunked rock of the pollocks

ON boði lýra

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Niclain writes 'There is a story that a Viking went on the rocks here; his son and daughter were drowned. They were buried on Vallay.'

ON lýr = 'pollock' and I suspect that the skerry here would be an excellent place to catch them. Indeed the name probably started life as ON lýra boði = 'sunken reef of the pollocks' but the order got changed to fit a Gaelic name along with the invention of a Norse person named Lìr.

There is a nearby Bùthag Lìr.

Bogha Lìr

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Bogha Lìr

Place ID 5851 NF 78602 78563 North Uist V1allay

ON breaker of the pollocks

ON lýra bođi

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

There has been a reordering here to resemanticise the name to a more recognisable Gaelic form.

Bogha Lìr

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Bogha Màiri

Place ID 5075 NF 84911 82494 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG Mary's sunken rock

ScG bogha Mairi

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There is a skerry off Iceland called Marý. I wonder if this is ON mar ý = 'sea island'

Bogha Màiri

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bodha Màiri

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Bogha Mairi

1877

OS 1st edition

Bogha Ruadh

Place ID	1822	NF 86502 44585	Benbecula	W1iay	
ScG red submerged rock			ScG bodha ruadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bogha Ruadh			1866	Admiralty mapping	

Bolltravagh

Place ID 747 NF 85980 58730 North Uist Eaval

ON round bay ON böllottur vág

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ON vagr = 'bay' is clearly the generic.

ON böllóttur = 'round' or literally 'shaped as a ball' works well for the specific.

Bolltravagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bolltravagh	1877	OS 1st edition

Boraraigh

Place ID 2607 NF 85177 81401 North Uist B1oraraigh

ON island of the fort

ON borgar EY

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Beveridge gives us ON borgar-ey = 'fort island' or indeed more precisely 'island of the fort'.

Boreray	2014	Modern OS mapping
Boraraigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Barorary	1911	Beveridge
Barroray	1911	Beveridge
Borreray	1911	Beveridge
Boreray	1877	OS 1st edition
Boreray Island	1832	Thomson atlas
Boreray Island	1832	Thomson atlas
Boreray I.	1806	Stockdale mapping
Island of Boreray	1799	Reid mapping
Boreray	1794	Old Statisitcal Account
Berwea	1794	Old Statisitcal Account
Borreray I.	1789	Ainslie mapping
Boreray I.	1714	Moll map
Borera	1703	Martin book
Boreray	1703	Martin Martin map
Burray	1657	The Clan Donald
Boray	1657	The Clan Donald
Boreray	1654	Blaeu mapping
Boiraidh		MacDonald sketch history
Borera		MacDonald sketch history

Bòrd na Locha

Place ID	5817	NF 81341 75485	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG edge of the loch			ScG bòrd na locha		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Marsh			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bòrd na Locha			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Borg

Place ID 60 NF 77340 50550 Benbecula T1orlum

ON stronghold

ON borg

ScG?

ON?

To decide

complete?

A castle has existed here since at least the late 14th century with earlier Duns in the area. Thought to have been built by Amy MacRuari at the same time as the building of Caistral Tioram in Moidart, its siting looks odd today but was coastal when it was built.

Borg

1654

Blaeu mapping

Borgh

Place ID 2620 NF 91498 80977 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ON fort ON borg

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Nothing remains now of the fort although the site is known.
A simplex name like this is thought to have been old.

Borgh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Borve	2014	Modern OS mapping
Borve	1832	Thomson atlas
Borve	1804	Bald mapping
Barave	1789	Ainlsie map

Borgh

Place ID 5108 NF 76839 50310 Benbecula T1orlum

ON fort ON borgh

Settlement Building

ScG?

ON?

complete?

As this must predate Borve castle we must be looking for an old fort in the area. If the Blaeu mapping is to be believed, the township appears to have moved to its present position nearer the castle. Looking at this Blaeu mapping, he marks the township as to the E of the inlet to the E of the main one. According to my ideas of the mapping this would be close to modern Creagorry.

An obvious contender would be Dùn Fhearchair at NG 8010 4890 about which scant details on the hyperlink.

Perhaps even Fhearchair is another Virki name in an unlimited form, Fearchar (anglicized to Fergus)

Borgh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Borve	2014	Modern OS mapping
Borve	1877	OS 1st edition
Borough	1877	OS name book
Borgh	1877	OS name book
Borg	1751	Dorret mapping
Borrow	1657	The Clan Donald
Borg	1654	Blaeu mapping
Borgh	1654	Blaeu mapping

Borgue

Place ID 5067 ND 13164 25776 Mainland Caithness

ON fort ON borg

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Borgue 2014 Modern OS mapping

Borgue 1877 OS 1st edition

Bornais

Place ID 83 NF 73600 30040 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON fort headland ON borg + nes

Settlement Building

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Blaeu marks two townships here. ScG uachdar = 'upper' matches Blaeu's 'ycrach' better than his 'Ochrach'. The prominent headland here with Dun Vulcan on it makes the name ON borg + nes = 'fort headland' a good one topographically.

A medial /g/ disappearing after a vowel is regular as is /e/ > /ai/

There are seven cognates Borgarnes in Iceland and ten Borgeneset or variants in Norway with two Borgnæs in Denmark.

Bornais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bornish	1877	OS 1st edition
Bornish	1877	OS 1st edition
Upper Bornish	1804	Bald mapping
Lower Bornish	1804	Bald mapping
Upper Bornish	1804	Bald mapping
Borraness ycrach	1654	Blaeu mapping
Borraness Ocrach	1654	Blaeu mapping

Bota Ruadh

Place ID	1229	NF 82000 58910	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG brown bank			ScG bota ruadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An Sgeir Ruadh			2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island	
Am Bota Ruadh			2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island	
Bota Ruadh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Botarubha

Place ID 1060 NF 78540 73290 North Uist Central West

ScG red river-bank

ScG bota ruadh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The obvious interpretation as ScG bota + rubha = 'river-bank of the promontory' makes no sense however ScG ruadh = 'red' would make topographical sense and sounds close.

Botarua	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------	------	-------------------

Botarubha	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------	------	-------------------

Botarua	1877	OS 1st edition
---------	------	----------------

Bothag an Tairbh

Place ID	5855	NF 80852 74504	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG bull pen			ScG bothag an tairbh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bothag an Tairbh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Bothag Dhodaidh

Place ID 5990 NF 82378 78201 North Uist S1ollas

ON narrow lane + ScG bothy

ScG bothag + ON gjóta

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Niclain writes and google mangles 'At the beginning of the century a man called Dodaidh had a hut at the beginning of the century. He would get permission from the people of Grenitote and come down from South Uist to scrape rabbits.' The second word could be Norse although it is ia difficult sound to create - perhaps ON gjóta = 'a narrow lane' or a 'hollow'. (IPA /'cou:ta/.

In Iceland there are seven Gjótdand four Gjóta palce names and a variety of similar names in Norway.

Bothag Dhodaidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Bràigh Buidhe

Place ID	2314	NF 76651 71501	North Uist	Central West	
ScG yellow upper part			ScG bràigh buidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bràigh Buidhe			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Braigh Buidhe			1877	OS 1st edition	

Bràigh Cheallasaigh

Place ID 147 NF 92178 72416 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG upper part + 'Cheallasaigh'

ScG bràigh + 'Cheallasaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

See Ceallasaigh Mòr (P#154) for a discussion of the second element of this name.

It is possible the first component is ON bryggja = 'landing stage' and this would work well with the 'ship' interpretation.

Bràigh Cheallasaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Brae-callasay

1877

OS 1st edition

Bramnach

Place ID	6709	NF 83041 44560	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ON edge -hollow			ON barm hnakka		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Farming			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bramnach			1804	Bald mapping	

Brèinis

Place ID 930 NF 85940 64000 North Uist Langass

ON broad peninsula

ON breiðu + nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON breiður = 'broad' works well with ON nes = 'headland' to make a good topographical fit. The 'ð' as so often disappears in the pronunciation.

There are at least 43 places of this name, Breiðanes, in Iceland and 41 in Norway (all but five dropping the d) Bred(a)näs(et) 7 in Sweden and so it is not unusual!

Brèinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Breinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Ard Brenish	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Breivik

Place ID 5088 NF 85795 81393 North Uist B1oraraigh

ON broad bay

ON breið vík

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Although now referring to 'a small sandy bay', I suspect it initially referred to the whole beach and hence was 'broad'. Strand was added in an OSNB version and this could also be Norse ON strond = 'beach' making it an unusual name where we still have three Norse components.

Breivig occurs nine times on the OS 2nd edition mapping, all on the Western Isles whilst the Northern Isles equivalent Breiwick occurs 13 times on Shetland.

In Iceland there is one Breiðvík and 20 Breiðavík place names in Iceland. In Norway there are over 800 places name beginning with Breivik. Not an unusual name.

Breivik	2014	Modern OS mapping
Breivik Strand	1877	OS name book
Breivik	1877	OS 1st edition

Brenob

Place ID 4958 NF 79702 27526 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG upper part of the creek

ScG bràigh an òb

ScG?

ON?

To decide

complete?

The generic is almost certainly ON hóp = 'small land-locked bay' as this is a perfect topographical description of the bay here and so although the place name on the Bald mapping seems to denote the entrance to this bay, I suspect it refers to what is currently named Loch an t-Sroim. That said there is a small structure at the entrance and this is probably a settlement that Bald named using the nearby bay.

As for the specific the closest match phonetically would be ON brenna = 'fire, burning' (cited by Rygh as often meaning 'land cleared by burning') although ON brunnr = 'spring' might make more topographical sense.

This is a bit unsatisfactory. The Gaels loaned ON hóp into ScG òb and as this is masculine, the article would be ScG an. The generic could then be ScG bràigh = 'upper part'. As this place is marked as at the entrance to the creek, then the upper part works well.

Brenob

1804

Bald mapping

Breun Oban

Place ID 5205 NF 81644 47645 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG filthy creek ScG breun oban

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The obvious interpretation is that given in the OSNB of 'stinking bay' based upon ScG breun = 'disgusting, stinking'. The order however is odd as Gaelic adjectives usually follow the noun. However of the 13 occurrences of the word on the OS 2nd edition mapping, in eleven cases the order is as here. With the 'Clean Loch' nearby is this an example of assimilation?

Breun Oban	2014	Modern OS mapping
Breun Oban	1877	OS 1st edition

Broad Pt

Place ID	1922	NF 87720 59216	North Uist	Eaval	
Eng broad point			Eng broad + point		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Broad Pt			1859	Otter Loch Eport chart	

Broad Rock

Place ID	2022	NF 94797 81570	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
Eng broad rock			Eng broad rock		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Broad Rock			1866	Admiralty mapping	

Brostam Beg

Place ID 6614 NF 78832 43083 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG small + ON breast - islet

ON brjóst - hólmr + ScG beag

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

As it is an island then I am sure the generic is ON hólmr = 'islet' as this regularly provides the -am ending. The only specific that I can see that works phonologically is ON brjóst = 'breast'. There are two such names here and this ties in with the cognate notes.

ON prestr = 'priest' is close but e > o is not regular.

There are two place names Brjóst in Iclerand, one of which refers to two islets.

Brostam Beg	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bròstam Beg	1877	OS 1st edition
Brostam Bheag	1877	OS name book

Brostam More

Place ID 6615 NF 78808 42707 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG big + 'Brostam' 'Brostam' + ScG mòr

Fresh water Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Rostam Beag (P#6614) for a discussion of that name

Brostam More	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Brostam More	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

Brostam Mhòr	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Bruach an t-Samsain

Place ID 2111 NF 77165 62758 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG Samson's bank

ScG bruach a' Samsain

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Fraser writes 'Samson's Brae A very strong man lived on this site in the past.' It seems a little contrived but can see no other obvious possibility.

Bruthach an t-Samsain

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Bruach an t-Samsain

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Bruach Gorm

Place ID	875	NF 82010 60610	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG green bank			ScG bruach gorm		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bruach Gorm			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Bruach na-fionach

Place ID 831 NF 87130 63060 North Uist Eaval

ON pier of the cattle ON bryggja fénað

Settlement Building

ScG?

ON?

complete?

ScG fionn = 'white' is a strong possibility here but ScG -ach either creates adjectives from a noun or creates place of a noun rather than an adjective. ScG fineach = 'rank moor-grass' could be another alternative although that has the common problem of the wrong article. The hyphen is also odd.

This has pointed at Norse roots in other places and here ON vin akr = 'arable land of the meadow' which seems a little confused. ON vin is also problematic in terms of the period of its use.

I wonder if in fact the original was ON fenaðar bryggja = 'pier of the cattle' and then the order reversed when ON bryggja was mistakenly identified as ScG bruach na. There is still a good pier here on the shore.

The hyphens perhaps suggest a close compound and that might help explain the order.

Both elements occur in Iceland with 13 occurrences of ON fenaðar as the initial component.

Bruach na-fionach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bruach-na-fionach	1877	OS 1st edition
Brutach-na-fionacih	1877	OS name book

Bruareim

Place ID 1194 NF 92320 69970 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON islet of the bridge

ON brúar hólme

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ON brúar = 'of the bridge' or possibly 'of the causeway over swampy ground' works well here with ON holm = 'islet' as the generic.

There is no evidence of a causeway and so 'bridge' seems the most likely option.

In Iclenad there are six Brúarhólmi cognates and in Norway we have 13 Bruholmen place names.

Bruareim

1877

OS 1st edition

Bruaram Group

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Brusda

Place ID 2646 NF 92315 82698 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigearraidh

ON place of the causeways

ON brúar sta

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Bald records Bhruist as the name and so I suggest that it is possible the 'bh' sound is the original one. Maclver writes 'Bruist is brunn ivist : brow of a ridge with habitation'. It seem unlikely that the /nn/ totally disappears. As suggested in Caolas Bhristeadh Ramh q.v. it is not impossible that this has as its root Christ, the same in most languages although here probably ON Kristr. It would fit with the nearby site of Cille Aiseam. It is possible. The three Uist occurrences of Bhruist are all near other early Christian place names but this could be pure coincidence. Without the 'h' an obvious Norse etymology would be ON brú staðr = 'place of the causeway' although I am not aware of a causeway here now. It is possible that the area here was more liable to flood in time of old and so a causeway was required. Other possibilities exist such as ON frjór = 'fertile' looks further away phonetically but works topographically. ON frjós would be the correct case here. ScG briste = 'broken' would be the closest to a Gaelic root but it is difficult to see why.

The name Frøystad occurs over twenty times in Norway and there is a Frjóakur = 'fertile field' in Iceland, perhaps reflecting the harsh environment there!

Brusda	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bruist	1934	Maclver Place-names of Lewis an
Bruist	1877	OS 1st edition
Bhruist	1877	OS name book
Bruist	1832	Thomson atlas
Bhruist	1804	Bald mapping

Bruthach a' Ghuail

Place ID 2172 NF 77652 61551 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG slope of the coal

ScG bruthach a' ghuail

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Cliff or slope

complete?

According to Fraser so called after a ship laden with coal foundered here in the 18thC.

A folk etymology like this smacks of an earlier root.

ScG gall = 'low lander' is close although the initial vowel sound is not perfect and would make sense as on excavation Norse items were found here. The change in sound could be explained by resemanticization.

Bruthach a' Ghuail

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Bruthach a Tuath

Place ID	1876	NF 78640 56856	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ScG brae of the North			ScG bruthach a tuath		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bruthach a Tuath			1877	OS 1st edition	
Bruthach Bhan			1861	Thomas chart	

Bruthach Dhomhnuillean

Place ID 1016 NF 95190 66950 North Uist Lees

ScG Donald's brae ScG bruthach Dhómhnill

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am not sure where the ending comes from unless it is several Donalds.

Bruthach Dhomhnuillean

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bruthach Mòr

Place ID 1875 NF 78927 56321 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

Scg big brae

ScG brutach mòr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

ScG bruthach = 'bank' can be either masculine or feminine. Thomas' Bruthach Mhor has taken it as feminine whilst the OS 1st edition's Bruthach Mòr takes it as masculine.

Bruthach Mòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Bruthach Mhor

1861

Thomas chart

Bruthach na Crìche

Place ID 6176 NF 72713 24928 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG ascent of the boundary ScG bruthach na criche

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The boundary must be a township one - perhaps between Aisgernis and Frobost.

Bruthach na Crìche	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bruthach na Crìche	1877	OS 1st edition

Buail' a' Ghoill

Place ID 6259 NF 81058 30887 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG fold of the low-landers

ScG buaile a' ghoill

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'A Small portion of pasture land Situated between Bealach Hellisdale & Bealach Crosgard. Meaning "Lowlander's Fold"' whilst modern mapping places it close to the summit of Bheinn Mhòr. It certainly does not look like good pasture.

One ponders if it in fact marks the natural limit of the E coast of pasture.

Buail' a' Ghoill

2014

Modern OS mapping

Buail' a' Ghoill

1877

OS 1st edition

Buolea Youle

1804

Bald mapping

Buail' Aird

Place ID 982 NF 91890 66400 North Uist Lees

ScG high fold

ScG buaile àird

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

A good description of the site that sits at the base of the Lees looking towards Loch nam Madadh. The apostrophe appears as otherwise there would be two vowels adjacent to each other.

Ariard near Calarnais is in a similar position set away from the main settlement and looking down upon it here stemming from ScG airigh àird = 'high sheiling'.

Buail' Aird

2014

Modern OS mapping

Buail' Ard

1877

OS 1st edition

Buail' an Tigh Chloice

Place ID 6611 NF 78515 44604 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG cattle-fold of the house of stone ScG buaile taighe chloiche

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

These 'stone house' names generally refer to some prehistoric structure although I am not aware of one here. It would be worth a walk but looks very boggy!

Buail' an Tigh Chloice

1877

OS name book

Buail' Ernakater

Place ID 2283 NF 78168 70144 North Uist Central West

'Ernakater' + ScG fold

ScG buaile + 'Ernakater'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

See Beinn Ernaigeitir (P~#2315) for a discussion on the onomastic unit 'Ernakater'.

Buail' Ernakater

2014

Modern OS mapping

Buail' Aricaitir

1877

OS 1st edition

Buaile Charaigearraidh

Place ID 994 NF 92496 39540 North Uist Lees

ON enclosure of the inland galleys' + ScG fold ScG buaile + ON karfa gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Enclosure

complete?

The /h/ is there as a result of lenition.

One of its versions is as part of the name of an historic site, Dun Caragarry, and consequentially it is unlikely to be ScG although there are possible roots in that language.

Beveridge suggest ON kjarr = 'thicket' as the specific although there is a concern that the ON kjarrs is the genitive and there is no 's' sound in the place name. The plural ON kjarra = 'of the thickets' avoids this problem.

The generic looks like ON gerði = 'enclosure'. It would seem slightly odd to enclose thickets but the meaning is possibly 'enclosure within the thickets' i.e. a cleared fenced area within much scrub.

MacDonald agrees with this root.

However the initial sound is not right. One would expect kj > ce. However in Gaelic an /a/ before /rr/ lengthens and becomes sounded as a /à/. This might be enough to justify the vowel.

There is confusion here however and I think the best form to work on is the earliest Caragarry.

If it was to be a Gaelic root, having visited the site a few times, the main feature is Dùn Cargarry which is an impressive rock perched above the flat coastal area and there are the remains of low walls around it.

In Dwelly ScG carragh = 'Rock. 2 Pillar. 3 Erect stone. 4 Monument', all of which describe the site well. This would describe it well. If the order had been the other way around it would have worked but to be 'the pillar of the enclosure' seems wrong.

Back to the Norse and ON karfi = 'a kind of galley, or swift-going ship, with six, twelve, or sixteen rowers on each side, esp. used on lakes or inlets' with a genitive plural of ON karfa is close to a fit.

The development f > /-/ is regular but this one just fails to meet Cox's criteria p209). That said the closeness of /ar/ to /á/ is enough to help.

Topographically it works well as this is adjacent to the entrance to Loch Euphort and the inland waterways there. One could see this being somewhere where the larger ocean going ships loaded their cargo onto smaller ships ready to use the inland waterway.

Whilst both elements occur regularly in Iceland there is no cognate.

Rygh thinks that Karvik possibly has ON karfi as its root and there are a total of eight Karvik names although the disappearance of the /f/ could be masked here by the /v/ or vice versa.

Buaile Charaigearraidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Buaile Caragarry

1877

OS 1st edition

Buaile Dhritil

Place ID 5872 NF 80069 73337 North Uist S1ollas

'Dhritil' ScG fold ScG buaile + 'Dhritil'

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is a nearby Bogach Dritil (P#2468) q.v. for a discussion on the element 'Dhritil'. The two name would tend to imply there was a place 'Dritil' somewhere here.

Buaile Dhritil

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Buaile Dhubh

Place ID	833	NF 87160 62980	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG black fold			ScG buaile dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Buaile Dhubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Buaile Maari

Place ID 2552 NF 86228 72465 North Uist Central North

ON bog + ScG fold

ScG buaile + ON Maari

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

See Maari for details of that name.

Buaile Maari

2014

Modern OS mapping

Buaile Maari

1877

OS 1st edition

Buaile na h-Àirde Fada

Place ID	2581	NF 88101 70645	North Uist	Central South	
ScG fold of the long height			ScG buail na h-àirde fada		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Buaile na h-Àirde Fada			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Buaile na h-Airde Fada			1877	OS 1st edition	

Buaile nan Druidneach

Place ID 1707 NF 89178 55799 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG fold of the tanner ScG buaile nan druidneach

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is a well-built fold still here.

See the nearby Beinn nan Druidhneach (P#1683) for a discussion fo the final component.

Buaile nan Druidneach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Buaile nan Druidneach	1877	OS 1st edition

Buaile Ormacleit

Place ID 6385 NF 84841 34556 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Ormacleit' + ScG cattle fold ScG buaile + 'Ormacleit'

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Ormacleit (P#81) for a discussion of that component.

Buaile Ormacleit	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------	------	-------------------

Buail Ormaclett	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Buail Ormacleit	1877	OS name book
-----------------	------	--------------

Buaile Rairnis

Place ID 5268 NF 86581 49310 Benbecula Peter's Port

'Rairnis' + ScG fold ScG buaile + 'Rairnis'

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For details about the onomastic unit 'Rairnis see that place name (P#5257)

Buaile Rairnis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Buaile Rarnis	1877	OS name book
Buaile-Rarnish	1877	OS 1st edition
Rarinish	1832	Thomson atlas
Rarinish	1804	Bald mapping

Buaile Riabhach

Place ID	350	NF 77938 61946	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG streaked brown and grey fold			ScG buaile riabhach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Buaile Riabhach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Buaile Riabhach

Place ID	6113	NF 75468 29610	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG greyish cattle-fold			ScG buaile riabhach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Buaile Riabhach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Buaile Riabhach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Buaile Risary

Place ID 2321 NF 76666 72899 North Uist Central West

ON pile of stones - shieling + ScG fold

ScG buaile + ON hreysi ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

ON hrís = 'brushwood' is the obvious specific I thought of initially.

However ON hreysi is defined by Vigfusson as 'a heap of stones (= Icel. urð)'. This is too obvious a description of this site to not have been the root. The word morphed into røysi (hrøysi) in Rygh.

The 15 names on the OS 2nd edition mapping starting with risa- are all in classic Norse country.

Hrísasel occurs twice in Iceland and is close to a cognate. In Norway Risseter and Risæsætra (5) are both close cognates.

In Iceland taking Vigfusson's equivalent of Urð, there are seven close cognates of Urðarsel.

Buaile Risary

2014

Modern OS mapping

Buaile Risary

1877

OS 1st edition

Buaile-ghobha

Place ID	6686	NF 78300 44358	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG fold of the goats			ScG buaile gobhar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The OSNB gives us 'The Smith's Cottage or place', however ScG buaile generally refers to a fold. I suspect the other word involved is ScG gobhar = 'goat' rather than ScG gobha = 'blacksmith'. The proper form would have been the genitive ScG gobhainn.

The raising of goats on Uist is now curiously rare.

Buaile-ghobha	2014	Modern OS mapping
Buaile-ghobha	1877	OS 1st edition

Buaile-mhor

Place ID	1691	NF 88362 56309	North Uist	Ronaigh	
ScG big fold			ScG buaile mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Buaile-mhor			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Buaile-mhor			1877	OS 1st edition	

Builledubh

Place ID	6754	NF 79108 46122	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG dark fold			ScG buaile dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

T here must be confusion with Buaille Dhubh (P# 6747 q.v.) to the W. The intricacies of the declension of ScG dubh = 'dark' bemuse me. I would have expected ScG dhubh here!

Builledubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------	------	-------------------

Bualairach

Place ID 5284 NF 85620 47736 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG lower cattle-fold ScG buaile iochar

Settlement Farming

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bald places this settlement at NF8541247819, c1 km to the E of the modern OS site. The OSNB writes 'signifies fold of the Stopes and is applied to a small district situated between Oban Uaime Oban nan Cròthintin'.

I ma unclear what a 'stope' is other than a rather unlikely mining term.

The generic looks to be ScG buaile = 'cattle-fold' and the easiest option for the specific is ScG aireach = 'guard'.

The Bald name hints at other possibilities with ScG iochdar = 'lower' possibly involved.

Bualairach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bualairach	1877	OS 1st edition
Bhuail Aighreach	1877	OS name book
Buail-aighreach	1877	OS name book
Bouleiackar	1832	Thomson atlas
Bouleiackar	1804	Bald mapping

Buale Dhubh

Place ID 6747 NF 78575 46355 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG black cattle-fold

ScG buaile dhubh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Buale Dhubh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bualadubh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Buledhu

1877

OS name book

Buaile-dhubh

1877

OS 1st edition

Bualvachrach

Place ID 6736 NF 77704 46379 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG upper cattle-fold

ScG buaile uachdarach

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The nearby creek, Oban na Buail'-uachdraich presumably references the same cattle-fold. The name is a curiously unreformed one and only appears on the modern mapping, similar to Buailledubh just over 1Km to the E.

Bualvachrach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Buchaidh agus Bachaidh

Place ID 5735 NF 77211 75911 North Uist V1allay

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Exposed rock

complete?

Niclain writes 'There are two large stones near Mb Bhàlaigh House, so large that a pair of horses can shelter them. The people I spoke to do not comment on how they got their names. There may be some connection between the cradle of these large rocks and the verse •I came from Buchdasdail,I came from Bachdasdail,I came from the Vallay's Grand Division.'

Buchaidh agus Bachaidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Bùn Abhuinn Unuilt

Place ID 6251 NF 76663 29443 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

SCG moiuth of the river of one stream ScG bun abhainn aon-uillt

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB writes 'a small headland running into Loch Eynort near its NW end it is situated to the NE of the mouth of the stream which flows out of Loch a Clachan.' It was however deleted.

The first two words are clear and it is possible that 'Unuilt' is a version of Abhainn Aon-uillt (P#6321) near Uisinis. It is however hard to see why!

Bùn Abhuinn Unuilt

1877

OS name book

Bun an Amair

Place ID 6205 NF 82240 24619 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG mouth of the trough

Scg bun an amair

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The contours indicate a steep narrow channel leading down from a bowl like depression - this must be the ScG amar = 'trough, channel'

Bun an Amair

2014

Modern OS mapping

Bun an Amair

1877

OS 1st edition

Bun an t-Sruth

Place ID 723 NF 73623 66000 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG mouth of the current ScG bun an t-sruth

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One might have expected the genitive ScG srutha or sruth

Bun an t-Sruth	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bun an t-Sruth	1877	OS 1st edition

Bun an t-Sruthain

Place ID	5727	NF 75928 76103	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG mouth of the small stream			ScG bun an t-sruthain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Bun an t-Sruthain			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Bun na Feathlach

Place ID 6395 NF 75038 36426 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG mouth of + ON stream of livestock ScG bun na + ON fjár læk

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'bottom of the river' but I am unsure quite why. The best I can see is ScG fèath leig = 'calm marshy pool'. ScG fèath is masculine which is a problem as one would expect ScG an with lenition.

A Norse alternative is ON fjár læk = 'stream of livestock'. This makes sense and has no grammatical issues.

Bun na Feathlach	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------	------	-------------------

Bun na Feathlach	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------	------	----------------

Bunlike

Place ID 6508 NF 84294 37450

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ScG mouth of the drainage channel

ScG bun na leigidh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Bunlike

1804

Bald mapping

Burabhal

Place ID 809 NF 90910 62180 North Uist Eaval

ON hill of the farm

ON bærjar hváll

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Beveridge gives us ON bjóðr-fjall = 'table-hill' or 'the table of Eaval'. Even the generic ON fjall = 'mountain' is not clear as the hill does not seem high enough to qualify as a mountain. Perhaps ON hváll = 'hill' is more likely.

ON bjórr = 'wedge shaped piece of land' could work, although the triangular aspect is in relief rather than on the ground.

The best possibility is ON bæjar = 'of a farm' although possibly in its alternative form ON bæjar. Vigfusson quotes 'gen. biar also occurs, esp. in Norse MSS. of the 14th century'.

This would seem to fit well with Beveridge's given pronunciation of Beer-eval and the fact that there are extensive sheiling ruins adjacent to the cave to the SE and on the approach from the W where there are also extensive landing sites.

In Norway we have Byrjefjellet occurring twice with ON býr being a similar word to ON bær and nine Bøfjell(et) which is a cognate.

In Iceland there are 33 Bæjarfjall place names.

Burabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Burrival	1877	OS 1st edition
Biorrabhall	1877	OS name book
Burival	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Birval	1832	Thomson atlas
Pareval hill	1806	Stockdale mapping
Birval	1799	Reid mapping
Pareval hill	1789	Ainslie mapping

Bùthag Lìr

Place ID 5773 NF 78841 77041 North Uist V1allay

ON bay of the pollock booth

ON búð lýra vág

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Niclain writes 'According to tradition, two Vikings came to Uist at one time and went to St Kilda in search of land. The other man's boat, named Lir, ran aground on the rocks behind Bålaigh. Lir's son and daughter were drowned and buried on Vallay, near this place. Lir lived around this place, which is probably how the place got its name. Booth means tent or hut, and therefore place of residence.'

Nearby is Bogha Lir and that has a sensible interpretation using ON lýr = 'pollock'. I suspect that this name has been 'recognised' and appropriated for this nearby spot.

To help the cause there is a Lyrvika

Bùthag Lìr

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Càbhaidh

Place ID 5455 NF 87359 52897 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ON island of the galleys for inland waters

ON karfa ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The generic is clearly ON ey = 'island'.

ON karfi = 'a kind of galley, or swift-going ship, with six, twelve, or sixteen rowers on each side, esp. used on lakes or inlets' (Vigfusson) or its genitive plural or singular reflex ON karfa seems to be too good to be true for an island at the entrance of the complicated and shallow waterway that is Loch Uisgeabhagh and its surrounds.

Bald named the island Id na Cappel = 'island of the horse' although the article is surprising. Coincidental that Ròisinis has 'horse' in its root too?

Càbhaidh

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Id na Cappel

1804

Bald mapping

Cachaileidh an t-Sagairt

Place ID 5069 NF 88556 56884 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG gateway of the priest.

ScG cachaileidh an t-sagairt

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Exposed rock

complete?

This name was given to David Newman and myself by Donald MacAulay.

DN writes in the Ronay Field Survey 'Local tradition is that this was a place used for religious assembly, although the gateway reference is reputed to relate to a natural vertical fissure in the rock face or perhaps a gap in the dyke which the outcrop intersects.'

There is another ScG cachaileidh name on Berneray at Cill Aiseam (q.v.). There was reputed to be a cross there called Cachaileith na Batha = 'the gate of life'. Carmichael talks about one that he took off to a museum in Edinburgh.

Cachaileidh an t-Sagairt

Other

Cachaileith na Lice

Place ID 5842 NF 79702 74816 North Uist S1ollas

ScG gate of the slab

ScG cachaileith na lice

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

It is an old gate for a gate. Therefore, since it is found close to the shore, it may mean a gate that was once above or near a slab.

Cachaileith na Lice

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cachaileith Shlèibh

Place ID	6093	NF 82924 72670	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG gate of the hillside			ScG cachaileith shlèibh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cachaileith Shlèibh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cachla-uisge

Place ID 6576 NF 77798 40099 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG gate of the water

ScG cachala uisge

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

The meaning would seem to be 'gate of the water' and might refer to a water management weir in the area.

Cachla-uisge

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cachla-uisge

1877

OS 1st edition

Cafuam

Place ID 233 NF 91027 74708 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON cow- +'Fuam'

ON kú + 'fuam'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

See Fuam (P#1552) for details of that onomastic unit.

Three options suggest themselves for the first component ON kaf = 'underwater', ON kálfr = 'calf' or ON kúa = 'of cows'.

The islet does not get submerged so I would rule out the former although the best phonetic fit. There is no /l/ sound apparent and so that rules out the second leaving us with the third, although the vowels are not perfect phonologically.

A close compound of ON kú = 'cow-' would be regular.

ON kjarr = 'thicket' might just work...

There are two Kúahólmi and five Kúhólmi in Iceland. In Norway there are at least fifty Kuholmen lace names.

Cafuam

2014

Modern OS mapping

Caibéal Dhiarmaid

Place ID	6404	NF 75826 36476	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG Dermot's chapel			ScG caibéal Dhiarmaid		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Religious			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Caibéal Dhiarmaid			1877	OS 1st edition	

Caibéal nan Sagairt

Place ID	6405	NF 75809 36448	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG chapel of the priests			ScG caibéal nan sagairt		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Religious			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Caibéal nan Sagairt			1877	OS 1st edition	

Caigeann

Place ID 129 NF 94963 72192 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG narrow pass between hills or ON The bowl ScG caigeann or ON kakkann

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is a good topographic fit. The word has other meanings but this seems the most apposite.

The OSNB writes 'This name is applied to a narrow neck of land situate between the head of Loch Portain and Loch na Caiginn, it appears to have been the dwelling place of a small farmer of former years.'

An alternative is ON kakki= 'bowl' which would seem a good topographical fit. I would expect the acc definite to be ON kakkann (c.f. bakki). This is a good phonetic fit.

There are two Kakken in Norway.

There are 14 places on the OS 2nd editon mapping starting wqith 'Caig-'. A cluter on Mull aside, the rest are generally on a steep shore where a bowl might be an apt description.

Caigeann	2014	Modern OS mapping
Caigeann	1877	OS 1st edition
A' Caigeann	1877	OS name book

Caigionn

Place ID 477 NF 83150 57830 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG interlocked pair (of islands)

ScG caigeann

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Caigionn is a collection of islands - two big ones - in the North Ford that are on the route of the traditional ford. About ScG caigeann, Dwelly writes 'Used of two things that have become interlocked or entangled' in his description and this makes sense topographically here.

'The couple' was a reef Donald Red-hair drowned according to the Hebridean Connection. (p114)

Caigionn	2014	Modern OS mapping
A' Chaigeann	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Caigionn	1877	OS 1st edition
Caigeann	1877	OS name book
Caigeann	1861	Thomas chart

Cailleacha Dubha

Place ID 5086 NF 85637 81663 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG black supernatural being SCg cailleach dubha

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us nothing other than a description of the site. Canmore has more - <https://canmore.org.uk/site/10394/boreray-cailleacha-dubha> - and defines the site as a Neolithic Chambered Cairn. ScG cailleach has eleven different meanings in Dwelly but usually in place names it refers to old women, nuns or supernatural being. I suspect here the later reflecting the old remains here that would have included an underground chamber at some stage. The final /e/ is not usual. I have seen ScG cailleach defined as 'rock' somewhere but cannot find the reference. - a simpler explanation. The complexities of ScG dubh = 'black' defeat me!

Cailleacha Dubha	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cailleacha Dubha	1911	Beveridge
Cailleacha Dubha	1877	OS 1st edition

Cailternis

Place ID 379 NF 86110 59020 North Uist Eaval

ON headland of the hog

ON galtar nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

ON kalda + nes = 'headland of the cold' works well with any development being regular aside from the missing /r/. Not an inspiring name but not unrealistic.

A closer fit would be the comparative which if my understanding of Norse grammar is correct would give ON kaldara nes = 'colder headland' which fits.

Presumably to get around the /r/ problem Beveridge suggested ON kjalar + Tre + nes = 'keel timber point' which seems unlikely.

The Cognate notes suggest we need to look at Kaldrananes an alternative of ON kaldrana. All I can suggest for this is ON kald rana = 'of the cold hog-shaped hill' which seems convoluted or better Ic kaldrani = 'cold welcome'. There would then have been a small amount of reduction as the two final 'n's are combined.

Cox gives an alternative route deriving Galtraigil on Skye from ON galtar gil = 'gully of the hog'. Here then ON galtar nes = 'headland of the pig' would seem to work. We then enter the quagmire of the various form of this word.

This derivation does seem at odds with the early Admiralty Chart name of Kildernish - ON keldur-nes = 'springs headland' perhaps? This would then fit with the later forms if d > t is allowed.

Looking at Iceland there are no Kald(a)nes place names but three Kaldrananes place names.

Norway gives us eight Kald(s)nes(et) and two Kaldåneset.

Keldunes occurs four times in Iceland

Iceland provides two Galtarnes and two Galtanes place names whilst in Norway we have a Galtaneset and seven Galtaneset and a Galtnes.

Cailternis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cailternish	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Steaphain	1877	OS 1st edition
Kildernish	1861	Thomas chart
Kildernish	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Cailternish		MacDonald sketch history

Cairidh Mhòr

Place ID	6591	NF 83583 41103	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG large fish trap			ScG cairidh mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

In the loch called 'Herring bay' to have a fish trap name is appropriate. The name refers to a small natural bay with a distinct narrowing when the construction of a trap would be straightforward.

With ON ker = 'tub, fish-trap' appearing as ON keri in the dative form, it is not impossible for this name to have Norse roots.

This might be supported by the OSNB version of A' Chaire Mhòr.

Cairidh Mhòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cairidh Mhòr	1877	OS 1st edition
A' Chaire Mhòr	1877	OS name book

Càirinis

Place ID 47 NF 81807 59703 North Uist C1arinish

ON headland of the (desirable) choice

ON keyr-nes

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The root is clearly Norse and the likely alternatives are ON: Kára + nes = 'Kari's Headland', ON kára + nes = 'Headland of the Wind', ON kjara + nes = 'headland of the copsewoods' or ON*keyra + nes = 'headland of (desirable) choice'. All work well although ON á is not the same sound as ScG à. The last one is the besy phonetic fit I think with ey > ài.

ON kjarr is more fully described as 'Scrub, Collection of Shrubs, especially one, which stands on damp, moored grounds' which sounds pretty typical for Uist. ON keyr = 'choice' is an alternative spelling of ON kjör. This latter is used as a prefix with the meaning of a desirable choice. The headland here is generally good arable land and so could be described as 'choice'

ON -nes names rarely has a personal name as the specific so this would rule out Kári.

Thinking of ON kjarr there are three Icelandic Káranes and whilst ON kjarr is a commoner specific there is no cognate. In Norway there is a Karanes and a Kjerness, a Kjerrnes and several Kjerresnes(et).

However looking at ON kjör, the cognate Kjör(e)nes(et) occurs twelve times in Norway. It occurs as a specific in Iceland eight times although not in a cognate form.

There are also two Loch Carabhat's not too far away

which presumably have the same root although there is less quantity to the initial vowel sound.

Carinish	2014	Modern OS mapping
Càirinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Unganab	1986	Easson land assessment
Vaninb	1986	Easson land assessment
Ung an aba	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Carnish	1866	Admiralty mapping
Carnish	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Unganab	1850	Collectanea
Cairenische	1850	Collectanea
Carinche	1850	Collectanea
Vngenab	1850	Collectanea
Ungnab	1850	Retours
Carnish	1832	Thomson atlas
Carenish	1806	Stockdale mapping
Carinish	1799	Reid mapping
Carinish	1794	Old Staitistical Account
Carenish	1794	Huddart mapping
Carronys	1794	Huddart mapping
Carenish	1789	Ainslie mapping

Carnefs	1751	Dorret mapping
Caranish	1718	Judicial Rental
Ungnab	1657	The Clan Donald
Peinnie Trynoid	1657	The Clan Donald
Carroniss	1657	The Clan Donald
Kareness	1654	Blaeu mapping
Kareneß	1654	Blaeu mapping
Careynesse	1560	Monro Western Isles
karynche	1389	Charters of Inchaffray
Carinish		MacDonald sketch history
Unganab		MacDonald sketch history
Carness		Other

Caisteal an Reubadair

Place ID 4932 NF 78603 07179 South Uist Eirisgeigh

ScG castle of + ON boundary of the parishes ScG caisteal na + ON hreppa deilð

Historic Dun

- ScG?
 ON?
 complete?

Commonly called 'The Weaver's Castle' from the ScG for weaver.

The OSNB gives us 'It was built by a very strong man, a weaver, and his two sons, who prey'd on the neighbouring islands and committed cruel acts of piracy'.

The closest Gaelic word I could find was ScG reubadair = 'plunderer' which fits with the OSNB piracy. ScG breabadair = 'weaver' is probably where the name comes from and one can see Carmichael's name, Caisteal a Bhreabadair, trying to get there.

However as with most 'historic' names, I suspect a Norse origin.

Listening to /Riəbədəɪ/, I am reminded of ON hreppr = 'land division akin to a parish' with ON hreppa being the genitive plural.

For the generic ON deild or deilð can mean 'boundary' and this works well as 'the boundary of the district'. ON turn = 'tower' would sound closish and has the benefit of there being a tower at the site. Neither work perfectly phonetically but have the advantage of the Gaels trying to resemanticise towards ScG reubadair.

There is a Caisteal an Reubadair on the mainland and its alternative name is Castle Stalker.

Caisteal an Reubadair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Caisteal a Bhreabadair	1877	OS name book
Weaver's Castle	1877	OS 1st edition

Caisteal Bheagram

Place ID 2095 NF 76101 37115 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON islet of the wall + ScG castle ScG caisteal + ON veggjar hólme

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The ending looks Norse and with it being a small island, ON holmr = 'islet' which often produces an ending of '-am'. The specific then could be either ON vegr = 'track' presumably referring to the causeway or ON veggr = 'wall' presumably referring to the dun situated on the islet. The latter seems considerably more likely with the genitive ON veggjar = 'of the wall'

Caisteal Bheagram	2014	Modern OS mapping
Caisteal Bheagram	1877	OS 1st edition
Castle Veggrum	1804	Bald mapping
Loch Vegerin	1654	Blaeu mapping
Elanbegeryn	1505	RMS
Ylanebigorn	1505	RMS
Ylandbigrim	1505	RMS
Wyellandvegroume		Other

Caisteal Bheagram

Place ID 6475 NF 76103 37094 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Bheagram' + ScG castle ScG caisteal + 'Bheagram'

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Eilean Bheagram (P#2096) for a discussion of the final component.

Caisteal Bheagram	2014	Modern OS mapping
Caisteal Bheagram	1877	OS 1st edition
Caistal Eilen bheg rùm	1877	OS name book
Castle Veggerum	1804	Bald mapping

Caisteal Bhuirgh

Place ID 2093 NF 77384 50563 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG castle of + ON fort

ScG caisteal + ON borg

Historic

Dun

ScG?

ON?

complete?

A bit of doubling up here.

Caisteal Bhuirgh	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------	------	-------------------

Caistal Bhuirh	1894	Originales Parochiales
----------------	------	------------------------

Castle of Vynvawle	1894	Originales Parochiales
--------------------	------	------------------------

Borve Castle	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

Caisteal Bhuirgh	1877	OS name book
------------------	------	--------------

Castle Wiay	1806	Stockdale mapping
-------------	------	-------------------

Castle Weary	1804	Bald mapping
--------------	------	--------------

Castlewia	1789	Ainslie mapping
-----------	------	-----------------

Urish C	1751	Dorret mapping
---------	------	----------------

C Urich	1751	Dorret mapping
---------	------	----------------

Castel Vrigh	1654	Blaeu mapping
--------------	------	---------------

Beinwevil		Other
-----------	--	-------

Beinwhaill		Other
------------	--	-------

Caisteal Odair

Place ID 26 NF 73140 76830 North Uist S1colpaig

ON sharp points of the castle ON kastala oddar

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beveridge writes 'This name is certainly now pronounced 'Odarr' or 'Ottarr' so that it may perhaps represent the personal name 'Ottar', as in Otternish.' I fear this is totally wrong...

ON kastala = 'of the castle' at first sight appears to be in the wrong place however ON oddr = 'sharp point' (<https://islenskordabok.arnastofnun.is/ord/30424>) fits well with Beveridge's comment on pronunciation and can refer to places, as well as weapons, as evidenced in Norway and Iceland. Phonetically the plural ON oddar fits better. This then becomes 'the sharp point of the Castle' which describes the site beautifully.

It is worth a visit and indeed I ponder in the site started life as a burial cairn to judge by the series of slabs in one place and then the loose stones on top were removed to form the wall - indeed it is even possible that the Norse completed this operation themselves.

Both components occur commonly in Iceland but not together whilst in Norway kastali is rare and is replaced by the synonym ON borg. There are however three Borg(er)odden whilst in Sweden there are an equivalent seven place names Borgudden.

Caisteal Odair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Caisteal Odair	1877	OS 1st edition
Rudon	1806	Stockdale mapping
Rudon	1789	Ainslie mapping
Core	1751	Dorret mapping
Castle Ore	1751	Dorret mapping
Row Chafstel orre	1654	Blaeu mapping
Kow Chafstelorre	1654	Blaeu mapping

Caisteal Ormacleith

Place ID 6271 NF 74059 31862 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON rock of worms + ScG castle

ScG caisteal + ON orma klett

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

It seems unlikely that the specific is anything other than ON ormr = 'worm in the form ON orma = 'of the worms'. The generic must be ON klettr = 'rock or cliff' giving us 'rock of worms'.

There is little in the way of crags here. The worms can refer to anything of a winding shape, often streams but again there is no obvious nearby stream.

It is also a male name Ormr, however in that case one might expect a genitival /s/.

My only thought - and it is a long shot - is I wonder if there was a Pictish carved stone here - 'worm' would be a good description of much of their appearance and 'rock of worms' would be apt.

Caisteal Ormacleith

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ormiclate House

1877

OS name book

Ormaclett Castle

1877

OS 1st edition

Calabhagh

Place ID 487 NF 86410 54940 North Uist Griomasaigh

ON island of the calves

ON kálfa + ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Although possibly appearing as ScG at first glance, the order would be wrong as one would expect the ScG bagh to be first.

See Calbhaigh (P#4967) for a general discussion of the name.

Here the spelling on the OS 1st series, Calavay, helps understand the root was ON kálfa + ey = 'island of the calves'. The Gaelicization process would insert a copy of the previous vowel between a 'l' and a 'bh' (here 'f') and so the development is regular.

There are five Kálfavík in Iceland and over 100 places in Norway including Kalvika.

There is only one Kálfey in Iceland but over 250 places in Norway starting with Kalvøy including over 100 cognates Kalvøya.

Calabhagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Calbheidh	1877	OS name book
Calabhaidh	1877	OS name book
Calavay Isd	1877	OS name book
Calavay	1877	OS 1st edition
Calabhaidh	1861	Thomas chart
Calvay I.	1832	Thomson atlas
Calavay I.	1804	Bald mapping

Calarnais

Place ID 1040 NF 75000 76530 North Uist Grim1inish

ON calling headland

ON kallaðr nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Clearly Norse with the generic of ON nes = 'headland', there is a strong possibility is a similar root to Callanais on Lewis about which both Oftedal and Cox write extensively, helped by a long list of antecedents. Several of these include the 'r' evident in the Uist version.

Their interpretation is ON kallaðr + nes = 'calling headland' referring to the fact it was a place where one 'called across' for a ferry.

McDonald cites ON kallari = herald, crier' loaned as ScG callair.

Beveridge suggest the 'shouting' option whilst MacDonald ON kjalar = 'keel'.

Calarnais	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------	------	-------------------

Callernish	1877	OS 1st edition
------------	------	----------------

Calarnish	1877	OS name book
-----------	------	--------------

Calarnis	1877	OS name book
----------	------	--------------

Calanish	1877	OS name book
----------	------	--------------

Callernish		MacDonald sketch history
------------	--	--------------------------

Calbaugh

Place ID 103 NF 80980 12750 South Uist Lochboisdale

'Calbaugh'

'Calbeigh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

It was common in Norse times to name a small island off a big island as Calf Island, the Calf of Man being a good example as well as several other such named islands off Uist.

See 'Calbhaigh' for a fuller discussion on this element.

Calbaugh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Calvay	1877	OS 1st edition
Calavay	1877	OS name book
Calbheidh	1877	OS name book
Calavay Id	1804	Bald mapping
Calva	1654	Blaeu mapping

Calbhaidh Roisanis

Place ID	5488	NF 87932 53007	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
'Roisanis' 'Calbhaidh'			'Calbhaidh' + 'Roisanis'		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Calbhaidh is a common name for a small island close to the main one - the Calf of Man is a classic example. Here Roisanis is an onomastic unit to help identify this particular Calbhaidh. There is another such island just to the N. For a discussion about 'Roisanis' see Ròisinis (P#5438). For a discussion about 'Calbhaidh' see Calbhaigh (P#4967)

Calbhaidh Roisanis	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhagh
--------------------	------	----------------------------------

Calbhaigh

Place ID 4967 NF 77384 28631 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON calf island

ON kalf ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

On the Bald mapping is written 'one half of which belongs to Bornish'.

This is a common name for islands in the Norse world, especially smaller islands off other ones, e.g. Calf of Man and closer to home Calbhaigh in both the North Ford and Lochboisdale. Vigfusson quotes in his definition 'metaph. of a small island near a large one'.

There can be little doubt about this root and so one might expect the intima vowel in the Gaelic version to be stronger. It is probably a matter of poor recording although I note Wiktionary does not have the accent in its definition.

There are three Calvay islands on the OS 2nd edition mapping, all on South Uist and a Calavay in the North Ford.

There is a Kálfey in Iceland and over 200 places in Norway starting with Kalvøy including around 100 simplex Kalvøy(a).

Calbhaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Calva	1877	OS name book
Calvay	1877	OS 1st edition
Calvay Id	1804	Bald mapping

Calla Geodha

Place ID	1886	NF 76725 55591	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ON cove of the fish drying racks			ON hjalla gjá		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Gully			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

This is the landing site of St. Torranan. In the OS 1st series form Calligeo, it occurs only one other time in a small cove by St. Clement's Chapel, North Uist. A coincidence?

The generic is ON gjá = 'cove'. ON kill = 'inlet or canal' is a strong contender although the initial vowel is not a perfect match. (<http://www.norskstadnamleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx>) works. However the 'inlet' meaning ends up being tautologous in these cases.

A recent paper in Curracag writes that there is a freshwater system inland in Benbecula from Borve almost through to the coast here with this section being the only bit unnavigable. A canal here would resolve that....

I do wonder if there is some Christian connection, perhaps simply to 'cell'.

Perhaps a better alternative is the rather strange dative ON kili of ON kjölr = 'keel'

However the development l > a is not regular whilst í > ai > a would be which brings us back to the canal or perhaps rather less grandly a ditch.

Perhaps a better possibility is ON hjalla gjá = 'gully of the fish drying racks'.

Kíll occurs as a place name occurs eight times with six occurrences of Kíllinn in Iceland.

On Lewis Cox writes about Cailigeadh (p197)

Calla Geodha	2014	Modern OS mapping
Calligeo	1877	OS 1st edition
Caligeo	1877	OS name book

Callaigeodha

Place ID 5087 NF 85985 81703 North Uist B1oraraigh

ON gully of the Ifish drying racks

ON hjalla gjá

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Gully

complete?

This is a name that has caused me problems before in the guise of Calligeo, one in Ballivanich and one in Hosta. See them for details.

The generic is clear ON kjá = 'gully' but the specific is less so.

This particular feature, described in the OSNB as 'a small creek', looks like a landing place away from the main beach. It is difficult to see why it should be used as such as it is removed from settlement. The /a/ sounds is long when before a /ll/ helping the /j/.

ON hjalli = 'ledge' has the same genitive plural.

Perhaps ON kalda = 'cold' or ON hvala = 'whale'?

There is a Hjallagjá in Iceland.

Callaigeodha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Calligeo

1877

OS 1st edition

Callam More

Place ID 1196 NF 91940 70220 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG big + ON islet of fish drying racks ON hjalla hólmr + ScG mòr

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The ScG mor = 'big' is clear.

The remainder looks Norse.

Either ON kolla = 'of the rounded hills' or ON kúlu = 'of the knob-like hill' work with ON hólmr = 'islet' as so often appearing as -am.

The cognate section gives us a simpler ON koll hólm and leans me towards ON kollr as a specific.

Consideration of other Call- names including the nearby Ceallasaigh islands leads me to think that there is a strong possibility that they stem from ON hjallr = 'fish drying scaffolds'. Here perhaps ON hjalla hólm = 'islet of fish drying racks' would work well. The cognate notes are convincing.

Having the adjacent Eilean na Lion which is Gaelic for 'island of the fishing nets' helps the case.

And where is Callam Beag?!

Considering the first possibilities, there is a Kollhólmi in Iceland which would appear to be a close compound, i.e. rounded hill islet, and there is a Kolluhólmi. Norway gives us six Kollholm(a/e)n, a Kolaholmen and two Kollsholmen. In Iceland there is a Hjallhólmar, a Hjallahólmi, a Hjallahólmar, a Hjallhólmur and seven Hjallhólmi. In Norway there are four Hjellaøya and five Hjellholmen.

Callam More	2014	Modern OS mapping
Calm Mhor	1877	OS name book
Callam More	1877	OS 1st edition

Calligeo

Place ID 2389 NF 70934 72755 North Uist B1alranald

ON creek of the keels

ON kjóla gjá

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The coincidence of this name occurring here as the best landing bay near St. Clement's Chapel and the other occurrence being on Benbecula where St torranan was meant to have landed and tried to build a church is too much for me to think anything other than this has a Christian connection.

I have posted about this on my blog: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/cell-cill-keeill-or-kjal-one-and-the-same>

Possibly the simplest is ON kíl = narrow inlet' but that seems tautologous.

Finally then Kjóla gjá = 'creek of the keels' i.e. landing place.

Calligeo

1877

OS 1st edition

Caltanais

Place ID 6639 NF 83650 41475 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON headland of the boars

ON galta nes

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

See Cailternis (P#179) for a discussion of this similar place name. The cognate notes are helpful.

Iceland provides two Galtarnes and two Galtanes place names whilst in Norway we have a Galtaneset and seven Galteneset and a Galtnes.

Caltanais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cailtinis	1877	OS name book
Calternish	1877	OS 1st edition
Caltenish	1804	Bald mapping

Cam Abhuinn

Place ID	6111	NF 75130 29325	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG crooked river			ScG cam abhainn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cam Abhuinn			1877	OS 1st edition	

Cam-Abhainn

Place ID 4979 NF 77270 26300 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG bent stream

ScG cam-abhainn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

This is Gaelic and means 'crooked stream. ScG cam is slightly unusual in that it precedes the noun. It is a good topographical fit.

Cam-Abhainn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cam-abhuinn	1877	OS 1st edition
Crooked Burn	1804	Bald mapping

Cam-allt

Place ID 2455 NF 79794 71928 North Uist Central North

ScG bent stream ScG cam-allt

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG cam = 'bent' often appears in close compound sand generally before the noun.

Cam-allt 2014 Modern OS mapping

Cam-allt 1877 OS 1st edition

Cama-loch

Place ID 172 NF 94807 70178 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG bent loch ScG cama + loch

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG cam = 'crooked' is one of those adjectives that precedes the noun.
If my understanding is correct, ScG cama should be the plural whilst ScG loch is the singular. Odd.

Cama-loch

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cama-loch

Place ID 214 NF 94183 72288

North Uist

Lochp1ortain

ScG bent loch

ScG cama-loch

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The loch certainly has a convoluted shape.

Cama-loch

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cama-lochan

Place ID 595 NF 90090 74060 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG crooked lochs

ScG cama lochan

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The ScG cama shows this to be a close compound and for the ScG lochan to means 'lochs' rather than 'small loch'

Cama-lochan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cama-lochan

1877

OS 1st edition

Cam-ard Beag

Place ID 974 NF 91200 67650 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG small bent point ScG cam àird beag

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG cam = 'bent' is one of those adjectives that seems to crop up in funny places. With ScG àird = 'point' as a feminine noun, I would have expected ScG bheag. This would sound significantly different.

Cam-ard Beag 1877 OS 1st edition

Little Camaird 1858 Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Cam-ard-Mòr

Place ID 1982 NF 91938 67682 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG big crooked height ScG cam-àrd-mòr

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One might have expected the standard Àird rather than Ard and the hyphenation is odd. There is a nearby Cam-ard-beag indicating that the first two components are an onomastic unit. MacDonald gives us ScG cam ard = 'crooked height'.

Cam-ard-Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cam-ard-Mor	1877	OS 1st edition
Camaird	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
Camart	1832	Thomson atlas
Camart	1799	Reid mapping
Camart		MacDonald sketch history

Camas a' Chaisteil

Place ID 2368 NF 69650 71243 North Uist B1alranald

ScG bay of the castle ScG camas a' Chaisteil

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Very little remains of what was presumably a dun here.

Camas a' Chaisteil 1877 OS 1st edition

Camas a' Chapuill

Place ID 5198 NF 80643 47410 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG bay of the mare

ScG camas a' chapuill

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Just one mare is a bit odd.....

Camas a' Chapuill

2014

Modern OS mapping

Camas a' Chapuill

1877

OS 1st edition

Camas Crubaig

Place ID 168 NF 94263 70801 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON fold bay + ScG bay

ScG camas + ON kró + vík

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

I suspect the OS name book 'Little crab bay' was rather grasping at straws and in fact the Crubbaig element is ON kró vágr = 'fold bay'.

Camas Crubaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Camas Dubh

Place ID	248	NF 92370 76930	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG black bay			ScG camas dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Camas Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Camas Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Camas Mhic an Trilleachain

Place ID 712 NF 78300 65380 North Uist Berneray

ON bay of three streams + ScG bay

ScG camas + ON vík prí lækina

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The alternative OS name book name, Camas Trilichan, is simpler to explain with ScG trilleachan = 'noisy sea-bird (probably Oystercatcher)' producing 'Oystercatcher bay'.

The word 'Trilleachan' occurs eight times in Scotland and all bar a mountain are coastal and all bar the mountain in the Norse heartland of the NW.

A telling pair of examples are Trilleachan-mor and Trilleachan-beag on the shores of Loch Seaforth - it seems unlikely to call somewhere 'small Oystercatcher' and 'large Oystercatcher'.

With ON tri + lækina = 'the three streams'. Suddenly 'the bay of three streams' starts to make sense.

The other issue of the name including 'mhic' is interesting. Whilst ScG mhic = 'son of' makes little sense here, as seen elsewhere, it is possibly derived from ON vik = 'bay'. This would require an element of reordering to resemanticise the name as a recognisable Gaelic concept.

Prílækir occurs nine times as a place name in Iceland.

Camas Trilichan

1877

OS name book

Camas Mhic an Trilleachain

1877

OS 1st edition

Camas Mor

Place ID 1074 NF 75990 76590 North Uist V1allay

ScG big bay

ScG camas mòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Niclain writes 'Several sandy roots and branches of very old trees are preserved in moorland on this sandy beach. There is no moorland visible on Vallay but only here The tide comes over the moorland and bases. This shows how the landscape of Vallay has changed dramatically.'

I find it odd that this beach is called 'big' whilst the next beach along is three times longer. I do wonder if this was a ON vörr = 'landing place' name as the bay has suitable looking reefs to help unload material.

Camas Mor

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Camas Mor

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Camas Mor

1877

OS 1st edition

Camas Mòr

Place ID 1727 NF 89216 54329 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG big bay ScG camas mòr

Coastal Gully

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Big is a trifle extreme.
Thomas has an alternative, Geo an t-Salchair or Foul geo.

Camas Mòr	1877	OS 1st edition
Foul Geo	1861	Thomas chart
Geo an t-Salchair	1861	Thomas chart

Camas na Criche

Place ID 1082 NF 76520 76500 North Uist V1allay

ScG bay of the boundary

ScG camas na criche

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The OS name book writes 'The March Bay', 'march' being a slightly anachronistic word for 'boundary'. ScG criche = 'of the boundary' is clearly the specific component.

There is a well defined boundary dyke running form the E end of this bay to the shore S of Vallay House.

Camas na Criche

2014

Modern OS mapping

Camas na Criche

1877

OS 1st edition

Camas nam Feuchaig

Place ID 6566 NF 85234 39312 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG bay of the whelks

ScG camas nam faochag

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON fáka vág = 'bay of horse' would be a Norse interpretation but better would be ON vakar vág = 'bay of the opening'.

Camas nam Feuchaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Camas nam Feugach

1877

OS 1st edition

Camas nan Oban

Place ID 2425 NF 82489 75420 North Uist S1ollas

ScG bay of the creeks ScG camas nan oban

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Camas nan Oban 2014 Modern OS mapping

Camas nan Oban 1877 OS 1st edition

Camas Traigh Stir

Place ID 2387 NF 71494 73175 North Uist B1almartin

'Tràigh Stir' + ScG bay ScG camas + 'Tràigh Stir'

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Tràigh Stir (P#2385) for a discussion on that element of the place name.

Camas Traigh Stir 1877 OS 1st edition

Camba

Place ID 6597 NF 84730 40462 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG crooked bay ScG cam bàgh

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bald name for the bay to the S explains it.

Camba	2014	Modern OS mapping
Camba	1877	OS 1st edition
Crooked Bay	1804	Bald mapping

Caolaigh

Place ID 1578 NF 97679 81744 Harris Sound of Harris N group
ScG place of the straits SWcG caol -ag ScG?
Coastal ON?
 complete?

ON keila ey = 'island of the lings', a species of fish still caught locally, would work well although I'd be a little concerned about ON ey = island for such a small area.

I suspect the SCG caol -ach = 'place of the straits' might be better

Caolaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Caillidh	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Skeileadh	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Kylie	1877	OS 1st edition

Caolas

Place ID 637 NF 89770 77940 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG strait ScG caolas

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A settlement cleared in the 19th century/

Caolas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Caolas	1877	OS 1st edition
Kyli...	1799	Reid mapping

Caolas a' Mhòrain

Place ID 2449 NF 84331 80293 North Uist S1ollas

ScG narrow of + ON The landing place ScG caolas a' 'Mhòrain

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Aird a' Mhorain for a discussion of its meaning.

Caolas a' Mhòrain	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Caolas a' Bhorain	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------------	------	----------------

Caolas an Eilean

Place ID	976	NF 91920 67130	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG narrows of the island			ScG caolas an eilean		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Caolas an Eilean			1877	OS 1st edition	

Caolas an t-Sagairt

Place ID 1743 NF 88153 56919 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG strait of the priest ScG caolas an t- Sagairt

S1alt water Current or Strait

Another 'sagairt' name on Ronaigh.

Caolas an t-Sagairt

1861

Thomas chart

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Caolas Bhalaigh

Place ID 38 NF 77420 56604 North Uist V1allay

'Bhalaigh' + ScG narrow

ScG caolas + 'Bhalaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A common generic in Gaelic place names. Bhalaigh is discussed under that place name, P#1089

Caolas Bhalaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Vallay Sound

1877

OS 1st edition

Caolas Bheàrnaraigh

Place ID 2651 NF 90650 79693 B1earnaraigh B1orve

scG strait of Bearnaraigh

ScG caolas + 'Bheàrnaraigh'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

It is interesting to see that the Bald map which was created for the owner of Harris and Bearnaraigh called is the Kules Uist, 'the strait of Uist'. Two people looking at things form a different perspective.

See Beàrnaraigh (P#24) for a discussion of that element.

The older names of Belvickuist must refer to the name Mhic Cuish. This name crops up in two other places on Uist. For details about it, see Loch Liath Mhic-cuis (P#591)

Caolas Bheàrnaraigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Balliviccuish	2004	Lawson North Uist
Balevickuish	1986	Easson land assessment
Kyles-Bernera	1911	Beveridge
Sound of Berneray	1877	OS 1st edition
Kylis Bernera	1832	Thomson atlas
Kiele Uist	1806	Stockdale mapping
Kules Uist	1804	Bald mapping
Sound of Bernera	1794	Old Statisitcal Account
Kieles Uist	1789	Ainsie map
Kyles, etc	1718	Judicial Rental
Kyles Bernera		MacDonald sketch history

Caolas Bhriseadh Ramh

Place ID 499 NF 88200 54680 North Uist Griomasaigh

ON Christ cliff or ScG broken oar + ScG strait ScG caolas broken oak or ON Krist hamar

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

This is meant to relate to the Bagh na Deich-Ramhaich (P#1635) when the story goes that a rowing boat entered the narrows and the oars were broken as it was too narrow.

Here it would seem that only one oar was broken as ScG ramh is the singular.

Just as there is an alternative Norse possible root there is here, although in the end it could be more interesting that the rowing boat story.

The Ramh here could again perhaps come from ON hamarr = 'cliff' (see Bagh na Deich-Ramhaich P#1635 for details).

ON hv > ScG bh is a regular transition (e.g. ON hvala-ey > ScG Bhalaigh) as is ON t > ScG d. This would convert

'bhriseadh' to 'hvriseath' and with 'hv' being pronounced 'kw' in large areas of Norway and Iceland we have

'kwhriseath'. For a site 150m south of Teampull Naomh Mhiceil, 'Christ cliff' seems to be too much of a coincidence to not have this meaning.

Don't really believe it but.....

Caolas Bhristeadh Ramh	2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)
Caolas Bhriost an Ramh	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Caolas Bhriseadh Ramh	1861	Thomas chart

Caolas Bhuidha Bheag

Place ID 5458 NF 87249 52555 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG strait of little 'Bhuidha'

ScG caolas + 'Bhuidha' + ScG bheag

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

Thomas has given us an idiosyncratic spelling of Wiay here - Bhuidhha.

For a discussion on the component 'Bhuidha' see Wiay (P#1777).

Bald is much clearer with Loch Kyles Wiay and Ainslie provides an unusually early name in 1789 of

Loch Kyleswaveg probalby stemming from ScG loch caolas + 'Wiay' + ON vág = 'loch of the strait of the bay of Wiay - three references to the same feature!

However it shows the importance of the bay as this is one of a very few names on this mapping.

Caolas Bhuidha Bheag

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch Kules Wiay

1832

Thomson atlas

Loch Kyleswaveg

1806

Stockdale mapping

Loch Kules Wiay

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Kyleswaveg

1789

Ainslie map

Caolas Fhlodaigh

Place ID 5423 NF 83443 55451 Benbecula Rueval

'Fhlodaigh' + ScG strait

'Fhlodaigh' + ScG caolas

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

'Fhlodaigh ' is the genitive of 'Flodaigh' a name discussed under P#191.

Kyles Flodda	2014	Modern OS mapping
Caolas Fhlodaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Caolas Flodeidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Sound of Flodday	1877	OS 1st edition
Caolas Eilean Fhlodaidh	1861	Thomas chart

Caolas Fhlodaigh

Place ID 5424 NF 84062 54763 Benbecula Rueval

'Fhlodaigh' + ScG strait

'Fhlodaigh' + ScG caolas

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

'Fhlodaigh is the genitive of 'Flodaigh' and that is discussed under that name of another island din Lochportain (P#191)

Caolas Fhlodaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sound of Flodda

1877

OS 1st edition

Caolas Flodeidh

1877

OS name book

Caolas Liubharsaigh

Place ID 6563 NF 83696 39818 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Liubharsaigh' + ScG narrows

ScG caolas + 'Liubharsaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

See Liubharsaigh Dubh (P#67) for a discussion of the last element. This in fact refers to a settlement 1.5 km to the E.

Caolas Liubharsaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Kyles Luirsay

1877

OS 1st edition

Caolas Liunharseidh

1877

OS name book

Lewersa House

1804

Bald mapping

Caolas Liursaigh

Place ID 6604 NF 86200 40420 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Liursaigh' + ScG strait ScG caolas + 'Liursaigh

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Lirsaigh Dubh (P#67) for a discussion of the second component.
There seems to have been some confusion of /iu/ and /ui/ in the earlier forms.

Caolas Liursaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Caolas Luirsay	1877	OS 1st edition
Caolas Liurseidh	1877	OS name book
Kules Lewersa	1804	Bald mapping

Caolas Loch Portain

Place ID 190 NF 94554 69662 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG narrow of Loch Portian

ScG caolas + 'Loch Portain'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

For more details see Loch Portain (P#143)

Caolas Loch Portain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Caolas Loch Portain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Partan Channel

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Caolas Mhorghaidh

Place ID 5595 NF 88309 52801 Benbecula Rueval

'Mhorghaidh' + ScG narrows ScG caolas 'Mhorghaidh'

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of the 'Mhorghaidh' component see Marsagaidh Mòr (P#5395)

Caolas Mhorghaidh 1861 Thomas chart

Caolas Mòr

Place ID	6535	NF 84203 38268	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG big narrows			ScG caolas mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Caolas Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Caolas Mòr			1877	OS 1st edition	

Caolas na Feannaig

Place ID 1749 NF 88760 57536 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG strait of the the rig ScG caolas na feannaig

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG feannag = 'rig' or colloquially 'lazy bed' is the root although the word can mean 'crow' too.
See Barpa nam Feannag (P#2540) for a possible Norse interpretation of the 'Feannag' element.

Caolas na Feannaig 1861 Thomas chart

Caolas na Tràghad

Place ID 6499 NF 84310 37962

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ScG narrows of the beach

ScG caolas na tràghad

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Caolas na Tràghad

2014

Modern OS mapping

Caolas na Tràghad

1877

OS 1st edition

Caolas Orasaigh

Place ID 5264 NF 86975 50567 Benbecula Peter's Port

'Orasaigh' + ScG narrows

ScG caolas + 'Orasaigh'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

See Oraseigh (P#5357) for a discussion of that name.

Caolas Orasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Caolas Oriseidh	1877	OS name book
Sound of Orasay	1877	OS 1st edition

Caolas Phaibeil

Place ID 717 NF 75410 67220 North Uist B1ayhead

'Phaibeil' + ScG narrow

ScG caolas + 'Phaibeil'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

The Papar project is a fascinating project looking at places linked with this name. It is considered worthy of interest as it is a Norse word for priest and so provides evidence of an early Christian site. See the attached link for more info. See Paibeil (P#2223) for a discussion of that component.

Caolas Phaibeil	2014	Modern OS mapping
Kyles-Paible	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Kyles-paible	1877	OS 1st edition
Caolas Paible	1877	OS name book
Kylis Payble	1868	1868 valuation roll
Kylis Pable	1862	Black mapping
Kylis Pable	1832	Thomson atlas
Kylis Paible	1822	Johnson mapping
Kytis Pabbil	1806	Stockdale mapping
Kylis-Pable	1799	Reid mapping
Kylis Pabbil	1789	Ainslie mapping
Kylispabbil	1776	Mackenzie mapping
Cheulis	1751	Dorret mapping
Cheulis	1654	Blaeu mapping
Kulis-Paible		MacDonald sketch history

Caolas Sgarbhcleit

Place ID	1833	NF 88492 46133	Benbecula	W1iay	
ON cormorant rock + ScG straits			ScG caolas + skarfar klett		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Caolas Sgarbhcleit			1866	Admiralty mapping	

Caolas Stulaigh

Place ID 6209 NF 82001 23557 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Stulaigh' + ScG narrows

ScG caolas + 'Stulaigh

Settlement

Farming

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Stulaigh (P#6213) for a discussion of that name.

Caolas Stulaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Caolas-staoleidh	1877	OS name book
Stulay-bay	1877	OS name book
Kyles Stuley	1877	OS 1st edition
Kules Stuley	1804	Bald mapping

Caolas Stulaigh

Place ID 6212 NF 82616 23290 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Stulaigh' + ScG narrows

ScG caolas + 'Stulaigh'

Coastal

Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Stulaigh (P#6213) for a discussion of that name.

Caolas Stulaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Stuley Sound	1877	OS 1st edition
Sound of Stuley	1804	Bald mapping

Carn Easbuig Eoin

Place ID 6581 NF 80492 40359 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG cairn of bishop John

ScG càrn easbaig Eòin

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Tobar an Easbuig (P#6582) is nearby.

The OSNB writes ' This name Signifies "Bishop Hughes Cairn", and applies to a small pile of stones loosely thrown together. it marks the spot where it is said a Bishop of the name of Hughes died, when returning from the district of Loch Skiport. The period at which this event took place is not known in locality'.

Carn Easbuig Eoin

2014

Modern OS mapping

Càrn Easbuig Eouin

1877

OS 1st edition

Càrn Liath

Place ID 5242 NF 82416 48115

Benbecula

Peter's Port

ScG grey heap of stones

ScG càrn liath

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Càrn Liath

1877

OS 1st edition

Carn na Dise

Place ID 881 NF 80820 62060 North Uist C1arinish

ScG cairn of the + ON cairns

ScG càrn na + ON dysjar

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Burial

complete?

Not the cleverest of names with ON dys = 'a cairn, less than haugr' in the form ON dysjar = 'cairns'. The latter would get the final 'e' sound.

Carn na Dise

1877

OS 1st edition

Carnach

Place ID	679	NF 80280 63570	North Uist	Berneray	
ScG stony ground			ScG càrnach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Farming			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
MacDonald gives us the place of cairns					
Carnach			2014		Modern OS mapping
Carnach			1877		OS 1st edition
Carnach					MacDonald sketch history

Carnan

Place ID	6661	NF 81505 43612	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG small heap of stones			ScG càrnan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Township			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Carnan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Càrnan

Place ID 6746 NF 79324 46719

South Uist

Aird a' Mhachair

ScG place of the pile of stones

ScG càrn -an

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Càrnan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Carnan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Carnan locair

1877

OS name book

Carnan lochdar

1877

OS 1st edition

Netherlands

1877

OS name book

lochdar

1877

OS name book

Carnan a locair

1877

OS name book

Càrnan Àird Fuidheigh

Place ID 5250 NF 84755 47436 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG promontory hill of 'Wiay'

ScG vcàrnan àird + 'Wiay'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

See Wiay for a discussion of that name

Càrnan Àird Fuidheigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Càrnan-ard-Wiay

1877

OS 1st edition

Carnan Airdbhuia

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Càrnan Buidhe

Place ID 709 NF 79930 63260

North Uist

Berneray

ScG small yellow heap of stones

ScG càrnan buidhe

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Càrnan Buidhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Carnan Dubh

Place ID 1870 NF 80630 56326 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG little black cairn

ScG carnan dubh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Quite why the OS name book writes 'Meaning obscure' - perhaps it is reflecting Carmichael's version Carnan Tu. 'little black cairn ' seems to fit the OS name of choice.

Carnan Dubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Carnan Dubh	1877	OS 1st edition
Carnan Tu	1877	OS name book
Carnan Dubh	1861	Thomas chart

Carnan nan Long

Place ID	299	NF 79042 63674	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG little cairn of the boats			ScG carnan nan long		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Carnan nan Long			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Carnan nan Long			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	
Carnan nan Long			1877	OS 1st edition	

Carra Brach

Place ID 6355 NF 86424 33740 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG speckled rock ScG carragh breac

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A distinctive round lump.

The first element is almost certainly ScG carragh leaving ScG breac = 'sp0eled' as an option for the second component. A slightly odd name though.

Carra Brach

1804

Bald mapping

Carra Dou

Place ID	6543	NF 85575 38321	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG black pillar			ScG carragh dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Carra Dou			1804	Bald mapping	

Carra Glass

Place ID	6542	NF 85451 38244	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG grey pillar			ScG carragh glas		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Carra Glass			1804	Bald mapping	

Carra-chrom

Place ID 2336 NF 73388 73511 North Uist B1almartin

ScG crooked pillar

ScG carragh chrom

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Crooked Stones'.

Martin records a stone here 'There is a very conspicuous stone in the face of the hill above St. Peter's village, above eight feet high' which Beveridge identified as 'immediately behind the house' at Balelone.

With ScG carra = 'pillar' this would seem a good match.

Carra-chrom	2014	Modern OS mapping
Carra-chrom	1877	OS 1st edition
Caracrom	1840	New Statistical Account

Carragary

Place ID 4913 NF 92434 63858 North Uist Lees

ON enclosure of the thickets ON kjarra + gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Enclosure

complete?

One of its versions is as part of the name of an historic site, Dùn Caragarry, and consequentially it is unlikely to be ScG although there are possible roots in that language.

Beveridge suggest ON kjarr = 'thicket' as the specific although there is a concern that the ON kjarrs is the genitive and there is no 's' sound in the place name. The plural ON kjarra = 'of the thickets' avoids this problem.

The generic looks like ON gerði = 'enclosure'. It would seem slightly odd to enclose thickets but the meaning is possibly 'enclosure within the thickets' i.e. a cleared fenced area within much scrub.

MacDonald agrees with this root.

However the initial sound is not right. One would expect kj > ce. However in Gaelic an /a/ before /rr/ lengthens and becomes sounded as a /à/. This might be enough to justify the vowel.

I think therefore it probably is a Gaelic root. Having visited the site a few times, the main feature is Dùn Cargarryu which is an impressive rock perched above the flat coastal area and there are the remains of low walls arounds it. In Dwelly ScG carragh = 'Rock. 2 Pillar. 3 Erect stone. 4 Monument', all of which describe the site well. The

Whilst both elements occur regularly in Iceland there is no cognate, whilst in Norway there is a Kjerregjerddalen and many more Kjerrgard names stemming from ON garðr = 'fence'.

Carragary

MacDonald sketch history

Carram

Place ID 2419 NF 83681 75415 North Uist A1hmore

ON islet of the inland boats

ON garð hólmi

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The short ones are always the hardest.

One would expect the generic to be ON holmr = 'islet' which works topographically.

An option for the specific is ON kjarr = 'brushwood' although one might expect a genitival 's'. The cognates however do not have this either. One also might anticipate Kj > Ce.

The island appears to have been cultivated and so a possibility that works phonologically would be ON garðr = 'yard, garth, garden'. The idea of a garden islet would be a decent description of it. Initial g > c however is questionable so this won't really work as there is no obvious desire here to resemanticise.

A simpler solution would be ON karfa hólmi = 'islet of the inland galleys'. Other Car- name soclud have this root and are in a suitable topographical position for them ot make sense as so=mewhere a larger ocean going boat would unload its cargo to smaller boats for ongoing transport in the inland waters.

See Buaille Charaigeàraidh (P#1509) for a fuller discussion on this.

There is a Kjarrhólmi in Iceland and a Karrholmen in Norway.

Carram

2014

Modern OS mapping

Carram

1877

OS 1st edition

Carrig an Doran

Place ID 1919 NF 88527 58849 North Uist Eaval

ScG rock of the otter ScG carraig an dòbhrain

Coastal Cliff or slope

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With a pronunciation of /dɔ:ran/ one can see where Otter got his name from.

Carrig an Doran

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Cas bho Dheas

Place ID 6291 NF 82567 31872 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG leg of the south

ScG cas bho dheas

Contour

Rise

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Beinn Choradail #80

Cas bho Dheas	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Cas fo Dheas	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

Casfouyess	1877	OS name book
------------	------	--------------

Cas ma Des	1877	OS name book
------------	------	--------------

Cas a' dheas	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Chasfouyess	1804	Bald mapping
-------------	------	--------------

Cas fo Tuath

Place ID 6290 NF 83141 32070 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG leg of the North

ScG cas fo tuath

Contour

Rise

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Beinn Choradail(P#80)

Cas fo Tuath	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Cas ma Thua	1877	OS name book
-------------	------	--------------

Casfouhoua	1877	OS name book
------------	------	--------------

Cas a' thuath	1877	OS name book
---------------	------	--------------

Cas fo Thuath	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Chasfouhoua	1804	Bald mapping
-------------	------	--------------

Càs Mòr

Place ID 1238 NF 81390 60390 North Uist C1arinish

ScG big steep place

ScG cas mòr

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

The OS name book here records 'Large Current' whilst for the same name on the mainland 'the "Big" hollow. I suspect the former comes from ScG allt cas = 'rapid stream' however it is the 'allt' component that is the stream.

An odd name as it seems to be two adjectives ScG cas = 'steep' and ScG mor = 'big'. However for example Cas Liath is translated by the OSNB as 'The Grey Steep' which would work here, albeit not being very steep....

The alternative ScG càs = 'difficulty' seems a little abstract.

However ScG cas also has the meaning of 'leg' and this could be the feature here as the land sticks out into the bay.

However this noun is feminine and so would require ScG mhòr, a very different sound.

With another /cas/ place name looking like a current on the E coast, I think there might be a meaning here that the dictionaries do not provide of current.

An alternative possibility is ON kjarrs + mór = 'heather moor of the thicket' and indeed this might make one rethink the nearby names of Cairinish and Loch Carabhat nearby q.v.

The cognate notes however return me to the 'steep place' concept.

Cas occurs as the first element of 18 names on the OS 2nd edition mapping, scattered across the Gaelic heartland. They are not all coastal but the majority could be interpreted as 'steep place'.

Càs Mòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Càslub

Place ID 6628 NF 82092 41576 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON stepping stones of the hollow

ON kjósa klöpp

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'signifies The abrupt or quick bended Loch'. With ScG lùb = 'curve, meander' and ScG cas = 'leg, handle' as a noun or 'steep, fast-flowing' as an adjective, one can see where the OS people are coming from but there is no real generic here. One would have expected Loch Càslub or the like.

Comparing to Clachan an Luib (P#549 q.v.) I think the root might have as the generic ON klöpp = 'pier-like rock or stepping stones'.

This could refer to stepping stones at the E end or a peninsula and stepping stones (NF 81970 41189) on the southern arm, accessible to the sea.

Càslub	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cáslub	1877	OS 1st edition
Caslobe	1877	OS name book
Caslobe	1804	Bald mapping

Cat Rock

Place ID	2023	NF 93879 82438	B1earnaraigh	Ru1isigearraidh	
Eng cat rock			Eng cat rock		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cat Rock			1866	Admiralty mapping	

Cataraidh

Place ID 6192 NF 76457 23097 South Uist Loch Eynort

On cat's or small farm shieling ON katta or kot ærgi

Contour Flat

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us: This name Signifies "Cat's Hollow", and applies to a flat piece of Ground.'

To me however it looks more Norse with the generic of ON ærgi.

There are tow possible specific I can find; ON kötr = 'cat' with its genie plural of ON katta or ON kot = 'small farm' with its plural genitive ON kots. The latter deos not work but a close compound would.

One seems no better or worse than the other.

Cataraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Catary	1877	OS 1st edition
Catairidh	1877	OS name book

Causamul

Place ID 1631 NF 66005 70532 North Uist B1ayhead

ON islet of the deep place

ON kjósa hólmi

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Firstly the earliest name given to us by Blaeu is Collinar skyr. Beveridge, astutely as ever points, out that a place nae associated with the old site of Kilmuir Church was called Colasaidh and this is not totally dissimilar to Blaeu's rendition and so it is possible that there was a confusion here.

This island has a long tradition of seal hunting going back to Martin in 1703 at least. The name is clearly Norse with the specific being ON hólmi = 'islet' with, as is commonly the case, the 'l' and 'm' interchanged by a process known as metathesis.

An attractive proposition for the specific would be ON kös which Vigfusson defines as 'a heap, pile, as of stones, blubber, or the like'. The genitive plural ON kasa would fit well phonetically although ON kös would work better, especially with Martin's version, Cousmil.

A better solution phonetically would be ON kjós = 'a deep or hollow place'. It could be here that the deep refers to the sea effectively meaning 'islet of the deep sea', appropriate topographically as it is further from the shore than most.

There are two places in Iceland called ON kös, although the etymology is unclear. There is a cognate Kasarhólmi. In Norway there are several simplex Køsa and six Kass(e/en)holmen.

In Norway there are three Kjosholman place names

Causamul	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cousmil	1911	Beveridge
Casamul	1832	Thomson atlas
Causamul	1789	Ainslie mapping
Causamul	1776	Mackenzie mapping
Cousmil	1703	Martin book
Cosmel	1703	Martin Martin map
Collinar skyr	1654	Blaeu mapping
Cousamul		MacDonald sketch history

Cealla na Gaoithe

Place ID	5693	NF 93780 83069	B1earnaraigh	Ru1isigearraidh	
ON ravine of The fish drying frames			ON hjallanna gjá		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Elsewhere Cealla has ON hjalla = 'fish drying racks' as its root and this site looks good for another one, here in the definite genitive plural form ON hjallanna.

I suspect that the generic is ON gjá = 'gully' as this is a good topographical fit and with a desire to resemanticise, a good phonological fit too.

Cealla na Gaoithe

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Ceallan

Place ID 427 NF 87660 55620 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG cells or ON The fish drying shed ScG ceallan or ON hjallinn

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

This is the obvious root and the one regularly quoted, strengthened by the presence of Teampall Naomh Mhicheil = 'St. Michael's Chapel' on the nearby headland.

There are problems with it however as Dwelly quotes ScG ceall = 'cell, church or burying place' as having ScG cilltean as the plural whilst Faclair Beag cites ScG cealla having ScG ceallan as the plural but specifically excludes 'church' cell from the meaning of this.

Cox lists three places in the Carloway area with Ceallan as the generic being a Norse loan word meaning ledges and only existing in the plural. It works well linguistically but not topographically.

I suspect as this was an important harbour that the name dates to Norse times. Perhaps Norwegian kjølen = 'the keel' is a starting point.

Another possibility is a similar root to Calarnais, ON kallaðr + nes = 'calling headland' referring to the fact it was a place where one 'called across' for a ferry. The Gaels then recognise ON nes to mean headland as it was a word they had adopted themselves and dropped it to refer to the township there.

I have put up a blog about similar sounding names at: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/cell-cill-keeill-or-kjal-one-and-the-same>

In this case however with its long history of fishing, I wonder if ON hjallinn = 'The fish drying shed' is in fact the best option.

As ever, the more one looks, the more one finds. A similar option that makes good sense topographically is ON hjá-land which literally means 'near estate' but generally means 'an outlying estate'. The terminal /d/ often disappears in this situation.

The only other places in Scotland on the OS 2nd edition mapping starting with Kall are in Shetland.

In Iceland we have five cognate Hjallinn with 19 Hjalle(or a)n(e) in Norway.

The ON cognate hjá-leiga occurs ten times in Iceland as well as being the start of many other names. There is a Hjalland in Norway.

Kallin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ceallan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Na Ceallan	2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)
Kailin	1877	OS name book
Kallin	1877	OS 1st edition
Kallin	1861	Thomas chart
Kaillin	1832	Thomson atlas
Kaillin	1799	Reid mapping
Kellin	1794	Old Statistical Account
Stig	1610	Speed mapping
Stig	1607	Hole mapping
Stig	1595	Mercator later
Na Ceallan		MacDonald sketch history

Ceallasaigh Beag

Place ID 151 NF 91769 71345 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG small + 'Ceallasaigh' 'Ceallasaigh' + ScG beag

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Ceallasaigh Mòr (P#154) for a discussion of this name.

Ceallasaigh Beag	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------	------	-------------------

Keallasay Beg	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Kalisay	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
---------	------	------------------------

Keillisay	1799	Reid mapping
-----------	------	--------------

Ceallasaigh Mòr

Place ID 154 NF 91114 72396 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG big + ON island of the drying frames ON hjalls ey + ScG mòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Island

complete?

This is a difficult one as getting the 's' is not easy although the generic is either ON ey = 'island' or possibly ON eið = 'isthmus' .

The best fit I have found is ON kjóls = 'of the barge' or 'of the ship'. This does fit well with the idea of Loch nam Madadh being a provisioning harbour.

Better still however is ON hjallr = 'fish drying racks'. They dominate the scenery in Lofoten and one could expect them to do so here too.

ON hjalli = 'ledge' has the same genitive and so could equally well be the specific but it doesn't work well topographically.

There are several other possible ON hjallr names on Uist.

Macaulay writes about Ceallasaigh on Benrera about a tentative hjalls-oy = 'island of fish drying shed', equivalent to An Taigh Saillidh = salting house.

Ceallasaigh Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Keallasay More	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Killasay	1832	Thomson atlas
----------	------	---------------

Kealasy		MacDonald sketch history
---------	--	--------------------------

Ceann a' Bhaigh

Place ID 1061 NF 78810 73230 North Uist Central West

ScG head of the bay

ScG ceann a' bhàigh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

An obvious topographical name. It must have been easy to confuse with the other place of the same name at the other end of the Committee road. One wonders if that is why the Anglicized version, Bayhead, is so current at that place.

Ceann a' Bhaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ceann a' Bhaigh

1877

OS 1st edition

Ceann a' Bhàigh

Place ID 703 NF 75350 67820 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG head of the bay ScG ceann a' bhàigh

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This name is the bay and P#704 refers to the settlement.

Ceann a' Bhàigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ceann a' Bhàigh	1877	OS 1st edition

Ceann a' Bhàigh

Place ID 704 NF 74880 68330 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG head of the bay

ScG ceann a' bhàigh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

This is a place where the English version of the name has taken hold and for many, the township here is referred to as Bayhead.

The earliest mention of the township is probalby in Blaeu where it is called Balchengahsh. Mangled version of this appeared in latter mappings.

A full explanation of why this could well be Baile Ceann Bagh is on a post in my blog - see the link.

An important site, it must have been in existence in Pont's time and so I would have expected it to appear on that mapping.

Indeed the oral tradition goes right back to Norse times where the bay has the two sides named separately, Ashdale and Arisaig. The former survives as the name of the cottages on the W side of the bay.

Bayhead	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ceann a' Bhàigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bayhead	1877	OS 1st edition
Balhenish	1751	Dorret mapping
Balchengahsh	1654	Blaeu mapping

Ceann a' Bhàigh-traight

Place ID 394 NF 86300 57300 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG head of the 'Bhàigh-traight' ScG ceann a' + 'Bhàigh-traight'

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of the 'Bhàigh-traight' component, see Bàgh Tràight (P#370)

Ceann a' Bhàigh-traight	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ceanna a' Bhaigh-Thraghad	2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)
Ceann a Bhaigh Thrughad	1861	Thomas chart
Sandy Bay Head	1861	Thomas chart

Ceann a' Mhòil

Place ID 6328 NF 73505 33890

South Uist

B1einn Mhòr

ScG head of the shingle bank

ScG ceann a' mhòil

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Ceann a' Mhòil

1877

OS 1st edition

Ceann a' Mhuir

Place ID 119 NF 97351 73353 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON landing place of the small boats

ON kæna vörr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The ScG translation of 'head of the sea' is odd whilst the ON kinnar + vörr = 'fenced in landing place of the slope' would be a good description of the shingle beach on the headland here.

More details can be found on my blog at: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/ceann-a-mhuir-what-is-in-a-name>.

Further reflection on the initial vowel and ON kæna = 'of the small boats' is a better option.

Whilst there is not an exact cognate in Iceland, two examples of Kænuvík are encouraging

Ceann a' Mhuir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ceann a' Mhuir	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Ceanna-mhuir	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Ceannavure	1866	Admiralty mapping

Ceann Airigh an Obain

Place ID 776 NF 87343 59688 North Uist Eaval

ScG head of + ON The gravel bank creek ScG ceann + ON eyrina + hóp

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

At first glance the root is clear with three well-known and well-used Gaelic words.

However the Admiralty Chart names the E bay as Irish Bay and the large island there as Irish Id. Both the Irish names have probably come from ON eyrr = 'a gravelly bank, either of the banks of a river or of small tongues of land running into the sea' and this works well topographically as the bay is a combination of gravel and mud.

ON hóp = 'small (circular) landlocked bay or inlet' which is again a good topographical fit.

The creek here then could have been called ON eyrina hóp = 'creek of The gravel bank'. It is unlikely to be the other way around as that would introduce a genitive 's'.

ON hóp has however been loaned into Gaelic as ScG òb and so could be part of a Gaelic construct.

The best phonetical fit would be ON eyrina = 'The gravel bank (accusative case)' as this would also produce the 'an'. I suspect the original name was ON eyrina hóp and the Gaels added the ScG ceann = 'head' for the settlement there. I am not sure grammatically if the definite article can be attached to the specific.

There are no exact cognates but øyr(e/a)vika occurs 7 times in Norway and has the same meaning and there are also seven Eyrarvik in Iceland.

Eyrin = 'the gravel bank' occurs 16 times in Iceland and in the Faroes we have two Oyrarner and over a hundred variants upon Øyrane in Norway.

Ceann Airigh an Obain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ceann Airidh an Obain

1877

OS 1st edition

Ceann an Tairbeirt

Place ID 6585 NF 81393 40193 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG head of the portage

ScG ceann an tairbeirt

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Quite where the OSNB gets 'Two heads' I am unsure.

'Head of the hauling' works perfectly here as this is the narrow SE passage from Loch Bì to the sea. There is now a weir there as probalby in the past requiring a short haul of any craft using this route.

Ceann an Tairbeirt

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ceann an Tairbeirt

1877

OS 1st edition

Ceann an t-Saile

Place ID 1768 NF 86190 55994 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG head of the mud ScG ceann an t- sail

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG saile has a huge variety of meanings but the most obvious here would be ScG saile = 'sea (gen)' although ScG sail = 'of the mud' might be a better fit.

Ceann an t-Saile

1861

Thomas chart

Ceann Ard Cladach Iolaraigh

Place ID 5645 NF 79547 64423 North Uist Berneray

'Illeray' ScG shore high head

ScG ceann ard cladach 'Iolaraigh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

THC p218They convened the second Council Hillock on the High End of Claddach Illeray. This was to resolve issues with the Clan MacLeod of harris

p271 Cnoc na Forud Sentinel Hill (ceann Illeray, now known as Ceann Ard)

Ceann Ard Cladach Iolaraigh

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Ceann Bàgh Sìth

Place ID 969 NF 90390 64430 North Uist Lees

ScG head of the bay of the hill ScG ceann bàgh sìth

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Head of the peat maker's bay' but I do not see where the peat-maker comes from. An alternative meaning of ScG sìth = 'fairy', ScG sìthean = 'fairy knoll' is a common component of place names here. Rather more prosaically ON seiðr = 'pollock' a species of fish still common inshore here. ON seivåg = 'bay of pollocks'. The word order is curious but can be explained by the Gael understanding of the loan word ON vagr > ScG bàgh and reodrenig to suit their understanding. In an interesting coincidence (?) ON seiðr also means 'witchcraft' or 'magic' which brings us back to the ScG sìth.

Which brings us back to Gaelic which I think actually is the solution here. ScG sìth = 'hill, mount'

ON seiðr occurs in 18 Icelandic place names, the commonest being with ON fjörd occurring 11 times whilst in Norway there are two Seidevik names. It is possible that the seven Seivåg names are also cognates. The Seivaag and Seievaagen that Rygh records, he gives Seiðvagr as the probable root for both as he does for Seines.

Ceann Bàgh Sìth	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Ceann Bàgh Sìth	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Ceann Garbh

Place ID	5577	NF 84711 45535	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG rough head			ScG ceann garbh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Ceann Garbh			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Ceann Iochdrach

Place ID	2195	NF 77989 64202	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG head of the lower part			ScG ceann iochdrach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Ceann Iochdrach			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Ceann Loch an Rapair

Place ID 552 NF 80530 62940 North Uist Berneray

ScG head of the loch of the ON land division

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water Bay

complete?

Most is clear aside from the last word. ScG rapair = 'Frothy, noisy fellow; Slovenly fellow; Worthless fellow; Drawling fellow' seems an odd name for a loch.

After Christianity arrived in Iceland it was divided in 'hreppar', almost akin to a parish, the ON equivalent was hreppr. Rygh writes about one Norwegian farm 'reppr (hreppr) m., which means a farmer, a small village, still used in this meaning as a common word in Norway and in Iceland.'

/hreppar/ is common in Iceland occuring twice as a simplex and many times as a component.

It could involve boundaries and the only other incidence of the name is that of a mountain Rapaire on the border of Lewis and Harris.

Clachan Smeorach

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Ceann Loch an Rapair

1877

OS 1st edition

Ceann na Doirlinn

Place ID	6360	NF 73354 34573	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG head of the sotny isthmus			ScG ceann na dòirlinn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Ceann na Doirlinn			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Ceann na Doirlinn			1877	OS 1st edition	

Ceann nan clachan

Place ID 1057 NF 77110 74120 North Uist Central West

ScG head of the stepping sotnes

ScG ceann nan clachan

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This presumably refers to a set of stepping stones crossing where the weir now stands. The ScG ceann = 'head' must refer to the bay and the stepping stones identify it.

Ceann nan clachan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ceann Ob a' Ghibhte

Place ID 938 NF 86090 65640 North Uist Lees

SCG head of the + 'Ob a' Ghibhte' ScG ceann + 'Ob a' Ghibhte

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Ob a' Ghibhte (P#937) for an explanation of that component.

Ceann Ob a' Ghibhte	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ceann Ob a' Ghibhte	1877	OS 1st edition

Ceann Tràghad

Place ID 1894 NF 75777 54249 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach
ScG head of the beach ScG ceann tràghad ScG?
Coastal ON? complete?

Ceann Tràghad 2014 Modern OS mapping

Ceann Tràghad 1877 OS 1st edition

Ceann Uachdarach

Place ID 1095 NF 78850 76880 North Uist V1allay

ScG upper head

ScG ceann uachdarach

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The ScG uachdarach = 'upper' presumably refers to the fact this is the highest end of the island.

Ceann Uachdarach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ceann Uachdarach

1877

OS 1st edition

Ceann Uachdrach

Place ID 2196 NF 78612 63974 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG head of the upper place ScG Ceann uachdar -ach

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The on-line dictionary gives ScG uachdarach = 'upper' as an alternative.

Ceann Uachdrach

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Ceannaraigh

Place ID 113 NF 86700 55900 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Head of the shieling

ScG ceann àirighe

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

ScG ceann airighe = 'head of the shieling' is the obvious root although if it is to make topographical sense, ScG airigh = 'shieling' here is used to mean Dwelly's 'hill pasture' rather than the more usual 'summer residence for herdsman and cattle'.

The modern signposted spelling has been tidied up grammatically to Ceann na h'Airigh. One might have expected an 'e' on the end of the ScG airigh to show the genitive case.

The oldest name we have is the spelling on the OS 1st series which was 'Kenary' which might hint at an earlier Norse derivation ON kinn + ærgi = 'shieling of the slope' which works well topographically as there is a steep short slope adjacent to the building adjacent to what is now Uist Wool Mill.

This still has strong Gaelic credentials as ON ærgi was one of the relatively few words that the Norse loaned from the Gaels, originally having as its root Old Irish áirge which had as its meaning 'milking place' before it evolved to the modern 'temporary dwelling' or 'shieling'.

For some other thoughts relevant to this name see Ceann Airigh na Obain.

Stewart (p71) writes about Kennaby on Shetland (and well away from any confusion with ScG ceann) as coming from Kennibær from ON kenni = 'a mark'. 'This word appears as ken in Shetland place names. Kinn, f., a steep slope, does not suit here.' There are six places in Iceland beginning with Kennara-

The only other two places in Scotland on the OS 2nd edition mapping starting with 'Kena' are Kenandroma on Mull and Kenaclacher on Rannoch Moor. The former is at the end of a ridge (ScG druim) and the latter at the end of An Cladhan, a steep hillside.

Starting with Kenna-, there is a Kennavay on Scalpay, a Kennacley and a Kennavay-vore on Harris all of which look like ScG ceann. A Kennachy in Caithness is less likely to be so.

Ceannaraigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ceanairigh

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Kenary

1877

OS 1st edition

Ceann na-h'Airigh

Other

Ceàrdach a' Ghobha Chruin

Place ID 5856 NF 80724 74496 North Uist S1ollas

ScG smithy of the round blacksmith ScG ceàrdach a' ghobha chruin

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

Niclain writes 'MacRury was the descendant of the mermaid who lived here in the 1850s. He and his family moved to South Uist. They changed their name to MacDonald while they were down there. There were famous bards in this family.'

I am not quite sure how a blacksmith is round? An alternative meaning is accurate...

Ceàrdach a' Ghobha Chruin

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Ceàrdach Mhòr

Place ID 6545 NF 75685 39203 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG large smithy

ScG ceàrdach mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OSNB writes 'This name applies to a small sandy hillock at the East side of Lon Mor, where it is said a smithy once stood, as the cinders are still to be seen. It means "Large Smithy" The hillock is a natural feature, and about thirty feet in height'.

This sort of site has often turned out to have much earleir origins in other sites.

Ceàrdach Mhòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Ceardach Ruadh

Place ID 308 NF 77550 61740 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG red + ON dyke of the gully

ON gjár diki + ScG ruadh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Cliff or slope

complete?

There is a large extensive section of red midden material here from which, presumably, the name has come.

The first component is odd - why a smithy other than the presence of the red fire-burnt material left behind?

As ever one must not forget the 'sh' sound between the 'r' and the 'd'.

ON kjarrs tág = 'thicket roots' would be regular and interestingly in the exposed ancient silt beds below the sand banks here, one can still find wood embedded in this layer.

ON kjarrs stig?

Could /hj/ sound like /ce/? Yes it does and ON hjarta = 'of the deer' would be a good start. It is not however a place one would strongly associate with deer and so perhaps ON hjarða = 'of the flocks' would be better.

Taking projection into account, ON krær = 'folds' would work for the rest with a desire to resemanticise.

However more experience suggests that ON gjá = 'gully' would sound similar an dis a common element of place names on Uist. Perhaps ON gjár díki = 'dyke of the gully'. This is where the main dyke separating Baleshare and Illeray comes out the shore at a gap in the dunes and so works well topographically.

With ON ból having a meaning of 'the place where sheep and cows are penned' (Vigfusson) then the ten Hjarðaból are close cognates.

Ceardach Ruadh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ceardach Ruadh

1973

Fraser Place names of Illeray

Ceardach Ruadh

1877

OS 1st edition

Caerdach ruadh

1861

Thomas chart

Ceathramh Meadhanach

Place ID 2437 NF 80506 74505 North Uist S1ollas

ScG middle quarter ScG ceathach meadhanach

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The quarter refers to a unit of land.

Sollas as a whole was a terung which comprises of twenty pennylands, abbreviated to 'd'. A 'quarter' means a quarter of a terung, that is 5d.

Sollas itself was a terung but that probalby included the land around to Trumisgarry.

Ceathramh Meadhanach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Middlequarter	2014	Modern OS mapping
Middlequarter	1877	OS 1st edition
Middle Quarter	1832	Thomson atlas
Carmianach	1806	Stockdale mapping
Middle quarter	1799	Reid mapping
Carmianach	1789	Ainslie mapping
Kerameanach	1718	1718 rental

Ceidhe

Place ID 5657 NF 77069 66214 North Uist Kirkibost

ScG the pier

ScG ceidhe

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

MacDonald writes about the place 'the Ceidhe is a small plain opposite Kirkibost at Claddach Kylis with a narrow channel between.

He writes about Beveridge's Cladh Mhor a Cheidhe and Martin Martin.

Ceidhe

MacDonald sketch history

Ceirabhagh Iochdrach

Place ID 5564 NF 87488 47793 Benbecula Peter's Port

'Ceirabhagh' + ScG lower part

ScG 'Ceirabhagh + ScG iochdar -ach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

For a discussion of 'Ceirabhagh' see 'Loch Chearabhaigh (P#5256)

Ceirabhagh Iochdrach

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Ceirabhagh Uachdrach

Place ID 5567 NF 86743 47658 Benbecula Peter's Port

'Ceirabhagh' + ScG upper part 'Ceirabhagh' + ScG uachdar -ach

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of 'Ceirabhagh' see 'Loch Chearabhaigh (P#5256).
Here 'upper' is taken to mean closer to the main island.

Ceirabhagh Uachdrach

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Ceithinis

Place ID 966 NF 89610 64500 North Uist Lees

ON headland of the chain

ON kili nes

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

My original thoughts were for ON kati = 'small boat' or possibly some variant of ON kyr = 'cow'.

ON keðja = 'chain' had its attraction with the story of Kin Hakon and the chain across at Kyle of Lochalsh. There are problems with all of these.

With the /th/ pronounced as /h/ there is a long central vowel cluster.

Two possibilities come to mind: Cox's (p509) *ON keifr = 'cross-set' and ON keipr = 'canoe, rowlock'. Both have problems.

Further away on first thought is ON kila = 'of the canals'. However Cox cites l > λ (a sort of Germanic /ja/ sound. My feeling is that this will sound close to the required sound but I'd struggle to explain it precisely.

Topographically it works well as the headland divides the waterway of Loch Sgadabagh and that of Loch Hundair with two long inlets.

There are two places called Kuanef in Iceland where Ic nef = 'nose' (unsurprisingly Kuadalar is much more common) and six places with a component of 'Kyrnes' from ON kyr = cow whilst in Norway there are two places with 'Kuanes' as a component. Not hugely convincing evidence.

I could find nothing with ON keðja as an element.

There are six place names of Kvíanes in Iceland and tone of th esame in Norway.

Kat seems to occur in several Faroese place names, although which root precisely it uses is hard to tell. There is a cognate Katanes and a Kataneset in Norway.

Ceithinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Caidhinis	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Cainnis	1877	OS name book
Cainish	1877	OS 1st edition
Cainish		MacDonald sketch history

Celig

Place ID 2414 NF 84649 76565 North Uist A1hmore

ON bay of the narrow passage

ON geilár vík

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

An odd name which the OSNB says refers to a 'high water rock'.

If Norse, then the generic is likely to be ON vik = 'bay'.

Ryugh names several farms in Norway called Kalvik, and for one of them thinks that is might be ON kall = 'a shout' as the specific, it being a site from which one calls across for a ferry. That sort of works topographically here and there are similar names relatively close by. One might have expected this to be a headland on the S side of the island though....

An alternative is ON geil = 'narrow passage' and this would be a good fit topographically.

A final option is a similar one ON káll = 'inlet' butr this would have a genitival /s/.

With eight cognates in Norway, I suspect this is the root.

Eight Geil(e)vika place names in Norway are cognates.

Celig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Kelig	1877	OS 1st edition

Ceum Iain Oig

Place ID 2066 NF 95814 76448 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG footpath of young Iain ScG ceum Iain oig

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop tells us (p35) 'Apparently Iain Og referred to here was the only person who could descend this steep path with a load on his back.'

The ridge on the island here does have an ON kambr = 'comb or ridge' feel to it....

Ceum Iain Oig

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Chamaird a' Deas

Place ID 5568 NF 86256 47623

Benbecula

Peter's Port

ScG bent headland to the south

ScG chan àird a Deas

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Chamaird a Tuath is very similar (q.v.)

Chamaird a' Deas

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Chamaird a Tuath

Place ID 5551 NF 86464 47945 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG bent headland to the North

ScG cham àird a tuath

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Cox (p192) referring to a 'Bhuail' a Tuath describes this as 'adjectival use of an adverb a tuath.'

Chamaird a Tuath

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Cheese Bay

Place ID 2049 NF 96525 74267 North Uist Lochp1ortain

Eng cheese bay Eng cheese bay

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This bay is marked on the Admiralty mapping as the one N of the one usually referred to as Bàgh a' Chàise (q.v.)

Cheese Bay 1866 Admiralty mapping

Chiasmul

Place ID 5688 NF 76639 45806 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON islet of the narrow bay

ON kjóssar hólmi

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

The island has several buildings on it. Being an island the generic is most likely to be ON hólmi = 'islet' where metathesis of the /l/ and /m/ regularly happens to create a /lum/ ending.

Raven writes in his PhD 'At the north end of Loch Bì, the southernmost of a group of small islands is named Cheasamul. This resembles the name of Kisimul Castle in Barra, the meaning of which has been the subject of much speculation, one suggestion was that it derived from cìos a mul - tax mound (MacNeil 1923,183-4). Although this has been rejected regarding the castle (Anke-Beate Stahl pers. comm.) it is possible that this proposed derivation may be relatively accurate for the South Uist example. Cìos may be related to tax or tribute, however, it usually forms a prefix to a phrase, such as cìos-chain - tribute, or cìos-mhor - exacting tribute. On the other hand whilst mul can mean a conical mound, it can also refer to a bank of sand, which seems likely given its location at the edge of the machair. (Dwelly 1994,1917,680) If this place-name connection to taxation, and therefore assembly, is accepted, it is interesting that Bald marked a 'duine' nearby, although there is no present sign of any dun in the vicinity.'

Looking to the island just to the N, there seems to be a circular structure on it. I wonder if here the root is ON kast = 'throw' but interpreted by Rygh three ways, one of which is 'pile of stones'. The cognate notes are encouraging. st > s is regular in some contexts e.g. straumr > srom although in the pronunciation, the /t/ sound is still there possible weakened.

Hold that result. ON kjóss = 'small or narrow bay' is thought to be the root for Kisimul on Barra and would produce a better initial vowel. The genitive of *ON kjóssar would be reflected well in Bald's name Cheasamul.

There is a Kasthólmi in Iceland and seven Kastholmen in Norway.

In Norway there are three Kjosholm(e2/a1)n

Chiasmul	2014	Modern OS mapping
Chiasmul	1877	OS 1st edition
Cheasmul	1877	OS name book
Eilean Cheasmail	1877	OS name book
Cheasamul	1804	Bald mapping

Chroadle

Place ID 6296 NF 83328 31267 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Chroadle' 'Chroadle'

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Coire Ruadail (P# 5582) for a discussion of the second component.
Bald is the only one to gave a settlement name here/

Chroadle 1804 Bald mapping

Chrois Mhor

Place ID 2126 NF 78252 61548 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG big cross

ScG crois mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

There is no cross extant here although a cairn sits on top of the hill. There is a thought this marked the boundary of the sanctuary afforded by the nearby chapel.

I am not quite sure I understand why there is lenition on the ScG crois = 'cross'.

Chrois Mhor

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Crois Mòr

1911

Beveridge

Church Hill

Place ID	5127	NF 78976 51742	Benbecula	T1orlum	
Eng church hill			Eng church hill		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Church Hill			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Cidhe Sgiobainis

Place ID 6017 NF 83349 75293 North Uist Gr1enitote

'Sgiobanais' + ScG quay

ScG cidhe + 'Sgiobanais'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The MacLeans used to use the sec pier when coming to Boreray. It was also used by Grenitote fishermen. See Sgiobanais (P#2422) for a discussion of that element.

Cidhe Sgiobainis

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cidhe Sponais

Place ID 1985 NF 92285 69738

North Uist

Lochmaddy

Spònais + ScG quay

scG cidhe + ON spónais

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Spònais for a discussion of that name

Cidhe Sponais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sponish Harbour

1877

OS 1st edition

Sponish Harbour

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Cidhe Spònais

Place ID 1176 NF 92290 69740

North Uist

Lochmaddy

'Sponais' + ScG quay

'Sponais' + ScG cidhe

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

See Spònais (P#951) for more detail.

Cidhe Spònais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cill Aiseam (site of)

Place ID 2649 NF 92887 82586 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigrearraidh

ScG St. Asaph's chapel

ScG cill Aiseam

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Religious

complete?

This is the site of the chapel of St. Asaph. Martin mentioned it but there is the possibility of confusion with the other early chapel on Bhearnaraigh.

There was reputed to be a cross here called Cachaileith na Batha = 'the gate of life'. Carmichael talks about one that he took off to a museum in Edinburgh.

More details can be found on Canmore on the hyperlink

Cill Eiseam

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Cill Aiseam (site of)

1877

OS 1st edition

Cill Bhrighde

Place ID 101 NF 75280 14680 South Uist Lochboisdale

ScG Bridget's chapel

ScG cill Bhrighde

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Uist Saints gives details of this place: <https://uistsaints.co.uk/south-uist/cille-bhride/>

West Kilbride	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Kilbride	1877	OS 1st edition
----------	------	----------------

Kilbride	1804	Bald mapping
----------	------	--------------

Cill Bhrighde	1654	Blaeu mapping
---------------	------	---------------

Kilvrid	1654	Blaeu mapping
---------	------	---------------

Cill Donnain

Place ID 85 NF 74130 27770 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG St. Donnan'd chapel

SCg cill Donnain

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The Uist Saints projects wrties about this place: <https://uistsaints.co.uk/south-uist/cille-donnain/>

Cill Donnain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Kildonan	1877	OS 1st edition
Kildonan	1804	Bald mapping
Kildonnen	1654	Blaeu mapping

Cill Donnain

Place ID 6134 NF 74151 27790 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG st. Donnan's chapel

ScG Cill Donnain

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

One of Martin Martin's chapels on South Uist in 1703, the chapel is dedicated to St. Donnan. He is probably the Donnan of Eigg.

Cill Donnain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Kildonan

1877

OS 1st edition

Kildonan

1804

Bald mapping

Cill Eireabhagh

Place ID 5302 NF 81930 48616 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON bay of mud-flats + ScG ravine

ScG gil + ON leiru vág

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

See Eilean na Cille and Peter's Port for a discussion of this first component. In the context here I suggest that the 'Cill' was in fact from ScG gil (and earlier ON kíl).

The generic of the second component is ON vág = 'bay'. There are two relatively obvious options for the first component ON eyrr = 'gravel bank' and ON leira = 'mud flat'. The topography is very much of the mud variety.

The initial /l/ here appears from the final /l/ of 'Cill' although it appears more transparently in other versions of the name, e.g. OS 1st edition.

The fact that two of the OSNB names use ScG ceann = 'head' rather than ScG cill = 'chapel' gives to me further evidence that the chapel route is not the right one.

Kilerivagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cill Eireabhagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Kenleiravagh	1877	OS 1st edition
Kenleravagh	1877	OS name book
Buaile Chill-leirebhagh	1877	OS name book
Kenlerevagh	1832	Thomson atlas
Kenlerevagh	1804	Bald mapping

Cill Pheadair

Place ID 93 NF 74240 19700 South Uist Lochboisdale

ScG Peter's chapel

ScG cill Pheadair

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Uist Saints has full details of this place name at: <https://uistsaints.co.uk/south-uist/cille-pheadair/>

Kilpheder	1877	OS 1st edition
Killipheder	1832	Thomson atlas
Killifeddar	1806	Stockdale mapping
Kilipheder	1804	Bald mapping
Killifedder	1789	Ainslie mapping
Kilphedre	1654	Blaeu mapping
Cill Pheadair	1654	Blaeu mapping

Cille Amhlaidh

Place ID 62 NF 75290 45960 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG Olaf's chapel

ScG cille Amlaib

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

More details can be found here: <https://uistsaints.co.uk/south-uist/cill-amhlaidh/>.

The Olaf is thought to have been son of Harold Grenske. He became a Christian in Normandy, and was King of Norway 1016-30. He was killed in battle on 29th July 1030 and his body enshrined the following year. His cult had spread rapidly by the mid 11th century. Grimkell, the English missionary who helped him establish the church in Norway, built a church on the site of his grave and declared him a saint. Grimkell was bishop of Nidaros.

This is a princess of Norway site!

Kynlawla	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
Kilaulay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cille Amhlaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Kilaulay	1877	OS 1st edition
Kilaulay	1877	OS name book
Cilleaulaidh	1877	OS name book
Kilaulay	1804	Bald mapping
Kileulay	1654	Blaeu mapping

Cille Bhanain

Place ID 66 NF 76850 41380 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG St. Banan's Church

ScG cill Beningus

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The Uist Saints project comes up with St. Banan's Church, a saint originally called Benignus but then Gaelicized to Banan and a companion of St. Patrick.

Cille Bhanain	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Cille Bhanain	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Kilivanen	1804	Bald mapping
-----------	------	--------------

Kiluanen	1654	Blaeu mapping
----------	------	---------------

Cille Donnain Burial Ground

Place ID 6270 NF 73151 28161 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Cille Donnain' + Eng burial ground

'Cille Donnain' + Eng burial ground

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Religious

complete?

Ny geographical interpretation of Blaeu maps this would appear to be his Totenamaekan. This would seem to stem from ScG tobhta na machair = 'ruins of the machair'.

It is also the site of a big un-named township on the Bald mapping, possibly an 'upper' Kildonan.

Kildonan in Ruins

1877

OS name book

Cille Donnain Burial Ground

1877

OS 1st edition

Totenamaekan

1654

Blaeu mapping

Cille Pheadair

Place ID 1138 NF 72540 74240 North Uist B1almartin

ScG Peter's church ScG cille Pheadair

Historic Religious

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The remains of any religious building here were cleared in the 19th century although one early Mediaeval cross remains on the hill.

The link takes you a page about this site on the excellent Uist Saints website.

There is another Cille Pheadair on South Uist. This has a more extensive list of ealreir forms back to 1309 Kilpedire Blisen, 1498 Kilpettir, 1654 Kilpetil.

Cille Pheadair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cill Pheadair	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Kilpheder	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Cille Pheadair	1877	OS 1st edition
St. Peter's Village	1877	OS 1st edition
Killipheder	1877	OS name book
Killiphadar	1877	OS name book
Kilphedder	1877	OS 1st edition
Killipheder	1807	Arrowsmith mapping
Kilifeder	1804	Heather mapping
Kilfeder	1794	Huddart mapping
Killifedder	1789	Ainsie map
Kilpheder		MacDonald sketch history

Clach a' Bhobhta

Place ID 2002 NF 92902 78285 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG rock of the iron bar

ScG clach a' bhobhta

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop (p20) gives us ScG bobhta = 'iron bar' in the local Gaelic. He also provides the story about a local blacksmith fitting the bar to the skerry to make it more obvious and says it is still there.

Clach a' Bhobhta

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Clach an t-Sagairt

Place ID 643 NF 87850 76040 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG boulder of the priest ScG clach an t- sagairt

Historic Religious

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is a late Mediaeval incised cross on the prominent boulder here.

Clach an t-Sagairt	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------------	------	-------------------

Clach an t-Sagairt	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------------	------	----------------

Crois Adhmnain		MacDonald sketch history
----------------	--	--------------------------

Crois An'adhan		Canmore
----------------	--	---------

Crois Aona'ain		Canmore
----------------	--	---------

Clach Mhor Guala Chlachain		MacDonald sketch history
----------------------------	--	--------------------------

Clach na h'Ulaidh		Canmore
-------------------	--	---------

Clach na h-ulaidh		MacDonald sketch history
-------------------	--	--------------------------

Clach an Uachdarain

Place ID 5870 NF 79190 73370 North Uist S1ollas

ScG chief's stone

ScG clach an uachdarain

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Exposed rock

complete?

Niclain writes '18. Sovereign's Stone (DMD)One day the locals were picking up the landlord all over the country in a chair, because he wanted to see the place. According to tradition, they stopped here to breathe, and the landlord gave them a dram each'

Clach an Uachdarain

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Clach Dubh an t-Slugain

Place ID 2164 NF 77062 63454 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG black stone of the gullet ScG clach dubh an t-slugain

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is Fraser's interpretation. See Sluggan for a discussion on that name.

Clach Dubh an t-Slugain 1973 Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Clach 'ic Chaoilte

Place ID 5638 NF 73957 67086 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG stone + ??

ScG clach + ??

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Exposed rock

complete?

THC writes that Donald MacVicar was the last to lift lach 'ic Chaoilte, 'the big boulder on the slopes of Creag Asduinn, for centuries used as a decisive test of strength on North Uist.'

Clach 'ic Chaoilte

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Clach is Crois oirre

Place ID 6024 NF 81829 75553 North Uist S1ollas

ScG stone and cross of the edge ScG clach crois oire

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I gather ScG is is an abbreviation for ScG agus = 'and' element.

Clach is Crois oirre

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Clach Mhic Caoillt

Place ID 5612 NF 74021 67023 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG stone of 'Mhic Caoillt'

ScG clach + 'Mhic Caoillt'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Exposed rock

complete?

The Hebridean Connection (p121) describes this as 'a monolith on the southern shoulder of Creag Hastin.' Quite who this was is another matter.....

The Hebridean connection also writes (p68) the 'rock of the son of Caoillt nr Creag Asduinn'.

For a discussion of the onomastic unit 'Mhic Caoilt' see Sgier Mhic Caoilt (P#2166). It is difficult to see the referent here. It is however adjacent to the same stretch of water as the Sgeir name.

Clach Mhic Caoillt

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Clach Mhor a Che

Place ID 686 NF 76990 66230 North Uist B1ayhead

ON fold of the enclosed landing place + ScG stone ScG clach + ON varrar kví

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Martin Martin 'There is another at the quay, opposite to Circebost, 12 feet high: the natives say that delinquents were tied to this stone in time of divine service.'

Beveridge 'great stone of the world' possibly the pagan deity ce. Teampull ce on Taransay

However with the pronunciation to anglophonic ears as 'vor a kh e' and with the island Bhorogaigh (P#296 q.v. anglicized to Vorogay on the OS 1st series) just opposite, I think the two are the same. ON vqrr kví = 'fold of the enclosed landing place'.

There is still a clear landing place here with the stones cleared away and a quay constructed (NB Martin's words) and a pen there too.

Clach Mhor a Che	2014	Modern OS mapping
Clach Mhor a Che	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Clach Mhor a Che	1877	OS 1st edition

Clach Mhòr Sgiobainis

Place ID 6032 NF 83126 75236 North Uist Gr1enitote

'Sgiobainis' ScG big rock

ScG clach mhòr + Sgiobainis

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Exposed rock

complete?

See Sgiobainais (P#2422) for a discussion of that element.

Clach Mhòr Sgiobainis

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Clach Mhor Sheamsgeir

Place ID 276 NF 93410 77880 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON sighting skerry + ScG big rock

ScG clach mhor + ON sjón - sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

The OS name book writes 'Big old rock' but if that was the case 'rock' appears twice both as 'clach' and 'sgeir' which is odd. Mackillop continues in this vein with the name spelt Clach Mhor Sheann-Sgeir.

It is also difficult to see how a rock is old other than the obvious geology!

The last component looks like it contains a skerry component and in this position it is indicative of a Norse name.

With ON sjónar-hváll = 'scout-hill,' it is possible that ON sjón-sker = 'scout skerry'. Certainly the position is excellent.

ON hjálmr = 'helmet' is a common prefix in close compound ON hjálm-

The cladh mentioned is a very prominent almost cubical rock. With this in mind, I think the word ON sjón = 'sight' might have the English meaning of 'sighting' as in a rock to sight by. Indeed it might even be ON sjám, 1st person plural of ON sjá = 'to see'

I would suggest that Sgeir Sine 4 km to the E shares a root.

In Iceland there are five Sjórnarsker place names whilst in Norway there are five Sjøskjæret (or very similar) and two Sjøskjæret place names.

Clach Mhor Sheamsgeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Clach Mhor Sheann-Sgeir	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Clach Mhor Sheansgeir	1877	OS 1st edition
Old Rocks	1866	Admiralty mapping

Clach Mhor Thathay

Place ID	2067	NF 96326 75080	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG large rock of ON Taghaigh			ScG clach mhòr + ON Thathay		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
Mackillop writes about this stone (p35)					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Clach Mhor Thathay			1983	Sea names of Berneray	

Clach na Birlinn

Place ID 1621 NF 72196 70875 North Uist B1alranald

ScG stone of the birlinn (a galley type of boat) ScG clach na birlinn

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is described in the Hebridean connection (p38) as where the ' Norsemen tied up here'. The location is unclear but it is in 'the sound of Kirkibost'.

Clach na Birlinn

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Clach na Croise

Place ID 2435 NF 80459 74940 North Uist S1ollas

ScG rock of the cross ScG clach na croise

Historic Religious

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is a rocky outcrop here with an early medieval incised cross and cup marks upon it. Details can be found here: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/10379/north-uist-sollas-cloch-na-croise>.

Niclain writes 'This stone is on the farm of our family. My great-grandfather's house, Aonghas Donn, was by the stone. Certainly not a cross; but rocks run all over the stone, For that's the kind of species it is. So it's easy to think that it has a cross on it, especially if the light is shining on it in a strange way. Some people think that there may have been a cross standing on the stone at one time, and that so she got the name. It also has cup-marks and a place or two where the stone was carved. There are a number of crosses in the Sollas area. Song lyrics have been added to a pipe tune, including the Cross of Sollas Cross. It has been suggested that the crosses may have been associated with the church sanctuary. The Temple of the Trinity, and the surrounding land at Carinish, used to be a sanctuary where one could take refuge from fighting or revenge.'

Clach na Croise

2014

Modern OS mapping

Clach na Croise

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Clach nan Còig Puinnd Shasannach

Place ID 6074 NF 83799 73994 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG stone of the five English pound ScG clach nan còig puinnd shasannach

ScG?

ON?

Contour Exposed rock

complete?

Niclain writes 'This stone has various names, such as the Five Pound English Stone, the Doctor's Stone and the Laird's Stone. This is because there are various versions of the story associated with it. It seems that a man in a hurry arrived while the people of Grenitote were working on the road, as they had been told at the time. One legend states that it was Dr Bàn, a Skye man who lived in Uist around 1830. Others believe he was the laird. this man gave them a shim of money since they finished the road So fast that he got on his way. He gave them five English pounds for the division of the first man Working on the road. Murdo Morrison had a pub near Aviemore at this time. They went in and bought a drink for the staff, and there was more than five pounds left.'

Clach nan Còig Puinnd Shasannach

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Clachamora

Place ID 6299 NF 74268 32852 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG big stone

ScG clach mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

My understanding of Gaelic grammar lets me down again. With ScG clach = 'stone' as a feminine noun, I would have expected ScG mhòr or ScG mhòir and here the /mh/ would sound as a /v/ and so one would not expect to see the /m/.

Clachamora

2014

Modern OS mapping

Large Stone

1877

OS name book

Clachamora

1877

OS 1st edition

Clacha-mora

Place ID 5405 NF 81398 55568 Benbecula Rueval

ScG big stones

ScG clacha-mòra

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Big Stones'.

Cox writes about his one place name with Clacha that this is an archaic plural ending and so presumably an older name.

Clacha-mora

2014

Modern OS mapping

Clacha-mora

1877

OS 1st edition

Clachan

Place ID 6735 NF 77016 46335 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG stepping stones ScG clachan ScG?
 ON?

Settlement Building complete?

As well as meaning 'kirktoon, small village', ScG clachan = 'stepping stones' which is topographically appropriate here. For example being marked on the OS 1st edition mapping.

Clachan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Clachan	1877	OS 1st edition
Na Clachan	1877	OS name book

Clachan Aird

Place ID 662 NF 88030 75970

North Uist

Clachan Sands

ScG upper church township

ScG clachan àird

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Clachan Aird

1877

OS 1st edition

Clachan Amarsgoill

Place ID 943 NF 87070 67150 North Uist Central South

ScG stepping stones of the split river bed ScG clachan amar sgoilte

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

I think the OS 1st series is more accurate here and that Amarsgoill and Clachan (= 'stepping stones') are distinct places rather than one.

This sounded Norse to me . The specific root ON hamars = 'of the steep cliff' (Cox 169) and the generic ON skjól = 'shelter' work to give a topographically sensible 'shelter of the steep cliff'.

h > /-/ is regular as is k > g.

However on further investigation ScG amar = 'trough, channel, ditch' is a good start for a generic. Dwelly quotes amar caol = 'narrow channel' and this is close. An intrusive genitival 's' would complete it or more likely it is some form of the verb ScG sgoilt = 'to split'

Both component occur commonly in both Norway and Iceland but not together to form a cognate.

Clachan Amarsgoill

2014

Modern OS mapping

Clachan Maireid

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Clachan an Luib

Place ID 549 NF 81040 64000 North Uist C1arinish

ScG stepping stones of the + ON stepping stones ScG clachan an + ON klöpp

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst the name seems perfectly explicable in Gaelic term with ScG lùib = 'of the bend' or 'of the creek' there are problems with a feminine noun and the use of ScG an = 'of the' when one might expect ScG na.

MacDonald thinks the stem is ScG glup meaning 'hollow place'

The OS 1st edition name Clachanagluip rather throws this up in the air.

ON klöpp = 'stepping stones' (whence we get 'clapper bridge') seems too close a fit to not be the solution.

We are then left with choice of the tautologous 'stepping stones of the stepping stones' or 'church-town of the stepping stones. There does not seem to be quite enough ecclesiastical history for the latter.

Clachan an Luib	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Clachanagluip	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Clachan-a-ghluip		MacDonald sketch history
------------------	--	--------------------------

Clachan Burrabhal

Place ID 823 NF 89770 63010 North Uist Eaval

'Burrabhal' + ScG stepping stones

ScG clachan + 'Burrabhal'

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Burabhal (P#809) for more details.

Clachan Burrabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Clachan Burrival	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------	------	----------------

Clachan Berival	1877	OS name book
-----------------	------	--------------

Clachan Chroanabhal

Place ID 848 NF 84130 62950 North Uist Eaval

ScG stepping stones of + 'Chroanabhal' scG clachan + 'Chroanabhal'

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Croanabhal (P#1369) for details of 'Chroanabhal'. The /h/ is the effect of lenition.

Clachan Chroanabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Clachan Craonaval	1877	OS 1st edition
Clachan Chraoinabhal	1877	OS name book
Deer Clachan	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Clachan Cumhang

Place ID 6300 NF 74513 32350 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG narrow stepping stones

ScG clachan cumhang

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The Bald name, Clachan Cuag (PN#13125) is an interesting alternative.

ScG cuag = 'awkward curve or bend' which doesn't work particularly topographically. ON kúa vág = 'bay of cows' would work with the possible #Norse interpretation for the nearby Loch na Curraidh (P#6301)

Clachan Cumhang	2014	Modern OS mapping
Clachan Cumhang	1877	OS 1st edition
Clachan cuag	1804	Bald mapping

Clachan Farm

Place ID 627 NF 88300 76430 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG church township + Eng farm / ON jarl's farm ScG clachan + Eng farm

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The alternative name on the OS 1st edition is Goulaby before Clachan Farm was created.

Beveridge gives us ON gulr-bær = 'yellow farmstead'. There is also a Goulaby Burnt and a Corran Goulaby. More recently these have become Allt Gulabaidh and Corran Ghoulabaidh.

ON gulr is a possible root but with 'ð' transforming to 'l' in the Gaelicization process (e.g. ON byrðingr > ScG birlinn) so are ON guð or ON goð both = god or ON goði = 'jarl'.

The first two have an 's' for the genitive whilst the last has ON goða = 'of the jarl' as the genitive. ON goða + bær = 'jarl's farm' is an attractive ad not impossible root.

The only other place in Scotland with Goula as the first component is Goular which is adjacent to North Uist's other parish church, presumably another area of importance for the leadership of the islands.

Clachan Farm	2014	Modern OS mapping
Goulaby	1986	Easson land assessment
Goulaby	1877	OS 1st edition
Goulaby	1833	1833 Rental
Golbay	1832	Thomson atlas
Golby	1814	1814 Rental
Golbay	1799	Reid mapping

Clachan Iain Ruadh

Place ID	2000	NF 95612 77065	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
Scg rocks of red John			ScG clachan Iain raudh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Clachan Iain Ruadh			1983	Sea names of Berneray	

Clachan Iosal

Place ID	664	NF 87520 76030	North Uist	Clachan Sands	
ScG low church township			ScG clachan ìosal		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Clachan Iosal			1877	OS 1st edition	

Clachan Kildonan

Place ID 6137 NF 73771 27674 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Kildonan' + ScG stepping stones

ScG clachan + 'Kildonan'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

See Cill Donnain (P#85) for a discussion of the component.

The Bald name appears different as Clachan of Bronagh (PN#12621). The best I can think of is ScG bròn -ag = 'place of sorrow'. With the (disused) graveyard just to the north, this would make sense.

Clachan Kildonan

1877

OS 1st edition

Clachan of Bronagh

1804

Bald mapping

Clachan Leastrom

Place ID 197 NF 89547 73541 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON current of the route + ScG stepping stones ScG ckachan + ON leiðar straumr

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The ScG clachan = 'stepping stones' is clear as is the ON straumr = 'current'.

For the Norse specific there are attractions to ON lár = 'of the sea' but with Laiaval inland nearby (q.v.) I suspect the specific is in fact ON leiðar = 'of the route' referring to a short cut across the headland here with less than 500m portorage.

Lillestrøm is commonest in Norway but is probably not close enough pheonetically.

Clachan Leastrom	1877	OS 1st edition
Clachan Leastrom	1877	OS 1st edition

Clachan Shannda

Place ID 31 NF 87667 75867 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON sandy ground + ScG church township ScG clachan + ON sandar

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The word Shannda has been supposed to have its roots from ON sandr + á = 'river of sand or sandy ground' reflecting perfectly the topography in the area. + á (sand river). The name occurs commonly in Norway, Iceland and the Faroes. However the 'river' is small and so perhaps ON sandar = 'sands' is the root as the word has taken on a meaning in the plural of 'sandy ground'.

The /h/ is an effect of lenition.

The ScG word clachan has several meanings including stepping stones, a stone building, a graveyard, an inn, a smithy, or a church or a township with a parish church. The last meaning seems the most appropriate here and is different, for instance, to the township of Clachan an Luib further south on North Uist, where the meaning is almost certainly going to be stepping stones.

Clachan Shannda	2014	Modern OS mapping
Clachan Sand	1986	Easson land assessment
Clachan Ard	1877	OS 1st edition
Sandey	1850	Collectanea
Sand	1850	Collectanea
Clachan	1832	Thomson atlas
Clachan	1806	Stockdale mapping
Clachan	1799	1799 rental
Clachan	1799	Reid mapping
Sand	1794	Old Staitistical Account
Clachan	1794	Old Staitistical Account
Clachan	1789	Ainslie mapping
Clachans	1766	Richmond mapping
The Two Clachans	1764	1764 rental
Kilcolmkil	1751	Dorret mapping
Kilchalma	1745	Elphinstone mapping
Clachan	1718	1718 rental
the Isle of Sand	1703	Martin book
Kilchalmkil	1654	Blaeu mapping
S. Patricius	1610	Speed mapping
St Patricius	1607	Hole mapping
S. Patricius	1595	Mercator later

S. Patricius	1583	Nicolas de Nicolay mapping
S. Patricius	1583	Nicolas de Nicolay mapping
S. Colubang	1565	Nowell mapping
S. Patricius	1564	Mercator mapping
Sanda	1505	RMS
Sandey	1202	Gudmundar saga
Sand		MacDonald sketch history
Clachan-Sand Sandr		MacDonald sketch history

Clachan Smeorach

Place ID 550 NF 80570 62970 North Uist C1arinish

ON butter bay + ScG stepping stones

ScG clachan smjör vág

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

ScG smeòrach = 'thrush' or linnet' seems to work except it is an odd name for some stepping stones. Not that the /o/ is long although that is not recorded in the name.

ON smjör = 'butter' is a common specific often taken to mean 'good' possibly with ON vagr = 'bay' which often becomes '-ag' and possibly here '-ach'. This could be the desire to resemanticise. Certainly there is a long bay or creek here. The alternative is a better match ON akr = 'field' but the cognate notes are not encouraging.

There is a Cnoc Smeordail on Eigg.

In Iceland there is a Smjörvík and a Smjörvogur whilst in Norway there are 30 Smørvik(a/en), a Smørvågen. There is also a Smørrakken.

Clachan Smeorach

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Clachan-ard-an-fhraoich

Place ID 2304 NF 72636 70754 North Uist B1alrinald

ScG 'height of the heather' stepping stones ScG clachan-ard-an-fhraoich

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name refers to the adjacent Aird an Fhraoich and treats it as a single onomastic unit.

Clachan-ard-an-fhraoich

1877

OS 1st edition

Clachan-garbh

Place ID 1889 NF 76127 55219 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG rough stones

ScG clachan - garbh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The order here is odd as ScG garbh = 'rough' often precedes the noun. I am not quite sure what the cognate notes mean here but it is a peculiarity.

A possibility is that ScG sgarbh = 'cormorant' might be the specific.

Apart from Dun-garbh-airidh this is the only placename on the OS 2nd edition mapping where garbh forms the second part of a close compound name.

Clachan-garbh	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Clachan-garbh	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Ru Neill	1832	Thomson atlas
----------	------	---------------

Ru Neill	1804	Bald mapping
----------	------	--------------

Cladach a' Bhaile Shear

Place ID 883 NF 81000 62310 North Uist C1arinish

ScG shore of 'Baile Shear'

ScG cladach a' 'Baile Sear'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

See Baile Shear for details.

Cladach a' Bhaile Shear

2014

Modern OS mapping

Claddach-baeshare

2014

Modern OS mapping

Claddach-baeshare

1877

OS 1st edition

Cladach a' Chaolais

Place ID 688 NF 77165 66562 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG shore of the narrows

scG cladach a' chaolais

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

A good topographical name. The grammar is perfect with the -ais being the genitive ending and the 'h' being part of the lenition process required by the ScG a' = 'of the'.

The 'narrows' here refers to Caolas Phaibeil.

Cladach a' Chaolais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Claddach Kyles

2014

Modern OS mapping

Claddach-kyles

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Claddach-kyles

1877

OS 1st edition

Cladach Bhalaigh

Place ID 1058 NF 77920 73640 North Uist Central West

'ON bhaliagh' + ScG shore

ScG cladach + ON bhalaigh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

See Bhalaigh for details.

Cladach Bhalaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Claddach-vallay

1877

OS 1st edition

Cladach Chairinis

Place ID 22 NF 84900 59100 North Uist Eaval

ScG shore of + 'Càirinis'

ScG cladach + 'Chairinis'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

See Càirinis (P#47) for a discussion of its roots.

This township is in the 12 Lost Townships book and considerably more detail can be found there.

ScG cladach = 'shore' is a relatively common name and reflects the need for more land, particularly in the 19th century and so the old townships expanded into this nearby shore land.

Claddach-carinish	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cladach Chairinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Clachrathad	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Cladach	1832	Thomson atlas
Claddach	1799	Reid mapping

Cladach Chirceboist

Place ID 685 NF 78170 65650 North Uist Berneray

ScG shore of 'Chirceboist'

ScG cladach + 'Chirceboist'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

The ScG cladach = 'shore' and here refers to the shore of Circebost (P#109q.v.), the land opposite the island.

Cladach Chirceboist

2014

Modern OS mapping

Claddach Kirkibost

2014

Modern OS mapping

Claddach Kirkibost

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Claddach Kirkibost

1877

OS 1st edition

Cladach Chnoc a Lin

Place ID 36 NF 75988 67946 North Uist B1ayhead

'Chnoc a' Lin' + ScG shore

ScG cladach + 'Chnoc a' Lin'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

This settlement was probably a later addition to the crofting area as an adjunct to the township of Cnoc a' Lin (q.v. P#721)

Claddacline

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cladach Chnoc a Lin

2014

Modern OS mapping

Claddach-knockline

1877

OS 1st edition

Cladach Iolaraigh

Place ID 683 NF 79490 64580 North Uist Berneray

ScG shore of 'Iolaraigh'

ScG cladach + 'Iolaraigh'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

ScG cladach = 'shore' generally applies to the shore near another place, here Iolaraigh (P#44 q.v.).

Cladach Iolaraigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Claddach Illeray	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------	------	-------------------

Claddach-illeray	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------	------	----------------

Cladach Mòr

Place ID	2400	NF 71812 74020	North Uist	B1almartin	
ScG big shore			ScG cladach mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cladach Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Cladach Mor			1877	OS 1st edition	

Cladach nam Misgeirean

Place ID 2366 NF 69060 70920 North Uist B1alranald

ScG shore of the + ON The middle skerries ScG cladach nam + ON mið skerin

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With ScG misgearan = 'drunks' one can almost feel the folk etymology coming on!
ON mið- = 'middle of' is a common component of Icelandic places names and works well topographically combined with ON skerin = 'The skerries'.

Miðsker occurs 11 times in Iclenad whilst in Norway Midtskær(et) occurs six times.

Cladach nam Misgeirean	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cladach nam Misgeirean	1877	OS 1st edition

Claddach Cumhang

Place ID 680 NF 80340 64040 North Uist Berneray

ScG narrow shore

ScG cladach cumhang

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The 'narrow' probably refers to the narrow section where the modern road crosses the loch here.

Claddach Cumhang

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cladh Aird a' Mhorrain

Place ID 5979 NF 83684 78731 North Uist S1ollas

'aird a' mhorrain' ScG graveyard ScG cladh + 'aird a' mhorrain'

Historic Burial

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Àird a' Mhòrain (P#1325) for a discussion of that element.

Cladh Aird a' Mhorrain

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cladh Àrd an Dùgain

Place ID 6142 NF 74715 26886 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG promontory burial place of Duggan ScG cladh àird an Dubhagain

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This name would not seem to translate to Duncan - ScG Donnchadh. ScG Dubhagan = 'Duggan' is closer as the /bh/ disappears to create /du.agan/

Canmore is not impressed with its credentials as a burial place: Canmore ID#9845

Cladh Àrd an Dùgain

1877

OS 1st edition

Cladh Chótain

Place ID	2637	NF 92565 82483	B1earnaraigh	Ru1isigearraidh	
ON	Gunna's hillock		ON		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The literal translation is ScG gun hillock although Mackillop suggest that Cnoc Dhuin = 'hillock of the fort' might be better as there was a dun here.

The ON Gunna or Gunnar are common names in Iceland and with ON knjúkr would work. There is a Gunnuhnukur in Iceland but note the order.

There is a Gunnuhnukur in Iceland but note the order.

Cnoc Gunna	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cladh Chótain	1877	OS 1st edition
Cladh Chotain	1877	OS 1st edition
Knock Gune	1877	OS 1st edition
Crockgunne	1804	Bald mapping

Cladh Chóthain

Place ID 2367 NF 69557 09590 North Uist B1alrarnald

ScG Comgan's cemetery

ScG cladh chotain

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

The Uist Saints website writers about this name : <https://uistsaints.co.uk/north-uist/cladh-chothain/>
Beveridge writes about the site but is vague. He does name Sgeir na Circe as a large isolated boulder which remains there. Indeed it appears to have the remains of a low sub-circular wall adjoining it.

Cladh Chóthain

MacDonald sketch history

Cladh Maolrithe

Place ID 2621 NF 91235 80684 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ScG St. Maelruba's burial gorund ScG cladh Maolrithe

Historic Religious

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book writes 'it applies to what is pointed out as an old Graveyard and site of Chapel, and Maolrithe is supposed to have been the name that this chapel was dedicated to. about the centre of what is pointed out as Graveyard there stands a stone about eight feet high, and ten inches in thickness but without mark. or inscription of any Kind'.

The modern name for this Saint is Maelruba and he founded the monastery at Applecross, visible across the Minch from here. See Àird Ma-Ruibhe (P#2623) for more details.

Cladh Maolrithe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cladh Maolrithe	1877	OS 1st edition

Cladh Mhuire

Place ID 5154 NF 76636 53858 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG Mary's graveyard

ScG cladh mhuire

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

An informative history of this place can be found here: <https://uistsaints.co.uk/benbecula/cladh-mhuire/>

Cladh Mhuire	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Cladh Mhuire	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

St. Maria		Other
-----------	--	-------

S. Maria		Other
----------	--	-------

St Maria		Other
----------	--	-------

S. Maria		Other
----------	--	-------

Kilmory		Other
---------	--	-------

Caibéal Mhoire, Nunton		Other
------------------------	--	-------

Cladh na Bleida

Place ID 1666 NF 64401 62298 North Uist Heisker

ScG rock of the + ON idol

ScG cladh na + ON blæti

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Religious

complete?

Beveridge records this site as a graveyard (p291). Alick Macaulay writes (39) 'An extensive area north of the village, where a burial ground was situated at one time.'

The ON blóta = 'of heathen offerings' looks like a good phonetical fit but the order is odd. Perhaps ON bljótr = 'sacrifice or worshipper' might be better, especially in the alternative form ON blætr or ON blæti = 'idol'

However if the full name had been ON blóta klettr = 'rock of the offerings', it is possible that the Gaels heard ON klettr as ScG cladh na and so transposed the order to fit their grammar.

There is a skerry to the S, Sgeir Bhleith about which Alick Macaulay writes 'G bleith - to grind. Quern stones were cut from this rock.'

There is a place name Blóti in Iceland along with two Blótsker and a Blótsteinn. In Norway we have Bløta/e names.

A' Bhleid

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

Cladh na Bleida

1877

OS 1st edition

Cladh nam Manach

Place ID 5102 NF 85587 80533 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG graveyard of the monks

SCg cladh nam manach

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Religious

complete?

Martin Martin gives us a story about this spot : 'The burial-place near the houses is called the Monks' Field, for all the monks that died in the islands that lie northward from Egg were buried in this little plot. Each grave hath a stone at both ends, some of which are 3 and others 4 feet high. There are big stones without the burial-place even with the ground. Several of them have little vacuities in them as if made by art; the tradition is that these vacuities were dug for receiving the monks' knees when they prayed upon them.'

Cladh nam Manach

1877

OS 1st edition

Cladh Pheadair

Place ID 6019 NF 81566 75563 North Uist S1ollas

ScG Peter's graveyard ScG cladh Pheadair

Historic Burial

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The cemetery here was before the Reformation.

Cladh Pheadair

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cladh Sgealair

Place ID 5798 NF 80622 75678 North Uist S1ollas

'Sgealair' + ScG graveyard

ScG Icadh + 'Sgealair'

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Religious

complete?

Niclain writes 'This cemetery is very Old, although it is still in use today. At one time there was a large beam, called the "Oak Sail", where the cemetery gate was originally, not at all as it is today. Around the 1820s - the age of the yellow snow - there was a heavy snowfall of yellow and long-lasting snow. The cattle began to die of disease. People believed that religion was associated with this pillar. As a result, all fires in the Sollas area were extinguished, and the locals built a fire on this beam to eradicate the disease. Rosal, a Viking woman, is said to be buried in Skellar Cemetery'. See Sgeallair (P#2430) for a discussion of that element.

Cladh Sgealair

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Claggan Sollas

Place ID 2443 NF 81766 75440 North Uist S1ollas

ScG field of the best land + 'Sollas'

ScG claggan + 'Sollas'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Knoll of Sollas' in one imagines a mis-transcription of ScG clachan = 'stony place'. There are 15 occurrences of Claggan in Scotland on the OSD 2nd mapping. MacNiven writes about the one on Islay, now recorded as Claggain. With the benefit of some earlier recorded forms, he maintains it comes from ScG claignonn = 'skull' or in its other figurative meaning 'field of the best land'. It would be a good topographical fit.

There are at least two other places of this name on Uist.

For a discussion on the element 'Sollas', see Sollas (P#4249)

Claggan Sollas

2014

Modern OS mapping

Claggan Sollas

1877

OS 1st edition

Claigeann

Place ID	6020	NF 81641 75595	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG the best arable bit of land			ScG claigeann		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
lochdar Sholais			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	
Claigeann			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Claigionn a'Bhaile

Place ID 891 NF 84640 59380 North Uist Eaval

ScG best arable land of the township ScG claigeann a' bhaile

Settlement Farming

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'The town Scull' which seems a trifle odd. The alternative meaning of 'the best land' seems much more appropriate.

Claigionn a'Bhaile	1877	OS 1st edition
Ardavale	1861	Thomas chart
Ardavale	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Cleatte Beg

Place ID 5281 NF 86001 46501 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG little rock ScG cleit bheag

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

Little but important as it is in the main channel through here.

Cleatte Beg

1804

Bald mapping

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Cleatthan

Place ID 5467 NF 86224 52712 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG rocks ScG cleitean

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG cleitean = 'rocks' is close to the sound one anticipates Bald's name makes.

Cleatthan

1804

Bald mapping

Cleit

Place ID 2404 NF 85214 74693 North Uist A1hmore

ON crag ON klett

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A simplex name tends to be early. It is possible that the original was ON klett = 'crag' as this was then taken into Gaelic as a loan word ScG cleit = 'crag'.

The OS 1st series spelling of Clett would support the Norse derivation.

Cleit	2014	Modern OS mapping
Clett	1877	OS 1st edition
Cleit	1877	OS name book
Cleait	1877	OS name book

Cleit a' Ghaorra

Place ID 2057 NF 97781 74274 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ON rocks of the rifts

ON klettar gjögra

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Mackillop politely writes (p34) ' Gaorr is a vulgar name for the sea-clay that surrounds this tiny rocky isle. The proper G. for this type of clay is lathach'.

The Norse can save his blushes with ON kögur = 'fringe'

The whole name could have been ON kögra klett = 'rock of the fringes' referring either to its position on the edge or the island itself perhaps covered in a fringe of kelp or even sea-mud.

Reflecting further the sound is not dissimilar to /ghiorr/, part of the name of an island off Grimsay. This probalby comes from ON gjögr = 'cleft'. Possibly here the reflex is ON gjögra = 'of the rifts'. I think he features referred to are the rifts between the loch at NF 97700 74295.

One can imagine that the storm beaches were not always there and creating various rifts.

ON kögur = 'fringe' is a common component of palce names in Iceland occuring 19 times etither as a simplex and a specific.

Cleit a' Ghaorra

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Dirt Rk

1866

Admiralty mapping

Cleit a' Ghlinn Mhòir

Place ID 6174 NF 82436 25436 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG rock of the big glen

ScG cleit a' ghlinn mhòir

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Gleann Mòr (P#6169) is the referent.

Cleit a' Ghlinn Mhòir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Clett a' Ghlinn-mhòir

1877

OS 1st edition

Cleit Charmaig

Place ID 1798 NF 85599 45302 Benbecula W1iay

ON comb - ridge + ScG rock

ScG cleit + ON kamb - hrygg

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

The first thought is that Carmaig is the Gaelic name of Cormac.

There is a Cormac closely associated with Columba who travelled from Iona to Orkney and back, hence his stopping on Uist would not be out of the question.

I am however surprised that a bigger deal has not been made of it and so doubt if it is a real attribution to a saint. It was 'translated' on the Admiralty Chart to Cormack's Island.

If Norse, it is hard to find a root. The best is ON kamb - hrygg = 'comb - ridge' - not a bad description of the rocky islet.

This would require metathesis of m <> r. Cox lists r...m > mr.. (p115) and so it is not unhelpful.

It also requires the /b/ to disappear. Holliday cites /v/ and /f/ doing so and /b/ is not far away.

There are seven Charmaig names on the OS 2nd edition and two are known to be associated with Cormac. Two are on Lewids and there is a Bagh Charmaig in Loch Skipport, South Uist (leading into Bagh a' Mhanaich = 'bay of the monk'. On Berneray there is a Creag a' Charmaic, interpreted as Karmar-veggr = 'breastwork of rock and stone wall' by MacIver.

Not far away phonetically Dùnan Charmaic is on Islay.

There is a Kambvík

Cleit Charmaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cleité Charmaig	1877	OS name book
Clette Charmaig	1877	OS 1st edition
Cormack's island	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Cleita Charmaig	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Cleit Mhòr

Place ID 5234 NF 85791 46668 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG big rock SCG cleit mhòr

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Cleit Mhòr 2014 Modern OS mapping

Clette Mhòr 1877 OS 1st edition

Big Island 1862 1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Cleite Mor 1862 1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Cleate Vore 1804 Bald mapping

Cleit Mor

Place ID 511 NF 84210 56970 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG big rocky eminence

ScG cleit mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Mentioned only by Thomas in his 1861 chart, this is a common name. Although Gaelic, the word ScG cleit is a loan word from ON klettr.

The gender is odd as ScG cleit is feminine and so I would expect ScG mhòr or ScG mhòir. This would sound significantly different and Thomas is usually good at getting this correct.

There are three Cleit Mhòr on the OS 2nd edition mapping and no Cleit Mòr although there is a Cleit Mòr Bun Corcavig on North Harris.

Cleit Mor

1861

Thomas chart

Cleit nan Laogh

Place ID 5235 NF 85471 46593 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG rock of the calves

ScG cleit nan laogh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

The calf referred to here could be the island itself as this is a nam used for islands close to the main shore, e.g. the Calf of Man.

Cleit nan Laogh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Clette nan Laogh

1877

OS 1st edition

Cleite nan Laogh

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Cleatte Laoidgh

1804

Bald mapping

Cleit Ruadh

Place ID 5076 NF 84530 82032 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG rusty red cliff ScG cleit ruadh

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Satellite imagery does not help with the rusty red.....

Cleit Ruadh	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------	------	-------------------

Clett Ruadh	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Cleite Ruadh	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Cleit Steiseigh

Place ID 5230 NF 84642 44864 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG cleit + 'Steiseigh'

'Steiseigh' + ScG rock

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Steiseigh for a discussion of that name.

Cleit Steiseigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cleit� Steidhseidh	1877	OS name book
Clette Steisay	1877	OS 1st edition
Cleitachan Steisaidh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Steigha Id	1832	Thomson atlas
Cleattchan Steigha	1804	Bald mapping

Cleite Loisgte

Place ID	1273	NF 97937 76469	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG bare rock			ScG cleite loisgte		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ScG cleite has twenty meanings listed in Dwelly but here 'land surrounded by the sea at high-water' would be a good description. I can see no obvious reason why ScG loisgte = 'burnt' should be applied to this island. The word however has taken on the meaning 'bare' and that would be more appropriate.

ON hlaða stað = 'loading a ship place' makes a sort of topographical sense but is not phonetically that close and ON hlaða stöð = 'loading harbour' likewise.

Perhaps ON lýra sker = 'skerry of the pollocks' might work with a big dose of the desire to resemanticise.

Hlaðsteinn occurs in four places in Iceland and Lad(an)stein(en) three times in Norway.

Loisgte is common across the Gaelic heartland. In the 160 names, quite why there are over 60 Creag Loisgte and 22 Cnoc Loisgte I am not sure. :Poll Loigann N of Ullapool is interesting as it is hard to burn a pool

There is however an interesting cluster on the N end of South uist, Bàgh na Créige Loisgte, Creag Loisgte and Loch na h-Aibhne Loisgte in a very coastal location. A Creag Loisgte on Benbecula near Torlum is also close to a known early harbour.

Cleite Loisgte	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Cleite Loisgte	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Clette Loisgte	1877	OS 1st edition

Cleite nan Luch

Place ID 1569 NF 95475 75642 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG rocky islet of the mice ScG cleite nan luch

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The little rat island' and Mackillop says 'Rocky Islet of the Mice' but does sound doubtful. There is another replace with the same name (See P#1820). See that for a discussion of it. The final /e/ of leite is odd as this should only occur in the genitive.

There is a Lúkasker in Iceland

Cleite nan Luch	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cleite nan Luch	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Clette nan Luch	1877	OS 1st edition

Cleite nan Luch

Place ID 1820 NF 85952 44725 Benbecula W1iay

ScG rock of the cargo

ScG cleit nan luch

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Whilst ScG luch = 'mouse' is the obvious root, on Lewis there are two Sgeir a' Luchd which would sound almost identical. ScG luchd = 'cargo'. It is easier to imagine a cargo deposited on the island rather than a few mice! Dwelly gives the alternative of 'people, company' - bizarrely because it is the plural of ScG neach = 'person' along with 'kettle'. There are several Norse alternatives but the one that has most similar cognomens in Norway with four versions of the place name is Liksteinn and over 20 in Norway. ON lík = 'corpse' would be the specific. Interestingly there are three Likholskjæret and over 40 places containing Likhholm. One ponders if this is linked to the custom of ON hólmganga 'a duel or wager of battle fought on an islet or 'holm,' which with the ancients was a kind of last appeal or ordeal'. One imagines there would be a few corpses left lying around on these 'holms'. Another alternative is that several skerries end with ON flögr = 'the slabs'. If lenited as one might expect then the initial /fh/ becomes silent leaving lögr.

There are 31 Luch names on the OS 2nd edition mapping with a N focus to their distribution.

There is another Cleit nan luch near Lochportain.

Flög occurs eight times as a simplex name in Iclenad along with three Flögin. The isngualr Flag and Flaga occurs over 80 times.

Mouse Island	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Cleite nan Luch	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Cleitean nan Lìon

Place ID 6016 NF 83324 75347 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG rocks of the fishing nets

ScG cleitean nan lìon

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

This is where the locals used to spread their nets to dry, when they returned from fishing. The nearby Taomaidh place might have the same meaning in Norse.

Cleitean nan Lìon

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cleit-feòra

Place ID 905 NF 84020 59710 North Uist Eaval

ON foreshore of the crags

ON kletta fjara

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

ON fjara = 'fore shore' or 'ebb-tide' but of these two only the former really works for the generic.
The change já > eó is regular but here is /a/ but the length of the vowel is probably strengthened by the /j/.

Cleit-feòra	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cleit-feòra	1877	OS 1st edition
Clett-feòra	1877	OS name book

Cleitreabhal a Deas

Place ID 2312 NF 74943 71646 North Uist Central West

ON mountain of the rocks + ScG to the south ON kletta fjall + ScG a deas

ScG?

ON?

Contour Rise

complete?

ON kletta = 'of the rocks' or 'crag' is the obvious specific and could refer to remains of the Neolithic chambered cairn near the summit.

With stories about Beinne Bhan in the area, I did wonder if in fact the root was ON hvitr = 'white' as it is the tallest hill here. The sounds are surprisingly similar. The Gaels however are familiar with 'cleit' but not 'white'.

If the specific is ON kletta = 'of the rocks' then the /r/ is unexpected. It is perhaps then a close compound ON klettr fjall = 'rock mountain' but aside from the cairns there is little visible rock.

I have put up a post of 'white hills' on my blog: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/white-hills>.

In Iceland there are two Klettafjall and one Klettsfjöll. In Norway there are three Klett(e)fjellet.

Cleitreabhal a Deas

2014

Modern OS mapping

Clettraval a Deas

1877

OS 1st edition

Cleitreabhal a Tuath

Place ID 2324 NF 75011 72441 North Uist Central West

'Cleitreabhal' + ScG of the north Cleitreabhal' + ScG a tuath

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Cleitreabhal a' Deas (P#2312) for a discussion on the 'Cleitreabhal' element

Cleitreabhal a Tuath	2014	Modern OS mapping
North Cletraval	1877	OS 1st edition

Clett na Cairidh

Place ID 6217 NF 82205 23930 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG rock of the fish trap ScG cleit na cairidh

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Bàgh na Cairidh Mòire (P#6208) for details of this site.

Clett na Cairidh 1877 OS 1st edition

Cliaaigh Beag

Place ID 164 NF 92769 70635 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG small + 'Cliaaigh'

'Cliaaigh' + Scg beag

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

For a discussion of the onomastic unit 'Cliaaigh' see Cliaaigh Mòr (P#165)

Cliaaigh Beag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cliaay Beg

1877

OS 1st edition

Cliaay Beg

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Cliaay-beg

1832

Thomson atlas

Cliaay beg

1799

Reid mapping

Cliaay

MacDonald sketch history

Cliaaigh Mòr

Place ID 165 NF 93332 70439 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG big + ON island of the crutch

ON klofs + ey + ScG mòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Whilst I am not clear on the complex details of Norse grammar, I am sure the root is from the verb ON kljúfa = 'to split'. Henderson cites ON jú > ScG ia is regular and the /f/ will disappear.

This works well topographically as the two islands are separated by a narrow straight. Presumably the two islands had the one Norse name, just as Ceallasaigh to the N.

ON klauf would be an option but does not have a genitival /s/. Equally ON klofi = 'a cleft or rift in a hill closed at the upper end' would work but the genitive is ON klofa. However a genitival /s/ has been added unexpectedly in other places (e.g. Sandnes p125 Ing(a)showe).

A final alternative is ON klof = 'a crotch, an area of a person's body where the legs fork from the trunk' and this could topographically describe these islands where there is a split. This has the advantage of a genitive of ON klofs. This swings it for me.

This is such a good topographical fit that I believe it to be the solution.

There is a Klofaey in Iceland.

Whilst I am not clear on the complex details of Norse grammar, I am sure the root is from the verb ON kljúfa = 'to split'.

The exact version is difficult as the obvious noun is ON klauf but this does not provide a genitival /s/. ON klof = 'crotch' does but the initial vowel is less good. Perhaps ON klafar áss = 'ridge

This works well topographically as the two islands are separated by a narrow straight. Presumably the two islands had the one Norse name, just as Ceallasaigh to the N.

The /s/ is presumably some form of genitive.

MacDonald thinks the root is ON klifs-ey = 'cliff island' but this does not seem to be a good fit topographical.

Cliaay More	1877	OS 1st edition
Cliaaymore	1861	Thomas chart
Cliaay More	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
Cliaay more	1799	Reid mapping
Cliaaigh Mòr	1776	Mackenzie mapping

Clibisgeir

Place ID 5631 NF 62619 63283 North Uist Heisker

ON skerry of the narrow pass

ON klifs sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

The word order indicates Norse with the generic being ON sker = 'skerry'.

The most obvious specific is ON klif = 'narrow pass on a cliff or cliff' perhaps in the genitive ON klifs. Here topographically a narrow pass would describe the sea way between the skerry and the headland.

Cox (p213) cites Clibisgeir as a Norse name, Cleibesgeir on modern mapping and it certainly has a narrow passage between it and the main island here.

Clibisgeir

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisker

Cnap Ruigh Dubh

Place ID 1172 NF 92910 69310 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG hillock of the black slope ScG cnap ruighe dubh

Fresh water Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

It is unusual but not unknown to have ScG cnap as an island.

Cnap Ruigh Dubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Cnap Ruigh Dubh	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Re Du	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
-------	------	------------------------

Cnoc a' Bhàigh Mhòir

Place ID 445 NF 87030 56350 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG hillock of the big bay

ScG cnoc a' bhàigh mhòir

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

This is the hillock just behind the natural harbour of ScG Bàgh Mor. The 'h' appears as a consequence of ScG bàgh being feminine genitive and it being after ScG a' = 'of the'.

Cnoc a' Bhàigh Mhòir

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc a' Bharaille

Place ID	356	NF 80040 62190	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG hillock of the barrel			ScG cnoc a' bharaille		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
Grammatically correct with lenition					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc a' Bharaille			1877	OS 1st edition	

Cnoc a' Bharraich

Place ID 6037 NF 82019 75356 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG hillock of the Barra man

ScG cnoc na barraich

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Niclain wrties 'The oldest name is Cnoc a Tuath but is also known as Cnoc a' Bharraich. A man from Barra came after Grenitote's farm was split in 1898-99. This man also owns the croft on which the hill stands'.

Cnoc a' Tuath

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc a' Bharraich

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc a' Bhodaich

Place ID 2220 NF 71807 68176 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG hillock of the old man

ScG cnoc a' bhodaich

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The exact location is unclear.

Cul a' Phunnd	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Tobar na Trionaid	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Tobar a' Phuinnt	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Sgeir na Lion	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Cnoc a' Bhodaich	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Cnoc Buaghairl(t?)an	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Leathad an t-Sluagh	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Cul Stone	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Cnoc a' Phole	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Cnoc a' Bhragaire

Place ID 5950 NF 79739 73758 North Uist S1ollas

ScG hillock of the seaweed

ScG cnoc a' bhragaire

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Niclain writes 'Bragar is seaweed. It comes on a summer's journey; this is the type they used to use at the time of kelp.

,

Despite this one is reminded that there is a place Bragar in Lewis which Cox thinks has as its root either ON bràr garð = 'enclosure of the bridge' or ON borg á garð = 'fort river enclosure'. Neither seem particularly appropriate here.

Not very convinced.

In Icelandic brak can mean 'wreckage'. ON braka garð = 'dyke of the wreckage' perhaps.

Cnoc a' Bhragaire

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc a' Bhreacain

Place ID 6524 NF 82181 38635 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG knoll of the place of trout

ScG cnoc a' breac -ain

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Loch of the Plaid' based on ScG breacan. However with two fish trap names nearby and a 'river of the large trouts', I suspect that ScG breac = 'trout' is the root. The ScG a' reflects the dative case here.

Cnoc a' Bhreacain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc a' Bhreacain

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoch na Brachan

1804

Bald mapping

Cnoc a' Chaisteil

Place ID 5095 NF 84910 80376 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG hillock of the castle ScG cnoc a' chaisteil

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Little if anything remains to be seen of the 'castle' here.

Cnoc a' Chaisteil	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnoc a' Chaisteil	1877	OS 1st edition

Cnoc a' Chaistel

Place ID	666	NF 86200 75350	North Uist	Clachan Sands	
ScG hillock of the castle			Scg cnoc a' chaisteil		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc a' Chaistel			1877	OS 1st edition	

Cnoc a' Chealla

Place ID	5697	NF 93238 81885	B1earnaraigh	Ru1isigearraidh	
ON fish drying racks of the knolls			ON hnjúka hjalla		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

MacKillop writes 'The knoll of the church or cell, ceall in Gaelic means a church, a burying place or a small cell for private devotion.' Whilst there is a chapel site to the NW, there is no tradition that I am aware of their being such a site here.

However, as in some other Cealla- place names, ON hjalla = 'fish drying racks' is a good option. The site here is as one would expect and with another name around the corner to the N, I think this is the best option. It is possible that the first component is ON hnjúka = 'of the knolls'. The transition to Cnoc a' would be aided by resemanticization.

The history of kn > hn > n is too tortuous for me to understand but explains where the /c sound comes from and indeed ON knújkr and ON hnúkr are alternatives

Cnoc a' Chealla

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Cnoc a' Chlachain

Place ID 944 NF 87380 67190 North Uist Central South

ScG hillock of the stepping stones

SCG cnoc a' chlachain

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The alternative given in THC p223 Cnoc Beag na Lifeag is cited as where hunters frequently met to take refreshments at the little hillock of the picnics.

Cnoc a' Chlachain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Beag na Lifeag

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Cnoc a' Chlachain

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc a' Chombaiste

Place ID 2034 NF 99041 74547 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG hillock of the compass or ON comb ridge plac ScG cnoc a' chombaiste or ON kamb áss stað

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Even Mackillop can not explain the name.

ON kamb = 'comb' or 'ridge' looks correct for the specific. It is possible that this component is ON kamb áss = 'comb ridge' which has occurred elsewhere on Uist twice at least.

The generic is less clear and the best I can find is ON staðr = 'place'

Cnoc a' Chombaiste

1996

Haswell

Cnoc a' Chombaiste

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Aird Glas

1804

Bald mapping

Cnoc a' Chòmhdhalach

Place ID 5762 NF 77222 74313 North Uist V1allay

ScG hillock of assembly

ScG cnoc a' chòmhdhalach

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Niclain writes 'This is a hill where people used to gather together. Beveridge studied the ruins of this hill between 1905 and 1907. He thought it was a broch-like building because there was a staircase inside the wall. In addition to this, there are other ruins, because, century after century, people built over the ruins left by their predecessors (Beveridge. 1911: 200).'

Cnoc a' Chòmhdhalach

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc a' Deas

Place ID 2442 NF 81874 75220 North Uist S1ollas

ScG hillock of the south

ScG cnoc a' deas

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The matching pair to Cnoc a' Tuath.

Cnoc a' Deas

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc a' Deas

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc a' Lin

Place ID 721 NF 74480 67580 North Uist B1ayhead

ON hillock of the people

ON ljóna knjúk

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

The obvious root is ScG cnoc a' lin = 'hillock of the flax', although an alternative meaning of the specific ScG lion = 'fishing net'. Either way there is a question over the ScG a' = 'of the' as I would have expected ScG an. Macdonald gives us Cnoc-an-linn = 'the hillock of the lint' and writes 'Here was established a lint factory by Lady Margaret Macdonald about 1750'.

As ever however there is an alternative. ON knjúkr (modern Icelandic form hnjúkr) = 'knoll' is listed as a possible root of the ScG cnoc illustrating how close the sounds are.

Whyte argues strongly in a paper that Gruline on Mull has ON þing = 'thing' or 'assembly site' as its root. Part of his evidence was based on pre 1615 names which we don't have as by the time of Blaeu's mapping, Gruline had gone through the change from a /d/ to an /l/, as recorded by Blaeu here, Knoklein.

However here I suggest that ON ljóna = 'of the people' is a better option. Starting life ON ljóna knjúk became reordered to create Cnoc a' Lin

With early Christian roots here, Creag Hasten as a hugely prominent feature on the coast and good safe access to the sea, it must be a strong contender for a thing site although quite where is uncertain. Indeed the site could be a nearby mound.

Lionacleit (P#204) could share the ON ljónar root.

Hnjúkr occurs as the specific in almost sixty Icelandic place names and over 100 times as a generic.

All bar five of the specifics there have Hnjuka- as the initial letter followed by the specific.

Cnoc a' Lin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Knockline	2014	Modern OS mapping
Knockinline	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Cnoc an lin	1877	OS name book
Knockline	1877	OS 1st edition
Knointine	1862	Black mapping
Knocinline	1832	Thomson atlas
Knocinline	1799	Reid mapping
Knoklein	1654	Blaeu mapping
Knockline		MacDonald sketch history

Cnoc a' Mhaide

Place ID	1645	NF 87859 55493	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG hillock of the flag-pole			ScG cnoc a' mhaide		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ScG maide = 'flag-pole' is a fairly common component of names on Uist and would indicate a place for signalling. This hillock is just above the harbour above Kallin and so well sited for signalling particularly across to Ronaigh. I would have expected lenition here, creating 'mhaide' which would sound different as 'vaide'

Cnoc a' Mhaide

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Cnoc a' Mhaide

Place ID 1679 NF 81505 60027 North Uist C1arinish

ScG hillock of the pole ScG cnoc a' mhaide

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An island used for signalling, a name that crops up regularly.

Cnoc a' Mhaide	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Cnoc a' Pheursa	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Cnoc a' Mhuilinn

Place ID	6072	NF 83013 74128	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG hillock of the mill			ScG cnoc a' mhuilinn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc a' Mhuilinn			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cnoc a' Phearsa

Place ID 2225 NF 73260 67600 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG hillock of the signal ScG cnoc a' pheursa

ScG?

ON?

Contour Rise

complete?

MacAulay records "In Knockintorran there is a hill called CNOC A' PHEARSA (Signal Hill), which is connected the time when seaweed was very valuable to the people of North Uist. The crofters depended on seaweed for their livelihood and it was so precious that people were sent to guard it on the shore. When there was seaweed on the shore, as signal was put on the hill to inform the crofters. The seaweed was then shared out and every crofter was given his share. The same tradition must have been alive on the island of Kirkibost, as there is a hill there called CNOC A' PHOLE (Pole Hill). The pole was the signal that informed the crofters that there was seaweed on the shore. In Kirkibost the people collected their seaweed off the shore in carts. To island people seaweed was of great importance as a fertiliser, although it also had other uses." MacAulay, 1978:5.

There is another Cnoc a' Phearsa on Baleshare and Carinis.

Cnoc a' Phearsa

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Cnoc a' Pheursa

Place ID 2182 NF 78927 63506 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG hillock of the signal pole ScG cnoc a' pheursa

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Fraser writes 'In this instance, it signified that the men fo the community should gather there to arrange the distribution of seaweed.' He also wrote that at Tigharry it was where the men met for any assembly of importance.

Cnoc a' Pheursa

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Cnoc a' Pheursa

Place ID 5848 NF 79929 74459 North Uist S1ollas

ScG hillock of the signal pole

ScG cnoc a' pheursa

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

This is another place where people would pick up the perch when urban affairs were taking place.

Cnoc a' Pheursa

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc a' Tuath

Place ID 2441 NF 82051 75255 North Uist S1ollas

ScG hillock of the north

ScG cnoc a' tuath

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The matching pair to Cnoc a' Deas.

Cnoc a' Tuath	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnoc a' Tuath	1877	OS 1st edition

Cnoc Ailc

Place ID 5720 NF 76037 76411 North Uist V1allay

ScG hillock of the auk

ScG cnoc ailc

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

ScG alc = 'auk' with a genitive of ScG ailce.

An interesting thought is that it could have been a Great Auk - it seems unlikely that others would be memorable enough to name a hillock after them. It is not a site where auks would breed.

The name is probalby relatively old as it has no article.

Cnoc Ailc

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc Airidh Eoghainn

Place ID 554 NF 80020 63890 North Uist Berneray

ScG hillock of Ewan's sheiling

ScG cnoc àirigh Eoghainn

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ScG Eoghainn = 'Ewan' is the name of St. Adomnan. For more details on this saint see:
<https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=5>

Cnoc Airidh Eoghainn

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Cnoc Alasdfair Ruaidh MhicGhlaisean

Place ID 5959 NF 79665 73547 North Uist S1ollas

ScG hillock of Alasdair Red MacGlaisen ScG cnoc Alasdfair Ruaidh MhicGhlaisean

Contour Rise

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The final nam eis not one I've heard of.

Cnoc Alasdfair Ruaidh MhicGhlaisean

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc an Aighe Chèir

Place ID 449 NF 84900 57370 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG hillock of the dun heifer

ScG cnoc an aighe chèire

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

This is presumably the same place as the unplaced MacVicar's ScG Cnoc na Ba Brice = 'hill of the brown cow'.
I think there should be an /e/ lon the end for the genitive case.

The 69 names on the OS 2nd edition mapping are scattered across the Galeic heartland but only two have a colour apportioned. This one and Dig an Aighe Bhàin on the Ardnamurchan.

Cnoc an Aighe Chèir

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc an Amhaire

Place ID 1150 NF 90010 68020 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG knoll of the observation

ScG cnoc an amhairc

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The modern name is probalby wrong as the OS1st edition terminal /c/ has become /e/, a typical typological error and one that would seem to make a better option.

Cnoc an Amhaire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc an Amhairc

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc an Dùdain

Place ID 1313 NF 92743 81791 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ScG hillock of the small stack ScG cnoc an tùdain

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is the obvious root but it seems a little odd with no obvious mill or dust producer nearby.
MacKillop also suggest ScG dùbhdan = 'smoke' and ScG tudan = 'small heap' and this latter seems more sensible.

Cnoc an Dùdain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc an Duibhe

Place ID 5932 NF 80525 74218 North Uist S1ollas

ScG hillock of the darkness

ScG cnoc an duibhe

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

An odd name. It is possible that it has a Norse root from ON djúpr = 'deep'. The area was supposed to be an extensive lake here in historical times.

Cnoc an Duibhe

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc an Eararaidh

Place ID 1315 NF 92178 81875 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ScG hillock of the watch-man

SWcG cnoc an fhear-fhaire

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Going right back to 1389 Iolaraigh was mentioned in the Charters of Inchaffray with particular mention of the 4d land 'inter Hussaboste et Kanusorrach'. Husabost is thought to be near the current Teanna Mhachair and so Kanusorrach has to be to the E and probably on Iolaraigh.

Beveridge (p79) suggests ScG Ceann - eararaidh = 'head of the parching', a process grian goes through before grinding. This is a similar place name recorded in MacKillop excellent 'The Place Names of Berneray'. This place is named Cnoc an Eararaidh (p31) and whilst he mentions ScG eararadh = 'winnowing or parching of grain', he believes the Gaelic to be ScG Cnoc an fhear-fhaire = 'Knoll of the watchman'.

My understanding of Gaelic pronunciation is that the 'fh' letters here both disappear in the sound and so we are left with ear - aire. I rely on his expertise as to further detail on his interpretation although observe that the suffix ScG -aid = 'place of'.

In our case here then we probably have ScG camus fhear-fhaire = 'bay of the watch-man' and it would be an obvious place to put a watch, perhaps near the current Carnan nan Long.

Cnoc an Eararaidh

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Cnoc an Fhùdair

Place ID 899 NF 82550 60250 North Uist Eaval

ON outer hillock ON knúkinn útarr

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is possibly a reference to the Battle of Cairins although it seemed more like a sword skirmish than a gun battle....
The OSNB gives us 'Powder Knoll'

ON útarr = 'outer' works well as the specific. ON hnjúkinn = 'The knoll' for the generic gives 'The outer knoll' which is a good topographical fit with Carinis being the 'inner' however the order is odd although I am not sure of the complexities of order here with the comparative ON útarr. There could be a change of order to resemanticise. With the order reversed then the stressed element is the second one.

Alternatives involve /k/ rather than /h/ and a loss of the /j/. Here knúkinn seems the closest sound fit.

Cnoc an Fhùdair	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Cnoc nam Fhùdair	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------	------	----------------

Cnoc an Pheursa

Place ID 6040 NF 82196 75131 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG hillock of the signal pole ScG cnoc an pheursa

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is another place where a peursa was built when it was a town business.

Cnoc an Pheursa

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc an Taigh Sheinse

Place ID 2232 NF 73400 67000 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG hillock of the inn ScG cnoc an taighe-sheinse

ScG?

ON?

Contour Rise

complete?

MacAulay records the oral tradition : "Loch Hasten, at Balemor, was once a seaport and on a hill close to it there used to be an inn. This hill therefore came to be known as CNOC AN TAIGH SHEINSE, 'The Hill of the Inn'. Once, a Dutch ship sank out at sea but the crew survived and they managed to get ashore. They made their way to this inn (I so not know what it was called at this time). Anyway, the boat that sank was called "Amsterdam" and _____ after this incident the inn was also called Amsterdam. Some of the whisky that was on the "Amsterdam" arrived at the inn somehow. One night while it was being drunk there, when the locals and the crew of the ship were in the inn at the same time a fight started. One of the crew was a very large, strong Dutchman and it was not long before he began to get the better of the locals. The woman who run the inn was not very pleased at this turn of affairs and so she went outside with a stocking. She filled the stocking with two or three fair-sized pieces of shingle and then she returned inside. Then she hit the large Dutchman over the head with this shingle-filled stocking, which put him in great pain. A song was written about this woman, which validates the above story. "Bhruist thu ceann an Dùtchach mhór, Mòr Nighean Eòghann" (You broke the big Dutchman's head, Mor, Ewen's daughter)." MacAulay, 1978:4-5.'

The water levels must have changed considerably for boats to reach this loch.

Cnoc an Taigh Sheinse

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Cnoc an Torrain

Place ID 2224 NF 73312 67871 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG hillock of + ON The (heathen) mound

ScG cnoc an + ON hörginn

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Stahl gives us 'hill of the rising mounds' which seems to have slightly misread Dwelly and should read 'hillock of the rising ground' although 'graves' is an other possibility. This description is a reasonable topographical fit albeit leaning towards the tautologous.

MacDonald gives us 'the hillock of cairns or heaps.'

Both however have the problem of a singular ScG an rather than the expected ScG nan. This could be explained by use of the diminutive suffix ScG -an = 'small -'.

A Norse alternative I think is ON knjúka tjörn = 'tarn of the hillock'. There is no other Norse name currently extant for Loch Sandaraigh, a relatively large feature.

Simpler however is ON h hörginn = 'The (heathen) mound'. The only problem is that there is no mound extant today but Stahl writes about a mound where Vikings are buried 'CNOC A' BHODAICH (The Old Man's Hill), in Paiblesgarry is so called because an old man killed a dozen Swedes there with a sword. It is said that the Vikings were buried on the very same hill." this oral tradition would usually point to some form of ancient structure.

Rygh lists nine Horgen place names which he derives from ON hörg vin = 'cairn filed' but there are chronological problems with ON vin in Scotland.

In Iceland there are four Hörgar, eight Hörgur and one Hörgurinn place names.

Cnoc an Torrain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Knockintorran	2014	Modern OS mapping
Knockintorran	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Chnoc nan Torran	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Knockintorran	1877	OS 1st edition
Knocintorran	1862	Black mapping
Knocintorran	1832	Thomson atlas
Knocintorran	1799	Reid mapping
Knockintorran		MacDonald sketch history

Cnoc an t-Sagairt

Place ID	2213	NF 78257 61552	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG hillock of the preist			ScG cnoc an t-sagairt		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An obvious hillock overlooking the remains of a chapel.					
Cnoc an t-Sagairt			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Cnoc an t-Sagairt

Place ID	5730	NF 76546 76211	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG hillock of the priest			ScG cnoc an t-Sagairt		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc an t-Sagairt			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cnoc an t-Saighdeir

Place ID	1689	NF 82108 60141	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG hillock of the soldier			ScG cnoc an t-saighdeir		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc an t-Saighdeir			2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island	

Cnoc an t-Saighdeir

Place ID	6059	NF 83096 74904	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG hillock of the soldier			ScG cnoc an t-saighdeir		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc an t-Saighdeir			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cnoc an t-Sead

Place ID 6039 NF 82147 75160 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG hillock of the road ScG cnoc an t-sead

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

In the last century when Grenitote was a farm, after the evictions, there was a shed on this hill. Niclain believes the root to be ScG seada = 'shed' but I wonder if in fact it is ScG sèad = 'raod' as it is close to the main track here.

Cnoc an t-Sead

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc an t-Sithein

Place ID 2452 NF 79664 73853 North Uist Central North

ScG fairies knoll

ScG cnoc an t-sithein.

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The fairies Knoll' which makes sense - these 'fairy-knolls' generally have some form of ancient site on them.

Cnoc an t-Sithein

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc an t-Sithein

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc Sitheil

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc an t-Sithein

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc an Tuim

Place ID 2439 NF 80234 74383 North Uist S1ollas

ScG hillock of the + ON tarn

ScG cnoc an + ON tjörn

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Knock of the mound' which seems a little tautologous. With Dwelly defining ScG tom = round hillock or knoll, it gets worse, 'knoll of the knoll'!

I suspect there is a Norse root here and the best I can do is ON tjörn = 'tarn'. There is a small lochan here and so would work topographically as well as being close phonetically.

Cnoc an Tuim	2014	Modern OS mapping
Knockantuim	1877	OS 1st edition
Cnoc an Tuim	1877	OS name book

Cnoc an Tuim

Place ID 5922 NF 80522 74253 North Uist S1ollas

ScG hillock of the knoll ScG cnoc an tuim

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This seems an oddly tautologous name - I wonder if in fact it started life as ON hólm.

Cnoc an Tuim 1997 Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc Ard

Place ID	2628	NF 91782 81541	B1earnaraigh	Bhrusda	
ScG high hillock			ScG cnoc ard		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc Ard			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Cnoc Beag an t-Sagairt

Place ID	212	NF 94233 72776	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG little hillock of the priest			ScG cnoc beag an t- sagairt		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc Beag an t-Sagairt			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Cnoc Bharr

Place ID 5701 NF 61650 62523 North Uist Heisker

ScG hillock of the summit

ScG cnoc bharr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The obvious interpretation is ScG cnoc bhàrr = 'hillock of the summit' and with the summit being the highest point on Ceann Iar, it makes some sort of sense albeit a trifle tautologous.

I ponder if in fact it started live a ON vörr = '(fenced in) landing place' which describes perfectly the bay by Baile Beag 200m to the W. The ScG cnoc was added later to describe the hillock

Cnoc Bharr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Bharr

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Bhuirgh

Place ID 2627 NF 91705 81388 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ON fort + ScG hillock ScG cnoc + ON borg

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

In other places it gains 'beinn' status!

Cnoc Bhuirgh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Borve Hill	1877	OS 1st edition
Hill of Borve	1804	Bald mapping

Cnoc Breac

Place ID 5182 NF 79753 52255 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG speckled hillock ScG cnoc breac ScG?
 ON?

Contour complete?

A common name occurring 58 times on the OS 2nd edition mapping. The distribution of the name is more coastal than one might expect with a strong Norse feel rather than Gaelic.

Cnoc Breac	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnoc Breac	1877	OS 1st edition

Cnoc Breac

Place ID	6692	NF 80521 44361	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG speckled knoll			ScG cnoc breac		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc Breac			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Cnoc Breac			1877	OS 1st edition	

Cnoc Breac Dhritil

Place ID 5865 NF 80080 73367 North Uist S1ollas

'Dhritil' + ScG speckled hillock ScG cnoc breac 'Dhritil'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Bogach Dritil (P#2468) for a discussion of the element 'Dhritil'.

Cnoc Breac Dhritil

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc Carnach

Place ID	5492	NF 84098 52325	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG stony hillock			ScG cnoc càrnach	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG? <input type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Contour				
Cnoc Carnach			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Cnoc Chrisdein

Place ID	6055	NF 82579 74885	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG hillock of the Christian			ScG cnoc chrisdein		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
It could be a name of a general Christian?					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc Chrisdein			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cnoc Chrosamul

Place ID 2470 NF 80289 74088 North Uist Central North

ON rise of the cross + ScG hillock

ScG cnoc + ON kross hólmr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Beveridge is keen for the site to be an island in a large loch of tradition here ON hólmr).

There is no evidence of a cross here however although confusion with Cladh na Croise with an incised cross less than one kilometre to the N is possible. Alternatively this could be a second one and might be the 'rock of drawings' Malacleit possibly refers to.

At least this name strengthens the evidence for their being a Norse or pre-Norse incised cross in the area.

Whilst the genitive singular of ON kross is kross, the equivalent plural is ON krossa. This would make a closer fit to the name here. However the 'a' could be put in by the Gaelicization process of not liking too many consonants together (epenthesis), although, if I understand it correctly, this is not a standard case. Cox P121) notes it in /ms/. He writes (p657) specifically about Crosabost/Crossbost supporting epenthesis.

The cognate evidence makes me reassess my first comment re ON hólmr. Rygh extends the meaning from islet by writing 'Moreover, there is in meaning 'a spot which differs from the surrounding ground', like a patch of earth on a cliff, a patch of grass in a field, a piece of unbeaten meadow (the river).' I suspect that Beveridge probably was right! The /l/ and the /m/ swap around by a process called metathesis - this occurs very commonly with this particular noun.

In Iceland there are two Krossmúli and five Krosshólmi whilst in Norway, there are no ON múli names with a kross specific but there are twenty Krossholm(en).

Cnoc Chrosamul

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Chrosamul

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Cuidh' Mhaoilean

Place ID 5826 NF 80891 74994 North Uist S1ollas

'Cuidh' Mhaoilean' ScG hillock

ScG cnoc + 'Cuidh' Mhaoilean'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

See Tobar Cuidhe Mhaoilean(P#5841) for a discussion of the element 'Cuidh' Mhaoilean'.

Cnoc Cuidh' Mhaoilean

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc Cuidhein

Place ID 770 NF 84700 59790 North Uist Eaval

Eng Quin's hillock Eng Quin's hillock

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This must refer to Cnoc Cuidhein or Knockqueen on old mapping.

Cnoc Cuidhein	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnoc Cuen	1877	OS name book
Knock-cuien	1877	OS 1st edition
Quin's Hillock	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Knockquien		MacDonald sketch history

Cnoc Dhiarmaid

Place ID	5886	NF 78589 73011	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG Dermot's hillock			ScG cnoc dhiarmaid		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc Dhiarmaid			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cnoc Druim an Iasgair

Place ID 6658 NF 80550 43184 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG knoll of the ridge of the fisherman ScG cnoc druim an iasgair

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here Druim an Iasgair is being treated as an onomastic unit'

Cnoc Druim an Iasgair

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Dubh Luirsay

Place ID 6569 NF 85658 39848 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Luirsay' + ScG dark hillock ScG cnoc dubh + 'Luirsay'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Liursaigh Dubh (P#67) for a discussion on the lass component.
Not e that this name is/ui/ and not /iu/.

Cnoc Dubh Luirsay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnoc Dubh Luirsay	1877	OS 1st edition
Cnoc Dubh Libharseidh	1877	OS name book

Cnoc Dubh nan Cliabh

Place ID 2351 NF 77220 73167 North Uist Central West

ScG black hillock of the + ON steep and usually rocky ScG cnoc dubh nan + ON klif

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The literal translation is 'black hillock of the creels', however there are good Norse alternatives. ON klofi = 'a cleft or a rift in a hill closed at the upper end' or ON klif = 'cliff' or as it developed to 'steep and usually rocky hill as it leads road or path over' (NSL). The latter in particular is a perfect topographical fit with the likelihood of a route over the hills here to Ceann a' Bhaigh.

A third alternative is ON kleif = 'a ridge of cliffs or shelves in a mountain side' (Vigfusson) although Vigfusson says that 'klif and kleif are used indiscriminately'.

Niclain writes 'It is thought that this hill is connected with the creels as one would take the hill home. The passage between the moorland and the headland may have been a short distance at the hill where the workers would rest..

In Shetland there is a Klifts on Fetlar. On Lewis, Cox (p213) derives Cliosgro from ON klifsgróf = 'the stream of the steep ascent'.

Many Cliabh names in NW Scotland could be interpreted as 'cliff' rather than 'creel'.

The simplex Klif occurs over 100 times in Iceland and Kleif(ar) 67 times. The Norwegian cognate is Kleiv also occurs over 100 times.

Cnoc Dubh nan Cliabh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnoc Dubh nan Cliabh	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Cnoc Dubh nan Cliabh	1877	OS 1st edition

Cnoc Fhionnlaidh

Place ID 2377 NF 71578 71503 North Uist B1alranald

ScG Finlay's hillock

ScG cnoc Fhionnlaidh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Finlay comes from ScG fionn laoch = 'fair warrior' and possibly originally originating with the personal name ON Finnleikr = 'battle hero'.

Cnoc Fhionnlaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Fraochaig

Place ID 5159 NF 77873 52035

B1enbecula

B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG place of heather hillock

ScG cnoc fraoch -aig

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Cnoc Fraochaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Fraochaig

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Ghilleasbuig Dhuibh

Place ID 5658 NF 92329 65676 North Uist Lees

ScG hillock of black Archibald ScG cnoc Ghilleasbuig dhuibh

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

MacDonald writes this is where Gilleasbuig Dubh was killed.

Cnoc Ghilleasbuig Dhuibh

MacDonald sketch history

Cnoc Gunna Beag

Place ID 5918 NF 79908 74468 North Uist S1ollas

ScG knoll of the little gun

ScG cnoc gunna beag

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Could this stem from ON göng = 'passage' and topographically as 'a route between walls'?

Cnoc Gunna Beag

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc Hàbhaisgearraidh

Place ID 5815 NF 81233 75575 North Uist S1ollas

'Hàbhaisgearriah' + ScG hillock ScG cnoc + 'Hàbhaisgearriah'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For the element 'Hàbhaisgearriah' see Havisgarry (P#5668).

Cnoc Hàbhaisgearraidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc Hungavat

Place ID 2569 NF 87471 72348 North Uist Central North

ON tongue lake + ScG hillock ScG cnoc + ON 'hungavat'

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Hungabhat for a discussion on this component.

Cnoc Hungavat 2014 Modern OS mapping

Knock Hungavat 1877 OS 1st edition

Cnoc Leodair

Place ID 5655 NF 88933 72584 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON hillock of the peoples

ON hnúk ljóða

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Beveridge writes 'Sithean Dubh, a shapeless and very rocky hillock by the roadside at Alioter, seems hardly worth noting, since this is understood to be a fancy name recently invented for Cnoc Alioter.'

The hillock has now been quarried away although an image surfaced on Facebook showing what a steep sided hillock it was. The fairy aspect seemed well embedded and indeed this name has been maintained in bird-watching circles with a name for the Loch here that held a male American Widgeon for many years.

Perhaps ON lýðr or an alternative ON ljóðr = 'the people' with *ON ljóða= 'of the peoples' is a good starting point.

The name could have started as ON ljóða hnúk = 'the hillock of the peoples' but when Gaelicized the hnúk was re-somaticized as ScG cnoc = 'hillock' and as a consequence moved to the front to give cnoc á lýða whence Knock Alioter. The poor match of the initial vowel in Cnoc could be explained by the fact it was not the initial vowel in the original name - the match in the Leodair component is perfect.

There is the nearby Aileodair (P#533) and a Knock Alioter (P#1214).

Loch Leodsay near Baleshare possibly shares a root.

Macniven discusses Loch Leòdamais on Islay arriving at the conclusion that the root was O ljóðnes = 'assembly point'.

Ljótunjúkar and Ljóðateigur in Iceland

Cnoc Alioter	1911	Beveridge
Sithean Dubh	1911	Beveridge
Knock Alioter	1877	OS 1st edition
Cnoc Leodair		Other
Cnoc-Ath-Leodair		MacDonald sketch history

Cnoc Liath

Place ID 2378 NF 71650 71667 North Uist B1alranald

ScG grey hillock or ON knoll hill

ScG cnoc liath or ON hnúk hlíð

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

This is one fo those names that could easily be Norse and Gaelic.

Whilst ScG cnoc liath means 'grey or pale hillock', ON hnúk hlíð = ' knoll hill'.

There are four Hnjúkahlíð place names in Iceland whilst in Norway there is a Njukelia and a Njuklii.

The 13 Cnoc Liath name on the OS 2nd edtion mapping are scattered across NW Scotland. Three on Islany and one on Mull might hint at Norse roots.

The Mull one is on the slopes of Beinn Lighe.

Cnoc Liath

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Liath

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Loisgte

Place ID	2551	NF 86721 72850	North Uist	Central North	
ScG burnt hillock			ScG cnoc loisgte		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc Loisgte			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Cnoc Loisgte			1877	OS 1st edition	

Cnoc Mhic Dho'uill Ghlais

Place ID 1267 NF 81460 61910 North Uist C1arinish

scG hillock of the grey MacDonald

ScG cnoc mhic dhomnuill ghlais

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

There is also a 'bay of the grey Macdonald' and must refer to the Battle of Carinis, a fight between the MacLeods of Lewis and the MacDonalds of Uist.

Grey MacDonald was a MacLeod who remained fighting after the rest of his party had fled. He was killed in the bay by this hillock.

Cnoc Mhic Dho'uill Ghlais

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Mhic Dhomnuill Ghlais

MacDonald sketch history

Cnoc Mhic Eoghainn

Place ID 2415 NF 83829 74280 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG Ewan's son's hillock

ScG cnoc mhic eoghainn

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

THC has a story about Malcom snatched but released here. P210.

Cnoc Mhic Eoghainn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc 'ic Eoghainn

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Cnoc Mhic Eoghainn

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc-'ic Eobhainn

MacDonald sketch history

Cnoc Mhic Fhionnlaidh

Place ID 992 NF 92390 63620 North Uist Lees

ON harbour gateway bay + ScG hillock

ScG cnoc + ON vík höfn hlið

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

I do not know who this Finlay might have been although the name is not an unusual one.

However the siting of this hillock is an important one at the entrance to Loch Euphort.

A Norse alternatives might be ON höfn hlið = 'harbour - gateway' or ON höfn leið = 'harbour course'. The latter is probably closer phonetically. Vigfusson quotes hafnar-dyrr = 'entrance of a haven' as a close compound.

The initial ScG /fh/ is silent. The IPA spelling for Fionn is /fjũ:N/ and so without the initial /f/ becomes /jũ:N/. Medial /f/ and terminal /ð/ letters often disappear. ON ei sounds like the /ay/ in 'hay' and so höfn leið > hön lay > hionn laidh > fhionn laidh.

The topographic fit is probably too good to ignore.

The 'Mhic' here could be ON vík = 'bay' and then reordered as part of the resemanticising process.

One observation is that the 43 names including Fhionnlaidh on the OS 2nd series mapping are scattered over the Gaelic heartland but the 15 places containing Mhic Fhionnlaidh are all (possibly bar one) in the Norse speaking areas.

In Iceland there are 26 Hafnargata place names which are a close cognate with ON gata = 'throughfare'.

In Denmark there are five Haverslev which I suspect are cognates but my Danish is not up to much.

There is a similarly positioned Eilean Fhionnlaidh on the approach to Oban Honary in Loch Mhic Phail.

Cnoc Mhic Fhionnlaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Mhic Fhionnlaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Miogaig

Place ID 5173 NF 78511 53393 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ON narrow isthmus + ScG hillock

Scg cnoc + ON mjótt eið

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

This name sits adjacent to a narrow crossing separating the two halves of Loch Eilean Iain. With Mio often stemming from ON mjór = 'narrow' this is too good a fit to ignore.

The rest is less good but I suspect the generic is ON eið = 'isthmus', a good topographical fit but less good phonetically. Norse adjectives can take the meaning 'the place of' in place names so this could be 'the place of narrow' with a ScG aig locative suffix.

There are two isthmuses called Mjödd in Iceland where perhaps the ON eið has been assumed.

Some place names in Norway starting with Mjåk such as Mjåktjønn are interesting but I can find no etymology for any of them.

Cnoc Miogaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Miogaig

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Mor

Place ID	5499	NF 86170 51928	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG big hillock			ScG cnoc mòr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG? <input type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Contour				
Cnoc Mor			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Cnoc Mòr

Place ID 364 NF 85950 58090 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG big hillock

ScG cnoc + mòr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

A common and very simple name

Cnoc Mòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Mòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Mòr

Place ID 405 NF 87620 56060 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG big hillock

ScG cnoc + mòr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

A common and very simple name.

Cnoc Mòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Cnoc Mor

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Cnoc Mòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Mòr

Place ID 805 NF 87250 62010 North Uist Eaval

ScG big hillock ScG cnoc + mòr

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Cnoc Mòr 2014 Modern OS mapping

An Cnoc Mor 2000 Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Cnoc Mòr 1877 OS 1st edition

Cnoc Mòr

Place ID	1694	NF 89539 56377	North Uist	Ronaigh	
ScG big hillock			ScG cnoc mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Cnoc Mòr			1877	OS 1st edition	

Cnoc Mòr

Place ID	2282	NF 77148 67906	North Uist	B1ayhead	
ScG big knoll			ScG cnoc mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Cnoc Mor			1877	OS 1st edition	

Cnoc Mòr

Place ID	6714	NF 75899 46955	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG big knoll			ScG cnoc mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc Mòr			1877	OS 1st edition	

Cnoc Mor an t-Sagairt

Place ID	211	NF 94939 72854	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG big hillock of the priest			ScG cnoc mor an t- sagairt		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc Mor an t-Sagairt			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Cnoc Mòr Ceann Kilerivagh

Place ID 5304 NF 82194 48895 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG big hillock head 'Kilerivagh'

ScG cnoc mòr ceann + 'Kilerivagh'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

For a discussion of the final component see Cill Eireabhagh (P#5302) although I suspect that the onomastic unit here is 'Ceann Kilerivagh' not simply 'Kilerivagh'

Cnoc Mòr Ceann Kilerivagh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Mòr Ceann Leiravagh

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Mòr Chill-leirebhagh

1877

OS name book

Cnoc Mòr Eilean nan Eun

Place ID 5335 NF 83517 49117 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG big hillock of the island of birds

ScG cnoc mòr eilean nan eun

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Cnoc Mòr Eilean nan Eun

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Mòr Eilean nan Eun

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Mor Liandail

Place ID 5646 NF 61893 63143 North Uist Heisker

ON heather dale + ScG big hillock ON lyng dal + ScG cnoc mor

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The Hebridean Connection writes "the Big Hillock of Liandail was a lot higher above sea level at one time. It is the highest point in Heispeir, hence its Norse name."

The similarity of description and the similarity in name lead me to think of them as the same place.

Macaulay gives us 'broad meadow' based on ScG liona = 'meadow' and ScG bleud = 'broad'.

I can find ScG lòn = 'meadow' but not /liona/ other than 'linoleum' which seems unlikely!

ScG lìon has a variety of meanings but 'limit, boundary' is perhaps the most convincing here.

With la > y being regular and medial /g/ disappearing, ON lyng dal = 'heather dale' seems a good option.

Could the Macaulay name come from metathesis of /d/ and /l/?

In Iceland there are four Lyngdalur place names and another four starting Lyngdals-. IN Norway there are 24 Lyngdal(en) place names.

Lion a Liad	2020	Alick Macaulay Heisgeir
Cnoc Mor Liandail	1984	The Hebridean Connection

Cnoc Mòr Thormaid

Place ID 246 NF 92290 76430 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG big hillock of Norman or ON cairns isthmus ScG cnoc mòr Thormaid or ON hörgum eið

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The anglicized pronunciation is horomotch

An interesting alternative could be ON haugr (høgr) + mið = 'meid of the mounds'. With the two duns on this headland it is an attractive option.

Holliday writes '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' (<https://www.shetlandamenity.org/fishing-meids>)

All that said, a better solution to me is either ON tjörn-eið = 'tarn isthmus' or ON hörgum eið = 'mounds isthmus'. The latter is closer phonetically.

There is a Haugereid in Norway.

Cnoc Mòr Thormaid

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Mor Thormaid

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Mugaraidh

Place ID 2475 NF 81229 73108 North Uist Central North

ON moor enclosed area + ScG hillock

ScG cnoc + ON mó- gerði

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'hut knoll' but based upon the ScG cnoc = 'hillock' and ScG airigh = 'sheiling' only I think. The second part of the name must be Norse. The prefix ON mó- = 'moor-' and this works well with either ON gerði = 'enclosed area' or ON garði = 'farm or stone wall' in the dative.

There is a Mugar farm on South Ronaldsay, Orkney
In Iceland there are two Mógerði and two Mógarður

Cnoc Mugaraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnoc Mùgarraidh	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Knock Mugary	1877	OS 1st edition
Cnoc Rubh Mhugairi	1877	OS name book

Cnoc na Bà Dùinne

Place ID 5600 NF 82359 54753 Benbecula Rueval

ScG hillock of the + ON boundary tarn ScG cnoc na + ON barð tjörn

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Another of those 'How now?' names with ScG bà duinne = 'cow of brownness' noting that the accent is not there. Other 'cow' names are in my opinion ON barð = 'limit or boundary' names. The generic is less clear but a possibility is ON tjörn = 'tarn' matching the tarn cited here. There is a dyke crossing the isthmus 100m south of the lochan.

There are four Bárðartjörn in Iceland and a Bardtjønna in Norway.

Cnoc na Bà Dùinne

1861

Thomas chart

Cnoc na Bo-glaise

Place ID	1245	NF 82020 60240	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG hillock of the grey cow			Scg cnoc na bo-glaise		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc na Ba Glaise			2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island	
Cnoc na Bo-glaise			1877	OS 1st edition	

Cnoc na Brathain

Place ID 224 NF 92099 73353 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG hillock of the quern

ScG cnoc na brathain

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book writes 'Knoll of the hand mill' based upon ScG bràthan = 'of a quern'. At one stage these were banned and the inhabitants were forced to use the owner's mill. Perhaps this was the site of a secret one maintained through the period.

Cnoc na Brathain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc na Comhairle

Place ID 5643 NF 77098 74134 North Uist Griminish

ScG hill of council ScG cnoc na comhairle

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The Hebridean Connection p214 talks about a council there c1475 reviewing the grazing allotments. It was extensively excavated by Beveridge.

Cnoc na Comhairle	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Cnoc a' Comhdhalach	1911	Beveridge

Cnoc na Comhairle

Place ID 5644 NF 81597 60298 North Uist C1arinish

ScG hillock of council

ScG cnoc na comhairle

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The Hebridean Connection refers to Hugh son of Alexander would be convening a Council Hillock in Carinisah in the name of his brother, the Lord John.' Hugh of Sleat lived form c1437 to 1498.

Cnoc na Comhairle

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Cnoc na Croise

Place ID	5837	NF 80531 74967	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG hillock of the cross			ScG cnoc na croise		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?					
This is the site of Clach na Croise (P#2435)					
Cnoc na Croise			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cnoc na Croise Moire

Place ID 1669 NF 81934 60369 North Uist C1arinish

ScG hillock of the big cross

ScG cnoc na croise mòire

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

MacVicar's ScG moire is more accurate than the OS mòr as ScG crois is feminine and in the genitive case here unless the ScG mòr is referring to the masculine ScG cnoc i.e. big hillock of the cross.

Cnoc na Croise Moire

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Cnoc na Cròise Mòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc na Cuidhe Duibhe

Place ID	5910	NF 80340 74477	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG hillock of the black fold					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc na Cuidhe Duibhe			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cnoc na Feille

Place ID 1189 NF 91000 69140 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG hillock of the market

ScG conc + na + fèille

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book is particularly helpful here: 'The name signifies "The market Knoll", and markets are held here yearly one in July, and one in September, both for the sale of cattle and horses.'

Cnoc na Feille

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc na File

Place ID 803 NF 86990 61510 North Uist Eaval

ScG hillock of the fiddle or ON hillock of the fillies ScG cnoc na fidhle or ON fylja + knjúkr

ScG?

ON?

Contour Rise

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Knoll of the fiddle' presumably based upon ScG fidhle = 'of the fiddle' as the 'dh' produces a 'yy' sound.

With Loch na Feille not too far to the NW, one wonders if ScG feille = 'market' might be the root. However the 'ei' sound is different.

Tempting though ON fill = 'elephant' is, it looks a little unlikely.

ON veiða knjúk = 'hillock of the hunting' however would be an interesting and appropriate topographical name, the order having been reversed by the Gaels on recognising ON knjúkr as ScG cnoc.

The position is about perfect for deer driven from the E overlooking a narrow neck of land between two lochs.

However the initial vowel sound remains wrong.

The simplest answer is ON fylja knjúkr = 'hillock of the fillies' and the order reversed on the Gaels 'recognising' ON knjúk as ScG cnoc na. All developments here are regular if one accepts Henderson's jú > o.

Fýla in Iceland = 'foul or dirty' occurs as a simplex. The closest to a cognate is Fýlaskálahnjúkar

There is a Veiðhnufa and a Veiðhnufur = 'hunting hump' in Iceland.

Cnoc na File	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Cnoc na File	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

Cnoc na Glas-aibhne

Place ID 5346 NF 81232 51585 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG hillock of the grey river

ScG cnoc na glas-abhainn

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See A' Ghlas-Abhainn for a discussion of the component.

Cnoc na Glas-aibhne	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnoc na Glas-Abhuinn	1877	OS name book
Cnoc na Glas-aibhne	1877	OS 1st edition

Cnoc na Grèine

Place ID 2629 NF 92225 82228 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ON green hillock or ScG hillock of the sun ON grøenn knjúk or cnoc na grèine

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop gives us 'Hillock of the sun' adding 'It is said that the name goes back to the days of sun-worship [Have they gone?!] which was practised throughout the ancient world.'

An alternative root would be ON grøenn knjúk = 'green hillock' with the order reversed in the Gaelicization process. I think this rather more likely.

There is a Grænihnjúkur in Iceland

Cnoc na Grèine 2014 Modern OS mapping

Cnoc na Greine 2013 Place nAmes of Berneray

Cnoc na h-Airigh Duibhe

Place ID 876 NF 82820 60660 North Uist Eaval

ScG hillock of the black shieling ScG cnoc na h- àirigh duibhe

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Cnoc na h-Airigh Duibhe 2014 Modern OS mapping

Cnoc na H-Airidh Duibhe 1877 OS 1st edition

Cnoc na h-Eaglais

Place ID	5958	NF 79462 73620	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG hillock of the church			ScG cnoc na h-eaglais		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc na h-Eaglais			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cnoc na Heasha

Place ID 2286 NF 77386 70494 North Uist Central West

ScG hillock of the + ON crown of the head ScG cnoc na + ON hjassa

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Heasha is an odd word open to all sort of interpretations. It does not look Gaelic.

A possibility is ON hæða = 'of the heights'. This would have to be a specific but with ON knjúkr = 'hillock' as the generic, this would be recognisable by the Gaels and so the order changed to suit that language and so ON hæða knjúkr becomes ScG cnoc a hæða and then the article is adjusted and experience shows that the 'go to' article is ScG na = 'of the'.

Even the OS name book commented that is a 'small but prominent knoll situate 1/2mile south-west from the summit of Ben Aricaiter' showing the topography works.

However the existence of a Sruthan na Heasha makes this difficult. The clear alternative is the river name ON hæl á = 'height river'. This has the advantage of three cognates Hæda/å in Norway and ten more similar to Hæddene.

That said, Vigfusson gives us another possibility is ON hjarsi, proncd. hjassi, a, m. [Swed. hjesse; Dan. isse], the crown of the head'. The normal form taken in place names would be ON hjassa and this works well with the topography.

Hæl has the advantage of three cognates Hæda/å in Norway and ten more similar to Hæddene.

There are four Hjassa/l names in Iceland and 34 places in Norway beginning with Hjas.

Cnoc na Heasha	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Knock na Heasha	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Cnoc na h-Uamha

Place ID	406	NF 86800 56100	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG Hillock of the cave			ScG cnoc na h- uamha		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The ScG uamh = 'cave' often refers to souterrain although there is no evidence of one here. Beveridge writes there are 'fallen rocks at its north base. This may indicate a former cave, though none could be now traced'. I couldn't either!

Cnoc na h-Uamha	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Cnoc na Locha

Place ID	5816	NF 81338 75609	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG hillock of the loch			ScG cnoc na locha		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc na Locha			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cnoc na Moine

Place ID	2337	NF 73798 73686	North Uist	B1almartin	
ScG hillock of peat			ScG cnoc na moine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cnoc na Moine			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Cnoc na Moine			1877	OS 1st edition	

Cnoc na Mòine

Place ID 2255 NF 75390 68612 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG hillock of the peat

ScG cnoc + na + mòine

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

A common name occurring seven times on the OS 2nd series mapping.

Cnoc na Mòine

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc na Mona

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Cnoc na Moine

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc nan Aingeal

Place ID 555 NF 81800 60490 North Uist C1arinish

ScG hillock of the angels

ScG cnoc nan aingeal

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

This name could be a dementalization to reflect the proximity of the Teampull. ScG aingeal can also means 'light', 'signal fire' or 'beacon'.

Cnoc nan Aingeal

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc nan Caorach

Place ID 5398 Nf 80763 53808 Benbecula Rueval

ScG hillock of the sheep

ScG cnoc nan caorach

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Cnoc nan Caorach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc nan Caorach

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc nan Claigeann

Place ID 2617 NF 89370 80437 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ScG hillock of the best fields

ScG cnoc nan claigeann

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

ScG claigeann has several contrasting meanings amongst them 'skull' and 'best field of arable land on a farm'. I think the latter works better here.

Mackillop (p9) gives the 'skull' folk etymology.

Cnoc nan Claigeann

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc nan Claigeann

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Cnoc nan Cnàmh

Place ID 6067 NF 83057 74533 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG hillock of the bones

ScG cnoc nan cnàmh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

One can imagine a story about bones being found in this hillock - it probably being some form of cairn. However ON knappr = ' knob' would not be very far away from the sound although p > v is not regular. This would give one the comfort of tautology.

The distribution of Cnamh/Cnàmh names on the OS 2nd edition mapping is somewhat odd with a real concentration on Lewis (15) and another across between Cluanie and Spean Bridge (17).

Cnoc nan Cnàmh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc nan Corr

Place ID 139 NF 94949 71435 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG pointed small hillock

ScG cnoc-an + corr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

I am unsure as to how the OS name book arrived at 'Remnant Knoll'. I suspect that there has been an example of the opposite of elision - viz the word started at ScG cnocan = 'small hillock' then became separated to 'cnoc nan'. With ScG cnocan, the adjective ScG corr = 'pointed' makes much more sense.

Cnoc nan Corr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc nan Corr

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc nan Cròitean

Place ID	5547	NF 85612 47875	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG hillock of the sheep-pens			ScG cnoc nan cròitean		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
There is a large pen visible adjacent to the shore at NF8549747734.					
Cnoc nan Cròitean			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Cnoc nan Cuigeal

Place ID 2592 NF 89658 69200 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG hillock of the + ON pasture of young cows ScG cnoc nan + ON kvíga+ völl

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The root is ScG cuigeal = 'distaff' although quite why I am not sure as it is not an obvious place to weave or spin. Norse provides us with ON kvikfé völl = 'livestock meadow' or ON hváll = 'hillock' would both work well topographically as the area is easily fenced with evidence of dykes there.

Medial 'f' and 'v' have a habit of disappearing and with reduction, it is possible to arrive at Cuigeal. However an 'fh' in the centre of the word is the best bet and so I'd suggest ON hóll.

All that said a simpler solution although the long l is a concern, is ON kvíga völl = 'pasture of the young cows before they has calved'.

ON kviga has the advantage of many more examples as a specific in both Iceland (>60) and Norway (c150). The closest however to a cognate is Kvíguhóll in Iceland and Kvigehaugen in Norway (based on ON haugr = 'mound'). There is only one other occurrence on the OS 2nd edition mapping of Cuigeal at Stùic na Cuigealach and topographically a projecting spur on a mountain does make some osrt of sense there.

Cnoc nan Cuigeal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnoc nan Cuigeal	1877	OS 1st edition

Cnoc nan Cuiseag

Place ID 412 NF 85840 56210 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG hillock of the 'Cuiseag' ScG cnoc + na + 'Cuiseag'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The nearby shieling, loch and an offshore skerry are also named after ScG cuiseag = rye-grass'.
See Loch nan Cuiseag (P#424) for more details as to its possible roots of the element 'Cuiseag'

Cnoc nan Cuiseag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnoc nan Cuiseag	1877	OS 1st edition

Cnoc nan Gobhar

Place ID 1909 NF 80470 55909 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG hillock of the goats

ScG cnoc nan gobhar

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

ScG gabhar is an alternative form of ScG gobhar = 'goat'.

Bald has a totally different name for the northern house here, Riavagh. This must be Norse with the generic ON vág = 'bay'. One possibility for the specific is ON rifja = 'of the reefs'. A good topographic description of the bay here.

His Crochpellar is not that clear either for the southern settlement although probably starts with ScG cnoc = 'hillock'

The OS 1st edition records a Bàgh Cnoc nan Gobhar as the bay here to the W.

Cnoc nan Gobhar	1877	OS 1st edition
Cnoc nan Gabhar	1861	Thomas chart
Riavagh	1832	Thomson atlas
Crochpellar	1832	Thomson atlas
Crochpellar	1804	Bald mapping
Riavagh	1804	Bald mapping

Cnoc nan Gobhar

Place ID 2575 NF 88541 72778 North Uist Central North

ScG hillock of the goats

ScG cnoc nan gobhar

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ScG gobha = 'blacksmith' is close in sound.

Gobhar occurs in 140 place names on the OS 2nd series, distributed widely across the Gaelic heartland.

Cnoc nan Gobhar

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc nan Gobhar

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc nan Seach Sagart

Place ID 5722 NF 76829 76250 North Uist V1allay

ScG hillock of the seven priests ScG cnoc nan seach sagart

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes 'Hill of the Seven Priests (MMC) It was said that seven priests were buried here. The hill was never ploughed, though it was ploughed all around. This hill has seven pillars; they are still visible.'
I don't think this is the real root.

Cnoc nan Seach Sagart

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc nan Uan

Place ID 2381 NF 71826 71307 North Uist B1alrinald

ScG hillock of the lambs ScG cnoc nan uan

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A common name in Scotland occurring 26 times and not surprisingly all in the Gaelic heartland.
ON húnn = 'knob' might be a good description of the hill here.

Cnoc nan Uan 1877 OS 1st edition

Cnoc Nic h-Earail

Place ID 2489 NF 83321 74138 North Uist Central North

ScG hillock of the ??

ScG cnoc

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OS name book provides a helpful 'The name of a woman'! However like them I can find nothing of any sense in Gaelic other than ScG cnoc = 'hillock', ScG nic = 'daughter' and ScG earail = 'caution' so 'hillock daughter of caution'?! This does strike me as an effort to resemanticise the original name.

In Norse however we have ON hjarð-hælli = 'shepherd's shelter' which works phonetically and the first element could be ON niðri = 'beneath' although the 'r' sound is lost, by reduction perhaps.

The area above here was pasture and so this description works topographically.

There is a Loch Nikkar on Berneray which could stem from ON hnjúkr = 'knoll' which is encouraging in terms of a tautology.

I suspect that ON hnjúkar hóll = 'hillocks hill' describing the lumpy hill here.

Disappointingly I suspect ON nykr = 'hippopotamus' is unlikely!

ON heli does not occur obviously in place names in Iceland or Norway which is a concern although it does in the Faroes e.g. Stórbrekkan á Hæli and Undir Hælinu. It is interesting to see both attached to adverbs.

OI niður and ON niðri both appears in Icelandic place naems as does nid and nidar in Norwegian ones.

Cnoc Nic h-Earail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnoc 'ic Earail	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Cnoc Nic Cearail	1877	OS name book
Cnoc Nic h-Earail	1877	OS 1st edition

Cnoc Oidhean He

Place ID 1943 NF 85090 59841 North Uist Eaval

ScG hillock of the place of the fold + Eng house ScG cnoc cuidhean + Eng house

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I do not see where the name has come from. Perhaps there is a transcription error of /O/ for /Q/.

Cnoc Oidhean He 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Cnoc Raineach

Place ID 630 NF 89800 78270 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG bracken hillock

ScG cnoc rainich

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The genitive has not been used here for some reason.

Cnoc Raineach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Raineach

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Rolum

Place ID 1901 NF 79102 54954 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ON headland of the landing place + ScG hillock ScG cnoc + ON varar hól m

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The second part of this feels more Norse than Smörgåsbord!

Blaeu's name, Knok Voralam, might be helpful as it inserts another sound. This then gives us ON varrar muli = 'headland of the landing place' with a fairly typical metathesis of the 'l' and 'm'.

It is possible that Loch Dun Mhurchaidh did have access to the sea in Norse times but it is also possible that the place name has been transposed from further N. The Cnoc of the name is clear but the place it overlooks could be on the open shore.

In a paper by Stewart Angus in the Hebridean Naturalist (Vol 19 p66) on water levels on Benbecula historically, his map shows it might well have been. Alternatively the loch shown on Bald's mapping just to the N of the ridge here seems to have a clear channel through to the sea.

Without that looking at the other spellings of the name then it is either rolum or c(h)olaram we are looking for.

The old name Knockvorlund from 1582 give a different hint. ON for-lendi = 'fore-land,' the land between sea and hills'. Not a bad description.

Knocksorlinn	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
Cnoc Rolum	2014	Modern OS mapping
Knokvorlund	1894	Originales Parochiales
Knock Rolum	1877	OS 1st edition
Cnoc Collerum	1877	OS name book
Crochholaram	1877	OS name book
Crochhovalam	1832	Thomson atlas
Crochhoralam	1804	Bald mapping
Knok Voralam	1654	Blaeu mapping

Cnoc Rosamal

Place ID 5939 NF 80083 74110 North Uist S1ollas

ON horse islet ScG hillock ScG cnoc + ON hrossa hólml

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I suspect this should be Rosamul, a name that crops wup elsewhere on Uist.
Usually -hólml > -mul or -mol however it can also become -lam and this seems a half way house.
Could it be related to Cnoc Chrosamul?

Cnoc Rosamal

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cnoc Salltraim

Place ID 2325 NF 79425 72070 North Uist Central North

ON salt pans + ScG hillock

ScG cnoc + ON salt - hólm

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

With ON holmr usually meaning islet it evolved in Iceland to mean pastures on the sea shore. One wonders in fact if a 'salt-holm' was in fact some form of salt pans. It is thought salt was produced in this area and this would have been the method.

The addended ScG cnoc = 'hillock' presumably means a hillock overlooking the salt-pans.

There is a Knock Saltram 6km to the W.

Niclain writes 'At one time, there was a battle between Siol Mhurchaidh and Siol Ghoraidh on Salltrum Hill. The Clan Riabhaich were on the side of Siol Mhurchaidh, and the people of Harris were on the side of Sial Ghoraidh. The day went well with Siol Mhurchaidh. They made peace together, and the dead were to be buried in Skellar Cemetery. There was a woman who was looking after an injured nanny. She heard two Harris men say that they were about to hide her, and to jump out silently at the people of Siol Mhurchaidh when they were on their way to the cemetery with the bodies. This was a run that told the people of Siol Mllurchaidh what was going to happen. The priest was praying for the battlefield. He persuaded everyone to bury their swords and lay down the rest of their weapons, and they agreed to make peace.'

ON salt-holmr is a relativley common name occuring as an onomastic unit four times in Iceland and 32 times in Norway with 23 simplex versions Saltholmen. There is also a Saltholme in N England.

Cnoc Salltraim	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnoc Salltrum	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Cnoc Salltrum	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Cnoc Salltrum	1877	OS name book
Knock Saltram	1877	OS 1st edition

Cnoc Sìtheil

Place ID 2544 NF 86388 74120 North Uist Central North

'Sìtheil' + ScG hillock

ScG cnoc + 'Sìtheil'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

At first this looks like a variant of ScG sith = 'fairy' as one is so used to ScG cnoc sìthean = 'fairy knoll'. The ending however is odd. And the word unusual in place-names. Beveridge gives us the interpretation of 'peaceful' but Dwelly gives 'fairy-like' as an alternative. The name is shared by the nearby Gearraidh Sìtheil (P#669 q.v.) for more information.

Cnoc Sìtheil

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoc Sìtheil

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Smercleit

Place ID 583 NF 88770 75820 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON butter crag + ScG hillock

ScG cnoc + ON smjör klett

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

ON smjör = 'butter' occurs regularly in place names on Uist. Macniven writes (p350) about Smaull 'Although this [ON smjör] is usually seen as marking the positive qualities of the land in terms of suitability for pasture, it has been suggested that the element could allude to the payment of tax in butter or the operation of heathen cult practices.' In some areas, 'butter' names are interpreted as storage places for butter.

One would have expected the development to be /smeor/ or /smaur/ perhaps.

An alternative is ON smár = 'small'. There are issues with the length of the initial vowel in both cases although the 'á' sounding as 'er' is better.

However the OS name book furnishes us with another option Cnoc Smart-cleit and here the initial vowel is better and possibly provides a genitive 's' although this does not appear in any of the Icelandic names with Smjör as the start.

Finally Vigfusson writes that ON smjör is pronounced smér in W Iceland and this is a better fit.

These thoughts combined with the cognate notes persuade me that the first option is the best.

a cluster near Campbelltown.

There are two Smjörklettur in Iceland and one Smørkletten in Norway although Smørklepp occurs over ten times and has a similar meaning.

There are five Smáklettur in Iceland but only Smalaklatt in Norway.

Cnoc Smercleit

2014

Modern OS mapping

Knock Smerclett

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc Smart-cleit

1877

OS name book

Cnoc Sornain

Place ID	1884	NF 77605 55469	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ScG hillock of the small kiln			ScG cnoc sòrn -ain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The OS name book gives us 'small Skate Knoll' from ScG sorn = 'shagreen ray' (/sɔ:RNan/). One wonders if the alternative meaning 'little kiln' might be better. It is a surprise that there is no article. In both of these words the initial vowel is a long /o/ not indicated in the OS spelling.

With proximity to the sea ON sjór = 'sea' is a possible specific for a Norse name..

Sornasairidh on Islay looks Norse (Macniven p219) and he discusses Surn at length (p234). Here he references the river Surna in Norway derived from 'either ON Súrn or Surn referring to the noise made by the river or the 'raw and damp' quality of the land around it.' This could well be referencing the land between the modern airport and the main road into town.

This is the only example of a place containing Sornain on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Cnoc Sornain	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

Cnoc Tigh Raonaid

Place ID 559 NF 71558 70890 North Uist B1alranald

ON rocky isthmus + ScG house hillock SCg cnoc taigh + ON hraun ei

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst 'hillock of Rachel's house' is the literal translation the alternative word Tigh rings alarm bells.
ON teigrinn eið = ' isthmus of The plot of land' and particularly an isthmus that is a small land bridge between two larger sections of land is such a good topographical fit that it is worthy of thought.
A simpler solution might be that ON hraun eið = 'rocky land isthmus' prefixed by the two Gaelic words.

Cnoc Tigh Raonaid

Canmore

Cnoca Breac

Place ID 1604 NF 75189 69121 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG speckled hillocks

scG cnoca breac

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The place is described in the Hebridean connection (p17) as 'the speckled hillock'.

The final /a/ is odd and might reflect an anachronistic plural ending. Alternatively it could be to do with an article being subsumed.

The Lewis name Cnoca Beaga is evidence for the former as ScG beaga is a plural version of ScG beag = 'small' and Cnoca nan Sithean could be evidence for the latter as it might come from the grammatically correct cnocan an sithean.

Whilst the plural of ScG breac is ScG breaca in the nominative and dative, it is ScG breac in the vocative and genitive.

On the OS 2nd edition mapping there are only four names including the element Cnoca; two Cnoca Breac on Uist, a Cnoca Beaga on Lewis and a Cnoca nan Sithean in the Cairngorms.

Cnoca Breac

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Cnoca Breac

Place ID 2573 NF 87683 73710 North Uist Central North

SCG speckled hillock

ScG cnoca breac or ON hnjúka brekk

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The 'a' on the Cnoca is peculiar.

An alternative thought is ON hnjúka brekk = 'slope of the knolls', a good topographical fit.

There are four names with Cnoca as a component on the OS 2nd series. Two Cnoca Breac (here and South Uist), a Cnoca Beaga (on Lewis) and one Cnoca nan Sithean. This last could be a more usual Cnocan. Cox cites two places on Lewis citing it as the plural of ScG cnoc = 'hillock', citing it as a possible marker of an early name (p57).

In Iceland there are two Hnjúkabrekka cognates.

Cnoca Breac	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------	------	-------------------

Cnoca Breac	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Cnoca Breac

Place ID 6325 NF 73554 33752 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG speckled knoll

ScG cnoc breac

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

I do not understand where the terminal /a/ in Cnoca has come from unless it was Cnoc a' Breac but then we would expect Cnoc a' Bhreac = 'knoll of the trout ot salmon'.

Cnoca Breac

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnoca Breac

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnocan a' Ghurrabain

Place ID 5185 NF 79768 53068 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG hillock of the tall rock

ScG cnoc -an a' ghurrabain

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Exposed rock

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'The Crunching Knoll' which is think is a typo and should read 'Crouching' from ScG gurraban. An alternative meaning is 'Tall, slender column of rock often found on foreshores and elsewhere, monolith'.

The specific occurs in three other place names on the OS 2nd edtion mapping, two near Glenelg and one on N Mull.

Cnocan a' Ghurrabain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cnocan a' Ghurrabain

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnocan Buidhe

Place ID 2231 NF 73000 67300 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG yellow hillocks

ScG cnocan + buidhe

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Stahl writes 'An Cnocan Buidhe, 'the yellow hillock', in Balemore, is called such as there is so much ragwort, which is yellow, growing there. MacAulay, 1978:5-6.'

An alternative explanation could be sand blow.

Cnocan Buidhe

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Cnocan na Croise Beaga

Place ID 1242 NF 81730 60170 North Uist C1arinish

ScG small hillock of the small cross ScG cnocan na croise beaga

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book writes 'Knolls of the small crosses' as a result of much grammatical confusion.

Cnocan na Croise Beaga

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc-na-Monadh

Place ID 5125 NF 78378 50965 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG hillock of the expanse of heather

ScG cnoc an monadh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The article is not as I would expect with ScG monadh = 'hill pasture' or 'expanse of heather' being masculine. This would lead to ScG a' plus lenition making the sound significantly different.

One possible solution is the plural SCG cnoc nam monadh = 'hillock of the hill pastures'.

However there is a Meall na Monadh on Colonsay and no other with this specific and article and so one suspects a variation in the gender of the word. There are 16 of the expected form a' Mhonaidh.

In combination with the slightly odd form with the hyphens leads me to think there could be a Norse root. ON hnúkr munn vík = 'bay of the opening hillock' with order problems.

Cnoc-na-Monadh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Knocknamonie	1877	OS 1st edition
Cnocamoine	1877	OS name book
Cnoc na Monach	1877	OS name book

Coileag an Udail

Place ID 5989 NF 82530 78340 North Uist S1ollas

ScG dune of 'Udail'

ScG coileag an 'Udail'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

See Udal (P#1320) for a discussion of that component.

Niclain writes 'The Udal, and especially the Udal cockle, is an important archaeological site. Archaeologists believe that some lived around âiteseobhomu 300 BC to about 1700 AD. They have found fifty buildings and ruins. They have acquired over 27,000 items such as bones and iron and bronze objects. There are a number of wheelhouses, Viking houses, and smithies, for example. It appears that the buildings left over from other aoiwan were used by the locals. Thus, a bunch of interesting buildings appear among each other (Crawford: 6). There is also an oral tradition associated with the Udal, when Siol Ghoraidh, a descendant of the MacDonalds, lived in the Udal. It was once the largest town on the island. Siol Mhurchaidh lived over in Hömhsta. It is said that in the sixteenth century there was a conflict between the two groups, and that the people of Shiol Ghoraidh went over to Hömhsta one night and opened the bank at Loch Hömhsta, which was on the side of the mountain. Some of the Shiol Mllurchaidh people were bliâthadll, when the flood came down the side of the mountain to the homes. Tradition has it that it left Loch Hömhsta in its present location. Siol Mhurchaidh wanted revenge for what they had suffered; they reached the Udal without the knowledge of Shiol Ghoraidh. There was a battle in which only one member of Shiol Ghoraidh survived, and he fled to South Uist (Beveridge. 1911.77)'

Coileag an Udail

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Coileanais

Place ID 5018 NF 81262 26949 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON knob-like headland

ON kúlu nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This must be a Norse name with the specific being ON nes = 'headland'. For the specific the most likely is ON kúla = 'knob' (or its genitive ON kúlu) but often meaning knob-like hill, a good topographical description of the whole headland.

Coileanais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Coile Nish	1877	OS name book
Coilenish	1877	OS 1st edition
Collernish Point	1804	Bald mapping

Coill

Place ID	189	NF 94876 69588	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ON rounded hill top			ON koll		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

An obvious possibility is ScG coille = 'wood' however the disappearance of the final 'e' is odd for a well known ScG word, as well as the fact it exists as a simplex name (i.e. no specific) and is topographically odd as there is no reason for a wood here.

It does sound like Kyle the anglicized form of ScG caol or perhaps here ON kíl = 'inlet, canal'

There are a few ON possibilities but ON kollr = 'rounded protrusion' works topographically especially in the accusative form ON koll

Kúla appears as a simplex place name eight times in Iceland with six versions of the plural ON kúlar. There are 34 examples of Kul(n) in Norway.

In the two examples cited by Rygh, he defines the term to mean 'Bulge, swelling, used as a term for a round-like elevation.'

Coill	2014	Modern OS mapping
Coill	1877	OS 1st edition

Coilleag Fhionnlaigh

Place ID 6008 NF 81552 75878 North Uist S1ollas

ScG Finlay's dune ScG coileag fhionnlaigh

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The dune was named after Finlay Morrison, a herdsman in Sollas. He used to shelter here.

Coilleag Fhionnlaigh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Coilleag Mhòr Mhic Ghlaisein

Place ID 5792 NF 80917 75892 North Uist S1ollas

ScG big dune + ??

ScG coilleag mhòr + ??

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Niclain writes 'Dougal MacGlashan of Argyll was a schoolmaster when Dunskeellar had a school. One day he lost his mind and set the school on fire. Then he went down to this dune and took his own life.'

ScG glaisein has a rather vague definition of 'unspecific term for a grey object'. It seem munlikle that someone is known - or wants ot be known - as 'son of a grey object'. I wonder if instead we have ON víkja klasinn = 'the cluster of bays'?

Coilleag Mhòr Mhic Ghlaisein

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Coilleag nan Tòrr

Place ID	5819	NF 80029 75423	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG dune of the mounds			ScG coilleag nan tòrr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Coilleag nan Tòrr			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Coir' an t-Sagairt

Place ID 6345 NF 83497 33928 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG corrie of the priest

ScG coire an t-sagairt

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

As I've written elsewhere, as there is no other ecclesiastical place names in the area or any tradition of a chapel, one wonders after listening to a Gaelic pronunciation of /t-Sagairt/ to my ears it sounds like /hagəRʃd/. This could stem from ON haga stað = 'place of pasture(s)'. In this remote but pastoral spot, it seems much more likely.

Coir' an t-Sagairt

2014

Modern OS mapping

Coir' an t-Sagairt

1877

OS 1st edition

Coire Buidhe

Place ID 6449 NF 82494 35227 South Uist B1einn Mhòr
ScG yellow corrie ScG coire buidhe ScG?
Contour Depression ON?
 complete?

Coire Buidhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Coire Buidhe	1877	OS 1st edition
Corry na Buiy	1804	Bald mapping

Coire Dubh

Place ID	6307	NF 79313 32353	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG dark corrie			ScG coire dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Depression			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Coire Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Coire Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Coire na h-Eitich

Place ID 6450 NF 83400 35630 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG corrie of the stump

ScG corrie na h-eitich

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

The OSNB gives us "Carry of the White or Bleached Heather".

ScG eiteach = 'plumage' and 'stump (esp. of burnt heather, often used as kindling) ' and it is the latter that one presumes gives the OSNB their option.

I would have expected the plural here and so still wonder if there is a Norse option ON hæð = 'height' is not a bad start.

Coire na h-Eitich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Coire na h-Eitich

1877

OS 1st edition

Corry Spotle

1804

Bald mapping

Coire Ruadail

Place ID 5582 NF 81734 35549 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON ridge - valley + ScG corrie

ScG coire + ON ròð - dal

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

This is an odd one as the current name only occurs on mapping for the first time in the modern OS mapping whilst the name itself Choradail appeared from Bald's mapping if not earlier, albeit in various forms.

With an Abhuinn Ruadh and Abhuinn Roag (P#2103 q.v.) starting in these hills, ON rauðr = 'red' is a likely root.

Bealach Carra Dhouil Ghuirm, Coire Rudale, Loch, Glen and Abhuinn Corodale, Corodale Bay all appear on the OS 1st series mapping scattered about the area. Oddly Loch Coradail is not in Gleann Choradail but in Gleann Uisinis and Coire Ruadail is around the corner of Hecla.

There are other possibilities such as the word ON kjósa = 'to choose' has evolved into a deep or hollow place' and so perhaps the ON kjör = 'a choice' derived from the same verb has gone down the same root. ON kjöra = 'of choices' would be the best phonetical fit.

It is possible here that with two clear ridges, there was a choice as to which one to follow?

However going back to ON rauðr, pronounced /'røy:ðyr/, if this was a part of the root, then it would tend to show that of the names in the area the name here, Coire Rudail, is the most helpful as a head name. This would come from a valley named by the Norse as Rauða-dal = 'red valley' and then the Gaels named the obvious corrie nearby as Coire Ruadail 'corrie of 'Rauð-dalr'. This then became an onomastic unit in itself - Corodale of the OS 1st mapping but getting remangled again in Bealach Carra Dhouil Ghuirm a.k.a. Bealach Corodale Ghuirm = 'blue shoulder of 'Corodale'.

After all that I have had a change of heart with the Norse specific on account, as so often happens, discovering a new Norse word, an alternative to ON rauðr.

Vigfusson writes that ON ròð = 'a row, series' but then adds as a second meaning 'a bank, ridge, edge'.

The cognate Raudal(en) and Raudal(en) occur 16 and 7 times respectivley in Norway and in Iceland there are a Rauðárdalur, a Rauðsdalir and four Rauðsdalur.

Coire Ruadail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Coire Ruadail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Coire Ruadail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Coire Ruadail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Corry Rudal	1877	OS name book
Coire Rudale	1877	OS 1st edition
Coire Rudale	1877	OS 1st edition
Coire Ruaival	1877	OS name book
Corry Rudal	1877	OS name book
Coire Ruaibhal	1877	OS name book
Coire Ruaibhal	1877	OS name book
Coire Ruaival	1877	OS name book
Corry Rudal	1804	Bald mapping
Corry Rudal	1804	Bald mapping

Coire Uamh nan Calman

Place ID	6313	NF 83233 32565	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG cave of the doves corrie			ScG coire uamh nan calman		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Depression			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Coire Uamh nan Calman			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Coire Uamh nan Calman			1877	OS 1st edition	

Coireachan Dubha

Place ID 6162 NF 78838 25102 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG black area full of holes

ScG coireachan dubha

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

ScG coireach means 'Full of circular hollows or dells' as well as 'faulty, guilty, culprit' amongst others. The first use is as an adjective which seems odd here leaving us with two adjectives.

It is quite likely that in fact the root is ScG coire = 'corrie' with a suffix, possibly two.

Coireachan Dubha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Coirechan Dubha

1877

OS 1st edition

Collam

Place ID 5360 NF 84502 50783 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON islet of the bald protrusion

ON kollu hólms

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The generic is almost certainly ON hólmr= 'islet', a word that often ends us as /-lam/ or even /-am/.

Without visiting it, it is difficult to tell if the specific is the obvious ON kollr = 'rounded protrusion' or ON kolla = 'bald protrusion'. However the genitive separates them with ON kollu being the genitive of ON kolla and lacking the genitival /s/.

However with many other names like this, I suspect the root is actually ON hjallr = 'fish drying racks. Here ON hjalla hólms = 'islet of fish drying racks' seems appropriate.

Collam	2014	Modern OS mapping
Colleam	1877	OS name book
Collam	1877	OS 1st edition
Collam Island	1804	Bald mapping

Collastrome

Place ID 1208 NF 90180 70570 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON current of the rounded hill

ON kolls straum

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

ON kolla = 'of the ewes' or 'of the cows' are two possible interpretations although there are other possibilities including 'Eider Duck', the duck that is used for down and still commonly breeds on the islands. Neither seem particularly appropriate to attach to a current.

The meaning of ON kolla = 'of the rounded hills' seems odd in the plural but is probably the most likely. Alternatively and probably more likely is that the name was ON kolls straumr but then a vowel was inserted in the consonant cluster, a regular occurrence, to create Coll a strome. This then reduces us to a more sensible one rounded hill. Blathaisbhal would be the referent.

The order of specific then generic gives away the Norse roots even through ScG sròm appears in the Gaelic lexicon as a loan-word.

However in an area where there appear to be several ON hjallr = 'fish drying rack' names, this could well be another. ON hjalla straum.

Several names in Iceland start with Kolla as opposed to Kolls, indeed the former are in the majority.

In Norway there is a cognate Kollstraumen as well as two other places beginning with the same elements.

Colstrum

1890

Carmichael notebooks

Collastrome

1877

OS 1st edition

Committee Road

Place ID	5893	NF 79143 72446	North Uist	V1allay	
Eng committee road			Eng committee road		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Track			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Committee Road			2019	RCA	
Rathad na Comataidh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Corary

Place ID 2311 NF 74116 71389 North Uist Central West

ON sheiling of the folds

ON króa ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

There is a Corary on South Uist, Skye and a Corrary in Glen Elg and Islay along with two Macniven discusses them (p201 & 202) and unusually havers between a ScG corr airigh = 'shieling on the round hill' and ON Kara ærgi = 'Kari's sheiling'. He does not like the ScG order here citing it as specific-generic which would indeed be unusual in ScG.

It has been pointed out to me locally that ScG airigh can have the meaning of 'the land' rather than just 'the building' and so the meaning could be 'round hill of the sheiling' which does work.

My understanding of ScG corr is that it can mean, possibly anachronistically, 'end, corner, limit' and that would work with the idea of 'sheiling referring to the land'.

However with the three Charra place names two or three kilometres to the E, it seems likely that the root here is the same ON kjarr á = 'thicket river' or possibly simply ON kjarr. The initial vowel however here is not good.

/r/ is a letter that Cox (§40 iip115) cites as regularly undergoing metathesis e.g. þorsk > trosg; Tjarnargerði > Teànnraigir.

Here then ON króa = 'of the folds' would work well an indeed there are still prominent folds on th hill here.

Overall then króa > kroa > kora.

ON holt seems a very similar word to ON kjarr (although probably refers to a more mature woodland) but is commoner in both Norway and Iceland and ON sætr is a common version with similar meaning to ON ærgi.

Holtes(a)etra/e is therefore a simliar meaning ot the name here and occurs commonly (14 times) in Norway.

There is a Korri in Iclenad trhat is a prominent hillock but the etymology is unclear.

In Iceland there is a Króargarður

Corary

2014

Modern OS mapping

Corary

1877

OS 1st edition

Cor-eilean Sponish

Place ID	1207	NF 91780 70440	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
'Sponish' + ScG pointed island			ScG corr-eilean + 'Sponish'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
For more details see Spònais (P#951)					
Cor-eilean Sponish			1877	OS 1st edition	

Corlan Beg

Place ID 6606 NF 86242 40821

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ScG small pointed island

ScG corr - eilean beag

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Corlan Beg

1804

Bald mapping

Corr Eilean Keallasay

Place ID 193 NF 92136 70769 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG pointed island of + 'Ceallasaigh'

ScG corr + eilean + 'Ceallasaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

For details see Keallasay or Ceallasaigh

Corr Eilean Keallasay

2014

Modern OS mapping

Corr Eilean Keallasay

1877

OS 1st edition

Corran Àird a' Mhòrain

Place ID 2447 NF 83071 76800 North Uist S1ollas

'ScG headland of + ON The landing place' + ScG sic ScG sickle headland + 'Àird a' Mhòrain.

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here the Aird a' Mhorain is an onomastic unit and as such is discussed under that name.

ScG corran = 'sickle' and 'point of land running far into the sea' both of which work here topographically.

Corran Àird a' Mhòrain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Corran Aird a' Mhorrain	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Corran Ard a' Bhorain	1877	OS 1st edition

Corran Bhalaig

Place ID 649 NF 85540 76071 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON whale bay + ScG sickle headland ScG corran + ON hvala vág

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This works well with Corran Vallaquie further up in the bay.

Corran Bhalaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Corran Vallaquie	1877	OS 1st edition

Corran Ghoulabaidh

Place ID 626 NF 87893 77493 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON jarl's farm+ ScG headland

ScG cxorran + oN goða bý

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Beveridge gives us ON gulr - bær = 'yellow farmstead'

ON gulr is a possible root but with /ð/ > /l/ in the Gaelicization process (e.g. ON byrðingr > ScG birlinn) so are ON guð or ON goð both = 'god' or ON goði = 'jarl'.

The first two have an 's' for the genitive whilst the last has ON goða = 'of the jarl' as the genitive. ON goða + bær = 'jarl's farm' is an attractive and not impossible root.

Gull- (presumably from ON gullr = 'gold') much commoner than Gul- in Iceland.

Nine Goðaborg in Iceland which must be a close cognate.

The only other place in Scotland with Goula as the first component is Goular which is adjacent to North Uist's other parish church, presumably another area of importance for the leadership of the islands.

Corran Ghoulabaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Corran Ghulbaidh	1877	OS name book
Corran Gulabay	1877	OS name book
Corran Goulaby	1877	OS 1st edition
Golbay	1799	1799 rental

Corran Halipol

Place ID 5622 NF 63904 60742 North Uist Heisker

ON ?? pool + ScG narrows

ScG corran + ON ?? Poll

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Macaulay (p45) simply writes 'ON Halipol'.

The obvious generic would be ON pollr = 'pool' in the accusative form ON poll. Satellite imagery reveals an appropriate pool here on the shore.

ON halli = 'declivity' is a possible specific as is ON hali = 'tail'. One could justify either topographically.

In Iceland both Halla and Hala occur whilst the latter is commoner.

Corran Halipol

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

Corran Mhànuis

Place ID 5618 NF 64331 61336 North Uist Heisker

ScG narrow headland + 'Mhànuis'

ScG corran + 'Mhànuis'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Macaulay gives us ScG corran = 'a narrow headland' and 'ON name Magnus' which seems unlikely. It seems ot be similar to the other 'manish' type names around the area. See Meanais (P#5373) for a fuller discussion.

Corran Mhanais

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

Corran Mhànuis

2014

Modern OS mapping

Corran Vanish

1877

OS 1st edition

Corran Ormiclate

Place ID 6297 NF 73106 32075 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG gully of + 'Ormiclate'

ScG corran + 'Ormiclate'

Coastal

Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Ormacleit (P#81) for a discussion of that component.

Corran Ormiclate

2014

Modern OS mapping

Corran Ormaclett

1877

OS 1st edition

Corran Rocks

Place ID	1301	NF 95573 81121	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG sickle headland + Eng rocks			ScG corran + Eng rocks		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Corran Rocks			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Corr-eilean

Place ID 1066 NF 76590 75610 North Uist V1allay

ScG ? Limit island ScG corr-eilean

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG còrr has as one of its meanings 'limit' and so 'limit island' works well topographically here. It is 'indeclinable' of all things so easier than most!

However the nearby Rudha nan Corr is in all probability linked and so the meaning is in fact coming from a grammatically mangled version of ScG corra = 'heron' - it is still a favourite spot for them.

Corr-eilean	2014	Modern OS mapping
Corr-eilean	1877	OS 1st edition

Corr-Eileanan

Place ID 6605 NF 86290 40932 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG pointed - islands ScG corr - eileanan

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bald records separate names for the two islands here Vore (ScG mhòr) and Beg (ScG beag).

Corr-Eileanan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Corr-Eileanan	1877	OS 1st edition
Corlan Vore	1804	Bald mapping

Corry na Heath

Place ID 6469 NF 82506 35762 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG corrie of the ScG heath ScG coire na + Eng heath

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The English element seems a little odd but Bald does like to translate his names on occasion.

Corry na Heath

1804

Bald mapping

Corunna

Place ID 1266 NF 81690 61840 North Uist C1arinish

Eng Corunna Eng Corunna

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The place is named by a soldier who had fought at Corunna in the Peninsula War and then returned to the Isles.

Corunna 2014 Modern OS mapping

Cotan nan Uan

Place ID	2212	NF 78419 62879	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG small building (or fold) of the lambs			ScG cotan nan uan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cotan nan Uan			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Cotan nan Uan

Place ID	5879	NF 79387 73166	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG pen of the lambs			ScG cotan nan uan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cotan nan Uan			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cràcanais

Place ID 2618 NF 90602 79997 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ON headland of the nooks or crows ON króka or kráka nes

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
 ON?
 complete?

The generic is clearly ON nes = 'headland'.

Mackillop gives us ON kráka = 'crow' or the reflex ON kráka = 'of the crows'.

What looks further away is ON krókr = 'hook or nook' but the development ó > à is regular. However ON

The best reflex is ON króka = 'of the nooks'.

You pays your money and takes your pick. Personally I'd go for the nooks option. See the cognate notes for another option.

There is a Craiknish on Tiree where Holliday opts for crows after advice from Sandnes (p434).

Looking at the topography of this palce and that on Berneray, both a peninsula almost encircling a bay and so could be considered to form a collar - ON kragi = 'collar'.

Craga in Shetland is derived form ON krókr accoridng to Stewart (p186)

In Iceland there is a Krókanes and a Króknes along with four Krákunes names.

In Norway there are over 130 place names beginning with Krok(-/a/e/s)nes(et) including 18 Krokanes(et) place-names.

Kråknes is equally commonwith over 200 places containing this component but none with the /a/ after the second /k/.

Cràcanais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cràiginnis	2013	Place nAmes of Berneray
Creag-innis	2013	Place nAmes of Berneray
Craakinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru Craignish	1832	Thomson atlas
Ru Craignish	1804	Bald mapping

Cràgaisgeir

Place ID 5745 NF 77186 75659 North Uist V1allay

ON skerry of the hook

ON króks sgeir

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

The order would indicate a Norse name as the feature here is an ON sker = 'skerry'.

The specific is probably ON krókr = 'hook' in the form ON króks = 'of the hook' and referring to the shape of the skerry.

ON króka = 'of the hooks' might be better.

In Iceland we have nine Krókasker and one Krókssker.

Cràgaisgeir

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Craig Bruick

Place ID 6356 NF 86553 33149 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG crag of the steep hillside ScG creag bruthach

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With an IPA spelling of /bruhəx/, ScG bruthach = 'steep hillside' looks good here.

Craig Bruick 1804 Bald mapping

Craig Laiaval

Place ID 586 NF 88250 75060

North Uist

Lochp1ortain

'Leathabhal' + ScG crag

ScG craig + 'Leathabhal'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Leathabhal for more details.

Craig Laiaval

2014

Modern OS mapping

Craig Laiaval

1877

OS 1st edition

Craigan an I. Griasich

Place ID 6478 NF 76230 36568 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG small crag of the+ Eng ilsad + ScG ?? ScG creag -an an + Eng island + ScG ??

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

I suspect that ScG greusaiche = 'cobbler' is the solution here although ScG grìosaich = 'of the embers' would also work. You pays your money, you takes your pick.

One imagines that 'I. Griasich' refers to the island on Bald's mapping named I. ni niver, that now forms the W end of the small peninsula at NF 76399 36537.

Craigan an I. Griasich

1804

Bald mapping

Craigavaig

Place ID 5000 NF 79700 27086 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON bay of the hooks

ON króka vík

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The generic is clear as ON vik = 'bay' or ON vǫgr = 'small bay'. The latter looks a better fit phonetically but by the cognates, the former looks more likely

For the specific ON kraki = 'a pale or a stake', ON kráka = 'crow', ON kriki = 'a crack or nook', ON krókr = 'hook' are all possibles and the latter two fit topographically.

If pushed, I think the latter fits the closest both phonetically with a strong vowel sound to start with and topographically as the bay hooks around to the W.

Krok(a) viga is common in Norway with over 50 instances and whilst both components are common in Iceland, there is a close cognate Krókavík.

Craigavaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cragabhaig	1877	OS name book
Craigaveg	1877	OS name book
Craigavaig	1877	OS 1st edition

Craig-Liath

Place ID	878	NF 81540 62580	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG grey crag			ScG creag liath		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Craig-Liath			2021	Standard OS mapping	

Crakavagh

Place ID 329 NF 79370 62690 North Uist B1aleshare

ON hooked bay

ON kráka vág

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Although there are other possibilities, the best fit topographically is ON krákr = 'hook, anything crooked'.

Crakavagh

1877

OS 1st edition

Cralgarry

Place ID 6222 NF 82957 23740 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON enclosure of the corner

ON krár gerði

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The crag here almost creates an enclosure on its own and it is certainly in a corner.

There is a possibility this is a ScG name with ScG craig gearraidh = 'crag of the enclosure' which seems slightly back to front.

Cralgarry

1804

Bald mapping

Crannog

Place ID 6231 NF 73578 30546 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

EnG crannog Eng crannog

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst not mentioned in Canmore, the headland opposite Rubha na Tote (P#6232)

Crannog 1804 Bald mapping

Craobhagun

Place ID 244 NF 93130 75750 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON bay of the folds ON króa váginn

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG craobhagan = 'small trees' which seems an odd name as it lacks a generic.

ON váginn = 'bay' looks good for the generic (with the definite accusative ON váginn being the best fit).

For the specific there are a few possibilities, to my mind the best two of which are ON krá = 'corner' or 'nook' or in Icelandic 'inn' and ON krabbi = 'crab'.

The cognate notes indicate to me that the latter might be the better option but there would be a lot of /b/ letters here and so I think the former is the solution, probalby as a close compound.

In all these however the initial vowel is not of the right quality. A better option is ON króa = 'of the folds'.

ON krá vík has the advantage of appearing sixteen times as a component of a place name in Norway. However in Norway Krabb(a/e)vågen appears thirteen times.

In Iceland there is a Króarávík. ON kró and ON krá seem interchangeable in the Scandinavian world.

Craobhagun	2014	Modern OS mapping
Na Craobhagan	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Craobhagan Islets	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Craobhagun	1877	OS 1st edition
Craobhagun	1877	OS 1st edition

Craonabhal

Place ID 1948 NF 83502 62774 North Uist Eaval

ON hill of the arms of the sea

ON greina fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Beveridge gives us 'Norse? Krúna-fjall, 'crown-hill' and this seems to make sense. Macniven talks about the word 'crown' coming to mean a round bare-topped hill which is just what we have here.

That said there could be a relationship with the nearby Criongrabhal, especially as oa > ei.

I think therefore on reflection the root is ON greina fjall = 'hill of the arms of the sea'.

ON krúna also occurs on two skerry names near Bhearneraigh.

There is a Krunudalr in Iceland and better two Krunefjell in Norway and Ryhg states ON krúna can be used as a 'mountain name'. One wonders if Kriribheinn on South Uist might share the same root.

Craonabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Craonaval	1877	OS 1st edition
Kroneval	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Criniveal	1703	Martin book

Cràraigh Mhòr

Place ID 5043 NF 83882 45411 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG big + ON island of the

ON *krór + ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

With the common generic of ON ey = " the am eis clearly Norse. The contender for the specific would be ON krá = 'nook' or 'corner' with a genitive ON krár.

It is possible that it could be the ON kró = 'pen', one the of the few Norse words loaned from ScG crò.

Looking at the cognate notes and the development ó > à being regular, I am inclined towards this root.

In Iceland I can find no cognates for ON krá however ON kró occurs many times.

Cràraigh Mhòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
A' Crara Mhòr	1877	OS name book
Craray Mhòr	1877	OS 1st edition

Cràraigh Mhòr

Place ID 5228 NF 83899 45410 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG big + ON island of the nook ON krár ey + ScG mhòr

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ON krá = 'quiet corner, nook' is the obvious root with the genitive ON krár = 'of the nook'.

There is a Craray Dubh nearby.

Cràraigh Mhòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Craray Mhòr	1877	OS 1st edition
A' Crara Mhòr	1877	OS name book

Craray Dubh

Place ID 5227 NF 83892 45610 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG black + 'Crary' 'Crary' + ScG dubh

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of the element 'Crary' see Cràraigh Mhòr (P#5228)

Craray Dubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------	------	-------------------

Craray Dubh	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

A' Chrara-Dubh	1877	OS name book
----------------	------	--------------

Creag a' Chait

Place ID 5977 NF 83735 78987 North Uist S1ollas

ON hook oof the small ships

ON kraki kata

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Again Niclain somewhat despairs 'Nobody had any idea how this place got its name this strang.'

It could come from the ON kati = 'a kind of small ship'. Th is would require a reordering with the generic being ON kraki = 'hook'.

Would expect the genitive plural of ON kati to be *ON kata and so originally ON kata kraki = 'hook of the small ships'.

The site is a good one to store these small boats and the dune feature could be taken to be in the form of a hook.

Ea > a probalby works here with the understanding of the English form crag.

Creag a' Chait is a common name ioccurring 30 times on the OS 2nd edition mapping. Uist however is free of both wild cats and Chait name so nthis mapping.

Kraka is relaitvley common start to Iclenadic place names occuring over 25 times.

Creag a' Chait

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Creag a' Chriobhain

Place ID 1006 NF 93440 67150 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG crag of the ON The cliff

ScG creag a' + ON kleifin

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The OS name book is unusually specific here with 'The herb cliff (wild garlic)'. The best my usual Gaelic dictionaries could find was ScG crubh-eòin = 'fenugreek' or 'birds foot (herb)'.
ON kriu vangr = 'home-field of the tern' might be a trifle poetic. ON kvi = 'pen' is a little further away phonetically but would be a more usual name.

ON kleifin = 'The steep and narrow section of a mountainside' is probably the best fit with r > l, a change regularly occurring on Tiree.

ON kleifin = 'The steep and narrow section of a mountainside' is probably the best fit with r > l, a change regularly occurring on Tiree.

kriu is a common specific in Iceland occurring in over 100 place names.

Kleif or Kleifar are very common simplex names in Iceland but I could find no example with the post-positional definite article. However in the Faroes there are eight place names Kleivin and eight in Norway.

Creag a' Chriobhain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag a' Chriobhain

1877

OS 1st edition

Creag a' Chuilbh

Place ID	6640	NF 84611 41282	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG crag of the pillar			ScG creag a' chuilb		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Flat			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creag a' Chuilbh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Creag a' Chuilbh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Creag Aireach

Place ID 5004 NF 80935 25978 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG place of lookout crag

ScG creag fhaire - ach

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Bald positions this crag further S and no longer on the coast. ScG aireach = 'cautious or circumspect' whilst ScG àireach = 'cattle herder' and both have some logic.

I would suggest that a silent 'fh' added to the start gives us ScG fhaire -ach = 'place of lookout', a well sited l=place for this purpose.

The Bald spelling Craig Airy Mor would do away with 'the place of'

Creag Aireach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Creag Aireach	1877	OS 1st edition
Craig Airy More	1804	Bald mapping

Creag Aireach

Place ID 6166 NF 80955 25945 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG crag of the look-out plcae

ScG creag fhaire - ach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Cliff or slope

complete?

The initial ScG fh is silent.

The position of this crag at the entrance to Loch Aineort is a typical one.

For example a similar 'look-out' name can be found in Loch Sgioport, Beinn na hAire and the North Ford, Beinn na h-Aire.

Creag Aireach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag Aireach

1877

OS 1st edition

Creag Airy More

1804

Bald mapping

Creag an Fhithich

Place ID 454 NF 87870 55210 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Crag of the raven ScG creag an fhithich

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This must refer to the site, once, of a raven's nest or at least a roost.
That said there are other possibilities for which see Loch an Fhithich (P#453)

Creag an Fhithich 1877 OS 1st edition

Creag an Learag

Place ID 5921 NF 80306 74261

North Uist

S1ollas

ScG crag of the slope

ScG creag an leirg

Contour

Rise

ScG?

ON?

complete?

ScG learag = 'diver' seems unlikely here.

Creag an Learag

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Creag an Teine

Place ID	5880	NF 79501 73169	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG crag of the fire			ScG creag an teine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?					
This could refer to some form of 'signal' fire.					
Creag an Teine			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Creag an t-Sagairt

Place ID 6210 NF 82220 23737 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG cliff of the priest

SDcG creag an t-sagairt

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

There is no other ecclesiastical place names in the area.

One wonders I the comment about the cluster of /sagairt/ names on Ronaigh applies : 'Listening to a Gaelic pronunciation of /t-Sagairt/ to my ears it sounds like /hagəRʃd/. This cloud stem from ON haga stað = 'dwelling of pasture(s)'.
It fits with the interpretation of Stulaigh.

There is a Hakastaðir place name in both Iceland and Norway.

Creag an t-Sagairt

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag an t-Sagairt

1877

OS 1st edition

Creag an Tuill

Place ID 1766 NF 90618 55019 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG crag of the hole scG creag an Tuill

Coastal Cliff or slope

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Thomas is the only one who cites this name and helpfully translates it as 'Hole cliff'. ScG toll = 'hole' has as its genitive ScG tuill = 'of a hole'.

Hole Cliff	1861	Thomas chart
------------	------	--------------

Creag an Tuill	1861	Thomas chart
----------------	------	--------------

Creag Bhlarain

Place ID 1111 NF 72650 76100 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG crag of the small level spot ScG creag bhlar -ain

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG blàrain = 'of the smal level spot' based upon ScG blàr = 'plain, field' could be a good topographical fit. My only concern is the proximity of the Blasgidh names which look to have a shared root.

ON bláinn = 'the blue horizon' is possibly getting poetic but this point could be considered to be the stepping off point to Iceland.

Creag Bhlarain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag Caltinish

Place ID 6642 NF 84232 41715 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG 'Caltinish@ + ScG crag

ScG creag + 'Caltinish'

Contour

Rise

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Caltanais (P#6639) for a discussion of that place name.

Creag Caltinish

2014

Modern OS mapping

Craig Chailinis

1877

OS name book

Creag Calternish

1877

OS 1st edition

Craig Caltenish

1804

Bald mapping

Creag Corra-ghritheach

Place ID 5436 NF 86778 54248 Benbecula Rueval

ScG grey heron's rock

SCG creag corra-ghritheach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ScG corra-ghritheach = 'Grey Heron' is particularly precise. Creag Corra-ghritheach (P#5436) forms an onomastic unit here.

The three occurrences here are the only ones on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Creag Corra-ghritheach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Creag Corra-ghritheach	1877	OS 1st edition
Creag na Corr	1861	Thomas chart
Heron's Crag	1861	Thomas chart

Creag Dhùghaill

Place ID	6465	NF 86760 35264	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG Dougal's crag			ScG creag Dhùghaill		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creag Dhùghaill			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Creag Dhùghaill			1877	OS 1st edition	

Creag Fhùdair

Place ID 6293 NF 82955 31370 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG gun powder crag

ScG creag fhudair

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

I have no idea why this might be associated with gun powder! ON 0250tar = 'outer' is a possibility as the /fh/ is silent.

Creag Fhùdair

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag Fhùdair

1877

OS 1st edition

Creag Ghlas

Place ID 442 NF 86170 56360 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Grey crag ScG creag ghlas

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A common name.

The /h/ appears here to make the adjective ScG glas = 'grey or green' agree with the ScG creag = 'crag' which is feminine.

Creag Ghlas

1877

OS 1st edition

Creag Ghlas

Place ID	2297	NF 73831 70749	North Uist	Central West	
ScG grey crag			ScG creag ghlas		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creag Ghlas			1877	OS 1st edition	

Creag Ghoraidh

Place ID 5145 NF 79798 48300 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG Godfrey's crag

ScG creag ghoraidh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Godfrey is an important name in the history of Uist as he was the founder of the Clan Gorrie and a son of John Lord of the Isles and Amie MacRuari. This clan held the lordship of the North Uist for nearly a hundred years from c1386 although there were always disputes about this.

Whether this names refers to the original Godfrey is open to debate.

Creag Ghoraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Creagorry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Creag Ghoiri	1877	OS name book
Creag Ghoiridh	1877	OS name book
Craigorry	1877	OS name book
Craigory	1877	OS name book
Creagorry	1877	OS 1st edition
Craigorry	1804	Bald mapping

Creag Hàbhaisgearraidh

Place ID 5813 NF 81065 75496 North Uist S1ollas

'Hàbhaisgearraidh' + SCg crag

ScG creag + 'Hàbhaisgearraidh'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Niclain writes 'it was once said that this stone was the best cuddy reef in the area. It could be, because the machair has changed a lot.'

For the element 'Hàbhaisgearriah' see Havisgarry (P#5668).

Creag Hàbhaisgearraidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Creag Loisgte

Place ID	6702	NF 82174 44717	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG burnt crag			ScG creag loisgte		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creag Loisgte			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Creag Loisgte			1877	OS 1st edition	

Creag Mhic Fhionnlaidh

Place ID 1712 NF 90196 54494 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG crag of the MacFinlays

ScG creag mhic fhionnlaidh

Coastal

Cliff or slope

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Not a name I am aware of in local history although it occurs regularly.
A nearby Rubha Creag Mhic Fhiolaidh shares the root.

Creag Mhic Fhionnlaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag Mhic Fhionnlaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Creag Mhic Fhionnlaidh

1861

Thomas chart

Creag Mhiorbhuilt

Place ID 131 NF 96955 71355 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON narrow mountain + ScG cliff

ScG creag + ON mjór hváll

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Cliff or slope

complete?

This is a good topographical fit.

The generic of ON hváll = 'hill' became hvoll in more recent time. The final 't' is somewhat odd. Feald does occur elsewhere as a variant of fjall, e.g. Aefeald for Eaval' and so a similar process could have happened here.

Njóafjall occurs twice in Iceland and there are four Mjöhóll and two Mjóihóll.

Creag Mhiorbhuilt

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag Mhiorabhuilt

1877

OS 1st edition

Creag Mhor

Place ID 5015 NF 81946 27237 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG big crag

ScG creag mhor

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The Bald mapping marks it a coastal crag to the S of where the current OS mapping places it. The obvious meaning is 'big crag', a not unreasonable fit.

Creag Mhor

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag Mor

1877

OS 1st edition

Craig More

1804

Bald mapping

Creag Mhòr

Place ID	1693	NF 89619 56480	North Uist	Ronaigh	
ScG big crag			ScG creag mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Exposed rock			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creag Mhòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Creag Mhòr			1877	OS 1st edition	

Creag Mhorchain

Place ID 5682 NF 72294 68937 North Uist B1alranald

ON The landmark ScG crag

ScG creag + ON mörkin

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Exposed rock

complete?

The name changed from Creag Mhorcain to Creag Chealoir after a Superior was hanged there. There is now a fold built around it.

The Hebridean Connection (p68) writes about 'teaching monk's in machair land of Paiblesagarry' here. Balranald erected cattle fold there.'

I am not sure of the position.

The story about the superior does sound like a folk etymology. I suspect the root of /chealoir/ is really ON hjallar = 'fish drying platforms'.

Is the fold here the same place as Cuithe Lianaclett?

The first name, Creag Mhorchain could well stem from ON mörkin (dat def pl) of ON mark = 'landmark'.

Whilst there are c35 simplex Mörk names in Iceland there is not one with the definite article whilst in Norway there are a variety of forms including some cognate Morka.

Creag Chealoir

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Creag Mhorchain

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Creag na Caorach

Place ID 5083 NF 85107 81846 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG crag of the (single) sheep

ScG creag na caorach

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Quite how one sheep got singled out, I am unsure!

Creag na Caorach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag nan Caorach

1877

OS 1st edition

Creag na Feannaig

Place ID 5540 NF 83264 48587 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG cliff of the crow ScG creag na feannaig ScG?
 ON?

Contour complete?

As so often with these names, only one crow is odd. 'rig' is another meaning but that is unlikely here as the ground is peaty.

Creag na Feannaig	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Crow Cliff	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Creag na h-Iolaire

Place ID 1011 NF 94500 65330 North Uist Lees

ScG eagle's crag

ScG creag na h-iolaire

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Cliff or slope

complete?

Creag na h-Iolaire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag na h-Iolaire

1877

OS 1st edition

Black Rk

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Creag na h-Iolaire

Place ID	1810	NF 87087 47035	Benbecula	W1iay	
ScG crag of the eagle			ScG creag na h-iolaire		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creag na h-Iolaire			1866	Admiralty mapping	

Creag na h-Iolaire

Place ID	6084	NF 83104 73730	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG crag of the eagle			ScG creag an h-iolaire		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creag na h-Iolaire			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Creag na Seallach

Place ID	1577	NF 99055 75780	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG crag of the hunt			ScG creag na sealg		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop calls it ScG Sgeir an Leusain = 'skerry of the little light' whilst the Admiralty Chart name is Sight Rock. The latter comes from literally ScG seallach = 'looking' but this is an adjective.

ScG sealg = 'hunt' would sound similar with an IPA spelling /jaLag/ and the article is then correct.

An alternative that works well topographically is ON sjá-lögr = 'near the sea' in the sense open sea or better perhaps the adjective ON sjá-lægr = 'lying on the sea'. The order is then odd and neither are convincing.

Creag na Seallach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir an Leusain	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Sight Rock	1877	OS 1st edition
Sight Rk	1866	Admiralty mapping

Creag na Staid

Place ID	1548	NF 98810 75360	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ON place of	The anchors		ON krikanna stað		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The name is given as 'State Rock' on the chart which is an odd name.

Creag is also odd for this small skerry

If Norse it must come from ON staða = 'place, position'. The generic then is probably ON kraka = 'of the stake' to give us 'position of the stake'.

The island is an important one on the entrance to the Cheesebay area and marking the islands with poles would help navigation. Less than 400m to the S is Staffin Skerry which probably shares a similar meaning.

An interesting alternative is that ON kraki also means a kind of anchor and so the name could mean 'place of anchor'. If it follows the pattern of ON bakki = 'bank', then the genitive plural definite case would be *ON krikanna which would fit well.

There is a-cognate Krakastaðir in Iceland and seven cognates Krak(a/e)stad in Norway

Creag na Staid	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir an Aite	1983	Sea names of Berneray
State rock	1866	Admiralty mapping

Creag nam Bodach

Place ID 991 NF 91810 63570 North Uist Lees

ScG crag of the common seals

ScG creag nam bodach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

'Spectre' is an alternative meaning for ScG bodach = 'old man'. Often examples such as 'the Old Man of Stoer' are in fact rocky pinnacles and whilst pinnacle is a bit generous, there is a lumpy tidal island here.

An alternative meaning of ScG bodach = 'cod-fish' or 'lesser seal' both of which would work here with the latter the best bet.

Alternatively this could have come from ScG bodha = 'rock over which waves break' followed by the suffix ScG -ach = 'place of' although the 'dh' is generally silent.

The 45 Bodach names of the OS 2nd series mapping are scattered across the Gaelic heartland.

Creag nam Bodach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag nam Bodach

1877

OS 1st edition

Creag nam Bràthann

Place ID	6025	NF 81940 75618	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG crag of the querns			ScG crewag nam bràthann		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
The stone here used to be used by the locals to grind grain.					
Creag nam Bràthann			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Creag nan Caorach

Place ID	2456	NF 96990 70915	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
Scg crag of the sheep			ScG creag nan caorach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creag nan Caorach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Creag nan Caorach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Creag nan Cudaigean

Place ID	5869	NF 78945 73352	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG crag of the cuddies			ScG creag nan cudaigean		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creag nan Cudaigean			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Creag nan Liutha

Place ID	188	NF 95194 69160	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG crag of the pollocks			ScG creag nan liùgh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Rock of the Lithe (a cod-fish species)'. The more usual name nowadays is pollock - this spot would be excellent for catching them. ScG liùgh = 'pollock' is also known in Scotland as 'lithe' or 'lythe'. Phonetically the word is pronounced /L'iu:ə/. ON hlý = 'warmth' came to mean shelter in the Danish language and the development ý > iù is regular. The verb ON hlýja = 'to shelter' now means 'warmth' in Icelandic as a noun. The concept of shelter seems a good one for this position just inside the entrance to the Loch nam Madadh waterway. ON hlé hœð = 'shelter headland' is the best I can do. Several places in Iceland with the start Lúða would be a good match but the only meaning I can see is 'trumpet' or 'bread bin' which do not seem very helpful. Frustrating.

There are three Liutha names on the OS 2nd edition mapping: one a hill inland in Lewis and a Leac Liutha on the E coast of Jura. The former makes one wonder if there is another root operating. Cox (p257) encountered a similar problem with Creagan na Liana Liùdh writing 'the final element is obscure - it is unlikely to be liùgh f. 'lythe' as the location is far from the sea.'

Creag nan Liutha	2014	Modern OS mapping
Creag nan Liutha	1877	OS 1st edition

Creag nan Saor

Place ID 525 NF 85470 56280 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG crag of the joiners

ScG creag nan saor

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

There is presumably a reason for it being so named although I am not aware of any local story.

The OSNB gives us 'The Wrights Rock' and this could be referring to ~Griomasaigh's long tradition of boat-building.

The pronunciation of the last component is /sw:r/

Creag nan Saor

1877

OS 1st edition

Creag nan Speireag

Place ID 873 NF 82910 61030 North Uist Eaval

ScG crag of the sparrowhawk

ScG creag nan speireag

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OS name book writes 'Rock of the Sparrowhawk' although ornithologically it was thought Sparrowhawks were extremely rare on Uist until the more recent introduction of trees. A very interesting alternative would be Norse expression ON sperru-vegr = 'a spar-way' which Vigfusson likens to a tram-way.

Could this be a portage site where spars are used as rollers. The gap here is as narrow as anywhere and a total of 500m as a maximum.

There is a nearby Loch Creag nan Speireag.

Creag nan Speireag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag nan Speireag

1877

OS 1st edition

Creag Phadruig

Place ID	1815	NF 86275 46150	Benbecula	W1iay	
ScG Patrick's crag			ScG creag phadruig		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creag Phadruig			1866	Admiralty mapping	

Creag Scalán

Place ID 183 NF 96591 70685 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Scalán' + ScG crag

ScG creag + 'Scalán'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Scalán (P#4934) for details.

Creag Scalán

2014

Modern OS mapping

Creag Scalán

1877

OS 1st edition

Creag Sgarbhaih

Place ID 5528 NF 87386 48883 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG cliff of the place of cormorants ScG creag sgarbh -aid

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

It is difficult to read the ending of the word but this would make sense.

Creag Sgarbhaih	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Cormorant Cliff	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Creaga Loisgte

Place ID 5124 NF 78108 50725 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG burnt crags ScG creaga loisgte

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG creaga seems to be a plural of ScG creag = 'rock or crag'.

Creaga Loisgte

1877

OS 1st edition

Creagan

Place ID 2436 NF 80241 74745 North Uist S1ollas

ScG rocky place ScG creagan

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Creagan 2014 Modern OS mapping

Creagan 1877 OS 1st edition

Creagan an Lìn

Place ID 6027 NF 81476 75377 North Uist S1ollas

ScG crags of the water meadow

ScG creagan an lèana

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

There were big rocks in the middle of this park, and a lean, flat place, runs down from them. It is also possible, however, that some people once grew flax on this earth.

Creagan an Lìn

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Creagan an Suidhe

Place ID 4927 NF 74279 67525 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG small crag of the seat

ScG creag -an an suidhe

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Whilst the Hebridean Connection (p77) gives us 'seat of the little crag', 'little crag of the seat' seems a more accurate translation.

One would however expect the article ScG an t- I think.

Creagan an Suidhe

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Creagan Mhurchaidh

Place ID	5926	NF 79885 74346	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG Murdoch's crags			ScG creagan Mhurchaidh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creagan Mhurchaidh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Creagan nam Breac

Place ID 2140 NF 80399 64131

North Uist

B1aleshare

ScG small crag of the trout

ScG creagan nam breac

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This does look la likely site for sea-trout.

Creagan nam Breac

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Creagan nan Calman

Place ID	5639	NF 73609 67341	North Uist	B1ayhead	
ScG small crag of the doves			ScG creagan nan calman		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Exposed rock			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
		'Crag of the pigeons in Balemore' in THC p209			
		Creagan nan Calman	1984	The Hebridean Connection	

Creagan nan Dearmaid

Place ID 2127 NF 78639 61381 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG small crag of ScG the neglect(s?) or ON isthm ScG creagan + SCG nan dearmaid or ON haugum e

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The two names, this and Beveridge's Creag Thormaidh (thought to be a sanctuary limit) will sound very different. Topographically I'd expect the SCG creagan to mean 'small crag' rather than 'crag'.

SCG dearmaid = 'to neglect' and this could be a very modern name for the buildings left on the knoll here that are very much neglected although I cannot quite see why the plural is used.

Beveridge's Thormaidh has a more Norse feel and could have ON eið = 'isthmus' as its generic, a possible topographical fit as this area was probably part of a shallow lake at that period. I suspect that ON haugum, the plural dative of ON haugr = 'mound' could be the specific and the whole thing could be interpreted as 'isthmus at the mounds'

There are no other names on the OS 2nd edition mapping beginning with Dearma- whilst there are 39 names containing Thormaid, the Gaelic version of Norman but I can see no reason for the addition of the 'h'.

There is a Haugereid in Norway and whilst both elements occur in Iceland there is no clear cognate.

Creagan nan Dearmaid	1971	Macdonald Two townships
----------------------	------	-------------------------

Creag Thormaidh	1911	Beveridge
-----------------	------	-----------

Creagan nan Uan

Place ID	5899	NF 80079 74751	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG small crag of the sheep			ScG creag -an nan uan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creagan nan Uan			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Creagan Ruadha

Place ID 2373 NF 70382 71239

North Uist

B1alrinald

ScG little rusty-red crag

ScG creag -an ruadha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Creagan Ruadha

1877

OS 1st edition

Creagastrom

Place ID 5253 NF 86097 48150 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG crag of the current or ON current of the hook ScG creag an t- sròim

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Carmichael has, as ever, (over)corrected the grammar and gave us Creag a' Strom although he has not gone as far as sròim, the genitive and I think it should be ScG an t- as the article.

One wonders if this was his trying to explain the central /a/ is a name where on eight have expected none i.e. creag sròim.

The plural of ScG creag = crag' is ScG creagan although perhaps the anachronistic ScG creaga might be the answer here. Cox (p399) lists this as a possible plural and lists five examples.

However Macniven (p150) derives Cragabus from ON kraki = 'pale, stake', Kraki (PN) or kráka = 'crow' although he is helped here by a pretty bombproof Norse generic. Here /strom/ has strong claims to being both ScG and ON and so it is difficult to know where to look.

ON kraki seems to have taken on a meaning of 'hook' and here there are many possible hooks in the labyrinthine coast.

The OS 2nd edition mapping only has two names with a separate 'Creaga', one on Lewis and one on Loch Lomond.

Creagastrom	2014	Modern OS mapping
Craigastrome	2014	Modern OS mapping
Craigestrome	1877	OS name book
Craigastrome	1877	OS 1st edition
Creag a'Strom	1877	OS name book
Creaga Stròim	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Craigestrome	1804	Bald mapping

Creagorry Island

Place ID 5197 NF 80296 47545 Benbecula Peter's Port

'Creagorry' + Eng island 'Creagorry' + Eng island

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Creag Ghoraidh (P#5145) for a discussion of the 'Creagorry' element.

Creagorry Island	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Creag Ghoridh	1877	OS name book
Creagorry Island	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Chreag-goire	1877	OS name book
Island Craigorry	1804	Bald mapping

Creig Hàsten

Place ID 37 NF 74000 67075 North Uist B1ayhead

ON high stone + ScG crag

ScG creag + ON hár stein

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

ON hár + steinn = 'high stone' although as elsewhere an alternative meaning can be 'cell used by a hermit'. With the nearby ON papa = 'priest' place names this is not totally impossible. Certainly the outcrop here is impressive standing tall above the local landscape.

An alternative is ON esja = 'clay' but Rygh also interprets it as 'strange stones' and says it is now prefixed with an 'H' and offers Heje-, Hesi- or Hess-.

There is some evidence it might have been a 'thing' site - see Cnoc a' Lin.

Oral tradition has it that the Norse tied up their ships in Loch Hasten nearby, a loch now drained and land-locked. It continued to feature in many local stories until recent years.

The Hebridean Connection (p26) lists a place on the crag as Sgorr na Lamhaig = 'cleft of the hatchet'.

Blaeu marks a settlement here as Hasta and a 1718 rental records Hausten and so one imagines there was a village now lost here but the name remains in the Craig and Loch.

Creig Hàsten	2014	Modern OS mapping
Craig Hasten	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Creag Asduinn	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Craig Hasten	1877	OS 1st edition
Creag Haslan	1877	OS name book
Hausten	1718	1718 rental
Hasta	1654	Blaeu mapping

Crìoch Ghreunatobht

Place ID 6081 NF 82521 73831 North Uist S1ollas

ScG boundary of 'Ghreunatobht' ScG crìoch + 'Ghreunatobht'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Enclosure

complete?

See Greinetobht (P#2426) for a discussion of that element. This was the boundary between Sollas and Greinetobht.

Crìoch Ghreunatobht

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Crìoch Mhalacleit

Place ID 5894 NF 80413 73037 North Uist S1ollas

'Mhalacleit' + ScG boundary

ScG crìoch + 'Mhalacleit'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

This is where the boundary is between Malacleit (P#2450) and Middle Quarter.

Crìoch Mhalacleit

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Crìoch Sholais

Place ID 6009 NF 81959 75465 North Uist S1ollas

'Sholais' + ScG boundary ScG crìoch + 'Sholais'

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is where the boundary between Sollas and Grenitote lies.

Crìoch Sholais

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Criongrabhal

Place ID 2514 NF 81498 64540 North Uist B1aleshare

ON arm of the sea hill of the graves ON grein grafa fjall

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beveridge (p103) gives us kringr-fjall, 'easy (or smooth) hill' or perhaps kringla-fjall, 'round hill'. Another approach is to start with ON grein = 'arm of the sea' in the genitive singular ON greinar. ON gröf = 'grave' has as its genitive plural ON grafa and this combined with ON fjall = 'hill' would make 'hill of the graves' which is a perfect description of either this hill or Craonabhal. Combine it in a close compound with ON grein and one has ON grein grafa fjall = 'arm of the sea hill of the graves'

The specific ON kringr does not occur in Iceland and once in Norway whilst the latter is common in both with 10 Kringglefjell(et) in Norway.

Criongrabhal 2014 Modern OS mapping

Cringraval 1877 OS 1st edition

Criribheinn

Place ID 5664 NF 76827 24344 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON folds - hill

ON krær fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Heart Hill' based upon ScG cridhe = heart, middle'. The latter would be a decent description of the hill as the middle of three ridges.

The order however is odd as in Triuiribheinn and the nearby Aisgerbheinn.

I suspect it started life as a Norse name Criri fjall although quite where Criri came from I am unsure.

The best specific is ON krær = 'the pens' although it would have to form a close compound.

This is the only occurrence of Crir- on the #OS 2nd edition mapping. There is a Krær place in Iceland and two Króarhóll whilst in ~Norway there are 11 Krofjellet.

Criribheinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Criribheinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Criribheinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Criribheinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Criribheinn	1877	OS 1st edition
Criribheinn	1877	OS 1st edition
Criribheinn	1877	OS 1st edition
Criribheinn	1877	OS 1st edition
Kriervein	1804	Bald mapping
Kriervein	1804	Bald mapping

Cro Raibeirt

Place ID	2074	NF 91616 79020	North Uist	Clachan Sands	
ScG Robert's fold			Scg crò Raibeirt		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cro Raibeirt			1983	Sea names of Berneray	

Croban I

Place ID 1918 NF 88687 58901 North Uist Eaval

ScG trees + Eng island

ScG chraobhain + Eng island

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

This name would have started as ScG Eilean Craobhan or some grammatical variant thereof which means 'trees island'.

This name occurs several times on Uist, probably because of the lack of trees rather than the surfeit.

Croban I

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Cro-dubhaig

Place ID 5097 NF 85642 80106 North Uist B1oraraigh

ON deep bay + ScG fold

ScG crò + ON djúp vík

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The obvious translation would be ScG 'fold of the place of darkness' which makes little sense.
I wonder if in fact 'dubhaig' comes from ON djúp vík = 'deep bay'.

There are 20 Djúpavík place names in Iceland and over 350 places in Norway beginning with Djupvik.

Cro-dubhaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cro-dubhaig	1877	OS 1st edition

Crògearraidh Beag

Place ID 2571 NF 87931 73175 North Uist Central North

scG small + ON rift

ON gjögr + ScG beag

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Crògearraidh na Tobha for a fuller discussion.

Here however the Reid name is hugely helpful - Grogar-beg - as this is very close to the ON gjögr = 'rift'.

There is a linear rift feature here running between the two hills, but it is less prominent than at some of the other Crògearraidh sites.

See Crògearraidh na Tobha for a fuller discussion.

Crògearraidh Beag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Crogary Beg	1877	OS 1st edition
Grogarheg	1832	Thomson atlas
Grogar-beg	1799	Reid mapping

Crògearraidh Mor

Place ID 2546 NF 86768 73200 North Uist Central North

ScG big + ON rift

ON gjögr + ScG mòr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Crògearraidh na Tobha for a fuller discussion.

Here however the Reid name is hugely helpful - Grogar-more - as this is very close to the ON gjögr = 'rift'.

There is a linear rift feature here running between the two hills, but it is less prominent than at some of the other Crògearraidh sites.

See Crògearraidh na Tobha for a fuller discussion.

Crògearraidh Mor	2014	Modern OS mapping
Crogary More	1877	OS 1st edition
Grogarmore	1832	Thomson atlas
Grogar-more	1799	Reid mapping

Crògearraidh na Thobha

Place ID 121 NF 97472 72422 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON mound of the rifts

ON gjögra + haugr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Beveridge gives us (p104) 'Norse, krókr-gerði, 'crooked garth (or enclosure)'".

The ScG na = 'of the' still is a concern as it should be ScG an to agree with the masculine ScG tobha = 'mound'. With the OS 1st series naming it Leac na Hoe, there is a chance it is a Norse name.

The Admiralty Chart names here are helpful with Crogar na hoe appearing and in most of the other cognates, Crogaire appears as an alternative.

Taking this on board, I think the root is ON gjögri = 'cleft, rift' in the dative case.

Topographically this is excellent (see Cognate notes)

k > g and an '-dh' appended are all regular mutations.

The 'gj' sound is not far from 'cr'.

It s then possible that the second half is Norse too, ON haugr = 'mound' making the whole thing 'mound of the rifts'

Reid named the hill here Houmore from presumably Tobha Mor which would be an appropriate name whilst

Crògearraidh ought to be reserved for the rift to the SW of the peak.

There are also hills Crògearraidh Mòr and Beag not far to the W along with a Loch Crogearraidh near Balranald (and the same Loch and a Groigearraidh on South Uist.

There is a Crògaire (Crogary on OS 2nd edition and An Crogaire in the OSNB) near Rodel, a Crogary More (small rocky point also named Crogair Mor and Croger Mor in OS name book)) and a Crogary Beg (also in OSNB as Crogair and Crogar Pick on Taransay and a Crogary near Usinis Harris and that is it.

All bar the Loch are very straight steep sided gullies. The Rodel one in particular is a good example.

There is Gjöggar and a Gjögrin in Iceland

Crògearraidh na Thobha	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------------	------	-------------------

Crogary na Hoe	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Crogar na Hoe	1866	Admiralty mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Crogar na Hoe	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
---------------	------	------------------------

Hounmore	1832	Thomson atlas
----------	------	---------------

Houmore	1799	Reid mapping
---------	------	--------------

Croic

Place ID 5623 NF 62282 62880 North Uist Heisker

ON nook ON krók

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Macaulay (p53) gives us 'a bay or inlet where seaweed tends to gather with high tides'. ScG croich also means gallows. An attractive Norse alternative is ON krókr = 'hook, nook or crook' in the accusative form ON krók. The length of the vowel is possibly questionable.

This would be a good topographical fit for the bay - and explain why sea-weed might gather there!

A' Chroic	2020	Alick Macaulay Heisgeir
Croic	2014	Modern OS mapping
Croich Harbour	1877	OS name book
Croic	1877	OS 1st edition

Cròic a Deas

Place ID 6098 NF 71904 29472 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG south palce of where seaweed is cast ScG cròic a deas

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Cròic a Tuath (P#6226) for a discussion of this name.

Cròic a Deas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Croich a Deas	1877	OS 1st edition

Cròic a' Tuath

Place ID 6226 NF 72082 30029 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG seaweed cast ashore to the north ScG cròic a' tuath

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Interestingly this is the spot where there is a series of kelpers bothies showing this name was relevant reasonably recently.

Cròic a' Tuath	2014	Modern OS mapping
Croich a' Tuath	1877	OS 1st edition

Croich na Faoilinn

Place ID 6359 NF 73184 34703 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG hook where seaweed gets caught of the gull ScG cròic na faoilinn

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I suspect this is not ScG croich but ScG croic = 'hook where seaweed gets caught.
This is an odd combination and I suspect the name should have been 'Doirlinn' rather than 'Faoilinn.'

Croich na Faoilinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Croich na Faoilinn	1877	OS 1st edition

Crois an t-sleuchd

Place ID 291 NF 80460 57360 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG cross of the prostration

ScG crois na sleuchd

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

The modern spelling of ScG sleuchd = 'kneeling' gives an easy root.

However the known phrase ScG crois sleuchdaidh = 'prostration cross (found on the approach to a sanctuary or church)' is too good a fit with the alternative name and its position.

The OS 1st edition name, /an t-Sliac/ would be pronounced without the /s/ as /t/ an unusual Norse combination and so it might be worth considering /sliac/ on its own.

The IPA spelling of /sleuchd/ would be /ʃlʲiəxg/.

ON sloc is defined by Vigfusson as 'slok, n. [Engl. sluice; Dan. slug; cp. Germ. schlucht], the sluice by which the water is led to the wheel of a water-mill'. Whilst there is probably no mill here, the channel a few hundred metres to the N here would act as a large sluice. The initial vowel sound however is not a good match.

ON sæ- = 'sea-' would make a good match for the specific. For the generic ON lykkja = 'bend' is a possibility and would work topographically. ON læk = 'stream' or ON lög = 'lagoon' also work. None are perfect phonetically but this could be explained by the desire to resemanticise as something relevant to the cross.

The earlier name recorded by Bald as Crochentríanich is certainly Crois na Tríanaide = 'cross of the Trinity' referring to the Teampull na Tríonaid across the bay at Carinis. His name seems to have ScG an rather than ScG na which is odd. An alternative is ScG croisean = 'crosses'. Not even one cross sadly remains.

One does wonder if Eilean Sligeach further inland in the same awaterway might share a root

Crois an t-sleuchd	2014	Modern OS mapping
Crois an t-Sliac	1877	OS 1st edition
Crois an t-Sliac	1861	Thomas chart
Crochentríanich	1832	Thomson atlas
Crochentríanich	1804	Bald mapping

Crois Chnoca Breaca

Place ID 6324 NF 73426 33657 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG cross of the 'Chnoca Breaca'

ScG crois 'Chnoca Breaca'

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here the Cnoca Breac (P#6325) is an onomastic unit lenited.

Standing Stone	2014	Modern OS mapping
Crois Chnoca Breaca	1877	OS 1st edition
Large Stone	1804	Bald mapping

Crois Mhic Iamain

Place ID 661 NF 89360 78190 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON The village of the bay + ScG cross ScG cnoc + ON víkur heiminn

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Religious

complete?

The OS name book provides a story 'It is said that a man of the name of Keyman was Killed in a battle at Harris and buried here. The date or site of the battle I could not ascertain.'

I think the latter part has as its root ON heiminn = 'The village'. This then is an onomastic unit preceded by the ScG mhic = 'son of' that has replaced the original final ON vik = 'bay'.

Johnston writes in her PhD '.. heimr are absent from the Inner Hebrides, although heimr is present in Orkney suggesting that Orkney witnessed an earlier phase of settlement than the Inner Hebrides.'

Another perhaps simpler solution is to have the genitive of ON vík, ON víkur followed by ON munn = 'mouth'.

This bay is a choice site on Uist and so would have been a candidate for early settlement.

There are two Heimavik names in Iceland, Ryugh records two farms called Heimen in Norway along with an Heimvik. In Norway as a whole, Heimen is a common name occurring over 25 times and 14 Heimervik(a) along with three Vikheim. This tends me towards the ON heiminn.

Crois Mhic Iamain

1877

OS 1st edition

Crois Moireaig

Place ID 710 NF 80220 63680 North Uist Berneray

ScG cross of little Mary ScG crois Moire -aig

Historic Religious

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beveridge cites 'Cross of Little Mary' and the OS name book appears not to include it at all....
ON mœrr = 'bog' or ON mór = 'moor' with ON vagr = 'bay' would be a reasonable alternative.

There are only tow occurneces of Moireaig on the OS 2nd edition mapping, here and Bàgh Moireaig due E on the east coast of North Uist.

In Norway there are eight Morvika place names.

Crois Moireaig 1877 OS 1st edition

Crois na h-Airde

Place ID 5980 NF 83509 78692 North Uist S1ollas

ScG cross of the promontory ScG crois na h-àirde

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
 ON?
 complete?

Niclain wrties 'Two hundred yards west of the churchyard, there is a stone on the shore with a prominent cross carved on it. It also appears to have been known as Crois an t-Sagairt [cross of the priest] and Clach na Croise [stone of the cross](Beveridge. 1911: 300). The cross is fourteen inches long and seven and a half inches wide. There is a well about a foot below the cross on the shore. Very close to the stone and on the well is another stone with several cup-marks, about twenty-four in all.

Crois na h-Airde	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Crois an t-Sagairt	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Clach na Croise	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas

Croit na Gearbhain

Place ID 5641 NF 73564 67527 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG crag of the ??

ScG creag na ??

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

THC (p213) cites this as where the tribute, tolma, of the bishops was left since c1450.

Croit na Gearbhain

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Crò-neann

Place ID 590 NF 90000 74550 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON The pens

ON krónúm

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Farming

complete?

This seems appropriate with a ScG Loch na Buaile = 'loch of the pen' less than 500m away and Craobhagun possibly being 'The bay of the pens'.

Another possibility is ON krónúm = 'The pens' in the dative case which tends to mean 'The pens place'

Crò-neann

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cro-neann

1877

OS 1st edition

Cuaraidh na Pàirce Mòire

Place ID	5969	NF 79263 73413	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG quarry of the big field			ScG cuaraidh na pàirce mòire		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cuaraidh na Pàirce Mòire			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cuaraidh nam Paibleach

Place ID 5884 NF 78604 73188 North Uist V1allay

ScG quarry of the Paible people ScG cuaraidh nam Paibleach

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Quite why those living in Paible need to quarry their stones here, I am unsure.

Cuaraidh nam Paibleach

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cuarsgag

Place ID 486 NF 85770 55120 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG eddy or a curl or ON election strip of land ScG cuarsgag or ON körs skiki

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Although this has a Norse look to it, ScG cuarsgag = 'curl or eddy' might be the root. There is a nearby Bo' Cuarsgaig marked on the Thomas chart of 1861. However the name does not appear elsewhere in Scotland and so perhaps a Norse root is worthy of investigation.

Whyte has looked at ON skiki = 'strip of land' fully (p211) when discussing *Diosgaig on Mull and links it with a 'location between two convergent watercourses'. Thomas' name gives us exactly this -sgaig ending. This small islet could not itself refer to a 'shank of land' but it could refer to the 2km long thin stretch of land and tidal sand connecting Calabhagh and Eilean Leathann that lies c 300 m to the SE.

The specific could then be ON kjör = 'choice' or 'decision' or its reflex ON kjörs = 'of the decision' indicative that at this skerry there is a decision to be made as to whether to navigate to the S or the N of the long strip of land, both being channels relatively clear of obstructions. I think that the close compound kjr skiki is probalby the closest phonetically and topographically

There is a variant without the /j/ which will be even closer in sound.

Kjör appears as the first component of eight Icelandic place names although they form two clusters.. The bay nearest to Kjörvogur is split in to offering that 'decision' and at Kjörseyrartangi there is a tongue of land with 400m gravel banks on either side of it, again offering a choice.

In Norway kår is a common initial component of over 500 place names.

Cuarsgag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cuarsgag	1877	OS 1st edition
Cuarsgag	1861	Thomas chart

Cudaigeag

Place ID	5695	NF 93339 83453	B1earnaraigh	Ru1isigearraidh	
ON ravine of the huts			ON kota gjögr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The obvious interpretation is ScG cudaig -ag = 'place of the cuddy fish' and MacKillop states that the fish are regularly caught here. D. Mcl. Gives the name as Kodigja = 'cuddy rift' although I cannot find ON kodi. Rather than ON gjá = 'ravine' this looks like ON gjögr = 'cleft, rift' and often seems to refer to a rift with water within. A possible for the specific is *ON kota = 'of the huts.'

There are 18 place names on the OS 2nd edition containing /Cudai/ and all but two contain Cudaigean so this name is a little odd.

Four Kotagil, two Kotsgil and eight Kotgil place names in Iclenad are close to cognate.

Cudaigeag	2013	Place Names of Berneray
Cudaigeag		MacBain's Etymological Dictionary

Cuichmeane

Place ID 5054 NF 81030 55710 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

? ON river mouth of the quicksand

? ON kviku minni

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The position is a bit of a guess....

The generic is possible ON minni = 'mouth' referring to a river opening whilst a possible specific would be ON kvika = 'quicksand' amongst other meanings.

Whilst both elements occurs seperately, I can find no close cognate.

Cuichmeane

2020

Rixson Land Assessment

Cuishmean

2020

Rixson Land Assessment

Cuidh' 'ic an Reamhra

Place ID 6073 NF 83347 74147 North Uist Gr1enitote

ON sluice of the livestock

ON kvikfjá raufa

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

Niclain writes 'Some believe that this is the correct name for the place, although it is also known today as Na Cuideachadh Reamhra. The fold was used in this century.'

There is Àird Reamhar (P#2529) just over a kilometre to the SE. I suspect then that there is a place here called 'Reamhar' to which this and the Àird name refer to. The suggestion is that it is a 'sluice' or aq 'rift' ON raufar.

ON kvikfjá= 'of the livestock' could be involved in the first section of this name. I am not sure here if the development f > /-/ is relevant.....

Cuidh' 'ic an Reamhra

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cuidhe an Eisge

Place ID 4925 NF 74279 67525 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG cattle fold of Heisgeir

ScG cuidhe an Heisger

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

the Hebridean Connection gives us a confused (p81) 'why fold of fish eise of a man, he would be eisgeadh people that is reviling them'. I think the latter comment refers to ScG eisgear = 'satirist' which does seem an unlikely name for a cattle fold.

I suspect that in fact the nae refers to Heisgeir and might act as the old for the people from that island when they had to bring cattle to the market.

Cuidhe an Eisge

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Cuidhe Caol

Place ID	2211	NF 78126 21060	South Uist	Lochboisdale	
ScG narrow fold			ScG cuidhe caol		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cuidhe Caol			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Cuidhe Cul a' Chataich

Place ID 2129 NF 79291 61089 North Uist B1aleshare

?? ScG behind fold of the domesticating ScG cuidhe cùl a' chàtachaidh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The last component is not a good match in my grammar but there could well be a better variant. The phrase does not seem to make a lot of sense. Breaking in of horses?

An alternative would be ScG Chataiche = 'of a Sutherlander'.

Cuidhe Cul a' Chataich

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Cuidhe Ghreunatobht

Place ID	6005	NF 81763 76103	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
'Ghreunatobht' + ScG fold			ScG cuidhe + 'Ghreunatobht'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cuidhe Ghreunatobht			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cuidhe Hàbhaisgearraidh

Place ID 5809 NF 81019 75671 North Uist S1ollas

'Hàbhaisgearraidh' + ScG fold

ScG cuithe + 'Hàbhaisgearraidh'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

For the element 'Hàbhaisgearraidh' see Havisgarry (P#5668).

Cuidhe Hàbhaisgearraidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cuidhe Mhalacleit

Place ID 5955 NF 79356 73699 North Uist S1ollas

'Mhalacleit' + ScG fold ScG cuithe + 'Mhalacleit'

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of the component 'Mhalacleit' see Malacleit (P#2450)

Cuidhe Mhalacleit

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cuidhe Mhic Aonghais

Place ID	5938	NF 79925 74090	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG son of Angus' fold			Scg cuidhe Mhic Aonghais		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cuidhe Mhic Aonghais			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cuidhe nan Laogh

Place ID	2155	NF 78165 62528	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG fold of the calves			ScG cuidhe nan laogh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cuidhe nan Laogh			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Cuidhe Sholais

Place ID	5800	NF 80785 75866	North Uist	S1ollas	
'Sholais' + ScG fold			ScG cuithe + 'Sholais'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cuidhe Sholais			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cuil na Muice

Place ID 1087 NF 77530 76860 North Uist V1allay

ScG corner of the whale

ScG cùil na muice

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Whilst ScG muic = 'of the pig', the site of a bay facing the open ocean makes ScG muc-mhara = 'whale' more likely topographically.

Cuil na Muice

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cuil na Muice

1877

OS 1st edition

Cùilirinn

Place ID 705 NF 75580 67540 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG corner of the headland

ScG cùil rinne

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

This makes good topographical sense.

Here a strong Norse possibility is ON kollurinn = 'The rounded hill' and would refer to Creag Hasten, a very prominent feature on this stretch of coast.

There are 23 places in Scotland with Rinn as a component and their distribution is atypical as few fall in the Gaelic heartland, indeed there is a cluster in what was the Pictish speaking area to the E.

The existence of three place names in Orkney and Shetland show that it can have a Norse dimension. The most interesting name there is Rinnigill where presumably the generic is ON gil = 'stream'.

Cùilirinn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gob na Cùlairean

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Cuilirinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Cuinabunag

Place ID 5156 NF 76731 52498 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG place of the river pens

ScG cuidhean abhainn -ag

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

ScG cuidhean= 'enclosures' or 'pens' is the best starting point.

I suspect the specific is ScG abhainn = 'river' with the locative suffix ScG -ag = 'place of'. This locative suffix is particularly common with rivers.

The 'river' is the larger channel that joined Loch Fada and Loch Torcusay in the pre-drainage days ,illustrated in Stewart Angus 'Currag paper (p66)

A decent Norse alternative exists of ON kvíanna höfn - vág = 'haven-bay of the folds'. The 'haven -bay' could refer to Stinky Bay, still used today for a rare anchorage on the west coast.

Cuinabunag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cuinabunag	1877	OS 1st edition
Cuinambuinteag	1877	OS name book
Ciuing na Buinneag	1877	OS name book

Cuiobe

Place ID 203 NF 78457 50668 Benbecula T1orlum

ON fold creek

ON kví hóp

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Cuiobe

1877

OS 1st edition

Cuith an Òib

1877

OS name book

Cuithe a' Cheathraimh Mheadhanaich

Place ID	5823	NF 80185 75235	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG middle quarter fold			ScG cuithe a' Cheathraimh Mheadhanaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cuithe a' Cheathraimh Mheadhanaich			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Cuithe Bial Snavraig

Place ID	460	NF 88150 55840	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
'Bial Snavraig' + ScG bank			ScG cuithe + 'Bial snavaig'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Of the various meanings of ScG cuithe, bank seems the best fit topographically as it describes the bar to the small inlet here. The derivation of 'Bial Snavraig' is discussed under Ob Bial Snavraig (P#384).

Cuithe Bial Snavraig	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------------	------	----------------

Cuithe Lachlainn

Place ID 2429 NF 79514 74733 North Uist S1ollas

ScG Lachlan's fold ScG cuithe lachlainn

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Cuithe Lachlainn 2014 Modern OS mapping

Cuithe Lachlainn 1997 Niclain Place names of Sollas

Cuithe Lachlainn 1877 OS 1st edition

Cuithe Lianaclett

Place ID 2235 NF 72600 68700 North Uist B1ayhead

ON crag of the people + ScG fold

Scg cuithe + ON ljóna klett

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Linen lump fold' but the order would be wrong for a ScG derivation. The generic is ON klettr = 'rock' or 'crag'.

The best phonological fit for the specific is ON læna = 'vale' although the word is thought to come from ON lón = 'lagoon' - a perfect topographical fit. The genitive however is ON lóns which does not work so well whilst ON lænu does work.

I am not sure how far away this is from Lionacleit (P#204). Indeed I think this is probably the root. It therefore could be a ping site. Adjacent to Loch Paible it has good communication links and is a mound.

Beveridge writes '... half a mile north-east of Dun Steingarry, is a large enclosure known as Cuithe Lianacleit. Within its upper portion is some appearance of a circular erection measuring about 35 feet in diameter over walls which are on very ruinous, especially as regards their exterior. Here perhaps stood a fort, although under present conditions this site must be classed as quite hypothetical.' He found a 'fragment of ancient pottery' there. So not a ringing endorsement for a prehistoric site, there is some thought that the site might have a history.

Cuithe Lianaclett	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cuithe Lianaclett	1877	OS 1st edition
Cuith Leanacleit	1877	OS name book

Cuithe na-Buaile

Place ID 5406 NF 81105 54930 Benbecula Rueval

ScG trench of the cattle-fold

ScG cuithe na buaile

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

ScG cuithe can mean 'trench', 'deep moist place' or 'enclosure'. With ScG buaile = 'cattle-fold', one of the other meanings is best - there is a drainage trench nearby.

Cuithe na-Buaile

1877

OS 1st edition

Cuidhe na Buaile

1877

OS name book

Cul Beinn a' Chaolais

Place ID	2054	NF 90709 78792	North Uist	Clachan Sands	
ScG	the back of the mountain of the strait		SCG cul beinn a' chaolais		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
	Cul Beinn a' Chaolais		1983	Sea names of Berneray	

Cùl Burdaig

Place ID 2190 NF 78677 62622 North Uist B1aleshare

ON strip of land of the fort + ScG nook ScG cùl + ON borgar- teig

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG cùl = 'back' or 'nook' and Fraser gives ScG burdag = 'minnow' or 'shrimp'.

It however looks Norse to me and there is a chance that ON byrðingr = 'merchant ship' - and the precursor of ScG birlinn - might be the root of 'burdaig' however ON byrða vagr = 'large trough bay' makes more sense.

Better still is ON barð = 'edge' generally referring to a rise. Here however it would be a perfect fit for a boundary edge as this area lies on the current boundary between Iolaraigh and Baile a Sear.

Combine this in a close compound ON barð vág = 'boundary bay' then we are in topographic heaven.'

Another possibility with the nearby forts is ON borgar teig = 'strip of land of the fort'. THC talks about a Norse fort on Bhorogaigh.

There is a Borgarteigur in Iceland but I could find nothing near for ON barð

Cùl Burdaig

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Cul na Ceardaich

Place ID	2206	NF 78969 63059	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG corner of the smithy			ScG cùl na ceàrdaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Cul na Ceardaich			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Cul na Muice

Place ID 5078 NF 84397 81631 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG the whale's back ScG cul na muice

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB goes a little poetic perhaps with 'The whales back' based upon ScG muc = 'pig' and sometimes 'whale'. One imagines a whale got washed up here on the back of the island producing this name.

Cul na Muice	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cul na Muice	1877	OS 1st edition

Culagach

Place ID 5020 NF 82768 27659 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON humpback

ON kúlu bakka

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'probably Signifies the broken or indented headland' although I cannot see why.

ScG culag = 'back' and with ScG -ach = 'place of', then it could mean 'place of back' presumably referring to back of the main mountains here.

It feels Norse to me with ON kúla = 'knob like hill' being a possible specific. It is difficult to see what the generic might be although the compound ON kúlu-bakka = 'cliff of the knob like hill' might be close and could conceivably work topographically. Jakobson gives us this interpretation of ON bakki.

The development b > g is not regular but not inconceivable. By the effects of lenition b > bh > v is feasible and then for example København > Copenhagen gives us v > g

In Norway we have a Kilebakken and a Kuløbakken.

Culagach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Culagach	1877	OS 1st edition
Creag na Cuileag	1877	OS name book
A Chuileagach	1877	OS name book

Culla

Place ID 385 NF 75810 53690 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ON keel-shaped ridge river

ON kjöl á

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

ON kjölr = 'keel, keel shaped ridge' is a possible starter referring to the impressive ridge of dunes behind the bay. I would have expected the accusative ON kjöl and so perhaps ON kjöl á = 'keel river' is the root - the S side of the bay is where the waterway of inland Benbecula might reach the open sea (see Curracag vol 19 Angus p71)

Blaeu's Loch Kalla might stem from ON kjala = 'of the keels'.

The OS name book's entry lists as alternatives 'culla stump, a chùile' and is clear that the name only refers to south side of bay. In modern common usage a 'Bay' is added to from 'Culla Bay' although there is no evidence for this in earlier times.

I did suspect with the nearby presence of Nunton, this is an important place name and might have a religious element to it, perhaps as a version of 'cill'. I have posted something about this generally on my blog at:

<http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/cell-cill-keeill-or-kjal-one-and-the-same>.

I also suspect that the 'cula' in Benbecula might be one and the same - ScG beinn + beag + cula = 'little hill of 'cula'.

The cognate evidence however is very persuasive.

Kjörlur occurs as a simplex name 38 times in Iceland, some of which are referring to coastal beach features. Kjöl is the first component of almost 1000 names with over 100 simplex Kjöl(e)n).

Culla	2014	Modern OS mapping
Culla	1877	OS 1st edition
A' Chuile	1877	OS name book
Nunton Bay	1832	Thomson atlas
Nunton Bay	1804	Bald mapping
LOCH KALLA	1654	Blaeu mapping

Dail na meala

Place ID 1608 NF 72158 70537 North Uist B1alranald

ScG valley of honey scG dail na meala

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The position of this site is unclear as it only gets a vague mention in the Hebridean Connection.
Near Druim Horragh.

Dail na meala 1984 The Hebridean Connection

Dalabrog

Place ID 90 NF 75390 21380 South Uist Lochboisdale

ON fort of the valleys

ON dala borg

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

The generic looks like ON borg = 'fort' with the regular metathesis of o <> r.

For the specific ON dalr = 'valley' looks like the obvious choice but the lack of an /s/ means we need to go to the plural

ON dala = 'of the valleys'. This is not impossible looking at the topography

Dalabrog	2014	Modern OS mapping
Daliburgh	1877	OS 1st edition
Dalburgh	1804	Bald mapping
Taleburg	1654	Blaeu mapping

Deary Beg

Place ID 6677 NF 83157 43534 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG little + 'Deary' 'Deary' + ScG beag

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Dioraigh (P#6665) for a discussion of that element.

Deary Beg 1804 Bald mapping

Deasgeir

Place ID 5604 NF 64495 66587 North Uist Heisker

ON wet skerry

ON deiga sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

The order indicates a Norse root with ON sker = 'skerry' as the generic. The best I can do for the specific is ON deiga = 'wet'. Vigfusson writes 'less than vátr, wet, and more than raker, damp.'

There are however no cognates I could find.

There is a skerry names Tælisboði in Iceland

Deasgeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Deasker	1877	OS 1st edition
Tieuskeire	1877	OS name book
Deaskeir	1877	OS name book
Tieskere	1832	Thomson atlas
Tieskere	1806	Stockdale mapping
Tieskere	1789	Ainlsie map

Dig-Mhor

Place ID 1620 NF 72001 68466 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG big dyke

ScG dig-mhor

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The Hebridean Connection (p36) names it as the Big Trench.

On p249 it writes that it was originally dug in the reign of Lord Alexander (LOI d 1449)

Dig-Mhor	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------	------	-------------------

Dig-Mhor	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
----------	------	-----------------------------

Dig Mhor	1984	The Hebridean Connection
----------	------	--------------------------

Dig-Mhor	1877	OS 1st edition
----------	------	----------------

Dioraigh

Place ID 6665 NF 83159 43426 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON island of the deer ON dýra ey

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This must be the same root as Direy Dubh (P#6593n the next loch south).

Dioraigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Direidh	1877	OS name book
Direy	1877	OS 1st edition
Deary More	1804	Bald mapping

Direy an t-Struith

Place ID 6598 NF 84220 40608 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Direy' + ScG of the current

'Direy' + ScG an t- sruith

Coastal

Island

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Direy Dhubh (P#6593) for a discussion of that element.

Direy an t-Struith	2014	Modern OS mapping
Direy an t-Sruith	1877	OS 1st edition
Diereidh an t-Sruith	1877	OS name book
Diary an Tru	1804	Bald mapping

Direy Dhubh

Place ID 6593 NF 83566 40966 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG black + ON island of the deer

ON dýra ey + ScG dhubh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

With Direy an t-Struith (P#6598) and Dioraigh (P#6665), there is a cluster of such names on the NE corner of South Uist. I could find no others in Scotland.

With their being islands, the ON ey = 'island' is the obvious generic. ON dýr = 'deer' would provide the specific in the form ON dýra = 'of the deer' - an alternative form of Jura. A close compound ON dýr - ey = 'deer island' is another possibility.

There is a problem in that deer were not supposed to have occurred in South Uist in early times but this is perhaps evidence they did - supported by the bones found at the Bornish dig.

Direy Dhubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Direy Dhubh	1877	OS 1st edition
Direidh Dhubh	1877	OS name book
Diary I.	1804	Bald mapping

Draft an t-Sruthain

Place ID	5945	NF 79450 73872	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG ?route? Of the current			ScG ?draft? an t-sruthain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Track			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Draft an t-Sruthain			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Draft Sgealair

Place ID	5780	NF 81308 76554	North Uist	V1allay	
'Sgealair' ScG ??			ScG ?? + 'Sgelair'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input type="checkbox"/> complete?

Niclain writes 'This was the name of the headland used by the people of Dunsellar when descending to the shore to gather seaweed. They would simply take a small load out of each cart and leave it next to the draft, then return for more, so that they would not be immersed. Each man would leave it until it rotted, and then they would take it with them and put it on their land.

See Sgeallair (P#2430) for a discussion of that element.

Draft Sgealair

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Draft Sgeir an Aoil

Place ID	5965	NF 79271 73586	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG skerry of the lime? track?			ScG ?draft? sgeir an aoil		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Track			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Draft Sgeir an Aoil			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Draft Sholais

Place ID 5999 NF 81553 76351 North Uist S1ollas

'Sholais' + ScG track ?? ScG ?? + 'Sholais'

Settlement Track

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The meaning seems to be that of a track but it is not a word I can find in the dictionary.

Draft Sholais

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Drannag

Place ID 4916 NF 74419 67977 North Uist B1ayhead

ON lonely up-standing rock

On drang

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The Hebridean Connection gives us the name Drannag and a meaning of 'the ridge of the town top of the hill of flax'. The latter part of this refers to Cnoc a' Lin. It seems like another name for Druim Àrd but quite why it needs two names I am unsure.

I wonder if it is Norse and indeed could be ON drang = 'lonely up-standing rock'. The Gaels add an epenthetic vowel between /n/ and /g/, generally a copy of the previous one and so here drang > dranag.

I am not aware of such a stone unless it is one on Craig Hàsten.

Drangur occurs as a simplex name 27 times in Iceland, one in the Faroes and as the first component of over 150 place names in Norway.

Drannag

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Dreumasdal

Place ID 74 NF 75980 37340 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON valley of the boundary

ON rúms dal

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

The specific of ON dalr = 'valley' is clear. The specific is less clear. The best option I can find is ON rúms = 'spacious (genitive m)'. The addition of an initial /t/ is not impossible as the initial pronunciation could sound like an /h/. Further consideration of the Gaelic pronunciation of this name and I think the initial sound is /Re:m/ which rather discounts the above thought.

A better suggestion is ON þrömr = 'edge' which I imagine has as its genitive ON þröms. It is not inconceivable that Loch Druidibeag formed a boundary between two regions - this is supported by the fact Howmore lies on this edge, a common position for an important religious centre.

The specific occurs twice in Iceland and more precisely there is both the generic and specific Rummedalen in Norway. Certainly the valley here is very broad. This is possibly a similar root to Reumisgarry on North Uist.

Drimsdale	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dreumasdal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dremisdale	1877	OS 1st edition
Drimsdale	1877	OS name book
Dremisdal	1877	OS name book
Dryems-dale	1877	OS name book
Driminsdale	1804	Bald mapping
Dremisdill	1654	Blaeu mapping

Drimhey

Place ID 1887 NF 76902 55434

B1enbecula

B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG 'Hey' ridge

ScG druim hey

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

See Hey for details of that component.

Drimhey

1877

OS 1st edition

Drimileeah

Place ID	1912	NF 79252 56034	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ON slope of the rocky pillars			ScG druim + ON hlið		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Topographically the obvious possible generic being ScG druim = 'ridge' would have to be Dùn Gainmhich to the SW.
The clear generic is ON hlið = 'slope'
ON drangr = 'rock or pillar' with ON drangja = 'of the rocky pillars' would be a reasonable specific especially considering the possibility of a resemanticization towards ScG druim = 'ridge'.
The rocky pillars could refer to the several wheelhouse remains in the area.

In Iceland there are four Drangshlíð and two Drangahlíð place names whilst in Norway there is a Drangslia and a Drangsliane.

Hlíð occurs as a simplex name in Iceland 95 times.

Dremlich	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
Drimileah	1832	Thomson atlas
Drimileeah	1804	Bald mapping

Drimogrin

Place ID 6304 NF 75724 32566 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG ridge of the sun

ScG druim grèine

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'sunny hollow' but the initial section is almost certainly ScG druim = 'ridge' - a better topographical fit.

The specific could be ScG grèine = 'of the sun' from ScG grian = 'sun'.

There are problems with the central vowel but one imagines this is an effect of epenthesis.

Quite why this spot is blessed with sun is unsure!

Drimogrin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Druim O'Grian	1877	OS name book
Drimogrin	1877	OS 1st edition

Drimore

Place ID 6571 NF 76843 40265 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG big ridge ScG druim mòr

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The obvious interpretation is ScG druim mòr = 'big ridge'.

I have a niggling doubt that it might have Norse origins, possibly with Dreumasdal so close to the S.

Drimore	2014	Modern OS mapping
Drimore	1877	OS 1st edition
Druimore	1877	OS name book
Drimore	1804	Bald mapping

Drimsdale House

Place ID 6471 NF 75756 37468 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Drimsdale' + Eng house

Settlement

Building

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Dreumasdal (P#74) for a discussion of that component.

Drimsdale House

2014

Modern OS mapping

Druim a Bhaile

Place ID 516 NF 86540 56560 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG ridge of the township ScG druim a' bhaile

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is the ridge that runs NW of the township of Bagh Mor.

It only appears on the Thomas 1861 chart but is close in position and meaning to the Cnoc a' Bhaigh Mhoir of the OS 1st edition.

Druim a Bhaile

1861

Thomas chart

Druim a' Chaolais

Place ID	4921	NF 74583 67353	North Uist	B1ayhead	
ScG ridge of the narrows			ScG druim a' chaolais		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Druim a' Chaolais			1984	The Hebridean Connection	

Druim Airigh Mhic Thearlaich

Place ID 2597 NF 89523 70425 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON outlying estate of the bay + ScG sheiling ridge ScG druim airigh + ON víkur hjá-leiga

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Teàrlach is interesting and is a Gaelic name, the equivalent of Charles but I can find no tradition of it on Uist. Looking for Norse roots, lone option might be ON hjá leiki = 'near the games' The useful site at <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx> gives us 'In many names, including several very old ones, it refers to the use of the site in the past as the usual gathering place for a village's population for games of various kinds (batting, wrestling, etc.), probably also for other social amusements (especially horse racing and horse racing)'. The Norse component then means 'bay near the games'. This ties in remarkably well with Beveridge's (p80) 'former market-stance on the south-east slope of Blashaval.' the problem is that the order is a problem. One solution is ON hjá-leiga = 'outlying estate' which fits when one considers Dun Trocuill to probably be the centre of the settlement here. The whole place would then be ON víkur hjá-leiga = 'outlying estate of the bay', a reasonable topographical fit.

In Iceland Hjárleiga occurs as a place name ten times whilst in Norway it is possible that some of the many Håland place names share this root.

Druim Airigh Mhic Thearlaich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Druim Airidh Mhic Thearlaich	1877	OS 1st edition

Druim Airigh na Creige

Place ID 2465 NF 80142 72858 North Uist Central North

ScG ridge of the sheiling of the crag ScG druim airigh na creige

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Druim Airigh na Creige 2014 Modern OS mapping

Druim Airigh na Creige 1997 Niclain Place names of Sollas

Druim Airidh na Creige 1877 OS 1st edition

Druim Airi na Creag 1877 OS name book

Druim an Iasgair

Place ID 5327 NF 80923 49588 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG fisherman's ridge

ScG druim an iasgair

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Quite why a fisherman should be celebrated here I am unsure.

Druim an Iasgair

2014

Modern OS mapping

Druim an Iasgair

1877

OS 1st edition

Druim Ard

Place ID 2227 NF 74500 68100 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG high ridge ScG druim àrd

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Druim Ard 2014 Modern OS mapping

Druim Ard 2000 Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Druim Ard 1877 OS 1st edition

druim Brìdein

Place ID 5822 NF 80114 75220 North Uist S1ollas

ON broad meadow ScG ridge

ScG druim + ON breitt eng

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Niclain writes 'At one time there was an inn called "The Amsterdam" here. The village road used to follow the shore, but it would move to where the main road is today. This is why the inn was so far down the machair. No one knew for sure why he was given that name. A boat Amsterdam may have landed on the rocks or something like that. Apparently there was an inn over in Hastainn, in Paible, also known as "The Amsterdam". Here is a verse given to me that has to do with "The Amsterdam"

When you were young

I saw you in the closets

drinking in Amsterdam

many times you knew me'

Here there seems to be no obvious ScG root.

ON breið > bri (Cox §65 I f) would be a good start. ON eng = 'meadow would work for the generic. ON eng can be either feminine or neuter. The latter would give ON breitt eng, a goo match

druim Brìdein

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Druim Dubh

Place ID 1588 NF 73300 69300 North Uist B1alranald

ScG black ridge ScG druim dubh ScG?
 ON?

Settlement complete?

Druim Dubh 2014 Modern OS mapping

Druim Dubh 2000 Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Druim Dubh 1877 OS 1st edition

Baldrichen 1751 Dorret mapping

Baldricym 1654 Blaeu mapping

Druim Fiogharlain

Place ID 1612 NF 71401 68433 North Uist B1ayhead

ON bank of the bay + ScG ridge

ScG druim + ON víka land

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The Hebridean Connection (p25) gives us this as the site of the last battle between the Siol Godfrey and the Siol Murdoch.

The first component is clear as ScG druim = 'ridge' which works well topographically. The second looks initially like a name but nothing appears obvious.

On the further reflection, the last section of this looks like ON land = 'estate' or in this case 'bank of a bay'. Taking this into account, the first component could stem from ON víkur = 'of the bay' or ON víka = 'of the bays'.

The creation of a tautology here, I find encouraging.

There is a Víkurland in Iceland whilst in Norway there are 22 Vikland(et), two Vikalandet and eight Vikeland place names.

Druim Fiogharlain

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Druim Hàcleit

Place ID 5584 NF 83977 53403 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON high rock + ScG ridge

ScG druim + ON hár klettr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The referent must be the large cup-marked rock nearby - the capstone of a cairn.

Druim Hàcleit

1861

Thomas chart

Druim Horragh

Place ID 2354 NF 72115 70610 North Uist B1alranald

ON cairn + ScG ridge

ScG druim + ON hörgr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Mentioned in the Hebridean Connection (p23/p163), close scrutiny of the OS mappings repays scrutiny. On the OS 1st edition, the Druim is labelled covering the whole area between the track to Hougary and Penmore, as it does on the OS 2nd edition. By the time however of the modern OS mapping, we now have Druim Horragh and Druim Torach in the same area. I wonder if these are in fact different versions of the same name.

The latter version looks similar to Torogaigh to start and so ON hörgr = 'heathen sanctuary' which also developed a meaning of 'cairn'. Here we have two duns adjacent to the ridge and so one can take one's pick.

Alternatively could these two names possibly be a missing fragment of 'borg' place name? The ridge is certainly in the right place with the two large duns on either side of it. I suspect Dùn Scarie is the one and this identifies the mound in Howgarry.

Epenthesis between the /r/ and the /g/ would be expected here. The /rr/ is unexpected but might be the effect of the long ON ö.

Hörgrsás = 'ridge of the cairn' occurs twice in Iceland whilst the simplex Hörgr(a/u)r occurs 12 times with one Hörgurinn (inc definite article). In Norway the simplex Horg is common and Horg is the first component of over 200 places

Druim Horragh	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Druim Horragh	1984	The Hebridean Connection
---------------	------	--------------------------

Druim Horragh	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Druim Lamasagh

Place ID 6314 NF 84088 32825 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Lamasagh' + ScG ridge ScG druim + 'Lamasagh'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Rubha Lamasagh (P#6317) for a discussion of the second component.

Druim Lamasagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Druim Lamasay	1877	OS 1st edition

Druim Langarra

Place ID 2515 NF 81298 65513 North Uist Central South

ON long enclosed spaces+ ScG ridge ScG druim + ON langa garða

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The second component is clearly Norse with the specific ON langr = 'long' and shared with the nearby Langais. The generic appears to be ON garðr = 'fence or enclosed space' amongst many other meanings, but here probably the most appropriate with the nominative plural reflex ON garðar or better the accusative plural reflex ON garða. An alternative is ON langr kjarr = 'long thicket' however the plural is kjörr which does not help with the final sound. However the only one that provides the final 'a' is garða and so that is I believe the root.

In Iceland there are four cognate Langigarður.

In Norway Langkjerr is a very common component occurring 26 times along with two Langkjerra whilst Langgard occurs six times and Langgård occurs the same number of times and one Langgjerda.

Druim Langarra	2014	Modern OS mapping
Druim Langarra	1877	OS 1st edition

Druim na Beiste

Place ID	2020	NF 94754 82639	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG ridge of the beast			ScG druimn na bèiste		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop talks about shallow stretches of water between the various islands. ScG beiste is often 'otter' but here is said to refer to a monster.

Druim na Beiste	1983	Sea names of Berneray
-----------------	------	-----------------------

Druim na Beiste

Place ID	5531	NF 86308 48923	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG otter's ridge			ScG druim na beiste		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Otter's ridge			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Druim na Beiste			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Druim na Croise

Place ID 645 NF 87330 76670 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG ridge of the cross

ScG druim na croise

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

There is no knowledge of any cross still here although there is the incised cross on Clach an t'Sagairt up the hill to the S.

Druim na Croise

2014

Modern OS mapping

Druim na Croise

1877

OS 1st edition

Druim na Glaic Mòire

Place ID	5348	NF 81803 50449	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG ridge of the big hollow			ScG druim na glaic mòire		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Druim na Glaic Mòire			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Druim na Glaic Mòire			1877	OS 1st edition	

Druim na h-Imrich

Place ID 6690 NF 80085 44698 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG ridge of the + ON home-ridge

ScG druim na + ON heim - rygg

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

For Guala na h-Imrich (P#2499) , I wrote 'The OS name book gives us 'shoulder of the flitting'. ScG imrich = 'emigration or removal' and one can imagine those leaving Sollas to emigrate crossing this shoulder. It could be a little poetic but is possibly a reference to the clearances.

Waugh equates it to the removal out to the summer shielings.

A good fit both phonetically and topographically is ON heima-hrygg= 'ridge of the homes' and then the Gaels added ScG guala = 'ridge'.

The 'flitting' interpretation seems inappropriate here.

The combination of ScG druim = 'ridge' and ON hrygg = 'ridge' is encouragingly tautologous.

ON heimr = 'village' is problematic in Scotland as it was thought to have gone out of usage but the Viking Age.

NSL writes about ON heimr: 'In Iceland, as mentioned before, there are only a few heim-names, mostly stereotyped, such as Vindheimar , Sólheimar . This suggests that the name class was no longer particularly productive in the Viking Age. In the same vein, many other circumstances point to: the Heim gardens are large, the land debt in the 17th century is well above the average. They kept to themselves well through the desolation period in the late Middle Ages. Many have become church towns or village centres. In particular, it can be noted that burials from the older Iron Age have often been found in the heimgardens, for example at Jæren, in Inntrøndelag and Namdalen. After this, one can probably assign the main weight of the name class to the Roman Iron Age and the migration period (around BC - AD 600). But unique names, especially when the usual → Solheim , perhaps also such as Søreim, Meleim, Oppeim, Vindeim , may be younger, perhaps often from the Viking Age.'

The distribution of Imrich names is a little odd but includes a cluster of 11 on Lewis but only one on Jura and one on Mull in all the rest of the Hebrides, Inner and Outer. Of the 67 names including the word there are 35 name involving Bealach na -h Imrich and eight Allt na h'Imrich.

Druim na h-Imrich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Druim na h-Imrich

1877

OS 1st edition

Druim na h-Uamh

Place ID 811 NF 91730 61520 North Uist Eaval

ScG ridge of the cave

ScG druim + na h- + uamh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The cave here is a well known site. There are extensive sheiling remains below it and I suspect could be the farm of Burabhal.

Druim na h-Uamh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Druim na h-Uamh

1877

OS 1st edition

Druim na h-Uamha

Place ID 653 NF 86450 75440 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG ridge of the cave ScG druim na h-uamha

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The cave here must be the souterrain still visible on the shore here.
MacDonald writes the earth house was discovered in 1867 by Angus Maclean.

Druim na h-Uamha	2014	Modern OS mapping
Druim na h-Uamha	1877	OS 1st edition
Back of the Cave	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Druim-na-h-uamha		MacDonald sketch history

Druim na Lice

Place ID 5337 NF 84409 49445 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG ridge of the rocky ledge

ScG druim na lice

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'back of the declivity' when the obvious interpretation to me is 'ridge of the flagstones. ScG lice is the slightly odd genitive of ScG leac = 'flat stone or rocky ledge'

Druim na Lice	2014	Modern OS mapping
Druim na Lice	1877	OS 1st edition
Druim Clachach	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Stony Ridge	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Druim nan Dearcag

Place ID 1053 NF 74530 75110 North Uist Grim1inish

ScG ridge of the berries

ScG druim nan dearcag

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The obvious derivation is ScG 'ridge of the berries'. IrG dearcadh = 'point of view, opinion' would be an interesting alternative with the Cnoc na Uma = 'hill of appeals' in the area.

Perhaps ScG dearc= 'cave, hole, grave' with the locative suffix ScG -ag giving 'place of the grave' is a more likely option but the plural article would be odd - 'places of the grave'?

Norse alternatives are unlikely.

Druim nan Dearcag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Druim nan Dearcag

1877

OS 1st edition

Druim Reallasger

Place ID 940 NF 86140 66590 North Uist Lees

ON rock of the slaves + ScG ridge

ScG druim + ON þræl

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Vigfusson quotes 'Reyðar-vatn = trout-water' and I do wonder if Reyðar-skær = 'trout rock' is where this name came from.

However if a 't' was reinstated at the start then ON þræla = 'of the slaves' would work well. Whilst the genitive singular ON þræls gerði = 'enclosure of the slave' is tempting, it is difficult to see a name involving only one slave.

An inland ON skær = 'rock' is unusual but not unheard of with NSDL giving a definition of 'solid rock or collection of rocks that reach up to or slightly above the water surface, bedrock that protrudes into fields and meadows'.

This would be the same name as the Hebridean Connection's Druim Dhealagaidh (p223), an area used for hunting.

MacDonald introduces ScG trylla = 'enchantment' into the mix.

There are three Trellskår names in Norway and one Trellskjæret. In Iceland there is a þrælsgerði

Druim Reallasger	2014	Modern OS mapping
Druim Dhealagaidh	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Druim Reallasger	1877	OS 1st edition
Druimthrealascair		MacDonald sketch history

Druim Riabhach

Place ID	2285	NF 78696 70939	North Uist	Central West	
ScG greyish brown ridge			ScG druim riabhach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Druim Riabhach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Druim Riabhach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Druim Ruadh

Place ID 6327 NF 73983 33366 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG red ridge ScG druim ruadh

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One imagines this as part of a midden exposed as dark red.

Druim Ruadh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Druim Ruadh	1877	OS 1st edition

Druim Saighdinis

Place ID 827 NF 88680 63070 North Uist Eaval

'Saighdinis'+ ScG ridge ScG druim + 'Saighdinis'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Saighdinis (P#830) for a discussion of that element.

Drim-Sidnish	2014	Modern OS mapping
Druim Saighdinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Druim-shaidinish	1877	OS name book
Drim-seidinish	1877	OS 1st edition

Druim Scoitbheinn

Place ID 504 NF 85667 55423 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG ridge of 'Scotbheinn' ScG druim + 'Scoitbheinn'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is the ridge flanking the shore of the S side of the Scotbheinn area.
A discussion on the origins of 'Scoitbheinn' (P#417) can be found on that place.

Druim Scoitbheinn 1861 Thomas chart

Druim Skilivat

Place ID 1124 NF 72630 74660 North Uist S1colpaig

ON lake of the division + SCG ridge ScG druim + ON skilja vatn

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Sgileabhat (P#1123) for details of that place name.

Druim Skilivat 1877 OS 1st edition

Druim Soilleir

Place ID 6241 NF 74754 30693 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG bright ridge

ScG druim soilleir

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Its Signification is the "Light Back" ' which presumably comes from ScG soilleir = 'bright, clear'

Druim Soilleir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Druim Soilleir

1877

OS 1st edition

Druim Torach

Place ID 2355 NF 72117 70755 North Uist B1alranald

ScG place of tower ridge ScG druim tòrr -ach

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mentioned in the Hebridean Connection (p23), close scrutiny of the OS mappings repay scrutiny. On the OS 1st edition, the Druim is labelled covered the whole area between the track to Hougary and Penmore, as it does on the OS 2nd edition. By the time however of the modern OS mapping, we now have Druim Horragh and Druim Torach in the same area.

I did wonder if they were the same name but came to the view that in the end almost be coincidence we have a translated name. ScG tòrr = 'heap of ruins' amongst ten other meanings given by Dwelly. The suffix ScG -ach = 'place of' and then we have 'place of heap of ruins', a fitting description for either dun in the vicinity but suspect Dùn Scarie is the one.

Druim Torach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Druim Trollaskeir

Place ID 6139 NF 72763 27784 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Trollaskeir' + ScG ridge ScG druum + 'Trollaskeir'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Trolasgeir (PN#6140) for a discussion of the second component.

Druim Trollaskeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Druim Trollaskeir	1877	OS 1st edition

Druim Uineval

Place ID 2267 NF 79551 67805 North Uist Central South

'Uineval' + ScG ridge ScG druim + 'Uineval'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Uineabhal (P#1603) for details of that element.

Druim Uineval	2014	Modern OS mapping
Druim Unival	1877	OS 1st edition

Druimanan Dubh

Place ID 2417 NF 83831 74825 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG black ridges

ScG dromannan dubh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'black ridges' which makes sense with ScG dromannan being the nominative plural

Druimanan Dubh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Druimanan-dubha

1877

OS 1st edition

Du' Sgeir a' Tuath

Place ID 1826 NF 87650 44725

Benbecula

W1iay

ScG black skerry of the north

ScG dubh sgeir a' tuath

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There is a south one too!

Du' Sgeir a' Tuath

1866

Admiralty mapping

Dubh Loch

Place ID 5413 NF 82738 54276 Benbecula Rueval

ScG black loch

ScG dubh loch

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Dubh Loch 2014 Modern OS mapping

Dubh-loch Ruaibhal 1877 OS name book

Dubh Loch 1877 OS 1st edition

Black Loch 1877 OS name book

Dubh Loch 1861 Thomas chart

Black Loch 1861 Thomas chart

Black Loch 1832 Thomson atlas

North Black Loch 1804 Bald mapping

Dubh Loch Scarilode

Place ID 5390 NF 84387 52615 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG black loch + 'Sgaraileòd'

ScG loch dubh + 'Sgaraileòd'

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Sgaraileòd (5391) for a discussion of that component.

Dubh Loch Scarilode	1877	OS 1st edition
Dubh Loch Learilode	1877	OS name book
Dubh Loch Sgaraleòid	1877	OS name book
Dubh Loch	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Black Loch	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Black Loch	1804	Bald mapping

Dubh-eilean Cruinn

Place ID 1251 NF 81510 60830 North Uist C1arinish

ScG round black island ScG dubh-eilean cruinn

Coastal

A sensible topographical name

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Dubh-eilean Cruinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Dubh-eilean Leathann

Place ID	1249	NF 81580 60740	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG broad black island			Scg dubh-eilean leathann		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Dubh-eilean Leathann			1877	OS 1st edition	

Dubh-sgeir Bheag

Place ID 6220 NF 83806 23396 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG little black - skerry ScG dubh - sgeir bheag

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Dubh-sgeir Bheag 2014 Modern OS mapping

Du-sgeir Bheag 1877 OS 1st edition

Little Black Island 1877 OS name book

Dubh-Sgeir Mhòr

Place ID 6221 NF 83999 23428 South Uist Loch Eynort
ScG big black - skerry ScG dubh-sgeir mhòr ScG?
Coastal Island ON?
 complete?

Dubh-Sgeir Mhòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Du-Sgeir Mhòr	1877	OS 1st edition
Big Black Island	1877	OS name book
Black Rock	1877	OS name book
Black Rock	1804	Bald mapping

Duibh-eilean

Place ID	887	NF 91400 57890	North Uist	Ronaigh	
ScG black island			ScG duibh eilean		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Duibh-eilean			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Duibh-eilean			1877	OS 1st edition	
Black Island			1859	Otter Loch Eport chart	

Duinabulochr L

Place ID 5295 NF 80937 48013 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG fort of the lower cattle-fold

ScG dùn na buaile iochdar

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The nearby presence of lochdar (=lower) just across the South Ford could give the final /ochkr/ component and the first component is presumably ScG dùn = 'fort'. This leaves us with the central /bul/. The obvious word would be ScG buaile. Quite how the structure internally works I am unsure but the obvious reading g would be 'fort of the lower cattle-fold'.

There is a problem as Canmore and I know of no Dun here or in the nearish vicinity. Dùn Fhearchair is c1 km to the NW. The other issue is that we would expect ScG na as the article rather than ScG a' but this is explained by elision with the /n/ from /Duin/.

The lochdar could actually refer to a cattle-fold belonging to lochdar as the township there did have land on the N side of the South Ford and would presumably need a fold for their cattle there.

Duinabulochr L

1804

Bald mapping

Duinboulrhar

Place ID 5287 NF 86546 48196 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON thicket of the dwellings + ScG fort ScG dùn + ON bóla kjarr

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The first component is clearly ScG dùn = 'fort' although Canmore shows nothing here.
In other names Bald's /boul/ has come from ScG buaile - 'cattle-fold' or ON ból = 'abode'.
/char/ does look like ON kjarr = 'thicket' (and still used in N England as 'carr') and this would fit well.
The dwellings could be the settlement based at Creagastrom just to the W.

Duinboulrhar	1832	Thomson atlas
Duinboulchar	1804	Bald mapping

Dùn Grogary

Place ID 2376 NF 71254 71407 North Uist B1alrinald

'Grogary' + ScG fort ScG dùn + 'Grogary'

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Croghearraidh (P#674) for a discussion on the onomastic unit 'Grogary'.

Dùn Grogary 2014 Modern OS mapping

Dun Grogary 1877 OS 1st edition

Dun a' Ghallain

Place ID 1026 NF 74780 75960 North Uist Griminish

ScG fort of the place of low-landers ScG dùn a' ghallain

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The existence of a nearby Lag a' Ghallain and Eilean a' Ghallain indicate that it is unlikely to be the root suggested by Beveridge (p196) ScG gallan-mor = 'butter-burr'.

His excavation revealed several Norse finds, including nails along with some whale bones

As a consequence ScG gall - an = 'place of the low-lander' makes much more sense with the 'h' appearing as an effect of lenition.

Cox writes about ScG gallan (p167) and historical details about the site can be found on Canmore here:

<https://canmore.org.uk/site/10068/north-uist-grinish-loch-an-eilean-dun-aghallain>

Another alternative might be ScG gallan = 'whale' in the Lewis Gaelic and this again fits with Beveridge's discoveries and the possible meaning of Foshigarry.

There is a Dun Ghallain on the Ardnamuchan peninsula, adjacent to a Port nan Gall.

There is a Dun Ghallain on the Ardnamuchan peninsula, adjacent to a Port nan Gall.

Dun a' Ghallain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dùn Aligarry

Place ID 6549 NF 76542 39163 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON sloping enclosure + ScG fort

ScG dùn + ON halla gerði

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

ON halli = 'a sloping or brink' in the genitive ON halla would seem to work both phonologically and topographically. ON hallr = 'sloping' is the adjective and the weak neuter form is ON halla. These two would be hard to distinguish! Rygh notes possible confusion with 'hall'.

It is interesting to see four /gerði/ names here within a kilometre.

Dùn Aligarry

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dùn Aligarry

1877

OS 1st edition

Dùn Altabrug

Place ID 5607 NF 74876 34398 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON fort of the altars + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON altara borg

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

ON borg = 'fort' has become /brug/ by a process of metathesis elsewhere or alternatively ON bryggja = 'landing place' would fit. ON altari = 'altar' is the easiest option for the specific and with the proximity of both Àird Mhichrel and Howmore, this would make some sort of sense.

ON hald has a variety of meanings with the genitive plural of ON halda which would be a better phonetical fit, 'possession' would seem to be the best fit here topographically.

Rygh gives a different possibility with e.g. Altervaag and Altevik coming from ON álpt = 'swan' with the genitive plural being ON álpta = 'of the swans'.

The dun must have been of some importance as it is probably marked, unnamed, on Blaeu's atlas.

The only Icelandic names beginning with Alt are Altari names. There are several names beginning with Hald. Álft is a common specific in Iceland and there is a álftaborgir

Dùn Altabrug	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Dùn Altabrug	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

Dùn an Sticer

Place ID 531 NF 89700 77700 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG fort of the + ON (steep) path

ScG dùn an + ON stigr

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

There is a nearby village Baile Mhic Phail and it is possible that Pont heard the name as Dun a' Mhic Phail but the name lost the Phail ending before Blaeu published the map. The ScG a' = 'the' would be correct for a ScG mhic = 'son' thereafter. There is more in '12 lost townships'.

For the name as it is currently known, the first specific I can find is ON þekja = 'thatched roof' which one could imagine being the case as the site was occupied post the Iron Age and indeed continued to be so until at least 1600.

However having worked away at it, I am now of the view that the original root that Pont recorded was ON vígi = 'stronghold'. An interesting option as it would tend to indicate that the Norse recognised it as a stronghold rather than a cairn and possibly even used it as one themselves.

There was little to support this in the cognate notes. However ON stigr = 'path' or the reflex ON stíga = 'paths' has strong cognate support. With a series of three causeways here linking the dun to the shore, it is possible that those form the 'paths' here.

Rygh writes 'Stíg (ar) land; of stígr m., path, which in farm names partly seems to refer to a high location, partly to the fact that the place has been by a footpath.' This attraction to a steep ascent could then refer to the ascent over Bealach na Beinne to the area of Loch Portain to the E which, on place-name evidence, was well populated by the Norse.

None of this is very convincing and the chances of a transition from /mich/ to /sticir/ is remote, so I wonder if the name changed after the events on the early 1600s to the Gaelic interpretation of ScG 'fort of the skulker' (Beveridge p139&142) based upon the verb ScG stiog.

That said the fact the loch is also called /sticir/ indicates to me a place here called /sticir/ of old and the name has then be resemanticise to fit the good story of the son of Archibald the Clerk.

As an aside on Lewis there does seem to be a contrastive pair in action here: Naideval a Muigh and a Stigh, òs a Muigh and a Stigh; Fhodraival a Muigh and a Stigh, Gearraidh a Muigh and a Stigh, Eilean a Stigh Thod and a Migh Thod. A-muigh meaning 'the outside' and A-staigh meaning 'the inside'.

A final possibility is that Pont's Dunamich could stem from dùn a vík = ScG dun of the + O

N bay. The bay here is an important one and with Mhic Phail possibly coming from ON vík hval = 'bay hill' this would tie the two together. This bay was well known. Martin Martin marks it on his map and writes 'There is a harbour on the south side of the island Borera. The entry seems to be narrower than really it is. The island and the opposite point of land appear like two little promontories off at sea. Some vessels have been forced in there by storm, as was Captain Peters, a Dutchman, and after him an English ship, who both approved of this harbour.'

Stígar occurs as a simplex name five times in Iceland but is generally thought to refer to a steep path of steps. In Norway there are six Stig place names and over 200 Stigen.

There are 29 placenames on the OS 2nd edition containing 'Stig', 28 on Lewis and a Cnoc Stighseir (stiga skeir? 'rocky outcrop of the ascent' and is adjacent to a path climbing the valley marked on thi smapping) South Knapdale. Not one however has a suitable ending.

There are 12 Stiog names but again all are on Lewis.

The Lewis ones stem from ScG stiogha = 'hill or cliff path' loaned from the Norse according to Cox (p214) Not all can be Gaelic however with for example Dall Stigi adjacent to Daal.

Encouragingly for the Pont name, there are three place names Vígi in Iceland

Dùn an Sticer	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dùn an Sticir	1877	OS name book
Dùn an Sticir	1877	OS 1st edition

Dunamich

1654

Blaeu mapping

Dun-a-sticir

MacDonald sketch history

Dùn an t-Siamain

Place ID 758 NF 88580 59460 North Uist Eaval

ScG fort of the + ON sea-opening ScG dùn an t- + ON sjó-munn

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The prefix ON sæ = 'sea' is common and the ON munnr = 'mouth' has its accusative form ON munn = 'opening'. Sea-opening works perfectly topographically as the loch in which the dun is located opens onto the sea. Even better if one thinks as the general location where Loch Euphort opens out to the Minch. I wonder in fact if the root is ON tjörnín = 'The tarn'. With a ScG an in front, the /t/ could have been moved to create the ScG an t- article to get an t- jörnín. The Gaels do not like vowels at the start of words and as /sh/ at the start of a word has the same sound as a simple /s/, the n the/s/ was added. Again however the initial vowel ScG ia is not a good match to the ON ö. And it has to be said it would be a large tarn.

There is an Abhuinn Sherman name near Bayhead that probalby shares this root.

With 29 places in Iceland beginning with Sæmundar, this is worth an investigation but currnetly I cannot work out the meaning. Norwegian has mund = 'mouth' stemming from either ON muðr or munnr and so this is probably the meaning.

Norway has four places beginning with Sæmund

Dùn an t-Siamain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dùn an t-Siamain	1877	OS 1st edition

Dùn Aonais

Place ID 2543 NF 85603 73820 North Uist Central North

ScG fort of Angus ScG dùn Aonais

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The obvious translation is ScG Aonghais = 'of Angus' and MacKenzie writes in the 'History of the Macdonalds' that it was occupied c1516.

However the older names of the dun are Aonais missing the 'gh'. It is also often the case the dun names are of old origin.

One possibility is ON una hús = 'to dwell house' which would work well for a Norse structure built within the old dun. There are no exact cognate in Norway however there are 21 'ungdomshus' names where ON dom-hus = 'court-house', with Vigfusson writing 'the idea is foreign, though the word is native: the old courts and meetings were always held in the open air.'

More details on the dun site can be found on Canmore: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/10366/north-uist-loch-aonghais-dun-aonais>

The spelling Aonais is unique to Uist and Harris.

There is another Dùn Aonais on Loch Olavat, Benbecula.

Dùn Aonais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dun Aonais	1877	OS 1st edition

Dùn Aonais

Place ID 5129 NF 79703 51265 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG Angus' fort ScG dùn aonais

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of this name see Dùn Aonais on North Uist.

For details of the site I itself see here: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/9976/benbecula-loch-olavat-dun-ruadh>

The site is a prehistoric one thought to have been reoccupied in the Mediaeval period.

Dùn Aonais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dùn Aonais	1877	OS 1st edition

Dùn Bàn

Place ID 424 NF 86970 56950 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG pale or ON garden + ScG fort ScG dùn bàn or ON vang

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is the site of an Iron Age broch, excavated by Captain Thomas in the mid 19th century. If you stand on the hill above it on a calm day, you can just see the submerged curved causeway leading to it from the shore.

This is a common name for these duns with six on North Uist alone.

I think this is likely to be the identification of an obscure 'Lacu Dulej' on the Blaeu Atlas of 1654. It is in the right sort of place, although Pont who did the surveying work c1600 found this area difficult.

'Lacu' is easily read as ScG loch. With the 't' sound not far from the 'd' one, ScG tulach = 'hillock or underground dwelling or tomb' starts to sound close to 'dulach'.

In Secretary Hand, the script of the time, 'ej' could be confused with a 'k' and so 'Dulej' could become 'Dulk' and then 'dulach' and 'dulk' are not far off the same! It is interesting to note 'there is some evidence that in Ireland tulach can also have the meaning of 'assembly mound, mound of judgment', and this may also be the case in Scotland.'

ScG bàn can be interpreted as 'fallow' and this could be a good description of a deserted fort.

An alternative is discussed in my blog: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/dun-ban-or-garden-forts>.

Dùn Bàn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dun Ban	1877	OS 1st edition
Dunbane	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
367 Insulam Lacu Dulej	1654	Blaeu mapping

Dùn Bàn

Place ID 786 NF 86080 60100 North Uist Eaval

ScG pale fort ScG dùn + bàn

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Dùn Bàn (Lees P# 970) for a fuller discussion on the meaning.
More details on the site can be found at the web link.

Dùn Bàn 2014 Modern OS mapping

Dùn Bàn

Place ID 790 NF 84280 60890 North Uist Eaval

ScG pale fort ScG dùn bàn

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Dùn Bàn on the Lees (P#970) for a discussion on this name.

This dùn is very distinctive and looks like a Mediaeval construction rather than Iron Age. More details can be found on the web.

Dùn Bàn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dùn Bàn

Place ID 970 NF 90239 65358 North Uist Lees

ScG pale fort ScG dùn + ON bæ

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name translates from the Gaelic to 'pale fort' although an interesting other meaning of ScG bàn is 'vacant, waste' or 'fallow'. This could be describing a fort that is no longer in use as opposed to many that were reoccupied.

However looking at the cognate notes, a Norse derivation should be considered.

Several other Dun names on Uist have habitative elements and so a possibility here is ON bæ = 'farm' or 'town' with ON bæ as the dative and accusative, the grammatical form often found in the generic component. Loch Bí is an

example on So

uth uist.

On Tiree there is a regular development $r > n$ and the vowel here is of a similar quantity and quality.

According to the OS 2nd series, there are 14 Dùn Bàn in Scotland located as follows: two Sleat, one Campbelltown, one Glenelg, one Barra, four Mull, one Muck, one Ardnamurchan, one Morvern and four North Uist.

All are clearly in the Norse dominated part of Scotland.

Dùn Bàn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dùn Bàn	1877	OS 1st edition

Dun Beag

Place ID	2150	NF 78093 62072	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG little fort			ScG dùn beag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Dun Beag			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Dùn Bheagan

Place ID 6784 NG 25242 47668 Skye Duirinish

Settlement

Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ON váginn = 'The bay' Dative

Dunvegan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dùn Bheagan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dùn Bhuidhe

Place ID 6737 NF 77348 46288 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG yellow fort

ScG dùn buidhe

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

To my mind there is the possibility of confusion with ON búðir = 'camp, encampment', a fitting description of a dùn site. The /h/ in the 'bhuidhe' is evidence for the preceding noun to be feminine, whilst currently it is considered a masculine noun

Dùn Buidhe is one of the commonest names for dùns.

Búðir occurs as a simplex name 13 times in Iceland.

Dùn Bhuidhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Dùn Borosdale

Place ID	5175	NF 78147 52858	B1enbecula	B1aile nan Cailleach	
ON	milking place of the fort + ScG fort		ScG dùn + ON borgar stöðull		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic	Dun				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The root is clear ON borg = 'castle' but this noun does not have a genitival /s/. This is perhaps a pointer that the generic is not ON dalr but ON stöðull = 'milking shed', a common pair that could be difficult to separate.

The dun itself is now underwater but has been investigated relatively recently with details on the hyperlink.

I suspect that the fort referred to is in fact Dùn Torcusay and this was the milking shieling for that fort.

An alternative explanation could be ON borðs = 'of the escarpment' and the whole thing then would be 'valley of the edge or boundary' as it could be on the line separating the two tirung of Benbecula. The contours probably preclude this.

There is a Borosdale on Harris, the area to the N of Dun , and a Borasdale and a Loch Borasdale in Uig, Lewis. The latter Cox thinks derives from Borg-setr but with an earlier 1848 fiorm of Borhastail I am not sure why. The hugely impressive Dùn Carloway is 2km to the W, almost exactly the same distance and direction to Dùn Torcusay from this place.

Dùn Bhorosdail	1877	OS name book
Dùn Borosdale	1877	OS 1st edition

Dùn Buidhe

Place ID	1903	NF 79432 54586	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ON island of the temporary abodes ScG fort			ScG dùn + ON búða ey		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Although at first impression it is obvious that ScG dùn buidhe gives 'yellow fort', the 'yellow' is odd as the dùn would not be yellow and secondly the names of duns tend to be old Norse ones. There is an alternative m meaning of ScG buidhe = 'fallow' and this could be the meaning - i.e. a fort left empty.

This dun was an important and impressive one (probably a broch) and would have attracted the attention of the Norse and it remained in use well into the Middle Ages.

The 'dh' sound becomes a 'yy' sound and we end up close to ON búð = 'temporary abode' and interestingly often in Iceland the temporary abodes of their parliament. Together we could have ON búða ey = 'island of the temporary abodes' although the final sound is short. ON búðir = 'booths' or 'encampment' might be a better fit.

Further evidence comes from the fact this is a Norse name in the name of the loch it sits in: Loch Dun Mhurchaidh = 'Murdoch's fort loch'. Dun Mhurchaidh then was the Gaelic name and not Dun Buidhe.

Another interpretation is the ScG mhurchaidh in fact is ON virki = 'fort'. This would then be a classic tautology.

There is a Búðey and 12 Búðir in Iceland where ON búð is a common specific and I expect that Budaholmen in Norway is close to one.

Dùn Buidhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dùn Buidhe	1877	OS 1st edition
Dunbuidhe		MacDonald sketch history

Dùn Buidhe

Place ID	6512	NF 77427 38929	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ON encampment + ScG fort			ScG dún + ON búðir		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Dùn Buidhe			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Dùn Buidhe			1877	OS 1st edition	

Dùn Caragarry

Place ID 111 NF 92210 64060 North Uist Lees

'Caragarry' + ScG fort

ScG dun + 'Caragarry'

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

See Buaille Charaigearraidh (P# 1509) for details of the 'Chariagearriadh' element.

Being the name of an historic site, it is unlikely to be ScG although there are possible roots in that language.

Dùn Caragarry

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dun Cheirein

Place ID 748 NF 85750 58620 North Uist Eaval

ON The shipyards + ScG dun

ScG dùn + ON hvörfin

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

There is no obvious Gaelic root that I can see for the second component.

ON /hv/ = ScG /ch/ = Eng /qw/ and ScG /ei/ = Fr /é/.

Taking these into account and ScG cheirein < qw é ry l n.

Vigfusson gives us ON hvarf = 'turning away, shelter'

In other Nordic languages, Sw hvarf = Sw varv = 'wharf, shipyard' (from ON hvarf) and the plural is given as varven. Also Ic hvörf = hvarf = 'return or turning point' with hvörfin as the definite plural form.

As a consequence hverven is listed in NYG as 'the shipyards'

Here hverven/hvörfin is close to the desired name as medial /v/ and /f/ have a habit of disappearing (e.g. the /v/ in vík)

More details of the site can be found here: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/10176/north-uist-claddach-carinish-dun-cherein>

Cape Wrath is thought to share this root with the meaning of 'turning' ; Cape Farewell in Greenland is Hvarfs-gnipa in Norse.

Hvarf is a common simplex name in Iceland occurring 42 times

Dun Cheirein

1877

OS 1st edition

Dùn Fhearchair

Place ID 5190 NF 80105 48907 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG lower dun

ScG dùn ìochdar

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

Fearchair is the ScG version of Fergus and so the obvious explanation is 'Fergus' dun' with the genitive correctly applied. Phonetically it could be spelt /εεχær/

To my ears, with the silent /fh/ the second part of this sounds similar to ScG ìochdar = 'lower part', the name of the settlement on the other side of the South Ford on South Uist.

Benbecula was divided into two ouncelands and the top was referred to as Wochtter (Uachdar) in a 1625 statue writing "20d Wochtter Beambecula nuncupatis duabus Airdis et Knocksorlinn" i.e. (the ounceland or) 20d of Upper Benbecula called the two Airds & Cnoc Rolum(?).

The obvious counterpoint to this would be to call the other ounceland, ìochdar and then this dun would be the fort associated with it. There are hints of other names containing this component.

There are examples of a paired ìochdar and Uachdar are paired on Skye, Mull and Jura (against Àrd).

On Islay Macniven interpretes Balleachdrach as ScG baile ìochdarach and sharing this name is the nearby Eacharnaich.

Dùn Fhearchair

2014

OS modern underlying

Duine Farquhar

1804

Bald mapping

Dùn Gainmhich

Place ID	1900	NF 79060 54909	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ScG sand dune			ScG dùn-gainmhich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ScG gaineamhach = 'sandy' must be the root here although the Bible has things to say about building forts on the sand. Perhaps 'of a sandy place' might be better!

One problem is that there is no fort on this hill that I am aware of.

However ScG dùn-gainmhich = 'sand dune' and this seems a better root although there is rock here as well as sand.

There could have been some form of transference from the nearby extensive dune system and An Tom

Cox (p116) cites the meaning of ScG dùn = 'rocky mound' as an earleir one and so indicative of an earlier name.

The Thomas name seems to refer to a settlement near Cnoc Rolum.

Dunnyanchy	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
Dùn Gainmhich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dungainachy	1877	OS 1st edition
Sandy Thicket	1861	Thomas chart
Doir Ghammheach	1861	Thomas chart
Dunganichy	1832	Thomson atlas
Dunganichy	1804	Bald mapping

Dùn Loch nan Clachan

Place ID 5764 NF 76782 73827 North Uist V1allay

ScG fort of the lake of the stepping stones ScG dùn loch nan clachan

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes 'There is not much to see of this song now. It is on a small island ait was apparently built specifically for the fort. A threshold of fifty yards of fluid flows out to it. It is recorded on Blaeu's map as "Ylen Dunikranml": This probably means "Din 'ic Raghnaill Island". Another of these is in Locheport'

Dùn Loch nan Clachan

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Dùn Loch nan Geàrrachan

Place ID 5761 NF 76601 74377 North Uist V1allay

'Loch nan Geàrrachan' + ScG fort ScG dùn + 'Loch nan Geàrrachan'

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes 'The ruins of the fort are on a sort of small, man-made island. There is a threshold between the fort and land, similar to Din Thomaidh. , meaning small salmon. The word here also means dam where fish are caught. There are plenty of fish in the lake so it's obvious that there is a connection between that and the name of the lake.' See Loch na Gearrachun (P#2247) for details of the element 'Loch nan Geàrrachan'

Dùn Loch nan Geàrrachan

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Dùn Lochan nan Carranan

Place ID 6750 NF 78446 45909 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

'Lochan nan Carranan' + ScG fort ScG dùn + 'lochan nan carranan'

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Lochan nan Carranan (P#6748) for a discussion of that component.

Dùn Lochan nan Carranan

1877

OS 1st edition

Dùn Mhic Laitheann

Place ID	195	NF 97795 73204	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ON bay of the way + ScG fort			ScG dùn + ON leiðin + vík		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Beveridge is unusually scathing about Thomas' suggestion of 'Dun Mac Lathairn, i.e. the castle of the son of Laorn' and since the last component is not recognisable as a Gaelic name, I suspect we have here the same as we did with Rubha Mhic-ille-ghallaidh in Loch nam Madadh with the ScG mhic in fact being an ON vik = 'bay' but placed at the front as it has become a Gaelic loan word.

'Laitheann' looks very much like ON leið = 'way' or 'course' to start with.

An attractive possibility is ON leiðangr = 'an old Scand. Law term, a levy, esp. by sea, including men, ship, and money'. The situation at the northern tip of the E coast of North Uist on a defensible islet with an old fortification already built upon it is perfect.

I suspect however a simpler ON leiðin = 'The way' might be the real root although the last vowel is less convincing., Taghaigh and the shore which would be on the way

The bay however is almost certainly the large bay between Hermetray, Taghaigh and the shore and would be on 'The way' through the Sound of Harris.

The island was deemed such a good spot, it continued to be used as a fishing magazine through to the 1700s.

Neither options appear as such in Iceland but there is a Leidangveien in Norway whilst the Norwegian version of ON leiðin, Leidet, appears four times.

Dùn Mhic Laitheann	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dun Mhic Laitheann	1877	OS 1st edition

Dun Mhic Raouill

Place ID 2106 NF 72627 71278 North Uist B1alranald

ScG Ranald's son's fort ScG dùn mhic ragnail

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Marked on /Blaeu's mapping as Dunikrannil, the name is represented several times in this corner of the island unsurprisingly as the name had links with ownership of the land over the years.

The water levels in this loch are severely adjusted, probalby as a result of the construction of the nearby mill in the 19th century and the building up of the banks of the loch to provide a larger mill pool.

It remains however an impressive structure.

Dun Mhic Raouill	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dun Mhic Raouill	1877	OS 1st edition
Ylen Dunikrannil	1654	Blaeu mapping

Dun Mhic Uisdein

Place ID 5133 NF 80009 50650 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG son of Hugh fort

ScG dùn mhic uistean

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

I am not sure where the OS underlying modern mapping Dun Riskein comes from.

details of the structure can be found here: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/10207/benbecula-loch-olavat-dun-mhic-uisdein>

It is a prehistoric dun that is thought to have been used in the Medieval period.

Could it come from ON hús steinn = 'house - stone' although the order is odd? Vigfusson gives ON stein-hús = 'a stone-house'.

See Abhainn Uistean for a further discussion on the element 'Uisdean'.

Dun Mhic Uisdein	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dun Riskein	2014	OS modern underlying
Dùn Mhic Uisdein	1877	OS 1st edition
Islands of Duine Aird na Fullan	1804	Bald mapping
Dun Mhic Riskein		Other

Dùn Mòr

Place ID	309	NF 78120 62180	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG big fort			ScG dùn mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Dùn Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Dun Mor			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	
Dun Mor			1877	OS 1st edition	

Dùn Mòr

Place ID	6618	NF 77545 41494	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG big fort			ScG dùn mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Dùn Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Dùn Mòr			1877	OS 1st edition	
Duine More			1804	Bald mapping	

Dùn na Buial-uachdraich

Place ID	6732	NF 77765 46059	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG fort of the upper cattle-fold			ScG dùn na buaile uachdaraiche		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Dùn na Buial-uachdraich			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Dùn na Buial-uacraich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Dùn na Càrnaich

Place ID 713 NF 76942 66184 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG fort of stony ground

ScG dùn a' chàrnaich

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

The ScG na = 'of the' is odd here as ScG carnach = 'stony ground' is masculine and so we would expect ScG a' = 'of the' with lenition.

An ON vagr = 'bay' ending is not impossible.

Dun na Carnaich

2021

Standard OS mapping

Dun na Carnaich

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Dùn na Càrnaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Dun na Dise

Place ID 317 NF 80710 61730

North Uist

B1aleshare

ScG fort of the + ON cairn river

ScG dun na + ON dys á

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

See Faodhail na Dys ise for more details.

Dun na Dise

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dun na Tisa

1877

OS name book

Dun na h-Ola

Place ID 334 NF 78550 61610 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG fort of the + ON knolls

ScG dùn na + ON hólar

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

ON hóll = 'knoll' or better ON hólar = 'knolls' producing. 'knolls fort' would mean the Norse called the place 'knolls' which seems overly simple. ON 'hǫll' = hall producing 'fort of the hall' might also work although the reflexes are less friendly.

With the presence of a dun here the idea of a hall is attractive.

There are other similar names to Dun na h'Ola on the W coast. Dunollie, close to Oban, is probably the best known and was known to have been taken by the Irish pre Norse. Whilst this might lead one to look for a pre-Norse root here, OI halla = 'hall' means there could have been continuity of the place name through similar words.

Loch Olavat could well have the same root. Here the fact the genitive is ON hallar = 'of the hall' is more helpful than the ON hóls = 'of the knoll'.

Gaelic notes

A totally different possibility is that of the Gaelicised version, Ola, of the ON personal name, ON Olaf = 'Olaf' one supported by MacNiven on Islay (p359). If Norse there is the problem that ON Ólafs = 'of Olaf' is the genitive and the 's' would be unlikely to disappear.

Hólar occurs as a simplex name c1450 times and several times as Holer in Norway.

Dun na h-Ola

1877

OS 1st edition

Dun na Mairbhe

Place ID 656 NF 86310 74720 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG dun of the + ON large cairn of stones SCG dùn + ON verpi

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beveridge gives us either 'Fort of the Dead' or 'Fort of the Stillness'. The latter is marginally closer with ScG mairbhe = 'deadness' than ScG mairbh = 'of the corpse (m)'.
In either case, the ScG na = 'of the' looks wrong and this can point to an earlier root.

To English ears /mairbhe/ would sound like /maravuh/.

To English ears /mairbhe/ would sound like /maravuh/.

See Loch a' Mheirbh (P#606) for a discussion of the 'Marbhe' component.

The referent could be the island site here or possibly the Dún Torcuill inland from here.

Dun na Mairbhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Dun na Mairbhe	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Dùn nan Gallan (site of)

Place ID 6326 NF 73879 33585 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG fort of the lowlanders

ScG dùn na gallan

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Dungallan	1877	OS name book
Dùn nan Gallan (site of)	1877	OS 1st edition
Dungallan	1804	Bald mapping

Dun Nighean Righ Lochlainn

Place ID 1027 NF 95310 72390 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG fort of the daughter of the king of Norway ScG dun nighean righ lochlainn

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

The local tradition is to a direct translation of this name 'Fort of the daughter of the king of Norway'. However as Beveridge wryly observes that 'The fact that each of these very similar island-forts is locally known under the name of Dún nighean righ Lochlainn must be regarded as a somewhat unsatisfactory coincidence, tending rather to lessen the value of any implied tradition that either of them was actually occupied by 'a daughter of the king of Norway.'

Seolaid Nighean Mhurchaidh Bhain (q.v.) gave the clue as I think it is ON *sæ leið nýjum virki* = 'new fort bay channel'. It is quite possible that with a desire to resemanticise, ON *vriki* = 'fort' could become ScG *rìgh* = 'king'. This gives us the central portion as 'new fort' again.

The first component of the last section would come naturally from ON *lög* which has a variety of meanings. Looking at Vigfusson ON *lög-leið* = 'a lawful Leet (meeting)' springs out of the page. Wiktionary defines leet as 'A regular court, more specifically a court-leet, in which certain lords had jurisdiction over local disputes, or the physical area of this jurisdiction'.

See the other Dun Nighean Righ Lochlainn for more details.

Dun Nighean Righ Lochlainn

1911

Beveridge

Dun Nighean Righ Lochlainn

Place ID 1028 NF 86380 63980 North Uist Lees

ScG fort of the daughter of the king of Norway ScG dun nighean righ lochlainn

ScG?

ON?

Historic Dun

complete?

The local tradition is to a direct translation of this name 'Fort of the daughter of the king of Norway'. However as Beveridge wryly observes that 'The fact that each of these very similar island-forts is locally known under the name of Dún nighean righ Lochlainn must be regarded as a somewhat unsatisfactory coincidence, tending rather to lessen the value of any implied tradition that either of them was actually occupied by 'a daughter of the king of Norway.'

Seolaid Nighean Mhurchaidh Bhain (q.v.) gave the clue as I think it is ON sæ leið nýjum virki = 'new fort bay channel'. It is quite possible that with a desire to resemanticise, ON virki = 'fort' could become ScG rìgh = 'king'. This gives us the central portion as 'new fort' again.

The first component of the last section would come naturally from ON lög which has a variety of meanings. Looking at Vigfusson ON lög-leið = 'a lawful Leet (meeting)' springs out of the page. Wiktionary defines leet as 'A regular court, more specifically a court-leet, in which certain lords had jurisdiction over local disputes, or the physical area of this jurisdiction'.

Somewhat amazingly Beveridge gives us another name for this Dun (for which modern surveyors could find no evidence) which advances the above interpretation - Dun Eideann. Markus believes that *Edin on Bute could well refer to oN þing = 'thing' and here probably ON eið þing = 'isthmus thing'.

Dun Eideann	1911	Beveridge
Dun Nighean Righ Lochlainn	1911	Beveridge

Dùn Raghail

Place ID 6482 NF 77856 37110 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG Ranald's fort ScG rùn Raghail

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives a description: This name is applied to a large Dun, rectangular in form, which is situated on a small island near the South West end of Loch Druidibeg. The walls are about seven feet in height and about three feet thick. No information could be obtained concerning its history. It means "Ronald's Dun"

Dùn Raghail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dun Rhail	1877	OS name book
Dùn Raouill	1877	OS 1st edition
Duine Rhail	1804	Bald mapping

Dun Rosail

Place ID 663 NF 87820 75930 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON cairn - hill + ScG fort

ScG dùn + ON hröysi hóll

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

A prominent feature of the landscape but any signs of the dun here are long gone. Beveridge gives us ON hross-hóll = 'horse hill' which makes sense although perhaps ON hrossa = 'of horses' is a better grammatical fit. Hrossholl occurs 11 place names in Iceland.

The other versions recorded in the OS name book, Earail and Earrachal might point at a specific of ON ær = 'ewes' possibly along with the generic of either ON hóll = 'hill' (there I is an Ærhølen in Norway) or ON hvall = 'hillock', both of these exist as names in Iceland.

A simpler alternative and a good topographic fit would be ON hröysi hóll = 'cairn hill'.

The OS name book writes rather more extensively than usual 'This name is applied to a small prominent Knoll, said to be the site of an ancient fort, but of what shape or form I could not ascertain. It is also said that the Picts were in the habit of kindling large fires on the summit of this Knoll, for what purpose I could not ascertain. At the base of this Knoll on the south side were found human remains A. D. 1872.'

I must admit to further reflection on the Norse word ON hreyse or its alternative form ON hrøysi = 'cairn, pile of sotnes'. Here ON hröysi hóll = 'pile of stones hill' is an attractive option.

The Ros- names on the OS 2nd edition are strongly in the Norse area. There are two other clusters of Rosail naems. Rosehall in Sutherland must be close to a cognate and although Taylor quotes 'horse field', it is close to two large broch sites and the hill out the back is called Beinn Rosail. The other Rosal in Sunderland includes a large variety of cairns and hut circles in the vicinity.

Dun Rosail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dun Errachal	1911	Beveridge
Dun Rosail	1877	OS 1st edition
Dun Earail	1877	OS name book
Down-rossel	1703	Martin book

Dùn Ruadh

Place ID 5131 NF 79866 51070 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG rusty red fort

ScG dùn ruadh

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

Information on the site can be found at: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/9976/benbecula-loch-olavat-dun-ruadh>

Quite why it should be rusty red I am unsure.

An interesting thought would be ON hrók = 'chess rook or castle' and ON hrúga = 'heap, pile' would work for a pile of stones.

Dùn Ruadh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dùn Ruadh

1877

OS 1st edition

Dun Scarie

Place ID 2356 NF 71772 70555 North Uist B1alranald

ON notch + ScG fort

ScG dùn + ON skarði

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

ON eið = 'isthmus' describes the narrow neck of land between the freshwater lochs here very well. The specific is less clear although the best is probably ON skarð = 'notch' producing overall 'notch isthmus'.

Simpler however would be ON skarði, the dative.

The notch was named and then by proximity the Loch was named Loch Scarie and then the dun as it sat in the loch. topographically this makes sense as there is still a ditch or notch connecting Loch Sgairraigh to Loch Croghearraidh. This however fails to take into account the fact the dun is also named Dun Scarie; proximity must do.

Another different possible root would be ON skúra + ey = 'island of the sheds' and with an island covered in an old ScG dun present, this was my preferred option but the initial vowels are a problem.

Further evidence comes from the existence of a Dun Scor and a place name Scor adjacent to Dun Mhic Raouill both of which can develop regular form ON skarð.

Beveridge(p190) suggests 'Zachary, a common name in the Macaulay sept' which has ScG sgaire as its Gaelic version and would work well.

The dun here bears the same name and as these historic sites tend to be old, then I prefer the Norse option.

The name is remarkably similar to the well-known Skara Brae on Orkney which is thought to have come from a personal name ON Skari however it does seem unlikely for one person to have three duns named after him....

There is no exact cognate in Iceland although both elements occur commonly. There is a reversed Eiðisskarð = 'notch of the isthmus'. There is a Skareide in Norway which is probably a cognate.

Dun Scarie	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dun Scarie	1877	OS 1st edition
Dun Sgarr		Other

Dun Scolpeg

Place ID 1118 NF 73090 75030 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG fort + 'Scolpeg'

ScG dùn + 'Scolpeg'

Historic

Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion about 'Scolpaig' (P#1117) see that place.

Dun Scolpeg

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dùn Scòr

Place ID 1139 NF 84420 62090 North Uist Eaval

ON horseshoe ? + ScG fort

ScG dùn + ON skór

Historic

Dun

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Without a record of this name going back in time, we will probably never know.

To me the best options are ON skor = 'notch' or ON skór = 'shoe' or 'horseshoe'.

If I had to hazard a guess, I would chose the 'horseshoe' option as it describes the site with its various causeways.

More details of the site can be found here on the hyperlink.

Dùn Scòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Dun Scor

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Dun Seimhe

Place ID	5522	NF 86343 49832	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG fort + ON at the sea			ScG dùn + ON sævi		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The alternative spellings are Saibh (Modern OS) and Saigh (Bald 1804).

This is a slightly odd one as the spellings lean me towards ON sær = 'sea' or more particularly ON sævi = 'the sea' (dative) or probably better interpreted as 'at the sea'.

To me this would imply that the Norse were aware of the word ScG dùn meaning 'fort' and were adding their 'at the sea' to it. A rare example of a hybrid name.

Certainly there is a Dun here and it is in a tidal area and so the description is perfect. The problem is that Canmore thinks that the site is a natural one with no construction there. Thomas who surveyed the early Admiralty Chart of the area also wrote papers about duns and actually marked the Dun on the map slightly to the N of where Canmore now has their comment. I suspect there is something worth looking for here.

Dun Seimhe

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Dun Shunish

Place ID 202 NF 78086 50859 Benbecula T1orlum

ON haven headland + ScG fort ScG Dun + ON haven headland

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

In Gaelic pronunciation, the /s/ here disappears.

I suspect therefore that we have an ON höfn nes= 'haven headland.' The development of ö > u is regular and höfn > hun is apparent elsewhere on Uist.

Stewart Angus's paper on the pre-drainage lochs of Benbecula reveal this would have been a headland here to the W of a sea pool now Oban Lionacleit and this is reflected in the Blaeu mapping.

This name probably reflects the time when the fort here was on a peninsula between the 'Borgh promontory' and the main section of Benbecula and would have been an important place.

As can be seen the cognate evidence is strong. My only concern is this is would have to be a close compound.

There are however two other possibilities maintaining the /s/, ON sjón = 'watch' and ON sjó or sjá = 'sea -'. The first seems more realistic here but probably still not as strong as the ON höfn option

In Iceland there are seven Hafnarnes place names whilst in Norway there are four Havnes and gramttical variants and a variety of names based upon Hamnes with 30 Hamnanesetfor example.

In Noreway there is a Sjoneset, Sjonnesetand and a Sjuneset whilst in Iclenad both trhe ccomponentys are common but do not occur together. The ten Sjøneset in Norway refer to the sea option .

Dun Shunish	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dùn Shunish	1877	OS 1st edition
Dunan an t-Siuthais	1877	OS name book

Dùn Skellor

Place ID 2432 NF 80761 75085 North Uist S1ollas

ON halls + ScG dun

ScG dùn + ON skellor

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

Although little remains today, it sounds as if Thomas and Beveridge (p219) saw remains of an impressive structure, possibly a broch. These buildings were certainly reoccupied in the Mediaeval period and there is evidence of some being used by the Norse. This would seem a likely contender.

See Sgealair (P#2430) for a discussion of that name. The Canmore entry is here:

<https://canmore.org.uk/site/10341/north-uist-dun-skellor>

Dùn Skellor	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dùn Sgealair	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Dunskellor	1877	OS 1st edition
Dunskillar	1877	OS name book
Dunskaller	1877	OS name book
Dun Skilian	1877	OS name book
Dun Skillor	1877	OS name book
Dun Sgealoir	1877	OS name book
Dunsgealor	1861	Thomas chart
Dunskaller	1832	Thomson atlas
Dunskal..	1799	Reid mapping
Dunskelor		MacDonald sketch history

Dun Stuidh

Place ID 560 NG 04220 83160 Harris Harris general

ON harbour isthmus + ScG fort

ScG dùn + ON stöð eið

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

Henderson cites the example of ON þerna > ScG stearnal as evidence for ON þ > ScG st.

Here then ON *þuða - eið = 'thin isthmus' works very well topographically. ON þuðr is a variant on ON þunnr = 'thin'. If I read Vigfusson correctly though, ON þuðrar might be the genitive which is less good phonetically.

An alternative is ON þúfa = 'mound or knoll' with the appropriate genitive being ON þúfu. The disappearance of the 'f' is regular (Holliday).

However the simplest solution is ON stöð = 'harbour' and a close compound ON stöð-eið

More information on this interesting site can be found here: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/10520/harris-dun-stuidh>

There are places in Iceland with ON þunn and ON þúfu as the initial component but no cognates.

There is a Stöðvarfjörður in Iceland.

Dun Stuidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dùn Thomaidh

Place ID 1069 NF 75900 75810 North Uist Grim1inish

ON net drying platform - island + ScG fort ScG dùn + ON þön - eið

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

'Tommy's fort' would be the obvious ScG interpretation and Beveridge provides the story of this Tomaidh being a brother of 'Dunag' their father having been 'a King of Norway' however I suspect this is a folk etymology invented to explain an earlier name as these names of historic sites often reach back to the Norse. ScG taomadh = 'bailing, pouring out' might be closer although hard to see exactly how it fits other than perhaps it was a fort that needed bailing. The generic could be ON ey = 'island' and a good option for the specific would be ON þön = 'a scaffold or platform on stakes, on which nets and the like are stretched out for drying'. Directly opposite the current fishing harbour here, it is well sited for drying nets.

Another alternative comes from replacing the initial 'th' with 'sh', possible as they sound the same in Gaelic. Then ON sjón ey = 'look out island' would be a good description of the site as it is in a position to guard the entrance to the harbour here. The /j/ here however is not ideal.

A possible thing site.

There is a Sjoneidet in Norway

Dùn Thomaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dùn Thomaidh	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Dun Tomi	1877	OS 1st edition

Dun Toloman

Place ID 2488 NF 82071 74925 North Uist Central North

ScG small islet fort

ScG dùn tolman

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

Beveridge (p219) writes about this island fort somewhat despairingly. Little indeed now remains.

The OSNB writes 'From the nature of the ground surrounding the Knoll it appears to have been surrounded by water. It is the site of ancient works and resembles the hillock on which the "Duns" in this country are built on. A number of years ago, a cottar discovered chambers made of flags [slabs or flat stones] in the Knoll when removing stones for building purposes. Nothing of the kind can be traced now'.

ScG tolm -an = 'little hillock of round form' and comes directly from the ON holmr = 'islet'. The extra vowel in the middle comes from the Gaelic dislike of too many consonants together and between an /l/ and an /m/ here an /o/ would be added. Indeed the Carmichael form in the OSNB is recorded as Tolman without that extra vowel.

With Beveridge talking about it being an island in a loch 'drained off within perhaps comparatively recent times' this all makes sense.

An older root is possible with the generic ON heiminn = 'the home' and ON trolla = 'of the trolls' as the specific. Trolls were creatures of the underworld and the name is similar in concept to the ScG sithean = 'fairy mound'. The word is close enough to Tolman for the name to be adapted and this would explain the missing /r/.

A simpler explanation however is that the root was ON hólminn = 'the islet'. The transition from an initial Norse /H/ to a Gaelic /T/ is regular.

Niclain writes 'The word tolman means a small hill. The mound was once an island in the middle of a lake, but the lake was drained.'

With a Trolloman near Loch Portain and Trollheimen occurring as a component of 12 places in Norway, there is evidence of the name having this meaning.

A Tolob in Shetland is some evidence that the word could have Norse antecedents and Waugh writes 'as does the name Tolob, with forms such as Tollope (1589) and Tolhoip (1606) confirming derivation from ON toll-hóp toll bay, a name which also occurs as the name of a tunship in Orkney for which Hugh Marwick has suggested the same derivation.'

Dun Toloman	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------	------	-------------------

An Tolman	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
-----------	------	-------------------------------

Toloman	1877	OS 1st edition
---------	------	----------------

Tolman	1877	OS name book
--------	------	--------------

Dùn Torcuill

Place ID	532	NF 88880 73720	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ON heathen cairn pool + ScG fort			ScG dùn + ON hörg hyl		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The name is similar to Dùn Torcusay again this is a prominent dun and probalby the best preserved on Uist currently. The generic could be ON hylr = 'deep pool' as in a possibility for in Iolaraigh and the specific as Dun Torcusay being ON hqgr = 'heathen cairn'

The only other Torcul name is a Toercuileainn near Loch Neivs and refers to a settlement on the shores of Loch an Dubh-Lochain (?!) with two Tom (mound) names at either end. The E one, Tom na h-Eilde is prominent. There is a Torcchoire above the loch.

Dùn Torcuill

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dùn Torcusay

Place ID	530	NF 76190 53140	B1enbecula	B1aile nan Cailleach	
ON island of the heathen cairn + ScG fort			ScG dùn + ON hörgs ey		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

'T' often replaces 'H' at the start of words in the Gaelicization process and so here the specific is ON hörgs = 'of the heathen cairn'.

The 'heathen cairn' must refer to Dun Torcusay, an impressive broch building although much stripped away in recent years.

Dùn Torcusay

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dùn Totaig

Place ID 6783 NG 23755 47903 Skye Duirinish

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

tota vag = bay of ruins

Dùn Totaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dùn Uisealan

Place ID	6741	NF 77763 45374	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ON estate of the river mouth + ScG fort			ScG dùn + ON óss land		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The ending is almost certainly ON land = 'land or estate'. With the nearby Loch an Òs, I wonder if the specific could stem from ON óss = 'river mouth'.

Dùn Uisealan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dùn Uiselan	1877	OS 1st edition

Dùn Vùlan

Place ID 5651 NF 71406 29812 Lochboisdale South Uist

ON The storm beach + ScG dun ScG dùn + ON mölin

Historic Dun

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I have posted a blog about this name. It can be found on this link: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/two-forts-for-the-price-of-one>

See the link for some details of cognates: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/two-forts-for-the-price-of-one>

Dùn Vùlan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dùn Vulcan	1877	OS 1st edition
Dù Mhavilean	1877	OS name book

Dùnan Dubh

Place ID	601	NF 89070 74540	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG small black fort			ScG dùn -an dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Dun			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Dùnan Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Dùnan Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Dunan Mor

Place ID 2178 NF 78147 63389 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG place of the big fort

ScG dùn - an mòr

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

Fraser gives us 'Big Little Dun' I am not quite sure how the big and the little work together. The ScG -an can mean 'place of' as well as 'small' and it is this meaning suspect here.

Beveridge has things to say (p185) including tales of the supernatural.....

Dunan Mor

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Dunbowie Cottage

Place ID 6554 NF 77287 39233 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Dunbowie' + Eng cottage

'Dunbowie' + Eng cottage

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

See Dùn Buidhe (P#6512) for an explanation for the first component of this name.

Dunbowie Cottage

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dusary Mill

Place ID 714 NF 76560 67030 North Uist B1ayhead

'Dusary' + Eng mill 'Dusary' + Eng mill

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion on the meaning of Dusary see Loch Dubhasairidh (P#2497)
The mill pond and the leat are still visible here.

Dusary Mill 1877 OS 1st edition

Dust Pt

Place ID 1949 NF 82985 64016 North Uist Langass

Eng dust point Eng dust point

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I wonder if this comes from ScG Rubha Dus = 'dust promontory'. This in itself is an unlikely name but ON dys = 'cairn' would make sense referencing Barpa Langais, or indeed another of the many adjacent Neolithic sites.

Dust Pt 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

E. a Chleibh

Place ID 5588 NF 84871 55437 Benbecula Rueval

ScG ilsand of the creel

ScG eilean a' chlàibh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

This looks too much like ON kleif = 'a ridge of cliffs or shelves' for it not to be. The topography however is not encouraging unless taken to refer to the lump c100m inland. Jakobsen defines ON kleif as a steep rocky slope over which a path leads.

The simpler alternative is ScG clèibh = 'of the creel' but this too seems to have no obvious reason although the grammar is correct.

E. a Chleibh

1861

Thomas chart

Creel I.

1861

Thomas chart

E. an Easbuig

Place ID 5525 NF 87894 49625 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of the bishop

ScG eilean an easbaig

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There is a bishop place name near Loch Eynort. There too there seems to be no religious connection.

ScG GilleEasbaig = 'Archibald' and the 'Gille' component can have a habit of being assumed and this might be a simpler solution.

The same change of an /a/ for an /u/ is present in that name too although /ai/ and /ui/ sound the same in an unstressed syllable, the whole word sounding /esbɪgʲ/

I do wonder if this is another case similar to Scolpaig on North Uist with the generic component coming from ON vík = 'bay' but alternatively ON spík = 'spike' might work better.

In the latter case ON hjá = 'near' would give 'near the spike'.

Bishop's Isl

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

E. an Easbuig

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

E. an Leusain

Place ID 5291 NF 87724 48992 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of the small torch

ScG eilean an leusain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

One imagines this could be site for some form of navigational light and might relate to the nearby watch point Sgeir Choimhead.

E. an Leusain	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Torch Island	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Black Island of Ru Leassen	1804	Bald mapping

E. an t- Sruth

Place ID 5461 NF 86616 52317 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG island of the current

ScG eilean an t- sruth

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I would expect the genitive for ScG sruth = 'current' which is either ScG sruth or ScG srutha.
The Bald name of I. na True is another example of a prosthetic /s/.

E. an t- Sruth

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

I. na True

1804

Bald mapping

E. an t-Sionnaich

Place ID 5512 NF 84655 50599 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG island of + ON watch knoll

ScG eilean an t- + ON sjón-knoll

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ScG sionnach = 'valve or fox' (m) neither of which seem very hopeful here. It is pronounced /juNəx/.
One interpretation is ON sjón = 'sight' but here 'watch' with ON hnúk = 'knoll'

E. an t-Sionnaich

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

E. Beag Sta

Place ID 5459 NF 87081 52600 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG small island of use

ScG eilean beag stà

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Thomas gives us Unprofitable Island where a literal translation would be 'little use island'.

The root is ScG stà and so the Staa in Bald's mapping is encouraging.

In theory, I think, if the ScG beag was to be attached to a genitive ScG stà, then it should be ScG bhig. The fact it is the island that is small and this rather changes the meaning to 'small island of use', i.e. it is quite useful after all.....

Unprofitable Isd

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

E. Beag Sta

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Peke Staa

1804

Bald mapping

E. Dho'ill

Place ID	5571	NF 85758 47010	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG Donald's island			ScG eilean dhomnuill		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
E. Dho'ill			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

E. Dubh Iain

Place ID 5283 nf 85293 47615 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG John's black island

ScG eilean dubh iain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Bald even gives us a second part of the name calling it John McLaclans Island.

E. Dubh Iain

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

John Mc Lachlans Island

1804

Bald mapping

E. Garbh

Place ID	5471	NF 84596 51730	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG rough island			ScG eilean garbh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
E. Garbh			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Gearve Island			1804	Bald mapping	

E. Garbh

Place ID	5572	NF 85316 46393	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG rough island			ScG eilean garbh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
E. Garbh			1866	Admiralty mapping	

E. Grugach

Place ID 1933 NF 86232 58459 North Uist Eaval

ScG place of the ON hook + ScG island

ScG eilean + ON krók + ScG -ach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The 'E.' would indicate ScG Eilean and ScG gruagach = 'fairy'. This is verging on the poetic, especially for somewhere not near habitation.

The word also means, as an adjective, 'hairy' and this could describe the seaweed on the islands as they are exposed.

The islands here are in quite a distinctive shape and the ON krókr = 'hook' would describe them well.

The end of the word could have been adapted by the Gaels to create the recognisable, to them, 'gruagach' but could have started as gruagaig which would indicate a generic of ON vik = 'bay'. A possibly simpler explanation is the addition on the suffix ScG -ach = 'place of'. The cognate notes help convince me of this option.

There is a Krókavík in Iceland along with two other places that have Krökuvík as their start.

There are 60 simplex Krókar names.

In Norway there are over 40 Krok(s)vik(a) place names.

E. Grugach

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

E. Molach

Place ID 5470 NF 84591 51862 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG island of the place of the shingly beach ScG eilean mol -ach

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bald gives us a simple Black Island which does not really help.

I suspect that the root is ScG mol -ach = 'place of the shingly beach' and there is a relatively small such beach on the S edge of this island and 40m to the SE on the mainland.

E. Molach

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Black Island

1804

Bald mapping

E. na Cuilce

Place ID	5474	NF 85719 51580	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG island of the reed			ScG eilean na cuilce		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Reed Isd			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
E. na Cuilce			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Reed Islands			1804	Bald mapping	

E. na Tuatha

Place ID 5282 NF 85646 47360 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of the folk

ScG eilean na tuatha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

An interesting name. At first appearance it looks like ScG tuath = 'north' but the ending indicates is it the genitive of ScG tuath = 'folk, peasantry'.

There are two other 'tuath' place nearby.

With this sort of name, I would expect there to be some form of assembly site here, probably the island itself.

Bald has a totally different name, I. Du na Hulla Harnin. 'black island of the' is clearly the first three component.

Bearing in mind the fact that 'hulla' could be 'thulla' or /shulla/, the following from an Irish place- name site is interesting 'Names beginning with Tulla- or Tully- : These come from tullach meaning 'little hill' and to be even more exact a hill that was a landmark or was used as a meeting place or a location for fairs.' A second possible reference to an assembly place is unlikely to be coincidental.

However the last word is problematic in Gaelic.

An alternative for the last two words in Norse would be ON hólá tjörninn = 'the tarn of the hills' and not dissimilar to the ubiquitous Olavat names.

E. na Tuatha

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

I. Du na Hulla Harnin

1804

Bald mapping

E. nam Buideal

Place ID 5529 NF 87114 49155 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of the bottles or ON fork of the farms ScG eilean nam buideal or ON búa *tjál

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ScG buideal = 'cask or bottle' (pronounced /budʲaL/) and I am sure there is a story about a shipwreck depositing several casks on the island here.

ON tjálgr = 'prong, fork' would work as the island is sited in a fork in the prominent bay, Loch Meanarbhagh, here.

Perhaps with a generic here of ON búa = 'of the farms' would work as the island is on the boundary between two farms.

E. nam Buideal

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

E. nan Sasunnach

Place ID 5292 NF 88074 49349 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of the Englishman

ScG eilean na sasannach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Thomas gives us 'Englishmen's Island' although the plural seems misguided.
It is somewhat odd that a masculine Englishman has the feminine article ScG na!

Englishmen's Island

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

E. nan Sasunnach

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Island na Sassenach

1804

Bald mapping

E. nan Tri Chaol

Place ID 5477 NF 87021 51782 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG island of three straits

ScG eilean nan tri chaolas

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

An interesting name. Two straits yes but the third is flimsy.

Three Sounds Isd

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

E. nan Tri Chaol

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Drihu Island

1804

Bald mapping

Eabhal

Place ID 46 NF 88720 59100 North Uist Eaval

ON hill of the island

ON eyjar + fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Clearly Norse, Beveridge suggests ON ey-fjall = 'hill of the island' but although the genitive is ON eyjar= 'of the island' which sounds good.

ON eið = 'isthmus' would work topographically but the genitive here is ON eiðs, which sounds worse.

I observe that the highest hill on Barra is called Heabhal now (very similar in sound) but on the Blaeu mapping of 1654 it was called Whytefealt, presumably meaning 'white fell'. I have posted on my blog about this at:

<http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/white-hills>

This mountain would have no cause to be called an isthmus mountain as that is not topographically appropriate there.

A final alternative for the root here is based upon ON ær = 'ewe or ewes' or possibly its genitive plural ON á(a).

The earliest name we have is Æfeald from Blaeu 1654.

Listening to the local pronunciation of /eyaval/ the best option appears to be Beveridge's 'ON eyja fjall = 'mountain of the island'.

The quantity of the initial vowel is good and the quality fits the local usage.

Where do I start?!

ON eyja fjall = mountain of the islands

ON áa fjall = mountain of the ewes

ON eiða fjall = mountain of the isthmuses - isthmus?!

I think the first but it is not clear.

Eyjafjall occurs twice in Iceland with one Ærfjall and four other places with that as the first component. The Norwegian equivalent åfjellet occurs four times whilst øyfell(et) occurring 16 times, Eidsfjell(et) occur 12 times and Eidefjell(et) six times.

Eaval	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eaval	1877	OS 1st edition
Eval	1861	Thomas chart
Bin Eval	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Heval Hill	1806	Stockdale mapping
Eval	1799	Reid mapping
Hevalhill	1789	Ainslie mapping
Bin Æfelt	1654	Blaeu mapping
Æfeald	1654	Blaeu mapping

Eabhal

Place ID 760 NF 88760 59070 North Uist Eaval

'Eabhal'

'Eabhal'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

See Eabhal (P#46) for a discussion of that component.

Eabhal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eaval

1877

OS 1st edition

Eaval Ho

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Eachcamais

Place ID 325 NF 78960 59250 North Uist B1aleshare

ON fierce headland

ON ýgja nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

ScG each cama = 'bay horse' seemed an obvious start but of course the order is wrong and since both words are well known there is no reason for it to be so.

My next thoughts were ON aukin nes = 'increased headland' referring to the changing nature of the coastline here.

Although the 'm' rather than 'n' is a problem. Rygh specifically quotes it and defines it topographically as 'cleared land'. The cognate notes are, surprisingly, helpful but none of these sites are what I would deem to be an increased headland. Going back to the dictionary, ON kamb áss = 'comb ridge' would be a good topographical description of the sand dunes here which are high and undulating. Vigfusson specifically includes 'a ridge on the beach' in his definition of kamb. The initial section could be the preposition ON hjá = 'near, besides'.

The middle cluster of 'chk' is still odd although it emphasises that this position is a break in the name - it could be an odd form of assimilation?

Unusually for Carmichael his OS name book Jòcamis is close here.

It all seems a little contrived.

A better option in my opinion is ON gjá nes = 'fierce headland' although I'm unsure of the declension of ON gyro = 'fierce'. There is a confusion in the forms in the centre and this could perhaps be explained by the unusual combination /gj/

Loch Eachkavat occurs on Harris and is the only other name on the OS 2nd edition containing Eachk-

In Norway there are three Auknes(a/et) place names.

There is a Kambás in Iceland and a Kambås in Norway. In Sweden we have two Kammaråsen names.

Eachcamais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Jòcamis	1877	OS name book
Eachkamish	1877	OS 1st edition
Eachamish	1861	Thomas chart
Yichkenish	1789	Ainslie mapping

East Id

Place ID 1951 NF 83415 63911 North Uist Langass

ON gravel bank + Eng island

ON eyrr + Eng island

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The logic of calling this island East is odd.

Presumably it stems from ScG ear = 'east' but it then could go back to ON eyrr = 'gravel bank' which does make topographical sense.

East Id

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Eigneig Bheag

Place ID 779 NF 92537 60220 North Uist Eaval

ScG small + 'Eigneig' 'Eigneig' + ScG bheag

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Somehow it has been decided that Eigneig is feminine so as to get ScG bheag.
See Eigneig Mhòr (P#813) for a discussion on the Eigneig component.

Eigneig Bheag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eigneig Bheag	1877	OS 1st edition
Egnic Beg	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Eigneig Mhòr

Place ID 813 NF 92990 61290 North Uist Eaval

ScG big + ON slopes of the sharp ridge ON egg hnúk + ScG mhor

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A name mentioned in an early poem but not one that is easily understood.

ON hnúkr = 'slopes' would be a good topographical fit for the generic as this place and Eigneig are both necks of land sticking out into the Minch.

For the specific ON egg = 'a sharp edge of a mountain' is another good fit topographically.

There is an Eggjahnukur in Iceland. Both 'egg' and 'hnúkr' are common components of place names in both countries.

Eigneig Mhòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eigneig Mhor	1877	OS 1st edition
Egnic More	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Eil. Dubh an Neoinein

Place ID	5539	NF 83340 48815	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG black island of the place of the birds			ScG eilean dubh nan eoin -an		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
This name must relate to the modern Cnoc Mòr Eilean nan Eun (P#5335q.v.)					
Eil. Dubh an Neoinein			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Eil. Mhiclain Dhuibh

Place ID 5452 NF 85911 54925 Benbecula Rueval

ScG son of black John's + Eng islands Eng islands + ScG mhc iain duibh

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Presumably the same Black John as the one celebrated at Rubha Caolas Mhic Iain Duibh (P#5434).

Eil. Mhiclain Dhuibh	1861	Thomas chart
Black John's I.	1861	Thomas chart
Id. Ricianduibh	1832	Thomson atlas
Islands Vic Ian Duibh	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean a' Bhàigh-ghlais

Place ID	468	NF 86710 58100	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG Island of the green bay or quiver or otter			ScG eilean a' bhàigh-ghlais or bhuilg -an or bhalga		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The simple explanation of the name as on the map is 'island of the green bay' and the bay here is green or turquoise on a sunny day. The additional /h/s all make sense grammatically here.

However the OS name book gives us a meaning of 'The bags island' which ties in with a name that the nearest inhabitants, the MacVicars, think is the correct name for the island, Eilean a' Bhuilgan = 'island of the quiver'.

The story attached to the name is that someone committed a murder (perhaps that referred to in the place name Allt a' Mhurtair P#522 on the S of Grimsay?) and was chased. On this island the arrow was drawn out of the quiver and on the next island - Eilean nan Saighead = 'island of the arrows' (P#467) - the perpetrator was incapacitated and then taken away and hung - on Eilean na Cloiche (P#472) perhaps.

To confuse Thomas who is normally reliable named the place Eilean a Bhalgaire = 'Otter Island' on his Admiralty chart although in one of those curious coincidences, ScG balgair can also mean 'thief or robber'!

Eilean a' Bhàigh-ghlais	1877	OS 1st edition
Otter I.	1861	Thomas chart
Eilean a Bhalgaire	1861	Thomas chart
Eilean a' Bhalgain		Other

Eilean a' Bhaile

Place ID 1862 NF 81520 56781 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG island + ON towards the whales ScG eilean + ON á hvalar

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The literal translation of the Gaelic is 'island of the township but this seems inappropriate for a small skerry in the middle of the ford. As the 'bh' is pronounced as a 'v' I suspect that it is another ON hvalr = 'whale' name although it does not make sense as a generic. The conversion of the ScG a to the preposition ON á = 'towards' would help. Quite where Thomas gets 'Flood I.' I am unsure unless he is getting confused with E. Tolltach as ScG tuil = 'flood'. An odd one.

Eilean a' Bhaile	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean a' Bhaile	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean a' Bhaill	1877	OS name book
E. a Bhaile	1861	Thomas chart
Flood I.	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean a' Bhogha

Place ID	6648	NF 85029 41650	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG island of ther sunken rock			ScG eilean a' bhodha		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean a' Bhogha			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean a' Bhogha			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean a' Chaise

Place ID 931 NF 85990 64300 North Uist Langass

ScG island of the + ON hollow place

ScG eilean a' + ON kjós

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Cheese? Steepness? Foam?

I wonder in fact if the basin here that this island forms the N edge of is a hollow coming from ON kjós = 'a deep or hollow place' that transformed to a 'creek'.

The Gales then knew the name of the basin and this s was the 'island of' that basin.

The article was chosen as the name became resemanticise to ScG cais = 'cheese'.

Eilean a' Chaise	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean a' Chaise	1877	OS 1st edition
Cheese Id	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean a' Chapuill

Place ID 474 NF 84130 58460 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Island of the mare ScG eeilean + a' + chapuill

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The /u/ is not standard but the ScG a' = 'the' indicates singular.
Laimrig a' Chapuill is not far way to the E.

Eilean a' Chapuill	1877	OS 1st edition
Mare I.	1861	Thomas chart
Eilean a' Chapuill	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean a Charnain

Place ID	1874	NF 80800 56834	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ScG island of the small heaps of stones			ScG eilean a' chàrnain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ON kjarninn = 'The best of the land' would seem to be a good fit and very similar to the idea of ScG claigeann. ON kjarn is a common component of Icelandic and Norwegian place names.

However topographically it seems odd to name a small islet as this unless the name has transferred from Sunamul which already has a good Norse name.

ON kjarn is a common component of Icelandic and Norwegian place names. It appears four times as a simplex Kjarni in Iceland

Eilean a Charnain	1861	Thomas chart
-------------------	------	--------------

Eilean a' Charnain

Place ID 1277 NF 97477 76509 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG island of the small heap of stones ScG eilean a' charnain

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop gives us the story that the cairn was built by Captain Otter of the Admiralty about the latter part of the 19thC although he thinks the reason is unclear. One imagines it was a triangulation point.

Eilean a' Charnain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean a' Charnain	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Eilean a' Charnain	1877	OS 1st edition

Eilean a' Chàrnain

Place ID 473 NF 84380 58490 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the small heap of stones

ScG eileasn + a' + chàrnain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

There are indeed small piles of stones on this island (and adjacent ones) as a result of clearing the ground for agricultural purposes. This was one of the better areas of land in the area and so needed to be well used. The name implies only one such heap....

MacVicar provides a very different name ScG Eilean Glainneachan Ailig a' Mhaoir = 'Island of the glasses of Alec of the constable' although sadly provides no accompanying story.

Eilean Glainneachan Ailig a' Mhaoir

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Eilean a' Chàrnain

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean a' Cheòidh

Place ID 749 NF 86640 58529 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of the inlet

ScG eilean a' geodha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ON hjörð = 'herd' is a possible match here. This however leaves the problem of the generic unless the Gaels recognised ON ey as 'island'.

So many vowels together make it hard for a non-native speaker to put together the sound.

/kʲɔ:.əy/ is pretty close.

I suspect that in fact ScG geodha = 'cove' is the best bet, in the genitive and lenited form. It is a good topographical fit with the island almost bisected by an inlet.

Eilean a' Cheòidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean a' Chinnbhioraich

Place ID 6603 NF 85217 40655 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG island of the pointed head ScG eilean a' chinn bhioraich

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us meaning "Conical Island" - it does not look so.

ScG biorach can mean 'heifer' as a noun or 'pointed, prickly' as an adjective. The genitive of ScG ceann = 'head' is ON cinn. Hence ScG eilean a' chinn bhioraich = 'island of the pointed head'.

One hopes then that Rubhas Caolas Lirsaigh has a pointy feel to it.

Eilean a' Chinnbhioraich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean a' Chinn-bhioraich

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean a' Chlàsaich

Place ID 6501 NF 84677 37774 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG island of the

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Google maps has Wizard Pool here and I suspect that this might come from ScG cleasach = 'Play, sport, gambol, perform feats of activity, vault, tumble as a rope-dancer'.

The OS name book gives us 'Spartsmans Island' presumably meaning 'Sportsman. Neither seem awfully satisfactory. N ON vík = 'bay' is not impossible. ON klasi = 'cluster' could produce ON klasa - vík = 'bay - cluster'

Eilean a' Chlàsaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean a' Chleàsaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean a' Choilich

Place ID 479 NF 83340 57610 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the cock

ScG eilean + a' + choilich

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Presumably the islands here were used to house cockerels in the past although it seems unlikely.

As an example of the effect of coastal erosion, there is one island marked on the OS 1st edition mapping c1880 where now there are three.

Thomas name of Eil. a Charnain must be a confusion with Eilean a' Chàrnain to the N.

Further confusion is possible with ScG coileag = 'knoll, dune' although then the article would be wrong.

Eilean a' Choilich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean a' Choilich	1877	OS 1st edition
Eil. A Charnain	1861	Thomas chart
Pile I.	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean a' Chudaig

Place ID 5231 NF 84492 44976 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of the cuddy

ScG eilean a' chudaig

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ScG cudaig = 'cuddy' works well and agrees with the OSNB 'the Small Coalfish Island'. It is odd however that it is only one cuddy identified by the article ScG a'.

Eilean a' Chudaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean a' Chudaig

1877

OS 1st edition

E. na Craoibhe

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Trilland I.

1804

Bald mapping

Eilean a' Ghallain

Place ID 1036 NF 74850 75880 North Uist Griminish

ScG island of the [lace of the low-landers ScG eilean a' ghall -ain

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Dun a' Ghallain for a discussion on the last component of this name.

Eilean a' Ghallain

1911

Beveridge

Eilean a Gharbh-Chamais

Place ID 5220 NF 83593 47446 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of the rough bay

ScG eilean a' gharbh-chamais

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I imagine the ScG garbh = 'rough' reflects the rocky nature of the bay here.

Eilean a Gharbh-Chamais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean a' Gharbh-chamais

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean a' Gheoidh

Place ID 936 NF 86000 65200 North Uist Lees

ScG island of the goose or ON rift

ScG eilean + a' + gheoidh or ON gjá

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Grammatically as one would expect for one goose. One goose however is odd and I wonder in fact if it does not come from ON gjá = 'rift' instead. The island here is certainly split by several rifts, as is its names sake in Loch nam Madadh.

There is another island of exactly the same name albeit with an accent in Loch nam Madadh.

Eilean a' Gheoidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean a' Gheoidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Goose Id	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean a' Gheòidh

Place ID 162 NF 91905 70699 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG island of the goose or ON rift

ScG eilean + a' + gheòidh or ON gjá

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The ScG a' = 'of the' would indicate one goose here rather than a gaggle or a skein (depending of course if they are flying or not) and the OS name book concurs with 'The goose island'.

One goose is so odd that I do ponder in fact if it comes from ON gjá = 'rift' that has already become the loan word ScG geòdha. The island is certainly split by rifts into separate islands.

There is an Eilean a' Gheoidh just E of Langais which is similarly split by rifts.

Eilean a' Gheòidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Goose I.

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean a' Gheòidh

Place ID 6674 NF 84426 43210 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG island of the gully

ScG eilean a' gheodha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Whilst the OSNB gives us 'the island of the geese', the islands are small and offshore. I suspect that ScG geodha = 'gully' is more appropriate as there are in fact two islands separated by a trench between them so a good topographical fit. I am not quite sure what Bald's name of Gassay Beag (PN#14186) tells us other than it is obviously saying 'small Gasaidh', the adjacent island.

Eilean a' Gheòidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean a' Gheòidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Gassay Beag

1804

Bald mapping

Eilean a' Ghiorr

Place ID 380 NF 84870 58470 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the + ON rift

Scg eilean + a' + ON gjögr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

This is one of the few names that has a long history. It is probably Blaeu's 'Kor' in his 1654 mapping.

ON gjögr = 'rift' is almost certainly the root and could indicate the rift between North Uist and Griomasaigh as that is precisely where Eilean a' Ghiorr is. The 'rift' could be the narrow gap separating the two sections of Eilean a' Ghiorr or the gap between Eilean a' Ghiorr and Gairbh-eilean, both now crossed by a causeway.

Beveridge suggests 'island of the short-cut' but I can see no evidence for it. MacDonald doesn't like it either. He cites ScG giorr 'which Armstrong gives as meaning 'glut' but in North Uist it means gutter or slush or an ugly mess'. This gives me support for the Norse interpretation.

Macniven (p275) suggests 'a variant of ON gjögr' as the specific for Giur-bheinn on Islay as does Holliday on Tiree.

Indeed I suspect that the various Crogearraidh names are the same root too. (q.v.)

Gjögur occurs as a simplex place name 16 times in Iceland but I cannot find the Norwegian equivalent. I thought that No gjøkur would be close but it means 'cuckoo clock'! I suspect that Gjøgri is the one along with Gygr(a/i) possibly and there is one simplex names of that form in Norway and 22 of the latter. Most are relatively long straight line features.

Eilean a' Ghiorr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Island Yirr	1911	Beveridge
Eilean a Ghiorr	1861	Thomas chart
Kor	1654	Blaeu mapping
Eilean a Ghiorr		MacDonald sketch history

Eilean a' Ghobha

Place ID 399 NF 87950 57050 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the goat

ScG eilean + a' + ghobair

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ScG gobha = 'blacksmith' seems the obvious root however with the nearby Eilean nan Gobhann, I think it unlikely there were two blacksmiths in operation so close to each other. Also to have a blacksmith on an island that can only be reached by boat seems even more unlikely.

An alternative is ScG gobhar = 'goat' would fit much better as one would expect lenition with the ScG a' = of the ' i.e 'ghobair'. This looks the most likely, contradicting the OS name book's 'Smith's island'.

A Norse root is not impossible and a possible one is ON gjögr = 'rift' which not as close as one would like phonetically but links well topographically as the island here is in the gap between Griomasaigh and Ronaigh and with the same possible root in Eilean A' Ghiorr.

A better fit phonetically would be ON kofa = 'chest' but there seems little reason for this.

The 88 Gobha names on the OS 2nd edition mapping are scattered widely across the Gaelic heartland. There are only 9 Gobhair names on the same mapping.

Eilean a' Ghobha	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean a' Ghobha	1877	OS 1st edition
Eil. A Ghobha	1861	Thomas chart
Smith I.	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean a' Ghuail

Place ID 839 NF 86650 63400 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of the ON lump

ScG eilean + a' + ON kúla

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

An odd name although one could see it perhaps as where coal was offloaded before being moved on by tender. #this however seems unlikely.

ON kjölr = 'keel' is a Norse possibility and topographically this name does apply to a ridge in the shape of a keel.

Here this might refer to the thin projection c30m long into the sea just S of the island.

Better perhaps is ON kúla = 'lump or knob-like hill'.

Kjölur occurs as a simplex name 37 times in Iceland and as Kjølén over 150 times in Norway.

Kúla occurs as a simplex name in Iceland eight times

Eilean a' Ghuail

2014

Modern OS mapping

Clettan More

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean a' Gnip

Place ID 5130 NF 79763 51110 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG island of the hillock

Scg eilean a' cnaip

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'The Cap Island' but the closest I can find to that is ScG ceap = 'cap' amongst other thing. Better is ScG cnap = 'hillock' which is not unreasonable but the quality of the initial vowel is not as it should be with the genitive being ScG cnaip

The name reminds me of Kneep/Cnip on Lewis which stems from ON gnípa = 'peak' although to say 'peak' is a trifle extreme here.

I think that the solution is the Gaelic one here.

Eilean a' Gnip	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean a' Ghnip	1877	OS name book
Eilean a' Chnip	1877	OS name book

Eilean a' Mhadaidh

Place ID	6646	NF 84846 42950	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG island of the dog			ScG loch a' mhadaidh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean a' Mhadaidh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean a' Mhadaidh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean a' Mhòrain

Place ID 1329 NF 83772 79678 North Uist S1ollas

ScG island of + 'Mhorain'

ScG eilean a' + ON 'mhorain'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Aird a' Mhorain for a discussion of its meaning.

The name has rather disappeared from the OSNB. There is a comment written by the transcriber 'There is a handwritten entry for "Eilean a' Bhorain" said to be on page 5, but there is no entry anywhere in the whole volume for "Eilean a' Bhorain" (though there is one for "Ard a' Bhorain" on page 5 which is also/already correctly placed in the Index)'

A name that occurs three times on North Uist.

Eilean a' Mhòrain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean a' Mhorrain	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Eilean a' Bhorain	1877	OS 1st edition
E. Vuren	1877	OS name book

Eilean a' Mhurain

Place ID 488 NF 87540 54400 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the marram grass (? ON towards Th Scg eilean + a' + mhurain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ScG muran = 'marram grass', locally referred to as 'sea-bent' was a hugely important plant on Uist, both for its use as a means of stopping the sand shifting and as a roofing material. These two uses came into conflict at times.

The English word 'marram' itself comes from the ON marr + halmr = 'sea reed' and ScG 'muran' probalby shares the same root.

It is not inconceivable that the root is in fact ON á vqrrin = 'towards The landing place' although perhaps misplaced from Kallin.

Eilean a' Mhurain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean a' Mhurain	1877	OS 1st edition
Bent I.	1861	Thomas chart
Eilean a Mhurain	1861	Thomas chart
Bent I.	1832	Thomson atlas

Eilean a' Mhurain

Place ID 2395 NF 70420 72758 North Uist B1alranald

ScG island of marram grass

ScG eilean a' mhurain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ScG muran = 'marram grass', locally referred to as 'sea-bent' was a hugely important plant on Uist, both for its use as a means of stopping the sand shifting and as a roofing material. These two uses came into conflict at times.

The English word 'marram' itself comes from the ON marr + halmr = 'sea reed' and ScG 'muran' probalby shares the same root.

An alternative that crops up elsewhere is ON vǫrrin = 'The enclosed landing place'. The entrance to the geo is narrow but once inside it would be relatively sheltered.

However here marram grass does grow on the island and so makes sense.

This is a name that occurs three times on North Uist.

Eilean a' Mhurain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean a' Mhurain

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Achotain

Place ID 2512 NF 80711 64635 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG island of the small fold

ScG eilean a' chotain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

There is no clear Gaelic interpretation that I could find until I removed the initial 'a' and then we have ScG cotan that occurs on Iolaraigh meaning 'small fold'. The root word ScG cot = 'cottage' is masculine and so we would expect ScG a' = 'of the' with lenition which is exactly what we have got with the 'a' separated.

I think the reference here is wrong.

Eilean Achotain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Ailein

Place ID 5005 NF 80935 25978 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG meadow or ON heath land + ScG island ScG eilein àilein or ON heið land

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

OSNB transcript records it as Ellan. See Beinn Ailein for a discussion. The existence of both an island and a hill with this name do make me doubt that interpretation.

There is however a good piece of cultivatable land on the shore here.

A more fanciful possibility is ON hjallr = 'drying shed for fish' with ON hjallinn being the definitive accusative.

Even more fanciful is ON heilagr = 'holy' which here would be ON heilaga land = 'holy estate' . This has attractions with the nearby Kirkidale.

A simpler Norse root could be ON heið land = 'heath estate'

Perhaps Foreland? See Facebook page.

Heiland occurs four times as a place name in Norway and in Iceland we have Heiðarland occurring twice. Of the other posdsdibiliteisl can find no cognasgters.

Eilean Ailein	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Ellan	1877	OS name book
Eilean Farlain	1877	OS name book
Eilean Eallan	1877	OS 1st edition

Eilean Airidh na Hoe

Place ID 466 NF 87700 58190 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of the sheiling of the + ON mound ScG eilean airidh na + ON haug

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The island does stand out as taller than the nearby ones but I could find no evidence of a shieling there. The article ScG na = 'of the' is interesting as ScG tobha = 'mound' is masculine and so ScG an is anticipated. This same confusion occurs with other place names involving ScG tobha. With other places it indicates a Norse root and here ON haugr = 'mound' is the obvious one from which ScG tobha has been loaned.

Eilean Airidh na Hoe	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Airidh na h-Otha	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean Alaig Alasdair

Place ID 2076 NF 92448 75717 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG island of Alec son of Alasdair ScG eilean alaig alasdair

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop tells us (p37) 'This was Alex MacLean of Berneray who was a local merchant and butcher.'

Eilean Alaig Alasdair 1983 Sea names of Berneray

Eilean Gillean Alasadair 1983 Sea names of Berneray

Eilean Alltromach

Place ID 5245 NF 82070 48375 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG shaggy stream island

ScG eilean allt ròmach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

I suspect this is a Gaelic name with the generic being ScG allt = 'stream' and the specific being ScG ròmach = 'shaggy, hairy' which must be a variant of ScG robach with a similar meaning.

One imagines the 'shaggy' refers to a seaweed infested current - although ScG allt = 'stream' is generally fresh water...

Eilean Alltromach

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean an Acaire

Place ID 1977 NF 76235 75396 North Uist Grim1inish

ScG island of the anchor

ScG eilean na h-acaire

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

We might have expected ScG na h- = 'of the' instead on ScG an. ScG acair = 'anchor' is feminine. This suggest an older root and the obvious one is ON akr = 'field'.

It is odd however that Beveridge gives us this name in his Bagh an Acaire rather than the OS 1st edition Bagh an Ackara.

Eilean an Acaire

1911

Beveridge

Eilean an Aiseig

Place ID 1782 NF 86244 46530 Benbecula W1iay

ScG island of the ferry ScG eilean an aiseig

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Presumably a ferry across to Benbecula. A tidal island so only possible at certain times of the day.

Eilean an Aiseig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean an Aiseig	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean an Aiseig	1866	Admiralty mapping
Cleatte Nash	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean an Daimh

Place ID 5222 NF 83269 46761 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of the ox ScG eilean an daimh

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean an Daimh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean an Daimh	1877	OS 1st edition
Stotts Island	1832	Thomson atlas
Stotts Island	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean an Dùin

Place ID 5409 NF 81283 54836 Benbecula Rueval

ScG island of the fort ScG eilean an dùin

Fresh water Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Canmore is not awfully enthusiastic about this dub: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/10200/benbecula-loch-olavat-eilean-an-duin>

Eilean an Dùin

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean an Dùnain

Place ID 2616 NF 89518 79973 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ScG island of the little fort ScG eilean an dùnain

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean an Dùnain 2014 Modern OS mapping

Eilean an Dùnain 1877 OS 1st edition

Eilean An Easbuig

Place ID 5011 NF 80118 28501 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG island of the bishop

SCg eilean an easbaig

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Bald's uses the English name Bishop's Island and this is the direct translation of the ScG. It is one of several names with Christian connections in the area but I can find no specific story attached to the island.

The word is actually ScG easbaig but the u is not far away.

There is another island with the same name near Peter's Port.

Eilean An Easbuig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean An Easbuig	1877	OS 1st edition
Bishop Island	1877	OS name book
Bishops I.	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean an Eich Glais

Place ID 1303 NF 97420 76320 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG island of the grey horse

ScG eilean an eich glais

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There is also a 'Grey Horse Channel' from here to Loch a' Bhaigh.

Grey Horse however is another name for ON nykr, a water spirit about which Vigfusson writes 'mostly appearing in the shape of a grey water-horse'

Eilean an Eich Glais

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean an Eòrna

Place ID 1260 NF 80960 61570 North Uist C1arinish

ScG island of the + ON near the gravel spit runnin Scg eilean na ON eyri nær

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The island does look really rather small for any barley.

A good clue comes from Iceland where there are three places called Eyranar which is a good phonetic fit. This probably comes from ON eyri nær = 'near the gravel tongue of land running into the sea'. This is a good topographical fit although perhaps indicates that there has been considerable erosion here to create an island from the gravel spit. Looking at aerial imagery there does appear to be some construction linking this to a nearby reef and out into the channel.

On Islay MacNivewn p324 interprets Aoradh as ON eyrr + ScG -adh

Eilean an Eòrna

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean an Fhaing

Place ID 1201 NF 90970 70410 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG island of the fank ScG eilean an fhaing

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is next to the 'loch of the fold' and probalby part of the Loch nam Madadh market set-up. As in other places, whilst ScG buaile is generally feminine, here the article would be for that of a masculine noun.

With ScG fh being silent, it is not impossible that ON eng = 'meadow' is involved here.

Every one of the 42 place name with Fhaing as the specific has ScG an as the article if it has one. One can only suppose the gender of the noun is in fact masculine.

Eilean an Fhaing

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean an Fhèidh

Place ID 1702 NF 90888 56311 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the deer or ON isthmus

ScG eilean an fhèidh + ON eið

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ScG fiadh = 'deer' has ScG fèidh = 'of the deer' as the genitive. The /h/ is an effect of lenition. However one deer sound odd and so is having both an island of one deer and a sunken rock of one deer.

With the ScG fh being silent a good alternative is ON eið = 'isthmus or narrow of land'. This would be a good topographical fit for the narrow neck separating Bagh na Caiplich and Bagh nan Uamh.

Eilean an Fhèidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean an Fhéidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean an Fheidh

1861

Thomas chart

Eilean an Fheoir

Place ID 765 NF 88420 57880 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG island of the grass ScG eilean an fheoir

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am not convinced of the usefulness of this island for grass or hay production

Eilean an Fheoir 2014 Modern OS mapping

Eilean an Fheoir 1877 OS 1st edition

Eilean an Fhraoich Miatha

Place ID 6650 NF 85825 41089 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG island of the lush heather ScG eilean an fhraoich mèatha

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'fine heather island'.
I suspect the last word is from ScG mèath = 'fat, soft, lush'

Eilean an Fhraoich Miatha	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean an Fhraoich Mia	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean an Fhraoich Mhe	1877	OS name book
Ranighvey I.	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean an Ime

Place ID 5226 NF 83712 45691 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of butter ScG eilean an ime

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Quite why this small islet should be connected with butter I am unsure.

Eilean an Ime	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean an Ime	1877	OS 1st edition
Butter Id.	1832	Thomson atlas
Butter Island	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean an Ràna

Place ID 6487 NF 79176 37383 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG isln d of the + ON rough island

ScG eilean an + ON hraun ey

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'This name signifies "Share or part of Division' but I struggle to see how. ScG rann = 'stanza, division' with the ScG rainn as its genitive would appear closest. It still seems far away.

ON hraun = 'a rough place, wilderness' is a much simpler solution. With the addition of ON ey = 'island' the sound is close.

Eilean an Ràna

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean an Ràna

1877

OS 1st edition

Ranna I.

1804

Bald mapping

Eilean an Rubha

Place ID 2364 NF 69157 70143 North Uist B1alranald

ScG island of the headland

ScG eilean an rubha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS mapping is not clear as to the location of this island. I think this GR is correct as it is the prominent island there, almost with a causeway across to it.

See Loch a' roe for a discussion of these names.

Eilean an Rubha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean na Roe

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean an Ruiseallaich

Place ID 5246 NF 82055 48243 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of the place of Russel or ON brushwoo ScG eilean an Ruiseal -ach (?ON þurs hóll) oR ON

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Russels Island' although the prefix is slightly odd.

The similarities to Gill' an Truisealaidh are strong. Clach an Trushal is an impressive standing stone almost 6m tall on Lewis and the Gill name is near a standing stone on North Uist.

One could imagine Eilean an Trushal-ach > Eilean an t- Ruiseallaich > Eilean an Ruiseallaidh.

Truishal itself is possibly thought to come from ON þurs = 'giant'.

A simpler explanation might be ON hríss hóll = 'hillock of brushwood' with the ScG -ach locational suffix. The cognate notes would indicate this is a better possibility.

Now to get the wellies on and visit the mud-encased island!

It is the only occurrence of the PN Russel on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

ON þurs is the first component of 12 Icelandic place names whilst in Norway there are four Tussholen or grammatical variants thereof.

In Iceland there are 27 Hríshóllnames in Iceland and five Risholen in Norway.

Eilean an Ruiseallaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean an Sgùirr

Place ID	6352	NF 86906 33931	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG island of the rocky peak			ScG eilean an sgùirr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean an Sgùirr			2014		Modern OS mapping
Eilean an Sgùirr			1877		OS 1st edition
Illan na Haune			1804		Bald mapping

Eilean an Staoir

Place ID 6154 NF 73291 25945 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG island of + ON big heap of stones

ScG eilean an + ON stór urð

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

The sound is so similar to ON stórr = 'big, great' that I must be considered. The problem is that it is an adjective and cannot stand along.

The cognate notes are helpful suggesting ON urð = 'pile of stones'. The appropriate version of ON stórr would be ON stór.

There are 19 Stórrurð iplace names in Iclenad.

Eilean an Staoir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean an Staòir

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean an Stìobuill

Place ID 818 NF 92940 63350 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of the + ON dam

ScG eilean + an + ON stífla

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The best I can manage for the specific is ScG stìobuill = 'of the steeple' although the island itself is not steep.

With Kallin being marked as Stig on the early maps, I wonder if ON stigr = 'a stepping up' or a 'path' has a meaning that Vigfusson mentions of stepping on board, i.e. a pier. The general meaning for ON stigr seems to be a steep upwards path. Rygh quotes ON steig = 'stepped' as the component. The long ON í is equated to the 'ee' in 'feet' whilst the ScG ìo sounds like the 'ea' in 'ear' which is not quite right.

However ON stíu = 'of the (pig) sty' would work perfectly. One imagines the island being used as somewhere to keep pigs.

The most prominent feature of the island is the shingle bank linking it to the shore. With back formation and correction, it is possible that there was an 'mh' in the centre which sounds the same as 'bh' and then the 'h' was removed as it was thought to be in the genitive. This then could give us ON möl = 'pebbles' but most often a shingle beach.

Forget all the above. ON stífla = 'dam or blockage' which is too good a topographical fit to ignore, the shingle beach mentioned above acting as that dam.

Stífla(n) appears as a simplex name 26 times in Iceland and as the start of three Norwegian names.

Eilean an Stìobuill

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean an Stìobuill

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean an Taighe

Place ID 6086 NF 83473 73674 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG island of the house

scG eilean an taighe

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

There are several ruins on the island an it is a site where Beveridge found quantities of decorated Neolithic pottery.

Eilean an Taighe

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Eilean an Teampaill

Place ID 430 NF 88150 54620 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the temple

ScG eilean an teampaill

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

This island is the nearest island to Teampall Naomh Mhicheil and that is presumably why it is so named rather than for having ecclesiastical connections itself.

The /i/ added to ScG teampall = 'chapel' reflects the genitive case as does the ScG an = 'the', although as discussed in Ceallan, there is some form of tradition of there being more than one chapel in the area.

Earleir forms used the plural ScG eileanan = 'islands'

Eilean an Teampaill

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eileanan an Teampaill

1877

OS 1st edition

Temple Rocks

1861

Thomas chart

Eileanan an Teampaill

1861

Thomas chart

Eilean an Torr

Place ID 5120 NF 78801 49175 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG island of the mound ScG eilean an tòrr ScG?
 ON?

Coastal complete?

Eilean an Torr 2014 Modern OS mapping

Eilean an Torr 1877 OS 1st edition

Eilean an t-Sagairt

Place ID	1905	NF 79387 54364	B1enbecula	B1aile nan Cailleach	
ScG island of the preist			ScG eilean an t-sagairt		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean an t-Sagairt			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean an t-Sagairt

Place ID 5367 NF 84597 51748 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG island of the priest

ScG eilean an t-sagairt

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

There are no Christian stories attached to this island and nothing is visible of satellite imagery.
The GR form the Thomas chart is NF8476351575 and is more likely to be accurate.

Eilean an t-Sagairt

1877

OS 1st edition

E. an t-Sagairt

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Eilean an t-Sagairt

Place ID 6415 NF 76796 35680 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG island of the priest

ScG eilean an t-sagairt

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

The close proximity to the early churches of Tobha Mòr might explain the name.

Eilean an t-Sagairt

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean an t-Seagail

Place ID 433 NF 84870 57920 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the rye ScG eilean an t- seagail

Coastal Island

ScG?

ON?

complete?

A small island that is no longer an island as it forms part of the causeway linking North Uist and Griomasaigh.

Eilean an t-Seagail

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean an t-Srom

Place ID 5247 NF 81659 48545

Benbecula

Peter's Port

ScG island of the current

ScG eilean an t- sròm

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Eilean an t-Srom

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean an t-Sruith

Place ID	885	NF 88830 58080	North Uist	Ronaigh	
ScG island of the current			ScG eilean an t- sruith		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean an t-Sruith			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean an t-Sruith Mhòir

Place ID 5358 NF 85167 50990 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG island of the big current

Scg island of the big current

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This makes sense as the island lies in the middle of the main channel that leads through to the inner parts of Bàgh Hiùrabhagh. There are three named channels here.

Eilean an t-Sruith Mhòir

1877

OS 1st edition

E. Beaga

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Eilean Àrd an Eoin

Place ID 5211 NF 81635 46600 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of the height of the bird ScG eilean àrd an eoin

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Àrd-an-eoin for details

Eilean Àrd an Eoin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Àrd an Eòin	1877	OS 1st edition
Island Noan	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean Àrd na Saille

Place ID 5422 NF 83358 55619 Benbecula Rueval

ScG height of the ? Saalt water ? Island ScG eilean àrd na sàil

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Blubber Point 1877 OS name book

Eilean Àrd na Saille 1877 OS 1st edition

Eilean Baile Bharcais

Place ID 1115 NF 72610 75560 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG Island of the ON boundary ridge hump ScG eilean + ON mark + áss + beyla

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

To my mind the OS 1st edition name is probably more helpful, Eilean Bailavarkish, although the OS name book contribution of 'Barkishtown island' is not hugely so.

The components of ScG Eilean Baile = 'island of the township' are the obvious translation but only the first of these makes much sense.

'Varkish' is so close to 'Varlish' just over a kilometre S further down the coast that I thought originally they are variants on one word, if not even a cartographical error.

Looking at the alternative name in the OS name book, Eilean Bàil a' Varkish, then ON beyla = 'hump' could be the first element. The Gaels would understand this as 'township' and consequentially bring it to the front from wherever it was. A better solution might be ON valla = 'of the fields'

Although not the same as Bharlias (q.v.) , I think the principle is similar and the development could go as follows: mark áss beyla > beyla mark-áss > beyla mharkais > Baile Bharcais as required with all these stages as regular. Phew! The whole would make up 'boundary ridge lump' after a reordering which could be a name for Beinn Scolpaig, a hill which curiously for such an important feature, we do not have a Norse name for. It would be the obvious boundary between the important areas of the W coast machair and the N coast machair or on a smaller scale the townships Scolpiag and Griminish, the boundary dyke of which is still visible bisecting Beinn Scolpaig.

The alternative 'boundary ridge of the fields' is probalby more sensible.

There are two Markás place names in Iceland and four Markåsen in Norway.

(superceded stuff Ward is common in Scotland, whilst Varde is common in Norwegian place-names. Whilst there is no exact match, there are three Vardehytta = watch-hut there and four Husvarde as well as Vardhusheia, Vardøhus and Vardhustjørna.

There are however ten Icelandic place names including Husavarða. The reversal of order makes little sense as the 'watch of the house' is not a useful expression. Curious)

Eilean Baile Bharcais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Bailavarkish	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Bàil a' Varkish	1877	OS name book

Eilean Baile Gearraidh

Place ID 5381 NF 87294 52283 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG otter island

ScG eilean a' bhalgaire

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

This certainly cannot be the island of the township of the enclosure as it is far too small.
Thomas' Otter Island or Eilean a' Bhalgaire is a better bet and sounds similar.

Eilean Baile Gearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Ballagary	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean a' Bhàlgare	1877	OS name book
E. a Bhalgaire	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Otter Isd	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Otter I.	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean Ban

Place ID	6767	NF 80402 46374	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG pale island			ScG eilean bàn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Ban			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean Bàn			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Beag na Dairbe

Place ID 1731 NF 84374 56933 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG small island of the 'Dairbe'

ScG eilean + beag + na + 'Dairbe'

Coastal

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Eilean na Dairbe (P#484) for a discussion of the various options for 'Dairbe'

Eilean Beag na Dairbe

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Beavach

Place ID 1771 NF 84126 59318 North Uist Eaval

ON bay of the houses + ScG island

ScG eilean + ON véa vág

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

There is no clear ScG root I can find.

ON beit akr = 'arable land of pasture' might make some form of sense but not convincingly....

The generic could well be ON vág = 'bay'. Th is leaves the specific which is unclear. ON vé = 'house, temple'

Eilean Beavach

1861

Thomas chart

Eilean Beavach

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean Bhada-Dhuinne

Place ID 5756 NF 77604 74594 North Uist V1allay

'Bhada-Dhuinne' + ScG island ScG eilean + 'Bhada-Dhuinne'

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Linne Bhada-Dhuinne (P#5759) for a discussion of the 'Bhada-Dhuinne' element.

Eilean Bhada-Dhuinne

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Eilean Bhalaig

Place ID 975 NF 91950 67330 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON bay (or enclosure) of the whales + ScG island ScG eilean + ON hvala + vik

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS 1st edition is instructive as it names this island Vallaquie Island. I do not see quite how the 'quie' sound has disappeared in the modern mapping. This sounds and looks like an ON kvi = 'pen', 'fold' or 'enclosure' for the generic. With other precedents on Uist at Vallastrome and Vallay, the easiest solution for the specific is ON hvala = 'of whales'. Hunting of whales was a feature of Norse life, continued at this day on the Faroes, and the idea of a 'whale-enclosure' is not stupid. The word usually used was ON hvalr-garðr = 'whale enclosure' and occurs in Iceland and this one has the same meaning.

There is another Vallaiquie on the NW coast not far from Clachan Shannda.

Taking the modern name, if it is not a corruption of Vallaquie still looks Norse, perhaps ON hvala + vik = 'bay of whales', a name for the same place with the same meaning.

Certainly topographically it is possible to see this as a location where whales were trapped, accidentally or deliberately. An alternative is ON vað = 'a ford or wading place' which works well in terms of the island being tidal.

There is a headland 2.5 km to the E called Rubha Mhic-ille-mhalaidh (q.v.), the last component of which would sound like 'bhalaig'.

Eilean Bhalaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Vallaquie Island	1877	OS 1st edition
Valoquie	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Eilean Bheagram

Place ID 2096 NF 76101 37115 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON islet of the wall + ScG island

ScG eilean + ON veggjar hólms

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

The ending looks Norse and with it being a small island, ON holmr = 'islet' which often produces an ending of '-am'. The specific then could be either ON vegr = 'track' presumably referring to the causeway or ON veggr = 'wall' presumably referring to the dun situated on the islet. The latter seems considerably more likely with the genitive ON veggjar = 'of the wall'

Eilean Bheagram

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Bheagram

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Vegerin

1654

Blaeu mapping

Eilean Bheirean

Place ID 6358 NF 72624 34901 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON The landing place + ScG island

ScG eilean + ON vörrin

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The key here is ON vörr = 'slipway at the beach, where all stones are removed and lumbers laid out to haul the boats onto land'. This would be a good place to do this with a shingle beach providing several points of access.

The OSNB Vorrán Island (PN#13299) is a very good fit.

Eilean Bheirean	2014	Modern OS mapping
Warren Island	1877	OS name book
Werran Island	1877	OS name book
Verran Island	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Mhòirean	1877	OS name book
Vorrán Island	1877	OS name book
Lwerran	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean Bholuim

Place ID 4945 NF 83066 28219 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON bholuim + ScG island

ScG eilean + ON bholuim

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Bholuim (P#4943) for a discussion of the element 'Bholuim'

Eilean Bholuim	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Eilean Bholum	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Eilean Bholuim	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Boelam Id	1804	Bald mapping
-----------	------	--------------

Eilean Biorach

Place ID 340 NF 80840 60790 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG pointed island SCg eilean biorach

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Eilean Biorach Mor for a fuller discussion.

Eilean Biorach 1877 OS 1st edition

Eilean Biorach Beag

Place ID 1252 NF 81330 60870 North Uist C1arinish

ScG little pointed island ScG eilean biorach beag

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Eilean Biorach Mor for a fuller discussion.

Eilean Biorach Beag 1877 OS 1st edition

Eilean Biorach Meadhoin

Place ID 1253 NF 81330 86090 North Uist Langass

ScG middle pointed island

ScG eilean biorach meadhoin

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

It is both the middle in size and position of the three Eilean Biorach here. However as the other two are named ScG mor = 'big' and ScG beag = 'small', in this case the ScG meadhoin = 'middle' probalby refers to size. See Eilean Biorach Mor for a fuller discussion.

Eilean Biorach Meadhoin

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Biorach Mor

Place ID 1254 NF 81340 61040 North Uist C1arinish

ScG big pointed island

ScG eilean biorach mor

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The fact there are three islands named 'biorach' leads me to think that there is a place 'biorach' here somewhere. This can't be ScG biorach = 'pointed' as that is an adjective.

ON bær = 'town, farm' although here as a specific one would expect the genitive ON bæjar although Vigfusson observes that ON biar also occurs. For the generic ON akr = 'arable land but outside the in-field' is the obvious choice although as Rygh observes it is difficult to serrate form ON rák = 'pasture'. ON bæjar akr = 'arable fields of the town' is then a reasonable describing of the land near these islands and the name was transferred across to them. I suspect that the name might have referred to the large island just S which we do not have a modern name for.

There is another Eilean Biorach less than 500m across the tidal area here but otherwise Eilean Biorach does not occur anywhere else on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

An t-Eilean Biorach

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Eilean Biorach Mor

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Bridich

Place ID 1195 NF 92400 70090 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG island of the place of Bridget.

ScG eilean nride -ach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The OS name book writes rather forlornly 'No satisfactory English meaning could be ascertained for the name further than that it was called after a woman.' Bridget would seem a possible.

However ON breið + vík = 'broad bay' could work for the area to the E, named Spanish Harbour on the Otter chart. The Gaels could have known the name referred to this harbour and so named the island adjacent as Eilean 'breið + vík'. The development of the final syllable would however be unusual.

Eilean Bridich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Buidhe

Place ID	764	NF 88230 58230	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG yellow island			ScG eilean buidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Buidhe			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean Buidhe			1877	OS 1st edition	
Eilean Buidhe			1861	Thomas chart	

Eilean Buidhe

Place ID 2534 NF 84433 67458 North Uist Central South

ScG yellow island ScG eilean + buidhe

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

In THC p160, Neil, the forester. Lived here - 'Foresters lived on the Yellow Island since ther days of Gruamach when Fergus the Forester was settled there. The soil was fertile on the Yellow Island'
More details of an incident with the Forester Fergus are on p223.

Eilean Buidhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Buidhe	1877	OS 1st edition

Eilean Buidhe

Place ID 2590 NF 89628 68615 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG yellow island or ON encampment

ScG eilean buidhe or ON búðir

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

An island with a poorly preserved few remains on it.

It is currently green but was possibly yellow in the past.

However ON búðir = 'temporary booths' or 'encampment' would work to reflect the presence of these ruins. Ð > dh is regular.

In Iceland there are 14 simplex names of this form; eleven Búðir, two Búðin and a single Búði. The word is less common in Norway.

Eilean Buidhe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Buidhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Bun na Sige

Place ID 5143 NF 79271 49077 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG mouth of the large ditch island

ScG eilean bun na sige

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This would not be the ditch that drains Oban Lionacleit but is the one draining the Loch Olabhat water system.

Eilean Bun na Sige

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Caol

Place ID	1250	NF 81150 60660	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG narrow island			ScG eilean caol		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An t-Eilean Caol			2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island	
Eilean Caol			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Casaig

Place ID 1161 NF 91850 67990 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG island of the place of steep ScG eilean cas -aig

Coastal Island

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The OS name book confidently states 'Steep shoal island' with ScG cas + -ag = 'place of steep' being their interpretation. It however has a Norse feel although it is difficult to find the best match. Perhaps ON keis = 'round belly' from ON keisa = 'to jut out' is closest? The island does jut out a little.

A simpler explanation might be ON kús vík= 'bay of a cow' but that has problems with the initial vowel quality.

It feels as if it might share a root with Cheese Bay

Eilean Casaig

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Chirceboist

Place ID 109 NF 75600 65100 North Uist Kirkibost

ON church homestead + Eng island

ON kirkju + bólstað + Eng island

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

ON kirkja = 'church' is clearly the root here with ON bólstaðr = 'homestead' as the generic. The name does not mean there was definitely a church on the island but perhaps that the church had land there. We know that this was the case on Iolaraigh and probably at one stage the two islands were one. This is discussed in the 12 Lost Townships book in the Balillera section.

ON kirkja = 'church' is rare on the Outer Hebrides occurring only twice on Uist but there is a Circeabost on Lewis (Cox p623)

This is in direct contrast to the mainland where 'kirk' has entered the Scots and English language and so is common with 1904 occurrences as the first component and another 466 including kirk later in the name. Unsurprisingly nearly all these places are outside the Gaelic heartland.

In Iceland there are no exact cognates but Kirkjuból occurs 23 times and is a common component as well as occurring in that form on its own six times. Kirk occurs frequently as the specific.

Eilean Chirceboist	2014	Modern OS mapping
Kirkibost Island	2014	Modern OS mapping
Kirkibost	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Keerkipost	1911	Beveridge
Kirkibost Island	1877	OS 1st edition
Kirkibost	1866	Admiralty mapping
Kirkibost	1862	Black mapping
Kirkebost	1850	Collectanea
Kirkibost	1850	Retours
Kirkapost	1850	Collectanea
Kirkibost	1832	Thomson atlas
Kirkibost	1832	Thomson atlas
Kirkibost	1832	Thomson atlas
Kirkbust	1806	Stockdale mapping
Kirkebust	1804	Heather mapping
Id of Kirkbost	1799	Reid mapping
Kirkbost	1794	Old Statistical Account
Kirkebust	1794	Huddart mapping
Kirkebust	1789	Ainslie mapping
Kirkebust	1776	Mackenzie mapping
I. Kirkabol	1751	Dorret mapping

Il Kirkbol	1734	Van Keulen mapping
Kirkibast	1703	Martin book
Kirkibost	1703	Martin Martin map
Kirkabol	1654	Blaeu mapping
YL KIRK BOL	1654	Blaeu mapping

Eilean Chreamh

Place ID 5689 NF 74275 19191 South Uist Lochboisdale

ON narrowing of lake + ScG island

ScG loch + ON kreppa

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Dun

complete?

Whilst ScG creamh = 'wild garlic' is the obvious root, the lack of an article rings alarm bells.

Rygh gives a definition of ON kreppa = 'Narrowing (of krapp, urge). Located at the End of a Narrow and Deep Valley. Narrowing of water' and states it is common in place names.

In IPA terms it is ON /'kʰrɛhpɑ/ v. ScG /kʰrʲɛv/. The loss of a final vowel at the end almost completely equates them and drone images close enough to resemanticise.

topographically this is where this island and its causeway reach out into Loch Dùn na Cille with an isthmus opposite therefore creating the 'narrowing'.

Bad a Chreamha just to the north of Stromeferry would be another good very obvious topographical fit. Two adjacent Preas a' Chreamha place names ScG 'wrinkle of garlic' in Sutherland seem ripe to be Norse. (ON þræl with Traligill 15km to N?)

There are two simplex Kreppa place names in Iceland and 12 in Norway.

Eilean Chreamh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Chreamh

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Chrossain

Place ID 1893 NF 75607 54411 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG island of the small cross

ScG eilean chrossain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A literal Gaelic translation could be 'island of the small cross' but we would expect 'crois' and there appears to be no tradition of a cross here although the position looking out to the Monach Isle with its religious connections would be a good one.

ON hrossa in some form might seem a better option.

There is only one other Crossan nam eon the OS 2nd series mapping , Na crossan Mòr on Iona.

Eilean Chrossain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Crossan	1877	OS 1st edition
Ellan Chrossan	1832	Thomson atlas

Eilean Cìreach

Place ID 6503 NF 85847 37577 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG crested island ScG eilean cìreach

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Never having visited this corner of Uist, I have no idea if 'crested' s a fair description of this island.

Eilean Cìreach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Cìreach	1877	OS 1st edition
I. Kierach	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean Cluaineig

Place ID 893 NF 85030 63660 North Uist Langass

ScG island of the small pasture ScG eilean cluaineig

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Island of the Small Field'. ScG cluain = 'pasture' and the suffix ScG -ag = 'little' and so the OS name book seems to be on the money.

Eilean Cluaineig

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Cnapach

Place ID 1846 NF 82627 56521 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG place of the lump island Scg eilean cnap -ach

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A good topographical description of this island just to the E of the modern causeway

Eilean Cnapach	1861	Thomas chart
----------------	------	--------------

Lumpy I.	1861	Thomas chart
----------	------	--------------

Eilean Cuithe Nam Fiadh

Place ID	6742	NF 78351 47149	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG island of the fold of the deer			ScG eilean cuidhe nam fiadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Cuithe Nam Fiadh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean Cuidhe nam Fiadh			1877	OS name book	
Eilean Cuithe nam Fiadh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Dhomhnuill

Place ID 167 NF 93586 70714 North Uist Lochp1ortain
ScG Donald's island ScG eilean + Dòmhnail ScG?
Coastal ON? complete?

Eilean Dhomhnuill	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Dhomhnuill	1877	OS 1st edition
MacDonald Group	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Eilean Du

Place ID	1957	NF 88357 63366	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG black island			ScG eilean dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Du			1859	Otter Loch Eport chart	

Eilean Dubh

Place ID	345	NF 80310 61620	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG black island			ScG eilean dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Dubh

Place ID	788	NF 84960 60830	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG black island			ScG eilean dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	
Black Id			1859	Otter Loch Eport chart	

Eilean Dubh

Place ID	1563	NF 97195 74534	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG black island			ScG eilean dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Eilean Dubh

Place ID	1902	NF 79420 54776	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
Scg black island			ScG eilean dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Dubh

Place ID 5012 NF 80166 28753 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG black island ScG eilean dubh

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Ant-Eilean Dubh 1877 OS name book

Eilean Dubh 1877 OS 1st edition

Black Island 1877 OS name book

Black I. 1804 Bald mapping

Eilean Dubh

Place ID	5244	NF 82176 48384	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG black island			ScG eilean dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Dubh

Place ID	5421	NF 83805 54639	Benbecula	Rueval	
ScG black island			ScG eilean dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Dubh

Place ID	5558	NF 87716 48513	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG black island			ScG eilean dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Black Island			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Eilean Dubh			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Eilean Dubh an Tairbeirt

Place ID 6583 NF 80883 40894 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG dark island of the portage ScG eilean dubh an tairbeirt

Fresh water Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This might suggest a longer portage than is now required.

Eilean Dubh an Tairbeirt	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Dubh an Tairbeirt	1877	OS 1st edition

Eilean Dubh Ceann a' Chlachain

Place ID 5237 NF 84091 46702 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG head of the stepping stones black island ScG eilean dubh ceann a' chlachain

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean Dubh Ceann a' Chlachain

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Dubh Chinn a Chlachain

1877

OS name book

Eilean Dubh Dùn Scor

Place ID 1140 NF 84310 62030 North Uist Eaval

'Dùn Scor' + ScG black island

ScG eilean dubh + 'Dùn Scor'

Fresh water

Island

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Dùn Scòr (P#1139) for a discussion on that element - here it is treated as an onomastic unit.

Eilean Dubh Dùn Scor

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Dubh Fo Thuath

Place ID 5236 NF 84151 46779 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG black island towards the north

Eilean Dubh Fo Thuath

Coastal

Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean Dubh Fo Thuath

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Dubh fo Thuath

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Dubh na Thuath

1877

OS name book

Eilean Dubh Mor

Place ID 1062 NF 77330 74620 North Uist Central West

ScG big black island

ScG eilean dubh mòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

My understanding of adjectival order is that it should be size > order > colour but here for some reason it is colour, ScG dubh = 'black', before size, ScG mor = 'big'.

Eilean Dubh Mor

2014

Modern OS mapping

An t-Eilean Dubh Mòr

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Eilean Dubh Mor

1877

OS 1st edition

Ylon daw

1654

Blaeu mapping

Eilean Dubh Mòr

Place ID	2537	NF 85553 68363	North Uist	Central South	
ScG big black island			ScG eilean dubh mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Eilean Dubh Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Eilean Dubh Mor	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Eilean Dubh na Muice

Place ID 5259 NF 88237 49270 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG black island of the whale

ScG eilean dubh na muice

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Whilst the OSNB gives us 'the Pigs Black Island', bearing in mind the position, Thomas' Whale it seems more logical. Strictly ScG muca-mara = 'whale' or literally 'pig of the sea' but it is often abbreviated to ScG muc or in this case the genitive ScG muic.

The article indicates a singular whale and so probably reflects one whale washed up on the island rather than it being part of driving whales.

The Bald name, Dunainnghad I. is odd but the first component must be ScG dunain = 'small fort' and there are other place names references to a dun nearby.

Eilean Dubh na Muice	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Dubh na Muice	1877	OS 1st edition
Whale Isd	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
E. na Muice	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Dunainnghad I.	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean Dubh nan Uan

Place ID	821	NF 91020 63030	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG black island of the lambs			ScG eilean dubh nan eun		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Dubh nan Uan			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean Dubh nan Uan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Dubh nan Uan

Place ID 1696 NF 89533 57681 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG black island of the lambs

ScG eilean dubh nan uan

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The island is probably marked wrong on the modern OS mapping as Thomas attaches this name to the next island to the E and names the island that the OS name Eilean Dubh nan Uan as Eilean Mhic Neill.

Eilean Dubh nan Uan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Dubh nan Uan

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Du' nan Uan

1861

Thomas chart

Eilean Dubh-fraoich

Place ID	6414	NF 76826 35581	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG island of the dark heather			ScG eilean dubh - fraoich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Dubh-fraoich			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean Dubh-fraoich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Fada

Place ID 806 NF 89360 61780 North Uist Eaval

ScG long island

ScG eilean fada

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Eilean Fada

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Fada

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Fear Vallay

Place ID 1181 NF 92270 68880 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON island of the ebb-tide ford + SCG island ScG eilean + ON firi vað ey

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The last two words are Norse and stem from ON firi vað ey = 'island of the ebb-tide ford' which is a pretty good description of the island. The Gaels then added 'island' for good luck!

Eilean Fear Vallay

1877

OS 1st edition

Vala I

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Eilean Fhearghuis

Place ID 948 NF 87380 63630 North Uist Lees

ScG Fergus' island ScG eilean fhearghuis

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Otter has given Fergus a son in his Ferguson Id!

Eilean Mhic Fhearghuis	1877	OS name book
Eilean Fhearghuis	1877	OS 1st edition
Ferguson Id	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean Fhionnlaidh

Place ID 234 NF 91532 74707 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON harbour course + ScG island

ScG eilean + ON höfn leið

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

See Cnoc Mhic Fhionnlaidh (P#992) for an interpretation of the onomastic unit 'Fhionnlaidh'.

The siting of this island on the route in to Oban Honary is good evidence of this interpretation of the name.

Eilean Fhionnlaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Fhionnlaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Fiadhaich

Place ID 5400 NF 81967 54486 Benbecula Rueval

ScG deer-hunting island

ScG eilean fiadhaich

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ScG fiadhach = 'wildness or deer-hunting' and with a couple of other places nearby referencing deer or hunting, this seems the obvious interpretation.

Eilean Fiadhaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Fiadhaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Foshigary

Place ID 1047 NF 74210 76480 North Uist Grim1inish

'Foshigarry' + ScG island ScG eilean + 'Foshigarry'

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Foshigarry (#1045) for a discussion of that onomastic unit.

Eilean Foshigary 1877 OS 1st edition

Eilean Fraoich

Place ID	5170	NF 78696 53480	B1enbecula	B1aile nan Cailleach	
ScG heather island			ScG eilean fraoich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ScG fraoch = 'heather' is an odd qword as it seems to be flexible in whether it goes before or after the generic in place names. We live by Fraoch Eilean

There are six Eilean Fraoich on the OS 2nd series mapping, with one on South Uist, one in Sutherland, one on Islay, one in Knapdale and one on the N tip of Bute along with a futrther four Eilean Fraoch.

There are three Am Fraoch-eilean and fourteen Fraoch Eilean, none unfortunately where Cox could provide a helpful comment.

All very odd.

Eilean Fraoich	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Eilean Fuam

Place ID 274 NF 91660 79440 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON nearby islet + ScG island

ScG eilean + ON fuan

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A curious mix with ScG eilean = 'island' joining ON fuan.

Fuam is not totally clear. It is almost certainly Norse with the generic ON hólmr = 'islet' as this ends up regularly as '-am'.

The specific is less clear. For want of anything better I propose ON við = 'close to' and so the whole thing would be ON við + hólmr = 'nearby island'. It is certainly true that the various Fuam names are all close to other larger islands.

Eilean Fuam	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Fuam	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Fuaim	1877	OS name book
Fuam	1877	OS name book

Eilean Ghillechriosda

Place ID 5326 NF 81820 49388 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG island of the servant of Christ

ScG eilean ghille chriosda

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

The OSNB writes 'Cristopher Variegated Island' but I do not see where the variegated bit comes from. One dictionary gives Gillechrìosd as the Gaelic equivalent of Christopher however the above interpretation makes more sense to me.

Eilean Ghillechriosda

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Illechriosda

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Glas

Place ID	716	NF 75380 67900	North Uist	B1ayhead	
ScG grey/green island			ScG eilean glas		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Eilean Glas

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Eilean Glas

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Glas

Place ID 789 NF 84770 60990 North Uist Eaval

ScG green island ScG eilean glas

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean Glas 2014 Modern OS mapping

Eilean Glas 1877 OS 1st edition

Yellow Id 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean Glas

Place ID 2531 NF 84556 72505

North Uist

Central North

ScG grey island

ScG eilean glas

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Grey is a better fit today.

Eilean Glas

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Glas

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Glas Mòr

Place ID 2601 NF 90261 69438 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG large green island

ScG eilean + glas + mòr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Whilst this is the obvious interpretation, ON eyja-klasi is a Norse expression meaning 'a cluster of islands' which is a good topographical fit here.

Eilean Glas Mòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Glas Mor

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Greannach

Place ID 5224 NF 83972 46391 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG rough island ScG eilean greannach

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'gloomy island' but 'hairy' is an alternative meaning.

Eilean Greannach 2014 Modern OS mapping

Eilean Greannach 1877 OS 1st edition

Eilean Haey

Place ID 6527 NF 83347 38459 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON high island

ON há ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The generic must be On ey = 'island' reinforced by the tautologous ScG eilean = 'island'.

The island is not suitable for growing hay which would have been one option, ON hey.

ON heiðr = 'heath' or the adjective ON hár = 'high' in the form ON há. This would give us ON heiði ey or ON háey. I think the latter is closer and the cognate notes confirm it.. The island is relatively high for its small size.

There are no Heið*ey place names in Iceland but there are 17 Háey and two Háeyja place names there.

Eilean Haey	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Haith	1877	OS name book
Eilean Haey	1877	OS 1st edition
Haay I.	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean Iain

Place ID	5169	NF 78891 53528	B1enbecula	B1aile nan Cailleach	
ScG John's island			ScG eilean iain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Iain			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean Iain			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Iain Beag

Place ID 1002 NF 92280 67180 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG John's little island

ScG eilean iain beag

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ScG Iain = 'John' and so importantly if you live on North Uist you realise that the Maclains and the Johnstones are the same family!

Eilean Iain Beag

1877

OS 1st edition

Bo Rua

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Eilean Iain Mor

Place ID 1003 NF 92200 67050 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScGbig John's island

ScG eilean iain mor

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ScG Iain = 'John' and so importantly if you live on North Uist you realise that the Maclains and the Johnstones are the same family!

To me it is unclear if the island was big or if John was?!

Eilean Iain Mor

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Iochdrach

Place ID 476 NF 82780 58340 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG place of the lower island

ScG eilean ìochdar -ach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

I can see no reason why this should be the lower island unless one is using the local convention that ones goes up to South Uist. If that was the case Eilean Iochrach could be construed as the 'lowest' island of Benbecula.

ScG ìochdar = 'bottom' has presumably been followed by the suffix ScG -ach = 'place of'

Eilean Iochdrach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Iocrach	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Iochdrach	1861	Thomas chart
Lower Island	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean Iocrach

Place ID 1730 NF 86650 55240 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG lower island ScG eilean iocrach

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This seems the best option although ScG iochdar = 'the bottom' or ScG iochdarach = 'lower' both have problems. The OS name book confidently states 'lowermost island' for this and the other island that the OS renamed Eilean Iochdrach in their more recent mapping to be more correct Gaelically.

Eilean Iocrach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Iocrach	1877	OS 1st edition

Eilean Iocrach nan Clach Corr

Place ID 1732 NF 83229 56835 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG lower 'Eilean nan Clach Corr'

ScG eilean iocrach 'nam clach corr'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

See Eilean nan Clach Corr (P#482) for a discussion of the possible meaning of these components.

Eilean Iocrach nan Clach Corr

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Làthach

Place ID 5241 NF 82546 47971 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG muddy island

Scg eilean lathach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Intertangle that this island has the Gaelic equivalent of the Norse name of the bay - evidence of what a good topographical fit it is. The /à/ is odd as the /a/ in /lathach/ is not long.

Eilean Làthach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Na h-Eileanan Lathacha

1877

OS name book

Eilean Làthach

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Leaspruig

Place ID 5411 NF 81436 54719 Benbecula Rueval

ON slope of the lee + ScG eilean

ScG eilean + ON hlés brekka

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Archy's Island'. ScG GilleEasbaig = 'Archibald' (to English ears Gillespik) and ScG gille is often abbreviated to ScG 'ille. One could imagine this producing 'leasbaig' which is getting close but to my ears not very. The /r/ is definitely missing.

Macniven (p329) gives Krossberg or Krossbrekka as a possible root for Chroisprig and here this could take the form of ON hlés brekka = 'slope of the lee' and the loch here would be in the lee of the ridge to the SW.

Eilean Leaspruig

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Leathann

Place ID 464 NF 87500 57910 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG broad island ScG eilean leathann

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See P#489 for a discussion fo other options.

A very common name for small islands on Uist with their being seven but there are none elsewhere in Scotland. The distribution of Leathann names is dominated by the Hebrides with all bar 17 of the 80 names with 'leathann' as a component being on ther Western Isles. Interestingly none at all are on Harris, South Uist or Barra.

Eilean Leathann	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Leathann	1877	OS 1st edition
Eil. Leathan	1861	Thomas chart
Broad I.	1832	Thomson atlas

Eilean Leathann

Place ID 489 NF 87800 54060 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG broad island or ScG island + ON The passage ScG eilean + ScG leathann or ON leiðin

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A very common name for small islands on Uist with their being six on the OS 2nd series mapping and there are none elsewhere in Scotland.

This does make one think that there could be other possibilities. The distribution described in the cognate notes is not a typical distribution for a ScG root.

ON leiðin = 'The course' or ON leiðar = 'of the course' would both be close phonetically. As five of these islands are situated in sea passages between the Minch and the Atlantic in either the North Ford or the South Ford, there is a logic in this name. Three of the neatly mark out the passage between Griomasaigh and North Uist.

Of the 80 occurrences of 'Leathann' on the OS 2nd series mapping, 64 are on the Western Isles. Of the rest three are properly inland but the rest are coastal.

There are a further three Eilean Leathan names, one between Colonsay and Oronsay, one near Torrisdale Bay, Kintyre and one at the S tip of Eriskay, South Uist. The Colonsay one is a small island with an adjacent Sgier Leathan, implying to me a place called 'Leathan' rather than 'broad' and the imagery for the Kintyre place does not suggest 'broad' at all.

Eilean Leathann	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Leathann	1877	OS 1st edition
Broad Island	1861	Thomas chart
Eilean Leathann	1861	Thomas chart
Broad Id.	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean Leathann

Place ID 807 NF 90080 61840 North Uist Eaval

ScG broad island

ScG eilean + leathann

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Eilean Leathann

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Leathann

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean More

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean Leathann

MacDonald sketch history

Eilean Leathann

Place ID 1675 NF 84177 58827 North Uist Eaval

ScG broad island ScG eilean leathann

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean Leathann 2014 Modern OS mapping

an t-Eilean Leathann 2000 Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Eilean Leathann 1877 OS 1st edition

E. Leathan 1861 Thomas chart

Broad I. 1861 Thomas chart

Eilean Leathann

Place ID 1722 NF 88678 57690 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG broad island ScG eilean leathann

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A common name on Uist. It could have a Norse interpretation discussed under another island of the same name at P#489

Eilean Leathann

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Leathann

Place ID	5223	NF 83651 46435	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG broad island			Scg eilean leathann		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Leathann			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean Leathann			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Leireabhadh

Place ID 1148 NF 91420 67890 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON bay of the mud-flat + ScG island ScG eilean + ON leiru vág

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ON leiru = 'of the mud-flat' describes this bay perfectly.

Interestingly it is an area noted for making pottery as recorded in the Hebridean Connection (p69) where the Sennashies state the Norsemen worked it there with kilns.

As a consequence ON leirr = 'clay' is tempting but the genitive is ON leirs and the 's' sound is unlikely to disappear. MacDonald agrees writing Leiru-vaggr-muddy'

There is a Tòb Leireabhadh just S of Stornway, Lewis, that Oftedal says stems from ON leira.

In Iceland there is a Leirvogur and a Leirvík and, better, two Leiruvogur and a Leiruvík.

Norway gives us c 200 Leirvik(a) and c100 Liervåg(en).

Eilean Leireabhadh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Lieravay	1911	Beveridge
Eilean Leiravay	1877	OS 1st edition
Lerivah	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
Eilean Luiravay		MacDonald sketch history

Eilean Loch Iodhlasadair

Place ID 5896 NF 80797 72706 North Uist S1ollas

'Loch Iodhlasadair' + ScG island ScG eilean + 'Loch Iodhlasadair'

Fresh water Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Eisiadair (P#5896) for a discussion of the 'Loch Iodhlasadair' element.
The island is a dun site an looks artificial.

Eilean Loch Iodhlasadair

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Eilean Ma-leig

Place ID 5765 NF 77461 73891 North Uist V1allay

ON large muddy river + ScG island

ScG eilean + ON móð læk

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Niclain writes 'the remains are very similar to those of Cnoc a 'Chomhdhalach on the island of Maig. A threshold, about thirty yards long, leads out to it (Beveridge. 1922 p 207). There is also an oral tradition associated with it, it is said that laundry can sometimes be seen here. Death is likely to be among the company of anyone who sees it'.

I would be fairly sure that the last element is ON læk = 'stream'. One possibility is ON smá læk = 'small stream' as initial /s/ can disappear although I am not quite sure if it could here. ON mið = 'middle' would work topographically but I > a is not regular. ON móð = 'hay waste' has evolved into 'mud' in English might work.

Better is ON móðr = 'large muddy river' in the form ON móð but again this has problems with tautology. The cognate notes reassure me!

There is a Móðulækur in Iceland which is close to being a cognate.

Eilean Ma-leig

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Eilean Mheall nam Muc

Place ID 423 NF 86880 55120 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the lump of the whales

ScG eilean mheall nam muc

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

An interesting alternative possibility is that the muc could be a shortened form of ScG muca-mhara = 'whale or seal' and this would fit with the island setting. Alternatively it would have been somewhere to keep pigs, safe from one's neighbours depredations.

ScG mheall = 'lump' sounds very close to ON hvalr = 'whale' which is an interesting coincidence or not.

The construct of 'Eilean Mheall' is unique in Scotland with three examples of 'Eilean Meall'. This probably reflects the genitive case of the scG meall.

Eilean Mheall nam Muc

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Mheall nam Muc

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Mhic An Toisich

Place ID 676 NF 88980 73840 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG Macintosh's island ScG eilean Mhic an Toisich

Fresh water Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name only appears in the OS Name book and not on the map.

Eilean Mhic An Toisich 1877 OS name book

Eilean Mhic Caoilte

Place ID 1863 NF 81790 57046 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG island of 'Mhic Caoilte'

ScG eilean + 'Mhic Caoilte'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

For a discussion of the onomastic unit 'Mhic Caoilt' see Sgier Mhic Caoilt (P#2166).

Kaldvik occurs twenty times in Norway.

For the Islay name, Kaldakinn occurs three times in Norway and 26 times in Iceland. Here the ON kinn = 'cheek or steep slope' has been transferred to ScG ceann = 'head'.

Eilean Mhic Caoilte	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Mhic Caoilte	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Mhic Chaoilte	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean Mhic Dho'll Duibh

Place ID 1873 NF 80650 56816 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG island of the son of black Donald ScG eilean mhic dhomhnuill duibh

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Black Donald does not sound like a man you would want to meet on a dark night crossing the ford!

Eilean Mhic Dho'll Duibh

1861

Thomas chart

Eilean Mhic Dhonuill Bhuidhe

Place ID 339 NF 80680 59790 North Uist C1arinish

ScG yellow son of donald's island ScG eilean mhc dhonuill bhuidhe

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book cites 'Yellow Donald's Son's Island' which looks sensible if convoluted.

Eilean Mhic Dhonuill Bhuidhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Mhic Eachain

Place ID 4983 NF 78220 27722 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG son of Hector's island

ScG eilean mhic Eachainn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

With the pronunciation of Eachann as /εxəN/, an interesting possibility is ON vík Hakon which is close to meaning the bay of Hakon, a Norse king known to have visited the isles.

Eilean Mhic Eachain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Mhic Eachain

1877

OS 1st edition

McEachans I.

1804

Bald mapping

Eilean Mhic Iain'ic Neill

Place ID 448 NF 86440 55420 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the son of John the son of Neil ScG eilean mhc Iain mhc Neill

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The Maclain are still a well-known family on North Uist whilst the MacNeils are a Barra family but quite what their connections with this island area is unknown.

In his chart of 1861 Thomas just named the island MacNeil. This family have a history of piracy in the mediaeval period and were known to use Ronaigh as a base. Perhaps this good harbour was an alternative anchorage, sitting as it does in the entrance to Bagh Sgotbheinn.

Eilean Mhic Iain'ic Neill	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean MhicNeill	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean Mhic 'ille Phadruig

Place ID 6649 NF 85416 41268 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG island of the son of the lad Patrick ScG eilean mhic gille Phadruig

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I always harbour thought of ON mikill = 'great' with this combination.

Eilean Mhic 'ille Phadruig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Mhic 'ille Phadruig	1877	OS 1st edition
Mc Killiphadric I.	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean Mhic Leòid

Place ID 342 NF 80730 61460 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG MacLeod's island

ScG eilean mhic leòid

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book provides 'McLeods Island' and probably refers to one of the protagonists in the Battle of Carinish of 1601.

Eilean Mhic Leòid

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Mhic Philip

Place ID 471 NF 85270 58100 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG MacKillop's island ScG eilean + mhic + Philip

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A small and relatively insignificant island in the ford between Griomasaigh and North Uist and now part of the causeway.

Quite who MacKillop was, I am not sure.

Eilean Mhic Philip

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Mhic Shealtair

Place ID 819 NF 91560 63440 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of + ON bay of gravel banks of the hilt ScG eilean + ON hjalt + eyrr + vík

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives an alternative McCalter Island and I have no knowledge of who McCalter was. It is possible that there is a Norse name underlying this one.

An alternative Norse present itself with ON skjǫldr = shield based on ON skjól = 'shelter or cover'. Taking 'shield' in the 'shelter' sense, then with ON víkur = 'of the bay' then we have 'shelter of the bay'. This is a good description of the island position.

However the Gaelic word here would not pronounce the 's' and sk > sh is not a regular development.

ON skalt = 'hilt' is the word that gave Shetland its name. Usually meaning the boss end of the sword, looking at Loch Euphort, the entrance is sword like with an opening up on both sides to provide the guard or cross-pieces Rygh refers to.

The island have gravel ridges surrounding it which makes ON eyrr a good fit.

The cognates notes then finally convinced me.

In Iceland we have nine places called Hjalteyri whilst oddly in Norway the word is very rare occurring only in two Hjaltland names.

Eilean Mhic Shealtair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Mhic Shealtair	1877	OS 1st edition
McCalter Island	1877	OS name book
McCalter Island	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean MhicArtain

Place ID 2028 NF 93753 75340 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG MacArthur island

Scg eilean mhc Artian

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop thinks the name might refer to someone from Skye.

MacArthur Island

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Eilean MhicArtain

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Eilean Mhidhnis

Place ID 1203 NF 90690 70820 North Uist Lochmaddy

'Mhidhnis' + ScG island

ScG eilean + 'Mhidhnis'

Coastal

Island

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Minish (P#1210) for details on the second component.

Eilean Mhidhnis

2014

Modern OS mapping

Minish

1832

Thomson atlas

Minish

1799

Reid mapping

Eilean Mòr

Place ID 320 NF 80770 61100 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG big island ScG eilean mòr ScG?
 ON?

Coastal complete?

Eilean Mòr 2014 Modern OS mapping

An t-Eilean Mor 2000 Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Eilean Mòr

Place ID 483 NF 84180 56520 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG big island ScG eilean + mòr

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Not surprisingly a common name.

It is worth noting that ON mór = 'moor' could be an alternative in some cases although the order should help determine whether it is or not.

Eilean Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Mòr	1877	OS 1st edition
Big Island	1861	Thomas chart
Eilean Mor	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean Mòr

Place ID	693	NF 76540 65160	North Uist	Kirkibost	
ScG big island			ScG eilean mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Eilean Mòr

Place ID 808 NF 89370 62240 North Uist Eaval

ScG big island

ScG eilean mòr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Although Eilean Leathann is bigger.....

Eilean Mòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Mòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Mòr Àrd nam Fiadh

Place ID 5410 NF 81886 54679 Benbecula Rueval

ScG large high island of the deer ScG eilean mòr àrd nam fiadh

Fresh water Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean Mòr Àrd nam Fiadh

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Mòr Bagh-Gheallt

Place ID 5432 NF 86074 54068 Benbecula Rueval

'Bagh-gheallt' + ScG big island ScH eilean mòr + 'Bah-gheallt'

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here Bagh-Gheallt (P#5430) is treated as an onomastic unit.

Eilean Mòr Bagh-Gheallt	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Mòr Bàgh-gheallt	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Bàgh Allt	1877	OS name book
Eilean Bagh Allt	1861	Thomas chart
Stream Bay I.	1861	Thomas chart
Bayault Id	1832	Thomson atlas
I. Bay Ault	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean Mossam

Place ID 2555 NF 87023 71498 North Uist Central North

ON moor islet + ScG island

ScG eiulean + ON mós hólms

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ON mós is the genitive of ON mór = 'moor' and -am is nearly always derived from ON holmr = 'islet'.

In Norway there are 11 Mos(e)holmen place names.

Eilean Mossam

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Mossam

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na Ba Baine

Place ID 1860 NF 81350 56496 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG island of the (one) pale cow Scg eilean na bà bàine

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean na Ba Baine 1861 Thomas chart

White Cow's I. 1861 Thomas chart

Eilean na Bà Ruaidhe

Place ID 6771 NF 81553 45370 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG island of the brown cow

ScG eilean na bà ruaidhe

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

'Hey now' - can this be right?!

The grammar works. Thinking of Baa Grosavag (PN#14446) as an example, there is a possibility that the ScG bà = 'cow' might have come from ON vàgr = 'bay'. ON rauða = 'red' is the relevant case for ON vág rauða = 'red bay' although the order is odd although this could be the effect fo resemanticization. Certainly the bay is full of seaweed giving it a rusty red appearance.

There are four Rauðavík place names in Iceland.

Eilean na Bà Ruaidhe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean na Bà Ruaidhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na Braisde

Place ID 1824 NF 87395 44908 Benbecula W1iay

ScG broken island

ScG eileanan briste

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The best fit seems ScG bràist = 'brooch' (IPA /bra:ʃdʲ/) and it is conceivable that the island could be considered to be of that shape. ScG braoist = 'harbour slipway' is an alternative but is not clearly in the vicinity. ScG briste = 'broken' is not as close phonetically (IPA is /brʲiʃdʲə/) but is probably the best topographically. I am not keen on the article being present too.....

There is an Eilean na Braiste in the North Ford (q.v.) and a Casdha na Braist on Harris.

Eilean na Braisde

1866

Admiralty mapping

Eilean na Braiste

Place ID 485 NF 84850 55870 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG broken island

ScG eilean na braiste?

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Topographically 'broken island' works as there are three small islands clustered together here. Thomas on his chart has totally different Norse sounding names of Eireag and Uisteag for two of them and tends to indicate that one is N of the main channel and one S, perhaps referencing the 'broken' island.

ScG briste = 'broken' is an adjective and so one would not expect to see the ScG na = 'the' but perhaps originally the name was ScG Eileanan Briste = 'broken islands', the plural.

ScG bràiste = 'of the badge or brooch' is the best linguistic fit but does not seem to make much sense.

An interesting possible alternative is discussed under Caolas Bhriseadh Ramb.

A further possibility ON breiða stað = 'broad place' is discussed under Loch na Bràiste (P#5333).

Eilean na Braiste

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na Brath-Nighe

Place ID 5748 NF 76887 75418 North Uist V1allay

ScG island of the washing cloth ScG eielan na braith (-lin) nighe

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With ScG nighe = 'washing' and this island being adjacent to the deepest channel nearby I suspect the root is form ScG braith- lin = 'linen cloth' with the 'lin' omitted

Eilean na Brath-Nighe

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Eilean na Brethe

Place ID	1851	NF 81827 55954	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ScG island of the + ON the broad one			scG eilean na + ON breið		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The Quern Island' based upon ScG bràthan = 'of the quern' but it would be unusual to lose the 'n'. Why a quern here?

With no other obviously meaningful ScG root, Norse is more helpful. ON braut = 'cleared track', this is a good description of the ford route as it currently is. The ending is problematic however as the /t/ would usually be sounded unlike the /t/ in ScG /th/, problematic but not inconceivable.

Much simpler and a perfect fit phonetically is ON breið = 'broad' although this has the problem of being an adjective. The cognate notes for Iceland are encouraging and presumbly here the broad refers to the ford or the bay. Indeed in modern Icelandic the word *lc breiða* now means 'flatness in the landscape' which is a good topographical fit.

There are two Eyrarbraut names in Iceland. I am not convinced by either.

Better however is that Braut appears as a simplex name eight times in Iceland.

Better still is that Breiða occurs 21 times and Brei occurs 38 times as simplex names in Iceland meaning one imagines 'the broad one' where what is being referred to should be clear.

Eilean na Brathe	1900	OS 2nd edition
Eilean na Brethe	1877	OS 1st edition

Eilean na Cairidh

Place ID 853 NF 83760 63710 North Uist Langass

ScG fish-trap island

ScG eilean na cairidhe

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

With numerous tidal creeks, the situation is ideal for a fish-trap.

Grammatically one might have expected ScG caraidhe = 'of the fish trap'.

Aerial imagery reveals a wall in the sea to the SW of the island and possibly something at the E end of the island too, both walls of which would form the basis of a trap.

Cairidh names are, unsurprisingly coastal with a concentration on Uist and Northern Skye with 14/25 names there. A further cluster of five names in NW Sutherland.

Eilean na Cairidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean na Cairidh	1877	OS 1st edition
McQuarrie Ids	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean na Caora Glaise

Place ID 2594 NF 89526 69825 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG island of the grey sheep (one!)

ScG eilean + na + caora + glaise

Fresh water

ScG?

ON?

complete?

I am not sure if it is not grey island rather than grey sheep!

Eilean na Caora Glaise

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean na Caora Glaise

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na Chàil

Place ID	1854	NF 81692 55991	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ScG island of the + ON canal			ScG eilean na + ON kíl		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The article is odd as I would have expected ScG a' = 'of the' when here what we get is the feminine article with lenition. There is a (correct) Eilean a' Chàil near Uig, Lewis

This name also crops up on Bearnaraigh where I wondered if in fact it comes from ON hvalr = 'whale'. The same could be said for here.

Another possibility is ON kíl = 'inlet or canal' and referencing the inlet 200m to the W connecting the sea to the extensive Loch t. Aerial imagery would suggest this water course has been enlarged and it is prominent on Thomas' chart with the name Amhuinn Ghramasdail attached to the tidal section of it. It is also somewhat unusually clearly marked on the Bald mapping.

Eilean na Chàil

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na Chinn

Place ID 1256 NF 81130 61170 North Uist C1arinish

ScG island of the + ON bight

ScG eilean na + ON keng.

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Quite what the 'head' here is I am unclear. It possibly marks the edge of the Carinis lands to the north, possibly even the edge of sanctuary or it could refer to the head of the main bay here as it narrows into the straits between Baleshare and the main island.

ScG ceann = 'head' becomes ScG chinn = 'of the head' by a combination of the genitive case and lenition. The indefinite article is odd however as with the masculine ScG ceann one would expect ScG a' = 'of the'.

Perhaps this is ON kinn = slope. Better here however although less immediately obvious is ON kengr = 'bight' which itself is defined as 'a curve or recess in a coastline, river, or other geographical feature'. Imagery of this island shows it to be almost surrounded by a moat of deeper water.

ON keng is the accusative which is the case likely to be used and the 'g' becoming silent is regular as is e > i.

Kintra is written as Chinn-tràighe is an interesting comparison as the order is odd - one would expect ScG ceann. This is the only example of a Chinn place with the incorrect article. The nearby Loch a' Chinn for example is correct.

Eilean na Chinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na Cille

Place ID	255	NF 94830 76480	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG island of the chapel			ScG eilean na cille		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
See An Aird Chaol					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean na Cille			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean na Cille			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean na Cille

Place ID 5275 NF 84596 46047 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of the + ON inlet

ScG eilean na + ON kíl

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Whilst the obvious interpretation is 'island of the chapel' based upon ScG cill = 'chapel' there is absolutely no tradition of a chapel here, even though there is also Peter's Port nearby.

On the very earliest mapping of the 16th century, a place is marked here as Gilwall and I suggest that this /gil/ is equivalent to the modern Cille. This name is discussed more fully under Peter's Port but I suggest that it came originally from ON kíl = 'inlet' or more precisely a 'deeply penetrating Vik' and then this changed to ScG gil = 'ravine' before becoming the modern day Cille.

The bay here fits the description perfectly being at times less than 100m across and penetrating almost 5km inland.

The

Kíl occurs as a simplex name 34 times in Iceland (sometimes with the definite article Kíllinn). There are many examples in Norway but it is hard to separate out this previous root.

Eilean na Cille	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean na Cille	1877	OS 1st edition
Kittie Island	1877	OS name book
Eilean na Cille	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Killie Id	1832	Thomson atlas
Island na Killie	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean na Cloich

Place ID 237 NF 92320 75090

North Uist

Lochp1ortain

ScG island of the stone

ScG deilean na cloich

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

One would have expected an 'e' on the end.

Eilean na Cloich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean na Cloiche

Place ID 275 NF 92030 79150 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG island of the rock SCG Eilean na cloiche

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean na Cloiche	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean na Cloiche	1877	OS 1st edition

Eilean na Cloiche

Place ID 472 NF 84100 58590 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of the rock (or ?gallows) ScG eilean na cloiche

Coastal Island

- ScG?
 ON?
 complete?

This interpretation is the obvious one with ScG cloiche = 'of the rock' being the genitive of ScG clach = rock.

There is however a more sinister possible interpretation when taking into account a nearby island ScG Eilean na Mna Mairbhe = 'island of the dead woman'. Irish croch = 'cross or gallows' and ScG has the same roots with Ir croiche = of the gallows (the genitive)

Beveridge writes 'In the North Ford ... are numerous tidal islands.. Near the centre of one of them is a prominent conical mound locally known as Crois Eilein Ghiorr, with many stones in the surface near its flattened top'. With 'cloiche' not sounding too different to 'croiche' and the local tradition of a local 'crois' place name and the dead woman island, there is a chance that this island is actually derived from 'island of the gallows.'

Traditionally these gallows were at very visible sites on the boundary of two districts which fits perfectly with the location here.

Eilean na Cloiche	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean na Cloiche	1877	OS 1st edition
E. na Cloiche	1861	Thomas chart
Stone I.	1861	Thomas chart
E. na Cloiche	1861	Thomas chart
Stone I.	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean na Comh-Stri

Place ID 968 NF 89780 63560 North Uist Lees

ScG island of strife or ON provision or choice islan ScG eilean na còmhstri or ON kostar ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Island

complete?

This name occurs at least three times on North Uist - this is the only one without a story line to it. The OS name book writes 'Island of Strife' presumably after ScG còmhstri = 'struggle' perhaps a sign of the feuding past. An alternative explanation is from the ON kostar + ey = 'provisions or choice island'.

Eilean na Comh-Stri

1877

OS 1st edition

Quarrel Id

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean na Co-stri

Place ID 902 NF 82640 59690 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of strife

ScG eilean na còmhstri

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The OS name book writes 'Island of Strife' presumably after ScG còmhstri = 'struggle' and this name occurs in several places on Uist - perhaps a sign of the feuding past. Here presumably it is a reference to the Battle of Carinis. An alternative explanation is from the ON *kostr* + *ey* = 'provisions island'. With a similar name in Loch Euphort this makes some sort of sense.

Eilean na Co-stri

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na Craoibh

Place ID 465 NF 87490 58050 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the tree ScG eilean na craoibh

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Perhaps unsurprisingly, there is no tree now visible on this island!

Eilean na Craoibh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean na Craoibhe	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Eilean na Craoibhe	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean na Cuithe Duibhe

Place ID	2363	NF 71180 70530	North Uist	B1alranald	
ScG island of the black fold			ScG eilean na cuithe duibhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean na Cuithe Duibhe			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean na Dairbe

Place ID 484 NF 84220 56830 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of + ON seaweed bay ScG eilean na + ON para vág

Coastal Island

- ScG?
 ON?
 complete?

The OS name book posits 'Dwarfs Island', Thomas translates it as 'Minnow Island' on his chart and Dwelly writes 'Used in Uist preceding its noun, to signify small or insignificant. It is applied to all animals, fowls and fishes.'

The article would be odd for an adjective and 'dwarfs' smacks of a folk etymology.

Valentia Island in Eire is called Oileán Dairbhe in Gaelic and said to mean 'island of the oak trees' but that seems unlikely here - dwarf-oaks perhaps!

It is odd that replacing the 'd' with a 't' which makes phonetical sense we end up with the first part of Tairebeart, which is supposed to have a meaning of 'haul'.

Looking to Norse, ON dauðr = 'dead' or ON deyða = 'to put to death' are good phonetically and perhaps fits with the theme of a possible gallows site in the North Ford. #however it still does not seem correct.

ON dýr + bær = 'deer farm' sounds similar. ON díar vé = temple of priests?

Going back to the replacement of the 'd' with a 't' reminds me of the Sgeir an Tairbh name in Lochportain. I think therefore the root here was ON para vág = 'bay of the seaweed'.

A final thought brings us back to dwarves with ON dvergr = 'dwarf'!

An interesting feature just to the E is a more modern lobster pool.

See Sgeir an Tairbh for details.

Eilean na Dairbe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean na Dairbe

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na Feannaig

Place ID 935 NF 86200 65040 North Uist Lees

ScG island of the crow ScG eilean na feannaig

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is what the OS name book has given us but it could be 'Island of the Rig' although none are apparent on aerial imagery. One might have expect the plural with crows.

Eilean na Feannaig	1877	OS 1st edition
Crow Id	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean na Gaoithe

Place ID 257 NF 94930 75780 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG island of the wind

ScG eilean na gaoithe

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There are 93 names in Scotland on the OS 2nd series mapping containing ScG gaoithe = 'of the wind', all in the Gaelic speaking area. There is then little evidence to search for another root.

It is however difficult to see why this island was selected for the wind appellation amongst many other candidates, perhaps its position at the entrance to the Loch Mhic Phail waterway?

It is hardly an island, more a skerry.

There is an Airigh na Gaoithe in the middle of North Uist.

Eilean na Gaoithe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean na Gaoithe

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na h-Àirde Moire

Place ID 6766 NF 80260 46327 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG island of 'Àird Mhòr'

ScG eilean na h-àirde moire

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Here the onomastic unit is Àird Mhòr (PN#14425), the nearby settlement.

Eilean na h-Àirde Moire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean na h-Airde Mòire

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na h-Àirigh

Place ID 481 NF 83830 57260 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the shieling ScG eilean na h- àirigh

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A large island now crossed by the modern causeway.

There is an obvious shieleing site in the centre of the island, built upon what looks like an earlier circular structure, perhaps a wheelhouse.

Grammatically one would have expected ScG airighe = 'of the shieling'.

Eilean na h-Àirigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Airigh na Hogha	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Eilean na h-Airidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean na h-Àiridh	1861	Thomas chart
Shealing I.	1861	Thomas chart
Eilean-na-h-airidh		MacDonald sketch history

Eilean na h-Inghinn

Place ID 665 NF 86020 74840 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG island of ON The meadow

ScG eilean na h- + ON The meadow

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Island of the girls' presumably based on ScG inghein = 'of the daughter'. A bit poetic perhaps?!

I ponder if in fact it was meant to be ScG innein = 'anvil-shaped thing' (gen). The gender of the article would be wrong but this could be a 'correction' towards the daughter meaning. The name was a Carmichael one.

A much simpler solution is ON engin = 'The meadow'.

There is an Engin and 51 Enget names in Norway, the latter being an exact cognate. In Iceland there are 45 Engi place names, a word with the same meaning and 35 Engjar names, this being the plural of Eng.

Eilean na h-Inghinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na h-Iolair

Place ID 762 NF 89290 58620 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of the eagle ScG eilean na h- iolair

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

'Otter has rather a different take on it - Eilean Guana - perhaps left over from the eagle?!

Eilean na h-Iolair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean na h-Iolair	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Guana	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean na Meallairt

Place ID 750 NF 87120 58620 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of the + 'Meallairt'

ScG eilean na 'Meallairt'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

See A' Mheallairt (P#751) for a discussion of the component 'Meallairt' which is being used as an onomastic unit here. The only other times it occurs is Loch na Meallaird (q.v.) on Benbecula where its proximity to the dunes there implied a root from ON melr = 'sand-dune.

However this word can mean any sand-bank, overgrown or bare and one ponders whether here it could refer to the very extensive tidal sand-bank here. It could perhaps indicate that there was an area of machair here in Norse times as the word ON melr evolved into 'sand plain'.

Eilean na Meallairt

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na Mi-chomhairle

Place ID 619 NF 89610 77650 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG island of bad council ScG eilean na mi-chomhairle

Fresh water Island

There is a similar island on Loch Finlaggan.

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean na Mi-chomhairle

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na Mna Mairbhe

Place ID 490 NF 83730 59040 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of the (dead) woman ScG eilean nam mnà (mairbhe0

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This only appears on the Thomas 1861 chart although Beveridge is clear that he thinks the OS have got their ScG Eilean na Mnà Mairbhe = 'island of the dead woman' in the wrong place and that it actually refers to this island.

It is within 400 m of Eilean na Cloiche, the possible gallows site.

To confuse Thomas also marks Eilean na Mnà Mairbhe at the site where the OS map it.

There are some distinctive building remains on the island, I suspect a burial cairn. This convinces me that Beveridge is right and the name is an ON verp = 'cairn' name. See Loch a' Mheirbh (P#606) for a discussion of the 'Mairbhe' element.

Eilean na Mna Mairbhe	1911	Beveridge
Eilean na Mna	1866	Admiralty mapping

Eilean na Mnà Mairbhe

Place ID 478 NF 83440 57800 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the dead woman ScG eilean na mna mairbhe

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

As discussed under Eilean na Mna (P#490) there is some confusion as to exactly which island is which. This is where Thomas and the OS have mapped it.

It is somewhat surprising that there is no local traditional story explaining the name.

I cannot see how Thomas arrives at women rather than woman and indeed agree with Beveridge that in fact the 'dead woman' island is in fact the correct siting for this name.

Eilean na Mnà Mairbhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean na Mnà Mairbhe	1877	OS 1st edition
Dead Women's I.	1861	Thomas chart
E. na Mnà Mairbhe	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean na Moine

Place ID 470 NF 84520 58300 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of peat ScG eilean na moine

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A simple name.

Eilean na Moine	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean na Moine	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean na Monach	1866	Admiralty mapping
Islands na Monach	1832	Thomson atlas
Is na Monich	1789	Ainslie mapping
I. na Monach	1751	Dorret mapping

Eilean na Moine

Place ID 2217 NF 79140 63049 North Uist B1aleshare
ScG island of peat ScG eilean na móine ScG?
Coastal ON? complete?

Eilean na Moine	1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray
Eilean na Moine	1877	OS 1st edition

Eilean na Mòine

Place ID 331 NF 79140 63050 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG island of the peat ScG eilean na mòine

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean na Mòine 1877 OS 1st edition

Eilean na Mòine

Place ID	337	NF 80130 61310	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG island of the peat			SCG eilean na mòine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean na Mòine			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean na Mònadh

Place ID	5742	NF 77986 76050	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG island of peat					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean na Mònadh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Eilean na Mùile

Place ID 1261 NF 81150 61610 North Uist C1arinish

ScG island of the mill scg eilean na muilne

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Although one expects ScG muileann = 'mill' but this must still be 'the island of the mill' as there is a nearby 'stream of the mill' and appropriate ruins there.

The norm would be ScG muilne (Cox p166)

Eilean na Mùile

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean na Ròide

Place ID 5581 NF 83124 57846 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the seaweed cast ashore ScG eilean an ròide

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rather than Thomas' ScG roid = 'bog myrtle', I think ScG ròd = 'seaweed cast ashore' is much more likely. However the article would then be wrong.

Bog Myrtle I.	1861	Thomas chart
---------------	------	--------------

Eilean na Ròide	1861	Thomas chart
-----------------	------	--------------

Eilean na Slettich

Place ID 1570 NF 95835 75734 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG island of the place of the rod

ScG eilean na slait - ach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Yard island' whilst Mackillop maintains the island should be called Cleite na Slaite meaning 'Rocky Islet of the Rod' both based upon ScG slait = 'of the rod'. The ScG -ach = 'place of' could explain the ending. There do seem to be a fair few names of islands with poles in the area, presumably either as navigation or signalling aids. Staffin Skerry could be a Norse version.

Eilean na Slettich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Cleite na Slaite

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Eilean na Slettich

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean na Sròine

Place ID	347	NF 80750 61790	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG island of the point			scG eilean na sròine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
A good topographical fit.					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean na Sròine			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean nam Bothan

Place ID	348	NF 80490 61880	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG island of the huts			ScG eilean nam bothan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean nam Bothan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean nam Breac

Place ID 1259 NF 81119 61520 North Uist C1arinish

ScG island of the trout ScG eilean nam breac

Coastal

One imagines sea-trout rather than brown trout.

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean nam Breac

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean nam Breac

Place ID	1687	NF 81189 61495	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG island of the sea trout			ScG eilean nam breac		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Is there the shadow of a rectangular structure here?!					
Eilean nam Breac			2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island	

Eilean nam Brisgein

Place ID	241	NF 92671 75428	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG island of silverweed			ScG eilean nam brisgein		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean nam Brisgein			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Eilean nam Brog

Place ID 491 NF 84386 58829 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of the boots

Scg eilean nam brog

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

This small island is only named on the Thomas chart of 1861. He translates it as 'Shoe Island'. It is now part of the track out the house on Eilean Leathann. With ScG brog also possibly meaning house or broch, one had hoped to find a building there but nothing is now visible and so 'island of the boots' is how it must remain. Perhaps a cobbler's workshop?

A 'Brog' was marked on the earliest maps at the S extremity of South Uist. It was probably associated with the Weaver's Castle there.

Eilean nam Brog

1866

Admiralty mapping

Eilean nam Buinneag

Place ID 1745 NF 89065 57776 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG island of the saplings ScG eilean nam buinneag

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The usual translation is ScG buinneag = 'brussel sprout' however 'young maiden' and 'twig' are alternatives. Cox cites 'sapling' and this seems to make more sense.

Eilean nam Buinneag 1861 Thomas chart

Eilean nam Faoileag

Place ID	141	NF 94178 71435	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG island of the gulls			ScG eilean + nam + faoileag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean nam Faoileag			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean nam Faoileag			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean nam Faoileag

Place ID	2593	NF 89833 69533	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG island of the gulls			ScG eilean + nam + faoileag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean nam Faoileag			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean nam Faoileag			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean nam Feadag

Place ID 520 NF 87120 57730 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Island of the plovers ScG eilean nam feadag

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This island sits at the N end of Bagh nam Feadag . To see more details look at that entry, P#397.

Eilean nam Feadag 1866 Admiralty mapping

Eilean nam Feaden

Place ID 319 NF 80590 61420 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG island of the small streams ScG eilean nam feadan

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Cox maintains this is the usual meaning of ScG feadan on Lewis. Here it could refer to a small streams in the area before it became engulfed by the sea.

Eilean nam Feaden

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean nam Muca-mara

Place ID 1225 NF 82390 58850 North Uist C1arinish

ScG island of the whales

ScG eilean nam muca-mara

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The plural is interesting as it was not just one whale. Presumably it was the place of a mass stranding/hunting of the smaller whales - possibly Pilot Whales which still strand nowadays in the Uist. It is at the end of the deeper channel and so could be an area used for drive hunting. There is another 'whale' place name 6 km to the E.

Eilean nam Muca-mara

2014

Modern OS mapping

Whale Island

1861

Thomas chart

Whale Id

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean nam Mult

Place ID 950 NF 88240 63700 North Uist Lees

ScG island of the wethers

ScG eilan + nam + mult

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

For those who are not up on the minutiae of the vocabulary of sheep farming, a wether is a castrated ram, I think.

Eilean nam Mult

2014

Modern OS mapping

Wether Id

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean nan Caorach

Place ID 933 NF 85170 64600 North Uist Langass

ScG island of the sheep

ScG eilean + nan + caorach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A common name, unsurprisingly.

The name occurs 14 times on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Eilean nan Caorach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean nan Caorach	1877	OS 1st edition
Sheep Id	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean nan Caorach

Place ID	6726	NF 76282 45910	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG ilsand of the sheep			Scg eilean nan caorach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean nan Caorach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean nan Caorach Glasa

Place ID	1264	NF 81210 61760	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG island of the grey sheep			ScG eilean nan caorach glasa		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean nan Caorach Glasa			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean nan Carnan

Place ID 302 NF 79240 63190 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG island of small heaps of stones ScG eilean nan carnan

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am unclear as to how the OS name book arrives at 'the Pole Island'

Eilean nan Carnan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean nan Carnan	1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray
Eilean nan Carnan	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean nan Càrnan		MacDonald sketch history

Eilean nan Carnan

Place ID	318	NF 80490 61570	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG island of the small cairns			ScG eilean nan carnan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean nan Carnan			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean Carnan			1861	Thomas chart	

Eilean nan Ceàpan

Place ID	6727	NF 76259 45654	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG island of the lumps			ScG eilean nan ceápan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ScG eilean nan ceapan = 'island of the lumps' might work although I am not sure of the declension of ScG ceap.
A Norse alternative is ON koppr = 'round hill' probably in the accusative definitive form ON koppin. ó > ea occurs elsewhere but not o > ea

Koppen occurs as a simplex name occurs 60 times in Norway and Kopp forms the start of 38 Icelandic place names with one simplex Koppar and three Koppur names.
Jakobsen writes In Shetland place names (p122), 'koppr is most often used for a hollow, but also sometimes for a round elevation'.

Eilean nan Ceàpan

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Clach Corr

Place ID 482 NF 83480 57000 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Island of the limit stones ScG eilean nan clach corr

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book suggest 'Remainder of the Stern Island' which is a bit of a mystery and Thomas seems to be picking at straws when he writes 'Heron's Stones island'. Dwelly has as a definition of ScG corr = 'end, corner or limit' thus ScG cladh corr = 'limit rock'.

Most of the ford is clearly marked with either cairns or large stones and it is easy to imagine there being one on this island and with this island being the end of the North Uist and the start of Benbecula, 'island of the limit stones' makes sense.

Eilean nan Clach Corr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean nan Clach Corr	1877	OS 1st edition
Heron's Stones I.	1861	Thomas chart
Eileanan Chlacha Corr	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean nan Clachan

Place ID	330	NF 79160 62950	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG island of the stepping stones			ScG eiloean nan clachan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean nan Clachan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean nan Corr

Place ID 1237 NF 81200 60280 North Uist C1arinish

ScG island of the herons ScG eilean nan corr

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG corra = 'heron' is presumably the reason the OS name book records 'The {Crane} Island'

Eilean nan Corr

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Each

Place ID 5380 Nf 87410 51785

Benbecula

Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG island of the horses

ScG eilean nan each

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Eilean nan Each

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean nan Each

1877

OS 1st edition

Horse Isd

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

E. nan Each

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Ennach Id.

1832

Thomson atlas

Ennach I.

1804

Bald mapping

Eilean Nan Each

Place ID 6533 NF 83857 38386

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ScG island of the horses

ScG eileannan each

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Eilean Nan Each

2014

Modern OS mapping

Horse Island

1877

OS name book

Eilean Nan Each

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Each Beaga

Place ID 5375 NF 87013 51792 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG island of little horses

ScG eielan nan each beaga

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The ScG beaga indicates that it is the horses that are small rather than the island - I think!

Eilean nan Each Beaga

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Faoileag

Place ID 273 NF 91720 79260 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG island of the (black-headed) gull ScG eilean nan faoileag

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean nan Faoileag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean nan Faoileag

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Gall

Place ID	889	NF 85640 63560	North Uist	Langass	
ScG island of the lowlanders			ScG eilean nan gall		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean nan Gall			1877	OS 1st edition	
Lowlander Id			1859	Otter Loch Eport chart	

Eilean nan Gamhna

Place ID 761 NF 88880 58860 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of the stirks ScG eilean nan gamhna

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Thomas names the sand bank c600m to the S, Oitir nan Gamhna.

Eilean nan Gamhna	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean nan Gamhna	1877	OS 1st edition
Stirk Island	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Eilean nan Gamhna

Place ID 5225 NF 83443 45990 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG island of the stirks Scg eilean nan gamhna

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean nan Gamhna 2014 Modern OS mapping

Eilean nan Gamhna 1877 OS 1st edition

Id na Gawn 1832 Thomson atlas

Island na Gawn 1804 Bald mapping

Eilean nan Gamhna

Place ID 6172 NF 82103 25943 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG island of the stirks ScG eilean nan gamhna

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A name that occurs regularly.
Stirks are yearling bullock or heifer.

Eilean nan Gamhna	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean nan Gamhna	1877	OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Gearr

Place ID 763 NF 89203 58377 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the fish-trap

ScG eilean + nan + gearr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Whilst there is no fish trap visible, the layout of the island here would seem conducive to the activity. With the proximity of Oban nam Muca-mara = 'creek of the whales', it might be big 'fish' that the hunters were after! The OSNB gives us 'The hare island' which seems unlikely in the extreme.

Eilean nan Gearr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean nan Gearr

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Gillean

Place ID 1101 NF 73280 76830 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG island of the gullies

ScG eilean nan gilean

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Island of the boys' and ScG gillean = 'lads' seems a common component of place-names. In this case however, the island is split from the mainland by deep gullies and I suspect the root is ScG gilean = 'gullies' from the ScG gil loan word from Norse.

This is a good topographical description of this presqu'ile feature.

A similar confusion has arisen on Tiree - see http://www.tireeplacenames.org/barrapol/na_gilean/ for Na Gilean Taca nan Gilean on Lewis is cited as 'of the gullies' by Cox (p377) with the alternative spelling of Gillean given. There are only four laces of the OSD 2nd edition with the Gilean spelling but 40 Gilleans, all stronlgy in the ScG heartland.

Eilean nan Gillean

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean nan Gobhann

Place ID 463 NF 87370 57740 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the blacksmiths ScG eilean nan gobhann

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

As discussed under Eilean a' Ghobha (P#399) , there are other possibilities. However placing a forge on a tidal island not too far away from a township is sensible in terms of the fire risk associated with smithying.

Eilean a' Ghobhainn	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Eilean nan Gobhann	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean na Otha	1866	Admiralty mapping
Eilean na Otha	1866	Admiralty mapping

Eilean nan Iollach

Place ID 316 NF 80090 62330 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG island of the + ON stream of the drying sheds ScG eilean + nan + ON hjall + læk

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'the Variegated Island' based upon ScG ilarach = 'variegated' I suspect. The fit is not perfect and an alternative is ScG iolach = 'shout' producing 'island of the shouts'. This fits well with the two possible ON shouting points just to the S, places where a call is made for a boat to ferry one across the narrows. ON hilla or hjalli = 'shelf' is also possible (see Holliday's lolaireach) but better is ON hjallr = 'a shed, esp. for drying clothes, fish'. If this was combined with ON læk = 'stream' then there is a good topographical and phenetic fit.

The only other occurrence of Iollach is on Inch Kenneth, Mull where there is A' Chrois An Iollach and a Bagh an Iollaich. The bay is on the wrong side of the island for shouting across for a boat. In Iceland there are four Hjallalækur place names whilst in Norway hjalla appears as a specific 36 times but not with løk.

Eilean nan Iollach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean nan Laogh

Place ID 480 NF 84130 57460 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the calves Scf eilean na laogh

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A small island just off the NW tip of Griomasaigh.
Grammatically, the ScG nan = 'the' indicates a genitive plural.
Thomas however only has one calf.

Eilean nan Laogh	1877	OS 1st edition
E. na Laogh	1861	Thomas chart
Calf I.	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean nan Lion

Place ID 153 NF 90969 71645 North Uist B1alranald

SCG island of the nets

ScG eilean + nan + lion

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Otter's chart is helpful in naming the island 'Net I.' Presumably an island for drying nets and lexically the same as the Norse Fathoire, q.v.

Eilean nan Lion

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean nan Lion

1877

OS 1st edition

Net I

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Eilean nan Lion

Place ID 163 NF 92132 70513 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG island of the fishing nets

ScG eilean + nan + lion

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Otter's chart is helpful in naming the island in Loch nam Madadh with the same name 'Net I.' Presumably an island for drying nets and lexically the same as the Norse Fathoire, q.v.

Eilean nan Lion

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean nan Lion

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Long

Place ID 387 NF 84140 57920 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the ships ScG eilean nan long

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An island in the middle of the channel between the N of Griomasaigh and North Uist.

Eilean nan Long	2014	Modern OS mapping
E. nan Lòng	1861	Thomas chart
Ship I.	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean nan Lus

Place ID 1071 NF 75510 76530 North Uist V1allay

ScG island of the weeds

ScG eilean nan lus

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This is what the OS name book states ScG lus = weed has as its genitive ScG luis = 'of the weed' which would sound similar.

Eilean nan Lus

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Radan

Place ID 1174 NF 92592 69568 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG island of the rats ScG eilean nan radan

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Bagh an Rodain (P#510) for a discussion of an alternative Gaelic interpretation.

Eilean nan Radan 2014 Modern OS mapping

Eilean nan Saighead

Place ID 467 NF 86810 57890 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the arrows

ScG eilean nan saighead

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

There is an oral tradition here of a thief being shot by an arrow, then hiding under a crag before being captured and hung, all in close proximity. Which came first, the story or the place name is always an interesting question.

See Eilean a' Bhàigh-ghlais (P#468) for more details.

With the pronunciation /sajəd/, as an alternative, ON sæ + hæð = 'head of the sea' almost works phonetically and makes some sort of topographical sense.

Eilean na Saighead	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Eilean na Saighid	1877	OS name book
Eilean nan Saighead	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean na Saighid	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean nan Stearnain

Place ID 343 NF 80860 61420 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG island of the terns ScG eilean nan stearnain

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean nan Stearnain

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Stearnain

Place ID 692 NF 76680 64900 North Uist Kirkibost

ScG island of the terns ScG eilean nan steàrnain

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Eilean nan Stearnain 2014 Modern OS mapping

Eilean nan Stearnain 1877 OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Strom

Place ID 462 NF 87740 56830 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island of the currents

ScG eilean nan sròm

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ON straumr was loaned into Gaelic as ScG sròm and the full Faclair Beag definition is 'narrow rocky channel (usually between a loch and the sea, may be dry at low tide)' whilst Vigfusson defines the original Norse as 'a stream, current, race, of the sea, the tide, a river'. In most place names however the 't' is maintained hinting at a direct Norse root. Whilst as seen above ON straumr = 'a current, a race, a river or the tide' nearly all in the Uist refer to the marine environment. Here the island is in the sea in the tidal race between Ronaigh and Griomasaigh.

The distribution of the 67 names in Scotland beginning with 'Strom' is in the Norse dominated NW, with the most southerly being on South Uist. There is an Eilean an t-Srom in the South Ford.

Eilean na Strom

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Eilean nan Strom

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Tighean

Place ID 1162 NF 91750 68070 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG island of the house ScG eilean nan tighean

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG 'island of the houses ' is a clear possibility.

Eilean nan Taighean	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Eilean nan Tighean	1877	OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Tighean

Place ID 1236 NF 81690 59720 North Uist C1arinish

ScG island of the ON tarn

ScG eilean nan + ON tjörn

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

ScG tighean = 'of the houses ' this name should be clear. It is however an odd spot to build a house on a small island in a lake, now bog unless it had a special purpose.

Oral tradition has it that it was a Christian meeting place.

ON tiginn = 'high born' would not sound totally dissimilar to ScG tighean. I suspect that better is ON tjörn = 'tarn'. This was then resemanticise as a recognisable ScG tighean.

Eilean nan Tighean

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean nan Uan

Place ID	5285	NF 86121 47949	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
Eng lamb's island			Eng lamb's island		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean nan Uan			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Lamb Isd			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Lambs I.			1804	Bald mapping	

Eilean Nèill

Place ID	5420	NF 83835 54481	Benbecula	Rueval	
ScG Neil's island			sCg eilean nèill		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Nèill			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Nighean nan Oran

Place ID 5148 NF 79601 48035 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG ? daughter of songs island ? ScG eilean nighean nan oran

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

It is possible that the island referred to is at NF 79422 48266, a bigger island.

The OSNB gives us 'The song island' based upon ScG òran = 'song'. I do not see where the nighean, presumably ScG nighean = 'daughter' comes in or possibly ScG nigheannan = 'daughters'

So curious that one wonders about a Norse root.

But I can't find one....I mentioned it to a local and she instantly said it would be the song of the seals which congregate here.

Eilean Nighean nan Oran	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------------	------	-------------------

Eilean Nighean nan Oran	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------------------	------	----------------

Eilean Ornaiss

Place ID 6539 NF 85767 38569 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Ornaiss' + Scg island ScG eilean + 'Ornaiss'

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Ornaiss (P#6502) for a disucssino fo that component.

Eilean Ornaiss	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ornish Island	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Ornaiss	1877	OS name book
Ornish I.	1804	Bald mapping

Eilean Phail

Place ID 1179 NF 92260 68490 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG Paul's island

ScG eilean phail

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Otter on his chart credits the island to Paul's son, using McPhail, the name after which a settlement, Baile mhic Phail, was named on the N coast of North Uist.

With the Norse spread of the names one does wonder if some arise from ON páll = 'pale as in boundary'.

The spread of the 27 'Phail' and 'phail' names is not classically Gaelic with six on Lewis, three on Mull, four near Loch Ewe, one in Sutherland, six Dunphail names close to each other and a nearby Lynphail and, 2 Pollphail names opposite Bute one inland in the Highlands.

Eilean Phail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Phail	1877	OS 1st edition
McPhail I	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Eilean Poll Roinach

Place ID 4971 NF 77251 28106 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG mackerel pool island

ScG eilean poll reannach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

OSNB gives us 'Island of Mackerel Pool' although the nearby presence of Rubha Roinich looks more than coincidental. The latter is taken to mean 'the headland of bracken' but a 'pool of bracken' seems unlikely. ScG reannach' = 'mackerel' with an alternative spelling of ScG rionnach.

Both would sound similar to non-Gaelic ears and I would suggest that both places refer to Mackerel.

Eilean Poll Roinach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Poll Ròinach

1877

OS name book

Eilean Poll Roinach

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Rainich

Place ID	1747	NF 89272 57543	North Uist	Ronaigh	
ScG bracken island			ScG eilean rainich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Rainich			1861	Thomas chart	

Eilean Rainich

Place ID	2591	NF 89373 68893	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG bracken island			ScG eilean + rainich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Rainich			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean Rainich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Roinich

Place ID	6599	NF 84996 40211	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG	island of the bracken		ScG eilean roinich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Roinich			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Eilean Roinich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Roìntch

Place ID 396 NF 86780 57680 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG fern island

ScG eilean + rainich

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

With ScG rainich = 'of the fern or bracken', Thomas, who translated the island name as 'Fern Island', was correct. I suspect that there is a typo on the Modern OS mapping. Looking at the writing on the OS 1st series, I can quite see why it was transcribed wrongly.

Eilean Roìntch

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean a ' Rannich

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Eilean Roinich

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Rainich

1861

Thomas chart

Eilean Ruairidh

Place ID	1864	NF 81642 56951	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ScG Ruairidh's island			ScG eilean Ruairidh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Ruairidh			1861	Thomas chart	

Eilean Scalaster

Place ID 290 NF 80940 61120 North Uist B1aleshare

ON farm of the hall + ScG island

Scg eilean + ON skala staðr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON skala = 'of the hall' seems a good choice for the specific and with there being a dun on the island (<https://canmore.org.uk/site/10290/north-uist-eileann-scalaster>) which Beveridge measures at 'c. 26ft in diameter enclosed by a wall nearly 5ft thick'. As in other places it is possible that the Norse built a 'hall' inside the dun.

Eilean Scalasitir

1877

OS name book

Eilean Scalaster

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Scliat

Place ID	1866	NF 81580 57194	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ON seperating + ScG island			ScG eilean + ON skilti		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The closest in Gaelic and what Thomas suggests is probalby SCG sglèat = 'slate' but there is no evidence of slate working here.

Better perhaps is ON skilið = 'separating' or at least the supine of the verb ON skilja = 'to separate'. It would work as the group of islands here is separated by the main stream through the ford.

The past participle is ON sklidr = 'divided' which would work well here.

It is an odd combination of languages however unless this is an example of ON ey - land being resemanticise as ScG eilean.

ScG sgoilt = 'split' is not far off.

However this work seems to have taken on a meaning that Ic skilti = 'sign' as on a road sign.

One could see this would be a good place to put a marker sign indicating the reefs or the like.

There is an Eilean Sgliat (P#1719) off Ronaigh and this must share the same root.

Eilean Scliat	1861	Thomas chart
Slate I.	1861	Thomas chart

Eilean Seilisteir

Place ID 1756 NF 88908 54776 North Uist Ronaigh

'Seilister' + ScG island

ScG eilean + 'Seilisteir'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ScG seileastair ='iris' and so this looks like 'iris island'.

The island however is not a place to see Iris and there is no article between the two words, indicates it could have another derivation. Bagh an t-Seilisdeir (P#439) discusses this.

See Lag Sheilisdeir (P#5694) for a further discussion of the component 'Seilideir'.

Eilean Seilisteir

1861

Thomas chart

Eilean Seonaid

Place ID 2187 NF 79379 63219 North Uist B1aleshare

ON .look-out head + ScG island

ScG eilean + ON sjón hæð

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Whilst Fraser does not include an accent, the usual spelling is ScG seònaid = 'Janet' with an IPAQ spelling of /jɔ:nɪdʲ/. Whilst the literal translation is 'Janet's island', the ON sjón eið = 'look-out isthmus' is a good topographical fit. Possibly ON hæð = 'head or hillock' might work well too and has the advantage of cognates and it makes more sense to have a look on a rise.

It is not impossible that the referent is actually a knoll on the mainland opposite the island as this is a site of a beacon mentioned in the Hebridean Connection.

In Iceland there are five Sjónarhæð whilst there is a Sjoneidet in Norway. MacNiven (p149) discusses Bruthach Sheònish arriving at Sjó(var)nes.

Eilean Seonaid

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Eilean Sgliat

Place ID 1719 NF 88921 54919 North Uist Ronaigh

ON isthmus of the divide or ScG slate + ScG island ScG eilean sgliat + ON skilja + eið

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

There must have been a tradition of using this island for slates although it is not one I am aware of.

There is a very distinct separation here between the island and the main island. This could be reflected in some form of ON skilja = 'to divide'.

The best option is probalby ON skilja = 'of the division' adding ON eið = 'isthmus' this works well topographically, it is a split isthmus, and linguistically.

See Eilean Scliat (P#1566) for a discussion on this element.

Skil occurs as a specific in 23 Icelandic places and many more in Norway without a cognate in either.

ScG sgliat = 'slate' occurs nione times on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Eilean Sgliat

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Sgliat

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Sligeach

Place ID 475 NF 83620 58460 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG island abounding in shells

ScG eilean + sligeach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

This island is relatively isolated in the North Ford and is well described by the ScG name. The OSNB gives us 'Shell Island'. However with the Crois an t-Sliac (in old OS money) to the W in the same waterway one wonders if they share a root, possibly ON *sæ lög* with a locational suffix ScG *-ach*.

Eilean Sligeach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Sligeach

1877

OS 1st edition

Shelly I.

1861

Thomas chart

Eilean Sloc Sàthaidh

Place ID 5016 NF 81566 27189 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG island of the pushing hollow or ON sea sluice ScG eilean sloc sàthaidh or ON slok sævi

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The first two components are straight forward ScG eilean = 'island' and ScG sloc = 'pit or hollow' . The last component is closest to ScG sàthaidh = 'of the pushing'.

This bay is where some think that Clanranald used for his birlinns (Kevin Grant phd) and so the pushing could refer to the grounding of the boats on the shore here.

This is close to Sloc Sabhaidh on Baleshare.

See Sloc Sabhaidh for a discussion on that place.

Eilean Sloc Sàthaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Sloc sathaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Sruth a Chomhraig

Place ID 1819 NF 85510 45700 Benbecula W11ay

ScG current of + ScG sanctuary or ON arrivals + Sc ScG eilean sruth a chomhraig

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Sruthan na Comaraig for a discussion of this name.

Eilean Sruth a Chomhraig

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Eilean Steaphain

Place ID 752 NF 86570 58740 North Uist Eaval

ScG island of stephen

ScG eilean Steaphain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I am not aware quite who Stephen was and indeed it is not really an island either.

The personal name occurs only rarely in Scotland although there are two other instances on Uist, one loch above Balranald and another island near Lochportain.

Thomas and Otter name a Stephen Id c 1km to the W.

Eilean Steaphain

1877

OS 1st edition

Eilean Thormaid

Place ID	354	NF 80140 62080	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG Norman's island			scG eilean thormaid		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
Who is Norman?!					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilean Thormaid			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eilean Thormaiod Dhomhnaill

Place ID 2062 NF 93210 74584 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG Norman (son of) Donald's island ScG eilean thormaiod Dhomhnaill

Coastal

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Mackillop gives us (p35) 'This was Norman son of Donald MacLeod, a crofter on Berneray.'

Eilean Thormaiod Dhomhnaill

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Eilean Tolltach

Place ID 1847 NF 82327 56446 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG island full of holes

ScG eilean tolltach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ScG tuilteach = 'flooding' is tempting although the initial sound is not a perfect match an possibly explains Thomas' 'Flood I' to the W.

ON tolla - taka = 'a taking of tolls' is even more attractive as the island lies between Benbecula and North Uist.

Thomas gives us 'Holey I.' based upon ScG tolltach = 'full of holes' I imagine and this is the easiest option referring to the broken nature of the islands here.

Eilean Tolltach

1861

Thomas chart

Holey I.

1861

Thomas chart

Eilean Treobhaidh

Place ID 288 NF 81130 59900 North Uist C1arinish

ScG farming village of the bay island

ScG eilean treabh bàigh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The OS name book grasps at 'Plough Island' although ScG treabadh = 'ploughing' seems a better linguistic fit. However it seems an unlikely name for a steep sided island. Another Gaelic possibility is ScG treabh bhàigh = 'farming village of the bay' taking a different meaning of ScG treabh. (cf MacNiven's Mullindry p226)

ON trú-vé-ey = 'temple island of the faith' is phonologically a good fit and makes some form of sense with Teampull Trionaniad in the vicinity and Horaigh nearby.

Vé occurs in several place names listed in Vigfusson and in particular Vé-ey, an island in Romsdal in Norway, and this is mirrored by two Wiay islands on Uist and one on Skye. The latter has a ScG Camas na Cille = 'bay of the chapel' at its main landing place.

There is also a Fuday adjacent to Barra and this (or Fuidheigh) is the Gaelic spelling of Wiay. The order however is odd and I suspect the Gaelic option is best.

A simpler less poetic Norse interpretation is ON troð eið = 'pasture isthmus' which looks topologically reasonable. Rygh definition of ON troð is '. It is used for a fold in which the cattle are stuffed, about a fenced harbour corridor in the Home Field, about a fenced Meadow'.

Treb is a place name in Orkney that Marwick discusses extensively (OFN p3)

Eilean Treobhaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Eilean Treabhadh

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Eilean Treobhaidh

1877

OS name book

Eilean Trostain

Place ID 2370 NF 69354 71511 North Uist B1alranald

ScG Trostan island ScG eielan Trostain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Island

complete?

The name is discussed more fully and professionally than I would dare on the excellent Uist Saints site - see the link. As the personal name here lacks lenition, Cox (p117) would say this is probably an early name, even back to the 13thC. An alternative is ON trúar steinn = 'stone of faith'. Martin Martin writes 'here is a stone in form of a cross in the Row, opposite to St. Mary's Church, about 5 feet high: the natives call it the Water-Cross, for the ancient inhabitants had a custom of erecting this sort of cross to procure rain, and when they had got enough they laid it flat on the ground, but this custom is now disused.' This could fairly be called a 'stone of faith'.

Much more prosaically ON hross teinn = 'horse spit' as in as tongue of land. Indeed ON tangi = 'tongue of land' might itself be the root.

Trostansfjörður is a fjord in NW Iceland. Elsewhere it has been suggested that Troswick in Shetland derives from Trolls vik and in Norway Trollstein is a common name (47 occurrences) There is however also Trusteinen in Mosknes. There is a Trosten in Sweden.

Eilean Trostain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eilean Trostain	1877	OS 1st edition

Eileana Dubha

Place ID 1560 NF 97138 73567 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG black island

ScG eilean dubh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I am unclear as to why the 'a' is at the end of both these words. Mackillop calls them Na h-Eileanan Dubha = 'The black isles'.

Eileana Dubha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Na h-Eileanan Dubha

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Eileana Dubha

1877

OS 1st edition

Eileanan an Strom-Dheirg

Place ID 5216 NF 82639 47106 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG islands of the red current ScG eileanan an sròm-

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Red Islands' but this rather ignores the /strom/ element.
I suspect it should be ScG an t- for the article.

Eileanan an Strom-Dheirg	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eileanan an Strom-Dheirg	1877	OS 1st edition

Eileanan Àrda

Place ID 1865 NF 81520 57389 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ON small protuberance ScG islands

ScG eileanan + ON arða

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The OS name books gives us 'High Islands' which they patently are not although the Gaelic would work.

ON arða = 'small protuberances' is a much closer topographical fit.

The ScG eilean was then put in front of the ON word that had no real meaning to them.

Eileanan Àrda	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eileanan Arda	1877	OS 1st edition
Eileanan Caola	1861	Thomas chart
Narrow Islands	1861	Thomas chart

Eileanan Chearabhaigh

Place ID 5255 NF 86699 47666 Benbecula Peter's Port

'Chearabhaigh' + ScG islands ScG eileanan + 'Chearabhaigh'

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of the element 'Chearabhaigh', see Loch Chearabhaigh (P#5256).

Eileanan Chearabhaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Keiravagh Islands	1877	OS 1st edition
Ceiribhagh Uacharch	1877	OS name book
Keravagh Islands	1877	OS name book
Ceirabhagh Uacharch	1877	OS name book
Kerevagh Ids	1832	Thomson atlas
Islands of Kerevagh	1804	Bald mapping

Eileanan Glasa

Place ID	1845	NF 82270 56513	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ScG green islands			ScG eileanan glasa		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Looking at this archipelago of small islands a totally different approach to the obvious Gaelic one would be would be ON eylanda klasi = 'cluster of islands', a perfect topographical description.

Vigfusson writes about ON klasi, 'KLASI, a, m. a cluster, bunch, esp. of berries: berja-klasi, vínberja-k., a cluster of grapes: metaph., eyja-klasi, skerja-k., a cluster of islands, skerries'.

Eileanan Glasa	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eileanan Glasa	1877	OS 1st edition
Eileanan Ghramasdail	1861	Thomas chart

Eileanan Stafa

Place ID 5217 NF 82495 46351 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON staff ScG islands Scg eileanan + ON staf

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Other place names on Uist including Staf- have as their root ON staf = 'staff'.

Stafn occurs a simplex name eight times in Iceland.

Eileanan Stafa	2014	Modern OS mapping
Staffa Islands	1877	OS 1st edition
Staffa I.	1832	Thomson atlas
Staffa I.	1804	Bald mapping

Eilein Dubh

Place ID	711	NF 80010 63960	North Uist	Berneray	
ScG black island			ScG eilean dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Eilein Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Eireag

Place ID 1736 NF 84840 55833 North Uist Griomasaigh

ON gravelly bank bay

ON eyrar vág

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ON eyrr + vagr = 'gravelly bank bay' seems the first option although I would have preferred an island (ON eyrr + ey) to a bay in the name here.

The cognate no

Another possibility is ON eyrr + ScG -ag = ScG place of + ON gravelly bank. This addition of the ScG -ag = 'place of' suffix is recorded by Macniven amongst others.

ScG eireag = 'young hen, pullet' is probably why the name evolved phonetically as it has.

There are six ørsvåg names and 17 ørvik(a) (with three ørsvik) place names in Norway and seven Eyrarvík names in Iceland.

Eireag

1861

Thomas chart

Eliogar

Place ID 5666 NF 81521 22828 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON cave dyke

ON helli garð

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

I suspect that the specific is ON hellir = 'cave' on account of the souterrain on the west of the hill.

Heileasdail to the N is adjacent to the prince's Cave.

The specific is probalby ON garðr = 'dyke'. This would make sense as there are two clear dykes here surrounding the approaches to Stulaigh.

The central vowel is perhaps not perfect and would be better served by a close compound ON helli - garð = 'cave dyke'.

It is interesting to see the Admiralty chert with a /k/ indicating that g > k is possible.

Eliogar	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eligar	1877	OS 1st edition
Eliker	1877	OS name book
An Eiliger	1877	OS name book

Eridih

Place ID 6104 NF 73864 29449

South Uist

Loch Eynort

ON bog of the gravel banks

ON eyra dý

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Eridih

1804

Bald mapping

Fadhail a' Bhota Ruaidh

Place ID	5868	NF 78810 73333	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG ford of the red bank			ScG fadhail a' bhota ruaidh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Fadhail a' Bhota Ruaidh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Fadhail a' Chinn Uachdraich

Place ID	5785	NF 79203 76434	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG ford of the upper head			ScG fadhail a' chinn uachdraich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Fadhail a' Chinn Uachdraich			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Fadhail Gheàrraidh Iain

Place ID	5875	NF 78866 73143	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG ford of John's enclosure			ScG fadhail gheàrraidh Iain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Fadhail Gheàrraidh Iain			1997	NicIain Place names of Sollas	

Fadhail na Comraich

Place ID	1671	NF 82772 58750	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG ford of + 'Comraich'			ScG fadhail na + 'Comraich'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
See Sruthan na Comaraig (P#1227) for details of that place name					
Fadhail na Comraich			2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island	

Fadhail na h-Airde

Place ID 5978 NF 83030 78585 North Uist S1ollas

ScG ford of the promontory

ScG fadhail na h-àirde

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Niclain writes 'Aird a Mhorrain was once an island - accessible by low tide. At the end of the last century, a lump of seaweed came to the mouth of the ford in the spring, grounded it and closed the ford.'

Fadhail na h-Airde

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Fadhail Aird A' Mhorrain

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Fadhail nan Geàrrachan

Place ID 5760 NF 77740 74353 North Uist V1allay

ScG ford of the + 'Geàachan'

ScG fadhail nan + 'Geàrrachan'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

See Loch na Gearrachun (P#2247) for details of the element 'Geàrrachan'.

Fadhail nan Geàrrachan

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Fadhail Sholais

Place ID	6010	NF 81882 75704	North Uist	S1ollas	
'Sholias' + ScG extensive beach			ScG fadhail + 'Sholais'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Fadhail Sholais			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Fang Airigh Mhic Ruaraidh

Place ID 5757 NF 76794 74529 North Uist V1allay

'Airigh Mhic Ruaraidh' + ScG fank ScG fang + 'Airigh Mhic Ruaraidh'

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Àirigh Mhic Ruairidh (P#1056) for a discussion of the element 'Airigh Mhic Ruaraidh'

Fang Airigh Mhic Ruaraidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Faodhail a' Chinn Aird

Place ID 2201 NF 79006 64279 North Uist Berneray

ScG ford of the high head Scg faodhail a' chinn Aird

S1alt water Current or Strait

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The 'high head' must refer to the headland of Claddach Illeray on the main island.

Faodhail a' Chinn Aird

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Faodhail an t-Slugain

Place ID	2167	NF 77154 63869	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG ford of the 'Sluggan'			ScG faodhail an t=Slugain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
Sluggan (q.v.) is discussed elsewhere.					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Faodhail an t-Slugain			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Faodhail Ceann na Hutrail

Place ID 283 NF 80120 62700 North Uist Berneray

ScG ford of the head of the + ON dangerous isthm Scg faodhail ceann na + ON hættu eið

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

In the OS 1st series the last word is written as Hutrail. This would give us the generic as ON eið = 'isthmus'. ON hættu = 'dangerous' works well phonetically and one imagines provides a good topographical description of this area in earlier times when presumably it was narrower.

Faodhail Ceann na Hutrail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Faodhail Ceann na Hutrail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Faodhail Ceann na Hutrail	1900	OS 2nd edition
Faodhail Ceann na h'Utrait	1877	OS name book
Faodhail Ceann na Hutrail	1877	OS 1st edition
Faodhail Ceann na Hutrail	1877	OS 1st edition

Faodhail na Dise

Place ID 282 NF 80770 61890 North Uist C1arinish

ScG ford of the + ON cairn river ScG faodhail na + ON dýs á

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Dise appears in at least four place names hereabouts, including the historic site Dun na Dise.

This indicates an old name and ON dys-á = 'cairn river' works as a strong possibility, possibly referring to the current between Baleshare and the main island, narrower in the past and possibly even a river rather than a tidal current in Norse times. For more details see !2 Lost Townships.

Perhaps as further evidence there are also several ScG carn = 'cairn' place names in the area too.

ON dys is a common component in Icelandic place names and in Norway there are six place names containing Dysa as a component.

Ath na Dise	1971	Macdonald Two townships
Faodhail na Dise	1877	OS 1st edition

Faodhail nan Caorach

Place ID	300	NF 79410 63540	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG ford of the sheep			ScG faodhill nan caorach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Faodhail nan Caorach			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Faoghail a' Chaolais

Place ID	660	NF 89630 78150	North Uist	Clachan Sands	
ScG ford of the narrow			ScG faodhail a' chaolais		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Faoghail a' Chaolais			1877	OS 1st edition	

Faoghail Ghramasdail

Place ID 1868 NF 81765 56534 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

'Ghramasdail' + ScG ford ScG faodhail + 'Ghramasdail'

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Gramasdal (P#1852) for details of the 'Ghramasdail' component.

Faoghail Ghramasdail 1861 Thomas chart

Faoghail Mhic an Uidheir

Place ID 1867 NF 80802 57079 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG ford of the son of the pilgrim ScG faoghail mhic an uidheir

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water Current or Strait

complete?

ScG uidheir = 'of the pilgrim' and so this literally becomes 'ford of the son of the pilgrim'.

With this being the route across to the Teampall at Carinis, the story makes sense but folk etymology it could be. The .son of. is odd.

Uidheir looks remarkably like eið eyrr = 'gravel neck of land' and with ON víkur = 'of the bay'., we get 'gravel neck of land of the bay'.

The fact they then added ford indicates the gravel bank neck of land was indeed that! Tautology is always encouraging.

The Norwegian equivalent of the eið-eyrr component is Eidsøra which occurs three times.

Faoghail Mhic an Uidheir

1861

Thomas chart

Pilgrims son's ford

1861

Thomas chart

Faoghail Vallaquie

Place ID 652 NF 86520 75250 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON whale fold + ScG ford

ScG faodhail + ON hvala kví

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

For more details see Vallaquie (P#654).

Faoghail Vallaquie

2014

Modern OS mapping

Faoghail Vallaquie

1877

OS 1st edition

Fasda Mhurain

Place ID 696 NF 75550 65200 North Uist Kirkibost

ON The firm landing place

ON fasta vörrin

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Fasd a' and 'the bent shelter' and I think the shelter comes from ScG faist = 'at anchor, moored' but the latter is an adjective which struggles to work with the ScG a'.

An alternative is ON fasta vörrin = 'The firm landing place'.

Fasda Mhurain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Fasda nan Clach-corr

Place ID 719 NF 75920 65040 North Uist Kirkibost

ScG shelter of the pointed stones ScG fastail nan clach-corr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Shelter of the heron's stone'. ScG fastail = 'dwelling' is the closest I can get. ScG corr = 'pointed' or 'boundary' is more likely to be the meaning rather than heron and it should be plural with the ScG nan = 'of the'.

This and the adjacent Fasda Mhurain are the only two occurrences of the name in Scotland on the OS 2nd series mapping.

Fasda nan Clach-corr

1877

OS 1st edition

Fat Heathy I.

Place ID 5472 NF 84556 51580 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

Eng fat heathy island Eng fat heathy island

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One imagines this will have started life as a Lingay style name.

Fat Heathy I.

1804

Bald mapping

Fathoire

Place ID 1166 NF 93120 86800 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON gravel bank of the fishing nets

ON váða eyrr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ON váð þön = 'platform for drying fishing nets' is hugely tempting but the /r/ instead of the /n/ is probably an insurmountable problem.

ON eyrr would however work for the specific.

I have struggled to find any cognates, possibly because of the confusion between ON vað and ON váð. There are seven Vaðeyri place names in Iceland.

Fathoire	2014	Modern OS mapping
Fahore	1877	OS name book
Feth-thor	1877	OS name book
Faihore	1877	OS 1st edition
Fahore	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Feadan a' choin Chilleadh

Place ID 1316 NF 93314 81543 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigrearraidh

ScG the gap through which the wind whistles/howls ScG feadan a' choin + ON hvala eið

ScG?

ON?

Contour Depression

complete?

This is recorded in Mackillop's The Place-Names of Berneray and lies at the point where the NW/SE line meets the shore – Feadan a' choin Chilleadh (C). Mackillop himself says this is a very difficult name to interpret and gives a relatively convoluted ScG ON hybrid name, Meadow of the church shrine.

A more straightforward possibility, using a relatively common ON hv to ScG ch transition, is ScG feadan + a' + ceann + ON hvala + eið = 'the gap through which the wind whistles/howls at the head of the whales' isthmus'.

The Gaels did not understand but knew a name for the onomastic component ON hvalr + eið = 'whales' isthmus' which describes the NW/SE line running off shore perfectly and indeed presumably gives us the name for it that preceded the current bland ScG riof = reef.

Feadan a' choin Chilleadh

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Feadan Sìthiche

Place ID	1853	NF 81612 55869	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ON sea-heath + ScG small stream			ScG feadan + ON sæ heiði		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The OS name book arrives at 'Fairies Chanter' which is a trifle poetic and one can see the Carmichael influence in it. ScG feadan = 'small stream' looks good for the generic, referring to the stream to the W of the headland, and ScG sìthiche = 'fairy' is unavoidable in Gaelic as the specific.

This would sound like 'shee hicke' and the first part sounds like ON sæ- = 'sea-' and the other component could be ON heiði = 'heath' or ON hæð = 'head'. The cognate notes help the former rather than the latter.

This then could be the onomastic unit 'Sìthiche' and we then add ScG feadan = 'small stream' to it.

There are three Sjoneheia, eight Sjøhei(a) and three Sjøheia in Norway which are their equivalent cognates. I could find none with ON hæð.

Sìthiche occurs only on two other occasions, adjacent to each other near Loch Fyne in the form 'an t-Sìthiche' which will sound rather different.

Feadan Sìthiche

1877

OS 1st edition

Fearamas

Place ID 166 NF 93168 69994 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON ebbtide basin

ON fjara + bás

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Unusually this is a name where the specific is clear but the generic less so, although perhaps it could be a compound. Either way, the first component must be ON fjara = 'ebbtide' or 'foreshore'.

One guess for the second component is ON mosi = 'moss' or 'moor' but it is not convincing. Perhaps a better option is ON bás = 'stall in a cow-house but also used in Icel. Of basins formed in rocks, e. g. at the foot of a waterfall; in local names'.

The latter meaning with the tidal aspect would work well as there is an extensive tidal basin here.

This then requires back formation using the fact that 'bh' and 'mh' have the same sound in Gaelic and so can get confused.

Fearamas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ferramas	1877	OS 1st edition
Feramas I	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
Faramus	1832	Thomson atlas
Faramus	1799	Reid mapping

Fèith a' Choite

Place ID 6481 NF 77184 37093 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG stagnant channel of the place of the argo boa ScG fèith a' choite

Fresh water

Stream

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The article is not as one would expect here as ScG coit = 'cargo boat' is feminine and so we would expect ScG na in the genitive case. The dative would work and this could indicate 'the place of the cargo boat'.

Fèith a' Choite

2014

Modern OS mapping

Fèith a' Choite

1877

OS 1st edition

Feith na Fala

Place ID 1247 NF 81950 60530 North Uist C1arinish

ScG ditch of the ON river of fields

ScG feith na + ON valla á

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Marsh

complete?

This name refers to the Battle Of Cairinis of 1601 when the MacLeods lost to the Macdonalds.

There is a similarly named Abhainn na Fala (Niclain p56) where the blood was meant to flow after a clash over the clearances in 1849.

Both I suspect come from ON valla á = 'river of the fields'.

The tautology is always encouraging.

Of the 69 name son the OS 2nd edtion mapping there are 16 Falasgair names on Lewis and all are associated with a contour rise. Four Falaisge names probably share this root. This would inidicate that 'blood' is not the root and the generic would be ON sker = 'bedrock stickinmg out of ground' in inland situations.

Indeed the gernal scatter is Norse rather than Gaelic.

In Iclenad there are six Vallá and one Vallaá place names.

Feith na Fala

1877

OS 1st edition

Fèith-Bhealach

Place ID	6311	NF 81939 32578	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG bog of the bealach			ScG fèith bhealach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Fèith-Bhealach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Feaveallach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Feur-lochan

Place ID	262	NF 91860 76490	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG grass lochan			ScG feur-lochan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Feur-lochan			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Feur-lochan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Feur-lochan

Place ID 2528 NF 84676 73460 North Uist Central North

ScG marsh

ScG feur-lochan

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

An odd name but one that occurs regularly elsewhere. MacIver gives Fiar-allt the meaning 'crossing burn' and this would fit here perfectly as it is where the track crosses the loch.

However with ScG feur-lochan given the meaning 'grassy pool, morass, marsh' by Dwelly then it is a good topographical fit.

Feur-lochan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Feur-lochan

1877

OS 1st edition

Fiag

Place ID 6621 NF 78533 41872 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON cattle - bay

ON fé - vík

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

I am not convinced by this but it is the best I can do.

The proximity of two ScG fiadh = 'deer' names is interesting as the sound would be very similar, especially in the genitive plural case ON fjá = 'of the cattle'

Fiag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Fiag

1877

OS 1st edition

Am Fiadh

1877

OS name book

Fiarigeo

Place ID 1133 NF 72060 74300 North Uist B1almartin

ON cove of the ebb tide

ON fjöra gjá

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The OS name book writes 'The grass creek' presumably based on ScG feoir = 'of grass' however the word order indicates a Norse root. ON fjara = 'an ebb-tide' or 'fore shore' and ON fjöra = the genitive. It is one of the few coves here where a boat could be put to sea.

The similarity with the adjacent to the N Geo an Fharaidh lead me to think that the names are the same but 'translated' and misplaced.

Fiarigeo

1877

OS 1st edition

Fiar-lochan

Place ID	6152	NF 73913 25793	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG bent	small lake		ScG fiar lochan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Fiar-lochan			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Fiar-Lochan			1877	OS 1st edition	
Heathy L.			1804	Bald mapping	

Fiar-Lochan

Place ID 6580 NF 80225 40644 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG grass-lochan ScG feur - lochan

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am not quite sure how ScG feur becomes /fiar/ although the sound is very similar.

Fiar-Lochan 2014 Modern OS mapping

Fiar-Lochan 1877 OS 1st edition

Filleam

Place ID 145 NF 93192 71540 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON livestock meadows by the sure

ON fé - hólmr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The ON hv is often transcribed as ScG f so here ON hváll = 'hillock', particularly a dome-shaped one, would work well as the specific although the vowel change is not typical. The generic is possibly ON holmr = 'islet' as this is the usual root form which an ScG -am ending is produced although this would require transference but not of any great distance.

Topographically there is a prominent dome-shaped knoll nearby.

However the initial vowel remains unconvincing.

A better alternative is ON hvíld = 'rest' then ON holmr = 'islet' The development ld > ll is regular and the cognate notes are encouraging. ON heim = 'home (acc)' is better

Carmichael's OS name book alternative might help - Fitheleum. The initial element looks like ON við = 'close to' when with an accusative case noun. The generic is best fitted with an unusual ON ljómi = 'brightness' although Rygh equates this with a 'bright sunny place which suits the location at the top of the S. facing village'.

This would be a good description of the top of the small rise to the N of the shore here.

The simplest solution however - and so often the best courtesy of Okkam and his razor - is probably ON fé - hölm = 'livestock meadows on the shore' using an Icelandic meaning of ON hólmr. It is possible that the very prominent knoll here could be the referent holm or the islet just off shore.

He /ll/ would cause a Gaelic speaker to lengthen the vowel before it.

There are four places called Hvalhólmi in Iceland and three Hvalholmen in Norway but these are probably to do with whales.

Ljómi appears as the specific in three Icelandic place names and 25 in Norway. Somewhat frustratingly there are three places starting with Fyljom but I cannot find what the first element 'Fy' means.

Hvíldarhólmi occurs twice in Iceland. In Norway there are seven Kvilheim palce name cognates.

Feøya occurs at the start of over 120 place names in Norway and the cognate Feholmen occurs twice

Filleam	2014	Modern OS mapping
Filleam	1877	OS 1st edition
Fitheleum	1877	OS name book
Fileam	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Fionnghlas as Àird

Place ID 1896 NF 76840 55149 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG pleasant grassy area from out of Àird. ScG fionn glas às Àird

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

there are several place-names where Fionn is the first component e.g. Fionngleann and Fionn-ard. With the anglicized version being Finlas as the /gh/ is silent. ScG glas can mean a grassy area and so here the root is probably ScG fionn glas = 'pleasant grassy area'.

ScG às = 'from out' refers here to the local place-name Àird.

The peculiar order and the use of the preposition might indicate an earlier name.

Finlas occurs four more times on the OS 2nd edition mapping, three associated with one river leading into Loch Lomond and a Loch Finlas in the Borders. The association with water in all cases is interesting.

Finlas of Aird	2014	Modern OS mapping
Fionnghlas as Àird	2014	Modern OS mapping
Finlas of Aird	1877	OS 1st edition

Fir Bhreige

Place ID 5710 NF 77012 70245 North Uist Central North

'Fir Bhreige'

'Fir Bhreige'

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

See Na Fir Bhreige (P#2580) for a discussion of the onomastic unit 'Fir Bhreige'. The name is given to us by Beveridge with the OS providing a bare 'Standing Stones'.

The Canmore entry reads 'Both these stones stand on small natural grass-covered mounds and both have sunk considerably into the soil.

The easternmost stone is an irregular shaped boulder of grey granite, measuring 1.0m long by 0.8m high by 0.4m wide. It is oriented NE-SW and bears no markings.

The other stone, 36.4m to the west, measures 1.4m high by 0.6m long by 0.5m wide. It bears no markings.

The name 'Fir Bhreige' could not be confirmed.'

To me it doesn't sound like usual standing stones if on a grassy mound but more like the remains of a cairn of some form.

There is another An Fhir Bhreige on the W slopes of Blathaisbhal c12km to the E.

The only occurrence of Bhreige on the OS 2nd edition mapping are two Cnoc an Fhir Bhreige on the west coast of Sutherland. Canmore however lists 4 sites with Bhreige contained within, the other two being on Skye (Clachan Breugach an alternative name) and Iona and both potentially cairn or stone circle sites. (An obvious generic for the Iona site would be ON bryggja = 'bridge'. ON fjǫru = 'of the ebb tide' or 'tidal bridge' in its entirety).

Fir Bhreige

1911

Beveridge

Fliseabhal

Place ID 2562 NF 87613 69380 North Uist Central South

ON dome-shaped hill of the rocky outcrops ON flesja hváll

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Beveridge gives us (p104) 'Norse, ? Flesja-fjall, 'hill of the green places'. Looking at satellite imagery, there is not much green there! However Rygh defines the word to mean for inland places 'portions of bare rock which protrude from the ground on land' - a good description.

An alternative is ON flísa = 'of splinters or chips' (possibly 'slice') and the whole thing, 'mountain of the splinters' could be referring to it being a chip off the other larger mountains. However the first root seems better.

Mountain is a grand name for this 49m hill and so hváll might be better.

Whilst both components occur, I can find no cognate in Iceland or Norway.

Fliseabhal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Flisaval

1877

OS 1st edition

Flodaidh

Place ID 5640 NF 56558 62484 North Uist Heisker

ON flat island

ON flat ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

'Flodaidh was the moist westerly island and it was low-lying and level and thus the land gradually wore away.' THC p209

Flodaidh

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Flodaigh

Place ID 191 NF 94086 69521 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON flat island

ON flat + ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Beveridge contributes ON fljót = 'river name' or ON flot = 'afloat' neither of which seem very helpful and Taylor concurs with 'float island'.

Vigfusson gives the compound OI flota-hólmr = 'an islet'. He also gives us ON flöt = 'plain' and ON flóð = 'of the tide, flood'. One of the islands is tidal and this would work well however the remainder are not.

I think the solution is ON flatr = 'flat', used in many compounds as 'flat' and here ON flat-ey = 'level island'.

Topographically this works for the island I know.

T

There are ten Flodday names on six Flodday islands recorded on the OS 2nd edition mapping, all of them on the Outer Hebrides ranging from Barra to the southern tip of Harris, a very restricted range.

There is a Fladda near Luing, a Fladda in the Treshnish Isles, an Eilean Fladday off Raasay, a Fladday near Scarp, Harris and ten Fladda names on Shetland.

In The Northern Isles there are three Flotta names including an inland one that is however on part of what is now thought to be an inland waterway.

There are 20 cognates in Iceland and I am pleased to say no floating islands! In Norway however we do have two floating islands Flo(t)t(a)øya but over 200 Flatøya(a).

All good evidence.

Flodaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------	------	-------------------

Flodday	1877	OS 1st edition
---------	------	----------------

Flodday Id	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
------------	------	------------------------

Flodda I.	1832	Thomson atlas
-----------	------	---------------

Floda I.	1806	Stockdale mapping
----------	------	-------------------

Flodda	1799	Reid mapping
--------	------	--------------

Floda I.	1789	Ainslie map
----------	------	-------------

Flodaigh

Place ID 5429 NF 84498 55151 Benbecula Rueval

'flodaigh'

'flodaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There is a discussion about 'Flodaigh' under P#191. the Flodaigh near Lochportain.

Flodaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Flodeidh	1877	OS name book
Floda	1877	OS name book
Island Flodda	1877	OS name book
Flodday	1877	OS 1st edition
Flodday	1861	Thomas chart
Floda Id.	1832	Thomson atlas
Floda I	1804	Bald mapping
Floday		MacDonald sketch history

Flodaigh Beag

Place ID 768 NF 91970 58050 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG small + 'Flodaigh' 'Flodaigh' + ScG beag

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion on Flodaigh see P#191

Flodaigh Beag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Floddaybeg	1877	OS 1st edition
Flodday Bheag	1861	Thomas chart
Flodday Beg	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Floddabeg	1832	Thomson atlas
Flotay-vee	1806	Stockdale mapping
Flodda-beg	1799	Reid mapping
Flota Is.	1789	Ainslie mapping

Flodaigh Mor

Place ID 1664 NF 91268 57161 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG big + 'Flodaigh' 'Flodaigh' + ScG Mor

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of Flodaigh see P#191

Flodaigh Mor	2014	Modern OS mapping
Flodaigh Mhor	2000	Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)
Flodday Mhor	1861	Thomas chart
Floddamore	1832	Thomson atlas
I. Flotay-more	1806	Stockdale mapping
Flodda more	1799	Reid mapping

Flodday Point

Place ID 173 NF 94426 70112 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Flodday' Eng point

'Flodday' + Eng point

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

For a discussion of 'Flodday' see Flodaigh (P#191)

Flodday Point

2014

Modern OS mapping

Fodragaigh

Place ID 5041 NF 84263 45797 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON fodder field island

ON fóðr akr ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

This is clearly an island name and must be Norse.

The obvious specific is ON fóðr = 'fodder' with ON fóðri being the dative 'place of fodder'.

ON ey = 'island' is the obvious generic but this leaves the g unexplained. This occurs regularly on Uist e.g. Bhoragaigh and Torogaigh.

One solution is ON kvi = 'fold' or 'pen' to be the specific with an island automatically creating a 'pen' of sorts. However the final vowel sound is not a perfect match.

An alternative is for an ON akr = 'field' to be inserted. Sandnes writes about ON akr 'As a generic, the final r frequently drops in Norw names, e.g. Kallak, Berkåk (NSL: 510).' Then with broad ScG g sounding like c, we have a good phonetical match ON fóðr akr ey = 'fodder field island'.

Fodragaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Fodragay	1877	OS 1st edition
Fodrageidh	1877	OS name book
Foddergay	1877	OS name book
Fodragaidh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Foddergay Id.	1832	Thomson atlas
Foddergay I.	1804	Bald mapping

Forsanan

Place ID 5361 NF 84665 50093 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG place of ON The waterfall

ON forsinn + ScG -an

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The root is ON fors = 'waterfall'.

The 'waterfall' in this area must refer to a tidal current and the obvious one is at NF85167649844.

Taking this singularity option, there are two grammatical options here. ON forsinum = 'the waterfall' (dative) or ON forsinn = 'the waterfall' (accusative) along with a locative ScG -an = 'place of'. The former has more appeal.

There are 25 place names of Forsen in Norway.

Forsanan	1877	OS 1st edition
Forsannan	1804	Bald mapping

Fort Ban

Place ID 2134 NF 79271 58069 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG pale fort

ScG fort bàn

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

This must be referring to the large pale sand dunes here. The word fort has been loaned from English.

Fort Ban

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Foshigary

Place ID 1045 NF 74280 76280 North Uist Grim1inish

ON enclosed area of the byre or whale carcase ON fjósa gerði

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Surprisingly, Foshigary does not appear in the early written or mapping record at all until the OS 1st edition mapping surveyed in 1878.

Foshigary probably comes from the ON fjósa -garðr = 'enclosed area of the cow-shed' or as an interesting alternative 'enclosed area of the dead whale carcase', the ON fjós means both.

When Beveridge excavated the stie here, he found a large collection of objects fashioned out of whale bone.

Foshigary	2014	Modern OS mapping
Foisegearraidh	1877	OS name book
Foshigary	1877	OS 1st edition
Foshigarry	1877	OS name book
Foshigarry		MacDonald sketch history

Fraoch-eilean

Place ID	365	NF 86370 57910	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG heather island			Scg fraoch eilean		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

This small island lies in the bay that was drained in the 1830s and was therefore at that time not an island. The house ruins that lie on it were presumably built in that time.

The order of the words seems odd but mirrors nearby Gairbh-eilean and many other instances of Fraoch in Scottish place names.

Interestingly one of the Am Fraoch-eilean names is adjacent to An Garbh-eilean.

The name does not appear on the Thomas chart as in that time, the area around it was drained and it was not an island.

Fraoch Eilean occurs 14 times on the OS 2nd series mapping, three Am Fraoch-eilean around Moidart and Lochalsh area and there are two Fraoch-eilean, the other being in Loch Gairloch.

There are twn Eilean Frao(i)ch.

Fraoch-eilean	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Fhraoch-Eilean	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Fraoch-eilean	1877	OS 1st edition

Frigary

Place ID 4956 NF 78400 27490 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON tax-free enclosure

ON frið gerði

ScG?

ON?

To decide

complete?

Rygh cites ON *fríðr* = 'fine, beautiful, peace' as a possible root for farms in Norway. ON *hvikan* = 'quicksand' is another more remote possibility. The former has the advantage of being used in Iceland. The generic is either ON *gerði* or ON *garðr*, probably the latter.

Rygh discusses three Frigaarden sites and thinks they refer to a tax-free farm. Quite why it should be so is unclear - perhaps some sort of harbouring duties were performed in lieu? *Frið-land* is defined by Vigfusson as 'a 'peace-land' or friendly country, used in the laws of old freebooters (*víkingar*), who made a compact not to plunder a country, on condition of having there a free asylum and free market;—such a country was called *friðland*'.

There is a *Friðhús* in Iceland whilst in Norway there are four *Frigarð(en)*.

Frigary

1804

Bald mapping

Frobost

Place ID 89 NF 73860 24440 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON foam farmstead

ON frjór bólstaðr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Gammeltoft suggests Froði, an ON personal name, as the specific although not very definitively.

An alternative could be ON froða or ON frauð both meaning 'foam' and could refer to the foam forming on the shore by the skerries to the W but it is not close.

ON frjór = 'fertile' would probably be a better fit with the farmstead of the generic.

There is a Frobost on South Uist and a possibility for its roots is ON frauð + bólstaðr = 'foam farm'

In Iceland ON froða appears once as a specific as does ON frjó in Frjóakur = 'fertile arable land'.

There is another Frobost in the Loch Portain area.

Frobost	2014	Modern OS mapping
Frobost	2014	Modern OS mapping
Frobost	2014	Modern OS mapping
Frobost	2014	Modern OS mapping
Frobost	1877	OS 1st edition
Frobost	1877	OS 1st edition
North Frobost	1877	OS 1st edition
North Frobost	1877	OS 1st edition
Frobost	1804	Bald mapping
Frobost	1804	Bald mapping
North Frobost	1804	Bald mapping
North Frobost	1804	Bald mapping
Froborst	1654	Blaeu mapping
Froborst	1654	Blaeu mapping

Frobost Island

Place ID 207 NF 92449 75703 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON away from the farm + Eng island

ON frá bólstað + Eng island

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The generic must come from ON bólstaðr.

A possibility for its roots is ON frauð + bólstaðr = 'foam farm'.

Gammeltoft wonders if the South Uist name might come from the personal name Fróði but is uncertain. I wonder if ON frjó = 'fertile' is better and fits with the early forms including a 'y'. If applied to this place, it would be a relative term!

The best alternative I can find is ON frá = 'away from' and that would work here as an island away from the farm on the main island.

ON frjó = 'fertile (f)' is another option.

There is a Frobost on South Uist.

Frobudalen in Norway is probably a similar name as are the 11 Frostad. Rygh derives some of these from the personal name ON Fróði.

There are two near cognate Fråstad

In Iceland there is a Frjóakur - fertile field

Frobost Island	2014	Modern OS mapping
Am Propaiste	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Frobost Island	1877	OS 1st edition

Fuam

Place ID	1557	NF 98033 74127	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ON close to islet			ON við hólmi		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Fuam is not clear. It is almost certainly Norse with the generic ON hólmi = 'islet' as this ends up regularly as '-am'. The specific is less clear. For want of anything better I propose ON við = 'close to' and so the whole thing would be ON við + hólmi = 'nearby island'. It is certainly true that the various Fuam names are all close to other larger islands. However a better option might be ON fugl = 'bird'. It was involved in a nautical expression hafa fugl af land = 'to 'have fowl off land' meaning to stand in within range of water-fowl, i. e. be from fifty to seventy miles off land and so ON fogl holmi would mean an island within that range of the shore. For the /g/ sound to disappear is relatively normal and presumably by whatever process that /-holmi/ ends up as /-am/, then the /l/ will disappear too. That said there is a possibility that it is similar to Fuidheigh which is thought to stem from ON bú ey or ON buð ey. Fuam would then mean 'abode islet' or 'booth islet'. Some of the islets look small to have anything at all on..... They do however all seem to be in vaguely strategic positions and so some sort of watching or tolling booth might be appropriate. All in all though, looking at their position close to the smallish islands, I think that the ON við hólmi = 'close to islet' is the best option.

Fuam occurs five times, four times on North Uist and all in the NE corner of the island and once on Harris by Scalpaigh called Fuam an Tolla which might fit with the booth option to collect tolls.

There are three Viðarholmi place names in Iceland.

There are three Fuglasker in Iclenad whilst in Norway there are two Fuglholmen and 14 Fugleholmen place names.

Fuam	2014	Modern OS mapping
Fuam	1877	OS 1st edition
Fuamgreinam	1804	Bald mapping

Fuam na h-Ola

Place ID	1275	NF 97833 75749	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ON bird island near the rounded hill			ON fogl hól m ná-hóla		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Fuam is not clear. It is almost certainly Norse with the generic ON hól m r = 'islet' as this ends up regularly as '-am'. The specific is less clear. For want of anything better I propose ON við = 'close to' and so the whole thing would be ON við + hól m = 'nearby island'. It is certainly true that the various Fuam names are all close to other larger islands. There are three Viðarholmi place names in Iceland. However a better option might be ON fugl = 'bird'. It was involved in a nautical expression 'to 'have fowl off land' meaning to stand in within range of water-fowl, i. e. be from fifty to seventy miles off land and so ON fogl holmr would mean an island within that range of the shore. For the /g/ sound to disappear is relatively normal and presumably by whatever process that /-holmr/ ends up as /-am/, then the /l/ will disappear too. For the specific my best guess is ON hól l = 'rounded hill' or here ON hól a = 'hills (accusative)'. The inclusion of the ScG 'na' is odd and indeed it might come from the Adverb ON ná = 'near'. Overall then this might mean 'bird island near the rounded hills'. 'Rounded hills' would be a good description of nearby Taghaigh and Hoe Beg

There are 17 Fugleholmen in Norway and 10 Fågelholmenin Sweden.

There are two Fulaholmi in Iceland.

On the OS 2nd series mapping there are five Fuam names and a Cafuam. five in the Sound of Harris and one near Scalpay. The Scalpay one is called Fuam an Tolla which could easily be a corrupted form of Fuam na h-Ola where the ScG na h- article has been replaced by ScG an t-.

Fugl(e)holmen in Norway - along with one Fuholmen.

Fuam na h-Ola	2014	Modern OS mapping
Fuam na h-Ola	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Fuam na h-Ola	1877	OS 1st edition
Oil	1866	Admiralty mapping

Fuam Raonaid

Place ID 1216 NF 91670 74210 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON rough isthmus of the bird island

'fuam' + ON hraun eið

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The ScG Raonaid = 'Rachel' is clear but Fuam is less so. It is almost certainly Norse with the generic ON hólmr = 'islet' as this ends up regularly as '-am'.

See Fuam (P#1557) for more details on this component.

The second component could easily be ON hraun eið = 'rough isthmus' or specifically a rough place to cross from one place to another via a narrow neck. This describes perfectly the crossing to Aird Innis one kilometre to the E. The place then could in fact be the Norse name for Aird Innis but moved at a later stage.

Fuaim Raonaid

1877

OS name book

Fuam Raonaid

1877

OS 1st edition

Fuidheigh

Place ID 1777 NF 87218 46065 Benbecula W1iay

ON settlement island

ON bú ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

It always looks odd to me that Fuidheigh is given as the Gaelic equivalent.

The generic must be ON ey = island and the specific is often quoted as ON vé which has a variety of meanings. Priest is one, mansion house and temple are others. With other religious names in the area, I would not be surprised for temple to be the meaning here, although there is not actual evidence of one on the island.

One might expect the genitive ON vé's but with no genitival 's' the genitive plural ON véa might be better.

Blaeu's name Bin Vevii must derive from his map making using high points. If you get to the top of Rueval, the highest point on Benbecula, then the biggest hill to the S aside from the hills of South Uist is the hill of Wiay. It is not at all clear that it is an island. One can imagine him asking the local guide what was the name of that hill and was told 'Wiay' or in his case hearing it as 'Vevii', to which he added 'Ben' because it was a hill.

Gammeltoft gives the root as ON bú ey = 'settlement island', a close compound name. This is the same root as for Fuaigh, Barra; Fuaigh, Bracadale; Fuaigh Mor and Beag, Lewis but not Fuidheigh, Barra to which he ascribes a root of ON búð ey = 'abode island'.

He does not list Vevii in his list of earlier forms but it is close to other forms such as viia.

I have to bow to his superior knowledge and better use of earlier forms.

There is a Wiay in Loch Bracadlae, Skye about which it is said 'A temple or the ruins of one said to be'.

In the Sound of Barra there is a Fuday and a Fuiay, both of which one imagines has the same root. On Lewis we have a Vuia Mòr although Haswell-Smith derives this form an unlikely hybrid buidhe-ey = 'yellow island'. There is, unsurprisingly a nearby Vuia Beg, all near a Pabay.

In Norway Veøy(a) occurs ten times and the equivalent viö three times in Sweden. Some have strong ecclesiastical connection, viz Veøy in Romsdal

Fuidheigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Wiay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Wiay	1877	OS 1st edition
Wiay	1866	Admiralty mapping
Wia I.	1806	Stockdale mapping
Wiay I.	1804	Bald mapping
Wia I	1789	Ainslie mapping
Wia I.	1776	Mackenzie mapping
Buya magna/parva	1654	Blaeu mapping
Vya beg	1654	Blaeu mapping
Buia major/minor	1654	Blaeu mapping
Via moir	1654	Blaeu mapping
BIN VEVII?	1654	Blaeu mapping

Fuidheigh Beag

Place ID 5378 NF 86597 52669 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG little + 'Fuidheigh'

'Fuidheigh' + ScG beag

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Fuidheigh is an alternative to Wiay (P#1777) , a discussion of which can be found there.

Carmichael as ever is controversial with the name Oriseidh Mharuis and this in fact probalby refers to the next island S, Orasaigh.

Fuidheigh Beag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Wiay Beg	1877	OS name book
Ornsay Isd.	1877	OS name book
Orasay	1877	OS name book
Oriseidh Mharuis	1877	OS name book
Bhuidha Bheag	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
L. Wiay Id	1832	Thomson atlas
Little Wiay	1804	Bald mapping

Fuskafaol

Place ID 2423 NF 82946 75913 North Uist S1ollas

ON hollow of fishes

ON fiska hol

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

An odd looking name and the mapping do not help identify the exact place, the Modern OS indicating a skerry and the OS 1st edition a possible ford. The OS name book describes it as a water channel backs this up with added 'supposed to mean fish-ford' which in itself seems odd as fish seldom need to use a ford.

The whole thing looks Norse if it wasn't for the fact that ScG faoghall = 'ford' on uist and with the 'gh' silent it would sound like 'faol'.

Wiktionary then gives us ScG faisg air = 'close to' and so perhaps the meaning is that it is the skerry and it is close to a ford?

The overall Norseness however brings me back to ON fiska = 'of fishes'.

One of the alternative names given in the OS name book is Fustaval and so one is tempted to think of ON fiska + fjall = 'mountain of fishes', a name that occurs in Norway eleven times. However this is not a mountain, in Iceland we have a similar Fiskholl occurring seven times.

Topographically the best fit would be ON fiska + hol = 'hollow of fishes' and describes well the pool by this site. Ryugh notes a Fiskhol writing 'Deep hole in the bottom of the creek or river.'

Although less good phonetically, this is the root I believe.

Fuskafaol

2014

Modern OS mapping

Dubhagram

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Fuskafaol

1877

OS 1st edition

Fustaval

1877

OS name book

Fustabhail

1877

OS name book

Gairbh-eilean

Place ID 381 NF 84660 58780 North Uist Eaval

ScG rough island ScG gairbh - eilean

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Island

complete?

This island is now joined by the North Uist to Griomasaigh causeway. The ground is rough, especially when compared to the richer agricultural land of Eilean a' Ghiorr next door. The majority of the centre of the island has been quarried away recently.

The order is odd but by no means unique, the adjective seems to oscillate between being in front and after the noun. The hyphenated name could mean it is an older name.

Cox gives 'raging, violent' as the translation which is rather stronger than most of the Dwelly definitions. Personally 'rough, of unequal surface' would seem to be the best fit for most of the Uist garbhs.

Ylandgarvy which only appears once seems an 'outlier'. Where does Pont's Ylgerry fit it - here tentatively assigned to Gearradubh. To me the /garvy/ component sounds like an ON ey = 'island' name. Perhaps ON garð ey = 'farm-island'. The Yland is presumably an anglicization of a ScG eilean and this would reinforce the fact the /garvy/ section is already acting as an onomastic unit.

Macniven mentions ON görvi = 'supplies' as a possible version of 'gairbh' so possibly ON görvi + eyland = 'island of supplies'.

All five names on the OS 2nd edition mapping with Gairbh- are on this short strip of coast. Much commoner is Garbh- with 131 occurrences, including six Garbh-eilean.

Balgarva on South Uist shares the name and topography.

There are three Garðey names in Iceland whilst in Norway there are five Gardsøya and six Gardøya names.

Gairbh-eilean	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Garbh Eilean	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Iyllegillegerrie	1911	Beveridge
Ile-Gillegerrie	1911	Beveridge
Ile-Gillegerre	1911	Beveridge
Ilegilligeir	1911	Beveridge
Insula Gillegerre	1911	Beveridge
Ile Gilligerrie	1911	Beveridge
Ylandgarvy	1911	Beveridge
Gairbh-eilean	1877	OS 1st edition
Garbh Eilean	1861	Thomas chart
Ellen Gilligerrie	1657	The Clan Donald
Ellengellegerrie	1657	The Clan Donald
Garbh Eilein		MacDonald sketch history

Gairbh-Eilean Ronay

Place ID 1695 NF 88427 57654 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG rough island of Ronaigh

ScG gairbh-eilean ronay

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

For a discussion of the element 'Ronay' see Ronaigh (P#16).

Another island that sits between Ronaigh and Griomasagih with the order of the words being interesting.

It is also interesting that ON hraun + ey = 'rough island' indicates that both the Norse and the Gaels thought the same of this area!

Thomas names this island E. na Feannaig, 'island of the rig or crow'.

Gairbh-Eilean Ronay

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gairbh-Eilean Ronay

1877

OS 1st edition

E. na Feannaig

1861

Thomas chart

Gaiseirnis

Place ID 6667 NF 83321 43890 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON headland of the geese

ON gása nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

There is confusion with nearby Rubha Ghaisnis (P# 6770). Some of the root must be shared with Gasaidh (P#6673). It must be an ON nes = 'headland' place name. The obvious specific is ON gás = 'goose' in the genitive plural form ON gása.

Looking at the cognate notes and Vigfusson, ON gæs is an alternative form.

There are many more places in Iceland beginning with Gæs- than Gás-although no obvious cognates. Norway however produces us with 12 cognate Gåsnes(et).

Gaiseirnis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gashernis	1877	OS 1st edition
Gashernis Point	1877	OS name book
Rudh' Ghaisnis	1877	OS name book

Gaisgeir

Place ID 1276 NF 96761 76161 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigrearraidh

ON skerry of the geese

ON gása sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

With some greenery, this skerry is just about big enough for some geese!

Gaisgeir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Garbh Eilean Mòr

Place ID 428 NF 88560 55470 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG Big rough island

ScG garbh eilean mòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This island sits in the tidal race between Ronaigh and Griomasagih splitting the channel in two. It is big and it is rough!
Again the order of the words is interesting.

Garbh Eilean Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------	------	-------------------

Gairbh-eilean Mòr	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------------	------	----------------

Rough Island	1861	Thomas chart
--------------	------	--------------

Garbh Eilean	1861	Thomas chart
--------------	------	--------------

Garbh-abhainn Àrd

Place ID	2561	NF 87653 68448	North Uist	Central South	
Scg high wild stream			ScG garbh-abhainn àrd		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Garbh-abhainn Àrd			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Garbh-abhuinn Ard			1877	OS 1st edition	

Garbhach Cuartalain

Place ID 1233 NF 81530 59770 North Uist C1arinish

ScG rough place of the circuit Scg garbh -ach cuartalain

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Ugly Turning' presumably based upon ScG cuartalain = 'circuitous root' or 'loop, circuit'. This describes the current road which performs a circuit around the headland, this area of which could be called 'rough'

Garbhach Cuartalain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Garbh-àth

Place ID 4907 NF 76906 46813 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG rough ford

ScG garbh aoidh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The name is recorded in the OS name book as 'Rough Ford'.

I suspect however that it is more likely to be ScG aoidh = 'peninsula' as that would be a better topographical fit referring to the very prominent long sandy peninsula protruding into the South Ford. It is called Gualan but this would not be a problem if that was a Norse name, q.v.

ScG garbh is one of those adjectives which can preface the noun.

Garbh-àth

2014

Modern OS mapping

Garbh-àth

1877

OS 1st edition

Garbh-àth

Place ID 6733 NF 77301 46614 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG rough ford

Scg garbh àth

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The OS 1st edition marks the ford as that between the main island and Gualan

Garbh-àth

2014

Modern OS mapping

Garbh-àth

1877

OS 1st edition

Garbh-chamas

Place ID 6504 NF 85544 37487 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG rough bay ScG garbh - camas

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is odd as ScG garbh = 'rough' is an adjective in which comes ScG camas = 'bay' would not be in the genitive case. If I understand it that is....

Indeed Bald called is Garve Camus which is what I think it should be.

Garbh-chamas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Garbh-chamas	1877	OS 1st edition
Garve Camus	1804	Bald mapping

Garbh-eilean Beag

Place ID 455 NF 88360 55210 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Small rough island

ScG garbh + eilean + beag

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

More a skerry than an island, this island sits in the tidal race between Ronaigh and Griomasagih adjacent to Garbh Eilean Mor. It is small and it is rough!

Again the order of the words is interesting.

Garbh-eilean Beag

1877

OS 1st edition

Garbh Eilean Beag

1861

Thomas chart

Garbh-eilean Beag

Place ID 461 NF 87690 56600 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG small rough island

ScG garbh eilean beag

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Although tidal there are stepping stones connecting it to the main island of Griomasaigh. The headland at the end of it is ScG Aird na Aisig = 'Promontory of the Ferry'

Again the order of the words is interesting but by no means unusual.

Garbh-eilean Beag

1877

OS 1st edition

Garbh-eilean Bheag

Place ID	1248	NF 81570 60530	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG small rough island			ScG garbh-eilean bheag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Garbh-eilean Bheag			1877	OS 1st edition	

Garradh a' Mhadaidh

Place ID 2116 NF 77646 61884 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG dyke of the dog

ScG garradh a' Mhadaidh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Fraser has a story about this dyke being built and the reason why the dogs come into it. That said with the ScG a' it is only one dog.

Garadh a' Mhadaidh

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Garradh a' Mhadaidh

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Gàrradh Laoigh Ghoraidh

Place ID 5843 NF 79575 74730 North Uist S1ollas

ScG Godfrey's + ON farm - lagoon ON garð - lög + ScG Ghoraidh

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes 'At one time there was Ard a 'Phuinnd and part of Malaclete at Balaigh, when Goraigh had Balaigh at Goraigh, around 1549. When an animal from Malaclete crossed the inner dyke among the people of Bhalaign's cattle, they were pounded and the people of Malaclete had to pay to get their livestock.'

The straight Gaelic translation would be 'the enclosure of Godfrey's calves'.

The folk etymology gives an early date for the name as does the lack of article.

I suspect that the 'laoigh' here refers to ON lög = 'lagoon', a name used on two skerries just to the west. The first element then would be ON garð = 'farm'.

It is possible that the order here has changed as I think 'lagoon of the farms' is less likely than 'farms of the lagoon' although a close compound is the easiest solution.

Gàrradh Laoigh Ghoraidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Garradh Mhor

Place ID 2125 NF 77770 61696 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG big dyke ScG gàrradh mhòr

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The main boundary between Baleshare and Iolaraigh.

If I understand it, the lenition reflects the fact that the masculine noun here is in the dative case.

Garradh Mhor

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Gàrradh na Buaile

Place ID	5871	NF 79606 73168	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG dyke of the fold			ScG gàrradh na buaile		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Gàrradh na Buaile			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Garriadhean Sleibhe

Place ID 2142 NF 81184 64779

North Uist

B1aleshare

ScG dykes of the high moor

ScG gàrraidhean sleibhe

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Garriadhean Sleibhe

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Garry Laiaval

Place ID 607 NF 88170 74870 North Uist Clachan Sands

'Laiaval' + ScG pasture

ScG gearraidh + 'Laiaval'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

For a discussion about the element 'Laiaval', see Laithavhal (P#584)

Garry Laiaval

2014

Modern OS mapping

Garry Laiaval

1877

OS 1st edition

Garry Maari

Place ID 5671 NF 85509 73545 North Uist A1hmore

'Maari' ScG enclosure

ScG gearraidh + 'Maari'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

Beveridge describes the area precisely 'The tract of land stretching from Allt Bà-finne to Ahmore and from the hill of Maari to the northern shores of the main island'.

The name is linked to Maari (P#2549), Marrogh and Maireabhal.

Garrymare

1911

Beveridge

Garry Maari

1911

Beveridge

Garry Sleitaval

Place ID 2471 NF 81824 74735 North Uist Central North

ON smooth mountain + ScG enclosed area ScG gearraidh + ON 'sleitaval'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Sleitaval is here being treated as an onomastic unit and to see a discussion about is consult Sleiteabhal. Note here the OS have not been consistent with their Gaelicization.

Niclain writes 'Although this is marked on the map, we can see how names are sometimes misspelled and altered when map recorders write them. Some of the names are recorded correctly in Gaelic, but others are misspelled or translated into English.'

Garry Sleitaval	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Geàrraidh Shlèiteabhal	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
------------------------	------	-------------------------------

Garry Slettraval	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------	------	----------------

Garry Sleatraval	1877	OS name book
------------------	------	--------------

Garrymore

Place ID 5116 NF 77227 51473 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG big enclosure ScG gearraidh mòr

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is a township recorded on the OS 1st edition that has now disappeared off the mapping. Bald recorded a Gearry Beg to the S.

Garrymore

1877

OS 1st edition

Gasaidh

Place ID 6673 NF 84033 43207 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON island of the geese

ON gása ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

with Gaisirnis adjacent on the main island, this is hard to be anything else.

Norway comes up trumps again with over 80 Gåsøy(a) or the like

Gasaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gassey	1877	OS name book
Gasay	1877	OS 1st edition
Gàseidh	1877	OS name book
Gassymore	1877	OS name book
Gaza	1877	OS name book
Gassay More	1804	Bald mapping

Gearaidh Eannis

Place ID 5667 NF 72388 73678 North Uist B1almartin

ON ?? Headland + ScG enclosure Sc G geàrraidh + ON ?? Nes

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Probalby in the Balmartin area but the Rev. was not sure!

Gearaidh Eannis

MacDonald sketch history

Gearaidh Eannis

Place ID 5678 NF 72594 73793 North Uist B1almartin

ON steep hill ridge + ScG enclosure

ScG gearraidh + ON enni

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Farming

complete?

ON enni = 'forehead' appears as an element of place-names in Shetland with a meaning of 'steep hill' (E.g. Stewart Ennisfirth p88). Jakobsen (p38) defines it as a 'brow-shaped mountain-formation, steep projection, steep slope'.

As often with -is names, a generic of ON áss = 'ridge' would seem appropriate, more so than the obvious ON nes.

If as MacDonald suggests it is in the Balmartin area, then this would work topographically.

I have suggested a close compound here but the genitive is ON ennis = 'of the steep hill'. With reordering of the name it would be a purely Norse one.

Gearaidh Eannis

MacDonald sketch history

Gearradh nan Curran

Place ID 2118 NF 78219 61956 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG enclosure of the carrots

ScG gearraidh nan curran

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Gearraidh nan Curran

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Gearradh nan Curran

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Gearaidh-nan-curran

MacDonald sketch history

Gearraid Mhartain

Place ID 1075 NF 75920 76190 North Uist V1allay

ScG Martin's enclosure

ScG gèarraidh Mhartain

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Quite who Martin was is of interest as it is a name that occurs frequently in the NW corner of North Uist. The 'h' could have been inserted as it would be part of the lenition process changing the original ScG Martainn. With ScG between the 'r' and the 't' then an 'sh' sound is inserted. 'Martainn' then sounds like 'marshtainn and this could come from ON marar + steinn = 'rock of the sea' or better still 'hermetic cell of the sea'. With Balmartin adjacent to St. Clement's Chapel, must be a possibility.

Bhalaigh too has two Cille sites and so has strong religious connections.

Gearraid Mhartain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gearraidh Mhartuinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Gearraidh a' Cheathraimh Mheadhonach

Place ID 2469 NF 80544 73815 North Uist Central North

ScG enclosed area of the middle quarter ScG gearraidh a' cheathraimh mheadhonach

Settlement

ScG?

ON?

complete?

This refers to the pasture associated to the township Ceathramh Mheadhonach (q.v.)

Gearraidh a' Cheathraimh Mheadhonach	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------------------------------	------	-------------------

Gearraidh a' Cheathraimh Mheadhonach	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------------------------------	------	----------------

Geàrraidh a' Ghràin

Place ID	5903	NF 79717 74721	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG enclosure of the cereal			ScG geàrraidh a' ghrain		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Farming			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input type="checkbox"/> complete?

Geàrraidh a' Ghràin

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Geàrraidh a' Ghràinne

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Gearraidh a' Sguirr

Place ID 2482 NF 82153 72850 North Uist Central North

ScG enclosed area of the rocky peak

ScG gearraidh a' sguirr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

I am uncertain as to the ScG a' = 'of the' as I would expect ScG an here.

Gearraidh a' Sguirr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gearraidh a' Sguirr

1877

OS 1st edition

Gearraidh a Siar

Place ID 58 NF 75787 53328 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG west enclosed area ScG gearraidh a siar

To decide

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A clear name.

Gearraidh a Siar	2014	Modern OS mapping
Garry a'-siar	1877	OS 1st edition
gher grimenes	1654	Blaeu mapping

Gearraidh an Fhidhleir

Place ID 1589 NF 71363 69894 North Uist B1alranald

ScG enclosed area of the + ON mud of the meado ScG gearraidh an + ON fitjar leirr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Either way ScG Gearraidh Fhidhleir here would I am sure refer to an enclosed area, as do the other ones you refer to which would have been the pasture associated with the named settlement e.g. Garry Hougarry, Garry-hosta and Garry-tighary on the OS 1st series. It is a Gaelic name because of the order generic + specific.

However... ON fit = meadow near water and is common in Icelandic place-names. For the specific ON lækr could work. Another alternative is ON leira = 'muddy shore at low water mark' or ON leirr = 'clay or mud'. Three best phonetical fit is ON fitjar leirr = 'mud of the meadowland on the banks of the river'. I would reckon this could be the original root that got Gaelicized to Fhidhleir.

Cox - the Lewis expert on Gaelic place-names - writes that ON fit becomes ScG Fid and ON lækr becomes ScG leig so ON Fit-lækr would become ScG Fit-leig which I think would sound very close to Fhidhleir.

Fhidhleir is a relatively common name component occurring in sixteen places in Scotland but none other in the WI. ON Fitjarlækr = ' Brook of the meadow near water occurs twice' in Iceland whilst the three name there of Fitjarmýri has a similar meaning. Three places in Norway Fitlia or Fitlii (probably lið = lee or slope?) near Bergen where "our" Norse came from.

Gearraidh an Fhidhleir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gearraidh Baile Mhic Phàil

Place ID 577 NF 89410 77130 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG enclosed area of the township of the son of P ScG gearraidh baile mhc phàil

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Gearraidh Baile Mhic Phàil 2014 Modern OS mapping

Gearraidh Baile Mhic Phàil 1877 OS 1st edition

Gearraidh Baileteras

Place ID 87 NF 73420 26210 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON river mouth of the ploughed land + ScG enclos ScG gàrraidh + ON velta óss

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Township

complete?

MacBain discusses the root of Valtos (p81), found here and in three other places, and following his logic the specific could well be ON völlr = 'field'.

With the proximity to the sea and the modern drain, Roe Glas, the generic is likely to be ON óss = 'river mouth'.

Donald Maciver, in his Place-names of Lewis and Harris, writes: 'Valtos is a difficult name if we do not take MacBain's interpretation of it as from valltar, 'of the plain'.... I have met with valtar in North Dell and Liana Valtrum in Shawbost, both level fields. This corroborates MacBain's. In which case we have valt-ass, the ridge of the plain.'

From his description I wonder if the specific is ON velta = 'ploughed land' although this might stem from the same word.

There are two Valtos place names on Lewis and a third on Skye.

There are four names in Iceland beginning with Velt- whilst in Noreway there are over 150.

Gearraidh Baileteras	2014	Modern OS mapping
Garryvaltos	1877	OS 1st edition
Garryvaltas	1804	Bald mapping
Gheruailtos	1654	Blaeu mapping

Gearraidh Bhaile-locha

Place ID 2327 NF 73888 72819 North Uist Central West

'Bhaile-locha' + ScG pasture

ScG gearraidh + 'Bhaile-locha'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

For a discussion of the onomastic unit 'Bhaile-locha' see Baile Loich (P#2333)

Gearraidh Bhaile-locha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Garry-baleloch

1877

OS 1st edition

Gearraidh Chro

Place ID 2119 NF 77971 62361 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG fold enclosed area

ScG gearraidh chrò

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

It is possible this is Norse but it would be the other way around - i.e. fold of the enclosed area. One might have expected an article in the Gaelic version.

Gearraidh Chro

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Gearraidh Chro

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Gearraidh Dhughail

Place ID	2148	NF 78084 62259	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG Dougal's enclosed area			ScG gearraidh dhughail		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Gearraidh Dhughail			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Gearraidh Dubh

Place ID 2124 NF 78924 62201 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG black enclosed area

ScG gearraidh dubh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Might one expect lenition here?! Presumably the Gearraidh is not in the dative case...

Gearraidh Dubh

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Gèarraidh Dubh

Place ID 2 NF 85800 57700 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG black enclosure ScG gèarraidh or gàrradh dubh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Enclosure

complete?

Quite where Gearraidh Dubh is is not made clear in the OS mapping. The OS 1st edition marks it twice and on the modern mapping it is significantly different on the 1:100000 mapping and the 1:25000 one. The OSNB writes 'a small district situated on the north side of Grimsay, and partly in the Island of "Seanabailly"'

Logically it would be the area enclosed by the dyke shown on the Reid map that is still extant for most of its route today. This would only encompass peat land and so deserve the epithet 'black' and it is one piece of land rather than including some or all of 'Little Grimsay'.

I suspect that when the area was drained in the 19th century, the name spread at that time and has not been effectively redefined since.

For a discussion of why I think that this area was the area referred to by Blaeu as Ylgerry, see "12 lost townships".

The signposting still uses Garry Du and I do in fact wonder if the root is ScG gàrradh = 'dyke' (IPA /ga:Rəɣ/) rather than ScG gèarraidh (IPA /gʲaRɪ/).

Gearradubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gèarraidh Dubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Gearra Dubh	2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)
Little Grimsay	1911	Beveridge
Garrie Dubh	1877	OS name book
Garrydu	1877	OS 1st edition
Garrydu	1877	OS 1st edition
Gearraidh Dubh	1861	Thomas chart
Ylgerry	1654	Blaeu mapping

Gearraidh Gall

Place ID 1609 NF 70606 72606 North Uist B1alranald

ScG enclosed area of the low-landers

ScG gearraidh gall

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Low-landers usually refers to the Norse in the Hebridean context although not always.

One wonders if this provides evidence of both cultures existing side by side or is the name a retrospective one - i.e. the enclosed area that was used by Low-landers?

Gearraidh Gall

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gearraidh Gadhail

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Garry Gaal

1877

OS 1st edition

Gearraidh Hosta

Place ID 2326 NF 73656 72176 North Uist Central West

'Hosta' + ScG enclosed area

ScG gearraidh + 'Hosta'

Settlement

Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Hosta (P#5603) for details of that place name.

Gearraidh Hosta

2014

Modern OS mapping

Garry-hosta

1877

OS 1st edition

Gearraidh Iain

Place ID 5661 NF 79404 73467 North Uist S1ollas

ScG John's enclosure ScG gearraidh Iain

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

MacDonald describes is as in the Griminish site of Malaglat in the Sollas district.

[Gearraidh Iain](#)

[MacDonald sketch history](#)

Geàrraidh Iain

Place ID	5877	NF 78991 73230	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG John's enclosure			ScG geàrraidh Iain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Geàrraidh Iain			1997	NicIain Place names of Sollas	

Gearraidh Maairi

Place ID 5660 NF 86262 73782 North Uist A1hmore

'Maari' + ScG enclosure

ScG gearraidh 'Maairi'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

Gerrymare is one of those odd properties added to the list of terungs in the 1505 charter. MacDonald writes it was part of the Oronsay farm at some stage.

Garry Maari

1911

Beveridge

Gerrymare

1911

Beveridge

Gearraidh Maairi

MacDonald sketch history

Gearraidh Mor

Place ID 2237 NF 72571 69524 North Uist B1alranald

ScG large enclosed area

ScG gearraidh mòr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Presumably this 'large Gearraidh' was the one attached to Balranald as befitting the importance of the tack rather than anything to do with Penmore.

There is an almost complete row of Gearraidh names on this stretch of land, one for each township.

The Hebridean Connection writes 'Therefore, Loch Paible swelled up so high and the Dabach of the Virgin [ScG Dabhach Mhoire] at its north end in Balranald used to be flooded where the swamplands are now.'

Gearraidh Mor	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Dabhach Mhoire	1984	The Hebridean Connection
----------------	------	--------------------------

Gearraidh Mor	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Gearraidh na Beinne Baine

Place ID 2329 NF 72123 71999 North Uist B1alranald

ScG enclosed area of the white mountain ScG gearraidh na beinne baine

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Beinne Baine is a recurring theme in this area and mentioned regularly in the Sennashies stories of the Hebridean Connection. I have posted on my blog (<http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/white-hills>) about 'white hills' pondering in fact if it was a generic name for the highest mountain locally, reflecting a regular covering of snow.

In the post, I wrote 'The one hill Blaeu, and presumably Pont, names on Barra, the next island S on the Hebridean chain, is Whytefealt. It is in exactly the correct position for marking the highest mountain on Barra, the mountain that is now called Heabhal. From hvita-fjall to Whytefealt is an easy step to understand. Moving that on to Heabhal is less clear.

If that is possible then working backwards again, it would seem likely that Eabhal, the highest mountain on North Uist might have the same derivation as Heabhal. If so however the transition from hvita-fjall must have happened earlier as Blaeu names it Æfeald.'

If this is the case, then Cleitreabhal must have originally been Hvittra-fjall which is not impossible and this is the derivation of the Beinne Baine names here. It also explains the name Loch Eubhal at the base of it.

Gearraidh na Beinne Baine

1877

OS 1st edition

Gearraidh nan Clach Loisgte

Place ID 2151 NF 78084 61965 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG enclosed area of the burnt stones ScG gearraidh nan clach loisgte

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am not 1000% sure on the grammar here.

Gearraidh nan Clach Loisgte

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Geàrraidh nan Curran

Place ID 5931 NF 80262 74293 North Uist S1ollas

ScG enclosure of the carrots

ScG geàrraidh nan curran

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

Niclain writes 'Perhaps the name is obvious enough and not a carrot of itsome sort that was growing here. Dwelly's dictionary states that curran-earraich is another word for silverweed. At one time people ate a lot of these vegetables. It was said that if a person lay on the ground, above the topsoil, the underside of the plant would do that for a year. This is a name mentioned by Beveridge but there is another name like this on Baleshare.

Geàrraidh nan Curran

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Geàrraidh nan Damh

Place ID	6052	NF 81859 74968	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG enclosure of the oxen			ScG geàrraidh nan damh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Geàrraidh nan Damh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Gearraidh nan Feannag

Place ID 2157 NF 77827 62382 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG enclsloed area of the lazy beds ScG gearraidh nan feannag

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG feannag = 'lazy bed' can also mean 'crow' so here you take your pick....
See Barpa nam Feannag (P#2540) for a possible Norse interpretation of the 'Feannag' element.

Gearraidh nan Feannag

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Gearraidh Sgiobanais

Place ID 2487 NF 82381 74885 North Uist Central North

'Sgiobanais' + ScG enclosed area

ScG gearraidh + 'Sgiobanais'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

See Sgiobanais (P#2422) for details on that place name as here it is being treated as an onomastic unit.

Gearraidh Sgiobanais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Garry Skibinish

1877

OS 1st edition

Gearraidh Sìtheil

Place ID 669 NF 86520 74370 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON sea lower protrusion + ScG enclosed area ScG gearraidh + ON sæ- hæl

ScG?

ON?

Contour Rise

complete?

The combination of a Gearraidh Sìtheil and Cnoc Sìtheil could point to the existence of a place Sìtheil after which there two features are named.

The 'fairy like' presumably could refer to the nearby 'fairy mound'.

However this would usually be ScG sìthean or the like.

With an IPA spelling of /ʃi:.əl/, an alternative is ON sjò-hæl= 'sea shelter' which describes Ahmore Strand well.

33.3. Heel. Udt. hi: †. - See above.

Of heel m., Heel, Stick, Pole. As a mountain name, the word can be explained either in the same way as rod and pole in the same application, or rather about a lower protrusion under a higher one (actually: the heel of the mountain): see Ldsbl. The last Explanation best fits the Heel Stod GN. 29 and is also the right one in this place. Sml. Okla (actually: Ankel) and Rist in Place Names. This could be a description of Cnoc Sìtheil. The developments of jò > l and æ > ei are both regular.

This area is adjacent to the Garry Maari described by Beveridge (p63) and also called Gerrymare in the 1505 charter.

There is one other place name in Scotland with this component on the OS 2nd edition mapping, Moinean Sìtheil on Gigha. ScG mòine = 'peat'. The site is less than 200m from Port a' Gharaidh, a decent looking natural harbour on the west coast of the island.

Gearraidh Sìtheil	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gearaidh Sìtheil	1877	OS 1st edition
Gearridh Shilheil	1877	OS name book
Gearridh Sìtheil	1877	OS name book
Garry Sheahal	1877	OS 1st edition

Gearraidh Thigh ghearraidh

Place ID 2307 NF 73426 71559 North Uist Central West

ScG enclosure of + 'Thigh ghearraidh'

ScG gearraidh + 'Thigh ghearraidh'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

The ScG gearraidh is a word that has evolved in meaning (Cox p123) from a coastal enclosure to a more inland 'land around dwelling' meaning until it ended up as 'grazing between the arable and open moor'. The evolution of the word on Uist might be different to this Lewis interpretation. Here the first Gearraidh is the more modern meaning whilst the second Gearraidh is the earliest one.

In this strip of coast the pattern of an inland Gearraidh is repeated at least five times.

See Tigh a' Ghearraidh (P#1627) for a discussion of that component.

Gearraidh Thigh ghearraidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Garry-tigaray

1877

OS 1st edition

Gearraidh Thougearraidh

Place ID 2308 NF 73666 71021 North Uist Central West

ON Hougarry + ScG enclosed area ScG gearraidh + ON hougarry

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One of a series of Gèarraidh names inland form the named settlement.

Gearraidh Thougearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------------	------	-------------------

Garry Hougarry	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Gearraidh Ùr

Place ID 576 NF 90570 77430 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG new enclosure

ScG gearraidh ùr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

Possibly ON urđ = 'heap of stones' however the order leads one to expect a Gaelic root.

Gearraidh Ùr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gearry Beg

Place ID 5150 NF 77561 50917 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG small enclosure

ScG geàrraidh beag

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The 1st edition OS mapping marks Garrymore 400m to the NW but there is no sign of it on the Bald mapping. Gearry Beg is a relatively large settlement with 20 buildings and six enclosures.

Gearry Beg

1832

Thomson atlas

Gearry Beg

1804

Bald mapping

Gearry na Clachan

Place ID 1913 NF 79974 56410 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG enclosed area of the (stepping) stones ScG geàrraidh nan clachan

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG clachan here could take the meaning 'village' because it is singular as reflected by the ScG na = 'of the' although one might have expected ScG a' plus lenition.

I suspect it was meant to be Geàrraidh nan Clachan.

Gearry na Clachan

1804

Bald mapping

Geata Iarainn

Place ID 1638 NF 87203 56112 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG iron gate ScG geata iarainn

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The site of a metal gate in the fencing that connects Loch na Aba to Loch nan Lach

Geata Iarainn 2001 Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Geata nam Mairbh

Place ID 5789 NF 78349 76007 North Uist V1allay

ScG gate of the dead

ScG geata nam mairbh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Niclain writes 'It is known that this name is similar to the name Bearna nam Mairbh, and that this is the side that some people used to take when burying the dead. Tradition has it that some were killed in a battle at Ardmacaoillte, at the time of Caoillte. They were buried around this place.'

Elsewhere eon Uist ScG marbh is possibly a corruption of ON varp = 'pile of stones'. This would be a good description of the ruined dùn, 250m to the NE.

Geata Beala nam Mairbh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Geata nam Mairbh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Geirinis

Place ID 65 NF 77360 41870 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON headland of the enclosed pastures

ON gerða nes

ScG?

ON?

To decide

complete?

Taylor gives us a Norse 'pasture headland' but topographically the headland is not a good fit.

An OS name book alternative of Geirrinnis could give us the better fit of ScG geàrr + innis = 'pasture fish-trap',

Taing however the simplest option, then ON gerða nes = 'of the enclosed areas'

Gjerdnes or a similar grammatical construct occurs 38 times in Norway and whilst there are many examples of each component in Ilead here is not sa cognate I could find.

Gerinish	2014	Modern OS mapping
Geirinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gearnish	1877	OS name book
Geirnis	1877	OS name book
Gerinish	1877	OS name book
Geirnish	1877	OS 1st edition
Geirinnis	1877	OS name book
Gearnish	1804	Bald mapping
Kereynish	1654	Blaeu mapping

Geiriscleit

Place ID 1065 NF 76600 75420 North Uist V1allay

ON crag of the enclosure

ON gerðis klett

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A headland full of buildings ancient and modern that has a clear name doing exactly as it says on the tin.
An important site.

MacDonald writes the two penny lands were once included in the tack of Vallay

Geiriscleit	2014	Modern OS mapping
Geiriscleit	1877	OS name book
Geirisclett	1877	OS 1st edition
Gerisclet		MacDonald sketch history

Geirisgeodha

Place ID 5077 NF 84770 82147 North Uist B1oraraigh

ON gully of the fence

ON gerðis gjá

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This is good evidence of the continuity of boundaries as there are still two prominent dykes running out of this gully. The most intriguing surrounds a small headland c 70m across.

Geirisgeodha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Geiris-geo

1877

OS 1st edition

Geo a' Chaisteil

Place ID	1102	NF 73130 76730	North Uist	S1colpaig	
ScG cove of the castle			ScG geodha a' chaisteil		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Gully			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Geo a' Chaisteil			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Geo a' Chaisteil			1877	OS 1st edition	

Geo a' Choip

Place ID 2394 NF 70355 72700 North Uist B1alranald

ScG the place of foam creek ScG geo a' choip

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us the eminently sensible 'Foam Creek'.
The article here is presumalby the dative implying 'place of'.

Geo a' Choip 1877 OS 1st edition

Geo an Fharaidh

Place ID 1132 NF 72120 74350 North Uist B1almartin

ScG cove of the ladder ScG geo an fharaidh

Coastal Gully

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One imagines a steep cove that required a ScG faradh = 'ladder' to access it.

Geo an Fharaidh 1877 OS 1st edition

Geo' an Stoip

Place ID 1835 NF 88465 45920 Benbecula W1iay

ScG gully odf the + ON harbour

ScG geodh an + ON stofa

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Whilst ScG stòip = 'of the wooden vessel used for bringing the milk home from the sheilings' is linguistically a good match, it seems an unlikely name for a very distinct clear-cut cove.

ON stöð = 'berth, harbour' is a perfect match topographically but not so good phonetically.

Stewart (p259) writes about ON stofa = 'sitting room, house' and describes its occurrence in the Norse speaking world with e.g. 406 occurrences in Norwegian farm-names. He thinks of it as a younger name of subdivided farms and cottages.

In Shetland and Orkney it has become Stove.

The final ScG /p/ would be very quiet as would the ON final /f/

Stöð occurs as a simplex name in Iceland 11 times whilst the equivlanet Stø(a) occurs well over 100 times.

The notes for ON stofa are in the main notes. There are two Stofa in Norway.

Geo' an Stoip

1866

Admiralty mapping

Geo Bhàta

Place ID 6710 NF 73829 45790 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG gully of the boat

ScG geodha bhàta

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Geo Bhàta

2014

Modern OS mapping

Geodha Bhàta

1877

OS name book

Geo Bhàta

1877

OS 1st edition

Geo Braodaig

Place ID 1100 NF 72710 76540 North Uist S1colpaig

ON bridge - dyke + ScG gully

ScG geo + ON brú - díki

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Gully

complete?

The OS name book lists its 'signification 'Wife of Otter's' and then the rest is cut off at the margin. Helpful. The only way I can understand where this has come from is ScG bradag = 'thievish woman' or 'sly young girl' and perhaps is a gag about Captain Otter's wife..

It looks Norse with the '-aig' ending as so often coming from ON vik = 'bay' and the specific looks like ON breið = 'broad' but that would be a disaster topographically unless referring to the bay with the Gaels then adding their ScG geo = 'gully'.

However ON brú = 'bridge' is a perfect fit as there is a land bridge here over the cave connecting the sea to Sloc Roe and then with the generic of ON díki = 'dyke' it would work both phonetically and topographically.

There is a Loch nam Braoileagan that Holliday derives from ON lækr and possibly ON breiðr. In Norway we have a Brudikhølen and a Brudikhauane which might be close.

Geo Braodaig

1877

OS 1st edition

Geo ceann a' gharaidh

Place ID 1129 NF 72170 74540 North Uist B1almartin

ScG cove at the head of the dyke

ScG geo ceann a' gharaidh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There is a clear dyke joining the shore in this cove. It is however very linear and so probably 19th century at the earliest. An older looking dyke joins the shore at the next cove north, Geodha an Fhaing.

Geo ceann a' gharaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Geo Dubh Beag

Place ID 1113 NF 72870 75850 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG small black cove

ScG geo dubh beag

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A simple one although again it runs contrary to the convention that adjectives go in the order size > quality > colour. The need for a convention is illustrated here in English as 'black small cove' would sound wrong.

Geo Dubh Beag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Geo Dubh Mor

Place ID 1112 NF 72850 75970 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG big black cove

ScG geo dubh mòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A simple one although again it runs contrary to the convention that adjectives go in the order size > quality > colour.

Geo Dubh Mor

1877

OS 1st edition

Geo Fionnaghal

Place ID 1130 NF 72130 74450 North Uist B1almartin

ScG Flora's cove ScG geo fionnaghal

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book writes 'Flora's creek' and this is the Anglicized version of the personal name either ScG Fionnghal = 'Fiona' or 'Flora' or 'Fingal'. One imagines Fingal's Cave has the same origins.

The latter stems from ScG fionn-gall = 'fair low-lander' and usually referred to the Norse.

Geo Fionnaghal

1877

OS 1st edition

Geo' Ghainmheach

Place ID 5593 NF 87559 53483 Benbecula Rueval

ScG sandy gully ScG geodha gaineamhach

Coastal Gully

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Sandy Geo 1861 Thomas chart

Geo' Ghainmheach 1861 Thomas chart

Geo Gràda

Place ID 1134 NF 71940 74270 North Uist B1almartin

ScG ugly cove or ON gravel cove

ScG geodha + ON grjót

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Gully

complete?

ScG grannda = 'ugly' and there is a thought that ScG grada means the same in Dwelly otherwise we are missing a 'nn'. Carmichael provided the /n/ in his alternative version in the OSNB. I suspect in fact the root is Norse and probably from ON grjót = 'gravel' or one of its variants - possibly ON grautur (ON graut in the accusative) - and has then undergone some translation.

There is a Groti Geo in Shetland and a nearby Loch Grota and Beinn Grota near Loch Portain.

Geodha Granda	1877	OS name book
Geo Gràda	1877	OS name book
Geo Gràda	1877	OS 1st edition

Geo Mhail

Place ID 2392 NF 70478 72775 North Uist B1alranald

ON cove of whales

ON hvala gjá

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Gully

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Rent creek' based upon ScG mal = 'rent' although a narrow exposed creek seems an odd place to collect rent.

With ScG 'mh' being pronounced as a 'v' however tow Norse options spring to mind: ON væl = 'a wailing' or ON hvalr = 'whale'. The latter is a regular name in the area. It is a creek where it is easy to imagine a carcass was washed up.

The order is wrong in this case for a Norse root but ScG geodha is a loan word ON gjá and so would be recognised and the order 'corrected' by a Gaelic speaker.

Geo Mhail

1877

OS 1st edition

Geo na Tairgne

Place ID 1131 NF 72140 74400 North Uist B1almartin

ScG cove of the ON tarn

ScG geodha na + ON tjarnar

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Gully

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'cove of the hauling' One imagines this refers to a cove where boats could be hauled out of the sea. Going there makes this look rather difficult.

As an alternative ScG Tairgeadh = 'ravine of the sea-weed' from Cox (p378) does not sound too different and goes back to ON þara + gjá = cove of the kelp.

ON tjörn = 'tarn' is probalby the best Norse option as areas in the fields behind the shore here still flood. The better fit would be ON tjarnar = 'of the tarn' which hints at the original being ON tjarnar gjá and then 'translated' to Geo na Tjarnar. The OSNB alternative of Geodha na Tarrne fits this well.

Tjarnargjóta is a close cognate in Iceland as is Tjarnargígur.

Geo na Tairgne

1877

OS 1st edition

Geodha na Tarrne

1877

OS name book

Geo nan Calman

Place ID	1128	NF 72180 74600	North Uist	B1almartin	
ScG cove of the doves			ScG geo nan calman		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Geo nan Calman			1877	OS 1st edition	

Geo nan Calman

Place ID	2391	NF 70674 72783	North Uist	B1alranald	
ScG creek of the doves			ScG geo nan calman		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
Rock Doves still nest here!					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Geo nan Calman			1877	OS 1st edition	

Geo' Phuir

Place ID 5587 NF 84634 55365 Benbecula Rueval

ScG ravine of the harbour ScG geodh phuir

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Geo' Phuir 1861 Thomas chart

Geodha a' Ghuil

Place ID 5992 NF 81815 77972 North Uist S1ollas

ScG gully of the low-lander

ScG geodha a' ghail

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

I suspect the current thinking is ScG gul = 'crying, weeping' as this forms a good basis for the story.

If fact however I wouldn't be surprised if the root was ScG gall = 'low-lander'. The /ll/ produces an /au/ sound which brings it close enough to gul for the desire to resemanticise do the rest.

With the presence of the Norse on the nearby hill, it would make sense.

Niclain writes 'I described how three women were drowned while gathering shellfish, as the tide came around them unawares. They were found drowning in Geodha a 'Ghuil. The geyser was named after the squad that went out of town to find them. It was so difficult to find the bodies. The three women had tied their aprons together to find them together. This happened in the eighteenth century.'

There are no other names on the OS 2nd edition mapping with Ghuil as a separate component but there are nine Ghail names.

Geodha a' Ghuil

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Geodha an Fhaing

Place ID 1127 NF 72220 74580 North Uist B1almartin

ScG cove of the fank ScG geodha an fhain

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Although the dictionary says ScG fang is feminine, here it is clearly masculine.

Geodha an Fhaing 2014 Modern OS mapping

Geo an Fhaing 1877 OS 1st edition

Geodha an t- Sruthain

Place ID 6227 NF 71628 30009 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG gully of the little stream ScG geodha an t-sruthain

Coastal Gully

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Geodha an t- Sruthain 2014 Modern OS mapping

Geodh' an t-Sruthain 1877 OS name book

Geo an t-Sruthain 1877 OS 1st edition

Geodha an t-Similier

Place ID 1126 NF 72280 74750 North Uist B1almartin

ScG cove of the chimney ScG geodha an t-simileir

Coastal Gully

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Geodha an t-Similier 2014 Modern OS mapping

Geo an t-Simileir 1877 OS 1st edition

Geodha Bàn

Place ID	1891	NF 75845 54946	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ScG pale gully			ScG geodha bàn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Gully			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Geodha Bàn			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Geo Bàn			1877	OS 1st edition	

Geodha Garbh

Place ID	6224	NF 70883 30006	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG rough gully			ScG geodha garbh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Gully			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Geodha Garbh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Geo Garbh			1877	OS 1st edition	
Geodha Garbh			1877	OS name book	

Geodha Meall na Bràthan

Place ID 1790 NF 87779 45550 Benbecula W1iay

'Meall na Bràthan' + ScG gully ScG geodha + 'Meall na Bràthan'

Coastal Gully

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

see Meall na Bràthan (P#1791) for a discussion on that element.

Geodha Meall na Bràthan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Geo Meall na Bràthain	1877	OS 1st edition
Geo' nam Braitean	1861	Thomas chart
Quern's Geo	1861	Thomas chart

Geodha Mòr

Place ID	6225	NF 71060 30085	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG big gully			ScG geodha mòr		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Gully			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input type="checkbox"/> complete?
Geodha Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Geo Mòr			1877	OS 1st edition	
Geodha Mòr			1877	OS name book	

Geodha na Ceàrdaich

Place ID 5774 NF 78915 77076 North Uist V1allay

ScG giully of the smithy

ScG geodha na ceàrdaich

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Gully

complete?

Niclain wrties 'There used to be a smithy by this geo.' It does seem a slightly unlikely place for a smithy. With the benefit of tautology, it is possible that the final element could start with ON gjár = 'of the gully'. Possibly the generic could be ON stakka = 'stump' or ON stakkr = 'stack'. This could be a marker to enable navigation to the nearby landing place.

Geodha na Ceàrdaich

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Geodha na Muice

Place ID 1715 NF 89613 54027 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG cove of the whale

ScG geodha na muice

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Gully

complete?

Whilst ScG muc = 'pig', ScG muca-mara = 'whale' or literally 'pig of the sea' is much more likely in this case.

Geodha na Muice

2014

Modern OS mapping

Geo na Muice

1877

OS 1st edition

Geo' na Roideagich

1861

Thomas chart

Geodha nan Calman

Place ID 5092 NF 84702 80718 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG gully of the doves Scg geodha nan calman

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Geodha nan Calman

2014

Modern OS mapping

Geo nan Calman

1877

OS 1st edition

Gerryfleugh

Place ID 2107 NF 77105 40965 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG wet enclosed area Scg geàrraidh fliuch

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The 'wet' here probalby refers to the easily flooded machair here.

Gerryfleugh

1804

Bald mapping

Gherfleuch

1654

Blaeu mapping

Gill' an Truisealaidh

Place ID 2550 NF 86121 72848 North Uist Central North

ScG ravine of the place of ON Truiseil

ScG gill an + ON Truiseal + ScG -aidh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

It is difficult to determine quite what this refers to until you read the OS name book which says 'Is applied to a standing stone situated in the opening between Maari and Bealach Maari. It is 6 feet above ground, is 18 inches broad and 18 inches thick. The name signifies "Kilted boy".' Curiously I don't think Beveridge mentions it.

The similarity to the name of the Clach an Truiseil (Eng Trushal Stone) on Lewis is too similar to ignore. The position on such an obvious saddle would make the seal/seil component. This is also true on Lewis.

One option for the specific is ON tröð = 'piece of fallow land where cattle graze, night time pen, lane leading to the houses'. This then gives us Truiseal = ON tröð sel = 'saddle of fallow land for grazing' which is a good fit phonetically and topographically, as it is at Lewis too.

Oftedal suggests ON þurs = 'goblin', perhaps ON þurs hæli = 'goblin shelter'!

The rest is Gaelic around this. I do not think there is a stream here but perhaps ScG ceallan = 'ledge on a hillside' forms the first component and the ScG -adh = 'place of'.

Blimey!

Oftedal talks about Ballantrushal, Lewis (p17) but is unclear on 'trushal'. It is however on the site of what is claimed to be the tallest standing stone in Scotland.

Gill' an Truisealaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gill' an Truisealaidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Gill an Truisullie	1877	OS name book

Gille ma' Gille

Place ID 5052 NB 53088 35490 Lewis Eye

S1alt water

Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Gille ma' Gille	1877	OS 1st edition
Meelam Gulla	1877	OS name book
GilleamaGilla	1877	OS name book

Gistill

Place ID 5663 NF 74659 67474 North Uist B1alranald

ON small cist

ON kistill

ScG?

ON?

To decide

complete?

The page is unfortunately cut off here!

ON kistill = 'little box' and as ON kista = 'chest' or possibly 'coffin' then ON kistill could mean 'little coffin' or a 'small cist' in the more modern idea of a cist as a coffin made of stone.

Gistill

MacDonald sketch history

Glac a' Bhodaich

Place ID 6514 NF 79763 38922

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ScG small valley of the old man

ScG a' bhodaich

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ScG boadach can also mean 'spectre'.

Glac a' Bhodaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Glac a' Bhodaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Glac Airigh Hordaig

Place ID 6130 NF 76598 27691 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Hordaig' + ScG small valley shieling ScG glac àirigh + 'Hordaig'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Hordag (P#6211) for a discussion of that element. Hordag however is at least 8km away form here.

Glac Airigh Hordaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glac Airidh Hordaig	1877	OS 1st edition

Glac Auscar

Place ID 6285 NF 78297 31853 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON east pass + ScG small valley

ScG glac + ON aust - skarð

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The second component looks Norse and there is no obvious ScG option.

ON skarð = 'pass, cleft' is appropriate topographically.

The specific is less obvious. The best option I can think of is ON austr = 'east' which usually occurs as a prefix ON aust. It is unclear however how the /st/ can disappear.

A better option might be ON auðr = 'desolate'. The appropriate declension could be ON auða creating ON auða skarð = 'desolate pass'. This seems preferable.

In Iceland there is an Aususkarðsteigar place name which might show the /t/ disappearing .

Glac Auscar	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glac Ausgair	1877	OS name book
Glac Ouscar	1877	OS 1st edition

Glac Ghlas

Place ID	2574	NF 87396 73825	North Uist	Central North	
ScG grey hollow			ScG glac ghlas		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Glac Ghlas			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Glac Ghlas			1877	OS 1st edition	

Glac Hukarvat

Place ID 6420 NF 77762 36377 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON lake of the projecting headland + ScG small vall ScG glac + ON *húka vat

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The generic must be O~N vatn and without a lake in the narrow valley here, it is probably the Norse name for Loch Druidibeag. one option for the specific is ON haukr = 'hawk' in the plural genitive form ON hauka. ON haugr is another option= 'cairn' in the genitive plural ON hauga.

Rygh gives a clue to a possible better solution might stem from the verb ON hokra = to go bent, to crouch', the use of which Rygh thinks might have developed. He writes about a place name Huke, 'Húkr m., the word Huk known only from the dialects, probably in the meaning mentioned by Ross: sharp curvature. Most of the names formed with this word seem young.' About Huken, he writes 'possible, however, here in the sense of protruding 'head'.

NSL confirms this writing 'The word huk m is borrowed from Middle Low German hōk 'sharp bow'. In town names, the word can be used both for something that sticks out (headland) or runs in (bay). The latter is most common. Huken is not unusual as a residential name, above all in the East. In many places, one cannot point to terrain formations as an explanation. Here the name can go back to a specialized interpretation of huk 'small, primitive building; half blanket; shed' (NO huk 1.3., K. Hoel 1985 pp. 89-97).'

This final sense would make the best topographical sense as 'lake of the protruding head' as the ridge down to Hatharsal does protrude from the main massif forming an edge to the S side of the lake.

The sound of this Hukarvat would be significantly different to the Meall Hucrabhat - it is only on the modern mappings that we have /ra/ rather than /ar/. In the latter the /r/ is more explicable.

Frustratingly there are several places in Iceland beginning with Húks but I can find no meaning for them.

Glac Hukarvat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glac Chugarbhat	1877	OS name book
Glac Hukarvat	1877	OS 1st edition
Glac Hookarvat	1877	OS name book

Glac Lamasaigh

Place ID 6315 NF 83993 32433 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Lamasaigh' + ScG small valley ScG glac + 'Lamasaigh'

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion the second component see Rubha Lamasaigh (P#6317)

Glac Lamasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glac Lamasay	1877	OS 1st edition
Glac Lamaseidh	1877	OS name book
Glen Lamasay	1804	Bald mapping

Glac Mhòr

Place ID 1787 NF 87849 46645 Benbecula W1iay

ScG big hollow

ScG glac mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Glac Mhòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Glac Mhor

1877

OS 1st edition

Glac Mhòr

Place ID	5349	NF 82200 50370	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG big hollow			ScG glac mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Glac Mhòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Glac Mhòr			1877	OS 1st edition	

Glac na h-Àirigh Riabhaich

Place ID 6436 NF 80910 36752 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG small valley of the greyish brown shieling ScG glac na h-àirigh riabhaich

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I think there is the referent shieling visible at NF 80875 36416.

Glac na h-Àirigh Riabhaich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glac na h-Airidh-riabhaich	1877	OS 1st edition

Glac nam Fiadh

Place ID 2584 NF 88473 69403

North Uist

Central South

ScG small valley of the deer

ScG glac nam faidh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Glac nam Fiadh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Glac nam Fiadh

1877

OS 1st edition

Glac Rueval

Place ID 6553 NF 77925 39599 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Rueval' + ScG small valley ScG glac + 'Rueval'

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Ruabhal (P#6577) for a discussion about that element.

Glac Rueval	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------	------	-------------------

Glac Rueval	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Glaic Ruaibhal	1877	OS name book
----------------	------	--------------

Glacklee

Place ID 6460 NF 85533 35579 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON two peaks - slope

ON klakk hlið

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The generic is almost certainly ON hlið = 'slope' and the specific ON klakkr = 'peg' about which Vigfusson writes somewhat mysteriously 'in local names of peaks (two and two)'.
If this means what I think then the two hills Beinn a' Tuath and beinn Ghòt make the obvious two peaks.

In Iceland there is a Klakkahlið

Glacklee	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glacklee	1877	OS 1st edition
Glaglu	1804	Bald mapping

Glaic Beinn an Tairbeirt

Place ID 6558 NF 80372 39601 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG mountain of portage small valley ScG glaic beinn an tairbeirt

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Ceann an Tairbeirt (P#6585) for a discussion of the first element.

Dwelly writes about ScG glaic 'gen sing of glac. Sometimes used as a nom. (sf)' explaining the unexpected /i/.

Glaic Beinn an Tairbeirt	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glaic Beinn an Tairbeirt	1877	OS 1st edition
Glen Vou Houa	1804	Bald mapping

Glais-eilean

Place ID	359	NF 78510 63550	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG grey/green island			Scg glais-eilean		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Glais-eilean			1877	OS 1st edition	

Glais-eilean

Place ID 2216 NF 78583 63534 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG green island

ScG glais-eilean

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The order here is odd.

Glais-eilean

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Glais-eilean

1877

OS 1st edition

Glais-eilean Beag

Place ID	298	NF 78738 63920	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG small green island			ScG glais-eilean beag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Glais-eilean Beag			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Glamaris

Place ID 1051 NF 75700 75660 North Uist Grim1inish

ON ridge of the smithy's vice

ON klömbr ridge

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

An odd name that looks Norse.

The OS name book gives us 'Landing Bay' but only I suspect because that is what it was - and is.

Beveridge discusses the name (p56) suggesting either ON glamr-hus = 'tinkling house' or glammaðr-hus = 'Tinker's house'. Whilst I think he has the generic correct I am not so convinced about the specific as both are a bit poetic for my taste.

I would suggest instead ON klömbr = 'smith's vice' and Ruygh gives an alternative meaning of 'a narrow mountain ravine in a road or a path'. The word appears to have been loaned into Gaelic as ScG glòm = 'chasm' and ScG glomhas = 'rock cleft, fissure, chink'

For the specific one wonders if the generic is actually ON áss = 'ridge'

The stream Allt na Muile is steep and ravine like here and so would fit this topographically.

The Hebridean Connection talks of a dry dock here.

The simplex is a name that occurs seven times in Icelandic place names, three times as a simplex. There are twelve occurrences in Norway.

On Pabaigh, Barra there is a Sloc Glamarigeo and on Lewis two Glamair na Muilne names. On Raasay there is a simplex Glam and on Skye a Glamaig whilst in Caitness there is a Glamhus and a Glamor.

Glamarus

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Glamaris

1877

OS 1st edition

Bagh a' Ghlamaris

n/a

Glas Eilean

Place ID 5489 NF 87522 52582 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG green island

SCG glas eilean

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

An example where the adjective precedes the noun, different to usual. ScG glas can mean 'grey' or 'green' but Thomas who surveyed it used 'green'

Green Isd

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Glas Eilean

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Glas Eilean Mor

Place ID 1024 NF 94720 68090 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG grey/green big island ScG Glas eilean mor

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The order here seems odd. Glas normally follows the noun.

Glas Eilean Mor	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glas Eilean Mor	1877	OS 1st edition
Glas More	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Glas-Eilean

Place ID 5374 NF 86868 51896 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG grey island

ScG glas-eilean

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Again the order is odd as ScG glas = 'grey' usually follows the noun.

Glas-Eilean

2014

Modern OS mapping

Glas-eilean

1877

OS 1st edition

E. Mairi

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhagh

Glas-Eilean Mòr

Place ID	6219	NF 83686 22955	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG big grey island			ScG glas - eilean mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Glas-Eilean Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Glas-eilean Mòr			1877	OS 1st edition	
Galasker			1804	Bald mapping	

Glas-eilean na Creige

Place ID 6643 NF 84570 42057 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG grey island of the crag ScG glas-eilean na creige

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Glas-eilean na Creige 2014 Modern OS mapping

Glas-eilean na Creige 1877 OS 1st edition

Glass I. 1804 Bald mapping

Glas-Eileanan

Place ID	6651	NF 86604 41425	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG grey islands			ScG glas - eileanan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Glas-Eileanan			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Glas-eileanan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Gleann a' Chlamhain

Place ID 600 NF 90280 75720 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON steep hillside with a path of the green spot a ON gleanna kleifin

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Owls glen' whilst Am Faclair Beag indicates Buzzard or Harrier. On habitat grounds, Hen Harrier or Short-eared Owl are the most likely bird species.

Macniven discussed Ballachlaven on Islay (p245) and mentions ScG Chleamhain = 'Clement' and ON klofi = 'cleft'. It is difficult to determine if the cleft is closed at the upper end as would be expected of this term.

The IPA spelling of ScG clamhan is /kLavan/. ON klofinn = 'cloven' is close but this has no generic.

It is likely that *ON klofann = 'The cleft' is the definite accusative of ON klofi and that would work well for this bealach between two hills.

Simpler would be ON kleif = 'a ridge of cliffs' which Rygh notes has become 'steep hillside along which there is a road'.

The definite nominative name is ON kleifin. The referent could be a track over the hill to Newton.

The /h/ would be due to lenition as part of the Gaelicization process.

With the impressive shieling mound at NF 90601 75353, I suspect that in fact it is not a ScG gleann but ON glenna = 'a green spot amongst the rocks' referring to this mound. See Loch a' Ghlinne-dorcha (P#814) for a discussion of that element.

Klofinn occurs as an Icelandic place name once and Klof- is a common initial set of letters there.

Kleif occurs over thirty times and the plural Kleifar over 50 times in Iceland. Kleven occurs in Norway over 50 times as a simplex name.

Gleann a' Chlamhain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gleann a' Chlamhain

1877

OS 1st edition

Gleann a' Mhuilinn

Place ID	6078	NF 82835 74018	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG glen of the mill			ScG gleann a' mhuilinn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Depression			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Gleann a' Mhuilinn			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Gleann Chill Donnain

Place ID 6132 NF 75265 27842 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Chill Donnain' + ScG valley ScG gleann + 'Chill Donnain'

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Cill Donnain (P#85) for a discussion of that element.

Gleann Chill Donnain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Kildonan Glen	1877	OS 1st edition
Gleann Chilldonnain	1877	OS name book
Glen Tien	1804	Bald mapping

Gleann Cormasgot

Place ID 677 NF 82490 29090 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG valley + ON crooked dark valley

ScG gleann + ON grár skoti

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

One possible is ON kot = 'cottage, hut, small farm' for the generic and ON karlmaðr = 'man or man of valour' as the specific. The genitive is ON karlmanns.

An alternative would be ON korns = 'of corn or of grain'.

An alternative for the generic could be ON skot = 'a shot, a missile or a narrow dark passage, running (inside or outside?) along the wall of the ancient halls; separated by a partition wall from the seats (set)'. The latter works well for a dark valley.

Perhaps a personal name - Cormac?

The best for the specific is ON grám = 'grey' in the dative case.

ON krumma = 'a crooked, clownish hand' could easily become 'crooked' in topographical sense and with metathesis would work. ..r > r... is an example cited by Cox (p115 §40 ii).

Similarly ON krummi is a pet name for a raven and this could easily be a raven's nesting spot.

kot occurs commonly as the generic in Norwegian names (c100) and very often with a genitival s before it.

MacNiven p163) discussing Kornabus arrives at either Kornabólstað or a river name Kverná.

There is a Kormákshagur in Iceland, this being the only place there that I could find beginning with Korm-

Rather to my surprise there are almost 100 placenames in Iclenad beginning with Krumm-although one cannot tell the root.

There is a Krummaskúti and a Krummakot in Iceland where the generic means a cave formed by overhanging rocks. That could well exist here.

Gleann Cormasgot

2014

Modern OS mapping

Glen Cormas-cleit

1877

OS name book

Glen Cormascot

1877

OS 1st edition

Gleann Dorch

Place ID 2317 NF 78621 71869 North Uist Central West

ON (heathen) cairn of the grassy psot amongst th ScG gleann dorch

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch a' Ghlinne-dorcha (P#814) for a discussion on this name.

The referent is either the cairn at Buaille Risary 2km to the W or the shilingi mounds at Striachcleite 1.5km to the S.

The 41 names on the OS second edition mapping containing ScG dorch are scattered across the ScG heartland with four examples on Uist and two on Lewis. Interestingly all of these on Uist are glen names.

There are three simplex Glenn<a/arar> names in Iclenad but there are over 250 place names in Norway beginning with Glenn- including three Glennhaugen and a Glennahaugen.

Gleann Dorch	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gleann Dorch	1877	OS 1st edition

Gleann Dorch

Place ID 2572 NF 87886 73348 North Uist Central North

ON (heathen) cairn of the green spot amongst the ON gleanna hörgr

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch a' Ghlinne-dorcha (P#814) for a discussion of that name. It is difficult to see the referent (heathen) cairn here if it is not Dún Torcuill.

Gleann Dorch	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gleann Dorch	1877	OS 1st edition

Gleann Dorchaidh

Place ID 6381 NF 79750 34152 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG darkening glen

ScG gleann dorchaidh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

Gleann Dorchaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gleann Dorchay

1877

OS name book

Glen Dorcay

1877

OS 1st edition

Gleann eadar dha Chnoe

Place ID 6430 NF 79715 36427 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG valley between two knolls ScG gleann eadar dhà chnoc

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The first edition gives us Fleann eadar dhà Chnoc which I believe to be a more accurate rendition.

Gleann eadar dha Chnoe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gleann eadar dhà Chnoc	1877	OS 1st edition

Gleann Heileasdail

Place ID 6289 NF 82352 31291 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Heileasdail' + ScG valley ScG gleann + 'Heileasdail'

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Sheileasdail (P#6266) for a discussion fo that component.

Gleann Heileasdail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glen Hellisdale	1877	OS 1st edition
Glen Hillisdale	1877	OS name book
Glen Theilisdail	1877	OS name book
Glen Hillisdale	1804	Bald mapping

Gleann Labasdail

Place ID 6197 NF 78302 23237 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON valley of the palm of the hand + ScG glen ScG gleann + ON lófa dal

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The generic is clear, ON dalr = 'dale', reinforced by the ScG tautologous ScG gleann= 'valley'.
The best I can do for the specific is ON lófi = 'hollow of the hnad' which not be totally unsuitable for the topography here. Not convinced though.

Gleann Labasdail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glenn Lapsdail	1877	OS name book
Glen Labisdale	1877	OS 1st edition
Glen Lubadale	1877	OS name book
Glen Labasdale	1877	OS name book
Glen Labadale	1804	Bald mapping

Gleann Liadail

Place ID 6263 NF 82667 30250 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Liadail'+ ScG glen ScG gleann + 'Liadail'

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Liadail (P#6264) for a discussion of that element.

Gleann Liadail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glen Leadale	1877	OS name book
Gleann Leadail	1877	OS name book
Glen Liadale	1877	OS 1st edition
Glen Liedale	1804	Bald mapping

Gleann Mile-feala

Place ID 6467 NF 86504 34829 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON between the hills + ScG glen

ScG gleann + ON milli fjalla

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

I suspect looking at the topography the component 'mile' is from the ON milli = 'between'. Iotr takes the genitive case. This would then gives us ON fjalla = 'of the hills' to create the perfect topographical name with the element of tautology in the SCG glen = 'valley'

In Iceland there is a cognate Milla fjalla place name.

Gleann Mile-feala	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Gleann Mile-feala	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Gleann Mile-feala	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------------	------	----------------

Gleann Míle-feala	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------------	------	----------------

Gleann Mòr

Place ID 6169 NF 81513 25483 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG big glen ScG gleann mòr

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The prominence of this feature is evidenced by the four name using this as an onomastic unit.

Gleann Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gleann Mòr	1877	OS 1st edition

Gleann na Beinne Duibhe

Place ID 2485 NF 82168 73815 North Uist Central North

ScG glen of the black mountain ScG gleann na beinne duibhe

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Gleann na Beinne Duibhe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gleann na Beinne Duibhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Gleann na Beiste

Place ID	259	NF 91030 75840	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG glen of the otter			ScG gleann na beiste		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Gleann na Beiste			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Gleann na Beiste			1877	OS 1st edition	

Gleann na Breaclaidh

Place ID 6439 NF 80186 36013 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG valley of the + 'Breaclaidh' ScG gleann na + 'Breaclaidh'

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Abhuinn na Breaclaidh (P#6434) for a discussion of that component.

Gleann na Breaclaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gleann na Breaclaidh	1877	OS 1st edition

Gleann na Caillich

Place ID 2339 NF 73258 74051 North Uist B1almartin

ScG glen of the old woman (nun?)

ScG gleasn na caillich

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

With the various nearby religious connections, the meaning of ScG cailleach = 'nun' would not be unexpected.

Gleann na Caillich

1877

OS 1st edition

Gleann nan Feannag

Place ID 2341 NF 74298 73784 North Uist Central West

ScG glen of the crows

ScG gleann nan feannag

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

ScG feannag is one of those annoying words that has two very different meanings, either of which could apply in several situations. 'lazy bed' or 'crow' are the two meanings but here there is no evidence of any 'lazy beds' in the glen. See Barpa nam Feannag (P#2540) for a possible Norse interpretation of the 'Feannag' element.

Gleann nan Feannag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gleann nan Feannag

1877

OS 1st edition

Gleann Seilisdeir

Place ID 179 NF 95800 70485 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG yellow iris glen ScG gleann seileastair

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives a slightly cryptic 'Flag Plant Glen', with ScG seileastair = 'yellow iris'. It is not impossible that this could be a Norse herring name but it is not a good topographical spot. See Lag Sheilisdeir (P#5694) for a further discussion of the component 'Seilideir'

Gleann Seilisdeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gleann Seilisdeir	1877	OS 1st edition

Gleann Uisinis

Place ID 6343 NF 83076 33380 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Uisinis' + ScG glen ScG gleann + 'Uisinis'

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Uisinis (P#6463) for a discussion of that element.

Gleann Uisinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glen Usinish	1877	OS 1st edition

Glebe

Place ID 2362 NF 70922 70738 North Uist B1alranald

Eng glebe Eng glebe

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This plot of land would have been part of the clergyman's benefice and was marked on the OS 1st edition as such. OPS writes 'Part of the glebe was of old a sanctuary, and bears the name of Shead Phoil (Paul's field).' from the New Statistical Account.

Shead Phoil could stem from ON hæd poll = 'pool of the height' which would work well topographically.

Glebe

1877

OS 1st edition

Glen Tormosdale

Place ID 2467 NF 80959 73430 North Uist Central North

ON þormóð's valley + ScG glen

ON þormóðs dal

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

There is a similar place name Loch Tormasad near Langais. It would be very unlikely that they do not have the same root for the specific.

The generic is clear as ON dalr = 'valley' and I suspected the specific was ON tjörn = 'tarn', possibly the same specific as in nearby Cnoc an Tuim and is perhaps evidence for the large loch Beveridge writes saying (p299) 'tradition (with every appearance of truth) stating that the neighbouring low ground was formerly covered by a large loch.'

With a genitive of ON tjarnar, this however does not explain the 's'.

The obvious solution is a personal name ON þormóð with its genitive reflex ON þormóðs.

There is a Tormisdale on Islay, which Macniven derives from Þórmóðr (p354).

The name is common as a specific in Icelandic place names with two Þormóðsdalur place names.

It is equally common in Norway and there are six Tormoddalen and one Tormodsdal.

Glen Tormosdale	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gleann Thoromasdal	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Glen Tormosdale	1877	OS 1st edition
Gleann Thoromosdail	1877	OS name book

Glendibidale

Place ID 587 NF 89260 75370 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON deep dale + ScG glen

ScG gleann + ON djúpi + dal

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ON djúpi-dalr = 'deep-dale' is much used in place names.

Topographically it must refer to the whole valley between the hills of the Newton area and those of the central area of North Uist.

Deep is probably generous on inspection of the map but on the ground, the valley is certainly steep sided creating the impression of deepness.

Another possibility is that ON djúp generally mean 'the deep' but can mean a large bay (Vigfusson)

The initial vowel sound in Gaelic looks weak to me but the evidence is too strong for any other meaning.

It is possible that the cluster of 'dubh' place names to the N of here might involve ON djúpr rather than ScG dubh.

There are over 50 places called Djúpidalur in Iceland, four Djúpadalur in the Faroes and over 500 Djup(e/a)dalen place names in Norway.

On the OS 2nd edition mapping there were other examples on Harris, Lewis, Rhum and Skye along with a Díubadal on Tiree, A Dibidil on Mull (Whyte p207) and a Djubidale in Shetland.

On many of these the 'deep' seems to refer to 'steep-sided'.

Glendibidale

2014

Modern OS mapping

Glendibidale

1877

OS 1st edition

Glendorchy River

Place ID 6378 NF 80160 34117 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Glendorchy' + Eng river 'Glendorchy' + Eng river

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Gleann Dorchaidh (P#6381) for a discussion of that unit.

Glendorchy River	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glendorchy River	1877	OS 1st edition

Glenn Drolla

Place ID 2322 NF 76248 72786 North Uist Central West

ON wild terrain river + ScG glen

ScG glenn + ON troll á

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Abhuinn Trolla for more details of this name. Here the t > d, a fairly standard change.
This glen marked the boundary between the Vallay and Watna (Donald Macaulay)

Glenn Drolla	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glenn Trolla	1877	OS 1st edition

Glenn Geirisdale

Place ID 2320 NF 77638 72321 North Uist Central West

ON valley of an enclosed area + ScG valley ScG glenn + ON gerðis dal

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ON geiri = 'a triangular strip, often of land' works topographically for the valley here but has no 's' in the genitive. ON gerðis = 'of an enclosed area' or 'of a fence or hedge'.

This made me rethink the nearby Loch na Gearrachun (q.v.)

In Iceland there is a cognate Gerðisdalur.

Glenn Geirisdale	2014	Modern OS mapping
Glenn Geirisdale	1877	OS 1st edition

Glenn Gorm an Maradh

Place ID 5614 NF 80747 84550 North Uist Central South

ScG green glen of + 'Marrogh'

ScG glenn gorm an + 'Marrogh'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

P152 The green glen of Maradh is cited as example of an area that was good land but is no longer so. For details on Marrogh see that place.

Glenn Gorm an Maradh

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Gluta Flòraidh

Place ID 5941 NF 80472 73991 North Uist S1ollas

ScG Flora's deep round pool

ScG gluta Flòraidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Niclain writes 'The word gluta means deep round pool. The name may be related to the nearby Fhèith Mhòr.'

Gluta Flòraidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Gob a' Chorrain

Place ID	6000	NF 83081 76638	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG beak of the 'Corran'			ScG gob a' 'chorrain'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Gob a' Chorrain			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Gob Aird Mhic Caoilte

Place ID 5803 NF 78364 75437 North Uist V1allay

'Aird Mhic Caoilte' + ScG point ScG gob + 'Aird Mhic Caoilte'

Coastal Headland

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Àird Mhic Caoilt (P#1091) for a discussion of the element 'Aird Mhic Caoilte'

Gob Aird Mhic Caoilte

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Gob an Eilean Mhòir

Place ID	5754	NF 78081 74718	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG point of the big island			ScG gob an eilean mhòir		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Gob an Eilean Mhòir			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Gob an Rubha

Place ID	5719	NF 75684 76485	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG point of the promontory			Scg gob an rubha		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Gob an Rubha			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Gob an Rubha

Place ID	5923	NF 79251 74450	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG point of the promontory			ScG gob an rubha		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Gob an Rubha			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Gob an Rudha

Place ID 431 NF 84090 57670 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG pointed sharp end of the promontory ScG gob an rubha

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The most NW point of Griomasaigh. ScG rudha was the older way of spelling ScG rubha = 'promontory'

Gob an Rudha

1877

OS 1st edition

Gob an t-Slugain

Place ID 2143 NF 76984 64081 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG point of the 'Slugan' ScG gob an t- 'Slugan'

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Slugan (P#293) for more details.

Gob an t-Slugain

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Gob Aoidhleis

Place ID 5981 NF 82378 78717 North Uist S1ollas

Sch point of 'Aoidhleis' ScG gob + 'Aoidhleis'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Rubha Huilis (P#1322) for a discussion of the 'Aoidhleis' element.

Gob Aoidhleis

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Gob Bhaighleis

Place ID 5769 NF 81469 77999 North Uist S1ollas

'Bhaighleis' + ScG point

Scg Gob + 'Bhaighleis'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

See Veilish (P#4928) for a discussion of the element 'Bhaighleis'.

Gob Bhaighleis

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Gob Bhreinish

Place ID 932 NF 85080 64420 North Uist Langass

ScG point of + 'Breinis'

ScG gob + 'Breinis'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Breinis for details.

Gob Bhreinish

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gob Breinish

1877

OS 1st edition

Gob Brenish

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Gob Cheirabhaigh

Place ID 5288 NF 88018 47852 Benbecula Peter's Port

'Cheirabhaigh' + ScG beak

ScG gob + 'Cheirabhaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

For a discussion of 'Cheirabhaigh' see 'Loch Chearabhaigh (P#5256)

Gob Cheirabhaigh

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Ru Kerevagh

1832

Thomson atlas

Ru Kerevagh

1804

Bald mapping

Gob Guirmein

Place ID 1220 NF 82630 59040 North Uist C1arinish

ScG point of the place of the inn

ScG gob guirme -an

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Blue Point' based on ScG guirmean = 'woad' whilst ScG guirme = 'blueness' so we could get 'point of blueness'.

However Dwelly also cites ScG guirme = 'inn' and the proximity of the Cairinis inn is too much of a coincidence.

Gob Guirmein

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ard More

1861

Thomas chart

Ard More

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Gob Hùnasgeir

Place ID 5053 NB 52599 35380 Lewis Eye

ON haven skerry + ScG point

ScG gob + ON höfn sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Rather than being in the genitive ON höfn = 'haven' is in the nom, acc or dat indicating a close compound.

Hafnarsker occurs twice in Iceland whilst in Norway there are three Havn(e)skjær(et) and Hamn(a/e/-)skjeret or a similar vairant occurs 31 times.

Gob Hùnasgeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gob Hunishker	1877	OS name book
Gob Hùnasgeir	1877	OS 1st edition
Gub Hunisker	1877	OS name book

Gob Meanais

Place ID 5379 NF 87050 51601 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

'Meanais' + ScG point ScG gob + 'Meanais'

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See 'Meanais' (P#5373) for a discussion of that element.

Gob Meanais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gob Mhianis	1877	OS name book
Gob Meanish	1877	OS 1st edition
Manish Point	1877	OS name book
Ru Mhianuis	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Ru Vanish	1804	Bald mapping

Gob Mhàisgeir

Place ID 5771 NF 79729 77019 North Uist V1allay

'Mhàisgeir' + ScG point ScG gob + 'Mhàisgeir'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This could be an alternative name for Scrifearnach (P#1097)
See Màsgeir (P#730) for a discussion of that name.

Gob Mhàisgeir

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Gob na Caiplich

Place ID 1755 NF 90920 55381 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG beak of 'Caiplich' ScG gob na 'Caiplich'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Bàgh na Caiplich (P#1656) for details of that unit.

Gob na Caiplich 1861 Thomas chart

Gob na Faoilinn

Place ID 5790 NF 79588 75924 North Uist S1ollas

ScG point of the gull

ScG gob na faoilinn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Odd that the singular article is used. One wonder if this might be a corrupted version of ScG fadhail . The ending would be odd though.

Gob na Faoilinn

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Gob na gua

Place ID 1937 NF 85250 58721 North Uist Eaval

ScG beak of the goose

ScG gob na gua

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

There is no obvious Gaelic word for the specific ScG gèadh = 'goose' or ScG geadha = 'sole of a plough' are the best options. The former is more logical whilst the latter is a better sounding fit.

Gob na gua

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Gob Rubha nan Caorach

Place ID	6085	NF 83284 73735	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG point of the promonotory of sheep			ScG gob rubha nan caorach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Gob Rubha nan Caorach			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Goirtinis

Place ID 5616 NF 64731 62928 North Uist Heisker

ON farm headland

ON garð nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Macaulay gives us a hybrid ScG gort = 'field' with ON nis = 'headland'. This seems unlikely and ON garðr = 'enclosure or house' is similar and a better option.

Golrtainis	2020	Alick Macaulay Heisgeir
------------	------	-------------------------

Goirtinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------	------	-------------------

Gortinish	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------	------	----------------

Rudha Ghoirtirnis	1877	OS name book
-------------------	------	--------------

Ghoretinish Point	1877	OS name book
-------------------	------	--------------

Goular

Place ID 2219 NF 70588 70687 North Uist B1alranald

ON Jarls' river

ON goða-á

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Beveridge gives ON gulr-á = 'yellow river as a possible root but with 'ð' transforming to 'l' in the Gaelicization process (e.g. ON byrðingr > ScG birlinn) so are ON guð or ON goð both = 'god' or ON goði = 'jarl'.

The first two have an 's' for the genitive whilst the last has ON goða = 'of the jarl' as the genitive (although this also means 'of the (pagan) gods').

ON goða + á = 'jarl's river' then is a possibility.

The only other place in Scotland with Goula as the first component is Goulaby which is adjacent to North Uist's other parish church, presumably another area of importance for the leadership of the islands.

There is a Goðá and a Goðárdalur in Iceland and a Godå in Norway

Goular	2014	Modern OS mapping
Colbhansai	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Golai	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Goular	1877	OS 1st edition
Goular	1877	OS 1st edition
Golair		MacDonald sketch history

Gouskie

Place ID 2358 NF 70902 70105 North Uist B1alranald

ON pen of geese ON gæsa kví

Contour Depression

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Undoubtedly this stems from ON gás = 'goose' with ON gæss = 'geese' (nominative or accusative plural) as the best fit case.

It could be a pen for domestic geese or to my mind a more metaphorical place where wild geese live, as they still do today.

MacDonald writes it was once part of the farm of Balranald.

In Orkney Marwick derives Gossaquoy from ON gása kvJ (OFN p104)

Gouskie	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------	------	-------------------

Gouskie	1877	OS 1st edition
---------	------	----------------

Gousgy		MacDonald sketch history
--------	--	--------------------------

Gousman

Place ID 1284 NF 98984 78937 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigrearraidh

ON deep hollow opening

ON kjóss hólminn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

A possible the specific is ON gæss = 'geese' (possibly ON kjós = 'deep hollow') with the generic ON heiminn = 'The land'. Not very convinced.....

MacKilloip gives a slightly half-hearted ScG gasunn = a long rounded ridge'. He does talk about Caolas Ghamhsbonn as 'A fairway, beside the island, has very strong tidal currents flowing south.

ON minni = 'mouth' is quoted by Vigfusson as the equivalent of the English -mouth. This would work well with ON kjós = 'deep hollow' as this is the place where the sound widens.

It is possible that ON munnr = 'mouth' has developed the same meaning and with the accusative ON munn, it is a better phonetical fit.

Another possibility reflecting that of Trollaman might be a specific of ON hólminn = 'The islet' and this would be my preferred option.

Trollaman is not too far away, another small island.

Both componets occur in Norway and Iceland but I could find no cognate.

ON munn is the most productive in the Faroes. There is a Kjómansbrekka there which could be close to a cognate although I am unconvinced.

Gousman

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gasbunn

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Gamhsbonn

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Gowsman

1866

Admiralty mapping

Gramisdale Cross

Place ID 5599 NF 82674 56171 Benbecula Rueval

'Gramisdale' + Eng cross

'Gramisdale' + Eng cross

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Religious

complete?

For a discussion of Gramisdale see Gramsdal (P#1849). There is no cross at the site today although there is a prominent mound there.

Gramisdale Cross	1877	OS 1st edition
Gramsdale Cross	1861	Thomas chart
Crois Ghramasdail	1861	Thomas chart

Gramisdale Inn

Place ID 1850 NF 82027 56046 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

'Gramisdale' + Eng inn 'Gramisdale' + Eng inn

Settlement Building

See Gramsdal (P#1849)

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Gramisdale Inn 1877 OS 1st edition

Gramasdal Inn 1861 Thomas chart

Gramisdale River

Place ID 1859 NF 81225 55876 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ON 'Gramisdale' + Eng river

ON Gramisdale + Eng river

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

See Gramsdal (P#1849) for details of that name.

This river looks to me as if it has been channelled to some extent. It does lead on into the extensive Loch Olabhat and as a consequence into the extensive waterway of E Benbecula and W to Dùn Buidhe.

Gramisdale River

1877

OS 1st edition

Amhuinn Ghramasdail

1861

Thomas chart

Gramsdal

Place ID 1849 NF 82090 56166 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ON valley of the grey moor

ON grams dal

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The /i/ in the OS 1st edition was a later addition that the modern mapping then dropped.

The name is clearly Norse and the most obvious derivation would be from ON grams dal = 'valley of the warrior or king'.

It is erring a little on the poetic side of life although the nearby Dun Buidhe could well have been a power centre.

ON granns dal = 'thin valley' is a possibility with the 'valley' being the South Ford.

ON grá mos dal = 'valley of the grey moor' with all the development being regular is another perhaps more contrived possibility.

One must not become obsessed with ON dalr as ON soðul = 'milking place' is a possibility. Also ON deill = 'boundary' could be relevant as the north Ford provides an obvious natural boundary. Perhaps Grims deill as it is adjacent to Grimsay although the development l > a is not regular.

For the moment let us stick to the regal option.

There is a Gramsdalen and a Gransdal in Norway. Four Granåsdalen are interesting, incorporating ON áss = 'ridge' although it is unlikely that the long /a/ would disappear.

Grámos is a common initial two elements in Iclenad, indeed it was this that suggested the name, occurring 12 times although there is not a cognate.

Gramisdale	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
Gramsdal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gramisdale	1877	OS 1st edition
Gramasdil	1877	OS name book
Gramsdale	1877	OS name book
Gramasdale	1877	OS name book
Gramsdal	1861	Thomas chart
Gramasdel	1832	Thomson atlas
Gramasdel	1804	Bald mapping

Greallam Deas

Place ID 5238 NF 84224 46974 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG south + 'Greallam' 'Greallam' + ScG deas

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Greallam Tuath (P#5239) for a discussion of the first component.

Greallam Deas	1877	OS 1st edition
Griòllam Deas	1877	OS name book
South Grillum	1804	Bald mapping

Greallam Tuath

Place ID 5239 NF 84346 47122 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG north + ON grey islet ON grá hòlm + ScG tuath

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The /lam/ ending of /lam/ is typical of ON hólmr = 'islet' with metathesis.

Griollam Tuath	1877	OS name book
Greallam Tuath	1877	OS 1st edition
N. Grillum	1804	Bald mapping

Greanacleit

Place ID 146 NF 92566 71951 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON green crag

ON grœnan klett

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Whilst there are appropriate words in ScG, the order is odd if that was the language involved.

Topographically there is a green hillock with many rocks protruding here.

There are five Grænklettur cognates in Iceland and one Grønekletten in Norway. This would seem to confirm the development on Uist of OI æ > ScG ea.

There are two possible grammatical constructs Nom. ON grœnn klettr or Acc. ON grœnan klett.

There are five Grænklettur cognates in Iceland and one Grønekletten in Norway.

Of the 21 places on the OS 2nd edition with the element Grean, three on the mainland all involve Greannach, one Greanary on Harris and one on Skye is Dun Greanan whilst the remaining 16 are all on Uist and Barra.

Harris and Lewis have 14 of the 16 Grein names whilst the accented versions of this are scattered around but not, I think, on Uist.

Greanacleit

2014

Modern OS mapping

Greanecllett

1877

OS 1st edition

Greanam

Place ID 2411 NF 85351 75040 North Uist A1hmore

ON green islet

ON græn hólmi

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Grænhólmi is a common name in Iceland occuring ten times, on the Faroes once and many more times in Norway.

Greanam

2014

Modern OS mapping

Greanam

1877

OS 1st edition

Greanamul

Place ID 5396 NF 89448 51960 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ON green islet

ON grøena hòlm

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The order of the words indicates a Norse root with ON hòlmr as the generic with is very common form metathesised to -mul.

There is a wide range of choices for the specific. The island is very green in comparison to the Maragaidh islands to the N and so ON grøenn. With ScG grean pronounced /gr'au/ this is not a perfect match but close. The Icelandic version grænn would be closer.

The two earliest versions are interesting, one containing an obvious transcription error. I. Grinadil from Mackenzie's mapping of 1776 and I. Orinadil from Ainslie's mapping of 1789 (where the /G/. Has been replaced by an /O/, These names suggest to me ON grøena dal = 'green valley' and could be referring to the better agricultural and here and the name her means 'island of the green valley'.

The Thomas name is interesting too, Grianamol Mhorghaidh, brining to mind a slightly problematic series of names such as Bhorogaigh near Baleshare, North Uist. However it is more likely to be a reference to the nearby Maragaigh islands.

Greanamul	2014	Modern OS mapping
Grinanamol	1877	OS name book
Greanamul	1877	OS 1st edition
Grinamull	1877	OS name book
Grianamol Mhorghaidh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Grianamol Mhorghaidh	1861	Thomas chart
I. Grinadil	1806	Stockdale mapping
I. Grinadil	1789	Ainslie mapping
I. Grinadil	1776	Mackenzie mapping

Greanamul Deas

Place ID 5258 NF 88525 48660 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG south + 'Greanamul' 'Greanamul' + ScG deas

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See nearby Greanamul (P#5396) for a discussion of that component.

Greanamul Deas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Greanamul Deas	1877	OS 1st edition
Grianamol a' Deas	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Grinumull	1832	Thomson atlas
Grinemull	1804	Bald mapping

Greanem Beg

Place ID 270 NF 91520 78290 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG small + ON green island

ON græna hólms

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A common island name deriving from ON grænn + hólms = 'green islet'.
The 'green' component can mean 'good' presumably in the sense of good land for agriculture.
That said little green is visible here.
The islands were a cause of a long running ownership dispute in the 18th century.

In Scotland on the OS 2nd series mapping, there are three Greanem in the Sound of Harris.
There are ten Grænhólms(i/ar) in Iceland and over 1250 places in Norway starting with Grønholm including 65 Gron(n)hólms

Greanem Beg	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------	------	-------------------

Greanem Beg	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Greanen

Place ID 281 NF 80070 61610 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG sunny hillock

ScG grianan

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

There are places with this root on Tiree.

Grianan	1971	Macdonald Two townships
Grianan	1877	OS name book
Greanen	1866	Admiralty mapping
Greanen	1861	Thomas chart

Green Id

Place ID 2085 NF 85991 65182 North Uist Langass

Eng green island Eng green island

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This would have been Eilean Glas in Gaelic.

Green Id 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Green Island

Place ID 5481 NF 86225 51290 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

Eng green island Eng green island

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Green it remains today two hundred years later.

Green Island

1804

Bald mapping

Greineam

Place ID 1558 NF 99531 74903 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

'Greineam' 'Greineam'

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

see Grèineam (P#271) for a discussion on this name.

Greineam	2014	Modern OS mapping
Greanem	1877	OS 1st edition
Greanem Island	1804	Bald mapping

Grèineam

Place ID 271 NF 92210 77760 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON green islet

ON grøena hólm

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A common island name deriving from ON grøena + hólm = 'green islet'.

The 'green' component can mean 'good' presumably in the sense of good land for agriculture.

Cox discusses this name. (p303)

An alternative is ON grunnr = 'shallow' although here one would expect m gen ON grunna. 'islet of the shallows is a pretty good topographical fit.

Grèineam

2014

Modern OS mapping

Grianam

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Greanem

1877

OS 1st edition

Greineasgoir

Place ID 184 NF 96080 69817 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON green rift ON grœna + skor

Coastal

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Whilst the OS name book goes for a Gaelic option with 'sunny crevice', the order of the components makes it a Norse name although both words have similar ScG meanings.

The OS name book Greins-cleit helps us understand as skerry generally implies in the sea which the location is not.

ON skor = 'rift in a rock or praecipie' works well here booth phonetically and topographically.

The transition æ > ei is regular.

ON grænaskarð occurs five times in Iceland and colud be the derivation - there an no closer cognates whilst in norway there is a Grenskaret, two Grøn(e)skora and amny more with 'skard' as the generic.

Greineasgoir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Greins-cleit	1877	OS name book
Greanascore	1877	OS 1st edition

Greinetobht

Place ID 2426 NF 82364 75198 North Uist S1ollas

ON green ruins

ON græna topt

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

ON topt has a variety of meaning from 'a green knoll' to 'a place marked out for a house' to 'ruins of a house'. The latter is thought to have been used the most often.

There are four Greentofts in Shetland, fiftenn Grænatóft in Iceland but interestingly only one in Norway.

Grenitote	2014	Modern OS mapping
Greinetobht	2014	Modern OS mapping
Grenetote	1877	OS 1st edition
Grenilot	1832	Thomson atlas
Grenitot	1799	Reid mapping
Grenitote		MacDonald sketch history

Grey Island

Place ID	5466	NF 86206 52955	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG grey island			ScG grey island		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Grey Island			1804	Bald mapping	

Grey Islands

Place ID	5456	NF 87676 52727	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
Eng grey islands			Eng grey islands		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Grey Islands			1804	Bald mapping	

Grey Rock

Place ID	5449	NF 84271 51892	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
Eng grey rock			Eng grey rock		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Grey Rock			1804	Bald mapping	

Grey Rock

Place ID	5480	NF 86128 51217	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
Eng grey rock			Eng grey rock		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Grey Rock			1804	Bald mapping	

Grianam Ideam

Place ID 2073 NF 96525 74267 North Uist Lochp1ortain

Latin the same + 'Grianem'

'Grianem' + Lat idem

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

I am not sure of the position. I think that this name has arisen from the Court case of the 18th century. In the proceedings it is likely that the phrase 'Grianam Idem' was used, 'idem' being a standard Latin tag meaning 'the same as previously recently mentioned'.

For a discussion of the first element see Grèineam (P#271)

Grianam Ideam

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Griminis

Place ID 28 NF 75380 75680 North Uist Grim1inish

ON ugly headland

ON grimma nes

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

There is a little more detail on the Griomasaigh entry about Grimr as there is in the 12 Lost townships book. Here though with no medial 's', it is likely to come from ON grimma = 'grim' or 'ugly' in the genitive case. ON -nes headland names rarely include a personal name and this further rules out ON Grimmr. It is likely that the name actually refers to Rbha Ghriminis (#1105) about 2km to the W. MacDonald writes 'Here live the descendants of Donald Hearnach MacDonald for 300 years'

It is noted however that the seven occurrences of this component in Iceland all start 'Grimnes-' whilst in Norway there are seven occurrences of 'Grimnes-' with many more 'Grimnes-'.

Griminis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Griminish	1877	OS 1st edition
Greinyinis	1850	Retours
Gremynis	1850	Retours
Greamnyss	1850	Retours
Gremnish	1832	Thomson atlas
Gremnish	1799	Reid mapping
Griminish	1799	1799 rental
Griminefs	1751	Dorret mapping
Griminish	1718	1718 rental
Griminis	1703	Martin book
Griminshe	1657	The Clan Donald
Grimines	1657	The Clan Donald
Griminis	1657	The Clan Donald
Greminis	1657	The Clan Donald
Gremineyse	1657	The Clan Donald
Grimineis	1657	The Clan Donald
Grimeness	1654	Blaeu mapping
Grimeness	1654	Blaeu mapping
Greymins	1622	Register of the Privy Seal
Graymynes	1622	Register of the Privy Seal
Griminys	1505	RMS
Gremynis	1505	RMS
Griminys	1505	RMS

Gremynis

1505

RMS

Gremynis

1505

RMS

Griminish

MacDonald sketch history

Griminis

Place ID 5113 NF 77712 51868 Benbecula T1orlum

ON ugly headland

ON grimma nes

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

A confusing one. I suspect that the township has moved inland from the coast when the inland waterway was drained to some extent. The Bald mapping that predates a significant amount of this drainage marks a Greinish in the area behind what is now called Stinky Bay. The settlement was important as it is marked in capital letters used for places such as Torlemum and Lineclate and was valued 5.25d in 1798.

ON grœn = 'green' is a good alternative and would fit with the Bald spelling.

Griminis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Greinish	1877	OS name book
Griamanie	1877	OS name book
Griminnis	1877	OS name book
Griminish	1877	OS 1st edition
Greinish	1877	OS name book
Greinesh	1832	Thomson atlas
Griminish	1806	Stockdale mapping
Greinesh	1804	Bald mapping
Griminish	1789	Ainslie mapping
Grimness	1751	Dorret mapping
Grimenes	1654	Blaeu mapping

Griomasaigh

Place ID 15 NF 86200 56400 North Uist Griomasaigh

ON Grim's or savage island

ON grimms + ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ON Grimrs = 'of grimr' refers to ON Grimr which was one of Odin's travelling names and hence popular across the Norse world. ON grimms = 'savage' is an alternative. The latter would fit well with the adjacent ON Ronaigh = 'rough island'.

Being part of the tack of Boraraigh for most of recorded time, it is difficult to untangle the history of the island in early years.

The distribution of 'Grim' names is a model of the Norse world with examples on Orkney (11), Shetland (16), Uist (7), Lewis (6) and Harris (1) as well as a couple on the E coast and a cluster in Galloway (11). None in the central area at all. There is a Grimsay at the SE tip of Benbecula as well as no less than nine Grimsey's in Iceland and more in Norway so it is not an unusual name!

Grimsay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Griomasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Meikle and Grimsay	1911	Beveridge
Grimiseidh	1877	OS name book
Gremsay	1877	OS name book
Grimisay	1877	OS name book
Grimsay	1877	OS 1st edition
Gremsay Island	1832	Thomson atlas
Grimsay I.	1806	Stockdale mapping
Island of Gremsay	1799	Reid mapping
grimsay	1794	Old Staitistical Account
Grimsay I.	1789	Ainslie mapping
Grimsay		MacDonald sketch history

Griomasaigh

Place ID 5221 NF 83288 47277 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON grim island

ON grimma ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There is a full discussion about the Griomasaigh (P#15) between Benbecula and North Uist (q.v.)
Quite where the /s/ comes from I am unsure as ON ey is feminine.

Griomasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Grimsay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gremisiedh	1877	OS name book
Grunsay	1877	OS name book
Gremsay	1877	OS name book
Grimsay	1877	OS 1st edition
Grimsay	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Grunsay Id.	1832	Thomson atlas
Grimsay Island	1804	Bald mapping

Gro Ghot

Place ID 6389 NF 85805 34350 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON grave - small farm

ON gröf - kot

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Burial

complete?

Whilst the mapping name is Gro Ghot, the OSNB gave Cro Ghot and wrote 'A hill feature known as Cro Ghot having the site of an ancient Fort or Dùn on its top.'

The first element is almost certainly ON gröf = 'grave', accurately referring to the Bronze Age burial cairn here (Canmore ID# 10143).

ON gata = 'track' is not impossible, one would reasonably expect a track to go from the north bay to the south one. However this does not fit well with the first element. I think ON kot = 'small farm' is better and indeed the latest Canmore entry would back this up: 'This burial cairn measures 11m in diameter and stands up to 1.5m in height. A later hut has been set into the centre of the cairn. Rectangular in plan, it measures 6m from NE-SW by 4.5m transversely over drystone walls up to 1.2m in height and spread to a thickness of 1m. What may be the remains of another hut stand on the S edge of the cairn. The shieling hut noted by OS (JTT) in 1965, 15m to the SW of the cairn, appears to be edge-set stones surrounding and protecting a natural spring.'

Holliday derives Gott on Tiree from ON gata = 'track'.

Gro Ghot

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gro Ghot

1877

OS 1st edition

Grocis Sgeir

Place ID	6094	NG 00929 82948	Harris	Sound of Harris N group
ON skerry of the hook			ON króks sker	<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

A name that appears from nowhere on the modern 25k mapping. It was the subject of a brief discussion on the SPNS Facebook page.

With the terminal sgeir, the name looks Norse.

ON grágas = 'grey goose' could be a starter. To me however ON krókr = 'hook' or 'deviation' or 'turning' works better especially in the genitive ON króks sker = 'skerry of the turning'. It is here that the modern ferry route from Leverburgh to Berneray undertakes a turn to get through a long line of reefs.

(ON kráki = 'pale or stake' would be an interesting coincidence.)

ON k > ScG g is not regular but not totally unrealistic.

8 examples of Krókasker in Iceland lend weight to this derivation. Some of these places are nominated as headlands rather than skerries, again leading weight to the idea of a turning. In recent times, the Northern Lighthouse Board have thought fit to add an unlit beacon to the skerry to aid navigation on 29th March, 2019.

Grocis Sgeir

2014

OS modern underlying

Gròdaigh

Place ID 1554 NF 97913 73287 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON gravel island

ON grjót + ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Beveridge gives us ON grjót-ey or 'gravel island' and this seems to make sense with a long shingle bank running from the island.

The t > d is regular.

An island full of history from an Iron Age dun to a King Charles fishing project.

In Iceland we have two Grjótey and eight Grjóthólmi, whilst in Nloray both components are common but not together.

Gròdaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Groathaigh	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Grotay	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Groatay	1877	OS 1st edition
Groatay	1866	Admiralty mapping
Crodag	1806	Stockdale mapping
Credag	1789	Ainlsie map
Grotay		MacDonald sketch history

Groigearraidh

Place ID 69 NF 76990 39640 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON to grow farm

ON gróa garð

ScG?

ON?

To decide

complete?

There is a Loch Grogary in the Balranald area of North Uist about which Beveridge gives us 'Groas-gerði, Groa's garry' or perhaps from groðr, 'fruitful'.

For the generic, Blaeu's version of Grogairth would indicate a root in ON garðr = 'farm'.

With no 's' sound, the first seems unlikely.

Whilst confusion of initial 'G' with 'C' is possible, leading to a root of ON kroa = 'of the lamb pens', I think Beveridge's second attempt is probably more likely and the specific is based upon a grammatical variant of ON gróa = 'to grow'.

Vigfusson defines Beveridge's ON gróðr = 'crop' and this would seem to work well although the simple infinitive works better phonologically.

The situation between the shore and the hill pasture would be an appropriate place to grow crops.

Vigfusson gives us a possible clue where it writes that ON grund = 'green field, grassy plain' is 'prob. to be derived from gróa, qs. gróandi, and different in etymology from grunn and Engl. Ground.'

Grassy plain is a good description of both Groigearraidh sites on Uist.

There is another Grogarry/Groigearraidh on North Uist.

There is a Gróa in Iceland and a cognate Grogard in Norway appearig as Grogarden in Rygh.

Grogarry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Groigearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Grogary	1877	OS 1st edition
Grogary	1804	Bald mapping
Grogairth	1654	Blaeu mapping

Groigearraidh

Place ID 6550 NF 76991 39621 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON enclosed area of the stream

ON grófar gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Taylor gives 'Stream Meadow' as his interpretation and this makes sense.

Cox (p289) cites ON gróf as meaning 'stream' occurring on Lewis and in three cases he uses. The /f/ disappears in them all.

The genitive is ON grófar.

The referent stream is probalby one that connects the NW arm of Druidinig with this loch.

In Iceland there are three Grófargerði place names.

Groigearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Grogarry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Gro-gearraidh	1877	OS name book
Grogary	1877	OS 1st edition
Cro-gearraidh	1877	OS name book
Grogary	1804	Bald mapping

Grosavagh

Place ID	6769	NF 80548 45171	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ON bay of the grasses			ON grasa vág		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The generic is clear as ON vágr = 'bay'. ON gröf = 'grave' is the most likely specific with the presence of a chambered cairn (Canmore# 10161) at the entrance to the bay. ON gröfar is the genitive. This however does not give the /s/ although genitival /s/ can appear outwith the usual grammar.

A simpler solution might be ON gras = 'grass' with ON grasa = 'of the grasses'. ON a > ScG o is possible although generally besides labials.

The Langavat Bay (PN#14438) from ON 'long lake' seems an oddity.

There is a Greosabhagh (OS 1st Grosebay) on Harris which Taylor attributes to 'grass bay'

Grosavagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Langavat Bay	1877	OS name book
Grosavagh	1877	OS 1st edition
Bagh Grosavagh	1877	OS name book
Baa Grosavagh	1804	Bald mapping

Grota

Place ID 4929 NF 94987 70411 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON gravel river

ON grjót + á

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book gives us the obvious 'Fourpenny hill/loch' from the ScG gròta = 'silver coin value 4d' for Beinn Grotta and Loch Grota respectively. There however seems little reason for it - some story about some boy finding one perhaps?! The land here is not arable enough to be worth 4d and the lack of an article leads me to the conclusion that we should be looking for a Norse root, albeit the OS name book providing the grammatically better alternative Beinn a' Ghrota introduced by Carmichael.

ON grjót = 'gravel', 'pebbles' or 'grit' seems the most appropriate specific.

The stream from Loch Grota runs down to the shore to the S via two other Lochs to join the sea at an extensive gravel beach. Therefore I think the root of it was ON grjót á = 'gravel river' referring to this gravel on the shore.

This stream is overlooked by the hill here and so that was names Beinn Grotta and Loch grota was the source.

The initial vowel in the current version of the name is a little weak but otherwise the development is regular.

Cox (p146) has Abhainn Ghrioda citing '*Grioda, an Old Norse loan-name (ON Grýta ['stoney one (i.e. river)'], Oftedal, ibid)' which is I think agreeing! There is also a Loch na grothaidh with a stream Allt Loch na Grothaidh running from it and this could in fact contain 'Grothaidh' as a river name.

The distribution of 'Grot' names in Scotland is very much in the Norse heartland

There are over 50 Grjótá place names in Iceland and two Gr(j)ota and 11Gr(j)otå with a variety of final vowels.

Grota

n/a

Growler Rks

Place ID 2082 NF 84267 64658 North Uist Langass

Eng Growler Rocks Eng Growler Rocks

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Possibly Sgier Gruamach, the same specific as one of the Maddies and so possibly well known.

Growler Rks 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Guala a' Choinnich

Place ID 2149 NF 77997 62007 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG corner of Kenneth

ScG guala a' Choinnich

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

'Corner of the moss' is what Fraser gives us but the article is wrong as ScG cóinneach = 'moss' is feminine. It is possible therefore that the names refers to ScG Coinneach = 'Kenneth' although quite why this is his corner, I am unsure.

Guala a' Choinnich

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Guala Mhor

Place ID 984 NF 91190 65750 North Uist Lees

ScG big shoulder of the hill

ScG guala mhòr

Contour

Rise

ScG?

ON?

complete?

ScG guala is a shortened version of ScG gualann = 'shoulder'.
Here it is a good topographical description.

ScG Guala appears 26 times in the OS 2nd edition mapping, nearly all with a Gaelic heartland bias.

Guala Mhor

2014

Modern OS mapping

Guala Mhor

1877

OS 1st edition

Guala na h-Imrich

Place ID 2499 NF 79381 69673 North Uist Central South

ON village ridge + ScG ridge

ScG guala na + ON heima hrygg

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'shoulder of the flitting'. ScG imrich = 'emigration or removal' and one can imagine those leaving Sollas to emigrate crossing this shoulder. It could be a little poetic but is possibly a reference to the clearances. Waugh equates it to the removal out to the summer shielings.

A good fit both phonetically and topographically is ON heima-hrygg= 'ridge of the homes' and then the Gaels added ScG guala = 'ridge'.

The distribution of Imrich names is a little odd but includes a cluster of 11 on Lewis but only one on Jura and one on Mull in all the rest of the Hebrides, Inner and Outer. Of the 67 names including the word there are 35 name involving Bealach na -h Imrich and eight Allt na h'Imrich.

Guala na h-Imrich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Guala na h-Imrich

1877

OS 1st edition

Gualainn

Place ID	5836	NF 80444 74887	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG shoulder of the hill			ScG gualann		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Leathad na Cèardaich			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	
Gualainn			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Gualan

Place ID 4908 NF 77558 47777 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON The long-haired ridge

ON kjölinn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'shoulder' based upon ScG gualann = 'shoulder' or 'brow' which would fit topographically. However quoting from Sandnes <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx> (in google translate unfortunately) about NW kjøl = ON kjöl = 'keel'

'This basic word has two main meanings in Norwegian names

1. long-haired features,
2. unproductive woodland between rural areas, special (high-lying) marshes.

From time to time. 1 has developed a special meaning 'rim, edge', used on mountain browns. In both cases there is a comparison with the boat keel (or keel in the interpretation 'mune') which is the basis.'

One imagines that something covered in marram grass could be considered long-haired!

ON kjölinn = 'The keel ~ (acc.) would be the best grammatic version.

Gualan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ghualann	1877	OS name book
Gualann	1877	OS 1st edition
A Ghuala	1877	OS name book
Guallann	1877	OS name book
Shoulder	1877	OS name book

Gunisary Bay

Place ID 5191 NF 79799 48908 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON Gunnarr's sheiling + Eng bay

ON Gunnars ærgi + Eng bay

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The first component of this name is repeated in the nearby Oban Ru Gunisary. ON ærgi = 'sheiling' is one of the rare words loaned into Norse from the Gaelic ScG àirigh = 'sheiling'.

The order of the words here would indicate Norse rather than Gaelic origin.

ON Gunnarr is a Norse name with a genitive ON Gunnars. This could well be specific.

Gunna on Tiree is thought to come from Gunnaigh = 'Gunnar's Island' and clearly lacks the genitive /s/. On Barra Stahl derives Gunnairigh as 'Gunnar's sheiling' and so again lacking the genitive /s/. However the female name ON Gunnr has Gunnar as its genitive and so avoids the problem of the /s/.

In Iceland however all the many names beginning with Gunnar have an /s/ for the next letter. Gunnarsskot is close to a cognate. In Norway the six Gunnarset(e/re) are similarly close to cognates.

Gunisary Bay

2014

Modern OS mapping

Gunisary Bay

1877

OS 1st edition

Haca

Place ID 1630 NF 83658 52616 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON pasture

ON hagar

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ON haga = 'pasture or hedged field' (accusative).
The OSNB describes it as a small district of heathy pasture.

Whilst It is a common specific in Iceland occurring over 70 times as Hagi and eight times as Hagar, the plural. In Norway Rygh says it is of common occurrence and probably old. The typical modern version is Håggå (s) or Håggån (pl) which occur as simplex names c20 and c50 times respectively.

Haca	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hàca	1877	OS name book
Hàka	1877	OS name book
Haka	1877	OS 1st edition
Haka	1877	OS 1st edition

Hacklash I.

Place ID 6486 NF 79029 37235 South Uist Loch Sgioport

Fresh water

Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Hacklash I.

1804

Bald mapping

Hacklett

Place ID 5425 NF 83935 53959 Benbecula Rueval

'Hacklett'

'Hacklett'

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Haclait (P#5203) for a discussion of the 'Hacklett' element.

Hacklet	1877	OS name book
Hàc-cleit	1877	OS name book
Hacklett	1877	OS 1st edition
Hac-Cleit	1877	OS name book
Hàcleit	1861	Thomas chart
Hacklet	1832	Thomson atlas
Hacklet	1804	Bald mapping

Haclait

Place ID 5203 NF 81398 47948 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON high rock

ON há klett

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ON há- becomes a common prefix meaning 'high'.

In Iceland there are over ten examples of both Háiklettur and Háuklettur, the first example being the singular and the second the plural but these might be different roots.

In Norway ON hár becomes høg and høy. There are six Høg(e)kletten placenames in Norway.

On the OS 2nd edition mapping there are two names involving Hacleit on Lewis. There are three Hacklett names on this mapping, two on Benbecula and one on Harris, a Hacklate on Lewis and a Ben Hacklett on North Uist.

Hacklet	2014	Modern OS mapping
Haclait	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hacleit	1877	OS name book
Hacklett	1877	OS 1st edition
Hacklet	1877	OS name book
Hae-cleit	1877	OS name book
Hacleit	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
L. Hacklet	1804	Bald mapping
U. Hacklet	1804	Bald mapping

Hafn

Place ID 4961 NF 81442 27609 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON haven

ON höfn

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

OS name book gives us 'rivers' which presumably comes from ScG abhainn = 'stream'. One can almost hear Carmichael's urgings here!

ON höfn = 'harbour or port' is more likely. Bald's spelling of Haune would be closer phonetically

Höfn occurs as a simplex name 33 times in Iceland and with over 100 Hamn and more than 50 Havn names in Norway.

In Shetland it occurs as Ham several times and there are 28 places there beginning with Hamn.

Haven takes over in Caithness and Orkney. In Caithness a town Huna is thought to derive from ON Höfn too.

Hafn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Na Háfun	1877	OS name book
Hafn	1877	OS 1st edition
Na h-Hafun	1877	OS name book
Haune	1804	Bald mapping

Hamaran

Place ID 1327 NF 83503 79168 North Uist S1ollas

ON The crag

ON hamarrinn

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Carmichael's version in the OS name book Na h-Amarain produces ScG amar-an = 'place of troughs' and so explains the OS name book's 'Uneven ground' but a much simpler explanation is a simplex ON hamarrinn = 'The crag'.

Hamarin occurs ten times in the Faroes, nine times in Iceland and multiple times in Norway without the definite article.

Hamaran	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hamaran	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Hamaran	1877	OS 1st edition
Na h-Amarain	1877	OS name book

Hamarsaigh

Place ID 1169 NF 93240 68670 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON island of the steep crag

ON hamars + ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON hamarr = 'steep crag' has ON hamars as its genitive singular reflex.

There are four cognate Hamarsey place names in Iceland and a futher five Hamarøy(a) in Norway.

Hamarsaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Thamarsaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hamersay	1877	OS 1st edition
Hamersay	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
Nonsuch	1703	Martin book
Hammersay		MacDonald sketch history

Hanglam

Place ID 2233 NF 71302 68187 North Uist B1ayhead

ON bay headland

ON angr hólms

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

This looks Norse with the generic ON múli = 'a jutting crag' which nearly always ends up as 'lam' or 'lum'. The best guess for the specific is the prefix ON hengi- = 'hanging' and occurs frequently in both Icelandic and Norwegian place names. The topography is not that supportive of this specific in the current position. A better option might be ON angr = 'bay or firth' as the /r/ is often dropped (Rygh). This would be a decent topographical fit, it being the most prominent headland in the four km bay that stretches from Rubha Port Scolpaig to Rubha Raghnaill.

There are three Angholmen in Norway.

Hanglam

2014

Modern OS mapping

Hanglam

1877

OS 1st edition

Hanuaglate

Place ID 1910 NF 80147 55624 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ON crag of the haven

ON hafnar klett

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

A name that seems to have disappeared early in the 19th century.

ON hafnar = 'of the haven' or ON Höfn = 'haven' itself would work well as the specific with the clear generic ON kletttr = 'crag'.

This loch might well have been connected to the North Ford and indeed one might have expected water access to Loch Dùn Mhurchaidh with its important Dùn site.

Hanuaglate

1832

Thomson atlas

Haunaglate

1804

Bald mapping

Harbour Lump

Place ID 1967 NF 91314 63739 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

Eng harbour lump Eng harbour lump

Coastal Cliff or slope

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This will be a translation form the ScG meall acairseid = 'lump of the harbour'

Harbour Lump

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Haskeir Island

Place ID 2609 NF 61637 82091 North Uist S1colpaig

ON high skerry + Eng island

ON há sker + Eng island

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Beveridge is clear that the root is ON haf-skerr = 'deep sea skerry' although I cannot see why ON há sker = 'high skerry' is out of the question.

Indeed the cognate evidence is positive for that interpretation and it fits, as does ON haf, topographically.

In Iceland there is no cognate Hafsker whilst there are three Hásker, however in There are no other Haskeir on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Norway there are four Havskjær(et/an) and 39 Håskjæret. The former are the last of a series of islands out to the open sea.

Eilean Hasgeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Haskeir Island	2014	Modern OS mapping
Haskeir na Meul	1911	Beveridge
Haskeir Island	1877	OS 1st edition
Islands of Heisker	1832	Thomson atlas
I. na Meul	1751	Dorret mapping
Hawsker-Nimannich	1703	Martin book
Hayelskyr na Meul	1654	Blaeu mapping
Haysker	1560	Monro Western Isles
Hasker		MacDonald sketch history

Hatharsal

Place ID 6421 NF 77762 36377 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON mountain of the pagan snactuary

ON hörgrs fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

It is unusual for the /v/ or /bh/ not to be included in ON fjell = 'mountain' names but with the Bald recording Harsavaule in 1804, the generic must come from that source.

The most obvious specific is ON hár = 'high or tall' , an adjective, but it is difficult to see where the /s/ is coming from.

We end up coming back to an old favourite, ON hörgr = 'pagan sanctuary' in the genitive form ON hörgrs.

topographically this is a good match with the chambered cairn just to the NE of the summit.

Hatharsal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hàrsal	1877	OS name book
Haarsal	1877	OS 1st edition
Harsavaule	1877	OS name book
Harsaval	1877	OS name book
Harsavaule	1804	Bald mapping

Haunaraigh

Place ID 1660 NF 90802 57905 North Uist Ronaigh

ON island of the harbour

ON hafnar ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Mairi Stiubhart's 'Heannttraigh' could be Ic hindar + ey = 'island of the hind'. 'hindar' is a common component of place names in Iceland and indeed the area around the Lees and Ronaigh abound in ON and ScG names associated with deer. However all the other forms of the name do not have the 't'. The bay here is a well known anchorage, one of four Martin Martin mentions for Uist. I think therefore that the generic is ON höfn = 'harbour' in the genitive reflex ON hafnar. The cognate evidence is good and so I am confident this is correct.

There is a Hofn in Loch Ainort, South Uist as well as it being a common component of Northern Isles names. On The OS 2nd series mapping in Uig Bay, Lewis there is a Creag Haundroman, a Bàgh na Haun on Wiay, Benbecula and a Haun on Eriskay. Aside from those the only other one N of the central belt is three Haunn names on the NW tip of Mull. In Iceland there are five cognate Hafnarey(jar) whilst in Norway there are Havn(er)øya and c40 of the equivalent Hamnøya.

Haunaraigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Heannttraigh	2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)
Haunareith	1877	OS name book
Haunaray	1877	OS 1st edition
Hanaray	1877	OS name book
Hanaray	1861	Thomas chart
Heareray Id	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Haunary		MacDonald sketch history

Havisgarry

Place ID 5668 NF 81377 76277 North Uist S1ollas

ON enclosure of the ocean

ON hafs gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

This almost certainly comes from ON hafs gerði = 'enclosure of the ocean', a not unapt description of the Udal peninsula here.

MacDonald writes that in 1735 John Maclean of Boreray was tenant and in 1764 Hector Maclean was the tenant. There are several names with this element in Niclain's book on Sollas place names (p37)

Havisgarry

MacDonald sketch history

Heabhal

Place ID 6129 NF 76666 27041 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON sea - mountain

ON sjá fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

There is a Heabhal on Barra too - the highest mountain there. It is also known as Sheabhal.

This is clearly Norse with a generic of ON fjall = 'fell or mountain'.

It is possible that ON eið = 'isthmus' is the specific here.

Alternatively ON eyja = 'of the island' works well and mirrors Eaval on North Uist (q.v.)

there are other possibilities too.

However with an initial /s/ then the root would be ON sjá fjall = 'sea - mountain' which is not inappropriate for the siting of the hill on the shores of Loch Aineort.

There is a Hæðafjall in Iceland as well as a Sæfjall and three Sæfell. Norway contributes six Sjøfell(a/et/an) place names.

Heabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sheaval	1877	OS 1st edition
Sheavaule	1877	OS name book
Sèbhal	1877	OS name book
Sheavaule	1804	Bald mapping

Healasaigh

Place ID 6778 NF 75698 04153 Barra Barra general

ON island of the cave ON hellis ey

Coastal Island

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The /s/ indicates the genitival singular - .ie. Of one cave.

The interpretation is reinforced by the Gaelic name of the E headland Rubha na h-Uamh = 'headland of the cave'.

Hellisay	2014	OS modern underlying
----------	------	----------------------

Healasaigh	2014	OS modern underlying
------------	------	----------------------

Heiliseidh	1877	OS name book
------------	------	--------------

Heillisay	1877	OS name book
-----------	------	--------------

Hellisay	1877	OS 1st edition
----------	------	----------------

Heamarabhigh

Place ID 5625 NF 63579 60867 North Uist Heisker

ON bay of the rocks

ON hamra vágr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Macaulay gives us ' ScG bagh = 'bay', ON hamarr = 'rocky bay' for his version Bagh Heamarabhigh
Simpler is the name on the current OS mapping which must stem from ON hamarr = 'stone, cliff or hammer', probably in the genitive plural ON hamra with ON vágr = 'bay' producing bay of the rocks which is a good topographical fit.

The two Icelandic Hamravík are close cognates as are the three Hamravika in Norway.

Bagh Hamarabhigh	2020	Alick Macaulay Heisgeir
Heamarabhigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bagh Heamarabhigh	1877	OS name book
Heamaravagh	1877	OS 1st edition
Herneevan Bay	1866	Admiralty mapping

Hearnais

Place ID 5630 NF 62265 63397 North Uist Heisker

ON headland of the herd

ON hjarðar nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Unfortunately Macaulay offers no explanation (p53). The OS name book versions lead to Arnish, a name of a well-known point near Stornoway which is often thought to derive from eagle. An eagle her is unlikely as there are no crags on the headland. This also rather discounts ON hár = 'high'

The generic is clear as ON nes = 'headland' whilst the specific is less so.

ON hjarð = 'shepherd-' is one possible specific, ON hjarðar = 'of the herd' another and a final one is ON hjá = 'near' with an example of a compound being ON hjá-land = 'an outlying estate'. The cognate notes would lead me to the first of these options.

There are six Hjarðarnes place names in Iceland and three Hjarnes in Norway. One of these Norwegian names Ryugh derives from hjörð (v5 p378).

Hjá-leiga occurs 11 times in Iclenad and has the same meaning as Hjár-land.

Rudha Hearnais	2020	Alick Macaulay Heisgeir
Hearnais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Arnish Point	1877	OS name book
Ru Arnish	1877	OS name book
Hearnish	1877	OS 1st edition

Heastam Sromaigh

Place ID 253 NF 94130 74520 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Stromaigh"s + ON tallion islet ON hesta hólm strauma ey

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The Sromaigh component must just be an identifier to differentiate between the Hestam to the W. Nearby is Rusgaigh = 'horse pen', presumalby here ON hross then refers to mares. See nearby Hestam for a discussion of that component and Sròmaigh for a discussion of that component/

Heastam Sromaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hestam Sromaigh	1877	OS 1st edition

Hecla

Place ID 79 NF 82540 34530 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON high knob-like hill

ON há kúla

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

There is a famous volcano with this name in Iceland probably called so from its frock or hood of snow. One imagines this mountain is named after it.

In fact both names could well come from ON há kúla = 'high knob-like hill'.

Hecla	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hecla	1877	OS 1st edition
Hekla	1877	OS name book
Heàcla	1877	OS name book
Heckla	1804	Bald mapping
Bin Heck la	1654	Blaeu mapping

Heillihope

Place ID 5064 NG 08957 87118 Harris Harris general

ON safer creek

ON heilla hóp

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

ON heill = 'safe' and the neuter acc ON heila or possibly ON heilla = 'safer' would work well with ON hóp = 'small landlocked bay'.

With Loch Dubh Heillihope 400m NNW of the settlement, I suspect that that bay referred to is just south of that loch at NG0869687298.

A good alternative would be ON hæli = 'shelter' or ON hæll = 'heel' with the additional meaning of 'A peg fastened in the earth, either for mooring a vessel (festar-h.) or by which a tent-rope is fastened (tjald-h.)'. Both however has a genitival /s/.

The first however would work as a close compound - ON hæli hóp = 'shelter creek', a very similar meaning. æ > ei is regular.

Teiltein on the E coast of North Uist probably shares this root as does Teileam in ther Loch Portain area of North Uist.

Heillihope	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------	------	-------------------

Hillihope	1877	OS name book
-----------	------	--------------

Heillihope	1877	OS 1st edition
------------	------	----------------

Hillyhope	1804	Bald mapping
-----------	------	--------------

Heisgeir Eagach

Place ID 2610 NF 59597 80871 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG notched + ON ?? Skerry

On ?? sker + ScG eagach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The /l/ in the Blaeu mapping and the /w/ in the Martin reference indicate the presence of another sound to the more modern Heisgeir. Beveridge notes the pronunciation is ha-sgeir.

ScG eagach = 'notched' must be the last component as it is a good topographical fit.

The generic must be ON sker = 'skerry'.

Based on the modern names ON hafs = 'of the ocean' or ON hár = 'high' but the declension for the latter seems difficult.

ON hals = 'neck, ON hálf = 'half' or ON hala = 'of the tail' might work.

Heisgeir Eagach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Haskeir Eagach	1877	OS 1st edition
Haskeir Aag	1877	OS name book
Ha-sgeir Eagach	1877	OS name book
Hiskere	1776	Mackenzie mapping
I. na Egach	1751	Dorret mapping
Hawsker-Eggath	1703	Martin book
Helskyr Egach	1654	Blaeu mapping
Haysker	1560	Monro Western Isles

Heiskeir A-Staigh

Place ID 5046 NL 58491 86735 Barra Barra general

ScG Inner 'Heisker' 'Heisker' + SDcG a-staighj

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

a-staigh means 'inside' and so the OSNB suggestion of 'Inner Heisker' makes sense.

Heiskeir A-Staigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Inner Heisker	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Heisker

Place ID 2608 NF 62857 62061 North Uist Heisker

? ON island navigable ravine

ON ey-skarð

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Beveridge gives us ON hellu - sker = 'flat skerry'. He also mentions Heilagr-sker = 'holy skerry'. Taylor echoes Beveridge with ON Heillsgeir = 'flat rock'. Beveridge's pronunciation is Eys-skeir.

The islands themselves are too large for a traditional skerry and certainly do not have the bare rock appearance a skerry would suggest.

Carmichael gives us Aoi-sgeir = 'isthmus skerry'.

Whilst NSL gives us the meaning 'bedrock that juts out into fields and meadows' this still does not fit.

I wonder if in fact the very distinctive gap between the islands was called ON ey-skarð = 'island gap' and by transference this became the name of the islands.

Interestingly Nor skar has another definition of 'a navigable ravine' which works well.

An alternative is that a small skerry was named eyja-sker and this name transferred to the main island.

There is an Inner and Outer Heisker W of Pabbay, Barra as well as one in the sound of Harris but all of these are traditional ON sker = 'skerry'.

In Norway there are two øyskar(d)et whilst øyskjær(a/an/et) occurs 14 times.

Heisker	2014	Modern OS mapping
Theisgeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Na h-Eileanan Monach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Monach Islands	2014	Modern OS mapping
Heskar	1911	Beveridge
Hellsker	1894	Originales Parochiales
Monach Islands	1877	OS 1st edition
Helsker	1850	Retours
Heiskier	1850	Collectanea
Halskienagallechie	1850	Collectanea
Hilliskere	1850	Retours
Islands na Monach	1832	Thomson atlas
Islands of Heisker	1832	Thomson atlas
Hyskere Is	1806	Stockdale mapping
Islands of Heisker	1799	Reid mapping
Heisker	1794	Old Statistcal Account
Ls na Monich	1794	Huddart mapping
Ls na Monich	1789	Ainlsie map
Hyskere I.	1776	Mackenzie mapping
Monich	1745	Elphinstone mapping

Heiskir	1703	Martin book
Heisker	1703	Martin Martin map
Hawsker-Numannich	1703	Martin book
Isle of Hallesker	1657	The Clan Donald
Isle of Halleskeir	1657	The Clan Donald
Heisker	1657	The Clan Donald
Helskyr na Monich	1654	Blaeu mapping
Helsther Wetularum	1560	Monro Western Isles
Helsker Nagaillon	1560	Monro Western Isles
Helsker na caillach	1560	Monro Western Isles
Heisker	1505	RMS
Ylskermacwissag	1505	RMS
Skeirnacaliche	1505	RMS
Ylskeanacwissage	1505	RMS
Skeirnakillach	1505	RMS
Helsker	1505	RMS
Halkster	1505	RMS
Yliskeanacuschage	1505	RMS
Heillskire		Other
Husker		Other
Helysker na Monich		Other
Heisker		MacDonald sketch history
Hiskere Isles		Other
Helscer Vetularum		Other
Na Monich Is		Other
Helskr na Munich		Other
Heisker n' Manich		Other

Heisteamuil

Place ID 5147 NF 79248 48480 Benbecula T1orlum

ON islet of the horses

ON hesta hólm

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Blaeu places his 'Heiskyr' here and it cannot be the more usual modern day Heisker as he places that in the almost correct position too. It is possible that the transition from a 'sker' or 'skerry' to a 'mul' or 'headland' could reflect a geographical change. That said Stahl writes that ON múli = 'ridge' can mean 'sea-rock'.

Another better alternative is ON hólmr = 'islet' with the metathesis (swapping of letters) on the /l/ and /m/, a common occurrence.

As for the specific, the most obvious option is ON hestr = 'stallion' and often abbreviated to 'hest-' as a prefix.

Whether this is a place where stallion were kept or as part of horse-racing, a tradition carried on in recent times, we will not know.

Keeping stallions on a 'sea-rock' seems unlikely and there is no large rock to be named after a stallion and so I suspect the racing name, there is an extensive beach here at low tide.

Being named on Blaeu it must have had some relative importance. It was also marked as extensive and so this is an area where I think the coast has changed significantly.

One also wonders if Blaeu omitted the /t/ or was the original name ON hey sker = 'hay skerry' or the like? I suspect he was confused with the two similar sounding names and the omission of the /t/ was an error.

That said modern satellite imagery shows a remarkably good correlation with Blaeu's mapping with modern Heisteamuil being his oink large island, the smaller pink and brown islands to the top right to the end of the Gualan and the green island to the islands opposite the Co-op for those who know!

There is a Hestahólmi in Iceland and at least 200 places in Norway beginning with Hestholm - a common name!

In Scotland places beginning with Hest- are all bar two in the Northern Isles and the Western Isles, a remarkably close set of groupings.

Heisteamuil	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hestamul	1877	OS 1st edition
Hestumal	1877	OS name book
Hestamol Nachdrach	1877	OS name book
Hestamol Lochdrach	1877	OS name book
Upper Hestimal	1877	OS name book
Lower Hestimal	1877	OS name book
Lower Hestimul	1832	Thomson atlas
Upper Hestimul	1832	Thomson atlas
U. Hestimal	1804	Bald mapping
HEISKYR	1654	Blaeu mapping

Hermetray

Place ID 1553 NF 98668 74135 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigrearraidh

ON Hermundr's island'

ON Hermundar ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The coincidence fo the nearby Hulmsatraigh shsaring the unusual ending is too much.

ON arma = 'of the arm' is a possibility given island shape with the same root thought to be the case for the Channel Island Herm. This is then followed by the ON drag = 'isthmus' and would refer to the shingle bank protecting the harbour here.

ON heremiti = 'hermit' would be a better phonetic fit and would help in an area with a lot of religious names but no focus. The 'r' however poses a problem.

ON her-maðr = 'soldier' might work better.

ON á(r)mót = 'confluence' is a possible if it applies to the meeting of the Minch and the Sound of Harris but again we have the problem of the 'r'

In the end Gammeltoft must be right ON Hermundar ey = 'Hermundr's island'. Marwick talks about this name under Hermisgarth (OFN p10)

Armadale is quotes as 'arm valley' and geographically it is close to where the Sound of Sleat reaches the open water.

Ármót is a common specfic in Icelandic place names, including at least one where it is sea lochs meeting.

Hermetray	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hermatray	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Hearmatraigh	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Hermetray	1877	OS 1st edition
Harmetray	1866	Admiralty mapping
Harmetray .	1832	Thomson atlas
Hermetra	1806	Stockdale mapping
Hermetray	1804	Bald mapping
Hermetra	1789	Ainslie mapping
Hermitra l.	1751	Dorret mapping
Hermetra	1703	Martin book
Hermodra	1654	Blaeu mapping
Hermodraia	1654	Blaeu mapping

Hestam

Place ID 232 NF 91197 74371 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON stallion islet ON hesta hólm

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The generic ON hólmr = 'islet' often becomes a simple '-am'.

ON hæstr hólm = 'highest islet' or ON hesta hólm = 'islet of stallions' are possibles but the initial vowel sound and the cognate notes lead me to think the second option is the best one. topographically the islet is no taller than the others.

There is a nearby Hestam Stromay and ~a Hestamul on Benbecula but no other place names on the OS 2nd edition beginning with Hestam-.

The 32 names beginning with Hesta are all on the Western Isles, Orkney and Shetland basr Hestan in Kirkcudbright.

There is a Hestahólmi in Iceland and it is common in Norway with over 100 places with the name Hestholmen.

Hestam	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hestuin	1832	Thomson atlas
Hestum	1799	Reid mapping

Hey

Place ID 1885 NF 77015 55429 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ON heath On heiði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

The OSNB writes the name 'is applied to a few houses situate on the sea coast of the north east corner of the District Of Aird. The houses are all one storey high and in ordinary repair.'

The obvious root would be ON hey = 'hay' but it seems an odd name.

I suspect the root is in fact ON heiðr = 'heath' which ends up most commonly in Norwegian names as Hei.

The same problem crops up on Tiree where there is a Heanish or Hianais and a Hynish or Haoidhnis. Holliday thinks the former comes from ON hey and the latter from ON heiðr.

The heath here would be a contrast to the sandy pasture and arable land.

Iona has been mentioned in relation to this name with its Gaelic name, Ì. The name there was written as Ioua by Adnam I think.

Heia occurs as a simplex name in Norway along with over 750 names beginning with Heia-. In Iceland there are over 80 simplex Heiði names.

There are no simplex Hey names in Iceland or Norway.

Hei	1877	OS name book
Hey	1877	OS 1st edition
Hey	1832	Thomson atlas
Hey	1804	Bald mapping

High Hill I

Place ID 1931 NF 87077 58471 North Uist Eaval

Eng hill hill Island Eng high hill island

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With A' Mheallait clearly Otter's High Hill Pt, then I would expect High Hill I. to be Eilean na Meallairt. However they are marked as different islands on the two mappings - I suspect more because of surveying error than anything else.

High Hill I 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

High Town

Place ID 4963 NF 82249 27461 South Uist Loch Eynort

Eng high town Eng high town

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

In 'Machair to Mountain' this is thought to be the possible site of a barp.

High Town

1804

Bald mapping

Hoanan

Place ID 5091 NF 84752 80913 North Uist B1oraraigh

ON The mound

ON hauginum

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Whilst the ScG tobha = 'mound' is close it cannot explain the ending. The Norse from which this word was loaned is as better bet ON haugr = 'mound' or 'cairn' and probalby in the dative definite case ON hauginum. The intervocalic /g/ is prone to disappear here leaving hauinum.

The OSNB writes 'This name is applied to a small hill' and so the mound fits topographically.

Given the importance of mounds to the Norse, one wonders if this was the site of the island meetings.

Elsewhere on Uist 'hoa' is thought to stem form ON haugr, e.g. Meall na Hoa, Grimsay.

There is an Eilean Hoan near Durness.

There are also three Toan names, two on Harris and one on Ensay, Sound of Harris, which probably stems from the same root after the effect of lenition. All are mounds.

Hoanan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Hoanan

1877

OS 1st edition

Hogha Gearraidh

Place ID 33 NF 70620 71140 North Uist B1alranald

ON farm of the mounds

ON hauga garð

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Beveridge quotes ON haugr + gerði = 'enclosed area of the mound'. Both words exist in a very similar form in ScG but in this order would mean 'mound of the enclosed area' which makes less sense. To perhaps help decide there is a place to the E called Gearraidh Thougearraidh which tends to indicate that the Gaels are using 'hougarry' as a unit and hence it is Norse in derivation.

The best fit for the specific would be ON hauga = 'of the mounds'

The 'mound' is almost certainly that of the current graveyard on the shore nearby.

In the Hebridean Connection (p36), 'they closed the churchyard in Hogh - the oldest churchyard in Uist I am sure, for it is there the greater number of the Norsemen are buried'.

The early Blaeu name of Howyairth indicates that the generic was probably ON garð = 'farm' rather than ON gerði. Oftedal (p18) discusses a similar case on Lewis where modern Bragor was named as Bragairth on the Blaeu mapping. I originally assumed the Holf of the 1505 charter was a version of this name but in the end, decided it was a different root (q.v.). Although typically for Uist, we do not have a long list of earlier forms, the name is common across the Viking world and we can look at earleir forms elsewhere. On Islay, Ardnahoe has 15 earleir forms dating back to 1507 and none include an /l/ (Macniven p240) whilst on Tiree Holiday lists 17 earleir forms dating back to 1509 and again there are no /l/ included.

A good story is told in MacDonald's Sketch History. MacDonald, Lord of the Isles, gave certain lands to the church and a site for a place of worship on condition of it being dedicated to the Virgin Mother'. The lands were at a place called Hogh, but the ecclesiastical authorities murmured on account of the barrenness of these elands, and besides they were sacred to the Scandinavian god Thor who has a fane Devoted to his worship there.' The story goes on about a site at Hosta where they tried to build but every night it was demolished. A vision said Avoid Hogh and Hosta and make the Church of Mary in Tolsta, The church was soon built at Tolsta, as the place was originally called, in the present Kilmuir graveyard. The '#tolsta name was then transferred the 'horrid heathen stone that stood in such close proximity.' c1750- 'this stone could afford shelter to a horse on a wild winter's night'. This was presumably Martin's 'water cross'.

In Norway Haugegjerdet occurs four times, Haugegjerda once and in the singular Haugsgjerd occurs three times. There are seven Hauggard (or versions thereof) in Norway but whilst both elements occur in Iceland I can find no cognate.

Hougharry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hogha Gearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hogh	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Hougary	1877	OS 1st edition
Hougary	1832	Thomson atlas
Hogary	1806	Stockdale mapping
Hougary	1799	Reid mapping
Hogary	1789	Ainslie mapping
Howgarie	1718	1718 rental
Howyairth	1654	Blaeu mapping
Hogh		n/a

Hough

MacDonald sketch history

Houghgeary

MacDonald sketch history

Holaisgeir

Place ID 2245 NF 69453 69109 North Uist B1alranald

ON hollow skerry

ON holi + sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Stahl writes 'It is uncertain whether the specific contains ON hól, 'mound' or an ON personal name. The generic is ON sker, 'island'. Holiskeir is a high water rock according to the OSONB, p. 152.'

I am sure she is correct about the generic but wonder if the specific is in fact ON hol = 'hollo9w, cavity' and this provides the reflex ON holi (dative)

If the specific has been ON hól then the genitive would have been ON hól's which would lack the central vowel sound.

Although epenthesis could provide it, the initial vowel is still too strong.

Topographically however it works well as there is a pool in the middle of this skerry.

There are two Holeskjeret, an Holoskjæra and an Holåskjerret in Norway and two Hólsker in Iceland and a Holusker, the latter of which is close to a cognate.

Holaisgeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Holiskeir	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Holiskeir	1877	OS 1st edition
Hoilisgeir	1877	OS name book

Holf

Place ID	5057	NF 72155 70736	North Uist	B1alranald	
ON temple			ON hof		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Township			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Originally I thought, as Beveridge did, that this was a version of ON haugr.

The 'l' sound however seems intrusive.

Rygh however writes about several farm names that stem from the forms hvalf, hvolv or holf meaning 'arch' has evolved to mean 'hollow, round-shaped depression, between hills or mountains', (e.g. V3 p385 Kolvsæteren). He also mentions the possibility of confusion with ON haugr and ON hof.

In Norwegian this has become Kvelv and Hvelv and topographically means 'short valley' NSL.

The bay here could be described as a hollow round-shaped depression between (sand) hills but it seems unlikely for this to be applied to a bay.

However further away phonetically but better topographically is ON hvarf = 'a turning or a shelter' or its plural ON hvörf specifically meaning 'turning point'. Rygh writes at length about the word 'seems in place-names at least to have been used about a curvature, of hverfa, turn, turn. Thus in the more common name Bekkjarhvarf, now Bækkevar (Bækkekrumning), and in Kvarv, Kvarvsnes (Kvarsnes, Kvasnes) about strongly protruding Nes, around which Seilleden (sailors?) makes a turn. In the last use, however, the word can also be explained by another meaning of hverfa 'disappear', as the view of what lies behind the headland is lost, as one turns around it. Some Names probably also derive from the Meaning 'Corner, Angle, Hook' In a similar sense, the derived word n is also found in names. This has also been used a lot before, and is still used in some places, in village and village names, as in Sandshverfi, now Sandsvær (in this sense very common in the past and present On Iceland).'

Although the development ON hvarf to 'Holf' is not regular. It is not inconceivable. The headland here is the most NW point of the Uist chain and so matches Cape Wrath as the most NW point on the mainland and would be a perfect spot to name after turning.

A final possibility is ON hof = 'temple or court'. It is possible for the /l/ to appear and disappear with an example of an early form of Ruaig is Rolbaig (1505) followed in the next form with Roweg (1541). Note the similarity in date with the Holf form.

This has the advantage of their being an early pre-Norse chapel at the site to be the ON hof. To my mind that is the most compelling evidence.

Cape Wrath is thought to come from ON hvarf = 'turning' and there is a Hvarfs-gnipa or Cape Farewell on the S tip of Greenland.

In Iceland Hvolv occurs as a place name 29 times whilst in Norway Kvelv is the first component of over 150 place names.

By comparison there are 40 Hvarf place names in Iceland and nine Hvörf(in) along with 80 place names begin with Kverv and a similar number with Kvarv in Norway.

Hvolv occurs as a simplex name in Iceland 29 times.

Hof occurs in Iceland as a simplex 43 times and many times in Norway.

There are two Hovetsa in Shetland and even the possibility that Hove in Sussex shares this root!

Holf

1505

RMS

Honary

Place ID 588 NF 89860 75270 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON sheiling of the harbour

ON hafnar ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

There is a nearby Honival to consider here as part of the root.

My two original thoughts were as follows.

ON hjón = 'man and wife' or ON horn = 'horn' but evolving to as follows (with apologies for google translate: The resulting farm names are based on two of the old meanings of the Word, 'Horn on animals' and 'Corner, angle'. The first of them will form Farm Names through its Transmission on pointed mountain tops, by applying to Farms which lie beneath one. The latter lies on the grounds of farms which have their name because they lie at the curvature of a river, or in a valley which forms an angle, or by a strongly projecting nose; in the latter case, however, sometimes comparison of the shape of the nose with an animal horn can also be assumed.

The first is rare in place names whilst the latter is common with over fifty kvannfjell based names in Norway (hv evolved into kv in Norwegian).

All that said the 'hv' sound is a fair way from a simple 'h'.

Further reflection however leads me to ON hafnar = 'of the harbour' as th probalby specific. a > o or more precisely ON a > G [ɔ] is a regular development as is the disappearance of the/f/.

Maciver derives Eilean Honay from ON hofn - ey = 'harbour island'.

ON hjòn is rare whilst ON horn is common in Icelandic place names. In Norway it has evolved in sme cases to Hon (e.g.see Ryugh Honness). The same applies in Norway and there are four Horn(e)sætra which is very close to an equivalent name.

In Norway there are three Hamnsætr(a/in) place names.

Honary	2014	Modern OS mapping
Honary	1877	OS 1st edition
Honary		MacDonald sketch history

Honival

Place ID 599 NF 90570 75640 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON harbour - mountain

ON höfn fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

See Honary (P#588) for details.

I suspect that this was the original name of the whole hill, now named Beinn Mhòr.

Honival	2014	Modern OS mapping
Honival	1877	OS 1st edition
Honoval	1877	OS name book

Hopewell Cottage

Place ID 6552 NF 77374 39591 South Uist Loch Sgioport

Eng hope well cottage

ON hóp + Eng well cottage

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

There is a well marked here on the OS 1st edition and this is probably part of what the name is referring to. ON hóp = 'small bay' is a possible starter, especially as it became 'hope' in Scots. The description is appropriate.

Hopewell Cottage

2014

Modern OS mapping

Hopewell Cottage

1877

OS 1st edition

Horaigh

Place ID 287 NF 80980 60320 North Uist C1arinish

ON cairn island

ON hörg ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The island has a clear conical mound at its peak and there is evidence of a dun here.

A possible specific could therefore be ON hörg = 'cairn'. The developments ö > o is regular although the disappearing 'g' is better after a vowel. This would be supplied by the Gaelicization process where an extra vowel sound is inserted between 'r' and 'g', generally a copy of the previous vowel. So here overall hörg ey > horg ey > horog ey > horay > horaigh. All of these developments are regular.

It is possible then that in fact ON haugr = 'cairn' is the root. au > o and a disappearing post vocalic 'g' are both regular. This would require the nominative case however which is unusual

Horaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Horray	1877	OS 1st edition
Horra	1866	Admiralty mapping
horra	1861	Thomas chart

Horaisearaidh

Place ID 700 NF 76050 67710 North Uist B1ayhead

ON sheiling of the nautical course turning

ON horfs ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

This is clearly Norse with the specific ON ærgi = 'sheiling'. The specific is less clear.

In words beginning with /h/, there is often a /t/ that has gone missing.

In this case then in combination with a medial /g/ disappearing ON torgs = 'of the market place' would work as a specific, torgs > horgs > horogs > horo s.

Right on the shore opposite the entrance to the sea between Kirkibost and Rubha Arnal, makes it a good site for a market.

This however does seem to complicate things.

An alternative is ON haugs = 'of the cairn' or ON hörgs = 'of the cairn (heathen place of worship)'. The latter looks a closer fit.

There is a slight rise at the point here, now covered in 19th century crofting remains. I do wonder if the referent is the remains of the chambered cairn at Clach Mhòr a Che 2km to the SE but I can see no reason why it should be so misplaced.

Another possibility is ON horf = 'direction, course (nautical)'. ON holf is a side form of ON hvarf = 'a turning away or a disappearance' after which Cape Wrath is named.

With this headland being at the entrance into the harbour at Ceann a' Bhàigh, this name makes nautical sense as a ship would 'disappear' as it turned into the bay there. The name then would have as its root ON horfs ærgi = 'sheiling of the nautical course'

Two Torgesetra names in Norway are close to cognates of the ON torg option and there are several names like Horgesetra there.

In Iceland ON hvarf is a common first element and there is a cognate Hvarfssel.

Rygh derives two Hornes names from ON horf.

Horaisearaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Horisary	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Horisary	1877	OS 1st edition

Hordag

Place ID 6211 NF 82287 23573 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON herd bay

ON hjörð vág

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The generic is likely to be ON vág = 'bay' as the site is a shingle beach that looks the best landing beach here. ON hjörð = 'herd or flock' is a possible specific, probably as a prefix, something that this noun regularly does. Cox cites rð > rt before /h/ but here the change is not regular by his reckoning.

Hordag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ruinahordag	1877	OS name book
Hordag	1877	OS 1st edition
An Òrdag	1877	OS name book
An Ordag	1877	OS name book
Ru na Hordag	1877	OS name book

Horisary Point

Place ID 701 NF 75770 67690 North Uist B1ayhead

'Horisary' + Eng point

'Horisary' + Eng point

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

For a discussion on the first element see Horaisearaidh (P#700)

Horisary Point	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Horisary Point	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Rudh Horasairidh	1877	OS name book
------------------	------	--------------

Hornais

Place ID 646 NF 87230 76840 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON (pagan) cairn headland

ON hörg nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The very useful website on Norwegian names writes (sadly here in google translate) about ON horn = 'corner' or 'horn': 'The resulting farm names are based on two of the old meanings of the word, 'Horn on animals' and 'Corner, angle'. The first of them will form Farm Names through its Transmission on pointed mountain tops, by applying to Farms which lie beneath one. The latter lies on the grounds of farms which have their name because they lie by the curvature of a river, or in a valley which forms an angle, or by a strongly projecting nose; in the latter case, however, sometimes comparison of the shape of the nose with an animal horn can also be assumed.'

Here we have a headland on a bend in the long bay justifying the topography although it is not a large bend. Vigfusson writes 'freq. in local names, Horn, Cape Horn; Horn-strandir, Horna-fjörðr (whence Hornfirðingar)'. In the end I suspect that it could stem from ON haugr = 'mound'. The /r/ in the Gaelic name lengthens the initial vowel enabling the use of ON au. However this is only a faint possibility. Better might be ON hörgr = '(pagan) cairn'. In either the referent could be either the nearby graveyard mound or possibly the remains of Dún Rosail.

Slightly curiously although a common specific in Iceland there is only the one cognate, Hornanes, but there are at least twenty Hornnes(et) in Norway.

There are two Hörganes, one Hörgsnes, five Hauganes and five Haugsnes in Iceland whilst in Norway there are 12 Hauganset, 22 Haugneset and 14 Haugneset.

Hornais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Hornish

1877

OS 1st edition

Horornish

Place ID 6480 NF 76518 36881 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON pagan sanctuaries headland

ON hörgar nes

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

The topography has changed significantly since Bald's mapping. Horornish was an island on his map with one causeway from the north where the spine road now crosses. What is now marked as Loch Cuilc and Loch Bun an Ligidh were part of the E edge.

With different changes in Norse times, it is possible to see it topographically as a headland.

A specific of ON hörgar = 'pagan sanctuary' would work well with the proximity of Tobha Mòr and its early church connection. All the requisite changes are then regular. This would then be a close compound name

In Iceland there are two Hörganes and one Hörgsnes place names.

Horornish

1804

Bald mapping

Hosta

Place ID 1598 NF 72525 72373 North Uist B1alrinald

ON temple place ON hof stað

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Township

complete?

After a couple of suggestions based upon personal names, Beveridge arrives at the more obvious 'haug-staðr, from haugr, 'a mound or cairn', as in Hougary.

With the old name of the area here as Holf, this would seem to be the name of a secondary settlement.

Further reflection of the initial sound however makes me doubt that Hosta and Hougharry share a root. Hosta is pronounced as the 'ho' is 'hop' (IPA ɒ) whilst Hougarry is as the 'ho' in 'hope'.(IPA o)

The Holf name looks as if it shares the Hosta root although it is difficult to ascertain this. If so that the root here would be ON hofs stað = 'temple place', referring one imagines to the nearby St. Clement's Chapel.

MacDonlad derives it from ON haugr stað = 'mound stead' and writes it 'marches with Tighgheary.'

My feeling is that Hosta is closer to ON hörgr = '(pagan) cairn' than ON haugr = 'mound'.

With the genitive ON hörgrs and the /g/ lost The /r/ is a problem.

As an aside Marwick (OFN p2) writes 'Fritzner notes how in the Old Gulating Law the phrase haugar og hörgar was used... It is thus of interest to note the same combination here in Orkney.' Well it is possibly here too in Uist with Hosta and Hougarry!

The solution is the simplest one. ON hof = '(roofed) temple'. Vigfusson quotes Hof-staðir as an example of a place name.

The site of the famous story of the Siol Gorrie draining a lake above Hosta to drown several of the Siol Murdoch residing there. There is an alternative version that I can see that is discussed under Loch Hosta.

The referent here could be St. Clement's Chapel on the shore.

There are over 30 Haughstad in Norway and 4 Högstad but none in Iceland.

However there are five Hofstaðir in Iceland and 24 Ho(f/v)stad in Norway.

Hosta	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hosdagh	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Hosta	1911	Beveridge
Hosta	1877	OS 1st edition
Hosta	1832	Thomson atlas
Hosta	1799	Reid mapping
Hosta		MacDonald sketch history

Houfanejs

Place ID 5074 NF 79096 73466 North Uist V1allay

ON headland of the houses

ON húsa nes

Settlement

Township

ScG?

ON?

complete?

There is perhaps confusion with Husinis on Harris here. The position is vague.

There are eight Húsanes in Iclenad asnd four Husaneset in Norway.

Houfanejs

1751

Dorret mapping

Hough Mill

Place ID 2380 NF 71958 71203 North Uist B1alrarnald

ON mound Eng mill ON haug + Eng mill

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name here is presumably related to Hogha Gearraidh in terms of the mound referred to.

Hough Mill	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hogha Mill	2004	Lawson North Uist
Hough Mill	1877	OS 1st edition

House Bay

Place ID 2081 NF 84097 64831 North Uist Langass

Eng house bay

Eng house bay

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The house referred to here must be Langais Lodge or Langais Farm as marked on the same Admiralty Chart as this name.

House Bay

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Howmore River

Place ID 76 NF 75470 35930 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Howmore' + Eng river 'Howmore' + Eng river

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Tobha Mòr (P#75) for a discussion on 'Howmore'

Howmore River	2014	Modern OS mapping
Howmore River	1877	OS 1st edition
Auon How Moir	1654	Blaeu mapping

Howmore River

Place ID 6399 NF 75433 36026 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Howmore' + Eng river

'Howmore' + Eng river

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

See Tobha Mòr (P#75) for a discussion of that name. The Bald name, Feaule How (PN#13430) is an oddity. It looks like a Bald spelling of ON fjall = 'hill'

Howmore River	2014	Modern OS mapping
Abhuinn Hough	1877	OS name book
Howmore River	1877	OS 1st edition
Feaule How	1804	Bald mapping

Hugh's Point

Place ID 2083 NF 84314 63931 North Uist Langass

Eng Hugh's promonotory Eng Hugh's promonotory

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubha Uistean would have been the Gaelic version.

Hugh's Point 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

huil-chlach

Place ID 1615 NF 72196 70875 North Uist B1alranald

ScG crevice of the stone

ScG thuill-chlach

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The Hebridean Connection (p26) talks about a wedding in 'the stoney nook' of Knockline c1840. I imagine the root is ScG thuill chlach = 'crevice of the stone' although quite why the ScG toll = 'hole' is lenited I do not know. There is a feature on Creag Hàsten that would fit this description well.

there is a Clach Toll in Assynt that has a similar meaning.

huil-chlach

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Hulmatraigh

Place ID 1556 NF 98288 75007 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ON Isthmus to drag boats over of the islets ON hólma drag

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The obvious specific would be ON hólmr = 'islet' whilst another possible specific is ON hjalmr = 'helmet' but this also needs the 'tr' sound.

ON strand = 'shore' is easily recognisable as Eng shore and/or ScG traigh and I wonder if this replacement has happened. It might help explain why there are so few 'strand' names on Uist.

If however we want a pure Norse name then ON drag has as one of its meaning an 'elongated island or holm' and another is 'Isthmus to drag boats over'. This describes the island here almost perfectly.

The initial /hu/ would create a long vowel sound to match the ON ú.

Whilst d > t is not regular it is not impossible with the desire to resemanticise as ScG tràigh = 'beach'.

There are over 40 occurrences of Holm(e)strand in Norway coming from 'shore of the islet'.

In Iclenad there is a Hólmaðrög and in Norway two Holm(e)draget.

Hulmatraigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hulmetray	1877	OS 1st edition
I. Hulmetray	1832	Thomson atlas
Hulmetray I.	1804	Bald mapping

Huna

Place ID 2384 NF 71542 72279 North Uist B1alranald

ON harbour

ON höfn

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

This word has caused problems elsewhere. One possible solution is ON tjörn = 'tarn'. There is an area in the machair behind Traigh Stir which floods regularly and could be called a 'tarn'.

Alternatively the stream joining Loch Hosta to the sea could be called ON tjörn á = 'tarn river'. There seems, some what unusually to be no Norse name for what is now known as Loch Hosta, although legend has it that it did not exist until a lake higher up the hill was released to flood the village below. The initial sound is not right however.

Then I thought of a simpler explanation. In Gaelic an initial /th/ sounds like an /h/ so adding the /t/back in and dropping the /h/ which could have been thought of as part of lenition leaves us with tuna. ON tún = 'a hedged or fenced plot, enclosure, within which a house is built; then the farm-house with its buildings, the homestead; and lastly, a single house or dwelling' is how Vigfusson seems the development of the word.

Looking at google earth here, one could make out a circular enclosure.

Simplest of all however is ON höfn = 'harbour' and this fits with the shingle beach here.

The ending is a little odd - but vowels are often added to the end of a word in Gaelic to 'complete' it. (Holliday p313) MacDonald writes 'Huna means a young bear. Here it is a proper name as in the case of Loch Una and Unival. The local tradition is that Huna, or Una, was a daughter of the King of Lochlin'.

Hafn on South Uist has Haune as its first recorded name on the Bald Mapping c1800.

There is a Huna in Caithness (In Caithness charter, 1574, Hwnaye; 1777, Houna) as well as a Hunabost on Skye and a Bay Hunadu on Mingulay, S of Barra.

Huney on Shetland is thought to come from 'Havn-ey', the island that forms the harbour- the Harbour Island.

There is also a Hune bay and a Hune Taing on Orkney.

The name is common in Iceland (>30) and is a common component in Norwegian place names where amongst others there are over 40 examples of Havna and over 150 of the equivalent Hamna. The name also occurs in Sweden and Denmark.

Huna	2014	Modern OS mapping
------	------	-------------------

Una	1877	OS 1st edition
-----	------	----------------

Huna		MacDonald sketch history
------	--	--------------------------

Hurivag

Place ID 258 NF 91150 75870 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON back of the door

ON hurðar bak

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The generic initially appears clear as ON vágr = 'bay' although the name seems to be attached to the land. There is a Loch Hurabhaig (P#240) to the east.

One fit seems to be ON hurðar = 'of the door' referring to its position as the entrance to the waterway here.

Whilst ON hörr = 'flax' fits well phonetically, the genitive ON hörs = 'of flax' is not so good - there is a Hörsvik in Iceland.

ON hǫrgr = 'heathen altar' has the same problem with the genitive but not in the plural ON hörga.

Ryugh gives us a meaning of ON horr = 'dirty ground' as a possible.

Stewart (p41) derives Hurdiback from ON Hurðabak writing 'literally back of a door (used of an out- of-the-way place).'

and in fact this seems the most apposite here although the genitive is ON hurðar and the phrase is thus cited by Vigfusson. The cognate notes are encouraging.

In Norway Horgevågen, Horgevika and Horgenvika are place names.

In Iceland there are 12 Hurðarbak place names in Iceland.

Hurivag	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------	------	-------------------

Hurivag	1877	OS 1st edition
---------	------	----------------

Huravag		MacDonald sketch history
---------	--	--------------------------

Husabost

Place ID 108 NF 77260 61600 North Uist B1aleshare

ON farm of the houses

ON húsa bólstað

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Although not currently visible on a mapping, there do exist an Abhainn Husabost and a Sgeir Husabost indicating that the site of this place is near modern day Teanna Mhachair.

The generic is ON bólstaðr is a much studied word - see Gammeltoft - and on the Hebrides often ends up a -bost.

The specific comes from ON hús = 'house' although the most likely reflex is ON húsa = 'of the houses'. The island to the south comes from ON kirja bólstað = 'farm of the church' seems to form a counterpoint.

Gammeltoft lists four Husabost names of various forms, one on Shetland, one on Skye and one on Mingulay, Barra.

There are several similar meaning names in Iceland - e.g. Húsatún occurs over 90 times and Húsaborg 9 times - but I could find no cognate. This generic is rare there.

In Norway Husby is the first component of over 100 place names but might have developed a special meaning but again no cognate.

Husaboste	1389	Charters of Inchaffray
-----------	------	------------------------

Husabost	1389	Charters of Inchaffray
----------	------	------------------------

Husabost		MacDonald sketch history
----------	--	--------------------------

I. Aird Finlay

Place ID 5297 NF 82362 47303

Benbecula

Peter's Port

ScG Finlay height + Eng island

Eng island + ScG àird fionnlaidh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I. Aird Finlay

1804

Bald mapping

I. an Taigh

Place ID	6483	NF 77942 37169	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG island of the house			ScG eilean an taighe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
I. an Taigh			1804	Bald mapping	

I. Ardelchainich

Place ID 6277 NF 75462 31479 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG height ?? moss + Eng island

Eng island + ScG àrd ?? Choinnich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

I would expect the missing portion to be ScG a' = of the' rather than /el/. Conceivably this could be a second /f/. Kenneth is another possibility instead of 'moss'

I. Ardelchainich

1804

Bald mapping

I. Hector

Place ID 5273 NF 84239 46577 Benbecula Peter's Port

Eng Hector island Eng island Hector

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The Gaelic form of Hector is Eachann and one imagines this was where the name started.

I. Hector 1804 Bald mapping

I. Mc.Cuiramet

Place ID 6652 NF 84538 41612 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON waters - meet of the pen bay + Eng ilsand Eng island + ON vák kvíar ár-mot

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The first element looks like ON kvíar = 'of the fold'. The Mc could easily be ON vík = 'bay'. ON ár-mot = 'waters - meet'. This gives us a slightly confused 'waters - meet of the pen bay island'. With a later settlement in the bay here and a large amount of feannagan and evidenced of a fold this makes sense. The 'waters-meet' could refer to tow bays meeting at the island.

This is perhaps an illustration that the less corrupted Bald names are in the end easier to resolve!

I. Mc.Cuiramet

1804

Bald mapping

I. Muleapugh

Place ID	5464	NF 86151 52410	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ON bay of the mill + Eng island			Eng island + ON myllu vág		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

It feels like a mill name, possibly but there seems to be no reason for that. Bald's nam eis surprisingly easy to interpret although I'd be happier if someone found a mill here.....

The close compound ON möl vág = 'gravel bay' is an alternative and indeed, somewhat sadly, the cognate notes lean me towards that option.

In Iceland there are 12 Mölvik place names and no /myll/ cognates.

In Norway there is Myllavika and just under 200 places beginning with Molvik.

I. Muleapugh

1804

Bald mapping

I. na Cruviechad

Place ID 5271 NF 84109 46480 Benbecula Peter's Port

Eng island + ScG of the + ? ON gutting shed

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG crubh = 'hoof, horseshoe, claw' and ScG gad = 'withy' might be start here but seems unlikely.
A better possibility might be ON kryfja = 'to disembowel' and the whole thing could be ON kryfja kot = 'gutting shed'.

I. na Cruviechad

1804

Bald mapping

I. na Madd

Place ID	5463	NF 86276 52357	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
Eng island + ScG of the dog			Eng Island + Scg na madaidh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
There is little to go on here!					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
I. na Madd			1804	Bald mapping	

I. na Pitach

Place ID 5462 NF 86561 52425 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

Eng island + SCG of the place of the pit

Eng ilsand + ScG na pit -ach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Could this be another ON pétti = 'Pict' name?

Probalby not with ScG pit = 'pit or hollow'. There is a hollow between the tow slands here which might be the feature referred to.

There are no other Pitach names on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

I. na Pitach

1804

Bald mapping

I. na Poulach

Place ID 5286 NF 86921 47942 Benbecula Peter's Port

Eng island + ScG of the place of the pool Eng island + ScG na poll -ach

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I would have expected ScG an rather than ScG na as ScG poll = 'pool' is masculine. I suspect that Bald was not as precise as he might have been with articles.

I. na Poulach

1804

Bald mapping

I. na????nurt

Place ID 5270 NF 82401 47416

Benbecula

Peter's Port

Eng ilsand + ScG of the ??

Eng ilsand + ScG na ??

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

It is difficult to interpret this at all!

I. na????nurt

1804

Bald mapping

I. ni niver

Place ID	6479	NF 76414 36514	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
Eng island					<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input type="checkbox"/> complete?
I. ni niver			1804	Bald mapping	

I. Strom Cairnin

Place ID 5274 NF 84371 46551

Benbecula

Peter's Port

ScG current of the little cairn + Eng island

Eng island + sròm càrnain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I. Strom Cairnin

1804

Bald mapping

I.na Gaul

Place ID 4955 NF 76988 28506 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG island of the lowlanders

ScG eilean na gall

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

It is possible that it is an L. not I. although the feature on the map seems to be the small island at this GR.
I would expect the specific to be ScG gall = 'low lander or foreigner' and normally taken to be the Norse. The IPA spelling is /gauL/ which is a close fit.
Only one too?

I.na Gaul

1804

Bald mapping

L. na Gaul

1804

Bald mapping

illan a Voa

Place ID 6607 NF 85093 40917 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG ilsand of the sunken rock

ScG eilean a' bhodha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

I suspect that there is a nearby sunken rock here, ScG bodha = 'sunken rock' here, This is a masculine noun and so one would expect in the genitive article ScG a' plus lenition, i.e. bhodha. /bh/ is pronounced as /v/ and the /dh/ is silent giving us Voa.

Simples.

In Sheltand ON vágr has become Voe and this could well be hwat has happened here.

illan a Voa

1804

Bald mapping

lochdar

Place ID 5686 NF 77574 46205 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG ìochdar ScG the lower part

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name does not appear on the Bald mapping.

The OS 1st edition name of Carnan lochdar = 'Lower Carnan' rather takes away the possibility of ON jöðurr = 'edge' although it is an attractive topographical option.

There is however clearly some confusion as the OS 1st edition has lochdar marked as an area stretching across the machair from the W coast to Loch Bì.

In the end then I think the Norse option has merits but not enough!

Similar to Uachdar on Benbecula, the name lochdar has a stornlgy coastal spread with only 1 out of the nine names containing lochdar- being inland. lochdar occurs on its own as anelement three times. One is just to the W of this place and the other is on Jura, lochdar na Caillich in an area with three Caillich names and one Chlèirich one.

lochdar	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eochar	2014	Modern OS mapping
Carnan lochdar	1877	OS 1st edition

lochdar

Place ID 5687 NF 75054 45265 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

'lochdar' @lochdar'

Settlement Boundary

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The place name as shown on the OS 1st edition follows well the boundary between the area of the top of South Uist and the lower section. See John Raven's PhD.

See Eochair (P#5686) for a discussion.

lochdar	1877	OS 1st edition
lachdar	1877	OS name book
locair	1877	OS name book
Netherlands	1877	OS name book

Iodhlann Mhor

Place ID 4915 NF 74419 67977 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG the big farmyard

ScG iodhlann mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The Hebridean Connection gives us the name and 'the big farmyard' as its root (p79).

Iodhlann Mhor

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Iodhlann Thormaid

Place ID	4917	NF 75263 68920	North Uist	B1ayhead	
ScG Norman's farmyard			ScG iodhlann Thormaid		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Iodhlann Thormaid			1984	The Hebridean Connection	

Iolaraigh

Place ID 44 NF 78780 63280 North Uist B1aleshare

ON shelf or holy island

ON hillar or heilagr ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Beveridge cites, with a '?', ON illr - ey = 'bad island' which is unlikely as it has traditionally been good arable land. ON hylr = 'deep place or a pool in a river' or the plural ON hylja = 'of the pools' seems more likely as there was almost certainly a large pool in the middle of the island until the 18th century as depicted by Blaeu.

The quantity of the initial vowel ScG io is matched by the ON hy as is the quality.

One possible alternative is ON íla = 'spring' or ON ílur = 'springs' which is word that has been constructed from place names. See <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx>. However the island is not noted for its springs.

Looking more recently with a little more experience, the lack of cognates is a concern.

Vigfusson gives us another possible clue with three related words: ON hilla and ON hjallr = 'a shelf or ledge in a mountain's side' and ON Hillar = 'a Norse local name, akin to hilla and hjalli'.

At first ledge is not too promising but the website <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/> gives us for ON hjalli 'something flat, which lies high' and writes that it can occur in Norwegian place names as Kjæll, Hil, Hell and Hall.

Reflecting on approaching the island, it is a flat shelf between the sea and the mountains and so topographically it could work.

Taking the last option from Vigfusson and adding ON ey = 'island' we have Hilleray, a reasonable phonetical fit.

There are some clues in the earliest versions of the name, Ylara (1389), Yllera (1505) and Eillera (1561). All seem to indicate that the initial sound is more than a single vowel.

The cognates are good further evidence.

In all the old mappings, this island was called Illeray, or its equivalent. More detail can be found in the Balilleray section of 12 lost townships.

Reading Cox's 2022 book, I think one can forget all the above as I propose a new solution - ON heilagri ey = 'holy island'! The development ei > ì is regular and the oldest form Ylara would be supportive of this root.

For ON hylur, in Iceland we have Hylur and Hylvad = ford of the deep pool and it occurs in Norwegian farm name. It occurs more commonly on the Faroes.

I can find no cognates with ON íla.

For ON hjelli/Hillar, then there are four Hjelløya, three Hill(e/a)røya, three Hell(a/e)røya and seven Hallarøa in Norway and two Hjällö in Sweden.

Whilst there are no cognates in Iceland, there are eight Hjallhólmi which is close. There are also seven Hillur/Hilla simplex names

Islay provides Ellister which Macniven derives from ON hella stað (p312) but the list of earlier forms bears many similarities.

Illeray	2014	Modern OS mapping
Iolaraigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Iolarai	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Illeray	1877	OS 1st edition
Illeray	1832	Thomson atlas
ileray Isle	1806	Stockdale mapping
Illeray	1799	Reid mapping
lleray	1794	Old Staitistical Account

Illuray Id	1794	Campbell mapping
Ill Vray	1794	Reilly mapping
Ileray I.	1789	Ainslie mapping
Isleray	1773	Kitchen map
Illury I.	1751	Dorret mapping
Isleray	1749	Kitchen mapping
Ulleray	1718	1718 rental
Ulleray	1718	Judicial Rental
ilerauy I.	1714	Moll map
Ileray I.	1714	Moll mapping
Illeray	1703	Martin book
Ileray	1703	Martin Martin map
Illvray	1654	Blaeu mapping
Illvray	1654	Blaeu mapping
Yllera	1505	RMS
Eillera	1505	RMS
Illaroy	1505	RMS
Illera	1505	RMS
Ylara	1389	Charters of Inchaffray
Iyllaray		Reg. Mag. Sig
Illeray		MacDonald sketch history
Iyllaray		Other

Irish Bay

Place ID 1925 NF 87595 59604 North Uist Eaval

ON gravel bank bay

ON eyrr + vágr

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

As in the nearby 'Irish Id' I am sure this will have come from ON eyrr = 'gravel bank'. There is an Eireabhagh on Benbecula. ON leira = 'muddy shore' is another possible, better topographically but less good phonetically.

Irish Bay

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Irish Id

Place ID 1923 NF 87587 59455 North Uist Eaval

ON muddy shore island

ON eyrr + ey + Eng island

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

I would expect this name to have come from ON leira = 'muddy shore' or ON eyrr = 'gravel bank'. With the initial 'l' swallowed, the word then sounds like Eire, which is of course a name for Ireland and is a perfect fit topographically.

Irish Id

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Island More

Place ID 5187 NF 77046 52075 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG big Eng island Eng island + ScG mòr

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A slightly curious combination of languages for an island that is no longer an island.

Island More

1804

Bald mapping

Island na Much Mar

Place ID 5468 NF 85921 52877 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

Eng island + ScG of the whale

Eng island + ScG na muic-mhara

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

One of several whale names in the area.

Island na Much Mar

1804

Bald mapping

Island na Temple

Place ID 5479 NF 86400 51255 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

Eng island + ScG of the + Eng temple

Eng island + ScG an + Eng temple

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

What a hotch potch of languages. I imagine it was called Eilean na Teampaill but quite why Bald did not finish the translation I am unsure! Indeed I think he got the wrong article anyway as it should be ScG an here as ScG teampall is masculine.

There is no evidence I am aware of a chapel here although there are turf structures.

Island na Temple

1804

Bald mapping

Island na True

Place ID 5483 NF 85123 50850 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

Eng island + ScG of the current

Eng island + ScG an sruth

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The article should be ScG an I think and 'True Glass' is being treated as an onomastic unit.

Cox notes that Timpan is often pronounced with an /s/ instead of /t/. He discusses the prosthetic /s/ (p65) where an initial /s/ disappears. Although the word for current is ScG sruth, it is always pronounced /struth/ and so sruth > struth > truth > true is the regular progression.

Island na True

1804

Bald mapping

Island na True Glass

Place ID 5482 NF 85033 51052 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

Eng island + ScG of the grey 'True'

Eng island + ScG an + 'True' + ScG glas

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Island na True (P#5483) for a discussion of the /true/ component.

Island na True Glass

1804

Bald mapping

J. Mc. Lachlans I.

Place ID	6484	NF 78696 37389	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
Eng John McLachlan's island			Eng John McLachlan's island		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
J. Mc. Lachlans I.			1804	Bald mapping	

Kanusorarrath

Place ID 1268 NF 78975 63665 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG bay of the place of the watch-man ScG camas fhear-fhaire -aidh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Going right back to 1389 Iolaraigh was mentioned in the Charters of Inchaffray with particular mention of the 4d land 'inter Hussaboste et Kanusorarrath'. Husabost is thought to be near the current Teanna Mhachair and so Kanusorarrath has to be to the E and probably on Iolaraigh.

Beveridge (p79) suggests ScG Ceann - eararaidh = 'head of the parching', a process grian goes through before grinding. There is a similar place name recorded in MacKillop excellent 'The Place Names of Berneray'. This place is named Cnoc an Eararaidh (p31) and whilst he mentions ScG eararadh = 'winnowing or parching of grain', he believes the Gaelic to be ScG Cnoc an fhear-fhaire = 'Knoll of the watchman'.

My understanding of Gaelic pronunciation is that the 'fh' letters here both disappear in the sound and so we are left with ear - aire. I rely on his expertise as to further detail on his interpretation although observe that the suffix ScG -aidh = 'place of'.

In our case here then we probably have ScG camas fhear-fhaire = 'bay of the watch-man' and it would be an obvious place to put a watch, perhaps near the current Carnan nan Long or Rubha Leora. Better might be Eilean nan Carnan situated in the bay in the right place.

Indeed carnan has strong connections to beacon points and so this would tie in with the positioning there of a watchman.

Kanusorarrath

1911

Beveridge

Kenuachrach

Place ID 5109 NF 76823 51318 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG head of the upper place

ScG ceann uachdar -ach

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The nearby loch is recorded as Loch a' Chinn Uacraich on Modern mapping which is the only remnant there of this name.

Cearm uacrach	1877	OS name book
Kenuachrach	1877	OS 1st edition
Kunuachkir	1832	Thomson atlas
Ken Uachkir	1804	Bald mapping

Kersavagh

Place ID 1146 NF 91820 68310 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON bay of the fish-trap

ON kers vág

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

It is uncertain to me where the OS name book "Bend in the bay" comes from but a Gaelic source is suspected probably based on the alternative name, Cearsavhagh.

Likewise Beveridge's (p80) ON ker vagr = 'tub bay' seems unlikely as 'tub' in this context is that of a vessel such as a goblet or a barrel rather than a boat.

Topographically whilst less prosaic than many names, the Loch nam Madadh area does have a huge possible range of anchorages and fits well with ON kjǫrs + vagr = 'bay of choice'.

The Norse would have had a name for the overall bay and 'kjǫrs vág' is likely to have been it. This however is starting to fail the poetic test.

A simpler alternative is ON kjarrs = 'of the brushwood'. The Icelandic cognate notes are however a worry.

The initial vowel however is not as close as it might be although the development j > e seems regular on Uist.

A final alternative is ON kjós = 'deep or hollow place' or as Rygh writes 'recess' which in Norway has taken on the meaning of 'a bay or a small forest'. This too has problems with the initial vowel.

So going back to Beveridge and Cox records ON ker as meaning 'fish-trap' as well as tub and suddenly it all makes sense.

Towards the northern limit of the bay are two sites where a fish trap would be easily formed and there is evidence of some form of walling on satellite imagery.

The area was used to process salt process at a site under modern el {THC p39). It was also the site of an execution c 1570 (THC p224)

MacDonald rather disparagingly writes 'the scene of many a brawl in the days of old.'

There is a Kershader on the S shore of Loch Erisort, Lewis which Oftedal (p48) thinks comes from either ON hjart = 'deer' or ON kjarr. Cox however suggests ON ker = 'fish-trap' here.

There is a Keravík, a Kervík and a Kjarrvegur in Iceland but none of the names with ON kjarr as the generic have a genitival 's'. There is a Kjósarvík there.

In Norway there are five Kjerrvik<-2;a3> (The Norwegian equivalent of ON ker), one Kjosvik and one Kjosarvika.

Kersavagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cearsabhagh	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Kersivay	1877	OS 1st edition
Cearsavhagh	1877	OS name book
Kersival	1806	Stockdale mapping
Kersival	1789	Ainslie mapping
Kersiva		MacDonald sketch history

Kilmuir

Place ID 2361 NF 70732 70583 North Uist B1alranald

ScG the Virgin Mary's chapel

ScG cill moire

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

An important site as it was the centre of one of the two North Uist parishes.

The church has now moved inland but there is still the ruin of an 18thC church here. It is thought the old chapel is buried under the mound here.

An old name for this spot is Colonsai?

Colonsay has several posited roots: 'Although the name Colbhasa or Colonsay is commonly believed to derive from Kolbeinnsøy, 'Kolbeinn's island' (Kolbeinn is a personal name), it is more likely to derive from Norse Koll-vangsøy 'island of Koll-vangr' where Koll-vangr would be a place-name meaning 'hill field' and Haswell-Smith gives us ON Columba's Isle

Kilmuir	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Colbhansai	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Colasaidh	1911	Beveridge
Kilmuir	1877	OS 1st edition
Kilmorie	1850	Collectanea
Kilmuir	1794	Old Staitistical Account
St. Mary's Church	1703	Martin book
Parish of Kilmoor	1703	Martin book
Kilmorie	1505	RMS
Kilmuir		MacDonald sketch history

Kinbhir Pt

Place ID 1916 NF 89985 58379 North Uist Eaval

ON landing place of the slope + Eng point ON kinn - vörr

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ON kinn = 'cheek' has come to mean a steep slope.

There is a good harbour here and the slope is steep as expected in a 'cheek' slope.

The development ö > I would be unusual, even in a unstressed syllable and so an alternative would be ON ver = 'fishing station'. Then all the developments are regular.

Whilst both elements occur seperately there is no cognate I could find in Norway or Iceland.

It is in Faroese that the alternative meaning of 'landing place' is written and so it could be that this meaning was not in use when the place names were created in Iceland and Norway.

There is are five Kinna[®] völlum place names in Iceland.

Kinbhir Pt

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Kirkidale

Place ID 5002 NF 79713 26893 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON church valley

ON kirku dal

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Marked as a settlement on Bald, this has widely been interpreted as ON valley of the church although there has not been a suitable building found, even though two likely sites were excavated in the area.

The sense could simply be that of a land owned by the church. See Circeabost for more detail.

Kirkidale

2014

Modern OS mapping

Kirkidale

1877

OS 1st edition

Kirkidale

1804

Bald mapping

Kitchen Dubh

Place ID 2352 NF 71862 69738 North Uist B1alranald

ScG black Eng kitchen Eng kitchen + ScG dubh

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am not quire where this name appeared from. It was not on my printed version of the 2003 1:25000 OS mapping but is there now on the digital version. An ever evolving landscape of place names!

Kitchen Dubh 2014 Modern OS mapping

Knock Eval

Place ID 2330 NF 71893 72181 North Uist B1alranald

'Eval' + ScG hillock ScG cnoc + 'Eval'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This must refer to Loch Eubhal (P#745) for which see details

Knock Eval 2014 Modern OS mapping

Knock Eval 1877 OS 1st edition

Knock Foshigary

Place ID 1108 NF 73750 75730 North Uist Grim1inish

'Foshigarry' + ScG hillock SCg cnoc + 'Foshigarry'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See 'Foshigarry' (P#1045) for an explanation of that place.

Knock Foshigary

2014

Modern OS mapping

Knock Ruchgy

Place ID 612 NF 87410 74850 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG hillock of the + ON fort

ScG cnoc + ON virki

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

A name with a longer record of previous names than most in North Uist. The first component has varied between ScG ceann = 'head', ScG cnoc = 'hillock' and ScG gearraidh = 'enclosure'.

Indeed I suspect they are three slightly different places both related to a place 'Ruchgy'.

Modern mapping places it between the two Obans here. This would mean the ScG gearraidh would be the area behind that.

If we remove the generic then we are left with the following sequence:

varocb(h)y > vachy > vuchy > vurchie = unrchie > vorachy = vorochy > vurchie = mhurchaidh > ruchgy = reicidh > ruchgy

At some stage between 1766 and 1877, the /v/ and the following /a?o?u/ have disappeared.

The /r/ disappeared in the 1679 documents but following the /u/ it is not hard to understand why.

Mhurchaidh has to my eyes been a version of ON virki = 'stronghold'. This last word is discussed in my blog:

<http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/slaves-on-uist>.

This topographically fits well with the nearby presence Dùn Torcuill, a fortified site that has been reused post Iron Age.

There are seven Virki place names in Iceland. In Scotland there are three Virkie placenames clustered around the souther tip of Shetland.

The 64 names beginning with Mhurc- are clustered on the W coast with a few inland ones, 24 are on Lewis and Harris.

Gearriunrchie	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
Garvurchie	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
Knock Ruchgy	2014	Modern OS mapping
Garvurchie	2004	Lawson North Uist
Gearraidh Mhurchaidh	2004	Lawson North Uist
Garrivachy	1986	Easson land assessment
Garnivuchy	1986	Easson land assessment
Knock Ruchgy	1877	OS 1st edition
Cnoc Reicidh	1877	OS name book
Kinvorachy	1751	Dorret mapping
Chinvorochy	1751	Dorret mapping
Keanvarochy	1654	Blaeu mapping

Knock Torla

Place ID	1312	NF 93196 81646	B1earnaraigh	Ru1isigearraidh	
ON turf land + ScG knoll			ScG cnoc + ON torf land		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON? <input type="checkbox"/> complete?

There is a Torlum on Benbecula and another in Perthshire with a Torland in Lanarkshire.

There is a Torfuland in Iceland but no other clear potential cognates but in Norway we have nine Torland names.

Macniven (p148) discusses Rubha Thòrrnish and arrives at ON torf or torfa + nes. ON torfa = 'a green spot' or 'many farms built together'

He also (p185) discusses Torradale arriving at either ON torf or torfa dalr

On p134 he discusses Ardtallaand arrives at ScG àird + ON hár land

Knock Torla	2014	Modern OS mapping
Knock Torla	1877	OS 1st edition
Cnoc Torraigh		Other

Knock Ullaveg

Place ID 5707 NF 75096 69368 North Uist Central West

ScG hillock + 'Ullaveg' ScG cnoc + 'Ullaveg'

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Ullabheag (P#2251) for a discussion of the 'Ullaveg' unit.

Knock Ullaveg 1877 OS 1st edition

Knockanteagal

Place ID 1883 NF 77387 55451 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG hillock of + ON sea - fish drying racks

ScG cnoc an t- + ON sea fish drying racks

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The OS name book alternative gives the name away : Cnoc an t-Seagail.

The OSNB writes 'is applied to a few houses situated in the district of Balivanich on the north side and adjacent to the National school. The dwellings are all one storey high thatched and in ordinary repair'.

However the IPA pronunciation of ScG seagail is /jegil/, the proximity of Calla Geodha is interesting.

Is the possible root ON sæ - hjalla = 'sea - fish drying racks'

There are six Seagail names on the OS 2nd edition mapping. Two are on Uist and rest scattered around the mainland.

The two Uist ones are nearby at Rudh' an t-Seagail, Carinis and Eilean an t-Seagail, Grimsay.

Knockanteagal

1877

OS 1st edition

Cnoc an t-Seagail

1877

OS name book

Kyle of Rona

Place ID 2606 NF 89887 58031 North Uist Ronaigh

Eng kyle of 'Ronaigh'

Eng Kyle of 'Ronaigh'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

Presumably this started life as ScG Caol Rhonaigh or the like.

See Ronaigh (P#16) for details of that place.

Martin Martin (or Black Martin as the sennashies called him in The Hebridean Connection!) wrote 'About two miles to the south of Loch Eport lies the bay called the Kyle of Rona, having the island of that name (which is a little hill) within the bay; there is a harbour on each side of it. This place hath been found of great convenience for the fishing of cod and ling, which abound on this coast. There is a little chapel in the island Rona, called the Lowlanders' Chapel, because seamen who die in time of fishing are buried in that place.'

Kyle of Rona

1703

Martin book

Kyles Bernera

Place ID 5656 NF 89985 78402 North Uist Clachan Sands

'Bernera' ScG narrows ScG caolas + 'Bernera'

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

MacDonald writes that the Kyles Bernera was the latter name.

Bailevichuish

MacDonald sketch history

Kyles Bernera

MacDonald sketch history

Baile Mhic Cuish

MacDonald sketch history

L. a Bhogaidh Sholasaich

Place ID 5545 NF 84197 48247 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of dipping at the place of the + ON sunny ScG loch a' bhogaidh + ON sól áss + ScG -ach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG bogadh = 'softening, steeping, dipping' must be the third component. ScG sòlasach = 'shining' however has been rather ignored in Thomas' translation of 'Steeping Loch'.

To me it looks very like Sollas on North Uist and derived from ON sól áss = 'sunny ridge' and certainly here the ridge does face S. I don't imagine that the inhabitants of Sollas are bringing their sheep down hear to dip but this is another place with that name.

L. a Bhogaidh Sholasaich

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Steeping Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. a Clotuic Mhoir

Place ID 5536 NF 82507 48777 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG great hill loch ScG Loch a' ?cleit? Mhòir ScG?
Fresh water ON? complete?

The name is hard to read and so one has to believe the translation that Thomas gives. The article would not be correct for the above guess as ScG cleit is feminine and so we would expect ScG na

L. a Clotuic Mhoir	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Great Hill Loch	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. an Bain

Place ID 6477 NF 75832 36861 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the ??

Fresh water Lake

Is this the same names as Loch Bèin (P#6500).

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

L. an Bain

1804

Bald mapping

L. an Laidh

Place ID 6114 NF 75784 29226 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG lake of the + ON way

ScG loch an + ON leið

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG laigh = 'to lie down' with ScG laighe = 'the act of lying' would be the closest Gaelic but does not seem very sensible. Much better is ON leið = 'way, road' as this loch is in a line with the Bornais to Rubha Àird a' Mhuile if extended in a straight line towards Loch Aineort. I need the track is still marked on the modern OS mapping.

L. an Laidh

1804

Bald mapping

L. an Oir

Place ID 5552 NF 86359 48273 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG loch of the border

ScG l.och an oir

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

I am unsure as to where Thomas got his translation of 'Cold Loch'. ScG oir has a variety of meaning and here the best would seem to be 'border' as the loch is close to the dyke separating out the Rairnis peninsula from Creagastrom.

Cold Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. an Oir

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. an t-Siolain

Place ID 5290 NF 87123 48871 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG loch of the + ON sea estate

ScG loch an + ON sjó land

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

We have two very different names for this loch, Bald's L. Artullam and Thomas' L. an t-Siolan, different enough to be two totally different names.

L. an Siolan could stem from ON sjó land = 'estate of the sea' - ScG siol would be pronounced /juL./ It is easy to see the Rannish peninsula here forming one farm with easily defined natural boundaries. The /d/ disappearing is regular.

L. Artullam looks as if it derives from Loch a' Tullam. As in the cognate notes Tull occurs as an element in Shetland place names, possibly as an abbreviation for ScG tulloch?

A possible is ON hólinn = 'The hill' with the possible development and hypercorrection of hólinn > thulinn > tullam.

Sjó-land is listed as Vigfusson as a local name.

Dùn an Siamain on North Uist probably shares the same root. There are ten names on the OS 2nd edition mapping containing Siol- and seven of them are on the Hebrides.

Tull Geo and Tully Howe on Shetland and Tulla an Tuim on Lewis probably share a root with Artullam.

L. an t-Siolain	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
L. Artullam	1804	Bald mapping

L. an Tuathanaich

Place ID 5570 NF 85228 47230 Benbecula Peter's Port

scG loch of the place of the folk

ScG loch ?an? Tuatha ?-ach?

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Not far from Eilean na Tuath (P#5282), we have a similar root of ScG tuath = 'folk' - Thomas gives the meaning as 'Farmers Loch'. I am not sure of the precise grammar here as ther article is a surprise.

Farmers Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. an Tuathanaich

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. Avune

Place ID 6272 NF 73826 31780

South Uist

B1einn Mhòr

ScG lake of the stream

ScG loch na h-aibhne

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The grammar seems not quite right.....
ON höfn = 'haven' perhaps?

L. Avune

1804

Bald mapping

L. Boultrolume

Place ID 5445 NF 80961 50037 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG fold of 'trolume' + ScG loch ScG loch buaile + 'trolume'

Fresh water

See Trolamul (P#5328) for a discussion of 'trolume'

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

L. Boultrolume

1804

Bald mapping

L. Cnoc an Fhradhairc

Place ID 5549 NF 85402 48400 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

Scg loch of the hillock of the grazing ground enclo ScG loch cnoc an raghair

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG fara-dhàir = 'failed attempt at copulation' is too close to not be considered and would have an interesting folk etymology.

Thomas however gives us 'Lookout Hill Loch' based upon ScG fradharc = 'sight or view' I suspect.

The final letter could be a /c/ not /e/. ScG raghar = 'Arable land not in tillage or sometimes Grazing ground enclosed between the arable land and the open moor' looks more promising with its genitive ScG raghair. The initial ScG /fh/ is silent and possibly inserted by Thomas to create his lookout.

L. Cnoc an Fhradhairc

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Lookout Hill Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. Cudhdui

Place ID 6107 NF 74812 29967

South Uist

Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the dark fold

ScG loch cuidhe dubh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

L. Cudhdui

1804

Bald mapping

L. Cudhdui

Place ID	6240	NF 74787 30000	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG black fold loch			ScG loch cuithe dubh		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input type="checkbox"/> complete?
L. Cudhdui			1804	Bald mapping	

L. Dubh Mhic a Ghobha

Place ID	5546	NF 84471 47903	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG black loch of the + ON shed of the bay			ScG loch dubh + ON víkur kofa		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The simple solution is the direct translation ScG black loch of the son of the blacksmith.

However the siting just to the W of the Oban Uaine gives the possibility of ON víkur = 'of the bay' as a specific.

The /bn/ here is silent the IPA spelling is /go.ə/.

ON góðr = 'good' is an adjective and so is not ideal. Better is ON kofi = 'hut, shed' in the accusative or dative as ONJ kofa.

The disparity in the quantity of the initial vowel is explicable by the desire to resemanticise to ScG mhic = 'of the son'.

There is a Víkurkofi in Iceland.

L. Dubh Mhic a Ghobha

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. Iron Drain

Place ID 6108 NF 74811 29621 South Uist Loch Eynort

eng iron drain + ScG loch

ScG loch + Eng iron drain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

A good Bald name!

L. Iron Drain

1804

Bald mapping

L. Mhic a Gobha

Place ID	5534	NF 81543 48872	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
'Mhic a Gobha' ScG loch			ScG loch + 'mhic a' gobha'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

It probably should be ScG ghobha wit the article ScG a' before it.

This is the second name of this type in the area. See L. Dubh Mhic a Ghobha (P#5546) for a discussion on the 'Mhic a Gobha' element.

Smith's Loch	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
L. Mhic a Gobha	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. na Banachaig

Place ID	5535	NF 81887 48982	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of the dairy maid			ScG loch na banachaig		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ScG banachag = 'dairy maid' and this would have been an area of cattle pasture so the name makes a lot of sense.

L. na Banachaig	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
-----------------	------	----------------------------------

L. na Biodaig

Place ID 5555 NF 86969 48565 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG loch of the +

ScG loch na ON beiti-teig

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Thomas gives us 'Dirk Loch' based upon ScG biodag = 'dagger' but there seems on reason for this name.

There is a Sgeir nam Biodag near Berneray about which I wrote 'However ON beit looks good for the specific and has two possible meanings, 'grazing (as in the land)' and poetically 'ship'. If the former then the obvious root would be ON beiti-teig = 'a tract of pasturage' and if the latter ON vágr = 'bay'.'

Here the pasturage option looks good.

Dirk Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. na Biodaig

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. na Criarh

Place ID 5454 NF 85934 53455 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the boundary

ScG loch na crìche

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The /r/ on Bald's map looks as if he was uncertain and smudged it to hedge his bets. I suspect that it was meant to be a /c/, which it could conceivably be and then the root would be ScG crìche = 'boundary (genitive)'.
This is appropriate as two short dykes here of c 200m length in total cuts off the whole of the Ròisinis headland.

L. na Criarh

1804

Bald mapping

L. na h-Uamha

Place ID 5557 NF 87494 48323 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG loch of the cave

SCg loch na h- uamha

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

No cave is apparent in satellite imagery. There 'caves' can be souterrain so it is an area worth investigating. There is a possible coastal cave about 100m to the E.

Cave Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. na h-Uamha

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. na Stearnan

Place ID 5556 NF 87164 48325 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG loch of the tern

ScG loch na steàrnan

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Odd, as so often, to only have one tern here.

Sea Swallow Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. na Stearnan

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. nan Cnamh

Place ID	5550	NF 85632 48403	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of the ON knob			ScG loch nan + ON knapp		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

I have a suspicion that it might stem from ON knappr = 'a knob, round top' as the loch is adjacent to an obvious rocky knoll.

The IPA spelling of ScG cnàmh = 'bone' is /kʰrã:v/.

Cox (p181) lists p > b in an unstressed position - Dibidale is an Uist example - and whilst b > v is regular in a Gaelic context I can't quite see it here. However the desire to resemanticise has, I think, driven it on.

L. nan Cnamh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Bone Loch	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. nan Leac

Place ID 5553 NF 86652 48350

Benbecula

Peter's Port

ScG loch of the flagstones

ScG loch nan leac

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

L. nan Leac

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Flag Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. Ornsay

Place ID 5476 NF 86894 51890 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON little + 'Ornsay'

ON lítill + 'Ornsay'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

For a discussion of the component 'Ornsay' see Orasaigh (P#5357).

Bald marks the island just above as M. Ornsay where the 'M' stands for Meikle = 'big' from Scots and going back to ON mikill = 'great'.

For this reason I think the 'L' comes from ON lítill = 'small'

L. Ornsay

1804

Bald mapping

L. Scrisord

Place ID 6103 NF 73911 29676 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON scree - fjord + ScG lake

ScG loch + ON skrið - fjörð

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This name has the feel of a ON fjörð = 'fjord' one, possibly with ON skriða = 'scree'.

This would fit with Bald's nearby Eridih (P#6104) and ON eyrr = 'gravel bank' if it were not for the lack of such a feature.

There are two Skriðuvatn place names in Iceland.

L. Scrisord

1804

Bald mapping

Lag a' Chealla

Place ID	5696	NF 93187 81871	B1earnaraigh	Ru1isigearraidh	
ON fish drying racks of the hollow			ON lágar hjalla		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Depression			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

MacKillop gives us 'Hollow of the Cell' but see Cnoc a' Chealla for a discussion of the Chealla component. As in the Cnoc a' Chealla name, ON lág = 'hollow' is a good alternative to create a purely Norse name.

Lag a' Chealla	2013	Place nAmes of Berneray
----------------	------	-------------------------

Lag a' Chomanachaidh

Place ID 2633 NF 91745 81726 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ScG hollow of the communion ScG lag a' chomanachaidh

Contour Depression

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The direct translation would be 'Hollow of the communion'. Mackillop lists three other names for the place with his derivations. The earliest is Lag Armchuil which to me has the feel of Norse although Mackillop talks of Armiger, a Nicholson name.

The generic could be ON kúla = 'knob like hill' but the specific is not clear.

Lag a' Chomanachaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lag Ermchuil	2013	Place nAmes of Berneray
Lag a' Chomanachaidh	2013	Place nAmes of Berneray
Lag an Oir	2013	Place nAmes of Berneray
Lag iain 'ic Neill 'ic Uilleam	2013	Place nAmes of Berneray

Lag a' Ghallain

Place ID 1035 NF 75300 76160 North Uist Griminish

ScG hollow of the place of the low-landers ScG lag nan gall -an

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The site is recorded only by Beveridge (p197) as 'four hundred yards to the NE, near Vallay Strand, is a hollow known as Lag a' Ghallain'. See Dun na Ghallain for a discussion.

Lag a' Ghallain

1911

Beveridge

Lag Beag

Place ID	2181	NF 78932 63507	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG little hollow			ScG lag beag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Depression			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lag Beag			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Lag Ghilleasbaig Heidhsgeir

Place ID 6083 NF 83984 73843 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG Archibald of Heisker's hollow ScG ag Ghilleasbaig Heiskeir

ScG?

ON?

Contour Depression

complete?

Niclain wrote extensively about this character 'In the second half of the eighteenth century Gilleasbaig Mac Ghilleasbaig Oig, or Gilleasbaig Og Heidhsgeir, as he was known, owned the holding of the island of Heisgeir. There are various stories about these places it is thought that this was where Gilleasbaig would take shelter for the night when he was on his way to a cow sale in Lochmaddy with his cattle. Another theory is that he fought on the Jacobite side at Culloden in 1746, and that he hid here as he fled from the enemy. At one time Archibald and the daughter of Fear Bhàlaigh, William MacDonald, were going to marry, but eventually he married her. The brother of this woman was a bailiff at the time. The bailiff and Gilleasbaig fell out, and the bailiff persuaded Gilleasbaig to leave Uist, although it is not known for sure whether it was because of the girl that he was most likely to leave. Anyway, Gilleasbaig took this seriously, and said that he would never step on Uist again, and he did not. Some time after he left, the people of Heisgeir saw a ship coming very close to land. They were sure that it would be on the rocks, because the strait was so dangerous. Those who gathered on the shore saw a man on board waving at them, and thought it was Archibald, as it seems there was no one who was as sure as he was about all the rocks and sandbanks. . It was thought that he was taking one last look at Heisker before going over to Canada (MacKenzie. 1946: 160).'

Lag Ghilleasbaig Heidhsgeir

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Lag Gorm

Place ID	306	NF 77310 62560	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG blue hollow			ScG lag + gorm		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lag Gorm			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Lag Gorm			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Lag na h-Aibhne

Place ID	1640	NF 87211 56341	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG hollow of the stream			ScG lag na h'aibhne		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Depression			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

This is the obvious hollow at the tip of Bagh Mor where the road dips to cross the stream running down from Loch na Faoileag.

It is however possible that this has as a root ON höfn, referring to the excellent natural harbour that is Bàgh Mùr. ON lægðar höfn = 'harbour of the hollow', an apt description.

Lag na h-Aibhne

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Lag na Muice

Place ID 2642 NF 93552 82626 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigearraidh

ScG hollow of the whale

ScG lag na muice

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Mackillop talks about 'hollow of the pig' and describes it as a 'mucky bay' but I suspect with the location, whale is more likely. A humpback whale was washed ashore just around the corner in 2018.

Lag na Muice

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lag na Muice

1877

OS 1st edition

Lag nam Bocan

Place ID 2173 NF 77717 61612 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG hobgoblin's hollow

ScG lag nam bòcan

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Fraser gives us 'Hobgoblin or Apparition Hollow' and adds 'According to tradition, a ghostly place. There are the remains of an old cemetery here, of unknown date.'

Lag means the same in ON and ScG so it could have Norse roots but the other section is not clear.

Lag nam Bocan

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Lag nan Caorach

Place ID	1232	NF 81750 59860	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG hollow of the sheep			Scg lag nan caorach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lag nan Caorach			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Lag nan Uiseag

Place ID 2379 NF 71666 71819 North Uist B1alranald

ScG hollow of the ON edge of the house ScG lag nan + ON hús egg

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The last component looks very Norse but nothing obvious occurs. ON hús egg 'edge of the house'? Topographically it is similar to the cognate in Norway.

There is a Husegga in Norway, a distinct mound in the bend of a river.

Lag nan Uiseag

1877

OS 1st edition

Lag Sheilisdeir

Place ID	5694	NF 93767 83102	B1earnaraigh	Ru1isigrearraidh	
Onlanding place of the herring + ScG hollow		ScG lag + ON síla stöð			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Depression			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The obvious meaning is as MacKillop gives us ScG lag sheilisdeir = 'hollow of the yellow iris'.

The lack of article is an issue but ScG lag = 'hollow is good for the first section.

As elsewhere with the initial sound of ScG sheilisdeir, the more one listens to a pronunciation the initial sound is close to that of Shillay with a root of ON sílda or síla = 'of the herrings'. The vowel is perhaps not of the right quantity but the /s/ sound will help.

The generic could then be ON staðr = 'dwelling' and here 'dwelling of the herrings' fits very well with the nearby 'ravine of the fish drying racks'. One other alternative it could be a ON sætr = 'hut' name as In Shetland this word often ends up in the form -ster. A last alternative is ON stöð = 'a berth or harbour'. Stewart defines it as 'landing place' which would be an excellent match to the specific herring.

The desire to resemanticise will help with these small issues.

Of the 18 Seilisdeir names on the OS 2nd edition mapping, all bar two on Lewis and one in Perth are coastal. There is a Sílistaðavarða and three Sílastaðir in Iceland.

Lag Sheilisdeir

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Lagan Arnal

Place ID 725 NF 72940 66230 North Uist B1ayhead

'Arnal' + ScG place of the hollow

ScG lag -an + 'Arnal'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

See Rubha Arnal (P#724) for a discussion of the second element.

Lagan is interesting as ScG lagan = 'small hollow' does not work here topographically. Of the 63 occurrences of Lagan in Scottish place names in the OS 2nd edition, the vast majority are inland and clearly do refer to hollows. The few coastal ones could have another meaning and it is perhaps telling that there is one right in the N of Shetland where Gaelic names do not exist. Lagan Tiorma at the entrance to Uig Bay is possibly telling here. Laggan occurs 152 times and gain mostly inland although some examples exist on Mull and Iona. There are three more Laggans in Shetland too although they are not coastal.

Lagan Arnal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lagan Arnal

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Lagan Arnal

1877

OS 1st edition

Lagan Masgeir

Place ID 729 NF 72060 66860 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG hollow of ON Màsgeir

ScG lagan + ON Màsgeir

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Lagan is discussed fully under the nearby Lagan Arnol. Masgeir is discussed under Masgeir - nothing else to say! The OSNB writes 'signifies Maskeir Beach' but ScG lagan is defined as 'little hollow or cavity' in Dwelly and since the beach is almost a kilometre long, 'little' does not seem appropriate. I suspect that originally the name referred to a small area inshore from Màsgeir.

Lagan Masgeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lagan Maskier	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Lagan Mhas-Sgeir	1877	OS name book
Laggan Maskeir	1877	OS name book
Lagan Maskeir		n/a

Laimhrig Mhòr

Place ID 5094 NF 84785 80553 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG big landing place ScG laimhrig mhòr

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG laimhrig = 'harbour' is thought by MacBain to have come from ON hlað-hamarr = 'loading rock' although I've always thought that ON hlað-hrygg = 'loading ridge' is closer phonetically although it does not appear as an expression in Vigfusson. ON hlað-berg does however with a definition of 'a projecting pier, a rock where a ship is laden' and is defined as equivalent to Hlað-hamarr. This too seems closer phonetically if one accepts metathesis between the /e/ and the /r/ to give hlað-breg.

The cognate notes give another alternative of ON hlað-brekka = 'loading slope'. However in Iceland the word ON hlað has taken on the meaning of 'farmyard'.

In Iceland there are five Hlaðhamarr and six Hlaðbrekka(n) place names.

In Norway there are four Lad(e)ham(m)aren place names whilst Ladberget is commoner with 23 occurrences.

Laimhrig Mhòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Laimhrig Mhòr	1877	OS 1st edition

Laimhrig na h-Eala

Place ID 2039 NF 92899 76741 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG harbour of the swan or ON frames of timber ScG laimhrig na h-eala or ON hjallr

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I have had to place this is a fairly random position.

See Seolaid na h-Eala for a discussion on that name.

ScG laimhrig is though to come form ON hlað-hamarr = 'landing rock' (Macbain) although I'd have to say ON hlað-hrygg = 'landing ridge' seems a lot closer phonetically.

Laimhrig na h-Eala

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Laimhrig Ruadh

Place ID 2639 NF 92932 81626 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ScG rusty red landing place

ScG làimhrig ruadh

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Laimhrig Ruadh

1877

OS 1st edition

Laimrig nam Capull

Place ID 1683 NF 86196 58255 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG landing place of the mare ScG laimrig nam Capull

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There is a natural landing place here at the closest point between Griomasaigh and North Uist. Presumably it was used to bring horses across.

The ScG nam = 'of the (plural)' is unusual - one expects ScG nan = 'the' before a noun beginning with 'c'. ScG capull = 'mare' is rather oddly masculine. One also might have expected lenition.

Laimrig nam Capull

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Lainis

Place ID 2538 NF 85773 68630 North Uist Central South

ON headland of the swamp water

ON leið + nes

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ON leið = 'course' would seem to be a good fit here - perhaps the water route connecting Loch nam Madadh, Loch Euphort and Ahmore.

The initial vowel is not a perfect fit in terms of sound but seems to have precedents elsewhere on the island.

Rygh however gives a second meaning of ON lá = 'Swamp water, especially Ferrous Water.' or 'nook' comes via Oftedal both of which seems a pretty good description of this very marshy headland, although this usage might be late.

The cognate evidence is supportive of the first interpretation.

Laiaval on North Uist and South Uist probalby have the same root for the specific.

There is another Lainish on Taransay, Harris

In Iclenad there is a Leiðarnes and in norway we have ten Leines(et).

Lainis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Aird Laidhnis	1877	OS name book
Lainish	1877	OS 1st edition
Ard Laidhnis	1877	OS name book

Lamacleit

Place ID 5633 NF 81930 72950 North Uist S1ollas

ON crag of the lambs

ON lamba klett

Settlement

Building

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The form is Norse with the generic being ON klett being the accusative of ON klettr = 'crag, cliff, rock'.

ON lamb = 'lamb' in the genitive plural ON lamba would be the obvious generic.

The structure here is an odd shape being closer to square than normal.

Lambaklettur occurs ten times in Iceland and once on the Faroes.

Lamacleit

2021

Donald Macaulay

Lamalum

Place ID 5114 NF 77410 51570 Benbecula T1orlum

ON lamb islet ON lamba hólm

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The -lum ending is a regular version of ON hólmr

There are 14 Lambholmen in Norway but curiously none in Iceland.

Lamalum	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lamalum	1877	OS 1st edition
Lanmleen I.	1804	Bald mapping

Lambaidh an Fheòir

Place ID	5743	NF 76173 75669	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG island of the lambs + ScG of the grass			ON lamba ey + an fheòir		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lambaidh an Fheòir			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Lambaidh Chreagach

Place ID	5744	NF 76242 75671	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG craggy + ON island of the lambs			ON lamba ey + ScG chreag -ach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lambaidh Chreagach			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Lang Aird

Place ID 5189 NF 76801 52818 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

Eng long ScG height

Eng long + ScG Àird

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

This is a good description of the rocky ridge that runs NS here and it would have stood clear of the larger lochs in Bald's time. Indeed it demarks a fork in the inland pre-drainage waterway system of Benbecula, well illustrated on the map by Stewart Angus in his Curracag paper on the subject (p66)

Lang Aird

1832

Thomson atlas

Long Aird

1804

Bald mapping

Langais

Place ID 922 NF 83750 65190 North Uist Langass

ON long ridge

ON langa + àss

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

This is one of the more straightforward names. ON langa = 'of long' is the genitive of ON langr.

Slightly surprisingly there are no cognates in Iceland whilst in Norway there are over 300!

Langais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Langass	1877	OS 1st edition
Langais Farm	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Langash		MacDonald sketch history

Langanish

Place ID 6513 NF 78137 38159 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON long headland

ON langa nes

Fresh water

ScG?

ON?

complete?

This headland indeed is very extensive and linked by a ford with other sections of land.

There are 30 place names Langanes in Iceland.

Langanish

1804

Bald mapping

Langasgeir

Place ID 5649 NF 69667 66113 North Uist B1ayhead

ON long skerry

ON langa sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

THC p249 'In that time the Big Cape was stretching into the western ocean as far as the Ford of Langasgeir (that is perhaps two miles further west than the present shore line at this point.)'

Langasgeir

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Langvard I.

Place ID 6485 NF 78894 37359

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ON long cairn + Eng ilsand

ON langa varða + Eng island

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Island

complete?

Could this be long ford island?

Langvard I.

1804

Bald mapping

Laogh a Chais

Place ID 5520 NF 87497 50456 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ON hollow of the lagoon

ON lagar kjós

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This is an odd one, especially bearing in mind Thomas' translation of Cheese Island.. Have the Gales taken onboard the Norse habit of naming small island near the main one as Calf Island? There is an expression ScG laoigh-choise = 'calf at foot' but that seem unlikely.

I wonder in the end if it Norse with the specific ON lagar, the genitive singular of ON lögr = 'lagoon'. A possible generic would be ON kjós = 'hollow'

Laogh a Chais

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Cheese Isd

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Lar a' Chuain

Place ID 1282 NF 98717 77649 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG middle of the deep

scg lar a' chuain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop gives us 'Ocean view' based on an alternative name 'Lathair a' Chuain' and see my comments about Sgeir a' Chuain.

I would be happier with an alternative meaning of ScG làr = 'middle' as the skerry lies in the middle of the passage through the Sound of Harris

Interestingly the next skerry to the N is called ScG Sgeir a' Bhata Reothairt = 'skerry of the boat of the spring tide?'

Lar a' Chuain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lathair a' Chuain	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Lair a' Chuain	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Lar a' Chuain	1866	Admiralty mapping

Làrach Eaglais Chaitligeach

Place ID 6022 NF 81715 75532 North Uist S1ollas

ScG site of the Catholic church

ScG làrach eaglais Chaitligeach

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Religious

complete?

A church used to be here before the Reformation. As Peter's Cemetery is nearby, it may have been St Peter's Church.

Làrach Eaglais Chaitligeach

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Layaval

Place ID 1667 NF 75403 16606 South Uist Lochboisdale

ON hill of the way

ON leiðar völl

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ON leiðar = 'of the way' would work well here. There is a Laiaval on North Uist.

ON fjall might be a bit excessive here, ON hváll might be better. Looking at the cognates, ON völlr = 'field' might be the best option although the name is attached to a hill. In particular the alternative suggested in the OS name book of '-vaule' is evidence for this to be correct.

There are three Layaval names in the bottom section of South Uist. In the OSNB the more southern two list '-vaule' as an alternative ending.

There is a Leiðvöllur in Iceland and a Leivoll in Norway.

There is a Leatrhbhal (#1101) on North Uist q.v.

Layaval	2014	Modern OS mapping
Layaval	1877	OS 1st edition
Leival	1877	OS name book
Layavaule	1877	OS name book

Leaba an Daimh

Place ID 1816 NF 86122 46053 Benbecula W1iay

ScG bed of the stag ScG leaba an daimh

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Leaba an Daimh 1866 Admiralty mapping

Leaba Dhubh

Place ID	2144	NF 77858 62089	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG black channels of the river			ScG leaba dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
Fraser gives 'The Black Bed'					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Leaba Dhubh			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Leaba Mhor

Place ID	2184	NF 78739 63229	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG big hollow			ScG leaba mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Depression			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
		Not 100% convinced of a hollow here.....			
Leaba Mhor			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Leabaidh Ghilleasbaig Heidhsgeir

Place ID 6082 NF 83980 73863 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG bed of Archibald of Heisker

ScG leabaidh Ghilleasbaig Heiskeir

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

See Lag Ghilleasbaig Heidhsgeir (P#6083) for a discussion on this character.

Leabaidh Ghilleasbaig Heidhsgeir

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Leabaidh nan Carn

Place ID 2160 NF 77537 62042 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG river channel of the cairns ScG leabaidh nan càrn

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rather the meaning of ScG leabaidh = 'bed', I think here it is 'channel of a river'.

Leabaidh nan Carn 1973 Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Leac a' Bharraich

Place ID 5700 NF 63516 60986 North Uist Heisker

ON stream of + ScG place of the + ON landing pla ON lækr varrar + ScG -ach

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Macaulay writes 'G Leac - a flat slab of rock G Barrach - a Barra man'

Being close to the main settlement, I suspect this might stem from ON vörr = 'enclosed landing place' in the genitive form ON varrar.

Quite how the grammar works I am unsure. An obvious possibility is ON varrar lækr = 'stream fo the landing place' and then the order has been reversed in the resemanticization process with the locative suffix ScG -ach = 'place of' addended.

This is where Loch nam Buadh drains to the sea.

ScG bara = 'boat cradle' looks like a loan word here and initially was attractive but using a flagstone for a boat cradle seems an odd combination.

See Barradh-greine (P#5089) for details on cognates.

Leac a' Bharraich	2020	Alick Macaulay Heisgeir
Leac a' Bharraich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Leac a' Bharraich	1877	OS 1st edition

Leac a' Mhiosachan

Place ID 851 NF 83490 62650 North Uist Eaval

ScG slab of the calendar ScG leac a' mhíosachan

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beveridge (p256) writes about this and two other similarly names sites.
The first component is clear ScG leac = 'slab' referring to the large slab here.
The sound is /miəsəxan/ and the word means 'calendar' which is not inconceivable.
The fact that Beveridge assigns the name to two other slabs would indicate that it must the name of some form of stone.
Beveridge states there are two other sites of the same name elsewhere on North Uist.

Sökk occurs in almost 30 Icelandic place names an dl have no idea of the meaning. Several appear to be related to bogs and so it might be connected to 'soak'

Leac a' Mhiosachan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Leac an Sgairbh

Place ID 2331 NF 72333 72571 North Uist B1alranald

ScG cormarant's rock

ScG lean an sgairbh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Presumably this is a rock on which Cormorant's stand to dry their wings in their characteristic outspread wing pose although here there is only one cormorant to just from the article.

Leac an Sgairbh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Leac an Sgairbh

1877

OS 1st edition

Leac Bhàn

Place ID	569	NF 90580 79370	North Uist	Clachan Sands	
ScG pale rocky ledge			ScG leac bhàn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Leac Bhàn			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Leac Bhan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Leac na Gruagaich

Place ID 452 NF 88180 55010 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG slab of the brownie

ScG leac na gruagaich

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Rather than an American cookie, the brownie here refers to a household spirit that is said to come out at night while the owners of the house are asleep and perform various chores and farming tasks.

The story is that the local inhabitants put milk out on this slab to 'feed' the spirit.

There is another of these near Ceann a' Bhàigh.

Two other names here use ScG sìth = 'fairy'

There is another of these names near Ceann a' Bhàigh and a total of 12 on the OS 2nd edition mapping with a heavy W coast bias.

Leac na Sith	2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)
Leac na Sìthe	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Leac na Gruagaich	1877	OS 1st edition

Leac na Gruagaich

Place ID	5611	NF 73389 67323	North Uist	B1ayhead	
ScG flagstone of the brownie			ScG leac na gruagaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Exposed rock			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Leac na Gruagaich			2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name	
Leac na Gruagaich			1984	The Hebridean Connection	

Leac na Thobha

Place ID 120 NF 97975 72442

North Uist

Lochp1ortain

ScG ledge of the + ON mound

ScG leac na + ON haug

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The ScG na = 'of the' still is a concern as it should be ScG an to agree with the masculine ScG tobha = 'mound' and one wouldn't expect to see the lenition.

With the OS 1st series naming it Leac na Hoe, there is a chance it is a Norse name. The pattern does seem to be that if the Gaelic speaker does not know the meaning of a place name, they assign it a feminine gender. This would explain the ScG na.

Leac na Thobha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Leac na Hoe

1877

OS 1st edition

Leac Lee

1866

Admiralty mapping

Leac Lee

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Leac nam Madadh

Place ID	1018	NF 95260 67440	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG ledge of the dogs			ScG leac + nam + madadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Leac nam Madadh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Leac nam Madadh			1877	OS 1st edition	
Leac Maddy			1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh	

Leac Sudhanais

Place ID 635 NF 88850 78480 North Uist Clachan Sands

'Sudhanais' + ScG ledge

ScG leac + 'Sudhanais'

Coastal

Cliff or slope

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Sudhanais (P#634) for a discussion on that element.

Leac Sudhanais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Leac Suenish

1877

OS 1st edition

Leacach an Tigh Chloiche

Place ID 2268 NF 80031 66848 North Uist Central South

ScG place of the slabs of the stone house ScG leach -ach an tigh coiche

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Leacach an Tigh Chloiche 2014 Modern OS mapping

Leacach an Tigh Chloiche 2000 Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Leacach an Tigh Chloiche 1877 OS 1st edition

Leacach How

Place ID 6398 NF 75848 36234 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'How' + Scg place of + ON stream

ON læk + ScG -ach + 'How'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

The /How/ here must refer to the old name of the local townships, Howmore (P#75 q.v.) and Howebeg.

ScG leacach = 'bare summit' which seems very inappropriate for this river. I wonder in fact if it comes from a ON læk = 'stream' with the SCG -ach = 'place of'.

Leacach How

2014

Modern OS mapping

Leacach How

1877

OS 1st edition

Howmore Burn

1877

OS name book

Leacach Stùlabhal

Place ID 6200 NF 79489 23514 South Uist Loch Eynort

' Stùlabhal' + ScG place of flat stones ScG leac -ach + 'Stùlabhal'

Contour Flat

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Stulabhal (P#6202) for a discussion of that element.

Leacach Stùlabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Leacach Staolabhail	1877	OS name book
---------------------	------	--------------

Leacach Stulaval	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------	------	----------------

Leacan nan Cailleachann-Dubha

Place ID 5781 NF 79068 76508 North Uist V1allay

ScG slbs of the black women

ScG leacan nan cailleachann-dubha

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Niclain wrties '9. Nuns' Slabs (MMC)There are two slabs to be seen here and there are two stories about them. One states that two women were burned on these slabs during the Reformation, as they were thought to be witches. It is also said that two women who were stealing milk from the cows of others were killed and buried here.'

Beveridge recites the second of these stories (P262) as well as stating they 'undoubtedly represent a prehistoric burial site.

Cailleachann-Dubha often refers to 'nuns' and the presence of Teampull Mhuir 500m to the W might be relevant.

Leacan nan Cailleachann-Dubha

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Lèan a' Chaile

Place ID 5862 NF 80599 74017 North Uist S1ollas

ScG flat meadow of the cabbage

ScG lèana a' chàile

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

The name is derived from the word lèan, meaning flat lace. Curiously ScG cail mans 'wet/damp meadow' which would give a curious tautology.

Lèan a' Chaile

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Lèan an Udail

Place ID 5991 NF 82507 78100 North Uist S1ollas

ScG water meadow of 'Udail'

ScG lèan a' 'Udail'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Udal (P#12320) for a discussion of that element.

Lèan an Udail

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Leathabhal

Place ID 6194 NF 77466 23649 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON mountain of the route

ON leiðar fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The generic is clear ON fjall = 'mountain'.

The specific is less obvious but I suggest ON leið = 'route, road' in the genitive case ON leiðar.

This fits with the idea of this being the main route from the W coast to the high ground and the E coast pastures.

Hurabhat (P#6196) could provide evidence for this too.

Leathabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Layaval	1877	OS 1st edition
Layavaule	1877	OS name book
Leival	1877	OS name book
Layavaule	1804	Bald mapping

Leathad a' Bhualite

Place ID 1672 NF 81649 60134 North Uist C1arinish

ScG slope of the striking

ScG leathad a' bhualite

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

See Rubha Bhualite for a discussion of the second component. ON velta = 'ploughed land' was the conclusion there. Here there is the added complication of the Battle of Carinish and so there could be relevance to the ScG buailte = 'the striking.'

Equally the name could have been adopted after the Battle. Chicken and egg.

Leathad a' Bhualite

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Leathad a' Gheàrraidh

Place ID	5864	NF 80563 73769	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG slope of the enclosure			ScG leathad a' gheàrraidh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Leathad a' Gheàrraidh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Leathad Chorùna

Place ID 5867 NF 80499 73433 North Uist S1ollas

'Corunna' ScG slope

ScG leathad + 'Chorùna'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Track

complete?

There is another Corunna place name near Carinis attributed to a soldier returning from fighting there. No Waterloo though?1

Leathad Chorùna

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Leathad ghearraidh na Tuath

Place ID 4919 NF 74583 67353 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG slope of the northern boundary

ScG leathad ghearraidh na Tuath

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The Hebridean Connection (p76) gives us both the name and a meaning of 'slope of the division of the farmers'. I do wonder if here ScG tuath takes the meaning 'north' and so become 'slope of the northern boundary' referring to the boundary of Caolas Phaibeil or indeed the original Paibeil.

Leathad ghearraidh na Tuath

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Leathbhal

Place ID 584 NF 88270 75190 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON hill of the way

ON leiðar + hváll

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The generic ON fjall = 'mountain' or ON hváll = 'rounded hill' is clear and I would be convinced that the specific is ON leið = 'way' as there are other name sin the area referring to a way. The 'ð' produces a 'th' sound. The old name on the OS 1st series of Laiaval is more convincing.

The crossing here from the E coast to the W coast involves only 500 m of portage.

Henderson however maintains that the derivation is Lagavòllr = 'law-field' thinking that the short à sound in Gaelic is against leið.

The place name does seem firmly attached ot the hill here and with ON leið having an alternative meaning of 'a local assembly', the sense of law-field might not be far away still!

Henderson writes: "Norse -aga- ScG agh-, (ao) (-aya-, -aia-) laga-völlr, 'law-field,' Beinn Laghal, Ben Loyal; Laiaval, Layaval (Uist), of like meaning. The short à sound in the G. is against the suggestion of taking the word from N. leið-fjall, 'levy or slogan hill.'

This is a name often used for an assembly or thing site where laws were discussed and decided

There is a Leidefjellet in Norway and both elements are common components of place names in those countries, ON fjall less so in Iceland

There is a Layaval on South Uist.

Leathbhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Laithavhal	1877	OS name book
Laiaval	1877	OS 1st edition

Leubaidh nan Cailleach

Place ID 543 NF 78688 61449 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG river channel of the nuns

ScG leubaidh nan cailleach

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Being adjacent to Teampull Chrìosd, the meaning of nuns rather than old women makes sense.

Leubaidh nan Cailleach

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Leum Criosdaig

Place ID 5165 NF 78518 53815 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG Christopher's leap

ScG leum ?

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

As far as I can see Christopher is properly Gillecriosd in Gaelic.
The modern spelling has reversed the spelling to Croisdaig.

Leum Criosdaig

1877

OS 1st edition

Leum na Ceathairne

Place ID 6759 NF 79700 45109 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG leap of the troop

ScG leum na ceathairne

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

I am unclear as to where the 'giant' in the OSNB suggestion comes from ScG ceathairne = 'Peasantry. 2 Yeomanry. 3 That portion of the male population that is fit to bear arms. 4++ Party of men. 5++ Stout men'.

There must be some story attached to a meaning of 'the leap of a troop'. Without one, there is the chance for a resemanticization of a Norse root.

Leum na Ceathairne

2014

Modern OS mapping

Leum na Ceàthairne

1877

OS 1st edition

Lì a Deas

Place ID 985 NF 91800 65080 North Uist Lees

ON hill- side + ScG of the south ON hlið + ScG a + deas

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am somewhat surprised that the Norse did not have tow names for the two summits.
It might be explained by them calling both hills the saddle or the like and there is some evidence for this in the use of ON saddle words in two places in the region.

The are over 60 Hlið place names In Iceland and Li uis very common in Norway zappearing over 150 times.

Lì a Deas	2014	Modern OS mapping
South Lee	1877	OS 1st edition
South Lee	1799	Reid mapping
South Lee	1703	Martin book

Li a' tuath

Place ID 1009 NF 93080 66360 North Uist Lees

ON hillside + ScG of the North

ON hlið + ScG a' tuath

Contour

Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Li a' tuath 2014 Modern OS mapping

North Lee 1877 OS 1st edition

Bein Lee 1858 Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Nh Lee 1832 Thomson atlas

North Lee 1799 Reid mapping

North Lee 1703 Martin book

Liadail

Place ID 6264 NF 83244 30247 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON valley of the steep hillsides.

ON hliða dal

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The generic is clear as ON dalr, one of three such name sin a row on this stretch of coast. Variants of the first element include Lie, Lea and Lae(i).

Looking at the topography, I suggest that the best option for the specific is ON hlið in its gentries form OPM hliða = 'of the slopes' reflecting the three steep hillsides at the rear of the glen.

In Iceland there are 10 Hliðardalur place names

Liadail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Liedale	1877	OS name book
Liadale	1877	OS 1st edition
Leadale	1877	OS name book
Laedale	1804	Bald mapping

Lidiostrom

Place ID 5353 NF 84052 50730 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ON current of the way ON leiðar straum

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

he most obvious root is ON leiðar straumr = 'current of the way'.

The development el > i is regular as is ð > d.

This would tie in with Hiùrabhagh (q.v.) being tied in with ON vegr = 'way'. Effectively this was a 'drove way'.

here are two cognate Leistraumen in Norway and three Leiðargil in Iceland.

Lidiostrom	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lidistrome	1877	OS 1st edition
Ledistrome	1877	OS name book
Lite Strom	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Litestrom	1804	Bald mapping

Liernis

Place ID 746 NF 88130 58700 North Uist Eaval

ON headland of the mud-flat

ON leira + nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

In The Hebridean Connection (p23) we are told 'Large quantities of leather were manufactured in the island - particularly at Lirinish, where there were a number of tanning pits.' The process needed salt and there was a special 'rock fungus' there. Ronaigh people helped.

ON leira = mud-flat is a good option for the specific with ON nes = 'headland' as the generic, especially with Otter's Leirnish. However the initial vowel sound is not quite right and an alternative is a possible derivative of ON hlið (see <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx>), ON hliðar = 'of the slope' is often found in Norwegian place names as 'either Liar-, Lier- or Lir-.'

That said the simplicity and the topographical fit of ON leira is too good an opportunity to miss I think.

Encouragingly there are a Leirnes in Iceland and a cognate Hliðarnes as well as a Hliðsnes.

In Norway we have a Liernesbekken and three Liarneset although there are 16 Leirnes(et) names.

Liernis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Liernish	1877	OS 1st edition
Leirnish	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Liernish	1832	Thomson atlas
Liernish	1799	Reid mapping
Leerinish		Other
Lirinis		Other
Livinish		Other
Lirinish		MacDonald sketch history

Ligeadh Sholais

Place ID 6018 NF 81416 75530 North Uist S1ollas

'Sholais' + ON stream

ON læk + 'Sholais

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

I wonder if ScG lèig = 'marshy pool' is at the base of this. That said that came from ON læk = 'stream'.

Ligeadh Sholais

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Limalum Beg

Place ID 6724 NF 76541 45718 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG little + 'Limalum'

'Limalum' + ScG beag

Fresh water

Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Limalum More (P#6723) for a discussion of the first component.

Limalum Beg

1877

OS 1st edition

Limilion Bheag

1877

OS name book

Limalum More

Place ID 6723 NF 76585 45527 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG big + ON island of the branched one ScG lími hólm + ScG mòr

Fresh water Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With this and Limalum Beg (P#6724). The initial component must be Norse.

Both being islands, the generic is almost certainly ON hólmr = 'islet' which regularly yields /lum/.

At first appearance the obvious specific is ON lím = 'lime, chalk, glue'. There is however unlikely to be chalk here locally although could have been a site for reducing cockles.

Bog myrtle was used to create paste but there is no evidence that the island was rich in it.

As interesting alternative is that in referencing Limstrand in Norway, Rygh writes (and Google butchers) 'This could lead to

the conjecture that this entire fjord had an old name *Limir or

*Limi, meaning: the branched one, a name that could probably fit in

view of the many waves and bollards with which it intersects into the country.' This would be an apt description of Loch Bì with its three outlets to the sea.

Limalum More	2014	Modern OS mapping
Limelon Mhòr	1877	OS name book
Limalum More	1877	OS 1st edition

Lingay

Place ID 5427 NF 84763 54394 Benbecula Rueval

ON heather island

ON lyngva ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Lingay 2014 Modern OS mapping

Liongaidh 1877 OS name book

Lingaigh 1877 OS name book

Lingay 1877 OS 1st edition

Liongaidh 1861 Thomas chart

Lingeigh

Place ID 638 NF 87090 78410 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON heather island

ON lyng ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

There are 15 Lyngey islands off Iceland and more Lyngøya off Norway so a common name.

Lingeigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lingay	1911	Beveridge
Lingay	1877	OS 1st edition
Lingay I.	1832	Thomson atlas
Lingay I.	1806	Stockdale mapping
Lingay	1799	Reid mapping
Lingay	1789	Ainslie mapping
Lingay	1703	Martin book
Lingay		MacDonald sketch history

Lingeigh

Place ID 1800 NF 85729 44952 Benbecula W1iay

ON heather island

ON lyng ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A common name on Uist.

Lingeigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------	------	-------------------

Lingay	1877	OS 1st edition
--------	------	----------------

Liongaidh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
-----------	------	----------------------------------

Lingay I.	1832	Thomson atlas
-----------	------	---------------

Lingay I.	1804	Bald mapping
-----------	------	--------------

Lingeigh

Place ID 2403 NF 85639 74855 North Uist A1hmore

ON heather island

ON lyng ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Two other islands of the same name are off North Uist. A discussion of these names in on my blog. This one is not very heathery and I wonder if in fact it comes from ON lin kvi ey = 'island of the flax pen'

There are 15 Lyngey islands off Iceland and more Lyngøya off Norway so a common name.

Lingeigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lingay

1877

OS 1st edition

Lingernish

Place ID 1980 NF 75881 76022 North Uist V1allay

ON heather headland (? headland of the thing) ON lyngva ness (? or ON þinganes)

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Headland

complete?

The extra 'er' here is however odd and there is no obvious reflex that works.. The addition of ON á = 'river' would work but there is no freshwater river here. All that said, there is little evidence of any heather here either.....

One remote passivity echoes that of Gruline on Mull that has been interpreted as a þing site. Here ON þinganes = 'headland of the thing' and Dùn Thomaidh is a site with the correct requirements.

Lyngnes is a very common name in Norway as well as occurring twice in Iceland.

Þinganes occurs twice in Iceland with four other names with þeis as the first component and þingnes occurs three times with seven other names beginning with it.

In Norway there are five Tingnes(et) and eleven places with that as the initial component.

Lingernish

1911

Beveridge

Linne a' Cheann Iochdraich

Place ID	2199	NF 77774 64099	North Uist	B1aleshare	
Scg pool of the head of the lower part			ScG linne a' cheann iochdraich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Linne a' Cheann Iochdraich			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Linne Bhada-Dhuinne

Place ID 5759 NF 77783 74435 North Uist V1allay

ScG pool of the ford of the fort ScG

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The word ScG duinne = 'brownness' but here I am sure it is a corruption of ScG dùin' = 'of the fort'.
Toroghas probalby has a fort in its meaning and although there is nothing obvious now, there must have been some fort in this area. It could be that at Geiriscleit but I would suspect a closer one. The pool could be considered to reach as far as Geiriscleit.

It would be temp[ting ot see this as an example of ScG dùn being loaned into Norse as ON vaða = 'of ther fords' creating 'fort of ther fords' would be a very good topographical fit.

Linne Bhada-Dhuinne

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Linne Cheirabhil

Place ID 279 NF 79570 57970 North Uist B1aleshare

ON whirl-pool + ScG channel

ScG linne + ON hvirfil

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

The only map on which this appears is the Thomas chart. Hvirfil occurs as a component of 11 places in Iceland with 3 occurrences of the equivalent Kvirvel in Norway.

Linne Chearghail

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Linnhe h-Earail

1911

Beveridge

Linne Cheirabhil

1861

Thomas chart

Linne Dhòmhnail Bhàin

Place ID	5942	NF 79382 74024	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG pool of fair Donald			ScG linne Dhòmhnail bhàin		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Linne Dhòmhnail Bhàin			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Linne Dubh

Place ID	2205	NF 77409 61442	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG black pool			ScG linne dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Linne Dubh			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Linne Gob an Rubha

Place ID	5924	NF 79230 74373	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG pool of the point of the promontory			ScG linne gob an rubha		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Linne Gob an Rubha			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Linne nam Breac

Place ID	1686	NF 80892 59506	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG pool of the (sea) trout			ScG linne nam breac		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Linne nam Breac			2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island	

Linne Raghnaid

Place ID	5961	NF 79252 73702	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG Rachel's pool			ScG linne Raghnaid		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Linne Raghnaid			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Linnie na Dige

Place ID 2222 NF 71655 68148 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG pool of the dyke

ScG linne na dige

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Macaulay, who is the only one who has recorded this name writes "LINNIE NA DIGE (Seaport of the Ditch), is situated where the sea flows into Loch Paible. It came into existence when a landowner called Seumas Ruadh, made the local people dig a large ditch to allow Loch Paible to drain away. The ditch was finished successfully, at least six feet deep and a quarter of a mile long. Unfortunately for Seumas Ruadh, three days after the loch was drained, there was a large tide and the Atlantic flowed into what had been Loch Paible! The tide has been in and out of Loch Paible ever since, for about 200 years."

MacAulay, 1978:8'.

Reid records on his map of 1799 'Loch drain's by Balranald' and indicates a project where the loch drains to the sea with a 'C', an abbreviation used elsewhere on the lan to indicate drainage schemes.

It is difficult to know if this refers to the drainage mentioned above. Either way, the sea does indeed flow in and out each day.

Linnie na Dige

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Liona na Creige

Place ID 4926 NF 74279 67525 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG water meadow of the crag

ScG làana na creag

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The Hebridean Connection (p77) gives us 'plain of the crag' but I cannot find quite what their derivation is. I do wonder if it was ScG làana = 'water-meadow or lane (slow flowing stream; place name element)' both of which would work here. The former seems close to the Hebridean Connectuon sense.

Liona na Creige

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Lionacleit

Place ID 204 NF 78793 49708 Benbecula T1orlum

ON crag of the people

ON ljóna klett

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

The /cleit/ component could be either ScG cleit or ON klettr, both meaning rock or crag. It is usually however the generic element and so this favours a Norse derivation, as does the possible meaning of the first element if Gaelic. Flax and fishing net are not obvious generic choices.

Once decided is it a name with Norse roots, the generic of ON klettr = 'crag, cliff' is clear. As this place was at the entrance to the large inland waterway of W Benbecula, I initially wondered if the specific is ON lón = 'lagoon' but ó > I or indeed o > I, are not regular.

ON hlað= 'load' is a possible with the compound ON hlað-berg = 'a projecting pier, a rock where a ship is laden - ON hlað-hamarr is the word from which ScG laimhrig is thought to have come. (cox p308) This however is again not a good match for the initial vowel.

ON lön = 'fishing net' or ON lögr = 'lagoon' are contenders with Holliday supporting Oftedal with ö > io.

The simplest option however seems to be ON ljónar which Vigfusson describes as 'an obsolete law term, daysmen or umpires' but the generally reliable Wiki gives '(poetic) men, people', a view shared by Zoega, and the genitive is ON ljóna.

This then is starting to look like an assembly site. It is ia good position on the boundary of current Benbecula and South Uist. There is no obvious mound however.

Cnoc a' Lin (P#721) near Bayhead is another contendor for the ON ljónar root.

In Iceland there is a Ljónklettur.

Lionacleit	2014	Modern OS mapping
Liniclate	2014	Modern OS mapping
Liniclett	1877	OS 1st edition
Lini-clait	1877	OS name book
Lianacleet	1877	OS name book
Liniclate	1877	OS name book
Lianacleit	1877	OS name book
Lineclate & Gerryghonil	1832	Thomson atlas
Lineclate & Gerryghonil	1804	Bald mapping

Little Glas

Place ID 1990 NF 93891 69033 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG small green island Eng little + ScG glas

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This would have started life as Glais-eilean Beag or the like. An odd combination.

Little Glas 1858 Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Little Hills

Place ID	5446	NF 84068 49170	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
Eng little hills			Eng little hills		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Little Hills			1804	Bald mapping	

Liursaigh Dubh

Place ID 67 NF 86460 40480 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG black + ON island of the clay

ON leirs + ey + ScG dubh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON lægis = 'of the anchorage' looks good for the specific as the island has a good natural harbour within it however the sound of the medial consonant cluster is not as it should be.

ON leira = 'muddy foreshore' would be a better fit apart from the fact it lacks the genitive 's'. One way to introduce this 's' would be to insert ON óss = 'river mouth'.

Just to the N is where Loch Sheileabhaig joins the open sea and the shores of this could be described as having a muddy foreshore.

A simpler way however is for the specific to be ON leir = 'clay' which has ON leirs as its genitive.

Oftedal might disagree re Leurboist p44.

There is a cognate Leirós in Iceland and 18 Leirosen in Norway as well as several others with an extra component including ON holmr = 'islet' but no islands.

The Blaeu name was Levrsam which looks like a ON holmr name and so this would then be a cognate.

There is a nearby Liursaigh Glas, Caolas Liursaigh, Luirsay and Rubha Caolas Liursaigh.

On Barra there is an Abhuinn Luirag Phaitir running down into Bàgh Beag, a bay that could have had its Norse name ON leiru vik > Luirag and above this bay is Ben Leribreck.

Liursaigh Dubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Luirsay Dubh	1877	OS 1st edition
Liurseidh Dubh	1877	OS name book
Laversa Dou	1877	OS name book
Black Leversay I.	1866	Admiralty mapping
Lewersa Dou	1804	Bald mapping
Levrsam	1654	Blaeu mapping

Liursaigh Glas

Place ID 68 NF 86800 40340

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ScG green + ON island of the clay

ON leirs ey +ScG glas

ScG?

ON?

To decide

complete?

See Liursaigh Dubh (P#67) for a discussion of this name.

Liursaigh Glas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lewsa	1877	OS name book
Luirsay Glas	1877	OS 1st edition
Grey Leversay	1877	OS name book
Lewersay Glass	1877	OS name book
Liurseidh Ghlas	1877	OS name book
Grey Leversay I.	1866	Admiralty mapping
Lewersa Glass	1804	Bald mapping
Levr fa	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch a' Bhàigh

Place ID 1299 NF 92633 81457 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

S1alt water Bay

Bays Loch was the recorded name on the OS 1st edition and is an odd name as few names on Uist have an English component and certainly not one that introduces an obvious tautology, as is the modern Loch a' Bhaigh. Bayhead is another example.

There is a possible interpretation that fits with the idea of this being a place for driving whales. ON vögn or vagna = 'a type of whale', possible orca or some smaller species, and the genitive is ON vagnar (s) or ON vagna (pl). In Norwegian it is clear that No vagn refers to Orca.

ON lögr = 'the sea, large estuary or lake'.

ON vagns + lög = 'sea of the whale' would sound similar to Bays Loch and would be a fitting name if this was the end of a driven whale run. For details see my blog post: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/norse-whale-hunting-in-the-hebrides>.

The /n/ however is a problem. A simpler solution is ON vágs lög = 'sea'. There are

One wonders if the Bays district (Na Bàigh) on the SE corner of Harris might share a root. The Lochs district (Na Lochan) on Lewis also has the same sort of etymology.

In Iceland there are many places ending in -lög

Loch a' Bhàigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bays Loch	1877	OS 1st edition
Bays Loch	1832	Thomson atlas
Bays Loch	1804	Bald mapping

Loch a' Bharpa

Place ID 793 NF 83540 60520 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the barp

ScG loch a' bharpa

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG barpa is the local word used for a 'cairn', possibly coming from the ON varða = 'cairn' or 'beacon for waymarking'.

The word 'Barp' appears in ten place names in Scotland with two on Skye and seven on Uist, the other being in Argyll (Barpontach).

It is interesting to see that adjacent to the Skye places is a settlement called Varkasaig and four names there with this as a component. These are the only occurrences of this component in the UK on the OS 2nd series and is good further evidence for the word arising from the ON varða as mentioned above.

Loch a' Bharpa

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Bharpa

Place ID 2524 NF 83693 66280 North Uist Langass

ScG loch of the barp (cairn)

ScG loch + a' + barpa

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Loch a' Bharpa

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Bharpa

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Bhòcain

Place ID	5179	NF 78166 51979	B1enbecula	B1aile nan Cailleach	
ScG loch of the spectre			ScG loch a' bhòcain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Loch of the Spectre' from ScG bòcan = 'hobgoblin, sprite, spectre'. ScG bocan = 'little buck' is a little less poetic.

ON vágan or vogan = 'hazard' or ON váginn = 'The bay' are remote possibilities.

Perhaps the best Norse option is ON buginn = 'The bend' Vigfusson writes 'a bowing, winding; so Icel. call the bight or bend of a river, brook, creek, or the like.' Looking at the old water route here, it is just about on the bend where the route turns to the N for W.

One imagines that the lengthening of the initial vowel is as a desire to resemanticise to ScG hhòcain.

In Iceland there are 45 places names Bugar and nealry 50 Bugur and ione Bugurinn.

Loch a' Bhòcain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch a' Bhòcain	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch a' Bhradain

Place ID	437	NF 85270 56510	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG loch of the salmon			ScG loch a' bhradain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The OSNB gives us 'the Salmon Loch' based upon ScG bradan = 'salmon'. It seems an unlikely loch for a salmon and that is perhaps why the singular article is used - one salmon ever!

I had hoped for ScG bràthan = 'querns' but the /th/ here would be silent.

It seems odd.

An attractive alternative for specific involves adj. ON brattr = 'steep' as the loch here has got steep sides. However there is no obvious (short) generic. I suspect that ni fact ON braut = 'path or road' is the solution in the accusative definite case ON brautina. The discrepancy in the quantity of the initial vowel could be ascribed by the desire to resemanticise.

NSL gives the meaning of 'Hill, Side of a Terrace' and 'Hill edge, Brink' and that is a reasonable description of the area here as it is the edge of the 'plateau' of Grimsay.

There are 12 places on the OS 2nd edition mapping containing Bhradain. Four are Uist lochs, none of which look promising for Salmon to be honest.

On Lewis there are two Tom names and a Sròn one. There is a /Tiree Eilean a' Bhradain, two Allt names on Loch Lochy and one Eas on Skye.

Loch a' Bhradain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Bhradain

Place ID	5320	NF 80445 49927	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of the salmon			ScG loch a' bhradain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Although the Gaelic grammar of place names often proves unreliable, here it is consistent and one can believe in this case that it is truly 'the loch of one salmon' rather than 'of the salmons'!

See Loch a' Bhradain (P#437) for a discussion of this name

Loch a' Bhradain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch a' Bhradain	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch a' Bhradain

Place ID 6668 NF 83387 43769 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG loch of the salmon

ScG loch a' bhradain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Salmon Loch' but without a decent stream to the sea this seems unlikely. ScG bràthan looks close but the /h/makes for a different sound. Also the word ScG brà is feminine so we would expect ScG na. All I can think is that this refers to salmon in the nearby sea.

Loch a' Bhradain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Bhradain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Vradden

1804

Bald mapping

Loch a' Bhràighe Luim

Place ID 5794 NF 78423 75849 North Uist V1allay

ScG loch of the bleak upper part

ScG loch a' bhràighe luim

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

'bleak upper part' bears little relevance to the topography.

I do ponder if it is was originally ON virki muli = 'fort headland' and with metathesis in both elements transformed to this Gaelic version. This would fit well with the ON borg name An Linne Bhorasdal (P#5795) nearby. There are several dykes across the peninsula here, none straight and these could form the requisite 'works'.

Loch a' Bhràighe Luim

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Loch a' Bhuid

Place ID 955 NF 87980 67190 North Uist Central South

ScG loch of + ON watch

ScG loch a' + ON vörð

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book writes 'Table loch' although one can see little reason for so naming it. One wonders if ON hjörð = 'herd' is a better option? Better is ON vörðr = 'guard' watch' with ON vörð the accusative.

The development rð > rt is given by Cox if part of a morphemic substitution, which it would be here. The development form ò > u is probalby driven by this too although it is not far to go.

ScG bòrd = 'table' also has the meaning of 'edge, especially of the sea or a lake' and with the genitive being ScG bùird this might be the root.

The position is good to guard the approach to the deer forest.....

There are 15 Vörður place names in Iceland.

Loch a' Bhuid

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Bhuid

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Bhursta

Place ID	5383	NF 80653 53178	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of the ON watch place			ScG loch a' + ON vörð stað		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

There is no obvious Gaelic root and the ending shouts ON stað = 'place'. A good possibility for the specific is ON vörð = 'watch' making 'watch house'.

The referent here is probably Stansa na Fèille which has an impressive view to the N, S and E.

The name recorded by Bald is different L. Avourd - it is hard to see how the /s/ has disappeared unless he understood the Gaelic insertion of /sh/ between an /r/ and a /d/.

There are no other places on the OS 2nd edition mapping starting containing Bhurst. With metathesis r <> s, one gets to Brusda (P#2646) on Berneray.

Loch a' Bhursta	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch a' Bhursta	1877	OS 1st edition
Lh. Avourd	1832	Thomson atlas
L. Avourd	1804	Bald mapping

Loch a' Buaille

Place ID 1031 NF 86630 64800 North Uist Lees

ScG loch of the fold ScG loch na buaille

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This name appears on a bathymetric chart.

The article is wrong as with a feminine noun ScG buaille = 'fold' one would expect ScG na.

Loch a' Buaille

Other

Loch a' Chabair Riabhaich

Place ID 589 NF 89420 74750 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the greyish brown pole

ScG loch + a' + chabair + riabhaich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Loch of the dark caber' which is a literal translation of the Gaelic words.

Loch a' Chabair Riabhaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Chabair Riabhaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Chabhain

Place ID 6110 NF 75323 29202 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the shallow valley

ScG loch a' chabhain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG cabhan can mean 'hollow, cavity, shallow valley', 'field, plain' or 'pungent/bad smell' so plenty to chose from. Topographically the most appropriate here would seem to be 'shallow valley'.

Loch a' Chabhain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Chabhain

1877

OS 1st edition

Trouts Loch

1804

Bald mapping

Loch a' Chadha Ruaidh

Place ID 957 NF 89690 67860 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG locgh of the red narrow pass ScG loch a' chadha ruaidh

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This just about works topographically.

Loch a' Chadha Ruaidh 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Chadha Ruaidh 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch a' Chafain

Place ID	6186	NF 74767 24160	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG loch of the stench			ScG loch a' chabhain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Chafain			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch a' Chafain			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch a' Chaolais

Place ID	632	NF 89750 78050	North Uist	Clachan Sands	
ScG loch of the strait			ScG loch a' chaolais		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Chaolais			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch a' Chaolais			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch a' Chapail

Place ID 2466 NF 80652 73028 North Uist Central North

ScG mare's loch

ScG loch a' chapail

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book gives us the eminently sensible 'Mare's loch'. It seems a bizarre twist that ScG capall = 'mare' is a masculine noun!

Niclain writes 'This example shows how place names change. Loch a 'Chapail is the oldest name, but as the area derives its water from the area, it is now known as Loch an Uisge.'

Loch a' Chapail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Uisge	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Loch a' Chapail	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Loch a' Chapuill	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch a' Charnain

Place ID	6697	NF 81019 43973	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG loch of the small cairn			ScG loch a' charnain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Township			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Charnain			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Lochcarnan			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Loch a' Charnain Mhòir

Place ID 6669 NF 83112 44039 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG lake of the large pile of stones

ScG loch a' charnain mhòir

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

A slightly contradictory name and no imagery of cairns of stones here. It would be somewhere appropriate for a navigational aid.

Loch a' Charnain Mhòir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Chàrnain Mhòir

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Charnian Mhòir

Place ID 6705 NF 83115 44034 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG lakeof the big small ciarn

ScG loch a' charnian mhòir

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

A slightly contradictory name.

Loch a' Charnian Mhòir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Chàrnian Mhòir

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Charra

Place ID 2264 NF 77886 68931 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG loch of the + ScG pillar or ON thicket river ScG loch a' charra

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The Pillar Loch'. The pillar presumably refers to the prominent standing stone on the nearby Beinn a' Charra.

There is also Abhainn a' Charra. The name on the OS 1st edition was Allt Loch a' Charra and this suggests it might be there was a place Carra rather than everything revolving around the stone although it is a very prominent feature.

It is not impossible that the area was called ON kjarr a = thicket river' and the Gaelic names (this one, Beinn a' and Loch a') have all stemmed from there.

<http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx> gives us "Scrub, Collection of Shrubs, especially one, which stands on damp, moored grounds", a pretty good topographical fit.

One might have expected a longer ending but again the desire to resemanticise might cut in.

There is a Kjarrá in Iceland and three Kjerråa in Norway.

Loch a' Charra	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch a' Charra	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Loch a' Charra	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch a' Cheann-dubhain

Place ID 6371 NF 77990 34500 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG lake of the dark head

ScG loch a' cheann-dubhain

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

I am not sure of the grammar involved in the /dubhain/.

Loch a' Cheann-dubhain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Cheann-dubhain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Chinn

Place ID 898 NF 81120 62170 North Uist C1arinish

ScG loch of the head

ScG loch a' chinn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The 'head' here could be referring to the bay to the S.

ScG ceann = 'head' becomes ScG chinn = 'of the head' by a combination of the genitive case and lenition. Here however unlike with Eilean na Chinn, the indefinite article is as one would expect ScG a' = 'of the'.

Perhaps however this is ON kinn = slope?

Loch a' Chinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Chinn Uachraich

Place ID 5110 NF 76939 51026 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG loch of the upper head

Scg loch a' chinn uachdair -ach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Upper Head Loch' based on ScG ceann = 'head' and ScG uachdar = 'upper' although I am not 100% sure of the grammar. Bald notes a settlement named Ken Uachkir on the higher land just to the N of this loch.

Loch a' Chinn Uachraich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch a' Chinn Uachdarach	1877	OS name book
Loch a' Chinn Uacraich	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch an Castle	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch an Castle	1804	Bald mapping
Coot Loch		Other

Loch a' Chlachain

Place ID 6115 NF 76073 29207

South Uist

Loch Eynort

ScG lake of ther stepping stones

ScG loch a' chlachain

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Loch a' Chlachain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Chlachain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Clachan

1877

OS name book

Loch na Clachan

1804

Bald mapping

Loch a' Chlachain

Place ID	6276	NF 75703 31947	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the stepping stones			ScG loch a' chlachain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Chlachain			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch a' Chlachain			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch a' Chlachain Bhig

Place ID 5126 NF 78802 51386 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG loch of the small stepping stones ScG loch a' chlachain bhig

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The ScG a' indicate a single item and so I believe the meaning to be ScG clachan = 'stepping stones' rather than 'stones'. The fact ScG clachan is masculine helps.

Loch a' Chlachain Bhig

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Chladaich

Place ID	837	NF 86740 63020	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG loch of the shore			ScG loch a' chladaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Chladaich			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch a' Chladaich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch a Chlaidhe

Place ID 6749 NF 78147 45460 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG loch of the ditch

ScG loch a' chlaidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG claidheamach = 'sword' is where the OS name book appears to be coming from. With an IPA spelling of /kLajəv/, the final /v/ sound has disappeared which seems a little unlikely.

ScG cladh = 'graveyard' has ScG claidh as its genitive and the lenition would occur as part of the article. This seems to me a much better fit.

The addition of the final /e/ could be some form of epenthesis.

Whilst one might like to suggest the meaning of ScG cladh = 'graveyard', traditionally these names are not lost.

However the alternative meaning of 'ditch' is more likely

Loch a Chlaidhe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Chlaidhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Chlamhain

Place ID 2494 NF 77558 67665 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG loch of the hen harrier

ScG loch a' chlamhain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Whilst Dwelly gives ScG clamhan = 'kite' or 'buzzard', the distinct lack of trees would suggest Hen Harrier (ScG clamhan nan cearc) is a better bet.

See Gleann a' Chlamhain (P#600) for another possible interpretation. The track here goes over the ridge and could be construed as a steep one, ON kleifin

Loch a' Chlamhain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Chlamhain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Chnoic Bhric

Place ID	6693	NF 80273 44169	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG loch of the speckled knoll			ScG loch a' chnoic bhric		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Chnoic Bhric			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch a' Chnoic Bhric			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch a' Chnoic Bhuidhe

Place ID 6416 NF 76659 35208 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the yellow knoll

ScG loch a' chnoic Bhuidhe

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Loch Cnoc a' Buidhe for a discussion of that place - this name is very similar and there is a clear island but no sign of settlement upon it.

However the Bald name, L. Dun Buiy (PN#13459) provides evidence that there was some structure there and so the meaning could be identical to that of Loch Cnoc a' Buidhe.

Loch a' Chnoic Bhuidhe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Chnoic Bhuidhe

1877

OS 1st edition

L. Dun Buiy

1804

Bald mapping

Loch a' Chnuic Mhòir

Place ID	835	NF 87270 62210	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG loch of the big hillock			ScG loch a' chnuic mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Chnuic Mhòir			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch a' Chnuic Mhòr			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch a' Choire

Place ID 102 NF 76690 14510 South Uist Lochboisdale

ScG loch of the corrie

ScG loch a' choire

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

This works topographically and grammatically and the alternative name on Bald's mapping of 'Kettles Loch' comes from the fact ScG coire = 'corrie' and 'kettle'.

Loch a' Choire	1877	OS 1st edition
Kettles Loch	1804	Bald mapping
Lochen Chory	1654	Blaeu mapping
Loch a' Choire	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch a' Choire

Place ID 6444 NF 81696 35590 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the corrie

ScG loch a' choire

ScG?

Fresh water

Lake

ON?

complete?

The referent corrie is Coire Ruadail (P#5582)

Loch a' Choire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Choire

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Chonnachair

Place ID 972 NF 90300 66980 North Uist Lees

ScG loch of ON near the saddle

ScG loch + a' + ON hjà + hnakkr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book proposes 'The pointed hillock loch' but I struggle to see why.

ON akr = 'arable land away from the home' is one possibility for the generic but ON hnakkr = 'saddle' is perfect topographically for an area below the hugely prominent saddle between the Lees.

With that in mind, a good suggestion for the specific is ON hjà = 'near' describing perfectly this area.

Conachair is the highest hill on St. Kilda and at the summit there is a narrow ridge leading to the NE. 'near the saddle' would work here too.

Loch a' Chonnachair

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Chonnachair

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' ghara-chruaidh

Place ID 5180 NF 79421 52095 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

? ScG loch of the dyke of the cattle

? ScG loch a' ghàrradh chruidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The ghara element is almost certainly ScG gàrradh = 'dyke'. There are various options for the specific but for me the best is ScG chruidhe = 'horseshoe' in the genitive case and lenited.

There is however no dyke of that shape apparent on satellite imagery.

The loch itself is an odd shape and the name could refer to that.

ScG cruaidh = 'anchor' and that is a good description of the shape of the loch. It is possible that the /ghara/ refers to the perimeter of the lake.

One final option that is further away phonetically but is far simpler is ScG cruidh = 'of the cattle'

Loch a' ghara-chruaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' ghara-chruaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Gheadais

Place ID 778 NF 91320 59440 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the + ON near the cairn

ScG loch a' + ON hjá dys

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Beveridge gives us 'Loch of the Pike' based upon ScG geadas = 'pike' or 'pickerel'. I have no idea where Otter's 'Picture Loch' comes from!

The problem is from what I can see Pike do not occur out on Uist.

One solution is that Arctic Charr in North Skye are referred to as ScG geadas. (PN of Inverenss P177). This species does occur on uist. (<https://scotland-species.nbnatlas.org/species/NHMSYS0000544751>)

The pronunciation to my ears would be /yyetas/. One possible Norse interpretation could be ON hjá-dys = 'near the cairn'. The loch here has a 'cairn' upon it in the form of a dun and so this could well be the name of a specific place nearby.

The ruins of the two buildings including 'Macodrum's house' there would be the obvious place although it is perhaps more likely that the cairn was built there before the houses but providing a ready 'quarry'.

Perhaps then this lake was called ON hjá-dys vatn before being Gaelicized.

There are two Lochan a' Gheadais in the Great Glen and no other versions of the name on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Loch a' Gheadais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch a' Gheadais	1877	OS 1st edition
Picture Loch	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Loch a' Ghlinne-dorcha

Place ID 814 NF 91470 62070 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the ON (pagan) cairn of the green pat ScG loch a' ON glenna hörge

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG ghlinne-dorcha = 'dark narrow valley' seems the obvious root however the topography does not match it. The hyphen is also odd.

In Shetland where there is not the issue of confusion with Gaelic there are five Glen names which Stewart (p119) takes the Vigfusson meaning of ON glenna = 'to open wide the mouth, fingers, or the like' to mean 'an opening or green patch among trees or rocks.'

This is presumably based on Rygh's 'Now means in the Vernacular after Aasen: Cave, Gorge in Berg, also : abrupt recess in earth; also used in a few other related meanings.'

I suggest that ON glenna hörgr = '(pagan) cairn of the green patch among rocks'. The following developments are regular: hörgr > horgr > thorchr > torcga.

t > d is not regular but is a similar sound and could be explained by the desire to resemanticise.

The referent would be the cairn at NF 91371 62729. It is certainly a 'cairn of a green spot amongst the rocks'!

There is a Gleann Dorch (P#2317) above Vallay Strand which could share the root.

Loch a' Ghlinne-dorcha	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch a' Ghlinne-dorcha	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch a' Ghoill

Place ID	829	NF 88120 63090	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG loch of the lowlander			ScG loch a' ghoill		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Ghoill			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Loch a' Laip

Place ID 1781 NF 86794 47300 Benbecula W1iay

ScG loch of the + ON strongly flowing

ScG loch a' + ON hlaup

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

There is no obvious ScG root here although Haswell Smith gives us 'spoon-shaped', presumably from ScG *ladar* = 'spoon' ON *hlíf* = 'shelter' works well as the bay provides that from all but an E wind. The development of *f* > *p* is not inconceivable although not regular. Henderson thinks *fr* > *p* is regular.

Another possibility is ON *hlaup* = 'leap' which is probably a better sounding alternative. In Iceland it has developed a meaning of a sudden rise or flood. Looking at the cognate notes, something here is going on. Many refer to places where a leap could cross a stream but others are of high places, often on the shore. At the S end of this loch, it does narrow significantly and whilst I would not fancy a leap there, it is something one might talk about. 10m at low tide? Rygh helps us with a meaning "the leaping", "the strongly flowing" and certainly the latter makes topographical sense here.

ON *hlaða* = 'to load' is another possibility, perhaps even ON *lög á hlaða* = 'sea lake towards to load'

On the cognate evidence and the phonetic evidence, I think ON *hlaup* is the best fit.

Hlif(a) occurs twenty times as a place name in Iceland and '*lif*' appears as a component of over 100 names in Norway although few of these are probably ON *hlíf*.

Hlaup appears as the specific of 73 place names of which 23 are simplex in Iclenad.

Loch a' Laip	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch a' Laip	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch an Loip	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Sounf of Wiay	1832	Thomson atlas
L. Loep	1806	Stockdale mapping
Sound of Wiay	1804	Bald mapping
Loch Liap	1804	Bald mapping
Loch Loep	1789	Ainslie mapping
Loch Loëp	1776	Mackenzie mapping

Loch a' Mhadaidh

Place ID	6233	NF 74194 30857	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the dog			ScG loch a' mhadaidh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Mhadaidh			1877	OS 1st edition	
L. Mady			1804	Bald mapping	

Loch a' Mhadaidh

Place ID	6417	NF 76251 35318	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the dog			ScG loch a' mhadaidh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Mhadaidh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch a' Mhadaidh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch a' Mheirbh

Place ID 606 NF 88700 74540 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the dead person

ScG loch a' + ON varp

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

In theory ScG meirbh = 'slender' is the closest match but an adjective does not work with the article. ScG mairbh = 'dead person' would work well as an alternative.

The name probably shares a root with Dun na Mairbhe (P#656), just over 2km to the W.

However they are geographically unlinked and Loch na Morgha could involve 'boundary' as the other two could share a root of ON mark = 'marsh'. Markissa is another name here all reflecting the possible importance of the boundary.

There is however another similar name, Eilean na Mna Mairbhe (P#490) in the North Ford. All three share the same topographical feature that they are close to prehistoric piles of stones.

The IPA spelling would be /ver^lev/ and if you look at my discussion about Barpa Langais (P#923) then ON verp, a side form of *ON varp = 'large cairn of stones' looks ot work here with the referent being Dùn Torcuill or closer Dùnan Dubh in the loch 300m to the E.

It is interesting to see that there are nine names on the OS 2nd edtion containing Mhairbh. Seven contain Duine Mhairbh.

In Iceland there is a Verpi, three Varp and and nine Varpi place names whilst in Norway there are six Varpa, over 50 Varpet and over 140 names beginning with Verp.

Loch a' Mheirbh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Mheirbh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Mhòil

Place ID	6329	NF 73613 33965	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the shingle beach			ScG loch a' mhoil		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Marsh			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Mhòil			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch a' Mhòil

Place ID	6361	NF 73583 34807	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG lake of the shingle beach			ScG loch a' mhòil		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Mhòil			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch a' Mhòil			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch a' Mhorghain

Place ID 1244 NF 81990 60000 North Uist C1arinish

ScG loch of ON The boundary

ScG loch a' ON mörkin

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Unlike Loch na Morgha further N, the grammar works here.

It is possible however that this was tided up (resemanticise to use the proper term) relatively recently and could still have older origins with ON mörk = 'boundary' as there is a dyke running WE across Cairinis here separating the 'Upper' township from the 'Lower' township.

There are over 30 Mörk, one Mörkin, one Marká and nine Markalækur place names in Iceland.

Loch a' Mhorghain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Mhuilinn

Place ID	426	NF 87470 55530	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG loch of the mill			Scg loch a' mhuilinn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

As with Allt a' Mhuilinn, there is no sign of a mill building here but the stream to the shore is steep enough and one imagines a mill of old here servicing the cultivated land around Ceallan.

Loch a' Mhuilinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------	------	-------------------

Loch a' Mhuilinn

Place ID	2250	NF 74767 68531	North Uist	B1ayhead	
ScG mill pool			ScG loch a' mhuilinn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Mhuilinn			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch a' Mhuilinn			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch a' Mhuilinn

Place ID 5177 NF 78466 52194 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach
ScG loch of the mill ScG loch a' mhuilinn ScG?
Fresh water Lake ON? complete?

Loch a' Mhuilinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch a' Mhuilinn	1877	OS 1st edition
Mills Loch	1877	OS name book
Mills Loch	1832	Thomson atlas
Mills Loch	1804	Bald mapping

Loch a' Mhuilinn

Place ID 6238 NF 74440 30096 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the mill

ScG loch a' mhuilinn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

There is no mill marked but the course down to the E looks as if it has been altered.

Bald's name L. Aird Skialich (PN#12918) is clearly different. ScG sgeulach = 'news mongering' might create 'loch of the newsmongering height' which makes osme sort of sense as a meeting place.

Loch a' Mhuilinn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Mhuilinn

1877

OS 1st edition

L. Aird Skialich

1804

Bald mapping

Loch a' Mhuilinn

Place ID 6330 NF 74611 33224 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the mill

ScG?

Fresh water

Marsh

ON?

complete?

Loch a' Mhuilinn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Mhuilinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Mill Loch

1877

OS name book

Loch a' Mhuilinn Duibh

Place ID	5162	NF 77828 53445	B1enbecula	B1aile nan Cailleach	
ScG loch of the dark mill			ScG loch a' mhuilinn duibh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch a' Mhuilinn Duibh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch a' Mhuilinn Duibh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch a' Mhuill Mheadhonaich

Place ID 6655 NF 79958 43181 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG loch of the imddle rounded headland

ScG loch a' mhaoil mheadhonaich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG maol = 'rounded promontory' would work topographically but the genitive is ScG maoil. However as th pronunciation is /mw:L/, I suspect this is the answer.

Loch a' Mhuill Mheadhonaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Mhill Mheadhonaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Phobaill

Place ID 860 NF 82610 62970 North Uist Eaval

ScG lake of the people or + ON the priest's farm ScG loch a' phobaill or ON papi ból

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Sornach a' Phobuill (P#855) for a discussion of the 'Phobaill' component. The OSNB gives us 'The Loch of the Congregation or people'.

Loch a' Phobaill	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch a' Phobuill	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Loch a' Phobuill	1877	OS 1st edition
People Lake	1877	OS name book

Loch a' Phuirt-ruaidh

Place ID 6410 NF 76317 36378 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Phuirt-ruaidh' + ScG lake

ScG loch a' + 'Phuirt-ruaidh'

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Port-ruadh (P#6412) for a discussion of that component.

Loch a' Phuirt-ruaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Phuirt-ruaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Priests Loch

1804

Bald mapping

Loch a' Roe

Place ID 2365 NF 69135 70483 North Uist B1alranald

ScG loch of the ON tail

ScG loch + a' + oN rófa

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

'Roe' has been seen as a corruption of ScG rubha = promontory, often written as 'Row' on the Blaeu mapping for example. The ScG a' = 'of the' is presumably also anachronistic although it would be wrong for ScG rubha. On the 1st edition mapping the island here is called Eilean na Roe but by the modern edition it has been 'corrected' to Eilean an Rubha, although curiously this loch name has remained.

The article would be wrong if it was ScG rubha

Indeed I suspect that the name goes back to the Norse ON rófa = 'tail' which would be a good description of most headlands or ScG rubha. This one does have a distinctive shape, attached by a relatively narrow neck. The pronunciation is /'rou:va/.

As an important landmark one would expect it to have a Norse name and this could be it. I think this started life as ON á rófa = 'on the tail' and then the /f/ disappeared as is regular i.e. Á rófa > á rófa > a roe. The ó > o is regular when followed by a hiatus (Cox p163 Rófanis > Robhanis) and the /a/ afterwards would presumably help the sound. See Aird an Runair for a related discussion on that name.

There is a headland named unusually a bare Rubha on Bhalaigh on the modern OS mapping that the OS 1st series names Roe with a similar headland with a narrower neck. There is a Sloc Roe on the Grimish headland.

On Beàrnaraigh there is a Rogh that forms the most N point although is not a headland in itself.

Holliday discusses (p542) two place names Rò on Tiree, one of which he thinks might be of this Norse derivation.

In Iceland there are 14 places named Rófa and many more variants including ON rófur = 'tails' whilst in Norway there are over twenty places Rova.

Loch a' Roe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Roe

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch a' Vearal

Place ID 235 NF 91230 74980 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON towards the beacon hill + ScG loch ScG loch of the + ON væja -hóll

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I suspect that although ScG faireil = 'watchful', this originally comes from either ON varð-hald = 'keeping watch' or ON varða-hóll = 'beacon hill' as the site here stands over the entrance to the sea-lochs here.

Vigfusson talks specifically about ON verða and ON varða getting confused and that could explain the difference in quality of the initial vowel.

However a better solution presents itself with ON ver, or even better the form that developed in Norway, No vær = 'fishing station'.

The 'a' could well come from the preposition ON á = 'towards' or an inserted ScG article.

Ward Hill or variants upon it are common in Scotland with 24 Ward Hills including 3 in Shertland and 8 in Orkney and another concentration in Galloway.

In Iceland there are 61 places with the cognate name Vörðuhóll

Loch a' Vearal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch a' Vearal	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Abhainn a' Phoind

Place ID	6684	NF 78861 44646	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG stream of the pound lake			ScG loch abhainn a' phoind		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Abhainn a' Phoind			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Abhuinn a' Phoind			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Abhainn an t-Searraich

Place ID 6691 NF 79782 44303 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG river of the foal lake

ScG loch abhainn an t-searraich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Loch Abhainn an t-Searraich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Abhuinn an t-Searraich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Aineort

Place ID 86 NF 81810 26550 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch + ON isthmus loch

ScG loch + ON eið + fjørðr

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

Taylor gives us 'Isthmus Loch' presumably from ON eið + fjørðr although the genitive ON eiðs = 'of the isthmus' could be problematic.

Topographically it is a good description as there is very little portage between the W and E coasts here. Rugh expands on the meaning of ON eið writing 'a stretch, shorter or longer, where one had to take the road over land instead of the water or ice road, which was otherwise used so far due to the faulty nature of the roads. As possible '

Although the combination is common in Norway appearing eight times as Eidfjord and nine as Eidsfjorden, the name is unexpectedly absent in Iceland although both elements occur frequently. The closest to a cognate is Eiðisvík = 'bay of the isthmus' which occurs twice.

There is a Loch Eynort on Skye although here the isthmus is less clear.

Loch Aineort	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Eynort	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Eynort	1804	Bald mapping
LOCH-EYNORT	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch Àird a' Mhuile

Place ID 6097 NF 71376 29893 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Àird a' Mhuile' + ScG lake ScG locg + 'Àird a' Mhuile'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Rubha Aird a' Mhuile (P#6096) for a discussion of this.

Loch Àird a' Mhuile	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Ardvula	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Ardvula	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Aird an Duin

Place ID 247 NF 91890 76650 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG high loch of the fort

ScG loch àird an dùin

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

I am not quite sure how the Gaelic would work but there is a lower loch of the fort too.

Loch Aird an Duin

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Ard an Duin

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Àird an Sgairbh

Place ID 6149 NF 73290 26737 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the promontory of cormorant

ScG loch àird an sgairbh

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch Àird an Sgairbh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Aird Sgairbh

1877

OS name book

Loch Àrd an Sgairbh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Ard na Scarrabh

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Àird an t-Sil

Place ID 6135 NF 74160 27212 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG promontory of the oats lake

ScG loch àird an t-sil

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'the loch of the sea'. I am not sure why?!

ScG = 'seed, progeny' also means 'young fish' and 'oats' with a genitive of ScG sil. As this section is part of the ScG àird = 'promontory' section then 'oats seems the most logical.

The Bald name, Ard Huil (PN#12622), hints that it might be something else.

Loch Àird an t-Sil

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Àrd an t-Sil

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Aird an-t-Seoil

1877

OS name book

Ard Huil

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Airidh Aon Oidche

Place ID 908 NM 23283 59201 Coll Coll general

ScG loch of the sheiling of 'Aon Oidche' ScG loch àirigh + 'aon oidche'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Airigh na h'Aon Oidhche (P#755) for details of the onomastic unit 'Aon Oidche'

Loch Airidh Aon Oidche

Other

Loch Àirigh Alasdair

Place ID 2295 NF 73673 70796 Berneray Sound of Harris

ScG Alasdair sheiling loch

ScG loch àirigh Alasdair

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Not much evidence here of effort going into the cases.

Loch Àirigh Alasdair

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Airidh Alasdair

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Àirigh Amhlaidh

Place ID 6433 NF 79209 35444 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of Olaf's shileing

ScG loch àirigh amlaidh

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

There is a Loch Amhlasairaigh (P#210) near Lochportain and a Beinn Amhlasairaigh (P#2459).

It seems odd that this name is so often linked here.

One des wonder it was a reordering of a Norse name.

Loch Àirigh Amhlaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Airidh Aulaidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Airidh Ighean Fhinnlaidh	1877	OS name book
L. Arrie nin Aulay	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Àirigh Àrd

Place ID 6564 NF 84331 39545 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Àirigh Àrd' + SCg lake ScG loch + ' Àirigh Àrd'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Àirigh Àrd (P#6561) for that section of the name.

Loch Àirigh Àrd	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Loch Airiard	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Loch Àiridh Àrd	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Loch Airigh Mairi Ruadh

Place ID	866	NF 81850 62160	North Uist	Berneray	
ScG loch of red Mary's sheiling			ScG loch áirigh mairi ruadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Airigh Mairi Ruadh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Airidh Mairi Ruadh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Àirigh Na h-Achlais

Place ID 6517 NF 80845 38832 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG shieling of the amrpit lake ScG loch àirigh na h-achlais

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The lake is tightly set in a steep corrie and this could explain the armpit.

There are 64 Achlais names on the OS 2nd edition mapping scattered across the Gaelic speaking heartland.

Loch Àirigh Na h-Achlais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Àiridh Na h-Achlais	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Airigh na h-Aon Oidhche

Place ID 910 NB 27704 32400 Lewis Lewis general

ON shieling of the + 'h-Aon Oidhche' + ScG lake ScG loch àirigh na 'h-aon oidhche'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion on the onomastic unit 'h-Aon Oidhche' see Airigh na h-Aon Oidhche (P#755)

This one is not Uig but near Grabhir although the GR is a bit of a guess.

https://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C1RUCY_enGB690GB690&q=%C3%80irigh+na+h-Aon+Oidhche&npsic=0&rflfq=1&rlha=0&tbm=lcl&ved=2ahUKEwiazOLT2-3hAhUQ36QKHTRQBYsQtgN6BAgKEAQ&tbs=lr:!3sIAE,lf:1,lf_ui:4&rldoc=1

<https://lifeattheendoftheroad.wordpress.com/2009/10/20/>

<https://lifeattheendoftheroad.wordpress.com/2009/10/20/>

Loch Airigh na h-Aon Oidhche

Other

Loch Airigh na h-aon Oidhche

Place ID 913 NF 79500 25700 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON shieling + 'na h-aon Oidhche'

ScG àirigh + 'na h-aon Oidhche'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

F or a discussion on the onomastic unit 'na h-aon Oidhche' see Airigh na h-aon Oidhche (P#755).

Loch Airigh na h-aon Oidhche

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Airigh Nighean Fhionnalaidh

Place ID 877 NF 81410 62620 North Uist C1arinish

ScG loch of the sheiling of the daughters of Finlay ScG loch àirigh nighean fhionnalaidh

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch Airigh Nighean Fhionnalaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Aligarry

Place ID 6548 NF 76573 39231 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Aligary' + ScG ake ScG loch + 'Aligarry'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Dùn Aligarry (P#6549) for a discussion of the last component.

Loch Aligarry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Aligarry	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Ailigearraidh	1877	OS name book

Loch Altabrug

Place ID 6333 NF 74269 34452 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Altabrug' + ScG lake

ScG loch + 'Altabrug'

Fresh water

Marsh

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Dùn Altabrug (P#5607) for a discussion f the final component.

Loch Altabrug	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Hochterbeg	1877	OS name book
Loch Altabrug	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Aultibrig	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Amhlasaraigh

Place ID 210 NF 94712 73935 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON Olaf's sheiling + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON ólás ærgi

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

ScG Amhlaib = 'Olaf' is how this name has been Gaelicized. There is a St' Olaf and it might be him referred to here as there are several other place names associated with Christianity in the area.

However the oddity is that there are three Loch Amhlasaraigh here, each connected to the next. One wonders if in fact the feature is in fact Amhlasaraigh.

The area is complicated with a flat low area of land forming a bridge between the Beinn Mhòr area and the hills of Loch Portain.

ON hálsa eið = 'isthmus of the necks' with Vigfusson writing that ON háls topographically means 'a hill, ridge, esp. in Icel. Of the low fells dividing two parallel dales'. The ever helpful Rygh adds 'In place-names, probably always referring to the word's transferred use of lower heights, which separate two valleys, and of narrow plots of land between two waters or between rocks'.

It is possible that the whole area was called ON eið, mirroring the Eye peninsula on Lewis.

There is another series of Amhlasaraigh names near Sollas (P# 2459)

Cill Amhlaidh/Kilaulay on South Uist shares a similar name.

Olafssæti and two Olafssel in Iclenad are close to cognates.

There are two Halseid in Norway.

Loch Amhlasaraigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Aulasary

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Aullassary

1866

Admiralty mapping

Loch Aullassary

1860

2Otter Sound of Harris

Loch Amhlasaraigh Uarach

Place ID 215 NF 93722 72380 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON Olaf's sheiling + ScG upper loch ScG loch + 'Amhlasairgh' + ScG uarach

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This refers to a loch to the S of Loch Amhlasaraigh (P#210 q.v) feeding into Lower Loch Aulasary.

Loch Amhlasaraigh Uarach 2014 Modern OS mapping

Upper Loch Aulasary 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch an Aba

Place ID 407 NF 87140 56010 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG abbot's loch ScG loch an aba

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With the nearby Teampall Naomh Mhicheil, one would expect other place names connected with the church. This loch feeds into Bagh Mor suggesting perhaps an early date for the use of that harbour.

ON nabba = 'small protuberance on greensward' would be a decent ON option using projection from the /n/ of /an/.

There is a simplex Nabbi place name in Iceland and Nabben occurs 34 times as a place name in Norway.
There is a Loch an Aba in Carinis.

Loch an Aba	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Aba	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch an Aba

Place ID 1235 NF 81650 59750 North Uist C1arinish

ScG loch of the Abbot

ScG loch an aba

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The area here is full of religious name. There is another loch of almost the same name on Griomasaigh close to Teampall Naomh Micheil.

Loch an Aba

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Anaigh

Place ID 5318 NF 79874 49724 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG small loch of the deer

ScG lochan an aigh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

There is a Loch an Anaighe Deas nearby.

One wonders if in fact the name might have been ScG locha nan aigh = 'lochs of the heifers' using an anachronistic plural form of ScG loch.

Possibly easier is ScG lochan an aigh = 'small loch of the deer'.

Locha does occur in 10 places on the OS 2nd edition mapping but these are the usual genitive form apart from two Locha Dubh (Harris and North Uist) and a Locha Dubh Fhalasgaidh just to the E of here. All seem to refer to clusters of lochs and so the plural makes sense.

Loch an Anaith

1877

OS name book

Loch an Anaigh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Anaighe Deas

Place ID 5321 NF 80185 49530 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of + 'Anaighe' + ScG south'

ScG loch an + 'Anaighe' + ScG deas

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

For a discussion on 'Anaighe' see Loch an Anaigh (P#5318)

Loch an Anaighe Deas

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Anaighe Deas

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Annacha

1804

Bald mapping

Loch an Anairt

Place ID 5022 NF 77131 29721 South Uist Loch Eynort

?ScG loch of linen ScG loch an ?anairt

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB given us 'Loch of the Linen' based on ScG anairt = 'linen' with its genitive ScG anairt. However ScG annaid = old church site' would be an interesting option bearing in mind the other Christian names and building in the area.

The closest match I could find in the Norse lexicon is ON á norðr = 'towards North'.

Loch an Anairt	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Anairt	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch an Armuinn

Place ID 592 NF 90310 74170 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG (sea) loch of the + ON river mouth ScG loch an + ON ár minni

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Loch of the worthy man' from ScG àrmann = 'hero' or 'warrior' which rings alarm bells as being a trifle poetic.

ON ármenn = 'royal policemen/tax gatherers' provides a more precise terminology and presumably was the root of the Gaelic word although still erring on the lyrical side. This loan is confirmed by McDonald who translates it as 'steward, bailiff'.

Less poetic is the ON armurinn = 'the arm' and can be taken to refer to an arm of the sea viz Armadale. Herm in the Channel Islands is thought to have the same root in the indefinite case as does the nearby Hermatray.

The loch certainly has a convoluted shape with two narrow cuts between the three main sections however it would appear to be short of a generic. That said the sea loch to the E is even more so and does not appear to have a name. One imagines this could have come from ON armanna + lögr = 'sea loch of the arms' and then the order was reversed as postulated for Loch nam Madadh.

The Gaelic pronunciation of Armuinn would sound to English ears like 'arm ewen'. There is a possibility of a similar derivation to the 'Hon' is nearby Honary.

A difficult one and I am not at all convinced this is correct.

I've thought more on this and using Occam's Razor I think it is relatively simple - Ár-minni = 'river mouth' and there is an alternative 'mouth', ON munn. Topographically and phonetically it fits and is suitably prosaic. I think the shortening of the initial /a/ is part compensated by the /r/and the fact there is then a hiatus.

Ármann forms the start of eight Icelandic place names whilst in Norway there is an årmoen and årmund is the initial component of over 70 place names.

Loch an Armuinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Armuinn	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch an Àth Ruaidh

Place ID 6144 NF 75454 26299 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the red ford

ScG loch an àth ruaidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Bald's name of Loch Anary (PN#12640) is a variant and must stem from Loch an Àirigh with the dative case involved indication motion towards the shileing. Th is fits with the other names in the mountain pasture here.

Loch an Àth Ruaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Ruadh	1877	OS name book
Loch an Àth Ruaidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Anary	1804	Bald mapping

Loch an Athain

Place ID 6305 NF 76347 32181

South Uist

B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the small ford

ScG loch an àthain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Loch an Athain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Athain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Àth-Leacaich

Place ID 5031 NF 79222 29350 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the place of the flagstones ford' ScG loch an àth - leac -ach

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us a confused 'Loch of the flags or ford'. I suspect that we have ScG Àth - leac - ach = 'place of the flagstones ford'

Bald has Loch Largen which is suspect comes from ScG loch + ON lágin = loch (of) The hollow

Loch an Àth-Leacaich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Ath-leacaich	1877	OS 1st edition
L. Largen	1804	Bald mapping

Loch an Daill

Place ID	5650	NF 79734 45968	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ON boundary (river) + ScG loch			ScG loch an + ON daill		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input type="checkbox"/> complete?

In the OSNB it is apparent that the article was added as an afterthought by Carmichael. The meaning is given to be 'the Blinds Loch' based upon ScG dall = 'blind person'.

This seems unlikely and ON deild or deilð = boundary place', Vigfusson writes 'in Icel. a boundary river is often called Deild'.

The area does form a natural boundary between the NW corner of South Uist.

There are 18 places named Deild and four Deilir in Iceland. In Norway it does not seem to occur as a simplex name but is a very common specific with for example at least 30 Deildalen.

There is a settlement name Daill on Islay which Macniven discusses (p203) but he derives it from ON dalr = 'dale'.

There is another Daill on the Crinan Canal and a Meall Daill near Bridge of Orchy.

Loch an Daill	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Daill	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Daill	1877	OS name book

Loch an Daimh

Place ID	956	NF 88940 67710	North Uist	Central South	
ScG loch of the stag			ScG loch an daimh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Daimh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Daimh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Daimh

Place ID	5319	NF 80104 49890	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of the ox			ScG loch na daimh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
One Ox?					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Daimh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Daimh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Dare

Place ID	5443	NF 80309 53407	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich
ScG loch of ? taking the cow to the bull			ScG loch an dàra	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake		<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
				<input type="checkbox"/> complete?

The closest I can find is ScG dòir = 'breeding' and could reference a place where, for example, cows were taken to the bull. This however would require ScG na.

ON d

Loch an Dare

1804

Bald mapping

Loch an Dhùin Mhòir

Place ID	6717	NF 76005 46668	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG big lake of the fort			SCG loch an dhùin mhòir		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Dhùin Mhòir			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Dhùin Mhòir			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Dòrain

Place ID 5032 NF 79367 29130 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the otter or wet place

ScG loch an dòbhrain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Loch of the Otter' based upon ScG dàbhran = 'otter' or 'wet place'. The latter would fit well here. Bald's L. Droin is significantly different and could stem from ON drangr = 'a lonely up-standing rock'

Drangar and Drangur occur commonly in Iceland 18 and 27 times respectively and the word is common in Norway too where Drang occurs as a simplex.

Loch an Dòrain	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Loch an Dòrain	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Loch na Favlan	1877	OS name book
----------------	------	--------------

Loch an Droin	1804	Bald mapping
---------------	------	--------------

Loch an Drom

Place ID 4960 NF 81213 27937 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the ridge scG loch an druim

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is marked as the same place as Hafn but as it refers to a ridge, I wonder if it should refer to the sea-loch to the NW.

Loch an Drom

1804

Bald mapping

Loch an Droma

Place ID 458 NF 87720 55690 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the ridge

ScG loch an droma

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The ridge here probalby refers to the ridge ending at Cnoc a' Mhaide and the route of the old track to Ceallan. The declension of ScG druim = 'ridge' is irregular. Here ScG droma = 'of the ridge' is the genitive singular as you would expect.

Loch an Droma

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Droma

Place ID	870	NF 82530 61730	North Uist	Eaval	
Sch loch of the ridge			ScG loch an droma		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Droma			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Droma			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Droma

Place ID	2270	NF 78691 66883	North Uist	Central South	
ScG loch of the ridge			ScG loch an droma		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Droma			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Droma			2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name	
Loch an Droma			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Droma

Place ID 5194 NF 80456 48561 Benbecula Peter's Port
ScG loch of the ridge ScG loch an droma
Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There are 11 Loch an Droma names on the OS 2nd series mapping, six on uist.

Loch an Droma	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Droma	1877	OS 1st edition
Lochan Droma	1877	OS name book

Loch an Droma

Place ID	5554	NF 86517 48438	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG loch of the ridge			ScG loch an droma		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Ridge Loch			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Loch an Droma			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Loch an Droma bho Dheas

Place ID 5252 NF 84897 47267 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG southern ridge loch

ScG loch na druim bho dheas

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch an Droma bho Dheas

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Droma fo Dheas

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Droma Deas

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch an Drom

1804

Bald mapping

Loch an Droma bho Thuath

Place ID 5251 NF 84876 47501 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG northern ridge loch

ScG loch an droma bho tuath

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch an Droma bho Thuath

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Droma fo Thuath

1877

OS 1st edition

Ridge Loch North

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. an Droma Tuath

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch an Dubhair

Place ID	333	NF 78560 62120	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG loch of the gloom			Scg loch an dubhair		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Dubhair			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Dudair

Place ID 1601 NF 76929 69370 North Uist Grim1inish

ScG loch of the + ON bog strip of land

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The Hebridean Connection (p13) describes it as In the peat-bank of the townland of Cnoc an Lin with funny noises came out of the loch. In brackets is written 'long ooo accent on first syllable of the last word' i.e. the 'u' in Dudair. They also report that there was a hunter's shelter there for centuries and the loch is associated will all sorts of supernatural events.

The literal translation is ScG 'loch of the trumpeter' which might explain the funny noises, or at least the story of the funny noises.

Holliday (p415) discusses Tire's Dùdaire and arrives tentatively at ON dúfoddeyrar = 'gravel banks of the promontories of the doves' but there are no gravel banks here I suspect.

I suspect that the root might be ON dý-teigr = 'bog strip of land'

Loch an Dudair

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Loch an Dùin

Place ID 99 NF 74620 15330 South Uist Lochboisdale
ScG loch of the fort ScG loch an dùin ScG?
Fresh water Lake ON?
 complete?

Loch an Dùin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Dùin	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch un Duine	1804	Bald mapping
L: duni	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch an Dùin

Place ID	128	NF 95337 72296	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG loch of the fort			SDcG loch an dùin		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Dùin			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Duin			1877	OS 1st edition	
Loch Mearral				Other	

Loch an Dùin

Place ID	615	NF 89040 73890	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG loch of the fort			ScG loch an dùin		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Dùin			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Dùin			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Dùin

Place ID 1907 NF 80037 55584 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG loch of the fort

ScG loch an dùin

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

There is a small dun on the island in this loch.

Loch an Dùin	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Loch an Duin	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

Loch an Dunain	1861	Thomas chart
----------------	------	--------------

Caslte Loch	1861	Thomas chart
-------------	------	--------------

Loch an Dùin Bhig

Place ID	6716	NF 76113 46953	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG small lake of the fort			ScG loch an dùin bhig		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Dùin Bhig			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Dùin Bhig			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Dùin Bhuidhe

Place ID 6730 NF 77333 46254 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG loch of the 'Dùin Bhuidhe' Scg loch an + 'Dùin Bhuidhe'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Dùn Buidhe (P#6512) for a discussion of that element.

Loch an Dùin Bhuidhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Dùin Bhuidhe	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch an Dùin Mhòir

Place ID 6617 NF 77485 41455 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG lake of the big fort

ScG loch an dùin mhòir

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Here Dùn Mòr (P#6618) is the onomastic unit.

Loch an Dùin Mhòir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Duine Mòr

1877

OS name book

Loch an Dùin Mhòir

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Duine More

1804

Bald mapping

Loch an Dùin Mhòr

Place ID	310	NF 78110 62370	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG loch of the big fort			ScG loch an dùin mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Dùin Mhòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Dùin Mhòr			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Dùin Mhòr

Place ID 2214 NF 78124 62284 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG loch of the big fort

ScG loch an dùin mòr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS 1st series had ScG mhòir which I think is correct rather than the modern ScG mhòr on the modern mapping. That is assuming the ScG mòr refers to the ScG dùn rather than the ScG loch.

Loch an Dùin Mhòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Dùin Mhòir

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Loch an Dùnain

Place ID	5115	NF 77887 51258	Benbecula	T1orlum	
ScG loch of the small fort			ScG loch an dùn -ain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Dùnain			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Dùnain			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Eas

Place ID 369 NF 86217 57485 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the stream with high banks

ScG loch an eas

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Not one of the natural wonders of the world, MacVicar's alternative name ScG Loch na Easain = 'loch of the small waterfall' still seems generous.

An alternative definition of ScG eas = 'stream with high precipitous banks' might be closer to the reality as the stream does run through a small valley with a few crags within it.

Loch an Eas

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Easain

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Loch an Eas

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Easgann

Place ID	1314	NF 93091 81840	B1earnaraigh	Ru1isigearraidh	
ScG loch of the eel			ScG loch an easgann		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

With 11 names involving Easgann across Scotland, one n Islay, one on Coll and seven on the Western Isles there is only one on the mainland Càrn Easgann Bàna, west of frt Augustus. There are 15 more Easgann names, again on the W coast apart from a cluster in the Cairngorm.

Loch an Easgann

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Eilean

Place ID 1049 NF 74740 75980 North Uist Grim1inish

ScG loch of the island

ScG loch an eilean

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Not an imaginative name.

Loch an Eilean

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Eilein

1877

OS 1st edition

L: Vin

1654

Blaeu mapping

Loch an Eilein

Place ID 2094 NF 76184 37175 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG loch of the island

ScG loch an eilein

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Loch an Eilein 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch an Eilean 1877 OS name book

Loch an Illane 1877 OS name book

Loch an Eilein 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch an Illan 1877 OS name book

Loch an Illan 1804 Bald mapping

Loch Vegerin 1654 Blaeu mapping

Loch an Eilein

Place ID 6182 NF 74533 23768 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG lake of the island ScG loch aan Eilein

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The island now proudly sports a monkey puzzle tree!

Loch an Eilein 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch an Eilein 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch an Eilein

Place ID	6236	NF 74535 30426	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the island			SCG loch na eilean		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Eilein			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Eilein			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Eilein

Place ID	6493	NF 82865 37476	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG loch of the island			ScG loch na eilein		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Eilein			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Eilein			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Fhaing

Place ID	388	NF 84450 57570	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG loch of the fank			ScG loch an faing		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Although there are no obvious remains of a fank here now, it would be a good site for one for assembling livestock before transporting them off the island of Griomasaigh.

I would have expected the article ScG na = 'of the' as ScG faing is feminine.

ON fang = a catching or a fetching' is in reality a similar word. Cox writes that ScG faing is a loan word form Scots fank. I suspect the root might go back to Norse in both cases hence the gender confusion.

It is odd that scattered across the Gaelic speaking Scotland are admixed Faing and Fhaing except on Uist where there are only Fhaing. Perhaps Carmichael had an impact here 'tidying up' the place names?!

There are five places in Iceland with Fang as the specific. One, Fangalág is not going to sound too far away from 'faing a loch'!

Loch an Fhaing

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Fhaing

Place ID	707	NF 81360 63110	North Uist	Berneray	
ScG loch of the fank			ScG loch an fhaing		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The ScG an = 'of the' is odd here as ScG faing = 'sheepfold' is feminine and so we would expect ScG na = 'of the'. There is however no clear alternative and there is also a nearby fank.

Loch an Fhaing	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Loch an Fhaing

Place ID 6331 NF 74354 33887 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG lake of the fank ScG loch an fhaing

Fresh water Marsh

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is the issue of the adjective here - it is the masculine version here.

Loch an Fhaing 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch an Fhaing Bhuidhe

Place ID 2277 NF 78506 66088 North Uist Central South

ScG loch of the yellow fank

ScG loch an fhaing bhuidhe

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The article is odd as with feminine ScG faing = 'fank' I would have expected ScG na = 'of the',
This however is a pattern on Uist.

Loch an Fhaing Bhuidhe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Fhaing Bhuidhe

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Loch an Fhaing Bhuidhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Fhaing Buidhe

Place ID	1257	NF 81690 61330	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG loch of the yellow fank			ScG loch an fhaing buidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Fhaing Buidhe			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Loch an Fheidh

Place ID 5317 NF 85814 48607 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG loch of the deer or ON isthmus

ScG loch an fhèidh or ON eið

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'the Deer Loch' based upon ScG fèidh = 'deer'. This then works with the lenition and the article although one wonders why it is only one deer.

With the initial /fh/ being silent, there is a possibility that in fact the root is ON eið = 'isthmus' as this loch is the bridge between the S shore of Loch Uisgeabhagh and Loch Chearabhaigh with only tow porterages of a total of c150m in total. Indeed the river joining the loch form the N for one of these passages looks larger than one might expect.

Loch an Fheidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Fheidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Deer Loch	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Loch an Fheidh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch an Fheoir

Place ID	708	NF 80310 63240	North Uist	Berneray	
ScG loch of grass			ScG loch an fheòir		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Fheoir			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Fheoir

Place ID	5490	NF 84394 52613	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG loch of grass			ScG loch an fhèoir	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water				<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Fheoir			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch an Fhithich

Place ID 453 NF 87800 55330 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the raven

ScG loch an fhideach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Situated adjacent to Creag an Fhithich = 'crag of the raven' , this is clearly an area where ravens were present although the nearby settlement makes this somewhat unlikely.

That said a more prosaic explanation could come from ScG fideach = 'tidal/mud flat' or 'water meadow', a very good topographical fit.

Bagh an Fhitlich

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Loch an Fhithich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Iasgaich

Place ID	863	NF 82460 62400	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG loch of fishing			ScG loch an iasgaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Iasgaich			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Iasgaich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Iasgair

Place ID 6239 NF 74927 30182

South Uist

B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the fisherman

ScG loch an isagair

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Loch an Iasgair

2014

Modern OS mapping

000

1877

OS name book

Loch an Iasgair

1877

OS 1st edition

Fishers Loch

1804

Bald mapping

Loch an Iònaire

Place ID 6613 NF 78269 43287 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG lake of the + ON watchpoints

ScG loch an + ON sjónir

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Elsewhere I have equated this word with ON innar = 'further in' but it is hard to see how that applies here. See Loch an Ionair-Uidh for a discussion.

Loch an Iònaire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Iònaire

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Ionair-Uidh

Place ID 6518 NF 81079 38219 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG lake of the + ON isthmus of the watch point. ScG loch an + ON sjónar eið

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The bay into which all the four places mentioned in the cognate notes are situated could be described as the inner bays of Loch Druidibig.

An alternative in Gaelic exists. On Lewis in the bay between Gress and Back, where the river joins the sea there is a place name Ionabhir. This must come from ScG inbhir = 'estuary, river mouth'.

If the /bh/ was silent in the local dialect then this would be the correct sound.

All of the six names in two clusters are related to water and could be referring to a river mouth. Where An t-Ionaire Mòr joins Loch Druidibeag is a significant feature.

That said however I feel the loss of the /bh/ in a dialect here is unlikely. That said a conversation with a Uist Gaelic speaker revealed that this does happen, citing Inverness as an example where there is no /v/ sound in the middle.

The name An t-Ionaire Mòr (P#6441) provides a clue. The article ScG an t- always precedes an /s/ which would in itself be silent. There here the name would have been An t-Sionair Mór.

ON sjón is a very common component in Icelandic names and has come to mean 'watch point'. There are for example 288 Sjónarhóll place names there.

Rubha Ionair is probably where the actual watch point was situated.

There are four names with Ionair on the OS 2nd edition mapping, all in this small area E of Loch Druidibeag.

Sjón is a very common start to Icelandic names, nearly always with some sort of contour rise as the generic, with for example 288 Sjónarhóll = 'hill of the watchpoint' place names there. Sjon- and Sjun- names are also common in Norway and there is a cognate Sjoneidet.

Loch an Ionair-Uidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Ionair-Uidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Ligidh

Place ID 6627 NF 80966 41596 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG loch of the marshy pool

ScG loch an lèige

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The gender here is a problem as ScG lèige = '[marshy pool]' is feminine and so we would expect ScG na. This often indicates a Norse root.

Not far off this is ON lœkr = 'stream' or ON lægi = 'anchorage, berth'.

The area is important as it forms part of a small land bridge to the E of Loch Bì.

Loch an Ligidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Ligidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Likie Don

1804

Bald mapping

Loch an Òs

Place ID 6752 NF 78738 45582 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

Scg loch an + ON óss

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst this name makes good sense in ScG, as ScG òs = 'river mouth' is a loan word from ON óss = 'river mouth', one ponders if this name started life in the Norse period. Nearby Rudh' an Ose must share a root. See Loch Uiselan (P# 6740) for possible further evidence of this Norse root.

Osen (where the definite article is included) occurs as a simplex name over 350 times in Norway!

Loch an Òs	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Ois	1877	OS name book
Loch an Ose	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch an Rubha Dhuibh

Place ID	5307	NF 82529 48365	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of the black headland			ScG loch an rubha dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Rubha Dhuibh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Rudha Dhuibh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Rudha Iar

Place ID	1184	NF 91620 68890	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG loch of the west promontory			ScG loch + an + rubha + iar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Rudha Iar			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Sticir

Place ID 575 NF 89760 77670 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG loch of the 'Sticir'

ScG loch an + 'Sticir'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Dun an Sticir (P#531) for more details

Loch an Sticir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Sticir

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch-a-sticir

MacDonald sketch history

Loch an Stoip

Place ID 5204 NF 81945 47941 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG loch of the bucket

ScG loch an stòip

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Bucket or Pail Loch' based on ScG stòp = 'Wooden vessel used for bringing home the milk from the sheilings or for carrying water. The mouth is covered with a piece of sheepskin called an imideal. The stop is narrower at the mouth than the bottom and about 18in. in height'.

The vowel is long but not in ther place name.

Loch an Stoip

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Stoip

1877

OS 1st edition

L. an Stoip

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch an Taigh-Sgoile

Place ID 1644 NF 87934 55167 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the schoolhouse

ScG loch an taigh sgoile

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The corrugated iron school-house still sits at the head of the loch - bay might be a better description.
Grammatically one might have expected the genitive ScG taighe-sgoile = 'of the schoolhouse'

Loch an Taigh-Sgoile

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Loch an Taigh-sgoile

Place ID 5073 NF 76538 36621 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG loch of the school house

ScG loch an taigh-sgoile

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

More interesting is the old name loch Rigarry, the loch that has now disappeared off the cartographical map, presumably when the school was built.

Drainage has also affected the loch as on the Bald mapping it is shown as reaching across almost to Loch Druidibeg. With its proximity to Caisteal Bheagram, I wonder if the specific is ON virki = 'fort' c.f. Caisteal Vrigh as an alternative name for Borve Castle.

repeted elsewhere

Loch an Taigh-sgoile

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Taigh-sgoile

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Rigarey

1804

Bald mapping

Loch an Taigh-sgoile

Place ID 6409 NF 76317 36378 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG lake of the school-house

ScG loch an taigh-sgoile

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The earleir names are an interesting and Norse looking , Loch Rigarry (PN13436).

Loch an Taigh-sgoile

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Righarruidh

1877

OS name book

Loch Rigarey

1877

OS name book

Loch Rigary

1877

OS name book

Loch Rigarry

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Rigarey

1804

Bald mapping

Loch an Tairbeirt Stuadaich

Place ID 963 NF 68830 66400 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG loch of the (hunting) seat isthmus

ScG loach an tairbeirt suadhaich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book gives us a rather convoluted 'Wave loch of the narrow neck of land'. I suspect it has come from ScG stua dh = 'wave' however it is much more likely that a transcription error has caused the problem - a bonus /t/. Without it we have 'suadhaich' which reverts to the hunting seats of other nearby place names.

ScG tairbeart = 'isthmus' is a relatively common component of place names in Scotland.

Loch an Tairbeirt Stuadaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Tairbeirt Stuadaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Tairbh

Place ID 1795 NF 86384 45777 Benbecula W1iay

ScG loch of the bull

ScG loch an tairbh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The 131 names on the OS 2nd edition mapping thast contain Tairbh are widley spread over the Gaelic speaking heartland, as one migght expect.

Loch an Tairbh	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Loch an Tairbh	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Loch an Tairbh	1866	Admiralty mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Loch an Tairbh

Place ID	2502	NF 78928 65580	North Uist	Central South	
ScG loch of the bull			ScG loch an tairbh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Tairbh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Tairbh

Place ID 5248 NF 84284 47685 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG loch of the bull

SCg loch an tairbh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Loch an Tairbh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Tairbh

1877

OS 1st edition

Bull Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. an Tairbh

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch an Tairbh

Place ID 5393 NF 84428 53251 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG loch of the bull ScG loch na tairbh ScG?
Fresh water ON? complete?

Loch an Tairbh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Tairbh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch an Tairbh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
loch an Tairbh	1861	Thomas chart
Bulls L.	1832	Thomson atlas
Bulls Loch	1804	Bald mapping

Loch an Toim

Place ID	2278	NF 79233 65840	North Uist	Central South	
ScG loch of the hillock			scG loch an toim		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Toim			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Toim			2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name	
Loch an Toim			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Toim

Place ID	5167	NF 78156 53678	B1enbecula	B1aile nan Cailleach	
ScG loch of the hillock			ScG loch an toim		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Toim			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Toim			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Tomain

Place ID 812 NF 92210 60920 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the small hillock ScG loch an tom -an

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Loch of the bush' which could refer to bushes on one of the islands in the loch although ScG toman = 'hillock' any small heap' would probably work better.

Loch an Tomain 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch an Tomain 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch an t-Sabhadah

Place ID 1829 NF 87490 46960 Benbecula W1iay

ScG loch of the + ON valley of the harbour ScG loch an t- + ON hafnar-dal

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I can only think that ScG sàbaide = 'of the Sabbath' is the root here - perhaps there was an outside altar nearby. However the article is then wrong as ScG sàbaid is feminine.

ScG sàbhaidh = 'sawing' is the closest but I can see little reason for the name as threes are rare on Uist. The gender however is correct.

The initial component is hopeful for a Norse interpretation with the prefix ON sǣvar- = 'sea-'. I do wonder if the specific is ON dalr = 'valley' as three lochans lie in a line here along a geological fault creating a small valley.

Alternatively the /an t-s/ is often reduced to /h/ and then we are looking at ON hafnar = 'of the harbour'. The cognate notes are convincing.

In Iceland there is a Hafnardalir and eight Hafnardalir place names whilst in Norway there are nine Hamndalen place names.

There is a Særdalen in Norway.

Loch an t-Sabhadah

1866

Admiralty mapping

Loch an t-Sagairt

Place ID	213	NF 94794 72392	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG loch of the priest			ScG loch an t- sagairt		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an t-Sagairt			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Loch an t-Sàile

Place ID	6720	NF 75685 46184	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG loch of the salt water			ScG loch an t-sàile		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an t-Sàile			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an t-Sàile			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an t-Searraich

Place ID 857 NF 81890 63610 North Uist C1arinish

ScG loch of the colt

ScG loch an t-searraich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Grammatically perfect for one colt. searraich

There is however a Norse alternative. ON tjarna hrygg = 'ridge of the tarns' is a decent topographical description of the ridge starting at Càirinis and ending here. The initial sound is good.

There are three places named Tjarnarhryggur in Iceland.

There are 45 Searraich names in Scotland on the OS 2nd edition mapping scattered over the Gaelic heartland. Three are on Uist and nine on Lewis, several of which could be interpreted as 'ridge of tarns'.

Loch an t-Searraich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an t-Scarraich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an t-Searraich

Place ID 2532 NF 84238 70325 North Uist Central South

ScG loch of the foal

ScG loch + an t- + searraich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

There is something odd happening with this name. Allt nan Searrach is over 2km to the SW of the loch.

Loch an t-Searraich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an t-Searraich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an t-Seasgain

Place ID 432 NF 84710 57420 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the boggy ground ScG loch an t- seasgain

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An alternative meaning for ScG seagain = 'common reed' is a possibility.

Loch an t-Seasgain 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch an t-Seasgain 1861 Thomas chart

Loch an t-Seasgain

Place ID	785	NF 86180 60490	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG loch of the boggy ground			ScG loch an t- seasgain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an t-Seasgain			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Loch an t-Seasgain

Place ID 2503 NF 79298 65320

North Uist

Central South

ScG loch of the place of boggy ground

ScG loch an t-seasgain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Loch an t-Seasgain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an t-Seasgain

Place ID	5544	NF 83802 48190	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of the bog-reed			swcG loch an t- seasgain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ScG seasgain is the genitive singular of the what I thought was a feminine noun ScG seag = 'bog-reed'. This does create a problem with the article as I would expect ScG na and not ScG an t-. Looking however at other examples there are six names on the OS 2nd edition mapping containing Seasgain and all but Loch Na Seasgain on South Uist are an t-Seasgain constructs.

Looking further at Dwelly however he notes ScG seag as a masculine noun so the South Uist name is now the oddity!

Loch an t-Seasgain	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
--------------------	------	----------------------------------

Loch an t-Seasgain

Place ID	5548	NF 85042 48535	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG loch of the boggy ground			ScG loch an t- seagain	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water				<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an t-Seasgain			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch an t-Seilich

Place ID 826 NF 88950 62920 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the willow

ScG loch an tg- seilich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This is probably connected with tanning as it is the bark of the willow used in the tanning process. The nearby Loch Nighe = 'washing loch' is another clue.

Loch an t-Seilich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an t-Seilich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an t-Seoruis

Place ID 641 NF 88530 77220 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG loch of the + ON ridge of the sea ScG loch an t- + ON sjóar áss

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'George's loch' based upon ScG Seòrsa = 'George' although the ending does not look perfect. An ON possibility is ON sjór + hús = 'sea-house' but probalby better is ON sjóar áss = 'ridge of the sea'. There is a similar name on the W coast near Hosta (P#5603).

In Iceland there are Sjóhúsavík, Sjóhúslag and Sjóhústun.
In Norway there are seven Sjøåsen place names and one Sjøhusene.

Loch an t-Seoruis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an t-Seoruis	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch an t-Seoruis

Place ID 5603 NF 72888 72151 North Uist B1almartin

ScG loch of the?? rye grass

ScG loch an t-

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch an t-Seoruis

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an t-Seoruis

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an t-Sìl

Place ID 6179 NF 73613 23570 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG lake of the small fish

ScG loch an t-sìl

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG sìl can mean 'Seed of any kind. 2 Progeny, descendants. 3** Ancestry. 4 Tribe, clan. 5 Spawn or roe of fish. 6** Corn. 7** Oats.' and ScG sil can mean drop or tear. One of those annoying word that can mean na huge variety of things. None seem appropriate for a small unremarkable loch but small fish seems the best of a bad lot.

Loch an t-Sìl

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an t Sil

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an t-Sroim

Place ID 4997 NF 79524 27618 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the current

ScG loch an t'sroim

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Small Loch of the Strome' possibly confusing loch and lochan.

Loch an t-Sroim

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an t-Sroim

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an t-Sruith Mhor

Place ID 2087 NF 89914 69522 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG loch of the big current

ScG loch an t-sruith mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The older name is perhaps more interesting, Loch Inastrum is our first recorded name on the Redi mapping. I suspect this has as its root ON *innar straumr* = 'further in current' which seems a good topographical description. The OS 1st edition Loch an Aastrom could well be a rewriting of the /in/ as the article ScG an. The length of the /aa/ might help the cause for the /ar/ in ON *innar*.

Loch an t-Sruith Mhor

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Aastrom

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Inastrum

1832

Thomson atlas

Loch inastrum

1799

Reid mapping

Loch an t-Sruthain Bhain

Place ID 2298 NF 73385 70558 North Uist Central West

ScG loch of the white stream ScG loch an t- sruthain bhàin

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch an t-Sruthain Bhain 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch an t-Sruthain Bhain 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch an t-Suthain

Place ID 444 NF 86690 56490 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the dunce ??

ScG loch an t-suthain ??

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book says the meaning is 'The Scotven loch' referring to the relatively nearby Scotbheinn. This seems unlikely with no 'c' sound early in the word.

An alternative meaning for ScG suthan = 'small beer' but this seems no better than 'dunce'.

Without a local tradition, this is an unsatisfactory possibility overall.

ON svæði = 'an open space, a bare open field exposed to the wind and rain' would work here, as it would for most of the interior of Griomasaigh but the initial vowel is not as it should be.

When lenited 'suthain' would become 'shuthain' and the 's' would not sound. Consequentially the root could have been 'huthain'. Not that this helps much!

A possible root could be ON hjú tjörn = 'tarn of the domestics' which is a possible topographical fit.

Five Hutjern and three Hutjønna place names exist in Norway

Loch an t-Suthain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Tuim

Place ID	6235	NF 74369 30577	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the knoll			ScG loch an tuim		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Tuim			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Tuim			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch an Tuirc

Place ID 6109 NF 75111 29576 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the boar ScG loch an tuirc

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bald's mapping gives us Loch Donagh (PN#12542)

Loch an Tuirc	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch an Tuirc	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Donagh	1804	Bald mapping

Loch an Uisge Ghil

Place ID 6699 NF 81618 44622 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG loch of the white water

ScG loch an uisge ghil

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'The loch of the White Water' ScG ghil is the genitive m of ScG geal = 'white'.

Loch an Uisge Ghil

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Uisge Ghil

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Uisge-ghil

Place ID	6578	NF 79070 40072	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG loch of the clear water			ScG loch an uisge ghil		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch an Uisge-ghil			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch an Uisge-ghil			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Aonghais

Place ID 2542 NF 85691 73835 North Uist Central North

ON isthmus house + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON eið + hús

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The obvious translation is ScG Aonghais = 'of Angus' and MacKenzie writes in the 'History of the Macdonalds' that it was occupied c1516.

However the older names of the dun are Aonais missing the 'gh'. It is also often the case the dun names are of old origin.

One possibility is ON eið hús = 'house of the peninsula' which would work well for a Norse structure being occupied within the old dun accessed by the isthmus causeway.

Of the six names on the OS 2nd edition containing Aonais, all six are on the Western Isles, five on Uist and one on Harris. The Benbecula one is another Dun Aonais with a causeway leading out to an island with buildings inside the round walls, a very similar site to this one.

There are three Eiðhús in Iceland along with four other with the first component of Eiðshús. There is also an Eidehuset in Norway.

I think this information gives me full confidence in this root.

Loch Aonghais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Aonais

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Ardaich Torr

Place ID 1223 NF 82080 59670 North Uist C1arinish

ScG loch of the mound of the high place ScG loch ard -aich Torr

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Loch of the elevated mound' which is literal but not totally convincing. There are over 600 names including Torr in the OS 2nd edition mapping in Scotland covering the Gaelic heartland but only two on North Uist, the other being Loch Clann Torr three kilometres to the N. On South Uist there is an Abhainn Torra which is a classic Norse river name and a Torriedale on Orkney which again is classic Norse. ON torfa = 'green spot' or in Iceland 'many farms built together' presumably based upon ON þorp which Vigfusson defines 'this word, we think, was originally applied to the cottages of the poorer peasantry crowded together in a hamlet, instead of each house standing in its own enclosure, like the 'tún' or 'bær' or 'garðr' of the 'búandi.' With rf > rr this works for the generic component. For the specific, Ardaich, which occurs only once elsewhere as Creag an Ardaich, one must remember that there is an 'sh' sound inserted between the 'r' and the 'd' and so to anglophonic ears the sound is 'arshtach'. This to me is very close to ON austrið = 'The east'.

Loch Ardaich Torr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Ardaich Torr	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Ardheisker

Place ID 2256 NF 76683 67488 North Uist B1ayhead

'Àird Heisgeir' + ScG loch

ScG ScG loch of 'Àird Heisgeir'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Àird Heisker (P#699) for a discussion.

Loch Ardheisker

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Ardheisker

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Oban

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Bà Alasdair

Place ID 5340 NF 85607 49185 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ON farmsterad ScG loch

ON bólstaðr + ScG loch

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This sprawling loch is probably to some extent tidal and nearly cuts across the whole peninsula here. The obvious interpretation is from ScG bà = 'cows' although one might expect the genitive ScG bhà and lenition in Alasdair? This would sound different with ScG /bh/ sounded as /v/.

It does seem an odd name.

Bà would sound very similar to ScG bàgh = 'bay'.

Alasdair could come from ON al-hýsi teigar = 'strips of land of the homestead'? A simpler alternative might be ON áls teigar = 'strips of land of the riverbed channel'

For the Thomas name, Ob nam Forsannan see Forsanan (P#5361)

However that said there is another nearby name on modern mapping which must be the same name: Loch Bealasdair.

This looks very close to Beasdaire on Berneray which MacKillop thinks stems from ON bólstaðr = '(secondary) farm settlement'

Loch Bà Alasdair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Bà Alasdair	1877	OS 1st edition
Ob nam Forsannan	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgeabhaig

Loch Bà Una

Place ID	5385	NF 81832 52876	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ON escarpment pasture + ScG loch			ScG loch + ON barð höfn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input type="checkbox"/> complete?

ScG bà is the genitival of ScG bò = 'cow' which makes the grammar sort of work. ScG Una is a personal name that equates with bizarrely Una, Winifred or Agnes

Carmichael provides Loch Bàgh ùna.

I remain very unconvinced.....

Going Norse, ON barð = 'brim of a hill' is a good specific and a possible generic is ON tjörn = 'tarn'.

Alternatively ON höfn = 'haven' has another meaning of 'pasture' and this seems closer in sound. The /u/ could reflect the use of the side form ON hofn rather than ON hafn.

A final passivity is ON hraun = 'rough rocky ground'.

In Iceland there are four Bárðartjörn and a Barðshraun place name.

Loch Bà Una	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Bàgh Úna	1877	OS name book
Loch Bà Úna	1877	OS 1st edition
Black Loch	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Baghasdail

Place ID 95 NF 80190 18450 South Uist Lochboisdale

ON valley of the bay + ScG loch ScG loch + ON baghasdail

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Baghasdail for more details

Loch Boisdale	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Bloisdale	1804	Bald mapping
Loch Baghasdail	1654	Blaeu mapping
Loch Byisdal	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch Bail'-fhionnlaidh

Place ID 5163 NF 77493 53680 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG Bailfinlay loch ScG loch baile fhionnlaidh

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With the nearby Bailfinlay (q.v.), this is the loch to go with it.

Loch Bail'-fhionnlaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Bail'-fhionnlaidh	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Baimilidh

Place ID	6155	NF 74159 25707	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ON place of the edge slope			ON barmi hlið		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Baimilidh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Baimalee			1877	OS 1st edition	
Cows L.			1804	Bald mapping	

Loch Bain

Place ID 6273 NF 74247 31463 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG pale loch ScG loch bàn

Fresh water Lake

Bald named a Loch an Bain near Tobha Mòr.

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch Bain 1804 Bald mapping

Loch Bàn

Place ID	5371	NF 83843 51982	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG pale loch			ScG loch bàn	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water				<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Bàn			1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Beag

Place ID 5093 NF 84962 80701 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG small loch

ScG loch beag

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The counterpoint to Loch Mòr.

Loch Beag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Beag

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Beag a' Mhuilinn

Place ID 5137 NF 79618 50057 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG small loch of the mill

ScG loch beag a' Mhuilinn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The grammar is perfect. The OS 1st edition marks a sluice and a Corn Mill at ther S extremity of the loch.

Loch Beag a' Mhuilinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Beag an Droma

Place ID 869 NF 82270 61790 North Uist C1arinish

ScG small loch of the ridge

ScG loch beag an droma

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Exactly as the OS name book says!

Loch Beag an Droma

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Beag an Droma

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Beag Aonais Mhic Mhicheil

Place ID 6722 NF 76186 45444 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG small lake of the Angus son of Michael ScG loch beag aonghais mhic mhicheil

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch Beag Aonais Mhic Mhicheil 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Beag Aonais Mhic Mhicheil 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch Beag Bhuirgh

Place ID 2634 NF 91255 81681 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ScG little loch of the + ON fort ScG loch beag + ON borg

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch Beag Bhuirgh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Little Loch Borve

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Beag Dubh

Place ID	2349	NF 76436 74172	North Uist	Central West	
ScG small black loch			ScG loch beag dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Beag Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Beag Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Beag na Morgha

Place ID 658 NF 86730 74410 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON river boundary + ScG small loch

ScG loch beag na + ON mörk á

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The problem here is that ScG morghan = 'gravel' is masculine and so we would expect ScG a' = 'of the' with lenition. This use of ScG na can be an indication of a Norse root or a different meaning.

ON mörk + á = 'river boundary' works well as this is the area of the divide between the two parishes and probably an ancient boundary.

Morka is an extremely common element of place names in Norway, in Iceland Markagil (at least twenty) or its variants are common.

Loch Beag na Morgha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Beag na Morgha

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Beag nan Eun

Place ID 1055 NF 76267 74817 North Uist Central West

ScG small loch of the birds

ScG loch beag nan eun

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book interprets the 1st edition name Loch Beag nan Ian as 'John's girls little loch' whilst the modern version has a simplified version of the name adjusted by one letter although still sounding the same. I wonder if one more letter change to ScG uan = 'lamb' is where the name really came from.

Loch Beag nan Eun

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Beag nan Ian

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Beag Thaga

Place ID	5493	NF 83915 52188	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
'Thaga' + ScG small loch			scG loch beag + 'Thaga'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

A good example of 'correction' that was not required. /thaga/ would sound the same to a Gaelic speaker as /haga/ however here it must refer to the nearby Haca.. This component is dealt with under Haca (P#1630).

Loch Beag Thaga	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
-----------------	------	----------------------------------

Loch Bealsdair

Place ID	5532	NF 85956 49330	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
'Bealsdair' + ScG lake			ScG loch + 'Bealsdair'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

This must be the same name as Loch Bà Alasdair (q.v.) on the modern OS mapping and referring to the large loch to the W of this relatively insignificant one.

Loch Bealsdair	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
----------------	------	----------------------------------

Loch Bèin

Place ID 6500 NF 84299 37176 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG loch of the hide

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG béin is the genitive of ScG bian = 'skin, hide or abode' although I am not sure on the 'abode' element. Indirectly the OSNB (OS1/18/11/163) gives us 'Loch of the Beast' although it is hard to see how.

Loch Bèin

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Bèin

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Beinn a' Charra

Place ID 6284 NF 77204 31304 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG mountain of the standing stone loc ScG loch beinn a' charra

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beinn a' Charra here is an onomastic unit.

Loch Beinn a' Charra	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Beinn a' Charra	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Bhacasaraidh

Place ID 6303 NF 75963 32621 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'sheiling of the bay' + ScG lake

ScG loch + ON vágs ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This looks very similar to Bacasaidh (P#1555) and thought to stem from ON vágs + ey = island of the bay'.

Loch Bhacasaraidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Vaccasary

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Bhaghasaraidh

Place ID 1591 NF 74976 70121 North Uist Central West

ON sheiling of the bay + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON vágs ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Beveridge writes "perhaps from Valdi's erg or Valdi's shieling" p110.

The order looks like Norse with a generic ON ærgi = 'shieling' and a possible specific of ON hváll = 'dome-shaped hill' often occurring in local names of farms lying under such hills (Vigfusson). The 'll' however is problematic.

It is however also possible that the root is ON vágs ærgi = 'sheiling of the bay' with Bayhead nearby clearly being the bay of importance. Indeed the name ON vágr for the first settlement here would make a lot of sense as simplex topographical names are usually the earliest.

Three Hvalsetra in SE Norway are presumably setr rather than ærgi with the hill root.

Våg(a)seter occurs 14 times as the first component of Norwegian place names,

Loch Bhaghasaraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Fausaridh	1877	OS name book
Loch Fausary	1877	OS name book
Loch Vausary	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Bhataraidh

Place ID 1311 NF 92890 81690 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ON wet isthmus + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON vatns eið

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

'wet isthmus' would make a good description of the isthmus here that gets covered by the tide. This loch sits just behind the feature.

MacKillop equates it to 'Loch Vater Sja' viz Loch of the Sea-loch' using the previous OS name Loch Watersee. It is surprising the /s/ has disappeared. The modern version looks like a ON ærgi = 'shieling' name.

In the old form ON vatns = 'of the lake' would seem to work with ON eið = 'isthmus'.

Loch Bhataraidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Bhatar Seathainn

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Loch Watersee

1877

OS 1st edition

Poull Baidight

1832

Thomson atlas

Loch Bhereagbhat

Place ID 2579 NF 88076 72040 North Uist Central North

? ON boundary mark - lake + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON merki vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Beveridge writes about his Loch Veiragvat (p110) ' Norse; probalby merki-vatn or 'boundary loch', the letter 'v' representing aspirated 'm'.

The vowel sound between the 'r' and the 'k' arises from the Gaelic dislike of a consonant cluster and a vowel sound is inserted between and r and a g, a vowel usually copying the previous vowel as has happened here.

I would not be surprised if the marks referred to are the standing stones just to the E of the loch.

Looking at the cognate notes Merkjavarða = ' watch point of the marks' would seem to be a contender and the sound is not far away but probalby far enough.

It is possible that the bay below was called ON vera vik = 'shelter or fishing station bay' and then this was treated as an onomastic unit with ON vatn = 'lake' added afterwards.

There is a problem then with the Luchag name discussed under Airigh nan Luchag.

A simpler solution might be ON berga vatn = 'lake of the elevated rocky ground' or 'precipice'. A vowel matching the previous one would be inserted between the r and the g as part of the Gaelicization process which is exactly what has happened and the first /h/ is as a result of lenition.

There are five Veravika cognates in Norway.

Merkjavarða is common in Iceland with 15 examples of the name.

In Norway there are two Merkesvatnet and a Markvatnet name

There is a Bergárvatn in Iceland

Loch Bhereagbhat

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Veiragvat

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Bhiorain

Place ID 2248 NF 73873 69739 North Uist Central West

ScG loch of the stake ScG loch bhiorain

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch Bhiorain 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Bhiorain 2000 Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Loch Bhiorain 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch a' Bhiorrain 1877 OS name book

Loch Bhornais Uarach

Place ID 6102 NF 74341 29167 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG upper loch + 'Bhornais'

ScG loch + 'Bhornais'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Bornais (P#83) for a discussion of that component.

I am not certain why there is the lenition here as ScG loch is a masculine noun.

The OS 1st edition name and the Bald one Loch an Dùin/Loch un Duine are both a form of ScG loch an dùin = 'loch of the fort' presumably referring to the dun at NF 74173 29088, Canmore ID#9837.

Loch Bhornais Uarach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Dùin

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Un Duine

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Bhrusda

Place ID 2631 NF 91785 82551 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

'Bhrusda' + ScG loch ScG loch + 'Bhrusda'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Brusda (P#2646) for a discussion of the component of the name

Loch Bhrusda	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Bhruist	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Bhruist	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch Bhruist	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Bhuirgh

Place ID 2619 NF 90650 80425 B1earnaraigh B1orve
ON fort + ScG loch ScG loch + ON borg
S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch Bhuirgh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Borve	1877	OS 1st edition
Bay of Borve	1832	Thomson atlas
Bay of Borve	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Bì

Place ID 2099 NF 77252 44086 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON farm + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON bæ

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The ending '-by' is common in the UK and thought generally to have come from ON bæ = 'town' or 'farm', possibly ON bæ being this word in the dative or accusative. It would represent a larger settlement than others.

The loch here is such a large and obvious feature, one wonders if it was actually called ON lögr and this then got Gaelicized to ScG loch. It would be unusual not to have a Norse name for it.

Loch Bì	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Bee	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Bì	1877	OS name book
Loch Bee	1804	Bald mapping
LOCH PI.	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch Blathaisbhal

Place ID 1212 NF 90500 71270 North Uist Central North

ScG loch + 'Blathaisbhal'

ScG loch + 'Blathaisbhal'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

See 'Blathaisbhal' (P#1211) for details. The Minish = 'middle headland' separates this loch from Loch Mhidhinis.

Loch Blathaisbhal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Borasdail

Place ID 5174 NF 78118 52890 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

'Borasdail' ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Borasdail'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Dùn Borosdail (P#5175) for a discussion of the second component of this name.

Loch Borasdail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Bhorosdail	1877	OS name book
loch Borosdale	1877	OS 1st edition
L. Borrosdale	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Bornais

Place ID 6100 NF 73216 29237 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Bornais' + ScG lake ScG loch + 'Bornais'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Bornais (P#83) for a discussion of that place name.

Loch Bornais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Bornish	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Kildonan	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Bràighe Luim

Place ID	5724	NF 77866 76313	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG lake of the bare brae			ScG loch bràighe luime		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Bràighe Luim			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Loch Brinishader

Place ID 675 NF 72010 70000 North Uist B1alranald

ON pastures to water cattle + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON brynna sætr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

An interesting name as the generic component of the Norse section of this is ON sætr = 'residence' as it only occurs on Uist twice as opposed to 36 on Lewis and Harris. On Uist ON ærgi is much commoner and only used four times on Lewis and Harris.

The specific is less obvious and the best I could find is ON brynna = 'to water cattle'.

The siting is good as it is on the edge of the land outside the main arable strip in the 'gearraidh' and it does refer to a loch!

Loch Brinishader

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Brinishader

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Briste

Place ID 100 NF 74690 15070 South Uist Lochboisdale

ScG broken loch

ScG loch briste

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

I imagine the broken refers to the fact that on both the Blaeu and Bald mappings, the loch joined the sea and so was ScG briste = 'broken'. This join has now silted up but the name remains.

Blaeu gives L: Pneest but /n/ for /r/ is an easy transcription error and Cox notes that ScG /Br/ is often pronounced /Pr/.

Loch Briste

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Briste

1877

OS 1st edition

L: Pneest

1654

Blaeu mapping

Loch Bru

Place ID 616 NF 89600 73950 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON causeway + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON brú

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG brù = 'belly' or ScG bru = 'bank or edge' but there seems no topographical reason for it.

ON brú = 'bridge' but the meaning has often become 'causeway'

There is an apparent causeway in the loch here leading out to the island.

There is however no evidence of a structure on the island and the causeway looks natural.

There are no place names on the OS 2nd edition containing Bru as a separate word. However Brue on Lewis is said to derive from ON brú (Oftedal p17) and two Brue names on Orkney and a Bruernish on Barra are the only names on that mapping beginning with Brue- and all help the Norse case.

In Iceland there are 25 Brú place names and a large number beginning with this component. Over 8000 place names in Norway has this as a component.

Loch Bru

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Bru

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Bruist

Place ID 2281 NF 77468 68151 North Uist B1ayhead

ON causeway place + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON brúar stað

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'the Table Loch' for no reason I can fathom.

The loch has an odd looking island in it that suggests a bridge, ON brú = 'bridge or causeway' could be the specific with ON stað = 'place or abode'. The cognate notes are encouraging.

In Iceland there are two Brúarstæði place names whilst in Norway there are 33 place names of Brustad.

Loch Bruist

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Bruist

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Buaile Gramasdail

Place ID 801 NF 85920 61110 North Uist Eaval

ScG 'Gramasdail' fold loch

ScG loch + buaile + 'Gramasdal'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Gramasdail (q.v.), here treated as an onomastic unit, is at the other end of the ford on Benbecula so this could be a 'holding' area for cattle from there or going there.

Loch Buaile Gramasdail

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Buaile Ghramasdal

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Loch Buaile Gramasdale

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Bun an Ligidh

Place ID 6476 NF 76960 37120 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG loch of the mouth of the draining

ScG loch bun an ligidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This is a perfect description of the site, sitting at the foot of Fèith a' Choite, the main drain of Loch Druidibig.

Loch Bun an Ligidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Bun an Ligidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Caifeanach

Place ID 5331 NF 82863 49798 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG place of the chiffchaffs loch

ScG loch caifeanach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ScG caifean = 'chiff-chaff', a small yellow green warbler for those who don't know. This was a species only sorted out by Gilbert White in the 18th century and so seems an unlikely name for Uist and the species is not the most obvious bird here, although its song does give it away.

A possibility for the specific is ON kalfa = 'of the calves' leaving the generic to be ON hnakk = 'saddle'. The /l/ here is a problem.

One could understand an area of rough pasture here that is relatively easily bounded. There is a ScG 'loch of the shielings' nearby to tend them and a ScG 'upper loch of the sheep' to the south for other animal husbandry.

However without a better root, chiffchaffs is where it stays.

Kaffonshnúkr is a place name in Iclenad where there are 17 names beginning with Kaff- whilst in Norway there are over 80 similar place names.

Loch Caifeanach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Caifeanach	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Caffack	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Camas nam Feuchaig

Place ID 6565 NF 84714 39566 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Camas nam Feuchaig' + ScG lake ScG loch + 'Camas nam Feuchaig'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Camas nam Feuchaig (P#6566) for a discussion of the last elements.

Loch Camas nam Feuchaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Camas nam Feugach	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Camas-duibhe

Place ID 268 NF 91460 77630 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG quagmire bay loch ScG loch camas-duibhe

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Curiously this loch is not the closest to Camas Dubh.
Therefore I wonder if it is related to Abhainn Dubh.
ON kambi áss = comb-like ridge would sound very much like ScG camas.

Loch Camas-duibhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Camas-duibhe	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Caol

Place ID	605	NF 88250 74330	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG narrow loch			ScG loch caol		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Caol			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Caol			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Caol na Cartach

Place ID 6687 NF 79332 44427 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG narrow loch of the cart

ScG loch caol na cartach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

'narrow loch of the cart' seems a little odd. An alternative meaning is 'of the bark' which is possibly worse.

ON karfa stöð = 'landing place of the swift-going ship, with six, twelve, or sixteen rowers on each side, esp. used on lakes or inlets' would not be bad option although there is no direct access from the loch to either the sea or Loch Bì.

Loch Caol na Cartach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Caol na Cartach

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Caolas Sgarbhcleit

Place ID 1834 NF 88347 46028 Benbecula W1iay

ScG loch of the strait of + 'Sgarbhcleit'

ScG loch caolas + 'Sgarbhcleit'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Sgaracleit (P#1789) for a discussion of the final element. The name here is useful however in introducing the /bh/.

Loch Caolas Sgarbhcleit

1866

Admiralty mapping

Loch Carabhat

Place ID 413 NF 85740 56770 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch + ON lake of the houses

ScG loch + ON garða vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

A good example of the Gaels taking a lake they know is called 'Carabhat' but not knowing its meaning and adding the ScG loch and so doubling the lake aspect of the name.

There is another Loch Carabhat and Cairnish within a few kilometres. But the former could have a different root (P#798)

Vigfusson writes that ON kári = 'the wind, frequently in modern usage a personal name' and hence an alternative to 'lake of the wind' could be 'Kári's lake'

The shortness of the initial vowel here might alternatively indicate a root from the ON kjarra = 'of the thickets'. This would usually yield Kear-.

A much simpler solution would be ON garðr = 'farm' if one permits g <> k as suggested by Holloway. Cox (p749) lists earlier forms of An Gnip as Kneep or even Keep amongst others. The Gil- element of Gilwall on the early mapping of Uist has ended up as Cill-. Going the other way, Alison Grant cites Gilchrist in Urray which stems from Cille on the basis of earleir forms.

The case here is strengthened by the end of the previous word /ch/ being carried into the start of the second.

An alternative is ON karfi and see Buaille Charaigeàraidh (P#1509) for a discussion on that element.

There are only two Kárvatn in Iceland but in Norway there are two cognate Kjervatnet and a Kjerrsvatnet.

There is another loch of this name near Carinis.

There is a Garðavatn and a Garðsvatn in Iclenad whilst in Norway there are ten Gardsvatnet and one Gardavatnet.

Loch Carabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Caravat	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Carabhat	1861	Thomas chart

Loch Carabhat

Place ID 798 NF 84640 61500 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch+ ON lake of the fish traps

ScG loch + ON kerja vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

There is another Loch Carabhat (P#413) Griomasaigh.

However on topographical grounds, I think this might have ea different root. Hereon the outflow there are a series of constructions that look like fish traps, indeed one is even marked on the OS mapping.

ON ker = 'fish trap' also probably occurs on Uist at the two loch nan Geireann, both of which also have clear fish trap weirs upon them.

The development e > ea is regular although e > a is slightly problematic.

As mentioned above, fish traps are still visible here. ScG caradh = 'fish trap' and with this word being similar to the initial sound, there could easily have been the desire to resemanticise.

I wonder if it is also possible that this is an effect of convergence towards the other Loch Carabhat.

Another alternative is ON karfi - see Buaille Charaigeàaidh for a discussion about that.

There is a Karvatnet in Norway.

Loch Carabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Caravat	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Carvat	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Loch Càrnan

Place ID 6663 NF 82726 43585 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG lake of the cairn

ScG loch càrnan

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

It is difficult if not impossible to work out whether it is a small cairn, a hill or those in the plural.
I suspect that the referent is the chambered cairn at NF 81016 45506 (Canmore ID#10161)

Loch Càrnan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Carnan	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Harnan	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Cartach

Place ID 1714 NF 89926 54590 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG loch of the water lily

ScG loch cartach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This is a surprisingly common name in the area. Whilst ScG cartach has several and various meanings, I consider the most likely to be 'bark loch' with the bark referring to something required in the tanning process. Traditionally Ronaigh and Liernis were centres of tanning.

The word ScG cairt can also mean 'water-lily'. The root of this is also used in the tanning process an for dying black or grey. Cox cites ScG cartach as the genitive singular.

With 50 occurrences of 'Cartach' in Scottish place names, 48 of them are on the Outer Hebrides. One of them is a Loch Seilich na Cartach on the other side of Griomasaigh.

Loch Cartach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Cartach

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Ceann a' Bhaigh

Place ID 6246 NF 76578 30214 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG head of the bay loch ScG loch ceann a' Bhàigh

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here Ceann a' Bhaigh is being treated as an onomastic unit.

Loch Ceann a' Bhaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Ceann a' Bhaigh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Ceunavagh	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Chearabhaigh

Place ID 5256 NF 87057 48056 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON bays of the fish traps + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON kerja vág

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

This name is confused with what I call Loch Leiravagh (P#5240) to the S.

I think this is a relatively straight forward one. The generic of the second component is ON vág = 'bay' and the specific is from ON kjarr = 'thicket' in the genitive plural reflex ON kjarra.

A strong alternative however is ON ker = 'fish trap', the specific that Cox suggests (p615) for Cearsadar, Lewis.

Looking carefully at imagery, I suspect there are remains of fish traps here - the area is certainly suitable. As a consequence this is now my favoured option. I think both would work - Oftedal seems to like ON kjarr.

There is a few names in Norway beginning with Kjervåg and a Kjarrvegur in Iceland.

In Iceland there is a Keravík and a Kervík.

Rygh thinks Kjæren stems from ON kerin and there is are two Kjærvik(a) and a Kjerrvik in Norway.

Loch Chearabhaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Keiravagh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Cheirebhaigh	1877	OS name book
Loch Kerevagh	1877	OS name book
loch Kerevagh	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch Kerevagh	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Chill Donnain

Place ID 6136 NF 73812 27436 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Chill Donnain' + ScG lake ScG loch + 'Chill Donnain'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Cill Donain (P#85) for a discussion of that component.

Loch Chill Donnain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Kildonan	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Chill Donnain Uarach

Place ID 6126 NF 73508 28083 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG upper lake + 'Chill Donnain' ScG loch + 'Chill Donnain' + ScG uarach

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Cill Donnain (P#85) for a discussion of that component.

Loch Chill Donnain Uarach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Kildonan	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Kildonan	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Chlachan Mora

Place ID	864	NF 82860 62360	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG loch of the big stones			ScG loch chlachan mòra		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Chlachan Mora			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Chlachan Mora			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Cille Bhànain

Place ID 6616 NF 78806 42744

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ScG loch of St. Benignus

ScG loch cille Bhànain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Loch Cille Bhànain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Cille Bhanain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Clach an Duilìg

Place ID 6555 NF 78889 39495 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG loch of the rock of pondweed

ScG loch clach an duilìg

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Whilst the OSNB gives us 'Loch of the hole in the stone' I struggle to find the 'hole'

ScG duilìg = 'of the dulse' where dulse is some form of sea-weed. With a suffix, it can mean 'pondweed' and I suspect with this loch being inland this is the solution.

Even then the SCG clach = 'rock' seems odd.

Loch Clach an Duilìg

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Clach an Duilìg

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Cloich an Duilìg

1877

OS name book

Loch Clachan Craonaval

Place ID 847 NF 84670 63350 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the stepping stones of + 'Craonaval' ScG loch clachan 'Craonaval'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Craonabhal (P#1369) for details.

Loch Clachan Craonaval	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Clachan Craonaval	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Clachan	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Loch Clann Raonuill Mhic Aonais

Place ID 796 NF 83120 61670 North Uist Eaval

ScG the loch of Ronald McAngus's children ScG loch clann Raonuill mhic Aonais

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us ' "The Loch of Ronald McAngus's children' which makes sense although quite who they were is less clear.

Loch Clann Raonuill Mhic Aonais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Clann Torr

Place ID 879 NF 81560 62170 North Uist C1arinish

ScG loch + ON small green spot ScG loch + ON klénn torfa

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book writes 'The Childrens loch' which doesn't explain 'torr' component at all and one would have expected an indefinite article. ScG tòrr = 'heap or hill'
ON torfa = 'a green spot' or 'many farms built together' and 'ON klénn = 'little' gives us a better option. ON é > a is a problem possibly explained by the desire to resemanticise.
The lake has been effectively drained but there is still a green knoll, although much has been quarried away.

Loch Clann Torr

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Cnoc a' Buidhe

Place ID 6160 NF 74884 25892 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON knoll encampment + ScG lake

ScG loch + ON hnjúkr búðir

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

An interesting and instructive name. There are many Dùn Buidhe scattered across the Uist and I have suggested some might involve the root ON búðir = 'encampment'.

Here is the evidence as the name does not include the word dun although the loch does (Canmore ID #9826).

ScG buidhe is generally an adjective meaning 'yellow'. It can be a masculine noun meaning 'the colour yellow' but if this was the case then the article should be ScG a' followed by lenition i.e. bhuidhe which would change the sound significantly and would be more likely to be recorded as /vuidhe/. It is therefore likely that this is not an example of ScG buidhe.

It is also evidence for the Gaelicization process on the ON hnjúkr = 'knoll' to ScG cnoc = 'knoll' although MacBain mention ON hnakki = 'nape of the neck' about which Rygh writes: 'nakki (opr. hnakki) m. (Gen. nakka) 'Neck'. Has entered quite a few farm names through its frequent use as a mountain name.'

Loch Cnoc a' Buidhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Cnoc a' Bhuidhe	1877	OS name book
Loch Cnoc a' Buidhe	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Croch an Bue	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Cnoc a' Choilich

Place ID 125 NF 96268 72875 North Uist Lochp1ortain

Scg hillock of the hill

Loch Cnoc a' Choilich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG coileach = 'cock' seems an odd choice here. An obscure name, so much so that a Norse alternative might be worth seeking.

One possibility might be ON koll-akr = 'hill field'. This however seems contrived.

Am Faclair Beag produces another meaning of ScG coileach as 'rill of water'. On Uist one is never far away from a rill!

There is a Kollrakar in Iceland.

There are 54 place names on the OS 2nd edition mapping containing the word Coilich and they are scattered very much over the Gaelic heartland. 17 Cnoc a' compete in popularity with the potentially tautologous 11 Allt a' Choilich.

There are 29 Coileach names agani ni the Galeci heartland

Loch Cnoc a' Choilich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Cnoc a' Choilich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Cnoc Miogaig

Place ID 5168 NF 78313 53555 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ON Miogaig hillock loch

ScG loch cnoc + ON mjódd eið

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

See Cnoc Miogaig for a discussion of that name.

Loch Cnoc Miogaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Cnoc Miogaig

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Cnoc nan Uan

Place ID 2382 NF 71882 71471 North Uist B1alrinald

ScG hillock of the lambs loch

ScG loch cnoc nan uan

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

On Wiay, Bàgh nan Uain came from ON höfn = 'haven, pasture'.

The 'Cnoc' referred to here is the site of a dùn. One wonders is this was originally Una, a name that was thought to be that of a 'Danish princess'.

Loch Cnoc nan Uan

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Collastrome

Place ID 1209 NF 89950 70600 North Uist Lochmaddy

'Collastrome' + ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Collastrome'

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For more details see Collastrome.

Loch Collastrome

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Coradail

Place ID 6312 NF 83131 33068 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Coradail' + ScG lake ScG loch + 'coradail'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

see Coire Ruadail (P# 5582) for a discussion of the second component.

Loch Coradail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Chòrodail	1877	OS name book
Loch Corodale	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Chroadle	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Creag na Feannaig

Place ID	5541	NF 83094 48550	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG crag of the crow loch			ScG loch creag na feannaig		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Creag na Feannaig is treated as an onomastic unit here.					
Loch Creag na Feannaig			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Loch Creag nam Bùthanan

Place ID 5312 NF 84114 48611 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG crag of the small bothies loch

ScG loch creag nam bùthanan

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

I cannot see where the OSNB 'Loch of the Small Precipice' comes from. ScG bùthan = 'potato clamp' is the best I can do with the suffix ScG -an = 'little'.

The more obvious derivation is form ScG bùthanain = 'small bothies'.

No bothies are immediately apparent on satellite imagery.

ON búðunum = 'The encampment' would work phonologically and was loaned into ScG.

Loch Creag nam Bùthanan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Creag nam Bùthanan

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Creag nan Speireag

Place ID 872 NF 82620 61110 North Uist Eaval

'Creag nan Speireag' + ScG loch ScG loch + 'Creag nan Speireag'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book writes 'Loch of the Sparrowhawk Rock'.
See Creag nan Speireag (P#783) for a discussion of that component.

Loch Creag nan Speireag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Creag nan Speireag	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Crogabhat

Place ID 815 NF 92330 62590 North Uist Eaval

ON lake of the corners + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON króka vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Beveridge writes ON krókr + vatn = 'crooked loch' which seems a good topographical fit although ON króka = 'of the corners' would seem the best grammatical fit.

Whilst ó > ò is regular,

In Iceland there are 17 Krókavatn whilst in Norway there are two Krokavatn and over 80 Krokavatnet place names. There are two Loch Crogavat names on South Uist too and the two OSnames refer to that one.

Loch Crogabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Crogavat	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Grogebhat	1877	OS name book
Loch Grogavat	1877	OS name book
Loch Crogabhat	1877	OS name book

Loch Croghearraidh

Place ID 674 NF 71610 71130 North Uist B1alranald

ON to grow enclosed area + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON gróa gerði

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Beveridge gives us 'Groas-gerði, Groa's garry' or perhaps from groðr, 'fruitful'. With no 's' sound, the first seems unlikely. Whilst confusion of initial 'G' with 'C' is possible both typographically (as evidenced by the Modern OS Loch Croghearraidh) and phonetically, leading to a root of ON kroa = 'of the lamb pens', I think Beveridge's second attempt is probably more likely and the specific is based upon a grammatical variant of ON gróa = 'to grow'. Vigfusson defines Beveridge's ON gróðr = 'crop' and this would seem to work well although the simple infinitive works better phonologically.

The situation between the shore and the hill pasture would be an appropriate place to grow crops and is similar to that of Groighearraidh on South Uist.

The Modern OS mapping has hedged its bets labels the N section Loch Grogary. This also might reflect the change in the size of this lake as the drain to the N was constructed early in the 19th century.

Loch Croghearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Grogary Loch	1877	OS name book
Loch Grogary	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Cuidh' a' Chlachain

Place ID 5161 NF 77178 52958 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG pen of the stepping stones loch ScG loch cuidhe a' chlachain

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch Cuidh' a' Chlachain 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Buidh'a'Chlachain 1877 OS name book

Loch Cuidh' a' Chlachain 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch Cuidhe nan Laogh

Place ID	2146	NF 78278 62156	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG	fold of the calves loch		ScG loch cuidhe nan laogh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
	Loch Cuidhe nan Laogh		1973		Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Loch Cuilce

Place ID	174	NF 94868 70093	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG reed loch			ScG loch cuilce		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Cuilce			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Cuilce			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Cuilce

Place ID 410 NF 86460 56910 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the reed

ScG loch cuilce

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

A self-explanatory name

The distribution of the 41 Cuilce names on the OS 2nd edition mapping is perhaps more coastal than one might expect for a fresh-water plant with 14 of them on the Western Isles.

Loch Cuilce

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Cuilch

Place ID	6418	NF 77177 36898	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the reed			ScG loch cuilce		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Cuilch			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Cuilch			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Deanadach

Place ID 861 NF 81800 62600 North Uist C1arinish

scG loch of the ?? ON ditch of the tarn ScG loch + ?? ON tjarnar dík

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book contributes 'The Loch of the numerous nests'. With ScG dèanadach = 'active' amongst others, one can see where it might have come from.

Slightly unhappy with this and so we go to Norse. ON dúnn + taka = 'seizing of down', 'down' being the feathers of Eider duck that still bred on Uist, fits rather well with the OS name book interpretation. It is however quite a phonological step.

The initial sound is similar to Teana reminding me of Teana Mhascair. An option there was ON tjarnar = 'of the tarn'. Perhaps ON tjanar dík = 'ditch of the tarn'?

An Icelandic Tjarnarsíki would have the same meaning

Loch Deanadach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Deanadach	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Deòireabhat

Place ID 964 NF 89510 66050 North Uist Lees

ON lake of the rifts + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON gjögra vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ON dýra = 'of the deer' is the key as written by Beveridge. It is one of many 'deer' place names hereabouts. However nearby to the N is Loch Dheoir (P#156 q.v.). This does not have the advantage of having two parts and a simplex place name 'deer' makes little sense. For there I think the root is ON gjögr = 'rift' and here I have come to the view that the specific is ON gjögra = 'of the rifts' possibly referring to the gullies at the N end of the loch .

Loch Deòireabhat

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Deoravat

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Dheoir

Place ID 156 NF 91717 72979 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON cleft + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON gjögr

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

ScG deur = 'drop (of liquid)', 'tear' or 'small amount of liquid' with a plural of ScG deòir could be the root with the 'h' added as an effect of lenition. 'tears loch' however does not seem very helpful.

If we remove the lenited 'h' then ON dýr = 'animal(s)' would be a possibility. Maintaining the 'h' then ON hjörð = 'herd' would sound similar.

In either case however we have a possible specific but no generic. Not good.

An alternative is possible as ScG gh and ScG dh sound similar and so using back formation we could be looking for Geoir which is similar to Giorr in Eilean a' Ghiorr (q.v.)

The root for that was probably ON gjögr = 'clefts'. The final /ch/ of ScG loch would help create the initial /g/.

Topographically the loch here is separated from the rest of Loch nam Madadh by two narrow rocky channels.

Hollidays cites ON gjögrar as the root of Tiree's Poll a' Ghior with interestingly two of his informants giving the last element as Dhiùr.

There are 18 Gjögur place names in Iceland

Loch Dheoir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Yeor

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Dho'ill Mhic Ruari

Place ID	5533	NF 85932 49115	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG Donald MacRory's Loch			SCg loch dhomhnaill mhic Ruaidhri		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Donald MacRory's loch			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Loch Dho'ill Mhic Ruari			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Loch Dhonnachaidh Riabhaich

Place ID 1186 NF 91420 69210 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG loch of greyish Dennis

ScG loch Dhonnachaidh riabhaich

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Dionysisu was an alternative to Dennis.

Loch Dhonnachaidh Riabhaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Dòbhrain

Place ID	6367	NF 76688 34384	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the otter			ScG loch dòbhrain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Dòbhrain			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Dòbhrain			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Doig

Place ID 6745 NF 79207 46433 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON dyke Scg lake ScG locg + ON diki

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

To my ears ScG doig sounds like En dyke and this would lead to ON díki = 'ditch, dyke'

There is one place name Díki in Iceland and 14 Diket names in Norway.

Loch Doig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Doig	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Driomoir

Place ID 6573 NF 77184 40470 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG lake + 'Driomoir'

ScG loch + 'driomoir'

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Drimore (P#6571) for a discussion of that component.

Loch Driomoir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Drimore

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Drollabhat

Place ID 6164 NF 79485 25160 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON lake of the dangerous place + ScG lake ScG loch + ON trölla vat

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ON troll = 'troll, ogre' has become associated with dangerous, wild places.
T > d and ö > o are both regular

Loch Drollabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Drollavat	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Drollabhat	1877	OS name book

Loch Druidibeag

Place ID 73 NF 79480 37590 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON great ridge + ScG loch

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

To my mind, there is not an obvious root here. The best I can manage is Norse, ON drjúgr + bakki = 'great ridge'. This certainly describes the setting for the loch surrounded by the mountains of South Uist.

This leaves the loch without a Norse name, although just to the S are three non-lake names involving Hukarvat (ON hauga-vatn = 'lake of the mounds' or ON hauka-vatn = 'lake of the hawks') which could be the name in Norse for Loch Druidebeag.

The biggest problem however is Blaeu's name of Loch Truriburg which would seem to have an ON borg = 'fort' as its generic. It is hard to understand how the -burg ending became -beag. The Truri element is repeated in Trurifcalt, modern day Truirebheinn.

ON borg can also mean 'a rocky hill with cliffs' and here then ON þrjár borgir = 'three mountains' =

For the modern name Druidebeag, then an obvious specific would be ON tröð = 'cattle enclosure' with ON bekr = 'stream'. The presence of the place name Maoladh Creag nan Druideann might support this.

Traðabjörg Traðarberg Iceland þræta = disputed

Loch Druidibeag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Druidibeg	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Druidibig	1877	OS name book
Loch Druidebig	1877	OS name book
Loch Druidibeg	1804	Bald mapping
Loch Truriburg	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch Druim an Iasgair

Place ID	6657	NF 80378 43430	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG loch of the ridge of the fisherman			ScG loch druim an iasgair		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Druim an Iasgair			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Druim an Iasgair			1877	OS 1st edition	
Loch Drim an Iaskar			1804	Bald mapping	

Loch Druim na h-Imrich

Place ID 6689 NF 79936 44725 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

'na h-Imrich' + ScG ridge lake ScG loch druim + 'na h-Imrich'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Druim na h-Imrich (P#6690) for a discussion of that element.

Loch Druim na h-Imrich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Druim na h-Imhrich	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Dubh

Place ID 459 NF 88010 55680 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG black loch ScG loch dubh

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A very common name that describes some of the small dark lakes well.

An Loch Dubh 2001 Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Loch Dubh 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch Dubh

Place ID	2266	NF 79127 68345	North Uist	Central South	
ScG black loch			ScG loch dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Dubh

Place ID	6351	NF 85962 33868	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG dark loch			ScG loch dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Dubh an Iònaire

Place ID 6653 NF 79068 43767 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG black lake of the + ON watchpoints ScG loch dubh an + ON sjónir

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This must be related to the nearby Loch an Iònaire. ON innar = 'inner' might work as this is in the section of the Loch Bì that could be described as 'inner'.

The OSNB gives us Black Loch Neiven' which I don't understand!

Loch Dubh an Iònaire	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Dubh an Iònaire	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Dubh Beag

Place ID 897 NF 82530 60550 North Uist Eaval

ScG small black loch

ScG loch dubh beag

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The order goes against the expected 'size' then 'quality' then 'colour' but ScG dubh = 'black' does funny things!

Loch Dubh Beag

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Dubh Beag

Place ID 5200 NF 80893 48013 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG small black loch ScG loch dubh beag

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch Dubh Beag 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch Dubh Bheanna Beag

Place ID 5339 NF 84487 49142 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG small black loch of the hill

ScG loch dubh bheanna beag

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This is possibly a variant on the usual genitive of ScG beinn = 'hill' which is ScG beinne and the /h/ is a product of lenition.

The ScG beag must refer to the loch rather than the hill as ScG beag is not a possibility following a feminine noun, I think!

Loch Dubh Bheanna Beag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Dubh Bheanna Beag

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Dubh Ceann a' Gharaidh

Place ID 5329 NF 81375 49365 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG head of the dyke black loch

ScG loch dubh ceann a' ghàrraidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Satellite imagery reveals a dyke crossing from this loch S to Òb Sàile and enclosing the c5km long peninsula here for c200m of dyke!

Loch Dubh Ceann a' Gharaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Dubh Ceann a' Gharaidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Dubh Chinn a' Gharaidh	1877	OS name book

Loch Dubh Ceann na Lathaich

Place ID 594 NF 90280 74190 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG head of the mire black loch ScG loch dubh ceann na lathaich

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here 'Ceann na Lathaich' is working as an onomastic unit with the OSNB giving us 'Black loch of the mire head'

Loch Dubh Ceann na Lathaich 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Dubh Ceann na Lathaich 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch Dubh Cnoc na File

Place ID 804 NF 87260 61670 North Uist Eaval

'Cnoc na File' + ScG black loch ScG loch dubh + 'Cnoc na File'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Cnoc na File (P#803) for details.
The OSNB gives us "Black loch of the fiddle knoll".

Loch Dubh Cnoc na File	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------------	------	-------------------

Loch Dubh Cnoc na File	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------------	------	----------------

Loch Dubh Haca

Place ID 5372 NF 83423 52297 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG black loch + 'Haca'

ScG loch dubh + 'Haka'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

See Haca (1907) for a discussion of that place name.

The Thomas version of Loch Mor Thaga is a good illustration of the effect of Gaelic on Norse. In Gaelic an initial /th/ and /sh/ sounds just like /h/ and so here Thomas has inserted the /t/ to make the word 'more Gaelic'.

Loch Dubh Haca	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Dubh Haka	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Dubh Haka	1877	OS name book
Loch Mor Thaga	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch Dubh Mhic Guaidhre

Place ID 2353 NF 72397 70455 North Uist B1alranald

ScG Godfrey's sons black loch

ScG loch dubh mhic guaidhre

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Godfrey's son's black loch'. ScG Goraidh is the usual spelling of Godfrey and it was a name closely associated with this area and so this spelling is odd.

There is a Dun Guaidhre and an Airigh Ghuaidhre on Islay and MacNiven writes that the specific here is an ON loanword personal name Gutharaidh probably based on the personal name ON Guðrøðr, anglicized to Godred.

However this name is also rendered in Scottish Gaelic as Goraidh which is exactly the name associated with this area so no problem.

There is a Dun Guaidhre and an Airigh Ghuaidhre on Islay.

Loch Dubh Mhic Guaidhre

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Dubh Mhic Guaidhre

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Dubh Mor

Place ID 5196 NF 80879 47637 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG big black loch ScG loch dubh mòr

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch Dubh Mor 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Dubh Mòr 1877 OS 1st edition

Black Loch of Aird Noan 1804 Bald mapping

Loch Dubh Mòr

Place ID 896 NF 82730 60480 North Uist Eaval

ScG big black loch

ScG loch dubh mòr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The order goes against the expected 'size' then 'quality' then 'colour' but ScG dubh = 'black' does funny things!

Loch Dubh Mòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Dubh na Mòine

Place ID	581	NF 90590 76140	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG black loch of the moor			ScG loch dubh na mòine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Dubh na Mòine			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Dubh na Moine			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Dubh nan Cruach

Place ID 6332 NF 74988 33611 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG black loch of the stacks

ScG loch dubh nan cruach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Marsh

complete?

Loch Dubh nan Cruach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Dubh nan Cruach

1877

OS 1st edition

Peat Loch

1862

Black mapping

Loch Dubh nan Cuileag

Place ID 961 NF 89850 86730 North Uist Lees

ScG black loch of the + 'Cuileag' ScG loch dubh nan cuileag

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch nan Cuileag (P#792) for a discussion on the 'Cuileag' element.

Loch Dubh nan Cuileag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Dubh nan Cuileag	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Dubhasairidh

Place ID 2497 NF 77233 66990 North Uist B1ayhead

ON sheiling of the quagmore + ScG loch ScG loch + ON dýs + ærgi

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book provides 'Loch of the black Pasture'. I think I would have expected the ScG dubh = 'black' to be at the end and it is not the usual meaning of sheiling and there is no clear explanation for the 's'.

There is an alternative in Norse ON dýs + ærgi = 'sheiling of the quagmire'.

They end up as much the same!

MacDonald gives ON dugfuss-erg = 'the shieling of Dugfuss'

Loch Dubhasairidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Loch Dusary	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Dusary		MacDonald sketch history
--------	--	--------------------------

Loch Dùn an t-Siamain

Place ID 759 NF 88600 59400 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch fort of the + 'Siamain'

ScG Loch Dùn an t- + 'Siamain'

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Dùn an t-Siamain (P#758) for details.

Loch Dùn an t-Siamain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Dun an t-Siamain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Dùn Mhurchaidh

Place ID 1904 NF 79632 54806 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG fort loch + ON fort

ScG loch dùn + ON virki

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Mhurchaidh occurs in 57 names on the OS 2nd series mapping with a strong coastal bias and particularly strong on Lewis and Harris where it occurs 24 times.

Thinking on the pronunciation it ends up being very similar to vuruche.

I have written more about this on my blog: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/slaves-on-uist>.

Tautology always gives me confidence!

The development l > u seems possible on Uist (Henderson's example is Uist based) and would be driven by the desire to resemanticise.

Thomas has a different name....

See the blog for more on this and other names: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/slaves-on-uist>

Loch Dùn Mhurchaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Dun Mhurchaidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Iain Mhurchaidh	1861	Thomas chart
John Murdo's Loch	1861	Thomas chart
Loch Duine Murchy	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch Duine Murchy	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Dùn na Buail'-uachdraich

Place ID 6731 NF 77798 46030 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

'Dùn na Buail'-uachdraich' + ScG lake

ScG loch + 'Dùn na Buail'-uachdraich'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Dùn na Buail'-uachdraich (P#6732) for a discussion of the onomastic unit, Dùn na Buail'-uachdraich.

Loch Dùn na Buail'-uachdraich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Dùn na Buail'-uacraich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Dun na Cille

Place ID 2097 NF 74676 18912 South Uist Lochboisdale

ScG fort of the chapel loch

ScG loch dùn na cille

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG Dun na Cille = 'fort of the chapel' seems a slightly odd lineage as one would have expected the fort to be there before the chapel and so the name to be 'chapel of the fort'.

Loch Dun na Cille

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Dunakillie

1877

OS 1st edition

L: Dunigil

1654

Blaeu mapping

Loch Eadaraidh

Place ID 6280 NF 76383 31624 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON outer isthmus + ScG lake

ScG loch + ON ýtra eið

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

It has a Norse feel. ON ytri = 'outer'.

The ending is reminiscent of Loch Olaidh an Iar. There were two options for that, ON ey = 'peninsula' or ON eið = 'isthmus'.

This name then could be described as the outer isthmus sensibly which might make me change my mind about which of the options is more appropriate for Loch Olaidh!

There is also a slight grammatical hint. In the feminine case one might expect ON ýtri whilst in the neuter ON ýtra. ON ey is feminine and ON eið neuter. With metathesis of /a/ and /r/ regular (Cox p115) then ýtra > ýtar would be regular.

There are three Ytri-ey place names in Iceland along with an Ytri-eyja and an Ytriey. Ytri is a common start to a name there over 1500 times.

Loch Eadaraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Eadaray	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Eadary	1877	OS name book

Loch Easganna Glasa

Place ID 142 NF 94296 71060 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON cluster of The ash trees + ScG loch ScG loch + ON askanna klasi

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book writes 'The grey eels loch' which makes sense as ScG easgann = 'eel'. It is also worth adding that there is not an article when I would have expected one.

ON askana = 'The ashes' in the accusative would work well for that element but I would perhaps expect to be a simplex name rather than the specific. ON askanna (def pl gen) fits perfectly.

ON klasi = 'cluster' is used metaphorically for example eyja-klasi = 'cluster of islands' or skerja-klasi = 'skerry of islands'. Here then we could have 'a cluster of The ash trees'.

Could this name be related to the Eskin noted here in the early maps?

There is an Asknesengjar in Iceland although ON klasi is rare as an element. In Norway we have a Klas-Engan

Loch Easganna Glasa	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Easganna Glasa	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Eathair

Place ID 865 NF 82530 62140 North Uist Eaval

ScG small-boat loch

ScG loch eathair

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book 's 'The Boat Loch' looks good although one might have expected an article.

The three Eathair names on the OS 2nd edition mapping are here, Creag an Eathair on Tìree and Port an Eathair on Mull.

Loch Eathair

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Eathair

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Eig

Place ID 2348 NF 76228 74150 North Uist Central West

ScG lake of the ON ridge

ScG loch + ON egg

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The modern OS mapping has changed this name from Eik to Eig but left the other two names with this component alone.

A good topographical fit would be ScG eige = 'of a notch or gap' with the 'gap' referring to the gap that is visible in the landscape here either between Oireabhal and Beinn Riabhach or Beinn Rìsearaidh and Cleitrebhal.

With Abhainn Eig running up into the former of these two valleys, that will be the ScG eig. The other names then follow from that, either linked by the 'notch' or by the stream.

A Norse alternative would be ON egg = 'edge' but topographically meaning 'ridge' with the extensive ridge running to the S here.

Loch Eig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Eik	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Fhideidh	1877	OS name book

Loch Eilean a' Ghille-rauidh

Place ID 6408 NF 76439 36618 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG island of the red lad lake

ScG loch eilean a' ghille-rauidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Could this be another ON röö = 'ridge' names?

Loch Eilean a' Ghille-rauidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Eilean a' Ghille-rauidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Eilean an Staoir

Place ID 6151 NF 73315 26052 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Eilean an Staoir' + ScG lake

ScG loch + 'Eilean an Staoir'

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Eilean an Staoir (P#6154) for a discussion of the unit.

Loch Eilean an Staoir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Eilean an Staòir	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch an Dùin	1877	OS name book
Loch Illan Na Stirr	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Eilean Iain

Place ID 5172 NF 78696 52970 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG John's island loch

ScG loch eilean iain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

I am not sure of the grammar here but the meaning is clear. Rightly or wrongly Bald called the S section of this loch, Loch na Clach Core.

Loch Eilean Iain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Eilean Iain	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch of Johns Id	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch na Clach Core	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch na Clach Core	1804	Bald mapping
Loch of John's Id.	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Eisiadair

Place ID 2464 NF 80662 72723 North Uist Central North

ON sheiling of the isthmus + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON eiðs sætr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Beveridge gives us either ON ær-setr = 'ewe sheiling' or ON æs-setr = 'edge sheiling'.

With Foster equating the ON setr names with beef production, the former is unlikely and edge of what for the latter? Perhaps the settlement.

The other alternative is ON heys = 'of hay' which definitely would be required for beef production but in the present climactic conditions would be marginal at best.

A final alternative is ON heiðr = 'heath' about which Vigfusson writes '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'.

NNL writes about ON heiðr 'undeveloped land, special low-lying, forested land'. Out by the coast, heiðr is used in many places for low-lying heather-grown areas or large, sparse hills' and notes its usual appearance in place names as either 'hei' or 'hey'.

Visiting the site however, the obvious root is ON eið = 'isthmus' referring to the narrow strip of land that leads to some ruined building, presumably the old shieling.

In Iceland we have six place names Heiðarsel which is a close cognate.

There are an Heisætra, an Heisetra, two Heiseteren and two Heisel in Norway, although here it is not clear what the root is. About one of the Heisel names Rygh writes 'sel and setr are sometimes mixed together, hence -sed, -sæd [in earlier forms]'

Loch Eisiadair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Iodhasadair	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Loch an Fhaing	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Loch Eashader	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Erghallan

Place ID 6779 NG 22718 48063 Skye Duirinish

S1alt water

Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ærgi hjallan =fish drying racks of the shieling

Loch Erghallan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Erghallan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Erghallan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Erghallan	2014	Modern OS mapping

Loch Eubhal

Place ID 745 NF 72460 71260 North Uist B1alranald

ON mountain of the ewes + ScG loch ScG loch + ON á fjall

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

At first glance an unusual name when the better known mountain Eabhal is on the opposite side of the island. I have posted on my blog a discussion about 'white hills'. <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/white-hills> and suspect that they represent the highest hill locally and that on the North Uist, Eaval is a version of a name meaning 'white mountain' or 'hvitr-fjall'. Cleitreabhal could be a version of hvitr-fjall to and this would lead to Eaval and Loch Eubhal. A bit of a journey but not inexplicable, especially with the importance of the place name Beinn Bhan to the Sennashies. Further reflection has given an easier option for Eabhal and Eubhal, ON á fjall = 'mountain of ewes' and works well. This still lacks a mountain to be attached to- it could be a sort of generic name for a mountain and so an alternative name for Cleitreabhal.

Another possible here is ON völlr = 'field' which in Shetland and Orkney often ends up as -wall or -well.

Loch Eubhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Eaval	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Euphort

Place ID 838 NF 86800 63510 North Uist Lees

ON isthmus fjord + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON eið fjorð

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Beveridge (p196) confidently writes 'Loch Eford is obviously Norse, representing ey-fjörðr or 'island firth', although often erroneously written 'Loch Eport' and taken as Gaelic for 'loch of the harbour.' Taylor goes for 'Isthmus Loch' based on ON eið. The latter has the advantage of over twenty cognates in Norway.

Rygh writes about this word (and then is horribly mangled by google translate) 'In many others, the Word is also seen in earlier times also to have had a different, related meaning 'a stretch, shorter or longer, where one had to take the road over land instead of the water or ice road, which was otherwise used so far due to the faulty nature of the roads. As possible.'

This fits well here as there only remains 300m of land between the Minch and the Atlantic at the W end of Loch Euphort.

However looking at cognates, a tidied up Beveridge's ON eyja fjörð = 'fjord of the islands' looks like the best fit topographically .

Phonetically ON eið is probably marginally better and so that is what I go with.

ON eið has the advantage of over twenty cognates in Norway.

Eyjafjörð occurs in Icelandic names 11 times and the equivalent Norwegian Øyfjord 24 times..

In Shetland there is an Effith which Stewart (p89) derives from ON eið fjörðr.

Loch Euphort	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Eford	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Eport	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Lochewot	1850	Collectanea
Loch Eport	1832	Thomson atlas
L. Evort	1806	Stockdale mapping
Loch Eport	1799	Reid mapping
L. Eport	1751	Dorret mapping
Loch-Eport	1703	Martin book

Loch Euphort

Place ID 841 NF 85810 63250 North Uist Eaval

'Euphort' + ScG loch ScG loch + 'Euphort'

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Euphort, (P#838) the sea loch, for details.

Locheport	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Euphort	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Eford	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Eport	1799	Reid mapping
Lochevort	1794	Old Staitistical Account

Loch Fada

Place ID 78 NF 75510 34570 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG long lake ScG loch fada

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch Fada 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Fada 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch Fadd 1832 Thomson atlas

Loch Fadd 1804 Bald mapping

Loch fadd 1654 Blaeu mapping

Loch Fada

Place ID 408 NF 86440 56460 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG long lake ScG loch fada

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A common name used for lochs that are longer than they are wide.

Loch Fada	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Loch Fada	2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)
Loch Fada Druim a' Bhaile	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Loch Fada

Place ID 2269 NF 79156 66720 North Uist Central South

ScG long loch

ScG loch fada

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

There is always a chance that ScG fada names of lochs come from ON vatn = 'lake'.

Loch Fada

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Fada

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Fada

Place ID 2564 NF 87431 70535 North Uist Central South

ScG long loch

ScG loch fada

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

A common name although this loch does not look like a typical 'long' loch. I suspect that it is another ON *vaða* = 'to wade' names along with the nearby Adam Fraoich and Àird Fhada.

More simply it being a large lake, ON *vatn* = 'lake' is a good alternative.

Loch Fada

2014

Modern OS mapping

loch Fada

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Fada

Place ID 5158 NF 77061 52368 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG long loch

ScG loch fada

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

A common name and there is a discussion about their occurrence on the other Loch Fada in Baille nan Cailleach (q.v.)

Loch Fada	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Mòr	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Fadd or Long Loch	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Fada

Place ID 5178 NF 78846 51906 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG long loch

ScG loch fada

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

A common name.

There are 38 names involving Loch Fada on the OS 2nd edition mapping and 16 of them are on Uist. The distribution is oddly Norse rather than Gaelic.

ON fattr = 'bowed backwards' or 'slender of the fingers' could explain some but an adjective is not what one wants. However I think it is simpler than that - ON vatn = 'lake'. Any that were long then the Gaels 'heard' the word ScG fada and that was their name.

Loch Fada

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Fada

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Fada

Place ID	6336	NF 75663 34125	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG long lake			ScG loch fada		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Fada			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Fada			1877	OS 1st edition	
Loch Fadd			1804	Bald mapping	

Loch Fada

Place ID	6448	NF 82649 36784	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG long loch			ScG loch fada		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Fada			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Fada			1877	OS 1st edition	
Loch an Herran			1804	Bald mapping	

Loch Fada

Place ID	6633	NF 81847 42945	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG narrow lake			ScG loch fada		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Fada			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Fada			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Fada

Place ID	6703	NF 82951 44491	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG long lake			ScG loch fada		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Fada			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Fada			1877	OS 1st edition	
Loch (Fa)dd			1804	Bald mapping	

Loch Fada na Gearrachun

Place ID 2346 NF 76040 74688 North Uist Central West

ScG long loch of the ON tarn of the fish traps ScG loch fada + ON kerja tjörn

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

I think it is unusual in being an amalgamation of an older name, ScG 'Gearr a' chinn' = 'weir (or fish trap) of the head', with a modern 'Loch Fada na' which has also been transposed a little to the W.

Further consideration however brought in the nearby Glenn Geirisdale and we cannot have fish traps associated with valleys.

Topographically this is a good description of the outflow of the next loch along.

I am sure the latter part, /chun/, the generic, is a corrupted ON tjörn = 'tarn'.

This would work well topographically here. The website <http://www.norskstadnamleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx> comments that the word now appears as Tønne- or Tøns-.

The obvious generic is ON ker = 'fish-trap', a component that occurs two km to the E, in the form ON kerja = 'of the fish traps'.

It is possible that the name has transferred from the neighbouring Loch nan Clachan where there is an obvious weir or that the outflow here has changed shape. There is still a long isthmus by the outflow of the lake.

The root there was probalby ON gerðis dalr = 'valley of the enclosed area'.

ON gerði or ON geiri = 'a tringular strip of land' would work for the specfic here although the former has a genitival /s/ which leans me towards the latter.

In neither however initial vowel is not perfect. What looks further away is ON gjögr in the genitive plural case ON gjögra.

Loch Fada na Gearrachun

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Fada na Gearrachun

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Fada na Mòine

Place ID	6744	NF 79212 46874	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG long loch of the moor			ScG loch fada na mòine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Fada na Mòine			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Fada na Mòine			1877	OS 1st edition	
Loch Fadd monagh			1804	Bald mapping	

Loch Fada Seidinish

Place ID 828 NF 88480 62460 North Uist Eaval

'Seidinish' + ScG long loch ScG loch fada + 'Seidinish'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Saighdinis (P#830) for more details on that onomastic unit.

Loch Fada Seidinish

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Feirma

Place ID 2265 NF 79483 68776 North Uist Central South

ON warm stream + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON varm á

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The best I can find is ON varmr = 'warm' combined with ON á = 'river'.

I am not suggesting thermal springs but the stream does rise on a S facing slope so there is a chance it could be marginally warmer than others.

There are four Varmá place names in Iceland and two Varmelva in Norway (elva = 'river') whilst Ryugh lists two farm names Varmedal based upon the river name Varma, citing ice-free as warm!

If we look to a Gaelic root, ScG feirm is the Gaelic spelling of 'farm' or 'form' but the -a ending tends to be archaic which would not be the case of a Gaelic spelling of an English word. One would also expect an article in a younger name so this is probably unlikely.

Looking at the OSNB, it seems that they did include the article ScG na but it never made it not the actual mapping.

Loch Feirma	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Feirma	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch na Feirma	1877	OS name book

Loch Filigarry

Place ID 6551 NF 76531 39011 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON enclosure of the foals + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON fyla gerði

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

It is the specific of the second Norse element that is problematic.

ON fell = 'rough hill', ON fyl = 'foal', ON fyla = 'mare' oe ON fúla = 'foul' all have some appeal.

Inspection of the genitive cases help and ON fyla = 'of the foals' or ON fylja = 'of the fillies' remain contenders.

In agricultural terms, foal seems more likely....

Loch Filigearraidh

1877

OS name book

Loch Filigarry

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Floddaymore

Place ID 1699 NF 91367 57326 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG loch of large 'Flodday'

ScG loch + 'Flodday'+ ScG mòr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

For a discussion of 'Flodday', see Flodaigh (P#191).

Loch Floddaymore

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Floddaymore

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Galtarsaigh

Place ID 2582 NF 88703 70398 North Uist Central South

'Galtarsaigh'+ ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Galtarsaigh'

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Abhainn Galtarsay (P#2596) for a discussion of the second component.

Loch Galtarsaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Galtarsay	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Galtarsaidh	1877	OS name book
Loch Galtersai	1877	OS name book
Loch Galtarsay	1877	OS name book

Loch Garbh Buidhe

Place ID 6396 NF 75058 35198 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG rough yellow lake

ScG loch gharb buidhe

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Two adjectives and no noun seem a little odd.

Loch Garbh Buidhe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Garbh Buidhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Geal Suidheacha-sealg

Place ID 958 NF 89450 67410 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG clear loch of the hunt-seats

ScG loch geal suidheacha-sealg

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG suidheachan = 'seats' is Cleary part of the word. This name crops up where there is driven deer hunting. This particular place is in a good position for driving deer using lochs and rivers as barriers as well as one long dyke.

Loch Geal Suidheacha-sealg

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Geal Suidheacha-sealg

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Gearraidh Mhic Iain

Place ID 6411 NF 76302 35980 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG John's sons enclosed land lake ScG loch gearraidh mhc iain

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The Bald name, Loch Airdusquabeg PN#13448) is different and probably stems from ScG loch àird uisge beag = 'lake of the height of the small water' and would refer to the knoll to the E of the loch.

Loch Gearraidh Mhic Iain	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Ghearruidh Mhic Iain	1877	OS name book
Loch Airdusquabeg	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Gheornais

Place ID 977 NF 91750 67280 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON rift headland + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON gjögur + nes

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The generic is ON nes = 'headland'

ON kjörr = 'thickets' is the nominative plural of ON kjarr and this is close to working for the specific.

However if we remove the 'h' that could have been created by lenition, then we have Geor. Comparing this to Eilean a' Ghiorr (q.v.) then the specific here could be ON gjögur = 'rift'.

Taking the headland now called Cam-ard-Mòr then this could be called a 'headland of the rift' as there is a steep escarpment cutting off the headland and indeed the whole of Bagh Leireabhagh is a good example of a gully.

Could it be ON nös = nostril rather than nes? The ai is unusual. Probably not as OS 1st edition is nish

Nearby Kearsavagh could have the same root however the quantity of the initial vowel is different possibly ruling against it.

Eilean a' Ghiorr (q.v.) in the North Ford is a very similar name.

Whilst ON gjögur appears in several Icelandic and Norwegian place names there is no exact cognate.

In Sweden Klyftnäs means the same with Sw klyfta = cleft

Loch Gheornais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Gheornish

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Ghille Mhartainn

Place ID 6148 NF 74123 26611 South Uist Loch Eynort
ScG Martin's son's lake Scg loch ghille mhàrtainn ScG?
Fresh water Lake ON?
 complete?

Loch Ghille Mhartainn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Ghille-mhàrtuinn	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Ille mhartuin	1877	OS name book
Loch an Cuilk	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Gille-ghoid

Place ID 133 NF 95826 71312 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON ravine hole + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON gil + gjóta

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book version of 'Stealing or Thieving boys loch' seems a trifle obscure and one might expect an article between them.

For once an ON specific is easier to find than the generic with ON gil = 'ravine' fits the bill well.

For the generic the best option seems to be OI (ON?) gjóta = 'hollow' or 'hole'. With there being a cave just above the stream, then this is a good topographical fit.

In fact there are two caves here, one above the loch and the other above the stream, I suspect the former one is the eponymous one.

T > d and ó > oi are regular.

It is interesting to see the spread of names containing 'Gille-' in the OS 2nd edition mapping. Of the ten, six are on North Uist, one Harris, one in Knoydart, one opposite the Summer Isles and one Sron Mhic Gille-mhartain in the Monadh Mountains; generally a Norse spread supporting the interpretation of Gille as ON gil rather than ScG gille = 'young lad'.

Gjóta appears as a simplex name three times in Iclenad and twice as a specific whilst Gjota is a common component in Norway occurring over 80 times, Gil is commoner but there is no cognate.

Loch Gille-ghoid

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Gille-ghoid

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Glan

Place ID 5201 NF 80743 48212 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG clean loch ScG loch glan

Fresh water Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

This is probably names in juxtaposition to Loch Ròbach = 'scruffy loch'.

Loch Glan

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Glan

Place ID 5447 NF 83206 50110

Benbecula

Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG clean loch

ScG loch glan

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The second Loch Glan in the area here.

Clean loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch Glan

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bens Loch

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Groigearraidh

Place ID 6547 NF 76192 39405 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Groigearraidh' + ScG lake

ScG loch + 'Groigearraidh'

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Groigearraidh (P#6550) for a disucssino of the last component.

Loch Groigearraidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch a' Mhachair

1877

OS 1st edition

North Loch Stelligary

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Grota

Place ID 176 NF 95030 70765 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Grota' + ON lake ScG loch + 'Grota'

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Grota for details

Loch Grota 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Grota n/a

Loch Gruamach

Place ID	218	NF 93144 72992	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG gloomy loch			ScG loch gruamach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Gruamach			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Loch Grunabhat

Place ID 2309 NF 73111 71429 North Uist Central West

ON shallow lake + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON grunna vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Beveridge gives us ON grunnr-vatn = 'shallow loch' and the loch does appear to be peppered with exposed rocks - hence shallow - on the S side. On grænn = 'green' would also work although one might have expected the initial vowel sound to be longer.

There is another Loch Grunavat just S of Tobha Beag, South Uist.

On Iceland there are 11 cognates Grunnvatn and 28 Grunnvannet in Norway - a common name.

Loch Grunabhat

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Grunavat

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Grunavat

Place ID 6400 NF 75965 35703 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON shallow lake + ScG lake

ScG loch + ON grunna vat

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The name bears striking similarities to Gruinart on Islay which Macniven interprets as ON grunn fjörðr = 'shallow firth'. Here we have ON grunna vat = 'shallow lake', a good description of this water.

In Iceland there are tow Grunnvötn and 11 Grunnvatn place names whilst in Norway there are 23 Grunnvatnet, one Grunnvatn and one Grunnevatn place names.

Loch Grunavat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Grunavat	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Grunabhat	1877	OS name book

Loch Hamascleit

Place ID 6515 NF 80106 38540 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Hamascleit' lake ScG loch + 'Hamascleit'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Rubha Hamascleit (P#6490) for a description of that component.

Loch Hamascleit	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Loch Hamas-Cleit	1877	OS name book
------------------	------	--------------

Loch Hamascleit	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Loch Hasten

Place ID 738 NF 73580 67190 North Uist B1ayhead

'Hasten' + ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Hasten'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The loch here is almost entirely drained, partly with the help - or not as was the case - of Macodrum the Bard.

Local tradition has it that this loch was accessible to the sea and the Norse tied their longboats up here.

See Cnoc an Taigh Sheinse for more details.

See Creig H`asten for a discussion on the second element of this name.

Loch Hasten

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Hasten

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Loch Hasten

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Hastain

1877

OS name book

Loch Àsdainn

MacDonald sketch history

Loch Hatharsal

Place ID 6423 NF 77383 35343 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Hatharsal' ScG lake

ScG loch + 'Hatharsal'

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Hatharsal (P#6421) for a discussion of that element.

Loch Hatharsal	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Loch Harsaval	1877	OS name book
---------------	------	--------------

Loch Harsal	1877	OS name book
-------------	------	--------------

Loch Haarsal	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

Loch Heileasdail

Place ID 6260 NF 82771 30956 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Heileasdail' + ScG lake

ScG loch + 'Heileasdail'

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Sheileasdail (P#6266) for a discussion fo that component.

Loch Heileasdail	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------	------	-------------------

Loch Hellisdale	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Loch Meillisdail	1877	OS name book
------------------	------	--------------

Loch Heilisdail	1877	OS name book
-----------------	------	--------------

Loch Hillisdale	1804	Bald mapping
-----------------	------	--------------

Loch Heirmeadail

Place ID	5388	NF 82674 52525	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ON water's mjeet valley + ScG loch			ScG loch + ON ár-mót dal		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Hermetray (P#1553) proved difficult to interpret near Lochportain and this one poses problems too.

The generic looks clear as ON dalr = 'valley' both phonetically and topographically.

As at Hermetray, ON heremiti = 'hermit' is an option although one might expect an oral tradition of a chapel and I could not however find another instance of it occurring in a place name.

ON

This probalby stems from ON armr = 'arm' or as Vigfusson writes 'poor, in a good sense'.

With the noun having a genitival /s/ and no real reason why the valley should be of the arm, I suggest that ON arma dal = 'poor valley' might be an interpretation.

Armadale on Skye is thought to come from 'Arm Valley' but refers to a coastal bay and this would be a good description of nearby Bàgh Hiùrabhagh.

One final option is ON ár-mót = 'water's meet'. This is a decent fit topographically and the cognate notes make me think this is the best option.

vaslley of the hjálm = helmet?

An Orkney Hermisgarth and a Shetland Herma Neuk indicate that the word Herm is in the ON lexicon although a PN is suggested for Herma ness.

In Norway there are two Åmotdalen and ten Åmotsdal(en) place names and whilst both components are common in Iceland there is no cognate.

Loch Heirmeadail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Hermidale	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Hiùrabhagh

Place ID 5350 NF 82905 50965 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG loch + 'Hiùrabhagh'

ScG loch + 'Hiùrabhagh'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The name is dealt with in Bàgh Hiùrabhagh (P#5356)

Loch Hiùrabhagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Hurevagh	1877	OS name book
loch Theoabhaigh	1877	OS name book
Loch Theorabhaigh	1877	OS name book
Loch Sheurabhagh	1877	OS name book
Loch Shurabhaigh	1877	OS name book
Loch Heouravay	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Sheurabhaigh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Loch Hurevagh	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch Hourevagh	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Hòrasaraidh

Place ID 2605 NF 77452 68649 North Uist B1ayhead

'Hòrasaraidh' + ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Hòrasaraidh'

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of the second element, Horasaraidh (P#700) , see that place.
However it could relate to Toroghas to the N - 'sheiling of the ridge of the cairn'?
The Hebridean Connection (p70) mentioned this as somewhere reeds were plentiful.

Loch Hòrasaraidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Horisary

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Hornaraigh

Place ID 395 NF 86710 57140 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch + ON haven sheiling

ScG loch ON höfn ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Beveridge translates his 'Hornarfny' as ON horn + erg = 'corner shieling' which works linguistically but is not convincing topographically.

However the helpful website <http://www.norskstadnamleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx> writes (and my apologies for the google translate mangling) about a meaning of ON horn as 'will form Farm Names through its Transmission on pointed mountain tops, by applying to Farms which lie beneath one.'

Having visited the area regularly, this description works as it sits below the horn shaped Eaval although it must be said at a distance.

I suspect a better alternative is ON höfn = 'haven'. This appears in Uist place names as 'haun' and my poor ear can detect little difference between 'haun' and 'horn'. There is a set of remains on the shore here less than 30m from the wheelhouse and sheiling that would form a haven in a easily navigable bay.

Excavation of the nearby Grimsay wheelhouse revealed that the Norse were living in the area and with it being a 'shieling mound' it fits perfectly topographically.

There are both other 'mound' and 'hornaraigh' place names in the nearby area.

With ON ærgi being a rare ScG loan word, one would not expect to find cognates.

There are however several Hornset namers in Norway which is a close equivalent as well as a Hornsel in Iceland.

In Iceland there is a Hafnargarðar, a Hafnarbæli and a Hafnartún which are close.

In Norway there are three Hamnsætr(a/in) and two Havnsætr(e/in).

Loch Hornaraigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Hornairidh

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Loch Hornari

1861

Thomas chart

Loch Hosta

Place ID 2328 NF 72676 72696 North Uist B1alranald

'Hosta' + ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Hosta'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

For a discussion on the name Hosta see that place.

Allegedly this lake was created, or at least enlarged, when the Siol Murdoch drained a higher loch (Loch Cletraval?) into it one night in around the middle of the 16th century (Beveridge p76).

An alternative version is possible and less imaginative in that the stream to the sea here was blocked, either by natural sand blow or evil intent. and the loch filled up itself, flooding any settlement on the shore.

Evidence for this comes from the fact that Blaeu, and hence Pont, recorded Loch Hosta as open to the sea and this would have been late in the 16th century.

Loch Hosta

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Hosta

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Houram

Place ID 1197 NF 91560 69630 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON dry islet + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON þurra hólmr

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The Otter name is rather different - Loch Theuravadh.

The extra 't' is fairly standard as a result of the Gaelicization process but otherwise the major difference is that the generic has changed from the Otter ON vað = 'wading place' to ON hólmr = 'islet'. Topographically the former is possibly better.

ON þurra = 'of dry' in the masculine and neuter case is excellent for this topographically as the island here does dry out as does the ford.

The Otter name is similar to the two Hiùrabhagh names in Loch Uisgeabhagh, Benbecula (q.v. P#5356)

Castle Tioram, the Clanranald seat on the mainland has a similar root.

Tørrvaet is the name of a Norwegian ford whilst eight places in Sweden start with Torrhalm.

Loch Houram	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Heuram	1877	OS name book
Loch Houram	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Theuravadh	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Loch Huna

Place ID 2516 NF 81183 66678 North Uist Central South

ON house within a hedged plot + ScG loch ScG loch + ON tún

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

If this was Loch Hunavat then it would be easy as ON húna = 'of the cone shaped gaming piece' would be followed by lake.

It still works if one thinks of the place name being transposed from the mountain to the lake. Alternatively there could have been a linguistic shift, with the Gaels recognizing vat as loch and changing things to reflect this. However then why are there so many Loch xxxvat names about?

The answer could be simple. In Gaelic an initial 'th' sounds like an 'h' so adding the 't' back in and dropping the 'h' which could have been thought of as part of lenition leaves us with tuna. ON tún = 'a hedged or fenced plot, enclosure, within which a house is built; then the farm-house with its buildings, the homestead; and lastly, a single house or dwelling' is how Vigfusson seems the development of the word.

Within this loch is a fortified island within which can be seen buildings and an area of land. The above description would work well here. The development of ú > u is regular.

The dun here is called Dun Ban by Thomas q.v. It is possible that this is the castle referred to in RMS 1372 'de insula de Huwyste cum castro de Uynvawle'.

This solution has the advantage of being a place after which a loch and a mountani can be named rather than having to worry about tranposition.

There is an Una (q.v.) near Hosta and a Loch Hundair (q.v.) adjacent to Lì a Deas.

Loch Huna	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Huna	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Hunda

Place ID 2525 NF 83278 68375 North Uist Central South

ON pointed peak + ScG loch ScG loch + ON tindr

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Tobhta Hundair for a discussion of the /hunda/ component.

Loch Hunda 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Hunda 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch Hundair

Place ID 971 NF 90520 65495 North Uist Lees

'Hundair' + ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Hundair'

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For details on this see Tobhta Hundair (P#986)

I

Loch Hundair 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Hunder 1877 OS 1st edition

loch Hunder 1832 Thomson atlas

loch Hunder 1799 Reid mapping

Loch Hungabhat

Place ID 2568 NF 87203 72285 North Uist Central North

ON tongue lake + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON tungu vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Beveridge makes the eminently sensible suggestion of ON tunga vatn = 'tongue lake' which the shape just about justifies Perhaps ON tunga = 'of the tongue' might be a better topographical description.

In Iceland there are three cognate Tunguvatn and one whilst in Norway there are three cognate Tungevatnet names.

Loch Hungabhat

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Hungavat

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Hurabhaig

Place ID 240 NF 92220 75260 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Hurabhaig' + ScG loch ScG loch + 'Hurabhaig'

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of the onomastic unit 'Hurabhaig' see Hurivag (P#258)

Loch Hurabhaig 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Hurivag 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch Hurabhat

Place ID 6196 NF 78796 24088 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON lake of the door + ScG lake

ON hurðar vat

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The generic is clear as ON vatn = 'lake' reinforced by the ScG tautologous ScG loch.

The specific is less clear but my best guess is ON hjörð = 'herd'.

With the various names associated with cattle in the Stulaigh area, this lake is on the obvious route from there to the machair of the W coast.

A better phonological root is ON hurð = 'door' in the genitive case ON hurðar. Th is such a good match I do favour it and the topographical interpretation could be this was the 'door' between the E and W coast?

Whilst Hurðar is the start to 40 Icelandic place names, there is not a cognate.

Loch Hurabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Shuravat	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Surabhat	1877	OS name book
Loch Shouravate	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Iachkir

Place ID 5451 NF 85501 54702 Benbecula Rueval

ScG lower part loch

ScG loch ìochar

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

With ScG ìochdar = 'lower part' pronounced /iəxgər/ Bald's name is surprisingly close to the correct sound although what it is lower to is uncertain.

Loch Iachkir

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Ialaidh

Place ID 2599 NF 89291 70818 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON outlying estate + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON hjá-leiga

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Loch of the creeping' based upon ScG èalaidh = 'creeping' which is well up the poetic scale. ON hjalla eið = 'isthmus of the fish drying sheds' well enough - this is the narrow neck of land between Loch nan Madadh to the S and Loch Portain to the NE. It is not however a typical ON eið place.

A better alternative might be ON hjá-leiga = 'outlying estate', a name possibly occurring just to the S in the form Druim Airigh Mhic Thearlaich (q.v.)

ON hjá-leið = 'track detour' is possibly better phonetically but does not have the advantage of nearby equivalents.

See Druim Airigh Mhic Thearlaich.

Loch Ialaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Ialaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Iarras

Place ID 6255 NF 78673 30822 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON shepherd's ridge + ScG lake

ScG loch + ON hjarð ás

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Earish is a fairy's name' from the nearby Bealach Tigh Iarras. However Loch Iarras is more likely to be the 'original name here.

-as endings often come from ON áss.

ON hjarð - = 'shepherd-' creates many close compound names and would work here with ð > /-/.

topographically one imagine the name refers to Beinn Bheag Tuath and the ridge to the E of it, a hill lacking a Norse name which is unusual here.

It would be a ridge which shepherds would need to patrol.

Loch Iarras

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Iarras

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Earraais

1877

OS name book

Loch 'ic Colla

Place ID 784 NF 86490 60680 North Uist Eaval

ON bay of the rounded hill + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON vík kolla

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

An odd name and all I can think of is ON eikr + kollr = 'rounded hill of the oak'. There is a rounded hill here but no oak. The abbreviation is often used for ScG mhic = 'son'.

Taking this into account then we have ON vikur koll = 'rounded hill of the bay'. This would refer to Beinn na Coille 2km to the E.

Looking at the cognate evidence however, I suggest that the order has been redone to make sense to the Gaels and in fact the name was ON kolla vík = 'bay of the rounded hills' and referring to the bay 2 km SW.

In Norway there are three cognate Vikkollen whilst in Iceland both elements are common there is no cognate although there eight reverse cognates Koll(a/s)vik. This is also commoner in Norway where it occurs over 150 times as the start of a place name.

Loch 'ic Colla

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch 'ic Colla

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch 'ic Gille-ghèilich

Place ID	623	NF 88630 73450	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ON big canal stream + ScG loch			ScG loch + ON mikill káll læk		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The OS name book provides with nothing although it is written in Carmichael's hand so he will have been tidying up the Gaelic although as there is no translation given, I suspect he did not have one. I certainly don't.

The last component does look close to ScG gàidhealach = '(culturally) Gaelic). Loch of the sons of the offspring of the Gaelic?

ON gil = 'ravine' has worked before in similar names although the terrain here is not awfully ravine-like.

ON koll-ligr = 'rounded hill like' and ON vík = 'bay' are other possible components.

In Norse form they would read ON koll-ligr vik gil = 'ravine of the round hill like bay' and the words were recognised as 'mhic' and 'gille' in Gaelic and reordered to make some sort of sense in that language ie Mhic Gille-gheilich.

At the bay here is Aileodair which is a round shaped hill although the ravine is rather less impressive unless the ravine could refer to the gully in the sea here which is rather more impressive.

All hypothesis but it sort of works.

Taking a step back, 'ic Gille' presumably comes from 'Mhic Gille' which elsewhere has potentially come from ON mikill = 'big'.

If I had to produce something ON mikill káll læk = 'big canal stream' referring to the gap cut through to Loch an Dùin from the sea c400m to the E.

In Norway there are three Kileløkka place-names

Generally in Scotland, as a consequence of reduction few place names have more than two Norse components.

This is not true in Icelend where for example there is, using elements similar to this place, Kollavíkurvatn = 'lake of the bay of the rounded hill' and even better Kollsvíkurtóartjörn = 'tarn of the tuft of grass of the bay of the rounded hill'.

Happy days.

Loch 'ic Gille-ghèilich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Iosal an Duin

Place ID 264 NF 91790 77110

North Uist

Lochp1ortain

ScG lower loch of the fort

ScG loch iosal an dùin

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

There is a Loch Ard an Duin nearby.

Loch Iosal an Duin

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Iosal an Duin

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch an Dune

1866

Admiralty mapping

Loch Lang

Place ID 4952 NF 80650 29537 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON long lake

ON langr læk

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The obvious interpretation is ON lang + ScG loch but these hybrid names are unusual. ON langr = 'long' has no Gaelic equivalent and so I suspect the root was ON langa læk = 'long stream' with læk being the accusative and dative of ON læk = 'stream'. Indeed ON læk also can mean 'lake'.

The Gaels heard 'læk' as their Loch and put the words into the order they would expect.

There is possibly an example of this on Bute with Loch Fada.

It is interesting to see that in Shetland where Norse remained strong for a longer period, there are three Lang Loch place names.

An alternative is that the name was ON lang a = 'long river' or ON læna = 'hollow place, small stream'

There are three Lang Loch place names in Shetland and this could well stem from ON lang loekr - 'long stream'. The distribution of the places containing Lang on the OS 2nd series is interesting as it almost entirely avoids the mainland Gaelic heartland.

There are eight Loch Langavat place names, all on the Western Isles.

In Norway there are Langeløken or close equivalents

Loch Lang	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------	------	-------------------

Loch Lang	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------	------	----------------

Loch Langabhat

Place ID 5309 NF 83330 48892 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhigh

ScG loch + ON long lake

ScG loch + ON langa vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This is a common name for lochs and one of the classic examples of tautology.

Here with ON vatn = 'water' being neuter, the correct form of ON langr = 'long' would be the weak declension ON langa here.

The OS 2nd edition mapping has nine Loch Langavat names.

Iceland hosts 39 Langavatn and Norway 109 Langavatn(et).

Loch Langabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Langabhat	1877	OS name book
Loch Langavat	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Langabhat	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Loch Langavat	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch Langavate	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Langais

Place ID 926 NF 84980 64720 North Uist Langass

'Langais' + ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Langais'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

See Langais for details.

Loch Langais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Langass	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Langais	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Loch Leac Mhic Ghille-bhrìde

Place ID 2261 NF 76736 69443 North Uist Central West

ScG loch of the stone of the son of Kilbrìde ScG loch leac mhic Ghille-bhrìde

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A Norse alternative is a close compound ON læk mikilli rétt = 'large communal fold stream'?

Réttarlækur occurs as a name eight times in Iceland

Loch Leac Mhic Ghille-bhrìde	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Leac Mhic Gille-bhrìde	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Loch Leac Mhic Gille-bhrìde	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Leacach

Place ID 393 NF 85720 57160 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG place of slabs loch ScG loch leac -ach

Fresh water Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Indeed when you visit the loch, there are slabs all along the N shore.

Leacach is a common component of Galeci place names with 95 on the OS 2nd edition covering the Gaelic heartland. Allt(an) Leachach = 'stream of the slabs' is the commonest with 33 occurrences. There are seven Loch(an) Leacach.

Loch Leacach	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Locha Leacach	2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)
Loch a' Leachaich	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Loch Leacach

Place ID 895 NF 82720 60610 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the place of the flat stone ScG loch leac -ach

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The suffix ScG -ach = 'place of' which is not to be confused with ScG -ag = 'small' or 'place of'. It is possible that the sound has changed but as it stands, the above interpretation is correct.

Loch Leacach 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch Lee

Place ID 1000 NF 92460 65550 North Uist Lees

ScG lake + 'Lee'

ScG loch + 'Lee'

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Lí a Deas (#1009) for a discussion of that component.

Loch Lee

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Leiravagh

Place ID 5240 NF 84039 47147 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON bay of the muddy shore+ ScG loch ScG loch + ON leiru vág

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is real confusion on the modern OS mapping with two Loch Chearabhaighs separated by two kilometres. Unusually therefore the head name here is Loch Leiravagh. It would appear that the Loch Leiravagh from the OS 1st edition is the best option. ON leira = 'muddy shore' is a perfect description of this bay further inland. The genitive is ON leiru. For a discussion on Loch Chearabhaigh see P#5256.

There is a similar named bay Bág Leireabhaigh (P#973 q.v.) by Loch nan Madadh.

Loch Chearabhaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Lerevagh	1877	OS name book
Loch Leiravagh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Leirebhaigh	1877	OS name book
Loch Cheirabhaigh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Loch Shelliva	1840	New Statistical Account
Loch Lerevagh	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch Lerevagh	1804	Bald mapping
L. Keravagh	1776	Mackenzie mapping

Loch Leòdasaigh

Place ID 547 NF 81030 63050 North Uist C1arinish

ON people's island + ScG loch

Scg loch + ON ljóðs ey

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Beveridge gives us 'the loch of Ljot's island'. I would agree with the generic ON ey = 'island' as the loch has several islands in it.

For the specific ON lýðs = 'of the people' works well and reflects that fact that the largest island has a prominent mound upon it, possibly one suitable for meetings. The AS leod = 'people' is where the word has gone and ON ljóð as a suffix means people's

Abhainn na h'O flows out of the loch.

Macniven (p144) discusses Loch Leòdamais and arrives at ON Ljóðanes

Loch Leòdasaigh	2014	OS modern underlying
Loch Leòdasay	1971	Macdonald Two townships
Loch Leodusay	1877	OS name book
Loch Leodasay	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Leodaseidh	1877	OS name book

Loch Leum Croisdaig

Place ID 5164 NF 78383 53983 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG loch of Christopher's leap

Scg loch leum criosdaig

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The last component was spelt as Criosdaig in previous versions and the name above is what the OSNB gives us. The spelling of Christopher is a little odd. See Leum Criosdaig for a discussion.

Loch Leum Croisdaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Leum Criosdaig

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Liath Mhic-Cuis

Place ID 591 NF 89920 74140 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG grey loch of ON ridge of the cows bay ScG loch liath + ON vík kúa áss

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book provides us with 'McLuish's loch' but seems to omit the ScG liath = 'grey' or 'blue'. I also do not understand how 'cuis' becomes 'Luish'!

The township on the other side of Beinn Mór was called Baile MhicCuish (or equivalent) in the 18th century and this provides evidence of a link if not of a meaning

However having seen other apparently 'mhic' place names actually being disordered 'vik' place names, I do ponder if the ScG mhic-cuis is not in fact ON vik hús = ' bay of the house' referring to the nearby bay.

The pronunciation of /cuish/ is /ku.ɪ/. The initial part screams ON kú = 'cow', especially with the presences of the folds and shielings nearby. The generic is less obvious. ON hús = 'house' might work but my preferred option would be ON áss = 'ridge'. The cognate notes here are helpful and encouraging.

There are two other places on Uist with the name MacCuish, one is Ballevikuish, an ealreir name of Caolas Bhearanraigh, Newton (P#2691) and Airidh MhicCuish, Bayhead (P#5677).

The distribution of the 13 /Cuis/ names on the OS 2nd edition mapping is very compact. 3 on Uist, 2 on Lewis, 4 on Arran, 1 on tiree and 3 on Coll. There are four /cuis/ names on this mapping but the only one connected to Mhic is this place.

In Iceland there is a Kúaásar and there are 19 Kuåsen in Norway. Neither have a cognate including ON hús.

Loch Liath Mhic-Cuis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Liath Mhic-Cuis	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Ligary

Place ID	392	NF 85020 57170	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG loch + ON shieling of the stream			ScG loch + ON lækjar ærgi		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ON gerði = 'enclosure' is a word the Gaels borrowed and use themselves as ScG gearraidh = 'enclosure', however the word order here indicates an ON origin with the generic being at the end of the word.

In fact with the 'a' the root is probably ON garðr or here the dative ON garði = 'fence or dyke' although other meanings are possible.

The specific is almost certainly either ON hlið (which has a variety of meanings including 'gate', 'side' and 'a wide gap', the similar ON hlîð = 'slope' or ON leið = 'road' or 'a local assembly (in the Icelandic commonwealth)'. There is not an appreciable slope here but topographically the others work.

The Thomas chart gives us a clue with the nearby creek named Ob Leigairidh. The spelling is perhaps evidence a different root - ON leið = 'route' option, although the 'assembly' is a tempting option. This gives us overall 'loch of enclosure of the route'.

As a thought, there is an excellent track across the island passing just to the E of Loch Ligarry that connects two good landing points. It is possible this is an old route, possibly even the Norse leið.

However Thomas' name also opens up the option of ON læk ærgi = 'brook sheiling'. We would probably need the genitive though which is ON lækjar, not so good.

To my mind the simplicity of this has much appeal although the initial vowel sound is shorter than I would anticipate. One last confusion is that Thomas had a completely different name for this loch on his chart, Loch a' Rabhuinn, confusing it with Loch Ravan.

A good example of a place where one needs to hear the name being said as the central pause would determine where the two elements are.

Against ON hlíd is the fact that the eight Icelandic cognates all start Hlíðargerði which provides a very long initial vowel sound.

Ligar(a/en) occurs ten times in Norway

There is however little else to help make a decision.

There are four Lækja(r)garður, two Lækjarsel and a Lækjargerðinames in Iceland with two Løkegarden in Norway.

Loch Ligary	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch a Rabhuinn	1866	Admiralty mapping

Loch Maasaig

Place ID 6641 NF 83550 41802 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON bay of the boundary + ScG loch

ON marks vík

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This looks similar to the several Màsgeir (P#730) names q.v.

The Maasaig element presumably refers to what is now known as Bàgh nam Faoileann and a dyke runs along the valley here as some form of boundary, a boundary marked on the Bald map.. Iyt would neatly divide off the land above and below Loch Bì.

Loch Maasaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Maasaig	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Maiseig	1877	OS name book

Loch Meadhonach

Place ID 1042 NF 74850 76180 North Uist Grim1inish

ScG central loch ScG loch meadhan -ach

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The 'middle' here is presumably referring to being in the 'middle' of the promontory rather than the middle of three or more as there is (now?) no loch to the N, perhaps just a shadow of one on aerial imagery. The ScG -ach = 'place of' helps confirm this.

Loch Meadhonach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Meadhonach

Place ID 1155 NF 91540 68580 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG place of the middle loch

ScG loch meadhan -ach

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The 119 names on the OS 2nd edition containing Meadon are scattered across the Gaelic heartland and the vast majority include the -ach ending.

Loch Meadhonach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Meadhonach

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Meanarbhagh

Place ID 5267 NF 87195 49061 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON narrow bay + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON mjófan vág

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

This looks terribly Norse with a generic of ON vágr = 'bay'. Looking at the topography I suspected that it stems from ON mjór = 'narrow'.

Here with ON vágr being masculine, then the appropriate reflex would be ON mjófan (and Vigfusson writes 'by elision, mjóan') but this does not include the central /ar/ section.

This could appear as a result of epenthesis, the addition of a vowel mirroring the previous one between the /n/ and the /bh/, a phonetical change that would be expected here.

Topographically 'narrow' is a good description.

Although ON vogur names are relatively rare in Iceland there are three Mjóivogur place names there and there is a cognate Mjóavík and 23 Mhóavatn, the freshwater equivalent.

In Norway there is a cognate Mjåvåg and five Mjåvik(a) but again Mjåvatn are much commoner with over 150 occurrences.

Loch Meanarbhagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Meanarvagh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Minerbhagh	1877	OS name book
Loch Mhingrabhaigh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Loch Minnervagh	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Mhic a' Ròin

Place ID 2253 NF 75717 69002 North Uist Central West

ON pile of stones of the bay + ScG loch ScG loch + ON víkur hraun

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Stahl gives us 'loch of the son of the seal'.

This also does not work well grammatically as ON ròn = 'seal' is masculine and ON ròin is either genitive or plural. Here one would expect genitive. The article that would fit would then be ScG an rather than ScG a'.

I suspect this is another example (see Rudha Mhic-ille-mhalaidh or Camas Mhic an Trilleachain for other examples) where ScG mhic = 'son of' has become confused with ON vík = 'bay'.

One response is to say that the word are nicknames but in most cases a sensible alternative is possible. Here for example what is now Ceann a' Bhaigh could have started life as ON hraun vik = 'rough bay' and then the Gaels were looking for a name for the nearby loch less than 1km away, knew the name of the area from the Norse was as above and wanted to name it 'Loch hraun vík' then 'recognised' the expression ON vík as their ScG mhic but thought it was in the wrong place and so adjusted it, 'Loch Mhic hraun' and also 'spotted' that ON hraun = 'rough' was their ScG roin = 'of a seal' finally adding an article to be grammatically correct and so created Loch Mhic a' Roin.

A simpler alternative is that the ON hraun can also mean 'heap of stones' or 'stony place' and so the root could have been ON víkur hraun = 'pile of stones of the bay'.

However ON vik can have other meanings. Sandnes writes about Arwick in Orkney 'The generic appears to be ON vík f, which cannot here be used in its usual sense 'inlet, bay'. Rather, it may refer to an indentation in the hill-ridge, probably the marked gap between...' whilst Rygh writes about ON vik 'In several cases in names used about bends of river courses and, as it seems, also about indentations of ridges.'

Here however the nearby presence of an important bay militates against this I think.

ON víkur rogn = rowan of the bay

Rognvik(a/an) occurs 10 times in Norway and nearby is Ashdaill.

However Raun seems to be almost interchangeable with rogn. There are six Raunévíka in Norway and a cognate Vikaraunet near Trondheim.

Vikrahraun in Iceland

Loch Mhic a' Ròin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Mhic a' Roin	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Loch Mhic a' Roin	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Mhic Coan

Place ID 323 NF 77938 61946 North Uist B1aleshare

ON tarn of the bay + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON víkur tjörn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Fraser gives us Cowan's Loch from Loch Mhic Coain, a version I cannot find on the OS mapping. This omits the 'son of' aspect although ScG mac can also mean 'offspring'.

With no Gaelic names that could produce Coan, the ON hvönn = 'angelica' might work and was certainly an important garden plant for the Norse used for herbal and medicinal purposes. It is not however a perfect match in the first vowel sound.

The ON vik = 'bay' also works but the order would be odd unless it was the specific. This however is something that possibly has changed order elsewhere.

St Comghan was often written as Coan but it would be unlikely to be preceded by a mhic.

The easiest option is probably ScG cuan for which Dwelly gives a multitude of meanings 'sm Sea, ocean, the deep. 2** Large lake. 3** rarely Harbour, haven, bay. 4** Deceit. 5** Multitude. 6(AF) Pack of hounds or wolves' Here again though the 'mhic' is inexplicable.

The best solution I can see is the Norse one. ON tjörn = 'tarn' is seen in Shetland place names as 'shun' or 'sheen'. With a genitival 'h' added to 'coan' this would not be far off the required sound.

We then have ON víkur tjörn = 'tarn of the bay', a good topographical fit.

I believe that ON hörg has become 'hoa' up here and so the transition of tjörn > tjoan would work.

Although not as close as it might be, the cognate notes lead me to believe this is the root.

A cluster of Coan place names in Caithness, Coan Dubh, Coan Ime, Coan-eich, Coan Dian, Creagan Coan and Coan Uisge. All are interpreted in the OSNB as 'cove'. Perhaps the Mx coan = 'hollow' related to ScG cabhan is the root here? Similar places name of Cuan Mòr on N coast of Mull could also point to this interpretation. Cuan, Cuan Point and Cuan Sound at the S tip of Seil could also have this interpretation but it is a coincidence that they are less than 4km W of Kilchoan, a chapel site attributed to St. Comgán, an 8th century Irish priest who went to Scotland with his sister Kentigerna and founded a monastery in Lochalsh.

However AAA observes that 'the Irish sense of this word, which is 'bay'.'

Chuain occurs nine times. Eilean Dà Chuain; Rudha Dà Chuain; Sgeir Leth a' Chuain; Sgeir a' Chuain x 4 (also Fladda-chùin) are all places that are effectively the last or the first land from the open sea. On the Summer Islands Acairseid a' Chuain must have the meaning of 'harbour of the cove'. Dùn Chuain is referred to as 'the fort of the narrows' on its site just above the Crinnan Canal.

There is a Víkurtjörn in Iceland along with Vik<a/e/s>tjärnen x2,1,4 and thirteen Viktjärnen in Iceland.

In Norway we have 35 Vik(s)tj<ø/e>rnr Norway and in Sweden two Viggetjärnen and two Viggetjärnen.

Loch Mhic Coan	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Loch Mhic Coain	1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray
-----------------	------	--------------------------------

Loch a Coan	1877	OS name book
-------------	------	--------------

Loch Mhic Cò'ain	1877	OS name book
------------------	------	--------------

Loch Mhic Dhonuill

Place ID	6758	NF 79855 45486	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG son 'of Donald's loch			Loch Mhic Dhòmhuill		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Mhic Dhonuill			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Mhic Dhonuill			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Mhic Ghiboin

Place ID	5516	NF 84448 50151	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ON ravine of the bay + ScG lake			ScG loch + ON víkur gjógvin		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

It is hard to pin down the exact grammar but I think it involves gjuv = 'ravine' (NSL) in the definite case. The closest I could find is Faroese where Fa gjógvin is the definite nominative of Fa gjógv = 'ravine'. This is a variant on ON gjá = 'ravine'

ON víkur = 'of the bay' works as the specific with some reduction and a desire to resemanticise as Mhic.

There is a place Mac Ghibein on the coast of Islay adjacent ot Bealach Gaoithe where Gaoithe does sound close to ON gjá = 'gully'.

There is a Rubha na Gibhte on the E coast of South Uist, a headland which had a deep steep-sided valley almost cutting it off from the rest of the island.

Loch Mhic Ghiboin

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch Mhic Mharcuis

Place ID	5347	NF 81682 50082	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG son of Marcus loch			ScG loch mhic Marcus		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Mhic Mharcuis			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Mhic Mharcuis			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Mhic Phail

Place ID 242 NF 93349 75384 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON convoluted bay + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON *paul vík

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

There is a settlement Baile Mhic Phail on the machair to the W.

Blaeu's name is an interesting variant Loch Vik-Phatrick sharing the Patrick name with the earlier maps where Clachan Shannda was referred to as St. Patricius.

There is an expression involving ON þaular-vági where this is taken to mean 'winding creek', a pretty good description of this bay. The root is a noun ON þaular about which Vigfusson is unusually uncertain of the etymology but means 'a long-winded and complex thing'.

I suspect this was the original name was ON þaular vík and then the word was restructured when the ON vík was understood as ScG mhic.

The only other Mhic Phail names are two on Lewis, one Aird Mhic Phail near Calanais and the other is a stream Allt Mhic Phail that leads down to Bàgh Dhail Beag. Both could give their names to bays as there are no Norse names for these bays that I can see.

There are four Pal(a/e)vika in Norway

Loch Mhic Phail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Mhic Phail	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch McPhail	1866	Admiralty mapping
Loch McPhail	1860	2Otter Sound of Harris
Loch Mhicfail	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch Mhicfail	1799	Reid mapping
LOCH VIK-PHATRICK	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch Mhic Raoil Mhòir

Place ID 5334 NF 82782 49475 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG big loch of the son of Ranald

ScG loch mhic Raouill mhòir

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG mhòir = 'big' is in the masculine singular genitive case. With ScG loch being masculine, it suspect that it is the loch that is big rather than 'Raoil'

Raouill is probalby what this name represents and is a version of ScG Ragnall = 'Ronald', a man's name, viz Dùn Raouill near Balranald.

Loch Mhic Raoil Mhòir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Mhic Raoil Mhòir

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch MhicGhillebhrìde

Place ID 2262 NF 77168 69693 North Uist Central West

ScG loch of the son of Gillebrìde

ScG loch mhic gille Bhrìde

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Gilberts son's loch'. Gillebrìde is interested as 'devotee of Bridgit' but is a name that occurs across Scotland.

The Hebridean connection quotes the family as dressing and printing flax p217

See Loch Leac Mhic Gille-bhrìde for a discussion of alternatives.

Loch MhicGhillebhrìde

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Mhic Ghille-bhrìde

n/a

Loch Mhurchaidh Oig

Place ID 5486 NF 84735 49920 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG young Murdoch's loch

ScG loch mhurchaid òig

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

A very differnet name ot that which Bald recorded, Loch Herrevidge.

Young Murdo's Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch Mhurchaidh Oig

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

L. Herrevidge

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Midhinis

Place ID	1202	NF 91010 70520	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG loch + 'Minish'			ScG loch + 'Minish'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
See Minish (P#1210) for details					
Loch Midhinis			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Loch Mòin' Eouin

Place ID 6112 NF 75485 29394 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG Ewan's peat lake ScG loch mòine Eoghainn

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us "Ewin Son of Murdochs peat" although I struggle to see the 'son of'!

Loch Mòin' Eouin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Mòin' Eouin	1877	OS name book
Loch Mòin' Eouin	1877	OS 1st edition
L. Monavuray	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Mòr

Place ID	312	NF 79120 62210	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG big loch			ScG loch + mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Mòr			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Mòr

Place ID	772	NF 85290 59290	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG big loch			ScG loch mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Mor			1859	Otter Loch Eport chart	

Loch Mòr

Place ID 5081 NF 85032 81103 North Uist B1oraraigh

ON moor or ScG big + ScG loch

ScG loch mòr or ON mór

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

See Mullach Mòr for a discussion.

Martin Martin gives us a story about the loch: 'In the middle of this island there is a fresh-water lake, well stocked with very big eels, some of them as long as cod or ling fish. There is a passage under the stony ground, which is between the sea and the lake, through which it is supposed the eels come in with the springtides. One of the inhabitants called MacVanich, i.e., Monk's-Son, had the curiosity to creep naked through this passage.'

Loch Mòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Mòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Mòr

Place ID 5111 NF 77363 51690 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG big loch

ScG loch mòr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

There is confusion over the names of the two loch, Loch Mòr and Loch Fada. Effectively the names transposed themselves between the OS 2nd edition mapping early in the 20th century and the modern OS mapping. This probalby goes further back than this as Bald gives no name for this the largest stretch of freshwater in his time when the loch was effectively joined together in one waterway from Lionacleit to Balivanich as shown in Stewart Angus paper in Curracag No 19 p65. Interestingly he has Loch Mòr and Loch Fada in the order of the OS 1st mapping.

Loch Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Fada	1900	OS 2nd edition
Loch Fada	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Muilne

Place ID 6133 NF 74738 26973 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the mill

ScG loch muilinn

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The earleir names were different with Loch Greanabreck (PN#12607) being an example.

This feels more Norse, perhaps ON grœna brekka = 'green hillside'.

It is odd that there is another earlier form Trianabrack (PN12608)

Loch Muilne	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Thriana-braigh	1877	OS name book
Loch Greanabreck	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Trianabrack	1877	OS name book
Loch Thrianebrè	1877	OS name book
Loch Greanbrech	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Musgriob

Place ID 2478 NF 82302 70893 North Uist Central South

ON hump of the moor + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON mós krypp

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

An odd looking name.

However ScG scrìob has a variety of meanings including 'track'

The generic is probably ON kryppa = 'hump' which occurs as a simplex name in both Iceland and Norway. The specific is probably ON mós = 'of the moor'.

Topographically the loch lies between a hillock in the bog and the bigger hills to the S.

There are two instances of Kryppa in Iceland and mós is a very common specific.

Loch Musgriob

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Mousgrip

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Bà

Place ID 171 NF 94637 70340 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the cow or ON edge of the hill

ScG loch + na + bà or barð

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ON barð = 'edge of the hill' works topographically and the linguistic development is regular.

Loch na Bà

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Bà Ceire

Place ID 2510 NF 80776 65143 North Uist Central South

ScG loch of the + ON edge of the brushwoods ScG loch na + ON barð kjarra

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Loch of the brown cow' which is a good literal translation. How now? I hear you ask... If one was to look for a Norse root, ON barð kjarr = 'ridge brushwood' or better ON kjarra barð = 'edge of the brushwoods' with the order changed to suit Gaelic ears might work.

ScG ceire is not productive in Scotland with Lochanan na Ceireag as the only other place recorded on the OS 2nd mapping.

Loch na Bà Ceire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Ba-Ceire

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Balach

Place ID 6510 NF 76755 38515 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG loch of the place of the + ON grassy bank' ScG loch na + ON bala + ScG -ach

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Whilst ScG balach = 'boy' it is unsurprisingly a masculine noun and so we would expect ScG a' plus lenition rather than na.

The OSNB acknowledges this problem with its 'meaning obscure'.

ON bali = 'a soft grassy bank, esp. if sloping down to the shore' would not be a bad topographical fit with the ScG -ach = 'place of' suffix .

Loch na Balach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Balach

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Banaraich

Place ID	360	NF 78840 62260	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG loch of the dairy-maid			ScG loch na banaraich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
Grammatically perfect!					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Banaraich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Bèire

Place ID 5414 NF 83276 54131 Benbecula Rueval

ScG loch of the + ON elevated rocky ground ScG loch na + ON berg

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Bald's name of L. Purrievagh looks quite different until one realises that b > p is an easy change to make and that he has added a /vagh/ to the end.

We are then looking for a word that produces /burrie/ and /bèirè/.

There is a dùn however and so a corrupted ON borg = 'fort' name is a possibility.

That said, it is hard to see how o > èi.

Jakobsen writes that in Shetland 'Berg' sometimes occurs in the form 'berry'.

That is what I think is going on here.

Thomas' version rather confirms it - Loch na Beirghe which he translates as 'Cliff Loch'.

Consideration of the initial vowel here however causes concern, especially for Bald's form.

Loch na Bèire	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Bèirè	1877	OS 1st edition
Cliff loch	1861	Thomas chart
Loch na Beirghe	1861	Thomas chart
L. Purrievagh	1804	Bald mapping

Loch na Beiste

Place ID 2284 NF 73798 73686 Berneray Sound of Harris

ScG loch of the otter

ScG loch na bèiste

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Loch na Bèiste (P#124) for a discussion of an alternative interpretation of this name.

Loch na Beiste

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Beiste

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Beiste

Place ID 2293 NF 74028 70194 North Uist Central West

ScG loch of the otter Scg loch na bèiste

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Otters must be common here - there are three of these lochs in a small area.
See Loch na Bèiste (P#124) for a discussion of an alternative interpretation of this name.

Loch na Beiste	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Beiste	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch na Bèiste

Place ID 124 NF 95886 72188 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the ON abode

ScG loch na + ON vist

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The obvious root is ScG loch na beiste where Dwelly defines ScG beist as '1 A beast, monster. 2 Beast of prey. 3** Wretch' although it is usually taken to mean 'otter'.

However a map of the distribution of the 11 Bèiste names on Uist show a distribution that mirrors the focus of Norse settlement from other names, with an extra group in the Balmartin area.

A possible Norse alternative is ON vist = 'abode'. The developments are good with the exception of the initial vowel. ON í > ia is regular before a non palatal consonant. This would give ScG biast, another form of ScG bèist (See àirigh na bèiste Macniven). The ON /i /however is not long. The development l > e is regular and so the sound is right, just the length short.

This could be explained by the desire to resemanticise.

The 43 Beiste names are focussed on Lewis with 24 names and the rest have a coastal scatter.

Shetland has three Vist names whilst

Loch na Bèiste

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Béiste

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Bèiste

Place ID 175 NF 95045 70245 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the otter

ScG loch na bèiste

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Although ScG beist = 'beast' or 'monster' it usually refers to otter in the Hebrides.
See Loch na Bèiste (P#124) for a discussion of an alternative interpretation of this name.

Loch na Bèiste

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Bèiste

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Bèiste

Place ID 1688 NF 84158 60306 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the otter

ScG loch na bèiste

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Loch na Bèiste (P#124) for a discussion of an alternative interpretation of this name.

Loch na Bèiste

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Beiste

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Loch na Bèiste

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Na Bèiste

Place ID 1792 NF 87219 45702 Benbecula W1iay

ScG loch of the otter

Sc loch na bèiste

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Loch na Bèiste (P#124) for a discussion of an alternative interpretation of this name.

Loch Na Bèiste	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Na Bèiste	1877	OS 1st edition
loch na Beisde	1866	Admiralty mapping

Loch na Bèiste

Place ID 5269 NF 86577 49090 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG otter's loch ScG loch na bèiste

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst the OSNB gives us the slightly scary 'Beast's Loch', Thomas gives us 'Otter's Loch'.
See Loch na Bèiste (P#124) for a discussion of an alternative interpretation of this name.

This is a common name.

Loch na Bèiste	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Bèiste	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch na Beiste	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Otter's Loch	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch na Bèiste Duibhe

Place ID 5176 NF 78368 52476 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG loch of the otter

ScG loch na bèiste duibhe

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

See Loch na Bèiste (P#124) for a discussion of an alternative interpretation of this name.

Loch na Bèiste Duibhe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Bèiste Duibhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Bèiste

Place ID 2292 NF 74300 71013 North Uist Central West

ScG loch of the otter

ScG loch na bèiste

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Loch na Bèiste (P#124) for a discussion of an alternative interpretation of this name.

Loch na Bèiste

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Bèiste

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Blaraich

Place ID 2504 NF 79581 65213 North Uist Central South

ScG loch of the place of the flat area of moor Scg loch na blár -ach

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Loch of the [cow] spotted field'. I think they have conflated two meanings of ScG blar = 'flat area of moor' or 'cow with a white spot on its face'.

There is however a problem with the ScG na = 'of the' as we would expect ScG a' with lenition for the masculine ScG blàr.

This has been a pointer to Norse roots in other cases. ON blár akr = 'black arable land' which is a reasonable topographical fit although quite how arable this is I am not sure. ON hrygg = 'ridge' might be better.

Loch na Blaraich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Bogaich

Place ID 603 NF 88600 74690 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the marsh

ScG loch na bogaich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

With ScG bogach = 'marsh' being masculine, one would expect ScG a' = 'of' with lenition. An alternative dictionary says the word is feminine so crisis over.

Loch na Bogaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Bogaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Boganaich

Place ID 794 NF 83190 60470 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the ScG loch na bog -an -ach

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us a bare 'The Bog Loch' but with ScG boganaich = 'of the young bird' or 'of the bullrush' amongst other meanings, these look more specific. However one might expect more than noe bullrush.

With the word being masculine, one would expect ScG a' = 'of the' with lenition and the singular is odd here. This could be a pointer towards an earlier root.

One possibility is ON boginn + akr = 'curved arable land' but arable land is not common here.

ON bóga hnakki = 'neck (back of) the shoulders'. This could be a fit with ther 'shoulder' being the ridge running between Loch Carbhat and the sea at Cairinis. Not very convincing.

On the OS 2nd edtion mapping, there are no other names containing /Bogana-/.

Loch na Boganaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Boineid

Place ID 443 NF 86800 56560 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the bonnet

ScG loch na bonaide

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This suggestion from the OS name book begs for a story about a girl chasing her bonnet in the wind, falling in the lake and drowning and hence being called the loch of the bonnet evermore. No such story exists that I am aware of and one wonders if a more prosaic meaning of ScG bonaide = 'sod turf on top of a small pile of peat' might be better, although quite why you would then append 'loch' is unclear.

Loch na Boineid

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Bràiste

Place ID	5333	NF 82232 49106	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of the + ON broad place			ScG loch na + ON breiða stað		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The OSNB gives us 'the Brooch Loch' based upon ScG bràist = 'brooch'. It is not 'brooch' shaped and I have not heard a story about a brooch being found there.

The sound would be /bra:ʃdʲə/.

The generic does sound like ON staðr = 'place, plot or abode'. One possible specific could be ON breiðr = 'broad' rather contradicting the nearby ScG cumhang = 'narrow'. The /ei/ could be the diphthong pronounced creating the /ɛ/ sound. Looking at the shape of it, ON ráa = 'of the corners' would work well but it is not attached to a Norse lake name.

There are five Bràiste names on the OS 2nd edition mapping, one near Loch Broom, one in Assynt and two in Uig, Lewis, all in the Norse speaking world.

There are two Breistad places in Norway but no cognatges in Iceland although both elements are common components of place-names.

Loch na Bràiste	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Bràiste	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch na Brathain

Place ID 6247 NF 75992 30770 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the quern

ScG loch na bràthan

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG brà = 'quern' has ScG bràthan as its genitive.

There is a tradition of querns being thrown into lochs to ensure use of the proprietors mills.

Loch na Brathain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Brathain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Breac Peatair

Place ID 5030 NF 78969 29541 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the + ON pools of the slope

Scg loch na + ON brekku pyttir

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'loch of the worthless trout' which seems an odd name.

The first two components are clear ScG loch na = 'loch of the'. Whilst ScG breac = 'salmon or trout', ON brekka = 'slope or hill' is an alternative. ON pyttir = 'pit, pool, cesspool' might work as the generic with ON pyttir being the nominative plural. This would work best phonetically and there are two pools here.

Perhaps ON brekku pyttir = 'pools of the slope' is the closest both phonetically and topographically.

Bald's name hints at the acc. pl. ON pytti.

Both ON brekka and ON pyttir occur in Norway, the first very commonly and the second less so but even so with over 100 examples. There are however no cognates. The same is true in Iceland.

Loch na Breac Peatair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Breac Beg	1877	OS name book
Loch nam Peatair	1877	OS name book
Loch na Breac Peatair	1877	OS 1st edition
L. na Brach Beddy	1804	Bald mapping

Loch na Bruaich

Place ID 5313 NF 84701 48711 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the edge

ScG loch na bruaich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'The Brow Loch' based upon ScG bruach = 'bank, edge, brink, lump'. It is hard to see what 'edge' without visiting the site.

Loch na Bruaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Bruaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Bruaiche

Place ID 859 NF 81650 63090 North Uist C1arinish

ScG loch of the lump

ScG loch na bruaiche

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book gives us a peculiar 'The Loch of the Slope of Steep' whilst Faclair Beag gives us an easier ScG bruach = 'bank', 'edge' or 'lump'. Knowing the area, 'lump' is the best topographical fit.

Loch na Bruaiche

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Bruaiche

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Buail' Iochdraich

Place ID	2508	NF 80258 66335	North Uist	Central South	
ScG loch of the lower part fold			ScG loch na buaile iochdraich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Buail' Iochdraich			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Loch na Buaile

Place ID 158 NF 90016 73767

North Uist

Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the cattle-fold

ScG loch + na + buaile

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Loch na Buaile

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Buaile

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Buaile

Place ID	846	NF 85000 63310	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG loch of the fold			ScG loch na buaile		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Buaile			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Loch na Buaile

Place ID 1200 NF 90900 70080 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG loch of the fold

ScG loch na buaile

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The Lochmaddy market was held in this area and the fold probalby was part of that process. The fold is still visible to the N of the loch. The island there is the 'island of the fank'

Loch na Buaile

2014

Modern OS mapping

Washing house Lake

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Loch na Buaile

Place ID	2585	NF 88946 68958	North Uist	Central South	
ScG loch of the fold			ScG loch + na + buaile		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Buaile			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Buaile			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Buaile Duibhe

Place ID	834	NF 87260 62700	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG loch of the black fold			ScG loch na buaile duibhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Buaile Duibhe			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Buaile Duibhe			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Cachlaidh

Place ID	5444	NF 83054 50567	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of the gate			ScG loch na cachailithe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Gate Loch			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Loch na Cachlaidh			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
L. Gearry na Clachen			1804	Bald mapping	

Loch na Cachla-uisge

Place ID 6575 NF 77510 40245 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG lake of the 'Cachla-uisge'

ScG loch na + 'cachla-uisge'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Cachla-uisge (P#6576) for a discussion fo that component. 'Loch of the water-gate' makes some form of sense if there is water management in place here. It is not impossible that this was where there was an outflow from Loch Druidibeag here.

Loch na Cachla-uisge

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Cachla-uisge

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Caiginn

Place ID 137 NF 95164 71905 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the pass between two hills

ScG loch + na + caigeann

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

On the OS 2nd edition there are eight names with Caigeann in them as opposed to only the one Caiginn. Four are on Mull.

Loch na Caiginn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Caiginn	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Nacaigin	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Loch na Caiginn

Place ID 5537 NF 82845 48538

Benbecula

Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the pair

ScG loch na caiginn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The loch here is one of two lochs close to each other.

Loch of the Couple

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch na Caiginn

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch na Cail-eidh

Place ID 800 NF 85550 61120 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the + ON canal isthmus

ScG loch + na + ON kíl + eið

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The second component is a perfect match for ON eið = 'isthmus' and this fits well topographically as just to the S of the loch there is precisely that - a narrow peninsula.

The genitive of ScG caol = 'narrow' is not quite what I would expect. So much so that a Norse root is worth looking for. ON kíl = 'inlet or canal' would have a regular development to ScG cail.

Here there is the possibility that a way through the isthmus was cut to enable passage through to the sea hence the name.

Loch na Cail-eidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Caillich

Place ID 844 NF 85360 63200 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the old woman

ScG loch na caillich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

One wonders here whether in fact this is an ON kíl lág = 'hollow of the narrow channel' or possibly ON kíl læk = 'stream of the narrow channel'.

Iceland Kænulækur = 'skiff stream'

Loch na Caillich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Caillich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Caiplich

Place ID 1710 NF 90268 55659 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG loch of 'Caiplich'

ScG loch na 'Caiplich'

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Local tradition has this as 'loch of the horse'.

See Bàgh na Caiplich (P#1656) for a discussion of the 'Caiplich' element.

Loch na Caiplich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Caiplich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Caorach

Place ID 5352 NF 83903 50493 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the (one) sheep

scG loch na caorach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

although not unique, it is odd that this refers to a solitary sheep.

There are three Loch na Caorach on the OS 2nd edition mapping as opposed to ten Loch nan Caorach.

Loch na Caorach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Caorach	1877	OS 1st edition
Oban Litestrom	1804	Bald mapping

Loch na Carnaich

Place ID 260 NF 91040 76060 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the stony ground

ScG loch na carnach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

With ScG carnach = 'stony ground' (or 'heathen priest'!) being masculine, one might expect ScG a' = 'of the' plus lenition.

Loch na Carnaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Carnaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Cartach

Place ID 220 NF 92576 72335 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the water lily or bark

ScG loch na cartach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Both water lily and bark were used as part of the tanning process and so this name probably indicates this activity happening in the vicinity.

Loch na Cartach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Seileach na Cartach

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Loch na Cartach

Place ID 434 NF 84680 57170 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the bark

ScG loch na +cartach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This is a surprisingly common name in the area.

Whilst ScG cartach has several and various meanings, I consider the most likely to be 'the loch of the bark' with the bark referring to something required in the tanning process. Traditionally Ronaigh and Liernis were centres of tanning and with them nearby, it is possible that Griomasaigh was too.

With 50 occurrences of 'Cartach' in Scottish place names, 48 of them are on the Outer Hebrides. One of them is a Loch Seilich na Cartach on the other side of Griomasaigh.

Loch na Cartach

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Cartach

Place ID 2463 NF 80662 72295 North Uist Central North

ScG loch of the water-lily

ScG loch na cartach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ScG cairt = 'cart' or 'bark' or ScG cairt-locha = 'water-lily'. The latter two are often linked to the tanning process and so can be sites of small scale industry.

The distribution of Cartach names on the OS 2nd series is interesting as of the 50 names containing this component, all bar three are on the Western Isles and all associated with fresh water bar three Cnoc and one Tothan names. Some of these sites are in remote valleys and so can only be the natural feature.

Loch na Cartach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Cartach

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Ceardaich

Place ID 783 NF 87120 60980 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the smithy

ScG loch na Ceàrdaich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book records 'Smith Loch' based upon ScG ceàrd -ach = 'place of the craftsman' although ScG ceàrdach = 'smithy' pronounced /kʲa:Rdax/

An attractive Norse alternative is ON kjarrs-stig = 'path of the thickets' as this takes into account the 'sh' sound between 'r' and 'd' in Gaelic. The 'l' is stig is pronounced long according to Vigfusson.

He also lists the compound ON hjá-stigr = 'by-path' and without the article present and elision between the loch and ceardaich this would work well.

Both elements occur in Icelandic and Norwegian place names but not together. The closest I got to a cognate was a Norwegian Hjasestigen.

The distribution of Ceardaich names closely follows the ScG heartland.

Loch na Ceardaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Ceardaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Ceàrdaich

Place ID 2541 NF 85313 72500 North Uist Central North

ScG loch of the forge or ON place of brushwood ScG loch nas + ON kjarr stað

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG 'loch of the forge' is the obvious literal translation, but one does wonder about its position in the moor. Remembering the 'sh' sound inserted by Gaelic between the 'r' and the 'd' a Norse interpretation would be ON kjarr stað = 'place of brushwood'.

There are two Karrestad in Norway which are possibly cognates.

Loch na Ceàrdaich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Ceardaich	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch na Ceithir Eileana

Place ID 836 NF 86500 62590 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of four islands

ScG loch na ceithir eileana

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

As it says on the tin!

Loch na Ceithir Eileana

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Ceithir Eileana

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Cille

Place ID 1898 NF 78302 54961 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG lake of the chapel

ScG loch na cille

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The loch that is now partially drained that has Teampall Challuim Chille on what was an island in it.

Loch na Cille

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Cille

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Cille

Place ID 2240 NF 71736 69849 North Uist B1alranald

ScG loch of the chapel

ScG loch + na + cille

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

There is no chapel here although the site is near the site of Kilmuir. Usually there is a strong oral tradition attached to chapel sites but I have heard nothing here at all.

Another alternative is that the place was called ON kill = 'inlet' and this would have been close to the old inlet into Loch Paible before Dig Mhòr was dug draining it directly into the sea.

Loch na Cille

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Cille

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Ciste

Place ID 960 NF 89140 67210 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG loch of the fish trap

ScG loch na ciste

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Presumably this refers to the gap between the two Lees.

That is until I was reading Maciver's Place names of Lewis and Harris and came across Ciste-n-fhors (P94) about which he wrote 'ciste, a stone structure under the fall to trap salmon on their way upstream.' Exactly what there is on this loch.

Loch na Ciste

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Ciste

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Ciste

Place ID 1151 NF 90840 68300 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG loch of the ON narrowing between two hills ScG loch nas + ON kista

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

OS name book writes 'Loch of the chest' although the more likely meaning here is a (burial) cist.
ON kista = 'narrowing between two hills' would be a good topographical fit here where the land narrows.
The cognates notes and the topographic fit lead me to believe that this is where the name originated.

There are eight Loch na Ciste place name son the OS 2nd series mapping, this one and seven on Lewis
Kista is a simplex name 37 times in Iceland and c50 times in Norway.

Loch na Ciste 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch na Clarsaich

Place ID	5316	NF 84349 48836	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG lake of the harp			ScG loch na clàrsaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ScG clarsach = 'harp' although quite why this loch is attached to a harp is beyond me although the loch is a curious shape.

Loch na Clarsaich	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------------	------	----------------

Loch na Cleaten

Place ID 6612 NF 78291 43976 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG lake of + ON The crag

ScG loch na + ON klettinn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

No obvious ScG root comes to mind and the OSNB gives 'meaning obscure'.

In the end I suspect that the final component is ON klettinn = 'The crag', probably referring to the small rise at NF 78046 43785 on which some structures lie.

Kletten occurs as a simplex name over 1000 times whilst in Iclenad there are around 40 occurrences of Klettar

Loch na Cleaten

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Cleaten

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Clèibh

Place ID 782 NF 87650 60610 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the + ON cleft

ScG loch + na + ON klofi

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Loch of the Creel' presumably based on ScG cliabh = 'creel' or 'chest'. The ScG na = 'of the' is odd as 'ccliabh' is masculine and we would expect ScG a' with lenition.

Vigfusson defines ON klofi = 'a cleft or rift in a hill closed at the upper end' which is an excellent topographical description for the spot.

I suspect that Carmichael applied some correction to the OS name to ensure it fitted creel and so added the accent. Without that accent the developments k > c; o > ei and bh > f are all regular.

It is a name that occurs ten times in Iceland and the equivalent Norwegian, Kløfta, is common there.

Loch na Clèibh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Clèibh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Cloiche Glaise

Place ID 5542 NF 83290 48434 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the grey stone

ScG loch na cloiche glaise

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ScG cloiche is the genitive singular of the feminine noun ScG cladh = 'stone' and ScG glaise is the feminine genitive of ScG glas = 'grey'. With ScG loch being masculine, we know it is a grey stone rather than a grey loch!

Loch na Cloiche Glaise

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Grey Stone Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch na Còinneach

Place ID 843 NF 85700 62650 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the bog

ScG loch + na + ON kú + hnakki

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The transcription in the OS name book gives us 'the Mop Loch' but no story to help us understand such a bizarre name! Looking at the actual text, 'moss' is what it says showing confusion with a rarely used long /s/. ScG còinneach = 'moss' seems much more likely however for some reason it is not in the genitive. Còinnich as one would expect. ON kú-neyti = 'cattle' is an attractive Norse option but would lack a generic. ON kú hnakki = 'neck of cows' would work as there is a neck of land here almost totally separated by the sea and a row of lochs. Probably not.

There is a Kunakken in Norway and whilst Kú is a common specific in Iceland there is no cognate, Hnakki is less common

Loch na Còinneach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Còinnich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Cointich

Place ID 123 NF 96372 72118 North Uist Lochp1ortain

? ScG loch of the mourner

? Loch na caointeach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ScG caointich = 'of the mourner' is the closest that I can find to a root although quite why this might be the meaning I am not sure. With this (probably) being masculine, one would expect the ScG a' = 'of the' with lenition.

Perhaps ScG caointeach = 'a female fairy or water-kelpie, whose particular province it was to warn the members of her favourite clans of the approach of death, by weeping and wailing opposite the kitchen door' might be a better bet and works grammatically.

It is a loch that Beveridge thought might contain a dun.

The OS name book gives us 'Loch of the fog' and Donald MacVicar says 'Turf Loch' echoing Beveridge's 'Loch of the mossy place' both of which stem from ScG còinneach = 'moss' or 'fog'. All lack the /t/ sound which as far as I am aware is sounded.

Loch na Cointich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Cointich

1877

OS 1st edition

loch na Combnaird

Place ID 842 NF 85725 63050 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the level ground

ScG loch na còmhnaird

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book give us 'Loch of the level ground' based upon ScG còmhnard = 'level ground', pronounced /kɔːnərd/. However the ScG na = 'of the' here seems wrong as ScG còmhnaird is masculine.

This often indicates an earlier Norse root. ON kú-neyti = 'cows' is the best I can do. This does not take into account the 'sh' sound often inserted in Gaelic between 'r' and 'd'.

Taking this into account ON kæna - naust = 'boat-house of small boats'.

Listening to the sound again, one wonders about ON konu stað = 'place of the woman'?

One imagines the /b/ instead of the /h/ on the modern OS mapping is an error.

Comhnaird occurs only one other time on the OS 1st editino mapping.

loch na Combnaird

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Comhnaird

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Craoibhe

Place ID	621	NF 89280 73930	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG loch of the tree			ScG loch na craoibhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
One tree in typical Hebridean style!					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Craoibhe			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Craoibhe

Place ID	6656	NF 79957 43776	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG loch of the tree			ScG loch na craoibhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Craoibhe			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Craoibhe			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Craoibhe Bige

Place ID 5325 NF 80320 49113 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG the little tree loch

ScG loch na craoibhe bige

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Unlike the big tree loch, the ScG bige is the feminine genitive form and so must reference the feminine tree rather than the masculine loch hence it is the tree that is little rather than the loch.

Loch na Craoibhe Bige

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Craoibhe Bige

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Craoibhe Mòire

Place ID 5323 NF 80565 49356 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG large tree loch

SCG loch na craoibhe mòire

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

I am unsure as to whether the loch is big or the tree is. However consideration of Loch na Craoibhe Bige indicates that is the tree that is referred to not the loch

Loch na Craoibhe Mòire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Craoibhe Mòire

1877

OS 1st edition

Trees Loch

1804

Bald mapping

Loch na Creige

Place ID 122 NF 96772 72238

North Uist

Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the crag

ScG loch + na + creige

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Loch na Creige

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Creige

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Creige

Place ID	261	NF 91190 76280	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
Scg loch of the crag			Scg loch na creige		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Creige			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Creige			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Creige

Place ID	614	NF 88320 73720	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG loch of the crag			ScG loch na creige		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Creige			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Creige			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Creige Glais

Place ID 5382 NF 80503 52320 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the grey crag

ScG loch na creige glaise

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

I think there should be an /e/ on the end of /glais/.....

Loch na Creige Glais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Creige Glais

1877

OS 1st edition

Lh. Clissglass

1832

Thomson atlas

L. Glissglass

1804

Bald mapping

Loch na Creige Glaise

Place ID 411 NF 86070 56310 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the grey crag

ScG loch na creige glaise

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Unsurprisingly this loch sits under ScG Creag Ghlas = 'grey crag'.

ScG creige ='of the crag' is the genitive and the ScG glaise = 'of grey' is in the genitive feminine, both as you would expect.

Loch na Creige Glaise

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Creige Ghlaise

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Loch na Creige Glaise

Place ID	832	NF 87560 62930	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG loch of the grey crag			ScG loch na creige glaise		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Creige Glaise			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Creige Glaise			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Creige Glaise

Place ID 2252 NF 77806 66455 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG loch of the grey-green crag

ScG loch + na + creige + glaise

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch na Creige Glaise

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Creige Glaise

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Loch na Creige Glaise

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Creige Glaise

Place ID	2273	NF 75698 69581	North Uist	Central West	
ScG loch of the grey crag			ScG loch na creige glaise		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Creige Glaise			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Creige Glaise			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Creige Glaise

Place ID 2274 NF 73813 70659 North Uist Central West

ScG loch of the grey crag

ScG loch na creige glaise

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch na Creige Glaise

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Creige Glaise

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Creige Glaise

Place ID 2296 NF 75696 69578 North Uist Central West

ScG loch of the grey crag

ScG loch na creige glaise

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Three of these lochs lie within a short distance of each other. This tempts one to think in terms of ON klasa = 'a cluster' as the generic. It is hard however to find the specific.

ON kráka = 'of crows'?

Loch na Creige Glaise

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Creige Glaise

Place ID	5300	NF 81154 48415	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of the grey rock			ScG loch na creige glaise		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Creige Glaise			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Creige Glaise			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Creige Lèithe

Place ID	775	NF 86170 59640	North Uist	Eaval	
Scg loch of the grey crag			ScG loch na creige lèithe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Creige Lèithe			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Creige Lèithe			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Criche

Place ID 223 NF 92359 72963 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the limit

ScG loch na criche

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Presumably this is some form of boundary between townships, perhaps between Loch Portain and the machair of Clachan Shannda?

Loch na Criche

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Cruaiche-mòine

Place ID 6243 NF 75246 30725 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the peat stack

ScG loch na cruai-che-mòine

ScG?

Fresh water

Lake

ON?

complete?

Loch na Cruaiche-mòine

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Cruaiche-mòine

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Cuilc

Place ID	6274	NF 75169 31439	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the reed			ScG loch na cuilc		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Cuilc			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Cuilc			1877	OS 1st edition	
Loch na Cuilk			1877	OS name book	

Loch na Cuilce

Place ID 858 NF 81610 63270 North Uist C1arinish

ScG loch of the reeds loch na cuilce

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A name that occurs elsewhere, unsurprisingly given the boggy nature of much of Uist.
Interesting to see the addition of the ScG na = 'the' article'

Loch na Cuilce	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Cuilce	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch na Cuilce

Place ID 5308 NF 83044 48325 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG loch of the (one) reed

ScG loch na cuilce

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ScG cuilc = 'reed' but the article ScG na indicates the singular which is odd.

Loch na Cuilce	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Cuilce	1877	OS 1st edition
Red Mare Loch	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Loch na Laire Ruaidhe	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

loch na Cuithe

Place ID 5417 NF 82038 55508 Benbecula Rueval

ScG loch of the narrow trench ScG loch na cuithe

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This probalby refers to the N arm of the loch, which is narrow as it leads down to the sea. 'Fld' is an alternative meaning.

loch na Cuithe

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Cuithe Mòire

Place ID	6180	NF 73804 23424	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG loch of the big fold			ScG loch na cuithe mòire		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Cuithe Mòire			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Cuithe Mòire			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Culaidh

Place ID 919 NF 82040 64420 North Uist Berneray

ScG loch of the coble (look it up!)

ScG loch na culaidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book writes 'Boat Loch'. Am Faclair Beag unhelpful defined ScG culaidh = 'coble' which I then had to look up in an English dictionary to get 'a flat-bottomed fishing boat of a type used in Scotland and north-eastern England' and so the name book looks like it got it right.

However a good Norse alternative exists, ON kúla eið = 'isthmus of the rounded hill'.

Loch na Culaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Culaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Curraidh

Place ID 6301 NF 75034 32229 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the + ON cattle isthmus

ScG loch na + ON kȳr eið

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The best Gaelic solution I can offer for the last component is ScG curradh = 'Crowding together, collecting into one place' but is a masculine noun and so we would expect ScG a' with lenition.

A Norse alternative would be ON kȳr eið = 'cow isthmus' and topographically this would work as it is where Loch Olaidh is at its narrowest with stepping stones across joining the machair to the mountain pasture.

Neither totally convince.

Loch na Curraidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Curraidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Dèighe fo Dheas

Place ID 5389 NF 83244 53020 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG northern loch of the + ON dyke

ScG loch na + ON díki + ScG fo thuath

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The3 OSNB gives us 'South Icy Loch' based upon ScG deighe = 'of the ice'.

The OSNB gives us ScG deigh = 'ice' but this seems slightly odd singling this loch out from the others which will be equally icy.

As the name of this loch is almost shared by the next one with ScG thuath = 'north' replacing ScG dheas = 'south' and these lochs are separated by a narrow isthmus less than 20m across, to have a name linking them would be the obvious thing.

ON díki = 'ditch, dyke' clearly does this with there being a dyke across the isthmus. The initial vowel is not regular but I think close.....

There is further evidence from the earlier form given to us by Bald for the northern loch, North L. Deachan which could easily come from ON díkin = 'The dykes' or ON díkinu = 'to the dyke) (the dative case).

There is a place in Iceland called Díki whilst in Norway there are a Dikkon, a Dikjene, five Dikan and 21 Diket place names.

Loch na Dèighe fo Dheas

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Dèighe fo Dheas

1877

OS 1st edition

S. Lh Deachan

1832

Thomson atlas

Loch na Dèighe fo Thuath

Place ID 5412 NF 83336 53529 Benbecula Rueval

ScG loch of the + 'Dèighe' + to the North ScG loch na 'Dèighe' fo Thuath

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch na Dèighe fo Deas (P#5412) for a discussion about this name.

Loch na Dèighe fo Thuath	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Dèighe fo Thuath	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch nan Caorach	1861	Thomas chart
N Lh Deachan	1832	Thomson atlas
North L. Deachen	1804	Bald mapping

Loch na Dètheann

Place ID 6738 NF 77985 45888 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG lake of the ON The narrow strip that stretches ScG loch na + ON teygjan

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With no obvious ScG root and the OSNB giving us 'meaning obscure', the best I can find is ON teygjan = The narrow strip that stretches'. This would not be a bad description of this narrow lake that looks as if it floods to the E (i.e. stretches).

There are four places called Teygjur in Iceland.

Loch na Dètheann	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Dètheann	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch na Dubhcha

Place ID 127 NF 95483 72527 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the ON deep tarn

ScG loch na + ON djúp tjörn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Cox cites ScG dubhach = 'plant used for dying' appearing in a place name An Gleann Dubch. This could be the root here. One of my very helpful Gaelic experts, Ian MacDonald, wrote in reply to my plaintive 'what is going on here?' question: I can't make anything of Dubhcha, I'm afraid, though it does look as if the word dubh is in there somewhere. It's an odd spelling. Dabhcha is used as a plural for dabhach, and I suppose the pronunciation could change, leaving a u rather than an a. The fact that na appears rather than nan doesn't mean it couldn't be a plural. It's a very long shot, though. It is worth then considering a Norse alternative.

One alternative could be ON dúfa + kví = 'dovecote' or literally 'fold of doves' but this normally produces /cui/. The remains of the Dun here would form a good nesting place for doves. Another alternative might be ON djúp tjörn = 'deep tarn'. The cognate notes persuade me that the latter is the more viable option. I struggle to see quite how the final /rn/ disappears.

There are over 200 places in Norway beginning with djuptjörn or a grammatical variant and there are seven Djúpatjörn place names in Iceland.

There are no dove names matching ON dúfa kví in Norway or Iceland although the six Duetjønn (or equivalent) place names in Norway do provide an alternative.

Loch na Dubhcha	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Dubhcha	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Nacaigin	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Loch na Dubhcha

Place ID 2498 NF 78291 67000 North Uist Central West

? ScG loch of the mashing vat

? ScG loch na dabcha

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This looks too far away from ScG dubh to be that.

ScG dabcha = 'of the vat' or 'davocho' - a unit of land. With the vats possibly associated with brewing in the area, that seems the most likely.

See the Loch Portain Loch na Dubhcha (P#2498) for a discussion of possible Norse roots.

There are only two Loch na Dubhcha names in the whole of Scotland - the other is at Loch Portain on North Uist.

Loch na Dubhcha

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Duchasaich

Place ID 6237 NF 74464 31193 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the herb loch na dubh asaich

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'An Dubh Casich is the name of an herb' which looks to be a reasonable explanation. I cannot find this word in the dictionaries but it wouldn't be the first time.

Loch na Duchasaich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Duchasaich	1877	OS 1st edition
L. Duchusick	1804	Bald mapping

Loch na Faoileag

Place ID 409 NF 86840 56730 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the (black-headed?) gull

ScG loch na faoileag

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Gulls still roost on this loch although predominately species other than Black-headed Gull which is the species that ScG faoileag usually refers to. It is possible they used to breed here but the close proximity of humans and their enjoyment of gull's eggs might have exterminated that colony.

It is odd that only one gull is referred to as evidenced by the ScG na = 'of the'.

So odd that it is worth considering Norse roots and ON völl læk = 'stream of the field' might be worth considering and close to the IPA pronunciation /fw:læg/.

Thomas named this loch, ScG Loch Fada = 'narrow loch' and the OS 1st series mapping copied it but in their case using the same name for the loch c500m to the W as well.

Loch na Faoileag would not be described as 'long' and so was probably an error on both Thomas' and the OS surveyors' part.

In Norway the close cognate Voll(e/a)bekk is common (c100) and there is a Vollsløkka but in Iceland the element völlur is relatively rare. There are however two Vallalækur there

Faoileag occurs 43 times on the OS 2nd edition with 25 of those on the Western Isles.

Loch na Faoileag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Faoileige

Place ID 678 NF 80360 63780 North Uist Berneray

ScG loch of the gull ScG loch na faoileige

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One might have expected more than one gull.....

Loch na Faoileige 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch na Faoileige 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch na Faoilinn

Place ID 5345 NF 80354 51328 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the gull

SCG loch na faoilinn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Loch na Faoilinn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Faoilinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Favilinn

1877

OS name book

Loch na Fillan

1804

Bald mapping

Loch na Faolain

Place ID 5416 NF 82106 55324 Benbecula Rueval

ScG loch of the gull

ScG loch na faoilinn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Loch na Faolain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Faolain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Feannaig

Place ID 5408 NF 81866 55271 Benbecula Rueval

ScG loch of the crow

ScG loch na feannaig

Fresh water

ScG?

ON?

complete?

As ever one crow only is odd...

Loch na Feannaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------	------	-------------------

Loch na Feannaig	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------	------	----------------

Loch nam Fiadh	1861	Thomas chart
----------------	------	--------------

Deer Loch	1861	Thomas chart
-----------	------	--------------

Loch na Feannaig

Place ID 5601 NF 83786 53773 Benbecula Rueval

ScG loch of the crow

ScG loch na feannag

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Whilst I do not see why this Loch should be attached to one crow, there are no apparent rigs (also ScG feannag) around it so Thomas wins the day.

An alternative thought is that in the Tìree dialect, /l/ and /n/ seem to be interchangeable. ON fjalla vík = 'bay of the mountain' could then easily become fjann aig. The name would certainly be a good fit.

See Barpa nam Feannag (P#2540) for a possible Norse interpretation of the 'Feannag' element.

Crow Loch

1861

Thomas chart

Loch na Feannaig

1861

Thomas chart

Loch na Féille

Place ID 2090 NF 82540 61564 North Uist Eaval

Scg loch of the + ON track of the livestock

ScG loch na + ON velli

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The Market Loch' but it does seem an odd place for one.

Not too far E is a Cnoc na File which might have ON veiðr = 'hunting' as a root. This site is not so suitable but could have the same root.

A simpler explanation could be ON velli = 'meadow' the dative of ON völlr = 'meadow' but again this is not a great topographical match and th initial vowel is not good on quantity.

A final offering is ON fjá leið = 'track of the livestock' which works as being on the route between the coast and the mountains. This seems complicated and so I backtrack to the ON völlr = 'paddock, unsown and unmanured land'

Vellir occurs as a siðpmlex name in Iceland over 30 times with almost the same number of ON völlur.

With over 800 names in Norway beginning with Voll-, it is clearly a common specific along with many examples of it as a simplex name.

Loch na Féille

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Garbh Ghucaig

Place ID 1830 NF 87762 46990 Benbecula W1iay

ScG loch of ther rough + ON lump bay

ScG loch na garbh + ON kökk vík

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG gucag = 'bead on whisky' is the name the Admiralty mapping has clearly used the alternative 'Whiskey loch' but it is difficult to see why.

ScG garbh ghucag = 'foreshot', the first fraction of a distillate. It is possible there was a still here.

Two Norse alternatives ON kok = 'gullet' or ON kuggr = 'type of ship'. The cognate notes lean me towards the former.

Rygh interprets the word as 'lump' from ON kökkr = 'lump'.

d by the Norwegian place names.

Either ON koka = 'of the throats' or a close compound seems best, probalby the latter.

In Iceland there are no Kugga- places but four Koo- names. In Norway there are 20 places beginning with Kukk- and over 300 beginning with Kok-. More importantly there are six Kok(s)vik(a) places.

Loch na Garbh Ghucaig

1866

Admiralty mapping

Loch na Garbh-abhainn

Place ID 2586 NF 88683 68423 North Uist Central South

ScG loch of the wild stream

ScG loch na garbh-abhainn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Loch na Garbh-abhainn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Garbh-abhuinn Meadhonaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Garbh-abhainn Àrd

Place ID 2559 NF 88176 68315 North Uist Central South

ScG high loch of the wild stream

ScG loch na garbh-abhainn àrd

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch na Garbh-abhainn Àrd

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Garbh-abhainn Ard

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Gearr-abhainn

Place ID 6654 NF 79786 43582 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG loch of the short river

ScG loch na gearr - abhainn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'short-river loch' based on ScG geàrr = 'short'. It also means fish-trap which would work well.

Loch na Gearr-abhainn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Gearr-abhuinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Geàrr-abhainn

Place ID 5314 NF 84946 48416 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhaigh

ScG loch of the short river

ScG loch na geàrr-abhainn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Loch of the Short River' based upon ScG geàrr = 'short'.

It is odd that the adjective precedes the noun here.

Cox notes (p285) a place name Geàrr 'na h-Aibhne = 'the enclosure of the river' for what is anglicized to Garynahine.

Loch na Geàrr-abhainn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Gearr-abhuinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Clarsaich

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Harp Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch na Gearrachun

Place ID 2347 NF 76557 74345 North Uist Central West

ScG loch of the + ON tarn of the enclosures ScG loch + na + ON gerða + tjörn

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'loch of the shealing' but I am not sure of their derivation.

My first thought was that it is unusual in being an amalgamation of an older name, ScG 'Gearr a' chinn' = 'weir (or fish trap) of the head', with a modern 'Loch na' which has also been transposed a little to the W.

Further consideration however found the nearby Glenn Geirisdale and we cannot have fish traps associated with ON dalr = 'valley'.

For the specific ON gerði = 'enclosure' or ON geiri = 'a triangular strip of land' would work and I suspect the latter part, the generic, is a corrupted ON tjörn = 'tarn'. This would work well topographically here.

The website <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx> comments that the word now appears as Tønne- or Tøns-.

There are four cognate Gerðistjörn in Iceland and a Gerdetjörna in Norway.

There are four names with a first element Geir and a last element tjörn in Iceland but all have a central element too.

Loch na Gearrachun	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Gearrachun	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch na Glas-aibhne

Place ID 5364 NF 81389 51426 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the grey river

ScG loch na glas-abhainn

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See A' Ghlas-Abhainn for discussion of that name.

Loch na Glas-aibhne	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Glas-Abhuinn	1877	OS name book
Loch na Glas-aibhne	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch na Glas-ruaidh

Place ID 376 NF 85270 57440 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the pasture

ScG loch na glasraidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

A strict translation would give 'loch of the brown-red grey' which really does not work, although it is the one the OS name book uses with 'The Reddish Grey loch'. The ScG na = 'the' would be another oddity with an adjective describing colour afterwards.

ScG glasraidh = 'of the pasture' however is a much better fit.

However it does have the problem of being masculine with a feminine indefinite article.

Loch na Glas-ruaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Creige Glaise

1866

Admiralty mapping

Loch na h-Aibhne Bàine

Place ID	5298	NF 80814 48853	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of the white river			ScG loch na h- abhainn bàine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Loch na h-Aibhne Bàine

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na h-Aibhne Bàine

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na h-Aibhne Dubh

Place ID	6629	NF 80067 42104	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG loch of the black river			ScG loch na h- aibhne dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na h-Aibhne Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na h-Aibhne Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na h-Aibhne Duibhe

Place ID	6683	NF 78837 44951	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG lake of the black stream			ScG loch na h-aibhne duibhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na h-Aibhne Duibhe			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na h-Aibhne Duibhe			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na h-Aibhne Duibhe

Place ID	6696	NF 80916 44287	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG lake of the black river			ScG loch na h-aibhne duibhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na h-Aibhne Duibhe			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na h-Aibhne Loisgte

Place ID 6701 NF 81397 44977 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG lake of the + ON place of burning light + ScG ScG loch na h-aibhne + ON ljós stað

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

I am struggling to see how a stream can be burnt. With the nearby Creag Loiste (^702) one ponders if there is a place 'Loisgte' here, probalby in Norse.

The closest I can find is ON laski = fissure' This I probalby the same as Rygh's laske about which he writes 'wedge, strip, which is sewn into a piece of clothing, probably as a place name for a wedge-shaped piece of land.' He also notes it occurs 56 times as the name of a small farm.

Better perhaps is ON lustr = a cudgel or salmon spear. ON Ljóstr is an alternative.

However to my mind the best overall option is ON ljós tjá = to show light' although I am not sure how this works grammatically. This crag however stands proud of the surrounding land and would help navigation in the difficult waters of South Ford.

An alternative is ON ljós stað = 'place of burning light' which is easier to understand grammatically but further away phonologically.

Loch na h-Aibhne Loisgte

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na h-Aibhne Loisgte

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na h-Aibhne Luachraich

Place ID 277 NF 93200 72700 North Uist Lochp1ortain

scG loch of the stream where rushes grow

ScG loch na h-aibhne luachraich

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch nah-Aibhne Luachraich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na h-Aibhne Luachraich

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na h-Àirde

Place ID	169	NF 94279 70955	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG loch of the height			ScG loch + na h- + àirde		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
hey stað?!					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na h-Àirde			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Loch na h-Àirde Mòire

Place ID 597 NF 91040 75070 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the big height

ScG loch na h- àird mòire

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Here 'Àird Mòr' is being treated as an onomastic unit.

Loch na h-Àirde Mòire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na h-Àirde Mòire

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na h-Amhaich

Place ID	5344	NF 80572 50985	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG loch of the neck			scG loch na h-amhaich	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water				<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
The obvious ScG root is ScG amhaich = 'neck'				
Loch na h-Amhaich			1877	OS 1st edition

Loch na h-Aolain

Place ID 6242 NF 75107 30518 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the lime

ScG loch na h-aoil

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Its signification is the "lime-ing Loch". ScG oal = 'lime' is the root although I am unsure what is a lime-ing loch.

With the IPA spelling of ScG aol is /u:l/ then ON höll = 'hall' should be a close sound.

With the Bornais mound excavated to reveal a Norse hall less than 2km to the W this is an intriguing albeit less likely possibility.

Bald's name L. na Fullan gives another possibility. ScG muilinn = 'mill' however this is also a masculine noun

Loch na h-Aolain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na h-Aolain

1877

OS 1st edition

L. na Fullan

1804

Bald mapping

Loch na h-Iolaire

Place ID 2279 NF 79976 65503 North Uist Central South

ScG loch of the eagle

ScG loch na h- iolaire

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The gender of ScG iolaire = 'eagle' seems to be variable, here taken as feminine.

Loch na h-Iolaire

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na h-Iolaire

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na h-Oidhche

Place ID 915 NH 15000 77000 Mainland Wester Ross

ScG loch of the night ScG loch na h-oidhche

Fresh water

OS Gaelic notes

Loch na h-Oidhche

Other

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch na Hostrach

Place ID 981 NF 91140 66720 North Uist Lees

ScG loch of the + ON arable field of the east ScG loch + na h- + ON austr + akr

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Apart from the OS name book saying the name 'is said to be ancient' there are no clues.

One possibility is ON haustr = 'harvest' or more particularly ON haustar = 'of the harvest' for the specific combined with ON akr = 'arable land' for the generic. The gap between the /h/ and the /r/ is however a concern.

An alternative is to consider the split as 'na h-ostrach' and then ON austr akr = 'east field' works as well without the problem of the gap.

The area here is to the east of most other arable land, although currently it would not be considered arable.

There is an Austurakrar in Iceland and three Østre Aker in Norway.

Loch na Hostrach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Hostrach	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch na Humick

Place ID	5442	NF 80595 51494	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of Eng hummock			ScG loch na + Eng hummock		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
An odd combination of language.					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Humick			1804	Bald mapping	

Loch na Làire

Place ID 6257 NF 79185 30418 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the mare ScG loch na làire

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

It seems an inhospitable spot for a mare to be kept....

Loch na Làire 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch na Làire 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch na Làire Bàine

Place ID	802	NF 86710 61800	North Uist	Eaval	
Scg loch of the pale mare			ScG loch na làire bàine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Làire Bàine			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Làire Bàine			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Lamhaich a Tuath

Place ID 1828 NF 87400 46535 Benbecula W1iay

ScG loch of the north natural harbour ScG loch na laimrige a tuath

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The closest I could easily do is ScG loch na laimrige a tuath = 'loch of the north natural harbour' which has some sort of logic as the stream that leaves it ends up in that harbour. The 'r' has disappeared which is an issue but...

Loch na Lamhaich a Tuath

1866

Admiralty mapping

Loch na Leacaich

Place ID	604	NF 88840 74350	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG loch of the place of flat stones			ScG loch na leacaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Leacaich			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Leacaich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Learg

Place ID 774 NF 85630 59510 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the diver

ScG loch na learg

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Whilst un-named on the OS 1st edition, two similar names on the Hebrides are quoted as 'Loch of the diver' in the OS name books and this is what MacVicar cites although his positioning of the loch is poor. These are based on ScG learg = 'diver' or 'rain-bird'

However with ScG learg = 'small hill' that is a good topographical fit. In the end I have opted for the popular choice but either would work well.

Loch na Learg

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Learag

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Loch na Leig

Place ID 1709 NF 89863 55859 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG loch of the ON stream

ScG loch na + ON læk

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The name initially seems clear although Thomas has a totally different name for it, Loch na Lamhaig. Whilst this would translate directly to ScG lamhaige = 'of the small axe' that seems unlikely. An obvious corruption would be of ScG laimhrig = 'landing place' which works well for the anchorage at the outlet of this loch. This name was deleted from the OSNB.

'loch of the marshy pool' however ends up being tautologous and so one wonders about a Norse root.

A very simple ON læk = 'stream' seems a good fit.

However Thomas' name is interesting as the name might be ON hlað vág which could be interpreted as 'loading bay'.

This fits well with the IPA spelling of ScG lámhag /La:vag/.

There has been a lot of building between this loch and the open see which might be for the purposes of loading.

Loch na Leig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Leig	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch nan Learg	1877	OS name book
Loch na Lamhaig	1861	Thomas chart

Loch na Leum

Place ID 221 NF 92701 72753 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the leap

ScG loch na leum

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The loch does narrow in one place but I have not tested it by trying to leap across the gap!

There is that common problem of a masculine noun, ScG leum = 'jump' which should have ScG an = 'of the' before it. In the Badenoch region, this noun is feminine so perhaps this is the case on Uist too.....

Loch na Leum

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Liana Mòire

Place ID 5155 NF 76518 53018 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG loch of the big slow flowing current ScG loch na làana mòire

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The specific here must be ScG làana (pronounced /L'ianə/) = 'meadow, swampy plain' in Dwelly with an interesting alternative meaning in Faclair Beag of 'lane (slow flowing stream; place name element)'. This latter meaning seems particularly appropriate to the area here. The loch is shown on the map on p65 of Stwert Angus' paper on pre-drainage levels of the lochs of Benbecula supporting this interpretation.

Loch na Liana Mòire	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Liana Mòire	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch na Liana	1877	OS name book

Loch na Liana Mòire

Place ID	6158	NF 73337 24872	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG loch of the big meadow			ScG loch na lèan mòire		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Liana Mòire			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Liana Mòire			1877	OS 1st edition	
L. na Leanamore			1804	Bald mapping	

Loch na Liana-Sàlaich

Place ID	6403	NF 75241 35512	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the dirty meadow			ScG loch na liana - salaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Liana-Sàlaich			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Liana-Sàlaich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Lice Baine

Place ID	6494	NF 83061 37033	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG loch of the pale flagstones			ScG loch na lice bàine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Lice Baine			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Lice Baine			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Lice Bàine

Place ID	6631	NF 81236 42685	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG lake of the wihte flagstone			ScG loch na lice bàine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Lice Bàine			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Lice Bàine			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Lice Bàine

Place ID	6635	NF 82045 42146	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG lake of the white flag stone			ScG loch na lice bàine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Lice Bàine			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Lice Baine			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Lice Bàine Bige

Place ID	6632	NF 81455 42786	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG small lake of the white flagstone			ScG loch na lice bàine bige		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Lice Bàine Bige			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Lice Bàine Bige			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Lurga

Place ID 6245 NF 75090 31117 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the ridge of a hill extending gradually i ScG loch na luirga

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'its signification is the "loch of the legs". 'It is difficult to see a reason topographically for the legs, ScG lurg or ScG luirge in the genitive as expected here. This is also a single leg as reflected in the article, I ponder if in fact this is a ON lögr = large lake' referring to the extensive inland waterway just to the N forming Loch Olaidh.

Further investigation however using the excellent GB1900 maps redoubles the effort to find a ScG solution. ScG lurg = 'Ridge of a hill extending gradually into a plain' works topographically and persuades me that this is the solution.

The scattering of the 69 names on the OS 2nd edition mapping is scattered across the whole of Scotland and is not restricted to the Norse speaking areas suggesting a gaelic possibility. There is a Lurga in Morvern.

Loch na Lurga

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Maighdein

Place ID 177 NF 95655 70650 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the maid

ScG loch na + ON mið tjörn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Whilst the Gaelic is clear, the loch seems quite remote for a maid to visit unless it was part of the shieling season. The pronunciation is given as /mɪdʲəN/.

More likely is a Norse root with the generic being ON tjörn = 'tarn'. The obvious specific would be ON mið = 'middle' in the nom. acc. case. This would be a reasonable fit topographically.

Loch na Maighdein

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Maighdein

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Maighdein

Place ID 2588 NF 89221 68160 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG loch of the maid

ScG loch na maighdein

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

One can almost feel the folk etymology coming - a maid went visiting her lover near the loch but they parted and she drowned and did not live happily ever after.

For the overly practical Norse it was ON mjúka tún = 'most fertile 'home' enclosure'. This does make sense to me.

Loch na Maighdein

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Maighdein

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Maoile Duibhe

Place ID 2509 NF 80601 65263 North Uist Central South

ScG loch of the + ON mill chase

ScG loch na + ON mylla djúp

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book records 'The bald black loch'. A literal translation would be 'loch of the black baldness' which makes little sense. ScG maol can also mean 'brow of a rock', 'cape' or 'great bare rounded hill'. The latter would apply well to Uineabhal just to the N and would act as a counter to Beinn Ban to the N.

Either way, the ScG na = 'of the' is wrong as ScG maol is masculine. This tends to indicate a Norse root.

ON mylla djúp = 'channel of the mill' or 'mill chase' would fit well, especially as there is an ScG Allt a' Mhuilinn = 'stream of the mill' as the name of the stream leaving the loch a couple of lochs down the water course. There needs to be a desire to resemanticise the initial vowel. The IPA spelling of ScG maoile is /mɔ:lə/ whilst ON mylla is /'mɪ:lə/.

Somewhere I think that with ö > aoi being regular the ON möl is involved which is related to ON malar = 'grind'.

Loch na Maoile Duibhe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Maoile Duibhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Meallaird

Place ID 1897 NF 77285 54789 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG loch of the ON dwelling of the sand dunes ScG loch na + ON mela stað

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One would expect Meallaird to come from ScG meall àird = 'lofty lump' although the topography here makes the 'lofty' only a relevant term.

With the ScG na = 'of the' being wrong as well makes one think there might be another root. ScG malairt = 'barter' perhaps for some sort of market?

Alternatively it could be another name where the order is odd. ScG meall also means 'pleasant' or 'delightful' and this could be referring to the height here. This would be copying the example of Fionnghlas nearby and might be a product of it being an earlier name.

The sound is 'mehll arsh't'. ON melr = 'sand dune' would be a good specific with a slightly misplaced siting. Then ON stað = 'dwelling' would work at the generic.

An alternative is ON fjorðr which has become -airt on the W coast of Scotland.

See A' Mheallairt (P#751) for a discussion of this and of that place in the North Ford.

There is a Mealista on Lewis that Oftedal thought was a staðr name.

Melstað occurs as an Icelandic place name 12 times.

There are 11 Melfjorden in Norway but on Melstad

See A' Mheallairt (P#751) for a discussion of that place in the North Ford.

Loch na Meallaird

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Meallaird

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Mèirle

Place ID 795 NF 83230 61190 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the + ON narrow route

Scg loch + na + ON mjórri leið

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG mèirle = 'theft, robbery' is the easiest translation of the place name and there is or was a story I am sure to explain it.

With a pronunciation of /mɛ:RLʲə/ it possibly could have the same route as Rubha na Murla which was ON mjór + leið = 'narrow route'. Having been out to visit the site, it is indeed in the context of a relatively flat area, a narrow pass between this loch and the one to the S, Loch nan Cuileag.

To get the correct reflex I think it would have to be ON mjórri leið.

The initial vowel is good in quantity but not in quality and would require the desire to resemanticise.

Alternatively ON mœrr = mýrr = 'moor or bog'

A final option based on the Iceland cognates is ON mjóa lág = 'narrow hollow'.

There is a Myraleidet in Norway

Loch na Mèirle

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch an Fhaing Bhuidhe

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Loch na Moine

Place ID	425	NF 87590 55390	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG loch of the peat			ScG loch na moine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
A straightforward name and one that occurs elsewhere on Uist.					
Loch na Moine			2014	Modern OS mapping	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Loch na Mòine

Place ID	6188	NF 75057 24591	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG loch of the moor			ScG loch na mòine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Mòine			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Mòine			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Moracha

Place ID 2535 NF 84676 66293 North Uist Langass

ScG loch of + ON boundary river

ScG loch na + ON mark á

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book provides nothing and Beveridge does not mention it.

If Norse the obvious and easy root is ON mór akr = 'arable land of the moor' which seems a little contradictory but the land here is flat enough and could be easily drained.

Although heavily used for peat cutting now, there is a clear dyke visible to the N so some evidence of cultivation. The quantity of the first vowel is a concern.

The first 'a' could well be a product of the Gaelicization process - a vowel would always be inserted between the /r/ and the /ch/ here and this vowel is usually a copy of the previous vowel. With a > o being regular, this is perhaps evidence that the original was marka.

This then could stem from ON mark á = 'boundary river'. Situated midway between the W and E coast, it would be an appropriate place for a boundary between the Loch Portain settlements and those of the W coast or perhaps from the putative deer forest.

Vigfusson lists ON merki-á = 'boundary river'.

In Iceland there is a Marká whilst in Norway there are over 60 Marka place names and almost the same Morka. Closer in Norway are the Markån names.

Loch na Moracha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Moracha

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Morgha

Place ID 659 NF 86970 74310 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG loch of the ON boundary

ScG loch na + ON mark

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The problem here is that ScG morghan = 'gravel' is masculine and so we would expect ScG a' = 'of the' with lenition. This use of ScG na can be an indication of a Norse root or a different meaning.

ON mark + á = 'river boundary' works well as this is the area of the divide between the two parishes and probably an ancient boundary. A simpler solution is to consider the final vowel as an addition and the name being a simplex 'boundary'

Morka is an extremely common element of place names in Norway, in Iceland Markagil (at least twenty) or its variants are common.

Mørkå occurs three times and there are also five Markå(na) in Norway whilst in Iceland we have one Marká.

Morka is an extremely common element of place names in Norway, in Iceland Markagil (at least twenty) or its variants are common.

Rgyh lists many farms with the name Marken.

Loch na Morgha	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Morgha	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch na Morach	1877	OS name book

Loch na Morgha

Place ID 979 NF 91030 67170 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG loch of the + ON boundary

ScG loch na + ON mark

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

There is however a problem here with the OS name book 'Loch of the gravel' as ScG morghan = 'gravel' is masculine and so you would expect ScG a' = 'of the' and lenition i.e. Loch a' Mhorga.

The alternative OS name book name of Loch na Morach might offer an alternative with epenthesis between the /r/ and the /k/ in ON mark = 'march or boundary' and indeed the added /a/ might be a hint as to the original /a/ in ON mark. Given this alternative name, ON mörk + a = 'boundary river' is probably not a better option.

The four occurrences of Morgha- are all on the Outer Hebrides and indeed three are on Uist.

Loch na Morach

1877

OS name book

Loch na Morgha

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Pàisg

Place ID 321 NF 78590 61860 North Uist B1aleshare

ON livestock track between the arable fields + Sc SCg loch + na + ON fjár + skeið

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Alternatives for the specific are ON fjár, the genitive of ON fé = 'livestock', ON fé itself or ON vés = 'of the mansion or temple'. I think the former is closer to the initial vowel sound.

For the generic, the useful website <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx> provides this about ON skeið: 'Skei 'Yard Road between Akr'. In many old farm names all over the country, most usms., Frequently in the dative form, Skeie ; in the pronunciation now partly Ske or Ski, especially when it stands as the second paragraph.' Here that ON fjár skeið would be phonetically close with regular developments. In a pastoral context, lanes between arable fields for cattle is an expectation.

The ON vé is tempting because of the proximity of the Teampull Chrìosd.

There are no clear cognates in Iceland or Norway.

Loch na Pàisg

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Raivil

Place ID 691 NF 75900 64490 North Uist Kirkibost

ScG loch of the + 'Raivil'

ScG loch na + 'Raivil'

Fresh water

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Reabhile Deas (P#690) for a discussion of the 'Raivil' component.

Loch na Raivil	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Loch na Raivil	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Loch na Reabhil	1877	OS name book
-----------------	------	--------------

Loch na Reivil

Place ID 2375 NF 70906 71275 North Uist B1alranald

ScG loch of the + ON pool of the gap Scg loch na + ON rifa hyl

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This must have the same root as Loch na Raivil and the ~Reabhile names on Kirkibost. The situation is similar and this loch also got breached by the sea in the past before the modern blocks were put in place.

See Reabhile Deas (P#690) for a discussion of the 'Reivil' component.

The similar ON rifa = 'gap' might work better for the initial vowel.

However looking at Rygh ON rifja = 'of the reefs' might be the best bet. He cites several examples of rif > rev (e,g, Reveim v11, p295)

One also wonders if this was part of the drainage system of Loch Groghearraidh before the modern sluice was built. Aerial imagery hints at a water course running from just S of Dun Grogary to a pool that then leads into the N end of this loch.

In Iceland we have three Rifstjörn (tarn of the reef) and one Riftjörn and in Norway two cognate Revhø(a/e).

Loch na Reivil	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Reivil	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch na Rubha Caol

Place ID 6278 NF 75898 31709 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the narrow headland

ScG loch na rubha caol

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

One wonders if at one stage this loch was joined to Loch a' Chlachain and this would form the eponymous 'narrow headland'

Loch na Rubha Caol

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Seasgain

Place ID	6249	NF 76750 30888	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the moorish ground			ScG loch na seasgain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Seasgain			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch na Seasgain			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch na Shibaidh Mhòr

Place ID 6695 NF 80632 44409 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG big loch of + ON sæ bú

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Sheabie (P#18) for a discussion on that name which ended up proposing ON sæ or sjá bú = 'sea farm'. This is topographically appropriate here too referring to what is now Loch a' Chàrnain.

Loch na Shibaidh Mhòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Shibaidh Mhòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Smalaig

Place ID 1906 NF 80647 55304 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG loch of the + ON small pool

ScG loch na + ON smá laug

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG smalag = 'Saithe, cuddy, coalfish' which by my understanding are sea-fish and this loch is fresh water. The article is wrong as well as I would expect ScG an = 'of the'. Perhaps it is a more generic word for young fish of any sort?

However the ON smá + lægð = 'small hollow', ON læk = 'stream' or ON laug = 'pool' seems a much better topographical fit. The latter being feminine produces ON smá = 'small' as the specific.

ON laug = 'pool' is usually associated with washing, presumalby similar to the Loch Nighe that dot the Uist landscape.

The /l/ needed to create small is not far away and Vigfusson cites examples where it comes back in. Perhaps here ON smá vík = 'small bay' might be the real root.

There are four Loch nan Smalag (or Loch nan Smalag) in Scotland, all on Uist and all freshwater - this is the only Loch na Smalaig and none with the correct 'an'.

There is a Smáulagar, a Smálækir, a Smálækur and a Smáulágur in Iceland and a Smålaugdalen in Norway.

Loch na Smalaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Smalaig	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch nan Smalag	1861	Thomas chart

Loch Na Sruthan Beag

Place ID 1659 NF 89730 55282 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG loch of the small stream

ScG loch na sruthan beag

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Cox maintains that on Lewis ScG sruth = 'current' is often tidal whilst ScG sruthan = 'stream'. This seems to hold good on Uist. It is unclear whether this loch is tidal or not although memory says not.

With an adjacent Sruth Beag, I think the name is taking 'Sruth Beag' as a unit and saying Loch of the unit 'Sruth Beag'. The place name maker has then got a little confused with the grammar, possibly trying to form, wrongly, a genitive of 'sruth'.

Loch Na Sruthan Beag

2000

Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)

Loch na Tanga

Place ID 6185 NF 73769 23059 South Uist Loch Eynort

Scg loch na tanga ScG loch of the tongue

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

topographically the description is apposite.

Loch na Tanga 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch na Tanga 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch na Tarna

Place ID 6244 NF 75736 30695 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG loch of the + ON tarn

ScG loch na + ON tjörn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OSNB gives us: 'Its signification is the Loch of the noise or revelry.' I can find no obvious reason, the closest being ScG tàrnach = 'thunderclap'. Neither seem very helpful.

The final element must come from ON tjörn = 'tarn or small lake' that appears as tjarn- in many cases.

Is it a coincidence that 500m to the NW is Loch na Lunga where the last element could be ON lög + /a/ = 'large lake' and here we have ON tjarn + /a/.

It is difficult to explain the link however if there is one.

In both cases it is hard to explain thee final /a/ as these would appear in the genitive case but that is not possible with ScG starter.

ON á = 'river' is a possibility but there is not an obvious river nearby. All very odd.

Loch na Tarna	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Tarna	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch na Tairne	1877	OS name book

Loch na Teagaisg

Place ID 791 NF 83900 60600 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the + ON near the narrowing between ScG loch + na + ON hjá + kista

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book gives us the literal translation 'Loch of the Teaching' from ScG teagasg = 'teaching'. The word can have a religious sense and so mean 'preaching'. It is possible to imagine outdoor services being held here, not far from Carinis Teampall.

The noun however is masculine and so one would expect ScG an = 'of the' and this has pointed to an earlier root in other cases. The pronunciation is /tʲegɪgʲ/.

ON teigrar = 'of the paddocks' would work well for the specific with ON skeið = 'farm road between fields', this meaning taken from <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx>

Sadly however the initial vowel sound is wrong.

Back formation could change the 't' to an 'h' giving us hjá = 'near'. The generic could be kista = 'narrowing between two hills'. Here all the developments are regular with the exception of the final t > g.

Topographically, one imagines the narrowing is that between Eabhal and the Lees of Loch Euphort, if more local then between Beinn na Coille and Craonabhal, both smaller but distinct hills.

Kista is a common simplex name in Iceland occurring 36 times, more so in Norway. To name somewhere 'near kista' should not be unusual.

This is the only occurrence of /Teaga-/ on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Loch na Teagaisg

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Teagaisg

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Thonlaidh

Place ID 6153 NF 73770 25683 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the + ON route of the tounge of land' ScG loch na + oN tanga leið

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

There is not a clear root here. My best suggestion are two Norse one.

ON tanga leið = 'route of the tongue of land' . The best evidence for this is the Blaeu mapping which shows a narrow tongue of land between Frobost and the coast.

The second is ON þön = net drying scaffold

ON þöngull = 'tangle'?

Loch na Thonlaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch na Trionaid

Place ID	1243	NF 81810 60120	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG loch of the Trinity			ScG loch na trionaid		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch na Trionaid			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Naid

Place ID 6694 NF 80833 44619 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG lake of the circular hollow

ScG loch nid

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'the swimming loch' but I am not quite sure what this is based upon. ScG snàmh = 'swim' is the closest. Nothing obvious springs to mind with ScG nead = 'nest' the closest in the genitive form ScG nid. This has taken on the meaning 'circular hollow' but th lake is not very circular.

The existence of Loch Neadabhat and Naideabhal a Muigh/Staigh on Lewis indicate there is a Norse specific that would work here. I suspect it is ON neyti = 'cattle' which would not work well as a simplex name.

Loch Naid	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Naid	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Nàd	1877	OS name book

Loch nam Balgan

Place ID 6546 NF 76207 40046 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG loch of the small leather bags

ScG loch nam balgan

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

I do ponder if ScG balgair = 'otter' is more likely. This is the only occurrence of Balgan on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Loch nam Balgan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nam Balgan

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nam Ban

Place ID 572 NF 91024 78562 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG loch of the women ScG loch nam ban

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I have no idea why this should be the loch of the women!

Loch nam Ban	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nam Ban	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch na Ban	1866	Admiralty mapping

Loch nam Bàtaichean

Place ID 6522 NF 82240 37961 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG loch of the small boats

ScG loch nam bàtachan

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

If the accent was not there ScG batachan = 'small stick'.

Small boats as an interpretation however fits with the idea of the area being used for portage.

Loch nam Bàtaichean

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nam Bàtaichean

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nam Bradan

Place ID 5023 NF 77631 29881 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the salmon

ScG loch nam bradan

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Salmon Loch' which works well although it seems a very small watercourse for salmon to use. One wonders instead if it was ScG brà = 'quern' or more particularly its genitive reflex ScG bràthan, a loch where querns were required to be thrown.

Loch nam Bradan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nam Bradan

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nam Breac

Place ID	216	NF 93295 72410	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG loch of the trouts			ScG loch nam breac		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nam Breac			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Loch nam Breac Beaga

Place ID 962 NF 89040 66990 North Uist Lees

ScG loch of the small trout ScG loch nam breac beaga

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch nam Breac Beaga 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch nam Breac Ruadh

Place ID 6432 NF 79652 35891 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG lake of the + ON slope - ridge

ScG loch nam + ON brekka - röð

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

A sister name of the nearby Loch nam Breac Peatair (P#5030 q.v.)

Whist there is a sensible meaning here, ScG loch nam breac ruadh = 'loch of the reddish trouts', I think the solution is the same as for the other lochan with a Norse alternative.

In Iceland there is a cognate Brekkuröð place name.

Loch nam Breac Ruadh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nam Breac Ruadh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nam Breac Rubha

Place ID 5330 NF 82421 49511 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the red trouts

ScG loch nam breac ruadha

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The /rubha/ is odd as it means 'headland' in Gaelic. I expect it is an error for ScG ruadh = 'rusty red' as the OSNB does give 'Red Trout Loch' for the name. The OS 1st edition got it right!

Loch nam Breac Rubha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nam Breac Ruadha

1877

OS 1st edition

Red Trouts Loch

1804

Bald mapping

Loch nam Buadh

Place ID 5683 NF 63684 61258 North Uist Heisker

ScG loch of the + ON temporary dwelling ScG loch nam + ON búð

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Macaulay writes 'G buadh' presumably referring to ScG buadh = 'virtue, excellence'. The OSNB gives us 'Victory Loch' although with the plural article it should at least be 'victories'. This name smacks of there being a folk etymology. I wonder if in fact the root comes from ON búð = 'booth, temporary dwelling'. This would be the obvious place for huts as it is near the only decent source of fresh water on the island, as evidenced by the more modern buildings here. The difference in the endings could reflect the desire to resemanticise.

There is a Tobar Nam Buaidh on St Kilda in Glen Bay and an Allt Buadh in Caithness near Dunbeath. The latter is the only other occurrence of /buath/ on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Búð occurs six times as a place name in Iceland with 14 instances of the plural form Búðir

Loch nam Buadh	2020	Alick Macaulay Heisgeir
Loch nam Buadh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nam Buadh	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch nam Faoileag

Place ID	2477	NF 81552 71640	North Uist	Central North	
ScG loch of the sea-gulls			ScG loch nam faoileag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nam Faoileag			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nam Faoileag			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nam Faoileann

Place ID 4989 NF 79732 28942 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG loch of the gulls

ScG loch nam fasoileann

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Sea gulls Lock' which seems logical.

Loch nam Faoileann	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nam Faoileann	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch na Faolan	1877	OS name book
L. na Fullan	1804	Bald mapping

Loch nam Faoileann

Place ID 5184 NF 80003 53330 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG loch of the gulls

ScG loch nam faoileann

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The component Faoileann occurs in 39 place names on the OS 2nd edition mapping with unsurprisingly a coastla distribution. There are five Loch or Lochans of the gulls.

The euivalent ScG faoileag with 43 occurences takes over further N and E with several inland names there.

Loch nam Faoileann

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nam Faoileann

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nam Faoileann

Place ID	6495	NF 83455 37893	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG loch of the gulls			ScG loch nam faoileann		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nam Faoileann			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nam Faoileann			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nam Feannag a' Deas

Place ID 5136 NF 79203 50922 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG south loch of the crows or rigs ScG loch nam feannag a' deas

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch nam Feannag a' Tuath for a discussion of this name.

See Barpa nam Feannag (P#2540) for a possible Norse interpretation of the 'Feannag' element.

Loch nam Feannag a' Deas

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nam Feannag a'Tuath

Place ID 5135 NF 79161 51155 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG north loch of the crows or rigs

ScG loch nam feannag a' tuath

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG feannag has the alternative meaning of 'a ridge of ground generally used for growing potatoes and sometimes also for raising corn, the seed being laid on the surface and covered with earth dug out of trenches along both sides The term "lazy-bed" applied to it in English is merely a southern odium on the system of farming in Gaeldom, where soil was scarce and where bog-land could not be cultivated in any other way' as defined by Dwelly. Satellite imagery shows some rigs here.

See Barpa nam Feannag (P#2540) for a possible Norse interpretation of the 'Feannag' element.

Loch nam Feannag a'Tuath

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nam Feithean

Place ID 2359 NF 71242 70438 North Uist B1alranald

ScG loch of the stagnant channels in a bog ScG loch nam feithean

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Faclair Beag's definition of ScG feith = 'stagnant channel in a bog (often overgrown with moss and dry in summer)' could not be bettered as a description of this area.

The water levels have changed significantly here with the exit to the sea closing at Kilmuir and a new one created from Loch Croghearraidh to the N.

As a consequence this loch is significantly more extensive than it used to be as recorded on Reid's 1799 plan.

Feith occurs 63 times on the OS 2nd edition mapping across the Gaelic heartland although with amore northern distribution than one might expect. Feith Sugro on Lewsi would be an example of a tautologous names including ON grof = 'stream'

Loch nam Feithean	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nam Feithean	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch nam Madadh

Place ID 1144 NF 92690 68810 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG loch of the dogs (?ON large lake of the provisi ScG loch nam madadh

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

ScG Madadh has many potential meanings. Martin Martin (1695) wrote that the derivation was a local word 'maddy' used for mussels and that it derived from the large numbers of the shellfish that grew on the three prominent rocks that stand at the entrance to Loch Maddy. Dictionaries also give 'dog', 'fox', 'wolf' and even 'parts of a gun' as a possible definition.

Another suffixed version of ScG madadh is ScG madadh-cuain = 'dog of the ocean' or Killer Whale, and these marine mammals do frequent the seas around the Hebrides at certain times of year, entering the harbours after herring in years gone by.

However, although the usual term for dog is ScG cù, the general local belief is that here ScG madadh = 'dog or wolf'. This idea is supported by the fact that the name's original use may be related to the earlier Norse place-name Hundair (also with a root of 'dogs' or 'wolves'), used for both the loch and the ruined Iron Age broch a few km south.

Another example where the gender of the specific does not match the case of the indefinite article....

To be controversial there is a chance the name originated with ON mata - lögr = 'large lake of the provisions' and then the Gaels heard the word 'lögn', recognized it as 'loch' and put it in the proper place for them adding an article to make this work. A Norse 'large lake of the provisions' reflects and extends Loch nam Madadh long history of being a centre for provisioning.

Two final option include ON lög = 'law'.

ON mað = 'field' according to Sanmark (p13) is a 'commonplace-name element found by Scandinavian thing sites.' She also talks about the role of ON lögmaður = 'law man' (p256).

ON lög-mót = 'a law meeting' is another alternative with the dative case being ON lög móti meaning place of the law meeting.

Loch nam Madadh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Maddy	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Maddy	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
Lochmadie	1850	Collectanea
Loch Maddy	1832	Thomson atlas
L. Namaddy	1806	Stockdale mapping
Loch Maddy	1799	Reid mapping
Lochmaddie	1794	Old Statisitcal Account
Loch Namaddy	1789	Ainslie mapping
L. Namaddy	1776	Mackenzie mapping
L Madie	1751	Dorret mapping
L Mady	1730	Tiddeman chart
Lochan	1714	Moll mapping
Loch-Maddy	1703	Martin book
L. Maddy	1703	Martin Martin map

LOCH NA MADDY	1654	Blaeu mapping
Loch na Maddy	1654	Blaeu mapping
Lochmaldie		Reg. Mag. Sig
Loch-Madi		Other

Loch nam Magarlan

Place ID 672 NF 72740 70420 North Uist B1alranald

ScG loch of the ON in-law's estate ScG loch nam + ON mágar land

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG magairlean = 'testicles' or 'rocks' is the best fit Gaelic root although the OS name book can find no meaning and the name is unique in Scotland. The SCG nam = 'of the' reflects that this is probably the Gaelic perceived root and so required the plural.

ScG magh = 'level country' would make sense as a generic if there were two components but the specific is not clear. ON land = 'estate' would be the obvious Norse generic (c.f. the nearby Hoglan Bay P#673 q.v. on the OS 1st mapping) and the easiest specific would be ON magari = 'of the in-law' from ON mögr, which makes a perfect fit. It would also work as the in law's estate being less good land on the margins of the main settlement.

Ryug considers a Norwegian farm called Mageland and struggles but is helped by his wife who suggest ON magr = 'lean' or 'meagre' as the specific writing 'which in popular language can be used on dry, barren soil.' This would be another good fit but he also suggest 'son' for other similar names.

If my understanding of Norse adjectival declension is correct, I think the correct version would have been ON magrs = 'meagre (n genitive strong)' or ON magra = 'meagre (n genitive weak)'.

Loch nam Magarlan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nam Meirleach

Place ID 5123 NF 78966 50650 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG loch of the thieves or ON narrow stream ScG loch nam mèirleach or ON mjór læk

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Quite why thieves are involved I am unsure.

I do wonder if originally there was a ON mjór læk = 'narrow stream'. There is a narrow drain leaving the loch to the W but that looks modern and I suspect the original drainage has been significantly altered.

Loch nan Meirleach	1877	OS name book
Loch nam Meirleach	1877	OS 1st edition
Thiefs Loch	1804	Bald mapping

Loch nan Airighean

Place ID 5332 NF 82498 49876 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the sheilings

ScG loch nan airighean

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

All part of the pastoral animal husbandry here. Somewhat surprisingly no obvious green sheiling mounds are visible on satellite imagery.

Loch nan Airighean

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Airidhean

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Arm

Place ID 6424 NF 77749 35025 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'The loch of arms' based upon ScG arm = 'weapon, army' and writes 'A battle was fought in the vicinity and some of the arms, weapons, were thrown into loch hence the name.' This does not seem awfully satisfactory.

The lake sits in a corner of the river. ON horn = 'corner' is a possibility.
Better as a possible start is ON or = 'of the river'.

Loch nan Arm	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Arm	1877	OS 1st edition
L. nan Arm	1804	Bald mapping

Loch nan Àthan

Place ID 2272 NF 77813 66765 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG loch of the kilns

ScG loch nan àthan

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Loch of the Shallow Place' based upon ScG àth = 'ford' but this seems odd for a loch. ScG ath also means 'kiln', 'old barn' or 'outhouse' and one of these would seem to make more sense.

Indeed with 'loch of the vat' nearby and a history of brewing, a kiln would be crucial as part of the process.

Loch nan Àthan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Athan

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Loch nan Athan

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Àuscot

Place ID 5351 NF 82837 51410 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the + ON east small farm

SCG loch nan + ON aust-kot

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The rather different version given by Thomas , Loch Thuramadale, is explained by his confusing it with the next loch N, Loch Heirmeadail.

I think the derivation is Norse with a generic of ON kot = 'small farm', a common generic in Iceland. For the specific ON aust = 'east'. The /t/ could easily disappear in the consonant cluster of /stk/ and Vigfusson cites a case where aus-ker = austr-ker in Shetland.

It would be a good fit topographically and there are nearby sheilings.

I am unsure why the Gales have added the article ScG nan although it could have been part of ScG lochan.

In Iceland there are six Austurkot place names. /kot/names are rare in Norway but there are many laces beginning with Aust- and øst- with, for example, 15 Austgard or grammatical equivalents.

Loch nan Àuscot	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Àuscot	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch nan Auscot	1877	OS name book
L. Thuramadale	1832	Thomson atlas
L. Thuramadale	1804	Bald mapping

Loch nan Caorach

Place ID	868	NF 81870 61910	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG loch of the sheep			ScG loch nan caorach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Caorach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nan Caorach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nan Caorach

Place ID	2505	NF 79863 65893	North Uist	Central South	
ScG loch of the sheep			ScG loch nan caorach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Caorach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nan Caorach

Place ID 5134 NF 79373 51267 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG loch of the sheep

Scg loch nan caorach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The distribution of the Loch nan Caorach names is surprisingly coastal compared to the general Caorach names.

Of the eleven Loch Nan Caorach on the OS 2nd edition mapping, five are on Uist, one on Lewis, Islay and Glspe with mainland ones at Loch Broom, Golspie and on the N coast.

Loch nan Caorach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Caorach

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Caorach

Place ID	6161	NF 76323 25618	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG loch of the sheep			ScG loch nan caorach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Caorach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nan Caorach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nan Capull

Place ID 97 NF 74650 15520 South Uist Lochboisdale

ScG loch of the horses ScG loch nan capall

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The old Blaeu name 'L: Veulin' must refer to the fact there was a mill on this loch, as evidenced by the continued presence of Allt a' Mhuilinn running from the NE corner of the loch.
For some reason the name changed between 1600 and 1800.
In the end I think Bald's L: Veulin was in fact Loch a' Bhruga to the E.

Loch nan Capull	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Capull	1877	OS 1st edition
loch na Cappel	1804	Bald mapping
L: Veulin	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch nan Ceall

Place ID 1767 NF 88705 53671 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG loch of the cell

ScG loch nan ceallan

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

This is another Thomas name that has ScG ceall = 'chapel' in the singular contrary to the more modern Ceallan. The other is Port nan Ceall. This might reflect the fact that the genitive plural in ScG nearly always looks like the singular noun.

Perhaps the /n/ at the end of Blaeu's name hints at a plural, ScG ceallan = 'cells'.

At the W end of the North Ford, Blaeu marks a Loch Kalla. One wonders if in fact a variant on these two were the old name for the North Ford. It would not be hard to make Loch Keallan from them! Alternatively Calla Geodha or even Culla are possibly closer geographically to the Loch Kalla.

Ceann na h-Airigh or Kennary might share the root of Blaeu's Loch Kean. Cox (P259) writes that weakly stressed /ll/sounds like /ʌ/ in IPA which is the /io/ sound i 'million'. This helps explain the Loch Kean name.

Loch nan Ceall	1861	Thomas chart
L Rona	1751	Dorret mapping
L. Rona	1703	Martin Martin map
LOCH KALLA	1654	Blaeu mapping
LOCH KEAN	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch nan Ceann

Place ID 6755 NF 79415 46142 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG loch of the heads ScG loch nan ceann

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One assumes the genitive plural of ScG ceann = 'head' is ScG ceann!

Loch nan Ceann 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Ceann 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch nan Ceithir Eilean

Place ID 939 NF 85880 66390 North Uist Langass

ScG loch of the four islands

ScG loch + nan + ceithir + eilean

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Exactly as it says on the tin, a loch with four islands.

Loch nan Ceithir Eilean

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Ceithir Eilean

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Clach

Place ID	871	NF 82060 61470	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG loch of the stones			Scg loch nan clach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Clach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nan Garbh Eilean			2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island	
Loch nan Clach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nan Clach Corr

Place ID 5183 NF 80121 52545 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG loch of the pointed stones or 'small piece of g ScG loch nan clach corr or ON klifs pett

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OSNB is surprisingly coy on this name as the components are relatively common.

There has been some confusion over the precise placing of the name as Bald gives this name for the S section of Loch Eilean Iain, one kilometre to the W.

He names this loch as Loch Cleasped. This looks Norse to me and a possible for the specific would be ON kleif = 'a narrow pass on a mountain side or a cliff' and this has a genitive of ON klifs. The only generic I can find that makes some sort of sense is ON petti = 'piece' usually referring to land. 'Piece of land of the mountain pass' works here as there is a small area of flat land, used as the market stance later. Cox cites a few examples from Lewis with this component (p348) and writes that the original root is Pictish.

There is an Eilean nan Clach Corr in the North Ford.-

Cox derives ON klifs gróf = 'the stream of the steep ascent' for Cliosgro (p213) whilst Taylor

Loch nan Clach Corr	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------------	------	-------------------

Loch nan Clach Corr	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------------	------	----------------

Lh. Cleasped	1832	Thomson atlas
--------------	------	---------------

L. Cleasped	1804	Bald mapping
-------------	------	--------------

Loch nan Clach Mòra

Place ID 2299 NF 73193 70804 North Uist Central West

ScG loch of the big stones or ON mountain moor ScG loch njan clach mòra

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The loch of the large stones', although satellite imagery does not reveal those large stones. The two place names with the one onomastic unit 'clach mora' tend me to think that unit might have an ON derivation. ON mor á = 'moor river' works well and ON klakk seems to have taken on a life of its own, meaning originally 'the peg of a pack-saddle' then to 'heavy peaked clouds' and fishing grounds' and then - at least in Faroese - to 'cliff' and finally in Norway 'steep mountain'. The lack of a decent river however counts against it.

Móra appears twice in Iceland whilst in Norway there are seven Mora place names and Klakk is a common specific in both countries.

Loch nan Clach Mòra	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Clach Mora	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch nan Clachan

Place ID	2350	NF 76811 73767	North Uist	Central West	
ScG loch of the stepping sotnes			ScG loch nan clachan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Clachan			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nan Clachan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nan Clachan

Place ID 5386 NF 81514 52001

Benbecula

Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the stepping stones

ScG loch nan clachan

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Loch nan Clachan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Clachan

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Clachan

1832

Thomson atlas

L. na Clachan

1804

Bald mapping

Loch nan Clachan

Place ID	6250	NF 76976 30708	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the stones			ScG loch nan clachan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Clachan			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nan Clachan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nan Clachan Mòra

Place ID	6116	NF 76235 29890	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG loch of the big stones			ScG loch nan clachan mòra		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Clachan Mòra			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nan Clach Mòra			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nan Cnamh

Place ID	6401	NF 76173 35536	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the bones			ScG loch nam cnàmh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Cnamh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nan Cnamh			1877	OS 1st edition	
L. na Crave			1804	Bald mapping	

Loch nan Cuileag

Place ID 792 NF 83612 60859 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the + ON stream of the folds ScG loch + nam + ON kvía + læg

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book provides 'The Fly Loch' possibly referring to a fishing fly.

The obvious ON interpretation would be ON kúla lægð = 'the rounded hill hollow' and the hill referred to would be Beinn na Coille, q.v.

The article could arise as a result of resemanticization towards ScG cuileag = 'fly'

It seems unlikely however to name several lochs after the flies and with suspect grammar too.

The initial sound indicates the specific is ON kví = 'fold' and probalby here is the form ON kvía = 'of the folds'.

The generic then would probalby be ON lægð = 'hollow' or ON lægr = 'stream'. The cognate notes convince me that the latter is more likely although perhaps 'hollow' is a better topographical fit.

There are four Uist loch names involving 'Cuileag'. On South Uist there is a coire nan Cuileag

In Iceland there is are three cognate Kvíalág and a Kvílág with ON lág being a synonym for ON lægð.

There are 17 Kvíalækur place names in Iceland.

Loch nan Cuileag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Cuileag	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch nan Cuileaga-beag

Place ID 2495 NF 77786 67508 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG little loch of the 'Cuileaga'

ScG loch nan 'Cuileaga' + ScG -beag

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book provides ' Little loch of the flies' although I wonder if the hyphen makes it little flies rather than little loch.

See Loch nan Cuileag (P#792) for a discussion of the 'Cuileaga' element.

Loch nan Cuileaga-beag

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Cuileaga-mor

Place ID 2496 NF 77593 67380 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG big loch of the + 'Cuileaga'

ScG loch nan + 'Cuileaga' + ScG mòr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book provides ' Big loch of the flies' although I wonder if the hyphen makes it big flies rather than big loch. The '-a' ending is odd.

See loch nan Cuileag for a discussion of the 'Cuileaga' element.

Loch nan Cuileaga-mor

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Cuiseag

Place ID	414	NF 85510 56080	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG loch of the	+ ON bay of the calves		ScG loch nan + ON kussa vág		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

There are four names in this area associated with this word; Cnoc nan Cuiseag (P#412), Loch nan Cuiseag, Airidh Loch nan Cuiseag (P#438) and Sgeir nan Cuiseag (P#513)

ScG cuiseag = 'rye grass' is the obvious root however it seems odd to have it attached to four places.

So much so that one wonders if there was an ON place name here, 'Cuiseag', after which everything else was named.

'ag' can be a ON ending meaning 'bay' and would be the obvious generic with a bay there.

There are four possible options for the specific but the best three are ON kussa = 'of the calves', ON kvísl = 'fork', ON kvistr = 'twig' and ON kjós = 'hollow'

In ON kvistr and ON kvísl, the medial /t/ and the terminal /l/ remain a problem. The 'twig' is taken to mean an offshoot of another feature and here possibly there is one creek that branches off the other.

The middle option ON kvísl seemed to be the best bet. topographically it works as inspection of the area reveals a very obvious fork in the bay. Cox (p259) cites l > /-/ in a terminal unstressed position (Bendilsfjall > Beinnisbhal) and that could be what is happening here.

Another option ON kjós vík = 'bay of the hollow' seems the best option and the cognate notes are supportive. The initial vowel sound is not ideal but all the other factors are in tis favour.

However experience is a great thing and in other places ScG cui- stems from ON kví = 'fold' but this noun does not have a genitival 's'. (ON kið = 'kid goat' does...)

The final option is with the meaning ON kussa + vagr = 'bay of the calves' a strong contender with regular development.

ON kvíst has the advantage of better cognomens with, in Norway, a Kvisvik and a Kvistvaag

'Kusa' or 'Kusdu' appears as the specific in at least seven Icelandic place names and there is a Kusmarvika in Norway but the etymology is unknown.

Kvísl is common as the start to Icelandic place names (c100) and Norwegian ones (c250) although somewhat surprisingly there are no cognates.

In Iceland there is a Kjósarvík whilst in Norway there are a Kjosvik, a Kjosavik and a Kjosarvik

Of the eight place names in Scotland containing 'Cuiseag' all are on the coasts; of Coll, Tiree, Uist or Lewis. As far as I am aware rye-grass is not a plant partciualrly associated with the coast.

Loch nan Cuiseag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Dearcnag

Place ID 5310 NF 83915 48064 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG loch of the berries

ScG loch dearcag

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

This is almost certainly a misprint perpetuated from the OS 1st edition and should read 'Loch Dearcag'. This equates with the 'signification' given by the OSNB, 'Loch of the Berries'. If not ScG cnag = 'bone' might be involved.

The /c/ was an addition by the surveyors.

I am not sure of the grammar but it seems to be one berry only!

To account for the strange spelling, ON djarfa knapp = 'bold hillock' would apply well to the mound just S of the loch.

The terminal p > g is unusual although p > b is regular in this position. ON knakkr = 'kind of little chair, stool' would avoid this problem and Knakk does occur as the initial element of seven place names in Norway including two simplex Knakken.

Dearcag occurs in 47 names on the OS 2nd series mapping spread across the Gaelic heartland.

Loch nan Dearcnag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Dearcnag

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Diasan

Place ID 862 NF 81850 62350 North Uist C1arinish

ScG loch of the reeds

ScG loch nan diasan

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book start us with The Loch of the long bladed grasses or reeds' based upon ScG dias = 'corn' or 'blade of a sword'.

An interesting but less likely variant would be the ON dysin = 'The cairn'.

Loch nan Diasan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Diasan

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Druidhneach

Place ID 1706 NF 89573 55869 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG loch of the 'Druidhneach'

ScG loch nan 'Druidhneach'

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Beinn nan Druinneach (P#1653) for a discussion on the 'Druidhneach' component.

Thomas has a different name, Loch na Leuma. ScG leuma = 'beer' or 'jump' in the genitive case.

Loch nan Druidhneach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Druidhneach

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Leuma

1861

Thomas chart

Loch nan Eun

Place ID 2101 NF 83774 67484 North Uist Central South

ScG loch of the birds

ScG loch + nan + eun

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

A common name occurring exactly as this name is recorded 21 times on the OS 2nd mapping.

A common name occurring exactly as this name is recorded 21 times on the OS 2nd mapping although surprisingly absent from mainland Argyll.

Loch nan Eun	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Eun	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch nan ian	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch nan' ian	1799	Reid mapping
L na Neen	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch nan Garbh Chlachan

Place ID	787	NF 86080 59990	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG loch of the rough stepping stones			ScG loch na gairbh chlachan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Garbh Chlachan			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nan Garbh Chlachan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nan Garnach

Place ID 1054 NF 75630 75180 North Uist Grim1inish

ScG loch of the ON dyke - hill

ScG loch nan + ON garðr hnakka

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This originally looked like a typo on the part of the OS but the alternative name given in the name book suggests it is not, although the name itself feels contrived. One can see Carmichael all over it. On the positive side, if he cannot find a close Gaelic name then it probably does not exist.

The best generic is ON hnakki = 'nape of neck' which has come to mean 'hill' or 'mountain' (NSnl). The specific could be ON garðr which means a variety of things but here I suspect it means 'wall' or more specifically 'dyke' as there is an obvious older one running just to the s of the loch.

Thus is the only name beginning with Garn- north of the Great Glen.

Loch nan Garnach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Garnach	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch nan Gearruicheann	1877	OS name book

Loch nan Geadh

Place ID	2598	NF 88996 70630	North Uist	Central South	
ScG loch of the geese			ScG loch + nan + geadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Geadh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nan Geadh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nan Gealag

Place ID	756	NF 86510 59380	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG loch of the sea-trouts			ScG loch nan gealag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Gealag			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nan Gealag			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nan Geireann

Place ID 32 NF 84750 72320 North Uist Central North

ScG loch of + ON The dykes

ScG loch nan + ON gerðin

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Beveridge gives us ScG loch of the weirs based upon ScG geàrran = 'weirs for catching fish'. The initial vowel sound is however odd.

The cognate notes are helpful indicating that with a name on Orkney, Geirbolls, the component can be Norse. The obvious choice is ON gerði = 'enclosed area or fence' or ON garðr = 'wall or fence' and it can be difficult to differentiate between these two.

The former is a better fit if we take the grammatical version ON gerðin = 'The dykes' (acc)

The first is topographical as important dykes arrive at the S of the loch, dykes that mark the boundary between the two parishes of North Uist. They then could leave to the E or follow the course of the river to the sea. The fact that three sea loch here has the same name indicates to me that this is the route of the dyke or boundary.

The second is that to get the final -an, we probably need a definite article and ON garðr produces ON garðinn whilst ON gerði produces ON gerðit in the singular (although it does produce ON gerðin in the plural).

Against this the development a > e is uncertain.

The most likely root here is ScG geàrran = 'weirs for catching fish' as there are weirs on the river between the two lochs here as it passes the mill. The OSNB is not too helpful with 'Loch of the Gerron Mill'

ScG geirnean also means 'trap' and would be a close fit....

There are 14 places on the OS 2nd edition mapping beginning with Geir all in a Norse speaking region with 9 on the Western Isles and one on Orkney.

In Norway there are eight examples of Gjerden and over 50 Garden names.

In Iclenad Gerði is a common place name as are Garður and Garðar.

Loch nan Geireann

2014

Modern OS mapping

L: na Gerry

1654

Blaeu mapping

Loch nan Geireann

Place ID 2407 NF 84624 73958 North Uist A1hmore

'Loch nan Geireann' 'Loch nan Geireann'

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Na Geireann (P#32), the adjacent fresh water loch for a discussion of the name.
It is somewhat odd to have the sea loch and the freshwater loch with the same name.

Loch nan Geireann	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Geireann	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch nan Geireann

Place ID 2490 NF 84743 72468 North Uist Central North

ScG loch of the fish weirs

Scg loch nan geàrran

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The most likely root here is ScG gearran = 'weirs for catching fish' as there are weirs on the river between the two lochs here as it passes the mill.

The initial vowel is not however good in terms of quality.

It is somewhat odd to have the sea loch and the freshwater loch with the same name.

Loch nan Geireann

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Geireann

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Geireann

Place ID 2602 NF 90511 68555 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG loch of the + ON The fish trap'

ScG loch nan + ON kerin

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

There are 11 places containing 'Geir' on the Outer Hebrides and only 4 in the rest of Scotland. All aside from one are on rivers leading to the sea or very near one and this indicates that they have as their root ScG geàrr = 'weir for catching fish' rather than the other meaning 'hare'. ScG geàrran = 'weirs' (and possibly the same for the genitive) then works well for the meaning as there are weirs present at both lochs of this name.

However the vowel is /ei/ not /eà/ and I can see no way to reconcile this unless there is a Uist variant of the word.

An alternative Norse option is ON geiri = 'triangular strip of land' or ON geirann = 'The triangular strip of land' in the accusative case. This would describe Scaalan well. A simpler form might be ON garð = 'The house'. With one of the islands named Eilean an Taigh, this would make some form of sense. I can see how ON á > ScG eà but not ScG ei.

The final possibility is ON gerðin = 'The enclosed fields' from ON gerði. There are certainly several enclosures almost created by the topography. All Cox's list of alternative forms of Geartha Bheag have /ei/ rather than /ea/ but he thinks the place name comes from ON gerða.

And then when you think it is all sorted things go almost full circle. Cox (p615) writes about Cearsadar, Lewis and unusually disagreeing with Oftedal suggest ON ker as the specific. And defines it as 'fish-trap', although Vigfusson is less clear with 'a tub, vessel... For fishing'. The definite plural nominative or accusative is ON kerin which now takes us back to ON weirs rather than ScG ones but explains the discrepancy in the initial vowel.

The Barra Geir- names are interesting - two small islets - and could well stem from ON geirr = 'spear'. Conversely Geirisgeodha on Boreray still has an enclosure marked on the OS mapping.

In Iceland ON gerði appears as a simplex name over 100 times with Gerðið (the singular definite accusative form) appears ten times. In Norway it is a relatively common name with Gjerda, the plural definite form, appearing over 30 times.

In Iceland there are

Rygh thinks Kjæren stems from ON kerin and there are four Kjæret names whilst in Iclenad there are 26 Ker names, 14 Kerið names (accusative definite) and six Kerin names.

Loch nan Geireann

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Geireann

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Gobhar

Place ID	2576	NF 88308 72755	North Uist	Central North	
ScG loch of the goats			ScG loch nan gobhar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Gobhar			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nan Gobhar			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nan Lach

Place ID 457 NF 85168 63106 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG loch of the wild ducks or reeds

ScG loch nan lach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG loch of the wild ducks

Although the wild duck here is often taken to refer to Mallard, I am up to four species of wild duck on this lochan and the name therefore seems to be appropriate!

However the word ScG lach also means phragmites reed and that is equally likely.

There are three other similar names on Uist.

Loch nan Lach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Lach	1877	OS 1st edition
Duck Loch	1861	Thomas chart
Loch na Lach	1861	Thomas chart

Loch nan Lach

Place ID 845 NF 85180 63100 North Uist Eaval

ScG loch of the wild ducks or ON hollow place ScG loch nam lach or ON lág

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst the above is the obvious Gaelic root, ON lág = 'hollow place' works well here as it does in other occurrences of ScG lach= 'wild duck' e.g. Griomasaigh.

Some of the other Lach places certiyalny do not seem connected with 'wild duck', places such as Gart na Lacha on Islay.

Loch nan Lach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Lach	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch nan Lach

Place ID 1827 NF 86892 45713 Benbecula W1iay

ScG loch of the wild ducks/reeds

ScG loch nan lach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ScG lach = 'wild ducks' and also 'phragmites reeds'. With the similarly named (or cartographical confusion) nearby Lochan nan Lachan, I would lean towards 'reeds'.

There are three other similar names on Uist and 39 Lach names on the OS 2nd edition.

Loch nan Lach

1866

Admiralty mapping

Loch nan Leac

Place ID	5543	NF 83281 48303	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG loch of the flagstones			ScG loch nan leac		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Flag Loch			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Loch nan Leac			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Loch nan Sgeireag

Place ID 6579 NF 79969 40672 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG loch of the place of stones ScG loch nan sgeir -ag

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

It is possible that the last word is ScG sgeireach = 'rocky' although then the article would be odd.
There are several lochs with this name in the area.

Loch nan Sgeireag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch nan Sgeireag	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch nan Smalag

Place ID 918 NF 82650 64490 North Uist Langass

ScG loch of the ON small hollow

ScG loch nan + ON smá lægð

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Otter was precise with his 'Cuddy loch'.

However ScG smalag = 'Saithe, cuddy, coalfish' which by my understanding are sea-fish and this loch is fresh water.

Perhaps it is a more generic word for young fish of any sort?

However the ON smá + lægð = 'small hollow' seems a much better topographical fit. ON lækr = 'stream' is an alternative that I think would be difficult to distinguish now although the reflex of the adjective possibly points towards the hollow interpretation.

There are four Loch nan Smalag (or Loch nan Smalag) in Scotland, all on Uist and all freshwater.

There are four Loch nan Smalag (or Loch nan Smalag) in Scotland, all on Uist and all freshwater.

In Iceland there is a Smálækir, two Smáralækur and the Smáralág although I am unsure where the /ra/ has come from.

Loch nan Smalag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Smalag

1877

OS 1st edition

Cuddy loch

n/a

Loch nan Smallag

Place ID 126 NF 95905 72903 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch of the ON small hollow

ScG loch nan + ON smala læg

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ScG smalag = 'Saithe, cuddy, coalfish' which by my understanding are sea-fish and this loch is fresh water. Perhaps it is a more generic word for young fish of any sort?

However the ON smá + lægð = 'small hollow' seems a much better topographical fit. Better might be ON læk = 'stream' in the accusative case.

The useful Norskstadnamnleksikon site gives this definition: 'Stream, preferably a deep with weak current'; also about a collection of water in a swamp and (after place names) about small extensions, loner, in smaller streams.'

The /ll/ might hint at ON smali = '(small) cattle' as the specific or ON smalr = 'small' on Wiki but about which I can find no details.

There are two Smalalækur place names in Iceland. But see Loch nan Smalag (P#918) for more cognate notes.

Loch nan Smallag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Smallag

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Smallag

Place ID 6363 NF 74745 34958 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG lkae of the + ON small hollow

ScG loch nan + ON smala læg

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch nan Smallag (P#126) in Lochportain for a discussion of that name.

Loch nan Smallag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Smallag

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Strùban

Place ID 2511 NF 80721 64690 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG loch of the streams

ScG loch nan struban

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

So named presumably as many streams enter the loch.

However the OS name book gives us 'the Cockrel Loch' which is unlikely as the loch is freshwater.

This is I think an example as seen elsewhere of the confusion of ScG srùban = 'cockle' and ScG sruthan = 'brook'.

Loch nan Strùban

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch nan Struban

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Teang

Place ID 332 NF 78400 62150 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG loch of the spits of land

ScG loch nan teangan

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Could this possibly be a ping name?! Probalby not with the Gaelic 'g ' to end. A good mound here however in the form of a ruined dun - Dùn Mór.

Loch nan Teang

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch nan Teang

Place ID	2215	NF 78396 62151	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG loch of the spits of land			ScG loch nan teangan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Teang			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	
Loch nan Teang			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch nan Uan

Place ID	6157	NF 73914 25266	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG loch of the meadows			SCG loch nan lian		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch nan Uan			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch nan Uan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Nighe

Place ID 363 NF 85850 58170 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG washing loch ScG loch nighe

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Presumably the loch where washing (of clothes?) took place, although there is the possibility of this being part of a tanning process with the possible salt-pans nearby (see Loch na Cartach for more details).

Loch Nighe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Nighe	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch na h-Airde	1861	Thomas chart

Loch Nighe

Place ID 980 NF 91670 66770 North Uist Lees

ScG washing or ON near-heath + ScG loch ScG loch + ScG nighe or ON ná-heiðr

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Presumably the loch where washing (of clothes?) took place, although there is the possibility of this being part of a tanning process with the possible salt-pans nearby (see Loch na Cartach for more details).

It is the nearest freshwater loch to the various settlements in the area.

The Loch Nigheadh on Benbecula might give us a further clue. The root here could be ON ná - heiðr = 'near-heath'. This would-be a good description of the area of this loch as it is near the coastal strip and presumably then the associated housing.

The distribution of names is interesting with a total of eleven other Loch Nighe on the OS 2nd edition mapping, two on Harris and the rest on Uist.

Not all are near current settlements.

There is also an Loch Nigheadh on Benbecula.

There is a Nahlið in Iceland showing that the prefix is used, here with ON hlið = 'slope'.

Loch Nighe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Nighe	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Nighe

Place ID 2406 NF 85371 74250 North Uist A1hmore

ScG washing loch ScG loch nighe

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Presumalby the loch where washing (of clothes?) took place.

Loch Nighe 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Nighe 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch Nighe

Place ID 5160 NF 77871 52635 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG washing loch

ScG loch nighe

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

A relatively common name

Loch Nighe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Nighe

1877

OS 1st edition

L. Nie

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Nighe

Place ID	5306	NF 81794 48856	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG washing loch			ScG loch nighe	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water				<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Nighe			1877	OS 1st edition
Cattle Loch			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Loch an Niche			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch Nighe

Place ID 5418 NF 82327 55628 Benbecula Rueval

ScG washing loch

ScH loch nighe

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Loch Nighe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Nigh

1877

OS name book

Loch Nighe

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Nighe

1861

Thomas chart

Washing Loch

1861

Thomas chart

Loch Nighe

Place ID	6181	NF 74015 23733	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG washing loch			ScG loch nighe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Nighe			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Nighe			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Nigheadh

Place ID 5265 NF 87210 49697 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG washing loch ScG loch nigheadh

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The more usual is Loch Nighe but this means the same.

Loch Nigheadh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Nigheadh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Nighe	1877	OS name book
Loch Nighe	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch Nighean Iain 'ic Mhurchaidh

Place ID 5068 NF 82738 44380 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG loch of the daughter of John son of Murdo ScG loch nighean Iain mhc Mhurchaidh

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The literal interpretation is ScG loch of the daughter of John son of Murdo.

Loch Nighean Iain 'ic Mhurchaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Nighean Iain 'ic Mhurchaidh	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Nikkar

Place ID 2640 NF 93012 82276 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigrearraidh

ON near thicket + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON hnjúkr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This could be a Loch Nighe = 'washing loch' but the 'k' sound is not a good fit.

I suspect that the root is in fact a simplex ON hnjúkr = 'knoll', possibly the nearby Cnoic Gunna, and the 'loch' was added to name the small tarn here.

Nikkur in Iceland.... All to do with a water spirit!

Hnjúkur occurs as a simplex name 11 times in Iceland and Hnjúkar 15 times. There are many more occurrences as the specific.

Loch Nikkar

1877

OS 1st edition

L. Nicar

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Obasaraigh

Place ID 810 NF 89590 61570 North Uist Eaval

'Obisary' + ScG loch ScG loch + 'Obisary'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Obisary (P#824) for a discussion on that element.
I suspect the name has 'spread' from the original settlement site.

Loch Obasaraigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Obisary	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Obisary	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Loch Obisary	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch Obisary	1799	Reid mapping
L. OPSAY	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch Olabhat

Place ID 1052 NF 74890 75340 North Uist Griminish

ScG loch + 'Olabhat'

ScG loch + 'Olabhat'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

There are three Loch Olabhat's on Benbecula. For a discussion see [Loch Olabhat \(P#5132\)](#), Torlum.

Loch Olabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Loch Ulabhat	1984	The Hebridean Connection
--------------	------	--------------------------

Loch Olavat	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Loch Olabhat

Place ID 5132 NF 79983 50937 Benbecula T1orlum

ON lake of the hillocks + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON hóla vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ON Ólafs vatn = 'Olaf's lake' is the common root given by e.g. Beveridge 1911 (p109) but it is odd that the genitival /s/ has disappeared although a few of the Olaf names from Iceland do start Olafar (13 out of c170 names)

I ponder if in fact the root is from ON hóla = 'of the hillocks' or ON hola = 'hollow (adj)' although an adjective in place names come to mean 'place of hollow' in this case. It is difficult to see however a lake described as hollow.

The only phonological problem is whether ó > o. It is possible that if there is a hiatus after the /O/. With some of the earleir forms having /ll/ e.g. Bald mapping Loch Ollevate, this would cause the /o/ to lengthen as part of the Gaelic structure creating a sound as in English home (IPA [o:]?). Others with this name also have a/ll/ and Carmichael even suggests /òll/ in one case.

The cognate notes convince me of the ON hóla option and in particular the Loch Holavat on Lewis is encouraging.

A name that occurs at three times on Benbecula with two of the largest lochs on Benbecula bearing the name. There is another at Griminis, North Uist.

There is a Loch Holavat in Lochs, Lewis.

There are four Ólafsvatn in Iceland and two Olavvatnet and four Ola(v)svatnet in Norway

In Iceland there is a Hólavötn and seven Hólavatn and in Norway there are 12 Holvatnet, three Holevatnet, two Holsvatnet and five Holavatnet.

Loch Olabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Olavat	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Ollevate	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch Ollevate	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Olabhat

Place ID 5342 NF 80536 50229 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG loch + 'Olabhat' ScG loch + 'olabhat' ScG?
Fresh water Lake ON?
 complete?

One of three Loch Olabhat's on Benbecula. For a discussion of the name see Loch Olabhat (P#5132) near Torlum.

Loch Olabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Òllabhat	1877	OS name book
Loch Olavat	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Olabhat	1877	OS name book
Loch Ollevate	1877	OS name book
Loch Ollevate	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch Ollevate	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Olabhat

Place ID 5402 NF 81187 54440 Benbecula Rueval

ScG l.och + 'Olabhat'

ScG loch + 'Olabhat'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

One of three Loch Olabhat's on Benbecula. For a discussion of the name see Loch Olabhat (P#5132) near Torlum.

Loch Olabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Loch Olavat	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Loch Olabhat	1861	Thomas chart
--------------	------	--------------

Loch Olaidh an Ear

Place ID 6282 NF 76724 31198 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON peninsula of the hills + ScG ake of the east ScG l och ON hóla ey + ScG an ear

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

It seems likely that this shares a root with the three Loch Olabhat names on Benbecula.

There are now three Loch Olaidh names but the old mapping indicates that they were once part of one extensive waterway stretching from Rubh' Aird-mhicheil in the W to Beinn a' Charra in the E.

The specific on first appearance would be ON ey = 'island' but that seems unlikely. However as seen with Lamasaigh names (coincidentally due E), it can also mean peninsula.

If the generic is the same as Olabhat, ON holl = 'hill', then we have 'peninsula of the hills'. Looking at the contours, Beinn a' Charra does stick out from the rest of the mountain range and could be so described.

An alternative explanation is with their almost reaching shore to shore, it could be that the name of the loch is reflected in the name with ON eið = 'isthmus' being the generic. The obvious specific would still be ON hóla = 'of the hills'. This also then makes good topographical and phonetic sense.

Of particular interest is the full definition of ON eið with regard to place names in NG where he writes 'the word is also seen in earlier times to have had another, related meaning 'a stretch, shorter or longer, where one had to take the route over Land instead of the Water or Ice Road, which was otherwise used so far due to the faulty nature of the Roads. as possible' (with apologies for google translate). The idea of using portage of boats across the island here has often been talked about. Perhaps here is some evidence.

Stewart Angus has written about this in various journals.

This said, ON eið is a slightly further distance away phonologically than ON ey and so I prefer the former.

In Iceland there is a Hólaey and five Hóley place names whilst in Norway there are four Holøya and two Holøyen place names.

Loch Olaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Olaidh an Ear	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Ollay	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Holla	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch Olaidh an Iar

Place ID 6773 NF 73931 32646 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG west lake 'Olaidh'

SCG loch + 'Olaidh' + ScG an iar

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Loch Olaidh an Ear (P#6282) for a discussion of the central component of what is now three lakes.

Loch Olaidh an Iar

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Olaidh Meadhanach

Place ID 6275 NF 75553 31515 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Olaidh' + ScG middle loch

ScG loch + 'Olaidh' + ScG meadhanach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Loch Olaidh an Ear (P#6282) for a discussion of the central component.

Loch Olaidh Meadhanach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Ollay

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Hollay

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Phaibeil

Place ID 2234 NF 72146 68651 North Uist B1ayhead

'Phaibeil' + ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Phaibeil'

S1alt water

Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of Phaibeil (P#2223) see that place name.

Loch Phaibeil	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Loch Paible	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Loch Phaibil	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Loch Portain

Place ID 143 NF 93932 71311 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG loch + ON The firth

ScG loch + ON fjörðin

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The OS name book provides a helpful 'Portan Loch' and Beveridge writes 'of the little port' based one imagines on the suffix ScG -an = 'little'. An alternative seen elsewhere is based on ScG portan = 'shore crab'.

The lack of a definite article rings some alarm bells. With the wealth of Norse names about, this important feature was clearly known to them.

Remembering the 'sh' sound inserted between the 'r' and the 't', I suggest a good alternative is ON borg + steinn = 'stone dwelling of the fort'. b>p is cited by Watson as possible but not typical.

At the head of the loch here are two duns. One is locally called Dun Nighean Rìgh Lochlain = 'fort of the daughter of the King of Norway' and is an impressive structure whilst the other is on a larger island which has some unusual defensive features about which Beveridge writes 'we are not aware of a similar plan having been adopted in connection with any fort.' The OS surveyors in 1965 wrote 'A medieval farmstead, which has been built on and around the dun, consists of the greatly mutilated remains of two almost rectangular buildings built against the outer wall, and an oval building which has been built in the interior.'

The description of 'stone dwelling of the fort' is quite convincing.

An alternative ignoring the /sh/ sound would be ON borg tún = 'fort dwelling' and this has a real resonance with the site here. The cognate notes are convincing too.

Hold that page. I think the actual result is much simpler. Two of the major six sea lochs on the E coast of Uist end in -port and this is generally acknowledged to come from a root of ON fjörðr = 'firth'

The definite accusative case is ON fjörðin which is a pretty good match in all aspects.

There are two Borgarsteinn in Iceland and a Borgarsteinen in Norway.

In Iclenad there are twenety Borgartún and in Norway four Borg(e)tun

On Tiree is a Bordain which Holliday thinks derives from ON borða stein = 'boundary stone'. This is very similar to the Uist Portain.

The distibution of the Portan place names (excluding on the OS 2nd editon is as follows: Ob nam Portan, Kyleakin; Poll nam Portan, Vallay Sound; Poll and Sgeir Poll nam Portan, Stornoway harbour; Sgeir nam Portan, Kildonnan. There are no other Portain names.

In Iceland there are four places names Fjörður and one Fjörðurinn whilst in Norway there are five Fjorden place names, an exact cognate.

Loch Portain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Portin	1877	OS name book
Loch Portain	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Portan	1877	OS name book
Loch Partan	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
Loch Portan	1832	Thomson atlas
L. Partin	1806	Stockdale mapping
Loch-Portan	1799	Reid mapping
Loch Partin	1789	Ainslie mapping
L. Partan	1751	Dorret mapping

L. Patran

1714

Moll map

Loch-Partan

1703

Martin book

Loch Ravan

Place ID 435 NF 84690 57070 North Uist Griomasaigh

Scoggy grass ScG loch rabhan

Fresh water Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Dwelly has the following definition: ScG rabhan = ' Kind of grass that grows in still water, which sheep often wade in to eat and are drowned' which is exactly what there is there.

Thomas has confused this loch with Loch Ligarry.

Loch Ravan

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Ròbach

Place ID 5202 NF 80668 48320 Benbecula Peter's Port

?ScG hairy loch

? ScG loch robach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Filthy Loch' which is a trifle extreme when ScG robach = 'scruffy'.

The accent however takes us to a different meaning of 'pertaining to or abounding in robes, robed'. This seems unlikely and so we could be looking for a different root.

Loch Ròbach

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Ròdhag

Place ID 6402 NF 75728 35294 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Ròdhag' + ScG lake ScG loch + 'Ròdhag'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Abhainn Ròdhag for a discussion of the last component.

Loch Ròdhag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Rothag	1877	OS name book
Loch Roag	1877	OS 1st edition
loch Roag	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Roinich

Place ID	6187	NF 74701 24732	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG loch of the bracken			ScG loch roinich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Roinich			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Roinich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Roinich

Place ID	6334	NF 75325 33072	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG loch of the bracken			ScG loch roinich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Marsh			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Roinich			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Roinich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Ruabhal

Place ID 6556 NF 78561 39810 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Ruabhal' + ScG lake ScG loch + 'Ruabhal'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Ruabhal (P#6577) for a discussion of that element.

Loch Ruabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Loch Ruibhal	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Loch Rueval	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Loch Rubh' an Anairt

Place ID 1899 NF 78080 54491 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG loch of the promontory of the old chapel site ScG loch rubha na h-annaid

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'the linen point Loch' which is a literal translation using ScG annaid = 'linen'. However with the nearby Teampall Challuim Chille, ScG annaid = 'old church site' must be the real root, even though the pronunciation would be different as Gaelic inserts an 'sh' between the 'r' and the 't' here. Also the ScG an = 'of the' is not correct but could have been adjusted to fit the ScG anart = 'linen'.

This loch was probalby more extensive of old and probably included the island with the chapel on. This is how it is shown on Blaeu's map of 1654.

There is a Cnoc an Anairt on Islay close to two old chapels and near the seat of power at Finlaggan.

There is a Sruthan an Anairt leading down to Tarbert Bay on Jura, again the site of an early chapel.

Interestingly both these chapels have Challuim-chille as their name, although this is not unusual!

There are no Anniad names recorded on the OS 2nd edtion mapping.

Loch Rubh' an Anairt	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Rudh' an Anairt	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch an Anairt	1877	OS name book

Loch Runabhat

Place ID 2236 NF 73074 69415 North Uist B1alranald

ON lake of the ruins + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON hruna vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Beveridge gives us 'Norse, rúna-vatn or 'loch of the counsellor' and reminds us it is close to Aird an Runair. To my mind ON hruna = 'of the ruins' is more suitably prosaic.

ON hraun = 'rough stony ground' is tempting but au > u would not be regular

There is no obvious linkage to the Aird an Runair site and so the two places do not need to share a root.

For the referent there was a souterrain here (now lost) and Cuithe Lianaclett to the S is a place of interest.

On a totally different tack, is it possible it could come from ScG Ru' na Bhata = 'promontory of the boat' - Loch Paible and the sea are only a kilometre away?

Whilst nboth elements occur regulalry in lcvleand an dNorway there si no cognate.

Loch Runabhat

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Raonafad

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Loch Runavat

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Sandaraigh

Place ID 733 NF 73560 68280 North Uist B1ayhead

'Sandary' + ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Sandaraigh'

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

see Sandary (P#735) for a disucssino of that element.

Loch Sandaraigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Sandary

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Sanndaraigh

Place ID 2473 NF 80977 74293 North Uist Central North

ON sheiling of sandy ground + ScG loch ScG loch + ON sanda ærgi

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The root here is clear - ON sanda + ærgi = 'sheiling of the sandy ground'.

There is another Loch Sandary near Bayhead, North Uist.

Not surprisingly the distribution of names beginning with Sanda- show a very strong bias to the Norse areas.

In Iclenad there is a Sandsel, a close cognate. In Norway, there are 22 names of the form Sandsetr where ON sætr has a distinct but similar meaning to ON ærgi.

Loch Sanndaraigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Sandary	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Scalan

Place ID 181 NF 96317 07678 North Uist B1aleshare

'Scalan' + ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Scalan'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

See Scalan for details

Loch Scalan 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Scalan 1877 OS name book

Loch Sgalain 1877 OS name book

Loch Scolpaig

Place ID 30 NF 73350 75240 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG loch + ON 'Scolpaig'

ScG loch + 'Scolpaig'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Details of the Norse root of Scolpaig (P#117) can be found under that place.

Loch Scolpaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

L: Scolpik

1654

Blaeu mapping

Loch Scolpaig

Place ID 1119 NF 73020 75000 North Uist S1colpaig

'Scolpaig'+ ScG lake ScG loch + 'Scolpaig'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion on 'Scolpaig' see that place (P#1117)

Loch Scolpaig 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Scolpeg 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch Scorrán

Place ID 6743 NF 78827 46906 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON The notch + ScG lake

Scg loch + ON skorin

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This has the feel of a Norse second component. ON skorin = 'The notch or rift in the rocks'. This is not impossible topographically.

Loch Scorrán	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Scorrán	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Scorrain	1877	OS name book

Loch Screanadale

Place ID 5343 NF 81439 50659 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON valley of the scree + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON skriðunnar dal

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The generic of the second component is clear ON dalr = 'valley'.

A possible specific would be ON skriða = 'scree' or more particularly the definitive genitive reflex ON skriðunnar.

Topographically there is no obvious scree here however.

Loch Screanadale

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Screanadale

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Screanadail

1877

OS name book

Loch Seilich na Cartach

Place ID 447 NF 86920 55840 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG bark of the willow loch

ScG loch seilich na cartach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Loch of the poplar bark' but my understanding is that ScG seilich = 'of the willow'. With a nearby Loch na Cartach, this is possibly some evidence for the presence of the tanning process as willow bark was used to create a tanning solution.

The combination seems a little odd. I wonder if 'na cartach' is in fact one onomastic unit. That would explain the presence nearby of Loch 'na Cartach'.

Loch Seilich na Cartach

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Sgadabhagh

Place ID 954 NF 87900 66280 North Uist Lees

ON way of small crafts + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON skúta veg

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Beveridge proposes both ON skaða-vatn = 'loch of disaster' or ON skatt-vatn = 'tax-loch' - both his translations. The ending is odd as one expects ON vágr = 'bay' when this is a freshwater loch.

However whilst Blaeu gave us the traditional Skaddavat, the OS 1st series gave us Scadavay. An unusual ending. One wonders if the Blaeu name is a transcription error, 'correcting' the name to fit the norm of /vat/

It suggests a different generic.

One possible way around this is ON skúta = 'small craft' about which Vigfusson writes 'a small craft or cutter; a number of such used to accompany a fleet for use in rivers or on the coasts; they were distinguished from the byrðingar or ships of burden, which carried the supplies'. It is possible these small craft were stored on this extensive meandering 10km long loch and it was almost treated as an extension of the sea.

This then opens up ON vegr = 'way' as the generic and the whole means 'way of the small craft'

At the N it is 300 m across land to Loch nan Geireann which adjoins the sea. At the S end it is 250m across land to Loch Euphort and so for c500m portage you can go from Loch Euphort to the N coast of North Uist.

In Iceland there are three Skútavík whilst in Norway there is a Skutevågen, 23 Skutvik(a) and 31 Skutevik(a/en).

In Norway there is a Skutervegan and a Skutervegan. In Iceland there is a close cognate Skúabraut a Skútuvogur (but a feature described as Vegir) and a Skútavegur.

I believe Loch Hiùrabhagh could share the same generic.

Looking at the OS 2nd series mapping, there are 46 names containing /avay/. Three on Orkney (all Mavay), Loch Liuravay on Skye and the rest on the Outer Hebrides.

Loch Sgadabhagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Scadavay	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Scadowa	1832	Thomson atlas
Loch Scadowa	1799	Reid mapping
L. SKADDAVAT	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch Sgàpal

Place ID 187 NF 95359 69398 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Sgàpal' + ScG loch ScG loch + 'Sgàpal'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Scàpar (P#4990) for a discussion of the element.

Loch Sgàpal 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Scaapar 1877 OS 1st edition

Loch Scaper 1858 Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Loch Sgaraigh

Place ID 568 NF 71790 70560 North Uist B1alranald

ON notch isthmus + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON skarð + eið

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ON eið = 'isthmus' describes the narrow neck of land between the freshwater lochs here very well. The specific is less clear although the best is probably ON skarð= 'notch or cleft' producing overall 'notch isthmus'.

Topographically this makes sense as there is still a ditch connecting Loch Sgairigh to Loch Croghearraidh. This however fails to take into account the fact the dun is also named Dun Scarie.

Another different possible root would be ON skúra + ey = 'island of the sheds' and with an island covered in an old dun present, this is my preferred option. There is a problem with the length of the first vowel.

Beveridge(p190) suggests 'Zachary, a common name in the Macaulay sept' which has ScG sgaire as its Gaelic version and would work well.

The dun here bears the same name and as these historic sites tend to be old, then I prefer the Norse option. Of the two, ON skarð is my preferred one as it sounds closer.

Loch Sgaraigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Scarie

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Sgealtair

Place ID 2589 NF 89501 68670 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON shield river + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON skjald + á

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

One must remember there is a Sgealtrabhal (q.v.) 3 km to the NW and it probalby shares a root.

Perhaps indeed not just a root but a river as the main river that leaves the loch just to the S of Sgealtrabhal then goes into Loch Sgealtair before heading to the sea.

The only evenly round object in the area, to match Rygh's understanding of ON skjaladar in topographical terms, is the hill itself and so ON skjaldar fjáll (or possibly ON hváll = 'hill') = 'mountain of the shield makes good sense both topographically and phonetically.

Here then the river name could be ON skjald-á = 'shield river' and the long á would produce an 'ar' sound.

It is possible that the specific is ON tjörn = 'tarn' but is difficult then to see the linkage to the shield.

Rygh evidences a river name involving Skjald and in Iceland there is a cognate Skjaldará and a Skjoldåna in Norway. Of the six names including Skeal on the OS 2nd edition, one is on Skye, two North Uist and three on Lewis evidencing the Norse nature of the name.

Loch Sgealtair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Skealtar	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Sgeireach

Place ID	6364	NF 74404 34062	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG lake of the place of rocks			ScG loch sgeire -ach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Sgeireach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Loch Sgeireach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Loch Sgileabhat

Place ID 1123 NF 72450 74820 North Uist S1colpaig

ON dividing lake + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON skilja vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The second component is clearly Norse with the generic being ON vatn = 'lake'. Beveridge gives us (p109) 'perhaps skilja-vatn, 'dividing loch'.'

With Scolpaig nearby, initially I suspected that the roots for the specific are the same ON skjól = 'shelter' although I was concerned about the 'ea' unless the genitive plural form ON skjóla = 'of the shelters' is used.

Listening to the pronunciation of ScG sgilear as an example, in the end I think that Beveridge is right and the root is ON skilja = 'a device that separates something from something else' in a modern Icelandic dictionary.

There is a cognate Skiljevattnet in Sweden and a cognate Skellevatnet in Norway.

Loch Sgileabhat

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Skilivat

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Sgiopoir

Place ID 70 NF 84840 38710 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON fiord (?) of ships + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON skipa fjorð

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The above interpretation seems to be the accepted one. If however we accept ON djupr vik as the Norse name for the loch (see Loch Druidibeag) then we need this name to mean something else. ON skip = 'ship' or better ON skipa = 'of ships' still makes sense and ON port = 'gate' would give 'gate of ships', a not unreasonable name for the entrance to the shortcut through Loch Bi.

The similar looking Loch Euphort on North Uist was named Loch Eford on the OS 1st series and as Lochewot in 1628 and so likely to have a different root.

Rygh mentions port as having two possible meanings. One is the loan of the AS word meaning 'port' which would work well here whilst he also cites 'gate' as above.

It is a relatively common component of Norwegian place names (c200)

Loch Sgiopoir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Skiport	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Sgiport	1877	OS name book
Loch Skyport	1877	OS name book
Loch Skiport	1804	Bald mapping
Loch Skyport	1789	Ainslie mapping
LOCH SKIBBORT	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch Sgioport

Place ID 6525 NF 82383 38907 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG 'Sgioport' + ScG lake

ScG loch + 'Sgioport'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

See Loch Sgioport (P#70) for a discussion of this name. This place refers to a small settlement rather than the sea loch.

Lochskipport

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Sgioport

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Sheileabhaig

Place ID 6594 NF 83950 40765 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON bay of the herrings + ScG loch

Scg loch + ON síla vág

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The generic is clear as ON vágr = 'bay'.

Sheildaig on the NW coast of the mainland is thought to come from the ON for 'herring bay' and the same specific would make sense here, ON síl = 'herring' is a variant on the more usual ON síld.

One imagines the genitive plural to be ON síla which works well with the name and the topography.

The /h/ would be an effect of lenition in the conversion to Gaelic process.

It is interesting to note that whilst there are seven place names in Iclenad beginning with Síld- there are two beginning with Síli- and around 40 beginning with Síla, including one Sílavík.

In Norway there is one Sílvík and seven Sílvíka place names but over 70 names beginning with Síldvík-.

Loch Sheileabhaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Kyleswavey	1877	OS name book
Loch Shelliva	1877	OS name book
Loch Sailebghagh	1877	OS name book
Loch Chillavag	1877	OS name book
Loch Sheilavaig	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Shealvag	1877	OS name book
Loch chillavagh	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Shior Thomais

Place ID 1152 NF 90930 68430 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG Sir Thomas' loch ScG Loch Shior Thomais

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I would love to know who Sir Thomas was!

Loch Shior Thomais	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------------	------	-------------------

Loch Shior Thomais	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------------	------	----------------

Loch Shnathaid

Place ID 4939 NF 82758 42542 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON narrow bay + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON *snæfa vág

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

If an 'h' was added to the end, then to my ears this sounds very similar to Snavaig as part of Ob Beul Snaviag on Griomasagih.

But why add the /h/? I suspect it is an ON eið = 'isthmus' name and the referent is the isthmus at NF 8258 4281 in the loch.

Although ON snær = 'snow' is very tempting there is no reason for 'snow' to be here. A better solution that works phonetically is ON snæfa + eið = 'narrow or close-fitting isthmus'.

Being broad the /th/ sounds as simply /h/.

The OS name book gives us 'The Loch of the Needle' based upon ScG snàthad = 'needle'. Quite why this loch might be needle like I am unsure.

Loch Shnathaid	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Snathaid	1877	OS 1st edition
Lochnaid	1877	OS name book
Loch Navid	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Sigean

Place ID 1013 NF 94700 66430 North Uist Lees

ScG lake of the large ditch

ScG loch sigean

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

I am unsure how the OS name book arrived at 'Loch with a Ford' for this feature. However ScG sigean = 'of the large ditches (that often dry in summer)' would work well.

ON síkin = 'the ditches' and one wonders if this is a word the Gaels loaned as there are no signs of it in early Irish.

It could be that the feature referred to is the valley that cuts across the headland here to Ardmaddy on the N coast.

In Norway there are 11 simplex Sikan(e) place names whilst in Iceland there are six Sikið, one Sikin and 49 Siki.

There are no other instances of Sigean on the OS 2nd edition mapping however the three instances of place names beginning with Sige are all on Uist.

Loch Sigean	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Sigean	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Sigein	1877	OS name book

Loch Siginis

Place ID 149 NF 92315 71715 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON ditch headland +ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Siginis'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

See Siginis for details.

An extensive loch that the OSNB writes Knock Alioter as a prominent but small knoll situate on the coast of Loch Sheaginish.'

Loch Siginis

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Siginish

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Snigiscleit

Place ID 6165 NF 80099 25107 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON crag of the rounded summit + ScG lake ScG loch + ON hnjúks klett

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The generic is clear ON klettr = 'crag'.

Loch Sniogrivat (P#1109) for a discussion of the first component of that place name. This would lead me to suspect that the specific is ON hnjúkr = 'rounded mountain peak' in its genitive form ON hnjúks with the hill called Mullach a' Ghlinn Mhòir, which could fairly be described as a round knoll-like summit, as the referent.

I am not totally convinced....

Loch Snigiscleit	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Sningsglade	1877	OS name book
Loch Snithisglait	1877	OS name book
Loch Snigisclett	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Snigoscleit	1877	OS name book
Loch Sniògis-cleit	1877	OS name book
Loch Sningsglade	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Snigrabhat

Place ID 5624 NF 63864 60887 North Uist Heisker

ON lake of the knoll-shaped hill + ScG loch

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This must share the root with Loch Sniogrivat (q.v. #1109) near Scolpaig, North Uist.

Loch Snigrabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Sniogravat	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Snigrabhat	1877	OS name book

Loch Sniogrivat

Place ID 1109 NF 73590 75880 North Uist Grim1inish

ON lake of the knoll-shaped hill + ScG loch ScG loch + ON hnjúkr vatn

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG Loch + ON snjóigr + vatn = Loch of the snowy water is Beveridge's suggestion (p199) and is a good fit phonetically. Quite why this small hidden away loch should be called snowy is unclear.

An alternative root for the specific is smjúga (to creep through a hole or opening) which describes the site well whilst snykr (a bad smell) is another possibility.

Holliday however opens up the discussion. 'Snoog or Sjnoogi is ON knúkr or knjúkr 'high knoll or peak hill-top'. In modern Icelandic hnjúkur. It usually denotes a hill whose top shapes into a knoll or peak.' (Jakobsen 1897, 76) '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, Marwick 1995 (1929), 353). Stewart also mentions it (p183). (http://www.tireemplacenames.org/barrapol/an_snoig/)

This is a good fit topographically and is phonetically close enough to work.

The development would go as follows hnjúkr vatn > hnökr vatn > shniogr I vatn > sniogrivat

There is another loch with exactly the same name on Heisker. No other names exist on the OS 2nd edition mapping starting with Sniog.

Loch Sniogrivat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Sniogrivat	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Sniongrabhat

Place ID 6087 NF 82012 73548 North Uist S1ollas

'Sniongrabhat' + ScG lake

ScG loch + 'Sniongrabhat'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This must have the same name as Loch Sniogrivat (P#1109 q.v.). There is another similarly names loch on Heisker. Thew topographical situation is very similar hidden between two peaks.

Loch Sniongrabhat

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Loch Sollas

Place ID 2444 NF 81366 75408 North Uist S1ollas

ON sun ridge + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON Sollas

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here Sollas is being treated as an onomastic unit.

Loch Sollas

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Sollas

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Spogary

Place ID 6279 NF 76160 31762 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON enclosure of the surlew + ScG lake ScG loch + ON spóa gerði

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Spóa appears as the start of over 60 place names in Iceland.

Loch Spogary	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Spogearraidh	1877	OS name book
Loch Spogary	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Spotail

Place ID 4940 NF 83262 36628 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG loch + spear hill

ScG loch + ON spjót dal

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The OS name book gives us "Loch of the Spectacles" although the closest I can find is ScG speuclan = 'spectacles' which does not look that close. It is also an odd name, especially bearing in mind the presence of the nearby Allt Spotal.

ON spjót dal = 'spear valley' and ON spjót hóll = 'spear hill' would work phonetically. Rygh writes that spjót is used of 'places where there is a protrusion that ends pointed, like a spearhead.' In Norway it can appear as Spjot-, Spjøt-, Spjut-, Spyt-. This would not be a bad description of the hill Beinn na h-Aire to the SE of Loch Spotal, with the valley in which Allt Spotal flows to its W or the valley enclosing the stream.

ON holmr is another possibility as this usually become Gaelicized as -al.

On the cognate evidence, I would lean towards the ON dalr version.

Spjót is the speciifc component of 11 place names in Iceland with one Spjótalág and a Spjóthólarif whilst Spjóthólmar which would have a similar meaning occurs three times In Norway there are seven Spjotedalen and one Spjotdalen.

Loch Spotail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Spotle	1877	OS name book
Loch Spotal	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Spótail	1877	OS name book
Loch na Spottle	1877	OS name book

Loch Stadhlaigearraidh

Place ID 6509 NF 76198 38167 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Stadhlaigearraidh' + ScG lake ScG .loch + 'Stadhlaigearraidh'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Stadhlaigearraidh (P#71) for a discussion of that component.

Loch Stadhlaigearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
South Loch Stilligarry	1877	OS name book
Loch Stilligarry	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Staolagearraidh	1877	OS name book
South Loch Stelligarry	1877	OS name book
South Loch Stelligary	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Steaphain

Place ID 2289 NF 75788 70156 North Uist Central West

ScG Stephen's loch

ScG loch Steaphain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The only other occurrence of Steaphain on the OS 2nd series mapping is a (near) island on the N side of North Ford.

Loch Steaphain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Steaphain

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Steineabhat

Place ID 611 NF 87510 74210 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ON lake of rocks + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON steina vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ON steina = 'of rocks' is the best option for the specific.

Loch Steineabhat

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Steinavat

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Stulabhal

Place ID 6203 NF 79936 22800 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Stulabhal' + ScG lake

ScG loch + 'Stulabhal'

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Stulabhal (P#6202) for a discussion of that element.

Loch Stulabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Staolabhal	1877	OS name book
Loch Stulaval	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Stulievaule	1877	OS name book

Loch Surtavat

Place ID 780 NF 91130 60550 North Uist Eaval

ON black lake + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON svarta vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Beveridge writes ON svarta-vatn = 'black loch' and this seems sensible echoing so many Gaelic Loch Dubh!

There is a Svartarvatn in Iceland and a lot of them in Norway with just under 300 places beginning with /Svartvat-/ and c200 Svartvatn(et) names.

Loch Surtavat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Surtavat	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Surtbha	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Loch Tarruinn an Eithir

Place ID 945 NF 87400 64740 North Uist Lees

ON isthmus of the heaps of seaweed or ScG hauli ScG loch + ON para + hranna + eið

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG tarraing = 'hauling' and so the OS name book 'Loch of the boat ha(u?)ling' makes sense. There is less than 100m to haul a boat into the loch from the tidal Oban Spònais here. This looks almost good although it is odd that it is close but not right and I would have expected the article to be between the Loch and Tarruinn.

However ON para= 'of seaweed' and ON hranna = 'of the heaps or swathes of seaweed and shells along the beach' with ON eið = 'isthmus'.

Topographically there is an isthmus here between the loch and Oban Spònais and the kelp beds here will be extensive.

Tarruinn occurs nowhere else on the OS 2nd series and neither does Eithir

Loch Tarruinn an Eithir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Tarruinn an Eithir	1877	OS 1st edition

Loch Teanga

Place ID 6520 NF 81829 38312

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ScG loch of the tongue

ScG loch teanga

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Loch Teanga

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Teanga

1877

OS 1st edition

Tounges Loch

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Teargabhat

Place ID	225	NF 92448 73416	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ON lake	of the sheilings+	ScG loch	ScG loch + ON	ærgja vatn	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

As in Aird Thanais, a /t/ has been added here in the Gaelicization process.

An alternative, and perhaps simpler, alternative is the prefix ON hjarð- = 'shepherd's' although the /g/ is an issue but /g/ and /th/ are not too far away from each other.

Loch Teargabhat

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Thacleit

Place ID 138 NF 94982 71243 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Thacleit' + ScG loch

ScG loch + 'Thacleit'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

See Haclait (P#5203) for a discussion of the 'Thacleit' element. This mirrors the nearby Beinn Thacleit.

Loch Thacleit

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Hacklett

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Thòbadan

Place ID 6054 NF 82222 74934 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG loch + ON mound - lake

ScG loch + ON haug - vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The loch has now been drained.

I think that somewhat unusually for Uist, the /n/ has been retained after epenthesis between the /t/ and /n/ in the nominative or accusative ON vatn = 'lake'.

The ON haugr = 'mound' here would be the ruins of the Dùn Toloman.

In Iceland there are three Haugsvatn whilst in Norway there are ten Haug<-8;s2>vatnet.

Loch Thòbadan

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Loch Thorsageàrraidh

Place ID 5059 NG 04687 84069 Harris Harris general

ON enclosure of the mound + ScG lake ScG loch + ON haugs gerði

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The generic component of the second component is ON gerði = 'enclosure'.
In Gaelic an initial /th/ is sounded as /h/ and so the specific is possibly ON haugs = 'of the mound'.
There is a clear mound here at the W end of th loch and it has a dyke running around it.

In Norway there are seven Haug(e/-/a)gjerd(et) and two Haugsgjerd(et) place names.

Loch Thorsageàrraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Oshegary	1877	OS name book
Loch Thorsageàrraidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Bhoisegearmidh	1877	OS name book
Loch Othegarry	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Torcusay

Place ID	529	NF 76190 53110	B1enbecula	B1aile nan Cailleach	
ON island of the heathen cairn + ScG loch			ScG loch + ON hörgs ey		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

/t/ often replaces /h/ at the start of words in the Gaelicization and lenition process and so here the specific is ON hörgs = 'of the heathen cairn'. With the consonant cluster 'rgs' a vowel has been inserted as part of a process referred to as epenthesis.

The 'heathen cairn' must refer to Dun Torcusay, an impressive broch building although much stripped away in recent years.

An alternative is ON torgs = 'of the market' but the siting of a market on a small island seems odd.

Whilst both elements are common in Norway and in Iceland , I can find no cognate.

Loch Torcusay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Torcusay	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Torcasaidh	1877	OS name book
Loch Torciseidh	1877	OS name book

Loch Tormasad

Place ID 2523 NF 82021 65210

North Uist

Central South

ON tormasad' + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON 'Tormasad'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

See Loch Tormasad Beag for details

Loch Tormasad

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Tormasad

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Tormasad Beag

Place ID 920 NF 82640 65110 North Uist Langass

ScG small ON mountain pasture of the tarn ScG lo ScG loch ~+ ON tjarnar + set + ScG beag

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ON tjarnar = 'of the tarn' and ON setr = 'residence' make a good stab at Tormasad.

There is a nearby Loch Tormasad.

Beveridge suggests ON þormods vatn = Diarmad's loch

I am not totally convinced of either and would welcome any better suggestions. Over the months though, I must say I have warmed to the first interpretation.

There is a Tjarnarsel in Iceland and a Tjønnset in Norway

Loch Tormasad Beag	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------------	------	-------------------

Loch Tormasad Beag	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------------	------	----------------

Loch Toronais

Place ID 6229 NF 73703 30401 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON headland of the mounds + ScG lake

ScG loch + ON hörğa nes

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ON nes = 'headland ' must be the generic and the only appropriate referent is Rubha Àird a' Mhuile 2.5 km to the W. This has no Norse names but the problem is that there is also the nearby Bornais which must refer to the headland. It cannot have two Norse names and so we are left in a quandary.

There is another significant headland 2.5 km to the N with no Norse name, Rubh' Àird-mhicheil. One can only assume it refers to that one.

This leaves the specific. With the initial /t/ silent, I wonder if ON hörgr = 'pagan sanctuary' in the form ON hörğa = 'of the mounds' might work.

Canmore records (Canmore ID#337441) Two cairns are situated on unenclosed grassland behind the rocky shore. They may be prehistoric burial cairns. One is at NF 73040 33323, and measures 5 x 8m. It is largely turf-covered and stands up to 1.5m high. About 10m to the north is a second cairn, c. 6m in diameter, standing up to 1m high.' There was also a chambered cairn marked on the OS 1" but Canmore this is incorrect. Either way there are three possible mounds on the headland.

In Iceland there is a Hörğanes and two Hörğsnes place names

Loch Toronais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Torornish	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Thorarnis	1877	OS name book
Loch Torornish	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Trosabhat

Place ID 2258 NF 76700 67942 North Uist B1ayhead

ON lake of horse + ScG loch

ScH loch + ON hrossa vatn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Clearly the generic is ON vatn = 'lake' and the name is reminiscent of Trossary on South Uist.

A possible specific is ON hrossa = 'of horses'.

One wonders if the nearby Horaisearaidh shares the root too. It is interesting that this pair of names mirrors Dun Rosail and Hòrnais.

Loch Trosabhat

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Trosavat

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Treosbhat

1877

OS name book

Loch Trosaraigh

Place ID 96 NF 75930 17020 South Uist Lochboisdale

ON shieling of the horses + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON hrossa ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ON hrossa = 'of the horses' seems to work well as a specific as the initial /h/ often becomes a /t/. The nearby settlement is Trosaraidh with Dun Trossary there too. The loch just to the south is called Loch nan Capull - 'loch of the horses', a Gaelic version of the same.

The nearest I could find of a cognate is Rygh's Rossestøl, where ON stöðull is another variant on shieling. There is a Loch Trosovat on North Uist. There is also a Rosarie in Banff.

Loch Trossary	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Rossauy	1654	Blaeu mapping
Loch Trosaraigh	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch Tuim

Place ID	6106	NF 74142 29817	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG loch of the knoll			ScG loch tuim		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Loch Tuim			1804	Bald mapping	

Loch Uacrach nan Caorach

Place ID 5336 NF 83814 49295 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG upper loch of the sheep

ScG loch uachdar nan caorach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

I am no sure how 'uacrach' derives from ScG uachdar' but I am sure it does!

Loch Uacrach nan Caorach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Uacrach nan Caorach	1877	OS 1st edition
Lochs of the Hills	1832	Thomson atlas
Lochs of the Little Hills	1804	Bald mapping

Loch Uisdein

Place ID 2462 NF 80707 71838

North Uist

Central North

ON The dwelling + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON Vistin

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Abhainn Uisdein for details.

Loch Uisdein

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Uisdein

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Uiselan

Place ID 6740 NF 77760 45465 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

'Uiselan' + ScG lake

ScG loch + 'Uiselan'

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Dùn Uisealan (P#6741) for a discussion of the second component.
The Bald name Loch En Duine is a simpler 'loch of the dun'.

Loch Uiselan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Loch Uiselan

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch En Duine

1804

Bald mapping

Loch Uisgeabhagh

Place ID 556 NF 85810 51120 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON bay of the oxen + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON uxa vág

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The obvious solution is ScG loch uisge bhagh = 'loch of the bay of freshwater' although three mentions of water in one place seems extreme. ScG uisge refers to freshwater and so the bay could be somewhere that ships restocked on fresh water.

However if the loch was an inland stretch of water, then it works but why add 'loch' to 'bhaigh'?

This hints at a Norse root to me. ON vágr = 'bay' is the clear generic.

ON ú-skap = 'shapelessness' perhaps ON ú-skapa vág = 'bay of shapelessness's'. The problem is that the word does not seem to be one used elsewhere.

A simpler solution although more of a stretch phonetically is ON húsa = 'of the houses' This misses the /g/ sound but that could be the result of a desire for the Gaelic resemanticization creating ScG uisge.

Certainly it is a bay around which there were houses and ON hús makes a regular appearance in place names here.

Taylor's alternative is ON uxa vág = 'bay of oxen'. X > cs is regular but I am uncertain about x > sg. With metathesis gs > sg it would work and whilst this is not one that Cox lists (p115). However he does cite rs, ls and st as pairs that do perform metathesis (metathesise?!). So this one is clearly a good possibility. Everything thereafter is regular.

Uisgnaval on Harris looks ot share this root with the alternative plural genitive form of ON yxna. Interestingly it is the mountain adjacent to Oreval which could be 'sheep fell'.

Uisge Scoag near Loch Bochboisdale looks an interesting possibility for a Norse root too. ON uxa skóg = 'shady place of the oxen'?

There is a Uxavogur in Iceland.

Loch Uisgeabhagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Eskevagh	1877	OS name book
Loch Uisgebhaigh	1877	OS name book
Loch Wiskavay	1877	OS name book
Loch Uisgebhagh	1877	OS name book
Loch Uskivagh	1877	OS name book
Loch Uisgava	1877	OS name book
Bagh Uisgebhagh	1877	OS name book
Loch Uskivah	1877	OS name book
Loch Uskavagh	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Uisgebhaigh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Loch Uskevagh	1832	Thomson atlas
L. Uskevaugh	1806	Stockdale mapping
Loch Uskevagh	1804	Bald mapping
Loch Uskevagh	1789	Ainslie mapping
Viskway Bay	1751	Dorret mapping

Loch Ullabheag

Place ID 2251 NF 75323 69490 North Uist Central West

ON way of the hills + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON hóla veg

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The name is odd for a loch as one might have expected it to be coastal with some version of 'bay'.

/h/ often goes missing at the start of place names and replacing it gives us a specific of ON hóla = 'of the hills' and the obvious generic is ON vegr = 'way' or 'road'.

The loch is situated on one of the peat tracks disappearing into the hills here and one that then crosses the lowest point in the ridge of hills here before dropping down to Bhalaign and so this root would fit well topographically.

The only slight concern is the length of the initial vowel. This is resolved by the usual Gaelic lengthening of the vowel before a /ll/.

There is an adjacent Knock Ullaveg (P#5707)

The cognate Hólavegur occurs five times in Iceland along with Holevegen 12 times in Norway.

Loch Ullabheag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Ullaveg	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Cnoc Ullabhaig	1877	OS name book

Loch Veiligary

Place ID 1304 NF 92060 81910 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ON whale enclosure + ScG loch

ScG loch + ON hvala garði

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Loch Veiligary is at the head of Bays Loch. The name comes from ScG Loch + ON hvalr + garðr = 'loch of the enclosure of the whale'. The ScG loch has just been appended to a place known as ON hvala + garð.

Lindquist hypothesized that coastal inhabitants in Norway, from prehistoric to modern times, caught pods of small and middle-sized toothed as well as (solitary) larger baleen whales in inlets with a favourable topography which they improved upon and prepared for the enclosure and trapping of cetaceans through special precautions, arrangements/constructions (of wood, wattle work and stone), called ON hval + garðr = whale garth, that such a site was a special legal entity, in early to high medieval times called ON hval + vögr = whale voe, as distinct from the ON hval + vik whale creek which is merely a creek.

There is a Hvalgarður in Iceland adjacent to Rekavatn where Vigfusson defines Ic reka-strönd as 'a 'wreck-strand,' where whales or trees are driven ashore'.

Loch Veiligary

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Veyatie

Place ID 5072 NC 18323 13335 Mainland Assynt

ScG loch + ON fishing river

ScG loch + ON veiði á

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This loch is a long one feeding the Falls of Kirkaig, a well known salmon fishing river. The specific must be ON veiðar = 'fishing' indicating a continuity of use from the Norse period. The generic is less obvious with ON vatn = 'lake' or ON á = 'river', the latter looking like a better option with the combination occurring in modern Icelandic dictionaries. The only concern is the name Uidh Fheàrna which looks as if it too could contain a river name.

In Norway Veiå(a/na/i/æ) occurs six times.

Loch Veyatie	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Veyatie	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Meaty	1750	Roy Military Survey
Loch Meaty	1654	Blaeu mapping

Loch Vrug

Place ID 6230 NF 73757 30132 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON fort + ScG lake

ScG loch + ON borg

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Bald is the only source of this name and on modern mapping it is shown as part of Loch Toronais.

I suspect the root is ON borg = 'fort', either referring to the nearby Dùn Vùlan or, more likely, a fort in the loch that has now disappeared.

Loch Vrug

1804

Bald mapping

Locha Dubh

Place ID 2481 NF 82042 72273 North Uist Central North

ScG black loch

ScG lochan dubh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

I am not sure where the 'a' come from as it is not in the genitive here. It does seem to refer to several lochs and so ScG lochan would be expected

Locha Dubh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Locha Dubh

1877

OS 1st edition

Locha Dubh Fhalasgaidh

Place ID 5338 NF 85009 49542 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhaigh

ScG black loch of the muirburn

ScG locha dubh fhalasgaidh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ScG falgadh = 'muirburn' is the clue here. I am not sure why there is the /a/ at the end of Locha.

There s confusion here with precisely which loch is which. Thomas calls this Loch na Gearr Amhuinn, the modern day Loch na Geàrr-abhainn, to the S.

Locha Dubh Fhalasgaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Locha Dubh Fhalasgaidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Short River Loch

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch na Gearr Amhuinn

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Loch Doulochdrimlich

1804

Bald mapping

Lochan Airidh Ghiùg

Place ID 5322 NF 80127 49398 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON rift + ScG shieling loch

ScG loch àirigh + ON gjögr

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

ON gjögr = 'rift' is a common Icelandic name but not obvious topographically here unless referring to the S ford or Ath Leathan.

As a simplex name Gjögur occurs 19 times and the similar Gjögrin twice in Iclenad

Lochan Airidh Ghiùg

1877

OS 1st edition

Lochan Airigh nic Dhomnuill h-Earaich

Place ID 874 NF 81990 60940 North Uist C1arinish

ScG small loch of the sheiling of the daughter of D ScG lochan àirigh nic Dhomnuill h-Earaich

Fresh water Lake

Not a short name.

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Lochan Airigh nic Dhomnuill h-Earaich 2014 Modern OS mapping

Loch Airidh nic Dho'uill h-Earaich 1877 OS 1st edition

Lochan Beag

Place ID 6397 NF 74990 35038 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG little small lake

ScG lochan beag

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

This seems slightly over the top in terms of smallness for a lake that is not that small.

Lochan Beag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lochan Beag an Ob Shàile

Place ID	5305	NF 81322 48935	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG small lochan of the salt-water creek			ScG lochan beag an òb shàile		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lochan Beag an Ob Shàile			1877	OS 1st edition	

Lochan Cnoc an Amhaire

Place ID 6659 NF 80776 43026 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG lakes of 'Cnoc an Amhairc' ScG lochan cnoc an amhairc

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Cnoc an Amhaire (P#1150) for a discussion of that element.

Lochan Cnoc an Amhaire	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lochan Cnoc an Amhairc	1877	OS 1st edition

Lochan Creag Corra-ghritheach

Place ID 5437 NF 86768 53966 Benbecula Rueval

'Creag Corra-ghritheach' + ScG small loch ScG lochan + 'Creag Corra-ghritheach'

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

'Creag Corra-ghritheach' (P#5436) is an onomastic unit here.

Lochan Creag Corra-ghritheach	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------------------------	------	----------------

Loch nan Cisteachan	1861	Thomas chart
---------------------	------	--------------

Chest Loch	1861	Thomas chart
------------	------	--------------

Lochan Doran

Place ID	6340	NF 77791 33843	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG otter lochan			ScG lochan dòbhran		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lochan Doran			1804	Bald mapping	

Lochan Dubh

Place ID 446 NF 87060 55860 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG small black loch

ScG loch + -an + dubh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

A common name occurring 181 times in the Highlands and Islands

Na Lochan Dubh

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Lochan Dubh

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Seilich

1866

Admiralty mapping

Lochan Dubh

Place ID 1222 NF 82140 59750 North Uist C1arinish
ScG small black loch scg lochan dubh ScG?
Fresh water ON?
 complete?

Lochan Dubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch Dubh Mor	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Loch Dubh Beag	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Lochan Dubh

Place ID	2275	NF 77756 66143	North Uist	B1ayhead	
ScG small black lochan			ScG lochan dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lochan Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Lochan Dubh

Place ID	5021	NF 77047 29329	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG black lochan			ScG lochan dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
A common name					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lochan Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Lochan Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Lochan Dubh

Place ID	6248	NF 76129 30926	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG small dark loch			ScG lochan dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lochan Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Lochan Dubh

Place ID	6365	NF 75199 34089	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG small blakc lake			ScG lochan dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lochan Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Lochan Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Lochan Dubh

Place ID	6374	NF 78522 34954	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG small black lake			ScG lochan dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lochan Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Lochan Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Lochan Du-bruaich

Place ID 6117 NF 76706 29092

South Uist

Loch Eynort

ScG small loch of the dark bank

ScG lochan dubh - bruaich

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Lochan Du-bruaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lochan Du-bruaich

1877

OS 1st edition

L. Dubraigh

1804

Bald mapping

Lochan Dùn Fhearchair

Place ID 5193 NF 80159 48853 Benbecula Peter's Port

'Dùn Fhearchair' + ScG lochan ScG lochan + 'Dùn Fhearchair'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of the Dùn Fhearchair component see P#5190.

Lochan Dùn Fhearchair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lochan Dùn Fhearchair	1877	OS 1st edition
Loch Duine Farquhar	1804	Bald mapping

Lochan Leacach

Place ID 5138 NF 79296 50100 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG place of the rock slabs loch Scg loch -an leac -ach

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst the OS name book gives us 'Loch of the small flat stones' I wonder if ScG leac = 'slab of rock' with the locative suffix ScG -ach is closer to the root.

Loch(an) Leacach names appear to be a speciality of Uist with four out of the seven on the OS 2nd edition mapping being there.

Lochan Leacach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lochan Leacach	1877	OS 1st edition

Lochan Leacach

Place ID 5166 NF 78081 53853 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG stony lochan

ScG lochan leacach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OSNB gives us Lochan Leacach but one might expect an article with this. ScG leacach - 'stony' seems a good fit.

Lochan Leacach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lochan Leacach

1877

OS 1st edition

Lochan na Ba'

Place ID 2260 NF 76326 68691 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG loch of the + ON edge of the hill

SCg loch na + ON barð

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

One lonesome cow I fear.

I am increasingly of the view that most ScG bà cow names are in fact ON barð= 'edge' names.

Lochan na Ba'	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Loch na Ba'	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
-------------	------	-----------------------------

Lochan na Ba	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

Lochan na Comairig

Place ID 6309 NF 81459 32167 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG small lake of the place of confluence ScG lochan na comair -ag

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is no issue that we would expect ScG a' with lenition for a masculine noun ScG comar = 'confluence'. Dwelly however lists it as feminine so the problem goes away.

Lochan na Comairig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lochan na Comairig	1877	OS 1st edition

Lochan na Teang

Place ID 6574 NF 77250 40192 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG small lake of the toungue ScG lochan na teangaidh

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This presumably refers to the topography here where the lake is long and thin.

Lochan na Teang	2014	Modern OS mapping
Loch na Tanguie	1877	OS name book
Lochan na Faing	1877	OS name book
Lochan na Teang	1877	OS 1st edition

Lochan nam Breac Peatair

Place ID 6426 NF 78856 36239 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG small lake of thre + ON hillside of ther Picts ScG lochan nam + ON pétta brekka

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name was going well until the last element Peatair. The OSNB therefore gave it an obscure rating. ScG Pesdar = 'Peter' is the closest but seems unlikely.

A Norse option involves a reordering - something that could easily have been done by the Gaels to try and make sense of the name - ON pétta brekka = 'hillside of the Picts'.

Lochan nam Breac Peatair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lochan nam Breac Peatair	1877	OS 1st edition

Lochan nan Carranan

Place ID 6748 NF 78470 45988 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG small loch of the place of raised stones ScG lochan nan carraghain -an

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG carran has many meanings including 'corn spurrey', 'annoying person', 'shrimp', 'scurvy grass' and 'field bug'. The plural ending is -ain which fits here with the ScG nan plural article.

It is difficult to take it further.

The OSNB suggestion of 'rocky loch' has merit as the loch contains the remains of Dùn Lochan nan Carranan (P#6750). With ScG carraighean = 'pillars, rocks, erected stones' this would make some sort of sense if the remains of the dùn were more impressive hitherto.

Lochan nan Carranan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lochan nan Carranan	1877	OS 1st edition

Lochan nan Lachan

Place ID 1786 NF 87529 46160 Benbecula W1iay

ScG loch of the reeds

ScG loch nan lachan

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

ScG lachan can mean 'reed' and seems more likely than 'wild duck'. Satellite imagery reveals the loch to be half vegetated.

Lochan nan Lachan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lochan nan Lachan

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch na Lamhaich Deas

1866

Admiralty mapping

Lochan nan Learg

Place ID 6380 NF 80003 34315 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG small lake of the hillsides ScG lochan nan learg

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG learg can also mean 'diver' but the lochan looks too small for them to breed there.

Lochan nan Learg 2014 Modern OS mapping

Lochan nan Learg 1877 OS 1st edition

Lochan Sgeireach

Place ID	6370	NF 77503 34576	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG place of stones small lake			ScG lochan sgeirach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lochan Sgeireach			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Lochan Sgeireach			1877	OS 1st edition	

Lochan Tonacheois

Place ID 6623 NF 79753 42684 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Tonacheois' + ScG small lake ScG lochan + 'Tonacheois'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Tonacheois (P#6622) for a discussion of that element.

Lochan Tonacheois	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lochan Tonacheòis	1877	OS 1st edition

Lochanan Beaga Creagorry

Place ID 5195 NF 80166 48259 Benbecula Peter's Port

'Creagorry' + ScG small lochans ScG lochanan beaga + 'Creagorry'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Creag Ghoraidh (P#5145) for a discussion of the 'Creagorry' element.
The Bald name Upper Loch Garresten clearly had a different root.

Lochanan Beaga Creagorry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lochanan Beaga Creagoiri	1877	OS name book
Lochanan Beaga Creagorry	1877	OS 1st edition
Upper Loch Garresten	1804	Bald mapping

Lochanan Dubha

Place ID	6757	NF 79525 45687	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG small dark lochs			ScG lochanan dubha		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lochanan Dubha			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Lochanan Dubha			1877	OS 1st edition	

Lochanan Ruadh an Ligidh

Place ID 6634 NF 81428 42130 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG red lochans of the marshy pool

ScG lochanan ruadh an lèige

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Loch an Ligidh (P#6627) for that related name.

Lochanan Ruadh an Ligidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lochana Ruadh an Ligidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Lochanbuy

Place ID 5122 NF 78878 50217 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG yellow lochan SDCG lochan buidhe

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Lochan-buidhe 1877 OS name book

Lochanbuy 1877 OS 1st edition

Lochlainn

Place ID 5065 ND 14090 25890 Mainland Caithness

ON provincial or lawful leet

ON lög-leið

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Whilst the OS name book comes up with the folk etymology 'A Norwegian vessel being repaired in it many years ago' this seems unlikely.

One possibility is ON lög-leið = 'a lawful Leet (meeting)'

Lochlainn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lochlainn

1877

OS 1st edition

Lochmaddy

Place ID 14 NF 91900 68100 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG loch of the dogs

ScG loch nam madadh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The relatively modern township formed in the late 18thC/early 19thC is named after the large sea-loch here, Loch nam Madadh. This has been serving as a harbour for a long time. See this place for an understanding of that place name.

Lochmaddy

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lochmaddy

Place ID 1147 NF 91860 68320 North Uist Lochmaddy

'Lochmaddy'

'Lochmaddy'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

See Loch nam Madadh (P#1144) for more detail. It is interesting to see on the OS 1st series, there is no township with this name, only 'Lochmaddy Pier'.

MacDonlad writes a curious 'It still retains its old reputation of "Loch-nam-con"'. Possibly a gag based on ScG con = 'dog'?

Lochmaddy

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lochmaddy

MacDonald sketch history

Lochportain

Place ID 217 NF 93559 71920 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Portain' + ScG loch ScG loch + 'Portain'

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Loch Portain (P#143) for more details of the onomastic unit 'Portain'.

Lochportain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Locn nan Sruthan Neonach

Place ID 6253 NF 77148 30810 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScH loch of the ?? Streams

Fresh water

Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB writes 'Its signification is the Loch of the "Strange Stream" - a name strange in itself.

A Norse alternative is difficult.

Place of birds ScG eon -ach is possible

Locn nan Sruthan Neonach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Locn nan Sruthan Neonach

1877

OS 1st edition

Lògasgeir Mhòr

Place ID 5713 NF 79347 75358 North Uist V1allay

ScG big + ON lagoon - skerry

ON lög - sker + ScG mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Niclain (p30) writes and then I mangled it in google translate 'A Scandinavian king by the name of Logie once lived in this area, between Vallay and Malaclete. Someone had no idea how the reefs got these names, but they may have been hit by a logging stick, for example.'

I think the explanation is simpler. With ON sker = 'skerry' as the generic, I think the specific is ON lögr = 'lagoon' in the accusative re3flex forming a close compound ON lög - sker = 'lagoon skerry', a perfect topographical fit.

ö > o is regular rather than /ò/ although it would be regular before an /rn/ or an rð/ cluster.

There is a nearby Lògasgeir Bheag (P#5714).

There are two Lágasker place names in Iceland but this is probably a different root.

Lògasgeir Mhòr

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Lògaskeir Bheag

Place ID	5714	NF 79347 75457	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG small + 'Lògaskeir'			'Lògaskeir' + ScG bheag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
See Lògaskeir Mhòr (P#5713) for a discussion of the element 'Lògaskeir'					
Lògaskeir Bheag			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Lombaidh

Place ID 1978 NF 76103 75623 North Uist Grim1inish

ON island of the lambs

ON lamba ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Beveridge (p214) suggest ON lamb + ey = 'lamb island' which makes sense although ON lamba = 'of the lambs' is better grammatically. However the juxtaposition of the /a/ and the /e/ requires resolution and in Iceland the 'a' disappears.

There are at least 16 islands so named in Iceland and so it is a common name there whilst in Norway over 100 places begin with Lamøy-.

Lombaidh

1911

Beveridge

Lòn Bàn

Place ID	5366	NF 83034 51300	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG pale pool			ScG lòn bàn	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake		<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lòn Bàn			1877	OS 1st edition

Lon a Bhata

Place ID 509 NF 84840 55850 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG pool of the boat

Scg lòn na bhàta

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

Whilst ScG lòn = 'water meadow' is more usual, Faclair Beag also lists 'pool' and 'tidal pools'. Thomas marked it as a deeper area of water in the passage between Benbecula and Griomasaigh.

Presumably it would have been used as an anchorage hence the reference to boat in the name.

The article is wrong as it should be ScG na but this is explained by the 'n' sound joining the two words together.

Lon a Bhata

1866

Admiralty mapping

Lon a' Chleirich

Place ID	644	NF 87650 76200	North Uist	Clachan Sands	
ScG meadow of the cleric			ScG lòn a' chleirich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Farming			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lon a' Chleirich			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Lon a' Chleirich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Lòn Aird Mhic Caoilte

Place ID 5793 NF 78456 75912 North Uist V1allay

'Aird Mhic Caoilte' + ScG pool

Sc lòn+ 'Aird Mhic Caoilte'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

See Àird Mhic Caoilte (P#1091) for a discussion of the element, 'Aird Mhic Caoilte'

Lòn Aird Mhic Caoilte

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Lòn an Tàilleir

Place ID	6023	NF 81811 75606	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG marsh of the tailor			ScG lòn an tàilleir		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Marsh			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lòn an Tàilleir			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Lòn an t-Sìl

Place ID 5810 NF 80832 75340 North Uist S1ollas

ScG marsh of the ??

ScG lòn an t- ??

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Niclain writes and google translate garbles 'This is the old hull used before the construction of Cuidhe Solais. The enclosure was made of a row of stones and a row of paddles, one upon the other on top of the other. The locals would clean it up every year, but they had to build another one, because they had scraped Håsgisgarry Quay so often that they reached water, and nothing more.'

Lòn an t-Sìl

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Lon Ban

Place ID	2179	NF 78604 63274	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG pale marsh			ScG lòn bàn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lon Ban			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Lòn Dubh

Place ID	6596	NF 84495 40145	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG black pool			ScG lòn dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lòn Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Lòn Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Lòn Ghèireasleit

Place ID	5747	NF 76515 75506	North Uist	V1allay	
'Ghèireasleit' ScG marsh			ScG lòn + 'Ghèireasleit'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
'See Geirisleit (P#1065) for details son the element Ghèireasleit'					
Lòn Ghèireasleit			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Lòn Gorm

Place ID 1871 NF 80120 56084 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG green marsh

ScG lòn gorm

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

Lòn Gorm

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lòn Gorm

1877

OS 1st edition

Lòn Hulabhaig

Place ID 1328 NF 83567 79605 North Uist S1ollas

ON bay of the pools

ON hylja vík

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

ON hóla vík = 'bay of hillocks' seems a good fit with the development being regular although the quantity of the initial vowel is not as it should be.

Two solutions present themselves either ON hylja = 'of the pools' or ON holu = 'of the hole'. I think both would work phonetically. I prefer the first on topographical grounds although the meanings are not dissimilar.

This seems a reasonable topographic fit as the bay lies at the end of the hilly peninsulas.

The OS name book rather gives up giving us 'Little pools'.

ScG lòn = 'pool' amongst other meanings. One is meadow and it is possible that the name has transferred. However here the tautology is again further evidence of the importance of the feature in naming this place.

There are three Hólsvík and one Hólvík in Iceland whilst in Norway there are three Holvik, two Hollsvik, an Hollevik and an Hollavika although Rygh has a different interpretation for his Hollsvik.

That said ON hylr has become No høl and there is a Hølvika and a Hølavika in Norway

Lòn Hulabhaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lòn Thùlabhaig	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Lon Hulavik	1877	OS 1st edition
Lon Hulabhig	1877	OS name book
Hulavig	1877	OS name book

Lon Mor

Place ID	2128	NF 78631 60489	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG big marsh			ScG lòn mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Lon Mor			1971	Macdonald Two townships	

Lòn Mòr

Place ID 6544 NF 75659 39201 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG big pool ScG lòn mòr

Fresh water Marsh

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Although now drained, the outline is still clearly visible on satellite imagery.

Lòn Mòr 2014 Modern OS mapping

Lòn Mòr 1877 OS 1st edition

Lon na Cuidhe

Place ID 4924 NF 74279 67525 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG pool of the cattlefold ScG lòn na cuidhe

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The Hebridean Connection (p77) gives us the 'pool of the cattle fold'.

Lon na Cuidhe

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Lòn nan Deiseag

Place ID 1728 NF 88943 54387 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG tidal pool of the velvet crabs

ScG lòn nan deiseag

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

ScG deiseag = 'velvet crab' (/dʲeʲʲag/) is an obvious starting place and could refer to a keep pool for them caught by fishermen but my impression is that velvet crabs have only been fished recently.

A further possibility is ON dysa vík = 'inlet of the small cairn'.

Thomas has a totally different name, Lon Coit, coming perhaps from ScG coit = 'cargo boat'.

Lòn nan Deiseag

1877

OS 1st edition

Lon Coit

1861

Thomas chart

Lonachan

Place ID 1206 NF 91650 70280 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON lagoon field

ON lang akrinn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book simply states 'Pasture' for the 'signification' although for a Loch Lonachan on Skye writes 'Loch of the Streams or marshes'. Dwelly gives ScG lonach = 'full of marshes or meadows' and the suffix ScG -ach = 'place of' explains the Skye interpretation and ScG lon = 'meadow' explains the interpretation for here.

The island does not look marshy so the Skye interpretation is difficult and the 'meadow' one vague and feels like a grasping of the familiar ScG lon.

The ON lón + akr = 'lagoon field' possibly with the reflex ON akrinn = 'The field' would seem a good fit phonetically and topographically. However it is a rare specific. ON langr = 'long' is much commoner and the development a > o is regular e.g. Flodaigh.

Otter's totally different name of Corelen I must be a mishmash of ScG corr-eilean + Eng island = 'pointed island'. In fact it probably refers to Cor-eilean Spanish c100m to the NE.

In Sweden Långåker = 'long field' occurs 34 times as a place name

Lonachan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Corelen I	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
Lonachan An		n/a

Long Id

Place ID	1944	NF 84787 60821	North Uist	Eaval	
Eng long island			Eng long island		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Long Id			1859	Otter Loch Eport chart	

Long Island

Place ID 5152 NF 77223 52007 Benbecula T1orlum

Eng long island Eng long island

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

No longer an island this is now a ridge running along the N shore of Loch Mòr.

Long Island 1804 Bald mapping

Long Rock

Place ID	1988	NF 93562 69065	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
Eng Long Rock			Eng long rock		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

This would not have been the original name but an Otter translation.

There are three options here. One is ON langa sker = 'long skerry', ScG sgeir fada = 'long skerry' or ScG sgeir luinge = 'skerry of the boat'.

I am not convinced the surveyors would have known to translate 'fada' and there is no reason to call it 'of the boat' and so I suspect the ON root is the one.

Long Rock	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
-----------	------	------------------------

Low Obe

Place ID 1946 NF 83845 63319 North Uist Eaval

Eng lower + ScG creek Eng lower + ScG òb

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There are three tidal pools or creeks here and this one is the one nearest the sea hence lower.
Otter names the next one, Middle Obe.

Low Obe

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Lower Bornish

Place ID 6234 NF 74031 30969 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

Eng Lower + 'Bornish' Eng Lower + 'Bornish'

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Bornais (P#83) for a discussion of that place name.

Lower Bornish 1804 Bald mapping

Lower Hestimul

Place ID 5149 NF 78628 48685 Benbecula T1orlum

Eng lower + ON islet of the horses

Eng lower + ON hesta hólm

Coastal

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The Bald mapping is the clearest here indicating that Lower Hestimul is the island to the W.
See Heisteamuil (P#5147) for a discussion on the name.

In Iceland there are eight Hesthólmi, two Hesthólmar and one Hestahólmi place names whilst in Norway it is a common name with for example over 150 Hestholmen.

Lower Hestimul

1804

Bald mapping

Lower Loch Aulasary

Place ID 219 NF 93578 72797 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Aulasary' + Eng lower + ScG loch Eng lower + ScG loch + 'Aulasary'

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This refers to a small loch at the SW corner of Loch Amhlarasariagh (P#210).

Lower Loch Aulasary

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lùib Bhàn

Place ID 5117 NF 77566 49592 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG white corner

Scg lùib bhàn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'white bay or turning point' based upon ScG lùib = 'bend' and this is a good fit of the turn in the shore, even more prominent before coastal erosion. The OS 1st series is clear that it refers to the shore fo the main island.

Lùib Bhàn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Lùb Bhàn

1877

OS 1st edition

Lùib Bhàn

1877

OS name book

Luraglass

Place ID 5460 NF 86896 52280 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG green slope

ScG learg glas

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Whilst there are Norse options, the easiest solution is ScG learg = 'slope', pronounced /Lʲɛrɛg/. The initial vowel is not as good a match as one would like but Bald was not always as reliable as he might have been.

Luraglass

1804

Bald mapping

Lusaick

Place ID 6721 NF 74781 45716 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG fresh water lake

ScG loch uisge

Fresh water

Lake

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Probably a Loch name looking at the map and it should have been written L. usaick.
The second half looks like ScG uisge = '(fresh) water' which is odd although it can mean 'river'.
One can see this being a counterpoint to the nearby Loch an t-Sàile = 'loch of the salt water'

There is another Loch Uisge on Barra along with a relatively nearby Loch an Uisge-ghil.

Lusaick

1804

Bald mapping

Maari

Place ID 2549 NF 86073 72923 North Uist Central North

ON boundary land

ON mæri

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Beveridge gives us (p104) 'Probably representing the Norse mār -erg, or 'gull-sheiling'. This seems unlikely with possible ON marr = 'horse' being a better bet but that lacks the long vowel sound at the beginning of the name.

MacDonald muses if it could come from Maghairidh.

Foster includes it in his list of NU ærgi names.

The answer is I think a lot simpler ON mýri is the accusative of ON mýrr = 'moor or bog' which is not a bad fit for the surrounding area.

Whilst ON mór would offer a regular development in the initial vowel, it is hard to see where the final 'l' would come from. One possibility is ON móa ærgi = 'sheeling of the moors' using the genitive plural form. This would certainly give a long central vowel sound.

In Icelandic Ic móa is the genitive singular of Ic mói = 'rather dry and thick grassland'.

All that said, ON mærr is defined by Vigfusson as 'a land, prop. border-land' and he also writes 'in the local name Mæri, f. a county in Norway'. This last is probalby the dative form.

Myrar occurs over 80 times as a simplex name in Iceland and over 70 times as Myri(n) . It is commoner in Norway with over a hundred of the precise cognate Myri.

Móri occurs twice in Iceland as does Mæri.

Maari	2014	Modern OS mapping
Maari	1877	OS 1st edition
Mairi	1877	OS name book
Mairidh	1877	OS name book
Marri	1832	Thomson atlas
Marri	1799	Reid mapping

Machair Leathann

Place ID	2431	NF 80869 75935	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG broad machair			ScG machair leathann		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Machair Leathann			1877	OS 1st edition	

Machair Mor

Place ID 5648 NF 72935 67345 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG big plain ScG machair mòr

Settlement Farming

ScG?

ON?

complete?

THC writes 'The level fertile land between the Stream of Herman in the south to the #Loch Paible in the north was known as the Big Plain [ScG Machair Mor] and there was no other stretch of land as extensive and fertile in the whole area of the islands.'

Machair Mor

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Machair Robach

Place ID 650 NF 86230 75810 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG rough machair

ScG machair robach

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Machair Robach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rouback

1986

Easson land assessment

Rowback

1986

Easson land assessment

Machair Robach

1877

OS 1st edition

Macher Meanach

Place ID 23 NF 75500 43000 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG middle machair

ScG machair meadhanach

ScG?

ON?

To decide

complete?

On the mapping there does appear to be a larger gap between the 'r' and the 'h' possibly indicating two words. In the Secretary Hand of the time, c and l are often transposed incorrectly and so the first word could be Macher, with ScG machair = 'low-lying fertile plain' and still the name used here today for this strip of land.

ScG meadhanach = 'middle' is probably the root for the specific with ScG 'dh' behaving with a life of their own for those not fluent in the language.

'Middle' could refer to the fact South Uist is sandwiched between North Uist & Benbecula and Barra.

Macher Meanach

1804

Bald mapping

Maiherhanach

1654

Blaeu mapping

Macher Meanach

Place ID	64	NF 77338 32408	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG middle machair			ScG machair meadhan -ach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Farming			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

It is possible that Blaeu's 'Maiher Hanach' could refer to another area as it covers almost the whole of South Uist. Macher Manach = 'Monk's machair' is a possibility. A transcription error of ?H? for /M/ looks eminently possible. However Blaeu's 'Machribeanach' is in the same place as Bald's 'Macher Meanach'. One possible meaning would involve ScG meann-ach = 'kid goat place'. However the presence of two nearby 'cille' names could indicate ScG manach = 'monk' is more likely.

The Blaeu spelling including the 'b' could indicate a ScG 'mh' which fits well with this idea as 'mhanach' occurs in several Gaelic words e.g. ScG taigh-mhanach = 'monastery', presumably being a genitive plural form including lenition. A simpler option and the one I think is the correct one is ScG meadhan -ach = 'place of the middle'. The inclusion or not of the lenition creating /mh/ centrally could reflect that fact that the gender of ScG machair seems to be uncertain.

Macher Meanach	1804	Bald mapping
Maiher Hanach	1654	Blaeu mapping
Machribeanach	1654	Blaeu mapping

MacKay R

Place ID	1992	NF 94720 69658	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ON island bay + Eng rock			ON ey vík + Eng rock		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Again I would have my suspicions of a Mhic name here although MacKay is a common enough personal name. One option is ON *kalf vík* = 'calf bay'. The Norse regularly use 'Calf Island' to indicate a small island off a larger one and this could apply here to bays. The 'l' sound is a problem.

A better phonetical option is ON *vik eið* which when reordered becomes 'bay of the isthmus'. The whole Loch Portain area is an isthmus and so it works topographically too.

A much easier solution however is a close compound ON *vík ey* = 'bay-island' or ON *ey - vík* = 'island-bay'.

There are five *Kálfavík* in Iceland and over 100 places in Norway including *Kalvika*.

There are three *Eið(i)svík* in Iceland and many more in Norway of a variety of forms but including 30 of the form *Eidvik(a)*.

In Norway *Vikøya* occurs three times as a place name and four times as *øyavika*. In Iceland there are seven *Eyvík* names.

MacKay R

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Madadh Beag

Place ID 192 NF 95636 68714 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG little dog ScG madadh beag

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One of the three 'Maddies' that stand at the entrance to Loch Nam Madadh.

Madadh Beag	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------	------	-------------------

Maddy Beg	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------	------	----------------

Maddy Beg	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
-----------	------	------------------------

Namaddy-beg	1806	Stockdale mapping
-------------	------	-------------------

Namaddy-beg	1789	Ainslie mapping
-------------	------	-----------------

Madadh Gruamach

Place ID 1014 NF 95250 66660 North Uist Lees

ScG forbidding dog

ScG madadh + gruamach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book writes 'Surly dog' whilst Dwelly offers for ScG gruamach = 'sullen', 'gloomy', 'sad', 'bleak', 'forbidding' and 'cloudy' amongst others. Of the three 'Maddies' this is the most impressive and 'forbidding' would describe it well.

There are six other occurrences of Gruamach on the OS 2nd edition mapping, one other on north Uist but the rest scattered across the Gaelic heartland.

Madadh Gruamach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Maddy Gruamach	1877	OS 1st edition
Maddy Gruamach	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Madadh Mòr

Place ID 1017 NF 95520 67320 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG big dog ScG madadh + mòr

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Probably the largest of the three 'Maddies' hence the name.

Madadh Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------	------	-------------------

Maddy More	1877	OS 1st edition
------------	------	----------------

Maddy More	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
------------	------	------------------------

Maddy-more	1806	Stockdale mapping
------------	------	-------------------

Maddy-more	1789	Ainslie mapping
------------	------	-----------------

the Maddies	1703	Martin book
-------------	------	-------------

Maddys	1703	Martin Martin map
--------	------	-------------------

Magairle Mairi

Place ID 5576 NF 85116 45258 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG Mary's rock

ScG magairle Mairi

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This rock is clearly an inconvenience when entering Peter's Port. ScG magairle = 'testicle, stone' although I suspect the latter is the more appropriate here, partly as 'Mary's testicle' seems an odd combination!

Magairle Mairi

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Maillstrom

Place ID 196 NF 94522 74957 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON grinding current

ON mala straum

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This is the same name as the more famous Maelstrom in the Lofoten. It is thought to have come from ON mala + straumr = 'grinding current'. The OS name book's 'stream lump' seems very half-hearted.

Maillstrom

1877

OS 1st edition

Maireabhal

Place ID 2458 NF 80862 70043 North Uist Central South

ON mountain of the boundary land

ON mæri fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

In the Hebridean connection (p24) this is described as 'a large hill and is close to the highway runs across the island from Head of Vallay strand to Dusary.

Beveridge maintain his enthusiasm for gulls with ON már -fjall = 'gull hill'. I however maintain my enthusiasm for ON mýrar fjall = 'mountain of the bog'. Couldn't get a better topographical fit!

Alternatively ON meire = 'tallest' is a good fit.

Certainly the generic is ON fjall = 'mountain'.

There again further consideration of the fact Marrogh is nearby and I think the specific is ON mark = 'boundary or march'. A good topographical fit as the ridge marks the boundary between the N coast settlement and the W coast settlement. It is even possible to think of the summit here as lying on three marches justifying ON marka. However the cognate notes are not encouraging and listening to a pronunciation of Mairead

(<https://learn-gaelic.scot/dictionary/index.jsp?abairt=Mairead&slang=both&wholeword=false>), it doesn't quite work.

Nearby to the E is Maari and this is thought to come from ON maeri = 'boundary-land' and this meets the objections form above although the cognates are still not helpful.

There are four Mýra(r)fjall in Iceland and 17 cognates of a variety of forms in Norway - all Myr*fjell(et) but no Markfjell names there but there is a Markfjellet in Norway.

The four local names of Maireabhal, Marrogh, Maari and Gerrymare look to all have a similar root.

Maireabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Mairmheall	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Mairivall	1890	Carmichael notebooks
Marrival	1877	OS 1st edition
Morvail	1861	Thomas chart
Marvail	1799	Reid mapping

Màisgeir

Place ID 5772 NF 79658 76962 North Uist V1allay

'Màisgeir' Màisgeir'

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Màsgeir (P#730) for a discussion of that name.

Màisgeir 1997 Niclain Place names of Sollas

Màitheigh Glas

Place ID 5260 NF 88607 49747 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG grey + ON island of the gulls

ON máva ey + ScG grey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This is clearly an island name with the generic being ON ey = 'island'. I think the specific is ON már = 'gull' or in this case in the genitive plural ON máva = 'of the gulls'. The letter /v/ in this situation has a habit of disappearing, e.g. vík.

I suspect that the 22 Måøy names in Norway are cognates. The two Mavey in Iceland certainly are whilst the two Mávasker and the Mávahólmar effectively mean the same.

In Sheltand, Maa Skerry, Maa Loch and Maa Ness probably share the ON már root.

Màitheigh Glas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Maahay Glas	1877	OS name book
Maahay Glass	1877	OS name book
Madhaidh Glas	1877	OS name book
Maaey Glas	1877	OS 1st edition
Maigh Glas	1877	OS name book
Madhaidh Ghlas	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Maahay Glass	1832	Thomson atlas
Maahay Glass	1804	Bald mapping

Màitheigh Riabhach

Place ID 5261 NF 88022 50090 Benbecula Peter's Port

'Màitheigh' + ScG speckled

'Màitheigh' + ScG riabhach

Coastal

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Màitheigh Glas (9830) for a discussion of the first element of this name.

Màitheigh Riabhach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Maaey Riabhach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Maaey Riabhach	1877	OS 1st edition
Mahay Reavagh	1877	OS name book
Maigh Riabhaich	1877	OS name book
Madhaidh Riabhach	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Maahay Reavagh	1832	Thomson atlas
Maahay Reavagh	1804	Bald mapping

Malacleit

Place ID 2450 NF 79667 74035 North Uist Central North

?ON crag of the drawings

ON mála klett

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Beveridge is keen on there being a mill here based upon ON mala = 'to grind'. However ON mylna = 'a mill' and this could work. He had evidence of there being a mill on the site formerly and the remains of a dam were still visible. However ON malar is the genitive of ON möl = 'pebbles, worn stones' and this has an attraction. However the most attractive option for the specific is ON mála = 'of a drawing' with ON mála + klett = 'crag of the drawings' when nearby is Cladh na Croise, a rock with a carved cross and several cup marks. The cup marks would be prehistoric but the Canmore entry describes the incised cross as 'early Medieval' and this would almost certainly mean pre-Norse.

Malacleit	2014	Modern OS mapping
Malaglate	1911	Beveridge
Malaclett	1877	OS 1st edition
Maliglet	1832	Thomson atlas
Mattaglad	1806	Stockdale mapping
Maliglet	1799	Reid mapping
Mattaglad	1789	Ainslie mapping
Malaglet		MacDonald sketch history

Mànt

Place ID 5051 NF 72660 72724 North Uist B1almartin

ScG place of ON lake

ON vatn

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Vannt must be an old name for Balmartin and there is some evidence for this in Beveridge where he states "Local tradition gives Mant (otherwise am Fearann Mantach or An sgìre Mhantach) as the ancient name of a district near the western shore of North Uist, ad representing part as least of the tract which lies between Balranald and Scolpaig." Mhant would be the genitive and mean of Mant and in ScG mh would be pronounced as v giving vant. This is where I imagine Vannt has come from.

As for what it might mean?!

The two reference Beveridge's quotes are Am fearann Mانتach and An sgìre Mانتach. ScG fearann = 'land, estate, farm' and ScG sgìre = 'district or parish'.

The second expression has the added 'h' as an effect of lenition I think. The name we are therefore looking to understand is mantach. Mانت could have been arrived at by a Gaelic speaker adding the final ScG -ach = 'place of'.

In THC (p37) a comment is made of the people of Tigharry, 'I never heard a nickname for these Mantaich.'

A possible chronology is as follows.

The area was called Vatn = 'lake' by the original Norse settlers possibly based on Loch Hosta. Vatna is better but is the genitive plural 'of the lakes' and would be missing a specific. /w/ is equivalent to /v/ in Norse and a final vowel, here /a/ is often added to end a word.

vatn > watna

At some stage Old Danish watn became vand. The same process has happened here with the metathesis of the /n/ and the /t/. The /w/ has reverted to /v/ as in the Danish example.

Watna > vant

In Gaelic the sound of /v/ and /mh/ are the same. A process called hypercorrection 'corrects' the grammar to put vant = mhant into the 'correct' case and so removes the /h/

vant > mant

Vatn occurs as a simplex name in Iceland 13 times and there are many more examples in Norway.

There is a Vatná in Iceland = 'river of the lake' but there is no obvious river here.

Mانت	1911	Beveridge
Mانت	1911	Beveridge
Vannt	1718	Judicial Rental
Watna		Reg. Mag. Sig
Vannt		MacDonald sketch history

Maoil Daimh

Place ID	6440	NF 81101 35654	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG rocky top of the oxen/stags			ScG maol daimh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Maoil Daimh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Maoil Daimh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Maol an True

Place ID 5007 NF 80206 27557 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG lunn of the (rock?) face

ScG maol an trù

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Dwelly records ScG trù = 'face or fall' and then writes nothing else. If he is referring to a rock face then topographically this works well.

Maol an True

1804

Bald mapping

Maol Beg

Place ID	5009	NF 81042 27401	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG big lump			ScG maol beag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Maol Beg			1804	Bald mapping	

Maol Bhan

Place ID 2632 NF 91032 82903 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ScG pale bare round hill ScG maol bhan

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This would seem to be a good description of the hillock.

Maol Bhan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Maol Bhan	1877	OS 1st edition

Maol Martaig

Place ID 6451 NF 84594 36442 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON many bays + ScG bare top

ScG maol + ON marg - vík

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OSNB gives us a variation on its usual 'signification obscure' with 'its English signification is not known'.

ScG mart = 'cow (technically one to be killed in winter but often just a cow)' and this could be followed by ScG -ag = 'place of' but it does not look like good grazing for cattle.

The ending is typical of ON vík = 'bay' and the referent could be the bay to the E, Mol a' Tuath.

About ON margr = 'many' Vigfusson writes 'usually spelt and pronounced mart' seems the obvious choice. Indeed ON margh vík = 'many bays' is a good description of the view from this lump.

Maol Martaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Maol Martaig

1877

OS 1st edition

Maola Breac

Place ID 6341 NF 79708 33142 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON slope of the promontory ON slope of the promontory

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One wonders where the final /a/ in Maola comes from...

ON múla brekka = 'slope of the promontory' makes a lot more sense to me and explains the /a/ (but adds one!)

Maola Breac	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------	------	-------------------

Maola Breac	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Maoladh Creag nam Fitheach

Place ID 6342 NF 80926 33936 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG baring the crag of the ravens ScG maoladh creag nam fitheach

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An odd name and it where I imagine the crag become bare rock.

Maoladh Creag nam Fitheach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Maoladh Creag nam Fitheach	1877	OS 1st edition
Meal na Craigy ty	1804	Bald mapping

Maoladh Creag nan Druidean

Place ID 6438 NF 80251 36220 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG promontory of the crag of ON cattle pens ScG maoladh creag nan + ON tröðin

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OSNB gives us "Hill of the Stone of the Starling" based upon ScG druideann = 'starlings', although I suspect the genitive plural would be ScG druid. However it does not explain the name of the loch sharing the druid- opening and is pretty random as the starlings are much more likely to live in the machair.

I think more likely is ON tröðin = 'The pen', partly reinforced by the name of the hill here, Maoil Daimh (P#6440) = 'lump of the oxen'.

Tröð occurs almost fifty times as a simplex place name in Iceland and there are five exact cognate Tröðin place names.

Maoladh Creag nan Druidean

2014

Modern OS mapping

Maoladh Creag nan Druitean

1877

OS 1st edition

Maoladh na h-Uamha

Place ID 6346 NF 84139 33751 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG baring of the cave ScG maoladh na h-uamha

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The cave here referring to the Iron Age ruins nearby.

Maoladh na h-Uamha 2014 Modern OS mapping

Maoladh na h-Uamha 1877 OS 1st edition

Maoladh nam Feannag

Place ID 6261 NF 82678 30620 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG place of the rounded promontory of the crow ScG maol - adh nam feannag

ScG?

ON?

Contour Rise

complete?

ScG maoladh = '(act of) baring, making bald' which doesn't seem quite right. I suspect that the word start as ScG maol = rounded promontory and a suffix -adh was added indicating 'place of'.

Whiles there ere is often confusion over the meaning of ScG feannag in certain cases. Here there will definitely not be an feannag (lazy bed as were) but crows must be the meaning.

Maoladh nam Feannag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Maoladh nam Feannag

1877

OS 1st edition

Maoladh nan Damh

Place ID 6199 NF 79504 24622 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG place of the bare top of the oxen/stags ScG maol -adh nan damh

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG damh can mean both ox and stag so it is hard TO TELL HER WHICH IS RELEVANT. It is tempting to think the oxen route is the best as there are several Norse names associated with cattle in the area.

Maoladh nan Damh 2014 Modern OS mapping

Maoladh nan Damh 1877 OS 1st edition

Maoladh nan Speireag

Place ID 5035 NF 82551 29542 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG bald place of the slender-limbed creatures (?s ScG maoladh nan ppeireag

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'hawks lump'. ScG maol = 'bald' and one imagines the suffix gives 'the bald place'. Aside from the usual sparrowhawk, Dwelly gives us any feminine slender-limbed creature or shank as alternatives for ScG speireag. It is unlikely that Sparrowhawks were here so some other creature must work. Opposite is Maoladh nam feannag - 'bald place of the crows'

Maoladh nan Speireag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Maoladh nan Speireag

1877

OS 1st edition

Maragaidh Beag

Place ID 5394 NF 88568 52992 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG small 'Maragaidh' 'Maragaidh' + ScG beag

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of the element 'Maragaidh', se 'Maragaidh Mòr' (P#5395)

Maragaidh Beag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Morogheidh Bheag	1877	OS name book
Maragay Island	1877	OS name book
Morghaidh Bheag	1877	OS name book
Maragay Beg	1877	OS 1st edition
Morghaidh Bheag	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Morghaidh Bheag	1861	Thomas chart
Little Maraghay	1832	Thomson atlas
Little Maraghay	1804	Bald mapping

Maragaidh Mòr

Place ID	5395	NF 89018 52625	Benbecula	Loch Uisgeabhagh	
ScG big + ON (island)	fold of mares		ON mark ey + ScG mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

I have written about this islands and others on my blog: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/-gay-islands>. In the end taking epenthesis in to account ON mark ey = 'landmark island' would work with ON mark ey > margey > maragey > maragaidh.

As well as landmark, the word is often associated with ownership and so these could be boundary marks, here possibly marking the end of Róisinis/Kallin farm?

The hybrid ScG marag + ON ey = 'black pudding island' is an attractive thought where black puddings can roam free but sadly unlikely.

The phonological development is regular. Thomas' version of Morghaidh is not a problem as o > a is regular although it might hint at the older ON mörk which has a meaning more strongly of boundary or a march land.

There is a cognate Markeyja in Iceland, a Morkøya and three Markøya in Norway.

Maragaidh Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Meikle Maragay	1877	OS name book
Morghaidh Mhor	1877	OS name book
Maragay More	1877	OS 1st edition
Morghaidh Mhor	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Morghaidh Mhor	1861	Thomas chart
M. Maraghay	1832	Thomson atlas
M. Maraghay	1804	Bald mapping

Mare Clachan

Place ID	1947	NF 83892 63159	North Uist	Eaval	
Eng mare + ScG stepping stones			Eng mare + ScG clachan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Mare Clachan			1859	Otter Loch Eport chart	

Mare Id

Place ID 1962 NF 89990 63891 North Uist Lees

Eng mare island Eng mare island

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mare Id 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Markisa

Place ID 564 NF 87701 75277 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON boundary narrowing between two hills ON marka kiste

Contour Depression

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Referring to Ciste nam Bataichean, Cox writes "The use of ciste here seems parallel or potentially due, to a Norwegian usage of kiste , ON kista f 'pass, narrowing between two hills". This would work well for the generic here as it is a good topographical fit.

Whilst ON marr = 'sea' is tempting for the specific as the sea is close at both ends to the 'narrowing', I think the real specific is ON mark = 'boundary' fitting in well with a couple of other 'boundary' place names (Morgha) as well as the existence of the old parish boundary in the area.

This might also open up a commoner generic ON áss = 'ridge' although the vowel is not the best match.

Markisa

1654

Blaeu mapping

Marrogh

Place ID 2519 NF 82921 69918 North Uist Central South

ON boundary hill

ON mark hóll

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Beveridge gives us 'The origin of the name is quite obscure' - i.e. 'I can't find anything!'

The French for Morocco, Maroc springs to mind but does not seem awfully logical.

However ON mór hrygg = 'moor ridge' is a good topographical fit as well as a reasonable phonetic one - perhaps the first vowel sound is not quite as it should be.

Rygh records that ON mark = 'march' is often found as 'mar-' and this helps with the initial vowel.

The earlier names give a clue as an -o ending is often indicative of a ON haugr = 'mound' name. However the cognate notes are disappointing and I suspect the root is ON markhóll = 'boundary hill' with the final sound /ll/ being swallowed.

This then is I think the solution backed up by the presence of the nearby Maireabhall, both sitting on the ridge that divides the Sollas land from the Paibeil lands.

There are three Markhryggur, six Markhöfði and 31 Markhóll in Iceland.

.

Marrogh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Marrogh	1877	OS 1st edition
Marro	1832	Thomson atlas
Marro	1799	Reid mapping

Màs a' Champair

Place ID 2644 NF 93910 82683 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigearraidh

ScG bottom of the + ON ridge

ScG mas a' + ON kambr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The 'h' here is almost certainly an effect of lenition as part of the Gaelicization process. See Port a' Camber for a discussion on that.

Mackillop gives the folk etymology that Cromwell's soldiers had a camp in the area to keep watch on Sir Norman MacLeod and the place name came from this 'camp'.

MacIver gives his definition of ON kambr as 'a level top over a steep slope like a combing card.'

Màs a' Champair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Massa-camber	1934	MacIver Place-names of Lewis an
Massacamber	1877	OS 1st edition
Massachamber	1832	Thomson atlas
Massacamber	1804	Bald mapping

Mas a' Chnoic

Place ID 1090 NF 77240 75760 North Uist V1allay

ScG foot of the knoll Scg màs a' chnoic

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book goes for 'Foot of the Knoll' and who would I be to disagree - this time!
ScG cnoc = 'hillock' has both has the genitive case and lenition inflicted upon it.

Mas a' Chnoic	2014	Modern OS mapping
Mas a' Chnoic	1877	OS 1st edition

Màs Grimsay

Place ID 367 NF 86562 57961 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG the bottom of Griomasaigh ScG màs 'Griomasaigh'

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Quite why this should be the bottom of Griomasaigh is unclear. This could be another example of the Uist 'up' being S!

Màs Grimsay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Mas-Grimasaigh	2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)
Mas Griomasaigh	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Lower Grimsay	1877	OS 1st edition
Mas Ghriomasaidh	1861	Thomas chart

Màsgeir

Place ID 730 NF 71580 67448 North Uist B1ayhead

ON boundary skerry

ON mark sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

It is possible ScG mas skeir = 'lower skerry' but quite why is difficult to see. If this rather obvious derivation was the root, one would have expected it to make it to the OS name book which remains silent.

Perhaps then it is Norse and generally the shorter the word the harder it is to find a root. Whilst the generic is clear as ON sker = 'skerry' there are two possibilities for the specific, ON más = 'of a sea-gull' and ON mark = 'boundary' or 'march'.

One gull seems an odd name when one would expect plenty of them. ON mark looks less close phonologically but the long à is often written as /ar/ and the /k/ here regularly disappears. It would make better sense and when pronounced the 'rk' sound almost disappears with the 's' after. Try it!

The Hebridean Connection book writes (p37&179) about the area being used for salt production, (p248) 'both during and after the Norse period.'

Màsgeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Masgeir an Salainn	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Maskeir	1877	OS 1st edition

Maskeir

Place ID 2371 NF 70026 71315 North Uist B1alranald

ON middle skerry

ON mið- sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

It is possible ScG mas skeir = 'lower skerry' but quite why is difficult to see. If this rather obvious derivation was the root, one would have expected it to make it to the OS name book which remains silent.

Perhaps then it is Norse and generally the shorter the word the harder it is to find a root. Whilst the generic is clear as ON sker = 'skerry' there are three possibilities for the specific, ON más = 'of a sea-gull', ON mið- = 'middle' and ON mark = 'boundary' or 'march'.

One gull seems an odd name when one would expect plenty of them. ON mark looks less close phonologically but would make better sense and when pronounced the 'rk' sound almost disappears with the 's' after. Try it!

The last option might look furthest away but with Manish thought to come from Mið nes, it is a clear possibility and probably the best topographical fit being in the middle of the important bay here. It would match Cladach nam Misgeirean (q.v. for cognate notes)

The best option however to my ears is ON meiðr = 'pole' and this makes some sort of sense by marking skerries with a pole. Staffin Skerry near Lochportain could be another Norse example. There is a cognate Meiskår in Norway.

The Hebridean Connection book writes (p37) about the area being used for salt production.

There is a cognate Meiskår in Norway.

See Cladach nam Misgeirean for cognate notes on ON miðsdkeir

Maskeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Maskeir	1877	OS 1st edition
Makeir Rock	1877	OS name book
Mas-Sgeir	1877	OS name book

Mc Darmid B

Place ID 1971 NF 92865 62899 North Uist Eaval

? ON midde of the entrances bay + Eng bay ? ON v'ik dyra mið + Eng bay

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Literally 'the son of Dermot's bay', the combination of ScG bagh = 'bay' and ScG mhic = 'son of' and ON vik = 'bay' raises alarm bells.

ON dyra mið vik = 'middle of the entrances bay' would work perfectly with the three big sea lochs on the East coast, the entrance to Loch Euphort being the middle one. The order is odd but could be an effect of resemanticization.

Mc Darmid B

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

McInnis rock

Place ID 1989 NF 92925 68703 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON near the headland bay + Eng rock ON vík hjá nes + Eng rock

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I have no idea who McInnis was.

ON hjá-nes vík = 'near the headland bay' would work topographically as well as phonetically although the components would require reordering

McInnis rock

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

McIntosh P

Place ID 1936 NF 85754 58530 North Uist Eaval

Eng Macintosh point Eng Macintosh point

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I have no idea who Macintosh might have been.

McIntosh P 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

McMillan Rk

Place ID 1958 NF 88765 63614 North Uist Lees

Eng McMillan rock Eng Mcmnillan rock

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I have no idea of who McMillan might have been.

A Norse alternative could be ON millim vika sker = 'skerry between bays' which would be a good topographical fit and when reordered to make Gaelic sense would become sgeir mhic millan.

McMillan Rk

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Meal a' Ghath

Place ID	5726	NF 75726 75981	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG lump of the flood			ScG meal a' ghàth		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Meal a' Ghath			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Mealastrom

Place ID 562 NF 88360 55670 North Uist Griomasaigh

ON grinding current

ON mala straum

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The word maelstrom = 'violent current or whirlpool' has been loaned into English although it had roots in ON malað + strumr = 'grinding current' and possibly Dutch before that.

It is difficult to know if Thomas named this as a generic maelstrom or thought this was the specific name for this place. I would expect the latter.

He is the only one who records it, although it is very near, and could be the same as, the Vallastrome that appears on OS mapping.

Mealastrom

1866

Admiralty mapping

Meall an t-Sruith

Place ID 1803 NF 87031 44972 Benbecula W1iay

ScG round hill of the current ScG meall an t- sruith

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Meall an t-Sruith 2014 Modern OS mapping

Meall an t-Sruith 1877 OS 1st edition

Ru' na h-Amhunn 1866 Admiralty mapping

Meall Dubh

Place ID	6589	NF 82825 40885	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG dark hill			Scg meall dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Meall Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Meall Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Meall Hucrabhat

Place ID 6422 NF 78109 36554 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Hucrabhat' + ScG lump

ScG meall + 'Hucrabhat'

Contour

Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Glac Hucarvat (P#6420) for a discussion of the second component.

Meall Hucrabhat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Meall Hookarvat	1877	OS name book
Meall Hucarvat	1877	OS 1st edition
Meall Hujarvat	1877	OS name book

Meall Mor

Place ID 5008 NF 80994 27165 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG big lump

ScG meall mòr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Bald mapping seems more accurate in terms of position. The name is Gaelic ScG meall mor = 'big lump' - a rather prosaic name!

Meall Mor

2014

Modern OS mapping

Meall Mor

1877

OS 1st edition

Maol More

1804

Bald mapping

Meall na Bràthan

Place ID 1791 NF 87546 45377 Benbecula W1iay

? ON cleared path of the mountain

ScG?

ON?

Contour Rise

complete?

The name literally translates to 'round hill of the querns' which seems a little odd unless it was a quern 'quarry' which have been recorded at a couple of sites on North Uist.

ON brautin = 'The cleared path' would make more sense to me. In Iceland Vallarbraut occurs seven times and the specific here is ON vallar = 'of the paddock'.

With the ScG mh pronounced as a /v/ I wonder if in fact this was the root.

n Norway there are four, Fjellbraut = 'cleared path of the hill' which strikes me as a better topographical root.

Thomas generally has a reliable ear has /Braitean/ and this would sound very different.

ON brautin = 'The cleared path' would make more sense to me.

Meall na Bràthan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Meall na Brathain	1877	OS 1st edition
Meall an t-Sruth	1866	Admiralty mapping
Ru Bay na Huane	1832	Thomson atlas

Meall na h-Acairseid

Place ID	1023	NF 94230 67210	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG lump of the harbour			ScG meall na acairseid		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Meall na h-Acairseid			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Meall na Hoa

Place ID 398 NF 87502 57385 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG lump of the (ON?) mound

ScG meall + na + thobha (ON haug)

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

There is an odd, very symmetrical and long mound just to the E of the lump here and that would be the 'mound' referred to in the place name. There are possibly other 'mound' names in the area and this mound could well have been an important place in earlier times as a place of assembly.

The Gaelic language does not like things starting with an 'h' and this word probably comes from ScG tobha = 'hoe'. With lenition this becomes 'thobha' and with 'th' pronounced as 'h' and the 'bh' possibly silent, we get to 'hoa'.

Thomas called it Meall na h-Otha, possibly referring to his Beul na h-Otha in the sea to the E.

Grammatically the article is wrong here as ScG tobha = 'mound' is masculine and this probably indicates that originally the name came from ON haugr - loan words tended to be assigned to the feminine gender. The same probably applies at Leac na Thobha, Loch Portain.

The Oa peninsula on Islay is an impressive place and presumably shares this root.

Meall na Hoa	2014	Modern OS mapping
Meall na h'Ohta	1866	Admiralty mapping
Meall na h-Otha	1866	Admiralty mapping

Meall nan Caorach

Place ID 1788 NF 88396 46085 Benbecula W1iay

ScG round hill of the sheep

ScG meall nan caorach

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Position as on OS 1st series.

Meall nan Caorach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Meall nan Caorach

1877

OS 1st edition

Meall nan C

1866

Admiralty mapping

Mealla Bru

Place ID 593 NF 90730 74760 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON causeway of the mill

ON mylnu + brú

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON brú = 'bridge or causeway' is clearly the generic and so we would expect an ON specific. Whilst On mala = 'of pebbles' would work I wonder if ON milli = 'between' would work with ON brúa = 'of bridges', the preposition here taking the genitive.

With the eye of faith one can see a causeway on satellite imagery on either side of the island.

However this could arise as being part of a sea mill. ON mylnu = 'of a mill' has the possibility of fitting here and the Icelandic version myllu is better.

The cognate notes would support the mill option.

The modern bridge for the Hebridean Way crosses a deeper stretch less than a kilometre to the W.

In Iceland there are 21 Milli names and over 80 Myllu names. In Norway there are two Mylnebrua.

Mealla Bru

2014

Modern OS mapping

Mealla Bru

1877

OS 1st edition

Meanais

Place ID 5373 NF 86444 51665 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON beacon headland

ON varð nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Not an obvious one other than the generic being ON nes = 'headland' There is a Rubha Mhanais on Berneray and at Baleloch, North Uist.

The most likely explanation I can give for the specific is the prefix ON mið- = 'middle. In both cases of the name, the headland could be construed as the middle one of three although it is difficult from a map.

However from the cognate notes, I think the earlier form was /vanish/ rather than /manish/. This will have come about by hypercorrection of /vanish/ = /mhanish/ to /manish/.

With that in mind ON varða = 'beacon' seems a good fit. Commonly in close compounds ON varð-nes = 'beacon headland' works topographically for these names, especially as most are near good ports.

Ð > /-/ is regular as in ar > à. In most of the names, in modern spelling the initial vowel is recoded as /à/ and here one imagines that the /ea/ creates a long vowel sound.

There are five 'Manish' names on Uist and Berneray. Three are recorded on pre-OS maps - all as Vanish. There are fifteen occurrences of Manish recorded on the OS 2nd edition mapping, all on North Uist, Berneray, Harris or Raasay (Skye). For some reason my gut feeling was that it was to do with whale hunting!

ON varða is a common component of place names in Shetland and Orkney with names such as Ward Hill, whilst in Norway there are over 60 places called Vardnes(et) and in Denmark seven Varnæs. In Iceland 78 names begin with Varda- although there are no exact cognates.

Meanais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Meanish	1877	OS 1st edition
Mianis	1877	OS name book
Manish	1877	OS name book
Aird Vanish	1832	Thomson atlas
Aird Vanish	1804	Bald mapping

Mhuir Bhan

Place ID 357 NF 79680 60310 North Uist B1aleshare

ON landing place - field

ON vörr - vang

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

An odd name where one might expect 'shore' rather than 'sea' with one interpretation being ScG muir fair sea' Phonetically with the 'bh' sounding 'v', this is very similar to the place name Morven which is thought to have at its root ScG A'Mhorbhairne = 'the sea gap' which works well topographically. The /h/ is odd as there seems to be no reason with the order as presented for the /h/ to have appeared. I wonder if in fact the root is the close compound ON vörr vang = 'landing place field'.

Mhuir Bhan	1971	Macdonald Two townships
Traigh Eachkamish	1877	OS 1st edition
White Mull	1866	Admiralty mapping

Middle Obe

Place ID 1945 NF 83982 63031 North Uist Eaval

Eng middle ScG creek Eng middle + ScG òb

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There are three tidal pools or creeks here and this one is the middle one.

Middle Obe

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Mile Bruit

Place ID 1038 NF 75590 76690 North Uist V1allay

ON between the destroyers

ON milli *brjót

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

An odd name that looks unfamiliar. French 'a thousand noises'?!
I think the ON múla brot = 'a fragment of the headland' works well topographically and phonetically.

ON milli = 'between' is another possibility and looks better.

ON milli = 'between' is another possibility and looks better.

Slightly poetically I suggest ON mille brjót = 'between things that destroy'. This works well as it is the entrance of the firth, a difficult entrance with skerries in the middle and done either side.

Niclain adds 'This is a good fishing spot'.

Cox discusses Muile Mucal and deives it as ON Múlinn Mykli = 'big headland' with an 1834 version of Mile Mucal.

In Iceland there are two Brjótsker and five simplex Brjótur.

Mile Bruit

2014

Modern OS mapping

Milebruid

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Mile Bruit

1877

OS 1st edition

Mill Croft

Place ID	6368	NF 76751 34611	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
Eng mill croft			Eng mill corft		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Mill Croft			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Corn Mill			1877	OS 1st edition	

Mill Lade

Place ID	6369	NF 77148 34585	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
Eng mill lade			Eng mill lade		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Mill Lade			1877	OS 1st edition	

Milton House

Place ID 6150 NF 73415 26212 South Uist Loch Eynort

Eng mill town Eng mill town

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The house is on the site of an old township.

Milton appears on the Bald mapping so dates back to 1804 at least.

As in some other names that can be dismissed as English, it is perfectly possibly that this has Norse roots as ON mylna tún

Milton House	2014	Modern OS mapping
Milton	1877	OS 1st edition
Milton	1804	Bald mapping

Mingearraidh

Place ID 6146 NF 74877 26544 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON main enclosure

ON megni gerđi

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

The ON megiċ = 'main' is often used as here as a suffix. The dative case is probably the most likely as ON megni.

Mingearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Mingarry	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------	------	-------------------

Mingary	1877	OS 1st edition
---------	------	----------------

Mingary	1804	Bald mapping
---------	------	--------------

Minish

Place ID 1210 NF 90170 70580 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON middle headland

ON mið nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON miðr = middle works with this headland being the middle of a large bay there. With ON nes = 'headland' being neuter we might expect the reflex ON mitt.

In Norway there are 25 place names Midtnes(et) whilst in Iceland there are a paltry 20 Miðnes names.

Minish

2014

Modern OS mapping

Collastrome

1877

OS 1st edition

Misigearraidh

Place ID 5829 NF 81165 75026 North Uist S1ollas

ON narrow enclosure

ON mjós gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

The initial vowel is not quite as one might like. There has been shortening but this could be explained by the hiatus thereafter. Epenthesis after the /s / is regular.

However a simpler alternative is ON miðr = 'middle' which has its neuter ON miðs.

However on reflection in neither of these cases would one expect the genitive case. Back to the drawing board.

ON mýs = 'of the midges' would probalby work well.

There is only one lace in Iceland with the name starting with Mis-, Misdýpin. There are however over 180 starting with Miðs-. However in all these the next section start with a word beginning with /s/.

Misigearraidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Moineach Cainis

Place ID 953 NF 89060 65440 North Uist Lees

'Cainis' + ScG mossy ground

ScG moineach + 'Ceithinis'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Ceithinis for details

Moineach Cainis

2014

Modern OS mapping

Moineach Cainis

1877

OS 1st edition

Moineach Loch Portain

Place ID 222 NF 92395 72774 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG moor of Loch Portain

ScG moinean loch + ON borg tún

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

For details see Loch Portain.

Moineach Loch Portain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Mòinteach Mhòr

Place ID	6337	NF 76457 33800	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG big moor			ScG mòinteach mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Mòinteach Mhòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Mointeach Mhòr			1877	OS 1st edition	

Mòinteach Uineabhal

Place ID 2271 NF 78868 67333 North Uist Central West

'Uineabhal' + ScG moor

ScG mointteach + 'Uineabhal'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

See Uineabhal (P#1603) for details.

Mòinteach Uineabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Mointeach Uineval	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Mòinteach Unival	1877	OS 1st edition
Mònach Unival	1877	OS name book
Unicval Moss	1877	OS name book

Mol a' Tuath

Place ID 6462 NF 85654 35107

South Uist

B1einn Mhòr

ScG storm beach of the north

ScG moll a' tuath

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Mol a' Tuath

2014

Modern OS mapping

Mholl Tha

1877

OS name book

Bagh bha Thuath

1877

OS name book

Moulfohua

1877

OS name book

Mol a Tuath

1877

OS 1st edition

Moulfohoua

1804

Bald mapping

Mol an t-Salainn

Place ID 5702 NF 90358 79358 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG storm beach of the salt

ScG mol an t-Salainn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Mackillop writes (p45) 'an t-Salainn, gen. case of nom. G word salann, salt. Pebble beach of the Salt. I can trace no reason why this beach is so called, unless it is from sea-brine.'

Could this have been to do with salt production?

Mol an t-Salainn

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Mol Greannac

Place ID 294 NF 76900 63020 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG rough shingly beach

ScG mol greannach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There are two options here: ScG greannach = 'rough' or 'hairy' and ScG grianach = 'sunny spot'.
With the weather of the last few weeks, I've opted for the former!

Mol Greannac

2014

Modern OS mapping

Mol Greannach

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Mol Mhartuinn

Place ID 1137 NF 71960 73970 North Uist B1almartin

'Mhartuinn' + ScG storm beach

ScG mol + 'Mhartuinn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Although the obvious interpretation is 'Martin's storm beach', the unit 'Mhartainn' is discussed under Baile Mhartainn (P#2332).

The proximity of Mol Mhartuinn to both St. Clement's Chapel, Cille Pheadair and here the site of 'Erd Houses' show both the strong religious and historical roots in the area.

Mol Mhartuinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Mol Mhurchaidh

Place ID 5983 NF 82991 78436 North Uist S1ollas

ScG Murdo's shingle beach

ScG mol mhurchaidh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

It is another coincidence or not that ON virki = 'stronghold' might be appearing here again when Crawford excavated a Norse fort here. See the attached link for more info about this.

Mol Mhurchaidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Mol Mòr

Place ID 5080 NF 84660 81143 North Uist B1oraraigh

ON moor or ScG big + ScG shingle shore ScG mol mòr or ON mór

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

see Mullach Mòr for a discussion.

ScG mol is itself a lan word from ON moll but the order here determines that the meaning is the ScG one.

Mol Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------	------	-------------------

Mol Mòr	1877	OS 1st edition
---------	------	----------------

Mol Mòr

Place ID	6713	NF 75152 46308	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG big shingle bank			ScG mol mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Mol Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Mòl Mòr			1877	OS 1st edition	

Mol na Ba Duinne

Place ID 5523 NF 87299 50158 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG shingle beach of the bay of the fort

ScG mol na bàgh dùin

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ScG duinne is the genitive feminine singular of ScG donn = 'brown' and so the grammar works here.

It is however such an odd name for a site that one has to ponder.

ScG bàgh dùin = 'bay of the fort' is a much more realistic name although the fort has been transposed from the bay less than 1km to the W.

The article is odd for this case but is explained by correction for the 'brown cow' folk etymology.

Mol na Ba Duinne

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Brown Cow Beach

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Mol na Mias

Place ID 1098 NF 73640 76750 North Uist Grim1inish

ScG storm beach of the ON stagnant pool ScG mol na ON viesa

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Quite where the OS name book gets its 'Bay of the small shells' I am not sure. ScG mias = 'plate', 'basin' or rarely 'altar'. I suspect Beveridge's alternative of Mol na Cille = 'beach of the chapel' might be based upon the 'altar' interpretation. Holliday talks about Sloc Mhaois on Tiree (<http://www.tireeplacenames.org/vaul/sloc-mhaois/>) as coming from ON veisa = 'pool, pond of stagnant water' creating ON malar veisa = 'stagnant pool of the shingle beach' and this would fit perfectly here topographically.

All five occurrences of Mias occur on Uist or Islay and none in the other Gaelic speaking areas. The Lewis ones are all of the form Miasaid which Cox interprets as ScG basin.

Both components occur in Icelandic place names but not together.

Mol na Cille	1911	Beveridge
Mol na Mias	1877	OS 1st edition

Mol nan Easgann

Place ID 1326 NF 83614 79373 North Uist S1ollas

ScG shingle beach of the eels

ScG mol nan easgann

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mol nan Easgann

2014

Modern OS mapping

Mol nan Easgann

1877

OS 1st edition

Mol Scaapar

Place ID 199 NF 95161 69350 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Scapar' + ON barren

ScG mol + 'Scapar'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Scapar for details.

Mol an Sgapair

1877

OS name book

Mol Scaapar

1877

OS 1st edition

Scaper Beach

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Mol Teiltein

Place ID 112 NF 93250 86400 North Uist Central West

ON lower protrusion tongue + ScG shingle beach ScG mol + ON hæl - teinn

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst ScG mol = 'shingle beach' is clear, the rest is not.

If Norse, 'Teiltein' would be two components, if Gaelic just one.

The best offering I have is ScG tuitéan = 'tides' or 'floods' which would work topographically as the shingle beach here is above the level of low tide. One might however expect an article and the first vowel sound is not a good match.

If pushed one might make a case for ON hæli + steinn = 'shelter stone' and there is indeed a good rock shelter here just above the beach. The disappearance of the 's' is not without precedence when in front of a 't', e.g. Tromso probably deriving from ON straumr. This however is restricted to the first element of a name.

A way around this was suggested by John Holliday with the generic ON tjörn = 'tarn'. This could still work with ON hæli with the referenced shelter being Dun Caragarry which provides an extended natural rock shelter with an extended outlook.

A final option - and to my mind the best - uses a Rygh definition of ON hæll Heel, Stick, Pole. As a mountain name, the word can be explained either in the same way as rod and pole in the same application, or rather about a lower protrusion under a higher one (actually: the heel of the mountain)'. This works here with the knoll on the shore here and the prominent end at the north of it could be described as a tongue.

The simplest solution that fits the best phonetically is ON teinn = 'spit of land' and this works topographically too.

Mol is relatively common in Scottish place names.

Over twenty places in Iceland begin with Hæl, although Hæll = 'heel' is a possibility. There is no tarn but there are three bays and two streams. Hælstangi, a headland name, is close to a cognate.

A similar pattern occurs in Norway although there is an Hældamtjernet and an Hælfleltjørna.

Mol Teiltein	2014	Modern OS mapping
Mol Teiltein	1877	OS 1st edition

Mol Teiltein

Place ID 996 NF 93220 64000 North Uist Lees

ScG shingle beach + ON shelter-stone ScG mol + ON hæli steinn

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This has been one of the hardest to try and understand and I have not really got anywhere even though I have been looking at it on and off for a couple of years.

The best I can come up with is the close compound ON hæli steinn = 'shelter-stone' as there are several good rock shelters on the shore here.

Quite how the 's' has gone missing I am unsure although the replacement of 'h' by 't' is relatively common. An alternative for the generic is ON tang = 'tongue' used to mean 'spit of land'.

The specific occurs regularly in Iceland as does the generic but not together whilst in Norway we have an Hælgrøytstein and an Hælgattstein.

There is a Hælstangi in Iceland and Hælavik occurs twice as does Hælsvik.

Mol Teiltein	2014	Modern OS mapping
Mol Teiltein	1877	OS 1st edition
Pool Telten	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Mol Thartabhaig

Place ID 5982 NF 83475 78667 North Uist S1ollas

ON bay of the herds + ScG shingle beach ScG mol + ON hjarða vág

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name looks like an ON vágr = 'bay' name. The obvious specific would be ON hjart = 'stag' but it is not a likely place for stags to be found. ON hjarð = 'shepherd' might be better.

Mol Thartabhaig

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Mol Thorrugh

Place ID 5619 NF 64240 61142 North Uist Heisker

ON ? ScG storm beach

ScG mol + ON ?

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Macaulay (p43) gives us ScG mol = 'shingle beach' but 'Horrugh derivation unknown'.
Druim Horrugh (q.v. #2354) could well share the derivation.

Mol Thorrugh

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

Molatuath

Place ID 6461 NF 85654 35107 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG shingle bank to the north ScG ,mol a' tuath

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The settlement name after Mol 'a Tuath (P#5462)to the N.

Molatuath	2014	Modern OS mapping
Molatuath	1877	OS 1st edition
Mol Bha Thuath	1877	OS name book
Moulatou	1804	Bald mapping

Morornish

Place ID 1077 NF 76140 75830 North Uist V1allay

ON headland of the bog

ON mýrar nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The root must be Norse with the generic being ON nes = 'headland'. Two options work well for the specific, ON murar = 'walls' is one and the other is ON mýrar = 'of the bog'. The initial vowel however is not a good fit.

I suspect the latter as the area is low-lying although there are several walls on and around it.

Possibly ON mjór = 'narrow' might be a better fit.

In Norway there is a Mæraneset and in Iceland a Mýrarnes.

Morornish

2014

Modern OS mapping

Morornish

1877

OS 1st edition

Morrison Rock

Place ID 1762 NF 89533 53184 North Uist Ronaigh

Eng Morrison rock Eng Morrison rock

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

ScG?

ON?

complete?

I have no idea as to who the Morrison referred to is but the Clan Morrison, Mhic Gille Mhoire, were based on Lewis.

Morrison's Boe 1862 1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Morrison Rock 1861 Thomas chart

Moss Cottage

Place ID	5181	NF 79508 52058	B1enbecula	B1aile nan Cailleach	
Eng moss cottage			Eng moss cottage		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
As on the tin.					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Moss Cottage			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Muillichinn

Place ID 6624 NF 79279 41919 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON slope of the headland

ON múla kinn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OSNB gives us "Point of the Arm" based on ScG muille = 'sleeve' and ScG ceann = 'head'. It seems an odd name. ON múli = 'promontory, headland' and ON kinn = 'creek' or 'steep slope' would produce ON múla kinn = 'steep slope of the headland' which would make some form of sense topographically.

That said, bearing in mind other nearby places (e.g. Loch a' Mhuill Mheadhonaich, I did think about ScG maol = 'rounded headland' but the order is odd.

Muillichinn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Muillichinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Mullach

Place ID 2335 NF 72923 73324 North Uist B1almartin

ScG shoulder ScG mullach

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book writes 'shoulder' which works for me.

There are 149 Mullachnames on the OS 2nd edition mapping although only three are in a simplex form.

Mullach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Mullach	1877	OS 1st edition

Mullach a' Ghlinn Mhòir

Place ID 6168 NF 81261 25647 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG summit of the big geln

ScG mullach a' ghlinn mhòir

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Gleann Mòr (P#6169) is the referent.

Mullach a' Ghlinn Mhòir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Mullach a' Ghlinn-mhòir

1877

OS 1st edition

Mullach Aird a' Mhorrain

Place ID 5976 NF 83300 78978 North Uist S1ollas

'aird a' mhorrain' + ScG summit

ScG mullach + 'Aird a' Mhorrain'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

For details of the Aird a' Mhorrain element see Àird a' Mhòrrain (P#1325)

Mullach Aird a' Mhorrain

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Mullach an Dùin

Place ID 2433 NF 80821 75090 North Uist S1ollas

ScG summit of the fort

ScG mullach an dùin

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Niclain wrote 'This is the name given to the top of the hill in which the din is. The villagers used it for a place to raise their peursa. It used to be a long piece of wood, a cap, or something like that, above it. There were three peursa hills in the Sollas area, as we know it today. It was here that the villagers used to gather at special times. The peursa was an important part of town life — at the seaweed collection for example. Seaweed on the Lower Beach was divided between the villages: from Seagull Point to Vallay between Malaclete, Middle Quarter and Sollas. Polluing's seaweed was Sollas and Grenitote; Sollas had one division and Grenitote had two divisions. The village of Grenitote was allowed to harvest the seaweed to the east of the town. Someone from each town would take turns touring the coast. It was up to this man to lift the peursa to let the others know if there was enough seaweed for all of them. If the seaweed was scarce, they would make up the towns that were allowed to take seaweed with them by looking at the peursa. For other purposes, such as division and herding, the peursa was raised by the district clerk.'

Mullach an Dùin

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Mullach Hornari

Place ID 518 NF 86410 57600 North Uist Griomasaigh

'Hornari' ScG hill

ScG mullach + 'Hornari'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

A prominent hill above Bagh nam Feadag although only named by Thomas on his 1861 chart. For a discussion on 'Hornari' see Loch Hornaraigh (P#395).

This hill is precisely the hill on which the Grimsay wheelhouse that was occupied by the Norse for a period is situated.

Mullach Hornari

1861

Thomas chart

Mullach Mòr

Place ID	2440	NF 81716 75113	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG large summit			ScG mullach mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Mullach Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Mullach Mòr

Place ID 5082 NF 84910 81743 North Uist B1oraraigh

ON moor or ScG big + ScG top

ScG mullar mòr or ON mór

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The obvious interpretation is that given by the OSNB as 'The big top' based upon ScG mullach = 'top' with its 149 well scattered across the Gaelic heartland.

I would observe here however the three prominent features of the hill, loch and boulder beach all share mòr as their specific. It is possible that ON mór = 'moor' is the specific rather than ScG mòr = 'big'.

There are ten Mullach Mòr on the OS 2nd series mapping.

Mór occurs as a simplex name 22 times in Iceland and many many more times in Norway as Mo - too many to easily count as it occurs as the first element of over 12,000 place names!

Mullach Mòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Mullach Mòr

1877

OS 1st edition

Mullionn luaidh

Place ID 5662 NF 79844 74069 North Uist S1ollas

ScG fulling mill ScG muileann luaidh

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

MacDonald writes this was the site of the fulling mill.

Mullionn luaidh

MacDonald sketch history

N. Grey I.

Place ID 4985 NF 77664 28570 South Uist Loch Eynort

Eng north grey island Eng north grey island

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See S. Grey I. for a discussion on that place name

N. Grey I.

1804

Bald mapping

Na Bàighe-dubha

Place ID 5024 NF 77635 29270 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG the black bay

?ScG bàighe-dubha

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Black Bays' although the grammar is not as I would expect but that could be my failing. ScG bàigh is the singular genitive of the feminine noun ScG bàgh = 'bay'.

ON dov = 'trembling ground' (Rygh) might work for a generic here as might ON döf = 'backside' preceded by a specific involving ON vágr = 'bay' perhaps ON vágar = 'of the bays'.

Na Bàighe-dubha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Na Baighe-dubha

1877

OS 1st edition

Strom Dou

1804

Bald mapping

Na Cnocan Biorach

Place ID	5966	NF 79447 73497	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG	The pointed small hillock		ScG na cnocan biorach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
	Na Cnocan Biorach		1997		Niclain Place names of Sollas

Na Cnocan Dubha

Place ID	5960	NF 79658 73478	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG	The black small hillock		ScG na cnoc -an dubha		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
	Na Cnocan Dubha		1997		Niclain Place names of Sollas

Na Creachain

Place ID 5579 NF 85373 45438 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG the bare wind-swept rocky ground ScG na creachann

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Although it is not totally clear, I think that ScG creachann = 'bare wind-swept summit' or 'hard rocky surface without foliage' and these are good topographical fit here.

Na Creachain

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Na Creagan

Place ID 6431 NF 79256 36126 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG The crags

ScG na creagan

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

An example of the dative case.

Na Creagan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Na Creagan

1877

OS 1st edition

Na Creagagan

1877

OS name book

Na Cuidheacha Beag

Place ID 5827 NF 81148 75017 North Uist S1ollas

ScG the + ON pasture of the folds + ScG small

Settlement

Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is a slightly odd word as ScG cuidhe = 'fold' is common but the plural is ScG cuidhean.

All I can think of the addition of a suffix ScG -ach can create a collective noun. This still doesn't explain the final /a/. This all seems contrived.

I wonder if ON kvía haga = 'pasture of the folds' is a solution.

Na Cuidheacha Beag

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Na Dubh-sgeirean

Place ID 5019 NF 82342 26097 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG the black skerries

ScG na dubh-sgeirean

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Black Rocks of Loch Eynort which seems clear.

Na Dubh-sgeirean	2014	Modern OS mapping
Du Sgeir Bheg	1877	OS name book
Na Duisgeirean	1877	OS name book
Na Dubh-sgeirean	1877	OS 1st edition

Na Fir Bhreige

Place ID 2580 NF 88731 71733 North Uist Central North

ScG The + ON sheep slope

ScG na + ON fær brekka

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Martin Martin's 'false sentinels' and Beveridge's 'the false men' (p261) presumably both come from ScG fir breige = 'men of lies' although it is interesting to see ScG fir-bhreige = 'puppets' indicating that this was an expression in use. Martin writes 'There are three stones erected about five foot high, at a distance of a quarter of a mile from one another, on Eminences about a mile from Loch-Maddy, to amuse Invaders, for which reason they are still called false sentinels.' although Beveridge believed he was talking about another site but could not locate it. He also mentions another Fir Bhreige near Toroghas to the W.

Historic site names have a tendency to be old. An obvious generic would be ON bryggja = 'bridge'. ON fjöru = 'of the ebb tide' or 'tidal bridge' in its entirety. With no exact cognate there is a Flobrygga in Norway with the possible meaning flood-tide bridge

Bac-a-stoc (q.v.) is relatively nearby and is perhaps evidence as a pointer towards this meaning.

All sorted? Not really as I then looked for other places with the same name. The good news is that the other places Fir Bhreugach (N Skye), Na Fir Bhreige (South Uist but I can't refund it!), Cnoc an Fhir Bhreige (N Sutherland) are all in good Norse territory. Take away the 'h' and there are 15 more sites and again bar some inland 'Buchaille Breige' are still in Norse country.

A different generic that seems good topographically for these sites is ON brekka = 'slope'. Add to this ON fær = 'sheep' and we have a simple explanation of the names.

ON fyrir = 'before or in front of' would work as the specific as it is often in an abbreviated form furir or firir

As the other sites do not, now at least, have standing stones, one wonders how the name developed there.

Martin writes meaning.

The Norse name was heard by the Gales as Fir Bhreige = 'false men' and moved to the site nearby to which the name makes some sort of sense along with the folk etymology that Martin Martin gives it.

The is another An Fhir Bhreige on the W slopes of Blathaisbhal c12km to the E.

The only occurrence of Bhreige on the OS 2nd edition mapping are two Cnoc an Fhir Bhreige on the west coast of Sutherland. Canmore ohwver lists 4 sites with Bhreige contained within, the other two being on Skye (Clachan Breugach an alternative name) and Iona and both potentially cairn or stone circle sites. (An obvious generic for the Iona site would be ON bryggja = 'bridge'. ON fjöru = 'of the ebb tide' or 'tidal bridge' in its entirety).

In Iceland there are three Sauðabrekka using the cognate ON sauðr = 'sheep' and in Norway two Saubreikka.

Na Fir Bhreige

1877

OS 1st edition

False sentinels

1703

Martin book

Na Fir Bhrèige

Place ID 6447 NF 81287 35295 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Na Fir Bhrèige'

'Na Fir Bhrèige'

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Historic

See Na Fir Bhreige (P#2580) for a discussion of this name.

Na Fir Bhrèige

2014

Modern OS mapping

Na Fir Bhrèige

1877

OS 1st edition

Na h-Athanan Dubha

Place ID 2563 NF 87153 69465 North Uist Central South

ScG the black fords Na h-àthanan dubha

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us the 'Black fords' and this is a reasonable topographical fit. I thought that the ScG na h- would indicate a feminine singular noun and ScG àth = 'kiln' or 'outhouse' is feminine and ScG áth = 'ford' is masculine but the case in the name would appear to be plural and was getting confused.

Luckily Ian MacDonald came to my rescue Gaelically again writing 'That's right about the different genders for these two words, but after the plural definite article and a noun beginning with a vowel, gender doesn't affect the format. The format has to be Na h-, followed by the plural of the noun. And so it could be either word in this case.' 'the black fords' it is!

It is difficult to know what the kilns here would have been used for here in the middle of the moor.

I could find no other occurrence of the name.

Cox however has both an Athabhat and an Athrigill name on Lewis (p169) which indicate that there is the possibility of Norse roots, although he suggests the the Norse might have borrowed the word ScG áth = 'ford' as a loan word. If one is not careful one gets into circular arguments here!

Na h-Athanan Dubha	2014	Modern OS mapping
Na h-Àthanan Dubha	1900	OS 2nd edition
Na h-Àthanan Dubha	1877	OS 1st edition

Na Mealaghaichean

Place ID 1878 NF 78320 56599 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG The round hill of the place of sand

ScG na meall na gainnich -an

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

I think this is a slightly mangled version of ScG na meall na gainnich -an = 'The round hill of the place of sand'.

Na Mealaghaichean

1861

Thomas chart

Na Truinnsichean

Place ID 1642 NF 85768 57861 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG the trenches

ScG na trainseachan

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Dyke would perhaps be more appropriate but these were built in the 1820s and created 38 Scots acres of arable land at a cost of £24. Unfortunately in 1868 the dykes were destroyed in a storm but we are lucky that Thomas' chart of 1861 has the dykes marked. They are still visible today.

Na Truinnsichean

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Narrow Rk

Place ID 1930 NF 87910 58324 North Uist Eaval

Eng narrow rock Eng narrow rock

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG cumhang = 'narrow' crops up regularly in place names. This place probalby started as Sgeir cumhang. Here however with its position in the middle of the sound, it could be ScG caol = 'narrow' but here 'strait' that applies.

Narrow Rk 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Nàrstaigh

Place ID 1269 NF 97597 76913 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigrearraidh

ON north harbour

ON norð stöð

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I spent some time on this one trying to introduce ON knörr = 'freight ship' but the 'k' is not silent and in the end I have given up on this track.

Looking at nearby islands there is an island Sàrstaigh about one kilometre to the S and the closeness of the names seems to be too much of a coincidence, especially as there are no other 'staigh' places I can find aside from one near Pabbaigh, Barra.

Looking at this component, 'staigh', it looks like an island name ON ey. For the specific then ON stöð = 'harbour. 'harbour island' seems to make sense in this context. Indeed this might even do away with the need for the island suffix. Here the preposition ON nær = 'close to' would work for the first component but does not help explain Sàrstaigh. If however the first component was ON norð- = 'north - then there is the possibility of ON suðr- = 'south-' for the other. It fits well topographically.

Whilst the initial vowel is odd, it is possible that knowing the names formed a pair, they evolved closer to each other.

Nordstø occurs at least ten times in Norw.ay with four island Nørdstøya names. There are five of the equivalent Nordhamn(en) in Sweden

Nàrstaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Nearstay	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Narstay	1877	OS 1st edition
Narstay	1866	Admiralty mapping
Narstay I.	1832	Thomson atlas
Narstay I.	1804	Bald mapping

Newton

Place ID 565 NF 89110 77420 North Uist Clachan Sands

Eng new town

Eng new + town

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The first appearance is on OS 1st series and so one can only assume that the root is exactly as it appears Eng new town. It is worthy of observation that ON nýr - tun would mean exactly the same!

Although probably not applicable here, Stewart (p150) does take up this theme: 'An excellent example of the common misunderstanding of this type of name occurs in a report to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by David Dakers Black of Kergord, who had just then spoiled three prehistoric sites. He refers to 'Flemington, called till I got the property North House, evidently a modern name, changed by me because it was modern, and because I had three farms north of it.'

Clearly not a fan of Mr Black or of changing names!

Newton

2014

Modern OS mapping

Newton

1877

OS 1st edition

Newton

Place ID 633 NF 89380 78250 North Uist Clachan Sands

Eng new town Eng new town

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name first appears on the OS 1st series after the farm here was created from the former crofting communities on the machair nearby - hence the name.

For a name that occurs in 1167 place names in the UK, the absence of them in the Gaelic speaking world is not a surprise. This is the only example on the Outer Hebrides with one on Islay being the only one on the Inner Hebrides.

Newton	2014	Modern OS mapping
Newton	1877	OS 1st edition

Nicolson's Leap

Place ID 6353 NF 86499 33100 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

Eng Nicolson's Leap Eng Nicolson's Leap

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Nicolson's Leap	2014	Modern OS mapping
Leum Mhic Neacaiul	1877	OS name book
Nicolson's Leap	1877	OS 1st edition
Nickolsons Leap	1804	Bald mapping

North Ford

Place ID 5699 NF 82301 57788 North Uist Griomasaigh

ON north firth

ON norð fjørð

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

This was a name I 'wrote off' as an English one although always wondered why such a major feature did not have an earlier name.

Thinking further however, it could easily be a Norse name. ON norð fjørð = 'north firth' is a perfect match. One earlier name used /strand/ which is easily converted into Old Norse as

In Iceland there are two Norðfjörður, two Norðurfjörður and a Norðurströnd place names whilst in Norway there are over 100 places beginning with Nordfjord and over 120 names beginning with Nordstrand.

North Ford

1866

Admiralty mapping

North Strand

1794

Huddart mapping

Nunton

Place ID 536 NF 76440 53530 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ON or Eng dwelling of nuns

ON nunnu tún or Eng nun town

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Synonymous with Baile nan Cailleach, it is now the site of Clanranald house and was the site of a nunnery.

Martin Martin wrote in 1703 'Bael-nin-Killach, id est, Nuns-Town' showing that thew two names were both being used at that time.

It is interesting to see that the OS 1st series used only Nunton whilst the modern OS mapping only uses Baile nan Cailleach.

Although apparently English, in fact both components of the name have strong Norse antecedents. ON nunna = 'of the nuns' if the grammar of the word follows the Icelandic example and ON tún = 'dwelling'.

If English, one might have expected Nunston?

Nunton	1877	OS 1st edition
Nunton	1832	Thomson atlas
Nunton	1804	Bald mapping
Nustown	1714	Moll mapping
Nuns-town	1703	Martin book
Nustown	1703	Martin Martin map
Nestown		Other

Oaval

Place ID 582 NF 88380 76000 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON rounded hill of the mounds

ON hauga hváll

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ON hauga = 'of the mounds' works well with the generic ON fjall = 'mountain'. The mounds could refer to both Dun Rosail and the grave mound at Clachan Shannnda.

'g' often disappears in the transition from ON to ScG.

The hill here is not very large and so the generic might be ON hváll rather than ON fjáll

A simpler root might be ON á fjall = 'towards the mountain' which would describe the position of this lump perfectly as it is on the route from the shore to the larger mountain behind.

In terms of vowels ON á > ScG oa is more regular although 'oa' is not a common combination of vowels in Gaelic.

However the cognate notes incline me towards the first option.

In Iceland there is a Haugsfjall and a Haugafjall whilst in Norway there are over 100 places beginning with Haug(e)fjell. There are four Åfjellet in Norway.

Oaval

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oaval

1877

OS 1st edition

Ob a' Chlachain

Place ID 6664 NF 82438 43451 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG bay of the steppington stones ScG òb a' chlachain

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I think the referent stepping stones are at NF 82050 43445.

Ob a' Chlachain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ob a' Chlachain	1877	OS 1st edition

Ob a Ghamhna Dhuinn

Place ID 5596 NF 83271 55531 Benbecula Rueval

ScG bay of the brown stirk ScG òb a' ghamhna dhuinn

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A stirk is a yearling bullock or heifer.

ScG dhuinn is the genitive feminine singular reflex of ScG donn = 'brown'.

How now I hear you ask.....

Brown Stot Bay

1861

Thomas chart

Ob a Ghamhna Dhuinn

1861

Thomas chart

Ob a' Ghibhte

Place ID 937 NF 85990 65000 North Uist Langass

ON creek of the + ON ravine tarn

ScG òb + a' + ON gjá tjörn

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The OS name book writes 'A bay of gifts' which is starting to sound too poetic.

An alternative could be ON kiðja = 'of the kids (young goats)'. The order would then be odd but can be explained by the fact the Gaels used ScG òb = creek as a loan word for ON hóp = 'inlet'. Hence they would have heard the ON hóp word at the end, realised what it meant and placed it at the front in the correct place for them. Not very convincing.

A possible specific is ON djúp = 'deep channel'. With ScG gh sounding the same as ScG dh and using back formation, the initial sound could be dib < ON djúp.

The generic is harder to find. ON tjörn = 'tarn' is the best bet.

An alternative is ON kiðja = 'of kids' and the generic could be as above.

Looking at NSL however gjuv is a Danish derivative of ON gjá = 'ravine' with the Faorese version being Fa gjógv which works well here.

There are two places in Norway called Djupta and more Djuptaren.

I suspect these stem from Djupetjønn or the like which occurs in various forms over 100 times in Norway. There are six Djúpatjörn in Iceland.

Ob a' Ghibhte	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ob a' Ghibhte	1877	OS 1st edition
Kate's Bay	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Ob an Dubha

Place ID	495	NF 87640 56850	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG small black creek			ScG òban dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Although only Thomas names Ob an Dubha, the grammar is odd. Firstly ScG dubh = 'black' is an adjective and so one would not expect the ScG an = 'of the' and secondly 'dubha' does not appear to be a declension of ScG dubh. Two possibilities are that the place was named by the Norse ON dúfa + hóp = 'small land-locked bay of the dove' or ON djúpa + hóp = 'deep small land-locked bay'.

The Gaels had already loaned the word ON hóp as ScG òb and so recognised it and brought it to the front. They didn't recognise the ON dúfa or djúpa component (ScG calman = 'dove') but it sounded close to ScG dubh with an 'a' on the end and after inserting an article they ended up with Ob an Dubha. Perhaps!

A simpler possibility is that the word was ScG òban = 'small creek' and the 'a' at the end was an error.

Ob an Dubha	1866	Admiralty mapping
-------------	------	-------------------

Ob an t-Seann Bhaile

Place ID 517 NF 88240 55100 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG creek of the old town

ScG òb an t-seann bhaile

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The 'old town' referred to was the original settlement at Ceallan, which is to the S of modern day Ceallan.

Ob an t-Seann Bhaile

1866

Admiralty mapping

Ob Bial Snavaig

Place ID 384 NF 80630 55820 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG creek of the mouth of the + ON close-fitting b ScG òb beul + ON snæfa vág

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

There is a Cuithe Bial Snavaig too and so the 'Bial Snavaig' is the first unit we must dissect. ScG bial = ScG beul = 'mouth', 'opening' or 'water' looks likely to be the first component of this unit so we need to understand Snavaig first to help us decide which.

Snavaig is clearly Norse and although ON snær = 'snow' is very tempting there is no reason for 'snow' to be here. A better solution that works phonetically is ON snæfr + vág = 'narrow or close-fitting bay'. With a narrow and tidal entrance, this works extremely well topographically.

Taking this into account, it looks like ScG bial = 'mouth' in this case with the unit 'Bial Snavaig' meaning 'mouth of ON Snavaig' referring to the entrance.

Finally then Ob Bial Snavaig would mean 'creek of' the 'Bial Snavaig' unit or 'creek of the mouth of the tight-fitting bay.' A great name for a little place!

Ob Bial Snavaig

1877

OS 1st edition

Ob Beul Snamhaig

1866

Admiralty mapping

Ob Dubh

Place ID	508	NF 85173 56306	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG black creek			ScG òb dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Although only Thomas names Ob an Dubha it is adjacent to the Rubha Dubha on the current OS mapping.

Ob Dubh		1866	Admiralty mapping
---------	--	------	-------------------

Ob Dubh

Place ID	6600	NF 85520 40233	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG black creek			ScG òb dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Ob Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Ob Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Ob na Bà

Place ID 5583 NF 84289 53890 Benbecula Rueval

ScG small bay of the cow

ScG òb na bà

S1alt water

Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Ob na Bà

1861

Thomas chart

Cow Creek

1861

Thomas chart

Ob na Cara

Place ID 503 NF 86110 55440 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG creek of the fish-trap

ScG ob na cara

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Thomas writes 'Weir Bay' but it is more likely to be a fish-trap, albeit of a weir design. The line of stones is still visible. The ScG cairaidh = 'fish trap' to English ears would sound like 'cara' as the 'dh' would disappear and the initial 'ai' sounds like a simple 'a'.

Ob na Cara

1866

Admiralty mapping

Ob na Creige

Place ID 5589 NF 84894 55080 Benbecula Rueval

ScG bay of the crag ScG òb na creige

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Ob na Creige 1861 Thomas chart

Ob nam Muca-Mara

Place ID 6588 NF 83276 40615 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG little creek of the whales ScG oban nam muca-mara

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A natural stranding or a place for drive hunting?!

Ob nam Muca-Mara 1877 OS name book

Whale Bay 1877 OS name book

Ob nan Stearnain

Place ID	1154	NF 91160 68680	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG creek of the (common) terns			ScG ob nan stearnain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Lake			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Ob nan Stearnain			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Ob nan Stearnain			1877	OS 1st edition	
Obb na Stearnan			1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh	

Òb Sàile

Place ID 5301 NF 81181 48682 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG salt water creek

ScG òban sàile

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

Òb Sàile

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ob Sàile

1877

OS 1st edition

An t-ob Sàile

1877

OS name book

Salt Water Bay

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

An t-Ob Saile

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Oban a' Bhiora

Place ID 5214 NF 82363 47828 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG creek of the pointed object ScG òb a' bhiora

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG bior = 'pointed object' is masculine hence the lenition.

Oban a' Bhiora	2014	Modern OS mapping
Oban a' Bhiora	1877	OS 1st edition

Oban a' Chlachain

Place ID 856 NF 81920 64010 North Uist Berneray

ScG creek of the stepping stones

ScG oban + a' + chlachain

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The ScG a' = 'of the' is interesting as it requires a singular noun after it. However ScG clachan = 'stepping stones' or 'church town' and both are singular. Looking at Clachan an Luib elsewhere, I suspect it is the stepping stones interpretation.

Oban a' Chlachain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oban a' Chlachain

1877

OS 1st edition

Bridge Bay

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Oban an Innseanaich

Place ID 757 NF 86580 59060 North Uist Eaval

ScG creek of the place of the meadows ScG òban am innsean -ach

S1alt water

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Whilst the literal translation is 'creek of the Indian', a topographical alternative of the last component is ScG innsean +-ach = 'Creek of the place of the meadows' which works well topographically.

The article is wrong but this could be an effect of resemanticization.

Oban an Innseanaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oban an Innseanaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Indian Bay

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Oban Dùn Saibh

Place ID 5341 NF 86392 49855 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG fort 'Saibh' creek

ScG òban dùn 'Saibh'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

See Dun Seimhe (P#5522) for a discussion of that component/

Oban Dùn Saibh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ob Dun Seimhe

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Bay of Duine Saigh

1804

Bald mapping

Òban Haca

Place ID 5368 NF 84309 52240

Benbecula

Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG little creek + 'Haca'

SCG òban + 'Haca'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

See Haca for a discussion of the name.

Òban Haca

2014

Modern OS mapping

Òban Haca

1877

OS 1st edition

Oban Honary

Place ID 596 NF 90310 75130

North Uist

Lochp1ortain

'Honary' + ScG small bay

ScG òban + 'Honary'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

See Honary (P#588) for more details

Oban Honary

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oban Honary

1877

OS 1st edition

Oban Irpeig

Place ID 548 NF 80800 63690 North Uist C1arinish

ON gravel-bank bay + ScG small creek

Scg òb - an + ON eyrr vík

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

Separated from the open sea by Tairbeart, a stone bank, makes ON eyrr + vík= 'gravel-bank bay' a good topographical fit.

The initial vowel sound is perhaps not as good as it should be in quality.

An alternative is ON írar = 'Irishmen' whilst Icelandic has developed Ic íra = 'of the irishman' and this is, for example, reflected in several Ireby place names in Cumbria, used as evidence for the spread fo Gaelic there.

ON íra vík = 'bay of the Irishman' would be a good phonetical fit and interesting as the bay is adjacent ot a modern church site and a couple of 'cross' names.

There are no other -peig names on the 2nd editon mapping but there are 21 of the similar -paig names in 16 clusters, the majority in the Norse speaking area. On Uist the other came is Scolpaig, on Lewis there is an Arspaig twice, an Arpaig and an Uspaig whilst on Skye there are two Stapaig names. Aside from two of the Lewis names they are all close to a bay. Stapaig for example is almost certianly from ON stöð vík = 'bay of the harbour'. Cox derives one of the Arspaig names from ScG for black-headed gull but I do wonder about ON arðr = 'plough', possibly with the genitival 's'.

Oban Irpeig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Oban Irpeig	1971	Macdonald Two townships
Oban Irpaig	1877	OS name book
Oban Irpeig	1877	OS 1st edition

Oban Lionacleit

Place ID 5121 NF 78426 50362 Benbecula T1orlum

ON lionacleit ScG land locked bay

ScG oban + ON lionacleit

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Now landlocked this was open to the sea less that 150 years ago. See Lionacleit for a discussion of the name.

Oban Lionacleit	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Liniclete	1877	OS name book
-----------	------	--------------

Oban Liniclett	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

òban Lin-cleit	1877	OS name book
----------------	------	--------------

Oban Lianacleit	1877	OS name book
-----------------	------	--------------

Oban Mhic Eoghain

Place ID	2595	NF 89293 69753	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG son of Ewen's creek			ScG oban + mhic + eoghain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Oban Mhic Eoghain			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Oban Mhic Eoghain			1877	OS 1st edition	

Oban na Buail'-uachdraich

Place ID 6729 NF 77592 46504 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG little creek of the upper cattle-fold Scg òban na buaile uachdaraiche

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Oban na Buail'-uachdraich 2014 Modern OS mapping

Oban na Buail' -uacraich 1877 OS 1st edition

Oban na Curra

Place ID 854 NF 82980 63490 North Uist Eaval

ScG creek of the heron

ScG òban na corra

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The OS name book goes for 'The Crane's Creek although one would have expected ScG corra = heron and several of them giving us ScG nan ='of the (pl)'. However Dwelly lists ScG curra as an alternative and so I suspect that this is correct.

Oban na Curra

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oban na Carra

1877

OS 1st edition

Crane Bay

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Oban nam Fiadh

Place ID 849 NF 83990 63010 North Uist Eaval

ScG creek of the deer ScG òb nam fiadh

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Oban nam Fiadh 2014 Modern OS mapping

Aird nan Laogh 2000 Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Oban nam Fiadh 1877 OS 1st edition

Deer Bay 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Oban nam Forsanan

Place ID 5359 NF 85010 50297 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG little creek of the 'Forsanan'

ScG òban nam + 'Forsanan'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

See Forsanan (P#5361) for a discussion of that element.

I am unclear as to why the Gales chose the plural article ScG nam other than 'recognising' an /-an/ ending as a plural.

Oban nam Forsanan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ob nam Forsannan	1877	OS name book
Oban nan Forsanan	1877	OS 1st edition

Oban nam Muca-mara

Place ID 777 NF 87960 59180 North Uist Eaval

ScG creek of the whales

ScG òban nam muca-mara

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

Whales in the plural so either one herd of whales or a regular occurrence? There is much more detail on my blog about this: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/drive-hunting-of-whales-in-the-uist>

Oban nam Muca-mara

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oban nam Muca-mara

1877

OS 1st edition

Oban nan Cròthintin

Place ID	5315	NF 85001 48088	Benbecula	Loch Uisgeabhaigh	
ScG creek of the ? Nuts			ScG òban nan ? Cnòtan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON? <input type="checkbox"/> complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Creek of the Nuts' but the closest I can find is ScG cnòthan = 'nuts' which does not seem awfully close although the interchange of /n/ and /r/ can occur (e.g. cnoc pronounced croc).

ScG cròithean with 17 different meanings in Dwelly. 'circle', 'sheep-pen' or 'cottage' seem the best options here.

Looking to Norse roots, there are similarities with the relatively nearby E. na Cruviechad. ON krofinn = 'disembowelled' perhaps with ON tún = 'house' but all very very speculative.

Oban nan Cròthintin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Oban nan Cròthintin	1877	OS 1st edition
Oban nan Cròitean	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Sheepfold Bay	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Loch na Croaden	1804	Bald mapping

Oban nan Sruthan

Place ID	608	NF 87850 74780	North Uist	Clachan Sands	
ScG small bay of the currents			ScG òban nan sruthan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Oban nan Sruthan			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Oban nan Sruthan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Oban Nead an Fhithich

Place ID 6751 NF 78442 45597 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG little creek of the nests of the raven ScG òban nead an fhithich

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One might have expected ScG nid = 'of the nest'. Perhaps plurals would work here although the species is not renowned for nesting communally. The ScG an article goes back to being singular. Perhaps one pair with many nests. There are now no trees or any crags here and so the raven nest is not awfully convincing. The /fh/ disappears. To my anglicised ears, this would sound as 'knytan e och (/Nⁱedan/)

Oban Nead an Fhithich

1877

OS 1st edition

Oban Ru Gunisary

Place ID 5192 NF 79636 49147 Benbecula Peter's Port

'Gunisary' + ScG headland creek ScG òban rubha + 'Gunisary'

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion on the element Gunisary see Gunisary Bay (P#5191)

Oban Ru Gunisary

1877

OS name book

Oban Sgiobanais

Place ID 2421 NF 83221 75053 North Uist S1ollas

ON headland of ships + ScG creek ScG òban + ON sgiobanais

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Sgiobanais for a discussing of that place name.

Oban Sgiobanais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bàgh Sgiobainis	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Oban Skibinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Oban Sgibinnis	1877	OS name book

Òban Spònais

Place ID 946 NF 88220 64490 North Uist Lees

'Spònais' + ScG creek

ScG òb + -an + 'Spònais'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The ScG òban = 'creek' is clear.
For Spònais see that place.

Òban Spònais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oban Sponish

1877

OS 1st edition

Oban Strom Sgrianaig

Place ID 201 NF 78060 50532 Benbecula T1orlum

ON hidden bay + ScG current creek

ScG oban sròm + ON skrènn vík

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The sea levels have changed hugely in this area as illustrated by tewqart's paper (Curragh Journal #19 p70). This area was a sea current through from the Lionacleit inlet to the inland waterway.

Sgrianaig screams Norse.

The ending -aig usually come from ON vagr or ON vík.

With Torlum nearby possibly meaning 'market ridge' to have this as a supply base would make sense. ON skran = 'rubbish' or 'marine supplies' although this is not a word that appears in Icelandic place names.

Rygh writes 'Adj. skran, which in some places is used in the same sense as skrin, lean, barren.' and this could apply here.

For me the best option is from ON skrjá = 'to skulk'. The past participle is probalby ON skrènn id it mirrors ON sjá. The Bald name, Oban Craigin Loskie, is clearly a different root entirely.

There are no other place names recorded on the 2nd edition mapping starting with Sgrian-.

ON skran = 'rubbish' or 'marine supplies' is not a word that appears in Icelandic place names however in Norway there is a Skranevågen.

Skrín- appears in eight Icelandic place names and over 50 in Norway.

Skren- appears in no Icelandic names but odes in severla Norwegian place names.

Oban Strom Sgrianaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oban Strom Sgrianaig

1877

OS 1st edition

Loch Oban Craigin Loskie

1804

Bald mapping

Oban Trumaisgearraidh

Place ID 609 NF 87350 74640 North Uist Clachan Sands

'Trumaisgearraidh' + ScG creek

ScG òban + 'Trumaisgearraidh'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

For a discussion about the element 'Trumaisgearraidh', see the place name Trumaisgearraidh (P#534).

Oban Trumaisgearraidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oban Trumisgarry

1877

OS 1st edition

Oban Uaine

Place ID	450	NF 87110 55220	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG green creek			ScG oban uaine		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
An t-Oban Uaine			2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)	
Oban Uaine			1877	OS 1st edition	

Oban Uaine

Place ID 5249 NF 84909 47772 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG green creek

ScG òb -an uaine

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

It is not inconceivable that this is an ON höfn = 'haven' name as the anchorage although difficult of access is very sheltered seeing as ON höfn > ScG uan on Wiay.

Oban Uaine

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oban Uaine

1877

OS 1st edition

Oban Uaine

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Oban Uaine

Place ID 5426 NF 85085 53734 Benbecula Rueval

ScG green creek ScG òban uaine

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Oban Uaine 2014 Modern OS mapping

Oban Uaine 1877 OS 1st edition

Obe McLeadach

Place ID 1972 NF 92960 62739 North Uist Eaval

ON arable land of The mountain sides bay + ScG c ScG òb + ON vík hliðanna akr

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am not aware of a name McLeadach.

The ScG òb = 'creek' is the first component but rather than a ScG mhic = 'son of' name I think this is another ON vik.

Possible roots for the last section could be ON hliðanna akr = 'arable land of the mountain sides'.

Certainly around the creek, the land looks more promising than nearly anywhere else nearby.

Obe McLeadach

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Obisary

Place ID 824 NF 89210 63190 North Uist Eaval

ON sheiling of the small bay

ON hóps + ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

ON hóps = 'of a small landlocked bay or inlet, connected with the sea so as to be salt at flood tide and fresh at ebb', quoting Vigfusson in full, is a perfect description of the entrance to the loch by the stepping stones.

I suspect the name has 'spread' from the original settlement site to the nearby Loch Obisary (P#810)

ON ærgi is unusual in that it is a loan word from Gaelic and so rarely occurs in other areas. ON setr or sætr is probably the closest word in the original language (see Foster's paper for details)

In Norway we have Hopsetra and Hopsætran which therefore has a similar meaning.

Obisary

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oireabhal

Place ID 2342 NF 74243 73261 North Uist Central West

ON mountain of the heather cairns

ON hörğa fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OS 1st edition recorded the name Oreval (and Orival for the skerry to the N). The name book records 'The gold hill' for the mountain of the same name on Harris whilst on Uist it 'signifies 'Border Hill''.

Another possibility for the specific is ON ær = 'ewe' although there is a missing vowel thereafter. This also could explain the curious story that Martin Martin produced of sheep with gold in their teeth.

The best bet in the end to my mind is ON hörğa = 'of the (heathen) cairns'. The development from that are regular. This is probalby referencing the cairns at Cleitreabhal just under 2km to the S.

Oireabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Oreval	1877	OS 1st edition
Oirebhall	1877	OS name book
Oreavhal	1877	OS name book

Oitir an t-Sàmhla

Place ID	301	NF 79538 63330	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG sand-bank of the + ON Samhla			ScG oitir an t- + ON sàmhla		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
See Samhla for details.					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Oitir an t-Sàmhla			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Oitir an t-Slugain

Place ID	2168	NF 77397 63922	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG sand-bank of the gullet			ScG oitir an t-slugain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Oitir an t-Slugain			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Oitir Bheag

Place ID	5207	NF 82045 46912	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG small sandbank			ScG oitir bheag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Oitir Bheag			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Oitir Bheag			1877	OS 1st edition	

Oitir Fheadhach

Place ID 1856 NF 80830 56331 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG wild sandbank

ScG Oitir Fhiadhaich

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

I am unsure where Thomas gets his 'calm' form. Indeed the closest I can get to is ScG fiadhaich = 'wildness' or 'deer hunting'. I cannot see this as a place for hunting deer, and so we end up at a contradiction.

Oitir Fheadhach

1861

Thomas chart

Calm Shoal

1861

Thomas chart

Oitir Fhiadhaich

Place ID 698 NF 74530 65700 North Uist Kirkibost

ScG wild sand-bank

ScG oitir fhiadaich

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

With a pronunciation of /iə.əx/ Norse alternative might be ON jaðar = 'shore edge'.

Oitir Fhiadhaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oitir Fhiadhaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Oitir Fhiadhaich

Place ID 2169 NF 76244 63272 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG wild sand-bank ScG oitir fhiadhaich

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is a similar name in not far away on the shore here.

Oitir Fhiadhaich

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Oitir Mhòr

Place ID 629 NF 89590 79060 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG large shallows

ScG oitir mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Slightly confusingly this has nothing whatsoever to do with the nearby Otternish.

Somewhere on this bank there is allegedly the wreck of a Spanish Armada ship. I always have a good look but....

Ainslie's name of North Strand is clearly English but could easily have come from ON norð strand

Oitir Mhòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Oitir Mhor	1877	OS 1st edition
North Strand	1806	Stockdale mapping
North Strand	1789	Ainslie mapping

Oitir Mhòr

Place ID	706	NF 75690 66790	North Uist	B1ayhead	
ScG big sand-bank			ScG oitir mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Oitir Mhòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Oitir Mhòr			1877	OS 1st edition	

Oitir Mhòr

Place ID 1773 NF 81487 57773 North Uist C1arinish

ScG large sandbank

ScG oitir mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Whilst the current name is clear.

The name recorded on the 1789 Ainslie is North Strand which whilst it could be English would be a direct translation of the ON norð strand = 'north beach'. The lonely other English names on this mapping of uist are added 'hill' names , one 'Hd', several 'l' or 'ld' additions and 'North Uist' itself.

Oitier Mhòr occurs regularly with at least four on Uist.

There is a Norðurströnd in Iceland and close on 100 Nordstrand(a) in Norway.

Oitir Mhòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Oitir Mhor	1877	OS 1st edition
Oitir Mhor	1861	Thomas chart
North Strand	1789	Ainslie mapping

Oitir nan Gamhna

Place ID 1841 NF 89412 58066 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG sandbank of the stirks ScG oitir nan gamhna

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

ScG?

ON?

complete?

A slightly odd name for a tidal shoal. Not an area for cattle to graze!

Oitir nan Gamhna 1861 Thomas chart

Stots Shoal 1861 Thomas chart

Oliver's Rock

Place ID 1838 NF 91947 58666 North Uist Eaval

Eng Oliver's rock Eng Oliver's rock

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Unfortunately I have no idea who Oliver was. The Gaelic equivalent seems to be Olaghair.

It is possible Thomas heard something along the lines of 'olastone' which he made into Oliver's rock. This in turn could have come from ON hól's steinn = 'rock of the hill', a not inappropriate name.

We will never know I fear.

Oliver's Rock	1861	Thomas chart
Oliver's Rock	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Ollag

Place ID 6685 NF 78540 45109 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG knoll - bay

Sch hól - vík

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

This looks like a Norse vág = 'bay' name and there is a clear bay here, one that (almost?) gives access to the sea to the N form Loch Bì. Indeed on the Bald mapping the gap here is clear through to Loch an Òs.

ON hól = 'hill' is unlikely here on topographical grounds.

ON hol = 'hole' has a genitival /s/.

ON höll = 'hall' would be an exciting idea but the genitive is ON hallar. With access to both the sea and the lake, it would be an important spot.

The best bet is ON holr = 'hollow' in the form ON hola.

The idea of a 'hollow bay' does make some form of sense as there is a gap within it with access to the sea.

The cognate notes however lead me to the simpler ON hól = 'knoll' and a close compound.

In Iceland there is a Hólvogur, a Hólvík, a Hólavogur and four Hólsvík place names.

Ollag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ollag	1877	OS 1st edition
An Ollag	1877	OS name book

One Stone Rock

Place ID	1961	NF 89597 63374	North Uist	Eaval	
Eng one stone rock			Eng one stone rock		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
One Stone Rock			1859	Otter Loch Eport chart	

Opasaigh

Place ID 1576 NF 98271 75920 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ON island of the small landlocked bay

ON hóps ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The specific is ON hóps = 'of the small landlocked bay' which is a perfect topographical fit.

The quantity of the initial vowel is poor but this could be reflected in alack of care by the cartographers - the fit is too good to be otherwise.

In Iceland there is a Hópey

Opasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Obasaigh	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Opsay	1877	OS 1st edition
Opsay	1866	Admiralty mapping
Opsay I.	1832	Thomson atlas
Opsay I.	1804	Bald mapping

Or Eilean

Place ID 254 NF 94940 75220 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG mouth island ScG òr eilean

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The most obvious meaning of the first component is ScG òr = 'edge' or 'mouth'. Topographically the island is at the mouth of Loch Amhlasaraigh although the order is not what I would expect.

This could be an effect of the colour 'gold' interpretation of ScG òr as colours often go before the noun. Quite why this island is thought to be gold I do not know.

One off-beat idea is that it could be a mangled translation of Orosay, the name that launched a thousand islands.

Or Eilean	2014	Modern OS mapping
Or Eilean	1877	OS 1st edition
Gold I	1866	Admiralty mapping

Orasaigh

Place ID 27 NF 84710 75950 North Uist A1hmore

'Orasaigh'

'Orasaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

See Orasaigh (P#5357) for a discussion on the name.

Orasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Orwnsag	1911	Beveridge
Orvinsaig	1911	Beveridge
Orvinsaig	1911	Beveridge
Orumseg	1911	Beveridge
Orwansay	1911	Beveridge
Oronsay	1877	OS 1st edition
Orinsay Island	1832	Thomson atlas
Oroncay	1806	Stockdale mapping
Orinsay	1799	Reid mapping
Orinsay	1794	Old Statistitcal Account
Oronsay	1789	Ainlsie map
Orvinsaig	1657	The Clan Donald
Orinstaig	1657	The Clan Donald
Orinsack	1657	The Clan Donald
Orwinsaig	1657	The Clan Donald
Orumsage	1657	The Clan Donald
Onosa	1654	Blaeu mapping
Orinsay		MacDonald sketch history

Orasaigh

Place ID	209	NF 94343 73603	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
'Orasaigh'			'Orasaigh'		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

This is the name that has launched a thousand Scottish islands at high tide - well 16 in fact of the spelling 'Orasay' on the OS 2nd series mapping and all in the Outer Hebrides.
See Orasaigh (P#5357) for a discussion on the name.

Orasaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Orasaigh

Place ID 917 NF 83480 64100 North Uist Langass

'Orasaigh'

'Orasaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

See Orasaigh (P#5357) for a discussion of this name.

Orasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------	------	-------------------

Orasay	1877	OS 1st edition
--------	------	----------------

Orasay Id	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
-----------	------	------------------------

Orasaigh

Place ID 1085 NF 77320 77050 North Uist V1allay

ON tidal island

ON ör-firi ay

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Orasaigh (P#5357) for a discussion on the name.

Several of these islands have ended up with an 'n' in the middle, probably trying to get a bit of the action of St. Oran, a companion of St. Columba. This island even has its Teampull Orain but as Beveridge almost disappointedly writes 'It would however seem more probable that the chapel derived its name from the islet than vice versa'!

Orasaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oronsay

1877

OS 1st edition

Orasaigh

Place ID 2105 NF 72703 17272 South Uist Lochboisdale

'Orasaigh'

'Orasaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Orasaigh (P#5357) for a discussion on the name.

I ma unconvinced that Blaeu's Soa is Orosay although there is not much choice.

Orasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Orosay	1877	OS 1st edition
Soa	1654	Blaeu mapping

Orasaigh

Place ID 5357 NF 84878 51208 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ON ebbing island

ON ör-firis ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The name that launched a thousand tidal islands. There are three in Loch Uisgeabhagh alone.

The full entry in Vigfusson is as follows: 'ör-firi, n., or ör-fjara, u, f. an out-going, ebbing: 'Örfiris-ey is the pr. name for islands which, at low-water, are joined to the mainland by a reef which is covered at high-water; one such island is near Reykjavik; another at Skard in western Iceland, now called Öffirs-ey; so also Ör-fjara, u, f. = the island Orfir in the Orkneys'.

/f/ can disappear easily and the two /r/s presumably could slur together.

An /n/ or even an /m/ appears in some versions and I wonder if there is an enthusiasm to include the /n/ to arrive at a name including Oran, the name of a saint with Iona connections.

Orasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Orasay	1877	OS 1st edition
Orisaidh	1877	OS name book
Ormsay	1877	OS name book
Orasaidh nan Lion	1877	OS name book
Orasaidh nan Lion	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Orransay I.	1804	Bald mapping

Orasaigh

Place ID 5377 NF 86559 52141 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

'Orasaigh'

'Orasaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Orasaigh (P#5357) for a discussion of the name.

Carmichael's name in the OSNB of Tudheidh Bheag rather breaks the mould. It looks like an ON ey = 'island' name but on examination the specific is probalby ON tíð ey = 'tide island' so the same really!

Orasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Tudheidh Bheag	1877	OS name book
Orasay	1877	OS 1st edition
Orasaidh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Ornsay I.	1832	Thomson atlas
M. Ornsay	1804	Bald mapping

Orasaigh

Place ID 6662 NF 82278 43666 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

'Orasaigh'

'Orasaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

For a discussion of the component 'Ornsay' see Orasaigh (P#5357).

Orasaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Orasay	1877	OS 1st edition
Oransay	1877	OS name book
Oriseidh	1877	OS name book
Ornsay	1804	Bald mapping

Orasaigh (Loch Portain)

Place ID 161 NF 89203 72960 North Uist Lochp1ortain

'Orasaigh'

'Orasaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

For a discussion about this very common island name see Orasaigh (P#5357)

Orasaigh (Loch Portain)

2014

Modern OS mapping

Orasay

1877

OS 1st edition

Orasaigh Uisgeabhagh

Place ID 5263 NF 86612 50632 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON 'Orasaigh' + ON 'Uisgeabhagh'

ON 'Orasaigh' + ON 'Uisgeabhagh'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Uisgeabhagh (P#5262) for a discussion of that component and Orasaigh (P#5357) for a discussion of that element.

Orasaigh Uisgeabhagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Orasaigh Uisgebhagh	1877	OS name book
Orasay Uskavagh	1877	OS 1st edition
Oriseidh Uisgebhagh	1877	OS name book
Orasaidh Uisgebhaigh	1877	OS name book
Orasaidh Uisgebhaigh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Orasay	1832	Thomson atlas
Ornsay I.	1804	Bald mapping

Oratobht

Place ID	21	NF 79466 20046	South Uist	Lochboisdale	
ON Auðar's ruins			ON auða toft		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Township			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

It seems likely that, as the 'tot' part of the name comes second, it originates from the ON toft = 'ruin or old foundation'.

In a review of British 'toft' names Peder Gammeltoft writes: 'In a few cases, such as in Auratote, South Uist, and probably also Evertaft, Orkney, where the specific appears to be the Old Norse comparative adjective øfri, 'upper', the situation of the locality is merely stated to be the 'upper' as compared to another locality.'

The siting of 19th C Oratobht would be very much lower when compared to the higher location of the 18th C settlement and this does fit with this idea of their being two comparative localities. However there is no evidence that the lower settlement existed contemporaneously with the upper, so that has to be treated with caution and there are problems with the 'f' sound.

Other possible origins for this unusual place-name include ON aura + tofta = 'ruins of the ounce-land', and ON auðar + toftar. This second name has some intriguing but disparate meanings including 'desolate ruin', 'ruin of riches', or 'Auðar's ruin'.

The first fits well with the site, whilst the second could refer to the possibility of the previous presence of a wealthy ecclesiastical site. The third, 'Auðar's ruin', is the most intriguing possibility. There is a town in NW Iceland with almost exactly the same name, Auðartoftir. It is a place-name mentioned in the sagas as a town founded by Queen Aud 'the deep-minded'. Coincidentally there is a papar place-name nearby within 10 km – Papi.

The fact that the Norse referred to the site as 'ruins' strongly suggests that a building or buildings of some kind must have either predated their arrival or been early in their settlement. This fits well with the local tradition of an early Christian site associated with Kenneth nearby or with it being the site of Queen Aud's settlement.

ON ð often disappears in the Gaelic version of the name. For example, Soay is thought to have come from ON sauða + ey = 'sheep isle'. With this loss of 'ða', ON auðar + toft becomes very close indeed to Oratobht. The possibility that Oratobht could be ON auðar + toft, the ruin of where Auðar lived in the Hebrides is an exciting one.

One final option occurred after reading Stewart where, for example, Orgill was derived from ON ár gil = 'stream ravine'. More detail can be found in the 12 Lost Townships book

Oratobht

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ord bàrnaich

Place ID 5672 NF 80017 66850 North Uist Central West

ON watch - knoll of the piles of stones

ON urða varð - hnjúk

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

MacDonald writes 'A standing stone on the shoulder of Unival is called her [referring to Cailleach Mhòr Staghlaidh] 'Ord bàrnaich' or limpet hammer'.

With the /sh/ sound Gaels introduce between the /r/ and the /d/, the sound is very similar to ON hörgs = 'of the (heathen) cairn' which fits perfectly topographically.

The IPA spelling of the second component is close to /ba:RNɪgʲəɣ/.

My best bet is ON varð - hnjúk = 'watch knoll'.

Alternatively ON varða means 'cairn'

/ord/ could stem from ON urð = 'pile of stones', a very good topographical fit. u > o is regular with vowel alternation (Cox §54 l c) as is -rð > rt (Cox §85 vi b ð) and the transition form rt > rd as part of that morphemic substitution is expected.

There is a Varðgjárhnjúkur and two Vörðuhnúkur in Iceland .

In Iceland Urðar and Urða are relatively common first components to place names occurring over 300 times. There are two Urðavarða placenames

Ord bàrnaich

MacDonald sketch history

Ormacleit

Place ID 81 NF 74857 31260 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON rock of the snakes

ON orma klett

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The generic is clear as ON klettr = 'rock'. The specific is less clear.

Taylor gives us 'shale rock' but I am uncertain as to the Norse word he has used.

There are four Ormakletten in Norway and Orma is a common component in Icelandic names and the assumption is that these come from ON orma = 'of the snakes'

MacNiven (p355) discusses some of other similar names.

These however a rare if non existent on Uist.

A personal name is not impossible.

Ormacleit

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ormiclate

1804

Bald mapping

Ormakled

1654

Blaeu mapping

Ornais

Place ID 6502 NF 85346 37755 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON headland of the harbourless coast ON ör-æfa nes

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Clearly Norse with the generic is ON nes = 'headland'.

The obvious generic is ON horn as part of a close compound. Topographically it is a corner into Loch Sgioport, although not as clear as the other ones.

Indeed ON ör-æfi = 'an open harbourless coastland, a wilderness' is another possibility.

As ON ör-fjara = 'an ebbing' has given birth to many Orasay. Here then it is possible to imagine ON ör-æfi nes becoming Ornais.

Icelandic examples lead me to believe the genitive is ON ör-æfa

In Norway, there are nine Horn(n)ess place names and in Iceland there is a Hornanes. This is to add to two Hornais place names on Uist.

Intriguingly there are seven Ornes places in Norway.

Ornais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ru Ornish	1877	OS name book
Eudh' Ornis	1877	OS name book
Ornish	1877	OS 1st edition
Ornish Point	1877	OS name book
Ru Ornish	1804	Bald mapping

Oronsay

Place ID 1178 NF 92040 68750 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON island of the ebbing

ON ör-firis ay

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This is the name that has launched a thousand Scottish islands at high tide - well 9 in fact of the spelling 'Oronsay' on the OS 2nd series mapping and all in the Hebrides.

The root is ON ör-firi = an ebbing with ON ör-firis as the genitive. This combines with ON ey = 'island' to make ON ör-firis + ey = 'island of the ebbing' i.e. an island that is only such at low tide. As mentioned elsewhere ON 'f' has a habit of disappearing as it does here.

Several of these islands have ended up with an 'n' in the middle, probably trying to get a bit of the action of St. Oran, a companion of St. Columba.

Oronsay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Oronsay	1877	OS 1st edition
Orinsay	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Ostrom Bay

Place ID 1183 NF 91770 68720 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON river mouth current + Eng bay ON óss straumr + Eng bay

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ON óss = mouth of the river is a relatively common Norse root and here describes perfectly the site.

Ostrom Bay 1877 OS 1st edition

Otairnis

Place ID 570 NF 90790 79330 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON otters headland

ON otra nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Taylor gives us Odarnais = 'sharp-point headland based upon ON oddr = 'sharp point' however this is not a good topographical fit. One would struggle to think of a less sharp headland.

I initially agreed with Beveridge's first guess (p89) that is involves ON otr = 'otter'. ON otra = 'of the otters' is probably the best reflex.

It might be worth also considering ON útarr = 'farther out' or ON út = 'towards the outer side' as the headland here is the most northerly on Uist. Vigfusson defines ON út-nes as 'outlying headland'. This would possibly form a pair with Innis, the inner headland to the south.

The initial vowel sound however leaves a bit to be desired.

ON ýtra = 'outer' is a similar alternative.

With the urge to re-semanticist to ScG oitir = 'bank or ridge in the sea', it is possible that this initial vowel could have travelled further than usual.

There are six examples of Otraneset or Otreneset in Norway whilst in Iceland Otra appears as the specific in eight place-names.

There is another Otternish on Ensaigh in the Sound of Harris.

In Iceland there are four places útnes and 16 Utnes(et) names in Norway.

Otairnis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Otternish	2014	Modern OS mapping
Otternish	1877	OS 1st edition
Otternish		MacDonald sketch history

Otir Beul na h-Otha

Place ID 493 NF 87710 57690 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG shallow of the mouth of the + ON mounds ScG oitir beul na h- + ON hauga

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beul na h-Otha (P#494) has been discussed under that name and Thomas mentions 'Beul na h-Otha' on three places on his chart.

ScG oitir = shallow is relatively common in place names with all 35 occurrences on the W coast, although this spelling without the 'l' does not occur on early OS mapping.

Otir Beul na h-Otha

1866

Admiralty mapping

Otir Chalabhaidh

Place ID 502 NF 87050 54580 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG shallow of + ON calf island

ScG oitir + ON calabhagh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Thomas marks this as the shallow or ridge connecting Calabhagh and Eilean Leathann. He is the only one to name it.

Otir Chalabhaidh

1866

Admiralty mapping

Otir Mhic Dhomhnuill Ghlais

Place ID 1265 NF 81210 61910 North Uist C1arinish

ScG sand-bank of grey Macdonald

Scg otir mhic dhomhnuill ghlais

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The MacDonald clan were one of the combatants at the nearby Battle Of Carinis and this refers to that event. Grey MacDonald was a MacLeod who remained fighting after the rest of his party had fled. He was killed in the bay by this hillock..

Otir Mhic Dhomhnuill Ghlais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Oitir Mhic Dhomhnuill Ghlais

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Oitir Mhic Dho'uill Ghlais

1877

OS 1st edition

Paibeil

Place ID 2223 NF 73792 67901 North Uist B1ayhead

ON priest's dwelling

ON papa bæli

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

One of the place names that launched the hugely interesting Papar project: <http://www.paparproject.org.uk/>
The name is interesting as it is thought to have derived from ON papa + bæli = 'priest's dwelling' and so provides evidence of early Christian sites. The site above goes into much more detail than I possibly could, other than to say it is an area full of historic references but ones that are difficult to pin down.

It is possible that there are other 'papar' sites on Uist - Loch a' Phoba

ill being one - an I expand upon this in a post on my blog: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/old-names-and-sites>

Paibeil	2014	Modern OS mapping
Paible	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgir a' Phab	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Paible	1877	OS 1st edition
Pable	1794	Old Statistical Account
Pabbil	1789	Ainslie map
Pabble	1703	Martin book
Paible		MacDonald sketch history

Paiblesgearraidh

Place ID 732 NF 72590 68270 North Uist B1ayhead

'Paibles' + ON enclosed area

'Paibles' + gerðì

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

With Paibeil (P#2223) to the SE this is the pasture surrounding the main settlement and indeed is often the name of a secondary settlement. See that place for a discussion of that component.

This perhaps provides further evidence for Maskeir = 'boundary skerry' as it could lie on the line diving the pasture from the original farm although possibly on the boundary between Paiblesgarry and Balranald.

MacDonald writes 'It was for long part of Balranald Farm'.

Paiblesgearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Paiblesgarry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Paiblisgarry	1911	Beveridge
Paiblesgarry	1877	OS 1st edition
Poblisgarris	1862	Black mapping
Pablisgarry	1832	Thomson atlas
Pablisgarry	1832	Thomson atlas
Pablisgarry	1799	Reid mapping
Pabilskerry	1776	Mackenzie mapping
Pableskarry	1718	Judicial Rental
Paiblesgarry		MacDonald sketch history

Pairc a' Chlaimheamh

Place ID 4923 NF 74279 67525 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG field of the sword

ScG pàirc a' chloidheamh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The Hebridean Connection (p77) gives us 'park of the sword-training'. With a pronunciation of /kLajəv/ it could be Norse but nothing obvious comes to mind.

Pairc a' Chlaimheamh

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Pàirc' a Phump

Place ID 5738 NF 77440 76124

North Uist

V1allay

ScG field of the Eng pump

ScG pàirce a + Eng pump

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

Pàirc' a Phump

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Pàirc' an Sguedhair

Place ID	5733	NF 77291 76069	North Uist	V1allay	<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input type="checkbox"/> complete?
Pàirc' an Sguedhair			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Pàirc' Eachainn

Place ID	5891	NF 78593 72758	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG Hector's field			ScG pàirce Eachainn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Alternatively is could be 'field of small horses'!					
Pàirc' Eachainn			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Pàirc' Iain 'ic Dhonnchaidh

Place ID 5858 NF 80871 74431 North Uist S1ollas

ScG the filed of John son of Duncan

ScG pàirce Iain mhic Dhonnchaidh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

Pàirc' Iain 'ic Dhonnchaidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Pàirc' Uisdein Ard

Place ID	5890	NF 79326 72999	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG hugh's upper field			ScG pàirce Uistein àrd		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Pàirc' Uisdein Ard			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Pàirc' Uisdein Iseal

Place ID	5889	NF 79176 73017	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG Hugh's low field			ScG pàirce Uisdein iséal		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
This contrasts with his high field.					
Pàirc' Uisdein Iseal			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Pàirce an t-Saighdeir

Place ID	6060	NF 83167 74832	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG field of the soldier			ScG pàirce an t-saighdeir		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Pàirce an t-Saighdeir			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Pàirce nan Each

Place ID	5723	NF 77814 76351	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG field of the horses			ScG pàirce nan each		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Enclosure			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Pàirce nan Each			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Park Pt.

Place ID 1938 NF 84922 59051 North Uist Eaval

Eng point of the ScG field ScG pàirc + Eng point

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This will have come from ScG pàirc = 'enclosure'.

Park Pt.

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Partachal

Place ID 4 NF 94700 66000 North Uist Lees

ON hill of the abode of escarpments ON barða stað hváll

ScG?

ON?

Contour Rise

complete?

There are several place-names involving deer of various forms in both ON and ScG around the Lees. There is also a reference to the murder of Archibald the Black there whilst hunting deer and so it is likely that the area was a Deer Park in both Norse and Gaelic times.

Our derivation is slightly simpler than Macniven's in the Cognate Notes with a respelling of ON hjarta + hvall = 'hill of stags'. hv > ch is regular.

The problem however with all the above is the Gaelic habit of inserting a 'sh' between 'r' and 't' - a habit that did not reach Lewis. This would change the sound entirely.

With three syllables in the name, it is possible this is a name of three elements that has survived reduction.

ON barð + staðr + hváll = 'abode of the escarpments hill' works phonetically and topographically.

b>p, medial ð disappearing and hv>ch are all regular.

Partachal is at the E end of the valley that cuts nam Madadh an dis the best area agriculturally in the area, as evidenced by the settlement of Ardmaddy at a later date.

Quite where the OS book gets its 'Point of (Chairny?) herbs from is uncertain.

A similar example for the deer interpretation is quoted by Macniven in *The Vikings in Islay*. Beinn Tart a'Mhill, is a place with the fairly contrived Gaelic meaning of Hill of the Thirsty Hill but probalby stems from Old Norse hjarta + fjall = 'hill of the stags'. Gaels then knew the hill as 'hjartar -fjall' but not its meaning and since it was a hill put beinn (hill) in front of it along with spelling the name as it sounded to them creating Beinn Tart a'Mhill from an Old Norse hjarta-fjall. There are the names Barð(a)staðir, Bárðarstaðadalur, Bárðarstaðahjallar, Barðstaðæyri, and Barðstaðagil I Iceland with the latter showing that ON barð + staðr do work as an onomastic unit. In Norway Barstad occurs over 30 times with over 80 naems beginning with Barstad, Barstadfjellet being the closest to a cognate. This evidence convinces me of this interpretation.

Partachal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Partachal	1877	OS 1st edition
Farstachail	1877	OS name book

Patterson Rock

Place ID 2047 NF 98212 73285 North Uist Lochp1ortain

Eng Patterson rock Eng Patterson rock

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am not sure on the position of this rock.

Mackillop tells us (p33) 'He is Finlay Paterson of Berneray, now deceased. Who was the local registrar, ferryman and shopkeeper. He was born 1876, died 1953'. Another skerry is named after him.

Patterson Rock

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Peighinn a Bhaile

Place ID 5157 NF 76706 52173 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG penny land of the township

ScG peighinn a' bhaile

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

One wonders if this is a reference to the township named on the Bald map but not later, Bailineem or the like.

Peighinn a Bhaile

2014

Modern OS mapping

Peinavalla

1877

OS 1st edition

Peighinn-a'-bhaile

1877

OS name book

Peighinn Lodain

Place ID 1895 NF 76870 54394 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG pennyland of the small marsh ScG peighinn lodain

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG lodan = 'small marsh' and ScG peighinn = 'pennyland'

ON lautin = 'The hollow place' or perhaps ON lóðin = 'The plot of land'. The latter works well with ON peningr v= 'penny', a measure of land.

Peighinn Lodain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Peinylodden	1877	OS 1st edition
Pennyloddan	1832	Thomson atlas
Pennyloddan	1804	Bald mapping

Peighinn nan Aoireann

Place ID 6362 NF 74760 35061 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG pennyland of the raised beaches ScG peighinn nan aoireann

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Dwelly gives us ScG aoireann = 'ferry' rather than Taylor's raised beach.

Peighinn nan Aoireann	2014	Modern OS mapping
Peninaurin	1877	OS name book
Peininirine	1877	OS name book
Penirmrine	1877	OS name book
Peninirine	1877	OS name book
Peninerine	1877	OS 1st edition
Peighinman-aodhrain	1877	OS name book
Peninirine	1804	Bald mapping

Penmore

Place ID 19 NF 71100 70200 North Uist B1alranald

ScG the Virgin Mary's pennyland

ScG peighinn Moire

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Beveridge believed the name derived from the ScG peighinn mhòr = 'big pennyland' – a pennyland being a unit of land area amounting to around 20ha or 50 acres. When spoken, the 'gh' syllable in ScG peighinn is silent and the word sounds like 'peynn', hence the anglicisation to 'pen'.

However when John Blackadder surveyed the farm of Peinmore in 1813, he wrote.... 'This farm is too small to be kept as a farm by itself....' and recorded its size as just 20??? Acres rather than 50. In addition as the pronunciation of ScG mhòr is 'vor', this alternative sound might be expected to be seen or heard in the anglicised place-name, but it is clearly not.

An alternative interpretation, and the one I believe to be the case, is that 'more' is actually derived from the ScG Moire = 'The Virgin Mary' and this idea is explored in considerable detail in the 12 Lost Townships book.

MacDonald writes Peighinn Muire and Peighinn na Trionaid were included in the wadset of Balranald in 1694. (pdf p233). Confusingly however he lists Peinmor and Pein-mhuire in his list of place names, translating the first as 'the big penny land' and the second as 'The Virgin Mary's pennyland' but places both adjacent to Balranald. Could the first be what is now recorded as Gearraidh Mhor? His Pein-Muire marches with Balranald on the East near the high road.'

This is one supported by THC (p23) interpreting Peighinn Mhuire as 'Pennyland of Mary the Virgin)

In the OS 1st edition, the site of the township has moved further E becoming a single farm before disappearing in the modern OS mapping.

peighinn moire	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Penmore	1877	OS 1st edition
Peinmore	1833	1833 Rental
Penmore	1832	Thomson atlas
Peinmore	1828	1828 Rental
Peinmore	1814	1814 Notices of Removal
Peinmore	1813	Blackadder report
Penmore	1799	Reid mapping
Peinmore	1799	1799 rental
Balta more	1751	Dorret mapping
Peinmore	1657	The Clan Donald
Balmoir	1654	Blaeu mapping
Peighinn Muire		MacDonald sketch history
Peinmor		MacDonald sketch history
Pein-muire		MacDonald sketch history

Pennyvanich

Place ID 5606 NF 88371 77037 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG pennyland of the monk ScG peighinn mhanaich

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This strip of land was owned by Iona at some stage and is close to the early chapel site here.

Pennyvanich 1986 Easson land assessment

Pigou

Place ID 1911 NF 80717 56831 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ON ? The brook or quaking

ON ? bekkinn or hvikan

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

At a loss here!

ON hvikan = 'a quaking' might refer to some sinking sand here? ON bekkinn = 'The brook' might refer to current in the ford here? The last has the advantage of occurring twice in Norway.

Cuichmeane (P#5054) from a 17th century rental (Rixson) might be the same place.

Pigou

1832

Thomson atlas

Pigon

1804

Bald mapping

Plocrapool

Place ID 5063 NG 04809 84357 Harris Harris general

ON pale pool

ON bleika® poll

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

For the generic, the obvious choice is ON pollr as there is a large lake here, Loch Phlocrapoil, although ON ból = 'farm' is possible.

Perhaps ON plóga = 'of the ploughs' works if ON ból was the generic.

An alternative is ON blakka = black (n acc) or ON bleikr = 'pale' and looking at the cognate notes, I suspect the latter is the root here.

Plóggarður is a name in Iceland whilst in Norway Plogsætra and Plogstad are Norwegian place names.

Blakk€stad occurs 29 times as the start of Norewgian place names.

In Iceland there are two Bleikjupollur, a Bleikkolluból and a Bleiksbolli. Perhaps Bleikartjörn = 'pale tarn' is the best fit.

There are four names there beginning with Bleikar and all are to do with freshwater.

Plocrapool	2014	Modern OS mapping
Plocropol	2014	Modern OS mapping
Plocrapoll	1877	OS name book
Plocrapool	1877	OS 1st edition
Phocrapol	1877	OS name book
Phlocrapoll	1877	OS name book

Point of Eachamish

Place ID 1774 NF 79097 58041 North Uist B1aleshare

Eng point of + ON increasing headland Eng point of + 'Eachamish'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See 'Eachcamais' (P#325) for a discussion of that name.

Point of Eachamish 1861 Thomas chart

Poll a' Choire Bhig

Place ID 6534 NF 84724 37698

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ScG pool of the small corrie

ScG?

Coastal

Shore

ON?

Not on map.

complete?

Poll a' Choire Bhig

1877

OS name book

Poll an Oir

Place ID 2625 NF 91947 80662 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ScG pool of the shore

ScG poll an + ON ögr

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

Mackillop gives us 'The Pool of the Shore' with ScG oir = 'border' or 'shore'. He also mentions gold!

Maclver gives us 'to me a confused Ore,jorr,G. iðrr, earr; Eng. Ear applied to a ridge or projecting reef enclosing an inlet or pool; IC. The OS 1st edition has ò as the initial letter, which is not how ScG oir starts and ScG oir is feminine an so we would expect ScG na h-

However ON ögr = 'an inlet, a small bay or creek' is probably more likely as it is such a close topographical fit. The /g/ is this context will often disappear.

Poll an Oir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Poll an Oir

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Poll an Òir

1877

OS 1st edition

Poll an t-Suicair

Place ID 1720 NF 88971 54699 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG pool of the ON southern dyke

ScG poll an t- + ON suð garð

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

ScG siùcar = 'sugar' is the obvious choice, especially as it would be one of the items that could be purchased in the nearby ScG bùth = 'shop'. The mis-spelling however is odd as the Gaelic sounds of 'ui' and 'iu' are not very similar. Grammatical mistakes should ring alarm bells.

ON polla tjúga = 'pitchfork of pools' perhaps - forked would describe the bay here but seems unlikely.

Marwick offers an interesting option for Sugarhouse in Shetland. ON suð garð hús = 'south garth house'. Here then Suicair could come from ON suð garð = 'southern dyke or dwelling'. The initial vowel sound is good. There is now a dyke running in and of the shore here which could be called a 'southern dyke' - it certainly is the southern part of Ronaigh. With a broader brush it could be the farm around Kallin.

Holliday lists g > k = c as a regular development on Tiree and so this would work well.

In Iceland there are four Suðurgarður place names, in Denmark there is a Sudergårde whilst in Norway there is a Sudgard and tellingly a Sugard.

Poll an t-Suicair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Poll an t-Suicair	1877	OS 1st edition
Poll an t-Stucair	1877	OS name book
Poll an t-Suicair	1877	OS name book
Sugar Pool	1861	Thomas chart
Poll an t-Suicair	1861	Thomas chart

Poll Craigavaig

Place ID 5001 NF 79816 27218 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Craigavaig' + ScG pool

ScG poll + 'Craigavaig'

S1alt water

Bay

ScG?

ON?

complete?

see Craigavaig (P#5000) for a discussion of that element.

Poul Craigavag	1877	OS name book
----------------	------	--------------

Poll Chraigabhuig	1877	OS name book
-------------------	------	--------------

Poll Craigavaig	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Craigaveg Bay	1877	OS name book
---------------	------	--------------

(Poll) Chrageabhaig	1877	OS name book
---------------------	------	--------------

Pool Craigavaig	1804	Bald mapping
-----------------	------	--------------

Poll Duchaidh

Place ID 1624 NF 72196 70875 North Uist B1alranald

ON pool of clothes

ON dúka poll

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The Hebridean connection (p71) gives us ' between Sanndarai and the High Ridge, the pool for soaking flax.'

I think it is too much of a coincidence that ON dúkr = 'any cloth or texture, a cloak of wadmal, linen etc'. With ON pollr and ScG poll being so close it is easy to imagine ON dúka poll = 'pool of clothes' being resemanticise to Poll Duchaidh.

Poll Duchaidh

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Poll na Cairidh

Place ID 6528 NF 83152 38373 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG pool of the fish trap

ScG poll na cairidh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Carmichael's Poll a charragh is keen to introduce a ScG carragh = 'standing stone'.

Poll na Cairidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------------	------	-------------------

Poll a Charragh	1877	OS name book
-----------------	------	--------------

Poll na Cairidh	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Poll nam Portan

Place ID 1070 NF 75640 76620 North Uist V1allay

ScG pool of the crabs ScG poll nam portan

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG portan presents some problems having two meanings ScG portan = 'ports' or 'shore crabs'. In this case with only one possible harbour here, I believe it to be the 'crab' option.

Poll nam Portan

1877

OS 1st edition

Poll nan Gall

Place ID	767	NF 91030 58320	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG pool of the lowlanders			ScG poll nan gall		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Poll nan Gall			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Poll nan Gall			1877	OS 1st edition	

Pollachar Inn

Place ID 5045 NF 74666 14411 South Uist Lochboisdale

ScG pool of the pillar + Eng inn

ScG poll a' charra + Eng inn

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

ScG carra = 'rock or pillar' is a masculine version of ScG carragh and with this gender the grammar works. There is a prominent standing stone still there on the shore. The attached link has details.

Holliday (p202) thinks that a similar sounding Poll a' Ghiùr on Tìree stems from ON gjögur = 'rift'.

Poll a' Charra	2014	Modern OS mapping
Pollachar Inn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Pollacharra	1877	OS name book
Polochar	1877	OS name book
Pollachan Inn	1877	OS name book
Polachar Inn & PO	1877	OS name book
Poul-acharr	1877	OS name book

Polung

Place ID 5988 NF 81996 78072 North Uist S1ollas

ON (bay of the) piles of driftwood

ON bolung (vík)

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Whilst it looks Norse to me, I wonder in fact if it is ScG poll luinge = 'bay of the ship'.

I then however found the word ON bolung which seems to have two meanings, 'a pile of logs or firewood' or in Norwegian 'the walls of a house'.

The cognate notes indicate that 'a bay where drift wood' comes ashore is the meaning and here possibly the terminal ON vík = ScG aig has been lost.

An initial stressed /p/ developing to a /b/ might be somewhat unusual but not impossible. An initial ScG bàgh would help this.

In Iceland there are twelve places beginning with Bolung and indeed Bolungarvík.

In Norway there are four simplex Bulung and one Bolunga names.

Polung

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Port a' Bhata

Place ID	2197	NF 78484 64137	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG port of the boat			ScG port a' bhata		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
ScG bàta = 'boat or barge'. It does seem a slightly tautologous name?					
Port a' Bhata			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Port a' Camber

Place ID 2643 NF 93720 82538 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigearraidh

ScG port of the + ON ridge

ScG port a' + ON kambr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Macniven (p295) discusses ON kambr = 'comb' with reference to a coastal ridge on Islay called Campa. He writes that this element is commonly associated with long sharp ridges. This one is not too sharp but is certainly a ridge... Stewart identifies a place Camp with No kamp = 'round lumpy stone or boulders in the soil' and this would fit topographically here.

Port a' Camber

1877

OS 1st edition

Port a' Mhadaidh

Place ID 6320 NF 84403 32137 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG port of the dog

ScG port a' mhadaidh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Bald's Bay a Vade reflects the ScG pronunciation of /mh/ as /v/.

Generally in a marine context ScG madadh refers to a rock or a reef although there are none apparent here.

Port a' Mhadaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bay a Vade	1877	OS name book
Port a' Mhadaidh	1877	OS 1st edition
Peileport	1877	OS name book
Bay a Vade	1804	Bald mapping

Port Ceann na Callaid

Place ID 286 NF 80290 61530 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG head of the + ON calling isthmus + ScG port ScG port ceann + ON kalla eið

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The OS name book gives us a tortuous and tautologous 'Head of the Wall Port'. If the root was ScG calaidh = 'of the port' then since the noun here is masculine, one would expect ScG a' = 'of the' with lenition.

This problem often seems to indicate an earlier root. ON kall - eið = 'call isthmus' would fit the bill as the word ON kalla = 'to call' regularly occurs at sites near an island where a boat needs to be called to get across the narrows, e.g. Callanis.

The existence of a nearby Rudha na Caluinn provides further evidence for this interpretation.

The development of final ð > d is regular although one would expect eið > aidh.

This is the only occurrence of Callaid on the OS 2nd series mapping.

Whilst Kall occurs as a regular specific in Iceland and Norway, there was no cognate.

Port Ceann na Callaid

1877

OS 1st edition

Port Geola Mhic Eoghainn

Place ID 1215 NF 90760 73820 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG harbour of MacEwan's yawl ScG port geola mhic eoghainn

S1alt water

As for who MacEwan was.....

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Port Geola Mhic Eoghainn

1877

OS 1st edition

Port Ludaig

Place ID 1298 NF 93141 81393 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ON loading bay + ScG port

ON hlaða vík

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

ScG 'Port of the little finger' seems to work although the order of the words has changed since the first edition OS maps as well as the ending being changed to aig where it was recorded as Ludag Port.

There is thought to be a Norse harbour at the site so a Norse root makes sense.

ON Hlaða vik = 'loading bay' makes some sort of sense but ON Litill vik= small bay has cognates.

Macniven discusses (p304) Rubha Luidhneis and thinks the specific is ON lja = 'of the sythe' from ON le = 'sythe' or ON hle = 'shelter or lee'. Levik is a common component of Norwegian names occurring over twenty times. Both work well topographically although the latter is less usual and so perhaps more remarkable and hence likely to be a naming feature.

However the 'd' is a strong sound and would not be accounted for here. ON lúta = 'to bow in homage or worship' might just work with the site of an old chapel at the E end of this bay.

ON hlaut = 'a lot or a share' could be appropriate as Vigfusson writes 'esp. of a fisherman's share of the catch, ... ,a fishing boat has one or two hundred ... í hlut, each of the crew (hásetar) taking his 'hlutr'. Here the appropriate reflex might be ON hluta = 'of the shares'.

For me this is the first Norse option of ON hlaða = 'loading' is the most prosaic and hence probalby the most likely, backed up by the existence of the South Uist Ludag adjacent to an excellent harbour.

ON hlað-berg is in Vigfusson as 'a rock where a ship is laden'

This one needs further thought as ð > d seems doubtful....

With nine Litlavik in Iceland and Litl*vik being common in Norway has strong precedents.

Lut<a,u>vika is three names in Norway and there is a Lutavik in Sweden. It is difficult to tell whether these refer to ON hlut or lúta.

There are three Hlaðsvík in Iceland with a genitivla 's' possibly from the alternaitve meaning of ON hlaða = 'store house or barn'

Port Ludaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Lùdag	1934	Maclver Place-names of Lewis an
Ludag Port	1877	OS 1st edition
Pioul Baigh	1804	Bald mapping

Port na Copa

Place ID 1121 NF 72410 75256 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG port of the heap of foam

ScG port na coip

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

ScG coip = 'of foam' must be the root but it is surprisingly out phonetically. Topographically it is exact as the spume concentrates here in any significant storm.

Perhaps there was a locative ScG -ach = 'place of' ending?

ON alternatives exist for the 'Copa' and it looks Norse but it is difficult to see how the rest of it would work. The best option might be ON koppr = 'rounded hill' or a variant on ON keipr = 'small boat'. ON port = 'gate, entryway'.

ON keipa port = 'gate of the small boats' or ON koppa port = 'gate of the small cups' are possible with the order changed in the Gaelicization process.

Nearby Ardanroin might refer to the same spume.

In Iceland Koppagata is an interesting variation.

Port na Copa	2014	Modern OS mapping
Foam Bay	1877	OS name book
Port na Copa	1877	OS 1st edition

Port na Cuithe

Place ID 1855 NF 81320 55816 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG port of the fold

ScG port na cuidhe

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book alternative provided by Carmichael is Port na Cuidhe works well as there is still a fold visible on imagery of the site.

It would be an obvious place to hold animals before walking them across the North Ford when the tide was right.

Port na Cuithe

1877

OS 1st edition

Port na Cuidhe

1877

OS name book

Port na Dallaig

Place ID 1796 NF 86214 45172 Benbecula W1iay

ScG port of the ON bay of the valley

ScG port na + ON dal vík

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Dogfish Port' based upon ScG dallag = 'dogfish' or any weak-sighted creature in fact. The '-aig' ending is typical of either ON vágr = 'bay' or ON vík = 'bay' is good topographically here. With the cognate material and ther lack of a genitival 's', I'd lean towards the latter.

Oftedal equates Dell on Lewis with ON dalr = 'valley' and again topographically this fits here although the valley here is on the small side.

Intriguingly the <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/> gives us 'names with Døl are made from ON dæl f 'small valley, dock'. Although the sound is a little further away, the topographical fit is better.

The area looks an interesting one with a narrow 30m Landbridge separating the sea and the extensive haven loch inside. With the eye of faith, it looks as if the shoreline has been re structured in places. One of the two structures there is aligned EW.

In Iceland there is both a Dalvík and a Dalsvík along with a Dalavoga.

Dal(a,e,s)vika is common in Norway (>50 occurences). Dalsvågen is less common but stills occurs 10 times with one Dalvåg and one Dalsvåg.

In Norway there are also five Dølvika place names.

Port na Dallaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Port na Dallaig	1877	OS 1st edition
Port nan Dallag	1866	Admiralty mapping
Port na Dallach	1804	Bald mapping

Port na Luing

Place ID 2198 NF 78354 64279 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG port of the ship ScG port na luing

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This seems to form a pair of slightly tautologous names with Port a' Bhata. It could be emplacing a slightly different use for the two harbours.

Port na Luing 1973 Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Port nan Ceall

Place ID 1735 NF 88201 55465 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG harbour of the cell

ScG port na ceall

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

It is interesting to see that ScG ceall = cell is in the singular here as opposed to Na Ceallan, where it is in the plural. Today this is the site of Kallin Harbour. On the Thomas chart, the most obvious landing place is where the current Griomasagih boatshed is although the one track reaches the shore at the site of the current harbour.

Port nan Ceall

1861

Thomas chart

Port nan Eathraichean

Place ID 5779 NF 79300 76630 North Uist V1allay

ScG port of the small boats ScG port nan eathraichean

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG eathraichean is the plural of ScG eathar = 'small boat'.

Port nan Eathraichean

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Port nan Long

Place ID 631 NF 89710 78470 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG harbour of the ships

ScG port nan long

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The word for a Viking ship enclosure in Ireland is 'Longphort' or 'Longphuirt'. It is not inconceivable that this place name here derived from that.

MacDonald writes 'Beveridge refers to a tradition which derives the name of this harbour from a ship of the Spanish Armada having been lost there.' but goes on to disagree. This story is repeated in the Macleans of Boreray.

There is another Port nan Long on Loch Harport on Skye.

Port nan Long	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Port nan Long	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Port na Long		MacDonald sketch history
--------------	--	--------------------------

Port Pheadair

Place ID 5038 NF 85178 45355 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG Peter's Port or ON sea loch of the Picts

ScG port pheadair or ON Pétta fjorð

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

An oddity as it is not a site that is mentioned in connection with a presumalby religious name, even though there is a nearby Eilean na Cille.

So odd that one does wonder if there is a Norse version of Peter's Port and ON pytts port = 'gate of the pool', not a bad description of the entrance to the inland pool here. Easier is ON fjord = 'sea loch'.

One assumes that the earlier Gilwall refers to this anchorage. ON gil vøllr = 'fields of the ravine' is a possibility.

A better possibility is ON kill = 'an inlet, canal'.

The name is discussed on one of my blogs: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/slaves-on-uist>

In Iceland we have two places Gilvöllur and a Gilevollen in Norway.

In Norway there is a Kilevallane and a Kilvollen.

There are a few names including ON Péttar in Shetland and Orkney with the best known Pentland Firth.

The blog mentioned above has details.

Port Pheadair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Port Pheadair	1877	OS name book
Peter's Port	1877	OS 1st edition
Port Pheadair	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Old Peters Port	1804	Bald mapping
Peters Port	1804	Bald mapping
Gilwall	1610	Speed mapping
Gilwall	1610	Speed mapping
Gilwall	1607	Hole mapping
Gilwall	1595	Mercator later

Port Scolpaig

Place ID 2242 NF 70486 68984 North Uist B1ayhead

'Scolapig' + ScG port

ScG port + 'Scolpaig'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

I cannot believe that the derivation of this Scolpaig (P#1117 q.v.) is any different to that of the loch further N. See that place for a discussion.

ON port = 'gate' is a common component of place names in Norway, often going before the name of another place (e.g. Portromsdalen) and so meaning 'entrance to'. It is not inconceivable that this could be construed as the 'entrance to' Scolpaig but I think unlikely.

Port Scolpaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Port Scolpaig	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
---------------	------	-----------------------------

Port Scolpaig	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Port Skolpeg	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Port Siusaidh

Place ID	2229	NF 75200 67800	North Uist	B1ayhead	
ScG port + 'Siusaidh'			ScG port + 'Siusaidh'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Stahl provides the folk etymology: 'Susan's harbour' is at the shore at Knockline. This point is so called as a boat called "Susan" was frequently anchored there." MacAulay, 1978:8.'

That said ON sjós + eið = 'isthmus of the sea' would sound pretty similar and make some form of topographical sense. The /s/ is an issue.

The solution is probably given us by ON sog = 'inlet' giving ON sogs- ey.

See Siusaigh (P#2229) for a discussion on the element, 'Siusaidh'.

Port Siusaidh	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
---------------	------	-----------------------------

Port Skeig

Place ID 4953 NF 79420 28587 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG port + ON strip of land

ScG port + ON skiki.

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There are three Norse contenders for 'skeig'. ON skiki = 'strip of land', ON skagi = 'a low cape or ness' and ON skógr = 'a wood'.

The latter is unlikely on phonetic grounds as the development would be to 'o' or 'u'. The second is also unlikely as the quantity of the vowel is not a good match. It is also an unlikely name.

This leave ON skiki. Although overbuilt, there does appear to be a strip of land coming from the middle of the small cove here which would have been a useful feature for mooring boats - hence its extension.

One last option is ON skip = 'ship' but the order is then a problem.

Dùn Skeig in Argyll is a Dun very definitely built on a thin strip of land. The Skerries of Skaigram on Orkney are a sign that the word is used in the Norse world.

Certainly most names containing 'skaig' look Norse - e.g. Askaig (ash), Finiskaig, Marskaig, Oskaig and Vriskaig - and their geographical spread is very Norse.

Three reefs in Norway with the name Skiki are long and thin. I could find no Icelandic cognates.

Port Skeig

1804

Bald mapping

Portnaguran

Place ID 5056 NB 55845 37361 Lewis Lewis general

ScG port of + ON The rifts

ScG port nan + ON gjögrin

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The ScG Port nan Giùran has been taken to mean a variety from fennel to fish gills to barnacle goose (Oftedal p41) although he does not commit himself at all.

I suspect the truth is more topographic based upon ON gjögr or its reflex ON gjögrin = 'The clefts'. Looking to the W of the above grid reference the bay is full of several narrow and straight clefts culminating in the biggest at c 80m. This section of coast is distinctive on account fo this feature.

There is a Giura on SW Lewis alongside a linear cliff feature. On Uist and Harris the name appears via Grogarry and the like.

In Iceland Gjögur appears as a simplex name 16 times with Gjögrin twice and Gjögran once.

In Norway Gjøgri appears as a simplex name.

Portnaguran	2014	Modern OS mapping
Port nan Giùran	2014	Modern OS mapping
Port an Giuran		n/a

Port-ruadh

Place ID 6412 NF 76994 35692 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON firth ridge

ON fjörð röð

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The obvious interpretation is ScG port ruadh = 'red port' although it seems a slightly curious name for this inland loch not attached to a larger waterway.

ON fjörðr = 'firth, fjord' regularly gets Gaelicized to /port/ and this could be involved. There also seems to be a lot of /ruadh/ or the like name in the area. The name could be ON fjörð röð = 'fjord ridge'. With this making topographical sense, I favour it. It also helps to explain the number of /ruadh/ names here.

Port-ruadh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Port-ruadh

1877

OS 1st edition

Potatoe Id.

Place ID	6728	NF 76998 45390	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
Eng potato island			Dùn na Buail'-uachdraich		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Presumably this was a small island on which potatoes were grown away from the depredation of livestock.

Potatoe Id.	1804	Bald mapping
-------------	------	--------------

Poul Torran

Place ID 4970 NF 76969 28413 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG pool of the small knoll (? or ON The mound p ScG poll tòrran (? or ON poll hauginn)

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

In 'Machair to Mountain' the name is given as Poltoran anchorage and is understood as the 'pool of the bald rock'. Cox defines ScG tòrr = 'knoll'. As it is masculine, I would have expected lenition i.e. poll thòrran but I could well be wrong. If there was this lenition, then the sound is radically different and I suspect Bald as a non-native Gaelic speaker would not have inserted the 't'.

If there was this lenition the name would probalby appear as poul horran which is getting close to a close compound ON poll haughinn

In Noreway there are four Pollhaugen place names. In Iceland poll occurs regulary as the first component of palce names but the nearest I could find phenoetically was ON pollahraun = 'rocky ground of the pool'.

Poul Torran

1804

Bald mapping

Poltoran

Other

Poul Viemanish

Place ID	5469	NF 85206 52842	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ON in front of + 'Meanais' + ScG pool			ScG pool + ON fyr + 'Meanais'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The first component is ScG poll = 'pool'. I suspect that the second component involves the headland here, Meanais (P#5373). The preposition ON fyrir = 'in front of' would work and it is often abbreviated to ON fyr.

Fyrir occurs as the first component in 17 place names. There are 200 name sin Norway beginning with Fornes

Poul Viemanish	1832	Thomson atlas
Poul Viemanish	1804	Bald mapping

Preas Loch

Place ID 5070 NC 04113 28074 Mainland Assynt

ScG loch of the + ON isthmus canal

ScG loch na + ON eið kíll

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Lake

complete?

The excellent Ainmean-Ùite Asainte website gives an alternative of ScG Preas Loch = 'loch of the thicket'. The other name could be of great interest.

I would suggest that the root is ON eið-kíll = 'isthmus canal'. NSL writes that ON eið is actually 'walk (road)', now used for 'road over land between two lakes', 'road along a waterfall', 'cross valley between two settlements', 'narrow isthmus' And Crawford links it with portage of some form.

Topographically it works well as the loch is around 1200m from the sea but would provide a safe wintering place for minimal portage.

Other names around are Norse, a steatite cup was found in the broch 200m, to the SW possibly indicating a Norse reoccupation of that site.

In Norway we have a Eidkilkanalen along with two Eidskien, an Eidekilen and a Eidenekilen.

Loch an Aigeil	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Loch an Aigeil	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Preas Loch		Other
------------	--	-------

Preas Loch		Other
------------	--	-------

Pt of Leirnish

Place ID 1927 NF 88537 58346 North Uist Eaval

'Leirnish' + Eng point Eng point of + 'Leirnish'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Liernis (P#746) for a discussion of the component 'Leirnish' .

Pt of Leirnish 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Pt of the Big Stone

Place ID 1973 NF 93013 62418 North Uist Eaval

Eng point of the big stone Eng point of the big stone

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I imagine this started life as Rubha na Clach Mor or the like.

Pt of the Big Stone

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Queen's Beach

Place ID 5705 NF 89616 80040 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ON beach of he folds ON kvianna strönd

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The referent to the ' little dùn' must be the islet to the S.

Current usage gives the Queen's Beach name and Whilst I haven't heard the folk etymology about the Royal Yacht Britannia mooring off here when Prince Charles was living on the island, I am sure it is out there.

More realistically I suspect it started life as ON kvianna strönd = 'beach of the folds'. The genitival /s/ of the English name would arrive from the /s/ at the start of ON strönd.

Queen's Beach

2019

RCA

Traigh an Dùnain

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Quirnish

Place ID 1892 NF 75782 54459 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ON headland of the fold

ON kvíar nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON kvíar = 'of the fold' works well as the specific,

There are six Kvianes place-names in Iceland and over thirty with this as a component in Norway.

Quirnish	2014	Modern OS mapping
Quirnish	1877	OS 1st edition
Curnis	1877	OS name book

Rabbit Island

Place ID 6787 NF 85513 57894 North Uist Griomasaigh

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The name was given to me by Duncan; he has been told it by his aunt as it was a place to go and catch rabbits!

Rabbit Island

Other

Racaisgeirean

Place ID 1272 NF 96725 76969 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ON The wet skerries

ON rakar skerin

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The word order strongly suggests a Norse derivation.

ON rakr = 'wet', probalby its reflex ON rakar and ON sker = 'skerry'. One possibility is that the Gaels recognised ON sgeir as their ScG sgeir but saw there were several and so added the '-ean' to create their plural.

The other is a relatively rare example of the Norse indefinite article ON skerin = 'The skerries'.

Topographically 'wet' is a good descriptor as they are normally covered by the sea.

In Norway there are four Rak(k)(e)skjær(et) names.

Racaisgeirean	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rag Sgeirean Neartaigh	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Racksgeirean	1877	OS 1st edition

Ragairigh

Place ID 5634 NF 82670 72090 North Uist S1ollas

ON shieling of the damp

ON ráka ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The structure of this name is Norse. The best option for the specific would seem to be ON raka which is the genitive form of ON raki = 'damp, wetness' or the derived adjective ON raker = 'damp'. This would seem to be appropriate with its position in the centre of the extensive Bogach Locha Dubh. ON rakki = 'dog' is an alternative as is ON hrak = 'wretched'.

Best of the lot however is ON rák = 'pasture' in the genitive plural case ON ráka

Ragairigh

2021

Donald Macaulay

Raicinis

Place ID 1590 NF 71836 73212 North Uist B1almartin

ON headland of smoke

ON reykjar nes

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

With the ending here ON nes = 'headland', the root must be Norse. The best I could think of for the specific was a grammatical version of ON hryggr = 'ridge or backbone'.

Then I came across ON reykr with its reflex ON reykjar = 'of the smoke' would work topographically as there is often a strong sea here with the spray that accompanies it. The same root as Reykjavik!

Reykjanes occurs 29 times in Iceland as well as many other names with this as the first component. The Norwegian equivalent Røkenes occurs twice.

Raicinis

2014

Modern OS mapping

Raikinis

1877

OS 1st edition

Rairnis

Place ID 5257 NF 87285 48522 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON boundary headland

ON rár nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The generic is ON nes = 'headland'.

I suspect the generic is ON rá, one of those splendid words that has a variety of very different meanings. In Vigfusson they include 'a sail-yard', 'a corner, nook', 'a roe deer' and 'a landmark' and Rygh puts in his piece 'referring to remote location (about farms surrounded by hills and the like'. The Swedish definition includes 'border' and this could be a reference to Vigfusson's 'landmark'.

The genitive singular is ON rár which is exactly as required here.

We can discount Roe Deer as they do not occur on Uist and sail-yard seems an odd name. It would be difficult to describe this large headland as 'of the corner' and so that leaves landmark or boundary. The former might apply to the coastal approach and the latter makes sense in the context of two settlements, one at Craigastrome and one at Uisgeabhagh, evidence for which we have in other Norse names. For this reason I prefer the latter.

The word has evolved into Ro or Rå in Norwegian and there are seven Rones(et) and 11 Rå(a)nes(et) there. Vigfusson states the word is obsolete in Iceland.

Rarnish	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rairnis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ru Rarinis	1877	OS name book
Rudh' Rarnis	1877	OS name book
Rarnish	1877	OS 1st edition
Rarnich Point	1877	OS name book
Rudha Ràrnis	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Ru Rarinish	1832	Thomson atlas
Ru Rarinish	1804	Bald mapping

Ramelligeo

Place ID 1073 NF 75780 76640 North Uist V1allay

ON wide cove

ON rúm-liga gjá

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON -ligr is something that is a suffix producing an adjective, similar to -y in English. In this case we start with ON rúm = 'room' and by adding the '-ligr' we get ON rúm-ligr = 'roomy' or 'spacious'.

I expect that the name has transferred from the adjacent Camas Mòr for which the description is a good fit.

Ramelligeo

1877

OS 1st edition

Rangas

Place ID 250 NF 93730 76550 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON crooked rocky ridge

ON rangi áss

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

'Gunwale Rocks' recorded on the Admiralty Chart is interesting as it probably comes from ON röng = 'frame of hull'. With the addition of ON áss = 'rocky ridge' we have a root that sounds close and is a good topographical fit - the whole name would be ON ranga áss = 'ridge of the gunwales'. Quite how this got translated in the Admiralty Chart I am unsure. Röng itself stems from ON rangr which Rygh defines topographically as 'meandering'. With the generic this would create ON rangi áss = 'meandering ridge'. The previous option seems a little closer phonetically but the cognates notes lean me to the latter.

What looks like the Gaelic alternative, Blad Sgeirean must stem from ScG blad = 'mouth'.

In Iceland there is a Rangárás. In Norway there are Rangleåsen place names where Rangl seems to be a derivative of ON rangr. However there are four Vrangåsen names using the older No vrang = 'crooked'

Rangas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Blad Sgierean	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Rangas	1877	OS 1st edition
Gunwale Rocks	1866	Admiralty mapping
Gunwale Rocks	1860	2Otter Sound of Harris

Raona Mhòr

Place ID 2177 NF 78137 62949 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG big field

ScG raon mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

ScG raon = 'field' is the root here although I am unsure where the final 'a' has come from.

Raona Mhòr

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Rarainis

Place ID 5428 NF 85470 54971 Benbecula Rueval

ON headland of the boundary line ON rá rein nes

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An interesting question is whether this is the same name as Rairnis (P#5257) 6km to the S.

Every earlier form here includes an /i/ between the /r/ and the /n/ whilst only one out of the seven earlier forms of Rairnis does.

None of the reflexes of ON rá seems to have a vowel after the second /r/ and so we could be looking for a new specific altogether.

ON mark-rein, mark-reina and mark-rá = 'boundary line' and perhaps here ON rá has replaced the cognate ON mark to form *ON rá-rein meaning the same.

To confuse mark-rá is a cognate of ON mark-rein.

Thomas seems to have confused here.

Rarainis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rarinis	1877	OS name book
Rarinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru Iachie Rarinish	1877	OS name book
Roisanis	1861	Thomas chart
Ru Iachkir Rarinish	1832	Thomson atlas
Ru Iachkir Rarinish	1804	Bald mapping

Rarinish Bay

Place ID 5433 NF 85949 54233 Benbecula Rueval

'Rarinish' + Eng bay 'Rarinish' + Eng bay

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

'Rarinish' must refer to the Rarainis (P#5428) nearby which has a discussion on that component.

Bàgh Ràrinis 1877 OS name book

Rarinish Bay 1877 OS 1st edition

Rathad a' Mhacaire

Place ID	5821	NF 80098 75168	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG track of the machair			ScG rathad a' mhacaire		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Farming			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rathad a' Mhacaire			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Rathad a' Mhinisteir

Place ID 5968 NF 79222 73498 North Uist S1ollas

ScG track of the minister

ScG rathad a' mhinisteir

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Track

complete?

Niclain writes 'This is the route used by Minister MacRath when making his way from Vallay to Malaclete •. he lived at Billay for 1828 (Lawson. 1991: 21). MacRae was a member of the Established Church, and was a staunch supporter of Lord MacDonald in evicting the people of Sollas. Vallay was about twelve miles from his church in Kilmuir. When there was a hurry to return to Vallay, on days when the tide was not right, the little ones would say the Feast of Our Lady! "

Rathad a' Mhinisteir

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Rathad Fear Bhoighreigh

Place ID 6065 NF 82975 74616 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG track of the men of Boraraigh ScG rathad fear Bhoighreigh

Settlement Track

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes 'Maclean of Boreray owned land on the other side of the island, in Kallin, Knock and Kirinish. He used this road in the eighteenth century, and part of the nineteenth century, when he moved his cattle to his other land. The road ran between Skibness Pier and Knockqueen, a long distance.'

Rathad Fear Bhoighreigh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Rathad Sgiobainis

Place ID 6044 NF 82688 74993 North Uist Gr1enitote

'Sgiobainis' + ScG track

ScG rathad + 'Sgiobainis'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Track

complete?

See Sgiobainis (P#2422) for a discussion of that element.

Rathad Sgiobainis

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Rathanis

Place ID 5594 NF 87684 53251 Benbecula Rueval

ON rusty red headland

ON rauða nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

This is clearly a ON nes = 'headland' name.

au > a is regular and so a strong possibility is ON rauð = 'red' and often used as a prefix or ON rauf = 'rift' (g ON raufar).

The latter seems more likely. The headland is covered in heather and so would be rusty red for much of the year.

Rathanis

1861

Thomas chart

Rats Rock

Place ID	5465	NF 86164 52615	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
Eng rats rock			Eng rats rock	<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal				<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rats Rock			1804	Bald mapping

Reabhile Deas

Place ID 690 NF 76900 64320 North Uist Kirkibost

ScG south + ON pool of the sluices

ON raufa hylr + ScG deas

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

An odd word. There is also a Reabhile Tuath (P#697) and a Loch na Raivil (P#691) which presumably all have the same root as does the Loch na Reivil (P#2375) just N of Hogha Gearraidh.

The expression ON Raufar himins = 'the sluices of heaven' and here ON raufa + hylr = 'pool of the sluices' would be a perfect topographical fit as well as fitting phonologically for the large body of water trapped behind Baleshare and Circebost islands.

Reabhile Deas

2014

Modern OS mapping

Reabhile Deas

1877

OS 1st edition

Raivilee

1877

OS name book

Reabhile Tuath

Place ID 697 NF 75110 65740 North Uist Kirkibost

ScG north + 'Reabhile' 'Reabhile' + ScG tuath

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Reabhile Deas (P#690) for a discussion of the 'Reabhile' component.

Reabhile Tuath	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Raivilee Point	1877	OS name book
----------------	------	--------------

Reabhile Tuath	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Reagam

Place ID 1802 NF 86689 44742 Benbecula W1iay

ON islet of the smoke

ON reyjka hólmi

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

'-am' is usually an indicator of ON holmr = 'islet. ON reykr = 'wreck' with its genitive reflex ON hrekk might be an appropriate specific.

ON reik = 'a wandering' might be an alternative.

However I think the most likely is ON reyjka = to smoke. These exposed skerries will often be covered in spray.

There is no exact match I can find with ON hrekk but there are a lot of Rekvik in Norway for example.

In Iceland Reykja is a relatively common specific, including Reykjavik. There is one example of a cognate Reykjahólmi.

Likeiws ein Norway for Røyk and there is a near cognate Røykholmsrøysa.

Raicinis on the NW coast of North Uist possilby shafres a root.

Reagam	2014	Modern OS mapping
Regam	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Righeim	1866	Admiralty mapping
Righam	1804	Bald mapping

Red Cow L.

Place ID 1926 NF 87750 58999 North Uist Eaval

Eng red cow loch Eng red cow loch

Fresh water Lake

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This would have been a name from Gaelic Loch Bo-ruadh in all probability.

Bo-ruadh itself could come from ScG bodha ruadh = 'red sunken rock' which ties in with Red Markham Point.

Red Cow L.

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Red Markham Point

Place ID 1920 NF 88335 59031 North Uist Eaval

Eng Red + ON boundary islet ? + Eng Point Eng red + ON mark + hólmr + Eng point

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am not sure what Markham means, if English!

If Norse then ON mark holmr = 'islet of the boundary' would end up sounding like Markham.

Red Markham Point

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Red R

Place ID 1983 NF 92456 69062 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG red rock ScG sgeir ruadh

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

ScG?

ON?

complete?

One imagines this started as ScG Sgeir Ruadh, a common enough name.

Red R

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Redcalf Id

Place ID 1952 NF 83582 63866 North Uist Langass

ON stream bay + Eng island

ON lækr vík + Eng island

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ScG laogh ruadh = 'red calf' must be where the name has come from.

This is possibly coming from ON lækjar vík = 'bay of the stream'. There is a prominent series of three tidal lochs finally discharging into Loch Euphort here.

The Gaels will have added ScG eilean = 'island' to give the name some sense.

There are five Lækjarvík in Iceland and 20 Løkkevika (or equivalent) in Norway.

Redcalf Id

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Reidhlean

Place ID 2162 NF 77367 62707 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG level ground of the water meadow

ScG rèidh làana

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The plural of ScG rèidh = 'level ground' is ScG rèidhean so it is hard to see where the /l/ comes from. Fraser gives us 'The Green or Meadow'.

Back to the drawing board and ScG rèidh is an adjective meaning flat or smooth. ScG làana = 'water meadow' with the same genitive. Here then ScG rèidh làana = 'level ground of the water meadow'.

There are four Reidhle(a/i)n names on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Reidhlean

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Reineabhal

Place ID 6159 NF 75527 25631 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON circle - hill

ON hring fjell

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The generic is clear as ON fjall = 'mountain'.

Although ON hreinn = 'reinder' would be an interesting option introducing the idea of reindeer farming on Uist, it is more likely to stem from ON hringr = 'ring, circle' referencing the round shape of the hill.

With a genitival /s/, a close compound seems more likely, something that ON hringr does with some regularity in Vigfusson.

The addition of the /ea/ is not unusual - e.g. Cox §42 I b

There are Hringahóll, one Hringahóll and two Hringshóll place names in Iceland whilst in Norway there are three Ringfjellet and a Rngsfjell place names.

Reineabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Keinavaul	1877	OS name book
Renevaull	1877	OS name book
Reineval	1877	OS 1st edition
Reinabhall	1877	OS name book
reinavaul	1804	Bald mapping

Rent House Pt.

Place ID 1950 NF 83130 63684 North Uist Langass

Eng rent house point Eng rent house point

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is presumably linked to the adjacent bay called Barra-mhail with ScG mal = 'rent'.

Rent House Pt. 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Reumisgarry

Place ID 655 NF 87520 75400 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON spacious enclosed area

?ON rúms gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

This could be a contraction of Trumaisgearraidh , itself a contraction. However I think it more likely to stem from ON rúms = 'spacious' as the pasture here is extensive.

Actually no, the initial vowel sound is wrong.

See Dreumasdal (P#74) for a further discussion.

Reumisgarry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Reumisgarry	1986	Easson land assessment
Reumisgarry	1877	OS 1st edition
Rheimsgary	1832	Thomson atlas
Remisgary	1799	Reid mapping
Rimisgarry		MacDonald sketch history
Rumisary		MacDonald sketch history

Revach Beg

Place ID 1965 NF 90495 63156 North Uist Eaval

ScG small + 'Revach' 'Revach' + ScG beag

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

See Riobhag Mhor (P#822) for a discussion on 'Revach'

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Revach Beg 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Riffagan

Place ID 840 NF 86180 63470 North Uist Eaval

ScG reefs ScG riofachan

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The plural of ScG riof = 'reef' is ScG riofachan which will be close enough phonetically.

Riffagan 1877 OS 1st edition

Clettan Beg 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Riffagan

Place ID 888 NF 86110 63530 North Uist Lees

ScG reefs ScG rìofachan

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

ScG?

ON?

complete?

ScG rìofachan is the plural of ScG rìof = 'reef' and this is close enough to the sound.

Riffagan

1877

OS 1st edition

Righe Dubh Loch Portain

Place ID 150 NF 92551 71254 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG black slope of Loch Portain

ScG righ + dubh + loch + 'Portain'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

This seems an odd name for a set of small islets. One wonders if there has been confusion with ScG riof = 'reef' although an alternative meaning of ScG righe = 'shieling'

Righe Dubh Loch Portain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Righe Dubh Loch Portain

1877

OS 1st edition

Righe nam Ban

Place ID 1564 NF 96671 74106 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG white reefs ScG riofannan bàna

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Mackillop gives us 'Sheiling of the Women' but cannot explain it although I imagine ScG airigh = 'sheiling' is at the root of it. He also says it is called Eileanan na Yacht.

I do wonder if the name is a corruption of ScG riofannan ban = 'white reefs'

There is an Airigh nam Ban near Loch Aienort.

Righe nam Ban	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eileanan na Yacht	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Righe nam Ban	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Righe nam Ban	1877	OS 1st edition
Renain Ids	1866	Admiralty mapping

Riobhag Mhor

Place ID 822 NF 90770 63290 North Uist Eaval

ScG big + ON bay of the reef

ON rif + vágr + ScG mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

ON rifja + vág = 'bay of the reefs' is a possible alternative to ScG riof-ag = 'place of the reef' or plain simple ScG riofaig = 'reef'.

ScG riobhag = 'barb' or 'hangnail' is not impossible.

Riffag only occurs twice on the OS 2nd edition, here and at Riffagan further W up Loch Euphort. Riff itself appears ten times and all in the Norse speaking world.

Neither ScG riof or ScG riofaig appear on this mapping.

This provides some evidence that the word here is of Norse origin.

There is a Rifsvik and a Riflavik in Iceland

Riobhag Mhor	2014	Modern OS mapping
Riffag Mhor	1877	OS 1st edition
Riofag Mhor	1877	OS name book
Revach More	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Riobhagan Mhidhinis

Place ID 152 NF 91143 71116 North Uist B1ayhead

'Mhidhinis' + ScG reefs

ScG riofachan + 'Mhidhinis'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The ScG riofachan = reefs is close enough linguistically and topographically to be the root here. The first 'h' in Mhidhins is an effect of lenition but see Mhidhinis for details of that place.

Riobhagan Mhidhinis

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rifagan Minish

1877

OS 1st edition

Riobhagan Mhidhinis

Place ID 1204 NF 91200 70850 North Uist Lochmaddy

'Mhidhinis' + ScG reefs ScG riobhagan + 'Mhidhinis'

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Minish (P#1210) for details of that component.

Riobhagan Mhidhinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rifagan Minish	1877	OS 1st edition
Riofagun Mhenis	1877	OS name book

Riosgaigh

Place ID 4995 NF 79832 28250 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON *skerry of the reef

ON rifs *skæ

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

This looks Norse and I suspect that the specific element is ON hris = 'brushwood' although the initial vowel is longer than one might expect. One might expect the specific to be ON ey = 'island' but this does not help find the 'g'. This occurs elsewhere on Uist and one suggestion is that the generic element is ON kví = 'fold'. It is an island but that would also make it a fold of sorts....

I wonder if there is a word that appeared between ON sker and No skjær, both meaning skerry.

One would anticipate the accusative and dative of *ON skær to be *ON skæ which would work well phonologically and topographically rifs skæ = 'skerry of the reef' would be an apt topographical name.

It is possible that Rusgaigh, Loch Portain shares at least part of this root.

In Iceland there are three Rifsker place names

In Norway Risekvia could be close to a cognate.

Riosgaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Risgay	1877	OS 1st edition
Rusgearraidh	1877	OS name book
Rusigay	1877	OS name book
Riskay I.	1804	Bald mapping

Risigearraidh

Place ID 5811 NF 80984 75393 North Uist S1ollas

ON enclosure of the reef

ON rifs gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

A Norse name. The generic is ON gerði = 'enclosure'.

ON hrís = 'brushwood' is a possible in the genitive form ON hríss (s) or ON hrísa (pl). The long /i/ is a bit of a problem.

ON rif = 'rib' has ON rifs as its genitive which gets around the problem and whilst the usual interpretation of the word is 'reef', it can also mean 'shallow place in the sea' (NSL). One could imagine the old graveyard here protruding out into the old coastline that was thought to run W/E just inshore of it.

It could also form a counterpoint to Havisgarry if that stems from ON háfn = 'open sea'

Risigearraidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

River Unasary

Place ID 4977 NF 77246 27262 South Uist Loch Eynort

Eng river + 'Unasary' Eng river + 'Unasary'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Unasaraidh (P#4973) for a discussion of that component.

River Unasary 1877 OS 1st edition

Roe Glas

Place ID 6138 NF 73054 27296 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG grey headland ScG rubha glas

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

see Loch a' Roe (P#2365) for a discussion of the element Roe.

Roe Glas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ro Glas	1877	OS name book
Roe Glas	1877	OS 1st edition
Roe Glass	1804	Bald mapping

Rogh

Place ID 2648 NF 92712 83793 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigearraidh

ScG promontory ScG rubha

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop has An Rodh but can not provide any clarity.

The answer is I think simple - it is the sound of the earliest version ScG rudha = 'promontory'. There is a Roe on Aird an Runair and a Roe on Bhallaigh and they are clearly promontories. Row commonly appears on the Blaeu mapping as a promontory name.

A simplex name like this would probably be a sign that it was early.

A Norse alternative exists ON rófa = 'tail'

Rogh	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Rodh	2013	Place nAmes of Berneray

Ròisinis

Place ID 5438 NF 86713 53653 Benbecula Rueval

ON headland of the horses

ON hrossa nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

This is very much the adopted view of this name. The accent tis the only curiosity, an accent that only appeared in the modern OS mapping. This would cause a problem with the initial vowel sound being too strong for ON hross but could be a cartographical error.

There are two Hrossanes and a Hrossnes in Iceland and two Rossanes. 19 Rossness and 11 Rossneset.

Ròisinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rosh Nish	1877	OS name book
Roisanis	1877	OS name book
Roisin(n)ish	1877	OS name book
Rossinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Roisanis	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Rosh Inish	1832	Thomson atlas
Roshinish	1804	Bald mapping

Rònaigh Beag

Place ID 1697 NF 89832 57342 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG little + 'Ronaigh'

'Ronaigh' + ScG beag

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

See Ronaigh (P#16) for details on the Norse roots of that component.

Rònaigh Beag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ronaybeg	1877	OS 1st edition
Ronay Bheag	1861	Thomas chart

Rònaigh

Place ID 16 NF 89900 55500 North Uist Ronaigh

ON rough island

ON hraun ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

When seen in profile, ON hraun ey = 'rough island' is a good description. It is also noticeable that the Gaels used gairbh-eilean to name several islands in the area, this being their equivalent.

The Hebridean Connection (p 23) referred to tanning on Liernis adding "The agricultural people in Rona were employed in the industry until they were evicted about a century ago." More detail was on p82 "There was much tanning of olden time in the island of Ronay. .. He was staying in the house of Malcom son of Norman son of Roderick. These people were employed in tanning during the centuries and the tanning pit was down from the end of their house and the ragsgaoiltinn also around which the hides were stretched...etc".

With South Rona and North Rona named similarly, my only concern could whether ScG ròin = 'seal' might be an alternative. A Norse possibility for Caiplich might support this as does the fact North Rona has a large breeding colony of Grey Seals.

There is another Rona on the shores of Skye as well as North Rona far into the Atlantic. This name is discussed by Cox (p847) who arrives at the same root as above rather than the (folk etymological?) St. Rona.

In Iceland there are five Hrauney islands and seven Raunøyna in Norway.

Ronay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rònaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ronay	1861	Thomas chart
Rona Island	1832	Thomson atlas
Rona I.	1806	Stockdale mapping
Island of Rona	1799	Reid mapping
Rhona	1794	Old Statistcal Account
Ronal	1789	Ainslie mapping
Rona	1776	Mackenzie mapping
I. Rona	1751	Dorret mapping
Rona	1703	Martin book
Ronay		MacDonald sketch history

Rosamol

Place ID 2239 NF 71473 69472 North Uist B1alranald

ON islet of the horses ON hrossa + hólmr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

If you visit the area today, 'jutting crag' would seem a trifle exaggerated but the water levels have changed significantly in this area. Loch Paible did not drain directly to the sea but probably through this area to Kilmuir and so the levels would have been significantly higher and this would have created some form of headland here or possibly an islet. It is also possible that the generic was ON hólmr = 'islet' and metathesis took place between the 'l' and the 'm', a fairly common occurrence. There is a clear higher piece of ground in the area with a building ruin upon it that would have been an islet in earlier times. The cognate evidence leads me to support this meaning.

Stahl writes, rather despairingly: The use of ON muli is inconsistent within Barra place-names. Although usually describing a high lying headland or a mountain, places which do not fulfil this requirement, such as entirely detached islands or small islands close to larger ones, may also incorporate this element. Further investigation of the use of ON muli is essential.'

Gammeltoft discusses 11 ON hólmr names and includes four -mul names in the list, all on Barra, using metathesis to go from -lum to -mul. Vigfusson make no reference to an alternative meaning for ON móli, although he does for ON hólmr writing 'a holm, islet, esp. in a bay, creek, lake, or river; even meadows on the shore with ditches behind them are in Icel. called holms'.

Cox (§40 p115) for Lewis cites metathesis of m...l > l...m but not the reverse along with ...lm > l...m although he then quotes Hestaholm > Teastmal, Benbecula which is lm > l...m > m...l.

This would seem to indicate the only real solution is to use topography.

There is certainly no high headland here and the Icelandic meadows works so here I go for ON hólmr.

There is a Rosamol on Baileshare that probably has the same root.

There are 18 places in Norway beginning with Rossholm and four Hrosshólmi in Iceland and none in either country with ON múli. This leans me towards supporting the interpretation as ON hross hólmr

Rosamol	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rosamol	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Rosamol	1877	OS 1st edition

Rosamul

Place ID 305 NF 78070 63230 North Uist B1aleshare

ON shingle bank of horses

ON hrossa hólm

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Tempting though it is to find a root from ON rossmal = 'walrus' the above is more likely!

About ON múli, Vigfusson writes 'a jutting crag, between two dales, fjords, or the like; very freq. in Icel.;' We certainly don't have that here.

If Bhorogaigh was a peninsula then this would be precisely a crag jutting out (horizontally) between two peninsulas however Rygh cites ON múli as 'a tall wide-reaching nes'

An alternative is ON möl = 'bed of pebbles on the beach or in a river' and this I could be a topographical fit. Combining this with the Cognate notes and it is I believe the root.

The area however would match the Icelandic definition of ON hólm = 'meadows on the shore'. The cognate notes convince me this is the root.

There are plenty of hross and mula names in Iceland but not together and likewise in Norway. However in Norway Rossmål occurs as the first component in 30 places with six of only this component and Rossmol in a further nine, including three with just this component.

In Iceland there are four Hross(a 1)holmi names and six Rossholmen pplace names.

Rosamul	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rosamul	1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray
Rosamul	1877	OS 1st edition

Rough Point

Place ID 1572 NF 95779 76462 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigrearraidh

Eng rough point Eng rough point

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Referring to the ground rather than the nature of the sea I think.

Rough Point	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Rubha Garbh	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Rough Pt	1866	Admiralty mapping

Ru' a Bhuilg

Place ID 1821 NF 86055 45813 Benbecula W1iay

ScG promontory of the place of the mouth ScG rubha a' bheòil -ag

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG builg = 'bellows or seeds' seems unlikely but ScG beulag = 'fissure' or here 'place of the opening' might make more sense. Topographically there is a linear ravine here which could be described as a fissure. The article is odd as one would expect ScG na with this. However if the choice was ScG beul then the ScG a' is correct.

ON búlki = 'heap or cargo of a ship' is the obvious ON contender.

It occurs twice in this simplex form in Iceland and three times in Norway.

Ru' a Bhuilg

1866

Admiralty mapping

Ru' a Chreagain

Place ID 5590 NF 84904 54802 Benbecula Rueval

ScG headland of the little crag ScG headland of the little crag

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Ru' a Chreagain 1861 Thomas chart

Ru' a Pheatain

Place ID 5566 NF 87238 47575 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON towards the Picts + ScG headland

ScG rubha ON á Pettum

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The generic is clear, ScG rubha = 'headland. The article ScG a' would indicate we are looking for a masculine noun probably ScG peatan but nothing obvious appears from the dictionaries. This is supported by the lack of an English alternative as Thomas is usually good at this. He is also good at the 'small' words and so here the bare ScG a probably is the preposition 'to' or 'at'.

Replacing /t/ with the similar sounding /d/ and we are close linguistically to ScG Pheadair = 'of Peter' as we are to Peter's Port. However no /n/ endings are apparent.

Perhaps then, just at Peter's Port, it is worth considering ON Pétti = 'Pict'. ON Péttum = 'to the Picts' (dative plural) is better than anything else I have proposed thus far.

Still quite speculative.

Ru' a Pheatain

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Ru Aiseag

Place ID 1929 NF 88065 58476 North Uist Eaval

ScG ferry promontory Scg rubha aiseag

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I would have expected ScG aiseig = 'of the ferry' i.e. the genitive case.
This would seem a sensible point for a ferry across to Ronaigh from North Uist.

Ru Aiseag 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Ru' an Aiseig

Place ID 1814 NF 86355 46413

Benbecula

W1iay

ScG promontory of the ferry

ScG rubha an aiseig

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Ru' an Aiseig

1866

Admiralty mapping

Ru' an Aisig

Place ID 1751 NF 88225 56311 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG promonotory of the ferry ScG rubha an aiseig

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is opposite the Aird an Aisig on Griomasaigh indicating Cleary the route the ferry took.

Ferry Point	1861	Thomas chart
-------------	------	--------------

Ru' an Aisig	1861	Thomas chart
--------------	------	--------------

Ru' an lasgaich

Place ID 5280 NF 85301 45776

Benbecula

Peter's Port

ScG headland of fishing

ScG rubha an iasgaich

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Just as Bald called it in 1804.

Ru' an lasgaich

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Fishing Point

1804

Bald mapping

Ru' an Monach

Place ID 1757 NF 88845 54526 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG promontory of the peat ScG rubha an mònach

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Peat Point 1861 Thomas chart

Ru' an Monach 1861 Thomas chart

Ru' an Sgalla

Place ID 5508 NF 85300 50609

Benbecula

Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG headland of the rock ledge

ScG rubha an sgalla

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I am unsure of the gender of ScG skalla = 'cliff, rock ledge, large flat rock'

Ru' an Sgalla

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Ru Bay na Haune

Place ID 5278 NF 87323 44865 Benbecula W1iay

ScG bay of the + ON haven + ScG headland ScG rubha bàgh na + ON höfn

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ON höfn appears in other names nearby but this provides early confirmatory evidence.

Ru Bay na Haune

1804

Bald mapping

Ru' Buidhe

Place ID	5514	NF 83893 51081	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG yellow point			ScG rubha buidhe	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal				<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Ru' Buidhe			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Ru Builh

Place ID 1932 NF 86644 58576 North Uist Eaval

ScG cattle-fold promontory ScG rubha buaile

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I suspect that this was mishearing or mis transcription of ScG buaile = 'cattle-fold'.

Ru Builh

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Ru' Chlann Mhuirich

Place ID	5530	NF 87078 49225	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG headland of Clann Murdoch			ScG rubha chlann mhuirich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Mac			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Ru' Chlann Mhuirich			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Ru' Chlann Neill

Place ID 1652 NF 88951 55713 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG promontory of the Clan Neil

ScG rubha clann Nèill

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The Clan Neil is closely associated with Barra having Kisimul; Castle as their base. They were known as pirates, especially Ruairi an Tartair, and this could have been one of their anchorages. See Bàgh Clann Néill for a discussion fo that component.

Rubha Clann Neill

2000

Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)

McNeill's Pt

1861

Thomas chart

Ru' Chlann Neill

1861

Thomas chart

Ru Clack

Place ID 4964 NF 80514 28621 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG stone headland

ScG rubha clach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

From Machair to Mountain names cited as Ru clach or Ruanaglach 'a stony headland'. One of the alternatives Ruanaglach has the correct article, na, which is encouraging.

Ru Clack

1804

Bald mapping

Ru clach

Other

Ruanaglach

Other

Ru' Dubh

Place ID	5524	NF 87722 49570	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG black headland			ScG rubha dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Ru' Dubh			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Ru Duilish

Place ID 5457 NF 88024 52950 Benbecula Rueval

ON ridge of concealment + ScG headland

ScG rubha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The second component could start with ScG dubh = 'black however finding the specific is problematic. An alternative is possibly ScG duileasg = 'dulse' - a type of edible seaweed - the genitive is ScG duilish. However this would not finish as well as it might phonetically. The pronunciation is /duləsg/.

A Norse alternative is ON dul = 'concealment' and here ON dular = 'of concealment'. Further away but a commoner root would be ON dalr = valley.

-lish endings are often based on ON áss = 'ridge'. There is a prominent ridge running along the E edge of the peninsula here.

All things considered I think the dulse option is probably the best.

Whilst Dul- occurs as a first component of several names in Norway, there is no cognate.

There are however 32 Dalås(en) place names in Norway with four Dalsás in Iceland.

There is a Sgeir an Duilish (P#2016) in the Sound of Harirs. Duilish appears in 23 place names on the OS 2nd edition mapping, one of which rather oddly is miles inland!

Ru Duilish

1832

Thomson atlas

Ru Duilish

1804

Bald mapping

Ru' Eval

Place ID 1837 NF 91517 58601 North Uist Eaval

'Eval' + ScG promontory ScG rubha + 'Eval'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Eabhal (P#46) for details of the onomastic unit 'Eval'.

Ru' Eval 1861 Thomas chart

Ru' Eva 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Ru' Iain Bhain

Place ID 1811 NF 87352 47318

Benbecula

W1iay

ScG fair John promontory

ScG rubha Iain bhàin

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Ru' Iain Bhain

1866

Admiralty mapping

Ru More

Place ID	2033	NF 94951 75022	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG big promontory			ScG rubha mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Ru More			1866	Admiralty mapping	

Ru' na Atha

Place ID 1839 NF 90867 58326 North Uist Eaval

ScG headland of the 'Eabhal' ScG rubha na + 'Eabhal'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Headland

complete?

The literal translation is ScG promontory of either the ford, old barn or the kiln. The article is odd as it should be either ScG an or ScG na h-. This can be an indication of a Norse root.

There is no ford here and so investigation of that Norse root will help.

ON hrauna eið = 'isthmus of the rough grounds', although with the meaning of a 'narrow headland' or 'neck of land' here, would work well. See <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx>.

The same site writes -eiðar > æse might help explain 'Essir', the name here on early maps.

Perhaps ON hæð = 'head' might be an alternative.

However this name is I am sure a corruption of Rubha Heabhal = 'headland of Eaval' recorded in the OSA of 1794 as Rueheva as (Loch) Rueval at the turn of the 19th century.

Essir is an interesting alternative name recorded on several of the pre-Blaeu maps. Oftedal writing about Earshader (p26) writes 'ærsetr translates '(female) sheep's farm', 'farm of (one) sheep'. This first component seems good for Essir as well as the plural ON a = 'ewes' does for Eabhal itself. ON saurr = 'boggy ground' is perhaps the specific.

ON af-stigr = 'by-path' or ScG Àisir = 'path' are interesting alternatives, especially with Kallin named on these early maps as Stig.

<http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx>.

This site writes -eiðar > -æse might help explain 'Essir'. The site seems to say (in Norwegian) ON eiðs > æs and this would provide a suitable specific. The generic however is harder...

ON sær = 'sea'?

MacNiven p200 discusses Oshamail and mentions æs.

eiðs occurs at the start of 15 Icelandic place names including as the closest sound Eiðsker

Ru' na Atha	1861	Thomas chart
Runa Atha	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Rueheva	1794	Old Statistical Account
Essir	1610	Speed mapping
Essir	1595	Mercator later

Ru na Haune

Place ID 5010 NF 80530 27753 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG promontory of the + ON haven

ScG rubha na + ON höfn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON rúna = 'of the secret' would be an interesting option as the haven here is well hidden. Acairseid Fhalaich on Loch Eynort is the ScG equivalent meaning 'hidden harbour'

Ru na Haune

1804

Bald mapping

Ru na Shien

Place ID 5153 NF 76518 49770 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG headland of the fairy knoll ScG rubha na sìthean

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The 'sithean' is named as Sìthean Bhuirgh (q.v.) on the modern OS mapping.
The article is not as one would expect as ScG sìthean is masculine and one would expect ScG an t-.

Ru na Shien	1832	Thomson atlas
-------------	------	---------------

Ru na Shien	1804	Bald mapping
-------------	------	--------------

Ru' na Tota

Place ID 5513 NF 84361 50693 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG headland of the ruin

ScG Rubha na tobhta

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

As Thomas gives in his alternative 'Ruin Point' works well.

Ru' na Tota

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Ruin Point

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Ru nan Totag

Place ID 5497 NF 85080 51383 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG headland of the + ON bay of the ruins SCg rubha nan? + ON tofta vík

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

In 1923 Forbes gives Tota vig = 'the toft of the bay' as the derivation for Totaig on Skye and things won't have changed much. I would now cite ON tofta vík = 'the bay of the ruins'.

I can see no reason here why the plural Scg nan was added.

Totaig occurs 9 times on the OS 2nd edition mapping, all with a strong NW coast bias. One is on North Uist. There are two Tóftarvík in Iceland and two Torteвика in Norway.

Ru nan Totag

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Ru' Sgeireach

Place ID 5586 NF 84364 55710 Benbecula Rueval

ScG headland of the place of the skerry ScG rubha sgeire -ach

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Ru' Sgeireach 1861 Thomas chart

Rocky Pt 1861 Thomas chart

Ru Ushinish

Place ID 6357 NF 85817 34448 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Ushinish' + ScG headland ScG rubha + 'Ushinish'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Uisinis (P#6463) for a discussion of that element.

Ru Ushinish 1804 Bald mapping

Ru Vuilt

Place ID 6676 NF 82597 43836 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

'Vuilt' + ScG headland ScG rubha + 'Vuilt'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Rubha Bhualte (P#753) for a discussion on this component of the name.
This is the typical headland with a dyke across the narrow neck and with a lot of feannagan.

Ru Vuilt 1804 Bald mapping

Ruabhal

Place ID 56 NF 82420 53290 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON red mountain

ON rauða fjall

ScG?

ON?

To decide

complete?

The name is clearly Norse and there are two clear options. One is ON rauðr = 'red' and the other is ON hrjúfr = 'rough' or 'uneven'. The case ending would count against both of them to some extent (ON rauða and ON hrjúfa). In favour of the former are the cognate notes.

The Rueval on South Uist picked up more options in the OSNB, Ruevaull, Ruevaule and Ruaibhal, although none of these present stratling new information. There are no other Rueval names on the OS 2nd series mapping. It occurs 17 times in Iceland as Rauðafjell and c60 times in Norway as Raudfjellet.

Rjuven occurs as a hill name six times in Norway

Ruabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rueval	1877	OS 1st edition
Ruebhall	1861	Thomas chart
Ruevaul	1832	Thomson atlas
Benbecula Knock	1806	Stockdale mapping
Ruevaule	1804	Bald mapping
Benbecula Knock	1789	Ainslie mapping
Rowafelt	1654	Blaeu mapping

Ruabhal

Place ID 6577 NF 77903 40479 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON red mountain

ON rauða fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

This is the same name as Ruabhal on Benbecula (P#56) q.v. The most likely root is as above.

Ruabhal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rueval

1877

OS 1st edition

Ruabruach

Place ID 5142 NF 79573 49300 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG promontory of the bank

ScG rubha bruach

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Carmichael gives us 'red brae' in the OSNB presumably from his version of the name ScG ruadh-bhruthach. The order seems odd here although colours can go first.

My definition of ScG bruach = 'bank, brink' which works well for slope here.

I wonder if rather than ScG ruadh = 'red' that ScG rubha = 'promontory' might be more appropriate.

There is a Ruadh Bruach and a separate and a Ruadh Bruthach on the (bonny bonny) shores of Loch Lomond.

Ruadh-bhruthach

1877

OS name book

Ruabruach

1877

OS 1st edition

Ruadh Bhruthach

Place ID 722 NF 73710 66220 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG red place of the bank

ScG ruadh bhruthach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Is the order odd here?

Ruadh Bhruthach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ruadh-bhruthach

1877

OS 1st edition

Ruadh-bhruthach

Place ID 418 NF 85830 55310 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG steep rusty-red slope

ScG ruadh - bhruthach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Cliff or slope

complete?

A self-explanatory name although I am not sure I understand why there is lenition here but probalby to do with the order and the close compound,

Ruadh-bhruthach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rubh' a' Bhàigh Mhòir

Place ID 402 NF 87515 56340 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG promontory of the big bay ScG rubha a' bhàigh mhoir

Coastal Headland

A simple name

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubh' a' Bhàigh Mhòir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudh' a' Bhàigh Mhòir

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubh' a' Chlachain

Place ID 2558 NF 87086 67943

North Uist

Central South

ScG promontory of the stepping sotnes

ScG rubha a' chlachain

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Rubh' a' Chlachain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudh' a' Chlachain

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubh' a' nam Marbh

Place ID 5680 NF 62896 62094 North Uist Heisker

ScG headland of the dead

ScG rubha nam marbh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Macaulay gives us 'headland of the dear' and cites it as a site of the wreck of a raiding party. He writes about the event (p31) dating it to c1690 with raiders from Lewis being the offenders. A kidnapped local guide when asked the name of the near headland replied 'Whatever its name was last night, it will be the cape of the dead tonight' upon which he leapt overboard and survived whilst all the raiders were drowned.

THC cites the previous name as Rubha an Aba = 'headland of the Abbott'.

Rudha nam Marbh	2020	Alick Macaulay Heisgeir
-----------------	------	-------------------------

Rubh' a' nam Marbh	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------------	------	-------------------

Rubha an Aba	1984	The Hebridean Connection
--------------	------	--------------------------

Rubha nam Marbh	1984	The Hebridean Connection
-----------------	------	--------------------------

Rubh' Aird-mhicheil

Place ID 6322 NF 72874 33411 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Aird-mhicheil' + ScG headland ScG rubha + 'Aird-mhicheil'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Ard Michael (P#6323) for a discussion of that element.

Rubh' Aird-mhicheil	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudh' Àrd-mhìcheil	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru Ardmichael	1877	OS name book
Ard Michael	1877	OS name book
Ru Ard Michael	1877	OS name book
Ru Ard Michael	1804	Bald mapping

Rubh' Airigh an Sgadain

Place ID 4942 NF 80375 28258 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG sheriling of the + ?ON The hook headland + S Scg rubha airigh an + ?ON skotin

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'herring point'. This omits the ScG airigh = 'shieling' component and is based upon ScG sgadan = 'herring'. The genitive and the plural is ScG sgadain. Here though the ScG an indicates just one herring. A literal translation is therefore 'point of the shieling of the (one) herring'. However there are Norse possibilities, see cognate notes.

Whilst there are 23 names on the OS 2nd series containing Sgadan or Sgadain at least nine, including one of North Uist, are well inland. It is difficult to see how these refer to herring.

In Norway there are several places beginning with Skat (c300) including four Skadan some of seem to refer to hook headlands, Ic skot = 'hook' as one of its meanings whilst Rygh writes that it could mean 'Protrusions of Land'. Certainly a hooked promontory is what we have topographically. It also works with the Bald name of Ru Arinascadan

Rubh' Airigh an Sgadain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ru Airidh na Scadan	1877	OS name book
Rudh' Airidh an Sgadain	1877	OS 1st edition
Rudh Airian Sgadain	1877	OS name book
Ru Arinascadan	1804	Bald mapping

Rubh' an Fhaing

Place ID 2412 NF 84951 75123 North Uist A1hmore

ScG promontory of the fank ScG rubha an fhaing

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One would have expected ScG na = 'of the' as ScG fang = 'fank' is feminine. This is a consistent pattern on Uist and so one wonders if it is masculine here. On Lewis the ScG na is used consistently.

Rubh' an Fhaing	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudh' an Fhaing	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubh' an Stroim

Place ID 6700 NF 81985 44843 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG headland onf the nasrrow rocky channel ScG rubha an sròim

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubh' an Stroim 2014 Modern OS mapping

Rudh an t-Stroim 1877 OS name book

Rudh an Stroim 1877 OS 1st edition

Rubh' an Tigh-mhàil

Place ID 6120 NF 76856 28865 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG headland of + 'Tigh-mhàil' ScG rubha an 'Tigh-mhàil'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Taymail (P#4968) for a discussion of that component.

Rubh' an Tigh-mhàil	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------------	------	-------------------

Rudh' an Tigh mhàil	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------------	------	-------------------

Rubh' an t-Sagairt

Place ID 1648 NF 88363 57283 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG promontory of the priest

ScG rubha an t- sagairt

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

One of several place names containing ScG sagairt = 'priest' in the area but no chapel, other than a reference to one by Martin Martin. The word has the alternative meaning of 'base (sand, sods or wood) upon which a stack/rick is built'.

Rubh' an t-Sagairt

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rubha An t-Sagairt

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Ru' an t-Sagairt

1861

Thomas chart

Rubh' an t-Sruith Bhig

Place ID 1198 NF 91080 69600 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG promontory of the big current ScG rubha an t- sruith bhig

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This current is a tidal race in the inner recesses of Loch Houram.

Rubh' an t-Sruith Bhig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rubh' Àrd na Coille

Place ID 6488 NF 79091 37899

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ScG headland of the height of the wood

ScG rubha àrd na coille

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Rubh' Àrd na Coille

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha Àrd na Coille

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha

Place ID 1072 NF 75770 76520 North Uist V1allay

ScG promontory ?

ScG ? Rubha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

A ScG simplex name like this is very unusual. It is possible that the specific has gone missing but that is unlikely as it is a relatively important marker promontory.

An intriguing Norse possibility is ON ruð = 'a clearing' and might refer to a time when there were more trees on the islands.

Just two kilometres to the S is Loch Eik which could have as its root ON eik = 'oak tree'.

According to Cox ScG rubha is a Norse loan word from either ON hrúga = 'a heap or pile' or ON hrufa = 'a crust, the rough surface of a stone'. One can imagine the latter being taken into the context of outdoors and becoming ground containing many rocks sticking out. This would be a good topographical fit here.

That said I personally think that ON rófa = 'tail' is an equally good match both in terms of meaning and in sound. Vigfusson even writes it is pronounced róa. Rygh gives it topographical meaning has something 'long and narrow, perhaps also curved' or 'a dirt road' or 'a far protruding tongue of a hill'. (ON hali has the same sense). The initial vowel sound is not quite right in terms of quantity but the rest works well.

Stewart has three places in the Shetlands involving Roe which he derives from either ON rauð ey = 'red island' or ON rauð eið = 'red isthmus' but there is not really much red about here.

There are another three Roe place names nearby Loch a' Roe and Eilean na Roe on Aird an Runair and Sloc Roe on Griminis.

Rubha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Roe

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha a' Bhodaich

Place ID 2193 NF 78442 64182 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG promontory of the palce of the reef ScG rubha a' bhod -ach

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rather than ScG bodach = 'old man', as with a few other of these marine names, I suspect the root is actually ScG bodha -ach = 'place of sunken rock'. This is an ON loan word form ON boði = 'a breaker 'boding' hidden rocks' Alternatively Cox cites ScG bodacha as the plural form.(p184)

Rubha a' Bhodaich

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Rubha a' Charnain Mhòir

Place ID 571 NF 90740 79160 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG big promontory of the small pile of stones ScG rubha a' charnain mhòir

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubha a' Charnain Mhòir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudh' a' Charnain Mhoir

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha a' Chorrain

Place ID 2636 NF 90792 83493 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ScG promontory of the sickle headland ScG rubha a' chorrain

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This seems a little tautologous but is a fair description.

Rubha a' Chorrain 2014 Modern OS mapping

Rudh' a' Chorrain n/a

Rubha Àird a' Mhuile

Place ID 6096 NF 70962 29921 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG headland promontory of + ON The storm bea ScG rubha àird a' + ON mölin

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I have posted a blog about this name at <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/two-forts-for-the-price-of-one>.
I ended up thinking that all the names here stem form ON möl = 'storm beach'.

Rubha Àird a' Mhuile	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudh' Aird Mhavile	1877	OS name book
Rudha Ardvule	1877	OS 1st edition
Rudha Ardvula	1877	OS 1st edition
Aird Fula	1877	OS name book
Aird Vula	1877	OS name book
Ru Ard Fula	1877	OS name book
Ru Ard Vula	1877	OS name book
Rudh' Aird Mhavile	1877	OS name book
Rudha Ardvula	1877	OS name book
Rudha Ardvula	1877	OS name book
Aird Vula	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Àird na Machrach

Place ID 6711 NF 74188 46323 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG headland of the height of the machair ScG rubha àird na machrach

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here ScG machair is here feminine.

Rubha Àird na Machrach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ru Ardivashed	1877	OS name book
Ru Ardivachir	1877	OS name book
Ru Ardivachor	1877	OS name book
Rudf Aird a Mhachair	1877	OS name book
Ardivachar Point	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru Ardivachir	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha an Aoil

Place ID 2624 NF 91795 80509 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ScG promontory of the lime Scg rubha an aoil

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Presumably there was a lime-kiln nearby as they were required to create the lime wash for the white houses.

Rubha an Aoil

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rubha an Diamh

Place ID	115	NF 94598 74742	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG headland of the stag			ScG rubha + an + diamh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha an Diamh			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Rubha an Dùin

Place ID	1093	NF 78590 76200	North Uist	V1allay	
SCG promontory of the fort			ScG rubha an dùin		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha an Dùin			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	
Rudh' an Duin			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rubha an Dùine

Place ID 130 NF 97545 71864 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG promonotory of the fort ScG rubha an dùine

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

topographically Leac na Hoe would be better named with this name.

Rubha an Dùine 2014 Modern OS mapping

Rubha an Dùine 1877 OS 1st edition

Rubha an Fhaing

Place ID 5895 NF 80794 72782

North Uist

S1ollas

ScG headland of the fank

ScG rubha an fhaing

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Rubha an Fhaing

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Rubha an Fhaing

Place ID	6034	NF 81318 75273	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG promontory of the fank			ScG rubha an fhaing		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha an Fhaing			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Rubha an Fhigheadair

Place ID 186 NF 95453 69071 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG promontory of the + ON opening of the bays ScG rubha an + oN víka dyrr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Clearly named Weaver's Point on the early Admiralty chart, the name is odd as there was no settlement near this point. A consideration of the Gaelic pronunciation of ScG figheadair = 'weaver, knitter' could give the ON víka + dyrr = 'opening of the bays'. Topographically this is a perfect fit as the headland is the one that commands the entrance to the large waterway of Loch nam Madadh with its many bays.

Interestingly Casiteal an Reubadair, just off the southern tip of Eriskay, is called the Weaver's Castle but phonetically could come from ScG Rubh + 'a' = 'promontory of' with ON dyrr = 'door'- another good topographical fit and close to the Stockdale mapping name of Ruinidar.

Rubha an Fhigheadair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rubha na Forud	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Weaver's Point	1877	OS 1st edition
Weaver Point	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
Ruinidar	1806	Stockdale mapping

Rubha an Innsearnaich

Place ID 2078 NF 91545 78108 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG promontory of the place of the islands ScG rubha na innsean -aich

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop fails to produce the answer here but writes at length about it (p41).

I think it is to do with the form ScG innsean, the plural of ScG innis = 'grazing' or 'archaically 'island'.

The ScG -ach = 'place of' and so we end up with 'place of the islands' or 'place of the grazings'. I am not sure about the article here....

There is a sunken rock An t-Innsearnach offshore here along with one in Loch Snizort, Skye.

Rubha an Innsearnaich

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Rubha an Innsearnaich

Place ID 5105 NF 91071 78990 North Uist Clachan Shanda

ScG promontory of the place of the islands ScG rubha an innsean -ach

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There are other places nearby with the same generic.

Rubha an Innsearnaich

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Rubha an Ionair

Place ID 6491 NF 80445 37471 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG headland of the + ON watchpoint ScG rubha an + ON sjónar

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Several of these Ionair names appear in this area but nowhere else.
I can see no reason why 'bowels' are involved!
Adverb ON innar = 'farther in' or adjective ON innri = 'inner' are possibilities.

There are four names on the 2nd edition OS ampping and all are around Loch Druidibig.

Rubha an Ionair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudh' an Ionair	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha an Nighidearachd

Place ID 2210 NF 77985 62021 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG promontory of the washing

ScG rubha an nigheadaireach

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Fraser gives us 'Washing Point' and explained it was where the women used to wash the clothes. The root is ScG nigheadaireachd = 'washing' (f) and so the ScG article is odd as one would expect ScG na = 'of the'.

Rubha an Nighidearachd

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Rubha an Tairbh

Place ID 1698 NF 90511 57394 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG promontory of the bull ScG rubha an tairbh

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG tairbh = 'of the bull' is the genitive of ScG tarbh = 'bull'.

Why is a question?!

It is worth considering the option under Sgeir an Tairbh (P#1571 q.v.)

Rubha an Tairbh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha an Tairbh	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru' an Tairbh	1861	Thomas chart

Rubha an Taomaidh

Place ID 6033 NF 83323 75205 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG promontory of 'Taomaidh' ScG rubha an + 'Taomaidh'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Google mangle writes 'Some people used to make dumplings on the headland.' I cannot see where the dumpling has come from.

I do wonder if the root is the same as Dùn Thomaidh (P#1069 q.v.). Topographically the situation is very similar and it is interesting to see that a nearby place involves drying nets too but in Gaelic.

Cleitean nan Lìon (P#6016)

Rubha an Taomaidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Rubha an Tobha

Place ID 2413 NF 83446 75913 North Uist S1ollas

ScG promontory of the mound ScG rubha an tobha

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubha an Tobha 2014 Modern OS mapping

Rudha na Hoe 1877 OS 1st edition

Rubha an Udail

Place ID 5986 NF 82194 78358 North Uist S1ollas

ScG promontory of the 'Udail' ScG rubha an 'Udail'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Udal (P#1320) for a discussion fo that component.

Rubha an Udail

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Rubha Arnal

Place ID 724 NF 73310 65790 North Uist B1ayhead

ON eagle's knoll' + ScG promontory

ScG rubha + ON arna hóll

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Stahl writes 'point of the eagles' hill', a combination of G rubha, 'point, promontory' and the pl. Form of ON örn, 'eagle', arnar and ON fjall, 'hill'.

It is likely the root is the same as Arnol on Lewis about which Oftedal writes about this name (p17) and thinks it is either a personal name or eagle as the specific. His suggestion for the generic of ON hóll = 'knoll' works well topographically with Creag Hasten nearby. Indeed Arnol could be a name for that whole crag.

ON arna = 'of the eagles' is my preferred specific.

THC p 2321 cites a name Rudha na Atha as cape of the Barn at Loch Asduinn and this could be an alternative.

Rubha Arnal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rubh' Arnal

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Rudha na Atha

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Rudh' Arnal

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha Bàn

Place ID	2218	NF 78117 63983	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG white point			ScG rubha bàn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha Bàn			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Rubha Ban			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	
Rudha Ban			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rubha Bàn

Place ID	6680	NF 78344 44990	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG pale headland			ScG rubha bàn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha Bàn			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Rudha Bàn			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rubha Bheilis

Place ID 1142 NF 81450 78040 North Uist S1ollas

'Veilish' + ScG promonotory

ScG rubha + 'Veilish'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Veilish for details.

Rubha Bheilis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bhoilis	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Bidhilis	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Wainliss	1911	Beveridge
Uanilis	1911	Beveridge
Waynlies	1911	Beveridge
Waynelies	1911	Beveridge
Waynles	1911	Beveridge
Wainlies	1911	Beveridge
Bhailis	1877	OS name book
Veilish Point	1877	OS 1st edition
Valish Point	1877	OS name book
Walis	1505	RMS
Waynlis	1505	RMS
Veilish		MacDonald sketch history

Rubha Bheilis

Place ID 1321 NF 81406 78041 North Uist S1ollas

ON bheilis ScG headland

ScG rubha + ON bheilis

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Veilish for a discussion of that component of this name.

Rubha Bheilis	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Bidhilis	1984	The Hebridean Connection
----------	------	--------------------------

Valish Point	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Bhailis	1877	OS name book
---------	------	--------------

Veilish Point	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Rubha Bhidein

Place ID 5419 NF 82588 56319 Benbecula Rueval

ScG headland of the + ON The channel ScG rubha + ON vitean

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG bidein = 'pinnacle' has its genitive ScG bidein. I am not sure why this hraldand should be associated with a pinnacle and the lack of article is slightly unusual.

ON veitan = 'The canal or fairway' would be a good phonetical fit and corresponds topographically with the main North Ford channel that passes a few metres to the north of the headland.

Veita appears as a simplex name over 100 times in Iceland and Veitan seven times.

Rubha Bhidein	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Bhidein	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha Bhilidh

Place ID	6354	NF 86095 33001	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG Billy's headland			ScG rubha bhilidh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha Bhilidh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Rudha Bhilidh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rubha Bhoisnis

Place ID 205 NF 88763 80517 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ON headland of the whale carcasses+ ScG promo ScG rhuba + ON fjósa nes

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ON fjósa = 'of whale carcasses' seems to fit here.
However see Bhoisinis (P#10881) for a discussion of that place name.

Rubha Bhoisnis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Vosinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Voshiness	1832	Thomson atlas
Ru Voshiness	1804	Bald mapping
Voshiness	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Bholuim

Place ID 4944 NF 82995 28448 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON bholuim + ScG headland

SDcG rubha + ON bholuim

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Bholuim (P#4943) for a discussion of the element 'Bholuim'

Rubha Bholuim	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Bholuim	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru Boelam	1877	OS name book
Rudha Bhòlum	1877	OS name book
Rudh Bholum	1877	OS name book
Ru Boelam	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Bhualte

Place ID	753	NF 87500 58340	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG promontory of the ON ploughed land			ScG rubha + ON velta		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Rubha Bhualte is at the SW tip of the Liernis peninsula and the OS name book provides a meaning of 'The Striking Point'. Strictly ScG buailte is the past participle of ScG buail = 'to strike' and so it should read 'the struck point'. Even that however is curious as generally Gaelic and Old Norse name-places have fairly prosaic meanings. ScG Rubha is certainly Gaelic for Point.

Another possibility is ScG buailteach = 'sheiling hut' although the final -ch is seldom lost and this word only appears twice in the OS 2nd series mapping and both times inland.

The best option is ScG buailt = 'cabin or niche' although the niche tends to be in a barn. It would describe the headland with a niche bay behind it.

If we wanted to look for a Norse root, then phonetically Bhualte would be anglicized to v yu lt uh. Of a few possibilities, the best Old Norse phonetic matches would be either fjall - tún (dwelling of the hill) or völlr-tún (dwelling of the field) which both work well topographically and are suitably prosaic. With the looming presence of Eaval in the background, the former is perhaps the most likely. However it would be unusual to lose the final 'n'.

ON völtur = 'roller or winch' and part of a ship's fittings works very well phonetically and fits into the geographical spread of the other similar place names.

The original name here could have been *ON völturness but the ON nes = 'headland' was recognised and replaced with a ScG rubha = 'promontory'. The same reasoning as could possibly apply with ON strand and ScG camas.

However the cognate notes indicating the regular appearance of a simplex name indicates that the place was simply called Völtur and the Gaels then added Rubha to make sense of it to them.

The precise meaning is hard to ascertain. Vigfusson writes 'völt or völtur, f. pl. [valtr, velta], a roller, a thing belonging to the fittings of a ship'. ON velta has come to mean 'ploughed land' (Jakobsen p114) and that would seem the most appropriate here. Feannagan are visible on the headland with a surrounding dyke which could easily be to keep stock out of.

The distribution of the 9 place names containing the word 'Bhualte' on the OS second edition is interesting as they are all coastal and in the Norse region with five 'Camas a' ' and four 'Rudha a' '. There are no names without the lenited 'h'. The component 'Völt' occurs in four Norwegian places, once as a simplex Volten, presumably the alternative form völt with an indefinite article added as well as two other simplex Valtaren and Valtran based on the plural ON valtr. These suggest that in fact the place was simply called Völtur and the Gaels then added Rubha.

In Iceland we have two Velta simplex names

Rubha Bhualte	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Bhualte	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru na Buala	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Rubha Bhualte

Place ID 4991 NF 79720 28394 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG headland of the + ON ploughed land'

ScG rubha + ON völtr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'folded or enclosed headland' and this name is a common one. The 't' takes it from the usual ScG buaile = 'fold'.

Other possibilities are discussed under other places with the same name. The most likely option was ON velta in the form ON völtr with the meaning 'ploughed land' Satellite imagery reveals the area is heavily cultivated although estimating the period of it is difficult.

A 'folded or enclosed headland' would form the ideal conditions for ploughing the land.....

Rubha Bhualte	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ruddh' Bhualte	1877	OS name book
Ru Bhualte	1877	OS name book
Rudha Bhualte	1877	OS 1st edition
Rubhalt	1841	1841 census
Ru Vuailta	1804	Bald mapping
Ruavult		Other

Rubha Bhualite

Place ID 6592 NF 83648 40552 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON ploughed land + ScG headland

ScG rubha + 'Bhualite'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

See Rubha Bhualite (P#753) for a discussion of this place name. There is a well marked dyke enclosing this headland and the area is covered in feannagan.

Rubha Bhualite	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Struck Point	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Rudha Bhualite	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Ru Vuilt	1804	Bald mapping
----------	------	--------------

Rubha Breac

Place ID	1717	NF 89227 54425	North Uist	Ronaigh	
ScG speckled promotory			ScG rubha breac		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha Breac			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Rudha Breac			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rubha Buidhe

Place ID 1224 NF 82470 58910 North Uist C1arinish

ScG yellow promontory ScG rubha bhuidhe

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A self-explanatory name

Rubha Buidhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Yellow Point	1861	Thomas chart
Yellow Pt	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Rubha Buidhe

Place ID	1665	NF 85134 57808	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG yellow promontory			ScG rubha buidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
Self-explanatory					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha Buidhe			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Rubha Buidhe

Place ID 6587 NF 83177 41068 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG yellow headland

ScG rubha buidhe

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

A common name.

Rubha Buidhe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha Buidhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Yellow Point

1877

OS name book

Rubha Buidhe Scotbheinn

Place ID 416 NF 85330 55780 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG yellow promontory of 'Scotbheinn'

ScG rubha buidhe + 'Scotbheinn'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Whilst the first part is self-explanatory, the onomastic unit 'Scotbheinn' is discussed under that name (P#417)

Rubha Buidhe Scotbheinn

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Rubha Buidhe

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Rudha Buidhe Scotven

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha Cam nan Gall

Place ID 1779 NF 88486 47493 Benbecula W1iay

ScG crooked headland of the lowlanders ScG rubha cam nan gall

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

'lowlanders' generally, but not always, refers to the Norse.

Rubha Cam nan Gall	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Cam nan Gall	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru' na h-Airde Gabhail	1866	Admiralty mapping
Ru Aird Ghall	1832	Thomson atlas
Ru aird Ghall	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Camas nam Feuchaig

Place ID 6567 NF 84987 39277 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Camas nam Feuchaig' + ScG headland ScG rubha + 'Camas nam Feuchaig'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Camas nam Feuchaig (P#6566) for a discussion of the last components.

Rubha Camas nam Feuchaig 2014 Modern OS mapping

Rudha Camas nam Feugh 1877 OS 1st edition

Rubha Caol

Place ID 1324 NF 82930 79093 North Uist S1ollas

ON knob-like hill + ScG promontory

ScG rubha + ON kúla

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Not that narrow?!

I suspect that it might come from ON kúla= 'knob like hill' rather than ScG caol = 'narrow' as the feature is a prominent knob-like hill....

This appears 13 times on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Rubha Caol

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha Caol

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha Caolas Liursaigh

Place ID 6601 NF 85668 40530 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Liursaigh' narrows headland ScG rubha caolas + 'Liursaigh'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Liursaigh Dubh (P#67) for a discussion of the last element.

Rubha Caolas Liursaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudh Caolas Liurseidh	1877	OS name book
Rudha Caolas Luirsay	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha Caolas Mhic Iain Duibh

Place ID 5434 NF 86069 54493 Benbecula Rueval

ScG straight of the son of Black John headland ScG rubha caolas mhc iain duibh

Coastal Headland

ScG?

ON?

complete?

'Black John' sounds truly piratical!

Rubha Caolas Mhic Iain Duibh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha Caolas Mhic Iain Duibh

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha Chaluum Fhidhir

Place ID 2183 NF 79122 63516 North Uist B1aleshare

ON gravelly bank of the stacks + ScG promontory ScG rubha ON hjal(a)m eyyr

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Fraser gives us 'Calum Fidhir's Point' with no further explanation.

If it wasn't for the Chaluum, then ScG fiadhair = 'green sward' might be a possibility but it can only be a name with the Chaluum there.

ON hjalmr = 'helmet' is of regular occurrence in place names using its meaning as 'helmet-shaped things' such as haystacks. In the Gaelicization process a vowel would be inserted between the 'l' and 'm' of ON hjálm.

ScG fhidhir would I think sound to anglophonic ears like 'e yyir' close to ON eyrr = 'a gravelly bank, either of the banks of a river or of small tongues of land running into the sea'. Together these would make a good topographical fit.

There is a Hjálmeýrarhjalli and Hjálmeýri in Iceland.

There are no occurrences of Fhidir on the OS 2nd series mapping.

Rubha Chaluum Fhidhir

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Rubha Chnaip

Place ID 563 NF 88420 56000 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG promontory of the little hill ScG rubha chnaip

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Although this sounds similar to Knip on Lewis, the ScG works well here.
The /h/ is part of a lenition process and the /l/ is part of forming the genitive.
All that said one imagines that ScG cnap is a loan word from ON knappr = 'knob' or better ON gnípa or ON gnúpr both meaning 'a height with a steep front' although Vigfusson gives a simple 'peak'.

Rubha Chnaip	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Chnaip	1877	OS 1st edition
Lump Point	1861	Thomas chart
Ru' a Chnaip	1861	Thomas chart

Rubha Creag Corra-ghrithreach

Place ID 5435 NF 86520 54226 Benbecula Rueval

ScG headland of 'Creag Corra-ghrithreach' ScG rubha + 'Creag Corra-ghrithreach'

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

'Creag Corra-ghrithreach' (P#5436) forms an onomastic unit here.

Rubha Creag Corra-ghrithreach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Creag Corra-ghrithreach	1877	OS 1st edition
Boat Point	1861	Thomas chart
Ru' an Eithir	1861	Thomas chart

Rubha Creag Mhic Fhionnlaidh

Place ID 1713 NF 90243 54397 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG promontory of the crag of the MacFinlays ScG rubha creag mhic Fhionnlaidh

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Not a name I am aware of in local history although it occurs regularly.
There is a nearby Creag Mhic Fhionnlaidh. See P#992 for a discussion of the Fhionnlaidh component.

Rubha Creag Mhic Fhionnlaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Creag Mhic Fhionnlaidh	1877	OS 1st edition
McKinlay's Point	1861	Thomas chart
Ru' Mhic Fhionnlaidh	1861	Thomas chart

Rubha Dubh

Place ID	229	NF 90981 73954	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG black promonotory			ScG rubha dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Rubha Dubh

Place ID 415 NF 84870 56480 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG black promontory

ScG rubha dubh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

A self-explanatory name and one that occurs 83 times in Scotland in its archaic form 'Rudha Dubh' on the OS 2nd series mapping.

Rubha Dubh

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Rubha Dubh

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Rudh na Monadh

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Rubha Dubh

Place ID 927 NF 84700 64400 North Uist Langass

ScG black promontory ScG rubha + dubh

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubha Dubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Dubh	1877	OS 1st edition
Black Pt	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Rubha Dubh

Place ID 5243 NF 82346 48311 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG black headland

ScG rubha dubh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Rubha Dubh

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Rudh-dubh

1877

OS name book

Rudha Dubh

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha Dubh

Place ID	6681	NF 78625 45487	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG blakc headland			ScG rubha dubh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Island			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha Dubh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Rudha Dubh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rubha Dubh an Roin

Place ID 1783 NF 86447 46712 Benbecula W1iay

ScG black promontory of the seal ScG rubha dubh an roin

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubha Dubh an Roin 2014 Modern OS mapping

Rudha Dubh an Ròin 1877 OS 1st edition

Ru' Dubh nan Ron 1866 Admiralty mapping

Rubha Dubh Thaigh a' Ghearraidh

Place ID 2396 NF 70197 72553 North Uist B1alrinald

ON Thiagh a'Ghearraidh + ScG black promontory ScG rubha dubh + 'Thaigh a' Gearradidh'

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here Thaigh a' Ghearraidh is being treated as an onomastic unit. For a discussion of its meaning see Tigh a' Ghearraidh.

Rubha Dubh Thaigh a' Ghearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------------------------	------	-------------------

Rudha Dubh Tighary	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------------	------	----------------

Rubha Fhada

Place ID	6003	NF 83046 76159	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG long promontory			ScG rubha fhada		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Not actually very long? Perhaps ON vatn = 'water'?					
Rubha Fhada			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Rubha Fliuch

Place ID 1857 NF 81167 55949 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG wet promontory

ScG rubha fluich

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Exactly as the OS name book says.

Thomas' alternative Ru' an Sluice must refer to the sluice just to the E where there is a drain from the Loch Olabhat waterway.

Rubha Fliuch	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Fliuch	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru an Sluier	1877	OS name book
Ru' an Sluice	1861	Thomas chart
Pit Point	1861	Thomas chart

Rubha fo Dheas

Place ID 6568 NF 85286 39409

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

Scg headland towards south

ScG rubha fo dheas

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Rubha fo Dheas

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha fo Dheas

1877

OS 1st edition

Southern Point

1877

OS name book

Rubha Geugannach

Place ID 2145 NF 79420 62761 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG promontory of the little branches or ON sad ScG rubha geugannach or ON geigur hnakk

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Fraser writes 'Point full of little Branches (usual word is geugagach)'. It seems a trifle contrived.

A Norse alternative for the generic is ON hnakki 'nape' = ' or ON hnak = 'saddle'. For the specific ON geigur = 'danger' seems appropriate with marshy inlets.

Rubha Geugannach

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Rubha Ghaisinis

Place ID 6770 NF 81098 45326 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

'Ghaisinis' + ScG headland

ScG rubha + 'Ghaisinis'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

There seems some real cartographical confusion here. Gaisernis (P# 6667) is mapped two km to the SE and must be the same place with nearby Gasaidh (P#6673) sharing a root.

See Gaisernis for a discussion. The name does not appear on the OS 1st edition mapping here.

Rubha Ghaisinis

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rhughasinish

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rubha Ghriminis

Place ID 1105 NF 72460 76520 North Uist S1colpaig

'Ghriminis' + SCG promontory

ScG rubha + 'Ghriminis'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The derivation of Ghriminis (P#28) is under that place.

Possibly this is the Rudha Dubh referred to in THC p35 as the site of the brewery where the ale was brewed.

Looking at the map, the township of Ghriminis is on the headland marked Calarnais (#1040). This latter name works well for the headland there with the 'calling' meaning. Therefore the headland that Ghrimish refers to must be another one and Rubha Ghriminis is the obvious one.

Rubha Ghriminis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Dubh Ghrimonis	1877	OS name book
Ghriminish Point	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha Glas

Place ID	2416	NF 84566 74573	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG green promontory			ScG rubha glas		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha Glas			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Rudha Glas				n/a	

Rubha Greannach

Place ID 6191 NF 76291 23914 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG bristly point of land

ScG rubha greannach

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OSNB gives: It Signifies "withered. or dried up" but ScG greannach = 'bristly, hairy'.

The OSNB gives us 'This name applies to a tract of low-lying ground, It Signifies "withered. or dried up"', not a typical headland pattern and so a curiosity.

Rubha Greannach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha Greannach

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha Grileig

Place ID 2410 NF 84771 74675 North Uist A1hmore

ON rocky river + ScG promonotory

ScG rubha + ON grjót- læk

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The OS name book offers nothing which often points towards a Norse root.

For the generic two options come to mind ON lægð = 'a hollow low place' or ON lækr = 'stream'.

The latter has been loaned in ScG as lèig = 'meadow' (Cox p110), very appropriate here.

For the specifics we have ON grá = 'grey'; ON grjót = 'gravel'; ON kriu = 'of the terns' or ON græða = 'to grow' amongst others.

On topographical grounds I would suspect ON grjóts læk= 'rocky river' although the genitival 's' could be a problem.

However it is commonly using in compounds as Grjót-

In Iceland there are two names involving Græfulækur and five Grjótækur as well as a Grjótægðir whilst in Norway there is a Grotlækken.

Rubha Grileig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha Grileig

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha Grimman

Place ID 6538 NF 85059 38130 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The Bald name Ru Grimsay (PN#13804) hints at another ON ey = 'island' and indeed at high tide this appears to be an island.

This then encounters the problem discussed under Grimsaigh (P#15) that ON ey = 'island' is feminine and this cannot produce the genitival /s/ form ON grimmr = 'grim'.

Rubha Grimman	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Ghriman	1877	OS name book
Ru Grimsay	1877	OS name book
Rudha Grimman	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru Grimsay	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Hamascleit

Place ID 6490 NF 80103 37950 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON rock of the steep cliff + ScG headland ScG rubha + ON hamars klett

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The meaning is a little convoluted - 'rock of the steep cliff'

There are two Hamarsklettur place names in Iceland

Rubha Hamascleit	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Hamascllett	1877	OS 1st edition
Rudha Hamas-cleit	1877	OS name book

Rubha Heallacro

Place ID 6459 NF 87054 35865 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON stream of the platforms + ScG headland Scg rubha + ON hjalla gróf

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Cox finds ON gróf = 'pit' in the sense of 'stream' on Lewis (P289).
ON hjallr could mean 'fish drying platforms - it would be a good spot here.

Rubha Heallacro	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ru Halagore	1877	OS name book
Ru Halagroe	1877	OS name book
Rudha Hallagro	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru Halagroe	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Heileasdail

Place ID 6267 NF 83972 30627 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Heileasdail' + ScG headland ScG rubha + 'Heileasdail'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Sheileasdail (P#6266) for a discussion fo that component.

Rubha Heileasdail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Hellisdale	1877	OS 1st edition
Rudh' Heilsdail	1877	OS name book
Ru Hillisdale	1877	OS name book
Ru Hillisdale	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Hornais

Place ID 6715 NF 75860 47199 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON corner - headland + ScG corner

ScG rubha + ON corner - headland.

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

ON horn has come to mean a 'corner' or 'angle' topographically which is a perfect match here as this headland is where the coast turns a corner.

A close compound, 'corner - headland' is the best fit as the genitive of ON horn is ON horns.

Bald's name, Ru Cuinafenagh is completely different and probably stems from ScG rubha cuithe na feannag = 'headland of the cattle-fold of the feannagan or crows'

There is a Hòrnais at Clachan Shannda on North Uist.

Rubha Hornais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hornish Point	1877	OS 1st edition
Rudh Hoirnis	1877	OS name book
Ru Hornish	1877	OS name book
Ru Cuinafenagh	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Houclett

Place ID	6532	NF 83697 38344	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ON mound - crag + ScG headland			ScG rubha + ON haug - klett		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha Houclett			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Rudha Houclett			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rubha Huilis

Place ID 1322 NF 82402 78689 North Uist S1ollas

ON hill ridge

ScG rubha + ON hóll áss

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The process is similar to Veilsh (q.v.) and Bharlias (q.v.) but here we start with ON hóll = 'hillock'.

The development is then a straightforward ON hóll áss > ScG huilis being regular.

Topographically the feature is a hillock in the sea connected by a tombola although it is likely that in Norse times, the connection was not tidal.

Niclain's version, Aoidhleis opens up the possibility of an ON eið = 'isthmus' name.

MacDonlad equates it with Walis and Waynlis of old charters.

In Iceland there is an Hólás and an Hólarás whilst in Norway there is an Hollås and three Hollåsen.

Rubha Huilis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Aoidhleis	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Oilish	1911	Beveridge
Oilish Point	1877	OS 1st edition
Hulish	1866	Admiralty mapping
Oilish		MacDonald sketch history

Rubha Laileum

Place ID 5006 NF 80258 27085 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON course headland + ScG headland

ScG rubha + ON leið hólmi

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I would expect this to be derived from ON leið múli = 'headland of the course' as it is the route into the shelter of Loch Aineort. The transposition of the l and m is a standard example of metathesis.

However the cognate evidence leans me towards ON hólmi as the generic, probably referring to the islet W of the point here.

The ScG rubha = 'headland' is a standard tautology.

There are two Leiðarhólmi in Icenad and over 40 Leiholmen in Norway.

Rubha Laileum	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Lialum	1877	OS name book
Rudha Lailum	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha Lamasagh

Place ID 6317 NF 84519 32202 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON peninsula of lambs + ScG headland ScG rubha + ON lambs ey

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With an /aigh/ ending one expects an island but there is not one here. However Ryugh writes about ON ey = 'island' that the meaning is 'island, circular land, sometimes peninsula,' Presumably that is what is going on here and this headland is the referent.

ON lambs = 'of a lamb' is the obvious specific and could reflect that this is the best grazing on the east coast for a distance.

b > /- / is not regular but has occurred in English as the /b/ is silent in 'lamb'.

Rubha Lamasagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Meal Lamasay	1877	OS name book
Ru A Mhill	1877	OS name book
Mudh Mhill	1877	OS name book
Lamasay Point	1877	OS name book
Rudha Lamasay	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru Lamasay	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Leora

Place ID 284 NF 79800 62930 North Uist B1aleshare

ON mud-flat + ScG headland

ScG rubha leira

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Here a better fit topographically for the root is a similar ON leira = 'mud-flat' describing perfectly the area of the shore here.

The only other Leora name in Scotland is Gleann Leora on Islay where MacNiven thinks the root is ON Leirá = 'Mud-Banked River' (p147) and this name exists in some form commonly in Norway and once on the Isle of Man.

Rubha Leora

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rubha Liasain

Place ID 5266 NF 87864 49075 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG headland of the torch ScG rubha leusain

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Thomas gives us 'Torch Point' presumably based upon ScG leusan = 'small torch'.

One imagines this could be site for some form of navigational light and might relate to the nearby watch point Sgeir Choimhead. The nearby island, E. an Leusain (P#5291) bears the same specific and there is a Sgeir an Leusain (P#1577) in the Sound of Harris.

There are no other places on the OS 2nd edition mapping containing Liasain.

Rubha Liasain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Liasain	1877	OS 1st edition
Torch Point	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Ru' an Leusain	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Ru Leassen	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha ma-dheas

Place ID 5210 NF 81531 46726 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG headland to the south ScG rubha mu-dheas

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubha ma-dheas 2014 Modern OS mapping

Rudha ma-dheas 1877 OS 1st edition

Rubha ma-thuath

Place ID 5208 NF 81590 46900 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG headland to the north

ScG rubha mu-tuath

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I have no idea why there is a ma- here. Cox gives ScG ma = 'by' a variant of Sc mu = 'about, around'. However Dwelly writes 'In the South-west mu is used for gu, as, chaidh e mu thuath, he went to the North'. This would work here but we are definitely not in the SW!

Rubha ma-thuath

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha ma-thuath

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha Meadhoin

Place ID 1703 NF 87648 56475 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG middle promontory ScG rubha meadhoin

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

'Middle' as it is sticking out into the middle of the big bay including Bagh na Caiplich.

Rubha Meadhoin 2014 Modern OS mapping

Rudha Meadhoin 1877 OS 1st edition

Rubha Meadhonach

Place ID 6590 NF 83243 40773 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG middle headland

Scg rubha meadhanach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

As on the tin, this headland could be described as the middle of three on the southern shore of Loch Sheileabhaigh.

Rubha Meadhonach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ardineanach

1877

OS name book

Rudha Meadhonach

1877

OS 1st edition

Middle Point

1877

OS name book

Rubha Mhaide

Place ID 5090 NF 84462 80958 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG headland of the pole

ScG rubha mhaide

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Whilst the Admiralty mapping gives us 'Dog Point' as the name based upon ScG Mamdadh = 'dog', the OSNB writes 'The timber point' where ScG maide = 'piece of wood, stick'.

The lenition is unexpected given that ScG rubha is masculine although not impossible if it is in the dative case.

Almost certainly this is a signalling point where for example a flag could be flown from the pole if a boat was required from the main island of North Uist.

Rubha Mhaide	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Mhaide	1877	OS 1st edition
Rudh' Mhaide	1877	OS name book
Dog Point	1877	OS name book

Rubha Mhànaìs

Place ID 1305 NF 92425 80877 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

'Mhanais' + ScG promontory

ScG rubha + 'Mhanais'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Not an obvious one other than the generic being ON nes = 'headland' There is another Rubha Mhanais in Balmartin as well as a Manish on Easaigh in the Sound of Harris.

The most likely explanation I can give for the specific is the prefix ON mið- = 'middle. In both cases of the name, the headland is the middle one of three so good topographical evidence although the sound is not quite as one would like. On reflection a better option is ON varð-nes = 'beacon headland' and see Meanais (P#5373) for a fuller discussion.

Rubha Mhànaìs

2014

Modern OS mapping

Manish

1877

OS 1st edition

Ru Vanish

1804

Bald mapping

Rubha Mhànais

Place ID 2388 NF 71150 73135 North Uist B1almartin

'Mhànais' + ScG promontory

ScG rubha + 'Mhànais'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Not an obvious one other than the generic being ON nes = 'headland' There is another Rubha Mhanais on Berneray. The most likely explanation I can give for the specific is the prefix ON mið- = 'middle. In both cases of the name, the headland is the middle one of three so good topographical evidence although the sound is not quite as one would like. Indeed the reflex I think should be ON mitt nes or dative ON miðju nesi both of which cause problems. There is another similar name Minish in Loch Nam Madadh but there the initial vowel is a rather better fit. Further reflection however leans me to believe the initial; vowel is too far away in sound. A better option is ON varð-nis = 'watch headland'. See Meanais (P#5373) for a discussion on that element.

There are fifteen occurrences of Manish recoded on the OS 2nd edition mapping all on North Uist, Berneray, Harris or Raasay (Skye). For some reason my gut feeling is that it is to do with whale hunting!

Rubha Mhànais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Manish

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha Mhic Gille-mhicheil

Place ID 816 NF 93000 63090 North Uist Eaval

ScG promontory of the son of Michael's lad or ON ScG rubha mhc gille-Mhiceil or ScG headland + O

Coastal

Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book quotes 'Carmichaels' Son's Point'.

I do wonder if there is an ON mikill = 'big' going on here. ON vík kíll = 'bay inlet' works for Mhiceil too.....

Rubha Mhic Gille-mhicheil	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Mhic Gille-mhicheil	1877	OS 1st edition
Michael Pt	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Rubha Mhic Raonuill

Place ID	884	NF 80690 62220	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG promontory of MacRanald			ScG rubha mhic Raonuill		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha Mhic Raonuill			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Rudha Mhic Raonuill			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rubha Mhic Sheumais Oig

Place ID 6610 NF 77752 43908 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG headland of the younger son of James ScG rubha mhc Sheumais òig

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubha Mhic Sheumais Oig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha Mhic Sheumais Òig

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha MhicCàithaidh

Place ID 5876 NF 78924 73274 North Uist V1allay

ScG MhicCàithaidh's headland ScG rubha MhicCàithaidh

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Also Bàgh and Tobhta MhicCàithaidh.

Niclain writes 'Some people thought the man who lived here was a tradesman. Another theory is that he was a tacksman, and that he was found dead in a river.'

The closest I can find to a 'usual' name is MacCathail = 'MacCall'.

Rubha MhicCàithaidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Rubha Mhic-ille-mhalaidh

Place ID 1021 NF 94520 67710 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON great bay of the whales + ScG promontory ON mikil hvala vík + ScG promontory

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The OS name book writes 'Son of the lad with the big eyebrows'. It does seem a bit convoluted but who am I to argue? Well...

ScG mh is sounded as a 'v' and so the latter part could be heard as 'vik ille vally'. The Modern OS mapping has the island Eilean Bhalaig at the head of the bay and that would work for 'vally' pretty well and the 'vik' is ON for 'bay'. The word order with 'vik' first shows that the Gaels were aware of the meaning of ON vik as bay, indeed MacBain lists ScG uig as a loan word from ON vik = 'bay' or 'inlet'.

The 'ille' remains a problem although to an English and French ear it sounds like an anachronistic version of 'island', that wouldn't work in Gaelic. Looking for a rationale for some Blaeu names ending in 'ille', Cox mentions (p9) modern Irish Gaelic I leith = 'hither', 'against' or 'towards' possibly coming from EG il-lei or EG il-le. This seems unlikely.

There is possibly a similar confusion over Loch Vik Patrick near Lochportain and Eilean Mhic Shealtair in Loch Euphort q.v.

A different approach here could come from ON mikill = 'great'. This sorts out things other than the order. This could be accounted for by the Gales 'recognising' mhc-ille as 'Mhic Gille', a pretty standard part of naming and consequentially they would place it at the front.

Hvalvík occurs as a place name 23 times in Iceland with two Hvaley. In Norway there are two Hvalvika and three Hvaløy.

Rubha Mhic-ille-mhalaidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha Mhic-ille-mhalaidh

1877

OS name book

Rubha Mòr

Place ID 742 NF 72350 66380 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG big headland ScG rubha mòr

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubha Mòr 2014 Modern OS mapping

Rubha Mor 2000 Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Rudha Mor 1877 OS 1st edition

Rubha Mòr

Place ID	1005	NF 92860 67390	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG large promontory			ScG rubha mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
As on the tin!					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Rubha Mòr

Place ID 6526 NF 82921 38550 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG big headland ScG rubha mòr

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is some confusion over the various headland names in the area here.

Rubha Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Mòr	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha Mor Nighean Thormaid

Place ID 2068 NF 96685 74756 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG promontory of Morag, daughter of Norman ? ScG rubha mòr nighean thormaid

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop gives us (p35) 'Promontory of Morag, daughter of Norman'.

I am at a loss as to make anything else of such a convoluted name other than to observe the reef to the E is called Sgeir Nighean an Rìgh and Aird Thormaid is 4km NW.

See Àird Thormaid for more details.

Rubha Mor Nighean Thormaid

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Rubha na Brataich

Place ID 5037 NF 83887 29778 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG headland of the ON steep bay

ScG rubha na + ON bratta vík

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

OSNB gives us probably 'Point of Banner or Ensign'.

However Cox defines Bratag (p190) as possibly Bratta vig or the adjective ON brattr = 'steep' with a Gaelic suffix of place -ag.

This is a good description of this spot although here there is a bay to the N that would be a good topographical fit for Bratta vík

In Norway there are two Brattvåg names and ten Brattvika or grammatical variants thereof.

Rubha na Brataich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ru na Bratach	1877	OS name book
Rudha na Brataich	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru na Brattic	1877	OS name book
Ru na Brattie	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha na Bùth

Place ID 1718 NF 89041 54887 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG promontory of the shop

ScG rubha na bùth

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Local tradition talks of a shop here built as much as a kelp store. It was here that effectively the processed kelp was traded for items that were otherwise not available such as tea and sugar. With a monopoly it was claimed that the prices charged by the land-owner were steep.

A name therefore of relatively recent origin.

However the article would appear to be wrong for ScG bùth is masculine and so one would expect ScG a' and lenition.

ON buð = 'booth, shop' is a similar word.

There is the ruin of a modern very square built house here, similar to others that David Newman and I have tentatively identified as kelp stores. Thomas marks a building there as 'Store House'.

Rubha na Bùth

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha na Bùth

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha na Cachlaidhe

Place ID 5140 NF 79061 49135 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG promontory of the gate

ScG rubha na cachaileith

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Rubha na Cachlaidhe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha na Cachlaidhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha na Caillich

Place ID 2408 NF 84814 74293 North Uist A1hmore

ScG promontory of the old woman ScG rubha na caillich

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Sometimes the last word can mean 'nun'. It is a relatively common name.

Rubha na Caillich	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Rudha na Caillich	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------------	------	----------------

Rubha na Faodhlach

Place ID 6127 NF 73204 28856 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG headland of the tidal ford

ScG rubha na faodailach

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The word ScG faodhail = 'tidal ford' as can be seen generally refers to a tidal ford. This could be a reflection on the fact the inland waterway was more open to the sea in earlier times or it could be an extension of the definition of ScG faodhail.

Rubha na Faodhlach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha na Faodhlach

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha na Gibhte

Place ID 6175 NF 82487 25038 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG headland of the gift

ScG rubha na gibhte

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

ScG gibhte = 'gift' seems an odd name.

Ob a' Ghibhte is a similar name on North Uist. There I suggest that perhaps ON gjá tjörn = 'tarn of the gully' might work. Here there is a distinct and steep gorge almost separating the headland from the rest of the island. There is a small lochan less than 1km inland.

Rubha na Gibhte

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha na Gibhte

1877

OS 1st edition

Gift Point

1877

OS name book

Rubha na h-Aibhne Duibhe

Place ID 267 NF 91950 77550 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG promontory of the black stream ScG rubha ma h-aibhne duibhe

Coastal

hafnar dýja

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubha na h-Aibhne Duibhe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rubha na h -Aibhne Duibhe

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha na h-Aibhne Duibhe

Place ID 2070 NF 92098 77560 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG promontory of the black stream ScG rubha na h-aibhne duibhe

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubha na h-Aibhne Duibhe	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rubha na h-Aibhne Duibhe	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Rubha na h-Aibhne Duibhe	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha na h-Airidh

Place ID 2075 NF 91575 79031 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG promonotory of the sheiling ScG rubha na h- àirigh

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

As Mackillop writes (p36) the remains of the sheiling are still visible,

Rubha na h-Airidh

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Rubha na h-Aoir

Place ID 185 NF 95822 69283 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG promontory of the + ON inlet

ScG rubha + na h- + ON ögr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

In ScG a broad 'fh' is silent but reinstating it gives 'fhaoir' which is close to ScG faire = 'lookout' but I suspect not quite close enough although this would be a good position to keep watch over Loch Nam Madadh harbour.

Holliday has a Norse root for a similar place name on Tìree, Port Aoir, and this would work here ON ögr = 'an inlet, small bay, creek'. With the /g/ weakening, the development is regular.

topographically there is a small inlet here (or indeed the choice of three) and so works. I suspect the inlet referred to is at NF 95890 69507

Holliday assigns Daor* or Aoir to this root.

In Iceland there are twelve cognate Ögur and in Norway there is an Øgra as well as a possible cognate of Ueren.

Rubha na h-Aoir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha na h-Aoir

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha na h-Eighich

Place ID 4957 NF 79462 27829 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG headland of the place of the notch ScG rubha na h- eige -ach

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is the same name given to the headland of the N on modern mapping.

OS name book gives us 'shouting or crying point'. This echoes Callernis which is thought to be the Norse equivalent and refers to calling across for a ferry.

Grammatically one might expect ScG èigheaceach as the verbal noun rather than the bare verb ScG èighich = 'to cry, shout or announce'.

A better option might be ScG eag = 'notch' with its genitive ScG eige followed by ScG ach = 'place of'. This would help explain why the two headlands are called the same as they refer to the same notch or narrow entrance to the harbour. The Bald name is interesting Aird Vuie and presumalby comes from Aird Bhuidhe = 'yellow point' and recorded as such on the OS mappings as the point on the NE corner of this promontory.

Rubha na h-Eighich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha na h-Eighich	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha na h-Eighich

Place ID 4993 NF 79128 28218 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG headland of the plaxce of the notch ScG rubha na h- eige -ach

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See the other nearby Rubha na h-Eighich.

Rubha na h-Eighich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha na h-Oitireach	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru na Hoitrach	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha na h-Eighich

Place ID 4994 NF 79404 27854 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG headland of the place of the notch ScG rubha na h- eige -ach

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'shouting or drying point'. See the other Rubha na h-Eighich for a discussion

Rubha na h-Eighich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha na h-Eighich	1877	OS 1st edition
Aird Vuie	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha na Mèine

Place ID 4986 NF 78140 28218 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG headland of + ON The way

ScG rubha na + ON veginn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'ore point' and it is marked as a settlement on the Bald mapping.

From Machair to Mountain gives us an alternative 'headland of the meal' but spelt Mheine.

I wonder in fact if it comes from ON váginn = 'The bay' although the initial vowel is not great on quality.

ON veginn = 'The way' however is a good fit when ScG mèine is lenited to ScG mhèine. This could refer topographically to the shortcut route across the island of South uist that the inland waterway provides. Indeed a recent paper by Stewart Angus demonstrates that there was a canal type structure of unknown age leading from here to the W coast.

Rubha na Mèine	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rubha na Mheine	2000	From Machair to Mountains
Rudha na Mèine	1877	OS 1st edition
Rua na Mionadh	1877	OS name book
Ru na minagh	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha na Murla

Place ID 140 NF 94857 71647 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG promontory of the + ON narrow route' ScG rubha + na + ON mjór-leið

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There are problems here again with the ScG na = 'of the' as with the masculine ScG mural = 'creel' one would expect ScG a' plus lenition.

ON mjór- leið = 'narrow route' fits topographically and indeed matches almost exactly the ScG caigeann = 'narrow pass between two hills'.

Rubha na Murla

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha na Murla

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha na Rainich

Place ID	817	NF 92230 63480	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG promontory of bracken			ScG rubha na rainich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha na Rainich			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Rudha na Rainich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rubha na Rodagraich

Place ID 1716 NF 89516 53979 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG promontory of the 'Rodagraich' ScG rubha na + 'Rodagraich'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Beinn Rodagraich (P#1650) for a discussion on the 'Rodagraich' component.

The fact the Beinn has no article and this has the ScG na help convince that there was a place called *Rodagraich.

Rubha na Rodagraich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha na Rodagraich	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru' na Roideagich	1861	Thomas chart

Rubha na Sgarbh

Place ID 1300 NF 96681 80173 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG headland of the cormorant ScG rubha an sgarbh

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This looks like a simple name - pure Gaelic.

Only one cormorant seems a trifle ungenerous. It is also an odd name for a promontory out in the middle of a bay and one would have expected ScG an = 'of the' rather than ScG na so all a bit of a mishmash.

ON skarfr = 'shag' was the word that the Gaels then loaned and so it is possible that could lead to confusion over the article but it doesn't help the 'promontory' aspect of the name.

MacNiven points out the possible confusion with ON skarð = 'notch, gap' (p255) or ON skarv = 'naked hill top'. Looking at imagery of the skerry, 'gap' looks helpful as the skerry is split neatly in two.

A simple alternative that solves most issues would be would be ON rjóðr - sker = 'ruddy skerry' with the ScG na then added to make some sort of Gaelic sense.

It is difficult to think of a generic other than possibly ON rauf = 'rift' or 'hole', the genitive being ON raufar.

All very odd.

Rubha na Sgarbh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rubha nan Sgarbh	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Fowls Rocks	1866	Admiralty mapping

Rubha na Totaig

Place ID 269 NF 91110 78340 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG promontory of the + ON ruin bay

ScG rubha na ON tofta vík

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Point of the tufts'. However with there being a Totaig on Skye thought to stem from ON topt-vik = 'ruin bay' this seems more likely. The word however also means 'green knoll'; and that seems the most appropriate here. Here ON tofta = 'of the green knolls' is probably the best grammatical fit. The disappearance fo a medial f is regular.

There is a Totaig on Skye an done on Loch Duich

Toft(a/e)vik is a place name in Norway but Toftevåg(en) occurs four times with 'toft' occuring commonly in both Iceland and Norway.

Rubha na Totaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha na Totaig

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha na Tote

Place ID 6232 NF 73782 30554 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG headland of the ruin

ScG rubha na tobhta

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

There is a crannog marked nearby on the Bald mapping - I suspect this is the ruin referred to.

Rubha na Tote	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------------	------	-------------------

Rudha na Tote	1877	OS 1st edition
---------------	------	----------------

Rudha na Tot	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Rubha na Tràghad

Place ID 628 NF 89890 78490 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG headland of the beach

ScG rubha na tràghad

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Rubha na Tràghad

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha na Tràghad

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudh na Traght

1877

OS name book

Rubha nam Brathaintian

Place ID 687 NF 76780 66280 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG promontory of the querns ScG rubha nam bràthaintain

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

When the estate mills were built, the old hand quern were banned by the landlord. They were meant to be thrown away and this could have been one of those places, especially as it is not far from the mill at Dusary.

I am not sure of the grammar here as ScG bràthan is the gen s and ScG bràthntan the pl of ScG brà = 'quern'.

Rubha nam Brathaintian	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rubha nam Brathaintian	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Rudha nam Brathaintian	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha nam Brisgein

Place ID 1744 NF 88895 57466 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG promontory of the silverweed ScG rubha nam brisgein

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubha nam Brisgein 2014 Modern OS mapping

Rudha nam Brisgein 1877 OS 1st edition

Ru' nan Brisgean 1861 Thomas chart

Rubha nam Plèac

Place ID 1020 NF 94880 67730 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG headland of the lumps

ScG rubha nam plucan

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book talks about 'Muddy or clayish point' but the closest word I can find to this is ScG pluic = 'of a lump'. There is also a problem with the -plural article. This should give ScG plucan, this final sound is not apparent. A Norse derivation is possible but the best I can find is ON bleikr = 'pale' or 'wan' but this then lacks a generic. Bleikanes perhaps?! This occurs often as a component of Norwegian place names. ON plógr = 'plough' might work but the vowel sound is not regular. In the end the Gaelic looks the most likely but is still unsatisfactory.

Rubha nam Plèac

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha nam Pleac

1877

OS 1st edition

Harbour Head

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Rubha nan Caorach

Place ID	1116	NF 72530 75620	North Uist	S1colpaig	
ScG promonotory of the sheep			ScG rubha nan caorach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rubha nan Caorach			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Rubha nan Caorach

Place ID 1700 NF 91928 57277 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG promontory of the sheep (pl) ScG rubha nan caorach

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Some of the Sgeir nan Caorach look too small for sheep!

Rubha nan Caorach	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Rudha nan Caorach	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------------	------	----------------

Ru' nan Caorach	1861	Thomas chart
-----------------	------	--------------

Rubha nan Cearc

Place ID 6012 NF 82614 75627 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG promontory of the hens

ScG rubha nan cearc

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Niclain writes 'Locals kept the hens away from the crop in the summer, and had huts here where they were planted.'

Rubha nan Cearc

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Rubha nan Cudaigean

Place ID 5085 NF 85910 81901 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG headland of the place of cuddies ScG rubha nan cudaig -an

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'The Cuddies Point' and notes 'it is a famous place with the people of Boreray for rod fishing'. ScG cudaig = 'cuddy (2 year old pollock/coalfish/coley/saithe; pollachius virens)' is the root.

There are five Rudha nan Cudaigean recorded in the OSNB.

Rubha nan Cudaigean	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha nan Cudaigean	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha nan Gall

Place ID 144 NF 93748 71117

North Uist

Lochp1ortain

ScG promonotory of the low-landers

ScG rubha + nan + gall

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Rubha nan Gall

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha nan Gall

1877

OS 1st edition

Lowlander Pt

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Rubha nan Gall

Place ID 990 NF 91350 63580 North Uist Lees

ScG promontory of the lowlanders ScG rubha + nan + gall

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Lowlanders will normally but not always refer to the Norse in these place names.

Rubha nan Gall	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha nan Gall	1877	OS 1st edition
Harbour Lump	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Rubha nan Giogan

Place ID 684 NF 78610 64960 North Uist Berneray

ScG promontory of + ON The rifts

ScG rubha nan + ON gjögrinu

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Point of the thistles'.

The pronunciation is /gʲiəgan/ With its siting directly opposite the gap between Baleshare Island and Eilean Chirceboist, I suspect ON gjögrinu = 'The place of the rift' is actually the root - or a variant thereof.

In Norway there are two Gjøra and a Gjørenet place name.

Rubha nan Giogan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha nan Giogan

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha nan Oban

Place ID 2424 NF 82601 75450 North Uist S1ollas

ScG promonotory of the creeks ScG rubha nan oban

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rubha nan Oban 2014 Modern OS mapping

Rudha nan Oban 1877 OS 1st edition

Rubha nan Ròn

Place ID 1228 NF 81780 59000 North Uist C1arinish

ScG headland of the seal

ScG rubha nan ròn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Rubha nan Ròn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha nan Ron

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Cleit a' Roin

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Seal Bay

1861

Thomas chart

Seal Point

1861

Thomas chart

Seal B

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Seal Pt

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Rubha nan Sruthan

Place ID 4999 NF 79976 27626 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG headland of the currents

ScG rubha nan sruthan

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OSNB "point of the Stream or Current" however the ScG nan article would tend to indicate a plural so 'point of the currents' might be better.

Rubha nan Sruthan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Meal an Strue	1877	OS name book
Rudha nan Sruthan	1877	OS 1st edition
Moalantrue	1877	OS name book
Rudh' nan Struan	1877	OS name book

Rubha Poll Shillay

Place ID 6497 NF 84207 37951 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Shillay' + ScG pool headland

ScG rubha poll + 'Shillay'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

see Siolaigh Mòr (P#72) for a discussion of the last component.

Although there is not a name on any mapping I have 'Poll Shillay' must refer to the area enclosed by Shillay Beag and the coast to its E.

Rubha Poll Shillay

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha Poll Shillay

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha Poll Sheileidh

1877

OS name book

Rubha Port Scolpaig

Place ID 2244 NF 70051 68837 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG promontory of port 'Scolpaig' ScG rubha + port + 'Scolpaig'

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Port Scolpaig and Scolpaig for a discussion of these components of the place name.

Rubha Port Scolpaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Port Scolpaig	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha Ragnaill

Place ID 727 NF 71980 66300 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG Ranald's promontory ScG rubha Raghnaill

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This personal name occurs repeatedly in the area and in particular as a component of the township Balranald. The earliest appearance on a map was on Blaeu's mapping of 1654 where 'Ylen Dunikrannil' is recorded presumably based upon Island of Mhic Ranald as is 'Balrenil' presumably a version of modern day Balranald. The Hebridean Connection talks about Rudha Raonuill (p206) and that fact it has 'long since disappeared under the ocean'.

Rubha Ragnaill	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rubha Raouill	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Rudha Raonuill	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Rudha Raouill	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha Raibeart

Place ID 170 NF 94173 70661 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON municipality town + ScG promontory ScG rubha + ON hrep + stað

Coastal

ScG?

ON?

complete?

I am slightly surprised there is no article and the genitive case is not used. The OS name book does not suggest Robert and this is the only occurrence on the OS 2nd series mapping.

It feels like a Norse root and one must not forget the 'sh' sound between the 'r' and the 't'.

An interesting option would be ON hreppur - stað = 'town of the municipality'. Unfortunately the initial vowel does not work very well.

ON hrap = 'ruin' or 'a falling down' would be better for the generic still with ON staðr = 'abode' or a 'town'. See the Cognate section for more information.

Whilst ON hreppur appears as a specific in Iceland 27 times, it does not occur with ON staðr.

ON hrapp however does occur more often as a specific and there are 28 occurrences with staðr including 12 Hrappsstaðir names. All good evidence I think.

Rubha Raibeart	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------------	------	-------------------

Rudha Raibeart	1877	OS 1st edition
----------------	------	----------------

Rubha Roinich

Place ID 4975 NF 77639 27887 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG mackerel point ScG rubha reannach

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Headland of the bracken is the obvious interpretation but with the nearby 'mackerel pool' there is a strong possibility that this is in fact mackerel headland. See Eilean Poll Roineach for details.

Rubha Roinich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Fern Point	1877	OS name book
Rudha Roinich	1877	OS 1st edition
Rubha Roinich	1877	OS name book
Ru Rona	1877	OS name book
Ru Ronach	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Roiseal

Place ID 6391 NF 86949 34236 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG headland of the + ON field of horses ScG rubha + ON hrossa völl

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us "Rocky Point" for no reason I can see ScG ròiseal = 'high-swelling wave or surge. 2++ Surge of a wave' from Dwelly would seem to be a good option.

Whilst this is not a problem with Bàgh Rossel, it clearly is with Allt Rossel.

This takes one onto a Norse option, ON hrossa völl = 'field of horses'.

There are eight Røssvoll(en) cognate names in Norway.

Rubha Roiseal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Rossel	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru Rossel	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Roiseal

Place ID 6454 NF 85847 36565 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG headland of the surging wave ScG rubha ròiseal

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Rubha Roiseal (P#6391) for a discussion of this name.
The two headlands are within 3km of each other.

Rubha Roiseal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Eudha Rossel	1877	OS 1st edition
Maulrossay	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Ruairidh

Place ID 303 NF 79530 63070 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG Roderick's promontory ScG rubha Ruairidh

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book cites 'Rodericks Point' but there is an alternative or 'red-brown promontory' or even Ru airigh = 'promontory of the sheiling'

Rubha Ruairidh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rubha Shanndabhaigh

Place ID 6636 NF 83655 42421 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Shanndabhaigh' + ScG bay ScG bàgh + 'Sanndabhaig'

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Sanndabhaig (P#6666) for a discussion of that element.

Rubha Shanndabhaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sandavig Point	1877	OS 1st edition
Rudh Shanndabhuig	1877	OS name book

Rubha Sruth a Chomhraig

Place ID 1797 NF 85689 45562 Benbecula W1iay

ScG current of the sanctuary promontory ScG rubha sruth na chomraich

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Fighting Stream' based upon ScG comhrag = 'fighting' which is a little poetic for my taste. ScG comraich = 'sanctuary' would I think sound similar and would make good topographical sense as the bay here is sheltered.

The '-aig' ending is a classic Norse indicator from ON vagr = 'bay'. I do ponder if ON komur = 'arrivals' might be a specific. 'arrivals bay' being the place where boats arrive?

See Sruthan na Comaraig for a fuller discussion

There is a Sruthan na Comaraig near Carinish which probably shares a root. See that place for a discussion of a possible meaning.

Rubha Sruth a Chomhraig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rudha Sruth a' Chomhraig	1877	OS 1st edition
Gob Rudh' a Chomhraig	1866	Admiralty mapping
Ru Struchorid	1804	Bald mapping

Rubha Strombrat

Place ID 6660 NF 81587 43773 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON strong tidal current + ScG headland ScG rubha + ON bratta straum

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst ScG brat = 'carpet' might work linguistically, it struggles to make sense.
ON straum = 'current or tide' and ON bratta = 'steep, lively' work well here as the tidal currents are strong.
The order is odd but it could be the effect of dementalization to Gaelic.

Rubha Strombrat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Strombrat Point	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha Teileam

Place ID 243 NF 91440 75390 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON safe islet + ScG promonotory ScG rubha + ON heila hòlm

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Teileam (P#238) for a discussion of that name. It is one of three names with this component here.

Rubha Teileam	2014	Modern OS mapping
Teilem Point	1877	OS 1st edition

Rubha Uilleim

Place ID 6489 NF 79339 37131

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ScG William's headland

ScG rubha Uilleim

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Rubha Uilleim

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha Uilleim

1877

OS 1st edition

Rubha-Buidhe

Place ID	391	NF 85110 57780	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG yellow promontory			ScG rubha buidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?					
A common name - there being two on Griomasaigh alone.					
Rubha-Buidhe			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Rubhaichean a' Bhaigh Mhoir

Place ID 1639 NF 87575 56250 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Promontories of the big bay

ScG rubhaichean a' bhàigh mhòir

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The two headlands that flank the narrow entrance to Bagh Mor.

Rubhaichean a' Bhaigh Mhoir

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

Rudhaichean a' Bhaigh Mhoir

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Ruchgy

Place ID 668 NF 87260 74910 North Uist Clachan Sands

'Ruchgy'

'Ruchgy'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

ScG rochcaidh = 'whale' is an interesting possibility. However ScG riasg-aid = 'place of the moor' works perfectly as a topographical fit.

With many more names for it the discussion is in the place name Knock Ruchgy (P#612).

Ruchdaigh	2004	Lawson North Uist
Ruchdi	2004	Lawson North Uist
Rùcidh	1877	OS name book
Ruchgy	1877	OS 1st edition

Rudh' a' Charnain Mhoir

Place ID 618 NF 90390 79380 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG big promontory of the heap of stones ScG rubha a' chàrnain mhòir

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rudh' a' Charnain Mhoir

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudh' a' Mhanaich

Place ID 6541 NF 83840 38970 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG headland of the monk

ScG rubha a' mhanaich

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

There is also a Bàgh a' Mhanaich to the N of the headland.

There is however no associated ecclesiastical tradition here and I do wonder if the root was some form Of ScG meadhan = 'middle'

Rudh' a' Mhanaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Mannoch Pt

1877

OS name book

Ard Meanach

1804

Bald mapping

Rudh' an Fhiodha

Place ID 1190 NF 92320 69480 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG headland of the + ON ebb-tide

ScG rubha + an + fhiodha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Point of the timber', the timber here could refer to the flagstaff marked on the map adjacent to Spanish house on the OS 1st series.

One wonders if the 'fhiodha' component is the same as that in Eilean Fear Vallay, 500m to the S, ON fjara = 'ebb-tide' but it looks too far away.

Rudh' an Fhiodha

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudh' an Ose

Place ID 6682 NF 77850 45011 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

scG headland opf the river mouth ScG rubha a' òs

Fresh water Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With ON óss = 'river mouth' into ScG òs = 'river mouth', the meaning is clear.

Rudh' an Ois	1877	OS name book
Rudh' an Ose	1877	OS 1st edition

Rudh' an Strom-iocraich

Place ID	5219	NF 82403 47703	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG headland of the lower (?) current			ScG rubha an sròm-ìochdar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rudh' an Strom-iocraich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rudh' Liose

Place ID 5407 NF 81018 55425 Benbecula Rueval

ScG headland of the yard

ScG rubha liose

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rudh' Liose

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudh' Lioas

1877

OS name book

Rudha an t-Seagail

Place ID	1258	NF 81310 61450	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG promonotory of the rye			ScG rubha an t- seagail		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rudha an t-Seagail			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Rudha an t-Seagail

Place ID	2137	NF 80024 63216	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG promontory of the rye			ScG rubha an t- seagail		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rudha an t-Seagail			1971	Macdonald Two townships	

Rudha Ban

Place ID 2114 NF 77829 62750 North Uist B1aleshare
ScG pale promontory ScG rubha ban ScG?
Coastal ON? complete?

Rudha Ban	1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray
Rudha Ban	1971	Macdonald Two townships

Rudha Breac

Place ID	2136	NF 80216 63066	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG speckled promontory			ScG rubha breac		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rudha Breac			1971	Macdonald Two townships	

Rudha Buidhe

Place ID	5144	NF 79518 49020	Benbecula	T1orlum	
ScG yellow point			ScG rubha buidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Headland			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rudha Buidhe			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rudha Cam Direach

Place ID 5538 NF 82999 48994 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG crooked headland just so or ON ridge of the b ScG rubha cam dìreach or ON dýja rák

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The first two components are clear as 'crooked headland' but this leaves a problem as the obvious root for the last component is ScG dìreach = 'straight' upright, direct' which rather contradicts the 'crooked'. Topographically 'crooked' is certainly a better fit than 'straight'.

ScG dìreach can also mean 'exactly so' and that would work here in a rather odd fashion. Thomas gives a simple Ru' Cam which supports this reasoning to some extent. Odd.

ON dýra rák = 'animal (usually deer) pasture' might make more sense? The cognate notes suggest ON dýra bakka = 'ridge of deer'. This would mean that the /b/ would have to disappear but this is not impossible with /v/ often doing so. Perhaps ON hryggr makes for a better generic in the accusative form ON hrygg = 'ridge'.

Further reflection leads to a simpler solution ON dýja rák = 'pasture of the bogs' which is a good fit both topographically and feasible phonetically although not perfect

The only name that has Scandinavian support here is Dyrbakken of which there are 13 examples with various grammatical variation.

Direach appears in five names on the OS 2nd series mapping but all bar this one are stand alone and could mean 'straight'.

Rudha Cam Direach

1877

OS 1st edition

Ru' Cam

1866

Admiralty mapping

Rudha Chaisteil

Place ID 6529 NF 82824 38383

South Uist

Loch Sgioport

ScG headland of the castle

ScG rbha chaisteil

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

There is no known castle here now.....

Rudha Chaisteil

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha Charnain-dithich

Place ID 880 NF 80802 62036 North Uist C1arinish

ScG promontory of the hill of destruction ScG rubha chàrnain dithich

Coastal Headland

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The OS name book has 'The rocky point of destruction' referring to the Battle of Carinis

Rudha Charnain-dithich

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha Chlachain

Place ID 373 NF 85920 57740 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG promontory of the stepping stones ScG rubha clachan

Coastal Headland

ScG?

ON?

complete?

It is unclear from the mapping on the OS 1st series, whether the stepping stones referred to cross to the house that is now known as Sandbank or between the main island and 'Little Grimsay' to the north. I suspect the former as the water in the channel was probably relatively deep although it is difficult to judge now with a causeway there. The OSNB gives us 'Point of the Village'.

Rudha Chlachain

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudh'a Choire

Place ID 1158 NF 92070 68260 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG promonotory of the whirl-pool

ScG rubha a' choire

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

ScG coire has a variety of meanings including 'kettle', 'corrie' and whirl-pool'. The latter seems the most likely here. The /h/ is an effect of lenition.

Rudh'a Choire

1877

OS 1st edition

Ruchore

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Rudha Creag-iasgaich

Place ID 440 NF 85850 55300 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG Promontory of the fishing crag ScG rubha creag iasgaich

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The chart indicates relatively deep water close inshore so the name makes sense.
One might have expected Chreige unless Creag-iasgaich acts as an onomastic unit.

Rudha Creag-iasgaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha Daimh

Place ID 2135 NF 79844 62729 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG ox promontory ScG rubha daimh

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG damh can mean 'stag' or 'ox'. The latter seems much more likely here. It is perhaps a surprise that there is no article between the two nouns.

Rudha Daimh

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Rudha Dubh

Place ID 1617 NF 72505 71291 North Uist B1alranald

ScG black promontory ScG rubha dubh

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The Hebridean Connection writes (p35)' at the Black Point was the brewery where the ale was brewed'
ON p217 is it referred to as the Black Cape of Loch Eabhal identifying it more closely.

Rudha Dubh

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Rudha Fhionnlaidh

Place ID 6761 NF 79853 46130 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG Finlay's headland

ScG rubha Fhionnlaidh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Carmichael's name, Aire an Rudha (PN#14414) = 'watch point of the headland' would not sound the same.

Aire an Rudha	1877	OS name book
---------------	------	--------------

Ruadh Fheuladh	1877	OS name book
----------------	------	--------------

Rudha Fhionnlaidh	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------------	------	----------------

Rudha Hulabhaig

Place ID 5628 NF 60556 61903 North Uist Heisker

ON bay of secrecy + ScG headland

ScG rubha + ON huldu vík

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Macaulay gives us ON hula-vik without an explanation of the meaning.

I suspect that the root is ON hulda = 'hiding, secrecy' and would refer to the small creek by the headland here that appears to be hidden. The form could be the genitive ON huldu.

The disappearance of the /d/ is common.

There is some confusion here as the OS modern mapping names the bay at NF 6023 6240 as Rubha Shulavik whilst Macaluy names that place as Bagh Ionnasbrig. Topographically it would work well with the OS interpretation but I have maintained Macaulay's names here.

In Iceland there are over 80 names beginning with Huldu- but no cognates.

Rudha Hulabhaig

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

Rudha Laimhrig nan Capull

Place ID 375 NF 86280 58200 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG promontory of the landing place of the mares ScG rubha laimhrig nan capull

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Laimhrig nan Capull (P#1683) is discussed under that name. It acts as an onomastic unit here.

Rudha Laimrig nam Capull	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Rudha Laimhrig nan Capull	1877	OS 1st edition

Rudha Mharanis

Place ID 5473 NF 85399 51622 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhaigh

ON landing place headland + ScG headland

ScG rubha + ON varrar nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The generic of the last component is clear, ON nes = 'headland' providing a tautology.

Remembering that ScG /mh/ sounds like /v/ the obvious specific is ON vörr = 'landing place' and here in the genitive reflex ON varrar.

An alternative would be ON varða = 'beacon' but it would need to be the genitive plural.

The headland does have a sheltered enclosed bay at its end.

The Bald name Ru Haray seems to refer to an island or in this context better topographically ON há eið = 'high isthmus'

Rudha Mharanis

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Ru Haray

1804

Bald mapping

Rudha Mhurchaidh

Place ID 5559 NF 87858 47465 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG Muroch's headland ScG rubha Mhurchaidh

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

In other places there is a possibility that the root was ON virki = 'fort'

Rudha Mhurchaidh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Murdoch's Point	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Rudha na Buaile

Place ID	5146	NF 79383 48770	Benbecula	T1orlum	
ScG headland of the fold			ScG rubha na buaile		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rudha na Buaile			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rudha na Caillich

Place ID 1678 NF 87724 54722 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG promontory of the old woman

ScG rubha na caillich

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Cliff or slope

complete?

Whilst ScG cailleach generally means 'old woman or hag', it is often taken to mean nun and with the proximity to Teampall Naomh Mhicheil = St. Michael's Chapel, a religious connection seems likely. Thomas used the name ScG Claddach na Caillich = 'shore of the nun' on his chart.

Rudha na Caillich

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Claddach na Caillich

1861

Thomas chart

Rudha na Caluinn

Place ID 351 NF 80210 61940 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG promontory of the + ON call

ScG rubha na + ?ON kalla

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book cites 'The Corn Point' although I am not aware of the ScG root here. An alternative could be the same root as for Callernish and possibly Kallin, coming from the verb ON kalla = 'to cry out' or 'to call' and it would have been the place from which one called for a boat to take one across the narrows.

Rudha na Caluinn

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha na Co-strith

Place ID 624 NF 87620 74160 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG promonotory of the conflict

ScG rubha na còmhrith

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

the /Rudha/ is odd as they usually refer to a coastal headland. Here this is a prominent promontory in the loch and that must be the feature. The OSNB writes that the name 'Is applied to a point of land on the shore of Loch Steinavat'. The specific is almost certainly ScG comhstri = 'struggle' as the 'mh' sound is silent. The OS name book gives us the 'Point of the quarrel'.

This lies on the boundary of the two parishes - perhaps there was a dispute over the exact line of the boundary?

The other two place names with this last word, although both 'stria' are small islands and an alternative explanation is from the ON *kostr* + *ey* = 'provisions island'. Here perhaps we have '*kostr* + *eið* = 'provisions isthmus' although quite why it is sited here I am uncertain. It is possibly transferred from a more obvious place on the coast nearby.

there are 7 names with this element: Cnoc a' Chomh-stri, Eilean na Comh-stri, Eilean na Cò-stri, Rudha na Co-strith, Sgeir na Comh-stri, Sgeir na Comh-stri, Tom a' Chomh-stri.

Rudha na Co-strith

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha na Cruachaig

Place ID 2409 NF 84544 73668 North Uist A1hmore

ScG promontory of the + ON bay of corners ScG rubha na + ON króka vík

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Point of the stack' from ScG cruachag = 'little rick or stack'.

This does not seem awfully convincing as the land here is not suitable for growing cereal. ScG cruach - ag = 'little rounded hill standing apart' seems better but..

Much better seems ON króka + vágr = 'bay of corners', an excellent description of this convoluted bay.

There is a Krókavik in Iceland along with fifteen Krókavatn whilst in Norway there are over 40 places containing 'Krokvik' as the first component.

Rudha na Cruachaig

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha na Cruaich

Place ID 4914 NF 77691 65470 North Uist Kirkibost

ScG headland of the rounded hill standing apart ScG ribha na cruaiche

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The Hebridean Connection (p69) wrote 'Rudha na Cruaich is at Claddach Kirkibost and the croft is the largest in North Uist.'

Rudha na Cruaich

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Rudha na Dise

Place ID 882 NF 80750 62110 North Uist C1arinish

ScG promontory of the + 'Dise' ScG rubha na + 'Dise'

Coastal Headland

See Carn nan Dise (P#881) for some details of the onomastic unit 'Dise'

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rudha na Dise

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha na h-Atha

Place ID 1192 NF 92420 69800 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG promontory of the (kelp) kiln

ScG rubha + na h- + àtha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book writes 'Point of the Kiln' with ScG àth = 'kiln' and the Otter chart marks a nearby 'Kelp house' so I think we can be confident that kelp kilns were in the vicinity.

The other meaning of ScG àth = 'ford' which is not appropriate here. Indeed the ScG na h- = 'of the' tells us it refers to a feminine noun and this meaning is masculine as opposed to kiln which is feminine.

Rudha na h-Atha

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha na h-Iulain

Place ID 636 NF 89290 78680 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG promontory of the enclosed area ScG rubha na h- iodhlainn

Settlement Farming

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The obvious specific is ScG iodhlann = 'enclosed area or stack yard'.

Rudha na h-Iulain 2014 Modern OS mapping

Rudha na h-Iulain 1877 OS 1st edition

Rudha na h-Iolann 1877 OS name book

Rudha na Làire

Place ID 1848 NF 82276 56305 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG promontory of the + ON muddy foreshore ScG rubha na + ON leiru

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The mare's point' based upon ScG laire = 'of the mare'.
Seeing the headland I do wonder if it comes from ON leira = 'muddy shore at low-water mark'.
The muddy shore is still there whilst the mares have gone.

Rudha na Làire

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha na Monadh

Place ID	2138	NF 80616 63929	North Uist	B1aleshare	
Scg promontory of peat			ScG rubha na monadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rudha na Monadh			1971	Macdonald Two townships	

Rudha na Tobhtadh

Place ID 546 NF 80460 63950 North Uist C1arinish

ScG promontory of the ruin or ON 'ruins of the ro ScG rubha an tobhta or ON hrauna toftir = 'ruins

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The ending of 'dh' is peculiar and could produce a sound to English ears like Totowch. The article is not right either as ScG tobhta is masculine and so we would expect ScG an.

This might just come from ON toftir = 'ruins'..

It is not then impossible that the initial component is ON hrauna 'of the rough grounds', the plural being a little odd.

There is a Hrauntóftir in Iceland and a Raunetuft in Norway

Rudha na Tobhtadh

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Rudha nam Baraillean

Place ID 1156 NF 91970 68450 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG promonotory of the barrels ScG rudha nam baraillean

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One imagines this was a place where the salted herring was stored in barrels prior to shipping. There is another 'barrel' place name on Baleshare

Rudha nam Baraillean

1877

OS 1st edition

Barrel Pt

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Rudha nam Marag

Place ID 346 NF 80310 61760 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG promonotory of the + ON mark

ScG rubha + ON mark

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Whilst the OS name book gives us 'The Pudding Point', based upon ScG marag = 'blood pudding' this seems an unlikely name.

With -ag endings often deriving from ON vagr = 'bay' one wonders if the prefix ON mar = 'sea' is the specific creating the whole ON mar-vág = 'sea-bay'. See Oftedal p49 re Mariveg.

However experience with other names leans me towards ON mark = 'landmark' and often with a meaning of boundary. Gaelic epenthesis would then provide the missing /a/. ON mörk is an older word with a meaning more rooted in the idea of boundary or march land. NSL writes 'In farm names, in many places there can be a chronological distinction between old names such as Mork, Mørk (with u-umlaut and unbound form) and Marka (without omlyd and in bound form). The old Germanic meaning of m. Was supposedly 'border, mark' (the last word is derived from mark .)'

In Norway there are ten Marvik(a) and one Marvågen place names.

In Iceland there are three Mark and 34 of Mörk place names.

Rudha nam Marag

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha nan Cnamh

Place ID 2420 NF 83431 75083 North Uist S1ollas

SCG promontory of the unploughed areas (in a fie ScG rubha nan cnàmh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Point of the bones' and whilst Faclair Beag gives ScG cnàmh = 'bone', it also gives 'unploughed area (in a field, due to the presence of stones too big to remove)' which is a pretty good description. Cox uses this with Cnap nan Cnàmh (p214)

Rudha nan Cnamh

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha nan Corr

Place ID 1068 NF 76320 75530 North Uist Grim1inish

ScG promontory of the herons ScG rubha nan corr

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The plural here makes me think the meaning is herons.

Rudha nan Corr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Rudha nan Gall

Place ID 1185 NF 92240 68980 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG promontory of the lowlanders

ScG rubha + nan + gall

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

It was interesting to see that Otter's interpretation of ScG gall = 'lowlander' or 'foreigner' was here Englishman!

Rudha nan Gall

1877

OS 1st edition

Englishman's point

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Rudha nan Gillean

Place ID 1079 NF 76800 75975 North Uist V1allay

ScG promonotory of the lads

ScG rubha nan gillean

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book writes 'Lady's Point' but I am unsure why unless there is confusion over the Scots 'laddie'. ScG gillean = 'of the lads' is almost certainly the root although why is another matter.

Rudha nan Gillean

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudha nan Sgarbh

Place ID	1187	NF 92280 69280	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG promontory of the cormorants			ScG rubha + nan + sgarb		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Rudha nan Sgarbh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Rudha Seavary

Place ID 6753 NF 79124 45481 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON shieling of the sea + ScG headland

ScG rubha + ON sjávar ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The second component has a Norse feel with ON sjàr = 'sea' being a possibility for the specific. With ON sjávar = 'of the sea' then a generic of ON ærgi - 'shieling' would work with reduction.

The position is appropriate.

ON sjávar occurs as the first element of over 100 Icelandic place names. Sjávarsel is an example of a synonym.

Rudha Seavary

1877

OS 1st edition

Rudh Sheamhairidh

1877

OS name book

Rudh'an Fhaing

Place ID 353 NF 80140 62040

North Uist

B1aleshare

ScG promontory of the fank

ScG rubha an faing

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Rudh'an Fhaing

1877

OS 1st edition

Ruevroch

Place ID 5440 NF 80014 48542 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG headland of the heather

ScG rubha fraoich

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The naming on the Bald map in capitals indicates a settlement and indeed there are the remains of a house on the top of the mound here.

It looks to much like a ScG rubha = 'headland' not to be although the name will have moved a little inland, possibly as a settlement site changed.

The specific cloud well be ScG fraoch = 'heather' and there is still heather about here.

Ruevroch

1804

Bald mapping

Ruiar Cottage

Place ID 1188 NF 92090 69280 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG west headland + Eng cottage ScG rubha + iar + Eng cottage

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The other Rubha Iar name is the Loch an Rudha Iar behind the bay.

Ruiar Cottage 1877 OS 1st edition

Ruidinis

Place ID 928 NF 84610 64080 North Uist Langass

ON headland of the rams

ON hrúta nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The genitive ON hrúta = 'of the rams' looks a good bet for this presqu'ile. The only problem is the length of the initial vowel.

Interestingly the two closest names in Iceland are Hrúteyjarnes = 'headland of the island of the rams' and one wonders if ON eyjarnes means 'presqu'ile'. There is a Rutneset in Norway which is probalby a cognate.

Ruidinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ruidinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Ard Rudinish	1877	OS name book
Aird Ruidinnish Point	1877	OS name book
Ard Rutinish	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Ruigh Liath

Place ID 1165 NF 92820 67840 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG grey slope

ScG ruigh lath

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ScG ruigh = 'slope' is surprising here as one might expect ScG riof = 'reef'.

Ruigh Liath	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------	------	-------------------

Reelee Isles	1877	OS name book
--------------	------	--------------

Ruigh Liath	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Righe Li	1877	OS name book
----------	------	--------------

Reelee Isles	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
--------------	------	------------------------

Ruins tack house Macdonalds of Baleshare

Place ID 2132 NF 79667 60436 North Uist B1aleshare

Eng Macdonalds of Baleshare tack house Eng Macdonalds of Baleshare tack house

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Ruins tack house Macdonalds of Baleshare

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Ruisigearraidh

Place ID 2638 NF 92832 82526 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigearraidh

ON enclosed area of the horses

ON hrossa gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Maclver (P48) gives us 'hryssa, mare' and a curious 'Ice. March Dyke here - hugsgeirdhi'

ON hrísa = 'of the brushwoods' works well here but the length of the initial vowel is a concern. The simple ON hrossa = 'of the horses' is probably better.

The nearby Loch Nikkar = 'loch near thicket' is a good bit of further evidence.

There are two Hrísgerði and an Hrísgerðismýri in Iceland.

Ruisigearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ruisgarry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ruissagearri	1934	Maclver Place-names of Lewis an
Risgary	1877	OS 1st edition
Rusgarry	1877	OS name book
Rissgarry	1832	Thomson atlas
Rissigarry	1804	Bald mapping

Ruith Bheag

Place ID 542 NF 79520 60620 North Uist B1aleshare

ON bay of the horse riding

ON reiða vág

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ScG ruith = 'running' which does not seem very helpful as a generic.

If we go to Norse, ON reið = 'horse-riding' and as we know the Norse were keen on horse racing giving the Gaels the word 'odaídh' for it, ON etja being their word. With the Gaelic 'bh' pronounced 'v' then the generic could be ON vág = 'bay' and then we have a good topographical match as this would be the perfect place for horse races at low tide!

There is a Reivika and three Reivika in Norway.

Ruith Bheag

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Ruith Bheag

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Rusgaigh

Place ID	252	NF 94560 74160	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ON islandof the dried fish on poles			ON rá-skerða ey		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

I am increasingly of the view that -gaigh island place names often come from ON kví = 'pen' names where the island provides the enclosed space. Here the specific could be ON hross = 'of the horse'.

An alternative is ON hrís = 'brushwood' or here ON hríss ey = 'island of the brushwood'.

The nearby Heastam = 'stallion islet' as a counterpoint to mares leans me towards that interpretation.

I've moved away from the above interpretation. I wonder if instead here Vigfusson's ON rá-skerð, f. (rá-skerðing, f., Boldt 129), in Icel. called rá-skerðingr, m. fish hung and dried on poles, having first been split along the back.' With a putative genitive plural of ON rá-skerða it might just work as 'the island of the dried fish'

Hrísey occurs 16 times in Iceland with no Hrossey.

Comparitvely there are over 300 names beginning with Risøy and 18 beginning with Horsøy and almost 50 beginning with Røssøy.

Rusgaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Rusgay	1877	OS 1st edition

S. Grey I.

Place ID 4984 NF 77496 28110 South Uist Loch Eynort

Eng south grey island Eng south grey island

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

One imagines this is a translation form the ScG eilean liath deas.

Eilean Liath occurs 13 times and very ofcussed on the Inner Hebrides with 3 on Islay, 4 on Mull and 4 on Tiree, one off Gigha and one opposite Skye.

S. Grey I.

1804

Bald mapping

Saighdinis

Place ID 830 NF 87750 63150 North Uist Eaval

ON headland of the mountain pasture

ON sàeta nes

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The nearby Loch Fada Seidinsh would lead me to think the root is the same as that of the same place on Bhalaigh (q.v.).

Saighdinis

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sidinsh

MacDonald sketch history

Sail R.

Place ID 1921 NF 87945 59199 North Uist Eaval

Eng sail rock Eng sail rock

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A very prominent rock.

I suspect an older root than this English one but cannot provide it.

My best guess is ON seil sgeir = skerry of the line' from ON seil = 'a string, line, esp. in Icel. used of a line on which fishermen string their catch of fish and trail them behind the boat'.

Sail R.

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Saltam

Place ID 1080 NF 76930 75840 North Uist V1allay

ON salt islet

ON salt hólmr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The '-am' ending is typical of the ON hólmr = 'islet' and ON salt = 'salt' is obvious!

With the islet on the edge of an extensive area of drying beach, it is possible it was used for salt-extraction, hence the name.

In Iceland there is a Salthólmar and a Salthólmi and in Norway there are 26 Saltholmen cognates.

Saltam

2014

Modern OS mapping

Saltam

1877

OS 1st edition

Samhla

Place ID 110 NF 79800 62500 North Uist B1aleshare

ON tidal (sea) mill

ON sæ- mylla

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The OS 1st edition had Samala as an alternative. There are no obvious generics that work here. It does not feel Gaelic to me and there is an intriguing possibility in the Norse world.

ON sæ- = 'sea-' is a common prefix and ON mylla = 'mill'. Together these would make a reasonable phonetic match and would mean a tidal mill..

This technology was recovered from the 7th century, particularly in Ireland where more work has been done on them. The interchange between Ireland and the Norse would not preclude them taking on this technology. Both the unnamed bay just W of Crakavagh and Crakavagh itself does have a clear wall across it and would work well for a small scale tidal mill.

I can however find no evidence of the Norse using these mills.

Samhla	2014	Modern OS mapping
Samhla	1877	OS name book
Samala	1877	OS 1st edition
Samala	1877	OS 1st edition

Sand Pt

Place ID 1934 NF 85875 58506 North Uist Eaval

Eng sand point Eng sand point

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With ScG Aird Ghaineamhach = 'sandy point' just across the ford, I wonder if there was more confusion here. Certainly there is little sand here other than that which is exposed at low tide.

Sand Pt 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Sandary

Place ID 735 NF 73940 67950 North Uist B1ayhead

ON sheiling of the sandy ground

ON sanda ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The root here is clear - ON sand + ærgi = 'sheiling of the sandy ground'. There is another Loch Sandary at Sollas. Not surprisingly the distribution of names beginning with Sanda- show a very strong bias to the Norse areas.

The Hebridean Connection (p35) writes ' the (flax) soaking pit was at the back of Sanndarai.'

MacDonald's Sanndary might be a different place as he writes 'it lies to the east of Tighghearry of which it forms a part' and gives it a s the place of a school - which does exist by Loch Eubhal, Tighaarry.

Sandary	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------	------	-------------------

Sanndarai	1984	The Hebridean Connection
-----------	------	--------------------------

Sandary	1877	OS 1st edition
---------	------	----------------

Sanndary		MacDonald sketch history
----------	--	--------------------------

Sanndabhaig

Place ID 6666 NF 82880 43019 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON bay of the sand banks ON sanda vág ScG?

Settlement Building ON? complete?

It is odd that the name does not appear on the OS 1st edition other than the headland Rubha Shanndabhaigh. One imagines that Loch Còrnán is the ScG name that replaced it. It doesn't look very sandy!

Sanndabhaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sandwick	2014	Modern OS mapping

Sàrstaigh

Place ID	1270	NF 97405 75873	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ON south harbour			ON suðr stöð		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Looking at nearby islands there is an island Nàrstaigh about one kilometre to the N and the closeness of the names seems to be to much of a coincidence, especially as there are no other 'staigh' places I can find aside from one near Pabbaigh, Barra.

Looking at this component, 'staigh', it looks like an island name ON ey. For the specific then ON stöð = 'harbour. 'harbour island' seems to make sense in this context. Indeed this might even do away with the need for the island suffix. Here the noun ON sær = 'sea' would work for the first component but does not help explain Nàrstaigh. If however the first component was ON suðr- = 'south - then there is the possibility of ON norð- = 'south-' for the other. It fits well topographically.

Whilst the initial vowel is odd, it is possible that knowing the names formed a pair, they evolved closer to each other.

There is a Sudstå in Norway.

Sàrstaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sarstay	1877	OS 1st edition
Sarstay I.	1832	Thomson atlas
Sartsay I.	1804	Bald mapping

Scaalan

Place ID 1153 NF 91420 68160 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON The shed

ON skálann

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

ON ská = 'skew, askance' is one option however ON skara = 'to jut out' is an excellent topographical fit if one could find the right version. However the initial vowel quantity would indicate ON ská.

The generic looks like ON land = 'estate' and so 'sticking out estate' would work well.

However a good and simpler alternative would be ON skáli = 'shed or hall' in the form ON skálann = 'The shed or hall (accusative)' and is closer phonologically.

Vigfusson writes extensively about the word :SKÁLI, a, m. [cp. Scot. Shieling; Ivar Aasen skaale = shieling]:—prop. A hut, shed, put up for temporary use; this is the earliest Norse sense, and it is still so used in Norway; þar sér enn skála-tópt þeirra ok svá hrófit, Landn. 30; skála vist at Rauðabjörgum, of a fisherman's hut, Vm. 147; skála búi, a hut dweller = a robber, Fs.; hence, leik-skálar, play-shielings, put up when people assembled for sports; gufu-skálar, 'steam-shieling' a local name, of bathing-sheds (?), Landn.; fiski-skálar, fishing shielings; it also remains in local names as Skála-holt. II. A hall (höll is only used of the king's hall), see Orkn. Ch. 18, 70, 115, Gísl. 29, Dropl. 18, 28, Fms. i. 288–292, Korm. 58, Bs. i. 41, Fbr. Ch. 13 new Ed, Nj. Ch. 78, Gunnl. S. ch. 11; in Landn. 1. ch. 2, 2. ch. 13, the skáli is a detached building; drykkju-s., a drinking hall; svefn-s., a sleeping hall. In Grág. i. 459 distinction is made between eldhús and skáli; in the Sturl. Skáli is distinguished from stofa; and it seems that the men were seated in the former, the women in the latter. At still later times, and so at present, the skáli is an apartment near the entrance, a kind of for-skáli, q. v.; til þess er sér mann ór skála-dyrum ór fjöru í Nesdal, Vm. 87.'

Skallen occurs as a place name over 100 times in Norway. Skál occurs as a simplex name nearly 70 times in Iceland and there are six Skálin names there.

Scaalan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Scal Glas

Place ID 245 NF 92110 76200 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON cluster of huts

ON skála klasi

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The OS name book gives 'grey rocks' based presumably upon ScG sgalla = 'steep rocks' and this fits well with the alternative name given in the OS name book 'sgala glasa'. It is not however a rocky area unlike Bearannan to the W. In ON skerja-klasi = 'a cluster of skerries' which is perfect topographically for the nearby bay. Can r > l? It does on Tiree. It is worth noting the Carmichael's alternative in the OS name book records both /a/ as long in the his Scàlà Glasa. Whilst he is always keen to steer to a Gaelic root, he has a good ear and clearly did not recognise a Gaelic word here. This counts again ScG sgalla for me.

Perhaps ON skála klasi = 'a cluster of huts'? There is a good group of shielings less than a kilometre to the NE.

Another option is ON skál = 'bowl, hollow'. This works topographically.

The Gaelicization process could have added the ScG glas = 'grey' at a later stage.

Skál is a common simplex name in Iceland occurring over 80 times and there are eight Skalli

In Norway Rugh quotes six Skalle names with the meaning as 'dry stony elevation' coming from a bald head or skull

Scal Glas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Scal Glas	1877	OS 1st edition
Scàlà Glasa	1877	OS name book

Scalagarry

Place ID 6734 NF 77063 46476 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG enclosure of the hut

ScG skála gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Before evolving to mean a hall, ON skáli was defined by Vigfusson as 'prop. a hut, shed, put up for temporary use; this is the earliest Norse sense, and it is still so used in Norway; '

ON skál = 'bowl' provides another option.

Scàlagarraidh

1877

OS name book

Scalagarry

1877

OS 1st edition

Scalan

Place ID 4934 NF 96092 70784 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON The hollow

ON skálin

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

it is an important name that looks Norse. However in this case ScG sgailean = 'little shelter' works well with a cave situated close-by looks good.

However with four 'Scalan' place names in the area, Creag, Bàgh, Loch and Abhainn, the feature cannot be a small one such as a cave on one of the rock faces.

It is probable ON skálin = 'The hollow' preceded this name as it is a good topographical fit as the features all site within a large bowl, although the Abhainn is slightly to the W and in my opinion wrongly named as one would expect the stream to leave the loch of the same name.

Phonetically, k > c is regular although á > a is not in this context, it could be a reflection of the poor transcription.

There is a Scaalan (q.v.) by Loch nam Madadh township but I suspect it has a different root.

Otherwsie the only other names containing Scalan on the OS 2nd series mapping are a cluster in Banff.

In Iceland there are over 50 simplex Skál and six Skállin(n). There are two Skallin in Norway.

Scalan

n/a

Scalavat

Place ID 6387 NF 84823 34009 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON lake of the bowl

ON skálar vat

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

An odd name. The generic is clearly ON vatn = 'lake' but there is no lake adjacent.

I think that the original lake is now named Loch Coradail (P#6312), already an oddity as it sits in Gleann Uisinis rather than the adjacent Gleann Choadail.

The setting is also well described by ON skál = 'hollow or bowl'

Scalavat	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgalabhat	1877	OS name book
Scalavat	1877	OS 1st edition
Sgalavat	1877	OS name book

Scàpar

Place ID 4930 NF 95305 69214 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON barren river

ON skarpa á

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

Three names that on the OS 1st edition were Ben, Loch and Mol Scaapar have become Beinn Sgàpar, Loch Sgàpal and nothing respectively.

The OS name book provides an alternative name Mol an Sgapair which probably accounts for their translation of 'Story teller's beach' whilst for the hill we have alternatives of Beinn a' Sgapair and Ben Scappar and for the loch, Loch a' Sgapair.

The lack of an article and the spelling of Scaapal feels very Norse.

Beveridge's ON skaptar-fjall = 'shaft hill' seems to contain a 't' too many. ON skarpr = 'barren' is the most likely - this is probably the root of Scarp, an island off Harris.

The 'ar' explains the long 'aa' in the OS 1st edition names or the 'à' in the more modern ones.

Looking at the mountain, it does have two peaks with a definite gap or notch between them and its course is steep so ON skarð = 'notch' would be an even better fit topographically and not quite so close phonetically.

There is a stream that runs down from the hill, via the loch to the sea linking all three features provides ON á = 'stream' and will sound as /ar/.

ON skarp á = 'barren river' works well and explains the -ar sound at the end of the name.

ON skarp occurs in Iceland and more so in Norway although I cannot find a cognate.

ON skarð is a much commoner element in Icelandic place names but the 15 river names Skarðsá all include the medial 's'. In Norway however we have two Skardåi, a Skardåa and a Skardså.

Scàpar

n/a

Scolpaig

Place ID 1117 NF 72880 75330 North Uist S1colpaig

ON help bay ON hjálp vík

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Township

complete?

Beveridge suggests ON skolpr + vík = 'chisel bay' and Taylor 'ship bay' from ON skálpr, however having visited it in a real storm recently, the bay itself was incredibly tranquil compared to the sea outside and so I believe it to come from ON skjól + vík = 'shelter bay'. In modern Icelandic the meaning is specifically 'shelter from wind' and the pronunciation works well for 'scol'

The older spellings e.g. skolpick (1617) help with the ON vík. That said it relies on a p > v which whilst not impossible is not regular elsewhere.

Marwick (p53) discusses the Orkney island name of Shapansay gets the same advice from two of the authorities of the day that it comes from ON Hjálpandisey = 'helping island'. Earlier forms were Scalpandisay 1375; Schalpandsay 1492; Shapinscha 1595.

Here ON hjálp vík = 'help bay' gives a not dissimilar meaning to the one proposed above of 'shelter bay' but fits better phonetically. Its position at the NW extremity of Uist is clearly a help to ships navigating this difficult coast and more particularly the significant turn caused by Rubha Ghriminis.

I would like to see other examples of the /s appearing at the front of words in Gaelic.

Going full circle, Scots scalp has many definitions including 'A bare piece of rock standing out from surrounding vegetation; ? A small bare knoll.' (DSL). The etymology given is '? Of Scand. Origin. Cf. ON skálp-r a sheath, Dan. Dial. Skalp shell, husk'.

The same reasoning could be applied to Sgalpaigh, Harris. There are two other Scolp- or Scalp- names on the OS 2nd edition mapping other than a bare Scalp. Scalpaidh on the shore opposite Skye looks like a bay name whilst Márcus hedges his bets on Scalpsie on Bute giving '? ON skálpr + ON ey or ? ON eið'

Scolpaig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Scolpeg	1877	OS 1st edition
Skolpick	1850	Retours
Stalpit	1850	Retours
Scolpig	1832	Thomson atlas
Scolpig	1799	Reid mapping
Skolpick	1657	The Clan Donald
Scolpite	1657	The Clan Donald
Scolpig	1657	The Clan Donald
Skalpac	1657	The Clan Donald
Scolpick	1654	Blaeu mapping
Scolping	1505	RMS
Scolpic	1505	RMS
Scalpic	1505	RMS
Scolpaig		MacDonald sketch history

Scor

Place ID 2306 NF 72891 71294 North Uist B1alranald

ON rift ON skor

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Whilst the OS name book gives us 'point' and it is a corrupted form of ScG sgur = 'cleft' which would describe the gap between the two small headlands here.

However with a Dun Scor and a Dun Scarie elsewhere, the juxtaposition of this site to Dun Mhic Raouill is too much of a coincidence.

The name of the site has been moved for it to make sense to the Gaels but originally referred to the dun with the ON skúrr = 'shed', a reasonable description of a partially ruined dun.

Scor	2014	Modern OS mapping
------	------	-------------------

Scor	1877	OS 1st edition
------	------	----------------

Scor na Caillich

Place ID 1012 NF 94530 65800 North Uist Lees

ScG rocky notch of the old women ScG sgor na caillich

Coastal Cliff or slope

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Crevice of the old woman'.

ON skor = 'notch' would work well topographically here and the word has been loaned in Gaelic as sgòr® or sgor.

ON kíll - ligr = 'inlet like' would work topographically as a specific with the order changed by the Gaels recognising 'ScG cailleach = 'old woman'

The distribution of Caill- place names on the OS 2nd edition mapping gives an almost perfect distribution of Gaelic speaking with two curiosities. There is a Sanda Cailla in Shetland which must be Norse (ON sanda kill = inlet of the snad?) and there are none of these 250 names on Benbecula, South Uist, Barra, Coll or Tiree.

Scor na Caillich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Scor na Caillich	1877	OS 1st edition
Sgòrr na Caillich	1877	OS name book

Scotbheinn

Place ID	417	NF 86200 55510	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ON The hook bay			ON skot + váginn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Probably this is the place on Griomasaigh which has caused the most problems and certainly produced the most alternative meanings. They range from Beveridge's 'hill for archery practice', through Taylor's 'tax mountain' or 'Scot's mountain' to Rixson's 'pennyland'.

In Norway, Rygh lists six farms named Veien and interpreted as 'the road' based on ON veginn, a declension of ON vegr = 'road'. I think this works well for the generic.

For the specific options include ON skattr = 'tax', ON skútr = 'small boat' or ON skúti = 'cave formed by jutting rocks'. I suspect it would be difficult to determine which if any is the relevant one. For what it is worth, I like the 'cave' as this ties in with the nearby ScG Cnoc na h-Uamha = 'hillock of the cave' and as this is set further back nearer the biggest hill on Griomasaigh.

One could imagine ON fjall = mountain was the starting point of ON skúti + fjall = 'mountain of the cave under the overhanging rock' and then the Gaels replaced ON fjall with ScG beinn, for which there is precedence as close as South Uist, to create ON skúti + ScG beinn which phonetically is close and works topographically although the place-name has moved a little to the hill behind Bagh Sgotbheinn.

All that said there are attractions to ON skot-teinn = 'a stick used as a mark'.

Perhaps the simplest Norse alternative is ON skot = 'a shot' which Rygh believes has the meaning of 'projection of land, especially high land' and in Icelandic has come to mean 'a hook.'

ON vágur = 'bay or creek or fishing place' has ON váginn as the accusative case with a definite article. 'g' can get lost and this would then sound close to the requisite 'bheinn'. This would be ON skot váginn = 'The hook bay'

ON skota viðinn = 'wood of the (high) projections is another possibility although there is no modern wood present.'

However a simple Gaelic alternative exists, ScG sgot = 'small farm' and ScG bainne = 'milk' to get ScG sgot + bhainne = 'small dairy farm'.

Certainly not an easy one and I am not at all sure I have the answer, as ever.

It is interesting to see the distribution of names starting with Scot on the OS 2nd edition mapping - they are very rare indeed in the Gaelic heartland and this is a concern.

Stahl mentions Loch Scotageary on Barra and ascribes a probable Norse origin to it as does Eysteinnson to Scotasay on Harris.

In Norway however there are three Skat(a/e)vågen and two Skot a/e vågen, for most of which a hooked bay is a good description. This fits well topographically for Bagh Sgotbheinn.

Scotnish in Argyll is discussed by Ailig Morgan in their PhD.

In Shetland Geo of Vigon on Yell looks similar.

These cognate notes lean me back towards a Norse interpretation! Not an easy one.

Scotvein	2014	Modern OS mapping
Scotbheinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgoitbheinn	2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)
Scotven	1877	OS 1st edition
Scotven		MacDonald sketch history

Screvan

Place ID 573 NF 90220 78740 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON The scree

ON skriðan

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The singular definite nominative ON skriðan = 'landslide; avalanche; a steep mountain or hillside made up of gravel and loose rocks' is likely to be the root.

Cox discusses this word in relation to Beinn an Sgridhe = 'the mountain for the scree' (p177).

As Vigfusson states ON skriða is common in place names occurring 80 times and seven times as Skriðan.

It is also a common component in Norway with eight Skridene names.

Screvan	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------	------	-------------------

Scrifan	1877	OS name book
---------	------	--------------

Screvan	1877	OS 1st edition
---------	------	----------------

Screvan		MacDonald sketch history
---------	--	--------------------------

Scrifearnach

Place ID 1097 NF 79660 77130 North Uist V1allay

ON neck of scree -beach

ON skrið fjara hnakk

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Rough shore' and Cox comes to the rescue with ScG sgridhe = 'skree' although it is a loanword from ON skriða = 'skree'. ON skrið- is quoted in examples as a prefix in close compound by Vigfusson.

This is probalby attached to ON fjara = 'fore-shore, beach'.

The generic would be ON hnakk = 'neck'

ON skrið- is a common specific in Icelandic place names althugh I could not find a cognate.

Scrifearnach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Scrifearnach

1877

OS 1st edition

Scuday Dubh

Place ID 5042 NF 84734 45281 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON island of small boats

ON skúta dey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The generic is ON ey and I would be confident that the specific is ON skúta = 'small vessel' Vigfusson saying 'a number of such used to accompany a fleet for use in rivers or on the coasts.'

Topographically you can see the need for these small ships here with a plethora of shall and narrow creeks and passages in the vicinity. The M is almost certainly ON mikill = 'great' although this has been loaned into Scots as Sc meikle.

Bald is consistent naming the other island Little Skutay being both English and ON lítil.

The component Scuda occurs in three places in Shetland and at least two are associated with landing places. Ben Scudaig on Skye is an oddity - Scudaig could be the Norse name for Loch Beag 2.5 km S.

Skud is a commoner component with Skudiberg near uig, Skye and fove other names in Shetland, three of them a simplex Skuda and the other two being a geo name.

There is a cognate Skutøya in Norway but Skut(e)holm(en) occurs 11 times there.

Scuday Dubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Scuday Dubh	1877	OS 1st edition
Sgudaith Dhubh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
M Skutay	1804	Bald mapping

Scuday Glas

Place ID 5233 NF 84353 45318 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG grey + 'Scuday' 'Scuday' + ScG grey

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Scuday Dubh for a discussion on that name.

Scuday Glas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgudeidh Ghlas	1877	OS name book
Scuday Glas	1877	OS 1st edition
Little Scutay	1804	Bald mapping

Seal

Place ID	2021	NF 94754 81679	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigrearraidh	
Eng seal			Eng seal		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
Not much to go on here!					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Seal			1866	Admiralty mapping	

Sealdrin

Place ID 642 NF 87888 76868 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON blessed rock

ON sæl dreng

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OSNB writes 'This name is applied to a piece of meadow land which is liable to floods and situate between the sea and the south bank of the above stream [Goulaby Burn]. No English meaning could be ascertained for the name.'

The verb ON sæla = 'to bless' got me thinking and at the top fo the hill here is an incised cross. Clach an t-Sagairt, which is thought to be early medieval - i.e. before the Norse.

For the generic ON dreng = 'a rock or pillar'. I suspect that ON *sælt = 'blessed' and so 'blessed rock' seems hugely appropriate.

Sealdrin

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sealdrin

1877

OS 1st edition

Seana-Chaisteal

Place ID 1801 NF 86601 44907 Benbecula W1iay

ScG old castle ScG seana Chaisteal

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG sean = 'old' is one fo the few adjectives that precedes the noun.
There is no evidence I am aware of an old castle on this island.

Seana-Chaisteal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Seana-chaisteal	1877	OS 1st edition
Seann Chaisteal	1866	Admiralty mapping
Old Castle	1804	Bald mapping

Seanae

Place ID 371 NF 86152 57919 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG old township ScG seana bhaile

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

The township was old by the OS 1st series mapping of the 1880s although it is not named on the 1861 Thomas chart. There is a difficulty in locating this old township and I expect it lies near NF8568457612 which is where there are ruins of houses of the right sort of age but is not close to the Seana Bhaile location on the map. This area includes houses marked as occupied on Thomas' 1861 chart but unoccupied on the OS 1st series mapping of twenty years later. The OSNB writes that the name 'is applied to an island situated adjacent and to the north of Grimsay. The dwellings on it are all one storey high, thatched and in ordinary repair.'

One of many so named townships.

Seanae	2014	Modern OS mapping
An t-Seanbhaile	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Seanabailly	1877	OS 1st edition

Seanaval

Place ID 2438 NF 80586 74653 North Uist S1ollas

ScG old town ScG sean bhaile

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A regularly recurring name presumably referring to the site of a previous township.

ScG sean = 'old' is one of the relatively few adjectives that always precedes the noun in Gaelic.

Dwelly gives us the detail on its grammar: 'Sean does not aspirate a word following if it begins with d, l or t. It is pronounced and spelt seann when preceding a noun beginning with d, n, t, l, n or r but spelt sean and pronounced seann when placed before a noun beginning with any of the other letters'.

If I understand this correctly, the original root would have been ScG sean bhaile = 'old township. The 'a' sound comes probably comes from the dislike of Gaelic of having too many consonants together - between an 'n' and a 'b' is one of those instances where this happens.

One imagines this was an early settlement as it is clustered on the Dùn here.

This name is common in Scotland with three at least on North Uist.

Seanaval	2014	Modern OS mapping
Seanaval	1877	OS 1st edition

Seann Bhaile

Place ID 498 NF 88060 55110 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG old township ScG seanna + bhaile

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Griomasaigh's second 'old township' and this one is just south of Ceallan.
This one is marked by Thomas and so probalby was deserted at an earlier date.
The nearby creek here is called Ob an t-Seann Bhaile.

Seanaival	1877	OS name book
Old Town	1861	Thomas chart
Seann Bhaile	1861	Thomas chart

Seann Chaisteal

Place ID 1739 NF 90129 57696 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG old castle ScG seann chaisteal

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I believe that this name has been transposed from another island almost a kilometre to the W at NF8927457494. On this islet, there are remains of small almost square building that could have been a small tower.

Seann Chaisteal

1861

Thomas chart

Seann Fhang Sholais

Place ID 6066 NF 81510 74507 North Uist S1ollas

ScG old Sollas fank

ScG seann fnahg sholais

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

I ma unsure as to why there is the /h/ in Fang.

Seann Fhang Sholais

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Seann Rathad na Mònadh

Place ID 6079 NF 83455 74008 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG old track of the peat

ScG seann rathad na monadh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Track

complete?

Niclain wrties 'This road is no longer in use. Boreray crofters used to take their carts on the road to reach Loch nan Geireann. They would then cross the loch with their boats, until they reached their peat bogs. They would take peat over in the boats and then with their carts. It was very hard work.'

Seann Rathad na Mònadh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Seanna Chaisteal

Place ID 1663 NF 89277 57546 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG old castle

ScG sea

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

There is a relatively steep-sided island off the N coast of Ronaigh called Seanna Chaisteal on both the Thomas chart and the OS 1st series mapping however Mairi Stiubhart's place of this name is marked clearly to the W. Whilst surveying this area, David Newman and I found a square structure quite unlike anything we have seen elsewhere. It is at GR NF8925057475. It is possible that this structure is the missing old castle as there is no sign on the island mentioned above.

The site is closer to that marked by Mairi although possibly further W. I believe Thomas marked it correctly.

The /a/ ending is not regular and could reflect an older use of the adjective. As an example Seana-bhaile is common in place names with a similar /a/.

Seanna Chaisteal

2000

Mairi Stuiubhart (doc)

Seanna Chaisteal

1877

OS 1st edition

Seidinish

Place ID 1078 NF 76610 75940 North Uist V1allay

ON headland of the mountain pasture

ON sæta nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

Clearly Norse with the generic ON nes = headland, I think the specific is *ON sæta = 'of mountain pasture'. There is confusion over this word and the ON for seat even amongst the experts (see the attached link).

Foster discusses this component and ON ærgi in *Traversing the Inner Seas* (p107) although not about ON sætr as a specific component.

Here though it makes a good topographical fit as a stepping off place towards the mountain pasture.

Seternes is a common name in Norway occurring over 50 times.

Seidinish	2014	Modern OS mapping
Seidinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Rudh Shaidinish	1877	OS name book
Soidinish	1877	OS name book

Seolaid Bhaiteam

Place ID 1582 NF 93921 80333 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigrearraidh

ScG sea passage of 'Bhaiteam' SCG seolaid + ON Bhaiteam

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This runs between Bhaiteam (q.v.) and An Sgeir Bhuidhe.

Seolaid Bhaiteam

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Seolaid Cnag a' Bhata

Place ID 2035 NF 96293 77052 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigrearraidh

ScG sea passage of the skerry of the boat ScG seolaid cnag a' bhata

Coastal

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Sgeirr a' Bhata for the main part of this name.

Seolaid Cnag a' Bhata

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Seolaid Ghrianam

Place ID	2071	NF 92168 77687	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
'Greineam' + ScG sea passage			ScG seolaid + ON 'Greinaim'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
See Greineam (P#271) for details of that component					
Seolaid Ghrianam			1983	Sea names of Berneray	

Seolaid Iain Mhic an Tailleir

Place ID	1994	NF 96547 77870	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
Scg sea passage of John son of the tailor			ScG seolaid Iain Mhic an Tailleir		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Seolaid Iain Mhic an Tailleir			1983	Sea names of Berneray	

Seolaid na h-Eala

Place ID	2038	NF 99589 77371	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG/ON	sea passage of the + ScG swan		ScG seolaid na h'eala or ON hjalla sjó leið		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop gives us (p31) the story of the galley , The White Swan, built about 350 years ago on Skye. His description of the route is very clear.

An alternative would be ON hjalla sjó leið = 'sea way of the frames of timber' and would work with the variety of skerries here named as having a pole on them. Better and more exciting might be ON jarla = 'of the earls'

Seolaid na h-Eala

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Seolaid na Sgeir Ghlais

Place ID	2027	NF 93821 75562	B1enbecula	B1aile a' Mhanaich	
ScG sea passage of the grey skerry			Scg seolaid na sgeir ghlais		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
See An Sgeir Ghlais for a discussion on that name. The GR is approximate.					
Seolaid na Sgeir Ghlais			1983	Sea names of Berneray	

Seolaid nam Boidhreach

Place ID 2055 NF 93614 75700 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG sea passage of the natives of Boreray ScG seolaid nam boidhreach

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop gives us (p34) ScG Boidhreach = 'Boreray people' and the route was used for ferrying peat.

Seolaid nam Boidhreach

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Seolaid Nighean Mhurchaidh Bhain

Place ID 2036 NF 93253 79088 North Uist Lochp1ortain

Scg sea passage of the daughter of fair Murdo ScG seolaid nighean mhurchaidh bhàin

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is what Mackillop gives us (p30). It does seem terribly complicated.

'Mhurchaidh' sounding like vuraky could perhaps contain ON virki = 'fort, castle' or perhaps better ON virkja = 'of the forts'. The developments here would be regular.

'bhàin' could come from ON váginn = 'The bay' (accusative). A similar root is probable for Scotbheinn.

'nighean could come from ON nýjan = new(m acc or ON nýjum (n dat)

Seolaid Nighean Mhurchaidh Bhain

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Seolait Mhic Neacail

Place ID 1310 NF 96420 76773 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG son of Nicholas passage

ScG seolait mhic neacail

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ScG seolaid = 'sea passage' comes directly from the ON sæ-leið = 'sea route'.

The route is marked on the Admiralty chart. It is easy to follow and on my aerial imagery there is a boat following it! It effectively takes one from the main Sound of Harris to the Àird Thormaid headland.

Seolait Mhic Neacail

2014

Modern OS mapping

McNeil Channel

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sgalabraig

Place ID 2635 NF 90895 81576 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ON slope of the hut or hall

ON skála brekk

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

With ON skalla = 'of the baldness', this would be a good topographical fit.

The cognate notes however raise the possibility of Skálabrekka and this would be reinforced by MacKillop transcription of the name as Sgàlabraig.

ON skáli has the two rather disparate meaning of 'shed' or 'hall'. Being close the old dùn site, I suspect here that it might be the former and indeed the 'hall' might have been built into the dùn.

Skálabrekka name occurs 25 times in Iceland.

Sgalabraig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgàlabraig

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Sgal-Sàile

Place ID 997 NF 93420 64560 North Uist Lees

ON cleft of the saddle

ON söðuls skarð

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

This is a name with lots of options. The OS name book gives us 'Saltwater Echo' which is a literal translation from the Gaelic but not very meaningful.

It is worth observing that there is also a Bealach a' Sgail (P#999) at the top of the gap between the two Lees and so the onomastic unit /sgal/ is the key one. The /i/ here would have been added for the genitive case there but the article is not as I would expect - ScG an = 'of the' would be better indicating that 'sgail' might have Norse roots. This is discussed more fully under that name.

The two options for the first component of ON skál = 'hollow' or ON skarð = 'pass' are discussed there.

For the second component again two options present themselves.

ON sel = 'sheiling' is a good fit and there are buildings here that might fit this description. The only issue is that this is a word used in Iceland and I am not sure if there is any evidence outside of Iceland. In Norway the word used would be ON sætr which does occur in the Hebrides. This would work with either of the options for the /sgal/ component.

Looking further away initially, Ryugh notes writing about ON söðull = 'saddle' that it is easily confused with ON salr as ON söðull 'Occurs, in the form of Sal, in some farm names, always referred to saddle-shaped depressions in or between hills, or also to mountains, which have been given the very common name of the saddle because they have such a recess.'

The order is odd and perhaps since to enable the folk etymology about the murder of Archibald the Black. The Gaels have taken 'Sgal' as the principal i.e. generic component, I suspect that they have changed the order here and that the original name was ON söðull skarð = 'saddle - notch'. This might indicate that the original names for the Lees was ON söðull = 'saddle' rather than the rather vague ON hlið = 'slope'.

For me this feels like the better option I think it unlikely that the name of these notable hills was simply 'slope'!

A difficult pair.

Both components occur commonly in Iceland but not together and we have the cognate Salskard(et) occurring five times in Norway.

in Iceland and there are 6 Skarðssel and 11 Selsskarð. Two Stöðulskarð

In Norway there are twoi Skålsætra and seven Skålseteren/tra where ON sætr is the Norwegian equivalent of Icelandic sel.

Sgal-Sàile	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgal Sàile	1877	OS 1st edition
Sgal Shaile	1877	OS name book
Skal Sale	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Sgarabhaigh

Place ID 1302 NG 01173 77945 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ON island of cormorants

ON skarfa ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON skarfa = 'of the cormorants' works well here and shags are also possible but bearing in mind Macniven p255, ON skarv = 'naked hill top' is a possibility as is Skarvören in Sweden.

However it doesn't quite look like cormorant habitat to me and looking at the contours on the island, it appears to have two summits and hence a clear notch so I wonder if the root is ON skarð vík = 'notch bay'.

There is a Skarfey in Iceland along with 20 Skarfasker. Skarføyen might be close to a cognate in Norway. In Iceland there are two Skarðsvík plac enaem sin Iclenad

Sgarabhaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgaracleit

Place ID 1789 NF 88531 46585 Benbecula W1iay

ON rock of the cormorants

ON skarfa klett

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Cliff or slope

complete?

ON skarfa = 'of the cormorants' with the /f/ disappearing in the Gaelicization process would be a start but a better alternative might be ON skarð = 'pass or cleft'. The reef here is split in several places and this would be an apt description.

The best reflex would be ON skarða = 'of the clefts'.

Another possibility is ON skjár = 'of the fish drying shed'.

However the presence of nearby Loch Caolas Sgarbhcleit (P#1834) pushes the Cormorant case hard.

There is a Skarðsklettur in Iceland and four Skardkletten in Norway.

There is also one Skarvkletten in Norway which will have the ON skarfr = 'cormorant' as its root.

In Iceland there are 19 Skarfaklettur place names.

Sgaracleit	2014	Modern OS mapping
Scaraclett	1877	OS 1st edition
Sgarbh Cleit	1866	Admiralty mapping
Id of Scarelade	1832	Thomson atlas
Islands of Scarelode	1804	Bald mapping

Sgaraileòd

Place ID 5391 NF 84938 52276 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ON hollow of the notches

ON skarða laut

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

Topographically and linguistically ON skarð = 'breach, notch' looks a good possibility for the specific in the reflex ON skarða = 'of the notches'.

For the generic ON laut = 'hollow' is a possibility. The last vowel is not a great match but being in the unstressed element of the name, it is not a problem.

ON scarfr = 'cormorant' is an alternative option for the specific.

There are two Skarðslautir in Iceland.

Sgaraileòd	2014	Modern OS mapping
Scarilode	1877	OS 1st edition
Sgarelode	1877	OS name book
Sgaraleoid	1877	OS name book
Sgar Leoid	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Scarelode	1832	Thomson atlas
Scarelode	1804	Bald mapping

Sgealair

Place ID 2430 NF 80624 75665 North Uist S1ollas

ON halls ON skálar

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Now a graveyard on the Modern OS mapping with Dun Skellor just to the S, it sounds very Norse.

The obvious root is a simplex one ON skálar which is one of those annoying words with two possible but very different meanings, in this case 'halls' or 'sheds', high status or peasants?

As it is a simplex name, it is probably an early one and so I would favour 'sheds'. The site of the dun (or broch as Beveridge describes) would have provided a large pile of stones in an unknown state of repair. The site is an impressive one and so you could imagine sheds being built within those ruins.

The plural is odd. Two halls is unlikely. It is not impossible that the name started life as ON skála haug = 'mound of the hall'.

Being at the centre of an early settlement on Uist and having an Iron Age broch on the site, it would make a good site for a hall.

The initial vowel is fine in terms of quantity as the vowel before /ll/ in Gaelic gets lengthened. The quality is not perfect. It is possible that the specific is ON skalli = 'bald head' or here, ON skalla = 'of the bald head'. Although now all grassed over, one imagines the runs of a broch then would have appeared as rocks and so 'bald'.

All this said, I think the simplest solution is the best, supported by 19 cognates in Iceland.

There are a Skellister, a Skella Dale and a Skallifil in Shetland (Jacobsen p75) and a Skallary on Barra and in Sutherland.

Scalloway in Shetland is thought to derive from Skálavágr

Skall(e)hag(en) occurs five times in Norway but no versions of Skalar could I find. However in Iceland I could find 19 Skálar simplex names.

Sgeallair	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Skellor	1877	OS 1st edition
Sgealair		MacDonald sketch history

Sgealtrabhal

Place ID 2539 NF 85381 70688 North Uist Central South

ON bald river mountain ON skjaldar + fjáll

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Beveridge (p104) gives us 'Norse, ? From skjöldr - skjaldar-fjall or 'hill of the shield'.

One must remember there is a Loch Sgealtair 3 km to the SE and it probalby shares a root.

Perhaps indeed not just a root but a river as the main river that leaves the loch just to the S of Sgealtrabhal then goes into Loch Sgealtair before heading to the sea.

The only evenly round object in the area, to match Rygh's understanding of ON skjaldar in topographical terms, is the hill itself and so ON skjaldar fjáll (or possibly ON hváll = 'hill') = 'mountain of the shield makes good sense both topographically and phonetically with a regular development including metathesis of the central 'a' and 'r',

Although noting our earliest version of the name, Reid 1799, is Skaildarval indicating that the metathesis was late.

Having said that considering other names, it is possible that both these features are on a divide between two estates.

ON skilja = 'to divide' has in Vigfusson a 'later' participle ON skildir. This would make a lot of sense topographically as both are on a line of divide between the Lochportain estate and a Loch Euphort one. The initial vowel is problematic however as l > ea is not regular although Henderson quotes timbr > teamradal.

In Iceland Skjald appears as a common first element including a Skjaldarfjall although in Norway, again Skjold is a common first element (>200), there is no cognate

In Iceland there is a place called Skildir and there are 11 places in Norway beginnig with Skilt

Sgealtrabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Skealtraval	1877	OS 1st edition
Skaildarval	1832	Thomson atlas
Skaildarval	1799	Reid mapping

Sgeir a' Bàta

Place ID 1292 NF 96013 77325 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG skerry of the boat or staff

ScG sgeir a' bàta

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I think one would expect lenition here bhàta.

Mackillop gives us 'crevice of the boat' and the alternative name Cnag a' Bhata. His lenition is as one would have expected. He cites ScG cnag = 'pin, peg, knob' and the latter would just about work.

Cox gives us an alternative ScG bata = 'stick' or staff' as part of the name of a mountain pass and so perhaps this is another marker.

3 Km to the E is Sgeir a' Bhata Reothairt (q.v.)

Sgeir a' Bàta	2014	Modern OS mapping
Cnag a' Bhàta	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Boat Rk	1866	Admiralty mapping

Sgeir a' Bhàt

Place ID	6672	NF 84399 43897	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG skerry of the boat			ScG sgeir a' bhata		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir a' Bhàt			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Sgeir a' Bhàt			1877	OS 1st edition	

Sgeir a' Bhata Reothairt

Place ID 1283 NF 98425 78069 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ON skerry towards the place of the sluices of the ON sker á vatna raufar stað

Coastal

- ScG?
 ON?
 complete?

Mackillop gives us 'Skerry of the spring-tide boat' which seems quite contrived. It is interesting to see 'skerry of the boat' when a possible Norse derivation for the skerries to the S is 'tender skerry'.

This level of contrivance - what is a spring tide boat?! - leads one to look for a Norse root.

ON sker = 'skerry' is effectively the same in both languages.

Listening to Reothairt, and remembering the 'sh' sound that would be inserted between the final 'r' and 't', I wonder if this is close to *ON rok-ligasta = 'of the stormiest seas'.

The rest then is ON á = 'towards' and ON vatna = 'of strong currents of water' we have ON sker á vatna rok-ligasta = 'skerry towards the strong water currents of the stormiest seas'.

Phew! There could be grammatical glitches here but it does make total sense topographically in what are even now difficult waters.

The alternative name, An Robhair or The Rover, could easily come from ON raufar = 'sluices' or 'rifts, holes'. One imagines strong currents in this area. Perhaps ON rófa = 'tail' is an alternative.

ON á = 'towards' would make for an interesting adverb, one that the Gaels then 'corrected'.

Here at least the two names meet to some extent.

ON rok occurs in place names in Iclenad, Norway and Sweden but no cognates or near cognates could be found.

Sgeir a' Bhata Reothairt	2014	Modern OS mapping
An Robhair	1983	Sea names of Berneray
The Rover	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Sgeir a' Bhata Reothairt	1983	Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir a Bhrige

Place ID 1808 NF 87681 47410 Benbecula W1iay

ScG skerry of the + ON landing-stage ScG sgeir a + ON bryggju

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This must be the same root as in Bagh a' Bhraoige in which this skerry sits.
I am sure the last component is ON bryggja = 'landing-stage' as this is a bay with deep water and good access to the open sea.

The name appears in this simplex form seven times in Iceland and nine times in Norway.

Sgeir a Bhrige 1866 Admiralty mapping

Sgeir a' Bhuachaille

Place ID	2204	NF 77237 62079	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG shepherd's skerry			ScG sgeir a' bhuachaille		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir a' Bhuachaille			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Sgeir a' Chàil

Place ID	1287	NF 96441 79341	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ON skerry towards the whale			ON sker á hval		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop gives us 'skerry of the cabbage' and writes 'About 100 years ago an Irish boat was wrecked on this skerry, with a cargo of cabbage and a lot of cabbages were being picked up in this area.'

This does ring folk etymology alarm bells.

The Gaelic 'ch' sound has similarities to the Norse 'hv' sound and then we get to 'hvail' which could well stem from ON hvalr = 'whale'. I have written a long post on whaling in the Western Isles on my blog:

<http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/norse-whale-hunting-in-the-hebrides>. This place is one of many with a possible whaling connection.

ON hvala-skerr = 'skerry of whales' has had the order reversed in the Gaelicization which is always a problem.

One different solution is ON á = 'towards' which takes the accusative ON hval in this case.

We then have ON sker á hval = 'skerry towards the whale'.

Blaeu marks an island Ishal (PN#117) to the S of Berneray. The writing is in lower case unlike the others and is not actually attached to a marked island. This could be this island. Another Ishal is marked adjacent to Carinis.

In Iceland we have five Hvalsker and in Norway a Hvalskjær and eighteen Kvalskjær

There is a Hvalsker in the Faroes.

Sgeir a' Chàil	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeirean a' Chail	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Skeir a' chail	1934	MacIver Place-names of Lewis an
Sgeir a' Chail	1877	OS 1st edition
Cabbage Group	1866	Admiralty mapping
Ishal	1654	Blaeu mapping

Sgeir a' Chaise

Place ID 2202 NF 77194 61569 North Uist B1aleshare

ON spume + ScG skerry

ScG sgeir a' + ON hvæsa

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Fraser gives us 'Cheese Skerry' but elsewhere the root has been an ON word meaning 'foam'. I keep losing the reference to the actual word... ON fyosa? Hvæsa?

The order could reflect a partial translation.

Sgeir a' Chaise

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Sgeir a' Chatha

Place ID 5804 NF 78274 75201 North Uist V1allay

ScG skerry of the battle

ScG sgeit a' chatha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Niclain writes 'Battle Reef (MMC)At one time, people came from Harris to plunder Vallay. but the tide was in when they arrived. They had to wait at this reef to dry up the tide. The people of Vallay saw them and waited for them on the shore. There was a conflict between them there at Sgeir a 'Chatha, and the Harris people had to flee without taking any spoils.It is said that this is how the reef got its name. This happened while Caoilte was at Vallay.'

The sound is /kahə/

Sgeir a' Chatha

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sgeir a' Cheòthain

Place ID 1888 NF 77406 56592 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG skerry of + 'Cheòthain' SCG sgeir a' + 'Cheòthain'

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See An Ceòthan (P#1880) for a discussion on that component

Sgeir a' Cheòthain 2014 Modern OS mapping

Sgeir a' Cheothain 1877 OS 1st edition

Sgeir a' Chlachain

Place ID 5998 NF 84287 77281 North Uist S1ollas

ScG skerry of the stepping stones ScG sgeir a' clachain

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The singular article ScG a' = 'of the' tend sot indicate the meaning is 'stepping stones'.

Sgeir a' Chlachain

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sgeir a' Choin

Place ID 6671 NF 84465 43776 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG skerry of the dog ScG sgeir a' choin

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Sgeir a' Choin 2014 Modern OS mapping

Dog Rock 1877 OS name book

Sgeir a' Choin 1877 OS 1st edition

Sgeir a' Chomara

Place ID 2397 NF 71690 73195 North Uist B1almartin

ScG skerry of the two waters meet ScG sgeir a' chomar

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'The mark rock' although I am unsure quite why. ScG comhar = 'mark' would sound significantly different.

ScG comar = 'places where two waters meet' would seem to be appropriate for one of the best surfing beach on Uist.

Sgeir a' Chomara	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------	------	----------------

Sgeir nan Corr	1877	OS name book
----------------	------	--------------

Sgeir a Chot' Uaine

Place ID 512 NF 83840 56760 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG skerry of the small green boat ScG sgeir a' chot uaine

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Recorded by Thomas, there must be a local story attached to this name. the grammar all works.

Sgeir a Chot' Uaine

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sgeir a' Chotain

Place ID 720 NF 74600 66330 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG skerry of the small fold

ScG sgeir a' chotain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Stahl gives us 'skerry of the small fold' whilst the OS name book gives us a competing 'cotton rock'. To add to the mix, a few km to the Nis Cladh Chothain (<https://uistsaints.co.uk/north-uist/cladh-chothain/>) named after Saint Comgan. This name is also seen as Coan (?viz Loch Mhic a' Coan on Baleshare) The lack of an 'h' however might rule this out. The most likely seems to be Stahl's based upon ScG cot + -an = 'little fold or pen for sheep'. ON kot = 'cottage or small farm' might be involved.

Sgeir a' Chotain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir a' Chotain

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Sgeir a' Chotain

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgeir a' Chruinn

Place ID 1290 NF 96001 77981 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG skerry of the mast ScG sgeirr a' chrainn

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Just over one kilometre off Sgeir a' Chruinn Dhuibh (P#1289) to the S is the Sgeir a' Chruinn.
See Sgeir a' Chruinn Dhuibh for a discussion on that name.

Sgeir a' Chruinn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir a' Chruinn Dhuibh

Place ID 1289 NF 95529 79425 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG skerry of the black mast

ScG sgeir a' chrainn dhuibh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Not quite sure why - perhaps it is a ring of projecting black rocks.....

ScG croon = 'crown' is the root used here. It is possible that crown has taken on the meaning of 'a bare round head' as has the same word in Norse. ON krúna = 'crown' but not that ON krungr = 'hump'

ScG cruinn = 'round' as an adjective is an alternative but with that meaning I would not expect the article ScG a' = 'of the'.

The Admiralty Chart name is Black Mast Rock and possibly refers then to a marker at this strategic point where the Grey Horse Channel changes direction.

This helps us find ScG crann = 'mast' which with the relative genitive markers and lenition would become ScG chrainn I think. The sounds are quite different...

The article is correct for either form.

There are three Chrainn place names in Scotland, all on prominent coastal locations. There are however 29 Chruinn place names mostly with the adjective taken to mean 'round'. Most are inland however four are on the coast, one on Skye, one on Tiree and two on Islay. The Islay one is Sgeir Chruinn and there is another place with this name adjacent to Dunstaffnage Castle, Loch linnhe.

Sgeir a' Chruinn Dhuibh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Black Mast Rock

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sgeir a' Chuain

Place ID	1281	NF 98318 77413	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG skerry of the ocean			ScG sgeir a' cuain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop gives us 'Ocean Rock' as it is on the main channel of the Sound of Harris and probalby the first or last rock one would have to be wary of.

ScG cuan = 'ocean, deep' and this version is grammatically correct for that word.

It is close to a possible On göng = 'narrow passage ' word and this one could stem form the same source.

See Loch Mhic Choan for details of Scottish cognates.

Sgeir a' Chuain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir a' Chuain	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Sgeir a' Chuain	1877	OS 1st edition

Sgeir a' Ghailcein

Place ID 2208 NF 76152 61109 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG skerry of the rock of the head

ScG sgeir a' ghail cinn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Unusually Fraser provides no etymology for this skerry and there is no obvious Gaelic root. The closest is ScG gailleachan = 'rocks' This would seem to work well topographically. There is a problem however with the article which is singular masculine.

ScG ghail cinn = 'rock of the head' might be better but then a tautology is introduced. This seems the best solution.

One way around the tautology is the alternative meaning of ScG gall = 'lowlander (usually Norse)' but then the order is odd.

Sgeir a' Ghailcein

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Sgeir na galtun

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sgeir a' Ghuana

Place ID	1993	NF 97835 76793	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ON narrow passage of the skerries			ON skerja göng		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The island seems to small to accumulate bird droppings, Mackillop even states the rock is flooded at high tide. It is hard to find a Norse alternative however. ON kúa gnoðar sker = 'skerry of the ship of cows' without some folk etymology about a boat load of cows drowning on this skerry is too far a bridge to cross. Kua is a common name for a skerry, shallow water or islet in Norway with over 20 simplex versions of it. In Scotland horse seems to be used in a similar fashion. The ON equivalent kýr has as its accusative definite version ON kúna = 'The cow'. I wonder if this is where the name has come from and then been resemanticise. Not ideal for a tide washed passage.

The best bet I can find is ON göng = 'narrow passage' which is a good description of the route here between Nárstaigh and Opasaigh.

This would work well with ON skerja göng = 'narrow passage of the skerries'

Göng occurs once as a simplex name and six times as Göngur in Iceland and almost 100 times as the first element of a place name.

Gang is the first element of over 130 places name in Norway.

Sgeir a' Ghuana	1983	Sea names of Berneray
-----------------	------	-----------------------

Sgeir a' Mhurain

Place ID 1170 NF 93180 69320 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG skerry of sea-bent

ScG sgeir a' mhurain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

It is possible that this is an ON name in ON vörr = landing place. ON skerja vörrin = 'The landing place of the skerries' would work well.

Sgeir a' Mhurain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir a' Mhurain

1877

OS 1st edition

E vouran

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Sgeir a' Ron Mhòir

Place ID 1294 NF 95039 77325 North Uist Berneray

ScG big + ON islet of the skerries ON skerja hraun + ScG mhòir

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

The grammar is slightly odd as I would have expected the article ScG an = 'of the' rather than the ScG a'. There is a loch near Bayhead with a similar problem Loch Mhic a' Ròin. The possible solution there was ON hraun. Norsktadnamnleksikon writes about raun = hraun 'Now available in Norway only preserved in Place Names. In such it is most often used about Holmer and Skjær (partly in the form Rogn)'. ON skerja = 'of the skerries' could then be the specific producing the errant /a/ with the ScG mhòir added as part of a Gaelicization process as the word was recognized as SCG ròn = 'seal'. However the Admiralty Chart name of Great Seal has no skerry attached and so I suspect that was part of the Gaelicization process too although this leaves the /a/ unaccounted for. There are other possible solutions ScG roinn can mean ' 1 Share, portion. 2 Division, dividing, class, distribution, proportion. 3 Sect, division, schism. 4 Section in writing, paragraph (§). 5 Pair of compasses. 6 Part of a sword distinct from the point' although with this feminine noun, one would expect the article ScG na and ScG roinne. A ScG meaning of 'skerry of the big division' would work topographically as the skerry sits at the end of a tortuous passage as the channel enters clearer waters.

Sgeir a' Ron Mhòir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir a' ron mhoir	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Great Seal	1866	Admiralty mapping

Sgeir a' Siar

Place ID	1288	NF 95181 78721	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
Scg skerry to the west			ON sgeir a' siar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The obvious root is ScG skerry to the west'. West of quite what I am not sure....

The skerry is on the Grey Horse Channel which leads to the sea. It is possible again for a ON á = 'towards' with ON sjár = 'sea' in the accusative ON sjá here giving 'skerry towards the (open) sea'

In Norway there are 12 Skjærsjøen names.

Sgeir a' Siar	2014	Modern OS mapping
West Rock	1866	Admiralty mapping

Sgeir Alasdair Bhain

Place ID	5527	NF 88109 48718	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG fair Alasdair skerry			ScG sgeir Alasdair bhain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir Alasdair Bhain			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Sgeir an Acair

Place ID 2044 NF 97613 74198 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG skerry of the anchor ScG sgeir an acair ScG?
 ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef complete?

Mackillop (p32) tells us there is a good anchorage here. He also pointed out that the article and case are wrong and should be ScG na-h'achrach.

ON akr = 'arable land' is an obvious phonetic fit but is not a good topographical match.

Sgeir an Acair	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Stanley Rk	1866	Admiralty mapping

Sgeir an Aoil

Place ID 5956 NF 79274 73654 North Uist S1ollas

ScG skerry of the lime

ScG sgeir an aoil

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Niclain writes 'This reef may be related to some of its former occupation, removing lime from burnt shells.'
Two other nearby names use this as a component.

Sgeir an Aoil

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sgeir an Duilig

Place ID	2016	NF 97742 81755	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigrearraidh	
ScG skerry of the dulse			ScG sgeir an duilig		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

I am not 100% sure this is the correct skerry. Mackillop gives us 'Skerry of the Dulse', dulse being an edible seaweed.

Sgeir an Duilig	1983	Sea names of Berneray
-----------------	------	-----------------------

Sgeir an Fheidh

Place ID 2056 NF 92869 77057 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG skerry of the + ON isthmus

ScG sgeir an + ON eið

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Mackillop gives us (p34) 'Skerry of the Deer' adding 'It has been called this since time immemorial. The reason is not known.'

However with the ScG fh being silent, this could well be ON eið = 'isthmus or narrow neck of land', a good topographical description of the Aird Thormaid.

Sgeir an Fheidh

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Deer

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sgeir an Iaruinn

Place ID	1291	NF 97013 78385	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG skerry of the iron (post)			ScG sgeir an iaruin		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop gives us 'Skerry of the Iron' but could trace no tradition for the name.

It is possible that there was an iron post attached to the island as a marker and this would explain the name.

The ON járn = 'iron' has a similar sound to the Gaelic word.

With the tradition of naming skerries as a stallion in ScG, this is perhaps the Norse version with ON jórinn = 'The stallion' however this seems unlikely.

Another possibility is ON jörfi = 'gravel' and possibly with a definite article ON * jörfuin?

There is a Geodh' an Iarainn on Lewis.

Of the 23 place names containing Iaruinn in Scotland, a significant number are in coastal locations where a marker would be useful. For example there are two Sgeir an Iaruinn, one in Uig Bay Lewis and one in Dalbeg Bay Lewis.

There is a Jernskjæret in Norway marking a dangerous skerry in a fjord E of Tromsø and three Järnsjär in Sweden.

There are also names in Norway based upon ON jór - sker.

Sgeir an Iaruinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir an Iaruinn	1983	Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir an Lighiche

Place ID 5802 NF 78920 75682 North Uist V1allay

ScG skerry of the + ON stream ScG sgein an + ON lœkr

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With ScG lighiche = 'physician' having an IPA spelling of /Lʲi.ɪçə/, then ON lœkr = 'stream' would sound very similar.

Sgeir an Lighiche

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sgeir an Rubha Mhòir

Place ID 726 NF 72090 66170 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG skerry of the big promontory ScG sgeir an rubha mhòir

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The Hebridean Connection talks about Rudha Mhoir as the Big Cape of Paible and that his has long disappeared under the ocean. (p206)

Sgeir an Rubha Mhòir 2014 Modern OS mapping

Sgeir an Rudha Mhoir 2000 Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Sgeir an Rudha Mhòir 1877 OS 1st edition

Sgeir an Sruth

Place ID 5573 NF 85383 46493 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG skerry of the current ScG sgeir an sruth

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Not a surprising name for a skerry in the middle of the entrance to Loch Eireabhagh.

Sgeir an Sruth

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgeir an Tabhain

Place ID 1836 NF 88207 45598 Benbecula W1iay

ScG skerry of the small hand-net ScG sgeir an thabhan or ON hafna sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

ScG tabhan = 'small hand net' is the easiest root , possibly reflecting the most suitable fishing method in this tight reef. That said it is close to ON hafna = 'of the havens', the entrance to which is 400m to the S. It could have started life as ON hafna sker = 'skerry of the havens' and then been resemanticised, effectively reordered to Sker höfn and then with an article put in to 'correct ' the grammar Sgeir an Tabhain.

Sgeir an Tabhain

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sgeir an Tairbh

Place ID 1571 NF 95411 75290 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG skerry of the ON bay of kelp

ON sker an + ON þara vág

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Quite why this should be 'skerry of the bull' I and Mackillop are not sure. A rocky skerry covered at high water is not a great habitat for a bull. A story about a bull escaping and sheltering on the skerry has been posited as a possible story behind the name.

An explanation is that the nearby N end of Taighaigh is a good area of pasture, the separating dyke is still visible. ON teigr = 'a strip of a field or meadow land, a close, a paddock' would be a good description of the area. The skerry here is c300m to the W of this area.

The original could have been ON sker á teig = 'skerry towards the pasture' . A good topographical fit but less good phonetically, effectively missing a 'rav' terminal.

A reconsideration might be ON teigar rauf = 'rift of the pasture' which sort of works with both Taghaigh and Hoe Befg being pasture and this skerry lying in the middle of the sound between them. The 'sgeir' could be Norse or ScG?

Further consideration however might help. When spoken, between the r and b would be inserted a copy of the previous vowel and so the sound is 'tarav'. ON þari = 'kelp' with its genitive reflex ON þara = 'of kelp' is hopeful, especially when one considers the area was the cause of a long running case about ownership on account of the kelp here.

I suspect that a vowel sound is added after the v and then we could have ON vágr = 'bay' as the generic. 'bay of kelp' seems a good fit. ON vík is commoner but a less good phonetic fit.

In Iceland we have four þaravík with a further 14 Taravik(a) in Norway.

Sgeir an Tairbh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir an Tairbh	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Bull Rk	1866	Admiralty mapping

Sgeir an Tairbh

Place ID 5100 NF 85650 80748 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG skerry of the ON bay of kelp

ScG sgeir an ON para vág

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This is a name discussed elsewhere. As there, it is difficult to see how this small tidal skerry could have anything to do with bulls but looking at satellite imagery on the OS website, one can see it is a skerry that still traps kelp.

Sgeir an Tairbh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir an Tairbh

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgeir an Tairbh

1877

OS name book

Sgeir an Trodaigh

Place ID 1995 NF 97842 77015 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG skerry of the + ON pole island SCg sgeir an + ON tróð ey

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Another island that presumably has a pole on it to aid navigation.

This islet is another important one when finding the way through to Cheesebay or Bearnaraigh.

Sgeir an Trodaigh

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir an t-Sagairt

Place ID 1742 NF 88110 57189 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG skerry of the priest

ScG sgeir an t- sagairt

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Another 'sagairt' name on Ronaigh.

Listening to a Gaelic pronunciation of /t-Sagairt/ to my ears it sounds like /hagəRfd/. This could stem from ON haga stað = 'dwelling of pasture(s)'.
Sgeir an t-Sagairt

1861

Thomas chart

Sgeir an Tunna

Place ID 2025 NF 97925 75978 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG skerry of the ScG ton or ON kelp

ScG sgeir an tunna or ON þang

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I am not 100% sure of the correct position of this skerry.

Mackillop gives us 'Skerry of the Ton' based on 'the days when kelp was being used in industry, and a ton of it could be taken from this rock alone.'

In one of those coincidences I wonder if the root was in fact ON þang skerin = 'The kelp skerries'! This would require a reordering for which there is some evidence with the word ON sker/ScG sgeir.

There is a skerry called þangker in Iceland Whilst in Norway there are twenty five Tangskj<e/æ>r(a/an/et)place names in Norway.

Sgeir an Tunna

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir Bheag na h-Otrach

Place ID 2006 NF 92882 78896 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG small skerry of the + ON rowing out to sea of ScG sgeir beag na h- *otrach or + ON út-ræði

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop gives us 'large skerry of the sandbank' with otrach being the local gen case of ScG oitir = 'sand bank'.
An alternative might be ON út-ræði = 'an outrowing, rowing out to sea, of fishermen' and this is certainly an excellent topographical fit.

See Sgeir Mhor na h-Otrach for more information.

Sgeir Bheag na h-Otrach

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir Bhola-bhig

Place ID	1547	NF 97963 82866	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ON bay of the farms + ScG skerry			ScG sgeir + ON bóla vík		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop writes that it is pronounced Voelavik and the close compound ON vallar vik = 'bay of the field' fits the bill perfectly as it does topographically.

ON bóla = 'of the farms' is an alternative that is probably closer. The quantity of the initial vowel could be explained by the poor transcription. Mackillop's initial sound is good for this. I suspect somewhere there is side form /bœl/.

In Iceland there is a Vallavík whist there are over 40 cognates Voll(a/e/s)vik(a) in Norway.
There is a Bólsvík and two Bólvík.

Sgeir Bhola-bhig

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir Chaluum

Place ID 2004 NF 92902 78466 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG Malcolm's + ScG skerry Scg sgeir chaluum

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop (p21) provides us with the story.

A totally different approach would be ON hjálm = 'helmet (acc.)' and could refer to the shape of the skerry - which I do not have a clue about! Another possibility is ON hval hólms = 'whale islet'

Sgeir Chaluum

1877

OS name book

Sgeir Chaluum Iain Oig

Place ID 2030 NF 92936 75207 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG skerry of Malcolm Iain Og

Scg sgeir Chaluum Iain Oig

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I am not sure of the position of this place. Mackillop gives us the story ' The skerry is called after Malcom Iain Og Shaw, who struck his boat on it, during the days of sail.'

Sgeir Chaluum Iain Oig

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir Chaol

Place ID 2372 NF 70302 71131 North Uist B1alranald

ScG narrow skerry

ScG sgeir chaol

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A good description of this skerry

Sgeir Chaol

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir Chaol

n/a

Sgeir Charrach

Place ID 2001 NF 93942 77380 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG rocky skerry ScG sgeir charrach

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop gives us 'rocky skerry' which seems good.

Sgeir Charrach

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir Choimheach

Place ID 5526 NF 88579 49947 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG look-out skerry

ScG sgeir choimheach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

With the lenition the word ScG coimheach = 'foreigner or terrible' would sound like /kʲjəx/.

The genitive of the noun is ScG coimhich which is what one would expect if this was the meaning. However less than 1km to the SW is a 'Sassenach' name which also means 'foreigner' and that is a big coincidence. They both appear on the Admiralty Mapping and so it is unlikely to be a confusion of place.

One can only imagine a foreign boat getting wrecked here and sailors were washed up on these skerries.

A further possibility is a linguistic confusion with ScG coimhead = 'look out' (sounded /kʲjəd/) mentioned by Cox (p152). The position here on the E corner of the Maitheigh islets here would give good views to an extensive stretch of the coast here, including access to the North Ford, Loch Uisgebhagh and Wiay.

Choimheach occurs in no other names on the OS 2nd series mapping, however Coimhead occurs four times on the same mapping.

Sgeir Choimheach

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgeir Choimheach

Place ID 5574 NF 85491 44603 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG unkind skerry

ScG sgeir choimheach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A skerry that is unhelpful when entering Peter's Port so an unsurprising name.

Unfriendly Rock

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgeir Choimheach

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgeir Cholum

Place ID	5487	NF 88057 52460	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ON islet of the rounded top + ScG skerry			ScG sgeir + ON kollu hólm		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Whilst Thomas provides us with 'Malcolm's Rock', I would expect Chaluim then.

The second component looks very much like a typical ending for ON hólmr seen repeatedly of small islets on Uist. If we take out the lenited /h/ then ON kollu = 'of the rounded top' or ON kol- = 'dark' would work for the specific. The cognates lean me towards the former.

There is a Kolluhólmi and a Kollhólmi in Iceland along with six Kollholmen in Norway.

Malcolm's Rock	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Sgeir Cholum	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgeir Dhreumasdail

Place ID 6470 NF 82506 35762 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Dhreumasdail' + ScG skerry

'Dhreumasdail' + ScG sgeir

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

see Dreumasdal (P#74) for a discussion of the last component

Sgeir Dhreumasdail

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir Dremisdale

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgeir Du Clachan

Place ID	1964	NF 90300 63242	North Uist	Eaval	
ScG black skerry of the rocks			ScG sgeir dubh clachan		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir Du Clachan			1859	Otter Loch Eport chart	

Sgeir Dubh Mòr

Place ID	1039	NF 75290 76970	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG big black skerry			ScG sgeir dubh mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir Dubh Mòr			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Sgeir Dubh Mòr			1877	OS 1st edition	

Sgeir Eilibein

Place ID 2257 NF 76881 67788 North Uist B1ayhead

ON meadow of the spring + ScG crag

ScG sgeir + ON ílu vin

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

An odd name as ScG skeir nearly always refers to a rock in the sea although Cox (p73) records one inland incidence on Lewis. The OS 2nd mapping reveals several others.

*ON íla = 'spring' is a lost word that owes its existence to its use in place names

(<http://www.norskstadnamleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx>)

The source here specifically says 'Several compositions are found with ON vin' and that is what I believe we have here ON ílu vin = 'meadow of a spring'. Aerial imagery indicates several small sources of water heading N.

The problem however is one of chronology as ON vin = 'meadow' was not productive in the period of the Norse expansion. However as it occurred in Norway in this form, then it could be an 'out of the box' name used by early settlers.

Whilst Illa appears to be a common specific in Iceland there is not an exact cognate, Illagil = 'stream of the source' being the commonest with almost 100 occurrences and three Illafit = 'water meadow of the source' being closest in meaning. This is probably a different root anyway.....

Sgeir Eilibein

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir Eilibein

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgeir Fhadabhig

Place ID	2017	NF 98134 82391	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ON ford bay + ScG skerry			ScG sgeir ON faða vík		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop gives us 'Long Skerry of the Bay' based upon ScG sgeir fada + ON vik which is a trifle confused to me I wonder if the pure Norse alternative was ON vada-sker vík= 'bay of the wading skerry' and refers not to the skerry but the bay. One would expect to see a Sgeir Fhadamor to complement the Sgeir Fhadabeag. The order is still not clear. The skerry referred to is the one just offshore from the bay which can be accessed at low tide. A final possibility and the one I favour partly based on there cognate evidence is the bay was called Vaðvík and there is a skerry in it which was named Sgeir of the Vaðvík.

There are three place names Vaðvík in Iceland, thirteen Vadviken in Sweden and five Vadvik(a) in Norway.

Sgeir Fhadabhig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir Fhada-bhig	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Sgeir Fhadabhig	1877	OS 1st edition

Sgeir Fhaoiteag

Place ID	2159	NF 77374 62089	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG skerry of the cowrie			ScG sgeir fhaoiteag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
They are still found on the beach here.					
Sgeir Fhaoiteag			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Sgeir Ghainmheach

Place ID 492 NF 84740 58040 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG skerry of the place of sand ScG sgeir ghainmheach

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG gaineamh = 'sand' and the suffix ScG -ach = 'place of'. A perfect topographical fit.

Sgeir Ghainmheach

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sgeir Ghlas

Place ID 1217 NF 83030 58900 North Uist Eaval

ScG green skerry ScG sgeir ghlas

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG glas can mean a variety of things including 'grey', 'pale' and 'green' This islet is certainly green.

Sgeir Ghlas 1877 OS 1st edition

Sgeir Ghorm

Place ID	2113	NF 77347 61756	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG blue skerry			ScG sgeir ghorm		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir Ghorm			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	
Sgeir Ghorm			1971	Macdonald Two townships	

Sgeir Husabost

Place ID 2117 NF 77347 61756 North Uist B1aleshare

'Husabost' + ScG skerry

ScG sgeir + 'Husabost'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Husabost (P#108) for a discussion of that element.

Sgeir Husabost

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Sgeir Husabost

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Sgeir 'Ic Caoilte

Place ID	2166	NF 76624 63922	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ON hog back bay + ON skerry			ScG sgeir + ON göltr vík		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Carmichael writes 'Clan Mhic Cailte were an old race in North Uist'

However a possible ON specific could be ON kaldr = 'cold', a very common specific in Iceland and Norway. The whole place could have been ON kalda vik = 'cold bay' and then with Gaelic 'mh' pronounced as 'v', the transition was made to ScG mhic with some reordering. The initial vowel however is not right.

An alternative is ON göltr = 'boar, hog'. The word however is also defined by Vigfusson as 'metaph. a hog's back or ridge between two dales'. This would be a good description of the Ceann Caoilte site on Islay. It works, albeit less obviously for the Uist sites with the referent here being the impressive dunes on either side of the sound.

Rygh mentions the alternative use of the personal male name Galti in some cases but writes 'Galte, Galten is very often used as a name for mountains and especially on skerries.'

There is an Aird Mhic Caoilt (Vallay NF784755 P#1091), a Clach Mhic Caoilt (Creag HåstenP#1623) and Eilean Mhic Caolite (North Ford NF 818571 P#1863).

There are four Caoilt names on the OS 2nd edition mapping, two on Uist and two on Islay, both involving Ceann Caoilte. For the Islay name, Kaldakinn occurs three times in Norway and 26 times in Iceland. Here the ON kinn = 'cheek or steep slope' has been transferred to ScG ceann = 'head'.

Kaldvik occurs twenty times in Norway.

There are five Galti names in Iceland and over 120 Galten and three Galtvik names in Norway. Rygh mentions the alternative use of the personal male name Galti in some cases.

Sgeir 'Ic Caoilte

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Sgeir Jocky

Place ID 2051 NF 96729 74620 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG Jocky's skerry ScG sgeir Jocky

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Mackillop tells us (p33) Jocky was a nick-name given to a John MacLean of Berneray. He was known locally as Seonaidh Bhrusda. Brusda is a place in Berneray.'

Sgeir Jocky

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir Leaba a? Daimh

Place ID	1817	NF 85970 46198	Benbecula	W1iay	
ScG skerry of the bed of the stag			ScG sgeir leaba an daimh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir Leaba a? Daimh			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Sgeir Letheach Caolais

Place ID 1999 NF 93887 78640 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigrearraidh

ScG half way sound skerry ScG sgeir leth -ach caolais

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop gives us (p20) 'Half-way between Bearnaray and the isle of Sursay'.

Sgeir Letheach Caolais

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Half Channel Rock

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir Liath

Place ID	1812	NF 86470 47100	Benbecula	W1iay	
ScG grey skerry			ScG sgeir liath		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir Liath			1866	Admiralty mapping	

Sgeir Liath

Place ID	2165	NF 79781 60839	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG grey skerry			ScG sgeir liath		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir Liath			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Sgeir Liath

Place ID 2243 NF 70276 68287 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG grey skerry

ScG sgeir + liath

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

lja = mown grass

lýr = pollock; lýr-gata, lýr-teigr = the track of the lýr = the sea

leið

Sgeir Liath

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir Liath

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgeir Liath/Leith

Place ID	2130	NF 78252 61548	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG grey skerry			ScG sgeir liath		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir Liath/Leith			1971	Macdonald Two townships	

Sgeir Mairi

Place ID 2064 NF 97570 73744 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON to float just under the surface island + ScG ske ScG sgeir + ON mara ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Mackillop gives us (p35) 'Skerry of Mary. Perhaps the name of a boat which hit this rock.'

This vagueness, combined with a hill to the W called Maari encourage one to think of other roots.

ON mara = 'to float low in the water'. This combined with ON ey = 'island' makes an excellent topographical fit for the skerry that is almost below the level of the sea.

The cognate notes are encouraging.

In the end it probably is not connected with Maari!

There is an Icelandic skerry called Marý whilst Marøy occurs over 100 times in Norway.

Sgeir Mairi	1983	Sea names of Berneray
-------------	------	-----------------------

Mary Rk	1866	Admiralty mapping
---------	------	-------------------

Sgeir Maol nam Partan

Place ID 5717 NF 75626 76616 North Uist V1allay

ScG skerry of the promontory of the small crabs ScG sgeir maol nam partan

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes simply 'Crabs are plentiful'. One does wonder with the adjacent Poll nam Portan (P#1070) whether in fact the area was called 'Portan'. This could refer to the whole inshore water here as a ON fjörd = 'firth'. Perhaps ON möl fjarðar = 'shingle beach of the firth' with reordering and the addition of an article.

Sgeir Maol nam Partan

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sgeir Mhic Aonghais

Place ID 2046 NF 97927 73615 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG skerry of the son of Angus or ON bay of the y ScG sgeir mhic Aonghais or ON ungra húss vík

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Marked on the charts as Angus Rock.

An alternative (and less simple) interpretation is ON ungra húss vík = ' bay of the young house' which would work well for a 'Norse modern' structure built within the old dun above the nearby bay.

The initial sound is not great and I wonder if ON um-hús = 'of-house' and if my understanding fo what an enclitic particle is, I suspect the order problem might disappear. In English we say 'black house' but if you put in the 'of' we would say 'house of-black'. I suspect that is what might be going on here.

This ties in with the interpretation of Seolaid Nighean Mhurchaidh bhàin. 'young house' has been replaced by 'new fort'.

Sgeir Mhic Aonghais

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Angus Rk

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sgeir Mhic Codrum

Place ID 5561 NF 87798 47993 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG MacCodrum's skerry

ScG sgier mhic Codrum

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There was a famous Bard, MacCodrum, Iain Mac Fhearchair, who lived between 1693 and 1779.

Sgeir Mhic Codrum

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Mac Codrum's Rock

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgeir Mhic Dho'ill Bhuidhe

Place ID 5591 NF 84911 54635 Benbecula Rueval

ScG skerry of the son of yellow Donald ScG sgeir mhic Dhomhnaill bhuidhe

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Sgeir Mhic Dho'ill Bhuidhe 1861 Thomas chart

Sgeir Mhic Iamain

Place ID 5050 NF 86227 47257 Benbecula W1iay

ON sea-opening bay + ScG skerry ScG skeir + ON vík sjá munn

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

MacNiven writes about Imeraval on Islay 'potentially *ON innravöllr' inner grassland/pasture'. 'Inner bay' would be a good description but it seems a fair way away phonetically.

A better option is ON hjálmr = 'helmet' in the definite accusative case ON hjálminn. Rygh quotes possible forms as Jam-, Jem-, Jom- (open o) writing that it ca refer to anything in the shape of a shield or a haystack.

It might make more sense of the components were reordered. This could well be part of a Gaelicization process. However MacDonald in his Sketch History gives the best clue with his name of Crois 'ic Shiamain. This las tis a name that occurs in two other places, Kyles Paible and Loch Eport. There is has been interpreted as ON sjá munn = 'mouth of the sea'. This seems the best solution. With initial /sh/ becomes /h/ and this works for all the various spellings as well a being a good topographic fit.

In Iceland we have a Hjálmurinn (nominative definite case) and two Hjálmarvík. In noreay there are 25 Hjelman (definite singular) names including two skerries.

Sgeir Mhic Iamain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir Mhic Iamain	1877	OS 1st edition
Sgeir Mhic Iàmain	1877	OS name book
Sgeir Mhic Shimoin	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Crois 'ic Shiamain		MacDonald sketch history

Sgeir Mhic Iamain

Place ID 6647 NF 85265 42841 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Mhic Iamain' + ScG skerry ScG sgeir + 'Mhic Iamain'

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Sgeir Mhic Iamain (P#5050) for a discussion of this name.
topographically this skerry is well described as being in 'sea - mouth bay'

Sgeir Mhic Iamain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir Mhic Iàmhain	1877	OS name book
Sgeir Mhic Iamain	1877	OS 1st edition

Sgeir Mhor na h-Otrach

Place ID 2005 NF 92840 79008 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG big skerry of the sandbank or ON rowing out ScG sgeir mhòr na h- *otrach or + ON út-ræði

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop gives us 'large skerry of the sandbank' with otrach being the local gen case of ScG oitir = 'sand bank', a version not recorded in the two dictionaries I use. The cognate notes reveal an article of ScG an t- which differs to the one expected to match this one.

An alternative might be ON út-ræði = 'an outrowing, rowing out to sea, of fishermen' and this is certainly an excellent topographical fit.

Rygh writes about ON akr, 'it is difficult to separate from the old Word rák n., pasture, from which cattle are operated, or cow drove (by reka, drive).' This skerry would be on the 'out cattle drove'

Otrach appears once on the OS 2nd edition mapping as An t-Otrach in the mountains of the E of Loch Ness. Not many sandbanks there!

There are two places in Norway beginning with Utrød which I suspect is the same word.

Rák occurs as a simplex name in Iceland but probably reflects the other meaning 'stripe'.

Sgeir Mhor na h-Otrach

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir Muiledhionn

Place ID 5691 NF 91795 80178 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ON shingle haven + ScG skerry

ScG sgeir + ON möl höfn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

MacKillop unusually is at a bit of a loss although offers two options 'Muil-leathann, flat-headed and Muinchinn s.m. Headland, 2 sea-coast'. Neither look very attractive.

ScG sgeir = 'skerry' is certainly the generic here.

Cox discusses Muile Mucal and derives it as ON Múlinn Mykli = 'big headland' with an 1834 version of Mile Mucal. I suspect here we have the same specific although quite why he wants the definite form I do not know. The other alternative is ON möl = 'rounded pebbles, storm beach' which is a good topographical fit.

The generic looks like ON höfn = 'haven'. Actually on reflection it doesn't as the /dh/ will be silent.

Perhaps ON mölinni = 'The storm beach'. It does seem to be a long series of unaccounted for vowels that have appeared.

Sgeir Muiledhionn

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Sgeir na Alla

Place ID 4918 NF 73371 65201 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG skerry of the + ON flat stone

Scg sgeir na + ON hella

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

Clearly a skerry name, ScG alla = 'wild, fierce' and that could work here in the strong tidal race. The problem is that this is an adjective and so one would not expect the article ScG na.

Perhaps ScG àl = 'anything hard, solid, rigid or immovable' might be a better fit although is this a trifle tautologous. Again however the article is wrong. Indeed according to my understanding before a vowel in the singular ScG na is impossible.

This has been a pointer to Norse roots elsewhere and here ON hella would make phonetic and topographical sense.

Sgeir na Alla

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Sgeir na Bùtha

Place ID	4906	NF 97646 79304	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG skerry of the shop			ScG sgeir na bùth		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

An odd name. A shop to sell the Irish cabbages wrecked on Sgeir a' Chàil perhaps.
ScG buidhe = 'yellow' might be a better bet. ScG bodha = 'sunken rock' is close too but it would end up being tautologous.

Sgeir na Bùtha	1983	Sea names of Berneray
----------------	------	-----------------------

Sgeir na Caorach Glaise

Place ID	5565	NF 87193 47503	Benbecula	Peter's Port	
ScG skerry of the (single) grey sheep			ScG skerry na caorach glaise		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir na Caorach Glaise			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Sgeir na Circe

Place ID 2612 NF 69492 71092 North Uist B1alranald

ScG exposed rock of the chicken or +ON chapel Scg sgeir na circe or + ON kirkju

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

It is unusual, but not unique to find a 'sgeir' name that is not a rock in the sea. This rock is an impressive and very visible one and has the vestiges of a sub-circular wall adjoining it.

Whilst ScG circe = 'of the chicken' is the obvious root, one chicken only is odd and one observes that ON kirkja is gaelicised to circe (e.g. Kirkibost = Chircebost) and with the associated stories here of Cladh Chotain and the like, I suspect the ecclesiastical version is the more likely.

It would make an impressive spot for an open air service if nothing else.

On the OS 2nd edition mapping, Circe occurs 28 times across the Gaelic hearland.

The three other examples on the Western Isles are on Lewis and are all Circe Fraoich types where this is taken to mean 'grouse'. The distribution of the names would indicate that most of the other place names has assumed the fraoich and refer to grouse.

Sgeir na Circe

1911

Beveridge

Sgeir na Cloiche

Place ID 1286 NF 97129 78605

B1earnaraigh

Ru2isigrearraidh

ScG skerry of the stone

ScG sgeir na cloiche

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The grammar here is correct.

Sgeir na Cloiche

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir na Cloiche

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir na Comh-stri

Place ID 2037 NF 92062 77683 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG skerry of struggle or ON island of choice ScG sgeir na còmhstri or ON kostar ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

I am not 100% sure of the position but it is between Grianam Mor and the North Uist shore. Mackillop gives us the story of the court case and thus ScG comh-stri = 'struggle'.

An alternative explanation is from the ON kostar + ey = 'provisions island' or 'island of choice'.

The pronunciation probalby favours the Gaelic origins.

Sgeir na Comh-stri

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir na Còmhstri

Place ID 1979 NF 75702 76014 North Uist Grim1inish

ScG skerry of strife ? or ScG skerry of ON provisio ScG sgeir na comh-stri (? Or ON kostr ey)

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Beveridge writes 'skerry of strife' and points out the other island of this name in 'Loch Eford'.

The specific is almost certainly ScG comhstri = 'struggle' as the 'mh' sound is silent. The OS name book gives us the 'Point of the quarrel'

This lies on the boundary of the two townships - as do many of the other names in the cognate notes - and so perhaps there was a dispute over the exact line of the boundary?

Other place names with this last word are small islands and an alternative explanation is from the ON kostr+ ey = 'provisions island' or 'choice island'.

This is not dissimilar to Cuarsgsaig in the North Ford which could be interpreted as 'decision strip of land'

Interestingly ON stríð = 'calamity'

Niclain writes 'At one time there was a dispute between the people of Bålaigh and the Griminish people over this area, when they were harvesting the seaweed, It is also thought that this was also the time when the Uist and Harris people were at loggerheads over the harvesting of seaweed on Grianam Reef (They had to take legal action over Grianam Reef; in the House of Lords in 1781 (TGSJ, vol. LIT, 1980-82).'

There are seven '-stri' names on the OS 2nd edition mapping: Cnoc a' Chomh-stri; Eilean na Comh-stri; Eilean na Cò-stri; Rudha na Co-strith; Sgeir na Comh-stri; Sgeir na Comh-stri; Tom a' Chomh-stri.

Sgeir na Còmhstri

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sgeir na Comh-stri

1911

Beveridge

Sgeir na Cuishag

Place ID 1171 NF 93100 69140 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG Skerry of the rye-grass

ScG sgeir na cuiseige

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I am not quite sure of the spelling here as it differs to that which I would expect for the genitive.

Sgeir na Cuishag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir na Feannaig

Place ID 5782 NF 79096 76482 North Uist V1allay

ScG skerry of the rig

ScG sgier na feannaig

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

ScG Feannaig can mean 'crow' or 'rig'. Both seem odd to have in the singular here.

Sgeir na Feannaig

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sgeir na Geadh

Place ID	5506	NF 86670 50988	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG skerry of the goose			ScG sgeir na gèadh	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG? <input type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Coastal				
Sgeir na Geadh			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgeir na h-Airde Caoladh

Place ID 2041 NF 95268 76683 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG skerry of the narrow peninsula Scg sgeir na h' àirde caoladh

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The precise position is unclear.

The Admiralty Charts call it the Gibbon. Why?!

All I can think of is Fa gjógvin = 'The ravine' from ON gjá = 'ravine'

Sgeir na h-Airde Caoladh

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Gibbon

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sgeir na h-Aona Chloiche

Place ID	2170	NF 76727 62749	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG skerry of the single stone			ScG sgier na h-aona chloiche		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir na h-Aona Chloiche			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Sgeir na h-Eabaist

Place ID	1997	NF 95047 77280	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG skerry of the + ON shepherd dwelling			ScG sgeir na ON hjarð-bólstað		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop gives us ScG eabaist = 'large female seal'. Dwelly does not mention it and it seems an odd word.

I have tried quite hard for a Norse root and the best I can do is ON hjarð-bólstaðr = 'shepherd dwelling'. It is a skerry that is less than a km N of Bhotarsaigh and Sursaigh, islands large enough for sheep.

The nearby adjacent skerry could well refer to Taghaigh just under 2km to the S and that certainly had a dwelling on it and so could be referring to the same thing.

Not awfully convinced but neither am I by large female seals!

There are ten Hjarðarból place names in Iceland.

Sgeir na h-Eabaist

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir na h-lola

Place ID 2019 NF 94574 81689 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG skerry of the fishing bank

ScG sgeir na h-lola

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Just as Mackillop says.

The Admiralty name of Colla is odd, possibly stemming from ON kollr = 'bald head' or better the accusative plural reflex ON kolla.

Bheinn Iolagro in the middle of Lewis and Iolarig, Knapdale might point to a Norse root.

Sgeir na h-lola

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Colla

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sgeir na h-Oitir Bige

Place ID 5206 NF 81710 47215 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG skerry of the small sandbank

ScG sgein na h-oitir bige

Coastal

ScG?

ON?

complete?

and the grammar all works!

Sgeir na h-Oitir Bige

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir na h-Oitir Bige

1877

OS 1st edition

Odder Islands

1804

Bald mapping

Sgeir na h-Urchrach

Place ID 2069 NF 92478 78270 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON course- pole or ScG of the shot+ ScG skerry ScG sgeir na + ON horf krakka or ScG urchrach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Mackillop gives 'Skerry of the Shot' the story (p36) 'Apparently while out shooting, MacLeod of Berneray saw a seal on this skerry and told one of his servants to shoot it. The servant said it was too far away. MacLeod then borrowed his servant's muzzle-loader gun and shot the seal.'

All a bit fanciful.

ON kraki = 'stake' appears in other names nearby indicating that the skerries were marked with a pole to help identify them.

Two options appear for the specific ON hjörð = 'hurd' or ON horf = 'a naut. term, direction, course'. With the complexity of navigating the islands here, the latter seems the best bet.

Hearing a pronunciation might resolve which one is the better bet of the Gaelic and the Norse

Sgeir na h-Urchrach

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir na Millteig

Place ID 1998 NF 94882 77345 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG skerry of the + ON calm bay

ScG sgeir na + ON mild vík

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop gives us 'skerry of the little bundle', probalby of thatch. I do not quite see how this works.

ON milli = 'between looked promising but no obvious second part comes to mind.

The ending looks like a ON vík = 'bay' ending.

The best specific would probably be ON mild = 'mild or calm' in the correct reflex. The development d > t is regular.

The Admiralty charts records a Calm Bay to the S.

There is a Mildevågen in Norway, just S of Bergen.on

Sgeir na Millteig

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir a' ron mhoir

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir na Parlamaid

Place ID 1279 NF 96373 76537 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG skerry of the ON fishing mark of the edges ScG sgeir na + ON barða meið

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop gives us Skerry of the Parliament' and the OS name book much the same although the word sounds terribly close to Parlour Maid to my anglophonic ears.

For the reason that this speck of rock is far too small to hold an assembly I would go for the parlour maid option - although where the name has come from I do not know.

A Norse option is ON meiðr = 'mede', a fishing mark and usually a pole of some sort. The word has been loaned into Gaelic. ON barða = 'of the edges'. rð > rl is regular.

Sgeir na Parlamaid	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir na Parlamaid	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Sgeir na Parlamaid	1877	OS 1st edition

Sgeir na Seolaid

Place ID 2040 NF 94209 77079 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG skerry of the sea passage ScG sgeir na seolaid

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Both works here are Norse loan words.

ScG bogach = 'floating' and I suspect confusion with ScG bodha = 'submerged rock' as if an 'h' was put in after the 'g' then the sounds are very similar.

The word Seolaid does not appear on the OS 2nd edition mapping at all.

Sgeir na Seolaid	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Floating Rk	1866	Admiralty mapping

Sgeir na Snathaid

Place ID 2043 NF 95837 75007 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG skerry of the needle

ScG sgeir na snathaid

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The Admiralty name Needle Rk is based upon ScG snathad = 'needle'.

The word looks Norse to my eyes however and a possible root could be ON snæf eið = 'narrow peninsula' and would be referring to the peninsula of Hoe Beg t the W.

There is another skerry with exactly the same name near Baile Mhor. There is also a Rudha na Snathaid on Loch Hallan in South Uist and only one other instances in Scotland on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Sgeir na Snathaid

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Needle Rk

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sgeir na Snàthaid

Place ID 728 NF 71520 66150 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG skerry of the ON narrow isthmus ScG sgeir na + ON snæfa eið

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Stahl writes 'skerry of the needle' based upon ScG snathad = 'needle'. There is another skerry with exactly the same name near Taghagh in the Lochportain area at NF9583775007. There is also a Rudha na Snathaid on Loch Hallan in South Uist and only one other instances in Scotland on the OS 2nd edition mapping. This is in Caithness and is near to a pointed standing stone - see the attached link.

The word looks Norse to my eyes however. An alternative for the first section is in ON snæfr = 'narrow' and ON hæð = 'head' or ON eið = 'isthmus' might work for the generic. The latter is indicative of the coastal erosion that is regular talked about here.

The /à/ could be explained by the hiatus thereafter.

There is another skerry with exactly the same name near Taghagh in the Lochportain area at NF9583775007. There is also a Rudha na Snathaid on Loch Hallan in South Uist and only one other instances in Scotland on the OS 2nd edition mapping. This is in Caithness and is near to a pointed standing stone - see the attached link. There is thought a Loch Shnàthaid at Carnan, South Uist.

Sgeir na Snàthaid	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir na Snathaid	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Sgeir na Snáthaid	1877	OS 1st edition

Sgeir nam Biodag

Place ID	2053	NF 91247 78656	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG skerry of the + ON bay of pastures			ScG sgeir nam biodag or ON beita vág		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop writes (p33) 'A dispute occurred here concerning the ownership of this skerry and it is alleged that dirks were used. Biodag is the G. for a dirk or a dagger.'

However ON beit looks good for the specific and has two possible meanings, 'grazing (as in the land)' and poetically 'ship'. If the former then the obvious root would be ON beit(i)-teig = 'a tract of pasturage' and if the latter ON vágr = 'bay'.

There is a Beitarvik in Iceland.

Beitvegen = 'pasturage route' is common in Norway and is another possibility here, with the skerry being on the route out to Torogaigh and its pasture.

Sgeir nam Biodag

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir nam Portan

Place ID 6141 NF 72075 27649 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG skerry of the smal crabs

ScG sgeir nam portan

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

As with Loch Portain, I do wonder if the last component comes from ON fjörðin = 'The fjord' perhaps influenced by the proximity to Roe Glas, the main entrance to the inland waterway.

Sgeir nam Portan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir nam Portan

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgeir nan Cnapach

Place ID 2203 NF 77652 61572 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG young lads' skerry

ScG sgeir nan cnapach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Fraser gives us Young Lads' Skerry and the associated story including a definition of ScG cnapach = 'growing boy, aged about ten.'

An alternative and more prosaic meaning could be ScG cnap - ach = 'place of the hillock'.

Sgeir nan Cnapach

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Sgeir nan Con

Place ID 740 NF 75690 67380 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG skerry of the dogs ScG sgein nan con

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG cu = 'dog' is in fact more common than ScG madadh although this seemed to be used more in place names on Uist.

Sgeir nan Con	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Sgeir nan Con	1877	OS 1st edition

Sgeir nan Cudaigean

Place ID 5993 NF 81516 77827 North Uist S1ollas

ScG skerry of the place of cuddies ScG sgeir nan cudaigean

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A relatively common name as the fish was much sought after for shore fishing.

Sgeir nan Cudaigean

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sgeir nan Cuiseag

Place ID 513 NF 83510 56650 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG skerry of the 'Cuiseag'

ScG sgeir + nan + 'Cuiseag'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

See Loch nan Cuiseag (P#414) for more details as to its possible roots of the element 'Cuiseag'

Sgeir nan Cuiseag

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sgeir nan Gruaigein

Place ID 2386 NF 71322 73031 North Uist B1almartin

ScG skerry of the sea-weeds

ScG sgeir nan gruaigean

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Rock of the sea-weed' based upon ScG gruaigean meaning a variety of sea-weeds.

Sgeir nan Gruaigein

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgeir nan Laogh

Place ID 2112 NF 77473 63034 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG skerry of the calves or ON lagoon

ScG sgier nan laogh or ON lög

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This was pointed out to Fraser as a place where a cattle fold had been, evidently when much of the present Traigh Leathann was cultivable. There is still evidence of some structure here.

Having listened to ScG laogh , IPA /Lu:ɣ/, I begin to suspect ON lög, the accusative of ON lögr = ' the sea, a local name for large lakes or a great estuary' by Vigfusson's definition. This is a very good description of the extensive area of salt water here - modern lagoon would be a perfect description.

The genitive version of ON lögr, ON lagar appears as the first component of 11 place names in Iceland.

In Norway there are several Log(a) and several Logg(a/ane) although thw rtymology is uiunclear as there are other options. Many are adjacent to large bodies of water - but that is not a total surprise in Norway!

There are 131 names on the OS 2nd edtion maping containing Laogh, scattered across the Gaelic heartland. Possible Norse interpetations could apply to the two An Laogh skerries at the N tip fo two of the Barra islands, perhaps Leac nan Laogh on Islay.

Sgeir nan Laogh

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Sgeir nan Laogh

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Sgeir nan Radan

Place ID 894 NF 84520 63800 North Uist Langass

ScG skerry of the rats ScG sgeir nan radan

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Rótar sker Iceland

Sgeir nan Radan

1877

OS 1st edition

Stewart Id

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Sgeir nan Reannach

Place ID 2003 NF 92452 78295 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG skerry of the mackerel or ON neck of rocky g ScG sgeir nan reannach or ON hrauna nakka

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ScG reannach = 'mackerel' is the obvious root.

There is a Norse alternative and Vigfusson gives us ON hraun = 'bare rocks in the sea' amongst other meanings and ON hnakki = 'neck' and is used topographically for a neck of land.

The correct grammar would be ON hrauna nakka = 'neck of rocky ground' and satellite imagery reveals that is what there is here.

There are three similar Hraun(s)hnúkur in Iceland.

Sgeir nan Reannach

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir nan Sgarbh

Place ID	1842	NF 89582 57911	North Uist	Ronaigh	
ScG skerry of the cormorants			ScG sgeir nan sgarbh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir nan Sgarbh			1861	Thomas chart	

Sgeir nan Srùban

Place ID	6002	NF 82752 76109	North Uist	Sìollas	
ScG skerry of the cockles			ScG sgeir nan srùban		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir nan Srùban			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Sgeir Ni' Dho'ill 'ic Ruari

Place ID 5575 NF 85091 44803 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG skerry of the daughter of Donald son of Ruari ScG sgeir nighean Dhomhnuill mhic Rhuaidhri

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A bigger name than the skerry itself.

Sgeir Ni' Dho'ill 'ic Ruari

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgeir Ni' Neill

Place ID 5505 NF 87463 50438

Benbecula

Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG daughter of Neill's skerry

ScG sgeir nighean neill

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Sgeir Ni' Neill

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgeir Nighean an Righ

Place ID 1567 NF 96831 75482 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG skerry of the daughter of the king ScG sgeir nighean an righ

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

In Gaelic a direct translation would be 'daughter of the king's skerry' and there is a Dun Nighean Righ Lochlainn = 'daughter of the king of Norway fort' about 3km to the S.

ON hnakkann riof = 'The nape of the neck reef' might work as the reef from Bhacasaigh extends out to here in a form of a neck.

Sgeir Nighean an Righ

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir Oirebhal

Place ID 1032 NF 73600 77020 North Uist Griminish

'Oirebhal' + ScG skerry

ScG sgeir + 'Oirebhal'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

See Oirebhal (#2342) for details of that place.

With this skerry, one wonders if it is a fishing mark (meid) when aligned with Oirebhal itself as they seem to have little connection otherwise.

Sgeir Oirebhal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Orival Rock

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgeir Oitir na Mursgain

Place ID 5218 NF 82873 46533 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG skerry sandbank of the spoutfsh

ScG sgeir oitir an mùsgain

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'the Spoutfish Bank Rock' based upon ScG mùsgan = 'spoutfish'. The article ScG na indicates one spoutfish only which seems unlikely. There is also a problem with the gender as ScG mùsgan is masculine and then we would expect the article ScG an. Where is the /r/ form?

A Norse alternative is worth considering and one is ON mjó skeinu = 'narrow scratch'.

There are no other Mursgain names on the OS 2nd edition mapping.

Sgeir Oitir na Mursgain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir Oitir na Mursgain

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgeir Rois

Place ID 5608 NF 68308 70476 North Uist B1alranald

ScG skerry of the isthmus

ScG sgeir rois

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

'Sgeir Rois is a very short distance off Aird an Runair'. One imagines that it might be another name for Eilean an Rubha.

Sgeir Rois

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Sgeir Ruadh

Place ID	681	NF 79650 63940	North Uist	Berneray	
ScG red-brown skerry			ScG sgeir ruadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir Ruadh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Sgeir Ruadh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Sgeir Ruadh

Place ID	2390	NF 70886 72891	North Uist	B1alranald	
ScG red-brown skerry			ScG sgeir ruadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir Ruadh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Sgeir Ruadh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Sgeir Rubha a' Chaibeil

Place ID	5787	NF 78669 76122	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG skerry of the promontory of the chapel			ScG sgeir rubha a' chaibeil		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
The referent chapel here is Teampull Mhuir to the N.					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sgeir Rubha a' Chaibeil			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Sgeir Sealg

Place ID 2058 NF 97972 74975 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ScG fowling island

ScG sgeir sealg

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I am unsure of the position. Mackillop tells us (p34) only 'Off Vacasay Isle.' He also clarifies that 'hunt' here means 'fowling' so it is presumably an island where some species of sea-bird breeds.

Sgeir Sealg

1983

Sea names of Berneray

an lasgaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgeir Sgoilte

Place ID	2024	NF 97324 76839	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigrearraidh	
ScG split skerry			ScG sgeir sgiolte		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
ScG sgoilte = 'split' works well here.					
Sgeir Sgoilte			1983	Sea names of Berneray	

Sgeir Sgùm

Place ID	2065	NF 98762 76152	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ON to look all around skerry			ON skuma sker		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop gives us 'Foaming Skerry' based on skum appearing in the Norwegian and Danish languages but not, as far as I can see in Norse.

An interesting Norse possibility is ON skuma = 'to look all around, of a restless and eager look' bearing in mind the skerry less than 200m to the SE is called 'Sight rock' on the chart. I suspect these could be one and the same place. ON skúmr = 'brown skua' is another possible.

Sgeir Sgùm

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeir Sine

Place ID	1285	NF 97553 78849	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ON skerries-sound			ON sker sund		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Mackillop gives us 'Jane skerry' and 'perhaps named after a boat called Jane'. I suspect he might be bowdlerising to some extent with the meaning ScG sine = 'nipple' probalby being a better fit although without seeing the skerry it is hard to tell if it works topographically.

Looking at Rygh's farm names of Norway there are three farm names that started as ON sund-nes = 'headland of the sound or crossing' and have since become Sinnes.

He writes that it can become /synn/ or /synd/.

Here ON sund - sker = 'sound skerry' could become 'synn sker' and then the order reversed in the Gaelicization process.

The alternative is for the order to be typical and then the meaning is 'skerries sound' - the plural is the same.

Either way the position of this skerry fits this meaning perfectly as it stands at the head of the clear seaway leading into Bearnaraigh with other skerries around it.

The cognate evidence is unclear - both are possible - and so ol would support the version with the correct order.

ON sj

There is a similarly postioned Clacha Sine to the N of Bernera, Lewis.

There are six places in Iceland called Sundsker and nine in Norway with the first component Sundskjæra.

In contrast there are three places in Iceland starting with Skerjasund and 9 places in Norway with the name starting Skjærsund and a further 4 Skjersund.

In Sweden 9 places start with Sundskär whilst 7 places start with Skärsund

Sgeir Sine	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir Sine	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Sgeir Sine	1877	OS 1st edition
Jane Rk	1866	Admiralty mapping

Sgeir Sruth a Chomhraig

Place ID 1818 NF 85767 45840 Benbecula W1iay

ScG current of sanctuary skerry ScG sgeir sruth a' chomhraich

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG còmhraig = 'fight' is the obvious Gaelic root but with no story attached, it is hard to understand why this name has appeared.

See Sruthan na Comaraig for a fuller discussion .

Sgeir Sruth a Chomhraig

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgeir Thormaid Dhomhnaill

Place ID 2063 NF 93254 74948 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG Norman (son of) Donald's skerry ScG sgeir Thormaid Dhomhnaill

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Mackillop gives us (p35) 'This small island called after Norman Macleod'

Sgeir Thormaid Dhomhnaill

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Sgeirean a Chruidh

Place ID 1750 NF 88078 56671 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG skerries of the cattle

ScG sgeirean a' chruidh

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

It is hard to read the central section of this name on the Thomas chart here. From his translation as 'Cattle Rocks', I think it must be ScG sgeirean = 'skerries'.

The genitive of ScG cruodh = 'cattle' is ScG cruidh = 'of the cattle'.

One imagines that this was a place where cattle were swum across between the islands.

Cattle Rocks

1861

Thomas chart

Sgeirean a Chruidh

1861

Thomas chart

Sgeirean an t-Srutha Bhig

Place ID 1765 NF 90638 54806 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG skerries of the small current ScG sgeirean an t- srutha bhig

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

As usual Thomas has his grammar spot-on.

Small Stream Rocks	1861	Thomas chart
--------------------	------	--------------

Sgeirean an t-Srutha Bhig	1861	Thomas chart
---------------------------	------	--------------

Sgeirean Dearga

Place ID	5519	NF 85105 50316	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG red skerries			ScG sgeirean dearga		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Red Rocks			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Sgeirean Dearga			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Sgeirean Dubha

Place ID 5560 NF 87986 48430 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG black skerries ScG sgeirean dubha

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ScG dubha is the genitive plural of ScG dubh = 'black' as one would expect here grammatically.

Sgeirean Dubha	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Black rocks	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgeirean Liath

Place ID	5501	NF 87943 51745	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG grey skerries			ScG sgeirean liath		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Grey Rocks			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	
Sgeirean Liath			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig	

Sgeirean Loch na Cartach

Place ID 1763 NF 90038 54211 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG skerries of the 'Loch na Cartach' ScG sgeirean 'Loch na Cartach

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Here 'Loch na Cartach' is an onomastic unit. See Loch Cartach, P#1714, for a discussion of its meaning.

Sgeirean Loch na Cartach 1861 Thomas chart

Sgeirean na Caiplich

Place ID 1753 NF 91075 56109 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG skerries of + ON 'Caiplich' ScG sgeirean na 'Caiplich'

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

Caiplich is discussed under Bàgh na Caiplich (P#1656 q.v.).

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Sgeirean na Caiplich 1861 Thomas chart

Sgeirean na Fadhail

Place ID 2007 NF 96627 80443 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG skerries of the shallow water

ScG sgeirean na fadhail

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop writes that ScG fadhail whilst usually a fordable stretch of water or a tidal stretch of sand. Here there is a sand bank between the various islands.

This word was loaned from the Norse who had ON vaðill which means the same and must have been the original name.

Sgeirean na Fadhail

Early charters

Sgeirean na Steamair

Place ID	1996	NF 95787 78835	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
ScG skerries of the steamer			ScG sgeirean na steamair		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

The only reason I had any doubts over this is the lack of a story. The advent of steamers is relatively recent and so one would expect if one got grounded here or the like, then Mackillop would have had the story.
ON steinn-eyrr = 'gravel bank of the rock' would not be a bad fit.

Sgeirean na Steamair	1983	Sea names of Berneray
----------------------	------	-----------------------

Sgeirean Thobhta

Place ID 5987 NF 83693 78387 North Uist S1ollas

ScG skerries of the ruin

ScG sgeirean thobhta

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Niclain explains the name 'It is said that the machair once reached out here, and was in ruins. This could be, because the earth is eroding.'

Sgeirean Thobhta

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sgianaidin

Place ID 6780 NG 22718 48063 Skye Duirinish

Settlement

Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

skjá ni dun = shed near dun

Skinidin

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgianaidin

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgier nan Corp

Place ID 5502 NF 88800 51875 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG skerry of the corpses

ScG sgeir nan corp

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

One imagines a boat wrecked nearby and the bodies being washed up here.
Perhaps ON skerin karfa = 'skerry of the swift coastal ship'

Corpses Rock

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgier nan Corp

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sgier nan Creachann

Place ID 1705 NF 88812 55095 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG bare skerry

ScG sgeir nan creachann

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

ScG creachann = '1 Rock. 2 Summit of a rock. 3 Mountain. 4 Hard rocky surface without foliage. 5 Stony declivity of a hill. 6 Scallop shell. 7 Large ribbed cockle' so plenty of choice. Topographically no. 4 seems best.

Sgier nan Creachann

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgeir nan Creachann

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgiobanais

Place ID 2422 NF 82996 75393 North Uist S1ollas

ON head land of the ships

ON skipa nes

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ON skipa = 'of ships' works well as a specific to the obvious generic ON nes = 'headland'

There are five Skipanes in Iceland and thirteen Skipnes(et), four Skipanes(et) and two Skipenes in Norway.

Sgiobanais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Skibinish

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgibinish

MacDonald sketch history

Sgoil an Dùin

Place ID 5825 NF 80858 75049 North Uist S1ollas

ScG school of the fort

ScG sgoil an dùin

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Niclain writes 'This was the site of the school which was burnt down by the headmaster, Dugald McGlashan, and was a school of the Parliament. This part of the area was without a school for a race after the fire, although the Free Church had a school in Malaclete. The Dun School was taken over by Dömhnull Dömhnullach à Lolaraigh Beach and reopened in 1867. In 1881, a new school was built and is still in use.'

I wonder if sgoil is coincidentally close to the start of Sgealar.

That aside ON skjól = 'shelter', the sort of thing a ruined dùn would provide, could be a good starting point.

Sgoil an Dùin

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sgor a' Bhodaich

Place ID 2141 NF 79420 62761 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG skerry of the old man

ScG sgeir a' bodach

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

It is odd as one would expect ScG bodha = 'sunken rock'. It is possible that this comes from ScG bodha -asg = 'place of the sunken rock'

Sgor a' Bhodaich

n/a

Sgor a' Chàise

Place ID 6088 NF 82177 73604 North Uist S1ollas

ScG rocky peak of the cheese

ScG sgòr a' chàise

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Niclain writes 'When locals went out to the air in the summer, it was here that they left the cheesecakes they wanted to dry.'

The story does not fill me with excitement. One wonders if perhaps ScG caise = 'steepness' might be better?

Sgor a' Chàise

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sgor nan Druidean

Place ID 5706 NF 91324 81101 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ON The overnight cattle pen of the rift in the rock ON skorar tröðin

ScG?

ON?

Contour Exposed rock

complete?

A very obvious rocky feature. Mackillop (p27) writes 'Sgor, cleft in a rock, nan druidean, of the starlings.'

It feels more like a ON skeir = 'exposed bedrock' sort of name.

/drud/ is the start of the name. This looks close to ON tröðin = 'The overnight cattle pen'.

The whole could then be ON skorar tröðin = 'The overnight cattle pen of the rift in the rock'. The /ar/ could have been perceived as an article by a Gaelic speaker and 'corrected' to ScG nan.

The ð > d is a problem.

Sgor nan Druidean

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Sgorigeo

Place ID 5626 NF 62640 61933 North Uist Heisker

ON chasm of the rift

ON skorar gjá

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Gully

complete?

Whilst Macaulay (p51) suggests ScG sgor = 'a notch in a rock' and ScG geodha = a creek' the order is wrong and the name is probalby Norse with the same weirds that were later loaned into ScG.

ON skor = 'rift' and ON gjá = 'chasm'.

Sgorigeo

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

Sgoth

Place ID 6295 NF 83722 31298 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG steep hill

ScG sgoth

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

ON skóg = 'wood' is one possibility. I suspect there might have been some scrubby wood here in the hollow behind the headland. The Admiralty name of Sgaog (PN#13114) is very close.

ON skoða = 'to view' is an alternative indicating osme form of look-out post, a position well suited for this use.

All that said, ScG sgoth = 'steep rock ,abrupt hill' is probalby the solution!

Sgoth

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgaog

1877

OS name book

Sgo

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgòth

1877

OS name book

Sgùrr an Dùin

Place ID 2474 NF 81377 73575 North Uist Central North

ScG sharp hill of the dun

ScG sgùrr an dùn

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Beveridge maintains (p219), correctly I am sure, that this refers to Dun Skellor rather than another dun. Niclain wrties 'A small stone hut was built on top of this hill during the war so that someone would be on guard in case the enemy came. When the end of the war was declared, the building was set on fire and the people of the surrounding area gathered to celebrate.'

Sgùrr an Dùin

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgurr an Dùin

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sgurr an Duin

1877

OS 1st edition

Sgùrr nan Caorach

Place ID 2316 NF 78046 71214 North Uist Central West

ScG peak of the sheep

Scg sgùrr nan caorach

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The obvious translation is 'sharp peak of the sheep' but one does wonder if this might be associated with the other nearby ON Charra = 'thicket river' place names.

Sgùrr nan Caorach

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sgurr nan Caorach

1877

OS 1st edition

Sheabie

Place ID 18 NF 89806 80131 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ON sea farm ON sæ or sjá bú

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

This is a contentious one as both Norse and Gaelic possible roots exist. ON sæ or sjá + bý = 'sea farm' and ScG sia + baigh = 'six bays' or ScG siabadh = 'drifting sand'. They all have good linguistic and topographical credentials. I have opted for the Norse one for two reasons. Firstly Donald Mackillop did so in his booklet and he knows much more than I ever could about such things and secondly I do not think the sand-blow became an issue until the mid to late 17th century and Pont had already recorded the name as 'Schopy' and 'Schapy' by c1600. The grammar is that of a close compound.

In Norway there is a Sjøby whilst in Denmark there are at least ten towns named Søby.

The 16 Sæból place names in Iclenad are close to cognates.

Marwick writes about Sabay (OFN p85) deriving it from sæ-bœr = 'sea-famr'. His view is that ON bœr names that they 'would seem to have been large original units dating back from the time of the original settlement.'

Sheabie	2014	Modern OS mapping
Siabaidh	1970	Crawford documents
Sheabie	1877	OS 1st edition
Shabie	1877	OS name book
Siapaidh	1877	OS name book
Shabie	1832	Thomson atlas
Shabie	1832	Thomson atlas
Shabie	1807	Arrowsmith mapping
Shabie	1804	Bald mapping
Siabay	1770	Grianam evidence
Shiabay	1770	Grianam evidence
Shabby	1766	Richmond mapping
Shabay	1766	Richmond mapping
Schapy	1654	Blaeu mapping
Schopy	1654	Blaeu mapping
Shebie		Other

Shealtragam

Place ID 1180 NF 92330 68710 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON islet of shelter

ON skjaldar hólm

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The root here seems very similar to Eilean Mhic Shelatair in Loch Euphort. This would be ON skjaldar + holmr = 'islet of the shield' where in this case shield means 'protection' or 'shelter'. Topographically this works well.

The /g/ is slightly odd.

The Otter version of Shiltagram is similar.

Shealtragam

1877

OS 1st edition

Shiltagram

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Sheileasdail

Place ID 6266 NF 83346 30772 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON valley of the cave

ON hellis dal

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

This name occurs as part of at least four other names in various forms, Teilisdal, Hillisdale and Fheilisdail to name three. This confusion is caused by the fact that the /t/ in initial /th/ and the /s/ in initial /sh/ are not sounded.

The generic is clear as ON dalr = 'dale, open valley'.

The most obvious choice for the specific is ON hellir = 'cave' in its genitive case ON hellis. At the bottom of the valley is Uamh a' Phrionnsa = 'cave of the prince' which gives some topographical validity to the name.

There are seven Hellisdalur place names in Iceland.

Sheileasdail	2014	Modern OS mapping
Teilisdal	1877	OS name book
Hillisdal	1877	OS name book
Heilisdal	1877	OS name book
Hellisdale	1877	OS 1st edition
Hillisdale	1804	Bald mapping

Sheisay

Place ID 5355 NF 84220 51580 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON island of hay

ON heys ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

This clearly has the generic ON ey = 'island' but with the possibility of it coming from Heisay, Theisay or Sheisay, there are too many options to consider for the moment.

My immediate thought was ON heiðs = 'of the heath'.

Wrong - this noun does not have a genitive /s/.

ON hey = 'hay' however does and the island is a green one.

This is the only name on the OS 2nd series mapping beginning with Sheis-.

There are six Heysker in Iceland.

Sheisay	1877	OS 1st edition
Shasay	1877	OS name book
Shesay Vore	1804	Bald mapping

Shesay Beg

Place ID 5448 NF 84216 51737 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

little 'Shesay'

'Shesay' + ScG beag

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Sheisay (P#5365) for a discussion of 'Shesay'.

Shesay Beg

1804

Bald mapping

Shillay Beag

Place ID 6536 NF 84654 38204 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG small + 'Shillay' 'Shllay' + ScG beag

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Siolaigh Mòr for a discussion of the first component.

Shillay Beag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Chillay Beg	1877	OS name book
Shillay Beg	1877	OS 1st edition
Seileidh Bheag	1877	OS name book
Chillay Beg	1804	Bald mapping

Ship Rock

Place ID 1960 NF 89862 63454 North Uist Eaval

Eng ship rock Eng ship rock

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Possibly ON lang sker = 'long skerry' > ScG sgeir luinge = 'skerry of the boat' > Eng ship rock? Certainly the skerry is relatively long in shape.

Ship Rock

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Sibhinis

Place ID 5669 NF 62817 62010 North Uist Heisker

ON ?? Point ON // nes

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

MacDonlad gives us ON sygjard nes = 'sleeping point'.

Sibhinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Shivinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Sibhinnis	1877	OS name book
Shevenish	1877	OS name book
Shivinish		MacDonald sketch history

Sìdhean an Altair

Place ID 1081 NF 76800 76180 North Uist V1allay

ScG the altar fairy hill

ScxG sìdhean an altair

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

ScG sìdhean = 'fairy hill' regularly a re mounds with prehistoric origins. This particular site was excavated (destroyed) by Beveridge and his work revealed at least five burial cists contained within it as well as an Iron Age wheelhouse. The OSNB writes 'It is said that it is the site of an old chapel, but there is not a vestige of building to be seen, nor has there been in the memory of the oldest inhabitant on Vallay.'

Cox gives a meaning of 'terrace' for the word for his Sgeir na h-Altair. However one would have expected ScG na h- = 'of the' as ScG altair = 'altar' is feminine and it is possible therefore that the name has been resemanticised from an earleir Norse name here.

Niclain writes 'Beveridge excavated and surveyed the site in 1904. He saw about fourteen coffins where the dead on the Beveridge thought it was a custom, at one time, to burn the bodies before they were buried.'

Sìdhean an Altair

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sitheanan Altair

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sithean an Altair

1877

OS 1st edition

Sidhean Rossinish

Place ID 5439 NF 87283 53563 Benbecula Rueval

'Rossinish' + ScG fariy mound ScG sithean + 'Rossinish'

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

'Rossinish' as a unit is discussed under Ròisinis (P#5438)

Sidhean Rossinish	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sithian Roisinish	1877	OS name book
Sithean Rossinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Fairy Hills	1861	Thomas chart
Cnocan Sithe	1861	Thomas chart

Sidhean Tuath

Place ID 2357 NF 71932 70128 North Uist B1alranald

ScG fairy knoll of the north (people ?) ScG sithean tuath

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ScG sithean = 'fairy knoll' are usually associated with an site fo great antiquity and have often found a use later in life as places of assembly. At one stage it was thought to have been an Iron Age 'burnt mound' but that has been recently questioned.

The oddity here is the ScG tuath = 'north' as there is no Sidhean Deas.

There is a clear mound to the S in the marshy area by Rosamol with a possible building on it but no history fo a name.

An interesting alternative meaning of the ScG tuath = 'country people, tenantry' and this might fit with the idea of these sites being used as assembly sites.

Sidhean Tuath

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sithean Tuath

1877

OS 1st edition

Sig

Place ID 6725 NF 76538 46637 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG large ditch

ScG síg

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

An t-Sig

1877

OS name book

Sig

1877

OS 1st edition

Sig More

Place ID 6768 NF 80931 45552 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG big drying channel

ScG síg mhòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

With Faclair Beg giving ScG sìg = '1 sike (large ditch) 2 periodically dry stream/channel' then this fits perfectly.
Carmichael's ScG mhòr = big (nom f) would be the best fit.

Sig More

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sig Mhor

1877

OS name book

Sig More

1877

OS 1st edition

Signish

Place ID 160 NF 89199 73103 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON headland of the ditch

ON síki + nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON sík ='ditch' (in Icelandic one filled with water) is the specific although there is not a clear ditch now visible. The Signish headland is 3km to the NW.

The component Siknes appears twice in Norway.

The OS name book's suggestion of 'Loch of Angus's ford' seems contrived.

The component Siknes appears twice in Norway and whilst 'siki' appears as a component of many Iclenadic place names, a little surprisingly there are no cognates.

Signish

2014

Modern OS mapping

Signish Moss

1877

OS 1st edition

Shiginish

MacDonald sketch history

Siolaigh

Place ID 1974 NF 87955 91292 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON island of the herrings

ON síla ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

ON sauðr = 'sheep' is one interpretation born out by Blaeu's Soay.

However the initial vowel is wrong for this. The OS 1st edition name Shillay is probably more instructive.

Taylor gives us 'Herring island' based upon ON síl = 'herring', albeit for a different island with the same name.

MacDonald derives it from ON selr ey = 'seal island'.

Shillay	2014	Modern OS mapping
Siolaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Seileidh	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Shillay	1877	OS 1st edition
Soa Moir	1654	Blaeu mapping
Shillay		MacDonald sketch history

Siolaigh Bheag

Place ID 1975 NF 87463 90640 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG small + ON island of the herrings ON Siolaigh + ScG bheag

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Siolaigh for a discussion on that name.

Siolaigh Bheag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Little Shillay	1877	OS 1st edition
Soa Beg	1654	Blaeu mapping

Siolaigh Mor

Place ID 72 NF 84370 38580 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG big + ON island of herrings ON síla ey + ScG mòr

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With a probable ON síla = 'of herrings', this name makes sense.

Siolaigh Mor	2014	Modern OS mapping
Shillay More	1877	OS 1st edition
Seilidh Mhòr	1877	OS name book
Chillay More	1877	OS name book
Shillay More	1877	OS name book
Shillay More	1866	Admiralty mapping
Chillay More	1804	Bald mapping
Schella	1654	Blaeu mapping

Sithean Bhuirgh

Place ID 5106 NF 76531 49906 Benbecula T1orlum

ScG fairy hill of Borg

Scg sìthean + ON bhuirgh

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

ScG sìthean = 'fairy hill' are knolls that are usually associated with prehistoric ruins, in which of course the fairies lived. The OS 1st edition gives us a 'Sote of Erd House' here and this is usually a souterrain or a wheelhouse cut into the sand. Canmore gives us vague details of a souterrain here: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/9905/benbecula-borve-sidhean-bhuirgh>

Sithean Bhuirgh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sithean Bhuirgh

1877

OS 1st edition

Sithean Mor

Place ID 1041 NF 74910 76580 North Uist Griminish

ScG big fairy-knoll

ScG sithean mòr

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

ScG sithean = 'fairy knoll' were often sites of real antiquity. Beveridge excavated this one and found much material but not a clear structure. They also often became sites of assembly. There is one of these recorded by the Sennashies at Griminish and this knoll is the obvious one.

It was called Cnoc na Uma and details can be found in the Hebridean Connection: p9 "The Hill of Appeals in Griminish" c1250; p14 after Clanranald on his way back to Baile nan Cailleach; p37 details of the process

It is not definite identifying this hillock with Cnoc an Uma and indeed I am not of the opinion it could well be one of the islands in nearby Loch Olabhat.

As for /uma' I wonder if it comes from ScG feum = 'need' or ScG fuaim = 'voice'. Both are masculine nouns and so the article would be ScG an and with lenition producing /fh/ which is silent. The first has the advantage of a genitive ScG feuma.

Cnoc an Uma

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Sithean Mor

1877

OS 1st edition

Siusaigh

Place ID 5044 NF 82603 46770 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON island of the inlet

ON sogs ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

An odd name but it looks as if the generic is ON ey = 'island'. It is possible that the generic is ON hús = 'house', the genitive being the same. A prosthetic /s/ has then been added as part of the Gaelicization process. The earlier forms (e.g. Bald Shusy I.) would rather count against this.

There are cultivation evident but no clear house.

ON sog = 'inlet' seems to be the solution helped by some resemanticization towards the name ScG Siùsag = 'Suzy'.

ON sogs ey = 'island of the inlet' would be a good topographical fit. The word is thought to come from the verb ON sjúga and ON sjúgs would be a good phonetical match.

There is a Port Siusaidh in Bayhead.

Húsey occurs as a name five times in Iceland whilst in Norway we have over sixty names Husøya or grammaticla variants thereof.

Siusaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Seùseidh	1877	OS name book
Shusay	1877	OS 1st edition
Shusay Id	1832	Thomson atlas
Shusy I.	1804	Bald mapping

Skart Rks

Place ID 1963 NF 90165 63559 North Uist Lees

ON skerry of the notch

On skarðs sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

The initial sound has to be Norse presumably starting life as Skart Sker. ON skarð = 'notch or pass' would be a good fit phonetically although hard to see how it makes much sense topographically. One might expect a genitival -s which will carry over into the 'sker' ON skarfr = 'cormorant' works well better topographically but struggles to produce the /t/.

There is a curious Skarðsskarð in Iceland. There is a Skarðasker there too.,

Skart Rks

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Skear na Skarray

Place ID 1840 NF 90282 58101 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG skerry of the + ON mountain pass island ScG sgeir na + ON skarð-ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

This is an odd name as both Thomas here and Otter with Skier na Skaray are normally very reliable with Sgeir or Skerry. There is a nearby Sgeir nan Sgarbh (P#1842) . I do wonder if here - and possibly there - we might be looking ar ON skarð +ey = 'notch or mountain pass island'

There is a Skarðseyjar in Iceland nad several examples of names of the form Skarð-. In norway there are two Skarøya and one Skardøya.

Skear na Skarray	1861	Thomas chart
------------------	------	--------------

Skier na Skarav	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
-----------------	------	------------------------

SkR n. Iolla

Place ID	1966	NF 90852 63701	North Uist	Lees	
ScG skerry of the fishing rock			ScG sgeir na h- iola		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Skerry, Shoal and Reef			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
SkR n. Iolla			1859	Otter Loch Eport chart	

Skr-n-Iolla

Place ID 2086 NF 90861 63709 North Uist Lees

ScG skerry of the fishing rock ScG sgeir + na h- +iola

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The article has been shortened from ScG na h- = 'of the'.

Skr-n-Iolla

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Sleiteabhal

Place ID 2472 NF 81739 74380 North Uist Central North

ON smooth rounded hill

ON slétta hváll

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

As, with Norse names, is so often the case, the OS 1st edition version of this place name, Slettraval, makes it easier to interpret. I do not quite see how the 'r' has disappeared from the modern OS mapping.

Beveridge gives us the solution, ON slétta-fjall = 'smooth mountain'. If only they were all as straightforward.

One thing I suppose - mountain would be a grand name for this hill, ON hváll = dome shaped hill' would be better.

There are seven Sléttafell and two Sléttafjall place names in Iceland whilst in Norway variations on Slettafjell number over a hundred.

Sleiteabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Slettraval	1877	OS 1st edition
Slatraval	1877	OS name book
Sleitirbhal	1877	OS name book
Sleatraval	1877	OS name book

Sliabh na h-Airde

Place ID 5171 NF 78946 53825 B1enbecula B1aile nan Cailleach

ScG moorland of 'Aird'

ScG sliabh na h- Airde

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The final -e creates the genitive case. See Aird (#1890) for details of that component

Sliabh na h-Airde

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sligeanach Deas

Place ID 6099 NF 72499 29301

South Uist

Loch Eynort

ScG south place of shells

ScG sligean -ach deas

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

This area is just N of Sligeanach Kildonan.

Sligeanach Deas

2014

Modern OS mapping

An Leigeanach Deis

1877

OS name book

Sligeanach Deas

1877

OS 1st edition

Sligeanach Kildonan

Place ID 6128 NF 72688 28700 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Kildonan' + ScG place of shells ScG sligean -ach + 'Kildonan'

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Cill Donnain (P#85) for a discussion of that component.

Sligeanach Kildonan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sligeanach Kildonan	1877	OS 1st edition

Sloc a' Choire

Place ID 2393 NF 70558 72755 North Uist B1alranald

ScG hollow of the cauldron ScG sloc a' choire

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The sea here effectively boils and so the name is appropriate.

Sloc a' Choire 1877 OS 1st edition

Sloc an Cailleacha Dubha

Place ID 5674 NF 64358 62717 North Uist Heisker

ScG pit of the nuns ScG sloc na ceilleach dubha

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The article here seems wrong. I would have expected ScG na.

Sloc an Cailleacha Dubha

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

Sloc an Dobhrain

Place ID	5892	NF 78849 72908	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG pit of the otter			Scg sloc an dòbhrain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Depression			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sloc an Dobhrain			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Sloc an Duilig

Place ID	6207	NF 82149 24129	South Uist	Loch Eynort	
ScG hollow of dulse			ScG sloc an duilig		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Shore			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sloc an Duilig			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Sloc an Duilig			1877	OS 1st edition	

Sloc an Tairbh

Place ID	6704	NF 83364 44188	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG hollow of the bull			ScG sloc an tairbh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sloc an Tairbh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Sloc an Tairbh			1877	OS 1st edition	

Sloc Dubh

Place ID 4951 NF 80626 28223 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG dark pool

ScG sloc dubh

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The OS name book gives 'black pit or gorge' based upon ScG sloc = 'pit, hollow'. Other meanings include grave, pool and marsh and pool would seem to best the best fit here.

ON slok = '(mill) sluice' and this could work as the water will be turbulent coming in and out of the loch here. Rygh writes 'one must understand slok about a small gutter-shaped valley, an elongated and swampy hollow in the ground'.

Ic slakki = 'depression in the surface of the land, for example on a slope, slope or slope' presumably derives from this.

ON dý = 'bog' quagmire' is a possible generic as is ON djúp = 'deep'.

The order however here is wrong.

Sloc Dubh	2014	Modern OS mapping
-----------	------	-------------------

Sloc Dubh	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------	------	----------------

Sloch Dubh	1877	OS name book
------------	------	--------------

Sloc Dubh na Habhann

Place ID 5017 NF 81406 27205 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG dark hollow of the + ON harbour

ScG sloc dubh na + ON havn

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Black Gorge of the Rivers' based upon the interpretation of Habhann from ScG abhuinn = 'stream'. The 'h' in habhann will have arrived as part of the Gaelicization process, the correct article would be ScG na h- if the interpretation was rivers.

As discussed under Hafn it is more likely to come from ON höfn = 'harbour'.

The name would then mean 'dark hollow of' the place known as Hafn. For it to be a good topographical fit, I would expect it to refer more to the upper reaches of the bay rather than the whole one.

Sloc Dubh na Habhann

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sloc dubh na Hafn

1877

OS 1st edition

Sloc dubh na h'Abhjuinn

n/a

Sloc Glamairidhgeo

Place ID 5047 NL 59841 86990 Barra Barra general

ON gully of the smith's vice + ScG pit ScG sloc + ON klambra gjá

Coastal Gully

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Glamaris (P#1051) shares a root with this place.

The componernt ON klömr occurs in several Iclena dic place names but the closest to a cognate is Klambragil

Sloc Glamairidhgeo	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sloc Glamarigeo	1877	OS 1st edition

Sloc na Mì-mhisnich

Place ID 6092 NF 82621 72923 North Uist S1ollas

ScG pit of the lack of courage ScG sloc na mì-mhisnich

Contour Exposed rock

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes 'This was a deep challenge pit where lumps would try to jump from one side to the other.'

ScG misneach = 'courage' will be at the heart of this (tee-hee).

The name however seems very contrived. The pronunciation is //mi miʃNʲiːç/

Sloc na Mì-mhisnich

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sloc nan Nigheann

Place ID 5096 NF 84830 80501 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG the pit of the girls

ScG sloc nam nigheann

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'the girls pit' which seem an odd name.

Sloc nan Nigheann

1877

OS name book

Sloc nan Nigheann

1877

OS 1st edition

Sloc Rubha

Place ID 1106 NF 72760 76410 North Uist S1colpaig

ScG pit of the promontory

ScG sloc rubha

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Gully

complete?

Whilst the OS name book arrives at 'The Pony Pit' somehow the derivation must be ScG sloc + rubha = 'pit of the headland'. 'Roe' appears elsewhere as an anachronistic version of ScG rubha = 'promontory'.

Indeed it is possible this this promontory could have been thought of as a tail (see Loch a' Roe) as it has a narrowing and then the name is pure Norse, ON sloc rófa = 'tail of the sluice' which is a good description of the water coming in and out of this cavern.

Griminis could then refer to the whole headland not just the 'tail' bit. That fits with the settlement name of the same 1.5 km to the E.

It is possible that Stokgrova is a cognate in Norway although there Are plenty of other Slok names in both Iceland and Norway.

Sloc Rubha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sloc Roe

1877

OS 1st edition

Sloc Sàbaidh

Place ID 6021 NF 81635 75548 North Uist S1ollas

ScG pit of the ??

ScG sloc ??

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

There used to be a Slaughterhouse here, but it has recently been filled with ruined stones.
In other cases Niciain has translated this phrase as 'saw-pit' elsewhere.

Sloc Sàbaidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sloc Sabhaidh

Place ID 1729 NF 78071 61271 North Uist B1aleshare

ON isthmus of the sea + ScG hollow

ScG sloc + ON sævar eið

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

Why would there be a saw pit here? This links takes you to a pronunciation of the word:

<https://learngaelic.scot/dictionary/index.jsp?abairt=sloc-s%C3%A0bhaidh&slang=gd&wholeword=false>

The last component sounds like ON sævi, the dative of ON sær = 'the sea'.

ON slok = 'sluice' is the obvious other component.

The order is odd as one would expect 'sluice of the sea' although this could have come about with Gaelic familiarity with the components reordering them. ON sævar slok. As it stands we have 'sea of the sluice'.

Topographically this would be a perfect description of the sea sluicing between the islands here.

An alternative is that there could be an ON eið = 'isthmus' at the end and this then would be a better 'isthmus of the sea' to which was added a ScG sloc = 'hollow'. This is not as good phonetically.

At the mouth of Loch Eynort is Eilean Sloc Sàthaidh where there is a narrow chaneel between the sea and the island.

Sloc Sabhaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sloc Sabhaidh	2000	Stahl A-B Paible Place Name
Sloc Sabhaidh	1971	Macdonald Two townships

Sloc Sàbhaidh

Place ID	5731	NF 76970 76035	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG pit of sawing			ScG sloc sàbhaidh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Depression			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Ni8clain writes 'There were several of these throughout the city at one time. They were useful when sawing beams that came ashore. One person would be below in the pit and the other would be standing upright, holding a large two-handed saw. It was hard work.'

Alternatively the word sound close to ON sjá vág = 'sea bay'

Sloc Sàbhaidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sloc Sàbhaidh

Place ID 5935 NF 79549 74114 North Uist S1ollas

ScG sawpit ScG sloc ?sàbhaidh?

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There are several names like this recorded in the area, along with one on Baleshare.

Sloc Sàbhaidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sloch Duilch

Place ID 6223 NF 83146 23657 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG ?? Pit

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

ScG duilich = 'difficult' might work but it s hard to tell. An initial ScG dubh = 'dark' would be another possibility.

Sloch Duilch

1804

Bald mapping

Slugan

Place ID 293 NF 76770 63460 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG or ON sluice ?lagoon

ScG slugan

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

This is topographically where the current flows between Circeboist and Baleshare Islands.

An earlier root might come from ON slog = 'sluice' possibly with the indefinite article *ON slokinn = 'the sluice'.

It is interesting to note that ScG slugan a' mhuilinn = 'mill chute opening (in the mill dam)' which matches almost exactly Vigfusson's definition of ON slok = 'the sluice by which the water is led to the wheel of a water-mill'.

However the position is odd and it is a name that occurs in at least four other place names in the area.

Slugan appears as the first part of 25 places in Scotland and 19 times as Sluggan, all in the Gaelic speaking area.

However all bar one other of these places, the name refers to a mountainous stream or the like. Cox (p249) thinks ScG slug = '?gully' with the '-an' producing 'little gully' which works for these cases.

One other site is coastal, Slugan Dubh, on the W end of the Ross of Mull opposite Iona and this has some topographical similarities to Baleshare being a large area of tidal water almost enclosed by the land.

I wonder in fact if the root is a version of ON lqgr = 'sea' or lake' and known as a local name for large lakes, whence 'lagoon'. The indefinite accusative ON lqginn = 'the lagoon' would work well and is a perfect topographical fit.

A prosthetic s is sometimes added on the Gaelicization process i.e. Cox (p64) Slag > lag and here slqginn > lqginn.

Laggan itself occurs 151 times as in Scotland, again with the vast majority away from the coast with the meaning ScG lag-an = 'little hollow'.

Two places however stand out as different, Laggan places on Islay and on Mull. Neither look like 'little hollows' and both are near big bays, called Laggan Bay. The Islay one with Loch Indaal forms the principle inlet on the W side of Islay. Perhaps Loch Indaal = ON lqginn-dalr = 'valley lagoon'?!

Slugan

2014

Modern OS mapping

Slugan

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Slugan

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Slugan

1877

OS 1st edition

Smeircleit

Place ID 98 NF 74510 15410 South Uist Lochboisdale

ON butter crag

ON smjör klett

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

ON smjör = 'butter' can be taken to mean a 'good' place. One might have expected /eò/ as the initial vowel. This looks like a close compound.

There are two Smjörklettur places in Iceland.

Smeircleit	2014	Modern OS mapping
Smerclett	1877	OS 1st edition
Smerklet	1804	Bald mapping
Smarclet	1654	Blaeu mapping

Sniseabhal

Place ID 6366 NF 76043 34707 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON projecting rock - hill

ON snös - fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Referring to Snig, Rygh gives us: I cannot explain the name for sure. A word Snik (with long i) n. now means: a small bucket, a small hut (see Aasen and Ross); this could perhaps refer to a hill near the place. ' NSL gives us 'sneis f. means 'Stick, Stage', in various uses, e.g. a. about Kornstør. In a few farm names, which could conceivably be written from this last use of the word; however, they could probably also be attributed to that, also rare Brug as a mountain name'.

ON snös = 'a projecting rock' is probably the solution although projecting spur s probably better.

Many of the early forms start with Snus- which is a closer phonological match.

Sniseabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Samshievaile	1877	OS name book
Snushivaule	1877	OS name book
Snishival	1877	OS 1st edition
Snaoisbhal	1877	OS name book
Snushievaule	1877	OS name book
Snushievaule	1804	Bald mapping

Sollas

Place ID 2434 NF 80496 74903 North Uist S1ollas

ON sun ridge

ON sól ás

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Beveridge gives us '? söl-áss = 'dulse ridge' which seems unlikely as dulse is a marine plant now growing on any ridge. The generic however looks good.

Ruygh lists five farms called Solaas and whilst my Danish is not up to much, for at least two of them he states they are on south facing ridges. This would work with ON sól = 'sun'. Grammatically lone might expect Sólar = 'of the sun' but the cognates show this is not the case in Norway.

The ridge of the shoreline runs EW and so faces S and would therefore fit well topographically.

Macniven explores Solam on Islay (p175) and arrives at a root ON sól + heimr = 'sunny place'. He thinks the name tends to be an early one indicating a favoured place.

There is a Sólarás in Iceland. In Noreasy Solås is a common name occuring over 100 times.

Sollas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sollas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sollos	1911	Beveridge
Sollas	1877	OS 1st edition
Sollos	1832	Thomson atlas
Solas	1806	Stockdale mapping
Solus	1789	Ainlsie map
Sollas	1718	1718 rental
Sollos	1703	Martin Martin map
Solos	1505	RMS
Solas		n/a
Sollas		MacDonald sketch history

Sornach a' Phobuill

Place ID 855 NF 82870 63040 North Uist Eaval

ON priest's farm of the neck of the sea

Historic

- ScG?
 ON?
 complete?

Beveridge maintains that the name Sornach Coir' Fhinn the OS gave for this stone circle on their 1st edition mapping refers in fact to there stone circle near Langais. This erroneous name is then given the interpretation of 'Fingal's Holllowed Point' in the name book which does not seem very helpful.

That aside ScG sornach = 'boulder' and ScG poball = 'people' making the overall meaning 'boulder of the people'. It is surprising that the plural is not used here as there are several boulders in the circle, not surprisingly. It is worth looking for a Norse root especially as nearly all the place names of historic sites tend to have those Norse roots.

The 'sornach' is unusual and not a name used elsewhere for a stone circle. However ON sjór + hnakka = 'of the neck of the sea' is very promising with this siter being at the end of a long sea-loch. The 'h' here is an effect of lenition and so we cloud be looking for 'pobuill' and for this we have ON papa + býli = 'farm of the priests' occurring just up the W coast as Paible.

The only real difference is the initial vowel being an /o/ rather than an /a/ but this would be a regular (Cox p125 §43 ii Overall then rather than a confused Fingal, we have a logical 'priest's farm of the neck of the sea'.

I posted a blog on this at the link in the web info field. This includes information about other cognates in Scotland.

Sornach a' Phobuill	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sornaich a' Phobuill	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Sornach Coir' Fhinn	1877	OS 1st edition

Sornach Coir' Fhinn

Place ID 924 NF 84280 65020 North Uist Langass

?? ON The choice of the necks of the sea. ON sjór hnakka körin

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Beveridge maintains that the name Sornach Coir' Fhinn the OS gave for this stone circle on their 1st edition mapping refers in fact to this stone circle near Langais. This erroneous name is then given the interpretation of 'Fingal's Hollowed Point' in the name book which does not seem very helpful.

The OS 1st edition marked this circle as Pobull Fhinn and the OS name book provided 'Fingals people'.

ScG sornach = 'boulder' or 'furnace' and ScG poball = 'people' help but the whole thing seems confused grammatically. It is worth looking for a Norse root especially as often the place names of historic sites tend to have those Norse roots. The 'sornach' is unusual and not a name used elsewhere for a stone circle. However ON sjór + hnakka = 'of the neck of the sea' is very promising with this site being at the end of a long sea-loch. The 'h' here is an effect of lenition and so we could be looking for 'coir finn' and for this we have ON kú-vin = 'cow pasture'.

Overall then rather than a confused Fingal, we have either 'pasture of the priest's farm' or 'cow pasture of the neck of the sea'. Either are logical and work topographically.

Sornach Coir' Fhinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Pobull Fhinn	1911	Beveridge
Druidical Stones	1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh
Fingal's Furnace	1832	Thomson atlas
Fingal's Furnace	1799	Reid mapping

South Basin

Place ID 1987 NF 92435 67728 North Uist Lochmaddy

Eng South Basin Eng South basin

S1alt water Bay

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There seems to be no modern name for this stretch of Loch nam Madadh, perhaps surprisingly as it where the ferry arrives.

South Basin 1858 Otter Loch nam Maddadh

South Ford

Place ID 5698 NF 79928 47374 Benbecula T1orlum

ON south firth

ON suð fjørð

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Bay

complete?

The same applies here as to North Ford (P#5699 q.v.)

In Iceland there is a Suðurströndplace names whilst in Norway there is a Sudfjordenare over 100 places beginning with Sørfjord and over 80 names beginning with Sørstrand.

South Strand	1866	Admiralty mapping
South Ford	1866	Admiralty mapping
South Strand	1794	Huddart mapping

South Frobost

Place ID 6177 NF 74066 24526 South Uist Loch Eynort

Eng south + 'Frobost' Eng south + 'Frobost'

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Frobost (P#89) for a discussion of that component

South Frobost 1877 OS 1st edition

South Frobost 1804 Bald mapping

South Strand

Place ID 5580 NF 80237 47017 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON south beach

ON suðr strönd

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Whilst this is now English, it is not impossible to see this as a direct translation from an earlier Norse name ON suðr-strönd = 'the south shore', a phrase Vigfusson specifically mentions. Another name is South Ford and this could easily come from ON suðr fjørð

South Strand

1806

Stockdale mapping

South Strand

1789

Ainslie map

South Strand

1776

Mackenzie mapping

South Ford

Other

Spin

Place ID 6286 NF 79642 31421 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON teat ON speni

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

We have a choice of two here: ON spena = teat or ScG spìn = 'thorn' both of which have some form of topographical sense.

Looking at the shape on £D mapping, I suspect the Norse version is the one.
See Bidneon (P#6123) for another possibility.

In Iceland there is a hill called Speni

Spin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Spín	1877	OS 1st edition
An Spin	1877	OS name book
Spin	1804	Bald mapping

Spleadhairs

Place ID 1293 NF 95573 77541 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ON gravel bank of the lattice work or ON wasted ON spala eyrr or ON spilli eyrr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

With the OS 1st edition alternative being Splears, this opens up the ON spölr = lattice-work, or more particularly the plural ON spelir, which just about perfectly describes this reef topographically. The word is similar to the French 'espalier'.

An alternative is ON spillir = 'spoils' and again describes the broken nature of the skerries here.

As the length of the vowel in Splears would be a concern, it might conceivably have an ON eyrr = 'gravel bank' as its generic and so we would be looking at ON spala eyrr = 'gravel bank of the lattice work' or ON spilli eyrr. This would help explain the 'dh' in the Gaelic spelling.

The cognate notes lean me towards the latter.

The 's' is presumably a later addition although one wonders if the original was ON spillis sker and the ON sker was lost at a later stage.

Spøl occurs in Norwegian place names with for example Spellskjæret. The closest I could find to a cognate is Spiløra. Both components appear in Icelandic place names with Spillir occurring as a simplex name 22 times for a skerry.

Spleadhairs	2014	Modern OS mapping
Splears	1877	OS 1st edition
Splears	1866	Admiralty mapping

Spònais

Place ID 951 NF 88530 63970 North Uist Lees

ON spoon(-shaped) headland

ON spónn + nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

For Spònais Beveridge has ON spói + nes = 'curlew point' although the genitive ON spóa = 'of the curlew' might be better. Vigfusson thinks the identification is Whimbrel rather than Curlew and that would be less likely here. A better alternative would be ON spónn = 'spoon' as the headland here has a distinctive narrow neck to it.

The headland at Spònais on the shores of Loch nam Madadh has the same feature of a narrow neck of land between the headland and the shore.

'spón' is a specific in 16 places in Iceland and over 300 in Norway. In Iceland there are two 'inverse' names Spón(a)vík = 'spoon bay' but in Norway we have seven Sponneset or variants thereof.

There is also a Sponess and Spo Ness in Orkney.

Spònais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Spònish	1877	OS 1st edition
Sponisgh Pt.	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Sponish	1799	Reid mapping
Sponish		MacDonald sketch history

Spònais

Place ID 4912 NF 92147 69252 North Uist Lochmaddy

ON spoon(-shaped) headland

ON spón nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

For Spònais Beveridge has ON spói + nes = 'curlew point' although the genitive ON spóa = 'of the curlew' might be better. Vigfusson thinks the identification is Whimbrel rather than Curlew and that would be less likely here. A better alternative would be ON spónn = 'spoon' as the headland here has a distinctive narrow neck to it. Indeed there are two headlands with that feature here and the GR here is associated with the more obvious feature of the two. It would appear to be a close compound.

THC p257 writes about the land being given to the 'Children of Fergus'.

Marwick writes about Sponess (OFN p43) giving curlew's here as the topography was wrong.

The headland at Spònais on the shores of Loch Euphort has the same feature of a narrow neck of land between the headland and the shore.

'spon' is a specific in 16 places in Iceland and over 300 in Norway. In Iceland there are two 'inverse' names Spón(a)vík = 'spoon bay' but in Norway we have seven Sponneset or variants thereof.

There is also a Sponess and Spo Ness in Orkney.

Spanish

1832

Thomson atlas

Spònais

n/a

Sponish Farm

Place ID	1175	NF 92083 69762	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
'Spònais' + Eng farm			'Spónais' + Eng farm		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
See Spònais (P#951for more detail.					
Sponish Farm			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Spuir

Place ID 5104 NF 85310 84259 North Uist B1oraraigh

ON whale's fluke

ON sporð

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Skerry, Shoal and Reef

complete?

Rather than MacKillop's suggestion of ON spori = 'spur', I suspect that ON sporðr = 'a fish's tail' or 'whale's fluke' (or the accusative form ON sporð) is probably closer as the waves breaking over the reef here would appear as a whale breaching.

Sporður occurs as a simplex name 26 times, with a headland being the commonest feature.

Spuir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Spuir	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Friar Rocks	1911	Beveridge
Spuir	1877	OS 1st edition
Spuir	1877	OS name book

Srath Amhlasaraigh

Place ID 2460 NF 80949 71575 North Uist Central North

'Amhlasaraigh' + ScG valley ScG strath + 'Amhlasaraigh'

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Beinn Amhlasaraigh (P#2459) for details.

Srath Amhlasaraigh 2014 Modern OS mapping

Srath Aulasary n/a

Srath Beag an Dùin

Place ID 2479 NF 82312 71033 North Uist Central North

ScG small river valley of the fort ScG srath beag an dùin

Contour Depression

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Either this name emphasises the importunate of Dun Skellor or there is another dun in the area, possibly one referenced by the nearby Sgurr an Duin.

Srath Beag an Dùin	2014	Modern OS mapping
Srath Beag an Duin	1877	OS 1st edition

Sròmaigh

Place ID 40 NF 80061 58235 North Uist B1aleshare

ON current isthmus

ON straum eið

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

This place was marked on Blaeu's map as a settlement and named 'Strgma' With an 'o' instead of a 'g' this is very close to the modern spelling.

The shores in this part of the island have changed dramatically over the years and this is discussed in 12 Lost Townships in the Baleshare section.

ON ey = 'island' is the usual meaning but the similar sounding ON eið = 'isthmus' would described it as Blaeu mapped it. I suspect it might be a close compound.

In Iceland there is Straumey, a Straumeyjar and a Straumsey whils ti n Norway there are over 50 Stromøy(a/an)) and 15 Stromsøya.

Sròmaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Stromay	1877	OS 1st edition
Stromaidh	1861	Thomas chart
Stragna	1751	Dorret mapping
Strgma	1654	Blaeu mapping

Sròmaigh

Place ID 251 NF 93750 74830 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON island of the currents

ON straua ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Grammatically one might expect this to be in the plural as a genitival 's is unlikely to be lost.

There are five Stromay place names on the IOS 2nd edition mapping of Scotland, four on North Uist and one on Harris. In Iceland there are a Straumsey, Straumey and Straumeyjar. In Norway we have both Str(au/ø)møy names and Str(au/ø)msøy names with the latter less common.

Sròmaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Stromay	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Stromay	1877	OS 1st edition
Stromay	1866	Admiralty mapping
Stromay	1860	2Otter Sound of Harris
Stromay	1832	Thomson atlas
Stromay	1799	Reid mapping
Stromay		MacDonald sketch history

Sròmaigh

Place ID 694 NF 76700 65550 North Uist Kirkibost

ON current island

ON strauma ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

A common name for an island. It is possibly ON strauma ey = 'island of the currents' or a close compound ON straum ey.

In Iceland there are a Straumey and a Straumsey whilst in Norway Strømsøyen exists in at least twenty places in a variety of ways, with and without the genitival /s/.

Sròmaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Srón Fhuar

Place ID 5079 NF 84447 81466 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG cold nose

ScG sròn fhuar

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'The cold nose' based upon ScG fuar = 'cold'. There seems no reason to think this place colder than any other.....

Srón Fhuar

2014

Modern OS mapping

Srón Fhuar

1877

OS 1st edition

Stron-fuar

1877

OS name book

Sron Tuath

Place ID 421 NF 86630 55370 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG north current ScG sròm + tuath

S1alt water

ScG?

ON?

complete?

This is the obvious meaning however calling this 'north point' is odd as in reality it probably should be 'east point'. ScG tuath = 'north' does have another meaning, 'the country people' in the sense of an aggregate number of land proprietors. This then could have been a place of assembly where decisions were made. Proof however will not be easy to find.

A more likely explanation is a mis naming as it could have been ScG sròm + tuath = 'north current' which works well topographically and phonetically.

Thomas names the point Ru' Mor and Great Pt.

Sron Tuath	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------	------	-------------------

Great Pt	1861	Thomas chart
----------	------	--------------

Ru' Mor	1861	Thomas chart
---------	------	--------------

Sruth a' Chomhraig

Place ID 1799 NF 85622 45623 Benbecula W1iay

ScG current of struggle

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Fighting Stream' based upon ScG comhrag = 'fighting' which is a little poetic for my taste. However it could refer to the currents here which would I imagine be strong.

There is however a problem with the article as both these nouns are feminine and so we would expect ScG na = 'of the'. This could be pointer towards Norse.

The '-aig' ending is a classic Norse indicator from ON vagr = 'bay'. I do ponder if ON komur = 'arrivals' might be a specific. 'arrivals bay' being the place where boats arrive?

The /mh/ here is however silent and so we are looking for an IPA spelling of /kõ:rag/

Sruth a' Chomhraig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sruth a' Chomhraig	1877	OS 1st edition
Sruth a Chomhraig	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sruth a' Chorrain

Place ID	5996	NF 82527 77186	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG current of the 'Chorrain'			ScG sriuth a' 'Chorrain'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sruth a' Chorrain			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Sruth an Tarra

Place ID	5832	NF 79922 74916	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG stream of the + ON turf - river			ScG sruth an + ON torf á		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sruth an Tarra			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Sruth Beag

Place ID	227	NF 93444 73990	North Uist	Lochp1ortain	
ScG little current			ScG sruth beag		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sruth Beag			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Sruth Beag

Place ID 1726 NF 90143 55239 North Uist Ronaigh

ScG little current ScG sruth beag

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A tidal pool with a narrow channel out to the sea probably provides the relevant current. The nearby Loch na Sruthan Beag that feeds into it is probalby named after it.

Sruth Beag	1877	OS 1st edition
Small Stream	1861	Thomas chart
Sruth Beag	1861	Thomas chart

Sruth Cam

Place ID	5511	NF 85140 51044	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG bent current			ScG sruth cam	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG? <input type="checkbox"/> ON? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
S1alt water				
Sruth Cam			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sruth Houram

Place ID 1191 NF 92160 69390

North Uist

Lochmaddy

ScG current of + 'ON Houram'

Scg sruth + 'Houram'

S1alt water

See Loch Houram for details.

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Sruth Houram

1877

OS 1st edition

Sruth Mhic gille-riabhaich

Place ID 2401 NF 72232 73685 North Uist B1almartin

ON big reef bay + ScG stream

ScG sruth + ON mikilli rif vk

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The OS name book gives us a rather half-hearted 'A man's Sir name'.

I ponder if this is another of the rather curious mhic/vik names noted elsewhere (see Rudha Mhic-ille-mhalaidh for example)

With Beinn Riabhach nearby, the last two components gille-riabhaich' could be derived from ScG gil + Riabhaich = 'gully of Riabhach' and then the 'mhic' comes from ON vik - 'bay' forming a unit of 'Mhic gille-riabaich' = 'bay of the gully of Riabhach'. These hybrids are however rare and unlikely.

Riabhaich in IPA is /Riävɪç/ which is close to ON rif vík = 'reef bay', an apt description of the bay just N of this stream, Cladach Mòr.

Mhic gille when run together sounds very like ON mikill = 'large' although my understanding of Norse grammar is not good enough to work out which reflex is required here, ON mikilli would be the best fit. This would then give us ON mikilli rif vík = 'big reef bay' and it interesting to see the Gaelic name for this bay is Cladach Mòr = 'big shore', repeating the 'big' aspect.

The ScG sruth = 'stream' was added to refer to the stream itself.

A variety of forms of rev and vik such as Revvika appear in 16 Norwegian place names whilst in Iceland we have a Rifsvik and a Rifjavogur.

Having been taken into the Scots language either via Old English or Old Norse, 'Meikle' names show a classic 'anti-Gaelic' spread, covering the east of ~Scotland and the borders but not appearing at all in the Gaelic heartland.

The existence of five of these names in Orkney and Caithness, names such as Meiklequoy and Meikle Score show that there might be some Norse examples.

Sruth Mhic gille-riabhaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Sruth Mor

Place ID	5510	NF 85145 50911	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh
ScG big current			ScG sruth mòr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water				<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sruth Mor			1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Sruth na Cuidhe

Place ID	6001	NF 81570 76104	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG current of the fold			ScG sruth na cuidhe		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sruth na Cuidhe			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Sruth na h-Amhunn

Place ID 1825 NF 87392 45040 Benbecula W1iay

ScG current of the ON haven ScG sruth na h- + ON höfn

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A literal translation gives a nonsensical 'current of the stream'.
ON höfn = 'haven' however fits the bill if the lenited 'h' is removed.
The nearby bay has the same root.

The name Hamn occurs in simplex form over 70 times in Norway.

Sruth na h-Amhunn

1866

Admiralty mapping

Sruthan

Place ID 620 NF 87680 74910 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG currents ScG sruthan

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

In fact ScG sruth -an = 'place of the current' would be a better topographical fit but would not work with 'Oban nan'. The OSNB gives us 'Is applied to a cottars house, one storey and thatched, and situate on the north side of the creek of that name.'.

Na Struthain

1877

OS name book

Sruthan

1877

OS 1st edition

Sruthan a Ghara-dhroma

Place ID 6428 NF 78369 35659 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG small stream of the dyke of the ridge ScG sruth -an a' ghòrradh-dhroma

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This name Signifies "Stream of the Watching Garden"

ScG droma is the genitive singular of ScG druim = 'ridge' and this must be the last section. ScG gàrradh = garden, enclosure, dyke' and is masculine and is where the OSNB gets its meaning. I wonder in fact if ScG garadh = 'cave, den' is better. The referent cave could be part of the chambered cairn just over the rise.

On satellite imagery and the OS 1st edition, there does appear to be a dyke visible following the ridge and so that is the option I prefer.

Sruthan a Ghara-dhroma

1877

OS 1st edition

Sruthan Ban

Place ID 2300 NF 73377 70718

North Uist

Central West

ScG small white stream

ScG sruthan bàn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Sruthan Ban

1877

OS 1st edition

Sruthan Bàn

Place ID	6609	NF 76059 42839	South Uist	Loch Sgioport	
ScG little white current			ScG sruth -an bàn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sruthan Bàn			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Sruthan Bàn			1877	OS 1st edition	

Sruthan Beag

Place ID 4998 NF 79896 27410 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG small currents ScG sruthan beag

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is Gaelic and means 'small current or stream'

Sruthan Beag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sruthan Beag	1877	OS 1st edition
Strue Reg	1877	OS name book

Sruthan Cnoc Geallicro

Place ID 2652 NF 73671 71497 North Uist Central West

ScG stream hillock + ON stream of the cone-shap ScG sruthan cnoc + ON keili gróf

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The generic is probalby ON gróf = 'hollow' which Oftedal translates as 'Stream' and it is 'an element very common in Lewis burn names.'

A choice for the generic would be ON keilir = 'wedge' or its genitive ON keili and in Iceland has come to mean 'cone-shaped mountain'. This is not a bad description of Cleitreabhal which is where this stream rises.

Sruthan Cnoc Geallicro

1877

OS 1st edition

Sruthan Eadar dhà Chreagan

Place ID 6429 NF 78624 35520 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG small stream between two crags ScG sruth -an eadar dhà chreagan

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Sruthan Eadar dhà Chreagan

1877

OS 1st edition

Sruthan Garbh Mairival

Place ID 2501 NF 79918 69088 North Uist Central South

'Mairival' + ScG small rough stream ScG sruth -an garbh + 'Mairival'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Mairival (P#2458) for an interpretation of that component.

Sruthan Garbh Mairival

1877

OS 1st edition

Sruthan Gleann Thormasdal

Place ID 5883 NF 80792 73102 North Uist S1ollas

'Gleann Thormasdal' + ScG little stream ScG sruth -an + 'Gleann Thormasdal'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Glen Torrmosdale (P#2467) for a discussion of the 'Gleann Thormasdal' element.

Sruthan Gleann Thormasdal

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sruthan Haarrasal

Place ID 6427 NF 78227 35569 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Haarrsal' + SCG small stream ScG sruth -an + 'Haarrasal'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Hatharsal (P#6427) for a discussion fo this component.

Sruthan Haarrasal	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------------------	------	-------------------

Sruthan Haarsal	1877	OS 1st edition
-----------------	------	----------------

Sruthan Harsaval	1877	OS name book
------------------	------	--------------

Sruthan Loch a' Choire

Place ID 6446 NF 81953 35382 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG lake of the corrie small stream ScG sruth -an loch a' choire

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Sruthan Loch a' Choire 2014 Modern OS mapping

Struath Loch a Choire 1877 OS name book

Sruthan Loch a' Choire 1877 OS 1st edition

Sruthan Loch an Eilein

Place ID 6492 NF 82595 37790 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG little current of the loch of the island ScG sruthan loch an eilein

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This refers to Loch ilein (P#6493)

Sruthan Loch an Eilein	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------------	------	-------------------

Struan Loch an Eilean	1877	OS name book
-----------------------	------	--------------

Sruthan Loch an Eilein	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------------	------	----------------

Sruthan Loch Fada

Place ID	6442	NF 82059 36963	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
ScG small stream of long lake			ScG sruth -an loch fada		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sruthan Loch Fada			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Struan Loch Fada			1877	OS name book	
Sruthan Loch Fada			1877	OS 1st edition	

Sruthan Mhàrtainn

Place ID	5721	NF 76296 76351	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG Martin's little stream			ScG sruth -an 'Mhàrtainn'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sruthan Mhàrtainn			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Sruthan na Comaraig

Place ID 1670 NF 82600 58781 North Uist Eaval

ScG current of the sanctuary

ScG sruthan na comaraig

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

The ScG comraich = 'sanctuary' is the obvious interpretation with the nearby presence of the Teampall. MacDonlad agrees with this citing it as 'one of the boundaries of the sanctuary of Teampull-na-Trionaid'. An alternative form quoted by Dwelly is ScG comarag.

ScG comar = 'confluence' followed by the suffix ScG -ag = 'place of' might work but the gender would produce ScG a' not ScG na.

Ryugh has several places beginning with Kommer, e.g. Kommerstad that he derives from ON kuml = 'tombstone' and writes 'must denote places where there were ancient burial memorials'.

This is the only occurrence of Comaraig on the OS 2nd edition mapping and there are no /Comra-/names there at all.

There is a Lochan na Comairig near Beinn Mh òr, South Uist.

There is a Komma in Iceland, two Kommersvika and one Kommarvika in Norway

Sruthan na Comaraig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sruthan na Comraich	2000	Donald MacVicar Broad Island
Struthan na Comraich	1911	Beveridge
Struthan na Comaraig	1877	OS 1st edition
Sruthan na Comraich		MacDonald sketch history

Sruthan na h-Àirigh-Riabhaich

Place ID 6437 NF 80680 36568 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

SCG small stream of the greyish-brown shieling ScG sruth -an na h- àirigh riabhaich

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Sruthan na h-Àirigh-Riabhaich

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sruthan na h-Airidh-riabhaich

1877

OS 1st edition

Sruthan na Heasha

Place ID 2288 NF 77193 70426 North Uist Central West

ScG brook of the + 'Heasha'

ScG sruth -an na + 'Heasha'

Fresh water

Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Heasha is an odd word open to all sort of interpretations. It does not look Gaelic.
See Cnoc na Heasha (P#2286) for a disucssino of that component.
The OSNB provides a really helpful 'The name signifies "Burn of Heasha".'

Sruthan na Heasha

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sruthan na Heasha

1877

OS 1st edition

Sruthan na Loireig

Place ID 5962 NF 79279 73585 North Uist S1ollas

ScG stream of the + ON bay of the pollock ScG sruthan na + ON lýra vág

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes 'Tradition has it that if a person washes washing linen in the river here, some member of his family, or someone he knows, would die.'

The direct translation would appear to be 'stream of the pancake' which seems not to make too much sense without a decent folk etymology. I suspect the word involved is ScG loireach = 'soiled'.

Sruthan na Loireig

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sruthan Port-ruadh

Place ID 6413 NF 77011 35910 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

'Port-ruadh' + SCG small stream ScG sruth -an + 'Port-ruadh'

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Port-ruadh (P#6412) for a discussion of that element.

Sruthan Poraruadh	1877	OS name book
Sruthan Port-ruadh	1877	OS 1st edition

Sruthan Ruadh

Place ID	2453	NF 79669 73670	North Uist	Central North	
ScG rusty-red small stream			ScG sruth -an ruadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Sruthan Ruadh			1877	OS 1st edition	

St Michael's Burial Ground

Place ID 6719 NF 75682 46629 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

Eng St Michael's Burial Ground Eng St Michael's Burial Ground

Historic Burial

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

St Michael's Burial Ground 1877 OS 1st edition

St. Clement's Chapel

Place ID 2108 NF 71130 72822 North Uist B1alranald

Eng St. Clement's Chapel Eng St. Clement's Chapel

Historic Religious

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An important early Christian site on North Uist discussed fully on the Uist Saints website: <https://uistsaints.co.uk/north-uist/st-clements-chapel/>

The Sennashies relate about the chapel being moved to the site at Kilmuir and this is recorded by Carmichael in a note between the sheets of the relevant OS name book.

St. Clement's Chapel	2014	Modern OS mapping
St. Clement's Chapel	1877	OS 1st edition
Kilchalmag	1751	Dorret mapping
Kilchamag	1751	Dorret mapping
Kilchalma	1745	Elphinstone mapping
Kilchalma	1710	Homann mapping
Kilchalma	1654	Blaeu mapping

St. Columba's Chapel

Place ID 670 NF 87360 76480 North Uist Clachan Sands

Eng St. Columba's Chapel Eng St. Columba's Chapel

Historic Religious

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

St. Columba's Chapel 1877 OS 1st edition

St. Michael's Point

Place ID 451 NF 88350 54750 North Uist Griomasaigh

Eng St. Michael's point Eng saint + Michael's + point

Coastal Headland

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Named after the nearby Teampall Naomh Mhicheil = St. Michael's chapel.

St. Michael's Point

1877

OS 1st edition

Ru Mhicheil

1861

Thomas chart

Stadhlaigearraidh

Place ID 71 NF 77020 38660 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON enclosed area of the stepping stones

ON stilla gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Taylor gives us ON 'rocky fertile ground' but I am not sure where the 'rocky' comes from.

It is not an easy one as ScG stiall = 'strip' could work as the generic with the whole meaning 'a strip of pasture'.

Alternatively any of ON stilli = 'trap', ON stillur = 'stepping stones' or ON stillá = 'quiet river' would work well.

The preponderance of ON names nearby would lean me to the Norse interpretation. Thinking of the pre-drainage landscape here, it is easy to envisage the need for stepping stones to get to the machair land. I would anticipate the genitive of the plural noun ON stillur to be *ON stilla.

Jakobsen gives ON stilli = 'enclosure' as a Shetland farm name. This could have been the original name here and then the farm was split to create ON stilli gerði with the original name being lost.

Stilligarry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Stadhlaigearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Staalagearruidh	1877	OS name book
Stilligarry	1877	OS 1st edition
Stelligarry	1804	Bald mapping
Stylaigerry	1654	Blaeu mapping

Staffin Skerry

Place ID 1562 NF 98623 75034 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigrearraidh

ON The pillar skerry

ON stafinn sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Mackillop gives the name as ScG Sgeir Steaphain = 'Stephen's Rock'.

If Norse then ON stafinn = 'The pillar' or 'The Pillar'.

It is an interesting example of word order here. I suspect originally it was the Norse Stafninsker but since both components were recognisable to the Gaels but to their ears the wrong way around the order was reversed. It must be said it could have been the other way and the original was Sgeir Steaphain and then The English recognised Sgeir as Skerry, thought the order was wrong and reversed it.

The fact there is a Staffa off Mull, Staffa Islands in the South ford and a Staffin on Skye is further evidence for the Norse roots. There is no Staff place name in the Gaelic speaking mainland.

In Iceland there are eight Stafn place names.

Staffin Skerry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sgeir Steaphain	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Staffin Skerry	1877	OS 1st edition
Staffin Rk	1866	Admiralty mapping
Staffin R.	1804	Bald mapping

Stalla Bheag

Place ID 2207 NF 78862 63419 North Uist B1aleshare

? ON bay of the stalls

? ON stalla vík

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Farming

complete?

Fraser writes 'Stalla usually means an overhanging rock or crag, but in this case is derived from the English, stall, and the name means 'little fold or pen.'

This seems unlikely and the ON stöðull = 'a milking shed' abbreviates to støl (see

<http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx>) or more simply ON stallr = 'stall or crib' combined with ON vik = 'bay' would make sense.

Both component occur seperately in Iceland whilst Norway has 17 Stallvik(a) with many others including it as a component.

Stalla Bheag

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Stallaichean Mòra

Place ID 942 NF 86990 63640 North Uist Lees

ScG big + ON steep slope of the shelf ON stalla + kinn + ScG mòra

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This is the only occurrence in the OS 2nd edition mapping of the word Stallaichean which along with the absence of overhanging rocks rings alarm bells.

'Stall' has cropped up on Iolaraigh and described there as a loan form the English which again is odd. The word ON stallr exists in the Norse lexicon meaning 'stall' or 'shelf' or nautically 'step on a mast'. The genitive is probably ON *stalli.

The generic is probalby ON kinn = 'cheek' , often referring to a steep slope. The slope of the shelf would make some form of topographical sense here where the inland flat level comes down sharply to the sea.

The Mòra is slightly odd but presumably is a variant on ScG mòr = 'big' reflecting what it thinks is the plurality of Stallaichean.

As mentioned above Stallaichean appears nowhere else in Scotland.

There is a Stallakinn in Iceland and five Stallabrekka which has a very similar meaning.

Stall is a common specifc in Norway occuring over 40o times with no exact cognate. There are three Stall(e)brekka.

Stallaichean Mòra	2014	Modern OS mapping
Stallaichean Mora	1877	OS 1st edition

Stangram

Place ID 1064 NF 77790 75060 North Uist V1allay

ON island of the pole ON stangar hólmi

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Beveridge, as ever when close to Bhalairg has a view - either ON steinn + gardr + holmr = 'stone-wall island' or ON stangar + holmr = 'island of the pole'. The first seems too long and complicated. An alternative could be ON þang = 'kelp' however the genitive would include an 's'. Considering most islands had a means of communicating with the mainland with flags and there are several ScG names reflecting this, I think Beveridge's second option has a lot of merit.

Jakobsten (1993, 104) notes that 'In Norway "Stang" (Eng. pole) occurs as a name of isles and peninsulas, and commonly as the name of a headland, in the compound "Stangnes". Stonger-holm [stǫngholm], the name of a holm off Nesting' (Brooke-Freeman Clan tuirc). The latter is now named Stongir Holm. There are four other Shetland names starting with Stong.

Stang is the variant of the Western Isles and Orkney.

St(a/o)ng(er)holmen(e) occurs 53 times in Norway whilst in Iceland there are five Stangarhólmi place-names and five similar Stangaske. The simplex Stöng occurs 40 times, predominantly as an island or a skerry.

Stangram	2014	Modern OS mapping
Stangram	1877	OS 1st edition
Stangram		MacDonald sketch history

Stansa na Fèille

Place ID 5401 NF 80523 53621 Benbecula Rueval

ScG stance of the market

ScG stansa na fèille

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Stansa na Fèille

2014

Modern OS mapping

Market Stance

1877

OS 1st edition

Stansa na Fèille

Place ID 6281 NF 76337 31512 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

Scg stance of the market

ScG stansa na fèille

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The OSNB adds the details that 'this market is held twice a year, in July & September, Cattle of all Sorts reared on island are offered for Sale at the markets.'

Stansa na Fèille	2014	Modern OS mapping
Market Stance	1877	OS 1st edition
Cnoc na Feille	1877	OS name book
Market Place	1877	OS name book

Staoinebrig

Place ID 1 NF 74400 33500 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON landing place of the ros (?cells?)

ON steina bryggju

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

With the prominent Crois Chnoca Breaca overlooking the sandy y by R' Aird-mhicheil, the use of steinn as rock and bryggja seems the most likely.

An interesting alternative meaning of ON stein = 'a stone building, cloister, cell (ey of an anchoret)' and with the religious names nearby and the association with St. Michael this is possibility.

There are two Steinbryggja place names in Iceland and there are seven Steinbrygga place names in Norway.

Staoinebrig	2014	Modern OS mapping
Staoinebrig	1877	OS name book
Stoneybridge	1877	OS 1st edition
Staoineilean nan eac	1877	OS name book
Steinibrigh	1877	OS name book
Stonybridge	1877	OS name book
Stonybridge	1804	Bald mapping

Start Rk

Place ID 2050 NF 97024 74410 North Uist Lochp1ortain

Eng start rock or ON cleft skerry

Eng start rock or ON skarð sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I suspect that back in time this was called ON skarfr sker = 'skerry of the cormorants' or a better phonetical fit the close compound ON skarð sker = 'cleft skerry'. It is difficult to see where the second 't' in Start has come from in the first option even though the cognate notes favour it.

Skarfasker is common in Iceland occuring 19 times and one Skarðasker. In norway do Sgarvskjær is common with almost 150 occurnces and only one Skarskjæret.

Start Rk

1866

Admiralty mapping

Steisaigh

Place ID 929 NF 85130 63830 North Uist Langass

ON island of black guillemots

ON þeista + ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The specific is almost certainly ON þeista = 'of the black guillemots'. Indeed this word has passed into common usage on Shetland where this species of bird is called a Tystie.

Adding an 's' to the front of a word (a prosthetic s) is not unknown (Cox p64)

Quite how the t become absorbed in the s is probably an effect of lenition where there would be a 'sh' sound created from the slender 's'.

The bird name appears as a specific 9 times in Iceland and many more in Norway including five Teistøya and over a hundred starting with the almost cognate Teistholm.

Steiseigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Steisaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Steisay	1877	OS 1st edition
Steisay	1877	OS 1st edition
Stacey Id	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart
Stacey Id	1859	Otter Loch Eport chart

Steiseigh

Place ID 5232 NF 85380 44364 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON island of the boulder

ON steins ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

One good possibility is ON þeisti = 'black guillemot or tystie' although it is hard to see the central /t/ disappearing. A more likely simpler alternative is ON steins = 'of the boulder' and a central /n/ can disappear in this situation.

The distribution of Steis- names is very Norse although not all coastal - e.g Steishal on Lewis.

Steiseigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Steusay	1877	OS name book
Steigha Island	1877	OS name book
Steidheidh	1877	OS name book
Steisay	1877	OS 1st edition
Steisaidh	1866	Admiralty mapping
Steigha I.	1804	Bald mapping

Stephen Id

Place ID 1939 NF 84537 59149 North Uist C1arinish

Eng Stephen island Eng Stephen Island

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

have no idea who Stephen was. There is another Stephen Island near Loch Portain.

This island is now part of the causeway linking North Uist and Griomsasigh.

There is another closer marked on the OS 1st series which is not an island itself but a peninsula. I wonder if the OS surveyors got this wrong. It no longer appears on the OS mapping.

Stephen Id

1861

Thomas chart

Stephen's Id

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Stiaraval

Place ID 5384 NF 81207 52911 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ON hill of the stirks

ON stjórra fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The root for the specific is almost certainly ON stjórr = 'stirk' or 'young bull' and the reflex here would be ON stjóra = 'of the stirks'.

Størdal is a relaitvley common name in Norway and there is one cognate Størnefjellet

Stiaraval	2014	Modern OS mapping
Stidhribhal	1877	OS name book
Stiaraval	1877	OS 1st edition

Stick Pt

Place ID 1940 NF 84445 59244 North Uist Eaval

Eng stick point Eng stick point

Coastal Headland

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There are several places names on Uist referring to a flag-pole, mast or pole which were used to signal, whether to call a meeting or to call for a boat. This would be an excellent place for the later to communicate with Griomasaigh.

Stick Pt 1859 Otter Loch Eport chart

Stob Sholais

Place ID 6029 NF 81686 75453 North Uist S1ollas

ScG stone post of Sollas

ScG stob + 'Sholais'

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Niclain writes 'This hill is now called the Stob, for there used to be a stone pole standing on it at one time. The stone was between five and six feet high. It stood at the turn of the century, but the town's horses knocked it down. No one could explain why she was there, but it has been suggested that she may have had an *œangal* with the church. It may have marked the end of the church grounds - it may have been a sanctuary.'

Stob Sholais

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Stòcaidh

Place ID 5615 NF 66013 63121 North Uist Heisker

ON island of stocks

ON stokka ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Macaulay (p37) gives us ON stokkey = 'stock island' with ON stokkr = "stock, log of wood" with gen plural ON stokka ' of stocks'. MacDonald agrees stating it is a barren rock

Stocaidh	2020	Alick Macaulay Heisgeir
----------	------	-------------------------

Stòcaidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
----------	------	-------------------

Stoceidh	1877	OS name book
----------	------	--------------

Stockay	1877	OS 1st edition
---------	------	----------------

Stockay		MacDonald sketch history
---------	--	--------------------------

Stolie

Place ID 230 NF 91143 73829 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON place of the milking shed

ON stöðli

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

There appears to be no obvious ScG root.

A good bet is probalby ON stöð hlið = 'harbour slope', a close compound name or better still ON stöð leið = 'harbour route'.

Forget the previous!

ON stöðull = 'a milking-shed' has ON stöðli as its dative case and so meaning 'the place of the milking shed'. This fits perfectly with the nearby series of shielings.

NSDL writes about N støl, the modern equivalent: 'The area of intensity for this name-making has our mountain and valley settlements, where the pastures border on the home farm, and where the cattle, at least in spring and autumn, graze so close to the farm that they could go out into the fields and milk and carry the milk home.'

The same site also said: "The names with this basic word amount to just over 11,000' - so quite common."

Stöðla- appears to be a relatively common start occuring 28 times in Iceland. Stodle occurs eight times in Norway. Most impressivley Rygh notes 20 exapmles of Støle and 55 Stølen and derives them from the dative of ON stöðull. One imagines Stulaigh and Stulabhal share the root. MacDonlad also mentiuons another one near Unival. Likewise Glen and Allt Stulabhaig on Eriskay and a seires of Stulaval and Stladale names on N Harris

Stolie	2014	Modern OS mapping
Staghlaidh	1930	Rev MacDonald hand wirtten text
Stolie	1877	OS 1st edition
Stolia	1877	OS name book

Striachcleit

Place ID 2457 NF 79454 70515 North Uist Central South

ON three high stones

ON þrí- háva kletta

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Exposed rock

complete?

Canmore here reference three sheiling mounds and I wonder if this is reflected in ON þrí- = 'three'. This would then be suffixed by ON háva kletta = 'tall stones'.

They are a prominent feature at the top of the bealach here.

The modern OS spelling seems to have added an extra /ch/ to all other forms.

Striachcleit	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Treaclet	1911	Beveridge
----------	------	-----------

Streaclet	1911	Beveridge
-----------	------	-----------

Treeacklett	1877	OS 1st edition
-------------	------	----------------

Trioc clert	1877	OS name book
-------------	------	--------------

Treaclett		MacDonald sketch history
-----------	--	--------------------------

Streaclet		MacDonald sketch history
-----------	--	--------------------------

Strom

Place ID 194 NF 96423 73492 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON current ON straum

S1alt water

ScG?

ON?

complete?

With both languages using the word, it is difficult to call where this simplex name originated. Simplex names tend to be old, this is an area steeped in Norse names and the existence of the 't' which is not in the Gaelic loan word ScG sròm but is in the ON straumr lead me to believe it has Norse roots originally. With the loan word ScG sròm being accented, the development is regular.

The scatter of 67 Strom names on the OS 2nd edition are all in the Norse heartland. The name is very common in Norway and Iceland.

Strom	2014	Modern OS mapping
-------	------	-------------------

Strom	1877	OS 1st edition
-------	------	----------------

Strom

Place ID 715 NF 76520 67190 North Uist B1ayhead

ON current ON straum

S1alt water Current or Strait

ScG?

ON?

complete?

With both languages using the word, it is difficult to call where this simplex name originated. Simplex names tend to be old, this is an area steeped in Norse names and the existence of the 't' which is not in the Gaelic loan word ScG sròm but is in the ON straumr lead me to believe it has Norse roots originally.

Strom

1877

OS 1st edition

Stròm an Lèith

Place ID 5732 NF 77126 75892 North Uist V1allay

ScG current of the + ON way

ScG sròm an + ON leið

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

There is no obvious ScG root for the last word. ON leið = 'way, route' would fit well.

Stròm an Lèith

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Strom Cas

Place ID 5515 NF 83510 51001 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG headlong current

ScG sròm cas

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

Dwelly gives ScG sruth cas = 'a headlong stream, an impetuous current' and this will have the same meaning.

There is another place with exactly the same name (P#5569) a few kilkometres to the S.

Strom Cas

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Strom Cas

Place ID 5569 NF 85368 47673 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG headlong current

ScG sròm cas

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Dwelly gives ScG sruth cas = 'a headlong stream, an impetuous current' and this will have the same meaning.

Strom Cas

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Strom Chaltanais

Place ID 6586 NF 82249 40825 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Chaltanais' + ScG current ScG sròm + 'Chaltanais'

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For a discussion of the Chaltanais element see Caltanais (P#6639)

Strom Chaltanais	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------------	------	-------------------

Strom Calternish	1877	OS 1st edition
------------------	------	----------------

Stromanachallinis	1877	OS name book
-------------------	------	--------------

Strom Cro Shanduig

Place ID 5517 NF 84650 50294 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG fold of ON bay of sands + SAcG current ScG sròm crò + ON sanda vík

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The first two components are ScG sròm = 'current' and ScG krò = 'pen'.

The last element has been lenited from an original Sanduig which will come from ON sanda vík = 'bay of sand'.

Sandavík is common across the Norse world, as far as Sandwich in Kent. There is a Sandwich just across the South Ford from here, one on Lewis, one on Orkney, at least nine on Shetland and it forms the first part of over 1700 places in Norway!

Strom Cro Shanduig

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Strom Dearg

Place ID	1163	NF 91490 68270	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG red current			ScG sròm dearg		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Strom Dearg			1877	OS 1st edition	
Red Stream			1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh	

Strom Dearg

Place ID 1843 NF 87975 58315 North Uist Eaval

ScG red current ScG sròm dearg

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Strom Dearg 1861 Thomas chart

Strom Dheoradain

Place ID 5521 NF 85480 50214 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ON plot of land of the rifts + Scg current

ScG sròm + ON gjögra teiginn

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

Thomas gives us 'Exile's Stream' based upon ScG deòiridh = 'stranger, exile' and pronounced /dʲɔ:rəχ/. The plural is ScG deòraidhean which would sound significantly different towards the end.

I suggest that ON gjögr = 'rift' is the specific in the form ON gjögra = 'of the rifts'. The generic is less clear but an option is ON teiginn = 'The plot of land'. Inter-vocalic /g/ has a habit of disappearing.

The OS 1st edition form Yeoratan is possibly easier to understand to Anglophonic ears.

Strom Dheoradain

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgeabhaig

Exile's Stream

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgeabhaig

Strom don

Place ID 5027 NF 77387 29077 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG rocky water channel of the backside (? Famrs ScG sròm tòn (? Straum tún)

Settlement

The building here is marked as 'Belonging to Bornish'.

ScG tòn = 'backside' and so this could mean 'rocky water channel of the backside' - delightful...

A more pleasant interpretation is the Norse compound ON straum tún = 'farmstead current'.

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Strom don

1804

Bald mapping

Strom Eòratan

Place ID 5362 NF 85860 50088 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ON homestead of the rifts + ScG current ScG sròm + ON gjögra tún

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is as much variation in the earleir forms of this name as any.

Dheoradain, Gheoratain, Deoradain and Yeoratan are the previous four reincarnations.

I am reminded of Eilean a' Ghiorr in the North Ford for which I think the root is ScG eilean + a' + ON gjögur.

As this Norse word includes a genitival /s/ in the singular, one suspects that the form here is the genitival plural ON gjögra.

For the generic the easiest fit is ON tún = 'enclosure or homestead'. Henderson cites ú > a as regular.

The headland here is almost cut through by two rifts and indeed there is a prominent dyke still visible along the line between the end of these two rifts.

Strom Eòratan	2014	Modern OS mapping
Strom Deoradain	1877	OS name book
Strom Gheoratain	1877	OS name book
Strom Yeoratan	1877	OS 1st edition
Bagh Dheoradain	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Strom Garbh

Place ID 978 NF 91710 67540 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG violent current ScG sròm garbh

S1alt water Current or Strait

ScG?

ON?

complete?

The words are in the order you would expect for a ScG place name.

Strom Garbh

1877

OS 1st edition

Strom Grimsay

Place ID 5215 NF 82411 47892 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG 'Griomasaigh' current ScG sròm + 'Griomasaigh'

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Griomasaigh, Peter's Port, for a discussion of that name.

Strom Grimsay 1877 OS 1st edition

Strom Ghrimediedh 1877 OS name book

Strom MhicLeoid

Place ID 1193 NF 91850 69610 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG MacLeod's current ScG sròm MhicLeoid

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water Current or Strait

complete?

The MacLeod's were the important family on Lewis and Harris and fought several skirmishes over North Uist property rights.

Strom MhicLeoid

1877

OS 1st edition

Strom na Caillich

Place ID 718 NF 75970 64970 North Uist Kirkibost

ScG current of the old woman ScG sròm na cailliche

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book gives us 'the old woman's channel' although some times the ScG cailleach = 'nun' rather than 'old woman'.

Note it is one woman rather than several women.

Strom na Caillich

1877

OS 1st edition

Strom na Fuirneis

Place ID 1182 NF 92010 68830 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG current of the furnace ScG sròm na fuirneis

S1alt water Current or Strait

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Quite what furnace the name refers to is unclear. It could well be a kelp kiln with a kelp house marked on the Otter chart further N.

Strom na Fuirneis

1877

OS 1st edition

Strom nam Forsannan

Place ID 5518 NF 85148 49866 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG curent of the 'Forsanan'

ScG sròm nam 'Forsanan'

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

See Forsanan (P#5361) for a discussion of the component.

The plural article ScG nam possibly reflects an 'understanding' of the /-an/ ending representing a plural.

Strom nam Forsannan

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Stream of the Waterfalls

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Stròrn nan Caorach

Place ID	5912	NF 79485 74449	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG rocky channel of the sheep			Scg stròrn nan caroach		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Stròrn nan Caorach			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Strom nan Eithraichean

Place ID 5495 NF 83733 51425 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG current of ON 'The isthmus pasture'

ScG sròm nan + ? ON eið rák

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

Thomas somewhat unusually offers no hint as to the meaning.

The generic is clear ScG sròm = 'current'.

A Norse possibility is a close compound ON eið rákin = 'The isthmus pasture' which would be a good topographical fit as well as working with the putative understanding of Arnish as 'the headland of the ewes'.

There is certainly evidence of many dykes in the area using the coast to create areas of pasture.

The plural article would be explained by the /-ean/ ending which a Gaelic speaker would interpret as plural.

Strom nan Eithraichean

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Strom nan Fiasgan

Place ID 6708 NF 82403 44285 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ScG current of the mussels

ScG sròm nan fiasgan

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Strom nan Fiasgan

1877

OS 1st edition

Strom nan Feusgan

1877

OS name book

Strom nan Laogh

Place ID 514 NF 84020 57620 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG current of the calves ScG sròm nan laogh

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This will be referring to the nearby ScG Eilean nan Laogh = 'island of the calf'.

Strom nan Laogh 1866 Admiralty mapping

Strom nan Laogh

Place ID 5500 NF 85998 51710

Benbecula

Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG current of the calves

ScG sròm nan laogh

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

Strom nan Laogh

1862

1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Strom nan Lobhur

Place ID 5494 NF 83630 51928 Benbecula Loch Uisgeabhagh

ScG currenet of the + ? ON loading landing place ScG sròm nan + ? ON hlað vörr

S1alt water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Thomas gives us 'Strom of the Lepers' based upon ScG lobhar = 'leper, wretch, work'.
Leper does itself seem a little unlikely and there are no occurrences of the word on the OS 2nd edition mapping.
Lodberrie is thought to come form ON hlaðberg = 'loading rock'. Here perhaps hlað vörr = 'loading landing place' might work. There are nearby sheiling mounds and so the area has had occupation at some stage.

T

Strom of the Lepers	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Strom nan Lobhur	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig

Strom Tou

Place ID 5475 NF 86051 51857 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG north current

ScG sròm tuath

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

complete?

It is on the north of the bay and adjacent to Bàgh Niabhagh interpreted as North Bay.

Stromteu

1804

Bald mapping

Strom Tou

1804

Bald mapping

Strom Tuath'l

Place ID 1677 NF 86137 55272 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG current of the north

ScG sròm tuath

ScG?

ON?

S1alt water

Current or Strait

complete?

I have no idea as to the 'l' at the end of this name. It is marked by MacVicar as being in the bay directly opposite Sron Tuath (P#421 q.v.) and there might even be confusion between the two with 'strom' not sounding far from 'sron'. Topographically 'current of the north' would make more sense as it is in the N side of the sound between Griomasagih and Benbecula.

Strom Tuath'l

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Stromban

Place ID	1164	NF 91410 68020	North Uist	Lochmaddy	
ScG pale current			scG sròm bàn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Current or Strait			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Stromban			1877	OS 1st edition	
White Stream			1858	Otter Loch nam Maddadh	

Stron Bàn

Place ID 1149 NF 90560 67990 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG white current

ScG sròm bàn

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Strombane

2014

Modern OS mapping

Stron Bàn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Stromban

1877

OS 1st edition

Strombane

1832

Thomson atlas

Strombane

1799

Reid mapping

Struth Mòr

Place ID 1199 NF 90800 69260 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG big current ScG sruth mòr

Settlement

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Strictly in ScG struth = 'ostrich' but this would seem a trifle unlikely!

Strumore	2014	Modern OS mapping
Struth Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Stramore	1832	Thomson atlas
Strumore	1799	Reid mapping

Struthan Ban

Place ID 2152 NF 73346 70744

North Uist

B1alrinald

ScG small white stream

ScG sruthan bàn

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Struthan Ban

1877

OS 1st edition

Stulabhal

Place ID 6202 NF 80679 24084 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON milking-place - mountain

ON stöðul - fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The ON stöðull element is here treated as an onomastic unit in itself referring to a milking place near modern Caolas Stulaigh. This is the only sensible way to explain both Stulaigh and Stulabhal.

There are Stöðulfjall place names in Iceland and early 50 Stølsfjell(et), two Stølfjellet, two Stølafjellet and a Stølefjellet place name in Norway.

Stulabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Stulievaule	1877	OS name book
Stulaval	1877	OS 1st edition
Stullievale	1877	OS name book
Stullievaule	1804	Bald mapping

Stulaigh

Place ID 6213 NF 82995 23371 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON milking place - island

ON stöðull - ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

With its topography and ending in -aigh, the generic must be ON ey = 'island'.

I suspect that the specific is ON stöðull = 'milking shed', a version of a shieling.

The presence of the nearby Stulabhal would imply that somewhere there is a ON stöðul = 'milking shed' and therefore rather than the shieling being on the island, the island is named after the nearby shieling on the mainland shore, presumably what is now named Caolas Stulaigh. Effectively then stöðull becomes an onomastic unit in its own right.

The genitive is likely to be ON*stöðuls which rules against 'island of the milking place' unless the plural was used ON*stöðla = 'of the milking sheds'

Satellite imagery reveals a large extent of feannagan here and so that area has been used for agricultural uses.

It is worth observing that the dative is ON stöðli = 'place of the milking place' and this could do away with the next for the ON ey = 'island'

Støleøya is a place name in Iceland.

Stulaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Stuley	1877	OS 1st edition
Eilean Staoleidh	1877	OS name book
Stuley I.	1804	Bald mapping

Stuley River

Place ID 6214 NF 81836 23240 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Stuley' + Eng river 'Stuley' + Eng river

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Stulaigh (P#6213) for a discussion of that name.

The Bald version Avhin Carra (PN#12875) must come from ScG abhainn carragh = 'river of the stone'.

Abhuinn Staoleidh	1877	OS name book
Stuley River	1877	OS 1st edition
Avhin Carra	1804	Bald mapping

Sudhanais

Place ID 634 NF 89220 78580 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON look out headland

ON sjón nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Headland

complete?

The generic gives away it has a Norse root - ON nis = 'headland'. The 'dh' is clearly silent to judge from the OS 1st series Suenish. A sensible option for the specific is ON sjón = 'watch'.

(There is an Airdseadanis on Scalpay. There is no Sjórnarnes in Iceland but there are 7 Sjórnarás place names there. In Norway however there are Sjonanes)et, Sjonneset and Sjonset place names with five Sjonaråsen names.

Sudhanais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Suenish	1877	OS 1st edition
Ru Soonish	1866	Admiralty mapping

Suidhe an Fhithich

Place ID	553	NF 80410 63310	North Uist	Berneray	
ScG raven's seat			ScG suidhe an fhithich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Possibly 'seat' here is taken to mean 'nest'?					
Suidhe an Fhithich			1971	Macdonald Two townships	

Suidheachadh Sealg

Place ID 5415 NF 82476 55089 Benbecula Rueval

ScG hunting seats ScG suidheachan sealg

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Suidheachadh Sealg 2014 Modern OS mapping

Suidheachadh Sealg 1877 OS 1st edition

Suidheuchadh Sealg 1877 OS name book

Suidheachadh Seilge 1861 Thomas chart

Hunting Tryst 1861 Thomas chart

Suidheacha-sealg

Place ID 959 NF 89020 67350 North Uist Lochmaddy

ScG hunt seats

ScG suidheachan-sealg

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Boundary

complete?

ScG suidheachan = 'seat' is clearly part of the word. This name crops up where there is driven deer hunting. This particular place is in a good position for driving deer using lochs and rivers as barriers as well as one long dyke.

There is another Suidheachadh Sealg in Gramsdal, Benbecula. There are no other examples.

Suidheacha-sealg

2014

Modern OS mapping

Suidheacha-sealg

1877

OS 1st edition

Sunamul

Place ID 292 NF 80290 56960 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ON islet of the sun

ON sunnu múla

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The generic is possibly ON hólmr = 'islet' with metathesis or ON múli = 'headland' and I suspect the latter with the name transferring to the island. The most likely option for the specific is ON sunnu = 'of the sun (poetically)'.

Sunamul	2014	Modern OS mapping
---------	------	-------------------

Sunamul	1877	OS 1st edition
---------	------	----------------

Sunamul	1861	Thomas chart
---------	------	--------------

Sunemull	1832	Thomson atlas
----------	------	---------------

Sunemull	1804	Bald mapping
----------	------	--------------

Sunnda

Place ID 5627 NF 60477 62259 North Uist Heisker

ON vale of the sun

ON sunnu dal

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Depression

complete?

This feels Norse and a suitable option would be ON sunnu dal = 'vale of the sun'. The disappearance of the final /l/ is not unusual.

In Iceland there are ten cognate Sunndalur whilst Norway has fourteen Sun(n)dal(en).

Sunnda

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

Sursaigh

Place ID 1568 NF 95907 76022 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON island of the poor soil

ON saurs ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

ON sjos = 'of the sea' would work but then every marine island is an island of the sea! Perhaps the name refers to the fact that it could be construed as the first island in this group that is in open water?

A more interesting solution is ON sverðs = 'of the sword' and could refer to the fact that disputes were settled on islands in a duelling style and this could have been what this island was used for.

Neither are very satisfactory to my ears.

The best option is ON súrs ey = 'sour island' from the adjective ON súrr = 'sour'. The adjective has taken on the meaning of 'poor soil' in this sort of context. I am a little concerned about the genitival 's' here as with a feminine noun such as ON ey, one would expect ON súrrar rather than ON súrs.

An alternative given by Rygh (p73) is ON saurr = 'acidic soil' with a genitive of ON saurs. This works perfectly as au > a is regular

There is a Súrholmi and a Saurholmi in Iceland.

Holliday derives Sorobaidh on Tiree from ON saur bý = 'marshy farm'. Marwick writes (p69) that Sourin, Sourpow, Sorquoy and Sorpool all share this root.

Sursaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Sursaigh	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Sursay	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Sursay	1877	OS 1st edition
Sursay	1866	Admiralty mapping
Sursay I.	1832	Thomson atlas
Sarfay I.	1804	Bald mapping

Taghaigh

Place ID 1566 NF 96331 75126 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON high island

ON há ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

Two possibilities are as follows. The shape of the island is distinctive and the word ON tota = 'teat or teat like protuberance' would be a good topographical fit.

ON taða ey = 'the hay from the well-manured home field island' is probably better phonetically but makes less topographical sense.

However the nearby presence of ScG Sgeir an Tairbh probably stemming from ON teigar sker = 'skerry of the paddock', it is likely therefore the island takes its name from the good land at the N end still clearly separated from the less good by a dyke. ON teigar-ey = 'island of the paddock' then works topographically and phonetically.

Gammeltoft however in his 'Norse Contribution to Hebridean Islands' derives the name form ON há ey = 'high island', a good topographic fit. It is interesting to see that the older forms are useful in deciding this root. The Gaelic hypercorrection appears in my record for the first time in 1832

Taghaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Tathaigh	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Tathay	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Tahay	1877	OS 1st edition
Tahay	1866	Admiralty mapping
Tahay I.	1832	Thomson atlas
Tahay I.	1804	Bald mapping
Hoia	1654	Blaeu mapping
Ylen Eoy	1654	Blaeu mapping
Hay	1560	Monro Western Isles

Taigh a' Bharraich

Place ID	6030	NF 81957 75401	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG house of the Barra man			ScG taigh a' Barraich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Taigh a' Bharraich			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Taigh a' Bhogain

Place ID	6064	NF 82821 74736	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG house of the small bog			ScG taigh a' bog -ain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Taigh a' Bhogain			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Taigh a' Bhuachaille

Place ID 5854 NF 80849 74513 North Uist S1ollas

ScG house of the shepherd

ScG taigh a' bhuachaille

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Niclain writes 'At one time a herdsman lived in every village. The herd would take place on the 28th of May; on this day all the animals had to be put out on the mountain or tied up so that the corn could grow. The herdsman would take them away at about six in the morning and return them to the village at about eight at night. Each village also had a quay, and the dry cattle were put here for the next timemorning. This went on all summer. The herdsman would be accompanied by a lump of gall in case a cow got into a hole and the herdsman needed help from the village. It was during the last war that this practice ceased in Malaclete, because people began to putting their animals on their own crofts. The practice continued at Sollas and Grenitote, however - for some time after the war.'

Taigh a' Bhuachaille

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Taigh a' Ghranndaich

Place ID 5737 NF 77457 75993 North Uist V1allay

ScG Grant's house

ScG taigh a' ghranndaich

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Niclain writes 'Grant's House - The keeper's house is a very old house. Grant was the last resident. He left the island in 1926 and moved to Achilty'

Taigh a' Ghranndaich

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Taigh an Lòin

Place ID 5927 NF 80126 74297 North Uist S1ollas

ScG house of the pool

ScG taigh an lòin

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Niclain wrties 'It is because of the house that the house is surrounded by a large lake.'

Taigh an Lòin

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Taigh Eòghainn Oig Dhòmhnallaich

Place ID 5736 NF 77435 76002 North Uist V1allay

ScG house of young Ewan Donald

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

This house was built by Eöghainn Og Dömhnallach in 1742. It was here that the school on Vallay was held at one time. It was also the laundry for Vallay House.

Taigh Eòghainn Oig Dhòmhnallaich

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Taign an Laundry

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Taigh Iamain

Place ID 6670 NF 83849 43682 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

on sea-mouth of the low headland

ON tæar sjá munn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

For the Iamain element see Sgeir Mhic Iamain (P#5050) for a discussion. Topographically this is good for 'sea-mouth' as it sits at the entrance to South Ford.

The ScG taigh = 'house' is an odd name for an island.

The proximity of Tathanais to the N might give us a clue if we knew where that came from, which I currently don't. For Tigh a' Ghearraidh (P#453) I wrote 'Finally a decent option is ON tá = 'toe' with a variant of tæ. Jakobsen writes (p106) 'as a name of small, low points or tongues of land'. This would seem to be a good description of the headland Rubha Dubh Thaigh a' Ghearraidh. The genitive of ON tá would appear to be ON táar so the variant might be *ON tæ ar. This works quite well phonetically.'

I think this is the same.

The Bald name Duiyievan (PN#14188) looks very different but the last section could be /iamhain/, some genitive form of /iamain/. This is reinforced by the OS 1st edition name of Taigh Iàmhain.

The whole thing could be ScG dubh + ON ey sjá munn = 'black island of the sea mouth island'. Putting ScG dubh in front of island names is a common occurrence.

Taigh Iamain	2014	Modern OS mapping
Duiyievan	1877	OS name book
Taigh Iàmhain	1877	OS 1st edition
Duiyievan	1804	Bald mapping

Taigh Mhic Dhubh-Sìth

Place ID 5861 NF 80639 74121 North Uist S1ollas

ScG house of the + ON deep bay + SCg fairy knoll ScG taigh + ON vík djúp + ScG sìth

Settlement

Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I have no idea how the 'son of' fits in here.

The only way I can see is for ON vík = 'bay' to appear. This requires us to find the loch that Beveridge talks about in the local tradition supported by Niclain.

One could see the lump here forming an island at the entrance to a long bay that ends at Loch Sanndaraigh,

This could be ON djúp - vík = 'deep bay' reordered. The name then makes sense as 'house of the deep - bay fairy - knoll'.

A complicated one but I think a realistic explanation of the name and its topography.

The fact the house sits on Cnoc Chrosamul (P#23470) would indicate that this was an island at some stage.

Taigh Mhic Dhubh-Sìth

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Taigh MhicPhail

Place ID	6031	NF 82554 75362	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG MacPhail's house			ScG taigh MhicPhail		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Taigh MhicPhail			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Taigh Mòr Sholais

Place ID 6028 NF 81541 75339 North Uist S1ollas

ScG big house of Sollas

ScG taigh mòr Sholais

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Niclain writes 'This mansion was built around 1650. Some say that it was the first slate house in Uist (although this is said of Grant 's House on Vallay, and also of Cheersabhagh House). The slate came from Stadhlaigh Island in South Uist, the same slate as Ormaclete Castle in South Uist. The house was demolished in the eighteenth century'

Taigh Mòr Sholais

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Taigh Spònais

Place ID 1984 NF 92100 69518

North Uist

Lochmaddy

ScG house+ ON Spònais

ScG taigh + ON Spònais

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

See Spònais for a discussion of that place.

Taigh Spònais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Sponish House

1877

OS 1st edition

Sponish House

1858

Otter Loch nam Maddadh

Taigh-Cuibhle

Place ID	5791	NF 80390 75833	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG wheel house			ScG taigh - cuibhle		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
The site of a large wheelhouse.					
	Taigh-Cuibhle		1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Taighean na Cuidh' Chruaidh(ich)

Place ID 5741 NF 77585 75968 North Uist V1allay

ScG houses of the solid fold

ScG taighean na cuidhe chruaidh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The walls here are high

Taighean na Cuidh' Chruaidh(ich)

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Taigh-Leughaidh Hàbhaisgearraidh

Place ID 5814 NF 81103 75522 North Uist S1ollas

Scg reading room of 'Hàbhaisgearraidh' ScG taigh-leughaidh + 'Hàbhaisgearraidh'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

Niclain writes 'this was on the little hill where Hàsgisgarry Rock is. Since there is no church, this is where interrogators and ministers taught before the local evictions between 1848 and 1850. In the last century the evangelist Finlay Munro taught in Hàvsgarry one Sunday and two pipers passed. . He told the people: "You can hear singing. Two pipers have passed over there. Not one of them is covered with earth." That's exactly what happened: one of the pipers went over to Australia and was drowned between the pier and the boat. A stick carrying the other sank (Lawson. 1995: 17).'

The obvious Gaelic translation is ScG taigh-leughaidh = 'reading house'.

The sound /L'ie:vəy/ is very like ON hlið - veg = 'slope way'

For the element 'Hàbhaisgearriah' see Havisgarry (P#5668).

Taigh-Leughaidh Hàbhaisgearraidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tairbeart

Place ID 545 NF 80430 63710 North Uist C1arinish

ScG isthmus ScG tairbeart

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An ideal spot to haul boats out into the relatively secure Oban Irpeig.

Tairbeart

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Talamh na Sgeir Fhaoiteig

Place ID	2158	NF 77522 61928	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG land of the skerry of the cowrie			ScG talamn na sgeir fhaoiteig		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour		Rise			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
Fraser's writes about the cowrie being a talisman.					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Talamh na Sgeir Fhaoiteig			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Talamh nan Treineachan

Place ID 2161 NF 77514 62242 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG land of the corncrakes

ScG talamh nan treonachan

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Farming

complete?

In fact I wonder if this comes from ScG treonachan = 'corncrakes' rather than the 'drains' that Fraser suggests. The ScG trainsse = 'drain' is the closest I could find unless the English drain was used itself.

Talamh nan Treineachan

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Tamuigir I

Place ID	5484	NF 84553 51222	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
ScG upper mound			ScG tom uachdair		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

Not an easy one but the island looks like some form of mound and so perhaps ScG tom uachdar = 'upper mound' with the bigger Collam opposite. Quite why upper though I cannot see.

ScG uachdair = 'upper' is pronounced /uəxgər/ which sounds close to either of the two forms.

ON jöðarr = 'boundary' might work as it is the clear place to act as a boundary between the two halves of Benbecula.

Perhaps a specific of O(N sjón = 'sea' might work well.

Tamuigir I	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Tomeughar I.	1804	Bald mapping

Taobh a' Deas Loch Aineort

Place ID 6121 NF 76946 28306 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG south side of + 'Loch Aineort'

ScG taobh a' deas + 'Loch Aineort'

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

For a discussion of Loch Aineort (P#86) see that place.

Taobh a' Deas Loch Aineort

2014

Modern OS mapping

Taobh a Tuath Loch Aineort

Place ID 5026 NF 77411 29277 South Uist Loch Eynort

'Loch Aineort' + SCG north side

ScG taobh a Tuath + 'Loch Aineort'

ScG?

ON?

To decide

complete?

For a discussion of Loch Aineort (P#86) see that place.

Taobh a Tuath Loch Aineort

2014

Modern OS mapping

Taobh a Tuath nan Ceallan

Place ID	1637	NF 87999 55801	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ScG north side of 'Ceallan'.			ScG taobh a' tuath 'Ceallan'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Contour					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
A self-explanatory, if long, name.					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Taobh a Tuath nan Ceallan			2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)	

Taraloch

Place ID 2641 NF 93277 82623 B1earnaraigh Ru1isigrearraidh

ON hollow of the kelp

ON þara læk

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Farming

complete?

ON þara lág = 'hollow of the kelp' works well phonetically and topographically.
Better is ON þara læk = 'stream of the kelp'
Kelp still accumulates here in large piles.

There is a Þaraneslág in Iceland. Þaravík i occurs four times but no closer cognate exists there.

Taraloch

2014

Modern OS mapping

Tarra Locha

n/a

Tarbert Burn

Place ID 6560 NF 80125 39709 South Uist Loch Sgioport

'Tarbert' + Eng burn 'Tarbert' + Eng burn

Fresh water Stream

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Ceann an Tairbeirt (P#6585) for a discussion of the first element.

Tarbert Burn	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Tarbert Burn	1877	OS 1st edition
--------------	------	----------------

Abhuinn Beinn an Tairbeart	1877	OS name book
----------------------------	------	--------------

Tathanais

Place ID 6707 NF 83576 44637 South Uist Aird a' Mhachair

ON low-lying headland

ON tæ nes

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

This name is probably linked to Tagh Iamian, 1km to the S.

For the Iamian element see Sgeir Mhic Iamian (P#5050) for a discussion. Topographically this is good for 'sea-mouth' as it sits at the entrance to South Ford.

The ScG taigh = 'house' there would sound very similar to the /Tatha/ element here. It is an odd name for an island. Bald confirms this with his name of Taighenish Id. (PN#14261)

For Tigh a' Ghearraidh (P#453) I wrote 'Finally a decent option is ON tá = 'toe' with a variant of tæ. Jakobsen writes (p106) 'as a name of small, low points or tongues of land'. This would seem to be a good description of the headland Rubha Dubh Thaigh a' Ghearraidh.'

I think this is the same here with a close compound.

The problem is to which headland this refers to as the main headland nearby already has a name, Gaiseirnis. I wonder if it is the small headland at NF 82742 44886.

Tathanais	2014	Modern OS mapping
Taienish	1877	OS 1st edition
Taighenish Id.	1804	Bald mapping

Taymail

Place ID 4968 NF 76846 28596 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG house of rent

ScG taigh mail

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

This house is situated in a good spot for collecting the mail as it is well served for access by land and by sea. One would have expected lenition so Tayvail.

The name remains as Rubh' an Tigh-mhàil on modern mapping and here does have the lenition.

Taymail

1804

Bald mapping

Taymail

1804

Bald mapping

Teampall Naomh Mhicheil

Place ID 429 NF 88170 54810 North Uist Griomasaigh

ScG St. Michael's chapel

ScG teampall +naomh Mhicheil

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Religious

complete?

Standing on the hill overlooking Ceallan, the remains are still impressive if not spectacular. The foundation is attributed to Amie MacRuari, first wife of John, Lord of the Isles, and thought to have been built c 1370.

Teampall Naomh Mhicheil

2014

Modern OS mapping

Teampull Mhicheil

2001

Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)

St Michael's Chapel

1877

OS 1st edition

St. Michael (in ruins)

1861

Thomas chart

Teampull Bhuirgh

Place ID 5107 NF 76935 50290 Benbecula T1orlum

ON borgh + ScG temple

ScG teampall + ON borgh

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Carmichael's alternative name, Tota Bhailuacraich, must come from ScG tobhta baile uachdra -ach = 'place of the upper township ruins' and probably refers to Bald's Ken Uachkir (q.v.) and the modern name for the loch here, Loch a' Chinn Uacraich.

Teampull Bhuirgh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Tota Bhailuacraich

1877

OS name book

Teampull Bhuirgh

1877

OS 1st edition

Teampull Chaluim Chille

Place ID 53 NF 78230 54910 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG Columba's chapel

ScG teampall chaluim chille

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Religious

complete?

There is a tradition that St Torranan landed at nearby Calligeo and wanted to build a chapel nearby. However every night an angel would pick up the stones and move them to an island in a nearby loch. In the end he gave up and built it there, the current site of Teampall Chaluim Chill.

Teampull Chaluim Chille

2014

Modern OS mapping

Teampull Chaluim Chille

1877

OS 1st edition

Kilcholambkil

1654

Blaeu mapping

Teampull Chriosd

Place ID 322 NF 78350 61370 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG Christ's chapel

Scg teampull Chriosd

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Teampull Chriosd

2014

Modern OS mapping

Teampull Chriosd

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Ballienakill

1850

Collectanea

Balnakellie

1850

Collectanea

Baile-na-Cille

MacDonald sketch history

Teampull Chriosda

MacDonald sketch history

Teampull Clann a' Phiocair

Place ID 1240 NF 81630 60290 North Uist C1arinish

ScG chapel of the MacVicar's

ScG teampull clann a' phiocair

Historic

ScG?

ON?

complete?

A family tied into the history of the area with a typically gruesome end for many of them.

Teampull Clann a' Phiocair

1877

OS 1st edition

Teampull Mhuir

Place ID 1094 NF 78600 76380 North Uist V1allay

ScG Virgin Mary's chapel

ScG teampall Mhuire

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Religious

complete?

A clear name for an old chapel site.

Niclain writes 'This area is known as St Mary's Chapel, although the map refers to St Mary's Temple. It is also known as MacDonald's Chapel. It has been suggested that the Chapel was built of stone from an ancient temple before two crosses are clearly visible on an adjoining stone slab the chapel; This slab appears to have been used for the lintel of the chapel. The ruins of Ultain Chapel are also nearby. Consecrations for this saint are not common in Scotland, so we cannot say who they were.'

Teampull Mhuir

2014

Modern OS mapping

Caibeal Mhoire

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Teampull Mhuire

1877

OS 1st edition

Teampull Mòr

Place ID	6406	NF 75845 36453	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
Scg	bug chaepI		ScG teampull mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Religious			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
	Teampull Mòr		1877	OS 1st edition	

Teampull na Trionaid

Place ID 1239 NF 81620 60280 North Uist C1arinish

ScG chapel of the Trinity ScGv teampull na trionaid

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A straightforward name for a very unstraightforward site.

Teampull na Trionaid	1877	OS 1st edition
Teampul na Trianade	1794	Old Staitistical Account
Killtrimadale	1751	Dorret mapping

Teampull Orain

Place ID 1086 NF 77290 77110 North Uist V1allay

'Orasaigh's + ScG temple

ScG teampull + 'Orasaigh'

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

The site is on Orasaigh, q.v. for details. Several of these islands have ended up with an 'n' in the middle, as this one did on the OS 1st series, mapping probably trying to get a bit of the action of St. Oran, a companion of St. Columba.

This island even has its Teampull Orain but as Beveridge almost disappointedly writes 'It would however seem more probable that the chapel derived its name from the islet than vice versa'!

Niclain writes 'Some of these ruins are known as Caibcal Odhrain, although the map is called Teampall Odhrain. It is said that Colmcille asked his contemporaries, St Oran, to build the temple. Beveridge believed that only two chapels in the lower part of Scotland were named after St Oran, one in Vallay, and another in Colonsay (Beveridge. 1911: 86).'

Teampull Orain

2014

Modern OS mapping

Tobhta Chaibeal Odhrain

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Teanna Mhachair

Place ID 307 NF 77611 62071 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG old machair or ON banks of the tarn ScG teanna mhacair or ON tjarnar bakka

Settlement

- ScG?
 ON?
 complete?

Although the ScG is the obvious interpretation, if Loch Mhic Coan has ON tjörn = 'tarn' as its root then it is likely that the Teanna could share this root. Cox (p380) gives ON tjarnargerði = 'enclosure of the tarn' as his interpretation of Teànnraigir.

Here ON tjarnar = 'of the tarn' fits well with the 'teanna'. Cox (p380) derives Teànnraigir from Tjarnargerði and the proximity of Loch Mhic Coan.

As for the specific I suspect it is ON bakkar = 'banks'.

Tjarnarbakk<ar,i> 2,6; Tarnabakki 1 Iceland;

Tjørnbakken 10, Tjørnabakken 4; Tjørnebakken 2; Tjønnbakken c45 Norway

Tjärnabäcken 2; Tjärnaback<a/en> 2,12; Tjärnbäcken 65

Teanna Mhachair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Teanamachar	2014	Modern OS mapping
An t-Seana Mhachair	1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Teilem

Place ID 238 NF 91850 75310 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON shelter islet

ON hæli hólmr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

On the OS 1st series there are three mentions of Teilem, all spelt the same. The generic is almost certainly ON hólmr = 'small island' and often shortens to 'lum' or a variant thereof.

The best option for the specific is to my mind ON hæli = 'shelter' or ON heill = 'safe' c.f. Mol Teiltein on the E coast by the Lees.

MacDonald thinks the root is ON heill holmr.

There is a Teiltein on the E coast of Nort Uist.

There is a Heilsholman in Norway.

Teilem

2014

Modern OS mapping

Teilem

MacDonald sketch history

The Basin

Place ID	1278	NF 97709 76201	B1earnaraigh	Ru2isigearraidh	
Eng the basin			Eng the basin		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
S1alt water		Bay			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
The Basin			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Tholmair

Place ID 6638 NF 83252 42137 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG islet ScG hólmr

Settlement Township

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I imagine the referent is the green islet at NF 83943 42050.
A simplex name indicative of an early settlement.

Holmar	2014	Modern OS mapping
Tholmair	2014	Modern OS mapping

Three Stones

Place ID 4972 NF 77011 28128 South Uist Loch Eynort

Eng three stones Eng three stones

To decide

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am not sure which three stones the name refers to....

Three Stones 1804 Bald mapping

Thula-Geodha

Place ID 1033 NF 74010 76560 North Uist Grim1inish

ON gully of the cavities

ON hola gjá

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Gully

complete?

The two names in the OSNB both had /ú/ as the initial vowel sound although the accent was deleted before publication. Carmichael generally has a good ear for these things and so I will work on the version: Thúla-geodha. The generic is straightforward with the order being that of a Norse place name ON gjá = 'rift' or 'ravine'.

The specific is harder with a variety of options including: ON hjallr = fish-drying shed; ON þvæla = 'to wash with soap'; höll, hallar = 'hall'. The first of these has developed the meaning of 'something flat, which is high' which would work for the land just behind the gully here. None are convincing.

Another option is ON huldu = 'of secrecy i.e. hidden'. This could be a description for this gully out the back of the main bay. /ld/ > /ll/ is regular.

ON holr = 'hollow (adj)' would form ON hola gjá = 'hollow gully' but it is hard to see how a gully can be hollow.

ON hol = 'hollow (noun)' would have to be in the plural or be used as an adjectival noun creating either ON hol - gjá = 'cavity gully' or ON hola gjá = 'gully of the cavities'. There are some small cave like features towards the end of the gully here and this could be the referent.

None of these however account for the quantity of the initial vowel. However ON hol > No høl which reflects some form of lengthening an perhaps solves the problem.

If we look for a long initial vowel, then ON hól = 'hill, hillock' and ON hjól = 'wheel' seem to be the best options and of these the former makes some sort of topographical sense with the hill, Beinn Scolpaig, above the bay. Both have a genitival /s/ and so the root form is probably being used and so ON hól - gjá = 'hill gully' is probably the best option.

If we were to go for the shorter initial vowel as on the OS mapping, ON höll = 'hall' would be interesting as it denotes the house of a significant person but perhaps unlikely. That said the current island laird's family chose to live in the area here.....

In Iceland there is a Huldugjá.

Hól- names are rarer than Hól- names but none include gjá.

Thula-Geodha	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hula-geo	1877	OS 1st edition
Húla-geodh	1877	OS name book

Tigh a' Ghearraidh

Place ID 1627 NF 71423 71971 North Uist B1alranald

ON enclosure of low headland

ON tæar gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Beveridge gives us 'tigh a' ghearraidh, 'house of the enclosed arable land' and it is the obvious first port of call. In this part of the island, the coastal names are nearly all mirrored with inland 'gearraidh' names and the existence of a separate Gearraidh Thigh' ghearraidh to the E is odd if Thigh' ghearraidh had ScG roots. I suspect that the name is in fact Norse which fits the pattern of local names much better. Something like /teija/ stemming from a genitive - akin to ON ey with the genitive ON eyjar or plural genitive ON eyja. A grammatical variant on ON tigna = 'to worship, honour', ON tign = 'highness' or the similar ON tignn = 'noble' could provide the specific. The most likely would be the prefix ON tignar = 'of nobility' as medial ON gh has a habit of disappearing combined with ON gerði = 'an enclosure'. A more prosaic alternative is ON teigar = 'of a strip of land'. It is one of the most important areas of arable land on the island and close to one of the two old parish church sites. An alternative that is further away phonetically but reflected in several ON haugr place names nearby would be ON þing = 'assembly site'. It is hard to see how the sounds would have evolved.... Finally a decent option is ON tá = 'toe' with a variant of tæ. Jakobsen writes (p106) 'as a name of small, low points or tongues of land'. This would seem to be a good description of the headland Rubha Dubh Thaigh a' Ghearraidh. The genitive of ON tá would appear to be ON táar so the variant might be *ON tæ ar. This works quite well phonetically. The evidence of cognates however to me resolves the issue and the root is ON teiga gerði = 'enclosure of a strip of land'

There are no places I can find in the region with ON tign as a specific which is a concern. Approaching from the other way and looking for possible cognates, Teiga gerði appears in this form five times in Iceland and one more with a medial 's' although I cannot find an exact cognate in Norway. Taiglum and Taiglim in Ayrshire are perhaps examples of a Norse use of 'Taig'. Sweden has four including Tignehög. However looking at ON teigr, in Iceland there are four Teigagerði place names. Bute provides a Gaelic possibility where Teynigary is recorded in 1696 as an early form of Butt Garry (Markus p175). There are two Tá place names in Iceland whilst in Norway there are six Tán(es) place names

Tigharry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Tigh a' Ghearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Tighary	1877	OS 1st edition
Highary	1832	Thomson atlas
Highary	1832	Thomson atlas
Highary	1807	Arrowsmith mapping
Tyarg	1806	Stockdale mapping
Tighary	1799	Reid mapping
Tyarg	1789	Ainslie mapping
Tigheary	1718	1718 rental
Tigheary		MacDonald sketch history

Tigh Cloiche

Place ID 2313 NF 75161 71021 North Uist Central West

ScG house of stone

ScG taigh cloiche

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

This is a common name for 'antiquities' and in particular wheel houses.

Tigh Cloiche

2014

Modern OS mapping

Tigh Cloiche

1877

OS 1st edition

Tigh Cloiche

Place ID 2527 NF 83308 69590 North Uist Central South

ScG house of stone ScG tigh + cloiche

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The usual name for an old wheelhouse or cairn.

Tigh Cloiche 2014 Modern OS mapping

Tigh Cloiche 1877 OS 1st edition

Tigh Cloiche

Place ID	6688	NF 79191 44712	South Uist	Aird a' Mhachair	
ScG house of stone			ScG taigh cloiche		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Historic		Burial			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

This name occurs often and generally refers to some prehistoric building - here a cairn (Canmore ID#9944).

Tigh Cloiche	2014	Modern OS mapping
--------------	------	-------------------

Tigh na h-Acairseid

Place ID 6506 NF 85324 37027 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG house of the anchrage ScG taigh na h-acairseid

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A house ruin is visible on imagery at NF 85388 37184.

Tigh na h-Acairseid	2014	Modern OS mapping
Tigh-na-h--acairseid	1877	OS 1st edition
Taigh Ackarsade Alligh	1804	Bald mapping

Tigh-na-hoe

Place ID 116 NF 95969 73520 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON tip of the ness - mound

ON tána + haug

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The obvious interpretation is a Gaelic one and one the OS name book gives us 'house of the hoe - or mound' The grammar however is odd with the hyphens and the curious spelling of ScG taigh = 'house' along with the use of 'hoe' rather than ScG tobha. The indefinite article for ScG tobha should be ScG an = 'of the' rather than ScG na. All in all a mishmash and indicative of a name 'heard' in Gaelic from Norse.

The position on the OS 1st edition is spanning the neck of land that is to the south of the prominent mound, Hoe Beg. The /hoe/ must refer to this mound. Some sort of 'gateway' or 'entrance' word would be the most appropriate.

ON haugr = 'mound' is the obvious generic and ON tiginn = 'high born' would be a good phonetic match for the specific. ON tá or te = 'toe headland' or 'path' or perhaps better 'the tip of a ness'. The definite form tána would work well although the initial /i/ vowel would have to be driven by the desire to resemanticise. There are various possibilities but the best topographically to me is the one above although ON tána = 'of The low headlands' whilst less good phonetically but is more prosaic.

ON tó = 'a grassy patch among rocks or cliffs' with the dative definite plural ON tærnar this is a possibility.

Still some work to be done here...

Offbeat but possible is ON hafnar haug = 'mound of the harbour'. The initial /t/ could be placed there to Gaelicize the name.

Maciver (p71) lists a similar Tí-a-vall from Leiw's writing ti, high; hà fjall, high hill; heah A.S., high

Tigh-na-hoe

2014

Modern OS mapping

Tigh-na-hoe

1877

OS 1st edition

Toan

Place ID 5060 NG 04528 84227 Harris Harris general

ON the mound

ON hauginn

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

This is a prominent mound at the top of the loch. The ON haugr = 'mound' has become Hoa elsewhere on Uist and here the /n/ ending implies the possibility of a definite article.

T > h is a regular development.

There are three names with Tòan as a component on the OS 2nd series mapping. A nearby Toan (now Tòan) is the headland at Lingarabay whilst the last one is on Manish at the N tip of nearby island Ensay(now Tobhan).

Toan	1877	OS 1st edition
An Tòthan	1877	OS name book

Tobar

Place ID	5835	NF 80448 75102	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG well			ScG tobar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar

Place ID	5838	NF 80522 74984	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG well			scG tobar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar

Place ID	5901	NF 79631 74688	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG well			ScG tobar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar

Place ID	5905	NF 80146 74688	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG well			ScG tobar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar

Place ID	5916	NF 79731 74399	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG well			ScG tobar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar

Place ID	5929	NF 79756 74221	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG well			ScG tobar		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar a' Bhogain

Place ID	6068	NF 82999 74529	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG well of the little bog			ScG tobar a' bhog -ain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar a' Bhogain			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar a' Cheòthain

Place ID 1881 NF 77455 55464 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG well of the + 'Cheòtain

ScG tobar a' + 'Cheòthain'

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

The last part of this name appears three times. See An Ceothan (P#1880) for a discussion about it.

Tobar a' Cheòthain

1877

OS 1st edition

Tobar a' Chrothain

1877

OS name book

Tobar a' Chinn Uachdraich

Place ID	5777	NF 79439 76985	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG well of the upper head			ScG tobar a' chinn uachdraich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar a' Chinn Uachdraich			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar a' Choin

Place ID 2383 NF 71822 71567 North Uist B1alranald

ScG well of the dogs

ScG tobar a' choin

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

An alternative name given in the OS name book is Tobar Nic-Seibh and this means 'well of Seth's (?) daughter'. The latter could stem from ON knjúk sævi = 'knoll of the sea' albeit reordered.

Tobar a' Choin

1877

OS 1st edition

Tobar Nic-Seibh

1877

OS name book

Tobar a' Ghilliosaich

Place ID	6041	NF 82426 75104	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG Gillies' well			ScG tobar a' ghilliosaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar a' Ghilliosaich			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar an Easbuig

Place ID 6582 NF 80387 40237 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ScG well of the bishop

ScG tobar an easbaige

ScG?

ON?

Fresh Water

Well or spring

complete?

The OSNB writes 'This name signifies "Bishop's Well" and applies to a well where it is said Bishop Hughes used to drink out of when going to Loch Skiport.'

Carn Easbuig Eoin is nearby. Another bishop name, Can Easbuig Eoin (P#6581) is nearby.

Tobar an Easbuig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Tobar an Easpuig

1877

OS 1st edition

Tobar an Fhuarain

Place ID 6075 NF 81193 74202 North Uist S1ollas

ScG well of the green spot

ScG tobar na fhuarain

ScG?

ON?

Fresh Water

Well or spring

complete?

The /fh/ will be silent and ScG uaran = 'spring' and so we could have 'well of the spring'.

Tobar an Fhuarain

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobar an Pàirce

Place ID	5937	NF 79853 74147	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG well of the field			ScG tobar an pàirce		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar an Pàirce			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar an t-Saoir

Place ID 2230 NF 73932 67153 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG well of the joiner

ScG tobar an t-saoir

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

MacAulay writes : 'The Joiner's Well', [is] in Hasten and it is so called as it is said that a joiner lived close to it at one time.1978:2.'

Tobar an t-Saoir

2000

Stahl A-B Paible Place Name

Tobar Bhigein

Place ID 5908 NF 79844 74598 North Uist S1ollas

ScG well of the young animal ScG tobar bhigein

Fresh Water Well or spring

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

This seems an odd name for a well.

I wonder if the second element is in fact ON *víkin* = 'The bay' with the referent being the nearby inlet.

Tobar Bhigein

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobar Ceit

Place ID	6036	NF 81987 75361	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG Kate's well			ScG tobar Ceit		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar Ceit			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar Chaluim Chille

Place ID 585 NF 87920 75030 North Uist Clachan Sands

ScG Columba's well

ScG tobar + chaluim + chille

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

There is no evidence that the site was visited by Columba and the well itself is not impressive but it is an area full of religiously-connected names.

Tobar Chaluim Chille

2014

Modern OS mapping

Tobar Chaluim Chille

1877

OS 1st edition

Tobar Charroin

Place ID 2451 NF 79897 74088 North Uist Central North

ScG Carron's well ScG tobar Charroin

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OS name book provides us with 'Carron's well'.

Lochcarron on the mainland is said to come from 'Loch of rough water' but it is difficult to see a well producing rough water....

Tobar Charroin

1877

OS 1st edition

Tobar Chlann Nèill

Place ID	5728	NF 76118 76024	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG well of Clann Neill			ScG tobar chlann Niall		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar Chlann Nèill			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar Chuithairidh

Place ID 2517 NF 81381 68980 North Uist Central South

ON shieling of the folds + ScG well

ScG tobar + ON kvía ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

I wonder if the confusion between ScG tobar = 'well' and ScG tobha = 'mound' has arisen here. Certainly there is a mound in this area of the bog.

It would then also fit with the ON kvía ærgi = 'sheiling of the folds'.

The alternative is ScG chuidhe airigh = 'fold of the sheiling'.

All words here are loaned from Norse and so confusion can result!

MacDonald writes about Cuidhairidh equating with 'The shieling fold'.

Tobar an Deideidh

1911

Beveridge

Tobar Chuithairidh

1877

OS 1st edition

Tobar Chuidh-airidh

MacDonald sketch history

Tobar Cuidhe Mhaoilean

Place ID 5841 NF 80834 74875 North Uist S1ollas

ScG well of the fold of brow the bare hill ScG tobar cuidhe mhaoilean

Fresh Water Well or spring

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An alternative interpretation could be ON kvía múlinn = 'The promontory of the folds' and this could another feature of the lake that was supposed to be here. ON myln = 'mill' and ON mölin = 'The gravel' is another possibility.

Tobar Cuidhe Mhaoilean

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

tobar Dhòmhnail Mhòr

Place ID	5853	NF 80768 74686	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG well of big Donald			ScG tobar Dhòmhnail mhòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
tobar Dhòmhnail Mhòr			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar Didomhnuich

Place ID	667	NF 86480 75390	North Uist	Clachan Sands	
ScG Sunday well			ScG tobar DiDòmhaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water		Stream			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar Didomhnuich			1877	OS 1st edition	

Tobar Druim na Mònadh

Place ID	5951	NF 79780 73627	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG well of the ridge of peat			ScG tobar druim na mònadh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar Druim na Mònadh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar Ealasaid

Place ID 4920 NF 74583 67353 North Uist B1ayhead

ScG Elizabeth or ON residence of the timber scaff ScG tobat ealasaid or ON hjalla set

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

Elizabeth well is given to us by the Hebridean Connection (p76) is a vague position.

The second component sounds quite Norse, perhaps ON hjalla set = 'residence of the timber scaffold (for drying fish)'

There are four Hjallasel place names in Iceland (where setr names are rare) whilst in Norway there are two Hjellset place names.

Tobar Ealasaid

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Tobar Lachlainn

Place ID	6047	NF 81496 74938	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG Lachlan's well			ScG tobar Lachlainn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar Lachlainn			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar Mhic Rath

Place ID 1681 NF 82580 60316 North Uist Eaval

ScG Macrae's well

ScG tobar mhic rath

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

This is the literal translation but I am not aware of any story about the name.

ON rá has a variety of meanings including 'fish drying pole', 'landmark' and 'nook'. Placing a pole on this knoll would act as both a landmark and somewhere to dry fish.....

Tobar Mhic Rath

2000

Donald MacVicar Broad Island

Tobar Mòr

Place ID	2153	NF 77704 62042	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG big well			ScG tobar mòr		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar Mòr			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Tobar na Ceàrdaich

Place ID	5845	NF 79596 74703	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG well of the smithy			ScG tobar na céardaich		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar na Ceàrdaich			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar na h-Airde

Place ID	5974	NF 83458 79241	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG well of the promontory			ScG tobar na h-àirde		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar na h-Airde			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar na trionaid

Place ID	1241	NF 81440 60130	North Uist	C1arinish	
ScG well of the Trinity			SCG tobar na trionaid		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar na trionaid			1877	OS 1st edition	

Tobar Sgeir an Aoil

Place ID	5963	NF 79241 73574	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG skerry of the lime well			ScG tobar sgeir an aoil		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobar Sgeir an Aoil			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobar Sùil Bhigein

Place ID 5920 NF 80042 74513 North Uist S1ollas

ScG well of the eye of a chick

ScG tobar sùil bhigein

ScG?

ON?

Fresh Water

Well or spring

complete?

ScG well of the eye of the small animal seems odd but there is a eye of a goose name near Bayhead. It could be a reflection on the amount of water produced by the well.

/su:l/ is the IPA spelling. An interesting possibility is ON söl - víkin = 'The samphire -bay. The cognate notes lead me to ON sölva = 'of the samphire' although the generic is not obvious.

ON sölvanna = 'of the samphire' in the definite case.

There are over 100 names beginning with Sölv- in Iclenad, including two Sölvavík whilst in Norway there are over 70 place names beginning with Solvik.

Tobar Sùil Bhigein

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobar Suil Geidh

Place ID 1616 NF 72196 70875 North Uist B1alranald

ScG well of the geese's hillock

ScG tobar tul geàdh

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

complete?

The Hebridean Connection (p35) writes about the Well of the Goose Eye in the Upper Land where there were distilling vats for the making of whiskey.

The location is vague and I wonder if in fact it was nearer Scolpaig.

Cox notes a place name ScG An Tùl Biorach = 'The pointed knoll' equivalent to Suil Bhiorach. I suspect that this equivalence to do with lenition is happening here and on fact the name is ScG tobar tùl geàdh.

The cognate notes hint that it might in fact be ScG sùil =? ON söl = 'samphire'.

There is another Tobar Sùil Bhigean (P#5920) in the Sollas area.

Tobar Suil Geidh

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Tobha Beag

Place ID 77 NF 76150 35730

South Uist

B1einn Mhòr

ScG small + ON/ScG mound

ScG tobha or ON haugr + ScG beag

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Tobha Beag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Howbeg

1877

OS 1st edition

Houghbeag

1877

OS name book

Howbeg

1804

Bald mapping

How beg

1654

Blaeu mapping

Tobha beag

Place ID 114 NF 95200 74649 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ScG small mound ScG tobha beag

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Reid's map marks the larger hill to the S as Hoe Mor.
MacDonald writes 'a pendicle of Trumisgarry farm on the east.'

Tobha beag	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hoo Beg	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hoe Beg	1877	OS 1st edition
Hanbeg	1832	Thomson atlas
Houbeg	1799	Reid mapping
Hòbheag		MacDonald sketch history

Tobha Bhornais

Place ID	6228	NF 73372 29986	South Uist	B1einn Mhòr	
'Bornais' + ScG well			Scg tobha + "Bornais"		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
See Bornais (P#83) for a discussion of that place name.					
Tobha Bhornais			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Tobha Mòr

Place ID 75 NF 75820 36430 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG big + ScG/ON mound

ScG tobha or ON haug + ScG mòr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The Uist Saints website goes into detail about the place name here: <https://uistsaints.co.uk/south-uist/howmore/>

Tobha Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Howmore	1877	OS 1st edition
Houghmor	1877	OS name book
Howmore	1804	Bald mapping
How M:	1654	Blaeu mapping
How M:	1654	Blaeu mapping

Tobht' a' Bhòchair

Place ID 5828 NF 81255 75113 North Uist S1ollas

ScG ruins of the mud

ScG tobhta a' bhòchair

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Bochar means mud. This ruin has been built on the shore of the loch and has a porch leading out to it.

Tobht' a' Bhòchair

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobht' a' Bhuachaille

Place ID	6007	NF 81786 76022	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG ruins of the shepherd			ScG tobhta a' bhuachaille		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobht' a' Bhuachaille			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobht' a' Ghreusaiche

Place ID 5766 NF 77591 73788 North Uist V1allay

ScG ruins of the cobbler

ScG tobhta a' ghreusaiche

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Niclain wrties 'This man was making shoes in the last century, in the old way, instead of the new ways they used to.'

Tobht' a' Ghreusaiche

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta a' Bhuachaille

Place ID	2176	NF 78320 62790	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG ruins of the shepherd			ScG tobhta a' bhuachaille		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta a' Bhuachaille			1973	Fraser Place names of Ill2eray	

Tobhta a' Chiobair

Place ID	5763	NF 77245 74275	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG ruins of the shepherd			ScG tobhta a' chiobair		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta a' Chiobair			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobhta Alasdair Mhòir an t-Sruthain

Place ID 5949 NF 79525 73722 North Uist S1ollas

ScG ruins of big Alexander of the stream ScG tobhta Alasdair mhòir an t-sruthain

Settlement Building

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Niclain writes '114. Ruins of Alexander the Great (DMA) This clan was known as Macpherson, who lived during the Highland Clearances. Alexander was a great strong man; Some people tell stories to this day about how powerful he was. Tradition of the evictions tells of a day when the bailiffs were evicting the people from the houses, and the bailiff had made sure that Alexander would not oppose them. He promised a harp to a man on the other side of the island if he would take Alasdair out to the mountain, away from Malaclete, for the day. This man took Alasdair out to Balsclair Bog, to Drum Airigh na Creige COI, for a day's work. The guards arrived, evicted the people and set fire to the houses. After the officers had sailed back to the mainland from Lochmaddy, Alasdair Mòr returned to the town and saw the people on the put out and the houses ablaze. He got angry and walked across the moor to Lochmaddy to catch the bailiffs. When he reached Cearsabhagh, he saw that their boat had just left the jetty, and there was nothing he could do (MacCuis: 1917)..

I love google translating his name as Alexander the Great - one has visions of fluted columns and the like.....

Tobhta Alasdair Mhòir an t-Sruthain

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Alasdair Ruaidh MhicGhlaisen

Place ID	5954	NF 79357 73716	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG ruins of Alasdair red Mhicghlaisen			ScG tobhta Alasdair Ruaidh MhicGhlaisen		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
The same man who had a hillock (P#5959)					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta Alasdair Ruaidh MhicGhlaisen			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

tobhta Alasdair Shitheil

Place ID 5946 NF 79629 73837 North Uist S1ollas

ScG ruins of Alasdair of Sitheil SCG tobhta Alasdair Shitheil

Settlement Building

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Sitheil is the name of a nearby mound.

tobhta Alasdair Shitheil

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta an Fhùdair

Place ID 6061 NF 81311 74812 North Uist S1ollas

Settlement

Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Now the Co-op!

I am unsure as to the ScG fader = 'powder' that might be involved. It could be as recent as the WW2 when soldiers were stationed in the area and this could have been their magazine.

As with the similar name at Carinas, Coc an Khdair (P#899), it could be ON útar = 'outer'.

Tobhta an Fhùdair

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta an t-Saighdeir

Place ID	6058	NF 83085 74829	North Uist	Gr1enitote	
ScG ruins of the soldier			ScG tobhta an t-saighdeir		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta an t-Saighdeir			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobhta an t-Saoir

Place ID 6045 NF 83421 75077 North Uist Gr1enitote

ON gravel bank of the ruins

ON tofta eyrr

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The pronunciation of /t-saoir/ is /tʷ:r/.

I suspect that the root is ON eyrr and the an t-S has been created by hypercorrection.

Tobhta an t-Saoir

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Bheisdein

Place ID 5898 NF 79995 74781 North Uist S1ollas

ON The abode + scG ruins

ScG tobhta + ON vistin

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

My first thought was ScG bèistean = 'otters' or 'beasts' but the word seems relatively well known so the /d/ instead of /t/ is unusual. The lack of an article also hints at an earlier name.

ON vistin = 'The abode'.

Tobhta Bheisdein

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Brataig

Place ID 541 NF 79089 61039 North Uist B1aleshare

ON steep bay + ScG ruins

ScG tobhta + ON bratta vík

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

ON bratta = 'of steep (f)' and the 'tt' generally become 't' in the Gaelicization process. E.g. klettr> cleit.

Cox (p190) thinks that Bratag on Lewis is ON bratt- = 'steep' + ScG -ag ='place of'.

Steep however is an odd word for here in the flat machair... It is possible that this area is the link between what were two islands and a steep dune is likely to have evolved as in the other gaps in the outer coast here - e.g. between Baleshare and Kirkibost.

Dwelly gives us ScG bratag = 'rag, hairy caterpillar or impudent girl' , an eclectic mix and none seem an obvious choice for the place.

There are two Brattavik in Iceland whilst in Norway there are two Brattvåg and nine Brattvik(j)a(n) place names.

Tobhta Brataig

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Tobhta Catriona Nighinn Anndra

Place ID 5952 NF 79398 73732 North Uist S1ollas

ScG ruins of Catriona daughter of Andrew ScG tobhta Catriona nighinn Anndra

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Tobhta Catriona Nighinn Anndra

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Chearghail

Place ID 551 NF 79365 58290 North Uist B1aleshare

ON nlet of the cauldrons + ScG ruin

ScG tobhta + ON hvera kíl

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The second component is not obvious. I think it stems from ON hverf kíl = 'turn inlet', a good topographical fit. A more precise translation of ON hverfa is to disappear and is reflected in the fact that a boat disappears on entering this inlet. Possibly ON hverr = 'cauldron' might work topographically too describing the water and is marginally a better fit. ON hvirfill = 'whirlpool' is probably the same root and has a very similar meaning.

Both initial components occur in Iceland many times but no cognate could be found. In Norway there is a Vervekilen which is close to a cognate.

Tobhta Chearghail

1971

Macdonald Two townships

Tobhta Dhòmhnail Bhàin

Place ID	5934	NF 79440 74086	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG ruins of fair Donald			ScG tobhta Dhòmhnail bhàin		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta Dhòmhnail Bhàin			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobhta Dhòmhnail 'ic Caluim

Place ID 5749 NF 76756 75182 North Uist V1allay

ScG ruins of Donald son of Calum

ScG tobhta Dhòmhnail mhic Caluim

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Tobhta Dhòmhnail 'ic Caluim

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Dhòmhnail 'ic Uilleam

Place ID 5847 NF 79822 74609 North Uist S1ollas

ScG ruins of Donald son of William

ScG tobhta Dhòmhnail mhic Uilleam

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Tobhta Dhòmhnail 'ic Uilleam

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Dhòmhnail Mhic Shàcrais

Place ID 5904 NF 79581 74672 North Uist S1ollas

ScG ruins of Donlad son of the Swede

ScG tobhta Dhòmhnail mhc Shàcrais

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Niclain writes 'Before 1800 a man called the Great Swede, named John, landed in the District after his boat ran aground. His clan name was Salmean. He was a turner and made spinning wheels.

Tobhta Dhòmhnail Mhc Shàcrais

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Dhòmhnail Rois

Place ID	5930	NF 80147 74300	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG ruins of Donald Ross			ScG tobhta Dhòmhnail Rois		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta Dhòmhnail Rois			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobhta Eàirdsidh

Place ID	5925	NF 79405 74336	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG Archie's ruins			ScG tobhta eàirdsidh		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta Eàirdsidh			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

tobhta Eòghainn 'ic Ruairidh

Place ID 5933 NF 79450 74156 North Uist S1ollas

ScG ruins of Ewen MacRuary

ScG tobhta Eòghainn 'ic Ruairidh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

tobhta Eòghainn 'ic Ruairidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Fhearchair

Place ID	5751	NF 75584 74991	North Uist	Griminish	
ScG ruins of Fergus			ScG tobhta fhearchair		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh Water		Well or spring			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta Fhearchair			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobhta Fhionnghala

Place ID 5833 NF 80089 74977 North Uist S1ollas

ScG Flora's ruins ScG tobhta Fhionnghala

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

I am not 100% sure where the terminal /a/ has come from. I would have expected the ending to be /-ail/

Tobhta Fhionnghala

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Hearaid

Place ID 5913 NF 79595 74491 North Uist S1ollas

ScG ruins + ON beside the communal fold SCG tobhta + ON hjá rétt

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

With another /h/ at the end it would be Harris but the lack of /h/ makes a huge difference to the sound (I think). In terms of continuity of use, the adjacent headland is Àird a' Phuind = 'headland of the pound', a fold where stray animals were impounded.

Tobhta Hearaid

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Hundair

Place ID 986 NF 90960 64660 North Uist Lees

ON sound of the ruins

ON tofta sund

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Beveridge suggests rather cagily 'loch of the dogs' but these hybrid names are rare. Another possibility is ON hinda = 'of the hinds'. The order however is odd as 'of the hinds' would be a specific rather than a generic and hence be the first component.

I wonder if the first component is ON tjörn = 'tarn'. Phonetically, the 'h' creates a longer initial vowel sound to match the ON ú and elision from the 'ch' of loch helps create the 'tj' sound. The 'r' is swallowed by the 'n'.

For the specific a version of ON dalr = 'valley' as Holliday records in their Tíree dialect 'r' and 'l' often interchange.

I do however worry about the size of the tarn.

Searching for a generic for Undal, Macniven writes (p126 & 316) 'One possibility is the ON hundr = 'hound', thought to feature in Norwegian nature names of the type Hund(s)dal(en) and farm names like Hundsdal, and interpreted variously as a rutting place for dogs, a place where puppies were drowned or a derivative male personal name or by-name.' However the initial vowel in Undail could mask the lenition of an earleir Tundail through the operation of the Gaelic grammar system. This allows for comparison with the Tundal in Shetland.'

If we take on board the possibility of an initial 'T' created by back formation as Macniven suggests then with a medial ScG d sounding to anglophonic ears as t, the sound is, to those ears, 'toon tar'.

I suggest that ON tún dal = 'valley of the home fields' works topographically as all the habitative evidence of the names on Loch Euphort as well as Tobhta Hundair itself where ScG tobhta = 'ruins'.

Here then the second component could be ON tjörn but the final vowel sound is not a good match.

See the Cognate notes for another alternative but overall they convince me that the root is most likely ON tjörn dal = 'tarn valley'

All that said, a better understanding of Gaelic has led me to another, and I think, a better possible root.

ON tindr = 'tooth or a mountain peak'. In Norway Rygh quotes 'Tindr m., Fjeldtop. Named after a very high, pointed mountain peak, now called Tindstinden, under which the farm is located.' This could be describing the position of Loch Hundair under Lí a Deas.

In this context when converting to Gaelic, we would expect the /t/ to be lenited producing /th/ which is pronounced /h/. The development of u > l is regular and the two examples Henderson quotes are specifically Uist-based.

This gives the development tindr > thindr > hindr > hundr > hunder, all stages of which are regular.

One might have expected the dative case, ON tind, and looking at the two earliest forms, Tottahount (1804) and Tattahount (1789) this is supported.

Holliday however does not like the l > u option.

A last thought is because of the Gaelic pronunciation of broad /sh/ as /h/, here with a broad vowel /u/ as the first one, it is possible the initial word was /shund/, very close to ON sund = 'channel, strait'.

There are two options after that. The first is the fact that there is a decent river emptying Loch Hundair into the sea and this could create ON sund á = 'sound river' and then the ruins are a ScG addition or, in my opinion better, is the sound refers to the whole Loch Euphort and ON tofta sund - 'sound of he ruins', possibly referencing the variety of prehistoric remains that surround the loch, or 'sound of the grassy knoll' using the other meaning of ON toft.

This name probably refers to a settlement with Tobhta Hundair = 'ruins of Hundair' remaining and with this being the prime site in Loch Euphort and a simplex name, it is likely to be an early primary settlement.

In Iceland there are thirteen Tjarnardalur names in Iceland, two Tjerndalen and many Tjørndal(en) In Norway with the latter forming the first component of over 300 place names. It is interesting to see that over 150 are of the form Tjørndalen mirroring the loss of the 'r' proposed above.

N Norway we have five place names of the form Tunntjønna or the like.

There are three Túndalur in Iceland and six Tun(n)dalen in Norway.

In Iceland the commoner name is Túngarðar = 'boundary of the enclosed area with house' which occurs 18 times as a simplex name, with three in Norway. This makes more sense to me but would require $g > d$. Although unlikely this is not impossible as 'gh' and 'dh' have the same sound in Gaelic and a combination of hyper-correction and back formation could achieve it.

There are 16 Tindar place names in Iceland and over 60 Tinden in Norway.

In Norway there are two Sundåa cognate place names and a Sundløkka whilst in Iceland there is a Sundalækur.

Tobhta Hundair	2014	Modern OS mapping
Tota Hunder	1877	OS 1st edition
Tottahount	1806	Stockdale mapping
Tattahount	1789	Ainslie mapping

Tobhta Iain Bhàin nam Fiadh

Place ID 5873 NF 78467 73311 North Uist V1allay

ScG ruins of fair John of the deer

ScG tobhta Iain bhàin nam fiadh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Tobhta Iain Bhàin nam Fiadh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Iain 'ic Phàdraig

Place ID	6026	NF 81425 75356	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG ruins of John MacPatrick			ScG tobhta Iain 'ic Phàdraig		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta Iain 'ic Phàdraig			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobhta Iain Oig

Place ID 6015 NF 82715 75607 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG ruins of young John ScG tobhta Iain Oig

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

These places got their names from John MacCuish, a shoemaker who lived here.

Tobhta Iain Oig 1997 Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Lachlainn Thàilleir

Place ID	5948	NF 79426 73748	North Uist	S1ollas	
Ruins of Lachlan the tailor			ScG tobhta Lachlainn thàilleir		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta Lachlainn Thàilleir			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobhta Lòtaig

Place ID 5909 NF 80223 74552 North Uist S1ollas

ScG ruins of the nettles

ScG tibhta lòtaig

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Not a surprising name as nettles are well known ot be an indicator of previous settlement.

The lack of an article is a pointer towards older names. An interesting Norse possibility would be ON ljóð - haug v= 'mound of the people and possibly therefore a site for assembly.

Tobhta Lòtaig

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Màiri Ruaidh

Place ID 6046 NF 81293 74926 North Uist S1ollas

ScG ruins of red Mary

ScG tobhta Màiri ruaidh

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Niclain writes 'This was her MacAulay clan. It had a shebeen, and was open until the beginning of this century.'
A shebeen is defined as 'an unlicensed establishment or private house selling alcohol and typically regarded as slightly disreputable.'

Tobhta Màiri Ruaidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Mhic Dhubh-Sìth

Place ID 5844 NF 79564 74647 North Uist S1ollas

'Mhic Dhubh-Sìth' + ScG ruins

ScG tobhta + 'Mhic Dhubh-Sìth'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

See Taigh Mhic Dhubh-Sìth (P#5861) for a discussion of the element 'Mhic Dhubh-Sìth'. The sites however are quite separated.

Tobhta Mhic Dhubh-Sìth

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Mhic Idheagain

Place ID 2163 NF 77474 62012 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG Mackiggan's ruins

ScG tobhta mhic Idheagain

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Mackiegan or McKiggan were an old uist family, some of whom survive. The name changed name on Lewis to MacKenzie.

Tobhta Mhic Idheagain

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Tobhta Mhic Phail

Place ID	5840	NF 80637 74869	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG ruins of MacPhail			ScG tobhta Mhic Phail		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta Mhic Phail			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobhta MhicCodrum

Place ID 6777 NF 91021 59763 North Uist Eaval

ScG ruins of MacCodrum

ScG tobhta MhicCodrum

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

MacCodrum was a well-known poet of the late 18th century and was the chief's bard. It is recorded that this was his last home on the island.

Tobhta MhicCodrum

Other

Tobhta MhicGhillEathain

Place ID	5944	NF 79447 73891	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG ruins of the MacLeans			ScG tobhta MhicGhillEathain		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta MhicGhillEathain			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobhta nan Caillich

Place ID 5673 NF 63830 61527 North Uist Heisker

ScG ruin of the old women ScG tobhta nan caillich

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Macaulay thinks this might have been the house where Lady Grange was imprisoned in the 1730s.
An interesting story related in a book.

Tobhta nan Caillich

2020

Alick Macaulay Heisgeir

Tobhta Raibeirt (MhicFhearghais)

Place ID	5874	NF 78562 73287	North Uist	V1allay	
ScG robert (MacFergus') ruins			ScG obhta Raibeirt (MhicFhearghais)		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Building			<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tobhta Raibeirt (MhicFhearghais)			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Tobhta Ròsail

Place ID 5850 NF 80755 74766 North Uist S1ollas

'Ròsail' ScG ruins

ScG tobhta + 'Ròsail'

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Niclain writes' This is a very large ruin as two houses were linked together. It is said that a daughter of a Scandinavian king named Rosal lived there at one time. Here she was drowned in the grave on the Lower Beach, and was buried in Skellar Cemetery. She had long white hair, and there is a story that she was dragged down to the graveyard behind a horse, her hair tied to the horse 's tail. This part of the story may have changed over the years. She may have been dragged on a leash behind the horse, and someone in the distance may have seen this and thought it was being pulled from her hair. Folklore may be correct, though - who knows how the locals and the Vikings got on? They probably didn't want to go too far with her so they dragged her after the horse without a doubt.'

Ròsail or its equivalent occurs at Clachan Shannda with Dùn Rosail (P#663) which see for a discussion of the unit, 'Ròsail'. I suspect here the 'horse hill' option is the best.

Tobhta Ròsail

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Seònaid

Place ID 5936 NF 79703 74148

North Uist

S1ollas

ScG Janet's ruins

ScG tibhta Seònaid

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

There is also a Tobar Seònaid here.

Tobhta Seònaid

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Sgàire

Place ID 5957 NF 79298 73661 North Uist S1ollas

ScG Zachary's ruins

ScG tobhta Sgàire

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Niclain writes 'MacAulay was the descendant of the man who lived here. Zachary is probably the Gaelic Sgàire, a common name among the MacAulays'.

With ScG sgìre = 'parish or district', this could be on the boundary and that could be reflected in the name.

Tobhta Sgàire

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tobhta Uisdean

Place ID 2154 NF 78196 62408 North Uist B1aleshare

ON ruins of house -stone

ON tobhta haug - stein

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

It is possible that this is a purely Norse name. ON tofta hús steinn = 'ruins of house -stone'. The order is a little odd but could be the effect of a Gaelic resemanticization.

although it looks further away ON haug stein might be a better option here.

The site is near the ruins of Dún Mhòr which would be the referent here.

A final option is the simplest ON vistin = 'The abode' although l > u is supposedly regular (Henderson), the quantity of the initial vowel would not be a good match.

Tobhta Uisdean

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Tobhtaichean Mhic Ghoraidh

Place ID 5915 NF 79892 74471 North Uist S1ollas

ScG ruins of the son of Godfrey ScG tobhtaichean mhic Ghoraidh

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain wrties 'The ruins were about this place once. It was here that Goraidh and his family arrived when they grew up in Vallay and came to live at Malacleit.'

Tobhtaichean Mhic Ghoraidh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tom Luachrach

Place ID 5254 NF 86201 48296 Benbecula Peter's Port

ScG rushy knoll ScG tom luachrach

Contour Rise

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Rushy Mound' based upon ScG luachrach = 'rushy'.
ON læk rák = 'stream pasture' would be a not unreasonable topographical Norse name.

Luachrach occurs 47 times on the OS 2nd edition mapping, spread widely across the Gaelic heartland.

Tom Luachrach	2014	Modern OS mapping
Tom Luachrach	1877	OS 1st edition

Tonacheois

Place ID 6622 NF 79675 42425 South Uist Loch Sgioport

ON hollow of the spit of land

ON tanga kjós

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The OSNB gives us 'meaning obscure' an it certainly looks like an odd name - and probalby not Gaelic. ON kjós = 'hollow' would work well for the generic. The obvious specific is ON tún = 'fenced plot, house'. The problem is that the land here (now?) is boggy and not somewhere that would seem appropriate to cultivate. ON töng = 'tong' or ON tunga = 'tongue' would work but the best seems ON tangi = 'a spit of land, a point projecting into the sea or river ' which could be a description of this lump of land.

Tonacheois

2014

Modern OS mapping

Tonacheois

1877

OS 1st edition

Torlum

Place ID 200 NF 78887 50684 Benbecula T1orlum

ON turf islet

ON torfhólm

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Topographically, Torlum sat as a headland at the top of a sea loch in previous times. A good option for the generic would be ON múli with metathesis of the /l/ and /m/, an effect observed by Cox (p63).

The situation however is slightly confused by the presence of Bald's Torlam I., the OS 1st edition Torlumbeg and now, erroneously one imagines, Tortumbeg. This place which is now the site of the EDF music festival definitely started life as an island and so one would anticipate the root to be ON hólmr = 'islet'. At least this does away with the need for the metathesis. I am uncertain if the transition from ON hólm to /lum/ involves epenthesis between the /l/ and /m/ and then reduction or metathesis between the /ó/ and /l/. Occam's Razor would suggest the latter.

There are three obvious options of the specific; ON torg = 'market'; ON torf = 'turf'; ON torfa = 'green spot' along with a popular local choice of ON Thor.

The first and the last have a genitival /s/ and as it would be in the singular these roots are therefore unlikely.

The genitive plural of both ON torf and ON torfa are the same, ON torfa whilst the genitive singular of ON torfa is ON torfu.

Realistically we are left with either ON torfa hólm = 'islet of turves' or ON torfu hólm = 'islet of the green spot'. ~The cognate notes lean me towards the first option, 'islet of the turves'.

Looking at Stewart's paper in Curracag #19, p70, I suspect the referent is centred on NF 78352 50762.

In Iceland there are six Torfhólmi place names and my understanding is that ON torf is a common prefix in close compounds. Names beginning with Torfu- are rarer than those beginning with Torfa.

Torlum	2014	Modern OS mapping
Torlum	1877	OS 1st edition
Torlam	1877	OS name book
Tòlarum	1877	OS name book
Torlam	1832	Thomson atlas
Torlam	1804	Bald mapping

Torlum

Place ID 5397 NF 80315 50214 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

'Torlum'

'Torlum'

ScG?

ON?

To decide

complete?

This seems horribly misplaced and only appears on the Modern OS mapping. Odd.
See Torlum (P#200) for a discussion on its meaning.

Torlum

2014

Modern OS mapping

Torogaigh

Place ID 272 NF 91850 78780 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON heathen sanctuary island

ON hörg ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I am increasingly of the view that -gaigh island place names are often ON kví = 'pen' names where the island provides the enclosed space. Here the specific could be ON tarfa = 'of the bulls' as the 'f' sound often disappears.

However this one I suspect now might be different and related to Torogas for example.

ON hörg ey = 'heathen place of worship or cairn island'. ö > o is regulars so hörg ey > horgey.

With an adjacent 'r' and 'g', Gaelic speakers would insert a copy of the previous vowel and so here horgey > horogey and then the effect of lenition replaces the 'h' with a 't' and so finally horogey > torogey.

Torogaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
An t-Eilean Mhòr	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Torogay	1983	Sea names of Berneray
Torogay	1877	OS 1st edition
Toragay	1866	Admiralty mapping
Targhay I.	1832	Thomson atlas
Torogay		MacDonald sketch history

Torogaigh

Place ID 1063 NF 77910 74690 North Uist Central West

ON cairn island

ON hörg ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

There is some merit in Beveridge's ON tǫrgu + ey = 'target island' and there is a tale about someone shooting very accurately here acting as a folk etymology - to do with a seal if my memory is correct.

There are however other alternatives and the best two would seem to be ON hǫrva + ey = 'island of linen' or ON þjóra + kvi = 'pen of bulls'. The similarity to Bhorogaigh near Baleshare made me suggest the bull option is the correct one.

However the initial 't' has a habit of being replaced by an 'h' in these case and then ON hörg ey = '(pagan) cairn island' would be a good fit.

There is no obvious cairn here but the name could easily have been misplaced from one of the many nearby islands that does.

There is another Torogaigh between North Uist and Berneray and a Torogas inland from here.

Torogaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Toroghas

Place ID 1592 NF 76646 70750 North Uist Central West

ON ridge of the (pagan) cairns

ON hörða áss

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

The name clearly caused confusion in the OSNB with both Dorrugas and Toroghais entered and then deleted before the final choice of Toroghas.

Torogay (P#1063) in Vallay Strand and nr Berneray may have similar roots with ON ey for island as the generic.

Beveridge suggests (p95) ON törgu + ey = "target or buckler island".

The Gaels do not enjoy having too many consonants of a certain type stuck together. In particular when an /l/, /n/ or /r/ are followed by a /b/, /bh/, /ch/, /g/, /gh/, /m/ or mh/ or preceded by an /m/, then an extra vowel comes between the two. Usually this vowel is a copy of the previous vowel. This looks to me like an example of this. Torghas contains an /r/ followed by /gh/ and has the vowel to insert would be the previous /o/ giving Toroghas.

This makes it much easier to understand the root and it is possibly ON torg ass = 'market ridge'. It is certainly a clear ridge but might be thought an odd place for a market except it is on the boundary between the two areas of Sollas and Ceann a' Bhaigh.

Oftedal gives a stronger clue writing about Torastay, Lewis where a suggestion is Hörgsstaðr from ON hörgr = 'sanctuary, cairn' and so here ON hörð áss = 'cairn ridge' which works well with the Clettraval cairns on the same ridge to the W or perhaps more likely those at Buaille Risary acting as referents. Nearby are the standing stones Fir Bhreige about which Canmore writes 'Both these stones stand on small natural grass-covered mounds and both have sunk considerably into the soil.' One wonders if these were the referent cairns.

There is a Hörðsás in Iceland.

Toroghas	2014	Modern OS mapping
Dorghais	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Toroghas	1877	OS 1st edition
Dorrugas	1877	OS name book
Toroghais	1877	OS name book

Tortumbeg

Place ID 5119 NF 78462 49352 Benbecula T1orlum

'Torlum' + ON bay

'Torlum' + ON vág

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

This must be a misprint for the Torlumbeg that appeared on the OS 1st edition and was described as 'is applied to a piece of land nearly surrounded by a track of sand, situated adjacent and to the north-east of the point known as Corran.'

I do wonder if initially the name derived from Torlum vág = 'Torlum bay' as this would be a good description of the site at the entrance to the waterway that leads to Torlum.

See Torlum (P#200) for a discussion of that component.

Tortumbeg	2014	Modern OS mapping
Torlumbeg	1877	OS 1st edition
Tolarum-beag	1877	OS name book
Torlany Id	1832	Thomson atlas
Torlum I.	1804	Bald mapping

Totag I.

Place ID 5485 NF 84718 51432 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

'Totag' + Eng island

'Totag' + Eng island

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Ru na Totag (P#5497) for a discussion of the 'Totag' component - this headland is c300m to the E.

Totag I.

1804

Bald mapping

Totaga Min

Place ID 1613 NF 72196 70875 North Uist B1alranald

ScG smooth place of ruins ScG tobhta -ag min

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The Hebridean Connection (p25) writes that "lit warning beacons on the top of" this place. It looks like the first component is ScG tobhta = 'ruin' followed by the locative suffix ScG -ag. Used as a meeting place when Ewen Macdonald of Vallay was the factor, similar gatherings were held 'on this spot, 27 years, 31 years, 57 years ago and many more before then from olden times.' It is described as 'an eminence in the township of Knockintorran and the public highway crosses it.'

Totaga Min

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Totahur

Place ID 6407 NF 75527 35593 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG recent ruin ScG tobhta ùr

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There are two options here ON tofta urđ = 'pile of sotnes of the ruins' or ScG tobha ùr = 'recent ruins'.
Of the two, the latter probably makes more sense.

Totahur 1804 Bald mapping

Traigh a' Rubha Bhain

Place ID 2194 NF 78307 64027 North Uist B1aleshare

ScG beach of the pale promontory ScG tràigh a' rubha bhàin

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The ScG a' = 'of the' is odd here as I would expect ScG an.

Traigh a' Rubha Bhain

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Tràigh Athmòr

Place ID 2402 NF 85956 74533 North Uist A1hmore

'Athmòr' + ScG beach

ScG tràigh + 'Athmòr'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Ahmore (P#2405) for a discussion of that component.

An alternative name is Ahmore Strand in the OS 1st edition mapping.

Strand is rare in the Hebrides with only seven on the Western Isles, this one, Manish Strand on Ensay, Hornish Strand, Lingay Strand and Vallaquie Strand all nearby along with Vallay Strand and a rather odd, Loch Strandavat on Lewis. All are clearly attached to Norse elements apart from this one.

It is also curiously rare in the Norse heartland with one on Islay, one of Colonsay one in Caithness and two on Shetland.

There are a large number in the borders.

There is a cluster of four Strond names on SW Harris and five other scattered about.

With over 90 names in Iceland starting with Strand and a further 34 containing it and 20 ending in strand, this seems odd. The fact there are over 2500 names beginning with Strand in Norway makes it even more curious.

It was a word with the same meaning in Old English and by 1420 Strand had been assimilated into the Scots Language with the additional meaning of a stream, as it does in English. It presumably is therefore a word that had meaning to anyone speaking either Scots or English.

As a consequence a resemanticization in Gaelic to Tràigh is reasonable. In the case of Traigh Athmor this process did not happen until after the OS 1st edition but one imagine many other were before this. Indeed with no strand names at all in the Blaeu mapping, this process must have occurred relatively early.

Hemratraigh is a possible example where this process 'half' happened.

Tràigh Athmòr

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ahmore Strand

1877

OS 1st edition

Traigh Bhalaig

Place ID 651 NF 85620 75310 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON bay of whales + ScG beach

ScG tròigh + ON hvala vág

Coastal

ScG?

ON?

complete?

This works well with the old name Vallaquie Strand.

Traigh Bhalaig

2014

Modern OS mapping

Vallaquie Strand

1877

OS 1st edition

Tràigh Bhàlaigh

Place ID 1092 NF 78120 75250 North Uist V1allay

'Bhalaigh' + ScG beach ScG tràigh + 'Bhalaigh'

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

For the roots of 'Bhalaigh', see that place. (P#1089)

Tràigh Bhàlaigh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Vallay Strand	1877	OS 1st edition
Traigh Bhaleidh	1877	OS name book

Tràigh Bhàn

Place ID	2374	NF 70750 71399	North Uist	B1alranald	
ScG pale beach			ScG tràigh bhàn		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tràigh Bhàn			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Traigh Bhan			1877	OS 1st edition	

Tràigh Bheireal

Place ID 2399 NF 71970 73508 North Uist B1almartin

Onshore meadows of the fishing station + ScG be ScG tràigh + ON væri + hólm

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Brackish water beach based upon ScG meireal = 'brackish' although this does not seem a good topographical fit as no murky pool exists behind the beach.

Beveridge notes that the nearby Bharlish is pronounced Ver-lish and so presumably has the same specific. I am not so convinced with the vowel between the 'r' and the 'l'.

A possible specific is ON væra = 'abode', 'fishing harbour' or 'shelter'.

The site <http://www.norskstadnamleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx> gives a detailed 'a place where one stays at certain times of the year to fish and other catches falling by the lake'.

An '-al' ending can come from either ON hóll = 'hill' or ON vollr = 'field'. Here ON hjallr = 'fish-drying structure' or its accusative reflex ON hjall is a good possibility

However an -al ending also often represents ON holmr = 'islet' but in this case there is no obvious islet. The word can however mean 'even meadows on the shore with ditches behind them are in Icel. called holms' (Vigfusson) and Rygh adds 'In addition, there is in the meaning 'a spot which differs from the surrounding ground', such as a ground patch on a rock, a patch of grass in a field, a piece of unbroken meadow' and a third alternative is 'Well-defined, usually elevated space on land, pile, usually with wetland around'

This could work here. The cognate notes are strong enough to sway me to this meaning.

One of the commonest name in Norway with Vær as its start is Værholmen occuring over 60 times and at least once in Denmark and twice in Sweden.

Tràigh Bheireal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Traigh Verral	1877	OS 1st edition
Traigh Mhearail	1877	OS name book

Tràigh Bhiorain

Place ID 5770 NF 79202 76982 North Uist V1allay

ON The enclosed landing place + Scg beach ScG tràigh + ON vörrin

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Bàgh Bhiorain (P#5775) for a fuller discussion.

Tràigh Bhiorain

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tràigh Eachcamais

Place ID 326 NF 80240 60450 North Uist B1aleshare

ON near comb ridge + ScG beach

ScG tràigh + ON hjá kamb áss

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Eachcamais for more details.

Tràigh Eachcamais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Tràigh Ear

Place ID 1318 NF 82658 76545 North Uist S1ollas

ScG east beach

ScG tràigh ear

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Tràigh Ear 2014 Modern OS mapping

An Tràigh Mhòr 1997 Niclain Place names of Sollas

An Tràigh Ear 1997 Niclain Place names of Sollas

Sollas Strand 1877 OS 1st edition

Tràigh Ear 1877 OS 1st edition

Traigh Shollais 1877 OS 1st edition

Tràigh Ear

Place ID 2446 NF 82659 76545 North Uist S1ollas

ScG east beach ScG Tràigh Ear

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

An unusual contrast to the more usual 'west beach'!

Tràigh Ear	2014	Modern OS mapping
------------	------	-------------------

Traigh Ear	1877	OS 1st edition
------------	------	----------------

Traigh Foshigary

Place ID 1046 NF 74390 76330 North Uist Griminish

'Foshigarry' + ScG beach ScG traigh + 'Foshigarry'

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See 'Foshigarry' (#1045) for a discussion of that component.

Traigh Foshigary 1877 OS 1st edition

tràigh Hanabhaig

Place ID 5776 NF 79372 77023 North Uist V1allay

ON bay of the harbour + ScG beach Scg tràigh + ON hafnar vág

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

ON hafnar is the genitive singular of ON höfn = 'harbour'.

The cove at the W end of the bay is called Bàgh Bhiorain (P#5775) q.v.) helps this root.

tràigh Hanabhaig

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Tràigh Himiligh

Place ID 1088 NF 78070 76920 North Uist V1allay

'ON home way' + ScG beach

ScG tràigh + ON heim leið

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The generic ScG tràigh = 'beach' is clear however the specific is less so.

ON heim-leið = 'home-way' or 'going homewards' would work indicating the nearby presence of a Norse settlement, something evidenced by the wealth of Norse names on Bhalaign.

Tràigh Himiligh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Tràigh Himiligh

1877

OS 1st edition

Tràigh Hornais

Place ID 648 NF 86500 76390 North Uist Clachan Sands

'Hornais' + ScG beach

ScG tràigh + 'Hornais'

Coastal

Shore

ScG?

ON?

complete?

Here 'Hornais' is treated as an onomastic unit. See P#646 for details.

Tràigh Hornais

2014

Modern OS mapping

Hornish Strand

1877

OS 1st edition

Traigh Iar

Place ID 5602 NF 69711 69421 North Uist B1alranald

ScG west beach ScG tràigh iar

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Traigh Iar 2014 Modern OS mapping

Traigh Iar 1877 OS 1st edition

Tràigh Iar

Place ID 1317 NF 81402 76729 North Uist S1ollas

ScG west beach

ScG tràigh iar

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

Unsurprisingly for an island with the W coast effectively one long beach, this is a common name on Uist. On imagine that in fact the name was ScG shiar but the /sh/ becomes a simple /h/ sound and so almost disappears.

Tràigh Iar

2014

Modern OS mapping

Traigh Iar

1877

OS 1st edition

Tràigh Iar

Place ID 4910 NF 90011 82124 B1earnaraigh B1orve

ON west beach or ScG west beach

ON vest strand or ScG tràigh shiar

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

The Norse for West Strand would be ON vestr stand and I suspect in fact this was the root that Bald then transcribed. Vest- appears as a prefix in five names in Vigfusson and this seems a reasonable thing to do here. ON vestr = 'west' as a close compound would be close in sound if not.

This area of Berneray and around is a 'hot-spot' for 'strand' names.

There is a Vesturströnd and a Vestursandur in Iceland and are Vest<-/re/er>strand and five Vestadstranda names in Norway.

Tràigh Iar	2013	Place nAme of Berneray
Tràigh Eilidh	2013	Place nAme of Berneray
West Strand	1804	Bald mapping

Tràigh Leathann

Place ID	295	NF 77530 63540	North Uist	B1aleshare	
ScG broad beach			ScG tràigh leathann		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Tràigh Leathann			2014	Modern OS mapping	

Traigh Lingeigh

Place ID	639	NF 87790 77680	North Uist	Clachan Sands	
ON heather island + ScG beach			ScG tràigh + ON lyng ey		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Traigh Lingeigh			2014	Modern OS mapping	
Lingay Strand			1877	OS 1st edition	

Tràigh Mol an t-Salainn

Place ID 5703 NF 90212 79258 North Uist Clachan Sands

'Mol an t-Salainn' + ScG beach

ScG tràigh + 'Mol an t-Salainn'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

Adjacent to Mol an t-Salainn (P#5702), MacKillop writes about the tree trunks here that he sampled and Aberdeen University identified them as 10 000 year old willow.

See that place for a discussion of the root.

Tràigh Mol an t-Salainn

1983

Sea names of Berneray

Tràigh na Lùibe

Place ID 5101 NF 85532 81026 North Uist B1oraraigh

ScG beach of the bend ScG tràigh na lùibe

Coastal

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

A good topographical fit.

Tràigh na Lùibe 2014 Modern OS mapping

Tràigh na Lùibe 1877 OS 1st edition

Tràigh nam Faoghailean

Place ID 1619 NF 70146 70653 North Uist B1alranald

ScG beach of ON The field

ScG tràigh nam + ON völlinn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

The OS name book gives us a slightly mysterious 'Beach of the rising sand' for no reason I can see.

Having just written for Haiskeir that the shorter the name the harder, I might have to revise that.

To English ears, if the ;gh; was not silent then it would sound like 'phew Ghalen' which could stem from ScG feu gallan = 'feu (or land lease) of the place of the lowlander (i.e. Norse)'. With a plethora of nearby Norse names, including ScG Gearraidh Gall = 'enclosed area of the low-lander' just over a kilometre to the N, this does seem a possibility.

To work however the onomastic unit 'Faoghailean' has lost its meaning to the Gaels and used as a marker for this particular beach.

Not totally convinced? Neither am I.

If the 'gh' was silent, which I suspect it is, then the anglicized sound is along the lines of 'vaulin'. This is close to ON völlr = 'field' and its accusative reflex with the article ON völlinn.

So I rang a friend and got the following helpful response : 'If you look up 'faoghal' in Dwelly, he says it is a Uist spelling of 'fadhail'. If you look up the latter word in D, there are basically two meanings extensive beach or coastal ford. The first fits the topography better from the map but the expression is a genitive plural. It translates as 'the beach of the fords'. The definite articles - the - must be retained. As it is written on the map 'traigh' is pronounced similarly to a try in rugby. And 'faoghailen' is 'f' followed by an umlauted 'o' sound in German (long) and then 'len'. 'Nam' is 'nam'. This is obviously a Uist usage. In standard Gàidhlig it would be written 'Traigh nam Fadhaileachan''

Clearly it is not just a knowledge of Gaelic required but of the specific Uist version!

It does still however still seem a slightly odd name.....

I am off the view that the landing place option is the best.

Faoghail occurs 32 times on the OS mapping, every one either on North Uist or Lewis. This one is the only plural.

Faodhail occurs 12 times, with the majority on the Western Isles again although there are three on the mainland - two on Ardnamurchan. It does seem a very Norse distribution.

Dun Vulcan on South Uist sounds to be a similar sound.

Völlur and the plural Völlir is a common simplex name in Iceland and in Norway. There is a Völlin in Norway.

Tràigh nam Faoghailean	2014	Modern OS mapping
Traigh Mhoire	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Traigh nam Faoghailean	1877	OS 1st edition

Traigh nan Sithean

Place ID 5592 NF 87364 53713 Benbecula Rueval

ScG beach of the fairy mounds ScG tràigh nan sithean

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Sidhean Rossinish is marked on the OS modern mapping although there is not the second one that would be implied by the name.

Fairy Hill Sand	1861	Thomas chart
-----------------	------	--------------

Traigh nan Sithean	1861	Thomas chart
--------------------	------	--------------

Traigh Stir

Place ID 2385 NF 71590 72971 North Uist B1alranald

ON dwelling of belief

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

I was at a bit of a loss with this one as it looks so Gaelic.

However the existence on the OS 1st mapping of Camas Traigh-stir indicates that Traigh Stir operates as an onomastic unit at some level. This combined with the fact that the OS name book professes ignorance is generally a sign of a Norse root.

The pronunciation of Traigh to English ears would sound rather different to that which one would think- 'tr aey'. (IPA /tra:j/). This helps us identify a root with good topographical connections, ON trú- = 'of belief' and ON staðr = 'dwelling'. It is possible another grammatical version of ON trúa = 'to believe' might be more appropriate.

The place name is the beach just to the E of St. Clement's Chapel. The Gaels heard the name ON trú-staðr = 'house of belief', interpreted the first component in Gaelic as 'traigh' and so named the nearby beach with that name.

There are nine Icelandic names beginning with þriðji all with different generic Prívörðustígur

Traigh Stir

1877

OS 1st edition

Tràigh Udal

Place ID 2448 NF 82834 78735 North Uist S1ollas

'ON outlying valley' + ScG beach

ScG tràigh + ON Udal

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Udal for a discussion of that place name.

Niclain writes 'This is where horse racing used to be held every year on Michaelmas Day. Probably the last place in Uist where they would do this.'

Tràigh Udal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Tràigh an Udail	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
An tràigh Mhòr	1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas
Traigh Udal	1877	OS 1st edition

Trealigarry

Place ID 2630 NF 91990 82428 B1earnaraigh Bhrusda

ON slaves' enclosed area

ON þræla gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

Mackillop havers a little here. The word must have Norse origins with the generic being ON gerði = 'enclosed area'. ON þræla = 'of slaves' would be an option for the specific and Þrælagarði occurs four times in Iceland with one Trilegjerdet in Norway

Trealigarry

2014

Modern OS mapping

Treall-Gearraidh

2013

Place nAmes of Berneray

Treanaigh

Place ID 540 NF 89130 63780 North Uist Lees

ON group of three island

ON þrenna ey

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

There is an An Treanai to the N of Ronaigh and this is presumably the same name.

The generic is clearly ON ey = 'island' but the specific is less clear. Ic trjóna = 'a small boat used as a tender' along with 'snout' and 'of a pole'.

However the best bet is ON þrenna = 'triple (genitive)' and this works as there are three islands in each place.

Treanaigh

2014

Modern OS mapping

Trefick Id.

Place ID 1956 NF 84697 63761 North Uist Langass

ON third bay + ScG island

ON þriði vík

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

This name sounds Norse to me with a generic of ON vik = 'bay'. Whilst there are alternatives, I suspect that ON tré = 'beam' or 'tree' is the specific although there are other possibilities.

The Gaels will then have added ScG eilean = 'island'.

A better option seems to be ON þriði vík = 'third bay' which could make some sort of sense counting in from the entrance although I cannot see the separation.

Trefick Id.

1859

Otter Loch Eport chart

Trialabreck Beg

Place ID 1872 NF 80870 56526 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG small + 'Trialabreck' 'Trialabreck' + ScG beg

Coastal Island

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Triallabreac Mòr (P#1861) for a discussion on that element.

Trialabreck Beg	2014	Modern OS mapping
Trialabreck Beg	1877	OS 1st edition
Tollabreac Bheag	1861	Thomas chart

Triallabreac

Place ID 5039 NF 84911 46162 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON thralls' stronghold

'Triallabreac'

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

There are two similarly named islands in the North Ford (P#1861) which see for a discussion of the meaning.

Triallabreac	2014	Modern OS mapping
Triallabrack	1877	OS name book
Triallavreac	1877	OS name book
Trialabreck	1877	OS 1st edition
Trialabreac	1877	OS name book
Triallabreac	1877	OS name book
Triallabreac	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Triallabrach Idf.	1832	Thomson atlas
Triallabrach I.	1804	Bald mapping

Triallabreac Mòr

Place ID 1861 NF 81187 56714 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG big + ON stronghold of the slaves ON þræla brekk + ScG mòr

ScG?

ON?

Coastal Island

complete?

ON þræla = 'of the slaves' works well as a specific with the common generic ON brekka = 'slope'.

Þræla appears commonly as the specific in both Iceland and Norway but not with this particular generic.

Whilst slaves were allowed to own land, it is difficult to see slaves being given a slope. Looking at the cognates another option is ON þræla virki = 'stronghold of the slaves' and meaning perhaps 'stronghold containing slaves'.

All sites with this name have good sea access to export or import slaves - a large part of the Norse economy.

Whilst virki to breac seems a fair way away, if there was metathesis between the 'l' and the 'r' then the following developments are close to regular virki > vriki > bhreac > breac.

In Norway and Sweden borg is a synonym for virki which is relatively rare there.

It is also interesting to see that this island is adjacent to the site of the one Pictish Symbol Stone found on Uist, the Picts being the people who would presumably have been the source of slaves.

There is a Loch Trialavat near Valtos, Lewis. Treligeo in Caithness.

Þræla appears commonly as the specific in both Iceland and Norway but not with this particular generic. In both however Trellevika (8) or Þrælavík (3) occur and one wonders if this might sound close to brekka. 'Bay of slaves' would have some form of historical meaning as a departure or arrival point.

Another option is Þrælavirki occurring twice in Iceland. In Norway there are Trelleborg (1), Trelsborg (2) and Trælborg (1). In Sweden however the name Träleborg or variants occurs 28 times.

N Ardtrialish place name near Locheport, a Loch Triialavat near Valtos, Lewis and an Uamh an Triall on the Applecross peninsula.

Sweden Trälbacken (x1)- slope again

Triallabreac Mòr	2014	Modern OS mapping
Trialabreck More	1877	OS 1st edition
Tollabreac Mhor	1861	Thomas chart
Trillabrach	1832	Thomson atlas
Trillabrach	1804	Bald mapping

Trinneabhal

Place ID 4978 NF 77870 26843 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON three hills

ON þrinnu fjalli

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

ON trjóna, u, f. [Dan. tryne; trana and trjóna seem to be akin]:—a snout seems a starting point for what is obviously a Norse name.

An alternative is ON þröng= 'crowd, narrows' with ON þröngar being the genitive. 'hill of the narrows' would be a perfect fit topographically.

I do wonder if a better option is ON prinnr = 'three' , an alternative to ON þrennr, as there are clearly three massifs here.

Trinneabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Trennesaule	1877	OS name book
Treinebhal	1877	OS name book
Trennavaule	1877	OS name book
Trinival	1877	OS 1st edition
Trennsvaule	1804	Bald mapping

Triuirebheinn

Place ID 91 NF 81260 21280 South Uist Lochboisdale

ON mountain of the believer

ON trúara + fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

A fuller account of this name can be found on my blog here: <http://grimsayer.weebly.com/blog/what-is-in-a-name-triuriebhenn>

ON trúara + fjall = 'hill of the believer' from Blaeu spelling.

Interesting to see that the ON fjall became ScG bheinn at some stage between 1600 and 1800.

The Blaeu spelling Trurifcalt is closer to the Norse apart from the transcription error of a 'c' for an 'e'.

There is a Truarlögn in Iceland and a Truarsletta in Norway. It is likely however that major features such as mountains were named before Christianity arrived here.

Triuirebheinn	2014	Modern OS mapping
Triuirebheinn	1877	OS 1st edition
Trurvein	1804	Bald mapping
Trurifcalt	1654	Blaeu mapping

Trolamul

Place ID 5328 NF 81470 49898 Benbecula Loch U1isgeabhagh

ScG wild ridge

ScG tröllumul

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

The generic is ON múli = 'ridge' and one would expect the specific to be ON trölla = 'of the ogres' although in toponyms, the word has come to mean a wild, savage place.

Although there is no cognate in Iceland, ON tröll is a common specific there and in Norway.

A close cognate in Norway is Trollås(en) of which there are 43 examples.

Of the 31 Trol- place names on the OS 2nd edition mapping, all bar five are on the Northern or the Western Isles. Wild places!

There is another Trollamul on Harris.

Trolamul	2014	Modern OS mapping
Trolamul	1877	OS 1st edition
Trollamuil	1877	OS name book

Trolasgeir

Place ID 6140 NF 72126 27437 South Uist Loch Eynort

ScG dangerous skerry

ScG trölla sker

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Shore

complete?

In place names, ON tröl = 'troll' has come to represent dangerous and wild places.

There appear to be no matches in Iceland but in ?Norway there are five Trollskjeret place names - or very similar.

Trolasgeir	2014	Modern OS mapping
Trollaskeir	1877	OS 1st edition
Trollasgeir	1877	OS name book

Trollaman

Place ID 1565 NF 96199 74558 North Uist Lochp1ortain

ON wild area islet

ON tröll hólminn

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

In <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/> the following is written 'Troll - in nature names become common utility to characterize wild and rugged terrain' and so whilst ON troll = 'a giant or a fiend' the word has taken on other meanings. The position of this island blocking the sound between North Uist and Taghaigh would make it an obstacle and as such wild.

The generic looks like ON munnr = 'mouth' as in the nearby Gousman. 'Mouth of danger' could describe the waters one enters here.

An alternative ending might be the accusative definite case of ON hólmr = 'islet' which is ON hólminn. The cognate notes convince me of this option.

Trollheimen occurs as a component of 12 places in Norway and Trollholmen occurs 49 times and whilst Troll is a common componet in Iceland there is no cognate.

On Loch Sheil there is a Camas Drollaman and a rather circularly named Eilean Camas Drollaman and S of Arisag there is a Camas Drollman with a Loch and Coire name too. The nearest islet to Camas Trollaman is called Eilean a' Ghail = 'island of the forewigners'.

These names must share a root.

Trollaman	2014	Modern OS mapping
Trulaman	1877	OS name book
Na Drollammun	1877	OS name book
Trollaman	1877	OS 1st edition

Troll-eilean

Place ID 1274 NF 98113 76385 B1earnaraigh Ru2isigearraidh

ON wild island

ON troll eyland

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

Island

complete?

The OS name book gives us 'Fist Island' possibly based on the OS name book alternative name of Tor Eilean and ScG dorn = 'fist' but it does seem a little contrived.

In fact ScG torr = 'mound' would be a better option but this does not help with the troll.

It certainly looks Gaelic although the hyphen might indicate the odd order.

ScG dròl is listed in Dwelly as meaning 'bay' whilst Faclair Beag gives droll meaning 'tail, humpback'. The latter is the best fit phonetically.

In <http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/> the following is written 'Troll - in nature names become common utility to characterize wild and rugged terrain' and so whilst ON troll = 'a giant or a fiend' the word has taken on other meanings. This island is right on the edge of the channel here and so would be in a wild position. However the order of the words would count against a Norse origin although the cognate notes question this.

It is possible that it was called ON eyland initially and this has been translated into its Gaelic loan word form ScG eilean.

There are thirty Troll names in Scotland and all in Norse dominated areas and with their possible exception of Trolloch, S of Aberdeen, all look Norse.

Droll occurs 13 times in Scotland, all on the Western Isles or the Knoydart area. All of these look Norse.

In Norway there are nine islands named Trolløya whilst in Iceland Troll only occurs as the start of two names.

Troll-eilean	2014	Modern OS mapping
Tor Eilean	1877	OS name book
Troll-eilean	1877	OS 1st edition

Trumaisgearraidh

Place ID 534 NF 86740 74780 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON enclosed area of the strong current ON straums gerði

ScG?

ON?

Settlement Building

complete?

Whilst writing about Tromso in Norway, Wikipedia states 'Several islands and rivers in Norway have the name Tromsa, and the names of these are probably derived from the word straumr which means "(strong) current"'.
This would work well here as there is the strong current from the two currents here. ON straums = 'of the current' is the most likely specific.

Marwick writes about Trumland (OFN p65) Ontröm land = 'fringe land' from ON þrömr = 'edge' but it appears not to have a genitival /s/. ON þruma is an alternative but still with no genitival /s/.

Topographically this is such a good fit, one wonders if there was a place ON truma = 'boundary land' and this was split and the genitival /s/ added at this stage, ON þruma s gerði.

In Norway two names Strømsgrenda = 'village of the currents' is similarly habitative whilst four Straumgjerde(t) names are close to a cognate. Similar are the four Straum(s)gård names.

There are five place names þröm in Iceland.

Trumisgarry	2014	Modern OS mapping
Trumaisgearraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Trumisgarry	1877	OS 1st edition
Trumisgary	1832	Thomson atlas
Trumisgary	1799	Reid mapping
Tromskarry	1718	Judicial Rental
Trumisgarry		MacDonald sketch history

Tulach Gorm

Place ID 4922 NF 72307 70105 North Uist B1alranald

ScG green knoll

ScG tulach gorm

ScG?

ON?

Contour

complete?

Green Knoll where Domhnuill Beag built his Balranald House.

ScG tulach = 'knoll' names are often associated with assembly - but I can't find the reference although perhaps in Raven's thesis.

Tulach Gorm

1984

The Hebridean Connection

Uachdar

Place ID 1908 NF 80422 55774 B1enbecula B1aile a' Mhanaich

ScG upper part

ScG uachdar

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

Presumably this is the 'upper part' of Benbecula?

There is a possibility this might come from ON jaðarr = 'border' or better the form ON jöðurr.

Jæror Jaer is the Norwegian equivalent and it a common component in Norwegian names u=occurunbg overe 100 times with Jaer occurring a s asimplex eight times.

The name occurs in Sheltand as Jerins

Uachar as a word appears only twice on the OS 2nd edition mapping and this is the sole simplex example. Uachdarach is commoner appearing 16 times. The distribution is more coastal than one might expect.

Uackhir	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
Wochtter Beambecula	2020	Rixson Land Assessment
Uachdar	2014	Modern OS mapping
Uachdar	1877	OS 1st edition
Uacar	1877	OS name book
lochdar	1861	Thomas chart
Lower Town	1861	Thomas chart
Uackhir	1804	Bald mapping

Uaigh

Place ID 5881 NF 79475 73081 North Uist V1allay

ScG grave Scg uaigh

Historic Burial

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes 'A Lowlander was walking from Lochmaddy at one point and fell dead here - The locals found him and buried him here. The tomb and stone on it are still visible.'

Uaigh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Uaigh

Place ID 5964 NF 79254 73593 North Uist S1ollas

ScG grave

ScG?

ON?

Historic

Burial

complete?

Niclain writes 'A Skye man was buried here after being killed by a man from à Bhàlaigh mad while in a duel with swords. According to tradition, the man from à Bhàlaigh cut a button off the neck of the Skye jacket. He then gave him the chance to stop, but the Skyeman wanted to fight. Finally, the à Bhàlaigh man beheaded him.'

Uaigh

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Uaigh an t-Sagairt Màrtainn

Place ID 5830 NF 79762 74937 North Uist S1ollas

ScG grave of the Priest Martin Scg uaigh an t-sagairt Màrtainn

Historic Burial

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes '66. Tomb of Priest Martin (MMC) We do not know the man who was the priest Martin. Beveridge opened this tomb and was convinced that it was really a priest buried there, even though the bones were broken. Beveridge found three small boulders in the grave, which he thought came from Norway.'

Uaigh an t-Sagairt Màrtainn

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Uamh a' Phrionnsa

Place ID 6294 NF 83549 31282 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG cave of the prince ScG uamh a' Phrionnsa

Contour

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The cave in which Bonnie Prince Charlie actually did stay in!

Uamh a' Phrionnsa	2014	Modern OS mapping
Prince's Cave	1877	OS 1st edition

Uamh Airidh nam Faoch

Place ID 5636 NF 80884 67245 North Uist Central West

ScG shieling of the fields cave

ScG uamh àirigh nam faoch

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

The ScG uamh = 'cave' must refer to the well preserved souterrain here.

Whilst ScG faoch can mean 'whelk' or 'curve', the other meaning of 'field' here would seem to be the best topographical fit.

ON vök = 'hole, opening in ice' would sound very similar and almost works topographically as the souterrain here produces holes under the slabs. I do like the tautology that this would introduce.

Uamh Airidh nam Faoch

Canmore

Uamh Airidh nam Faoch

Place ID 5665 NF 80883 67243 North Uist Central West

ScG cave of the sheiling of the + ON opening ScG uamh àirigh nam + ON vök

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Beveridge gives us 'cave of the shieling of the winkles'. The 'cave' must refer to the souterrain here. Winkles would not be in big supply here being 4km from the sea.

A possible Norse alternative is ON vekja = 'hole in ice' or ON vök with the same meaning.

Cox writes about this last word (p813) 'The primary sense of the Norse word was 'opening' hole in the ice i.e. an open passage in a Loch, river, etc'.

Uamh Airidh nam Faoch

1911

Beveridge

Uamh Dubh na Sgogaich (Cave)

Place ID 6466 NF 87214 35026 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG black cave of the + ON bay of the low headla ScG uamh dubh na + ON skaga vík

Coastal Shore

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There is no obvious ScG word for Sgogaich.

ON skagi = 'a low cape or ness' however would be a good fit, possibly in the dative form On skaga. This is a perfect description of the area and it was an important one and so one would have expected it to have a Norse name. It would refer to the low flat area around the modern lighthouse rather than the whole headland that is called Uisinis.

The ending is either a ScG -aich added or more likely ON vík = 'bay'.

In this final case Sgogaich is being treated as an onomastic unit.

In Norway there are two Skagavika and four Skagvika place names

Uamh Dubh na Sgogaich (Cave)	2014	Modern OS mapping
Uamh Dhubh na Sgogaich	1877	OS 1st edition

Uamh Ghrantaich

Place ID 6347 NF 84232 33402 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG Grant's cave ScG uamh ghranndaich

Historic

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

The OSNB gives us 'Grant's cave' based on ScG Granndach = 'Grant'

Uamh Ghrantaich	2014	Modern OS mapping
Uamh Ghrantaich	1877	OS 1st edition

Uamh Iosal

Place ID 6348 NF 84344 33235 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ScG lower cave

ScG uamh ìosal

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Of the two ruins, this wheel house is the lower

Uamh Iosal

2014

Modern OS mapping

Uamh Iòsal

1877

OS 1st edition

Uamh Mhic Cealltair

Place ID 6776 NF 90663 59179 North Uist Eaval

ON boggy pits + ScG cave (son of)

ScG uamh (mhic) + ON kiældur

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

As observed by Beveridge (p112) the name must share a root with Eilean Mhic Shealtair (P#819) although it is not easy to see how with the interpretation given there. He also writes 'pronounced 'mhic Cailter' - 'Cailter' is probably of Norse derivation, as in the place-name Cailternish.' This derivation he gives is ON kjarlar tré = 'keel timber' which seems unlikely for a spot half way up Eaval.

On the Otter map, on Mc Calter Id (Eilean mhic Shealtair on the modern map), he has recorded the word "hole". Could this be another such cave and be the link between these two names?

ON kjallari = 'cellar' would be a good description of the site but lacks the /t/.

The best I can find is ON kelda = 'spring or well', although the word means 'a bog, a stagnant pit in a swampy ground' in Icelandic now, ON keldur is the plural. An alternative spelling is ON kiælde which is even closer in sound.

I suggest the Mhic was added to 'match' the Eilean Mhic Sheltair.

Uamh Mhic Cealltair

1911

Beveridge

Udal

Place ID 1320 NF 82106 77937 North Uist S1ollas

ON outlying valley

ON út dal

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Beveridge (p96) gives us ON út-dalr = 'outer valley' but writes 'even if this promontory is rather to be described as a plain rather than a dale. There seems indeed to remain a trace of 't' in the present local pronunciation.' To be precise Vigfusson defines ON út = 'towards the outer side' and ON út-dalr = 'an outlying valley, opp to fjalldalr' which he defines as ON fjall-dalr 'a dale in the fells'.

Ryugh is in Beveridge's corner writing about an Udal in Norway 'Útdalr, after the location of the farm far out in the valley' and to my mind this makes sense.

A totally different alternative is ON odal which is all to do with the Norse system of inheritance. Quite why a place should be named after this is uncertain.

There has been much discussion about this name over the years and I shall leave it to the experts.

For a variant there is a Bealach Udal in Lochaber about which is written 'Bealach Udal is 'the pass of distress', and is a path used for walking between Breakish and Kylerhea. It probably gained its name because it is very steep and difficult to climb.'

There are two útdalur names in Iceland and one in Norway. Odalen occurs nine times in Norway.

Udal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Udal	1877	OS 1st edition
Udal		MacDonald sketch history

Uibhist a Tuath

Place ID	2653	NF 86320 69743	North Uist	Central South
?			?	<input type="checkbox"/> ScG? <input type="checkbox"/> ON? <input type="checkbox"/> complete?
Coastal				
North Uist			2014	Modern OS mapping
Uibhist a Tuath			2014	Modern OS mapping
North Uist			1832	Thomson atlas
North Uist			1806	Stockdale mapping
North Uist			1799	Reid mapping
North Uist			1794	Old Statistcal Account
North Uist			1789	Ainslie mapping
North Uist Island			1751	Dorret mapping
North Uist			1703	Martin Martin map
Vyist			1654	Blaeu mapping
Eust			1610	Speed mapping
Eustay			1607	Hole mapping
Eusta			1595	Mercator later
Ewist			1583	Nicolas de Nicolay mapping
the yles Euest			1565	Nowell mapping
Eust			1564	Mercator mapping
Ewiste				Other

Uineabhal

Place ID 1603 NF 80273 67241 North Uist Central South

ON cone shaped mountain

ON húnn - fjall

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Rise

complete?

Beveridge associates the name with the nearby Loch Huna and from whence he arrives at a woman's name Unnr or Una.

I thought initially the answer was much simpler. ON ein - = 'only one' adjoined to ON fjell - 'mountain'. The reason it worked is that this is a stand-alone mountain and so would be described topographically as 'only one'. The initial vowel sound is not perfect, but the simplicity appeals.

THC (p14) echoes this using ScG aon mheall = 'one hill' as its derivation.

In fact on reflection the initial vowel sound is too far away.

Beveridge gives the clue with Vigfusson's ON húnn = 'a knob: naut. The knob at the top of the mast-head; 2. the knob at a staff's end; 3. a piece in a game, prob. From its cone-like shape.'

This word will, like many others, have been adapted to fit topographical names and the 'cone-like shape' described for the gaming piece is perfect for some mountains - Uineabhal being a possible example.

With a genitival /s/, the form would have to be ON húnn - fjall = 'cone-shaped mountain'. The length of the initial vowel is an issue but words starting with a vowel in Gaelic tend to lengthen anyway.

One other possibility is ON höfn = 'harbour' which has an alternative meaning of pasture. This would be more extensible to help with Loch Huna. The area is talked about extensively as an area of pasture in THC.

In Norway there are four Hunnefjall and in Iceland what may be the same specific appears as Húna. There are also four Tunfjellet and three Tunholl in Iceland.

In Iclenad there are four Hafnarfjall (the genitive of höfn) place names although it must be said all are on the coast.

Uineabhal	2014	Modern OS mapping
Uinmheall	1984	The Hebridean Connection
Unival	1877	OS 1st edition

Uisge Scoag

Place ID 5708 NF 80083 19566 South Uist Lochboisdale

ON wood of the oxen

ON oxa skóg

ScG?

ON?

Fresh water

Stream

complete?

The area is still wooded in the Hebridean sense of a few low scrubby alder and willow.

Uisge Scoag

2014

Modern OS mapping

Uisge Scoag

1877

OS 1st edition

Uisgeabhagh

Place ID 5262 NF 86750 50035 Benbecula Peter's Port

ON bay of the oxen

ON uxa vág

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Township

complete?

This is the name of a settlement although the root name is probably the bay now called Loch Uisgeabhagh. One hears the name derived as 'water bay' from ScG uisge bàgh but the order is wrong and it would read 'bay water' which makes little sense. It is possible that is some form of close compound and that would explain it. However I think with the strong prevalence of Norse names here and for large features on the E coast of Uist generally then this probably has Norse roots. ON vágr = 'bay' is the obvious generic. The specific is more problematic but the best I can do is ON uxa = 'of the oxen' which ties in with the other names associated with cattle. It is also Taylor's suggestion.

Uisgeabhagh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Uskevagh	1877	OS name book
Buail Uisgebhaigh	1877	OS name book
Uskavagh	1877	OS 1st edition
Uisgebhagh	1862	1Admiralty Chart Loch Uisgebhaig
Uskevagh	1832	Thomson atlas
Uskevagh	1804	Bald mapping

Uisinis

Place ID 6463 NF 86437 35360 South Uist B1einn Mhòr

ON headland of the houses

ON hùsa nes

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

Clearly the generic is ON nes ='headland'

The obvious first thought for the specific is ON hús = 'house' in the genitive plural form ON hùsa.

Other alternative would seem contrived.

The alternative earlier names are interesting Toacach, Tascach and Teochdach.

The cognate notes are convincing.

In Iceland there are eight Húsanes and one Húsnes place names whilst in Norway there are thirtern Husnes(et) placenames

Uisinis	2014	Modern OS mapping
Ruisinish	1877	OS name book
Tascach	1877	OS name book
Rudh' Huisnis	1877	OS name book
Ru Ushenish	1877	OS name book
Rhu Uisinish	1877	OS name book
Usinish	1877	OS 1st edition
Teochdach	1877	OS name book
Toacach	1804	Bald mapping

Uist Bard birthplace

Place ID 2185 NF 78372 62739 North Uist B1aleshare

Eng Uist Bard birthplace

Eng Uist Bard birthplace

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Building

complete?

The Uist Bard was Roderick MacKay. The Carmichael Watson site has some details about him - <http://carmichaelwatson.blogspot.com/2009/09/> - referring to a 152 page manuscript bundle of Gaelic poetry. Ruairidh MacAoidh, mac an t-Saighdeir Ruaidh, or Roderick Mackay (1872–1949). In North Uist tradition MacAoidh is better known as Bàrd Iollairigh after the district where he lived, in the north of the island of Baile Sear/Baleshare on the west coast of North Uist. The bard's work as clerk to the factor of the North Uist estate meant that he was a well-known – and apparently very popular! – figure in the island as he travelled from township to township collecting rent.

Uist Bard birthplace

1973

Fraser Place names of Ill2eray

Uisteag

Place ID	506	NF 84760 55780	North Uist	Griomasaigh	
ON east bay			ON aust vík		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Coastal		Island			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?

ScG -ag = 'small' is a common diminutive and so there is an attraction to 'small Uist' however the Norse -ag often comes from ON vagr= 'bay' and the word feels more Norse.

A good possibility is either ON vestr + vagr = 'west bay' or ON austr + vagr = 'east bay'. Listening to these in modern Icelandic they sound surprisingly similar although the latter is closer.

The cognate evidence convinces me.

There are five Austurvík and seven Austurvogur place names in Iceland whilst in Norway there are over 100 Austvik and variants. One variant is østvik which gives an indication of the souynd being close to ScG ui.

There are also eighteen Austrevågen or vairants thereof.

Uisteag

1866

Admiralty mapping

Ultach Fhinn

Place ID 850 NF 83760 62340 North Uist Eaval

ON cultivated land of the hill

ON ull takinu

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

Beveridge (p256) describes the site and comes up with 'Fingal's armful' or 'Fingal's lift' based upon ScG ultach = 'armful' or 'burden'.

One must remember that ScG /fh/ is silent

<http://www.norskstadnamnleksikon.no/grunnord.aspx> gives us 'taka f. (Gen. tōku) can be found from ancient times as a farm name, in a certain form, Takan , in some villages on the Swedish border, from the Red to the Eid forest (cf. NG I p. 174). After its derivation of taka 'take', it is well to understand 'busy, cultivated land', thus one of the many terms for grubbing up.'

The past participle is ON tekinn = 'taken (land)' which makes a reasonable fit.

Simpler perhaps is the noun ON takinu = 'The cultivated land'.

For the specific the obvious choice is ON ull = 'wool' or ON ulla ='of the wool'

ON ull takinu = 'The wool cultivated land' provides the best phonological fit and works topographically as the area here would be for grazing of sheep.

The pause was inserted as a result of the desire to resemanticise.

Ultach Fhinn

2014

Modern OS mapping

Ultach Fhinn

1911

Beveridge

Ultach na h-Airde Glaise

Place ID 5767 NF 77606 73626 North Uist V1allay

ScG armful of the grey height

ScG ultach na h-àirde glaise

ScG?

ON?

Contour

Exposed rock

complete?

Niclain writes 'this is a large lump of stone; she used to be bigger but a piece was broken. People would try to build, and some overcame it. There is a story about a big, strong woman in the area who used to make cheese. This bundle would be her companion for the wood!'

Ultach na h-Airde Glaise

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Unasaraidh

Place ID 4973 NF 77131 27867 South Uist Loch Eynort

? ON sheiling of the haven

? ON höfn ærgi

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

complete?

The position on the modern mapping looks odd especially compared to the precise Bald positioning of a house. The OS name book gives us 9 'green pasture'.

Bearing in mind the proximity of Hafn and the possible interpretation of Huna as ON höfn, then it is possible this stems from ON höfn saurri = 'dirt of the haven'.

It could be a personal name or ON höfn airigh with a genitival 's added for luck. However, the genitive morpheme /s/ may have been added later to an older name as a secondary development (see Ingashowe, Sandnes 2010a, 125).

In The Faroes for example of the six compound names around the town Hov, five include a genitival /s/. In Iceland the name only exists as a simplex Höfn or with a genitive specific Hafnar.

All the other Huna and Una names could refer to a ON höfn as they are in the close geographical proximity of one. Likewise there is a Hamnsneset in Norway..

The other alternative is the personal name Una but in Iceland and Norway, there is not a single place name beginning with 'Unas' as its specific.

The only other places beginning with Una on the OS 2nd edition mapping are Unasta and Unasta River on Harris at the head of Loch Meavaig.

Huna provides us with three Caithness names, Lón Hunabost on Loch Snizort, Skye, Bay Hunadu on Mingulay, Barra, Huna andf Loch Huna, North Uist. The two Shuna islands in Argyll might share the root but not the Shnua on Shetland and Orkney, which might stem from ON tjörn = 'tarn'.

Unasaraidh	2014	Modern OS mapping
Hunusary	1877	OS name book
Unasairidh	1877	OS name book
Unasary	1877	OS 1st edition
Hunusary	1804	Bald mapping

Unasairidh Islands

Place ID 4974 NF 77429 27970 South Uist Loch Eynort

ON Unasairaidh + Eng islands

ON Unasairidh + Eng IIsands

ScG?

ON?

Coastal

complete?

See Unasairidh for a discussion on that name.

Unasairidh Islands	2014	Modern OS mapping
Husary Islands	1877	OS name book
Unasary Islands	1877	OS 1st edition
Hunusarry I.	1804	Bald mapping

Upper Land

Place ID 1605 NF 72251 73877 North Uist B1almartin

Eng Upper Land Eng Upper Land

Settlement Enclosure

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

In the Hebridean Connection the Anglicized name given for the land from Hougarry to Griminish (p23). The position of the GR here is randomish.

Upper Land 1984 The Hebridean Connection

Utraid a' Bhaile

Place ID 6038 NF 82352 75146 North Uist Gr1enitote

ScG road of the town ScG utraid a' bhaile

Settlement Track

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Utradi appears in no dictionary I can find. I suspect it is a lesser known Norse loan word from Vigfusson's ON út-reið, f. a riding out, an expedition.

Here then rather than town, I wonder if the whole thing was ON valla út-reið = 'riding out of the fields' and then reordered.

Utraid a' Bhaile

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Utraid a' Cheathraimh Mheadhanaich

Place ID	5834	NF 80322 74937	North Uist	S1ollas	
ScG track of Middle Quarter			ScG utraid a' 'Cheathraimh Mheadhanaich'		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Settlement		Farming			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input type="checkbox"/> complete?
Utraid a' Cheathraimh Mheadhanaich			1997	Niclain Place names of Sollas	

Utraid Mhalacleit

Place ID 5928 NF 79528 74222 North Uist S1ollas

'Mhalacleit' + ON out riding

'Mhalacleit' + ON út-reið

Settlement

Track

ScG?

ON?

complete?

See Malacleit (P#2450 for a discussion fo the 'Mhalacleit' element.

Utraid Mhalacleit

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Utraid Sholais

Place ID 5812 NF 81108 75239 North Uist S1ollas

'Sholais' + ScG track

ScG ùtraid Sholais

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Farming

complete?

Niclain writes 'This path runs between the main road and the machair. Some people also call it Hangar Road. as he was going down to Hangar from the Army around 1937, At one time the Army intended to build several buildings and accommodation for the troops at Sollas, but eventually decided to build they are in Balivanich on Benbecula.'

Utraid Sholais

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Rathad a' Hangair

1997

Niclain Place names of Sollas

Vallaquie

Place ID 654 NF 86750 75380 North Uist Clachan Sands

ON whale or ford fold

ON hvala or vaðla kví

ScG?

ON?

Settlement

Enclosure

complete?

The OS 1st edition is instructive as it uses the name Vallaquie several times here as opposed to the modern OS Vallaquie. I do not see quite how the 'quie' sound has disappeared in the modern mapping. This sounds and looks like an ON kví = 'pen', 'fold' or 'enclosure' for the generic.

With other precedents on Uist at Vallastrome and Vallay, the easiest solution for the specific is ON hvala = 'of whales'. In the other alternative ON valla = 'of the fields' I think the initial vowel would I think sound more like 'wall' (IPA /p/) 6+than 'valley' (IPA /a/).

Hunting of whales was a feature of Norse life, continued to this day on the Faroes, and the idea of a 'whale-enclosure' is not stupid. The word usually used was ON hvalr-garðr = 'whale enclosure' and occurs in Iceland and this one has the same meaning.

Taking the modern name, if it is not a corruption of Vallaquie still looks Norse, perhaps ON hvala + vik = 'bay of whales'. Certainly topographically it is possible to see this as a location where whales were trapped, accidentally or deliberately. Another and possibly simpler alternative is ON vaðill = 'ford' as the specific but this has the problem of ON vaðils as the singular genitive. ON vaðla = 'of the fords' might be a better alternative.

There is another Vallaiquie coast in SE corner o Loch nam Madadh

Vallaquie	2014	Modern OS mapping
Vallaquie	1986	Easson land assessment
Vallaquie	1877	OS 1st edition
Valeque	1832	Thomson atlas
Valeque	1799	Reid mapping
Valliqui		MacDonald sketch history

Vallastrome

Place ID 383 NF 88290 55430 North Uist Griomasaigh

ON current of the whales ON hvala + straum

S1alt water Current or Strait

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

There are similar sounding names on North Uist - Vallay and Vallaquie to use their anglicized versions to make comparison easier.

The OS name book an unlikely provides 'Sweating Strait' based upon ScG fallas = 'sweat, perspiration' whilst Beveridge cites ON vaðill = 'a ford' and ON vaða = 'to wade' as the root.

I am told it is possible (but wouldn't want to try!) to ford the sound between Griomasaigh and Ronaigh at extremely low tide but certainly not in the Vallastrome itself where the currents remain fierce for most of the tidal cycle.

A better root in my opinion is ON hvalr = 'whale' or more precisely ON hvala = 'of the whales'. Overall then ON hvala + straumr = 'current of the whales'.

A nearby Oban nam Muca-mara is a similar Gaelic name.

ON hváll = 'hill' might work topographically but the initial vowel quantity would not work well.

The distribution of names contasinig Valla on the OS 2nd editon is instructive.

There is a Vallance Rig near Lochmaben Castle.

Aside from that there are eight places in Shetland, three on South Harris and eight on North Uist.

For Vala there are five on Shetland and 15 on Lewis.

None on Orkney is interesting as one would expect there to be as many wading fords there as Shetland or the Hebrides Hval is common in Icelandic place names but I could find a cognate..

There is a Valastraumen in Norway with a root likely to be ON vaða but Kvalvågstraumen is close.

Vallastrome	2014	Modern OS mapping
Bhalasrom	2001	Mairi Stiubhart (Looking Back)
Caolas Fallus	1877	OS name book
Caolas Bhalastrom	1877	OS name book
Vallastrome	1877	OS 1st edition
Gilstrcem	1654	Blaeu mapping

Vallay house

Place ID 5734 NF 77357 75912 North Uist V1allay

Eng Vallay house Eng Vallay house

Settlement Building

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

Niclain writes 'Erskine Beveridge lived between 1851 and 1920; He was from Din Phàrlain. He came to live in England in 1901, when he bought the island, and built a beautiful mansion. There were lots of large rooms, and a number of living rooms and bedrooms. There was nice furniture. with fireplace, beautiful doors and stairs. for instance. There were 365 panes of glass in the windows. They had running water in the house - the water was piped, under the beach, There were several Working at Beveridge, and there is a servants' house near the Big House. A stone wall was erected near the house with an orchard inside. The garden was built by the people of the area who were paid according to what they raised each day. Each man had a piece to lift and at the end of the day the man in charge of the yard would slash the yard to make sure it was strong enough. If a piece fell. the farmer would not forgive anything until he picked it up again. Between the beach and the house there was a dog 's path with pebbles; the servants racked it every day. for the hard wheels of the giggle would drive a hollow in it. There were several shops behind the house, pigs and horses and all that was kept in them.'

Vallay house 2019 RCA

Taigh Mòr Bhàlaigh 1997 Niclain Place names of Sollas

Veilish

Place ID 4928 NF 82517 78413 North Uist S1ollas

ON ridge of the sand dunes

ON mela áss

ScG?

ON?

Historic

complete?

I suspected initially that this has the same root as Bharlis, although it is similar. However the initial vowel is difficult as it does not produce 'ei' regularly.

Also topographically there is no shingle beach here but two sandy beaches forming a bar out to the headland, never tidal but not more than a few metres broad at its thinnest.

ON mela = 'of sand dunes' however is a similar way forwards and the process is similar to Bharlais.

The development would be ON mela áss > meilas > mheilis > ScG bheilis.

It is possible that it started with meðaláss = 'middle ridge' - see in the Cognate notes.

THC p257 talks about th name stressing it is Bidhilis not Bhoilis.

MacDonald agrees with Beveridge and thinks the root is vaeng flis = 'wing slice' , not an obvious intepretation.

There are two Melás place names in Iceland, eight Melås and 11 Melåsen in norway.

However consulting Rygh, two of his three Melaas farm names, he derives as ON meðaláss = 'middle ridge'.

Whilst that is not the obvious name for the headland, the historic site of Veilish is in fact adjacnet to Rubha Huilis, which colud be thought of as the middle of three obvious 'beach headlands' here

Veilish

1911

Beveridge

Veilish

MacDonald sketch history

White Water Loch

Place ID 5294 NF 80740 48210 Benbecula Peter's Port

Eng white water loch

Eng whiterwater loch

Fresh water

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

White Water Loch

1804

Bald mapping

Wood Island

Place ID	5441	NF 80399 50417	Benbecula	Loch U1isgeabhagh	
Eng wood island			Eng wood island		<input type="checkbox"/> ScG?
Fresh water					<input type="checkbox"/> ON?
					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> complete?
Wood Island			1804	Bald mapping	

Yellow Rocks of Splears

Place ID 1295 NF 95545 77049 North Uist Lees

Eng yellow rocks of + 'Spleadhairs' Eng yellow rocks of + 'Spleadhairs'

Coastal Skerry, Shoal and Reef

- ScG?
- ON?
- complete?

See Spleadhairs (P#1293) for a discussion of that part of the name.

Yellow Rocks of Splears	2014	Modern OS mapping
Yellow Rock of the Splears	1866	Admiralty mapping