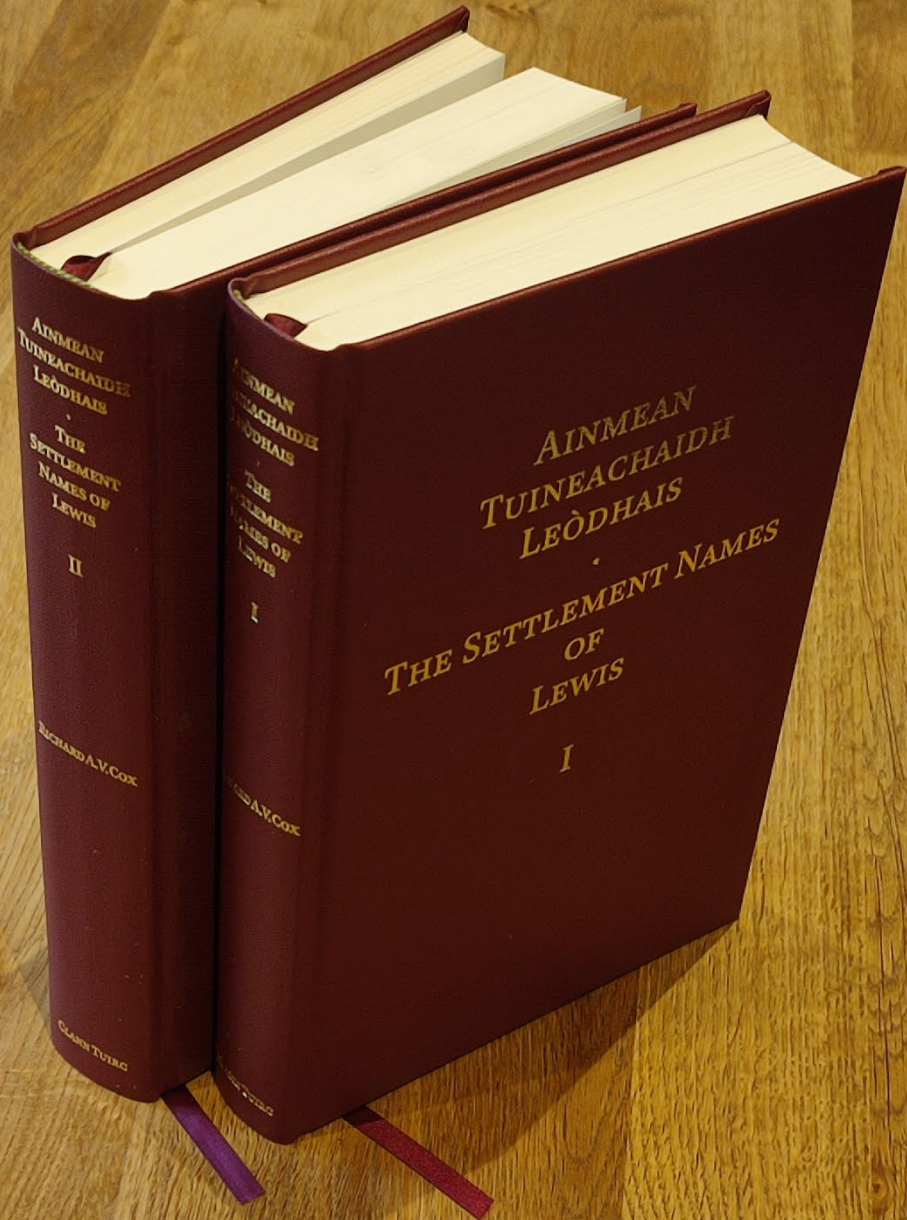# The Settlement Names of Lewis:
## Challenges in the reconstruction of Old Norse forms

AINMEAN
TUINEACHAIDH
LEÒDHAIS
·
THE
SETTLEMENT
NAMES OF
LEWIS

II

RICHARD A.V. COX

CLANN TUIRC

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THE SETTLEMENT NAMES
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I

RICHARD A.V. COX

CLANN TUIRC

*Adabroc*

< \**Oddabrokka* '(the) slope of the point'

*Pabaigh Mhòr* < *\*Papøy* < *\*Papaøy* '(the) island of the clerics or (religious) hermits'

*Àird Dhail* < *\*Dali* '(the) valley'

# Syntax: Stress patterns

\*ˈ*Klettar* '(the) mountains'

> ˈ*Cleitir*

\*ˈ*Kallaðarˌnes* '(the) promontory of the call'

> ˈ*Callaˌnis*

ˌ*Barra* ˈ*Glom*

< \*ˌ*Borgin á* ˈ*Glumm* 'the fort by (the) ravine'

# Morphology

*Borgh* < \**Borg* nom./acc. '(the) fort'

*Brù* < \**Brú* '(the) bridge'

\**Cr*ò < \**Kró* '(the) sheep pen'

*Siadar* < \**Sætr* '(the) sheiling or farm'

\**Sgor* < \**Skor* '(the) fissure'

\**Ùig* < \**Vík* '(the) bay or creek'

*Bòstadh* < *\*Bólstað* acc. '(the) farm' (*bólstaðr* m.)

      > \*[ˈb̥ɔːˌs̥ta:] > \*[ˈb̥ɔːˌs̥ta] > [ˈb̥ɔːˌs̥taɣ]

*Dail* < *\*Dali* dat. '(the) valley'

*Tunga* < *\*Tunga* nom. '(the) tongue of land' or
     *\*Tungu* acc./dat.

*Brocair* < \**Brokkur* pl. '(the) slopes'

*Grabhair* < \**Grafir* '(the) hollows'

*Cleitir* < \**Klettar* '(the) mountains'

*Crothair* < \**Króar* '(the) sheep pens'

*Cuidhir* < \**Kvíar* '(the) cattle folds'

*Tùthair* < \**Þúfur* or \**Þúfar* '(the) hillocks'

*Na Hearadh* (> Eng. *Harris*) >> *Mol na Hearadh*:

< (sing.) \**Heraðˇ* '(the) district' or
  (plur.) \**Heruð* '(the) districts'

*Geardha* < *Gerða* (< *gerði* nt. 'enclosure')

*Thòg* < *Hauka* (< *haukr* m. 'hawk')

*Cùiseal* < *Kvísla* (< *kvísl* f. 'fork in a river')

*Briacleit* < **Breið-klett* acc. '(the) broad-mountain'

*Brèinis* < **Breið-nes* '(the) broad-promontory'

*Brèibhig* < **Breið-vík* '(the) broad-bay'

*Cirbhig* < **Kyr-vík* '(the) calm-bay'

*Miabhag* < **Mæ-vǫk* '(the) narrow-opening'

**Bhuidhea* < **Víð-øy* '(the) broad-island'

*Dìobadal* < \**Diupadal* acc. '(the) deep valley'

*Grèineabost* < \**Grǿnabólstað* acc. '(the) green farm'

*Tàbost* < \**Há-bólstað* acc. '(the) high farm'

*Thàiseadar* < \**Há-sætr* '(the) high shieling'

*Làbost* < \**Lág-bólstað* acc. '(the) low farm'

*Rothasgair* < \**Rauðaskarð* acc. '(the) red gap or pass'

*Lunndal* < **Lund-dal* acc. '(the) copse-valley'

*Mealbost* < **Mel-bólstað* acc. '(the) sand- or gravel-bank-farm'

*Sanndaig* and *Sanndabhig* < **Sand-vík* '(the) sand-bay'

*Siabost* < **Sæ-bólstað* acc. '(the) loch-farm'

*Theòrsadar* < **Þjór-sætr* '(the) bull-sheiling'

*Beàrnaraigh* < **Bjarnarøy* '*Bjǫrn*'s island'

*Bruinigil* < **Brynugil* '(the) ravine of the river **Bryna*'

(*bryna* vb 'to rush')

*Giosladh* < **Gilsá* '(the) river of the ravine' (*gil* nt.)

*Fileascleitir* < *Fylsklettar* '(the) cliffs of the colt' (*fyl* nt.)

*Eòrradal* < **Jǫrðudal* acc. '(the) valley of the river **Jǫrða*'

(*jǫrð* f. 'earth, ground')

*Buthanis* < **Búðanes** '(the) promontory of the bothies'
(*búð* f.)

*Garrabost* < **Garðabólstað** acc. '(the) farm of the enclosures' (*garðr* m.)

*Theòraiseadar* < **Þjórasætr** '(the) sheiling of the bulls'
(*þjórr* m.)

*Capadal* < **Koppadal** acc. '(the) valley of the knolls'
(*koppr* m.)

*Marabhig* < **Maravík** '(the) bay of the horses' (*marr* m.)

# Onomastic structure

*Briacleit* < *(s)*Breið*-(g)*klett* acc. '(the) broad-mountain'

*Kirkja* '(the) church'

>> *Kirkjubólstað* acc. '*Kirkja*'s farm'

  (> *Circeabost*)

*Borg* '(the) fort'

>> *Borg-stafn* '*Borg*-spit'

  (> *Borghaston*)

*_Hamnarvág_ acc. '(the) bay of the harbour'

$$( > Tamnabhagh)$$

>>

*_Hamnarvágsdal_ acc. '(the) valley of …'

$$( > *Tamnasdal)$$

*_Hamnarvágsfjall_ '(the) mountain of …'

$$( > Tamnaiseal)$$

# Folk etymology

*Sumarliði*

>> *[ˈs̥ũməʝi] /ˈsũməʀli/

> *Somhairle*

(cf. EG *samairle* 'cub, whelp')

*Breið-ás-klett* acc. '(the) broad-ridge-mountain'

>> *[ˈb̥rʲe-a̡ˌs̡kleʰtʲ]

> *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥rʲi-a̡ˌs̡kleʰtʲ]

(cf. *brèagha* [ˈb̥rʲia-a], [ˈb̥rʲia-ə] 'pretty')


*Hvinsbakka* acc. '(the) slope of the rushing (sound)'

>> *[ˈb̥ĩnə ˌs̡paʰk]

> *Beanasbac* [ˈb̥ẽnə ˌs̡paʰk]

(cf. *bean* [b̥ẽn] 'woman, wife')

*_Borg-árgarð_ acc. 'the farm of the broch-river'

>> *[ˈb̥ɔɾ̃ˌɠ̊əɾʲ]

> _Bradhagair_ [ˈb̥ɾa-aˌɠ̊əɾʲ]

(cf. EG *_broġa-_/*_braġa-_, gen. of _bruġ_ 'fortified abode')


*_Magnúsarsætr_ '_Magnús_'s sheiling'

> _Mànaiseadar_ [ˈmãːniˌʃad̥ər]

later > _Manaiseadar_ [ˈmãniˌʃad̥ər]

(cf. _Manainn_ 'Man'; _manach_ [ˈmãnɔx] 'monk')

# ON _munkr_ m. 'monk'

# Phonology: Vowel alternation

*Capadal* < \**Koppadal* acc. '(the) valley of the knolls'

*Tormod* (Lewis) [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̃amɔd̪̥] < *Þormund* acc.

(*Þormóðr* m.)

EG *Saṁairle* > *Somhairle*

Eng. *wax* > Heb. Eng. *wox*

*Tùthair* [úː] < **Þúfur* (or **Þúfar*) '(the) hillocks'

*Siadar* [iắ] < **Sœtr* '(the) sheiling or farm'

*Rothasgair* [ɔə̀] < **Rauðaskarð* acc. '(the) red gap or pass'

*Rathanis* [ɑə̀] < **Ráarnes* '(the) promontory of the nook or corner'

*Briacleit* [ˈb̥rʲiaˌkleʰtʲ]

> [ˈb̥rʲi-aˌkleʰtʲ]


*Iarsadar* [ˈiaˌʂad̥ər]

> [ˈi-aˌʂad̥ər]


*Miabhag* [ˈmĩãˌvaɠ̊]

> [ˈmĩ-aˌvaɠ̊]

*Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪l̥kleʰtʲ]

> [ˈb̥ɾʲiaˌs̪l̥kleʰtʲ]


*Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-i ʃad̥ əɾ]

> [ˈkʰai ʃad̥əɾ]


*Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰu̟-i ʃad̥əɾ]

> [ˈkʰəi ʃad̥əɾ]

*Bradhagair*  ['b̥ɾa-a̯ˌɡ̊əɾʲ]

*> Bràgair*  ['b̥ɾaːˌɡ̊əɾʲ]

*Giùrsadar*  ['ɡ̊ʲuːˌʂad̥əɾ]

*> Giubharsadar*  ['ɡ̊ʲu-əˌʂad̥əɾ]

*Sòbhal*  ['s̥ɔːˌvaɫ]

*> Sodhabhal*  ['s̥ɔ-əˌvaɫ]

# Chronology

\*_Borgin á Glumm_ 'the fort beside (the) gully'

> _Barra Glom_

_brokka_ ~ _brekka_

_Brocair_ < _Brokkur_ pl. '(the) slopes'

\*_Kleifsgróf_ > _Cliasgro_ (\*_kleif_ nt. ~ _kleif_ f.)

ON *fn* > *mn*:

*Tamnabhagh* (< \**Hamnarvág* acc.)
~ *Tamhnaraigh* (< \**Hafnarøy*
                                    '(the) island of the harbour')

CSc. *iu* > *jú*:

*Dìobadal* < **Diupadal* acc. '(the) deep valley'


CSc. *ǿy* 'island' (~ ON *ey*):

*Beàrnaraigh*, *Beirgheasaigh*, *Bhàcasaigh*, *Bhalasaigh*, *Ceartaigh*, *Orasaigh*, *Rònaigh*

*Hásumar-gerði > Àsmaigearraidh

*Hyrnuvág acc. > *Ùrnabhagh


Mol na Hearadh


*Há-sætr > Thàiseadar

*Hamarssætr > Thamarsadar

*Hauka > *Thòg

*Heið-klettar pl. > Thèicleitir

*Huglavík > *Thùlabhig

*Há-bólstað* acc. > *Tàbost*

*Há-klett* acc. > *Tàcleit*

*Hamnarvág* acc. > *Tamnabhagh*

*Harð-á* > *Torraigh*

*Hitaborg* > *Tiodaborgh*

*Holm* acc. > *Tolm*

*Hóp(s)sund* > *Tòpsann*