

Review Article

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Sabhal Mòr Ostaig

Placenames of the Isle of Man, George Broderick (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1994-2005). *Volume One: Sheading of Glenfaba (Kirk Patrick, Kirk German, and Peel)*, (1994). xliii + 377 pp. Paperback (ISBN 3-484-40129-X). *Volume Two: Sheading of Michael (Kirk Michael, Ballaugh, and Jurby)*, (1995). xlii + 301 pp. Paperback (ISBN 3-484-40130-3). *Volume Three: Sheading of Ayre (Kirk Andreas, Kirk Bride, and Kirk Christ Lezayre)*, (1997). xli + 513 pp. Paperback (ISBN 3-484-40131-1). *Volume Four: Sheading of Garff (Kirk Maughold & Ramsey, Kirk Lonan, and Kirk Conchan)*, (1999). xli + 454 pp. Paperback (ISBN 3-484-40132-X). *Volume Five: Sheading of Middle (Kirk Braddan, Kirk Marown, and Kirk Santan)*, (2000). xlii + 300 pp. Paperback (ISBN 3-484-40133-8). *Volume Six: Sheading of Rushen (Kirk Malew with Castletown and Ballasalla, Kirk Arbory, and Kirk Christ Rushen with the Calf of Man)*, (2002). xliii + 582 pp. Paperback (ISBN 3-484-40134-6). *Volume Seven: Douglas and Appendices compiled under the auspices of the Manx Place-Name Survey*, (2005). xiii + 750 pp. Paperback (ISBN 3-48-40135-4).

While publication of this series spans 11 years, compilation and production took place over 17 years. It was a massive undertaking and required a special commitment and tenacity on the part of its editor, Professor Dr George Broderick, in both carrying out fieldwork and research, and in acquiring funds for the project. The cost of the seven-volume series is equally massive at €1,176, or approximately £794.¹ The repetition of introductory material in each volume – apart from Vol. 7 –

¹ As at August 2007. Vols 1–7 are priced individually at €124, €124, €158, €158, €124, €210 and €278, respectively.

might suggest that volumes could be bought individually, but organisational and cross-referencing methods all but preclude this.

The format of each of the seven volumes is basically the same, with the addition of running headers in Vols 3–7.² The Introduction contains sections on Studies in Manx place-names; the Manx Place-Name Survey; Land division and tenure in the Isle of Man; Source material; Orthography; Common elements in Manx place-names; Aspects of Manx grammar relevant to place-names; and Editorial policy – although only the first two sections appear in Vol. 7.

The section on land division is useful in understanding the way in which place-name material throughout the series is presented: the Isle of Man is divided into six *sheadings*, administrative areas each consisting of three *parishes*, which in turn contain a varying number of *treens*, which in turn are divided usually into four *quarterlands* (‘customary estates’ averaging 90 acres). Vols 1–6 cover one of the sheadings each and are sub-divided into their respective parishes. Place-names within parishes are listed alphabetically, except for field-names, which are listed alphabetically under their quarterlands or *intacks* (originally parts of forest or common or other land enclosed under licence). Following the main place-name section in Vols 1–4 and 6, there is a short list of fishing-marks.

The section on common elements in Vols 1–6 is superseded by the identically-named section in Vol. 7 (see under Onomasticon, below). The section on Manx grammar is useful mainly from a syntactical, but also from a morphological view.

Small-scale maps follow the Introduction, identifying sheading and parish names, along with other more major place-names, and, in some

² This and other additions in later volumes may be in response to reviews of earlier volumes, e.g. R. A. V. Cox, Review article of George Broderick *Placenames of the Isle of Man* Vols I–II, *Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society Proceedings* Vol. X, No. 4 (1998), 441–44 and S. Taylor, Review of George Broderick *Placenames of the Isle of Man* Vol. 2, *Nomina*, 21 (1998), 184–88.

instances, street names. Following these are four lists of abbreviations (two of which have been combined in Vols 5–7), and these are supplemented by a further list at the head of each parish section. So many abbreviations are not really necessary and, in the long run, will not have saved much space; this, along with some omissions and inconsistencies, adds to a general sense of confusion regarding them. A few examples will suffice: *metath* for *metathesis*, *acc.* for *according*, *w.* for *with* and *repr* for *represents* are hardly conventional and are all omitted from the key; *f* begins by signifying *for* or *formerly*, but from Vol. 5 may also signify *field*; *adj.* is used as an abbreviation for *adjoining*, whereas some readers might automatically think of *adjective*: ‘**the Watery World** ... (3 fs “very damp” *adj.* Close na Mona SW) EC1990’ – here, EC1990 represents the informant and year of recording, but SW is not mentioned in any of the lists (Vol. 3, 475); *nn* is given for *nickname*, whereas *Nn.* is used in Vol. 3, 312; *G* is given for *Gaelic* (in fact *G.* is used consistently, it seems), whereas it usually means *Irish Gaelic*, e.g. ‘*G. buaile + na gcreag*’ (Vol. 4, 29, as opposed to *ScG buaile nan creag*), although it is also used for both *Irish* and *Scottish Gaelic*, e.g. ‘*G. áirghe, àiridh + beag*’ (Vol. 5, 33, with *Ir. áirghe* and *ScG àirigh* ‘shieling’).

Vols 1–6 contain indexes of words raised in discussion: *Manx*, *Old & Middle Irish*, *Modern Irish & Scottish Gaelic*, (*Old British & Welsh*, (*Medieval*) *Latin*, *Scandinavian*, *Old & Middle English*, (*Norman*) *French/Anglo-Norman*, *Italian*, *Modern English (& English Dialect)*, *Manx English*, and *German*, according to volume. However, their use is restricted by the fact that where no form is specifically mentioned in the text, it is not recorded in the indexes. For example, ‘**Bayr ny Neen** ... “?road of the maiden/unmarried woman” *Mx*; cf. *ScG. nighean* “daughter” (Vol. 1, 55) – here, *Mx neen* (< *inneen*) is not in the index, while *ScG nighean* is; ‘**Croit na Ushag** ... “croft of the bird(s)” *Mx*; cf. *ScG. uiseag* “lark, skylark” (Vol. 3, 102) – here, *Mx ushag* is not in the index, while *ScG uiseag* is; ‘**Dubbey ny Skaddan** ...

“pool of the herring, the herring pool” Mx; ScG. *dub* “pool” (< Eng. dial.), *sgadan* “herring” (Vol. 3, 116) – similarly, Mx *skaddan* is not in the index, while ScG *sgadan* is. This is a serious drawback. It is also worth noting that unattested, starred forms do not appear alphabetically within, but at the end of, their indexes. For example, **bwoailley* ‘fold’ does not appear within the body of its index in Vols 3–4 – incongruously, in fact, as it has no star in other volumes – while the related form *bwoaillee* does.³

Vol. 7 covers the place-names of the town of Douglas, but also contains 89 pages of place and field name addenda, three essays or articles, the list of common elements referred to above and indexes.

Peter J. Davey’s article, ‘Place-Names and the Physical and Human Geography of the Isle of Man: an Overview’ is an excellent introduction to the record of place-names and what they tell us about their area and the people who created them. George Broderick’s ‘Pre-Scandinavian Place-Names in the Isle of Man’ looks at particular names which, on account of their structure or some other mark of antiquity or, in the case of *Man*, on account of documentary evidence, were created or may have been created before the Norse settlement of the island. It also looks at the Manx elements *sliEAU* (G. *sliabh*), *carrick* (G. *carraig*), *keeill* (G. *cill*), *balley* (G. *baile*) and *magher* (Ir. *machaire*, ScG *machair*). Broderick’s view of the Manx evidence is that it supports, although his analysis is based upon, W.F.H. Nicolaisen’s thesis with regard to *sliabh*, *carraig*, *cill*, *baile* and *achadh* and the gradual spread of Gaelic settlement in Scotland. Gillian Fellows-Jensen looks at ‘The Scandinavian Element in the Place-Names of the Isle of Man’.

The four indexes of Vol. 7 cover place-name elements, place-names, field names and personal names. The first (the Manx section of which

³ Formally, Mx *bwoailley* derives from OIr *búaile*, while Mx *bwoaillee* derives from dat. OIr *búailid*, with dental inflection (*Dictionary of the Irish Language and Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language (DIL)*, edited by E.G. Quin and others (Dublin, 1913–1976), s.v. *búaile*).

has head-forms in a typeface far too densely set) combines the indexes of words given in Vols 1–6, but fails to correct their inherent shortcoming (see above). The 168-page place-name index contains head-names (including those of fishing-marks, but not of field names) from Vols 1–6 and, from Vol. 7, some of the items in the addenda but not those in the section on Douglas. The field names index is limited to names of Manx provenance and arranged according to derived forms – for example, **Doall e nooley**⁴ (‘meadow of the cattle’, Vol. 3, 200) is listed as *dayll yn oollee* (lower case is employed throughout the index) – although the range of field names of English provenance in the series is also worthy of note, e.g. **Across-the Road, Big, Dub ... Long, Cottage ... Paul Beard’s** (Vol. 3, 238). There do seem to be some omissions, however, e.g. ‘**the pondail** ... “pinpound [i.e. penfold, pound]”. Mx.’ (Vol. 3, 200) from Mx *pundail* ‘pound’; note also that starred forms are to be found out of sequence at the end of the index. Finally, the index on personal names is an important addition, as personal names are not indexed in Vols 1–6.

As far as the articles on the names of places themselves is concerned, these are mainly taken up by documentary form listings and discussions on derivations and, to all intents and purposes, supersede Kneen’s *Place-names of the Isle of Man*.⁵ Phonetic transcriptions are given where available; grid references are given for major place-names, including many of the quarterlands, but otherwise seem to be generally absent. Treens and quarterlands, some of which share name-forms, are differentiated by using the earliest attested form for treen names, e.g. **Aresteyn** (treen), **Earystane** (quarterland),⁶ and documentary forms are distributed accordingly (sometimes awkwardly for the researcher) between them. Otherwise names seem to be cited in more or less modern

⁴ Broderick uses bold type for head-names, except for those of field names. Bold type is used for all head-names in the present article.

⁵ J. J. Kneen, *The Place-names of the Isle of Man* (Douglas, 1925; repr. 1979).

⁶ ‘Steinn’s sheiling’ (Vol. 6, 255 and 303).

form, although, apart from an acknowledgement in the section on Orthography that head-forms may be written to reflect pronunciation, it is not always apparent what principles are being applied. For example, the form of the generic, *croit* ‘croft’, in the head-form **Crott y Comish** is its 1728 documentary form, in **Crot e Kellie** its 1772 form, while in **Croit ny Harrey** it has taken a Manx Gaelic form rather than its most recent documentary form, 1798 *Crott ne harrey*.⁷ Whether names are current or obsolete is not stated explicitly. Furthermore, names are not assigned explicitly to a particular nomenclature – Manx, English etc. – although this is sometimes done implicitly, e.g. ‘**the Dooiny moar’s flatt** ... “the big man’s flatt” Mx. *dooiny mooar*, G. *duine mór*, w. Eng. “flatt” & word order’ (Vol. 3, 50). However, it may be assumed generally that all current names are part of an English or Anglo-Manx nomenclature, but that many forms are still close to, if not identical in some cases with, their earlier Manx forms. (Similarly, where pronunciations are given, provenance in terms of nomenclature is usually unmarked.) A notable exception to this is where parallel Norse and Manx name-forms for a feature are thought to survive, e.g. **Sartfell**, besides **Slieau Dhoo** (Vol. 3, 464, Vol. 2, 95–96); however, the perspective here is essentially lexical, not onomastic (see below). Cross-references are sometimes made to other volumes, although to find the names in question directly, recourse has to be made to Vol. 7 and its place-names index, e.g. **Raggatt** in Vol. 3 (p. 66), a field in the parish of Kirk Andreas, has ‘see under Raggatt in Kirk Patrick’, but this is in Vol. 1 (pp. 155–56).

The majority of names are prosaic, as one would expect, whatever their language of provenance, but the more exotic occur also, e.g. ‘**Billey Shiaght er y Chlag** ... “seven o’clock tree” Mx.’ (Vol. 3, 309); ‘**Niagara Falls** ... Waterfall ...’ (Vol. 3, 446); and ‘**Bow and Arrow**

⁷ Were this last name entirely gaelicised, it might have been written *Croit ny h-Arrey* (cf. *Dreeym ny h-eary* ‘the ridge of the shieling’, Vol. 7, 376, said to be in Kirk Maughold Parish (Vol. 4), although I cannot trace it there.)

Hedge ... Nn. [= nickname] for Cleigh yn Arragh' (Vol. 3, 312), derived by popular etymology from '**Cleigh yn Arragh** ... "the boundary hedge" *Mx' (Vol. 3, 326); cf. **Croit ny Harrey**, above. Some may look exotic from an English perspective, though they may have a respectfully prosaic origin in Manx, e.g. '**Tantaloo** ... "the old land" Mx. *yn chenn thalloo*, G. *an t-sean talamh*' (Vol. 3, 471). Traditions concerning names are largely lost, or have not been recorded, but the occasional popular etymology occurs, as with **Bow and Arrow Hedge**, above, or with the field name, **Shilling**, which, according to the informant, was 'let for 1s.' (Vol. 3, 251), although Broderick comments: '[p]ossibly so if known as a fact and not a deduction. Otherwise "shilling" is "threshing".'

In spite of the difficulties presented by Manx historical phonology and by some of the ad hoc spellings confronting him, Broderick's derivations are generally sound. They are sometimes ingenious, for example '**Daleura** ... "long holes" Mx. *thuill liauyrey*' (Vol. 1, 96); '**Crott e Turoaron** ... "croft of the ?barley-field" Mx. *croit y toar-oarn*, G. *eorna*, w. epenthetic vowel between *-r-* and *-n'*' (Vol. 3, 367); **Arernan**, whose earliest documentary form is 1280 Aryeuzryn, is derived from MG *áirge ú Uidrin* (i.e. Modern Irish *áirghe ú Uidhrin*) 'Ó Uidhrin's summer pasture, shieling' (Vol. 6, 29–30); and **Magher y Troddan** which, as an alternative to the traditional derivation, 'the field of contention', with an element related to ScG *trod*, *trodan* 'scolding', Broderick suggests is from *magher y trodn*, with Mx *stroin* (nominally fem.) with preocclusion (whereby in stressed syllables a (in this case) dental occurs before the closing consonant, here *-n*) (Vol. 3, 433).⁸ In the case of **Faaie-yn-Cheu-Taaie**, however, there is somewhat less confidence in the suggestion that it may be a miswriting for *faaie yn*

⁸ Assuming confusion of gender in the noun as happened in Late Manx (19th century onwards; see G. Broderick, *Language Death in the Isle of Man in Linguistische Arbeiten*: 395 (Tübingen, 1999), pp. 77, 108–09); otherwise *magher ny stroin* would be expected.

cheu-sthie [cf. ScG *faiche an taobh a-staigh*] ‘the inner flatt’ (Vol. 3, 298).

Onomasticon

As mentioned above, the Introductions to Vols 1–6 provide lists of common elements in Manx place-names, and these are superseded by an enlarged list in Vol. 7, containing a fuller definition of elements and examples of elements in generic and specific use. Out of sequence in the Manx section are five elements quoted in their Old Irish forms: *airbe* ‘fence, hedge, boundary’, *both* ‘hermitage, hut’, *mag* ‘plain, open space’, *tipra* and *tiprán* ‘well’.

As expected, there are many parallels between the Gaelic onomasticons of Man, Ireland and Scotland, although, naturally, different emphases are to be found. On the one hand, the Manx elements *beinn* ‘mountain’, *bwoailley* ‘fold’, *knock* ‘hill’ and *logh* ‘lake’ are generally speaking as common as their Irish and Scottish Gaelic counterparts (viz. *beann* / *beinn*, *buaille*, *cnoc* and *loch*). On the other hand, Mx *kerroo* ‘quarterland’ is comparatively common (as is Ir. *ceathramha*) compared with ScG *ceathramh*, and Mx *bayr* ‘road’ (as is Ir. *bóthar*) compared with ScG *bothar*.⁹ Conversely, while Mx **shlee* ‘road’ (Vol. 3, 246) and **inge* (p. 249) ‘river meadow’ are barely attested, the Scottish Gaelic cognates *slighe* and *innis* are fairly well attested.

In addition to the many parallels that Broderick draws, however, there may be others: Mx *creggan* is translated ‘rocky area’ (e.g. Vol. 2, 21), but ScG *creagan* has developed the extended sense ‘hillock’ in Scotland, and this should probably be considered here. Mx *litcheragh* is translated as ‘lazy’, e.g. ‘**Cronk Litcherough** ... Mx *cronk litcheragh*. A steep hill presumably causing one to slow down’ (Vol. 1, 48), but this

⁹ Which occurs in the Isle of Lewis as a long monosyllable, *bàir* (R. A. V. Cox, *The Gaelic Place-names of Carloway, Isle of Lewis: Their Structure and Significance* (Dublin, 2002), p. 171).

seems likely to be cognate with ScG *leitir*, gen. *leit(i)reach*, < EIr *leth* + *tír* ‘half, i.e. steep, land’. For the name, **The Taxes** (of a bay), ‘Eng. dial. *tack* “lease, leased land” with double plural’ is suggested (Vol. 1, 165), but it might be worth admitting the possibility of a Mx **tackas* or **tacksa*, cf. ScG *tacas*, *tacsa* ‘support’, and by extension ‘cliff, slope’, Ir. *tacas* ‘easel’, with an English plural ending acquired through popular etymology. **Cronk Grianagh** (Vol. 1, 236) is compared with **Cronk Creaney** (Vols 1, 235 and 2, 62–63), and their specifics related to Ir. *críonach* ‘withered leaves, brushwood, rotten wood’ etc. or *gríanach* ‘gravelly’, but parallels for the specific in the former name may exist in Scottish Gaelic names containing gen. *na grèine* ‘of the sun’ or the derivative nouns *grianan* or *grianag* ‘sunny place’, which may originate in the practice of whitening linen.

Mx *ooig* ‘cave’ is associated with ScG *ùig* of similar sense (e.g. Vol. 1, 23), but it is likely that both derive from ON *vík*, with their sense developing through ‘bay’ > ‘inlet’ > ‘cave’, so Kelly 1977, s.v. *uaig*: ‘the same as *ooig*, a pit, a den, especially a cave among rocks ...’. Elsewhere, documentary forms in *ough* and *ogh* occur: **Beal ny Ooig** 1920 Beeil-na-ough (Vol. 1, 56), **Ooig Darra** 1920 Ough darra (Vol. 1, 147), **Lheih yn Ogh** 1898 idem (Vol. 6, 531), and it is suggested that these may be for *oghe* ‘oven’ – ‘not unsuitable as a name of a cave’ (Vol. 1, 147). It seems possible, however, that forms in *ough* and *ogh* may really be variants of EIr *úam* (*úaim*) f. ‘cave’, cf. ScG *uamh* (*uaimh*) and *uagh*, both from EIr *úam*. In other words, while EIr *úam* ‘cave’ yielded ScG *uamh uagh*, it was superseded generally in Manx by the ON loan-word *ooig*, although it may have survived locally in a form with final *-gh*, hence the documentary forms cited above.¹⁰

Besides Mx *lag* and *laggan* ‘hollow’, Mx **laggagh* ‘area full of hollows’ occurs (Vol. 3, 140–41) and is compared with ScG *lagach*, ‘i.e.

¹⁰ The suggested development of EIr *úam* (with final *[-v̥]*) in Manx here parallels the development of Eng. *oven* > Mx *oghe* (cf. Ir. *oigheann*; but ScG *àmhainn*).

adjective “full of hollows” used as noun’; in fact, *-ach* also occurs as a nominal suffix in place-names in Scotland, and is attested in *Lagaidh* (historically **lagaigh*), oblique case of **Lagach* ‘place of hollows’ in the Isle of Lewis.¹¹

In the case of ‘**Lough Drughaig** ... “lough of (the) hipthorn berries, hips; wild roses”, Mx. *logh (ny) drughaig*’ (Vol. 3, 149), comparison is made with ScG *mucag*, Ir. *mucóir*, *mucóid*, but the connection is presumably not intended to be etymological.

In the main list of common elements (Vol. 7), Mx *rheynn* is given the senses ‘division, portion of land; spit, promontory of land’ (‘ridge’ also occurs within other volumes), senses which are distinguished in Scottish Gaelic, viz. *roinn* ‘division’ < EIr *roinn rainn* f. (< *rannaid* vb ‘divides’) and *rinn* ‘promontory’ < EIr *rind* m. ‘point, tip, apex; end, extremity’.¹² Although Mx *rheynn* ‘portion’ and *rinn* ‘ridge’ are distinguished elsewhere,¹³ they do not seem to be here: ‘**Rhyana Claghan** ... “division, ridge of the stones” Mx. *rheynn ny claghan*, ScG. *rinn nan clachan*’ (Vol. 3, 132), ‘**Rheynn Claghagh** ... “stony portion, division” Mx. *rheynn claghagh*, ScG. *roinn + clachach*’ (Vol. 3, 457). Whether this is because in weakly-stressed position one cannot tell whether Mx *rheynn* or *rinn* is being used, or because in many instances it is not clear what the sense of the element originally was, an explanation would have been useful.

There is also confusion between the Manx elements *garey* and *garee*, mainly because of the difficulty in differentiating one from the other in documentary forms. Mx *garey* [ˈgɛ:rə] ‘dyke; garden’ is from ON *garðr*; Mx *garee* [ˈgɛ:ri] is taken to be a derivative of Mx *gyere*, cognate

¹¹ R. A. V. Cox, *The Gaelic Place-names of Carlway, Isle of Lewis: Their Structure and Significance*, p. 307.

¹² DIL s.vv.

¹³ See for example *Fargher’s English-Manx Dictionary*, edited by B. Stowell and I. Faulds (Douglas, 1979) and J. Kelly, *Fockleyr Gailckagh as Baarlagh* (Douglas, 1866; repr. Ilkley, 1977) s.vv.

with Ir. *géar*, ScG *geur* ‘sharp; bitter’ etc. Kneen translates this as ‘river-thicket’ or ‘river-shrubbery’, although he suggests that in some names ‘garry may postulate the Norse *gerði*, as the former is a common corruption in the Western Isles’ (**Garry more**, p. 295);¹⁴ however, this particular suggestion is not taken up by Broderick, who translates **Garey Mooar** (Vol. 4, 109–10) simply as ‘big garey’. A Manx derivation of *garee* requires either a reflex of a case ending (as in Mx *bwoaillee* < EIr *búailid*), or a suffix. ON *gerði*, on the other hand, might well be expected to yield Mx [ˈgɛ:ri],¹⁵ cf. ScG *geàrraidh* [ˈǰɑ:ri], and it would not be surprising to find that the element had been borrowed in Man as well as in Scotland. ON *gerði* has the sense ‘enclosed piece of land’,¹⁶ ‘enclosure, meadow’;¹⁷ ScG *geàrraidh* has come to mean ‘the land around a house’ and has the further extended sense ‘site where a shieling once stood’.¹⁸

It is sometimes difficult also to differentiate the senses of Mx *giat* in the documentary evidence. These are either ‘gate’, e.g. ‘**Mara gette** ...

¹⁴ J. J. Kneen, *The Place-names of the Isle of Man*, pp. 142, 640.

¹⁵ Although palatalisation of initial *g-* before high front vowels in weak positions does occur (K. H. Jackson, *Contributions to the Study of Manx Phonology*, pp. 87–88; G. Broderick, *Language Death in the Isle of Man*, p. 86), unlike documentary forms of Mx *gyere* and *giat* (see below), documentary forms of *garee* seem consistently to suggest non-palatalised *g-*. However, it seems possible that *garey* and *garee* may have fallen together during the process of the development of ON *garðr* > Mx *[ˈgɑ:rə] > *garey* [ˈgɛ:rə], encouraged perhaps by, for example, the established alternatives *bwoailley* ~ *bwoaillee* (note 4). (On the development of ON *garðr* and *gerði* in Gaelic, see R. A. V. Cox, ‘The Development of Old Norse *-rð(-)* in (Scottish) Gaelic’, in *Language Contact in the Place-Names of Britain and Ireland*, edited by George Broderick and Paul Cavill (Nottingham, 2007), pp. 57–96.

¹⁶ O. Rygh, *Norske gaardnavne* (Kristiania, 1898), introductory volume, p. 51.

¹⁷ M. Oftedal, ‘The Gaelic of Leurbost, Isle of Lewis, A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland III’, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, Supplementary Vol. 4 (Oslo, 1956), p. 108.

¹⁸ Cf. R. A. V. Cox, *The Gaelic Place-names of Carloway, Isle of Lewis: Their Structure and Significance*, p. 162.

“gate field” Mx. *magher y giat*’ (Vol. 1, 125); ‘road, path’ from ON (or Scandinavian as Broderick has it) *gata*, e.g. ‘**the Ronna Yett** ... “division of the road, the road division” Mx. *rheynn y ghiat*’ (Vol. 6, 164); or ‘field’ which is compared with ‘NEng. dial *gate* “a right to run or pasturage for a cow, horse, etc. on a common field or on private ground” OE *geat*, ME *yat*, *yet* re-radicalised in the Mx. forms to init. /ǵ/’ (Vol. 7, 382), e.g. **the Gatt** (Vol. 2, 177). For the sense ‘field’, it would seem worthwhile considering also an otherwise unattested Manx form cognate with Ir. *gead* ‘patch’ etc. and ScG *gead* ‘patch; plot of land’ etc., but Broderick only seems to consider this with regard to **the Gidd** (Vol. 3, 275). Indeed, it might be proposed that while the sense ‘gate’ appears to derive from Eng. *gate* and the sense ‘field’ from Mx **gedd* (cognate with Ir. ScG *gead*), as already suggested, the sense ‘road’ may in fact come from Northern English dialectal *gate* (in the developed sense ‘path’ < ‘free access’ < ‘right of access’) rather than from ON *gata*: English dialectal *gate* and Mx **gedd* might be expected to fall together as Mx [ǵet] or [ǵet]; ON *gata*, on the other hand, might formally be expected to yield [ˈgatə], with non-palatalised *g*- and stressed [a] or [æ].

Phonology

While onomastics by nature is often a minefield of possibilities, the study of the place-names of the Isle of Man is not helped by the death of Manx as a native language. The destabilisation of phonemes and the explosion in allophonic variation can in one sense open up the number of possible derivations; on the other hand, they can reduce our confidence in them. Be that as it may, more explanation of phonological developments would occasionally be useful, e.g. the free variation in the length of the stressed vowel in **Grenaby** [grɛ:nəbi] [grɛnəbi] (Vol. 3, 242). Confusion can also arise from the sometimes overly-condensed presentation of information, e.g. ‘**Leaney-ne-baughig** ... “meadow of/by the ?cottage, hut” Mx. **lheenney ny ?bwaag*, G. *bothóg*, w. *-au-* for

-ua-, as *maur* for *muar* “big” (Vol. 4, 26) – neither *maur* nor *muar* appear in the index of elements and, though one accepts they may be pronunciation spellings (which is odd in itself, as Broderick normally uses phonetics), there is nothing in the indexes to confirm that the Manx adjective *mooar* is pronounced ‘*muar*’, occasionally ‘*maur*’.

Many forms, of course, attest to developments specific to Manx Gaelic, e.g. ‘**Rheast Vooar** ... “big wasteland”’ (Vol. 6, 482), with Mx *rheast*, cognate with Ir. *ríasc*, ScG *riasc* ‘moor’ etc.,¹⁹ and Manx English, e.g. *c*-initial personal names as in ‘**Creer** ... Mx. surname, G. *mac a’ phríor* (prior).’ The record also suggests some historical Manx forms, e.g. ‘**Balytyrm** ... [1515 Balytyrm, 1757 Baly tyrrm] ... “dry farm” Mx. *balley chirrym*, cf. G. *tirim*, *tioram*. The earlier forms with *-t-* may well repr. a more dental palatalised pron. of /t/ than the later affrication which /t/ in Mx. developed into [hence orthographic *chirrym*] ...’ (Vol. 3, 71–72). The pronunciation of the names **Paarys** and **Paris** [pæ:rəs] ‘paradise’ (Vol. 3, 200 and 450) reflect the 1610 Prayerbook’s (originally Latin loan) *parus*²⁰ (cf. Ir. *parthas*, ScG *pàrras*), rather than the comparatively recent English loan *pargys* (a

¹⁹ Occasionally, there is variation, e.g. ‘**Cronk e Castill** ... “Castill’s hill”, viz. *cnoc ’ic Àsgaill*’ (Vol. 3, 363), but ‘**Crott y Caskill** ... “Caskill’s croft” Mx. *croit y Caskill*, G. *croit ’ic Àsgaill*’ (p. 230). (The length mark on *Àsgaill* presupposes that Broderick follows Kneen in deriving this masculine personal name from ON *Áskell* – early sources include 1257 *Mac Hascall* 1311–12 *Mac Askel*, *Makaskill* 1511 *Mac Caskell* and 1699 *Caistil* (J. J. Kneen, *The Personal Names of the Isle of Man* (Oxford and London, 1937), p. 60, who cites *Ásketill*). If there is no justification, however, for assuming a long stressed vowel in Manx, the Manx name is parallel with ScG *MacAsgaill* (with short [a]), which, as Marstrander (C. J. S. Marstrander, *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland* (Kristiania, 1915), p. 48) points out, cannot be from ON *Áskell* but is likely to be from ON *Høskoll*, *Haskoll* acc. (also *Høskuld* (*Norrøn ordbok*, edited by L. Heggstad, F. Hødnebo and E. Simensen, 3rd edn., (Oslo, 1975), p. 221)).

²⁰ A. W. Moore, *The Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic*, Vol. 1, (Douglas, 1903), p. 413c.

better spelling for which might have been **parjeeys*), which seems to have been assimilated to *cargys* ‘Lent’.²¹

The suggested development of the name ‘**Crammag** ... “little knoll, hillock” *Mx; cf. ScG *cnap*, *cnapan* “little lump”, *cnapag* “little stool or block” ... < ON *knappr* “knob” is seen as /knapa/ > /krapa/ > /krampa/ > /kramba/ > /kramma/ > /krama/ [>] (w. G. dimin. ending -ag) /kramag/’ (Vol. 3, 351). Here we can compare the names ‘**the Crammannyn** ... “little lumps, knobs” Mx. *crammannyn* < ON *knappr*, w. a similar development to that of Crammag ...’ and ‘**the Crappans** ... “little lumps” *Mx; ScG. *cnapan*, w. Eng. pl. ending’ (Vol. 3, 351–52). ON *knappr* (rather *knapp* acc.) initially yields Mx **cnap* /knāp/, which in turn yields /krāp/ (cf. ScG *cnap* /krāp/); from this point the development was either /kramp/ (hence the diminutives **crampag* and **crampan* > *crammag* and *cramman*), or /krap/(-) (hence **crappan* (if this were not in fact **cnappan* originally (cf. **the Knappans** Vol. 3, 417), before yielding **crappan*)) – in other words, with resolution of the nasal vowel + stop of /krāp/ as vowel + nasal stop + stop (i.e. **cramp*), on the one hand, and vowel + stop (with loss of nasality, i.e. **crap*), on the other. Broderick adds that a ‘similar development is found in G. *cnoc* “hill” > Mx. *cronk*’ (p. 351); here, the nasal vowel + stop of /krōk/ (< /knōk/) was realised as vowel + nasal consonant + stop, i.e. *cronk* /krōŋk/.²²

²¹ R. A. V. Cox, ‘The Development of Old Norse -rð(-) in (Scottish) Gaelic’, note 26.

²² The name **the Knappaugh** is compared with ‘G. *ceapach*, i.e. cleared, reclaimed by cutting down scrub, brushwood, or trees’ (Vol. 3, 417). This seems to be unintentional: **Knappaugh** is likely to be another derivative of Mx **cnap* < ON *knapp* acc. The Manx cognate of G. *ceapach* is found in names such as **Fhaai Keabbagh-Voair** ‘flatt of the big tillage field, kitchen garden’ (Vol. 2, 91).

Morphology

Due to trends towards loss of gender distinction in nouns, as well as – presumably – the anglicisation of name-forms (which could involve restitution of radical forms of lenited consonants, and levelling of forms of the article and case endings), instances of morphological inconsistencies abound, e.g. **Eary Beg** ... “little shieling” Mx. *yn eary beg*’ (Vol. 3, 379), whereas Mx *eary* is nominally fem, cf. **Eary Veg** (Vol. 5, 98) and, in genitive position, ‘**Garey ny Hary Biggy** ... “garden of/at the little shieling” Mx. *garey ne h-eary biggy*’ (Vol. 3, 386).

In the case of ‘**Purt Veg** ... “little harbour” Mx’ (Vol. 5, 276), Mx *purt* is treated as feminine; indeed, Broderick draws comparison with G. *port*, which he also treats as feminine, by association perhaps: ‘G. *port* + *bheag*’. Certainly, Mx *purt* is given as feminine in dictionaries;²³ Ir. and ScG *port*, on the other hand, is masculine. In fact, the examples of (Manx) usage in the Index of Common Elements also show masculine *purt*: *purt mooar* and *balley y phurt* (Vol. 7, 379). Of nine other examples of *purt* in genitive position (e.g. **Broogh y Furt**, Vol. 5, 249), none are feminine;²⁴ of four other examples of *purt* followed by an attributive adjective, two are masculine (**Purt Beg**, Vol. 1, 151, and **Port Mooar**, Vol 4, 145), and two are feminine (**Purt Veg**, Vol. 6, 479, and **Purt Jiass** ‘south harbour’, Vol. 6, 526). The obvious solution to this inconsistency is to assume that Mx *purt* was formerly masculine and that this is revealed in place-names, which are frequently conservative in form. In light of this, **Purt Veg** and **Purt Jiass** would be considered innovations (both are first recorded in 1898). On the other hand, they may really be masculine also and have simply come down to us in an oblique case form, with lenition of the attributive adjective, as would have traditionally been expected.

²³ See *Fargher’s English-Manx Dictionary*, edited by B. Stowell and I. Faulds, J. J. Kneen, *English–Manx Pronouncing Dictionary* (Douglas, 1938; repr. 1978), and A. Cregeen, *Fockleyr ny Gaelgey* (Douglas, 1835; repr. Ilkley, 1984), s.vv.

²⁴ Vols 1, 43; 3, 188 and 247; 4, 92; 5, 235, 249 and 255; 6, 336 and 422.

Loss of lenition becomes more frequent in Late Manx, of course, but the older system can still be discerned within the place-name record: following traditional usage (reflected in Scottish Gaelic), examples of lenition occur in genitive masculine personal names (**Keeill Vartin**, Vol. 3, 129), and in place-names in genitive position (**Ellan Vretyn**, Vol. 6, 109). In Scottish Gaelic, feminine personal names are generally not lenited in the genitive; for Man, cf. **Keeill Moirrey** ‘Mary’s church’ (Vol. 1, 257), also without lenition – Broderick notes, however, that the traditional position here is uncertain in Manx (p. xxxv).

Manx shares with Irish and Scottish Gaelic a facility for derivational suffixes. Examples from Man, include *-ad*: **Claghad** (Vol. 3, 294) ‘stony area’, < Mx *clagh* ‘stone’; *-an*: **Braggan** (idem) ‘partly ploughed strip, breggan’, < Mx *breck* ‘speckled’; and *-id*: **Cluggid** (p. 345), < Mx *yn cluggid* ‘the gullet’ < *sluggid* < *slug* ‘swallow, gulp’.

Syntax

At the basic level of syntax, the correspondence between Manx, Irish and Scottish Gaelic place-names is at its closest. The Introductions to Vols 1–6 give a fair account of the range of structures.²⁵ Of particular interest are compound structures, which, as a type, are relatively early: (1) noun + noun (which Broderick refers to as nominal prefix + noun), e.g. ‘**the Clough Willey** ... “stony fold” Mx. *clagh woailley*, G. *cloch* + *bhuaile*’ (Vol. 6, 85); (2) adjective + noun, e.g. ‘**Dollagh** ... “black lough, miry area” Mx. *doo logh*, G. *dubh* + *loch*’ (Vol. 2, 171), ‘**Ardary** ... “high shieling” Mx. *ard eary*’ (Vol. 6, 254–55), and the comparatively frequent name-form, ‘**Breck Willey** ... “speckled fold” Mx.

²⁵ For comparison with Scottish Gaelic, see R. A. V. Cox, *The Gaelic Place-names of Carloway, Isle of Lewis: Their Structure and Significance*, pp. 15–30, and M. Oftedal, ‘Scandinavian place-names in Celtic territory: An attempt at a linguistic classification’, *Ortnamn och språkkontakt*, edited by T. Andersson, E. Brylla, and A. Rostvik, *Norna-rapporter*, 17, 1980, 163–91, (pp. 171–82).

breck vwoaillee, G. *breac* + *bhuailidh*' (Vol. 5, 177; see also, for example, Vol. 5, 73 and 249, and Vol. 6, 45).

The case of **Block Eary** – [blək'ɛ:ri] in Kirk Andreas (Vol. 3, 74–75) and [blək'ɛ:ri][blɔg'ɛ:ri] (or with [ɛ:] in Kirk Christ Lezayre (Vol. 3, 310) – is not so clear. Derivations proposed include 'black shieling' from ON *Blakk-ærgi* (after Kneen), 'flag-stone shieling', cf. Ir. *bloc* 'log', OIr *blocc* (after Marstrander), and 'round shieling', cf. ScG. *bloc* 'round'.²⁶ On the question of name stress (shown in the following by '), the predominant Gaelic structure is generic + 'specific (although 'specific + generic occurs also), while the predominant Norse structure is 'specific + generic (although generic + 'specific occurs also). On the face of it, assuming the stress pattern to be original, [blək'ɛ:ri] [blɔg'ɛ:ri] appears to be either a Gaelic name structured generic + 'specific, or a Norse name similarly structured generic + 'specific. From a Gaelic point of view, generic + 'eary is an unlikely combination; eary would be in the genitive case and formations with the article such as **Drimnahairey** (Mx *dreeym na h-eary* 'the ridge of the shieling', Vol. 3, 377) would be more likely. Certainly a Mx *'Block Eary 'round, or flag-stone shieling' is out of the question because of the stress pattern. From a Norse point of view, the first point to note is the rarity of the structure generic + 'specific in place-names, although it does occur in a number of relatively late names in the north-western periphery of the Western Isles, and in more abundance in the Northern Isles and in the Faroes.²⁷ However, the likelihood of a Norse name in generic + 'ærgi is not great either – contrast forms such as *Amar* 'Sìne < ON *Hamarinn* 'Sýna lit. 'the crag of [the] prospect', i.e. 'prospect-hill', and (gen.)

²⁶ "'black, dark shieling" ON *blakk* + G. *áirghe*, *àiridh* in Germanic word order' (Vol. 3, 75), if anything, must mean that the name is a loan from ON *Blakk-ærgi*. This is more elegantly phrased on p. 310: 'Kneen ... suggests "black shieling" ON *blakk-ærgi* < G. *áirghe* "from the colour of the peaty stream".'

²⁷ R. A. V. Cox, 'The Norse Element in Scottish Place-names: syntax as a chronological marker', *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 1 (2007), 13–26.

Bhata ¹*Leòis* < ON *Vatnit* ¹*Ljósa* lit. ‘the lake of light’, i.e. ‘the bright or clear lake’, in the Isle of Lewis.²⁸ Certainly, we can discount a derivation from ON ¹*Blakk-ærgi* on account of the stress pattern.

A possible example of an Old Norse loan-name with a structure generic + ¹specific is **Brackabroom** [brakə¹bru:m] (Vol. 1, 212–13), whose early documentary forms point to final *-n*. This is derived from ON ¹*Brekku-brún* ‘[the] edge of the slope’, but the stress pattern suggests a derivation from ON *Brekkan* ¹*Brúna* ‘the brown slope’, with suffixed article. **Block Eary**, then, appears to follow this latter pattern of noun + ¹genitive noun as specific. Another possibility is that either **Brackabroom** or **Block Eary**, or both, represent an example of an Old Norse prepositional name, i.e. with noun + preposition + ¹noun as specific.²⁹ There seem to be no obvious candidates, however, for *block* in these eventualities – which returns us to the question of the current pronunciation, [blək¹ɛ:ri][blɔg¹ɛ:ri].

Words of native Manx origin with long vowels in the second syllable regularly underwent a shift of stress from the first to the second syllable, when the vowel of the first syllable (later shortened) was long, e.g. Mx *faasaag* [fə¹sɛ:ɟ], cf. Ir. *féasóg*, but not if the vowel of the first syllable was short, e.g. Mx *tunnag* [t^hunag], cf. Ir. *tonnóg*.³⁰ If Old Norse loan-names in Manx were interpreted in the same way as native words,³¹

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 23.

³⁰ K. H. Jackson, *Contributions to the Study of Manx Phonology*, (Edinburgh, 1955), pp. 19–22.

³¹ This appears to be the case on occasion. There is second-syllable stress in **Cornaa** [kər¹nɛ:] from ON *Kverná* ‘mill-river’ (Vol. 4, 82–83), and in **Rhumsaa** [rum¹sɛ:] (p. 167), which is derived from ON *Hramsá* ‘ramson’s river’ or *Hramnsá* ‘*Hramn/Hrafn*’s river’ – perhaps more likely ‘the river of the raven’ (R. A. V. Cox, ‘*Tamhnaraigh ~ Tamnabagh*: the development of ON *-fn(-)* in Scottish Gaelic’, *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 2, forthcoming 2008). ON *Kverná* is certainly likely to yield ¹v̇ + v̇ initially in Manx, before yielding v̇ + ¹v̇. In the case of **Rhumsaa**, a derivation from ON *Hramns-* rather than *Hrafn-* has been preferred, because it is thought that the latter would yield Mx /¹rausə/; in fact, this

[blɔk'ɛ:ri][blɔg'ɛ:ri] would indicate an original $\bar{v} + \bar{v}$ (where $v =$ vowel of syllable), in which event ON *Blakk-ærgi* would not suit, as it consists of $\bar{v} + \bar{v}$.³² An Old Norse, or rather Late Norse *Blágerði*,³³ however, would yield earlier Mx $*[blɔ'gɛ:ri]$, which might easily be reinterpreted as [blɔk'ɛ:ri] [blɔg'ɛ:ri], perhaps by popular etymology (Kirk Andreas: 1741 Black-Arry 1748 Blockary 1769 Black Airy 1774 Block-Errey etc., Kirk Christ Lezayre: 1704 Block ayrey 1709 Blockayry ... 1797 Blackary, Blockarey etc.). By the same token, the form [brakə'bru:m] might also presuppose earlier $\bar{v} + \bar{v}$; yet, if a derivation with ON *brekka* should stand, we must be looking at an original ON *Brekkan* *'Brúna*, rather than *'Brekabrún*, indicating that the original Old Norse stress pattern and vowel quantities have in this case

may have been exactly the form that reduced to [u] after the stress shifted to the second syllable, hence modern [rum'sɛ:]. **Crogga** [krɔ:gə] (Vol. 5, 253–54), on the other hand, assuming the derivation from ON *Króká* 'winding river' to be correct, continues to bear initial-syllable stress. It may be that the provenance of the transcriptions has an influence here, although this is not indicated except in the case of **Rhumsaa**: **Rhumsaa** is the Manx form of **Ramsey**, itself pronounced [ra:msi], with initial-syllable stress and a long vowel in the first syllable. If the long vowel in **Ramsey** is original, Manx [rum'sɛ:] and English [ra:msi] would appear to have diverged from ON *Hrafnsá* essentially due to the shift of primary stress and reduction of the initial syllable in Manx, on the one hand, and preservation of the original Norse primary stress and reduction of the final syllable in English, on the other.

³² ON *æ* in *ærgi* represents [ɛ:].

³³ Original ON *á* > [ɔ:] from the early 13th century (E. Haugen, *The Scandinavian Languages: An Introduction to their History* (London, 1976), p. 206). ON *Blágerði* might have the sense 'dark enclosure, or dark meadow', perhaps implying heather-covered ground, as G. *gorm* can. In Norway, cf. *Blaaliden*, with ON *hlíð* f. 'hill-side' (O. Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne*, Vol. XII, revised by A. Kjør, (Kristiania, 1919), pp. 399–400), and in Orkney, cf. *Blomuire* '[p]robably O.N. *blá-mór*, blue moorland or heath' (H. Marwick, *Orkney Farm-names* (Kirkwall, 1952), p. 92).

been preserved.³⁴ These issues are highly significant from the point of view of linguistic continuity and Norse-Manx contact.

Also of particular interest are names that contain prepositions, e.g. *eddyr* ‘between’: ‘**Edder Ga Raad** ... “between two roads” Mx. *eddyr ghaa raad*’ (Vol. 3, 380), and ‘**Eddyrr Daa Goan** ... “between two ?barley (fields)” Mx. *eddyr daa oarn*’ (Vol. 4, 24); *fo* ‘under’: ‘**Fo Cronk** ... “below, under, at the foot of the hill” Mx. *fo c(h)ronk*, ScG *fo chnoc*’ (Vol. 5, 199); *er chosh*: ‘**Cosh e Tore** ... “at the foot of /by the dung-field, bleaching-green” Mx. *er-chosh y thoar*, G. *air chois + todhar*’ (Vol. 5, 84–85).

Onomastic Structure

Attention to onomastic, as opposed to lexical, meaning is paid in many instances, e.g. ‘**Magher ne Tray** ... “field of/by the shore”’ (Vol. 1, 28), ‘**Booilneba Vegg / Booilneba Voar** ... “little / big Bwoaill’ ny Baa”’ (Vol. 4, 42), and ‘**Cronk Dhoo Heese / Cronk Dhoo Hoose** ... “lower / upper Cronk Dhoo (‘Black hill’)”’ (Vol. 6, 101). Yet the process of development is clearly misunderstood in cases such as ‘**Keeill Ooig ny Goayr** ... “?church/chapel of/by the goats’ cave” Mx. A curious combination, unless the first element is *caol* “narrow, narrowing”’ (Vol. 1, 123–24), whereas this is simply ‘the church of *Ooig ny Goayr* (‘the cave of the goats’)’, where the function of *Ooig ny Goayr*, as a specific unit, is to define location. In the case of **magher thigh cregert beg /**

³⁴ **Bahama Bank** [bə'he:mə] [baŋk bə'he:mə] [bə'heimə baŋk], 1693 Behema Sand or Ramsey sand, may be another instance of a structure generic + specific. Broderick notes Marstrander’s suggested derivation from ON *Við Hámið* ‘by the ?high middle’, but adds that it may have taken its name from the Bahama Islands (Vol. 3, 478). This may be so; however, taking account of the stress pattern, a conceivable solution to a Manx form would be ON *Boðinn Humra* ‘the lobster reef’, with gen. pl. of *humarr* m. ‘lobster’, although the Manx form has since been adapted by association with the name of the Bahama Islands, with current long [ɛ:] etc. in the local dialect resulting from the original long [a:] of the popular etymology.

magher thigh cregert moar (Vol. 6, 263), Broderick translates ‘big / little field of *Thie Creggyrt*’, but it might have been clearer to have translated ‘the big / little (or the greater / lesser) *Magher Thie Creggyrt*’ in the first instance.

There is frequent reference to tautologous forms, e.g. ‘**Bayre Sleigh** ... it may be that what we have here is a survival of G. *slighe* “way, path, road” prefixed by *bayr* [“road”] when (Mx.) **shlee* fell out of use or was no longer understood, i.e. the name is tautological’ (Vol. 3, 210), ‘**the Ken Kione** ... “head end” Mx. *kione kione*, G. *ceann*. Tautological’ (p. 245), ‘**Claberry** ... Kneen’s “cliff rock”³⁵ seems tautologous [*sic*] ...’ (Vol. 6, 81). The focus on the lexical meaning of a name’s constituent elements in this way unfortunately obscures the real manner of their development.

All said and done, the 3,542 pages of this series on the place-names of Man is an essential resource for the researcher in Manx studies, is relevant to Irish and Scottish Gaelic studies and will be of interest to the onomastician. Broderick is to be commended for his achievement, and libraries should be urged to stock it.

³⁵ ‘Kneen ... suggests ON *kleifaberg* “cliff rock”’ s.v.