

(1988), 6-19.

4 Definitely three syllables. Lachie: 'In English it's just cut short.' In St Kilda, non-initial weak *r' > l; I cannot explain the exact source of l' here.

5 In St Kilda, Gaelic t'/d' and k'/g' are neutralized (merge).

6 Pre-stress nasal + (lenis) stop gives nasal, while fortis yields aspiration as in *Cambir* with the article (r here is ə̃ in Quine).

7 Quine's *of* must be read ə̃.

8 There is no need to divide this word.

9 The succession of vowels is disyllabic; I write a lowered tick for the systemic syllable border. This involves a very complex question of Gaelic phonology.

10 Lachie shows optional -y not infrequently on unstressed -ə, especially in inflected forms.

11 The place of stress onset betrays an elided -ə.

12 The sharp decrement in stress marks the second, and unstressed, syllable.

13 See n. 5 for the nasal.

14 As also in *Soay*, the final x reflects devoicing of the y in Norse *ey* 'island', which the English fails to show.

15 The word shows St Kilda w < velarized *ɫ and l' < non-initial weak *r', i.e. *sùlair*, pl. *-ean*.

16 The long vowel contrasts with *buiguire*, given in Dwelly's *Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary* (generally regarded as a standard authority) as a St Kilda variant for *budhaigir* / -e. Therefore we must posit the development *bu₁əgər'e > *bu₁əgər'ə (> *bu₁əgəl'ə) > *bu₁u₂gərə > bu:ḡərə.

17 Quine's r is intended to show lengthening of the preceding ə̃.

Breandán S. Mac Aodha

THE city of Limerick, last outpost of Irish resistance, was surrendered to the forces of William III on 3 October 1691, after a siege that had lasted many months.¹ Despite the fact that the war ended on apparently generous terms, the native Catholic population was soon to learn that the Treaty of Limerick would afford them and their religion very little protection. The so-called Irish Parliament—an exclusively Protestant body representing English colonists in Ireland—set about enacting measures which were unparalleled in their viciousness of their anti-popery.² The economic change brought about by the implementation of these Penal Laws reduced the Irish to beggary; nevertheless, the vast bulk of them clung to their traditional religion. This all the more astonishing in that the full rigour of the law was directed at the Catholic clergy, and before long most parishes lacked priests. The Banishment Act of 1697 had driven most bishops and diocesan clergy from the land: death was the penalty for returning. Priests were hunted like wild game. The education of replacements was forbidden. Public celebration of the Mass was prohibited.

The Irish response was to train new priests in the Irish seminaries abroad. These institutions proliferated and expanded in the early years of the eighteenth century: heroic scholars were smuggled out to Lisbon and Louvain, to Rome and Rouen, to Prague and Poitiers, to Salamanca, Santiago and Seville, to Antwerp and Alcalá, to Nantes, Lille, Bordeaux, and elsewhere. After ordination they returned to minister in secret to the Irish people.³

This tragic but glorious period in Irish history is reflected strongly in the place-names. The word *sagart* 'priest' is linked with numerous physical features, especially hills, ravines, moorlands and remote spots where the clergy found refuge when the persecution was at its most intense. Most of the examples which follow are drawn from the north and west of the country (particularly from counties Donegal and Tyrone), but such toponyms are to be found in every corner of Ireland, though many are fading from memory. Best preserved, of course, are the names of territorial units. Such townland names include *Meenataggart* (Donegal 84)⁴ [*Mín*⁵ a' *tSagairt* 'the priest's smooth land'], *Carrickataggart* (Donegal 91) [*Carraig* a' *tSagairt* 'the priest's rock'], *Monataggart* (Cork 61 and Waterford 20) [*Móin* a' *tSagairt* 'the priest's moor'], *Knockataggart*

(Cavan 27, Cork 141/150, and Mayo 101) [*Cnoc a' tSagairt* 'the priest's hill'], and *Curraghataggart* (Waterford 7/8) [*Currach a' tSagairt* 'the priest's bog']. On the border between Cavan and Monaghan lies a townland called *Lisataggart* (Cavan 23A) [*Lios a' tSagairt* 'the priest's liss (ring-fort)'] - a reference either to a hiding place or to the fact that Mass used to be celebrated there in secret. *Attiantaggart* (Roscommon 8 and Mayo 64) is probably a more recent name, since it signifies residence [*Ait Tí a' tSagairt* 'the place of the priest's house']. The townland name *Ballintaggart* [*Baile a' tSagairt* 'the priest's townland'] is of widespread occurrence; it is found in counties Armagh, Cork, Derry, Down, Kerry (2x), Kildare, Laois (2x), Tipperary and Wexford.⁶

A high hill (1007') just south of Loughros Beg Bay is called *Croaghataggart* in the townland of Lagonnell (Donegal 82) [*Cruach a' tSagairt* 'the priest's stack (hill)']. Incidentally, beside that hill runs a stream named *Sruhaunnaheglis* [*Sruthán na hEaglaise* 'the stream of the church'], though no trace of the structure, which was probably formed of boulders and sods, is now visible.

A hill-slope between 500' and 600' in Broughderg townland (Tyrone 20), near the confluence of the Broughderg and Owenkillew rivers, is named *Crockataggart* [*Cnoc a' tSagairt* 'the priest's hill']. Immediately south of Gortin village in the townland of Beltrim (Tyrone 18) lies *Altataggart* Bridge [*Alt a' tSagairt* 'the priest's ravine']. It spans an unnamed stream which flows into Gortin Burn. This narrow little glen, well hidden from prying eyes, 500' feet up in the rough hill-country of the Sperrins, was a typical place of concealment. *Blockanataggart* [*Blocán a' tSagairt* 'the priest's stump'] in Glenchiel townland (Tyrone 12) is another example from the same district.

The element *sagart* also occurs in plural form, e.g., *Ballynasaggart* townland (Tyrone 59) [*Baile na Sagart* 'the priests' townland']. The names *Ballysaggart* (Donegal 98 and Tyrone 54) are probably corruptions of that same form. *Stranasaggart* (Donegal 58) [*Srath na Sagart* 'the priests' strath'] lies between the Owenwee and Gweebarra rivers, one mile NE of Doocharry. *Seltannasaggart* townland (Leitrim 20A/17) [*Seilteán na Sagart* 'the priests' rivulet'] lies at over 1000' in a remote part of the Sligo-Leitrim mountains.

Minor place-names containing the plural include *Craignasaggart* (Donegal 61) [*Creag na Sagart* 'the priests' crag'], which is located on rough ground at nearly 700' in the townland of Dooballagh, and *Binnasaggart* (Donegal 44) [*Binn na Sagart* 'the priests' cliff'], a little precipice at about 400' near Kilmacrenan. *Croaghnasaggart* (Donegal 43) [*Cruach na Sagart* 'the priests' stack (hill)'] is a

summit reaching nearly 1400' and located in very remote mountainous terrain in the townland of Staghall Mountain West, some miles to the west of Lough Beagh. *Pollnasaggart* [*Poll na Sagart* 'the priests' hole'] refers to a hiding hole in the limestone in Cloonbur townland (Galway 27); it was daringly located barely a furlong from the local Protestant church and only a third of a mile from the village.

The name *Lough Nasaggart* [*Loch na Sagart* 'the priests' lake'] is found in various parts of the country, e.g., in the townlands of Kilgar and Brownstown (Westmeath 8) and Creemully and Bracklin (Roscommon 38). The lonely lake shores provided good cover and safe hiding. So too did the sea shore, particularly where creeks and caves were numerous. The existence of such toponyms as *Scoltnasaggart* [*Scoil na Sagart* 'the priests' fissure (in the rock)'] in Tory Island (Donegal 6) is only to be expected. *Cloghasaggart* (Leitrim 19) [*Cloch na Sagart* 'the priests' stone'] is located at over 1000' O.D. in the mountains on the Leitrim-Cavan border. A late example of this plural form occurs in *Ballynasaggart* (Roscommon 45) [*Baile na Sagart* 'the priests' townland'], the name of a rearranged clachan in the townland of Lisfelim. The meaning of *Saggartnadooish* (Donegal 43), a summit rising to 1607' in the townland of Altan just west of Lough Beagh, is obscure.

Penal times are also commemorated in names preserving the English word *priest*. The form *Priest Town*¹⁰ names four townlands (Down 24, Dublin 21, Louth 21, Meath 45/51), while three others are called *Priesttown* (Tipperary 88/91, Tipperary 63, Westmeath 20). Other toponyms incorporating this element include *Priesthaggart* (Wexford 39), *Priesthouse* (Dublin 22/23), *Priestland East* and *Priestland West* (Antrim 6/7), *Priestsessiagh* (Tyrone 9/16), *Prieststown* (Donegal 69), and *Priestsvalley* (Kilkenney 29). Two tiny islets which formed hiding places are called *Priest Island* (Galway 132 and Longford 21), while a minuscule territorial division in the West was called *Priest's Rock* (Clare 60). It is impossible to attribute all of these 'priest' names firmly to the eighteenth century, though in most instances such an attribution would be logical.

Apart from actual townland names, the element 'priest' figures in many minor place-names. These include *Priests Well* in Tristernagh Demesne (Westmeath 11), *Priest's Hill* in Clonmore townland near Creeslough (Donegal 26), *Priest Mount* in Drumnasillagh (Donegal 74), *Priest's Bridge* across the Fairy Water in Tullymuck and Garvaghullion townlands (Tyrone 25), *Priest's Park* in Cooly near Moville (Donegal 21), *Priestfield*, *Priestfield Wood* and *Priestfield Lough* in Corlattan townland (Monaghan 13), and

Priest Field in Balleelaghan (Donegal 4). In addition, the element is often linked with minor settlements of the clachan type, e.g., *Priesttown* in Ballykergan townland (Donegal 76), on the margin of the Bluestack Mountains, *Priest Town* in Churchland Quarter (Donegal 11) and *Priest's Town* in Knockaraven (Tyrone 42).

There are also occasional references to priests belonging to religious orders. Examples of these include the townland of *Friars Hill* (Roscommon 8); *Friars Grave* about 400' up on the mountainside in Lisfannan near Fahan (Donegal 38); *Friarsbush*, a tiny townland near the southwest end of Barnesmore Gap (Donegal 85); *Friar's Bridge* across the Bredagh River in the townlands of Tiryone and Bredagh Glen (Donegal 21); and *Friar's Rock*, which lies at about 850' on the south-west slopes of Fir mountain (Tyrone 21).

One of the priest's main functions was the celebration of Mass. Since public celebration was prohibited, the congregations were obliged to frequent lonely spots well concealed from the eyes of the priest-hunters. For this reason the element *Aifreann* 'Mass' became linked with such physical elements as *ard* 'height', *gleann* 'valley', *carraig* 'rock', *loch* 'lake', *lag* 'hollow', and *clais* 'gully'.

Since the element *aifreann* is discussed in Joyce's *magnum opus*,¹¹ the examples quoted there are avoided here, and attention is focused on minor features rather than on townland divisions. One such feature is *Lough Anaffrin* [*Loch an Aifrinn* 'the lake of the Mass'] (Donegal 81). The high hill of *Crockanaffrin*, 1137' [*Cnoc an Aifrinn* 'Mass hill'], in the townlands of Glenalla and Lurganboy (Donegal 28), provided a safe spot. So too did *Craiganaffrin* [*Creag an Aifrinn* 'Mass crag'] in Gulladoo townland (Donegal 21): it lay at about 425' at the upper edge of the cultivated land, some 2 miles north of Moville. The name *Knockaffrin Lough* in the townland of Gortacarnaun and Killaguile (Galway 67) is probably a corruption of *Cnoc an Aifrinn* 'Mass hill': the lough is located in a stony place on the hillside above Aughnature, Oughterard. High up in the mountains of West Galway runs a little stream called *Sruffaunluganaffrin* [*Sruthán Lug an Aifrinn* 'the stream of the hollow of the Mass'] (Galway 23). It was customary in many districts to celebrate Mass within ring-forts since the vallum hid the congregation from view. A little liss, now half-destroyed, in the townland of Attishane (Roscommon 32) bears the name *Lissinaffrin* [*Lios an Aifrinn* 'Mass fort']. To this day the common Irish term for a church is *teach a' phobail* 'the people's house'. One may safely presume that the townland of *Lissaphobble* (Roscommon 29) derives its name from the little liss where Mass used to be

celebrated [*Lios a' Phobail* 'the people's liss']. Joyce does not discuss the English element *Mass*, but naturally it is equally reminiscent of penal times. Once again, such toponyms usually relate to remote places, e.g., *Mass Hill* in Glackadrumman townland (Donegal 12)—a hill about 300' with a Druidical circle (stone circle) close by. A townland two miles north of Lifford is named *Masshill* (Donegal 71). Another *Mass Hill* is located in Clogherny Glebe Upper (Tyrone 44), about a mile south of the village of Beragh. A small lake in Haywood Demesne (Laois 30) is called *Mass Lough*. As the rigour of the Penal Laws gradually abated, the peasantry dared to erect simple thatched shelters. One such was located in Clanabogan Upper (Tyrone 42), where the name *Mass House Hill* has been preserved. The hill rises to about 400'; significantly the Mass-house was located beside a small ring-fort.

Mass is celebrated at an altar. Joyce mentions altar-sites briefly.¹² There are many such. One problem associated with them is the fact that the antiquarian fashion of the early nineteenth century was to refer to many megalithic tombs of the dolmen type as 'Druid's altars'. It is therefore difficult to determine from cartographic evidence alone whether a name like *Altar Bridge* in Lisnarragh Irish (Tyrone 6) or *Altar Hill* in Fintragh (Donegal 97) relates to a pre-Christian archaeological site or to a mass-rock of the Penal Era. There can be little doubt where the name is in Irish, as in the case of *Scregnahaltora* [*Scraig*¹³ *na hAltara* 'the crag of the altar'] in Leckanarainey townland (Leitrim 7), or in the case of *Carricknahaltora* [*Carraig na hAltara* 'the rock of the altar'] (Tyrone 65) some 800' up on the border with Co. Monaghan. In other cases the answer is self-evident from the topography. *Altar Glen* in Aghaginduff (Tyrone 53), a tiny valley at about 400' just north east of Killeeshil, is a typical Penal site.

A wealth of toponymic evidence still exists to emphasize the intensity of the persecution in Penal times. As time passed the laws were enforced with less vigour, partly because the Protestant ascendancy formed such a small minority in certain areas and partly because more humane attitudes came to prevail. Nevertheless as late as 1766, after being condemned on a trumped-up charge of murder, Fr Nicholas Sheehy was hanged, drawn and quartered in Clonmel.¹⁴ The priests, enduring continuous peril and hardship, were admired by their flocks. Mass was central to the lives of the peasantry. Little wonder, then, that *sagart*, *Aifrinn*, and cognate elements came to occupy such an important place in the toponymy of Ireland.

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NOTES

- 1 J.G. Simms, 'The Restoration and the Jacobite war' in T.W. Moody and F.X. Martin, eds, *The Course of Irish History* (Dublin, 1967), 216.
- 2 M. Wall, *The Penal Laws 1691-1760* (Dublin, 1961); J. Brady and P.J. Corish, *The Church under the Penal Code* (Dublin, 1971); Anon., *A Statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland*, 2 pts (Dublin, 1812).
- 3 C. Gibblin, *Irish Exiles in Catholic Europe* (Dublin, 1971).
- 4 This and subsequent county references in brackets relate to the Ordnance Survey of Ireland 6":1 mile County series.
- 5 P.S. Dineen, *Foclóir Gaeilge agus Béarla* (Dublin, 1927), 744, defines *mín* as 'a smooth green spot on a mountain or amid rough land', while N. Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla* (Dublin, 1977), 861, describes it as a 'tract of grassland in mountain'.
- 6 *General Alphabetical Index to the Townlands and Towns, Parishes and Baronies of Ireland* (Dublin, 1861), 53.
- 7 Dineen, *ibid.*, 272, defines *cruach* as 'a symmetrically-shaped mountain'.
- 8 Dineen, *ibid.*, 1110, equates *srath* with 'a valley bottom, a holm', while Ó Dónaill, *ibid.*, 1154, defines it as 'river valley, low-lying land along river, strath'.
- 9 Dineen, *ibid.*, 978, defines *scoilt* as 'a cleft, a slit, a crack, a fissure', while Ó Dónaill, *ibid.*, 1058, equates it with 'fissure'. This term is very commonly employed to describe small rock-bounded fissures along the Donegal coast.
- 10 *General Alphabetical Index*, 764.
- 11 P.W. Joyce, *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, 4th edn (Dublin, 1875), 117-19.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 119.
- 13 Dineen, *ibid.*, 988, equates *screig* with 'rocky ground'. Ó Dónaill, *ibid.*, 1064, claims that it is a variant of *creig* which he defines (p.315) as 'stony barren ground'.
- 14 M. Wall, *The Age of the Penal Laws*, in Moody and Martin, *The Course of Irish History*, 228.

Allt Loch Dhaile Beaga: Place-name Study in the West of Scotland

Richard A.V. Cox

THROUGH the example of the name *Allt Loch Dhaile Beaga*, by using it as a spring-board, this paper hopes to do some justice to the subject of the study of place-names in the west of Scotland.¹ The intention is to discuss what is involved in place-name study in this area, and to highlight some of the problems and questions which arise.

Allt Loch Dhaile Beaga: it may be apparent to many, if not most, readers, that the element *allt* is the Gaelic (G.) for 'stream', *loch* the Gaelic for 'lake' and that the remainder refers to a village on the west of Lewis, in English written *Dalbeg*. By virtue of the syntax, which is Gaelic, *allt* governs the element *loch*, as *loch* governs the remainder of the name, in the genitive. The rules of Gaelic syntax also imply that the elements *allt* and *loch* are definite, although no article is used, since the remainder of the name is itself grammatically definite. We should then translate the name into English as 'the stream of the lake of Dalbeg', although a more Germanic-sounding rendering would be 'Dalbeg-lake-stream'.

Allt Loch Dhaile Beaga then seems a rather obvious or transparent place-name. When we look at the names of a particular area it is of course good policy to deal with obvious names first. On the one hand, the work is relatively easy at this stage; on the other one can build up a profile of idiosyncratic features in the nomenclature. It is also best to air at the outset, so to speak, any immediate conclusions we may have an inclination to provide. At this point, homonyms provide potential danger. For example, the name *Cnoc an Allt* NB2145 looks suspiciously like 'the hill of the stream'. We should normally expect **Cnoc an Uillt*, however, with the genitive of masculine *allt*. One might consider the form was a corrupted **Cnoc nan Allt* with genitive plural of *allt*, but the local pronunciation and the occurrence of an identical name-form about 3km along the coast militate against such a consideration. Another solution might be that *allt* here is a *u*-stem noun, but there is no way of supporting such a view except to add that elements do survive in more than one declensional form in place-names. For example, *dùn* 'hill; fort' survives as an *s*-stem in *Beinn na Dúine* NB1941, as a *u*-stem in *Càrnán Dùn* NB2444, and as an *o*-stem in *Loch an Dùin* NB3954.² Similarly, we have to watch out for possibilities of variation in gender, although neither *allt* nor *loch* in