

George Broderick

PLACENAMES OF THE  
ISLE OF MAN



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Volume Six

SHEADING OF RUSHEN

(Kirk Malew with Castletown and Ballasalla,  
Kirk Arbory, and Kirk Christ Rushen  
with the Calf of Man)

compiled under the auspices of the  
Manx Place-Name Survey



Max Niemeyer Verlag Tübingen  
2002

## Da Ny Manninee Dooie

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

**Broderick, George:**

Placenames of the Isle of Man / George Broderick. – Tübingen : Niemeyer.  
Vol. 6. Sheading of Rushen : (Kirk Malew with Castletown and Ballasalla,  
Kirk Arbory, and Kirk Christ Rushen with the Calf of Man). – 2002

ISBN 3-484-40138-9 (Gesamtwerk); 3-484-40134-6 (Band 6)

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Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.

Printed in Germany

Druck: Weihert-Druck GmbH, Darmstadt

Einband: Siegfried Geiger, Ammerbuch

# CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	vii
Introduction.....	ix
Maps.....	xli

## SHEADING OF RUSHEN

Abbreviations & Bibliography.....	1
Kirk Malew.....	27
- Castletown.....	191
- Ballasalla.....	236
Kirk Arbory.....	253
Kirk Christ Rushen.....	328
- Calf of Man.....	512
Fishing Marks off Rushen.....	529
Appendix A I: <i>Limites Terrarum Monachorum de Russyn</i> (first part).....	536
Appendix A II: <i>Coucher Book of Furness Abbey</i> (extracts).....	538
Appendix B: <i>Computus Monasterii de Russin</i> (opening section).....	539
Appendix C: <i>Perambulation of the Abbey Turbary</i> (Malew).....	543
Appendix D: Committee of the Highways for the Sheading of Castle Rushen: Report.....	546
Appendix E: Letter from John Hudson to Charles Roeder, Oct. 1898.....	547
Index.....	551



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Manx Place-Name Survey is most grateful to the following for their generous financial support towards the work that has resulted in this volume, the sixth, on the place-names of the Isle of Man:

To the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Bonn, for financial support towards research visits to Man during the semester vacations summer 1999 to spring 2002.

To the Chairman and Members of the Manx Heritage Foundation for a grant 1999-2002 towards the task in hand.

To the Chairman and Trustees of Manx National Heritage for a grant 1999-2002 towards the task in hand.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the following for their invaluable help and criticism in the preparation of this work:

To the consultants Rev. Robert L Thomson, former Reader in Celtic Studies, University of Leeds, and Dr. Gillian Fellows-Jensen, Institut for Navneforskning, University of Copenhagen, for the benefit of their expertise and advice in the analysis and interpretation of the Gaelic, Scandinavian, and other elements in the place-name text of this corpus.

To retired headmaster and Manx local historian Mr. Fred Radcliffe, Onchan, for the benefit of his specialised local knowledge and advice regarding existing names and his recommendation for additional material to be included.

To Dr. Peter Davey, Director of the Centre for Manx Studies, and Mr. Jim Roscow, Douglas, for making available relevant documentary material relating to place- and field-names concerned with Rushen Abbey and the Abbeylands of Kirk Malew.

To Mr. Jim Roscow, Douglas, for additional information concerning Castletown.

In addition grateful acknowledgement is also made to the following:

To members of Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh (Manx Language Society), especially to Mr. Juan Crellin, St. Jude's, Kirk Andreas, for setting up initial contacts for the oral part of this Survey.

### Acknowledgements

To the informants themselves, the many Manx men and women, many of whom have now passed on, who willingly and enthusiastically gave their time and energy in furnishing the Survey with the benefit of their knowledge of Manx place-names.

To Mr. Roger Sims, Archivist and Librarian, and the staff at the Manx Museum Library, Douglas, for their generous help and assistance in providing access to the documentary material.

To the Manx Place-Name Survey Trust and the Centre for Manx Studies (University of Liverpool), Douglas, for their assistance and support.

To all these I would like to extend my sincerest thanks and gratitude for their support and encouragement.

George Broderick,  
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin/  
Universität Mannheim.  
April 2002.

# INTRODUCTION

## 1. Studies in Manx place-names

Apart from the products of mapmakers (cf. §4.7. below), the first known work on Manx Place-names is A. W. Moore's *The Surnames and Placenames of the Isle of Man* (Moore 1890b). This short work essentially contains a list of place-name elements found in Manx nomenclature with comments on or a short discussion of their meaning and distribution.

The first known systematic and comprehensive survey of Manx place-names (in so far as collections of place-names had been extracted from documentary sources, assembled chronologically and conclusions arrived at through scientific discussion) was made by the Manx local historian J. J. Kneen in his six-volumed *Place-Names of the Isle of Man* (Kneen 1925-28).

This was followed shortly afterwards by Carl J. S. Marstrander, Professor of Celtic at the University of Oslo, whose work *Det norske landnâm på Man* 'The Norse settlement of Man' (Marstrander 1932) looks essentially at the Old Norse content of Manx place-names with some discussion of the phonological problems involved. Marstrander followed this in 1934 with his "Remarks on the Place-Names of the Isle of Man" (Marstrander 1934), which comments on Kneen's conclusions. Marstrander's main contribution on Manx place-names (Marstrander 1932) is in Norwegian and as such remained a "closed book" to many scholars until relatively recently (though an English translation was made 1956-60 for use at the Manx Museum Library only; cf. Marstrander 1932).

In 1929 W. Walter Gill contributed a considerable number of names to do with well-, road- and place-lore in his *Manx Scrapbook* (Gill 1929) and to an extent again in his *Third Manx Scrapbook* (Gill 1963). As most of the information derives from oral tradition his contribution is useful, even if some of the spelling forms and explanations could be regarded as uncertain or antiquarian.

In 1970-71, as part of the then ongoing debate concerning the proportion of Old Norse and Gaelic speakers in Man during the Scandinavian period (9th-13th cent.), Margaret Gelling contributed two important articles on Manx PN (Gelling 1970, 1971), examining their early forms and elements as found in pre-16th-century sources, arguing for an ON hegemony and a reintroduction of

Gaelic into Man after the Scandinavian period. These were followed in 1976, as part of the same debate, by Basil Megaw (Megaw 1976(1978)). He set Manx PN in the context of a reassessment of the evidence relating to the Scandinavian period, dating a vital source about 100 years earlier. He argued for a continued Gaelic presence in Man throughout the same period.

Additional contributions on aspects of Manx place-names to date include Eleanor Megaw (Megaw 1978), Gillian Fellows-Jensen (Fellows-Jensen 1983, 1985, 1993), Robert L. Thomson (Thomson 1978, 1991), William & Constance Radcliffe (Radcliffe 1978 & [1983]), Margaret Gelling (Gelling 1991), and George Broderick (Broderick 1978, 1979b-1982, 1987, 1993).

## **2. The Manx Place-Name Survey**

The Manx Place-Name Survey was set up by myself in late 1988 at the University of Mannheim during my time there as Senior Research Fellow and Assistant Lecturer in Celtic Languages at the Seminar für Allgemeine Linguistik (Chair: Professor Dr. P. Sture Ureland), with Robert L. Thomson and Gillian Fellows-Jensen as academic consultants for the Gaelic and Scandinavian material respectively.

The need for the establishment of a formal Manx Place-Name Survey was recognised in 1978 when Manx local historians William & Constance Radcliffe published their *Maughold and Ramsey Place-Names* (Radcliffe 1978). This book made clear that there was much more place-name material from documentary sources than hitherto realised awaiting collection and analysis. Up until then, the only comprehensive works devoted to Manx place-names had been those of Kneen and Marstrander referred to above. The Radcliffes claimed that their material extended to some eight times the amount collected by Kneen for the same parish (Maughold). In 1983 they followed their 1978 book with *Kirk Bride - a Miscellany* (Radcliffe n.d. [1983]), which contains PN and other material from the parish of Bride. Both books made clear that a systematic survey of place-names from all 17 parishes, 4 towns, and numerous villages, etc, was a desideratum, particularly a collection from oral sources, since those who would know the older names and their pronunciation would be elderly and would not be amongst us indefinitely.

## Introduction

This urgency was recognised by Professor Dr. Máirtín Ó Murchú, then Director of the School of Celtic Studies at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, who in the summer of 1989 made funds available to enable a four-week field trip to be undertaken from Mannheim (August 1989) with the sole purpose of recording on reel-to-reel tape place-name material and associated traditions from oral sources within the Island. The University of Mannheim provided an Uher 4000 Report L (four track) tape recorder and tapes for the purpose. The DIAS also funded two further similar field trips to Man (February and August 1990). For the August trip financial assistance was also forthcoming from Rev. Robert L. Thomson and the Manx Heritage Foundation. In the course of the three field trips some 75 people were interviewed and sound-recorded.

During 1989 applications were made from Mannheim to the German funding agencies Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and Volkswagenwerk-Stiftung to enable full time work on the Survey to take place, but these proved unsuccessful.

In April 1989 discussions were entered into with my colleague and friend Dr. Emrys Evans, then Professor of Irish at the University of Wales at Aberystwyth, with a view to seeking substantial funding for the project from private sources within the United Kingdom. Shortly before, in March 1989, the then University Grants Committee had apparently declared Aberystwyth to be the main “centre” for Celtic Studies in the UK. During subsequent meetings with Professor Evans (held on a regular basis at the University of Liverpool, where he was then Visiting Professor of Irish at the Institute of Irish Studies) the possibility was discussed of bringing the Manx Place-Name Survey under the aegis of Aberystwyth, as representing the “Manx” aspect of Celtic Studies there, to facilitate funding potential from within the UK. Professor Evans gave every assistance in this respect. As a result a successful application was made by him in May 1990 to the London-based Leverhulme Trust for a substantial grant to enable full-time work on the Survey to be undertaken for a period of three years, namely from October 1990 to September 1993.

The Leverhulme funding made possible the following. First, completion of the oral part of the Survey for the whole Island, which resulted in more than 180 informants being recorded on tape and some 20 or so others in phonetic

script, of whom more than 80% to date are now deceased. Second, completion of the collection of PN material from all pre-16th-century documentation and all map and field-name material for the whole Island. Third, extraction, compilation and analysis of place-name material from all relevant documentary sources for the Sheading of Glenfaba, the subject of the first volume.

In May 1993 a contract was entered into with Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen, for the publication of an anticipated seven volumes in the Manx Place-Names Series. September 1994 saw the publication of Vol. 1 *Sheading of Glenfaba*, April 1995 Vol. 2 *Sheading of Michael*, April 1997 Vol. 3 *Sheading of Ayre*, September 1999 Vol. 4 *Sheading of Garff*, September 2000 Vol. 5 *Sheading of Middle*. Work on Vol. 6 *Sheading of Rushen* was completed in April 2002.

From 1991 to 1996 additional funding for the Survey was forthcoming from the British Academy. In December 1994 the Manx Place-Name Survey Trust was established to co-ordinate financial support for the Survey from within the Isle of Man. In November 1997 it was assisted in this task by the Centre for Manx Studies (University of Liverpool). From July 1999 to March 2002 financial assistance towards Vol. 6 was also provided by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Bonn.

### **3. Land division and tenure in the Isle of Man**

For administrative purposes the Isle of Man is divided into six sheadings, each comprising three parishes (apart from Glenfaba which until 1796 only contained two; cf. Gill 1883: 349-51). Each parish contains a varying number of treens (in the case of Malew eight lord's land and nine abbeyland treens, Arbory nine and Rushen sixteen lord's land treens), which in turn contain on average four quarterlands. The whole is administered by Tynwald, the Government of the Isle of Man.

At the time when the English king Henry IV granted Man to Sir John Stanley of Knowsley in 1406 (the Stanleys ruled as kings and lords of Man till 1736), the greater part of the Island was held by his immediate tenants. Other parts were freehold, held by the Bishop, the Abbot of Rushen and other barons by fealty, while the rest consisted of the castles (Rushen and Peel) and unrented

## Introduction

wastelands. When Rushen Abbey and Douglas Priory were dissolved in 1540, their lands became vested in the English Crown. In 1609 the Crown transferred them to the Stanleys, who at various periods (Gill 1883: 4, Megaw 1950: 173-82, Broderick 1981/82: 24-26) obtained possession of the baronies, except for that of the Bishop, the Barony of St. Bees (which later came into the possession of the Christians of Milntown), and the Maughold "Stafflands". In 1704, after long years of dispute between successive Stanley lords and their tenants regarding land tenure, rents, etc, an Act of Settlement was passed by Tynwald (Gill 1883: 160-171) securing land tenure in favour of the tenants. In 1736 the Dukes of Atholl succeeded the Stanleys in their manorial rights as Lords of Man. In 1765 by the Act of Revestment the Dukes of Atholl were obliged to sell their manorial rights to the British Crown, which they eventually sold in 1829. In 1860, by the Disafforestation Act, part of the wastelands thereby acquired were sold, part retained by the Crown, and the rest allotted to the owners of customary lands in lieu of right of common.

For the purposes of Manx place-name study we can speak of five different classes of land (till 1900):

1. The customary estates (quarterlands) including the abbeylands and baronies, but excluding
2. The Bishop's Barony and Demesne, the Barony of St. Bees, and the Maughold "Stafflands".
3. The wastelands or "Forest", operated upon by the Disafforesting Act of 1860.
4. Estates created out of Crown land by freehold grants from the Commissioners of Woods and Forests.
5. Lands not part of the Forest still retained by the Crown.

The estates in the first two classes are divided into a) quarterlands (the principal estates), b) mills, etc, c) cottages, i.e. plots of land in towns and villages and a few in the country adjoining quarterlands (Moore 1900: 871-73).

Though none are complete for the Island in any single year, the earliest comprehensive setting books (*Libri Assedationis*) or rent rolls indicate that about 1500 the farmland in Man comprised some 730 quarterlands, extending from ca.50 to ca.180 acres in area (exclusive of former common grazing), but aver-

aging some 90 acres (Davies 1956: 109). The intacks, i.e. parts of the forest or common and other waste lands enclosed under licence from the Lord of Man, form a further division of the Lord's Lands, but not in the abbeylands or baronies.

The question of the origin of the concept of treen and quarterland has been exhaustively discussed by Marstrander (1937) and Megaw (1976 (1978)) and for our purposes will only be lightly touched on here. There are believed once to have been as many as about 220 treens in the Island. In about 1500 179 treens of lord's land are recorded, comprising some 594 quarterlands. In addition there were about 147 quarterlands of monks' and bishop's land where some treen organisation has also survived. Earlier intack land may have later come to be reckoned as quarterland or even as treen land. The setting books group the tenants' names under treens, which could give the impression that the treen was the main unit of land, and that the quarterland as a unit was a more recent concept. However, Megaw (1978: 279ff) argues that, since it can be shown that six prominently sited non-Christian burial mounds (two of which have been shown by excavation to be of 9th-century Norse settlers) are distributed individually over as many quarterland farms, the quarterland may have been the principal holding in that area at that time. It is not known whether such quarterlands were already grouped into treens then. It seems likely, however, "that the holdings that came to be known as quarterlands represent in general elements in a very early [i.e. pre-Scandinavian] land system" (Megaw 1978: 281; see now also Moore 1999: 171-82).

The term treen, possibly deriving from G. *tír uinge* 'ounceland' (Marstrander 1937: 389-90, English summary 424), though more likely from G. *trian*, d. *triuin* 'third part; district' (Dw.970), would represent an administrative unit designated for tax purposes comparable with the 7th-cent. Irish concept of *tír-mbó* 'cow-land' as a tax unit (Megaw 1978: 280). Megaw (*ibid*) compares the four-quarterland unit (treen) with the Carolingian system whereby four *manses* (later five) combined to provide and support one fighting man, one supplying the man, the rest his armour and upkeep. Marstrander (1937) demonstrates fairly conclusively that each treen originally had an Early Christian keeill and family burial-ground, thus supporting the tradition of the Manannan (Tradition-

ary) Ballad (ca.1500) that St. German built a small chapel (keeill) in every *treen balley* (i.e. the tree), and indicating that the *treen* as a unit has its roots in a pre-Scandinavian milieu.

So too might the concept of “sheading”, the six court districts into which Man has been divided since the Middle Ages. Though the term is evidently derived from ON *séttungr* ‘sixth part’ (Marstrander 1937: 410, 431), though the spelling (and perhaps the concept) is influenced by ME *sheding* ‘division’ (and the island of Gotland was evidently also divided into six *séttungar*), sheading, in a British Isles context, may well represent a replacement of an earlier (?Celtic) term comparable with the Welsh *cwmwd* “commot; locality, neighbourhood; a unit...in which a court of law was held...two (sometimes more) of which formed a *cantref* [English ‘hundred’]” (GPC/I: 643a). Anglesey (comparable in area to the Isle of Man) has six commots grouped into three lots of two, but Man because of its mountain chain is divided into two lots of three sheadings (Megaw 1978: 284). Megaw (*ibid*) suggests that each of the six individual sheadings had formerly been administered from a *treen*-estate (or possibly from a particular quarterland within the *treen*) within a district that had the same name: Glenfaba(n) (possibly in the area of Glenaspit), Kirk Michael, (le) Ayre (?in Bride near Ballavarkish), Grauff (now Garff<sup>1</sup>, cf. the Grawe quarterlands near Laxey), Midell (cf. Middle farm), and Russin (Rushen). These former sheading-centres all appear to have been farms, though not necessarily defensive points, and would be directly comparable with the *maerdref* ‘(royal) steward’s farm/township’ of the Welsh *cymydau*.

#### 4. Source material

##### 4.1. Pre-16th-century sources

Until the 16th century documentary source material for Manx place-names is exceedingly scant. What we have at our disposal includes the following:

- 4.1.1. Coucher Book of Furness Abbey (Latin; containing a copy of a bull of Pope Eugenius III dated ca.1152-53 and a grant dated 1246 regarding land in Arbory and Malew),

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<sup>1</sup> For this name see PNIM/IV: 20.

## Introduction

- 4.1.2. Register of the Priory of St. Bees (Latin; containing charters ca.1154-1321 regarding land in Maughold),
- 4.1.3. Charter of Olaf II (1226-37) to Whithorn Priory 1228 regarding land near Greeba (Latin; original lost, copy 1504),
- 4.1.4. the Chronicles of Man (Latin; ca.1257, with Continuation till 1377; appended Abbeyland Bounds relating to the parishes of Malew, Lezayre, and Lonan/Maughold, ca.1280),
- 4.1.5. reference in the Patent Rolls (Latin) for 1291 to St. Patrick's Church, Jurby,
- 4.1.6. (though properly 14th-cent.) the "forged" Papal Bull of 1231 (ca. 1360+; Latin, concerning various church lands throughout the Island).
- 4.1.7. the Appyn Charter (Latin; land grant of 1376/77 concerning land in Glenfaba),
- 4.1.8. Sheading Court Roll (English) 1417/18,
- 4.1.9. Garrison Inquest Roll (English; relating to Castles Rushen and Peel) 1428,

Thereafter, the main repositories of Manx place-name material consulted in the course of this work include the following.

### 4.2. Setting books

From 1506 to 1783 for the South of the Island (i.e. lying south-east of the central mountain chain - embracing the parishes of Rushen, Arbory, Malew, Santan, Marown, Braddan, Conchan (Onchan), Lonan, and Maughold) and 1515 to 1911 for the North (north-west of the mountain chain, embracing the parishes of Patrick, German, Michael, Ballaugh, Jurby, Lezayre, Andreas, and Bride)<sup>2</sup> we have available to us a series of rent rolls (Lords Composition Books (LCB) and Libri Assedationis (LA), or setting books) containing names of tenants (paying rent to the Lord of Man) entered on a parish basis. The tenants' names are grouped under their respective treens. In 1643 James I Seventh Earl of Derby, Lord of Man (*Yn Stanlagh Mooar* 'the Great Stanley'), as part of his new policy towards land tenure (cf. Moore 1900: 880-907), caused a thorough

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<sup>2</sup> From 1783 to 1911 Marown and Maughold were regarded as Northside. The Southside setting books began with Lonan running south to Rushen, reversing the earlier order.

revision of LCB to be made in an attempt to find out exactly who held land from him and for what rent. This resulted for our purposes in much more place-name detail being included than hitherto. The new format embraced for the first time a number of quarterland and intack names, which in this respect was greatly expanded upon in LCB1704, the year of the Act of Settlement. LCB1704, therefore, comprises the main reservoir of the earliest attested forms of the majority of quarterland and intack names. After 1704 LA occasionally contain quarterland names, but regularly any intack names, though there was no legal requirement to do so. From 1869 (sometimes from 1858) till 1911 quarterland names are regularly entered. In 1911 the rents were redeemed.

In the course of the 18th century, from ca.1720 to ca.1797, the number of new parcels of intack land taken in and registered, e.g. in *Lezayre*, increased dramatically (though in *Andreas* and *Bride*, for example, the increase was slight), and these form a major source of our place-name material. Similar setting books for abbeyland holdings (essentially in *Rushen*, *Malew*, *German*, *Braddan*, *Lonan* and *Lezayre*; also the Baronies of *Bangor* and *Saul* in *Patrick*, of *St. Trinian's* in *Marown*, of *St. Bees* in *Maughold* and the *Maughold "Stafflands"*, of the *Bishop* in *Marown*, *Patrick*, *Braddan*, *Ballaugh*, *Michael*, and *Jurby*) provide similar material.

### **4.3. Deeds of sale and mortgage**

Beside the setting books the other main source of PN material is the deeds of sale and (less numerous) mortgage which date from ca.1700 to the present; supplementary material in this respect can also be gleaned from the *Castletown Deeds* (to 1846). As well as quarterland and intack names, these also contain a considerable number of field names (in *Manx*), many of which have since fallen into disuse. A comparison with those collected on sound-recordings from oral tradition (1989-98) makes that quite clear. The deeds form the main source of early field names. For our purposes here deeds to the year 1848 only (the date of the change-over to monthly registration) have been consulted, thereafter the exercise resulted in diminishing returns. Deeds earlier than ca.1700 are found in *Libri Cancellarii*.

#### **4.4. Estate plans**

An additional source in this respect are the estate plans of 18th- & 19th-century date. These were drawn up by surveyors for a number of Manx estates, though not all. A small proportion of those available at the Manx Museum Library are accompanied by lists of field names, but this is the exception rather than the rule. Nevertheless, some of the early plans record field names in Manx since lost to oral tradition. Estate plans of differing dates, but of the same estate, can show varying names for the same field, cf. the estate plans for Ballavodan AN for 1779 and 1830.

#### **4.5. Enquest files**

For names of a different kind, e.g. inland rock names, stream names, etc, i.e. those used as boundary markers, rather than farm or intack names, the main source is the Enquest Files (EF: 1688-1916); these records arise from local boundary disputes between neighbours.

#### **4.6. Woods' *Atlas***

Woods' *Atlas* of 1867 (qv) draws essentially on setting books and tithe plans to give an accurate picture of land holdings in the Island at that time. Though some additional PN material has been gleaned from its pages, the *Atlas* has mainly been used as a means to plot the whereabouts of the various intacks mentioned in the setting books, deeds, etc, and to delineate the various holdings on the Survey's own maps to determine the placement of their fields.

#### **4.7. Maps**

Early maps showing the Isle of Man date from Ptolemy (2nd cent. AD), to the monk Matthew Paris (ca.1250), through to Gough (ca.1350) and the Portolan Charts of the early 16th century. However, the earliest map to attempt to include inland place-names is Gerhard Mercator's map of the British Isles of 1564, where ten names are included. Then comes Christopher Saxton's map of England and Wales of 1583 with 25 names.

The first map-maker to arrange inland names on a parish basis was Thomas Durham in 1595, whose work was first printed as a separate map by John

Speed in 1605; his map contains 71 names. Throughout the 17th century Speed's maps were copied by others. The first to show the Island in its recognisable shape was that of Capt. Greenville Collins in 1689. This map contains 68 names, many of which have been inaccurately copied or heard. Collins' map also influenced later map-makers, particularly Morden (1695), Moll (1724), and Kitchin (ca.1750).

Apart from McKenzie's sea chart of 1760 (which gives little inland detail), the next map showing 135 inland place-names, as well as the new roads in relation to the mountains, is that of Peter Fannin of 1789. This became the model for those printed in late 18th-century tours, histories and almanacs of the Isle of Man. Fannin's map was followed by that of John Drinkwater in 1826. This was the first to define the sheadings and parishes accurately, as well as the shape and distribution of the mountains. The PN detail has increased markedly, with, for example, 17 for Michael, 11 for Ballaugh, and 10 for Jurby. Drinkwater's map was also used as a model for guidebook maps (Cubbon 1967). The last map to be drawn before the coming of the Ordnance Survey in 1864 was that prepared by the Disafforestation Commission in 1861. This contains a number of useful name variants. The first Ordnance Survey 25-inch series was published in 1869, the 6-inch series in 1870, and the 1-inch single map in 1873.

#### **4.8. Census returns**

The census returns available to us date from 1841 to 1891. Access to later census data which also contain personal details is not possible owing to the Island's 100-year restriction on access (the census for 1901 has recently been released). The returns record quarterland and other farm names, as well as street names (for towns and villages) and individual house names in country areas; the house names have largely been ignored here. It is in the census returns that we witness the rise in the number of names in English, especially in the country areas, reflecting an incoming non-Manx-speaking population. We begin to see this already in the deeds from ca. 1820 onwards, cf. Northop (part of Bollagh) GE, Laurel Bank (part of Cronk y Killey) GE, etc.

#### **4.9. Ordnance Survey name books**

Name books for the initial Ordnance Survey of the Isle of Man 1864-69 (housed in Southampton) were, according to the OS, lost in an air raid during the Second World War. Those that survive date from 1955-57 (occasionally a little later), when a revised survey was made, updating the material gathered during the first survey, and these (except those maps designated NX, which appear also to be lost) are now housed with the Department of Local Government and Environment of the Isle of Man Government. These name books are based on the individual 6-inch sheets of the first survey. They contain some names, particularly of coastal features, gleaned from oral tradition, which are not otherwise attested in the documentary sources, and in that respect they are quite useful. The orthography of the Manx names here largely mirrors that of the census returns (cf. above).

#### **4.10. Newspapers**

These contain almost exclusively farm names and for our purposes range in date from ca. 1800 to ca. 1860, but mostly in the first 30 years of the 19th century. It is here that more modern (English) names are found side by side with older (Manx Gaelic) names.

#### **4.11. Field-names**

In addition to the above described deeds our main source here is the material collected by the Manx Museum Folklife Survey. From 1949 to ca.1975 (but also embracing material collected up to some 20 years earlier) the Folklife Survey made a substantial collection of field-names for most parishes in the Island recorded either on their maps or in their parish-based field books. The vast majority of the names are in Manx. Later field-names, mostly in English, were located in the Department of Agriculture's soil analysis returns (1973-1991) available at their experimental farm at Knockaloe Mooar just south of Peel<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> In December 2001 the Board of Agriculture returns (1939-48), containing much FN material, were made available for consultation. They are housed in the Manx Museum archive MM.MS.9844. This corpus will appear in Vol. 7.

## 5. Orthography

The setting books were apparently compiled annually, or whenever it was possible to collect the rent. The surviving books (from 1511(1515) to 1911) seem to be assembled in “bouts”, i.e. successive books copy from the preceding ones for a period, then comes a set of minor adjustments, e.g. in name forms, which are then copied by a further series, and so on till 1704, the year of the Act of Settlement. Straight copying continues until the final series (which includes quarterland names) begins in 1869 (in some cases 1858) running on till 1911 when the rents were redeemed.

Copying naturally leads to misreadings, noticeably so after 1858. So Kylfarick E dromma (i.e. Killpherick a Dromma GE) 1704 (thereafter in various renderings of the same) appears as Kill Garick ne dromma (for *ny* for *y*, cf. §7.13.1. below) after 1858 successively till 1911; Close ne brebbag (i.e. Close ny Brebbag GE) for 1704 continues as Close ne Cribbag(h) after 1858 till 1911. It is in this latter phase that many misreadings of this sort occur, indicating either that the name was unknown to the clerk entering the names at the time and also to succeeding clerks, or (perhaps less probably) that the name had generally fallen into disuse. Though grouped under individual treens, the principal unit, as noted above, was evidently the quarterland. The treen names seem to have been entered as a matter of course, almost certainly so by the latter phase, if not before, even though they appear no longer to have been in general currency. So TR-Balladoraghan 1704, Balladouraghan 1911 (= QL-Ballagharaghan 1704, Ballagarraghyn 1891) would almost certainly have been known at that time as Ballagarraghan/Ballagarraghyn.

As in the setting books, Manx names in the deeds are generally set in “non-standard” orthography. Nevertheless even here, except for the occasional aberrant clerk, there seems to have been a certain consistency throughout the 18th and into the 19th century, so *currough*, *curraugh*, *curragh* for *curragh*. Place-name renderings seem to have become standardised, first by the Official Census (1841-1891, but especially after 1851), then by the Ordnance Survey after 1869, and these two repositories are clearly responsible for the name-forms we have today.

Nevertheless, in the 1955-57 Ordnance Survey name books uncertainty as to the “correct” orthographic representation prompted the OS to seek assistance from Local Government Board agents, Post Office officials, or farmers, and on occasion the standard was set from those quarters. So Mwyllin-ny-Cleiy (Patrick) on the OS 6-inch 1870 series becomes (via the Local Government Board) Mullen-e-Cloie today, giving rise to a pronunciation something like “mullen-a-cloy” (reflecting the orthography), rather than the expected “mullen-a-clay” or “mullen-a-clye”, the latter recorded from the informants. The version printed here (with minor adjustment) would reflect the attested pronunciation, namely Mwyllin y Chleigh.

### **6. Common elements in Manx place-names**

The linguistic history of the Isle of Man is now fairly well known among scholars of Celtic and Scandinavian studies generally and need only be briefly sketched here. Given that Man is surrounded on three sides by the island of Britain, which during the Roman period was evidently predominantly Brittonic speaking, the probability is that Man also at that time shared a dialect of that same speech with its neighbours. With perhaps the exception of the bilingual 5th/6th-cent. Ogam (Goidelic) and Latin “Knock-y-Doonee” Stone (showing elements of British speech; cf. Jackson 1953: 173) and (though an ON etymology has been proposed) the place-name *Hentre* ML (cf. W. *hendref* ‘old settlement, farm, etc’, parallel to Mx. *shennvalley*, G. *sean bhaile*) from the *Limites* or Abbeyland Bounds attached to CM (f.53r; ca.1280), no other trace, so far as is known, of British speech is attested in the Island. Goidelic settlement in Man is reckoned to have taken place from ca.500AD, with Goidelic speech in the ascendant and continuing through the Scandinavian period to be replaced by English from the mid-nineteenth century onwards (Thomson 1983, Broderick 1991).

With perhaps the exception of three or four names, the Gaelic place-names of the Isle of Man (which constitute the vast majority) can be shown to be largely post-Scandinavian, i.e. formed since the end of the Scandinavian period in the 13th century (Gelling 1991, Broderick 1993). In the formation of Manx place-names common elements occur again and again, as dictated by the geography,

## Introduction

vegetation and environment., etc. The Gaelic common elements found include the following:

aa, aah 'ford' G. *áth*.

aaie, aiee 'kiln' Ir. *áith*.

aittin 'gorse' G. *aiteann*.

ard 'high point, height' G. *árd*.

awin 'river' ScG. *abhainn*.

baarney 'gap' Ir. *beárna*.

balley 'farm, stead, place, village, town' G. *baile*.

bayr 'road' Ir. *bóithar*, ScG. *bothar*.

beinn, bing 'peak, summit' ScG. *beinn*.

boalley 'wall; cliff' G. *balla*.

boayl 'place, spot' G. *ball*.

bollagh 'track, pass' G. *bealach*.

braaid 'gullet, gorge; breast of a hill' Ir. *brágha*, g. *brághad*, d. *brághaid*, f; ScG. *brághad*, g. *bràghaid*, m 'upper part of body leading towards the neck'.

breggan 'small piece ploughed in a field' Mx. *brackan*, cf. G. *breac* 'speckled'.

broogh 'precipice, bank' Ir. *bruach*, *bruaich*, m., ScG. *bruach*, g. *bruaich*, f.

bwoaillee (old nom. \*bwoailley) 'fold, field' G. *buaille*, d. *buailidh*.

cabbyl 'horse; coastal rock' Ir. *capall*.

carn, carnane 'cairn, heap of stones, mound' Ir. *carn*, *carnán*, ScG. *càrn*, *càrnán*.

carrick 'rock' G. *carraig*.

cashtal 'castle (also fortification, rock formation, burial tomb)' ScG. *caisteal*.

claddagh 'bank of a river' cf. G. *cladach*.

clagh 'stone' Ir. *cloch*, ScG. *clach*.

close 'enclosure' Ir. *clós* (< Eng. 'close').

coan 'hollow, small valley; glen' ScG. *cabhan*, *camhan*; see also quane below.

## Introduction

- conney 'gorse, fuel' Ir. *connadh*.  
cooil 'nook, corner' G. *cúil*.  
creg 'rock' G. *creag*.  
croit 'croft' ScG. *croit*.  
cronk 'hill' G. *cnoc*.  
crongan 'hillock' ScG. *cnocan*.  
curragh 'mire, marsh area' G. *currach*, *corrach*.  
dayll 'meadow' ScG. *dail*.  
doarlish 'gap' cf. ScG. *doirling*.  
dreeym 'back, ridge' Ir. *druim*, ScG. *driom*, *druim*  
drine 'thorn' Ir. *draighean*, ScG. *droigheann*.  
droghad 'bridge' Ir. *droichead*, ScG. *drochaid*.  
eary 'summer pasture, shieling' Ir. *áirghe*, ScG. *àiridh*.  
faaie 'homefield, flatt' Ir. *faithche*, ScG. *faiche*.  
freoagh 'heather' G. *fraoch*.  
garee 'sourland' cf. Mx. *gyere*, Ir. *géar* 'sharp; sour, bitter', ScG. *géur*.  
glion 'glen, valley' G. *gleann*.  
gob 'point, small headland' G. *gob*.  
immyr 'ridge, seedbed, butt of land' G. *iomair*, *imir*.  
injeag 'river-meadow' cf. Ir. *ínse*, ScG. *innseag*.  
keiill 'church, chapel' G. *ceall*, d. (later n.) *cill*.  
kerroo 'quarterland' ScG. *ceathramh*.  
kessa 'bog-road' cf. Ir. *ceasach*.  
keyll 'wood' Ir. *coill*, ScG. *coille*.  
kione 'head, end' G. *ceann*.  
lag, lagan 'hollow' ScG. *lag*, *lagan*.  
lhargan 'steep slope of a hill' ScG. *leargan*.  
lheennee (old. nom. \*lheenney) 'meadow' G. *léana*, d. *léanaidh*.  
lhiargagh, lhiargee 'hillslope' ScG. *leargach*, d. *leargaidh*.  
lhieggan 'steep hillslope, broad side of a hill' ScG. *leacann*.  
lhiondaig 'an even grassy plot in a valley' (C.116), G. \**léantóg*, ?dimin.  
form of *léana* from pl. *léanta*.  
lhing 'pool' Ir. *linn*.

## Introduction

- logh 'lake, marsh-lake, mire' G. *loch*.  
magher 'field' cf. ScG. *machair*.  
moanee 'turf, turbary' Ir. *móin*, d. *mónaidh*.  
mullagh 'top, summit' G. *mullach*.  
mwyllin 'mill' G. *muileann*.  
park 'pasture field, enclosed field' Ir. *páirc*, ScG. *pàirc*.  
purt 'harbour' Ir. *port*.  
quane 'hollow, small valley' Ir. *cabhán*. In Ulster *cabhán* can also mean 'slope, small hill' (Di.144), which may sometimes apply in Man. See also *coan*.  
raad 'road' ScG. *rathad*.  
reecast 'wasteland' G. *riasc*.  
rheynn 'division, ridge; portion' G. *roinn*; ScG. *rinn*.  
sallagh 'willow' Ir. *saileach*, ScG. *seileach*.  
sharragh 'foal; inland rock' G. *searrach*.  
slieau 'mountain' G. *sliabh*.  
strooan 'stream, river' ScG. *sruthan*.  
thalloo 'land' G. *talamh*.  
thie 'house' ScG. *taigh*.  
tholtan 'ruined house', cf. ScG. *tolltach* 'full of holes'.  
toar 'dungfield/fold; bleaching-green' Ir. *tuar*, ScG. *todhar*.  
traie 'shore' G.  *tráigh*.

The Scandinavian elements are not so numerous, but include the following:

- aa 'river' ON *á*.  
ayre 'gravel beach, bank' ON *eyrr*.  
baie 'bay' ON *vágr*.  
by 'farm, settlement' ON *bøf*, ODan *by*.  
burroo 'hump, mound; fort' ON *borg*.  
clett 'rock, cliff' ON *klettr*.  
dal 'vale, glen' ON *dalr*.  
fell 'mountain' ON *fall*.  
eye 'isthmus, neck of land' ON *eið*.

flatt ‘homefield’ cf. ON *flat*, *flqt.*> Eng.dial. *flat* ‘piece of level ground’.

garey ‘garden, enclosure’ ON *garðr* ‘courtyard’.

giat ‘road’ ON *gata*.

giat ‘field’ cf. 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. /g’/.

giaw ‘inlet’ ON *gjá*.

gill ‘deep glen’ ON *gil*; also *geil*.

haggard ‘hacket, stackyard’ ON *hey garðr* ‘hay enclosure’.

holm ‘island’ ON *holmr*.

howe ‘mound, hill, headland’ ON *haugr*, ‘hill, mound’, *høfuð* ‘height, headland’.

lhen ‘sealoch, inlet’ ON *lón*.

ness ‘nose, protruberance’ ON *nes*.

ster, (sker) ‘isolated rock in the sea, skerry’ ON *sker*.

wick ‘cove, bay’ ON *vík*.

## 7. Aspects of Manx grammar relevant to place-names

The following forms are represented in Manx place-names:

### 7.1. Consisting of a noun only

Rushen: dim. of *ros*, G. *ros*, *roisean* ‘wood, copse; site of an old cemetery; isthmus, point, promontory; level tract of arable land’.

Name of sheading (RU), parish (RU), and glen (PA).

This type of name is extremely rare in Man, and apart from the name *Man* itself *Rushen* is possibly the only example of this type to have survived.

There is no indefinite article in Manx, so *Rushen* can mean ‘wood’, etc, or ‘a wood’ etc. Though given that this type is also attested in Ireland and Scotland of pre-13th-century date, the definite article could also be implicit in an element of this type, e.g. ScG. *beannan* ‘the peaked place’. Nouns standing alone also function as place-names in English and Scandinavian PN, and the element of definiteness is implicit and not stated, even though languages normally employ

a definite article, cf. Brooke in Leicestershire and Norfolk (OE *brōc*), Breck in Lancashire (Sc. *brekka*), Dal in Denmark (Sc. *dalr*).

### 7.1.1. Morphology of nouns in Manx place-names

Nouns in Manx deriving from original OIr. masc., fem., and neut. come down as either masc. or fem. From the Classical period of Manx (CMx; essentially 18th cent.) down through to Late Manx (LMx; 19th/20th cent.) nouns came more and more to be treated as masc. only, unless obviously otherwise, e.g. *ben* ‘woman’, or marked as fem. in nominal phrases, e.g. *fud ny hoie* ‘throughout the night’, G. *ar fad na h-oidhche*.

Many nouns used in Manx PN reflect original G. accusative/dative singular expressing “motion towards” or “rest” (in PN there may, of course, be loss of a locative preposition):

Mx. *thie* ‘house’ OIr. d. *taig* (cf. ScG. *taigh*), n/a *tech* (neuter *s*-stem).

Mx. *bwoaillee* ‘cattle fold, pen’ OIr. n. *buaille*, d. *buailidh* (also Mod.Ir.) (dental stem).

Mx. *keeill* ‘church, chapel’ OIr. n. *cell*, d. (later n.) *cill* (*a*-stem) (cf. also §6. above).

Mx. *lhiargee* ‘hillside, hillslope’ OIr. *lerg*, *lergach* (*ā*-stem), d. *lergaige* (*iā*-stem).

Mx. *moanee* ‘bog, peat-moss, turf turbary’ OIr. *móin*, d. *mónai* (*i*-stem).

### 7.2. Singular article + orig. masc. noun

Niarbyl ‘the tail’ PA, Mx. *yn arbyl*, G. *an t-earball*, or possibly old locative *i n-earball*.

Inclose ‘the enclosure’ BA, Mx. *yn close*, G. *an clós*.

Yn Ellan ‘the island’ AN, Mx. *ibid.*, G. *an t-eilean*.

The sg. def. art. in Mx. is *y/yn*, which occasions no change in the initial consonant of the following masc. noun. The masc. genitive of the article, viz. *y/yn*, occasions lenition (spirantisation) in the initial consonant of the following noun, except dentals. In orig. masc. nouns in Mx. with initial vowel the original *-t* of the def. art. does not appear in the Manx reflexes, e.g. Mx. *yn ean* ‘the bird’,

G. *an t-éan*; Mx. *yn ellan*, G. *an t-eilean*, as if Mx. had generalised the fem. inflection.

However, in many PN forms of this type the Eng. def. art. *the* has replaced Mx. *y/yn* and this has now come to be fairly standard in Manx place-names. Occasionally *the* accompanies *y/yn* where the latter has become inseparable from its noun (cf. also in §7.3. below):

The Cronk ‘the hill’, G. *an cnoc*.

The Garey ‘the garden, enclosure’, G. *gàradh*, d. *gàraidh* (< ON *garðr*).

The Close ‘the enclosure’ G. *clós* (< MedL *clausus*).

The Inclose ‘the enclosure’ (w. Mx. def. art. agglutinated)

### 7.3. Singular article + orig. fem. noun

Neary ‘the shieling’ PA, Mx. *yn eary* G. *an áirghe*, *an àiridh*.

With Eng. def. art:

the Eary, the Neary (w. Mx. def. art. agglutinated).

Naaie ‘the homefield’ Mx. *yn aaie*, G. *an fhaithche*, *an fhaiche*.

With Eng. def. art.

The Naaie (w. Mx. def. art. agglutinated).

The Creg ‘the rock’ GE, G. *an chreag*.

In the above exx. the misdivision of the def. art. arises in Mx., but the sense of the article, being present or required, is continued in English.

Originally the Mx. def. art. lenited the initial consonant of a following orig. fem. noun, e.g. *yn chreg* ‘the rock’. For the disappearance of lenition in orig. /k/, /g/, /d/, cf. §7.5. below.

Original fem. nouns in initial /s-/ show *t*-lenition after the n/a of the def. art. Nouns in /s’/ + V are sometimes prone to this whether they are originally fem. or not; the article itself may sometimes be suppressed:

Yn Chellagagh ‘the place of willows’ [tʃɛlɔgəx] BA (*an t-seileagach*).

This also applies to the preposed adjective *shenn* ‘old’, G. *sean*, *seann* when qualifying an orig. fem. noun. See also §7.8.

yn chenn reinnagh MI ‘the old bracken area’ (*an t-sean raitheach*).

yn chenn chroit BA ‘the old croft’ (*an t-sean chroit*).

#### 7.4. Original masc. noun + adjective

Cronk Bane ‘white hill’ GE (*cnoc bán*).

In Manx the qualifying adjective normally follows the noun (but cf. §7.8. below). After orig. masc. nouns there is no lenition in the following adjective. However, in LMx. particularly, “abuse” of lenition can take place in qualifying adjectives; so we find also:

Cronk Vane ‘white hill’ PA (*cnoc bhán*)

Cronk Vooar ‘big hill’ PA (*cnoc mhór*)

unless we are to take this as an oblique case form with suppressed initial element in n/a, as seems to be the case in:

Mullagh Vedn ‘white summit’ PA, Mx. *mullagh bane*

(for the occurrence of preocclusion, cf. §7.21. below).

This is the name of a road and originally we might have expected something like \**bayr y vullee vane* which would reduce to \**bayr y vullagh (mullagh) vane*, with loss of lenition (and inflection) in *mullagh* when there is no longer any reason for it, but with retention of it in the adjective (as a result of fossilisation). Occasionally we seem to have two qualifying adjectives:

Cronk Vane Beg ‘little white hill’ or ‘little Cronk Bane’ GE

Here Cronk Vane is a unit treated as masc. (and *vane* presumably had no gender) qualified by the adjective *beg* in contrast, real or implied, to *Cronk Vane Mooar*.

#### 7.5. Original fem. noun + adjective

Creg Veg ‘little rock’ GE (*creag bheag*).

Leaney Vroagh ‘dirty meadow’ BA (*léana bhróghach*).

Bwoillee ghoooh ‘black fold’ BA (*buailidh dhubh*).

However, as with “abuse” of lenition in qualifiers of orig. masc. nouns (cf. §7.4. above), failure of lenition in qualifying adjectives of orig. fem. nouns also occurs:

Creg Bane ‘white rock’ PA.

Eary Mooar ‘big shieling’ GE.

Ooig Dorraghey ‘dark cave’ PA.

Failure of lenition in initial /d/, /g/, /k/, /f/, /s/ begins to be seen in CMx. and is complete by the period of LMx. As this came to be the rule we should speak of “absence”, rather than “failure” of lenition, since its occurrence was no longer expected.

Note that in standard Manx orthography *dh*, *th* represent a form of interdental articulation, viz. [d<sup>h</sup>], [t<sup>h</sup>] and not [y], or [h] (or palatalised variants), as in Gaelic orthography. However, they are very irregular in occurrence.

#### 7.6. Singular article + orig. masc. noun + adjective

The Cronk Mooar ‘the big hill’ (an *cnoc mór*).

w. Eng. def. art.

#### 7.7. Singular article + orig. fem. noun + adjective

Nary vore ‘the big shieling’ GE (an *àiridh mhór*).

y Nhaai ghorrym ‘the blue flatt’ BA (an *fhaithe ghorm*).

E Nay Voare ‘the big flatt’ JU (an *fhaithe mhór*).

With failure/absence of lenition in the adjective:

Nary Glass ‘the green shieling’ GE, Mx. *yn eary glass* (an *àiridh glas*).

#### 7.8. Adjective + noun

Shenn valley ‘old farm’ GE (*sean bhaile*).

Shenn thaloo ‘old land’ GE (*sean talamh*).

Breck woaillee ‘speckled fold’ PA (*breac-bhuailidh*).

Doolough, Dollagh ‘black lake, mire’ BA/JU (*dubh-loch*).

Doo-haloo ‘black land’ BA (*dubh-thalamh*).

Camlork ‘crooked leg (i.e. ridge), track’ BN (*cam lorg*).

Certain adjectives precede the noun. The most common element of this type in Mx. PN is *shenn* ‘old’. Preposed adjectives normally occasion lenition in the following noun in Mx, except in cases of homorganic inhibition, as in *shenn thaloo* above. See also §7.3. above. For Mx. <th> representing [t<sup>h</sup>], cf. §7.5. above.

In some PN, in Ballaugh and Jurby for example, the prefix *doo-* ‘black’, G. *du(i)bh-*, so common in Ir/ScG, is restricted in Mx. to a few PN, cf. Doolough

and Doo-Haloo above. The first ex. is a close compound of some antiquity, and bears initial stress, in contrast to the second, which contains a preposed adjective (a later development) and bears forward stress. Another ex. containing forward stress is Camlork above.

With failure of lenition:

Breck-bwoaillee ‘speckled fold’ PA.

### 7.8.1. Nominal prefix + noun

Corvalley ‘conical hill/edge/hollow, isolated farm’ MR (*corrhaile*).

Here *cor* (G. *corr*) is used as a prefix and occasions lenition. The combination *cor* + *balley* is quite common in Manx PN, so common in fact to be regarded as adjectival. However, *corr* can sometimes appear following its noun, cf. Ballacoar (G. *baile* + *corr*) LO.

### 7.9. Article + adjective + noun

The Shennvalley ‘the old farm’ GE, w. Eng. def. art. (*seanbhaile*).

### 7.10. Original masc. noun + orig. g. sg. of noun

Strooan bayr lieau ‘mountain road stream’ PA (*sruthan bothar shléibhe*).

Here the constituent *bayr lieau* qualifies *strooan* (cf. §7.4. above).

Tallow Gienee ‘sandy land’ BA (*talamh gainich*).

Curragh Ghew Hulby ‘the Sulby smith’s curragh’ BA (*currach ghabha Shulbaigh*).

Here (Mx.) Gaaue Hulby (w. len. in the dep. def. g. of the PN) is treated as a single unit, the first part of which is also subject to len. in a dep. def. g. relationship with preceding ‘curragh’.

### 7.11. Original fem. noun + orig. g.sg. of noun

Earylieau ‘mountain shieling’ GE (*áirghe shléibhe*).

Bwoaillee lieau ‘mountain fold’ PA (*buailidh shléibhe*).

Irish readers will be acquainted with the spelling *slew* for the early examples of the name exported to Scotland.

Leinee Cregie ‘rock meadow’ JU (*léanaidh creige*).

**7.12. Noun + y/yn + orig. masc. genitive singular**

Cronk y Voddy ‘hill of the churl’ GE, G. *cnoc an bhodaigh*, n/a *bodach*.

‘hill of the dog’ G. *cnoc a’ mhadaidh*, n/a *madadh*.

Cul y Vullee ‘behind the summit’ JU (*cúl an mhullaigh*), n/a *mullach*.

Here in orig. *o*-stems the g.sg. is formed by palatalisation of the final consonant.

Gob yn Ushtey ‘point of the water(fall)’ PA (*gob an uisce*).

With failure of lenition:

Gob E Glionney ‘mouth of the glen’ GE, Mx. *gob y g(h)lionney*, w. orig. /*y*/ delenited (and depalatalised) to /*g*/ (*gob a’ ghleanna*).

With orig. /*y*/ disappearing altogether (in a variant of the same name):

Lheney Gob e Lhenney ‘meadow by/at the mouth of the glen’ GE, Mx. *lheenney gob y g(h)lionney*

Normally initial *f* in Mx. in a dep. g. resists lenition, under which it would disappear.

Cronk y Freoaié ‘hill of the heather’ PA (*cnoc a’ fhraoich*).

However, it is occasionally found.

Cro ny ree ‘pen of/by the heather’ MI (*cró an fhraoich*).

(for *ny* for *yn*, cf. §7.13.1. below)

**7.12.1. Noun + y/yn + orig. masc. genitive singular + qual. adj.**

Croit y Voddee Vrick ‘croft of the speckled otter, mastiff’ AN (*croit a’ mhadaidh bhrice*).

Here we see not only g. inflection in the dependent substantive (i.e. len. of init. consonant after masc. g. def. art. and palat. of final consonant), but also in the qualifying adjective, i.e. G. n/a *breac*, g. *bhrice*.

This combination is rare even in PN.

**7.13. Noun + ny + orig. fem. genitive singular (+/- qualifier)**

Gob ny Beinney ‘point of the mountain’ PA (*gob na beinne*).

Close ny Haa ‘enclosure of the ford’ GE (*clós na h-átha*).

(Balley ny) Killey Brickey ‘(farm of) the speckled church’ LE (*baile na cille brice*) - Killabrega.

Cronk ny Bingagh ‘hill of the jury’ GE (*cnoc na binneach*).

Cronk ny Killagh ‘hill of the chapel’ GE (*cnoc na cilleach*).

Latter two w. “alternative” Mx. g. in *-agh* (G. *-ach*), i.e. treated as if a lenited velar stem. This treatment is usually meted out to nouns in *-r*, though not usually later than Phillips (ca.1610), e.g. (Mx.) *pooar* ‘power’, g. (Phillips) *poyragh*, but cf. 18th-cent. Biblical *magher* ‘field’, g. *magheragh*.

Close ny Chibbyragh ‘enclosure of the well’ BA, n/a form *chibbyr*, G. *tioba(i)r*.

Breggan Moar ne Boillee Mollee ‘big breggan of/at the top fold’ BA (*breacan mór na buailidh mullaigh*),

w. gen. infl. but no len. in the dep. g. qualifier *mullaigh*, n/a *mullach*. Here *mullach*, a noun, is used as an adj. to qualify a fem. noun in genit. position.

Garey ny Hary Biggy ‘garden of/by the little shieling’ LE (*gàradh na h-àiridh bige*),

w. inflection in the g.sg.fem. of the qual. adj. *beag* ‘little’.

### 7.13.1. “Abuse” of g. fem. sg. *ny* for g. masc. sg./*yn*

Cronk ny Fasney ‘hill of the winnowing’ GE (*cnoc an fhasgnaidh*).

Creg ny vraane ‘rock of the quern’ PA (*creag an bhróin*).

Mx. *fasney*, G. *fasgnadh* ‘act of winnowing’ (orig. *u*-stem) reflects *o*-stem declension and in the g.sg. after the def. art. lenition plus palatalisation of the final consonant, viz. G. *an fhasgnaidh*, Mx. *\*yn asnee*. However, verbal nouns in Mx. in *-ey* (G. *-adh*) giving *-ee* (G. *-(a)idh*) in g.sg. tend to employ that inflection in direct association with the noun (in n/a) they modify in nominal constructions, e.g. Mx. *dooinney-moyllee* ‘best man’ lit. ‘man of praising’ (*duine-molaidh*), otherwise no inflection takes place (cf. Broderick 1991: 76-77).

In addition, there is a tendency in Manx PN to replace *yn* with *ny*, as it was felt to “improve” the flow of the (phrasal) name and therefore more “authentic”. *ny* as a g.sg. fem. marker occasions no lenition in the following noun, and so the form *Cronk ny Fasney* (*cnoc na fasnadh*) would be felt to be in order. Also *Cronk yn Asney* would have suggested ‘...of the rib’, an additional motive for non-lenition. On the other hand *Cronk-fasnee* (like Eng. *Millinghill*) without article as quasi-adjective, might have been admissible.

Gob ny clieu ‘point of the mountain’ PA (*gob an tsléibhe*).

Note that G. g. sg. *tsl-* (*tl-* of EMx.) has become *cl-* in later Manx, e.g. G. *ar an t-sliabh* ‘on the mountain’, Mx. *er y clieau*.

#### 7.14. Plural noun

Chibbraghyn ‘wells’ BN (*tiobrachan*).

##### 7.14.1. Plural noun + qualifying noun in genitive

Bwoailtyn Killey ‘church folds’ BR (*buailtean cille*).

#### 7.15. Ny + plural noun

Ne Brewnyn ‘the banks’ BA (*na bruachan*).

For the double plural here, cf. §7.15.2. below.

Ny Cruinck ‘the hills’ LE (*na cnuic*).

##### 7.15.1. Ny + plural noun + qualifying adjective

(The) Brooinyn glassey ‘(the) green banks’ BA, (*brua(cha)nan glasa*),  
w. Eng. def. art. replacing orig. Mx. *ny*. But see above ex.

##### 7.15.2. Double plural

Brooinyn glassey ‘green banks’ BA (*brua(cha)nan glasa*).

Here Mx. *broogh* ‘bank’, G. *bruach*, has attracted the pl. suffix *-yn* twice, evidently as a form of reinforcement, viz. *broogh + yn + yn*, *bruach + an + an*, due to loss of medial /x/.

##### 7.15.3. Triple plural

Gloanteenyn Mynnéy, Mx. *glionteenyn mynney* ‘little glen’ BN, G. *gleann*,  
pl. *gleanntaidh + -an + -an*.

Here the older pl. form (Mx.) \**gliontee* (cf. OIr. *glennta*, ModIr. *gleannta*,  
ScG. *gleanntaidh*) has attracted to it the common pl. ending *-yn* (G.-*an*)  
twice, probably to ensure clarity.

**7.16. Noun + dependent plural noun**

Cronk Sharree ‘hill of foals/large boulders’ PA, G. *cnoc* + n/a. pl. *searraigh*, but genitive by position.

**7.17. Noun + *ny* + genitive plural**

Kerroo *ny glough* ‘quarterland of the stones, stony quarterland’ GE, (*ceathramh na gcloch*).

Glion *ny mreack* ‘glen of the trout’ PA (*gleann na mbreac*).

Creg *ny voillan* ‘rock of the seagulls’ PA (*creag na bhfaoileann*).

Ellan *ny maghal* ‘island of the crooks’ PA (*oileán na mbachall*).

Close *ny Dhunnag* ‘enclosure of the ducks’ BA (*clós na dtunag*).

Tollow *ne Garnane* ‘land of the little mounds’ BA (*talamh na gcarnán*).

In Mx. *ny* in the g. pl. occasions eclipsis (voicing of /p/, /t/, /k/, /f/, nasalisation of /b/, /d/, /g/) in the initial consonant of the following noun. Genitive plurals identical in form with the nominative singular, widespread in G, are only vestigial in Mx, almost entirely in PN.

**7.17.1. Noun + *ny* + genitive plural + adjective**

Magher *ny claghyn baney* ‘field of the white stones’ PA, BR (*machair na clachan bàna*).

Gob *ny Creggyn Glassey* ‘point of the grey rocks’ MÍ (*gob nan creagan glasa*).

When pl. nouns in the g. by position have a qualifying adjective no eclipsis takes place; i.e. the genitive relationship is syntactic, not inflectional. Without the qualifying adjective we would expect something like *magher ny glo(u)gh*, as in *Kerroo ny glough* GE above, or *gob ny greggyn*, though there are insufficient exx. to make this a general rule.

**7.17.2. “Reduction” of genitive plural *ny/nyn* to *y/yn***

In addition to the use of the Mx. g. pl. def. art, viz. *ny* (*nyn* before vocal anlaut, cf. above), we also find in place-names the reduced form *y* (*yn* before initial vowel).

Creg a ruddyn ‘rock of the seal’ PA, Mx. *creg ny raun* (*creag na rón*).

w. preocclusion (cf. §7.21. below).

Creg yn ean ‘rock of the birds’ PA, Mx. *creg nyn ean* (*creag na n-éan*).  
The two exx. above, however, could conceivably be g. sg. but this would suggest (a rock of) a particular seal or bird, rather than seals or birds in general, as would be implied by a genitive plural.

### 7.18. Noun + genitive of personal name

Keeill Pherick ‘Patrick’s Church (of the ridge)’ GE (*Cill Phádraig*).

Keeill Voirrey ‘(St.) Mary’s Church’ GE (*Cill Mhuire*).

Croit yoan E Corris ‘John Corris’s croft’ PA (*croit Eoghain ’c Mhuireasa*).

In OIr. the genitive of a personal name was treated like any other indefinite dependent genitive, i.e. as an adjective in the same position, and so was lenited after a fem. noun in n. sg, and after any singular noun in the dative. Lenition of g. masc. personal names may originate by analogy with personal names following the g.sg. of *mac* ‘son’, viz. G. *mhic*.

With failure of lenition (though fem. names in literary sources in Mx. are too rare for any definite conclusions to be drawn):

Keeill Moirrey ‘(St.) Mary’s Chapel’ GE.

Croit Sandy ‘Sandy/Alexander’s croft’ PA.

Creg Tim ‘Tim’s (fishing) rock’ PA.

Where it is felt that a personal name would in some way lose its “completeness” under lenition, i.e. initial /s/, /t/ > /h/ or /f/ >  $\emptyset$ , then absence of lenition can take place, though foreign names may well be exempt from lenition, as in Welsh. But cf.

Close Hom ‘Tom’s enclosure’ PA, AN (w. lenition).

Lenition may have taken place here, as Tom was felt not to be a “foreign” name, whereas Tim may have been.

### 7.19. Noun + g.sg. of orig. Ó Surname

Ballagarraghan ‘O Dorghan’s farm’ GE (*baile uí Dhorcháin*).

w. orig. *dh-* (/ʎ/) falsely delenited to /g/.

### 7.20. Noun + g.sg. of orig. Mac surname

Ballakaighin ‘Kaighin’s farm’ GE (*baile ’ic Eachainn*).

Mx. reflexes can show G. *mhic* + orig. lenited initial consonant in the following element, except in initial C or G due to homorganic inhibition:

Ballahimmin ‘Shimmin’s farm’ GE (*baile Shiomain*).

Ballacrebbin ‘Robin’s farm’ AN (*baile ’ic Raibin*).

Ballaleece ‘Leece’s farm’ GE (*baile ’ic Giolla Iosa*).

Ballacain ‘Cain’s farm’ PA (*baile ’ic Catháin*).

Ballacrye ‘Crye’ farm’ BA (*baile ’ic Craith*).

Bwoaillee Carney ‘Carney’s fold’ PA (*buailidh ’ic Cearnaigh*).

### 7.21. Preocclusion

In Manx original long syllables in stressed monosyllables or disyllables exhibiting final stress ending in (in many cases original fortis) /l/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ can in their articulation be accompanied by their corresponding preocclusive, viz. [dl], [bm], [dn], [gŋ] Mx. *shooyll* ‘walking’ [ʃu:l], [ʃu:dl]; *trome* ‘heavy’ [tro:m], [tro(:)bm]; *bane* ‘white’ [be:n], [be(:)dn]; *lhong* ‘ship’ [lɔŋ], [logŋ] (see HLSM/II s.v. *shooyll*, *trome*, *bane*, *lhong*; see also HLSM/III: 28-34). Preocclusion can lead to shortening of original long syllables. In place-names, so far as our evidence goes, preocclusion manifests itself as follows:

Creg a luggan \*[kɾegəˈlɔŋŋ] ‘rock of the ship’ PA, Mx. *creg y lhong* (*creag an long*)

Creg a ruddyn \*[kɾegəˈrɔdn] ‘rock of the seals’ PA, Mx. *creg ny raun* (*creag na rón*)

Mullagh Vedn [mɔlɛxˈvedn] ‘white summit’ PA, Mx. *mullagh vane* (*mullach bhán*).

### 7.22. Medial and final /sk/ in Ir/ScG. becoming /st/ in Manx;

#### 7.22.1. Palatalised variants

G. *uisce* ‘water’ -> Mx. *ushtey* /uʃtʰə/.

G. *réisg* ‘of moor, marsh’ > Mx. *reisht* /re:ʃtʰ/

### 7.22.2. Non-palatalised variants

G. *iascadh* ‘act of fishing’ -> Mx. *eeastagh* /jɪstax/.

G. *riasp* ‘waste’ -> Mx. *reeast* /ri:st/.

### 7.22.3. Final /g’/[g’, k’] in Ir/ScG. becoming /t’/, /t/ in Manx.

G. *easbuig* ‘bishop’ -> Mx. *aspick, اسپیت* [a(:)spit], [a(:)spit].

### 7.23. Centralising of stressed vowels in the environment of /r/ or r- clusters

In LMx. stressed short or long vowels, or stressed short vowels secondarily lengthened, can be realised as [ø] or [ø:] in the environment of /r/ or r- clusters (but also to a lesser extent in the environment of /t/, /b/, /d/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /s, s’/, /x/; cf. HLSM/III: 44-48), with or without loss of /r/.

Ballargey PA [bə’lɔ:gə] (*baile na leirge*).

Doarlish Ard PA [dɔ(:)lɪf’ɔ:d], cf. ScG. *doirling* + *ard*.

Faaie oam MR [fi:ø:n], [fi:ə:n] (*faiche eorna*).

## 8. Editorial policy

In the present volume minor adjustments in the generally accepted orthography for Manx PN have occasionally been made to reflect the provenance, etc. of a given name. Thus “Ballagarraghyn” GE of the OS maps is rendered here “Ballagarraghan”, with final *-an*, reflecting the original (Ir.) *Baile Uí Dhorcháin*, reduced in the Mx. reflex to /ən/ because unstressed. “Kerrow” (G. *ceathramh*) is rendered everywhere here as “kerroo” in accordance with standard Manx orthography, even though, especially on the Northside, local pronunciation may reflect /kero/, usually written “kerrow”. Treen names are given in their earliest, or near earliest attested form.

The format adopted for the place-name corpus in this volume is as follows, depending on the requirements of a given name:

- a) headname in bold print with any information on general location, or plot number if an Intack,
- b) forms of its pronunciation with attribution where attested,

## Introduction

- c) any Ordnance Survey grid reference; these can sometimes appear appended to d), usually in association with an ONB reference,
- d) any attested forms (with any accompanying descriptions or other relevant information) from documentary sources in chronological order. Names attested once only have that form in the headname,
- e) (on a separate line) any meaning, giving breakdown of elements with relevant language attribution where applicable, or standard versions of those Manx Gaelic names supplied in non-standard orthography,
- f) (on a separate line) any linguistic, or other, discussion,
- g) any associated Manx Gaelic field-names, with attested forms, meaning and standard versions where applicable; with plot numbers and map attribution where attested,
- h) list of any field names in English, with plot numbers, etc, where attested.

Early documentary forms cited in Kneen (1925-28) may not be shown here, particularly regarding LCB1643, since I personally have not come across them. I get the impression that some items have been attributed an earlier date as a matter of speculation from their appearance in LCB1704. In addition Kneen made frequent use of LCB1703. This in fact is an imperfect copy of LCB1704 made, according to MM records, ca.1760. For this reason I have not used it, except where the original 1704 version is not extant. A number of Kneen's forms are cited from the Diocesan Register (DR). This covers a multitude of possibilities, such that it has often not been possible to check the actual documents Kneen may have used. In such circumstances I have simply given the DR reference cited in brackets along with the relevant page in Kneen.

With regard to FN it must be pointed out that field-names are allocated to a particular quarterland, etc, according to the source quoted against it at the date given. This may or may not correspond with later or present-day situations.

Where possible Gaelic equivalents are given for those names in Manx Gaelic and Old Norse or English etyma for those thought to be of Scandinavian or English provenance. For the Gaelic names either the Irish or Scottish Gaelic form is given, whichever is felt to be nearer the Manx reflex, or both, or G. (Gaelic) when common to both. This is done merely to illustrate the Mx. position. The appearance of Gaelic equivalents does not mean that these necessarily

## Introduction

appear as place-name elements in Ireland or Scotland; Ir. *áirghe* 'shieling' (Mx. *eary*), for example, with the exception of one or two examples in Kerry, does not appear as a place-name generic in Ireland (cf. Joyce 1869-1913, Megaw, E. 1978, Fellows-Jensen 1980).

The abbreviation Mx. preceded by an asterisk, viz. \*Mx, means that one of the elements in the name, often the specific, whilst obviously Gaelic, has not survived in Manx in the literature and is not found in the dictionaries. The Gaelic (Ir. or ScG.) equivalent will indicate the lost element in Manx. Gaelic versions in brackets merely show the Mx. form in Gaelic dress, without suggesting an equivalent. However, the old nominatives *bwoailley* 'fold' (G. *buaile*), *lhargey* 'hillslope' (G. *learga*), and *lheenney* 'meadow' (G. *léana*), not appearing in the literature or dictionaries, have hitherto appeared in starred form, viz. \**bwoailley*, etc. Given that there are now enough cases where the spelling is open to interpretation as the old nom. for us to assume it persisted, the above shall henceforth appear non-starred.

Parts of a name in italics, e.g. *Close Mac AN*, indicate that the script is unclear and the reading only tentative.

A detailed linguistic introduction, together with full and comprehensive indexes will appear in the final volume.

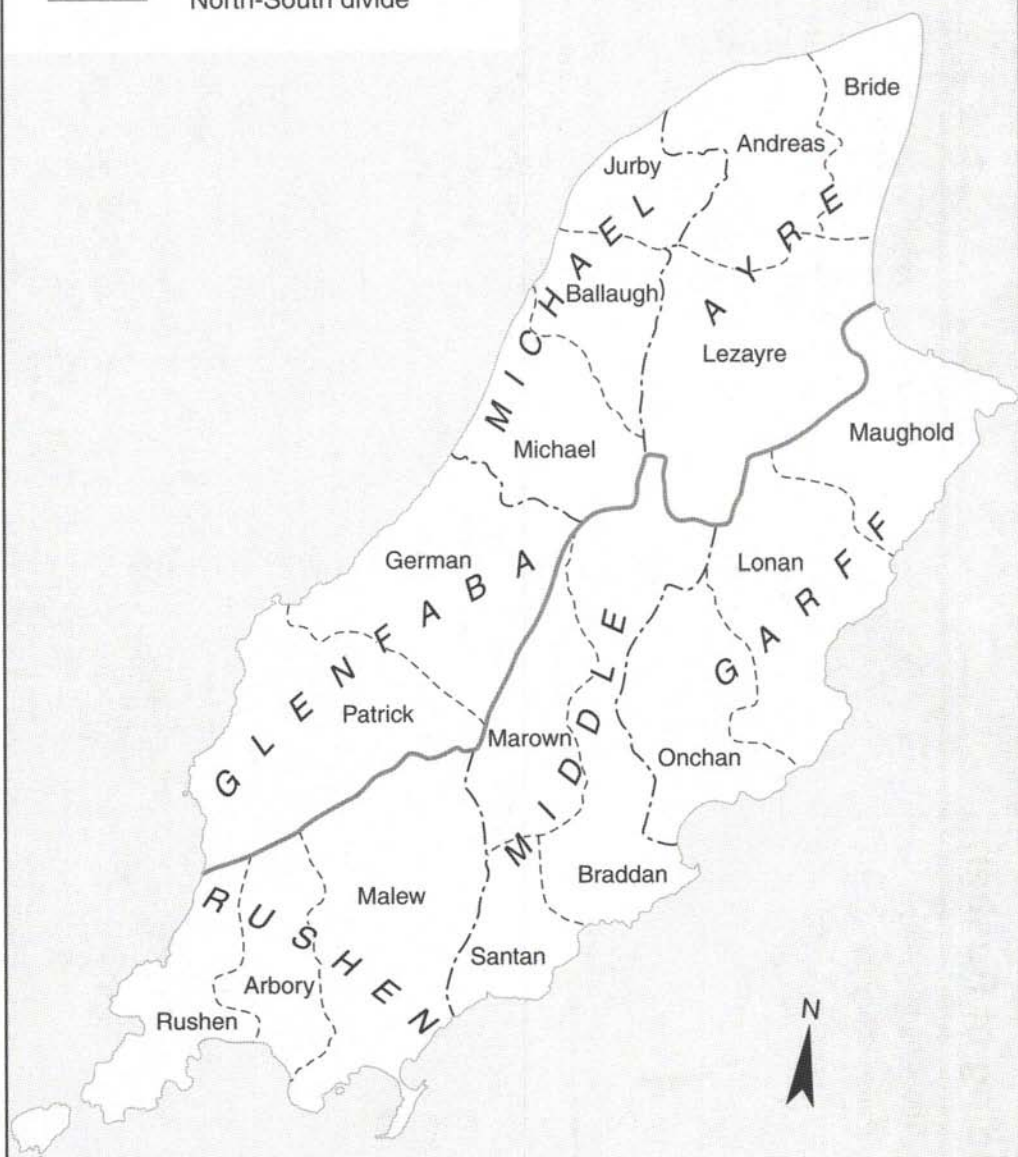
Whilst every effort has been made to be as complete as possible in assembling our place-name corpus, omissions will naturally occur. Omissions discovered or reported will be included in an Addendum in the final volume. Any mistakes that remain are my own.

G.B.

# Isle of Man

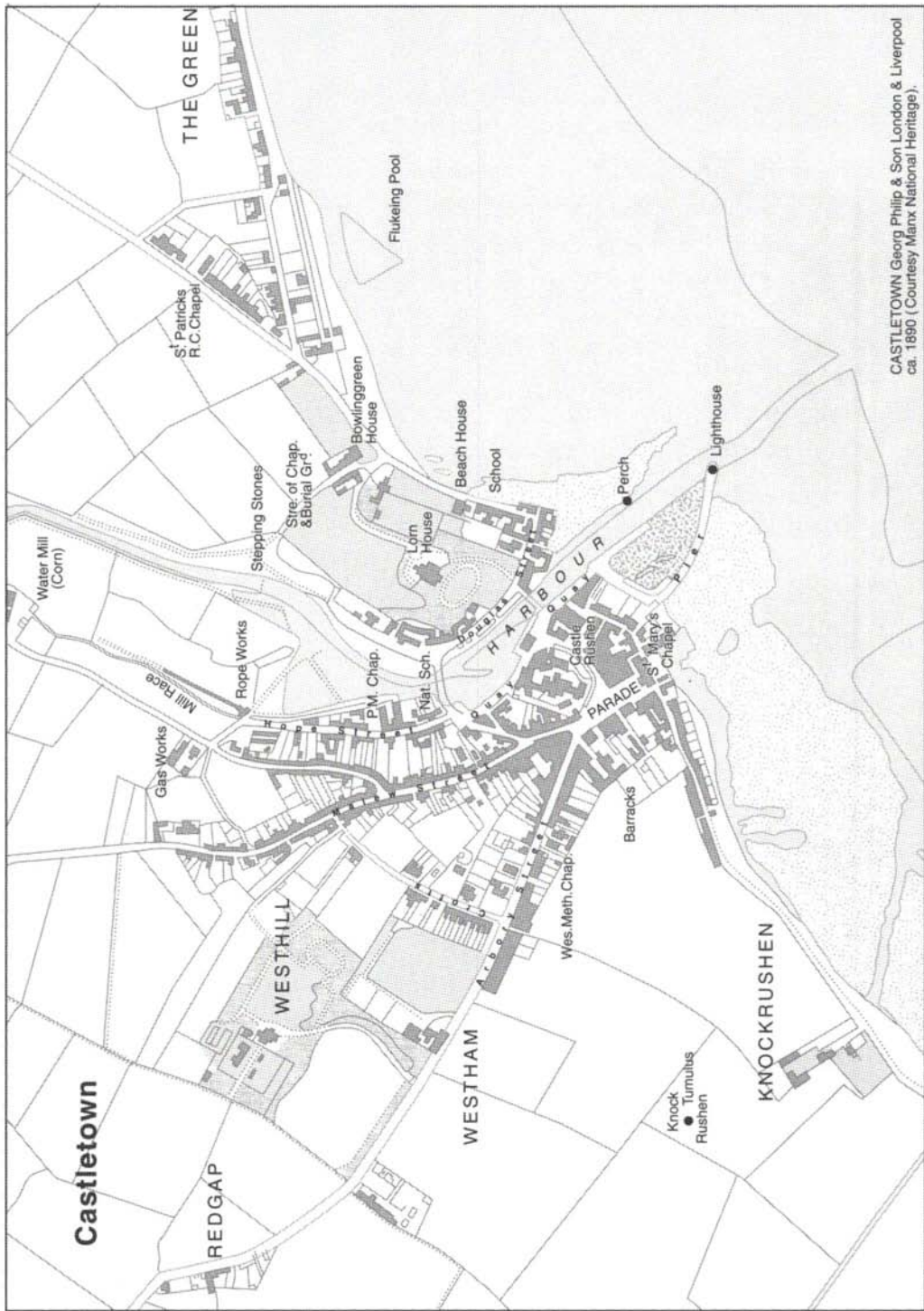
Administrative divisions before 1796

- Sheading boundary
- - - - - Parish boundary
- North-South divide



In 1796 Marown was transferred to Glenfaba and Onchan to Middle Sheading.





CASTLETOWN Georg Philip & Son London & Liverpool  
ca. 1890 (Courtesy Manx National Heritage).



# SHEADING OF RUSHEN

## Abbreviations and Bibliography

### Parishes

AN - Andreas, AR - Arbory, BA - Ballaugh, BN - Braddan, BR - Bride; GE - German, JU - Jurby, LE - Kirk Christ Lezayre, LO - Lonan, MA - Maughold, MI - Michael, ML - Malew, MR - Marown, ON - Onchan, PA - Patrick, RU - Kirk Christ Rushen, SA - Santan.

### Towns and villages

BS - Ballasalla, CO - Colby, CT - Castletown, DG - Douglas, DA - Dalby, FO - Foxdale, GO - Gordon, LA - Laxey, PE - Port Erin, PL - Peel, PSM - Port St. Mary, RY - Ramsey, StJ - St. John's, SU - Sulby.

### Primary and secondary sources and other abbreviations used

A - acre (12A = 12 acres); A R P - acre, rood, perch (land measurement).

AB - Abbeyland Bounds or *Limites* (attached to CM ca.1280); see Broderick 1979a, 1995.

AbCott. - Abbeyland Cottage/Croft.

AbD - Abbey Demesne (Kirk Malew).

AbF - Abbeyland Farm.

AbL/al - Abbeyland.

AbQL - Abbeyland Quarterland.

AbR - Abbey Rentals (1786-1911) MM.

AbTR - Abbeyland Treen.

ACB - Abbey Composition Book (1666 (part), 1704) MM. See also LM.

AD - Asylum Drawings (1830s; used as basis for Tithe Plans (TP)).

adj. - adjoining.

als - alias (*née*, otherwise).

AM - Archaeology Maps 6-inch (Manx Museum), with information entered on them by C (Wm Cubbon 1953), K (P M C Kermode 1956), S (Rev. E Savage 1957), DC (David Craine 1957), M (Basil Megaw 1957) taken from original recordings.

AMx. - Anglo-Manx. See also MxE.

angl. - anglicised.

## Sheading of Rushen

- AP - Atholl Papers MM. Relating to the Dukes of Atholl, Lords & Governors of Man 1736-1830.
- ApC - Appyn Charter. Grant of Appyn in Glenfaba 1376/77 to Brian de Stapleton. MM-Derby Papers 1400/3 (photograph in Gelling 1971).
- AR - Charles H Cowley's personal Archaeological Register (1900-43) MM (unaccessioned). Unpaginated.
- Arch/arch. - archaeological.
- AReg. - Archdiaconal Register MM.
- ASS - Andreas School Survey of Kirk Andreas field names, undertaken by Class 3 pupils, September 1968.
- AWM - A. W. Moore (qv).
- BA - Book of Armagh, cf. Gwynn 1937, Lapidge & Sharpe 1985: 103-05 (nos. 354-360).
- Ba. - Baptisms (by parish; cf. PR).
- BAC - British Admiralty Chart 1826 Irish Sea Eastern Part 1979.
- BAR - British Archaeological Reports.
- BB - Bishop's Barony.
- BBS - Barony of Bangor and Saul (Abbeyland); cf. Broderick 1981-82.
- BC - Diary of Bessie Cowley, Creggans, Tholt-y-Will LE 1919. Contains some field names; also notes in an older hand (?from her father) regarding tenants of the various holdings in the Sulby Glen area ca. 1856. Diary in private possession of Charles Guard, Onchan.
- BD - Brown's Isle of Man Directory... Douglas: Isle of Man Times 1881 (for 1882).
- Bd/bd - bounded by/boundary.
- Bdg(s)/bdg(s) - Building(s).
- bel. - below
- BGQS - Bawden, Garrad, Qualtrough, Scatchard 1972.
- BH - Bridge House Papers (Presentments 1661-1703) MM.MS.3997.
- BL - Bishop's Land.
- BR1M - Estate Plan of Ballakeigh BR nd [ca. 1800] MM.BR.1.M.
- BST - Barony of St. Trinian's (Kirk Marown).
- Bu. - Burials (by parish; cf. PR).
- BUPS - Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society.
- C - Cregeen's Manx-English Dictionary 1835 (repr. 1984).
- CB - Camden's *Britannia* 1586; cf. Camden 1586.
- CBFA - Coucher Book of Furness Abbey, cf. Atkinson 1887.

## Sheading of Rushen

- CC - Canon J. H. Cain, Rector of Bride, collection of Bride FN from Arthur Kewin BR (ca. 1941) given to Mr. Fred Joughin, Cronkbane BR, by Rev. Duckworth, Canon Cain's successor. Supplied to FLS in 1968. Another copy from Mr. Joughin's nephew Alan Kelly PL supplied to GB 16.11.1992.
- CC - Common Celtic.
- CD - Castletown Deeds (to 1846) MM.
- Cds. - Cul-de-sac.
- CFP1940 - Christian Family Papers MM.MS.9933. Containing FN for Ballakilmartin ON supplied 27.11.1940. The Christians were former owners of this farm.
- Ch. - Chaloner 1656 (qv) / church.
- CHC - Charles Henry Cowley PL (1874-1944; material in 7 notebooks 1923-43, made available to me via Mrs Pauline Oliver, Peel, 23.09.92 - 26.05.93). CHC/III: 24 would refer to p. 24 in Book 3 of C H Cowley's notebooks.
- CHR - Committee for Highways Reports for Glenfaba 29.04.1760, for Rushen 15.04.1765 (CHR appointed by "an Ordinance of the Tynwald Court" 04.08.1757).
- CIP1929 - Letter from Cyril I Paton to J J Kneen 22.03.1929. MM. J J Kneen Papers (unacc.)
- CJC - C. J. Callister, Foxdale. List of PN for Patrick compiled in the 1920s while CJC a schoolmaster in Dalby; photocopy supplied by his son C. W. Callister, Surrey, England, via Isle of Man Courier 03.01.1991.
- CL - Customary Law; cf. Gill 1883.
- Clad/clad - (in the) claddagh.
- cld - called.
- CM - Chronicles of Man (ca.1257-1377); cf. Broderick 1979a, 1995.
- CMx. - Classical Manx (18th cent.)
- Com. - Common lands, i.e. Mountain area.
- comp. - compounded for by ...
- compr. - comprising, comprised of.
- Conc/conc. - concerns(s).
- Cont. - Continental.
- Cott./cott. - Cottage.
- CPR - Calendar of Patent Rolls (England).
- Cr./cr. - Croft.

## Sheading of Rushen

- CRA - Computus of Rushen Abbey 1540-41. PRO SC6/HENVIII/5677 Augmentation Office. Particulars of the Possessions of Rushen Abbey from Michaelmas 1540 to Michaelmas 1541. In Latin.
- CREF - Charles Roeder (Gera/Manchester 1848-1911) Ms. Notebooks and Papers MM.MS. 9447. Contains PN of Kirk Christ Rushen and the Calf of Man received from Edward Faragher (1831-1908) of Cregneash 18 July 1898. PN in Faragher's hand; glosses and comments in Eng. in Roeder's hand.
- CRM - Charles Roeder, Manchester. Ms. collection of Manx place-names "collected 1898 by C. Roeder, M/C [Manchester], on the spot & in company with Edward Farquhar [Faragher] of Cregneish, near P. Erin, John Hudson, Ballafesson, Surby near P. Erin, Andrew Gale, Spaldrick Bay, Port Erin, with 2 Maps" MM.MS.MD412. Original in Manchester Public Library, Class No. F.929.4 R1.
- CRP - Castle Rushen Papers MM; CRP1627 cf. Cubbon 1930.
- CS - Census Records (1841-1891) MM.
- ct. - centred at/on (for OS grid references); see also n.ct.
- CTD - Castletown Deeds (to 1846) MM; CTDE (Easter), CTDH (Hilary), CTDM (Michaelmas), CTDT (Trinity).
- Cur/cur - (in the) Curragh.
- CV - Cleasby-Vigfusson's Icelandic-English Dictionary 1874 (repr. 1991).
- CWP - Charters to Whithorn Priory 1228-ca.1270 (original lost; copy of 1504) MM (PN quoted in Gelling 1970:134-135). MM.MS.242C/41; 993:56-57.
- D - Deed(s) (of Sale) (to 1848) MM (see below).
- DAF - Disafforestation Maps 1861 MM.O4/O5.
- DBS - Dictionary of British Surnames; see Hanks and Hodges 1988.
- DCr - David Craine 1955.
- De. - Deaths (by parish; cf. PR).
- DEMG - Diary of Edward Moore Gawne, Kentraugh RU 1836-37 MM.MS.5038B.
- Dh/dh - dwelling house.
- Di. - Dinneen's Irish-English Dictionary 1927 (repr. 1970).
- Dial/dial. - dialect(s).
- DIAS - Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- DIL - Dictionary of the Irish Language (Royal Irish Academy).
- dm - daymoth. The amount of land that can be ploughed by one man in a day.
- DoA - Duke of Atholl's lands.

## Sheading of Rushen

DR - Diocesan Register MM.

DTT - Diary of Thomas Taggart Junior, Kerrowkiel, Malew 1877 MM.MS.1498A. For FN on Ballagilbert ML.

Dw. - Dwelly's Scottish Gaelic-English Dictionary 1911 (repr. 1971).

E - East.

ED - Enrolled Deed (for each parish; separated from OD and other deeds).

EDD - English Dialect Dictionary.

EF - Enquest Files (1688-1916) MM. Contain details of boundary/land disputes between parties.

EFC1896 - Edward Faragher, Cregneash RU (1831-1908). Letter to Charles Roeder dated 14.08.1896 containing Cregneash field-names and Faragher's English translations of them MM.MS. 2146(3)A. Also contains annotations by Roeder.

EFC1899 - Edward Faragher, Cregneash RU. Stories and reminiscences; cf. Broderick 1981-82b.

EFC1901 - Edward Faragher, Cregneash RU. Letter to Charles Roeder dated 01.05.1898 containing names around Poyllvaish AR MM.MS.MD999/8524.

EHR - English Historical Review.

EI - Exchequer Inquest 2 Jacob I [an.1604]. Inquisition of the court of exchequer in Ireland taken at Downpatrick, August 10, 2nd year of the reign of James I, AD1604. Original inquisitions lost, but transcripts of some of the Ulster inquisitions exist in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. For Patrick.

EModE - Early Modern English.

EModIr - Early Modern Irish.

EMx. - Early Manx (17th cent.).

Encl./encl. - enclosure(s).

Eng - English.

Enl/enl. - enlargement to.

EP - Estate Plan(s) (18th/19th cent.) MM. Parish based.

EPNE - English Place-Name Elements; cf. Smith 1956(1987).

EPNS - English Place-Name Society volumes.

EPNSJ - English Place-Name Society Journal.

ER - Episcopal Register (by year) MM.

Es - Eastside (of).

Ext./ext. - extends, extending.

## Sheading of Rushen

f - for; formerly.

F/f(s) - field(s).

FB - Field Book(s) (of the Manx Museum Folklife Survey) MM. Parish based. See also FLS.

FCM - Flour Corn Mill.

FE - Fiants - Elizabeth. Calendar and index to the fiants of the reign of Elizabeth I, appendix to the 1st-13th, 15th-18th and 21st-22nd Reports of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records in Ireland (Dublin 1879-91, 1883-86, 1889-90). For Patrick.

FG - Fern Grass (i.e. in the Ayre)

FLS - Folklife Survey (Manx Museum). Numerals following name refer to FLS 25-inch maps containing fieldname material made by FLS personnel ca. 1940s-70s. See also FB.

Fm/fm - Farm.

Fmhs/fmhs - farmhouse.

Fmstd/fmstd - Farmstead.

FN - Field Name(s).

fp - formal pronunciation (based on orthographic form).

FR - Fred Radcliffe, Onchan.

Fr - French.

Fs/fs - fields.

G - Gaelic.

g/gen. - genitive.

Gaz - The Isle of Man Weekly Gazette and General Advertiser (1812-1822). Newspaper.

GB - George Broderick.

Gb/gb - Group of buildings.

Gdn/gdn - garden.

GEM - Glossary of Early Manx; cf. Thomson 1954-57.

Ger/Germ. - German.

GFJ - Gillian Fellows-Jensen, qv.

Gi - W. W. Gill 1929 & 1963, qv.

GIR - Garrison Inquest Roll 1428 MM.

GL - Glebe Land.

GPC - Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru 1950- .

GRO - General Registry Office, Douglas.

HA - Highway Accounts MM.

HB - Hinton Bird [1991] & 1995.

## Sheading of Rushen

HE - Hiberno-English.

h/g. - house and garden.

HLSM - Handbook of Late Spoken Manx; cf. Broderick 1984-86.

HQL - Half Quarterland.

HR - Highroad.

Hs/hs - House.

HW - Highway.

IDB - Illiam Dhône Ballad (written 1663-1716; A = Ms. A (ca.1770)). See Broderick 1981c.

See next.

IDD - Illiam Dhône Depositions . Made at Peel Castle & Castle Rushen 1662 relating to the 'Rising' in Man in 1651 led by William Christian (Illiam Dhône). Printed in Harrison 1877. Christian was executed for 'treason' 02.01.1662/3.

IFC - Irish Folklore Commission (sound recordings 1948).

IMD/imD - in manu Domini (i.e. in possession of the Lord of Man).

IME - Isle of Man Examiner (1880- ). MM. Newspaper.

IMGAC - Isle of Man General Advertising Circular (1849-1861). MM. Newspaper.

IMT - Isle of Man Times (1861-1900). MM. Newspaper.

Int. - Intack (enclosed area).

IOMNHAS - Isle of Man Natural History & Antiquarian Society (Proc.).

Ir. - Irish.

Ital. - Italian.

JCC - Juan Crellin, St. Jude's AN.

JF - John Feltham; cf. Feltham 1798.

JFC - Freddie Cowle, Ramsey.

JH - John Hudson, Ballafesson RU; letter to Charles Roeder nd. (received 13.10.1898)  
MM.MS. 9447. Contains a number of place- and coastal-names mainly in Rushen.

JJK - J. J. Kneen 1925-28.

JJKP - J. J. Kneen 1937.

JMM - Journal of the Manx Museum.

JN - Mrs. Janet Narasimham, Baldrine LO.

JR - Jim Roscow, Douglas.

JT - Joseph Train 1845 (qv).

JWR - J. W. Radcliffe 1945 (qv).

K - Kelly's Manx-English/English-Manx Dictionary 1866 (Manx-English section repr. 1977).

## Sheading of Rushen

KK - Kirk (+ parish name).

KN - Knockaloe (Dept. of Agriculture) Soil Analysis Returns (1973-1991; for FN) at Knockaloe Moor PA.

L/Lat. - Latin.

L1799 - Lease dated 11.02.1799 (for FN) MM.MS.978C.

LA - Libri Assedationis (Setting Books) (1506-1911 (Southside), 1515-1911 (Northside)).  
MM. Rent rolls containing the names of all landowners (grouped under their respective Treens) and their rents paid.

LBS - Libri Bangor & Sabal (1585-1916). MM. Setting books for the Barony of Bangor and Saul.

LBSM - Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man.

LC - Libri Cancellarii (Chancery Books) (1600-ca.1704) MM. Contain actions, decrees (including records of sales and other contracts) of the Chancery Court.

LCB - Lord's Composition Book(s) (1610-1704; 1735 Intacks only) MM. LCB for 1704 describes each particular tenement and records the fines (rents) paid at the Act of Settlement (1704; cf. Gill, J F 1883:160-175).

ld(s) - land(s) of.

LEP - Libri Episcopi (Bishop's Books) (1580-1922) MM. Mainly for Bishop's Barony Lands in Jurby, Braddan, Marown, German, Patrick, Bride, and Arbory.

LG - Dr. Larch Garrad, Manx Museum.

LL - Lord's Land.

LM - Libri Monasteriorum (Abbey Books) (1607-1916) contain the rentals for the abbeys and baronies. See also ACB.

LMA - List of Manx Antiquities; cf. Kermodé 1930.

LMx. - Late Manx (19th/20th cent.)

ln - lost name.

loc/dat - locative/dative.

lp - local pronunciation (of majority of informants interviewed for a given name).

LPlit. - Libri Placitorum (Books of Common Pleas) (1496-1799) MM, (1800-1901) GRO.  
Contain actions in that court, plus the names of its officers, juries, enquests, etc.

LR - Lord's Rent.

LS - Libri Scaccarii (Exchequer Books) (1580-1916) MM. Contain judgments on breaches of the law, appeals from the Spiritual Court, etc.

LSS - Linguistic Survey of Scotland (sound-recordings).

## Sheading of Rushen

LV - Libri Vastarum (Wast Books) (1511-1916) MM. Contain the admissions, entries, and titles of landowners and the alienation fines and rents paid by them.

lw - loanword.

M - Deed of Mortgage (to 1847) MM.

M/C - Map of the Isle of Man: Greenville Collins 1693 (survey made 1689) MM.pXX.41.M.

M/D - Map of the Isle of Man: Thomas Durham 1595 (John Speed 1605 MM.pXX.12.M; John Speed 1610 MM.pXX.1.M).

M/Dr - Map of the Isle of Man: John Drinkwater 1826 MM.pXX.8.L.

M/F - Map of the Isle of Man: Peter Fannin 1789 MM.pXX.2.L.

M/JC - John Corris's Map of Peel, 1784. MM.pPE.10.S.

M/M - Map of the Isle of Man: Gerhard Mercator 1564. MM.pXB.14.S.

M/Ph - Map of Peel: Philip's New Map of the Isle of Man from the Ordnance Survey (1870) 1873/74. MM.O/14.P2754.

M/S - Map of the Isle of Man: Christopher Saxton 1583. MM.pXX.119.S.

MA - Monasticon Anglicorum (quoted in Kneen 1925-28).

Ma. - Marriages (by parish; cf. PR).

MAdv. - The Manks Advertiser (1801-1842) MM. Newspaper.

MAS - Manx Archaeological Survey (6 Reports); cf. Kermode & Bruce.

MB - Manannan (or Traditionary) Ballad. MB/K: John Kelly's version (56st.) MM.MS.5072C (ca.1770); MB/Ke: John Kewley's version (35st.) MM.MS.519A (Bridge House Coll.) (ca.1770). Internal linguistic evidence indicates ca.1500 as a date of (oral) composition; cf. Thomson 1960-62.

MCC - Manx Calendar Customs; cf. Paton 1939.

Md/md - meadow.

MD900 - MM.MS.MD900 (ca.1830-40) containing a version (p.47 & 53) of the Manx trad. songs *Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* (cf. Broderick 1984a) and *Berrey Dhone* (cf. Broderick 1984b).

ME - Middle English.

MedL - Mediaeval Latin.

MER - Manx Electric Railway (tramway).

MG. - Margaret Gelling 1970 & 1971.

MH - Mona's Herald (1833-1975). Newspaper.

MHR - Main Highroad.

MHW - Main Highway.

Mi - Mill.

## Sheading of Rushen

MIr. - Middle Irish.

ML - Manx Liberal (1836-1850). Newspaper.

MM - Manx Museum Library/Archive.

MMerc. - The Manks Mercury and Briscoe's Douglas Advertiser (1793-?1801). Newspaper.

MMG - Moore, Morrison and Goodwin 1924.

MNCT - Manx Nature Conservation Trust.

ModE - Modern English.

ModIr. - Modern Irish.

MPat. - Manx Patriot (1824-1826) MM. Newspaper.

MPNS - Manx Place-Name Survey.

MS - Manx Sun (1826-1906) MM. Newspaper.

MStr. - Main Street.

MTI - Middle Third Intack (Lezayre).

Mtn/mtn - Mountain (i.e. above the cultivated land).

MTT - Manx Tape Transcriptions (made 1979-80 by GB for HLSM) MM.

MU - Muster roll for Peel Castle 30.07.1660; cf. Sargeant (1947:10).

MUIL - Estate Plan nd [ca. 1880] of Baldromma MA.

MU1S - Estate Plan nd. [ca. 1860] of Maughold Glebe MA. FN written in later.

MU2M - Estate Plan nd [ca. 1770] of Cloughbane MA.

MVV - Mannin Veg Veen. Traditional Manx Gaelic song 'Received from Harry Quilliam of Peel, Dec. 15th 1868. To the tune of 'Barbary Allen''. MM.MS unaccessioned. In hand of Rev. J T Clarke in preparation for printing in *Mona Miscellany* (Manx. Soc. XXI, 1873), 14 qu.

MWIS - Dean Monro's 'Description' of his journey through the Hebrides, starting from Man 1549; cf. Munro 1961.

Mx - Manx.

MxE - Manx English. See also AMx.

N - North.

n/a - nominative/accusative.

NBHR - Ned Beg Hom Ruy (Edward Faragher, Cregneash); see under EFC.

n/c - not compounded for.

n.ct. - name centred at/on (for OS grid references); see also ct.

nd - no date.

NED - New English Dictionary.

## Sheading of Rushen

NEng. - Northern English.

NFr. - Norman French.

NIr. - Northern Irish.

nn - nickname.

Norw. - Norwegian.

NQ - Notes and Queries; cf. below.

NQL - Nicholson's Quarterland (i.e. QL-Ramsey).

Ns - North side (of).

NSS - Northside Sales.

NTS - Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap; cf. Marstrander 1932, 1934, 1937.

NX; see under SC.

ob - outbuilding(s).

OBr. - Old British.

obsol. - obsolete.

OD - Old Deed(s) MM; cf. below.

ODan. - Old Danish.

OE - Old English.

OFr. - Old French.

Og. - Ogam.

OHR/OHW - Old Highroad/Old Highway.

OIr. - Old Irish.

ON - Old Norse.

ONB - Object Name Books (Ordnance Survey 1955/57), at Dept. of Local Government & the Environment.

OS - Ordnance Survey.

OS/A - Ordnance Survey (Archaeological Field Notes 1955/56) MM.MIC30.

OT - Oral Tradition.

OW - Old Welsh.

P - William F. Peacock's printed version of *Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* 1863, cf. Peacock 1863 & Broderick 1984a.

PB - 'Papal Bull of 1231'; cf. Moore 1890a, Poole 1911. Probably written after ca.1360; cf. Megaw, B. R. S. (1978: 295). Photograph in MM.

PCG - Peel City Guardian (1882- ). MM. Newspaper.

Pcl/pcl - parcel of land (part of an estate).

## Sheading of Rushen

PE - Pennant, cf. Thos. Pennant 1774.

pers.n. - personal name(s).

Phillips - Manx Book of Common Prayer; cf. Moore & Rhys 1893/94.

PMCK - P. M. C. Kermode.

PN - place-name(s).

PNIM - Place-Names of the Isle of Man (Vols. 1- ).

PNNI - Place-Names of Northern Ireland (Vols. 1-).

PPB - Perambulation of the Parish Boundary (of Andreas) 1706. MM.

PR - Parish Records (Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, qv.).

pr.n. - proper name(s).

Prem/prem - premises (lands and/or buildings).

PRO - Public Record Office, Kew, Richmond, Surrey UK.

pron. - pronounced.

Pt. - Particles (lands appropriated for the support of scholars, cf. Moore 1900/I: 345-46).

PubRd. - Public Road.

PV - Parochial Visitations 1757. MM.MS.791(1164)C. For Glebe Land FN.

QL/ql. - Quarterland.

QLRd/qr - quarterland road.

R - River.

r. - rectius.

RA - (land to) Rushen Abbey (Kirk Malew).

RC- Ramsey Courier and Northern Advertiser 1884-. Newspaper. Now called The Courier.

Rd - Road.

refl. - reflex(es).

res. - residence.

Rh. - Row of houses.

RIP - R. I. Page; see Page 1983.

RLT - Robert L Thomson.

RMSRS - Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum 1306-1424 (Edinburgh 1912); quoted in MG1971.

Rnh. - Row of numbered houses.

RPh - (informant) recorded in phonetic script.

RPSB - Register of the Priory of St. Bees, cf. Wilson 1915.

RS - Rune-stones; see Page 1983.

## Sheading of Rushen

- RT - Richard Townley 1791 (qv).
- Rtl/rtl. - rental, rented piece of land.
- RW - The Calf of Mann surveyed by Richard Wilson Philomath 1771. Atholl Papers Estate Plan MM.MS.AP M 48.
- S - South.
- Sc. - Scandinavian.
- SC/NX - Ordnance Survey Grid Reference System. References here are to the OS 6-inch series (1975).
- ScG. - Scottish Gaelic.
- Scot. - Scottish.
- SCR - Sheading Court Roll 1417/18 MM.
- SHR - Scottish Historical Review.
- SI - Sulby Intack (*Lezayre*).
- SOED - The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary 1973. Repr. 1993. 2 vols.
- Ss - Southside (of).
- SSS - Southside Sales.
- ST - Statutes, cf. Gill 1883.
- st. - stanza.
- TBB - Third Beneath the Burn (*Lezayre* Intacks).
- TCD - Thurot Cottage Diary, written up by William Sayle 1809; see Crellin 1965.
- TE - Thurot as Elliott. Song in Mx. 21 quatrains composed ca. 1860 by Rev. J. T. Clarke, Chaplain of St. Mark's ML, MM.MS unacc. for Harrison (1873: 66-72), based on an original shorter text apparently written at the time of the battle (1760). Clarke's expanded text indebted to the ballad 'Thurot's Dream' (cf. Harrison (1873: 73ff.)); also two broadsides of text nd.[ca. 1875] MM.J8.2X and an ms. version made by Robert Christian, Balldromma [LE], in 1890 MM.MS.443A: 213ff.
- TK - Teddy Kermod, Kirk Michael MI.
- TLP - Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, cf. Lapidge & Sharpe 1985: 107 (nos. 365-368).
- TP - Tithe Plans (General Registry). Used by Woods 1867 in the compilation of his *Atlas*; cf. next.
- TR - Treen.
- TS - Tom Shimmin ('Tom the Dipper') (1800-1879); cf. Broderick (1982: 22-24), Wright 1997.
- vbn/vn. - verbal noun.

## Sheading of Rushen

VEPN - Vocabulary of English Place-Names, qv.

VGM - V[icar] G[eneral] Moore's Note Book re Tithes. MM.MS.276A (A. W. Moore Collection) (1727-1732).

W - Welsh; West.

WA - Woods' *Atlas*, qv.

WB - William Blundell 1648-56, qv.

WCa - William Cashen; place-name notes in *Mannin*, pp. 281-82.

WCM - Water Corn Mill.

WCR - William and Constance Radcliffe 1978 & 1983 (qv).

Wh. - Warehouse.

whq - west half-quarter(land).

WPB - Walking the Parish Boundary (of German) 1882; cf. CHC Book 5.

WS - William Sacheverell 1702, qv.

Ws - Westside (of).

YLM - Yn Lioar Manninagh.

ZCP - *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*.

### Notes

The earliest Deeds of Sale, so far as we have them, were recorded in Libri Cancellarii (LC).

For Malew 1595-1704, Arbory 1631-1704, Rushen 1645-1698. Then comes a set of Old Deeds (OD). There is a certain amount of overlap till 1723. Some material also is appended in the LC index from Libri Vastarum (LV).

In some cases with the Old Deeds, recording (in the Chancery Court for the district) may take place at various times of the year (cf. Moore 1900/II: 750). The abbreviations for the various months are: Ja - January, F - February, Ma - March, A - April, M - May, Jn - June, Ju - July, Au - August, S - September, O - October, N - November, D - December.

As from May 1723 for Malew & Arbory and October 1723 for Rushen, Deeds of Sale were recorded twice yearly only, May and October, till Oct. 1847, thereafter monthly. Mortgages are similarly arranged. So, for example:

OD(57)1721 = Old Deed of Sale no. 57, recorded in 1721.

1782DM1787(5) = Deed of Sale no. 5, drawn up 1782, recorded May 1787. The archive reference would be (the parish name (NSS or SSS) + May / October 1787 No. 5.

1803DO1804(2) = Deed of Sale no. 2 drawn up 1803, recorded October 1804. The archive number would be (the parish name (NSS or SSS) + DO1804(2).

## Sheading of Rushen

1859SSS1860(20) = Southside Sale deed no. 20 drawn up in 1859 (and therefore after 1847 recorded monthly), recorded in 1860.

1842MM1842(53) = Mortgage no. 53, drawn up 1842, recorded in May 1842.

1821MO1842(17) = Mortgage no. 17, drawn up 1821, recorded October 1842.

However, 1824DM1820(20), for instance, would mean that material has been extracted from a document dated 1824 appended to or included within DM1820(20).

Deeds from another parish may sometimes be included. In such cases the parish designation appears first. So LO1820DM1825(30) would mean Lonan deed no. 30, drawn up 1820, recorded 1825.

The Castletown Deeds were recorded in 4 'terms', viz. E (Easter), H (Hilary), M (Michaelmas), T (Trinity), so 1798CTDH1799(12) = Castletown Deed no. 12 drawn up 1798, recorded in Hilary 'term' 1799.

LA1728(1730) refers to new Intack(s), or additional PN associated with new Intacks, entered as an appendage to LA for 1728 in the year indicated in brackets, etc. As with the deeds LA references from another parish may sometimes be included. So MALA1725 would refer to Maughold LA for 1725.

LC1649/120 refers to Liber Cancellarii for the year 1649, deed no./page 120.

In some cases some deeds were kept separate for various reasons (e.g. excessively long) from the general pile. These are categorised as Enrolled Deeds (ED) and are bound in paginated book form on a parish basis. Thus ED1840/138 would refer to Enrolled Deed dated [day, month] 1840, page 138, in the respective parish book(s). ED1809[2a] would refer to the Enrolled Deed on unpaginated 2a. Enrolled Deeds used from other parishes have that parish designation preceding, so ARED1813/7 would refer to Enrolled Deed from Arbery dated 1813, page 7.

Int.130 would refer to the Intack of that number in LA, noted in WA.

From LA1709 Intacks are usually enumerated, some being grouped under the same number. Between ca. 1720 and 1797 the enumeration may vary to accommodate additional Intack land taken in during that period. By 1783, but certainly by 1797, the enumeration had become fixed. The enumeration system used here is therefore that of LA1797.

WA/96 would refer to the plot of that number, etc, in Woods' *Atlas* 1867. WA/242T would refer to plot 242, etc, in WA and on the respective Tithe Plan.

Numbers in brackets after field names refer to the OS 25-Inch (1869) Series (Isle of Man).

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