much valuable information.   For more details see my papers in <u>Liber Amicorum Weijnen</u> (forthcoming: Assen 1979) and in <u>Us Wurk</u> 1979 (Frisian Institute, University of Groningen).

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PROLEGOMENA TO THE STUDY OF SURNAMES IN IRELAND

This paper is based on that given orally under the title 'Surnames in the North of Ireland' at the Names Conference held in Nottingham in April 1979 but differs from it in two ways.   Firstly, that portion which dealt with the surname Survey being carried out for the eleven counties in the north of Ireland - the six counties of Northern Ireland and the five contiguous counties immediately beyond it in the northern part of the Republic of Ireland - has been considerably truncated since it formed the subject of my report, 'The Progress of Name Studies in the North of Ireland', in vol. 1, part 1, of NOMINA, and many of the maps shown on slides had already been published in the second volume of the proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences held at Vienna in 1969. Secondly, the portion dealing with the types of surnames that one finds in Ulster, and in Ireland generally, has here been expanded and systematized to produce a parallel survey to my paper on Irish placenames published in vol. 2 of NOMINA.

Ireland, together with the parts of Scotland that fell within the ambit of Irish cultural expansion in the Middle Ages, has two separate and originally independent systems of surnames, one of native origin and growth dating from the 10th century, almost exclusively genealogical in type and based on an earlier system of sept names, the other ultimately of continental origin imported via southern Britain from the 13th century onwards.   The West European surname system arose in the 11th century in northern Italy, a region which was politically and economically rather more advanced than the rest of western Europe at that time and where the need for something more than the simple personal name was first felt. The practice of using hereditary fixed surnames spread thence through France to England, and along this baseline through western Europe surnames of this type became general during the 13th and 14th centuries.   The process was delayed in areas more remote from this baseline and in some outlying parts of western Europe was not fully established even at the beginning of the present century.   In this West European surname system surnames are of four types:

1. Geographical, denoting the locality of origin or residence of the original name-bearer;

2. Genealogical, denoting usually the paternity of the original name-bearer;

3. Occupational, denoting the occupation of the original name-bearer;

4. Descriptive, denoting by a nickname some feature of the original name-bearer's appearance or character.

It has been said that in the English branch of the West European system the above four categories are represented approximately in the proportions of 40, 30, 20 and 10 per cent respectively.   In the Irish surname system, by contrast, surnames of geographical type, particularly those based on place-names, are almost entirely absent, while the rest are entirely genealogical in form even where occupational and descriptive notions enter into their derivation.

In the present century a small number of Indian and Chinese surnames have established themselves in the country.   Indian names augment those

of the West European system as an extraneous element.   Chinese surnames are monosyllabic and are exceptional in that they precede the personal name instead of following it as in the other systems.

The subject of surnames in Ireland will be dealt with here under the following headings:

1. Relation of Surnames to Irish Ethnic History;

2. Languages of Origin of Surnames in Ireland;

3. Typology of Surnames in the Irish System;

4. Anglicization of Surnames in the Irish System;

5. Gaelicization of Imported Surnames;

6. Records of and Research on Surnames in Ireland.

1.   RELATION OF SURNAMES TO IRISH ETHNIC HISTORY

The population of Ireland is derived from (1) the Old Irish who were already in the country before recorded history begins and among whom the Irish surname system arose, and (2) the New Irish who entered the country in a series of invasions and colonizing settlements mainly during the nine centuries between 800 and 1700, with smaller accretions since the latter date, and who blended in various degrees with one another and with the older population.   This distinction, however, does not correspond exactly with the distribution of surnames belonging to the Irish and West European systems for two reasons: firstly because many of the incomers who originated in the northern parts of Britain which lay within the ambit of Irish cultural expansion in the early Middle Ages bore surnames of Irish type while several groups of incomers, whatever their origin, took names of Irish type after they settled in the country, and secondly because some sections of the older population, for one reason or another, acquired surnames of West European type.

1.1 The Old Irish population derived from a blend of Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age peoples, of whom only the Iron Age Celts are known by name and by their language which became the Irish language of historical times.   In the process of conquering the country four groups of Celts emerged, differing slightly in origin according to the date of their arrival and the route by which they came, and probably in the degree in which they merged with the earlier population.   These were:

1.11 The Builg, also known as Fir Bolg 'men of the Builg', whose name is evidently cognate with the continental Belgae.   They may have been the earliest group to arrive and were the most widely distributed, being found in all provinces.   The small tuath-states which they formed were almost all tributary to other peoples except for the Osraighe (the diocese of Ossory), a strong buffer state between Leinster and Munster, and some small groups lying along the eastern seaboard.   In Munster, where they were known collectively as the Érainn, they included the Déise in Waterford, the Uí Liatháin and Corca Laoighdhe in Cork, the Corca Dhuibhne and Ciarraighe in Kerry, the Corca Bhaiscinn and Corca Mruadh in Clare, the Uaithne and Ara in Tipperary, and the Muscraighe in

Tipperary and Cork.   In the three central provinces they were more generally displaced by later peoples but included the Ciarraighe, Dál nDruithne and Fir Craoibhe in central and south Connaught, the Dealbhna in Connaught and Meath, the Cuircne, Uí Beccon, Déise, Dál gCéin and Saithne in Meath, and the Cualu, Uí Bairrche, Uí Buidhe, Forthuatha and Beanntraighe, besides the Osraighe in Leinster.   In Ulster, where they were collectively known as the Ulaidh, from whom this province takes its name, they were again numerous and included the Fir Manach, Fir Luirg, Uí Fiachrach Arda Sratha, Uí Creamhthainn, Uí Meith, Cianacht, Uí Tuirtre, Uí Nialláin, Uí Eachach, Dartraighe, Mughdhorn, Uí Dortain, Boirche, Dál bhFiatach and Dál Riada, the last of whom expanded across the sea from north Antrim to Argyll.

1.12 The Cruithin, who evidently crossed the North Channel from Britain. Their name is cognate with Welsh Prydyn, applied to the population of what is now northern Scotland, the Picts of late Roman times, and with Prydain, the Welsh name for Britain, these being the Celtic forms underlying Ptolemy's Pretanoi.   They include the Dál nAraidhe of Antrim and Down, the Fir Lí of north-east Derry, the Conaille of north Louth, the Laoighse whose name is represented by Cp. Leix, the Fothairt represented by the baronies of Forth in Carlow and Wexford, and the Soghain, a tributary people in the kingdom of Uí Máine, roughly the diocese of Clonfert in east Galway.

1.13 The Laighin, the dominant people of Leinster which is derived from their name, together with various tributary groups in the other provinces such as the Domhnainn in north Mayo (cognate with the Dumnonii of Devon and Strathclyde), the Gailing or Gáilióin in Meath and Connaught, the Luighne in Sligo, the Conmaicne, Partraighe, Gabhraighe and Cattraighe, all in Galway, and the Éile in Tipperary.   These were tributary peoples; the free Laighin of Leinster were the Uí Failghe of east Offaly and west Kildare, Uí Faoláin of north Kildare and Uí Muireadhaigh of south Kildare, Uí Ceinnsealaigh and Uí Feilimeadha Theas of Wexford, and Uí Dróna and Uí Feilimeadha Thuaidh of Carlow.

1.14 The Goidhil, dominant people in the provinces of Meath, Connaught, Munster and at first the western part of Ulster whence they spread eastwards during the Middle Ages, reducing the surrounding peoples to tributary status, so that their name in its later form Gaedhil - now Gaeil - eventually came to be accepted as the general name for the Irish as a whole.   In Munster they were represented by the Eoghanacht centered on Cashel whence they spread out establishing various free sub-kingdoms, such as Dál gCais in Clare and Uí Fidhgheinte in Limerick, among the tributary Érainn who were of Builg descent.   The northern Goidhil were known collectively as the Dál Cuinn and included the Fir Teathbha, Fir Ceall and Clann Colmainn in Meath, the Síol Muireadhaigh, Cinéal nAodha, Uí Briúin, Uí Máine and Uí Fiachrach in Connaught, and the Cinéal Chonaill and Cinéal Eoghain in Ulster.

1.2 The four great groups and some of their major divisions derive from the invasion period in the early Iron Age; the principal lesser groups derive from late pagan times; within these again there were various septs, some of which arose in early Christian times.   The earliest tribal names are plural words ending in a slender consonant (preceded by i) or in -i (later -e) and correspond to the plural tribal names recorded by the Romans in Gaul and Britain.   A middle group of tribal and sept names are formed with the suffixes -ne or -na, -raighe, -acht.   The later sept names are formed by prefixing a word meaning 'descendants', 'seed', 'division', 'progeny', 'people' to the name of an ancestor who might be mythical in pagan times or real in later Christian times.   Such prefixes are Cinéal (kindred), Clann (descendants), Corca (progeny), Dál (tribe), Muintear (people), Síol (seed),

Sliocht (progeny), Teallach (family), Uí (grandsons, descendants), and the word that follows will be in the genitive case. The last word, Uí 'grandson', is the plural of Ó which was later used as a prefix in the formation of the earliest type of surname formed from the 10th century onwards. Names with the prefix Uí can be either sept names formed during the early Christian period or the plural of family names formed later, and thus what appears to be the same plural name may refer to quite different groups of people in different parts of the country.

1.3 Many of the early population names survive today, in some cases as the names of provinces or counties, more often as the names of baronies and parishes, as explained in section 8 of 'Prolegomena to the Study of Irish Placenames' in NOMINA, volume 2. In pagan times and down to the end of the 7th century the relationship of an individual to his population group was expressed by placing the archaic word mocu followed by the name of the tribal ancestor or deity after his personal name. This mode of naming persons is found in ogham inscriptions but probably fell out of use because of pagan assocations. In later times when the meaning of mocu was no longer understood it was reinterpreted by popular etymology as being mac uí 'son of the descendant' and so bears a superficial resemblance to the later type of surname with the prefix mac.

1.4 The relationship of surnames to the earlier population names may be illustrated by one example. One of the divisions of the Dál Cuinn or northern Goidhil were the Uí Néill, named from Niall of the Nine Hostages who lived early in the fifth century. From his sons are derived several sept names, among them Cineál Eoghain, a group settled originally in Inis Eoghain (Inishowen) peninsula in north Donegal. One of this sept was Niall Glúndubh, a descendant of the earlier Niall, who was high-king of Ireland in the early 10th century and was killed in battle against Viking invaders in 919. From his immediate descendants arises the surname Ó Néill which in subsequent centuries spread all over central and east Ulster.

Surnames of this kind with the prefix Ó arose gradually during the 10th to 12th centuries. Their attribution to the high-king Brian Boru (ob. 1014) is fictitious; he himself had no surname though his descendants soon formed one by naming themselves after him as Ó Briain (anglicized as O'Brien). The earliest surname of the Ó type, or Ua as it was sometimes written, seems to be Ua Cléirigh, recorded as a surname in 916, and they went on being formed till about the middle of the 12th century, to be followed by a new type beginning with the prefix Mac 'son'. These arose in part from the break-up of many of the older families following the Anglo-Norman invasion in the second half of the 12th century and at this stage the system spread to Scotland, where there are extremely few Ó surnames, and to the Isle of Man. The further development of the system will be dealt with in section 3 below.

1.5 The next stage in the relationship of surnames to ethnology arises from the invasions of the Middle Ages which brought in peoples with no surnames at all, or with a different system of surnames, or with off-shoots of the Irish system. According as they arrived before or after 1500 they are known in Irish tradition as the Sean-Ghaill 'Old Foreigners' and Nua-Ghaill 'New Foreigners', and they came in succession as follows:

1.51 The Vikings, mainly from Norway, partly from Denmark; they founded Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick and left traces among coastal placenames over a somewhat wider area. They had no surnames of

their own and their descendants ultimately acquired Irish Mac surnames descriptive of their nationality or appearance or, in the case of those who occupied the Norse towns till the arrival of the Normans, they sometimes acquired surnames of English type.

1.52 The Anglo-Normans, originally from south Wales with reinforcements later from England, a mixed group of Normans, English, Welsh and Flemings who overran most of Leinster and Meath, considerable parts of Munster and Connaught, and east Ulster (Antrim and Down) between 1170 and 1315 when their power was largely undermined by the invasion of Edward Bruce from Scotland and by Irish resurgence, after which many of those in outlying areas became increasingly gaelicized. They had at first no settled surnames of their own but the Anglo-Norman branch of the West European surname system began to be formed shortly after their arrival, partly in England and partly in Ireland itself. These names are of the usual four types mentioned above but several special features should be noted. Firstly, in addition to their original French or English forms most of them developed specifically Irish forms in Irish literary use and as their bearers became progressively gaelicized. In these Irish forms the French preposition de, the English prepositions of and at, and the English and French definite articles the and le all fell together as Irish De which became almost as much a mark of Norman-Irish surnames as Ó and Mac were of Gaelic-Irish surnames, though there are some Anglo-Norman surnames whose Irish forms never have this prefix, e.g. De Búrca (anglicized Burke) from Norman French De Burgo. Secondly, the French word fils 'son' was prefixed to many names of patronymic type, like Mac in Irish surnames. This does occur to a very limited extent among Norman names in England, where the prefix takes the form Fitz, but these Fitz names are vastly more common in Ireland than in England and their parallel formation to the native Mac names is probably the reason. Irish surnames beginning with Fitz in their English form have a parallel Irish form beginning with Mac, e.g. Fitzgerald - MacGearailt. In 1366 the statutes of Kilkenny were passed by the Irish parliament in an effort to bolster up the declining Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland, under which the English were forbidden to take Irish names, as many had been doing, particularly after the Bruce invasion. Exactly a century later further legislation laid it down that all native Irish resident in the Pale - the area between Dublin and Dundalk directly under the English crown - and the other coastal cities still under royal control must take English names in place of their own Irish names. How far this was successful it is now hard to say.

1.53 The Gaill-Ghaedhil or 'Foreign Gaels' from the Hebrides, people of mixed Norse and Scottish descent who came as heavily armed mercenaries to help the remaining Irish kings against the Normans, beginning in the later 13th century and settling mainly in the north of Ireland whence they spread to other parts of the country. They were Gaelic-speaking and had surnames of the Mac type, formed in Scotland and sometimes with dialectal differences from similar names that arose in Ireland, in addition to which the eponym following the prefix was often a personal name or word of Norse origin, e.g. Mac Somhairle (anglicized McSorley) from Norse Somerleðr 'summer-leader', originally a nickname.

1.54 The English, from about 1540 onwards as a result of the new policy of conquest begun by the Tudor monarchs, and with them small numbers of Welsh and Manxmen. They came as administrators, soldiers, merchants and planters receiving large grants of land to which many brought tenants. The English among them had the same types of surnames as have been current in England for the last four centuries but unlike the earlier Anglo-Norman surnames

these did not develop gaelicized forms (except in a few very recent cases
in the present century). Those that were introduced into Ireland
represented only a small fraction of all the names occurring in England
but some have become well established and have spread, though this is
sometimes due to their use as translations of or substitutes for native
Irish surnames. Many English surnames, however, have never reached
Ireland at all, or if brought in by individual migrant families during the
last couple of centuries have failed to spread. The Welsh who came to
Ireland since the 16th century were generally anglicized to the extent of
having adopted a surname of English type in place of the system of shifting
patronymics that prevailed in Welsh-speaking Wales, in contrast to those
who came with the Anglo-Normans who, having no surnames of their own, were
usually given the nationality names Walsh (in English) or Breathnach (in
Irish).   The Manx had a surname system originally similar to the Irish
though later anglicized in form.   The prefix Ó became Y which was later
dropped, while the prefix Mac was often reduced to its final consonant,
attached to the following word as C, K or Q in the anglicized form, e.g.
Quayle from Mac Pháil.   Names of Manx origin are particularly common
round the Co. Down coast.

1.55 The Scots, who constitutionally were a separate nation till their king
became king of England and Wales in 1603 and remained separate politically
till the parliamentary union of 1707, by which time most of the Scottish
migration into Ireland, mainly into the province of Ulster, had taken place.
Some were Highlanders who continued the earlier tradition of migration and
bore surnames of the Mac type which had arisen when the Irish surname system
spread to Scotland.   The greater number were Lowlanders but these had two
name systems: those from Galloway also had surnames of Irish type with the
prefix Mac but they were in general a completely different selection from
those occurring in the Highlands, while those from the rest of the Lowlands
had surnames of English type.   In so far as these were based on Scottish
placenames or on distinctively Scots word-forms or spellings, such as Scots
Reid and Leitch for English Read and Leach, they are distinguishable but
many are indistinguishable.   Given that Scottish settlers in Ulster were
five or six times as numerous as English settlers, one can draw conclusions
of probability, at least in some areas, but some names remain doubtful.
Sometimes English spellings like Thompson have prevailed over Scots spellings
like Thomson, though it is highly probable that most of the Thompsons are of
Scottish rather than English origin.   Spellings cannot always be relied on,
for officials may have given a name one spelling where the formerly
illiterate owners of the name might have given it another.   The main effect
of Scots immigration, apart from introducing a new sub-variety of the West
European surname system, has been to strengthen the variety and number of
Mac- surnames in the north of Ireland as compared with the rest of the
country, whereas the Ó prefix in the north has tended to be lost, at first
for purely phonetic reasons by shortening and weakening but later perhaps
partly for social reasons.

1.56 The Huguenots, religious refugees from France who arrived at intervals
between the late 16th and early 18th century and settled mainly in east
Ulster, throughout Leinster and in south-east Munster.   They bore names of
the French branch of the West European surname system, which are quite
different from those surnames of French origin that were introduced by the
Anglo-Normans, for example Lemass, Le Fanu, Dubourdieu, Delacherois,
Boomer (formerly Bulmer), Refaussé, Molyneux, Sargaison.

1.57 The Palatines, religious refugees from the Palatinate in western
Germany who arrived in 1709 and settled across central Leinster and north
Munster, especially in Co. Limerick, whence they have spread all over Ireland.
They brought such names as Sparling, Huggard, Rheinhart, Schumacher, Heiffle,
Bovenizer, Switzer.

1.58 The Jews, arriving from central and eastern Europe from the middle of
the 19th century; they bore in some cases surnames of English form such as
Black, Fox, or more often of Yiddish or Hebrew type such as Goldstein,
Solomon, Jaffe, Hurwitz, Goldberg, Shapiro, Lipsitz.

1.59 The Italians, arriving mainly from southern Italy in the second half
of the 19th century to set up as caterers and confectioners, with such sur-
names as Bonugli, Caproni, Lucchi, Nardini, Forte, which stand out by their
distinctive form.

1.6 This brings us down to the end of last century so far as additions of
extraneous origin to the stock of surnames in Ireland are concerned.   The
present century has seen the arrival of small numbers of new names of three
main groups: central European surnames of various origins borne by refugees
from the Nazi persecutions of the second quarter of the century; Indian and
Pakistani surnames, which are linguistically quite distinctive; and
Chinese surnames borne by immigrants from Hong Kong, also highly distinctive
and standing before their personal names.   All the surnames in these three
groups are of too recent origin to have established themselves permanently,
and may be left out of further consideration.

2. LANGUAGES OF ORIGIN OF SURNAMES IN IRELAND

     One feature of the long sustained division of Irish society into two
sections, one of native origin and the other of intrusive origin, throughout
the later Middle Ages, a division reinforced by new population movements
mainly in the 17th century, has been the existence of two forms for a high
proportion of our surnames, one Irish and the other English.   This has nothing
to do with the linguistic origins of the names in question; it has to do
with the processes of transliteration from one orthographic system to
another, of translation - or sometimes mistranslation - from one language to
the other, of attraction, substitution or assimilation of surnames of different
linguistic origin.   These matters are dealt with in sections 4 and 5 below;
here we are concerned with the languages of ultimate origin.

2.1 Irish.   In the widest sense of the term this includes also Scottish
Gaelic and Manx as being late offshoots of Irish, and it covers not only
original Gaelic personal names and other words from which the native Irish
system of surnames is derived but also a certain number of P-Celtic and
probably some pre-Celtic personal names which had been absorbed into Irish,
as well as biblical and other personal names of extraneous origin - Latin,
Welsh, Norse, French and English - which were absorbed into Irish down to
the period of surname formation.   To this linguistic source belong almost
all names of the Irish surname system together with a few belonging to the
West European system which were formed in the Scottish Lowlands or very late
in Ireland itself.

2.2 Norse.   To this source may be attributed firstly those Highland Scottish
surnames formed on the Irish model from Norse personal names and secondly a
number of names belonging to the English and Lowland Scottish branches of the
West European surname system which are derived from Norse words, e.g. Bond,
'farmer', Gamble 'old'.

2.3 French. From this source are derived many surnames of the Anglo-Norman period, e.g. Roche, Power, Butler, Savage, Russell, including the Fitz- names and those based on placenames in Normandy, together with the Huguenot names.

2.4 English. From this source are derived the majority of intrusive names dating partly from the Anglo-Norman period but even more so those introduced since the 16th century.

2.5 Welsh. From this source are derived a number of surnames, some of Anglo-Norman, others of more recent date, and almost all anglicized in form. Some are derived from Welsh adjectives, e.g. Gough from coch 'red', Flood and Floyd from llwyd 'grey', Vaughan from fychan 'little' (though this name can have other origins). Others derive from Welsh shifting patronymics formed by prefixing Ap (from map 'son') to a personal name but now usually disguised by dropping the vowel of this prefix to leave initial P or B, e.g. Price from Ap Rhys, Bowen from Ap Owein, Upritchard from Ap Richard (though this is formed from a personal name of Old French origin).

2.6 Cornish. Some surnames derived from the English surname system are based on placenames that are linguistically Cornish, e.g. Penpraze, Roseveare, usually of recent origin in Ireland.

2.7 German. From this source are derived both the Palatine names and some of the Yiddish names.

2.8 Others. The remaining surnames introduced from abroad since the middle of last century stem from a variety of minor linguistic sources among which Italian is probably the most important. Jewish surnames that are not of German-Yiddish origin are of Slavonic or Hebrew or occasionally Portuguese derivation. Indian and Pakistani surnames derive most likely from one or other of the Indo-Aryan languages. Chinese surnames are most likely from Cantonese or some other variety of southern Chinese; those ending in p, t, k or m are certainly from Cantonese since these consonants do not occur finally in other Chinese dialects.

3. TYPOLOGY OF SURNAMES IN THE IRISH SYSTEM

The basic division is between the earlier type with the prefix Ó or its older form Ua and the later type with the prefix Mac or its variant Mag which occurs mainly in the north of Ireland before l, n, r or a vowel. Ó prefixes h to vowels, traditionally lower-case h to the capital vowel of the following proper name, though occasionally one now sees capital H used, especially in situations where the whole name is printed in capitals. This H of course becomes the initial in the anglicized form.

3.1 In the Ó surnames the word following this prefix is almost always a personal name in the genitive case, e.g. Ó Néill, Ó Briain, Ó hAodha; only rarely is it a word designating rank or occupation, e.g. Ó Gobhann 'grandson of a smith', Ó hÍceadha 'grandson of a healer' (later anglicized Hickey). In the Mac surnames the word following the prefix is also frequently a personal name, e.g. Mac Aodhagáin, Mac Carthaigh, Mag Uidhir (McEgan, McCarthy, Maguire), but designations of rank or occupation or other descriptions are much more frequent and often incorporate the definite article, e.g. Mac an Bháird 'son of the bard', Mac an tSaoir (McAteer, McIntyre) 'son of the craftsman'.

In connection with the personal names that follow these prefixes, it may be noted that in early Christian times saints' names were not generally used alone but were prefixed by maol 'bald, tonsured' and later by giolla, a Norse loanword signifying 'servant, devotee'. The former occurs in association with the Ó prefix and the latter in association with the Mac prefix, e.g. Ó Maolchallann (Mulholland), Mac Giolla Dhuibh (McIlduff). Maol is anglicized as Mul- in Ireland but as Myl- in the Isle of Man.

3.2 A surname with the Ó or Mac prefix is always preceded by a personal name. If there is no personal name before it then it denotes the chief of the name. If an individual who is not the chief of the name is to be referred to by his surname only then the prefix is dropped and the adjectival suffix -ach is added. This applies also to Anglo-Norman names with the prefix De, and it may be the equivalent of placing the English title Mr before a surname, e.g. an Brianach (Mr O'Brien), an Búrcach (Mr Burke). Another way of referring to a person by his surname only is to prefix Mac to the genitive form of the surname. Ó then becomes Uí, the following word loses its prefix h if beginning with a vowel, and has lenition if beginning with a consonant, e.g. Mac Uí Bhriain (O'Brien), Mac Uí Eadhra (O'Hara). Names with the prefix Mac are then generally treated as if they had the prefix Ó, e.g. Mac Uí Ghearailt (Mr FitzGerald).

Name-forms with the adjectival ending -ach have sometimes become established as the basic form of the surname, especially when indicating nationality or origin, e.g. Breathnach (Walsh), Caomhánach (Kavanagh). A small number of descriptive adjectives, usually denoting colour, used originally as cognomina, have sometimes replaced the original surname and become surnames in their own right, e.g. Bán 'white', Beag 'little'.

3.3 Since the prefixes Ó and Mac denote males, they have to be changed, to Ní and Nic respectively, both meaning 'daughter', in the surnames of unmarried females, e.g. Seán Ó hEadhra (John O'Hara) but Máire Ní Eadhra (Mary O'Hara), Eithne Ní Bhriain (Eithne O'Brien), Sorcha Nic Chormaic (Sarah McCormick), Máire Nig Uidhir (Mary Maguire). Ní does not prefix h to vowels but lenites consonants. Nic also causes lenition of consonants and becomes Nig where the male prefix is Mag instead of Mac. Surnames that are adjectival in form follow the usual rules for adjectives after a feminine noun. Names of Anglo-Norman origin with or without the prefix De have the same form for males and females. Married women are normally referred to by their maiden name in Irish, and indeed this is quite a common practice among English-speakers in Ireland. Mrs and Miss are expressed by placing the words bean 'woman' and inghean 'daughter' (now often spelt iníon) before the genitive form of an Ó or Mac surname, e.g. Bean Uí Bhriain (Mrs O'Brien), Iníon Mhic an Bháird (Miss Ward), or before the genitive of the adjectival suffix form of other surnames, e.g. Bean an Bhúrcaigh (Mrs Burke), Bean an Bhreathnaigh (Mrs Walsh). If the lady is a widow, Bean is replaced by Baintreach 'widow'.

3.4 Finally it should be noted that some surnames have the Ó and Mac prefixes as variants, and that where Irish continues to be the spoken language there are various modifications of the original system, e.g. Ó is shortened to A or lost, or sometimes added to surnames to which it did not originally belong; the M of Mac is often lost or has lenition in all circumstances; the c or g of Mac/Mag is sometimes incorrectly carried forward to or lost from the beginning of the following name; Mac is sometimes replaced by its genitive Mhic, often reduced to 'ic.

4.   ANGLICIZATION OF SURNAMES IN THE IRISH SYSTEM

The process of anglicizing surnames of the Irish system is a very old one which goes back to Anglo-Norman times, though in the early stages probably only a small proportion of all the names was affected.   With the expansion of English power in the 16th and 17th centuries the practice spread to embrace all Irish names.   The Fiants of Elizabeth I and the Patent Rolls of James I provide many early forms of anglicization which have since become obsolete and been replaced by others.   Most of the present forms date from the more peaceful times of the 18th century though some may be later, particularly in areas that remained almost entirely Irish-speaking till very recently.   Anglicization takes a number of different forms:

4.1   Transliteration.
This consists in re-spelling the name according to English spelling conventions and is based primarily on the local pronunciation of the name.   Since this may vary from place to place it sometimes results in different variants of what was originally one name.   In principle the type of transliteration adopted was very similar to that used for placenames. The form anglicized was that used after the personal names of men, no notice being taken of adjectival forms used in certain situations in Irish, as described in section 3, nor of the distinctive forms used for females.

4.2   Attraction.
It sometimes happens that rare names were not accurately transliterated but were fused together with more common names which they partly resembled, e.g. Ó Caolacháin was anglicized as O'Callaghan on the analogy of the more widespread Ó Ceallacháin.   Another kind of attraction occurs when an Irish name is assimilated to an English name of more or less similar sound, e.g. Harrington for Ó hArrachtáin, also transliterated more accurately as Harroughton.

4.3   Translation.
Sometimes the meaning of the Irish surname has been translated into English in whole or in part, e.g. Mac Giolla Bháin may be either transliterated as McIlwaine or translated as White or Whyte; Mac Conchoigchríche 'son of foreign hound' has become L'Estrange by part translation into Old French.

4.4   Mistranslation.
Sometimes the Irish name has been mistranslated by popular confusion of the meaning of all or part of it and the resultant mistranslation has come to be substituted for the original surname, e.g. Fivey for Ó Cuaig (Quigg by transliteration) by confusion with cúig 'five'; Peoples for Ó Duibhne (Deeney by transliteration) by confusion with daoine 'people';   Boner for Ó Cnáimhsighe (Cramsie or Crampsey by transliteration) by confusion with cnámh 'bone'.

4.5   Transformation.
The Irish surname has sometimes dropped its prefix and has had the English patronymic endings -son or -s added to it, e.g. Hayes or Hughes (respectively southern and northern pronunciations) from Ó hAodha;   Dennison from Ó Donnghusa.

4.6   Substitution.
In some cases the Irish surname has been replaced by an English name which bears only a remote resemblance to it but the two have come to be regarded traditionally as equivalents in certain areas, e.g. Clifford for Ó Clúmháin, Fenton for Ó Fiannachta, Neville for Ó Niadh.

5.   GAELICIZATION OF IMPORTED SURNAMES

This is the reverse process to that dealt with in section 4.   Basically it relates to surnames of Anglo-Norman origin which developed Irish forms in the late Middle Ages as a result of the merger of the two peoples outside of areas where the Anglo-Normans remained under the control of the English crown.   In the present century also some families have gaelicized their names in various ways.

5.1   Surnames with the prefix De.
These belong (1) to the type denoting place of origin where de represents confusion of the French and English prepositions that could occur in such names, e.g. De Búrca from 'De Burgo' (Burke);   De Nais from 'atten ash' (Nash);   De Bhóid from 'atte wode' (Woods); or (2) the type denoting rank or occupation and the descriptive type formed from a nickname where de represents confusion of the French and English definite article, e.g. De Buitiléir (Butler);   De Faoite (White); De Bhulbh (Wolfe).   Some late examples, however, lack the prefix.   In a few cases the prefix was reduced to A.

5.2   Surnames without the prefix De.
Apart from a number of late names that were only gaelicized in the 15th century when the French or English word which gave rise to the prefix De had been lost from the name, these consist mainly of surnames of patronymic type derived from personal names and also of Norman-French diminutives like Russell, 'little red-haired', e.g. Doibín (Dobbin), Coda (Codd), Boiréil (Birrell), Ruiséil (Russell), Sionóid (Sinnott), Réamonn (Redmond), Seóigh (Joy, Joyce), Sabhaois (Savage), Haicéid or Hacaed (Hackett).

5.3   Mistranslation.
Sometimes surnames were mistranslated through a misunderstanding of their derivation, e.g. Dúnsméarach for Beresford, understood as 'Berriesfort'.

5.4   Surnames with the prefix Fitz.
These are gaelicized by substitution of Mac for Fitz, e.g. Mac Gearailt for FitzGerald, but it is not quite clear whether they should be classified in the first place as belonging to the Irish surname system, even though non-Irish linguistically, rather than to the West European surname system.   The prefix is indeed the Old French fils or fiz 'son', but it did not produce French surnames.   In England its use was extremely restricted and in many of the small number of cases that have survived the fiz is not a recognisable prefix but has become the stressed syllable of a name into which it has merged completely, e.g. Fillery from Fiz-le-rei 'the king's son', Fennel from FitzNeal, Feehally from Fitzharry, Fidgeon from FitzJohn, Fitchew, Fitchie and Fithie from FitzHugh.   These examples show that although the use of Old French fiz in the formation of surnames of patronymic type may have arisen in England their development there was completely different to what it was in Ireland, where the different stressing of such names and the obvious parallel with the Irish Mac names caused Fitz to survive as a name-forming prefix, in the Irish manner.   Though most Fitz names are Anglo-Norman by origin and can be gaelicized by changing Fitz to Mac (with other spelling changes), there is at least one example of the reverse process where Mac Giolla Pádraig often became Fitzpatrick.

6.   RECORDS OF AND RESEARCH ON SURNAMES IN IRELAND

There is a rich and extensive genealogical literature in Irish culminating in the great book of genealogies compiled about 1650 by

Dubhaltach Mac Fir Bhisigh.   This is discussed by Séamus Pender in
Analecta Hibernica, No. 7 'A Guide to Irish Genealogical Collections'
(Dublin, 1935).   This records the great mass of Irish surnames derived
from the native system in their original forms.   The Irish Manuscripts
Commission has published several works containing genealogical material,
some with and some without an English translation, but in either case a
knowledge of Irish is necessary to understand the forms of the names.

Official interest in Irish surnames in the middle of the 17th century
is reflected in the fact that the Census of Ireland organized about 1659 by
Sir William Petty, an official of the Commonwealth regime, lists the
principal Irish (and in some cases also Scotch) names and their number for
each barony throughout the country.   This census was edited by Séamus
Pender and published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 1939.   During
the 1930s they also published in three volumes those parts of the Civil
Survey (1654-1656) that survive listing by name and by ethnic and
denominational classification all the land-holders of Ireland, which is a
useful source for the then distribution of some native and numerous
immigrant surnames.

From the middle of last century onwards the following are the most
useful general works on surnames in Ireland:

6.1 Hume, A., 'Surnames in the County of Antrim' and 'Surnames in the County
of Down' respectively in <u>Ulster Journal of Archaeology</u> (first series)
volumes 5 (1857) and 6 (1858), with a map and table of names in each.
Hume based his work on the electoral registers of the time.   This gave about
10,000 persons per county, so that a considerable number of names must have
been missed because of the restricted franchise of the time.   This is shown
in the case of Co. Down by a line on the map enclosing a large part of the
mountainous area of central and south Down where farm valuations were too
low to allow any but a tiny number of electors.   Hume drew up tables show-
ing the number of persons of each name and then printed the names on his
maps in four different varieties of type-size according to the number of
name-bearers in each barony.   His work provided the model for some of the
work done on the present Ulster Surname Survey (see item 5 below).

6.2 Matheson, Sir Robert E., <u>Varieties and Synonymes</u> (sic) <u>of Surnames and</u>
<u>Christian Names in Ireland</u> (Dublin, 1901) and <u>Special Report on Surnames in</u>
<u>Ireland</u> (Dublin, 1909), both reprinted in one volume by the Genealogical
Publishing Company (Baltimore, 1968).   The first begins with a chapter on
the orthography of surnames, followed by another on the interchange of
surnames (usually English versus Irish forms); then after a chapter on
Christian names he gives an <u>Alphabetical List of Surnames with their</u>
<u>Varieties and Synonymes</u> in which there are 2091 basic items with their
variants.   Opposite these are key numbers which are then listed against
the Registrars' Districts and Poor Law Unions in which they occur.   Finally
there is an alphabetical list of all the surnames referring the reader by
number to the basic name under which they occur.   His second work (1909)
gives estimates of the number of bearers of the principal surnames in
Ireland, discusses the derivation of surnames and classifies them ethno-
logically, and deals with their distribution by provinces and counties.
To this is added an appendix table showing the surnames in Ireland having
five entries and upwards in the Birth Indexes of 1890, together with the
number in each registration province and a note opposite each detailing
the counties in which each name is most prominently found.   This list runs
to 39 pages.   The book concludes with a three-page list of Irish Septs as
given in the Book of Arms, compiled by Sir James Terry, Athlone Herald
(1690), preserved in the British Museum.

6.3 Woulfe, Rev. P., <u>Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall - Irish Names and Surnames</u>
(the Irish and English titles are not identical in meaning) (Dublin, 1923).
The contents of this most useful book, after a lengthy Introduction and
bibliography, are as follows.   First there is a description of the Irish
name system, followed by lists of men's names, women's names and surnames,
all giving the English form first, followed by the Irish forms equivalent
to each.   These constitute part I of the book, running to just over 160
pages, of which over 100 pages are devoted to surnames.   Part II is even
more comprehensive.   After classifying surnames under fourteen categories,
it lists men's, women's and surnames, giving the Irish forms first and then
their English equivalents.   In the case of surnames, older anglicized forms
of the 16th/17th century and earlier are given first, then the present-day
forms, then brief notes on where many of the names occur.   This gazetteer
runs to over 460 pages and is followed by over ten pages of sept-names (or
clan-names as they are here designated).

6.4 MacLysaght, Edward.   Over the last twenty years this scholar has
produced the following extensive series of works on Irish surnames:

      1957:   <u>Irish Families</u> (Dublin).
      1960:   <u>More Irish Families</u> (Galway).
      1964:   <u>Supplement to Irish Families</u> (Dublin).
      1964:   <u>A Guide to Irish Surnames</u> (Dublin).
      1969:   <u>The Surnames of Ireland</u> (Shannon).
      1973:   <u>The Surnames of Ireland</u> (paperback, Dublin).

The first three works deal at some length with about 2500 names, while the
fourth is an alphabetical précis of these listed under their modern
anglicized forms in the order of the part following the Ó or <u>Mac</u> prefix,
which is placed in the margin opposite those names in which it occurs.
At the end is a very good bibliography of Irish family history running to
almost 40 pages.   The fifth book is similar in its general treatment but
raises the number of surnames dealt with to about 4000; likewise the sixth
item in the above list.   The 1969 work includes a map in a cover pocket
showing the approximate location of the surnames, original Irish surnames
being shown in black and Anglo-Norman names in red.

6.5 Adams, G.B. and Turner, B.S.   This item covers the Surname Survey
begun at the Ulster Folk & Transport Museum about 1966 and later continued
jointly with the Ulster Museum.   No major publication by either author has
as yet appeared but the following separate items may be mentioned:

    1968: Adams: 'A New Survey of Ulster Surnames' in <u>Ulster Folklife</u>
                 vol. 14, pp. 74/76.
    1968: Turner: 'Family Names in the Baronies of Upper and Lower
                 Messereene' in <u>Ulster Folklife</u> vol. 14, pp. 76/78.
    1969: Adams: 'The Distribution of Surnames in an Irish County'
                 (with 12 maps) in <u>Disputationes ad Montium Vocabula</u>
                 (Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of
                 Onomastics) vol.II, pp. 163/175 (Vienna, 1969).
    1972: Adams: 'Ulster Surnames' in <u>U.F.T.M. Year Book 1971/72</u>
                 pp. 26/28.
    1974: Turner: <u>Family Name Survey County List</u> - LEITRIM.
    1974: Turner: <u>Family Name Survey County List</u> - FERMANAGH.
    1974: Turner: 'Distributional aspects of family name study
                 illustrated in the Glens of Antrim (unpublished
                 Ph.D. thesis, Q.U.B.).
    1975: Turner: 'An Observation on Settler Names in Fermanagh' in
                 <u>Clogher Record</u> vol.VIII, no.3, pp. 285/289.

1975: Turner: <u>Family Name Survey County List</u> - TYRONE.
1976: Adams & Turner: 'A Family Name Survey of Northern Ireland' in <u>The Study of the Personal Names of the British Isles</u>, ed. H. Voitl (Erlangen, 1976), pp. 114/118.
1977: Adams: 'The Progress of Name Studies in the North of Ireland' in NOMINA vol.1, no.1, pp. 16/20.
1978: Adams: 'Surname Landscapes', <u>Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society</u>, 2nd ser., vol.1, pp. 27-39.

<u>6.6</u> Since the Irish surname system extends into Scotland and the Isle of Man and since both have contributed many surnames of both Irish and West European type to the north of Ireland in particular, two books may be mentioned that provide much useful background information for the study of surnames in Ireland, namely: <u>The Surnames of Scotland</u> by George F. Black (New York, 1946) and <u>The Personal Names of the Isle of Man</u> by J.J. Kneen (London, 1937), both of which supplement the works of Matheson, Woulfe and MacLysaght.

<div align="right">G.B. ADAMS, M.R.I.A.</div>

<div align="center">Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, Cultra</div>

<div align="center">PLACE-NAMES AND <u>PAYS</u>: THE KENTISH EVIDENCE*</div>

<div align="center">1. Introductory</div>

One of the most frequent questions facing anyone interested in the settlement history of this country is the elementary one: when did such and such a place originate?   Only in a tiny minority of cases are we ever likely to know the precise answer to that question; but although precise dating is usually impossible there are various lines of argument that may be followed up to reconstruct a relative chronology of settlement. Probably the three principal lines of enquiry are the typology of early place-names, the evidence of archaeology, and what might broadly be called the evidence of topography.   There is a fourth line of argument, however, that has been utilized in the past, and that in my view might be more widely exploited, and that is the examination of settlement in relation to types of countryside or kinds of <u>pays</u>.   This is the approach to the problem of working out a relative chronology that I should like to explore in this paper.   I shall not say much about place-names as such, apart from a few general observations on their typology.   Instead I shall try to provide a broad topographical framework within which, it seems to me, it is necessary to examine them.

From some experience as a local and agrarian historian, and from an examination of settlement topography in a number of areas, particularly in Kent, I am convinced that these differences of <u>pays</u> were matters of the first importance to primitive peoples, as they also were to those of later centuries, and that we need to sense their characteristics as they appeared to the original colonists.   The way settlement developed in this country was not haphazard.   The distinctive features and diverse agrarian potential of each <u>pays</u> were crucial matters in shaping its colonization, affecting not only the kind of place to which it gave rise but the period during which it was settled.   Owing to the varied physical structure of this island, moreover, these different types of country often occur within short distances of one another.   They have often given rise to marked variations within a single county, and they are normally more important in moulding the pattern and direction of colonization than the political or administrative units of kingdom and shire.

In making that remark I am in no way tilting at county studies, which are also essential.   But we need to remember that the counties themselves are divided into contrasting zones of settlement; that these zones often stretch across the borders of one shire into the next; and that their essential characteristics are often echoed on similar landforms and similar geological formations elsewhere.   To take one example, there are obvious resemblances between the settlement of the Weald of Kent and the Weald of Sussex, and the whole Wealden area is in most respects more like the Forest of Arden, say, or even parts of Sherwood, than it is like the Marshland or the coastal plain of Sussex and Kent.   Or to take another example, there are closer resemblances between the Gault Vale settlements of Kent on one hand, and of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire on the other, than there are between those of the Kentish Gault and Romney Marsh. That does not mean that the course of settlement can be explained by crude determinism; but it does mean that it is shaped by a whole range of complex human responses to those varied natural and agrarian environments that, for want of a better term, I have described as types of country or <u>pays</u>.   The fact that in Kent alone nearly a thousand years elapsed between the oldest English settlements of the coastal plain and the latest