40. The place-name has been discussed by Professor Melville Richards in *NTCB*, 154, and in 'Welsh Influence', 216, and by B. G. Charles in *NCPN*, 230–1, and in 'Substitution', 42–3. Professor Jackson also refers to it in 'Angles & Britons', 83.

41. Pitch-prominence does not appear in their discussions of any of the other naturalized p.nn. either.

42. *NTCB*, 154.

43. Cf. Camden Tówn.

44. See note 9.

45. B. G. Charles (*NCPN*, 230) points out that some p.nn. in Devon also retain the genitive plural: *Prestacott*, *Priestacott*, *Priestaford* (*PNDevon*, 129, 131, 465).

46. This vowel-change is a well-known phonological feature in Clwyd, revealed in *Mostyn*, *Mertyn*, *Estyn*, *Sychdyn*, *Brychtyn*, *Axtyn*, *Golftyn*, *Kelstryn*, *Owrtyn* and in Shropshire's *Selattyn* and *Brogyntyn*; see the comment under type (2) above.

47. 'Angles & Britons', 83.

48. 'Archenfield & Oswestry', 107.

49. 'Substitution', 41.

50. Melville Richards, 'Welsh Influence', 218.

51. *London Mediaeval Studies* I (1937), 48–55. He concerned himself with the difficulty of distinguishing in English place-names between final *lēah*, *hyll*, and a noun-forming suffix *el*, each of which could appear indistinguishable from the others as an unstressed final *-le*, *-el* or *-la*.

The Element *Ath/Ford* in Irish Place-Names

Breandán S. Mac Aodha

In times gone by, rivers formed serious obstacles to movement by land. Well into the present century stilts were employed as an aid to dry passage across many rivers, both in mainland Europe, e.g. the Taro,[1] and in Ireland, e.g. the Moyola in Co. Derry.[2] It is not surprising, then, that shallow stretches which facilitated crossing acquired great significance, and it was natural, too, that settlements would tend to develop at such crossing points, and to acquire their names from those features. Most surviving 'ford' names in Ireland are settlement-names, but in former times many crossing points remote from settlements were clearly identified by name.[3]

A perusal of *Ainmneacha Gaeilge na mBailte Poist*[4] reveals that the term *áth* (a ford) occurs in a number of different contexts in the names of Irish postal towns. Surprisingly, the simple nominative form is only the second most common of these. It is found in forty instances,[5] e.g. *Áth Dara* 'the ford of the oak-tree' (Adare, Co. Limerick), *Áth na Cloiche* 'the ford of the stone' (Annacloy, near Downpatrick) and *Áth an Chláir* 'the ford of the plain', (Aclare, near Ballymote, Co. Sligo). Much more commonly, however, the word is found in the genitive case *átha* in a variety of combinations with other elements, and accompanied more often than not by the definite article *an*. The most common combination of all is the form *béal(an)átha*. The late distinguished editor of *The Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society* showed that this form, which lies concealed in the name of Belfast itself, occurs in the annals as far back as the twelfth century and became common from the fifteenth century onwards. It signifies 'approach to a ford'.[6]

There are fifty-one instances of names employing this particular formula, e.g. *Béal an Átha Fada* 'approach to the long ford' (Ballinafad, Co. Galway), *Béal an Átha Mór* 'approach to the great ford' (Balnamore, near Ballymoney, Co. Antrim), and *Béal an Átha Mín* 'approach to the smooth ford' (Ballinameen, Co. Roscommon).[7] Examples without the definite article preceding *átha* include *Béal Átha an Tuair* 'approach to ford of the bleaching green' (Ballytore, near Athy, Co. Kildare), *Béal Átha na Leac* 'approach to ford of the flagstones' (Ballinalack, near Mullingar,

Co. Westmeath) and *Béal Átha na nEach* 'approach to ford of the steeds' (Ballinagh, Co. Cavan).

The third common combination is *baile átha* 'the settlement of the ford'. It occurs in such names as *Baile Átha an Rí* 'the settlement of the ford of the king', (Athenry, Co. Galway) and *Baile Átha an Urchair* 'the settlement of the ford of the shot' (Horseleap, Co. Westmeath). However, there are only ten instances in all of this particular format.[8]

Bealach átha 'the pass of the ford' occurs in one instance only: *Bealach Átha* (Newtownballyhea, Co. Cork). *Cionn átha* 'the head of the ford', is equally scarce, being found only in *Cionn Átha Gad* 'the head of the ford of withies'? (Kinnegad, Co. Westmeath). So too is *droichead átha* 'the bridge of the ford', *Droichead Átha* (Drogheda, Co. Louth) being the only representative. However, the element *droichead* is also combined with *áth* in the composite term *droichead béal an átha* 'the bridge at the approach of the ford', but again in one instance only: *Droichead Bhéal an Átha Móir* 'the bridge at the approach to the great ford' (Ballinamore Bridge, Co. Galway). *Dún átha* 'the doon (fort, lios) of the ford', is found only in *Dún Átha* (Doonaha, Co. Clare), while the combination *fíodh an átha* 'the wood of the ford' occurs only in *Fíodh an Átha* (Finea, Co. Westmeath). One last combination recorded in a single instance only is *lios béal átha* 'the liss (doon, fort) at the approach to the ford': *Lios Béal Átha* (Lisbellaw, Co. Fermanagh).

Practically all the examples given above or listed in the notes at the end of this paper are long-established toponyms, some of which may date back to the first millenium A.D. or perhaps earlier still, but a tiny handful are recent concoctions 'translating' English-language place-names containing the element *ford*. These latter probably include *Áth an Bhairínigh* (Waringsford, Co. Down), *Áth Bhriain* (Bryansford, Co. Down) and *Áth Stúin* (Stoneyford, Co. Kilkenny). Only nineteen of the official English versions of postal-town names contain the element *ford*.[9] Perhaps this is a reflection of the fact that most English names were introduced late, at a time when the significance of such features had greatly diminished.

The rendering of Irish names into 'English' forms has spawned many different versions of the simple element *ath*, depending on its grammatical case (normally nominative or genitive), its combination with other elements or with the definite article, and the whim of the transliterator. *Áth* in the nominative case, unqualified by the definite article, and not followed by that part of speech, was usually written *ath* as in Athleague (*Áth Liag*, Co. Roscommon) or Athgarvan (*Áth Garbháin*, Co. Kildare).

However, it was sometimes represented simply by *a*, as in Adare (*Áth Dara*, Co. Limerick), or, before a vowel, by *ah*, as in Ahascragh (*Áth Eascrach*, Co. Galway), Ahenny (*Áth Eine*, Co. Tipperary) and Ahorey (*Áth Óraí*, Co. Armagh). By some strange corruption, it became *aghan* in the case of Aghanloo (*Áth Lú*, Co. Derry). When followed by the letter *t*, the usual rendering was *at*, as in Attymon (*Áth Tiomáin*, Co. Galway), Attymas (*Áth Tí an Mheasaigh*, Co. Mayo), and Attanna (*Áth Tanaí*, Co. Laois). Only rare examples exist of the element *ath* followed by the definite article in the genitive masculine form *an*: this particular combination was normally transliterated as *a*, with loss of *an*, for example Aclare (*Áth an Chláir*, Co. Sligo) and Athea (*Áth an tSléibhe*, Co. Limerick). Rather more common is the grouping *áth* plus the genitive feminine form of the article, *na*. This emerged as *anna*, for instance Annamoe (*Áth na mBó*, Co. Wicklow), Annagassan (*Áth na gCasán*, Co. Louth), Annacarty (*Áth na Cairte*, Co. Tipperary), Annaclog (*Áth na Cloiche*, Co. Down) and Annalong (*Áth na Long*, Co. Down). This particular transliteration was also used for *abhainn an* 'river of', as in Annascaul (*Abhainn an Scáil*, Co. Kerry).

Áth is frequently found in combination with *béal* 'mouth, approach to' in a number of different guises. These include the forms *béal átha* (not followed by the definite article), *béal átha na* where the article appears in the feminine genitive singular form, and also in the genitive plural (both genders). The first of these is the commonest. Because it is most often transliterated as *bally* it is very frequently confused by the unwary with the element *baile* 'town, settlement, townland', occurring in such names as Ballycastle (*Baile an Chaisil*, Co. Mayo). Examples of this usage include Ballymoe (*Béal Átha Mó*, Co. Galway), Ballyhaunis (*Béal Átha hAmhnais*, Co. Mayo), Ballyfarnon (*Béal Átha Fearnáin*, Co. Roscommon), and many others of the names given in note 7, above. However, the combination *béal Átha* was not always treated in this way: *bella* was another, though much less frequent, rendering of it, as in Bellacorick (*Béal Átha Chomhraic*, Co. Mayo), as also were *ballya*, e.g. Ballyagran (*Béal Átha Grean*, Co. Limerick), and *bellaw*, e.g. Lisbellaw (*Lios Béal Átha*, Co. Fermanagh). In rare instances elision produced the form *ball*, e.g. Ballineen (*Béal Átha Fhínín*, Co. Cork).

Béal átha an normally became *ballin*: well-known examples are Ballingeary (*Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh*, Co. Cork), Ballinhassig (*Béal Átha an Cheasaigh*, Co. Cork), Ballinode (*Béal Átha an Fhóid*, Co. Monaghan) and Ballintrillick (*Béal Átha an Trí Liag*, Co. Sligo).

The combination *béal átha na* was rendered much less consistently. Probably the most common version was *ballina* as in Ballinamallard (*Béal Átha na Mallacht*, Co. Fermanagh), Ballinamuck (*Béal Átha na Muc*, Co. Longford), Ballinagore (*Béal Átha na nGabhar*, Co. Westmeath) and Ballinagar (*Béal Átha na Muille*, Co. Roscommon); *ballana*, e.g. Ballanagare (*Béal Átha na gCarr*, Co. Roscommon); and *balli* as in Ballinagh (*Béal Átha na nEach*, Co. Cavan).

In a very few instances the combination of *béal* and *átha* is found with the definite article preceeding the second element, in the Irish form *béal an átha*. This is variously rendered as *ballina*, *ballinea* and *balna*. The first of these is the commonest: it occurs in Ballina (*Béal an Átha*, Co. Mayo), Ballinafad (*Béal an Átha Fada*, Co. Galway), Ballinamore (*Béal an Átha Móir*, Co. Leitrim) and Ballinameen (*Béal an Átha Mín*, Co. Roscommon). The form *ballinea* seems to be peculiar to Ballinea (*Baile an Átha*, Co. Westmeath). *Balna* is found in Balnamore (*Béal an Átha Móir*, Co. Antrim), even though the Irish version of this name is identical for Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim.

The simple genitive form *átha* was expressed either as *a*, as in Drogheda (*Droichead Átha*, Co. Louth), or as *aha*, as in Doonaha (*Dún Átha*, Co. Clare). This genitive form occurs ten times after the element *baile* 'a town'. In four instances the English version of the name disregarded the initial element, and the second was transliterated as *ath*, e.g. Athenry (*Baile Átha an Rí*, Co. Galway), Athboy (*Baile Átha Buí*, Co. Meath), Athy (*Baile Átha Í*, Co. Kildare), and Athlone (*Baile Átha Luain*, Co. Westmeath). In a fifth case the *th* was elided to produce Ardee (*Baile Átha Fhirdia*, Co. Louth). Dublin, the name used in English for Ireland's capital city, was not based on the *ford* element, and the name Horseleap (*Baile Átha an Urchair*, Co. Westmeath) bears no relationship to the Irish original. Trim (*Baile Átha Troim*, Co. Meath) reflects the common English-language practice of ignoring the initial elements in the Irish name (cf. Dublin). In the remaining two instances *baile átha* became *bally*: they are Ballyhooly (*Baile Átha hÚlla*, Co. Cork) and Ballyroan (*Baile Átha an Róin*, Co. Laois). Lastly, the element *átha* (genitive case) is found after the elements *cionn* 'head, upper portion' and *fíodh* 'a wood'. In the first case it was anglicised as *kinne*, e.g. Kinnegad (*Cionn Átha Gad*, Co. Westmeath); in the latter as *ea*, e.g. Finea (*Fiodh an Átha*, Co. Westmeath).

All the samples given above are names of postal towns. However, the element *ath* is of much more widespread occurrence, as it also forms part of many parish, townland and minor names.

Joyce instances Agolagh (*Áth-gobhlach*, Co. Antrim),[10] Drumaa (*Druim-átha*, Co. Fermanagh),[11] Athlunkard (*Áth Longphoirt*, Co. Limerick),[12] Athnid (*Áth Nid*, Co. Tipperary),[13] Athsollis (*Áth Solais*, Co. Cork)[14], Annahaia (*Áth na hAithe*, Co. Armagh)[15] and Aughsullis (*Áth an Solais*, Co. Tipperary).[16] The Irish Place-Names Commission is currently preparing standardized Irish versions of the names of townlands on a county basis. Until these become available for the entire country it will not be possible to assess the real relative significance of *ath* and other elements. Even then the vast corpus of minor place-names will remain untapped: from it such 'fossils' as *Béal Átha Buide* (in Cabragh townland, Co. Armagh) and *Ford Mouth* (in Ballygarvey townland, Co. Antrim) must be painstakingly quarried. What is already clear is that terms signifying river crossing-points stretch back far into Irish history, and that they have played a very major role in name-formation in the Irish countryside.[17]

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NOTES

1. H. Belloc, *The Path to Rome* (London, 1902, reprint 1916), 348.
2. B. S. MacAodha, 'Na Spéiríní', *Studia Hibernica* I (1961), 158.
3. e.g. *Áth Culuain* and *Bél Átha Doire Dubhain*. E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin, 1910), 57 and 105.
4. An tSuirbheireacht Ordanáis, *Ainmneacha Gaeilge na mBailte Poist* (Dublin, 1969).
5. The full list is as follows:
    Áth an Bhairínigh (Waringsford, Co. Down)
    Áth an Chláir (Aclare, Co. Sligo)
    Áth an Chóiste (Coachford, Co. Cork)
    Áth an Chorráin (Craanford, Co. Wexford)
    Áth an Chuilinn (Hollyford, Co. Tipperary)
    Áth an Ghainimh (Sandyford, Co. Dublin)
    Áth an Mhaide (Riverstick, Co. Cork)
    Áth an Mhuilinn (Millford, Co. Cork)
    Áth an Mhuilinn (Millford, Co. Armagh)
    Áth an Phortáin (Upperlands, Co. Derry)
    Áth an tSléibhe (Athea, Co. Limerick)
    Áth Bhriain (Bryansford, Co. Down)
    Áth Cinn (Headford, Co. Galway)
    Áth Dara (Adare, Co. Limerick)
    Áth Eascrach (Ahascragh, Co. Galway)
    Áth Éine (Ahenny, Co. Tipperary)
    Áth Garbháin (Athgarvan, Co. Kildare)
    An tÁth Glárach (Glarryford, Co. Antrim)

An tÁth Leachach (Athlacca, Co. Limerick)
Áth Leathan (Broadford, Co. Clare)
An tÁth Leathan (Broadford, Co. Kildare)
Áth Liag (Athleague, Co. Roscommon)
Áth Lú (Aghanloo, Co. Derry)
Áth Mhic Giolla (Gilford, Co. Down)
Áth na Cairte (Annacarty, Co. Tipperary)
Áth na Cloiche (Annacloy, Co. Down)
Áth na Fuinseoige (Ashford, Co. Wicklow)
Áth na gCásán (Annagassan, Co. Louth)
Áth na gCloch (Stoneyford, Co. Antrim)
Áth na Long (Annalong, Co. Down)
Áth na mBó (Annamoe, Co. Wicklow)
Áth na Muilte (Milford, Co. Carlow)
Áth na nUrlainn (Urlingford, Co. Kilkenny)
Áth na Sceire (Enniskerry, Co. Wicklow)
Áth na Sráide (Stratford-on-Slaney, Co. Wicklow)
Áth Óraí (Ahorey, Co. Armagh)
Áth Stúin (Stoneyford, Co. Kilkenny)
Áth Tanaí (Attanna, Co. Laois)
Áth Tí an Mheasaigh (Attymass, Co. Mayo)
Áth Tíomáin (Attymon, Co. Galway)
Áth Trasna (Newmarket, Co. Cork)

6.   Deirdre Uí Fhlannagain, 'Béal Feirste agus Áitainmneacha Laistigh' in *Topothesia*, edited by B. S. MacAodha, (Galway, 1982), 45–64.

7.   A complete list is given below:
      Béal an Átha (Ballina, Co. Mayo)
      Béal an Átha (Ballinea, Co. Westmeath)
      Béal an Átha (Broadford, Co. Limerick)
      Béal an Átha Fada (Ballinafad, Co. Galway
      Béal an Átha Fada (Ballinafad, Co. Sligo)
      Béal an Átha Mín (Ballinameen, Co. Roscommon)
      Béal an Átha Móir (Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim)
      Béal an Átha Móir (Balnamore, Co. Antrim)
      Béal an Átha Móir (Ballinamore, Co. Donegal)
      Béal Átha an Airgid (Silverbridge, Co. Armagh)
      Béal Átha an Cheasaigh (Ballinhassig, Co. Cork)
      Béal Átha an Fhóid (Ballinode, Co. Monaghan)
      Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh (Ballingeary, Co. Cork)
      Béal Átha an Spidéil (Ballinspittle, Co. Cork)
      Béal Átha an Trí Liag (Ballintrillick, Co. Sligo)
      Béal Átha an Tuair (Ballytore, Co. Kildare)
      Béal Átha Bhearaigh (Ballyvary, Co. Mayo)
      Béal Átha Beithe (Ballyboy, Co. Monaghan)
      Béal Átha Chomair (Ballycumber, Co. Offaly)
      Béal Átha Chomhraic (Bellacorick, Co. Mayo)
      Béal Átha Conaill (Ballyconnell, Co. Cavan)

Béal Átha Fearnáin (Ballyfarnon, Co. Roscommon)
Béal Átha Feorainne (Ballyforan, Co. Roscommon)
Béal Átha Fhínín (Ballineen, Co. Cork)
Béal Átha Gabhann (Silvermines, Co. Tipperary)
Béal Átha Ghártha (Ballygar, Co. Galway)
Béal Átha Glúinín (Ballyglunin, Co. Galway)
Béal Átha Grean (Ballyagran, Co. Limerick)
Béal Átha hAmhnais (Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo)
Béal Átha hÉin (Ballyhean, Co. Mayo)
Béal Átha hÉis (Ballynaise, Co. Cavan)
Béal Átha Leice (Ballylickey, Co. Cork)
Béal Átha Liag (Lanesborough, Co. Longford)
Béal Átha Longfoirt (Ballylongfort, Co. Kerry)
Béal Átha Lúbaigh (Ballylooby, Co. Tipperary)
Béal Átha Mó (Ballymoe, Co. Galway)
Béal Átha na gCarr (Ballanagore, Co. Roscommon)
Béal Átha na gCarr (Ballinagar. Co. Offaly)
Béal Átha na gCarraigíní (Castlebaldwin, Co. Sligo)
Béal Átha na Lao (Ballinalee, Co. Longford)
Béal Átha na Leac (Ballinalack, Co. Westmeath)
Béal Átha na Mallacht (Ballinamallard, Co. Fermanagh)
Béal Átha na Muc (Ballinamuck, Co. Longford)
Béal Átha na Muice (Swinford, Co. Mayo)
Béal Átha na Muille (Bealnamulla, Co. Roscommon)
Béal Átha na nEach (Ballinagh, Co. Cavan)
Béal Átha na nGabhar (Ballinagore, Co. Westmeath)
Béal Átha na Sluaighe (Ballinasloe, Co. Galway)
Béal Átha Póirín (Ballyporeen, Co. Tipperary)
Béal Átha Ragad (Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny)
Béal Átha Seanaidh (Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal)

8.   The full list is as follows:
      Baile Átha an Rí (Athenry, Co. Galway)
      Baile Átha an Róine (Ballyroan, Co. Laois)
      Baile Átha an Urchair (Horseleap, Co. Wesemeath)
      Baile Átha Buí (Athboy, Co. Meath)
      Baile Átha Cliath (Dublin)
      Baile Átha Fhirdhia (Ardee, Co. Louth)
      Baile Átha hÚlla (Ballyhooly, Co. Cork)
      Baile Átha Í (Athy, Co. Kildare)
      Baile Átha Luain (Athlone, Co. Westmeath)
      Baile Átha Troim (Trim, Co. Meath)

9.   They are as follows: Gilford (Co. Armagh), Milford (Co. Armagh), Stoneyford (Co. Kilkenny), Milford (Co. Carlow), Bradford (Co. Kildare), Stratford-on-Slaney (Co. Wicklow), Craanford (Co. Wexford), Ballylongford (Co. Limerick), Broadford (Co. Limerick, Coachford, Co. Cork), Milford, (Co. Cork), Milford (Co. Carlow), Milford (Co. Donegal), Broadford (Co. Clare), Hollyford (Co.

Tipperary), Glarryford (Co. Antrim), Stoneyford (Co. Antrim), Bryansford (Co. Down), Waringsford (Co. Down).

   In one of these instances (Ballylongford) the element *ford* does not refer to a river-crossing; rather it is a corruption of the Irish *longfoirt* 'ship harbour, encampment', but fortuitously, as the complete Irish name (Baile Átha Longfoirt) makes clear, the settlement in question is at a ford.

10. P. W. Joyce, *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* (First Series, Second Edition, 1875), 44.
11. Op. cit., 355.
12. Op. cit., 300.
13. Op. cit., 490.
14. Op. cit., 218.
15. Op. cit., 377.
16. Op. cit., 218.
17. Further evidence of this is provided by the fact that Hogan's *Onomasticon* contains no less than forty columns of *ath* references.

Mercator's Map of Ireland as a Source for Mountain-Names

Breandán S. Mac Aodha

High relief is indicated by pictograms in the shape of molehills on Mercator's map of Ireland. Unfortunately, only a small proportion of these symbols are named. Nevertheless, there is something of value to be learned about the sixteenth-century view of Ireland, and about the evolution of anglicised forms of Irish place-names, from a detailed study of such toponyms as were recorded on the map (Fig. 1).

   The order of treatment is as follows: Louth, Down, Antrim, Derry and Central Ulster, Donegal; Sligo, Leitrim, Roscommon, Mayo, Galway, Clare; Limerick, Kerry, Cork, Waterford; Kilkenny, Tipperary, Offaly, Laois, Wexford, Carlow, Wicklow, Dublin, Westmeath, Longford, Meath. Mercator's version of each name is followed by the modern Irish form and the standard O.S. English spelling (where these are available), and notes where relevant.

   No mountains are named in Co. Louth. Cooley is not marked, but *Carlyngford* is recorded as a settlement name. Neither are the Mournes named, though *Mourne* does ocur as a territorial name. Mountain symbols are numerous in Co. Antrim, but not even Slemish is titled.

Ulster

1. *Slew Gallen. Ir.* Sliabh gCallan, *Eng.* Slieve Gallion. Older Irish forms *Sliabh Calland* and *Sliabh Callainn.*[1] While next to nothing was known of *Glan Conkien*, this outer bastion of the Sperrins was very conspicuous: it dominates the entire western shore of Lough Neagh. Curiously, the Sperrins themselves were left without a name.
2. *The Bowhil.* No Irish or English form. This possibly refers to Sawel, the highest peak in the Sperrin range.
3. *Slew Bagh. Ir.* Sliabh Beitheach? *Eng.* Slieve Beagh. Older Irish forms *S. Betha, S. Bethach, S. Bethech.*[2] As usual, Mercator rendered *sliabh* as *slew*.
4. *Slew Gare.* No Irish or English form. This can only relate to the low hills (*c.*600–800 feet) in the Ballybay—Shercock area. No