

advances made possible by Smith's work have overtaken and outdated it, so that a thorough re-appraisal of all headword entries is necessary for the new edition. Another factor to be taken into consideration is the compilation of a computerised database of place-name material at the Centre for English Name Studies, University of Nottingham. This is taking place alongside work on the new edition of *PNElements*, and as part of the same research project. Time permitting, the database will aim to provide comprehensive coverage of English place-names, giving alternative derivations for each name in cases of uncertainty. Doubtful headwords will be included here rather than in the new edition of *PNElements*, and the latter will thus constitute a less comprehensive but more reliable dictionary of words whose occurrence is securely evidenced in place-names. Some of Smith's entries can no longer be considered appropriate, but none will lightly be set aside. A list of deleted headwords, with a brief explanation of the reasons for rejection, will be essential as an appendix to the new edition of *English Place-Name Elements*.⁶⁰

The Mountain Names of County Down

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Of all the place-names which have been subjected to the attention of scholars in the last 100 years it seems to me that those of physical features have been the most neglected. This is certainly true of Ireland and had, up to the 1960s at least, also been true of Scotland.¹ In this paper I am concerned, in particular, with the names of hills, mountains and other upland features in that part of County Down popularly known as 'the Mourne Mountains'.² We might expect this area to be fruitful for two reasons. Firstly the preliminary groundwork has recently been completed.³ Furthermore, of all the mountainous areas in Ireland the Mourne area deserves special attention, particularly as de hÓir has stated that more names of this sort were collected here than in any other part of Ireland.⁴ The mountain names fall into two classes: (i) the great majority of names which are not administrative units and are rarely documented in the early sources; (ii) those administrative names, i.e. townlands, which derive from physical features. This latter group forms about a quarter of the total. It may also be worth

¹ 'The reason for this apparent lack of interest in mountain-nomenclature ... must surely lie in the comparative lateness and derivativeness of that nomenclature, which in turn is to be explained by the fairly recent interest taken in mountains as such by climbers, scientists, cartographers, etc.', W. F. H. Nicolaisen, 'Scottish Place-Names 32: Gaelic *tulach* and *barr*', *Scottish Studies*, 13 (1969), 159-66 (at p. 159).

² This range does not fall wholly within the boundaries of the barony of Mourne, which is coterminous with the parish of Kilkeel (47,887 statute acres); in fact it straddles those boundaries and extends into the neighbouring parishes of Kilcoo (18,206 acres), Kilbroney (13,208), Clonallan (11,560) and Clonduff (21,227 acres).

³ Gregory Toner and Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín, *Place-Names of Northern Ireland*, 1, *County Down*, I, *Newry and South-West Down* (Belfast, 1992); Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín, *Place-Names of Northern Ireland*, 3, *County Down*, III, *The Mournes* (Belfast, 1993).

⁴ Éamonn de hÓir, 'Roinnt nótaí ar *sliabh*, *binn*, *cruach* in ainmneacha cnoc', *Dinnseanchas*, 4 (1970-71), 1-6 (at p. 3).

⁶⁰ I am grateful to Professor Barrie Cox for reading this article through and advising me on various matters.

mentioning at this point that of the other townland names which are not the subject of this discussion the overwhelming number are Irish in origin. Only the townlands of Grange and Greencastle seem to have been named by the Anglo-Normans, which is in marked contrast to the Ards peninsula of Co. Down in particular where their influence on the toponymy was substantial.⁵ Norse influence is also minimal and seems to be confined to the name Carlingford Lough and to the island named Haulbowline in that lough. There are, however, some names of English origin, largely minor names or names of physical features which sprang up in an increasingly English-speaking environment between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

It would be well to begin our examination of the mountain nomenclature of this area with a brief description of the name Mourne itself and its historical background. The original Irish form *Mughdhorna* is a tribal name and it seems likely that the people so named migrated to Down from Co. Monaghan sometime in the second half of the twelfth century. Prior to this the district as a whole was known simply as *Bairche* or *Boirche*, which Arthurs believes to be a neuter noun in origin, cognate with Irish *bar(r)* 'top, pinnacle' and meaning 'the peak district'.⁶ It was later that the mountains came to be known as *Beanna Boirche*, 'the peaks of the peak district', which is obviously a tautological name. *Beanna Boirche* continued to be applied to the mountain range in Irish-language documentation up to the last century, but the tribal name *Mughdhorna* replaced *Boirche* as the name most commonly applied to the district as early as 1204.⁷

Having dealt with the name of the barony we can now consider those townland names which derive from the names of hills and mountains. Of the 173 townlands in the Mourne area, 56 are derived from the names of hills and mountains, almost exactly one third. When one excludes the considerable area of low ground along the coast where the names are densest, we can see that the names in upland areas are almost wholly derived from their physical environments as opposed to settlements in the lowland areas. The most striking feature

⁵ A. J. Hughes and R. J. Hannan, *Place-Names of Northern Ireland*, 2, *County Down*, II, *The Ards* (Belfast, 1992).

⁶ J. B. Arthurs, 'Mourne', *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society*, 1st series, 1 (1952-53), 15-17 (at p. 17).

⁷ Ó Mainnín, *The Mournes*, p. 124.

of the townland names (Appendix D) is the preponderance of elements such as *droim* or *druim*, *dromainn*, *lorgain* and *tulaigh* and the scarcity of *sliabh*, *mullach* and *cnoc*. Both *droim* 'ridge' and *lorgain* 'shin' are examples of words which have undergone the same semantic shift as English 'ridge', i.e. from a part of the body to a physical feature. *Druim* is found all over those parts of Scotland where Gaelic has at some time been spoken,⁸ and is also extremely common in Ireland where it is found initially in c. 2,400 settlement-names.⁹ The similar word *dromainn* (< *dromann*) is said to mean 'ridge, hillock or humpback hill'. *Lorgain* (< *lorga*) has come to mean 'a long low ridge, stripe [sic] of land' in place-names,¹⁰ and is most common in the provinces of Ulster and Connaught.¹¹ *Tulaigh* (< *tulach*) 'hillock, knoll, mount, etc.' is another common element in Irish place-names and is also common in central and particularly north-eastern Scotland.¹²

Taken together a sizeable number of these names are descriptive and are of the form noun plus adjective: *Droim Mór* 'large ridge', *Dromainn Leathan* 'broad or level ridge', *Lorgain Riabhach* 'dun or grey long low ridge'. Many are qualified by other nouns which may refer to some attribute of the primary feature, e.g. *Lorgain Chonaire* 'long low ridge of the pass', or to its natural resources, organic or inorganic, e.g. *Tulaigh Fhraoigh* 'hill of the heather'. A few are qualified by surnames: *Lorgain Uí Cháinte* 'Ó Cáinte's long low ridge', *Tulaigh Uí Bhranagáin* 'Branigan's hill'. Some appear to be reasonably old,¹³ particularly those which are compounds, e.g. *Eachroim* 'horse-ridge', *Liatroim* 'grey ridge', *An Ghlasdromainn* 'the green ridge'. Names such as *Tulaigh na Sú* 'hill of the berries', where the article is present, are

⁸ W. F. H. Nicolaisen, 'The Distribution of Certain Gaelic Mountain-Names', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 45 (1967-68), 113-28 (at p. 120).

⁹ P. W. Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 3 vols (Dublin, 1869-1913), I, 524.

¹⁰ Joyce, *Irish Names*, I, 527.

¹¹ Art Ó Maolfabhail, 'Baill choirp mar logainmneacha', *Ainm*, 3 (1988), 18-26 (at p. 20).

¹² Nicolaisen, 'Gaelic *tulach* and *barr*', p. 164.

¹³ For the dating of early Irish place-name formations see Deirdre Flanagan, 'Place-Names in Early Irish Documentation: Structure and Composition', *Nomina*, 4 (1980), 41-45, and Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'Noun + Noun Compounds in Irish Placenames', *Études celtiques*, 18 (1981), 151-63.

probably the latest stratum and it is worth noting that examples without the article seem to be more common: *Tulaigh Phréamb* 'hill of the roots', *Dromainn Dombnaigh* 'ridge of the church'. The latter is particularly noteworthy as it has been claimed that *dombnach*, in the sense 'church', had largely ceased to be productive in the forming of names as early as the seventh century.¹⁴ Other names which may form the earliest stratum are *Cuilleann* 'a steep, unbroken slope', a word which has long been obsolete,¹⁵ and *Teambraigh* 'conspicuous or elevated place'. *Guthard* 'resounding height' might seem an unlikely name formation were it not that a similar name occurs in an early Irish law text and in the Tripartite Life of St Patrick. The townland of Guhard in Co. Kerry is of similar origin.¹⁶ Another formation also containing the element *ard* is *Ard Eachaidh* 'Eachaidh's height'.

Other common elements in these townland names deserve a mention. *Carraig* 'a rock' is found in composition with surnames in *Carraig Uí Chrosáin* 'O'Crossan's rock' and *Carraig Uí Mhaoilsté* 'MacStay's rock'. It also appears in the name *Cairrgeanach* 'place of rocks' where it is compounded with the suffix *-(e)anach*. *Boirinn* (< *boireann*) 'a rocky place' is the primary element in three townland names: *An Bhoirinn* in Clonallan, and *An Bhoirinn Bhán* and *An Bhoirinn Riabhach* 'the white rocky district' and 'the dun or grey rocky district' in Kilcoo. Townlands indicative of a similar geographical environment are *Carr an Chuilinn* 'rugged place of the holly' and possibly *Cruán* 'hard ground' and *Muine Scailpe* 'scrub or thicket of the fissure'. There are also a couple of instances of the element *tamhnach* or *tamhnaigh* 'clearing or grassy upland': *Tamhnach an Choirthe* 'clearing or grassy upland of the (memorial) stone' and *Tamhnaigh Bheithe* 'clearing or grassy upland of the birch'.

Maol 'bare or round summit or hill' may be established in two names: *Maol Dortáin* 'Dortán's bare or round summit' and possibly *Baile Mhaoile* 'townland of the bare or round summit'. It is also found in Scotland where it is confined largely to the West Highlands and

¹⁴ Deirdre Flanagan, 'A Summary Guide to the More Commonly Attested Ecclesiastical Elements in Place-Names', *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society*, 2nd series, 4 (1981-82), 69-75 (at pp. 70-71).

¹⁵ T. S. Ó Máille, 'Cuilleann in áitainmneacha', *Béaloideas*, 28 (1960), 50-64 (at pp. 58 and 61).

¹⁶ Ó Mainnín, *The Mournes*, p. 88.

Inner Hebrides. Nicolaisen has suggested that it may have ceased to be productive there 'at a comparatively early stage, i.e. before Gaelic speakers settled in the Pictish north-east from the ninth century onwards'; alternatively, it may be 'a dialect word in its topographical usage'.¹⁷ However, our latter example, *Baile Mhaoile*, is quite likely to be post-twelfth century as it contains the element *baile* 'farmstead, homestead, townland'.¹⁸ *Maol Dortáin*, on the other hand, may be much older as it contains the early personal name *Dortán* or *Dartán* which also appears to be found in the ecclesiastical name Kildarton in Co. Armagh. It remains to mention the solitary examples of *sliabh*, *mullach* and *cnoc* in these townland names: *Sliabh na Leargadh* 'mountain of the sloping expanse', *An Mullach Mór* 'the great summit' and *Cnoc Bearach* 'hill of heifers'.

When we examine those hill or mountain names which are not townland names, however, the picture is quite different. Here the *sliabh* element abounds and forms by far the greater proportion of all mountain names, townland names included. A number of distinctive groups can be identified. Most likely first in chronological order are those which contain personal names (Appendix E1e), particularly *Sliabh Dónairt* 'Dónart's mountain', but possibly also *Sliabh Diarmada* 'Dermot's mountain', *Sliabh Mártain* 'Martin's mountain' and *Sliabh Mhic Rúslaing* 'Mac Rúslaing's mountain'. In the case of both *Sliabh Diarmada* and *Sliabh Mártain* the absence of lenition of the personal name indicates that they do not belong to the latest stratum of names, although this may not mean that they are particularly old either. *Sliabh Diarmada* is probably named after *Diarmaid ua Duibhne* of the warrior band known as the *Fianna*. *Fionn mac Cumhaill* (anglicized Finn MacCool) was the leader of this legendary group of soldiers who were said to have lived in the early centuries of the first millenium. The latter is commemorated in another mountain name in the locality, *Suí Finn* 'Fionn's seat'. It is also convenient to consider *Sliabh na mBan* 'mountain of the women' at this point. This appears to be rather an unlikely name for a mountain. However, there is another Slievenaman in Co. Tipperary which was anciently known as *Sliabh na mBan Feimhinn* 'mountain of the women of Feimhenn', *Feimhenn* being an

¹⁷ Nicolaisen, 'Gaelic Mountain-Names', p. 121.

¹⁸ Deirdre Flanagan, 'Common Elements in Irish Place-Names: *baile*', *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society*, 2nd series, 1 (1978), 8-13 (at p. 8).

old territorial name. It derives its name from a famous *sí* or fairy palace on the eastern shoulder of the mountain where the women of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* or fairy folk are said to have enchanted none other than *Fionn mac Cumhaill* and his *Fianna*.¹⁹ It is possible, therefore, that our Slievenaman does derive from *Sliabh na mBan* in Irish and that the name originated in some similar local folklore. Whatever the correct interpretation of *Sliabh na mBan* it seems possible that *Sliabh Diarmada* and *Suí Finn* are old names which were coined some time after the twelfth century when stories of the *Fiannaíocht* cycle came to prominence both in Ireland and Scotland. Finally there is *Sliabh Mhig Eothach* 'Mageogh's mountain', which differs from others in the group in that *Mag Eothach* is a surname.

Now to return to *Sliabh Dónairt*. Slieve Donard is the highest and most prominent mountain in Mourne. For this reason it is sometimes referred to as *Benn mBoirchi* 'the peak of *Boirche*' in the earliest sources, as opposed to *Beanna Boirche* 'the peaks of *Boirche*' which applies to the range as a whole. In the Triads of Ireland it is described as one of 'the three heights of Ireland', the other two being *Crúachán Aigli*, now Croagh Patrick in Mayo, and *Ae Chúalann*, either the Great Sugarloaf or Lugnaquilla in the Wicklow mountains. Unlike *Boirche*, *Dónart* (< *Domongort*), who features in the modern name, seems to have been an historical character who belonged to the late fifth and early sixth centuries. His father *Echaid*, king of the *Ulaid* (from whom Ulster takes its name), died in 503. The Tripartite Life of St Patrick tells us that *Echaid* was a pagan chief who, in trying to prevent two maidens from devoting their lives to Christianity, incurred the wrath of St Patrick. For this the saint cursed him by saying that his own life would be short and that the kingship of Ulster would pass to his brother *Cairell* and his descendants. *Echaid's* wife, however, submitted to Patrick who blessed both her and the child in her womb, *Domongort*, on that account. *Domongort* was later to distinguish himself as a saint and is honoured in the text as the man who 'will upraise Patrick's relics shortly before Doom'. He was still remembered in the locality in 1834 when Mrs Con Magennis related a number of legends concerning the saint's alleged conflict with St Patrick to John O'Donovan while the latter was on field work in Annaclone and Drumballyroney.²⁰

¹⁹ Joyce, *Irish Names*, I, 185.

The mountain we have just been dealing with is exceptional in that it occurs frequently in the sources from as early as the ninth century. There are other names in the area which, if not quite as ancient, also have their origins in early times. These are the mountain names in which *sliabh* is the second element in a compound (Appendix E1a): *Crotsliabh* 'humped mountain', *Fionnsliabh* 'white mountain' and *Maolsliabh* 'bare or round mountain'. With the latter may be compared *Formaol* 'round or bare summit'. Possibly the most interesting formation of this type is *Seansliabh* 'old mountain', which appears twice in the nomenclature of the Mournes.²¹ This might seem to be an extremely odd name, as how can one mountain be older than another? It is probably to be explained as indicating that these mountains had been grazed or possibly even inhabited before others in the area.

Later formations are also common in the Mournes in which the noun is followed by the adjective in keeping with the conventional word-order in Modern Irish, Scottish and Manx (Appendix E1b). Most of these names are unexceptional from the linguistic and indeed topological point of view: *Sliabh Bán* 'white mountain', *Sliabh Beag* 'little mountain', *Sliabh Bearnach* 'gapped mountain', *Sliabh Bog* 'soft mountain', *Sliabh Corrach* 'rugged or pointed mountain', *Sliabh Fada* 'long mountain', *Sliabh Mín* 'smooth mountain', and *Sliabh Rua* 'red mountain' (2 examples). *Sliabh Spallta* 'scorched mountain' is an unusual name, however, and *Sliabh Coimhéideach* 'watching or guarding mountain' is also an interesting example. Another evocative name is *Sliabh Lámbhagáin* 'creeping mountain', so called, according to Harris, 'because it must be climbed in a creeping Posture'.²² This name differs from *Sliabh Coimhéideach* in that *sliabh* is here qualified by a noun rather than an adjective (Appendix E1c). Other names of this type resemble *Sliabh Lámbhagáin* in that the article is not employed. *Sliabh Binneáin* 'mountain of the little peak' is an interesting example, as is *Sliabh Meascán* 'mountain of the *meascáns*', where *meascán*

²⁰ Ó Mainnín, *The Mournes*, pp. 154-57.

²¹ *Seansliabh* is an exception in that *sean* is one of a small number of adjectives which continue to be prefixed to nouns in the modern Gaelic dialects.

²² Walter Harris, *The Antient and Present State of the County of Down* (Dublin, 1744), p. 123.

probably refers to 'a pat or small dish of butter'. It seems likely that the mountain got its name from the custom of burying butter there in order to preserve it. This was common practice in areas where cattle were grazed on high ground during the summer months, and Wagner has noted the custom in the *Sliabh Liag* area of south-west Donegal.²³ *Sliabh an Ime* 'mountain of the butter' is probably of similar origin and here, like in most other names in this group, the article is in evidence. Other examples are *Sliabh an Chairn* 'mountain of the cairn', *Sliabh an Charnáin* 'mountain of the little cairn', and *Sliabh na gCloch*, 'mountain of the rocks', of which there are four examples in the Mournes, two anglicized as Slievenaglogh and two translated as Rocky Mountain.

There is a considerable number of mountain names in Mourne which are qualified by the names of animals (Appendix E1d). A couple of the more interesting examples will suffice. *Sliabh na Circe* 'mountain of the hen' is one such name. We have seen that the old Irish name for the Mournes was *Beanna Boirche* which, in the medieval *Dindshenchas* or 'lore of famous places', has been explained as 'Boirche's peaks'. It is particularly interesting, therefore, that there are also three references to 'Boirche's hen' elsewhere in the *Dindshenchas*, which suggests that there might be a connection with Hen Mountain. There is nothing, however, to connect this body of legend with the Mournes other than the name *Boirche* itself.²⁴ *Sliabh an Choiligh* 'mountain of the cock' is a similar type of name and both are often coupled in the locality as 'the Cock and Hen'.²⁵ Other names worth noting are the pair *Sliabh Muc* 'mountain of [the] pigs' and *Sliabh na Muc* 'mountain of the pigs' which illustrate the contrast between late names which introduce the article and earlier strata.

In marked contrast to *sliabh* is *beann*, dative *b(e)inn*, 'peak, pinnacle, etc.'. This element is particularly common in Scotland—there are over 1000 examples of it as an initial element on Scottish One-Inch maps—so much so that Nicolaisen has considered it to be 'a

²³ Heinrich Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn. Foghraidheacht, gramadach, téacsanna* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1959), p. 242.

²⁴ Ó Mainnín, *The Mournes*, pp. 141–43.

²⁵ Cf. the Scottish triad *a' Chearc Leòdhasach, an Coileach Arannach, agus an Eireag Mhanannach*, 'the Hen of Lewis (Chicken Head), the Cock of Arran, and the Pullet of Man (the Calf)': W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 96.

Scottish-Gaelic mountain-word'.²⁶ However, de hÓir has shown that there are 73 examples of *binn* as initial element on Irish Half-Inch maps, so it is best to assume that it may be an element which fell out of productive usage earlier in Ireland than in Scotland. It is most common in west Kerry, Galway and Mayo, Leitrim and west Ulster.²⁷ Here in this part of east Ulster (Appendix E2) we have only a couple of examples: *Beann(a) Boirche* and *Beann Chrom* 'curved or stooped peak', although the names *Sliabh Binneáin* 'mountain of *Binneáin* (little peak)' and *Broinn Bhinneáin* 'breast of *Binneáin*' should also be noted. Another element which is common in Scotland, particularly the south-west, is *barr* 'top, uppermost part'.²⁸ In Mourne we have one example: *Barr an Dá Shruith* 'summit of the two rivers'.

Cnoc 'hill, hillock, eminence' is a very common element in both Ireland and Scotland, and there are a number of examples in the Mournes (Appendix E4): *An Cnoc Bán* 'the white hill', *Cnoc Croidh* 'hill of the cattle', *Cnoc na Feola* 'hill of the meat', *Cnoc Sí* 'hill of the fairy mound' and *Cnoc Uí Chorráin* 'Curran's hill'. An interesting point about these names is that, with the exception of *Cnoc Croidh*, the element in all is locally pronounced [kr̥ɔk], and in most it is written as pronounced, which indicates a late stage of anglicization. *Cnoc Croidh*, on the other hand, appears as Knockchree because it was first anglicized in the sixteenth century,²⁹ when *kn* was still pronounced in English and also, presumably, before the [n] had developed to [r] in the Irish dialects of the northern half of Ireland. It is also worth noting that [kr̥ɔk] had developed further to [kr̥ɔŋk] in the field names of the area,³⁰ as also was the case in the Scottish island of Arran.³¹ This development is also paralleled in Manx.³²

Tulach, as we have already noted, is a common element in townland names. There is only one non-administrative example *Tulach*

²⁶ Nicolaisen, 'Gaelic Mountain-Names', pp. 115–16.

²⁷ de hÓir, 'Roinnt nótaí', pp. 4 and 5.

²⁸ Nicolaisen, 'Gaelic *tulach* and *barr*', p. 164.

²⁹ Ó Mainnín, *The Mournes*, p. 143.

³⁰ Bernard Treanor, 'Some Field-Names in the Burren District of South Down', *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society*, 1st series, 3 (1955), 43–49 (at p. 47).

³¹ Nicolaisen, 'Gaelic Mountain-Names', p. 119.

³² J. J. Kneen, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man* (Douglas, 1925), p. 29 and *passim*.

Móna 'hill of the bog'. *Droim* (Appendix E5) is another word which appears in many townland names, but again there are only a few non-townland examples: *Droim Lao* 'ridge of the calf' and *Droim na Treasaí* 'ridge of the river Trassey'. Other parts of the body not met with earlier are *ceann*, 'head', dative *cionn*, as in *Cionn na hAla* 'head or peak of the rock', and two words for 'breast', *ucht* and *broinn* (< *bronn*): *Ucht* 'mountain-breast', *Broinn Bhinneáin* 'breast of *Binneán* (little peak)'. A word reminiscent of *droim* is *droinn* (< *dronn*) 'ridge, hump' (Appendix E6). *Droinn an Choiligh* 'ridge of the cock' recalls *Sliabh an Choiligh*, above, but there is also *Droinn Íomhair* 'Íomhar's ridge', and a plural form *Na Dronna* 'the ridges'. *Grugán* is similar in meaning and seems to appear in *Grugán Dubh* 'black hump or ridge' and *Grugán Sceach* 'ridge of thornbushes'.

A number of elements are attested in these mountain names with reference to the brow, shelf, bank, or side of a hill or mountain (Appendix E3). We have *Leacain Bheag* and *Leacain Mhór*, 'little' and 'great brow', *Bruach na Madadh* 'shelf of the dogs' (cf. *Sliabh na Madadh*), *Taobh Docrach* 'difficult side', *Taobh Dubh* 'black side' and, finally, *Port Mór* 'great bank or raised ridge'. We have seen that *carraig* 'rock' features in the townland names. It is also found among the non-townland names (Appendix E8): *Carraig Bheag* and *Mhór* 'big' and 'little rock' and *Carraig na gColm* 'rock of the pigeons'. Similar terms are *creag*, as in *Creag Dhubh* 'black crag or rock', *Creag na Loiste* 'crag of the shallow depression', *Creag na Móna* 'crag of the bog', and *cloch*: *An Chloch Fhada* 'the long stone', *An Chloch Mhór*, 'the big stone', *Cloch Ghearráin* 'stone of the horse' and probably *Cloghachorcha* which is of uncertain origin. *Tor(r)* 'hill, mountain of an abrupt or conical form, tower, etc.' which in Scotland is most common in Argyll, Mull and Arran,³³ seems to be in evidence in *Tor na mBroc* 'tall rock of the badgers' (cf. *Sliabh na mBroc*). A couple of unusual names are *Spealag* 'pointed rock', which is also found in a collective sense in *Speilgeach* 'place abounding in pointed rocks', and *Spinc Bhuí* 'yellow crag or pinnacle' which survives in hybrid form as the Spinkwee or Cascade River. Other interesting names are those which seem to owe their names to a fancied resemblance to some sort of fortification: *Caisleán Airt Mhic Phiarais* 'Art Pierce's castle', *Crannóg* 'prominent rock reminiscent of a *crannóg* (lake-dwelling)' and *Dún Maol Chobha*

³³ Nicolaisen, 'Gaelic Mountain-Names', pp. 124-25.

'*Maol Chobha's* fort'. With these may be compared the similar English-language names (Appendix A4): The Back Castles, The Castles and Hares Castle.

A few more names remain to be considered. Firstly there are the elements *lag(án)* 'hollow', *poll* 'hole', *allt* 'glen' (Appendix E9), which appear in *Lag an Choire* 'hollow of the corrie', *Lagán an Bhruacháin* 'little hollow of the little shelf', *Poll an Phúca* 'hole of the goblin', *Poll Garbh* 'rough hole', *Allt an tSagairt* 'mountain or glen of the priest' and *Abhainn Aillt an Chaorthainn* 'river of the glen of the rowan tree'. The element *allt* has a variety of meanings in both Irish and Scottish, ranging from 'mountain' to 'glen' to 'river', and it is not always easy to decide between them. On the other hand, *corrach* 'a marsh' is immediately transparent (Appendix E10): *Corrach Ard* 'high marsh' and *Corrach Chnoc Dubh* 'the marsh of *Cnoc Dubh* (black hill)'. Finally there are a couple of less common names (Appendix E11): *Na Créachta* 'strips of land used for boolying (summer grazing)' and *Na Ruáin* 'the red patches'.

Finally we need to consider those names which appear to be of English language origin. Some of these are actually translations of the original Irish names (Appendix C), e.g. *Sliabh an Choiligh* (Cock Mountain) and *Carraig na gColm* (Pigeon Rock); others are hybrid forms (Appendix B), e.g. Crock Horn Stream (< *Cnoc Uí Chorráin*) and Drumlea Stream (< *Droim Lao*). Of the remainder some may well be translations also, but lack of evidence one way or another is the problem here. There are only a few names, therefore, which can be said to be definitely of English origin and these are usually names which commemorate some of the post-seventeenth-century settler families in the area (Appendix A1). The Spences, Carrs, Batts and Thunders are all recorded in the Mourne area between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Of the personal names Luke and Thomas, however, we have no record. Although not actually a hill or mountain name, Miners Hole deserves a mention. It is said to owe its name to the activities of Cornish miners who searched for ores in the area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it is possibly from similar mining or quarrying activity that Diamond Rocks and Millstone Mountain derive their names. The Cornish miners are said to have given the Silent Valley, which is the source of much of Belfast and Co. Down's water supply, its earlier name the Happy Valley.

CONCLUSION

In coming to any conclusion on the mountain names covered in this survey we need to be aware of a number of difficulties. Firstly there is the scant amount of historical evidence available. Our administrative names first appear in documents of the mid-sixteenth century, while the rest of our names, the great majority, can be traced back no further than the name-books and letters associated with the first Ordnance Survey of 1834. It is interesting that John O'Donovan, the Irish language scholar employed to standardize the anglicized forms of names which appeared on the maps, had difficulty with many of these names and that he regarded some of them as 'very curious'.³⁴ There are, indeed, some unusual names in the area and we have commented on Spelga, Spaltha, Guhard and others in the course of our discussion. Most of our names, however, are ultimately decipherable and, while the origin of some may be far from certain,³⁵ there are only five names for which we are unable to suggest any origin at all, viz. Cloghachorcha, Crenville, Crossone, Slieveanowen and Slieve-moughanmore. The second problem arises from the first, in that the lack of comprehensive written evidence makes the dating and stratification of elements, compounds etc. extremely difficult.

One of the most striking differences between the mountain names of Ireland and Scotland in general is in a sense a superficial one, in that in Scotland many, if not most, of the important Gaelic mountain elements seem to appear on maps both in Gaelic and English dress: *beinn* and *ben*, *cnoc* and *knock*, *sliabh* and *slew*, *druim* and *drum* (or *drim*), *torr* and *tor*. This is to some extent a reflection of the extent of the Gaelic-speaking area in Scotland when surveyed by the Ordnance Survey in the mid-nineteenth century, but then Irish was equally prominent at the time of the Irish Ordnance Survey in the 1830s. It may be fair to say, therefore, that the difference between the two countries is due in no small measure to the approach of the Ordnance Survey to names in Ireland and to the standardization process to which those names were subjected by John O'Donovan.

³⁴ Ó Mainnín, *The Mournes*, p. 11.

³⁵ Where there is some doubt about the original Irish form, the name is preceded by a question mark in the appendix. As a rule it is the specific rather than the generic element in the name which poses the difficulty, whereas it is usually the generic element that concerns us here.

One example of how the standardization process may distort the evidence somewhat is the element *sliabh*, which is normally anglicized *sieve* in Ireland. In Ulster and North Connaught Irish, however, this word is pronounced [ʃL'iuw], which ties in well with the form *slieau* in the Isle of Man and the anglicized form *slew-* in Galloway. Nicolaisen has noted in relation to Galloway that 'the dialect association appears to be much closer with Man and the northern parts of Ireland than with the surviving dialects of the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd*'.³⁶ More significantly, perhaps, he has shown that 'there are hardly as many examples [of *sliabh*] in the rest of Scotland as there are in the Rinns of Galloway alone',³⁷ and that outside Galloway a very large part of the distribution pattern is strikingly similar to that of the early Dalriadic settlement of Gaelic speakers in Scotland from the middle of the fifth century onwards.³⁸ However, he has suggested that its survival in the Rinns may bear witness to a pre-Norse stratum of Gaelic speakers in the area, independent of the colony of *Dál Riada*.³⁹ The fact that the element is absent from the major part of Gaelic Scotland in its broadest sense seems to support this view, as does, perhaps, the phonological evidence.

Whether the frequency of the term *sliabh* in Galloway is due to Irish influence independent of *Dál Riada* or not does not directly concern us here. What is significant is that although the element is found all over Ireland it is particularly common in Co. Down, which is in east Ulster, whereas *beann* or *binn* is more common in the west of that province.⁴⁰ This is all the more significant when one considers that Down and Galloway lie opposite each other and that Galloway is also distinctive within Scotland in terms of the distribution of the element. The similarities are such that some of the names in both regions (and also in the Isle of Man) are practically identical in form: Slewbarne, Slewcairn, Slewfad, Slewmeen Hill and Slewmeuck in Galloway; Slieau Ruy, Slieau Veg and Slieau Karrin in the Isle of Man;⁴¹ *Sliabh Bearnach*,

³⁶ W. F. H. Nicolaisen, 'Scottish Place-Names 24: *Slew-* and *sliabh*', *Scottish Studies*, 9 (1965), 91-106 (at p. 98).

³⁷ Nicolaisen, '*Slew-* and *sliabh*', pp. 99-101.

³⁸ Nicolaisen, '*Slew-* and *sliabh*', p. 102.

³⁹ Nicolaisen, '*Slew-* and *sliabh*', p. 103.

⁴⁰ de hÓir, '*Roinnt nótaí*', p. 5.

⁴¹ Nicolaisen, '*Slew-* and *sliabh*', pp. 96 and 99.

Sliabh an Chairn, *Sliabh Fada*, *Sliabh Mín*, *Sliabh Muc*, *Sliabh Rua* and *Sliabh Beag* in the Mournes.

De hÓir believed that many *sliabh* names are not transparent and appear to be quite archaic; he also agreed with Nicolaisen in thinking that *beann* or *beinn* names may be comparatively late.⁴² This latter opinion seems to be supported by the fact that *sliabh* did not remain productive for long in Scotland and that outside Galloway it was replaced in the lexicon, and ultimately in the onomasticon, in the sense of 'mountain' by *beinn*.⁴³ However, the Mourne evidence may not tie in so well with these conclusions. Firstly we have noted that Down agrees with Galloway in that *sliabh* is by far the more common of the two elements *sliabh* and *beann* or *b(e)inn*. Secondly, the *sliabh* names in Mourne are for the most part quite transparent and, although as many as a third may well be old, most, in terms of their semantics and morphology, have a modern appearance, e.g. *Sliabh Bán* and *Sliabh na Muc*. It is also highly significant that the old name *Benn mBoirchi* later became *Sliabh Dónairt* and that *Binneán* became *Sliabh Binneáin*. This also suggests that *sliabh* displaced *beann* in this area and not the other way round.

It is possible, at least in general terms, to identify a relative chronology of the mountain names in the Mournes. The earliest names seem to be compounds such as *Eachroim*, *Liatroim*, *Guthard*, and *Fionnshliabh*. Some of those names which contain Old Irish personal names must also be old, particularly *Dún Maol Chobha* and *Sliabh Dónairt*. Names which are formed from an association of two nouns without the article also form an early stratum, *Dromáinn Dombnaigh* for example. It is interesting that a greater proportion of those mountain names which have been adopted as townland names seem to be of this type, while more of the *sliabh* names seem to introduce the article, e.g. *Sliabh na Muc* and *Sliabh an Iolair*. Nouns followed by the adjective are found in both groups (townland and non-townland names), and such names may often be quite late in origin.

These are only very general conclusions and may not be cast in stone. This is equally true in terms of the difference in terminology and in the distribution of elements throughout the area. Many of the

⁴² de hÓir, 'Roinnt nótaí', pp. 4 and 5; Nicolaisen, 'Gaelic Mountain-Names', p. 117.

⁴³ Nicolaisen, 'Slew- and *sliabh*', p. 102.

apparent differences may be due to a large extent to matters relating to topography and geology. The fact that *sliabh*, for example, is rarely attested in townland names may be explained by the fact that names of the latter type are usually indicative of settlement, cultivation, etc., activities which are scarcely possible on the higher slopes and mountains. This may also explain why *tulach*, on the other hand, is common in townland names. It may not explain, however, why *cnoc*, which is not all that different in meaning from *tulach*, is almost completely absent from the townland lists. Matters such as this require further investigation and much of the preliminary research has yet to be published, particularly in Ireland. When this work is more readily available we will be able to say much more about the nature of our mountain names, and I am certain that comparative work within and between the various Gaelic-speaking areas will prove to be particularly important.

APPENDIX OF NAMES

The abbreviations CF, CN, KL, KO, KY or WT after townland names indicate that they are situated in one or other of the six parishes of Clonduff, Clonallan, Kilkeel, Kilcoo, Kilbroney or Warrenpoint. See also note 35, above.

A: ENGLISH LANGUAGE NAMES

(1) surnames

Batt's Wall (earlier Batt's Mountain)
Bell Hill
Carr's Face
Luke's Mountain
Spences Mountain
Thomas's Mountain
Thunder's Hill

(2) animals

Eagle Rock
? Hares Gap
Pigeon Rock Mountain (earlier *Droim Lao* 'ridge of the calf')

(3) resources

Blaeberry Mountain
Diamond Rocks
Millstone Mountain
Miners Hole

(4) fortifications

Back Castles, The
Castles, The
Hares Castle

(5) miscellaneous

Black Stairs
Chimney Rock Mountain (earlier *Sliabh an Aoire* 'mountain of the shepherd?')
Cove Mountain
Fallow, The
Long Mountain, The (translation of *Sliabh Fada?*)
Rocky Mountain J3425 (translation of *Sliabh na gCloch?*)

B: HYBRID (DERIVATIVE OR RE-USED) NAMES

(1) streams and rivers

<i>Cnoc Uí Chorráin</i> 'Curran's hill'	Crock Horn Stream
<i>Droim Lao</i> 'ridge of the calf'	Drumlea Stream
<i>Spinc Bhuí</i> 'yellow crag or pinnacle'	Spinkwee or Cascade River

(2) mountains

<i>Cill Eoghain</i> 'Eoghan's church'	Killowen Mountains KY
<i>Múrna</i> (tribal name)	Mourne Mountains East, Middle, West KL
? <i>Ros Treabhair</i> 'Trevor's wood'	Rosstrevor Mountains KY
<i>Scardán</i> 'waterfall'	Scardan Hill
<i>Sliabh an Choiligh</i> 'mountain of the cock'	Cock Mountain Common KO
<i>Sliabh Mhic Rúslaing</i> 'Mac Rúslaing's mountain'	Wee Roosley
Slievemoughan (of uncertain origin)	Wee Slievemoughan

C: TRANSLATED NAMES

<i>Caisleán Airt Mhic Phiarais</i> 'Art Pierce's castle'	Pierce's Castle
<i>Carraig na gColm</i>	Pigeon Rock
<i>Sliabh an Chairn</i>	Carn Mountain
<i>Sliabh an Choiligh</i>	Cock Mountain
<i>Sliabh an Ime</i>	Butter Mountain
<i>Sliabh an Iolair</i>	Eagle Mountain
<i>Sliabh na Circe</i>	Hen Mountain
<i>Sliabh na gCaorach</i>	Sheep Hill
<i>Sliabh na gCloch</i>	Rocky Mountain J2326
<i>Sliabh na gCloch</i>	Rocky Mountain J2318

D: TOWNLAND NAMES DERIVED FROM MOUNTAIN OR HILL NAMES

(1) ard, mullach, sliabh, etc. ('height', 'top', 'mountain', etc.)

<i>Ard Eachaidh</i> 'Eachaidh's height'	Ardaghy KO
<i>Cuilleann</i> 'a steep, unbroken slope?'	Cullion CN
<i>Guthard</i> 'resounding height'	Goward CF
? <i>Leathfhód</i> 'sloping strip of ground'	Leode CF
<i>Mullach Mór, An</i> 'the great top or summit'	Mullaghmore CF
<i>Sliabh na Leargadh</i> 'mountain of the sloping expanse'	Slievenalargy KO
<i>Teamhraigh</i> 'conspicuous or elevated place'	Tamary CF

(2) droim, lorgain, etc. ('ridge', 'shin', etc.)

<i>Droim Banbh</i> 'ridge of the suckling pigs'	Drumbonniff CF
? <i>Droim Cró</i> 'ridge of the fold or enclosure'	Drumcro KL
<i>Droim Méine</i> 'ridge of the ore or mine'	Drumena KO
<i>Droim Mór</i> 'large/great ridge'	Dromore WT
<i>Droim Réidh</i> 'smooth ridge'	Drumreagh KY
<i>Droim Seasc</i> 'barren ridge'	Drumseak KY
<i>Dromainn Dombnaigh</i> 'ridge or hillock of the church'	Drumindoney KL
<i>Dromainn Leathan</i> 'broad or level ridge or hillock'	Drummanlane KL
<i>Dromainn Mhór</i> 'large ridge or hillock'	Drummanmore KL
? <i>Dromainn na Scambthaí</i> 'ridge or hillock of the bare patch of rocks'	Drumnascamph CF
<i>Eachroim</i> 'horse-ridge'	Aughrim KL
<i>Éadan Tromlaigh</i> 'hill-face abounding in elder-trees'	Edentrumly CN

Ghlasdromainn, *An* 'the green ridge or hillock' Glasdrumman KL
Liatroim 'grey ridge' Leitrim CF
Liatroim 'grey ridge' Leitrim KL
Lorgain Chonaire 'long low ridge of the pass' Lurganconary KL
Lorgain Riabhach 'dun or grey long low ridge' Lurganreagh KL
Lorgain Uí Cháinte 'Ó Cáinte's long low ridge' Lurgancanty CN

(3) **cabhán, cnoc, maol, tulach** etc. ('hill', 'mound' etc.)

? *Baile Mhaoile* 'townland of the bare or round hill or summit'

Ballyweely CF
Cabhán 'round or small hill?' Cavan CF
Cnoc Bearach 'hill of heifers' Knockbarragh KY
Maol Dortáin 'Dortán's bare or round summit or hill' Mullartown KL
Tulaigh Fhraoigh 'mound or hill of the heather' Tullyree KO
Tulaigh Mhór 'large mound or hill' Tollymore (Park) KO
Tulaigh na Sú 'mound or hill of the berries' Tullynasoo KO
Tulaigh Phréamb 'mound or hill of the roots' Tullyframe KL
Tulaigh Uí Bhranagáin 'Branigan's mound or hill' Tullybranigan KO

(4) **boirinn, carraig** etc. ('rocky place', 'rock', etc.)

Bhoirinn, *An* 'the rocky district' Burren CN
Bhoirinn Bhán, *An* 'white rocky district' Burrenbane KO
Bhoirinn Riabhach, *An* 'dun or grey rocky district' Burrenreagh KO
? *Carr an Chuilinn* 'rugged place of the holly' Carcullion CF
? *Carraig Uí Chrosáin* 'O'Crossan's rock' Carrickcrossan CN
Carraig Uí Mhaoilisté 'MacStay's rock' Carrickmacstay CN
? *Cairrgeanach* 'place of rocks' Carrigenagh KL
Cruán 'hard ground' Croan CN
Muine Scailpe 'scrub or thicket of the fissure' Moneyscalp KO

(5) **tamhnach** ('clearing')

? *Tamhnach an Choirthe* 'clearing or grassy upland of the (memorial) stone' Tamnaharry CN
Tamhnaigh Bheithe 'clearing or grassy upland of the birch' Tamnyveagh KY

E: HILLS and MOUNTAINS

(1) **sliabh** ('mountain', 'hill')(a) **compounds**

Crotsbliabh 'humped mountain' Crotlieve Mountain
Fionnsbliabh 'white mountain' Finlieve
Fionnsbliabh Beag 'white mountain (little)' Finlieve Beg
Fionnsbliabh Mór 'white mountain (great)' Finlieve More
Maolsbliabh 'bare or round mountain' Moolieve
Seansbliabh 'old mountain' Shanlieve
? *Seansbliabh* 'old mountain' Shan Slieve

(b) **sliabh plus descriptive adjective**

Sliabh Bán 'white mountain' Slieveban
Sliabh Bearnach 'gapped mountain' Slieve Bearnagh
Sliabh Beag 'little mountain' Slieve Beg
Sliabh Bog 'soft mountain' Slievebug
Sliabh Coimhéideach 'watching or guarding mountain' Slieve Commedagh
Sliabh Corrach 'rugged or pointed mountain' Slieve Corragh
Sliabh Fada 'long mountain' Slievefadda
Sliabh Mín 'smooth mountain' Slievemeen
Sliabh Rua 'red mountain' Slieve Roe
Sliabh Rua 'red mountain' Slieveroe
? *Sliabh Spallta* 'scorched or parched mountain' Spaltha

(c) **sliabh plus qualifying noun**

Sliabh an Aoire 'mountain of the shepherd?' Chimney Rock Mountain
Sliabh an Chairn 'mountain of the cairn' Carn Mountain
Sliabh an Charnáin 'mountain of the little cairn' Slieveacarnane
Sliabh an Ime 'mountain of the butter' Butter Mountain
Sliabh Binneáin 'mountain of the little peak' Slieve Binnian
Sliabh Lámbhagáin 'creeping or crawling mountain' Slivelamagan
Sliabh Meascán 'mountain of the meascáns of butter' Slievemiskan
? *Sliabh Meascáin* 'meascán-shaped mountain or mountain of the meascán of butter' Slievenamiskan
Sliabh na gCloch 'mountain of the stones or rocks' Rocky Mountain

Sliabh na gCloch 'mountain of the stones or rocks'

Rocky Mountain J2318

Sliabh na gCloch 'mountain of the stones or rocks' Slievenaglogh

Sliabh na gCloch 'mountain of the stones or rocks' Slievenaglogh

Sliabh na mBan 'mountain of the women' Slievenaman

? *Sliabh na nGearrach* 'mountain of the drills or furrows'

Slievenagarragh

(d) **sliabh qualified by names of animals**

Sliabh an Choiligh 'mountain of the cock' Cock Mountain

Sliabh an Iolair 'mountain of the eagle' Eagle Mountain

Sliabh Loch Seannach 'mountain of the lake of foxes'

Slieve Loughshannagh

Sliabh Míol 'mountain of the ants' Slievemeel

Sliabh Míol Beag 'little mountain of the ants' Slieve Meelbeg

Sliabh Míol Mór 'great mountain of the ants' Slieve Meelmore

Sliabh Muc 'mountain of the pigs' Slieve Muck

Sliabh na Circe 'mountain of the hen' Hen Mountain

Sliabh na gCaorach 'mountain of the sheep' Sheep Hill

Sliabh na Madadh 'mountain of the dogs' Slievenamaddy

Sliabh na mBroc 'mountain of the badgers' Slievenabrock

Sliabh na Muc 'mountain of the pigs' Slievenamuck

Sliabh na nGabhar 'mountain of the goats' Slievenagore

(e) **sliabh plus personal name or surname**

Sliabh Diarmada 'Dermot's mountain' Slievedermot

Sliabh Dónairt 'Dónart's mountain' Slieve Donard

Sliabh Mártaín 'Martin's mountain' Slievemartin

Sliabh Mhig Eothach 'Mageogh's mountain' Slievemageogh

Sliabh Mhic Rúslaing 'Mac Rúslaing's mountain' Slieve Roosley

(f) **sliabh names of uncertain origin**

Slieveanowen

Slievemoughanmore

(2) **barr, beann ('summit', 'peak')**

Barr an Dá Shruith 'summit of the two rivers' Barradashrugh

Beann Chrom 'curved or stooped peak' Ben Crom

Beanna Boirche 'the peaks of the peaked district' Mourne Mountains

Broinn Bhinneáin 'breast of *Binneán* (little peak)' Wee Binnian

Sliabh Binneáin 'mountain of *Binneán* (little peak)' Slieve Binnian

(3) **bruach, leacain, port, taobh ('shelf', 'brow', 'bank', 'side')**

Bruach na Madadh 'brink or shelf of the dogs' Broughnamaddy

Leacain Bheag 'little brow or hillside' Leckan Beg

Leacain Mhór 'great brow or hillside' Leckan More

Port Mór 'great bank or raised ridge' Portmore

Taobh Docrach 'difficult side or slope' Tievaddockaragh

Taobh Dubh 'black side or slope' Tievadoo

(4) **cnoc(án), tulach ('hill', 'mound')**

Cnoc Bán, An 'white hill' Crockbane

? *Cnoc Croidh* 'hill of the cattle' Knockchree

Cnoc na Feola 'hill of the meat' Crocknafeola

Cnoc Sí 'hill of the fairy mound' Knockshee

Cnoc Uí Chorráin 'Curran's hill' Crock Horn Stream

Cnocán Rua 'red hillock' Crockanroe

? *Corrach Chnoc Dubh* 'the marsh of *Cnoc Dubh* (black hill)'

Curraghknockadoo

Tulach Móna 'mound or hillock of the bog' Tullamona

(5) **broinn, cionn, droim, etc. ('breast', 'head', 'ridge', etc.)**

Broinn Bhinneáin 'breast of *Binneán* (little peak)' Wee Binnian

Cionn na hAla 'head or peak of the rock or boulder' Kinnahalla

Droim Lao 'ridge of the calf' Pigeon Rock Mountain

? *Droim na Treasaí* 'ridge of the river Trassey' Trassey

Ucht 'mountain-breast' Ott Mountain

(6) **droinn, grugán ('hump', 'ridge')**

Droinn an Choiligh 'hump or ridge of the cock' Drinnahilly

Droinn Íomhair 'Íomhar's hump or ridge' Drinneevan

Dronna, Na 'the humps or ridges' Drinns, The

? *Grugán Dubh* 'black hump or ridge' Gruggandoo

? *Grugán Sceach* 'hump or ridge of thornbushes' Grugganskeagh

(7) **caisleán, crannóg, dún** ('castle', 'crannóg', 'fort')

Caisleán Airt Mhic Phiarais 'Art Pierce's castle' Pierce's Castle
Crannóg 'prominent rock reminiscent of a *crannóg*?' Crannoge
Dún Maol Chobha 'Maol Chobha's fort' Doan

(8) **carn, carraig, cloch, etc.** ('cairn', 'rock', 'stone', etc.)

Carn Bán, An 'white cairn' Carnbane
Carraig Bheag 'little rock' Carrick Little
Carraig Mhór 'big rock' Carrick Big
Carraig na gColm 'rock of the pigeons' Pigeon Rock
Chloch Fhada, An 'the long stone' Cloghadda
Cloch Ghearráin 'stone of the horse' Clogharran
Chloch Mhór, An 'the big stone' Cloghmore
 Cloghachorcha (of uncertain origin)
Creag Dhubh 'black crag or rock' Craigdoo
Creag na Loiste 'crag or rock of the shallow depression' Craigalusta
Creag na Móna 'crag or rock of the bog' Craignamona
Spealag 'pointed rock' Spellack
Speilgeach 'place abounding in pointed rocks' Spelga
Spinc Bhuí 'yellow crag or pinnacle' Spinkwee or Cascade River
 ? *Tor na mBroc* 'tall rock of the badgers' Tornamrock

(9) **allt, lag(án), poll** ('glen', 'hollow', 'hole')

Abhainn Aillt an Chaorthainn 'river of the glen of the rowan tree'
 Rowan Tree River
Allt an tSagairt 'mountain or glen of the priest' Altataggart Mountain
Lag an Choire 'hollow of the corrie or cauldron' Pot of Legawherry
Lagán an Bhruacháin 'little hollow of the little shelf or brink'
 Leganabruchan
Poll an Phúca 'hole of the goblin' Pollaphuca
Poll Garbh 'rough hole' Pot of Pulgarve

(10) **corrach** ('marsh')

Corrach Ard 'high marsh' Curraghard
 ? *Corrach Chnoc Dubh* 'the marsh of *Cnoc Dubh* (black hill)'
 Curraghknockadoo

(11) **miscellaneous**

Créachta, Na 'strips of land used for boolying (summer grazing)?'
 Creaghts, The
Formaol 'round or bare summit or hill' Formal
Ruáin, Na 'the red patches' Rowans, The
Suí Finn 'Fionn's seat' Seefin

F: NAMES OF UNCERTAIN ORIGIN

Cloghachorcha
 Crenville
 Crossone
 Slieveanowen
 Slievemoughanmore