The notes which follow are intended mainly for the information of persons outside Ireland for whom the subject of Irish placenames is unfamiliar but they may be of some use to Irish people who have grown up among the names and who take them for granted without knowing much about how they originated or what they represent. The subject will be discussed under eight heads:

1. Languages of origin and transmission
2. Territorial units named
3. New territorial divisions and minor placenames
4. Documentation of placenames
5. The spelling and pronunciation of Irish words
6. Anglicized spelling of Irish placenames
7. The shape of Irish toponymic names
8. The shape of population names and of Irish barony names.

1.1 Languages or origin: There are four known languages of origin: Irish, Latin, Norse and English.

1.1 Irish: The vast majority of Irish placenames, over 90 per cent, arose in the Irish language, which we know from six periods:

(a) Proto-Irish, 4th to 6th centuries, known from inscriptions in the ogham script and names in early Latin documents;

(b) Archaic Irish, 6th/7th centuries, known from early glosses on Latin texts as an annex to the earliest portions of the ancient Irish laws;

(c) Old Irish, 8th/9th centuries, known from a considerable corpus of literature, some of it altered in later transmission;

(d) Middle Irish, 10th to 12th centuries, known from an expanding corpus of literature contained in the earliest surviving codices and later manuscripts;

(e) Classical or Early Modern Irish, 13th to 17th centuries, the language of the bardic schools and later literature down to the eclipse of the traditional Irish society by the Tudor and Stuart conquests: it was current also in Scotland;

(f) Recent Modern Irish, since the 18th century, the language of the surviving spoken dialects and modern literature; in this period Scottish Gaelic and Manx have gone their own way as separate languages.

Placenames can have arisen during any of these periods, and some that arose during the earlier periods have since died out and are known only from literary sources.

1.12 Latin: The source of a tiny proportion of ecclesiastical names, e.g. Sanctus Boscus, now known in English translation as Holywood (Co. Down).

1.13 Norse: The source of a tiny proportion of mainly coastal names dating from the Viking settlements of the 10th/11th centuries and now surviving in
anglicized form in a few places which have quite different Irish names, e.g.
North (Co. Dublin) from *Cnúth* 'head', i.e. *headland*; its Irish name is
Beann Eadair.
1.14 English: The source of perhaps about 8 per cent of Irish placenames,
some of which date back to the Middle English period (12th to 15th centuries)
resulting from the Anglo-Norman invasion and settlements, though most date
from the period prior to the 16th century. Two maps showing the distri-
bution of English placenames in Ireland, one of names ending in *town*,
which are concentrated in the Pale and South Wexford - the two principal
areas of Anglo-Norman settlement - and the other showing all other types of
place-names of English origin, were published by T. Jones Hughes in *Town and battle
in Irish Placenames* in *Irish Geographical Studies in honour of E. E. Tyrrell Evans*,
ed. N. Stephens and R. E. Glasscock (Belfast, 1970), pp. 248 and 251. It will
be noted that the chronology of placenames of Germanic origin in Ireland
is that of *Norse names* in England, i.e. Norse names precede English names.

1.2 Languages of transmission: There are seven languages of transmission,
three major ones - Irish, Latin and English - and four minor ones - Greek,
Welsh, Norse and French.
1.2 Irish: Irish itself is the medium of transmission of whatever names may
survive from pre-Celtic and pre-Gaelic times. Irish belongs to the Goidelic
(Gaelic) or Q-Celtic branch of the Indo-European language family and it is now
generally accepted that there were also P-Celtic tribes, akin to those of Gaul
and Britain, in Ireland in Iron Age times from whose dialects some names are
derived, e.g. Partry (Mountains) from the tribal name Partraigh. Apart from
pre-Gaelic there is the much more abstract sense of pre-Celtic sources which
the writer has discussed in *Language and Man in Ireland* (O'Fionnagain, 1970),
and in *Hamito-Semitic and the pre-Celtic Substratum in Ireland and Britain* in
*Hamito-Semitic*, ed. J. and T. Bynon (Dublin, 1974). Irish is used as the medium of transmission of
placenames wherever it survives as a spoken language and in the present
century has again become a written medium of transmission for placenames,
including many of non-Irish origin.
1.22 Creek: This is the earliest non-Irish source for the transmission of
Irish placenames, dating from the work of Ptolemy of Alexandria in the 2nd
century AD, which pre-dates by several centuries the earliest time from which
information from native sources is available. For this reason the Creek forms
of early Irish placenames are of great value and interest. They are discussed by
J. F. O'Rahilly in the first chapter of his *Early Irish History and Mythology*
(Dublin, 1946).
1.23 Latin: This is the source of transmission, either in latinized or trans-
lated form, of many placenames current among the Archid and Old Irish periods
through the annalistic and hagiographic writings of Irish monastic scholars.
With the increasing use of Irish as a written language of civilization and the
consequent decline of Latin during the Middle Irish period, Latin sources
become less important, but in the later Middle Ages Latin again becomes
important for the transmission of ecclesiastical and other names, e.g. the
Travels of Tadhg Óg (early 14th century) and some documents relating
to more restricted areas.
1.24 Welsh: A very small number of Irish placenames are transmitted in Welsh
literature where they have acquired distinctively Welsh forms. An interesting
example is the name of the river Shannon, *Llŷnnon* in Welsh, *Stiúrnan* in Irish.
Welsh *I* for Irish *a* is not a normal Celtic sound-correspondence, so this
raises the question of whether the Welsh and the Irish are trying in different
ways to reproduce the initial sound in a pre-Celtic origin.
1.25 Norse: A small number of Irish placenames are transmitted independently
in Old Norse literature from Iceland, e.g. *Hýmiskvæð* for *Láimteagha* (Limerick),
where they may preserve evidence of Middle Irish pronunciation.
1.26 French: By this we mean not modern French, which simply uses the modern
English form of Irish placenames, but Old French in forms such as *The Song of Dermott and the Earl*,
there is an independent tradition of handling the transmission of a number of Irish placenames,
reflecting their pronunciation at the beginning of the Classical Irish period.
1.27 English: As well as being the source of a minority of Irish placenames,
English is also the generally familiar medium of transmission for almost the
whole corpus of Irish placenames in modern times. The process of anglicization
began in the late medieval period (Classical Irish to Middle English) on a
restricted scale, but was greatly extended with the expansion of English
political power in Ireland and in the 16th and 17th centuries. Documents relating
to English dealings with the Irish during the earlier part of this expansion
and to the confiscations and plantations of vast tracts of territory in the
later phases form the most comprehensive sources for anglicized forms of Irish
placenames. Those relating to papers relating to papers relating to
ecclesiastical records and 17th to 19th century estate papers, are also important.
The latest and ultimate source for the English forms of Irish placenames is
the work of the Ordnance Survey (1829-1842). The local pronunciation
where English is now the spoken language is a supplementary source.

2. TERRITORIAL UNITS NAMED: While natural features named - mountains, hills,
islands, headlands, rivers, lakes, bays, swamps, plains and woods - are of the
same kind as in any other country, the name-bearing features that are of human
origin may be somewhat different.
2.1 The largest unit, apart from the island of Ireland itself, is the *óige*
and Irish and English terms are in no way cognate, either in
or meaning. *Óige* means 'fifth' and refers to the five great divisions
of Ireland (five *óige*), *Óige Dublinach* (Dublin), *Óige Leinster*,
*Óige Munann* (Munster), *Óige Connacht* (Connaught) and *Óige na Mídra*
(Meath). The English names of the modern provinces are derived from the first four of
these, apparently indirectly through Old Norse, while the last is no longer
a province but has been absorbed by the second; its name is now geographical
and means 'middle fifth'. *Munabha* an ancient territorial name of unknown
meaning and origin. The remaining three are all tribal names of the early
Celtic period. *Óige Uíbh* is treated as a single word with initial stress.
The other four are treated as phrasal names with the main stress on the first
syllable of the last part.

The ecclesiastical division of the country is also into four provinces
but in this case the province of Armagh embraces the old *Óige na Midhe*
as well as Ulster and what is now Co. Leitrim in north-east Connaught. The province
of Dublin covers the remaining south and central portions of the modern civil
province of Leinster. The province of Cashel is almost exactly the same as
Munster, and the province of Tuam covers Connaught without Co. Leitrim.

2.2 The second largest unit is the country (Ir. *comhacta*) in the
civil division and the diocese (Ir. *dóine*) in the ecclesiastical division of the
country.
2.21 Counties are 32 in number and are an English innovation though the
majority have names of Irish derivation. Those nearest Dublin, and a few
others now superseded, were formed in the reign of King John (early 13th century).
The remainder were formed for the most part in the early 14th century
(13th-16th century) under the Lord Deputy Sir John Perrott about 1585, except Queen's
County (now Leix) and King's County (now Offaly) which were formed in the
reign of Mary I and Wicklow which was not separated from Dublin till the reign
of Queen Elizabeth. Only Queens and King's Co. in west Leinster ever had distinctively English names. The three counties
of Wicklow, Wexford and Waterford in the south-east have names of Norse origin,
now anglicized, and their Irish names are quite different, viz. Cill Mántáin, Loch Garmán and Port Láirge respectively.

2.22 Diocesan areas - apart from minor differences of boundary in a few cases - are common to the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland and the Church of Ireland of the Anglican Communion, unlike the position in England where each church has a completely different system. They are 35 in number, but the two churches did not have the same number of dioceses or bishops in the past, and the number of diocesan churches has changed. The Roman Catholic Church has 26, four of whom are archbishops (one for each ecclesiastical province). The Church of Ireland had 22 bishops (four of whom were archbishops) until early in the 19th century, after which the number was reduced later to 12, now 14, bishops, of whom two (Armagh and Dublin) are archbishops. The diocesan areas date from the Synod of Kells (1152) when the Irish church was reorganized on continental lines after a long period of opposition to the establishment of monasteries, which had reached its height by the 12th century. The fundamental diocesan organization may have existed in the earliest centuries of Christianity. Most of the present dioceses were based on the political unit known as the mórthacht, an alliance of several little tuath-kings (see next section) and when one looks at a diocesan map of Ireland as it is today one is in effect looking at a political map of 12th century Ireland.

The diocesan areas are as follows:
- Armagh: Down, Connor, Dromore, Derry, Raphoe, Armagh, Clogher, Kilmore, Ardagh, Clonmacnoise, Meath.
- Dublin: Dublin, Glendalough, Kildare, Leighlin, Ferns, Ossory.
- Cashel: Cashel, Emly, Waterford, Lismore, Cloyne, Cork, Ross, Ardfort and Aghadoe (called Kerry in R.C. Church), Limerick, Killaloe, Killfenora.
- Tuam: Killala, Achonry, Elphin, Tuam, Clonfert, Kilmacduagh, Galway.

Apart from Waterford all of these diocesan names are of Irish origin.

2.23 The units of organization in the non-episcopal churches have a demographic rather than a territorial basis and have varied from time to time. The presbytery in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, and the circuit in the Methodist Church in Ireland are the nearest equivalents to the diocesan level, but bear no territorial relationship to them. Some presbyteries and several circuits are grouped respectively into synods and districts, which are the nearest equivalents to the provinces of the churches with a diocesan organization but again have no territorial relationship to the four ecclesiastical provinces. From about 1840 onwards the Presbyterian Church in Ireland was organized into 33 presbyteries, but since mid-20th century the Presbyteries have organized to take account of the changing distribution of church membership. The names taken from the ordinary place-name stock of the countryside but just before the last reorganization one presbytery bore the inverted name Magherahoghill (with penultimate stress) formed by combining two former parishes Wermersfelt and Ahphill - names belonging to two former presbyteries which had been united to form it.

2.3 The third largest unit was originally the barony (Ir. báinchnaicht), a term of Norman-French origin denoting a territory held under feudal terms of military service. The barony in this legal sense dates from the Anglo-Norman period, but the term was not in frequent use in the 13th century, and some barons were never created as a result of the Anglo-Norman invasion, but the term soon came to be roughly equivalent to something immensely larger, namely the tuath-kings of early Celtic Ireland. Tuath is an Irish word of Indo-European origin meaning 'people' (cf. Old Irish tuath and Old English tuah; cf. Theofil, from foordadm, from foord). The tuath was the basic political unit in early Celtic Ireland. At its head was the míc 'king' (cf. Latin rex, Hindi raja), and in later times we find that most baronies bear the names of early population groups which formed tuatha in early times. At the end of the 12th century there were in Ireland 252 baronies - an average of about eight per county - but subsequently many baronies were subdivided into two or rarely three parts and in due course half-baronies and thirds themselves to be known as baronies, making a total of the at least last century of 326 baronial areas, or on average about ten per county. Their areas varied from the enormous barony of Kilkmacrenan in north-west Donegal with 310,675 acres down to the tiny barony of Dublin with only 1693 acres. Only three other baronies exceeded 200,000 acres, and our list includes others less than 10,000 acres in extent. The baronies remained as statistical and taxation units down till the abolition of local government in Ireland in 1920 and are still quoted as areas of location in the conveyancing of land and property, but as units of local government they ceased to exist in 1889, when the new system of local government in Ireland was set up. Under this scheme the six county borough areas of Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Londonderry, Limerick and Waterford lay outside the 32-county system. In Northern Ireland this system of local government has been replaced within the last few years by 26 local council areas incorporating both urban and rural areas and considerably larger than the old baronies and more recent Rural Districts. They are named mainly from their principal towns or in some cases from baronial or county names, but Moyle in north-east Antrim, corresponding to the barony of Moyle in the northern half of the barony of Lower Glenshane, takes its name from Struith na Moille, the Irish name for the North Channel between Antrim and Argyllshire.

In ecclesiastical organization there is now no surviving intermediate unit between the diocese and the parish, equivalent to the civil barony, except the rural deanery in the case of the Church of Ireland, which is a grouping of parishes within a diocese.

2.41 The fourth largest unit of organization was originally the parish. This was both a civil and an ecclesiastical unit, and towards the end of the 18th century there were 2436 parishes in the whole of Ireland, whose boundaries sometimes overlapped barony boundaries so that in some cases a parish could spread into two or even three baronies, though they are now, and were, the latter. The names of these civil parishes (Ir. scórthar) were generally taken from some township (see next section) within them but were sometimes distinctive. They no longer have any function.

2.42 Ecclesiastical parishes (Ir. páirtí) came in to differ from civil parishes and were divided into each other in the two churches maintaining a parochial organization. They are named either after some town within them or from the dedicated name of the church serving them. Presbyterian and Methodist churches do not use the parish as a unit of organization but are based on the outlying churches in whose area is either that of the locality or is a memorial name of some former church dignitary or local benefactor. Where several Presbyterian churches exist in one town they commonly bear the name of that town prefixed by a number denoting the order in which the particular congregation within the town was named, but some congregations may be given old townland names, e.g. First Saintfield Presbyterian Church is also known as Tonamheave church, from Irish Tóinmheadh Tóinm 'field of saints', the old name of the place of which Saintfield is a translation.

2.5 The fifth and smallest unit of organization is the township (Ir. balte fóinm), of which there are 62,205 in the whole of Ireland. They vary in size from a few acres to several thousand acres, but the very large ones are confined to mountain moorland. Each township has its name and defined boundaries, so although there is no spot in Ireland without a township, the large cities of modern times some townlands have become absorbed and lost their identity. Originally the township was an agricultural unit, especially the infiel or ploughland, to which the outfield used for grazing was later added. Up to the point where boundaries with adjacent townlands were established. There was originally a scale of value of land measure, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Gneeve (1 gneeve = 0.5 acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1 gneeve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 gneeves</td>
<td>1 sessiagh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sessiags</td>
<td>1 tate or ballygo (from bátte bó 'cowland')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 balliages</td>
<td>1 seisreach ('ploughland') or carrow (cornbruch 'quarter')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ballybetagh, or townland.

This would give a theoretical size of 480 acres per townland but in fact the average size of townlands in Ireland is about 325 acres. Two things must be borne in mind, firstly that the size of the acre probably varied with the quantity of the land - for instance, plantation acres in the 17th century were greater than the present statute acre - and secondly that some original townlands were later split in two, three, or four parts and these smaller divisions came to be regarded as townlands in their own right, just as half-baronies came to be regarded as baronies in their own right.

3. NEW TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND MINOR PLACE NAMES

3.1 Due to 19th-century social legislation a new hierarchy of territorial units was set up for certain purposes. This consisted of 163 Poor Law Unions (each comprising a number of 19th-century townlands) named after the prominent local centre and sometimes overlapping from one country to another. Within these were 799 Dispensary Districts, and within these in turn were 3520 Poor Law Electoral Divisions, at least in 1871, though this figure was slightly altered later to take account of population changes. These areas were later known as District Electoral Divisions (DED) in Northern Ireland and as Registration Units in the Republic. They consisted of groups of townlands, named after one of them, and when parliamentary representation ceased to be on a simple county and parliamentary borough basis they became the small units out of which parliamentary constituencies were built up. In Northern Ireland they have recently been replaced by a system of rural and urban wards, which are named after existing localities.

3.2 Outside the system of townland names - and of the names for major natural features of the landscape - there are three classes of minor place names:

1. Landmark names, particularly round the coasts but sometimes inland;
2. Field names on many farms;
3. Street names, basically in towns but in Northern Ireland now also including the recently imposed rural road names.

4. DOCUMENTATION OF PLACE NAMES

4.1 Early Christian and Late Medieval periods:

All placenames occurring in Irish literature from the Archaic Irish down to the Classical Irish period (roughly 600 to 1700 AD), together with those occurring in Irish Latin literature, have been gathered together by Edmund Hogan, S. J., in his Omne Gaedalicum Gaelicum et Hibernicum Hibermiae et Scotiae - An Index with Identifications to the Gaelic Names of Places and Tribes (Dublin, 1910). As the Latin part of the title shows, he includes names occurring in Irish as well as in Ireland but these are only a small proportion. He quotes 44 manuscripts and 132 printed sources for this corpus. A rough estimate by page-count suggests that it contains almost 28,000 names, which is a considerable proportion of the 62,205 townland names now existing, though of course this includes a small number of names in Scotland together with mountain, river, and tribal names. Nevertheless, documentary evidence from early native sources for our placenames is considerable. After making due allowance for population, mountain, river, and Scottish names, perhaps one third of all townland names are attested.

4.2 16th/17th centuries:

During this period, while Irish still remained a strong source of documentation owing to the considerable number of learned works compiled in Irish at least down to the middle of the 17th century, English gradually became the main source of documentation from the middle of the 18th century onwards owing to the expansion of English political power and institutions in Ireland. Many placenames occur in anglicized spelling in the fiant and pardons granted to Irish individuals but the most valuable sources are the various land surveys made in connection with confiscations and plantations of territory since these frequently lay down for the first time the exact boundaries and extent of the areas named. The spelling of the names of course departs from that of Irish literary tradition, being based for the most part on pronunciation - which might be of minor interest - represented by contemporary English spelling conventions, but in many cases such forms were more accurate that those that later became official.

Among documents which may be mentioned as listing large numbers of such 17th-century forms are:

Pender, S. (ed.) A Census of Ireland, circa 1680, with supplementary material from the Poll Money Ordinances (1680-1681) (Dublin, 1939).

Goble, P. H. M. A Topographical Index of the Parishes and Townlands of Ireland in Sir William Petty's MSS, Barony Maps (v. 1, 1656-62) and Hibermiae Delineatio (c.1672) (Dublin, 1932).


4.3 18th/19th centuries:

During this period English became almost the sole source of documentation for Irish placenames. Apart from rent rolls and estate maps, which it is not the purpose of this article to catalogue, the most important sources for this period date from the second quarter of the 19th century, following the work of the Ordnance Survey which, under the direction of John O'Donovan, established the official English spelling of all Irish placenames which we use today, and the various censuses of population which record the whole range of Irish placenames apart from those falling into the category of minor placenames.

For most census years the census reports are accompanied by indices of townlands, parishes, baronies (from 1901 onwards by rural districts), counties, provinces, dioceses, Poor Law Unions, dispensary districts, district electoral divisions, parliamentary divisions, and Petty Sessions districts, the last five of these being of 18th-century origin and using names derived from the general stock of placenames. The first census of population in Ireland was in 1821, but it was not established on a satisfactory basis, including the smallest divisions of the country, until 1841.

4.4 20th century:

The most important development in the present century has been the resurgence of Irish as an official language of documentation (except in Northern Ireland) and the setting up of the Irish Placenames Commission to reestablish the correct forms of placenames of Irish origin and where possible to gaelicize those of non-Irish origin. In the case of fixing the official Irish forms, the place names of post towns its activities have extended to the whole of Ireland. These will be found on pages 125 to 257 of Volume 1 of A Text of the Post/Post Office Guide (Dublin, 1977, price £10.50), while pages 259 to 269 give a reverse index with the Irish form first followed by the anglicized form.

4.6 Regarding maps, the Ordnance Survey Swinhill/maocht Ordinance, Phoenix Park, Dublin, publishes quarter-inch and half-inch maps for the whole of the Republic, with one-inch maps for selected areas, while the Ordnance Survey in Northern Ireland (83 Ladas Drive, Belfast 6) publishes quarter-, half- and one-inch maps for the whole of this area. It is also possible to obtain Townland Index Maps for each county (from one to several sheets per county).
on a large scale which name and show the boundaries of every townland and of
the DEDs and larger units of which they form part. A quarter-inch index map
to these townland index maps in four sheets for the whole of Ireland is
published, showing all DEDs/Registration Units with their boundaries. A
curious feature of this map is that while the Registration Units in the
Republic (where the map is published) have been brought up to date as at 1961,
the Northern Ireland portion of the map - which appears on the north-eastern
side of the old DED boundaries of 1918 - is a homograph 1920s Ordnance
Survey of Northern Ireland published a map on the scale of 1: 250,000
showing the boundaries and names of the 26 new local government districts
and of the electoral wards within them, together with 15 maps of the separate
local government areas on a scale of one inch to one mile, with insets of
certain parts on a scale of two inches to one mile, showing every townland
with its name and boundaries. In 1962 a Topographical Index to the Census
Population of 1961 had been published relating the townland areas to the
older larger units of subdivision in Northern Ireland.
A map of all Ireland on a scale of 1: 500,000 is published by the
Ordnance Survey in Dublin with all the place-names shown in their Irish
forms.

4,43 Though there have been a number of works published on the names
of particular areas, there is no up-to-date work on Irish placenames in general.
P. W. Joyce's Irish Names of Places (3 volumes, 1869-1913) has recently been
republished (1976) but though still useful in some respects it is now somewhat
outdated and is not always accurate. His little guide, Irish Local Names
Dictionary (Dublin, 1928) is still available and is useful for the beginner.
It contains a gazetteer of placenames with explanation of their meaning (pp. 5-94)
and a list of placename elements (pp. 95-107) with their Irish and anglicized
spellings.

There have been two journals devoted to the study of Irish placenames
published during the century. The Ulster Folk-Place-Name Society
was published between 1952 and 1956 and lapses on the death of
Seán MacAirt. It is to be revived again under the editorship of Mrs. Deirdre
Flanagan towards the end of 1978. From 1964 Doneannachas was published in
Dublin by Comann na Goidheachta, but it seems to have lapsed now, at least
for the time being.

Finally, mention must be made of Ireland in Maps (Dublin, Dolmen Press,
1961), a 36-page catalogue of all the maps of Ireland or any part of it that
have been published, from Ptolemy's maps c. 150 AD down to 1961. Out of 120
items listed, only a few from before 1500 AD and a further 22 from the 16th
century. These older maps contain many early forms of placenames.

5. THE SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION OF IRISH WORDS

In this section we are not concerned with anglicized spellings, which
follow the vagaries of English spelling, but with the differences between
Old Irish and Modern Irish spelling, two systems which stand in much the
same relationship to each other as the pointed and unpointed spelling of
Hebrew words. Old Irish spelling is more concise but less accurate than
Modern Irish spelling. This has nothing to do, however, with how words were
actually pronounced at a given period, for the pronunciation and spelling of
Irish languages developed along largely independent lines.

5.1 Some terms are used in this and the following sections which are un-
familiar to the general reader, so at this point it will be useful to define
them. They arise in part from phonological and grammatical peculiarities of
Irish that are unusual or unknown in other European languages, and in part
from the fact that Irish has a native system of linguistic description going
back to the Middle Ages which is quite independent of the traditional term-
ology of Latin grammar.

Broad (Ir. Léacht): A consonant of neutral, velarized or larybilized quality
deriving from an adjacent broad-vowel letter (a, e, u) and corresponding to
the 'hard' consonants of Russian; by extension, a word-form ending in a broad
consonant. To broaden a word is to insert a broad glide-vowel between its
final consonant and a preceding non-broad stem-vowel (cf. slender).

Eolipát (Ir. eal): The process whereby the sound of an initial consonant
is replaced by that of the preceding consonant, a homograph that is used
for grammatical reasons and derived from a final nasal consonant formerly
standing at the end of the preceding word. Corresponds to nasal mutation
in Welsh, but the eclipsing sound in Irish is no longer always nasal and in Welsh
the eclipsed sound is not written.

Glide-vowel: A vowel-letter inserted between a consonant of like quality
and a syllable-vowel of unlike quality to show the quality of the consonant,
e.g. the vowel-letters flanking a in arail 'cassel, stone fort'.

Lenition (Ir. éibhilt): The process whereby the sound of a consonant is
weakened, usually from occlusive to fricative, because of a preceding vowel,
either within a word or initially after a now lost terminal vowel in the
preceding word. Corresponds historically, though not always phonetically, with
soft mutation in Welsh. In old-fashioned grammars sometimes called aspiration
because in Roman script it is denoted by adding h to the lenited letter, but the
phonetic process involved is not in fact aspiration, hence the latter term
should be avoided.

Low plural (Ir. ioladh eoladh): An unaccented plural formed by internal
change to make the final broad consonant slender, so that the plural is, so
to speak, of the same height as the singular.

Mutation: Initial consonant change for grammatical reasons (see eolipát and
lenition).

Punctum delecta: The use in medieval Latin mss. of a superscript point to
delete a letter written in error or to show that a letter formerly pronounced
had become silent.

Róm, 'course': An oblique case-form of a word contrasting with its ōnem or
'nominative' form.

Slender (Ir. aoail): A consonant of palatalized quality deriving from an
adjacent slender-vowel letter (a, e) and corresponding to the 'soft' consonants of
Russian; by extension, a word-form ending in a slender consonant. As a verb
often replaced by 'ate' - (Ir. òsail) to make a final consonant slender by
inserting ò before it after a broad stem-vowel.

Táil plural (Ir. ioladh dáil): A plural formed by adding a suffix, so making
it taller than the singular.

Táobhthréimse, 'side-course': That form of réim which is placed beside another
noun to qualify it, namely the genitive case of the noun.

Téirir, 'front-course': That form of réim which is placed beside another
noun to qualify it, namely the genitive case of the noun.

5.2 Old Irish spelling arose during the Archaic Irish period by applying the
Roman alphabet with the contemporary British, i.e. Early Welsh, pronunciation
of Latin to Irish as it was then pronounced. Some words are spelt differently
as between Archaic Irish and Old Irish because the final sound changes that
characterized Ancient Celtic through Proto-Irish into the stabilized forms of the
later language had not yet been fully worked out, but the number of placenames
quoted either from Latin or Archatic Irish sources for this stage of the language
is not very great. The system once established for Old Irish endured right
till the Classical Irish period when the modern system gradually
evolved. This is still in use with some simplification introduced since the middle of the last century. Classical Irish is a pre-Christian language and was written in every stage of transition from the Old Irish to the Modern Irish system.

5.21 The number of letter changes between the two systems is not very great and may be summarized as follows:

1. The modern writing of ao/oí for older ae/ai and oe/oí and sometimes ué, and the reduction of all final unstressed short vowels to a or e;
2. The replacement of non-initial p, t, c in most cases and of non-initial mb, nd, ld, mm, as in all cases by b, d, g, m, n, l, m, a respectively.

5.211 More extensive changes, because the length of words is increased by them sometimes very considerably, are caused by: (1) the fuller writing of combinations and (2) the use of glide-vowels between a syllable-vowel and a following consonant of opposing quality. Of the former, while the initial eclipsis of b, d, g has always been shown by writing mb, nd, ng, the initial eclipsis of p, t, c, f was originally unmarked or denoted by writing bf in the last case, whereas in the modern system — after an intermediate phase of doubling the letter — the spellings bp, dt, gb, gb have come to be used to show initial eclipsis of these letters. While lenition of p, t, c, whether initial or non-initial, has always been written as pb, tb, cb, lenition of the other consonants was unmarked in the Old Irish spelling system, but bh, dh, gh, mh, fh, sh are now written where simple b, d, g, m, f, s (the last two sometimes marked with a punctum dolens) formerly sufficed. Initially these letters received either their full or muted sounds according to grammatical circumstances. In Irish script the ñ is now replaced by a super-script point.

5.212 Among glide-vowels, ì was always written after other vowel-letters before a final slender consonant though not always before a medial slender consonant as in the modern spelling system. The broad glide-vowels a (after e) and o (after i) were normally omitted in the Old Irish spelling system which did, however, use the glide-vowel u after a, e, ì where modern spelling omits it in the first case and writes æ and ò in the other two cases. The following are some examples of Old Irish and Modern Irish spellings before and after the shifting stroke, intermediate forms showing a mixture of old and modern spellings being omitted. The anglicized spellings of the placenames in question are added in brackets to aid identification:

Emain Macha/Emain Macha (Navan, from An Emain),
Cenél Enda/Cínél Èanna,
Mnachair/Teimhair (Tara),
Siláib Cúllin/Sliabh gCúllín (Slievegullion),
Muscrioge/Muscaighe (Muskerry),
Feda/Feadha (Fews),
Benn Òir/Beann Òdir (Hill of Howth),
Mag Bolcé/Magh Bolg (Maybogue),
Mag Bile/Magh Bile (Movilla).

5.3 Changes in pronunciation are a different matter which have operated largely independently of spelling changes. Í and òh were pronounced like English voiceless and voiced ð in 'thin' and 'then' to the end of the 12th century when they fell together with h and gh respectively. Some placenames were anglicized early enough to preserve the late Middle Irish pronunciation, e.g. North from Midhe, and the element ocht 'fort' even where the same was anglicized much later. Slender t and ñ beside e and è are now pronounced like English òh and ñ, except in Munster, but this is rarely shown in anglicized forms, due perhaps to the fact that O'Donovan was of Munster origin.

5.32 Several short vowels followed by a glide have undergone uumlaut in pronunciation under the influence of the glide, so that æ is now always like a (except in beag 'little'), to is often like e instead of ò (while ò and æ are pronounced as open o, e.g. Derry from Doire (cf. German and Swedish D). On the other hand, òh and òh remain long and there has been nothing like the Great Vowel Shift in English, so that English words borrowed in Middle English times retain their unshifted MGK pronunciation, e.g. popta 'pipe', polder 'powder', with continental Latin/Italian vowel values. In the long diphthong æ and ò his stress has shifted from the first to the second syllable, while æ/ai and oe/oí which have fallen together orthographically as ao/oí are variously pronounced according to region. In Munster this has fallen together with ò, in Connacht with é, in southern Scottish Gaelic with German ð or French ou, while in the western and northern Scottish Gaelic the sound is a retracted ò or unrounded o, e.g. Ballykeely from Baile Caol, but ò Maolainigh gives Mooney.

5.4 Scottish Gaelic has basically the same spelling system as Irish but generally uses the grave accent instead of the acute over long vowels in stressed initial syllables, omitting the accent over vowels in unstressed syllables, and retains the older digraphs sh, th, gh, wu and the trigraph h(w) where Irish now prefers to write òp, à, à, à, and òh.

5.5 It should be noted that Hogan's Onameinion is based generally on the Old Irish spelling system, which is also for the most part the case in the Royal Irish Academy's (Contributions to the Irish Language, Researchers on the history of Irish placenames thus need to be able to switch at will between the Old Irish and Modern Irish spelling systems, just as students of Hebrew and Arabic need to be able to switch between pointed and unpointed spellings. The modern forms being established by the Irish Placenames Commission, of course, use modern Irish spelling in its 20th-century simplified form.

6. THE ANGLICIZED SPELLING OF IRISH PLACENAMES

There are some slight variations according to the period when Anglicization took place in different parts of the country but in general the following principles are followed:

Words: All phrasal placenames made up of separate words are treated as being one word in their anglicized form.

6.1 Consonants:

(1) The letters p, b, m, s, t, d, n, ñ, l, r, ò, g, h of Modern Irish spellings are normally represented by the same letter in Anglicized spelling except that:

(a) a may be represented by ñh when it has its slender value beside a front-vowel letter (ò or ò) in Irish;
(b) ò is normally represented by k before a front vowel in the anglicized spelling, since English ò is pronounced as e in this position contrary to the rule in Irish, and also when final;
(c) ò is occasionally replaced by ñ or g more rarely by ñh or ñh when followed by an Irish digraph such as ñt, ñt, ñl, so representing a front-vowel sound;
(d) ò and ñ occasionally appear as English th (e.g. Thurlow and ñf occasionally as English th (e.g. Whiddy Island for ñdheadh). In both cases normally when beside a broad vowel (a, ñ, ñ) in Irish.

(2) Consonants written single in Irish are normally doubled after a short stressed vowel in Anglicized spelling, so that the Irish distinction in pronunciation between single l, m, ñ and double ll, mm, ññ (the only double letters in Irish) is lost. Conversely, but more rarely, Irish double ll, mm, ññ are written single after long vowels in the Anglicized form.
(3) When a consonant in the Irish orthography is eclipsed into silence it is simply omitted in the anglicized form.

(4) Limited consonants are written with different letters:

(a) bh and mh represented by u or sometimes u;
(b) ph is sometimes retained but is more often replaced by f, while the silent th is simply omitted;
(c) h is represented by gh or sometimes by k, while original Irish gh and dh are represented by g or h or are lost;
(d) th and sh are represented by k or sometimes lost;
(e) exceptionally th and dh sometimes survive as th in early anglicizations.

6.2 Short vowels. When stressed these are generally retained as in the Irish spelling, but the interchange between a and e, o and u, and a, e, i, o, and u, while Irish orthographic ea can be either e or a in anglicized spelling (e.g. Aglish or English for English), and at and ot may both appear as e (e.g. Derry for Derry).

Unstressed final Irish a and e are either lost or appear as a or u. The unstressed neutral vowel heard but not written within certain consonant clusters is usually not but always represented by a written vowel in the anglicized form.

6.3 Long vowels. These may vary according to whether anglicization took place before or after the English Great Vowel Shift.

(a) Long á, ù, ĕ are usually represented by English long a, e, o, but the first two have usually not always shifted their pronunciation according to modern English vowel values. Long á is rarely represented by a (e.g. Naas, rhyming with 'face'), but Maas, Maas, where it is pronounced 'ah'). The ending -an is pronounced -an in some names, especially Strabane, whereas in others it rhymes with 'Dane'.

(b) Long i and u are represented phonetically by ee and oo in recent anglicizations, or historically by dipthongal long i and ou in older anglicizations with shifted pronunciation.

(c) Long ao/ar is represented by ee or rarely oo, or in Munster sometimes by ea, originally with its older sound as in 'great', or else it is shortened and represented by u or t.

(d) The diphthongs ia and ua, which are pronounced ea and ooa, are generally treated like i and u or like igh and oigh.

(e) The glide vowels which may follow or precede a long vowel in Irish spelling to show the quality of adjacent consonants are simply lost, in contrast with the case of modern Irish, while in the north long unstressed vowels have sometimes been shortened.

7. THE SHAPE OF IRISH TOWNLAND NAMES

7.1 These are either single words or phrasal names. Single-word names may consist of simple words or compound words and in either case the stress falls upon the first syllable, except in certain word-types in Munster Irish which has developed a new stress-system distinct from that of Classical Irish and other dialects. In compound words the initial consonant of the second part undergoes the change known as lenition which weakens its original sound. Some names retain vestiges of the Irish definite article or now have the English definite article prefixed to them. E.g. Killybegs/Cealla beaga (little churches).

Examples: Knock/Cnoc 'hill', Moy/Meagh 'plain', Inch/Inis 'island', Mase/Maige 'plains', Pressey/Freas 'showers', Pullans/Pollán 'hollows', Tempo/e/Lough 'the turning', Menagh/An Aonach 'the fair'; Omagh/Éo-mhagh 'yew-plain' (originally anglicized correctly as Owey, but lenition now lost), Shandon/Seann-dúin 'old-fort', with loss of lenition in Irish itself at juncture of homorganic consonants.

7.2 In the much more numerous phrasal class of place-names the stress falls on the first syllable of the last principal word, and almost always remains undisturbed in the anglicized form whatever other changes are made. Phrasal names are of the following types:

(1) Noun plus one or more adjectives: Loughbeg/Loch Beag 'little lake'.

(2) Noun plus noun in genitive case: Slievegullion/Slíabh gCúillinn 'mountain of holy hill', Slíabh An Mhóir 'big bare mountain'.

(3) Noun plus definite article plus genitive, the commonest type of townland name: Limavady/Líam an Mháithidh 'the dog's leap', Ardnamurcha/Kră na Croithe 'the height of the cross', Altavnaugh/Alt na bhFhlass 'the white Hawthorns' cliff'.

(4) Noun plus numeral plus genitive: Cloondalin/Cluain dá Linn 'meadow of two pools'.

(5) Noun plus proper name (forename or surname): Ballygawley/Béal y Dháláigh 'O'Daly's townland'.

(6) Noun plus two or more nouns in genitive, only the last having the definite article: Tullivasarmacagh/Tuligh Chua na Gcoineach 'the little hill of the holes of the rabbits'; from the Irish form one would expect the anglicized form to the Tullivhasmanagh, but the voiced and voiceless consonants have been transposed.

7.3 Phrasal names involve a number of points of Irish grammar.

(1) Nouns are either masculine or feminine, but the distinction is made only in the singular. Old Irish, however, had a neuter gender, like Latin and Greek, which has left some fossilized remains in the form of place-names, usually in the shape of compound names.

(2) Adjectives follow the noun they qualify, except sean (old), drough (bad) and deagh (good), which form a compound with the following noun. The initial consonant of an adjective or an indefinite genitive with no definite article has lenition (weak mutation) if the noun is feminine but not if it is masculine except after certain prepositions, while after neuter - which have now become either masculine or feminine - it originally had eclipsis.

(3) Plurals are of two types: 1. colrádha tease 'low plural', formed by internal vowel-change (cf. English man/men), whereby an i is inserted before the final consonant, sometimes with other vowel-changes, to make it slender in quality, e.g. fear 'man/for man', pollán 'hollow/polláin 'hollows'. 2. colrádha dh 'tall plural', formed with the distinctive consonant quality, while in the long north unstressed vowels have sometimes been shortened.

The tuilleilm is a conflation of the original accusative and dative cases used after prepositions, and when differing from the nominative it is formed by making the final consonant of the nominative or occasionally of the genitive, slender by inserting i before it. It occurs only in feminine 'house' and Slíabh 'mountain' (tuilleilm: toighi and slíabh). All plurals formerly had a special tuilleilm ending -th, now disused except in set phrases and certain place-names, e.g. Na Ógann, Dowings (Co. Donegal), but the English form is from an archaic dative form Ógann. Since place-names are often preceded by prepositions, their tuilleilm sometimes becomes fixed as the basic form of the place-name, such as Kenmare/Ceann Mara (Co. Kerry) is nominative
8.1 Plural names:
(a) ending in a slender consonant, broadened in their genitive, with addition of -{v} (originally -{u}) in their old accusative case and -{o} in their old dative case:
   - Laighin, whence Cúige Laighc (Leinster)
   - Manala, whence Fir Manach (Fermanagh), cf. Gaulish Menapi
   - Ula, whence Cúige Uladh (Ulster)
   - Maghdhürin (Mourn) bar. 'slave-Darini'; Ptolemy mentions the Darini.
(b) ending in -{i}, becoming -{e} in the genitive, both being later confused:
   - Déisi (Deeke bar., Co. Meath), cf. Sanskrit Daśaga 'tributary people'.
   - Uathni; two peoples on borders of Tipperary and Limerick, whence
   - Araí Owny and Arra bar. (Tipperary) and Ownyeg bar. (Limerick).
   - Uachtni derives from Auterni mentioned by Ptolemy.
   - Luighni whence Lune bar. (Meath) and Leyney bar. (Sligo).
   - Eil, whence Eloggarty bar. (Tipperary).

8.2 Collective names. Formed with prefix or suffix and often alternatives derived from the same tribal name:
(a) prefix Dé: 'part'; Dé Beada in north Antrim (pronounced Reada and not Reada as now often mispronounced), from tribal name Reit preserved in Latin documents, cf. Carrickarede.
   - Dé Mháthama, whence Dalboyne (Lisburn area)
(b) prefix Corca, later Corca 'progeny': Corca Duibhine, whence Corkaguiney bar. (Kerry), Corna Maonadh, whence Corcumroe bar. (Clare), Corca Rígh, whence Corkaree bar. (Westmeath)
(c) suffix -Rágha, later also -Rágha: Ciarraigh/Kerry, Osraige/Osory (diocese), Patraigh/Partry (mountains), Múscraigh/Muskerry bar. (Cork), Dartraigh/Dartry bar. (Monaghan)
(d) suffix -nach, later also -nach: Breifne/Breony (Leitrim/Cavan), Lathaire or Latharna/Larne (Antrim), Deallbain/Delvin bar. (Westmeath)
(e) suffix-acht, infrequent collective: Connacht/Connacht, Clancha/ Keenagh bar. (Down)

8.3 Sept names: later divisions of earlier tribes, formed with various prefixes:
(a) prefix Dé (sometimes in tuilleadh form Íth) 'descendants' partly pre-literary in formation but revived later to form sept names not all of which became territorial:
   - Úbach Eachach/Iveagh bar. (Down), Úil Niaillí/Oneilland bar. (Armagh), Úil Droma/Idrone bar. (Carlow)
(b) prefix Cinéal 'kind, class, generation', mainly from 5th century:
   - Cinéal Fairgartaigh/Kinlarthy bar. (Down)
   - Cinéal Reice/Kinalmesky bar. (Cork)
(c) prefix Clan 'children, race', from 6th century:
   - Clann Aodha Bhuidhe/Claudeboy (Down), Clann Chealiaigh/Clancy (Fermanagh), Clann Bhreasail/Clanbrassil (district in north Armagh)
(d) prefix Mainistir 'people' (from 6th century):
   - Munitear Luinigh/Munterloney par. (north Tyrone)

Dr. Gelling provides a valuable synthesis of the developments in the study of English place-names over the last fifteen years, the articles produced by what she terms (p. 15) the 'middle-aged revolution', but with some new material too, particularly on the Romano-British period (chapter 2), and with many personal comments. Her book, intended primarily for the archaeologist and local historian (p. 11), should become required reading for all undergraduates or extra-mural students in either subject, as well as for those on more mainstream historical or linguistic courses. Delegates to recent Council for Name Studies conferences will find several familiar, but perennially-thriving, topics discussed; the interpretation of Celtic compounds (pp. 51-2), place-names in OE prop (pp. 227-8), personal names or significant elements (pp. 170-80), the 'so-called Grimston-hybrids' (pp. 228-34) and the significance of the 'z's 50s' type of place-name (pp. 180-90). All these esoteric-sounding subjects, and others, are treated in an intelligible and dialectic manner with frequent reference to a bibliography of specialist articles for further study.

The over-all scheme of Dr. Gelling's book is chronologically from the pre-Roman period to the end of the eleventh century, with a chapter on 'The Languages' at the beginning and one on 'Place-names and the Archaeologist' halfway through. Although some space is given (pp. 23-9) to a discussion of the relationship between the written and spoken forms of English place-names, little is said of the actual nature of the available sources. A fuller discussion of the sources would be helpful to the many amateur, or budding, historians and archaeologists who have little appreciation of the best classes of document to consult for different types of place-name research. An extra chapter on the use of field and street-names to the economic and social historian, particularly of the medieval period, might have brought these often highly significant types of name to the attention of a group of specialists which has in the past tended to ignore them.

A more specific criticism of the book, not unimportant in view of its intended readership, is the use of Greater London (GTL) as a county designation for places which are historically parts of Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex. Although it may be argued that the city of London has always had a distinct economic and social influence over its hinterland, its neighbouring counties were administratively separate until the very recent past and should be kept so in any discussion of their history and place-names.

The bibliography is useful and fairly comprehensive for its purpose, though two additions may be suggested here. The first of these is the series of articles by John Hodgson on place-names in -ing (Beiträge zur Namenforschung NF 2 (1967), pp. 221-45, 325-96, and NF 3 (1968), pp. 141-89) which could have been referred to in the discussion of singular -ing formations (pp. 120-2, 179-80). The second is the study by Eilert Elliæus of 'Vargon and change in English place-names' (Veitnaskop-Societeten i Lund, År 1962, pp. 3-49), which is very relevant to the question of name-changes and the antiquity or otherwise of surviving place-names.

While, quite rightly, maintaining (p. 12) that 'a closed shop is something of a necessity on the etymological side of place-name study', Dr. Gelling makes frequent comments designed to stimulate research into less purely-linguistic aspects of the subject. Her plea (pp. 116-180) for more studies of the total name-stock of limited areas, to complement those which consider one name-type across a larger area, is one to be supported. Individual editors of the English Place-Name Society volumes attempt to catalogue the total name-stock of a whole county and inevitably do not have the time to investigate the particular significance, within its own social and historical context, of every name or