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

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PROLEGOMENA TO THE STUDY OF SURNAMES IN IRELAND

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

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

1. Geographical, denoting the locality of origin or residence of the original name-bearer;
2. Genealogical, denoting usually the paternity of the original name-bearer;
3. Occupational, denoting the occupation of the original name-bearer;
4. Descriptive, denoting by a nickname some feature of the original name-bearer's appearance or character.

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

In the present century a small number of Indian and Chinese surnames have established themselves in the country. Indian names augment those
of the West European system as an extraneous element. Chinese surnames are nonosyllabic and are exceptional in that they precede the personal name instead of following it as in the other systems. The subject of surnames in Ireland will be dealt with here under the following headings:

1. Relation of Surnames to Irish Ethnic History;
2. Languages of Origin of Surnames in Ireland;
3. Typology of Surnames in the Irish System;
4. Anglicization of Surnames in the Irish System;
5. Gaelicization of Imported Surnames;
6. Records of and Research on Surnames in Ireland.

1. RELATION OF SURNAMES TO IRISH ETHNIC HISTORY

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

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

1.11 The Builg, also known as Fir Bolg 'men of the Builg', whose name is evidently cognate with the continental Belgae. They may have been the earliest group to arrive and were the most widely distributed, being found in all provinces. The small suíomh-states which they formed were almost all tribal to other peoples except for the Dergaidh (the diocese of Ossory), a strong buffer state between Leinster and Munster, and some small groups lying along the eastern seaboard. In Munster, where they were known collectively as the Eirigh, they included the Déisi in Waterford, the Úi Liatháin and Corca Laoighde in Cork, the Corca Dhuibhne and Ciarraige in Kerry, the Corca Bhaisceann and Corca Muaidh in Clare, the Uaithne and Aire in Tipperary, and the Muachraign in Tipperary and Cork. In the three central provinces they were more generally displaced by later peoples but included the Ciarraige, Úi Druithrne and Fir Craoibhe in central and south Connaught, the Déalbhna in Connaught and Meath, the Cuircne, Úi Beccín, Déite, Úi d'Éin and Taighne in Meath, and the Cuaidh, Úi Baire, Úa Buachaille, Forthwraith and Beaumire, besides the Darghaigh in Leinster. In Ulster, where they were collectively known as the Uaidh, from whom this province takes its name, they were again numerous and included the Fir Monadh, Fir Lufi, Úi Macathaire Ada Srotha, Úi Creaganaidh, Úi Meath, Úi Clanach, Úi Tuirtire, Úi Niallain, Úi Fadach, Daraighne, Muighphor, Úi Dottain, Barroe, Úi Bhistach and Úi Riada, the last of whom expanded across the sea from north Antrim to Argyl.

1.12 The Cruithín, who evidently crossed the North Channel from Britain. Their name is cognate with Welsh Prydyn, applied to the population of what is now northern Scotland, the Picts of late Roman times, and with Prydawn, the Welsh name for Britain, these being the Celtic forms underlying Ptolemy's Pretani. They include the Úi Mharaide of Antrim and Down, the Fir Úi of north-east Derry, the Conaille of north Louth, the Luigheach whose name is represented by C. Léité, the Fothairt represented by the baronies of Foth in Carlow and Wexford, and the Sochgaigh, a tributary people in the kingdom of Úi Mháine, roughly the diocese of Clonfert in east Galway.

1.13 The Laidhein, the dominant people of Leinster which is derived from their name, together with various tributary groups in the other provinces such as the Domnann in north Mayo (cognate with the Dumannii of Devon and Strathclyde), the Cailing or Caillíin in Meath and Connaught, the Luighne in Sligo, the Connass, Ciarraighne, Cathairagne and Cartraighne, all in Galway, and the Cille in Meath. The Laidhein of tributary peoples: firstly the Uaidh were the Fir Fiaigh of east Offaly and west Kildare, Úi Faolain of north Kildare and Úi Muireadhshaigh of south Kildare, Úi Coinnleallach and Úi Follimde in Meath, and Úi Droma and Úi Follimdeach in Carlow.

1.14 The Goibhdil, dominant people in the provinces of Meath, Connaught, Munster and at first the western part of Ulster whence they spread eastwards during the Middle Ages, reducing the surrounding tribal system, so that their name in its later form Gaedhil - now Gaal - eventually came to be accepted as the general name for the Irish as a whole. In Munster they were represented by the Coghamach centered on Cashel whence they spread out, establishing vassals free sub-kingshoms such as Úi Dálra and Úi Lorgheinte in Limerick, among the tribal system Ëalain who were of Builg descent. The northern Goibhdil were known collectively as the Úi Ëain and included the Fir Ëallagh, Fir Ceall and Úi Colmain in Meath, the Úi Muireadhshaigh, Cinnle màthta, Úi Bríon, Úi Mháine and Úi Fianchair in Connaught, and the Cindel Chonnall and Cindel Cogain in Ulster.

1.2 The four great groups and some of their major divisions derive from the invasion period in the early Iron Age: the principal lesser groups derive from late pagan times; within these again there were various sects, some of which arose in early Christian times. The earliest tribal names are purely Irish and a slender component (preceded by the Latin - m-) and correspond to the plural tribal names recorded by the Romans in Gaul and Britain. A middle group of tribal and sect names are formed with the suffixes -ne or -na, -raigh, -seit. The later sect names are formed by prefixing a word 'division', 'pendant', 'people' to the name of an ancestor who might be mythical in pagan times or real in later Christian times. Such prefixes are Cindel (kindred), Úacht (descendants), Corca (progeny), Úi Dáil (tribe), Muineach (people), Slé (seed),
Silocht (progeny), Leallach (family), Uí (grandsons, descendants), and the word that follows will be the genitive case. The last word, Uí 'grandson', is the plural of ú which was later used as a prefix in the formation of the earlier type of surname formed from the 10th century onwards. Names with the prefix Uí can be either sept names formed during the early Christian period or the plural of family names formed later, and thus what appears to be the same plural name may refer to quite different groups of people in different parts of the country.

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

1.4 The relationship of surnames to the earlier population names may be illustrated by one example. One of the divisions of the Dál Cúna or northern Goildheil were the Uí Néill, named from the Niall of the Hostages who lived early in the 5th century. From his sons are derived several sept names, among them Cinéal Eogain, a group settled originally in Inis Eogain on the island of Inis Oírr. (Macnaghten). Also the name Fíth, but this was Niall Clogdubh, a descendant of the earlier Niall, who was high-kingship of Ireland in the early 10th century and was killed in battle against Viking invaders in 919. From his immediate descendants arises the surname of Néill which in subsequent centuries spread all over central and east Ulster.

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

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

1.5.1 The Vikings, mainly from Norway, partly from Denmark; they founded Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick and left traces among coastal placenames over a somewhat wider area. They had no surnames of their own and their descendants ultimately acquired Irish Mac names descriptive of their nationality or appearance or, in the case of those who occupied the Norse towns till the arrival of the Normans, they sometimes acquired surnames of English type.

1.5.2 The Anglo-Normans, originally from south Wales with reinforcements later: from England, a mixed group of Normans, English, Welsh and Flemings who overran most of Leinster and Meath, Connaught, and east Ulster (Antrim and Down) between 1170 and 1315 when their power was largely undermined by the invasion of Edward Bruce from Scotland and by Irish resurgence, after which many of those in outlying areas in Munster and east Connacht had long since died out or disappeared. The surnames of their own but the Anglo-Norman branch of the West European surname system began to be formed shortly after their arrival, partly in Ireland and partly in England itself. These names are of the usual four types described above. Several personal names survive against in Ireland particularly.

Firstly, in addition to their original French or English forms most of them developed specifically Irish forms in literary use and as their bearers became progressively Gaelicized. In these Irish forms the French preposition de, the English prepositions of and of, and the English and French definite articles the and its also came together as Irish De which became almost as much a mark of Norman-Irish surnames as Ó and Mac were of Gaelic-Irish surnames, though there are some Anglo-Norman surnames whose Irish form never have this prefix, e.g. Beauchamp (anglicized Burke) from Norman French De Burgo. Secondly, the French word fils 'son' was prefixed to many names of patronymic type, like Mac in Irish surnames. This does occur to a very limited extent among Norman names in England, where the patronymic forms of the same type are very rare.

In Ireland than in England and their parallel formation to the native Mac names is probably the reason. Irish surnames beginning with Fitz in their English form have a parallel Irish form beginning with Mac, e.g. Fitzgerrard-MacGhearraidh. In Ireland, the statutes of Kilkeery were passed by the Irish parliament in an effort to bolster up the declining Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland, under which the English were forbidden to take Irish names, as many had been doing, particularly after the Bruce invasion. Exactly a century later further legislation laid it down that all native Irish in the Pale - the area between Dublin and Dundalk directly under the English crown - and the other coastal cities still under English control must take English names in place of their own Irish names. How far this was successful it is now hard to say.

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

1.5.4 The English, from about 1540 onwards as a result of the new policy of conquest begun by the Tudor monarchs, and with them small numbers of Welsh and Flemings. They came as administrators, traders, soldiers, merchants and planters receiving large grants of land to which many brought tenants. The English among them had the same types of surnames as have been current in England for the last four centuries but unlike the earlier Anglo-Norman surnames
these did not develop Gaelicized forms (except in a few very recent cases in the present century). Those that were introduced into Ireland represented only a small fraction of all the names occurring in England and some have become well established and have spread throughout Ireland, sometimes in their use as transliterations of constituent Irish names. Many English surnames, however, have never reached Ireland at all, or if brought in by individual migrant families during the last couple of centuries have failed to spread. This is especially true of those due to their use as transliterations of or substitutes for native

Irish surnames. The Manx had a surname system originally similar to the Irish through later anglicized in form. The prefix Ó became Y which was later dropped, so the prefix Mac was often reduced to his name. If the name was attached to the following word as e.g., O'Stark, O'Shaughnessy, etc. The name origin is common particularly round the Co. Down coast.

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

1.56 The Huguenots, religious refugees from France who arrived at intervals between the late 16th and early 18th century and settled mainly in east Ulster, throughout leanster and in south-east Munster. They bore names of the French branch of the West European surname system, which are quite different from those of French names that were introduced by the Anglo-Normans, for example Lemus, Le Fanu, Dubourdieu, Delachorchy, Bommer (formerly Bulner), Kefausé, Molyneux, Sargisson.

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

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

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

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

2. LANGUAGES OF ORIGIN OF SURNAMES IN IRELAND

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

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

2.2 Norse. To this source may be attributed firstly those Highland Scottish surnames formed on the Irish model from Norse personal names and secondly a number of names belonging to the English and Lowland Scottish branches of the West European surname system which are derived from Norse words, e.g. Bond, 'Farmer', Gamble 'old'.
2.1 French. From this source are derived many surnames of the Anglo-Norman period, e.g. Roche, Power, Butler, Savage, Russell, including the Fitz-names and those based on place names in Normandy, together with the Huiguenot names.

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

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

2.6 Cornish. Some surnames derived from the English surnames system are based on place names that are linguistically Cornish, e.g. Perpezac, Roseware, usually of recent origin in Ireland.

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

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

3. TYPOLOGY OF SURNAMES IN THE IRISH SYSTEM

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

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

In connection with the personal names that follow these prefixes, it may be noted that in early Christian times saints' names were not generally used alone but were prefixed by maol 'bald, tonsured' and later by gilla, a Near Eastern suffix denoting 'servant'. The former is in association with the Ó prefix and the latter in association with the Mac prefix, e.g. Ó Maochallain (Mulholland), Mac Giolla Dhuibh (McDuff). Maol is anglicized as Mul- in Ireland but as Mul- in the Isle of Man.

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

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

3.3 Since the prefixes Ó and Mac denote males, they have to be changed, to Ó' and Nic respectively, both meaning 'daughter', in the surnames of unmarried girls or widows, e.g. Ó Séadna Ó hAodha (John O'Hara) but Máire Ó Eadhra (Mary O'Hara), Ó Libhne Ó Bríain (Eithne O'Brien), Sionic Ó Cheannain (Sarah McCormick), Máire Nic Uidhir (Mary Maguire). Ó does not prefix h to vowels but denotes consorts. Nic also denotes consorts and becomes Niche where the male prefix is Maic instead of Mac. Surnames that are adjectival in form follow the usual rules for adjectives after a feminine noun. Names of Anglo-Norman origin with or without the prefix De have the same forms. For males and females. Married females are normally referred to by their maiden name in Irish, and indeed this is quite a common practice among English-speakers in Ireland. Mrs and Miss are expressed by placing the words bean 'woman' and innean 'daughter' (now often spelt inion) before the genitive form of an Ó or Mac surname, e.g. Bean Ó Cheannain (Mrs O'Brien), Inion Nic an Bháird (Miss O'Brien, or before the genitive form of another surname, e.g. Bean an Bhórcach (Mrs Burke), Bean an Bheathraidh (Mrs Walsh). If the lady is a widow, Bean is replaced by Baintreach 'widow'.

3.4 Finally it should be noted that some surnames have the Ó and Mac prefixes as variants, and that where Irish continues to be the spoken language there are various modifications of the original system, e.g. Ó is shortened to Ó or lost, or sometimes added to surnames to which it did not originally belong; the H of Mac is often lost or has retention in all cases; therefore Mag or g of Mac/Mag is sometimes incorrectly carried forward or lost from the beginning of the following name; Mac is sometimes replaced by its genitive Mic, often reduced to 'ic.
4. ANGLICIZATION OF SURNAMES IN THE IRISH SYSTEM

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

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

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

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

4.4 Mistranslation. Sometimes the Irish name has been mistranslated by popular confusion of the meaning of all or part of it and the resultant mistranslation has come to be substituted for the original surname, e.g. Ó Mouy for Ó Muaidh (Muirgh) by confusion with coleg 'five'; Peoples for Ó Dubhghne (Dunne) by transliteration) by confusion with dawine 'people'; Bonner for Ó Clainnigh (Cranagh or Cranpey by translation) by confusion with enden 'bone'.

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

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

5. GAELICIZATION OF IMPORTED SURNAMES

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

5.1 Surnames with the prefix De. These belong (1) to the type denoting place of origin where de represents confusion of the French and English prepositions that could occur in such names, e.g. Ó De Buirg from Ó De Burgo (Burke); Ó De Nais from 'atten aas' (Nass); Ó De Bhodh from 'alle wode' (Woods); or (2) the type denoting rank or occupation and the descriptive type formed from a nickname which de represents confusion of the French and English prepositions. For example, Ó De Buillér (Butler); Ó De Fuentes (White); Ó De Bhulbe (Wolfe). Some late examples, however, lack the prefix. In a few cases the prefix was reduced to A.

5.2 Surnames without the prefix De. Apart from a number of late names that were only gaelicized in the 16th century when the French or English word which gave rise to the prefix De had been lost from the name, these consist mainly of surnames of patronymic type derived from personal names and also of Norman-French diminutives like Russell, 'little red-haired', e.g. Dobbin (Dobbin), Codd (Cood), Boyr (Birrell), Ruysell (Russell). Snodid (Sibbott), Reemon (Redmond), Sedigh (Joy, Joyce), Shabbae (Savage), MacEod (Hackett),

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

5.4 Surnames with the prefix Fitz. These are gaelicized by substitution of Mac for Fitz, e.g. Mac Gearailt for FitzGerald, but it is not quite clear whether they should be classified in the first place as belonging to the Irish surname system, even though non-Irish linguistically, rather than to the British or French system. The prefix is indeed the Old French or 'son', but it did not produce French surnames. In England its use was extremely restricted and in many of the small number of cases that have survived the recognisable prefix is not the original form and the stem syllable of a name into which it has merged completely, e.g. Fillely, from Fille-see 'the king's son', Fennell from Fitz-Neal, Feeally from Fitzharry, Fiddesn from FitzJohn, Fitches, Fitzbe and Fitches from FitzHugh. These examples show that although the use of Old French fíg in the formation of surnames of patronymic type may have arisen in England before it was common, it was not the same situation as in the Irish surname system, where the different stressing of such names and the obvious parallel with the Irish Mac names caused Fitz to survive as a name-forming prefix, in the Irish manner. Though most Fitz names are Anglo-Norman by origin and can be gaelicized in the same manner, there is at least one example of the reverse process where Mac Giolla Peadra' often became Fitzpatrick.

6. RECORDS OF AND RESEARCH ON SURNAMES IN IRELAND

There is a rich and extensive genealogical literature in Irish culminating in the great book of genealogies compiled about 1650 by...
Dubhaltach Mac Fir Bisigh. This is discussed by Séamus Pender in Analecta Hibernica, No. 7 'A Guide to Irish Genealogical Collections' (Dublin, 1935). This records the great mass of Irish surnames derived from the native system in their original forms. The Irish Manuscripts Commission has published several works containing genealogical material, some dealing with lists of names, although an English translation, but in either case a knowledge of Irish is necessary to understand the forms of the names.

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

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

6.1 Hume, A., 'Surnames in the County of Antrim' and 'Surnames in the County of Down' respectively in Ulster Journal of Archaeology (first series) volumes 5 (1857) and 6 (1858), with a map and table of names in each. Hume based his work on the electoral registers of the time. This gave about 10,000 persons per county, so that a considerable number of names must have been missed because of the restricted franchise of the time. This is shown in the case of Co. Down by a line on the map enclosing a large part of the mountainous area of central and south Down where farm valuations were too low to allow any but a tiny number of electors. Hume drew up an alphabetical précis of each of his registers, and then after a chapter on Christian names he gives an Alphabetic List of Surnames with their Varieties and Synonyms in which there are the most common basic items with their variants. Opposite these are key numbers which are then listed against the Registrar’s Districts and Poor Law Unions in which they occur. Finally there is an alphabetical list of all the surnames referring the reader by number to the basic name under which they occur. His second work (1909) gives estimates of the number of bearers of the principal surnames in Ireland, discusses the derivation of surnames and gives details of Irish and English names used by 1659, together with the number in each registration province and a note of the places and county in which name is most prominently found. This list runs to 39 pages. The book concludes with a three-page list of Irish Septs as given in the Book of Arms, compiled by Sir James Terry, Athlone Herald (1690), preserved in the British Museum.

6.3 Nolleke, Rev. P., Sloinnte Gheallaire i Béal - Irish Names and Surnames (The Irish and English titles are not identical in meaning) (Dublin, 1923). The contents of this useful book, after a lengthy introduction, bibliography, and index, are as follows. First there is a description of the Irish name system followed by lists of men’s names, women’s names and surnames, giving the Irish forms first and then their English equivalents. In the case of surnames, older anglicized forms of the 16th/17th century and earlier are given first, then the present-day forms, those followed by the Irish forms being placed in parentheses where many of the names occur. This gazetteer runs to over 460 pages and is followed by over ten pages of sept names (or clan names as they are here designated).

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

1957: Irish Families (Dublin).
1960: More Irish Families (Galway).
1964: Supplement to Irish Families (Dublin).
1969: The Surnames of Ireland (Shannon).
1973: The Surnames of Ireland (paperback, Dublin).

The first three works deal at some length with about 2500 names, while the fourth is an alphabetical précis of these listed under their modern anglicized forms in the franchise of the 17th century, which is placed in the margin opposite those names in which it occurs. At the end is a very good bibliography of Irish family history running to almost 200 pages. The fifth book is similar in its general treatment but in its general treatment but raises the number of surnames dealt with to about 4000. Likewise the sixth item in the above list. The 1969 work includes a map in a cover pocket showing the approximate location of the surname, original Irish surnames being shown in black and Anglo-Norman names in red.

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

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

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PLACE-_NAMES AND PAYS: THE KENTISH EVIDENCE

1. Introductory

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

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

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