The significance of these forms is that they constitute evidence of palatalisation in an item, in this case an onomastic item, which does not otherwise display it. The situation is too complex for this alone to throw any real light on the problem (the identification of the conditioning factors). However, taken together the forms Bejusto, Hanjague and Melledgan oblige us to consider the possibility that palatalised forms may have existed unrecorded at a certain level for every item where only forms with a sibilant are now known to have existed in Middle or Late Cornish, or survive in place-names. Viewed in conjunction with janjask and melwidgeon this may provisionally be identified as the level of minor place-names and vernacular speech, that is to say the last stronghold of spoken Cornish.

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The Nature of Irish Pub-Names

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Despite the fact that a very large proportion of Irish people do not drink alcoholic liquor, pubs form a prominent element in the Irish cultural landscape, both North and South. In many Irish villages, pubs outnumber shops. Since much of their business is transacted in the evenings, their position in the streetscape is emphasised by lighting. Furthermore, unlike many churches, pubs proclaim their presence through large name-signs, so that their visual impact tends to be disproportionately strong. As a result, the role of the pub and of the pub-name in moulding the cultural landscape in built-up areas in Ireland is very marked.

Pub-names in large urban areas tend to differ somewhat in character from those in villages and small towns, principally because the matrix of street-names exercises a strong influence over them. For this reason, even though it contains some seven hundred pubs, the Greater Dublin area has been excluded from consideration here, but will be the target of a separate study later. Similarly, most of the larger urban centres (Belfast, Cork, Derry, Waterford, Galway, Drogheda and Dundalk) have been avoided, though Limerick has been included in order to maintain some urban input. Because the large number of pubs in this island would have rendered the study unwieldy, it was decided to concentrate on an arbitrarily-selected sample consisting of the pub ‘population’ of two counties in each province—Leitrim and Roscommon in Connaught, Cavan and Down in Ulster, Laois and Longford in Leinster, and Clare and Limerick in Munster (Fig. 1, p. 73). Pub numbers are unstable due to the closure of uneconomic concerns, to the opening of new establishments, and to the law.

1 It is difficult to estimate how many. Walsh, referring to the population aged fifteen and over, implies a figure of 43% for 1974, though this was declining fairly rapidly: Brendan M. Walsh, Drinking in Ireland (The Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin, 1980), p. 22.

2 Population growth is very uneven in Ireland. Decline is common in many
requiring the extinction of two old licences before a new one may be granted. Approximate figures for the sample counties are as follows:

Leitrim 98, Roscommon 135, Cavan 150, Down 205, Laois 86, Longford 85, Clare 158, Limerick (including the County Borough) 382. The sample, therefore, contains approximately 1300 out of a total of about 7000 for the entire island, or slightly less than 20%. As it includes both inland and coastal counties, areas which are urbanized to varying degrees, and regions which have experienced different levels of industrialization, it may be taken as reasonably representative of the island as a whole.

It is possible to classify the pub-names in the sample area in a number of different ways. The problem with any such classification is that many names fit snugly into two or more categories; for example, The Greyhound Bar might equally well be regarded as an example of a pub-name encapsulated in a sign, or as an instance of a name-group relating to sport.

One major group is based on the names of the owners. The wide prevalence of this type of name indicates the high degree of significance attached to personal relationships (and to ownership) in Ireland. Thus, names like Dolan’s (in Arva), O’Brien’s (Ballinahe), Bohan’s (Feakle), Mulgrew’s (Newry) or Garvey’s (Dromsna) abound in many a streetscape. (For the locations of pub-names mentioned in the text see Fig. 2, p. 74.) Sometimes a generic is added; e.g. Dillon’s Bar (Kilkee), Gilmore’s Bar (Kircubbin), or Rafferty’s Bar (Rathfriland). Occasionally the owner’s name is given in full, as in Peter Tomelyt’s Inn (Portaferry). More often an abbreviation or nickname or ‘pet’ name serves; e.g. Mac’s Tavern (for McMahon) in Kilkee, or Eve’s Bar (for Elizabeth) in Kilkishen. Frequently, the owner’s Christian name is pressed into service; e.g. Mike’s Bar (Granard), Andy’s (Longford), or Madge’s Bar (Newtownards).

rural districts, whereas rapid expansion has occurred in the Dublin area and in some other urban areas.

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Most pub-names pay scant regard to punctuation and consistency in respect of apostrophes and of the definite article.

Incidentally, this particular practice is very common in Gaeltacht areas; e.g. Ti Tommy in Cois Pharraighe. Once the name of a pub becomes established, it can prove almost impossible to dislodge it, so that new owners tend to bow to the inevitable. Thus Kelly’s of Ballinameen, Boyle, is owned by a Cunningham, Canty’s of Hospital by a Ryan, Knox’s of Ennis by an O’Grady, and Cahir’s of Corofin by a Hassett.

In medieval times, most pubs drew attention to themselves by means of a sign, presumably because many of the clientele were illiterate. In the case of Dublin, the nature of some of these signs is known; e.g. The Red Lion on High Street, The Red Cow in Church Street, The Bull’s Head in Fishamble Street, The Dolphin in Golden Lane, or The Boot in Boot Lane. Due to the vicissitudes of urban life in Ireland, very few really old pubs have survived, but the custom of pubs displaying signs persisted, and such signs formed the basis for many pub-names. In recent times, many of the signs were dispensed with, but the colourful symbolism survived.

The ‘sign’ or ‘pseudo-sign’ names fall into a number of groups. Animals figure prominently; e.g. The Green Lizard (Bailieboro), The Spotted Dog (Janesboro), The White Horse Inn (Raistfield), or The Elk (Dundonald). Hunting provided a favourite motif: The Horse and Hounds (Limerick), The Stag’s Head (Ballinea), The Buck’s Head Inn (Dundrum), The Huntsman’s Inn (Newtownards), The Deer’s Head (Rathfriland), The Stirrup (Quin), Stirrups (Downpatrick), Tallyho Bar (Longford), Golden Spur (Kilmallock), The Hare and Hound (Portloise). The desire to associate drinking with recreation is apparent, too, in the numerous names relating to sport: The Sportsman’s Inn (Edgeworthstown), The Horse and Jockey (Castlerea), The Winning Post (Limerick), The Hogan Stand (Limerick), The

1 The Gaeltacht or Irish-speaking areas lie mainly on the west coast of Ireland, in Counties Donegal, Galway, Mayo, Kerry and Cork.

2 Ti, recte tigh (dative form of teach) is the Irish word for ‘house’, or, in this context, ‘pub’. A parallel usage exists in English, both in Ireland and elsewhere: cf. The Halfway House (Ennis), The Corner House (Longford), etc.


4 Unfortunately there is, as yet, no Irish equivalent to that fine work A Dictionary of Pub Names by L. Dunkling and G. Wright (London, 1987).
Hurlers (Kilmurry, Co. Limerick), The Cusack Stand (Baileboro), The Triple Crown (Limerick), The Greyhound Bar (Kilnaleck), The Saddle or Sail Inn (Ardglass), The Yachtsman Inn (Donaghadee), Steeplechase Bar (Newtownards), The Athletic Bar (Ballynahinch), The Yacht Bar (Lanesboro), The Anglers Rest (Athlacca). Birds are employed less frequently than animals. Examples include The Eagle Bar (Cavan), The Black Swan (Limerick), The Swan (Wolfhill), The Kiwi Lounge (Limerick) and The Sandpiper Inn (Ballywalter). Fish, too, are of infrequent occurrence; among the rare instances are The Silver Herring (Kilkeel), The Brown Trout Inn (Mahanagh, Boyle), and The Oyster Bar (Drumbane, Co. Limerick).

References to vegetation are very numerous. They include The Chestnut Tree (Killashee), The Holly Tree (Roscommon), An Droighneán (‘The Blackthorn’; Spiddal), The Four Elms (Drombane), The Orchard Bar (Dromara), The Little Oak (Ballaghaderen), The Three Flowers (Drumsna) and The Heather Lounge (Newcastle West). Some vegetation names have political nuances dating back to the last century; amongst these are The Harp and Shamrock (Keadee), and The Shamrock (Portarlington).

Many names, some genuinely old, others spurious, are associated with travel and transport. Examples include The Stage-Cock Inn (Edgeworthstown), The Horseman Inn (Dromore), Turnpike Inn (Longford), The Carman’s Inn (Crossgar), The Porters’ Tavern (Waringstown), The Coach House (Clarecastle), The Buffer Inn (Bangor Railway Station), The Railway Bar (Portarlington, Roscommon, Newry, Abbeyfeale, etc.), New Railway Bar (Newtownards), The Ferry Inn (Kilrush), Ferryboat Inn (Kildysart). Related to these are such locatives as The Half-Way House (Annalong, Ennis, etc.), Harvey’s Half-Way House (Moyasta), and Two-Mile Motor Inn (Ennis Road, Limerick). In this category, too, belong old favourites like The Traveller’s Friend (Seaforde).

Pubs are viewed by both vintners and clientele as places of relaxation, of comfort, of escape from the cares of life. It is hardly surprising to find that a whole genre of titles gives life to this view; what is surprising is the frequency with which individual names recur. The Welcome Inn is to be found in Kilrush, Portlaoise, Drumshanbo, Brittas, Castlerea and Cavan, to mention but a few. An Irish version occurs in The Fálte Bar (Abbeyfeale). Pubs called The Cosy Bar are located in Ballyfarnon, Belturbet, Drumkeerin and Castlerea. Variants include The Cosy Kitchen (Elton), The Cosy Corner (Mohill), The Haven (Limerick), The Hideout (Kilkee, Baileboro), and The Magnet (Knocklong).

One major group of pub-names is linked to boat travel, whether on river or sea. In view of its strong maritime tradition, Co. Down is very well represented in this category. The Harbour Bar (Newcastle) and The Harbour Inn (Donaghadee, Annalong) belong here, as do The Clipper (Holywood), The Anchor Bar (Ardglass), The Mermaid Bar (Kircubbin), Helmsman Bar (Bangor), The Port Inn (Kilkeel), The Ship Bar (Warrenpoint), The Seahorse Inn (Holywood), The Marina Bar (Dundrum), The Saltwater Brig (Kircubbin) and The Cuan Bar (Strangford). Similar names from elsewhere in the country include The Long Dock (Carraigohot) and The S.S. Turk (Kilrush).

Material objects, too, found their way on to signs, particularly if they had some association with liquor. In this way, there evolved such names as The Punch Bowl (Limerick), The Copper Jug (Limerick), An Pótín Still (Cois Fharraige). An Cruiscin Lán (‘the full jug’; Spiddal). Less close associations, usually relating to a nearby feature, occur in such names as The Old Mill Wheel (Arva), and The Forge Inn (Rathdowney, Newcastle West).

The desire to associate drinking with good fortune found expression in names like The Lucky Lamp (Limerick), The Leprechaun Inn (Portaferry), The Wishing Well (Abbeyfeale), and The Emerald (Hospital), but this did not prevent the emergence of certain names with less happy connotations, e.g. The Gallows Inn (Ennis). The American Bar (Cavan, Virginia) and its ilk reflect the role played by emigration in Irish history.

A not inconsiderable category consists of names formed by word-play or punning. This includes some commonly recurring titles such as The Ramble Inn (Abbeyfeale, Croagh, Limerick), but also The Drift Inn (Boyle), The Drop Inn (Glassleck), Crews Inn (Ruskey), The Way Inn (Kilrush), The Anchor Inn (Killaloe), The Wheel Inn (Portaloise area), The Lifebelt (Ballyleague), The Edge Inn

9 Cuan is the Irish word for ‘harbour’. The reference here is to Strangford Lough.
10 This hybrid name is an allusion to the distillation of illegal spirits in times gone by.
(Edgeworthstown), The Ship Inn (Ballyhalbert), The Slip Inn (Portaferry), Top of the Town (Banbridge, Longford), The Ann Boal Inn (Killough), and Cuman Inn (Ardagh, Co. Limerick). Related to these are a handful of humorous names; e.g. The Pink Elephant (Limerick).

Descriptives do not form a major grouping among Irish pub-names. Examples include The Round House (Limerick, Rathkeale),12 The Loft Bar (Newtownards), The Cellars (Newry), The Rustic Inn (Abbeystowe), and The Thatch (Knockcroghery, Ballindrehid).

Of far greater significance, and of far deeper interest to the geographer, are the pub-names based on relative location. Many of these, e.g. The Central Bar (Mountmellick, Newmarket-on-Fergus, Rathkeale, Ballaghaderen, Cavan, Boyle, Roscommon, Kilkee, Donaghadee, Downpatrick, etc.) are repeated ad nauseam: minor variations, such as The Central (Strokestown) or Central House (Lahinch), do little to relieve the tedium. Equally ubiquitous is The Corner House (Ballina, Rathdowney, Longford, Rosenaal, Virginia, Limerick, Shanagolden), with its variants like The Corner Bar (Ennis), The Corner Inn (Crossgar), and The Corner House Bar (Drumshanbo). Not far behind come The Market Bar (Longford, Drumkeerin, etc.), and The Bridge Bar (Mountshannon, Mohill, Mountmellick) and its variants, The Bridge Inn (Cappamore), The Bridge House (Rathdowney), Bridge End Stores (Swanlinbar) and the like.

Many pubs derived their titles from their proximity to specific features of the cultural landscape. Among these may be numbered The Cinema Bar (Longford), The Arch Bar (Cavan), The Monument Bar (Roscommon), The Castle Inn (Comber), The Fountain Bar (Castlewellan), Esplanade Bars (Bango), and The Square Bar (Portlaoise). In some of these cases, the derivation is a secondary one, via the name of the street on which the pub is located. Other

illustrations of such derivations are The Mall Bar (Sandmall, Limerick) and The Moat Inn (Donaghadee).

Other pubs were named directly from their situation: thus The Inn on the Park (Castlewellan), The Riverside Tavern (Ballyline), The Crossroads Inn (Derry, The Riverside Bar (Sixmilebridge), Hillside Tavern (Killeshandra). Still others were given names evocative of the view from them or of their general location; e.g. The Meadow View (Tierquin), Shannon View (Kildysart), Lakeview Bar (Ballyronan), The Bay Inn (Dundrum), The Three Counties (Abbeyfeale),13 The Four Counties Inn (Kingscourt),14 The Armagh/Down Bar (Newry).

A very large number of pub-names conjure up their precise location. The Durrow Inn, The Quilty Tavern, The Tullyvin Tavern, The Groomsport Inn, The Stoneyford Inn, Ardnacrusha Bar, The Ballyvaughan Inn, The Corbally Bar, all name the settlements in which they lie. Another group hint at their locations by abbreviated forms: The Mellick Bar (Mountmellick), The Abbey Bar (Abbeyfeale), The Swan Bar (Swanlinbar), The Lough Tavern (Ballinlough), while, very occasionally, the name is concealed in translation; e.g. The Green Heights (Ardglass). Still others utilize minor place-names of the neighbourhood; for instance, Garryowen Bar (Limerick),15 The Cairn Hill Tavern (Drumlish), The Sheepbridge Inn (Newry), The Killowen Bar (Rostrevor).

More usually, however, the composers of pub-names drew their inspirations from the major physical features of the surrounding countryside, from the rivers, the lakes, the hills. These yielded such lovely gems as The Scrabo Inn (Newtownards), The Inny Bar (Ballymahon), The Lough Key Lounge (Boyle), The Lough Arrow Inn (Ballyfarnon), The Deel Lounge (Castlemahon). Alternatively, they quarried ancient (or modern) territorial names for their own purposes, and generated such resonant titles as The Brefni Bar (Bawnboy).16

11 This mis-spelt name (recte cumann) involves a bilingual play on words: cumann in Irish denotes both ‘friendship’ and ‘a sports club’, usually a branch of the Gaelic Athletic Association.
12 This name probably involved a play on words, based on the custom of standing a round, i.e. buying drinks for one’s friends or for those to whom one was obligated in some way.

13 A reference to the neighbouring counties of Limerick, Kerry and Cork, whose boundaries meet in the Mollaghreirk Mountains about ten miles south-east of the village of Abbeyfeale.
14 The allusion is to the counties of Cavan, Monaghan, Louth and Meath, whose boundaries meet to the east of Kingscourt village.
15 Garryowen, from the Irish Gáráí Eóin ‘Owen’s Garden’, is the name of an historic district in Limerick City.
16 Brefni was an ancient territorial division corresponding very roughly to modern Co. Cavan.
Kincora House (Lisdoonvarna), the Lecale Bar (Ardglass), the North Down House (Comber), The Ulster Bar (Belurtey), The Golden Vale Lounge (Kilmallock), and The Kerry Bar (Foyne).

A further toponymic contribution came through the impact of travel, literature, radio, television and cinema. This produced such exotica as The Malibu Lounge Bar (Limerick), The Kariba Bar (Ballina near Killala), The Cosmopolitan Inn (Castleconnell), The Europa Tavern (Longford), El Paso (Mountrath), Jamaica Inn (Bangor), The Onedin Bar (Pallasgreen), The Mirabelle Bar (Downpatrick), and The Mandarin (Newtownards). Just as recent decades have seen the introduction of non-native street-names into Irish towns (Westminster Downs, Westbury Court and the like), so too some ill-fitting pub titles have been imposed in recent times; e.g. Warwick Bars (Bangor), The Richmond Inn (Clondra), and The Tudor Tavern (Newtownards). Almost as inappropriate are the neutral ‘anonyms’ which are now spreading like an infestation of dandelions: The Village Inn (Rathfriland, Kircubbin, Waringstown, etc.), The Village Tavern (Termonbarry), The Rustic Inn (Abbeyshrule), and the like.

A now diminishing category derived from Ireland’s colonial past, and generated a rash of regal titles such as The Royal (Killeshandra), The Imperial (Edgeworthstown), The Imperial Bar (Limerick), and The Crown Bar (Manorhamilton), though this tendency to panegyric royalty was more widespread in the naming of hotels. To the same genre belong the large number of pub-names which pay homage to local landlords or territorial magnates; e.g. The Don Arms (Castlerea), The Devonshire Arms (Newtownards), The De Courcy Arms (Downpatrick), The Desmond Arms (Limerick). The concept of a coat of arms was readily transferred from landlord to territory, to town, or even to physical feature: this yielded such titles as The Ulster Arms (Comber, Newtownards, Ballyward), The Newcastle Arms (Newcastle), The Portlaoise Arms (Portlaoise), The Lough Rea Arms (Lanesboro).

Lastly, Irish pub-names number in their ranks commemorative names. Often these refer to politicians, e.g. The Parnell Arms (Ennis), The Parnell Bar (Roscommon), the O’Connell Bar (Ennis). Less frequently they relate to military figures: Galloping O’Hogan’s (Kilmore, Co. Clare), The Sarsfield Arms (Limerick), The Wolfe Tone Bar (Limerick). More rarely still, an historical event is commemorated: The 98 Bar (Kilkreavagh, Co. Longford), The Armada Lounge Bar (Spanish Point), The Galleon Inn (Cappa, Co. Clare). A few names in this category relate to exceptional entrepreneurs; e.g. The Bianconi Bar (Ballinagar, Co. Roscommon), or mythical figures in early Irish literature; e.g. The Cuchulainn Bar (Patrickswell). Lastly, some Irish writers, particularly those who produced humorous or satirical verses and songs, are remembered in this way; e.g. The Percy French Arms (Ballyjamesduff).

17 Kincora was the seat of the O’Briens, once High Kings of Ireland.
18 Lecale was an ancient territorial division dating back to the eighth century.
19 This name alludes to the family of O’Connor Donn (= ‘brow’), descended from the last High King of Ireland. The family seat since the eighteenth century was located at Clonalis, outside Castlerea. Their ‘big house’ is now open to the public.

20 Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-91), leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party in the British House of Commons.
21 The allusion is to Daniel O’Connell (1775-1847), the ‘Liberator’, who spent his political life fighting for Catholic emancipation and for repeal of the Act of Union which bound Ireland to Britain.
22 Named after the rapprochement which guided Patrick Sarsfield in his successful mission to blow up the Williamite convoy of guns and supplies at Ballyneety near Limerick in August 1690.
23 Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, was one of the bravest and most energetic leaders on the side of King James in the Williamite wars. He was responsible for the defence of Limerick in 1690 and again in 1691. He was mortally wounded in the service of the King of France at the Battle of Lutzen in 1693.
24 Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763-98) was a leading member of the Irish revolutionary organization, the United Irishmen. He persuaded the French to invade Ireland in 1796, an invasion which proved abortive. He was captured on a later raid in 1798, and died by his own hand in order to evade the hangman.
25 This name refers to the insurrection organized by the United Irishmen against the English government in Ireland in the year 1798.
26 Many of the great ships of the Spanish Armada were wrecked off the west coast of Ireland, and the survivors massacred by order of the English governor of Connought, Sir Richard Bingham; cf. The Galleon Inn.
27 Charles Bianconi (1786-1875), an Italian who established a network of road-car routes across the Irish countryside.
28 Cú Chulainn (‘hound of Culann’), ‘The Hound of Ulster’, was a hero of early Irish saga.
Merriman Tavern (Scarriff)\textsuperscript{29}

It would be premature, at this stage, to attempt to quantify the proportion of names falling into each category: that must await a computerised listing. However, a preliminary impression is that titles based on owners' first names come first, followed by those associated with signs: then those derived from place-names, with commemoratives lagging far behind. This mix reflects many aspects of Irish cultural and physical geography, and itself contributes to the atmosphere of the Irish countryside.\textsuperscript{31}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{map}
\caption{Location of Sample Areas}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{29} William Percy French (1854–1920) was an engineer employed by the Board of Works. He became famous as a songwriter and entertainer. His compositions included 'The Mountains of Mourne', 'Are you right there, Michael?', and, of course, 'Come Back, Paddy Reilly, to Ballyjamesduff'.

\textsuperscript{30} Brian Merriman (1750–1805) of Ennistymon, Co. Clare, was the composer of a lengthy poem entitled \textit{Cuirt an Mhean-oiche} ('The Midnight Court').

\textsuperscript{31} This article is a revised version of a paper read at the Conference of Irish Geographers, Maynooth, 19th May, 1990.
Fig. 2: Locations Mentioned in Text

Ireland

0  80 Km
0  50 Miles

1. Abbeyfeale 49. Cooraheen
2. Abbeyshrule 50. Crossgar
3. Annalong 51. Derry
4. Ardagh 52. Downpatrick
5. Ardglass 53. Drogheda
6. Ardmore River 54. Castleconnell
7. Arva 55. Dromore
8. Athlone 56. Dromore
9. Ballybrown 57. Drumsbane
10. Ballaghaderreen 58. Drumshanbo
12. Ballinagh 60. Dunshaughlin
13. Ballinalacken 61. Dublin
15. Ballingarry 63. Dundonald
16. Ballingarry 64. Dundrum
17. Ballintammon 65. Dundrum
18. Ballyhall 66. Edgeworthstown
20. Ballinagore 68. Ennis
22. Ballymena 70. Fionnabair
23. Ballynahinch 71. Galway
24. Ballyross 72. Granard
25. Ballyvaughan 73. Gransha
26. Ballywilly 74. Holywood
27. Ballyward 75. Hospital
28. Banbridge 76. Jemison
29. Bangor 77. Keady
30. Banbridge 78. Kilcoweragh
31. Belfast 79. Killysant
32. Bellaghy 80. Kilkee
33. Boyle 81. Kilkee
34. Brittas 82. Kilkishen
35. Carrickmore 83. Kilkivan
36. Castleville 84. Kilmore
37. Carrigaholt 85. Killashee
38. Castleconnell 86. Killianyna
39. Castlemahon 87. Killough
40. Castletown 88. Kilmallock
41. Castletownsend 89. Kilmovee
42. Cashel 90. Kilnure
43. Charleville 91. Kilnash
44. Clonaghtan 92. Kilrush
45. Cois Fearragar 93. Kingscourt
46. Cahir 94. Kinsgale
47. Cork 95. Knockcroghery
48. Corofin 96. Knockduggan