

# What's in an Irish Name? A Study of the Personal Naming Systems of Irish and Irish English

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## *1. Introduction: The Irish Patronymic System Prior to 1600*

While the history of Irish personal names displays general similarities with the fortunes of the country's place-names, it also shows significant differences, as both first and second names are closely bound up with the ego-identity of those to whom they belong.<sup>1</sup>

This paper examines how the indigenous system of Gaelic personal names was moulded to the requirements of a foreign, English-medium administration, and how the early twentieth-century cultural revival prompted the re-establishment of an Irish-language nomenclature. It sets out the native Irish system of surnames, which distinguishes formally between male and female (married/ unmarried) and shows how this was assimilated into the very different English system, where one surname is applied to all. A distinguishing feature of nomenclature in Ireland today is the phenomenon of dual Irish and English language naming, with most individuals accepting that there are two versions of their name. The uneasy relationship between these two versions, on the fault-line of language contact, as it were, is also examined. Thus, the paper demonstrates that personal names, at once the pivots of individual and group identity, are a rich source of continuing insight into the dynamics of Irish and English language contact in Ireland.

Irish personal names have a long history. Many of the earliest records of Irish are preserved on standing stones incised with the strokes and dots of *ogam*, a

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<sup>1</sup> See the paper given at the *Celtic Englishes II* Colloquium on the theme of "Toponyms across Languages: The Role of Toponymy in Ireland's Language Shifts" (Mac Mathúna 2000).

form of writing which has a one-to-one correspondence with the letters of the Latin alphabet. These inscriptions, mostly dated to the period AD 400-700, consist very largely of personal names, composed to a formula "of X son of Y," with a minority signifying wider tribal or group filiation. The transition to manuscripts facilitated the recording of genealogical descent over several generations, thus giving ruling elites the retrospective legitimisation expected of them within the native Irish culture and polity. The position with regard to Irish personal names in the period AD 400-1000 was reviewed by M.A. O'Brien in the Rhys Memorial Lecture which he delivered to the British Academy in 1957, the notes for which were edited posthumously by Rolf Baumgarten (O'Brien 1973). O'Brien observed that he had collected over 12,000 individual names from this period, the vast majority being those of males, noting that surnames began to replace "X son of Y" patronymics from about the year 900, a development which coincided with the transition from the Old Irish to the Middle Irish period.

Brian Ó Cuív later carried out a detailed analysis of O'Brien's corpus, and showed that the listing of 12,000 individuals included over 3,500 separate names, most of which were of infrequent occurrence: over 4,000 of the persons listed shared just 100 of the names, while the other 3,400 names were distributed among less than 8,000 persons (Ó Cuív 1986: 156). Of the 3,500 or so different names, Ó Cuív noted only 102 women's names, while a few others were common to both sexes. These latter included *Cellach*, *Colum* and *Flann* (Ó Cuív 1986: 157). Other sources examined by Ó Cuív yielded some 300 female names for the same period (Ó Cuív 1986: 161f.).

The majority of Irish surnames are based on the prefixes *Ua*, later *Ó*, 'grandson, descendant' and *Mac* 'son.' These are regularly anglicised *O'* and *Mac*, *Mc*. The first instance of an *Ua* surname seems to be *Comaltan H. Cleirigh* in the Annals of Ulster at AD 980 (Ó Cuív 1986: 182). However, strong arguments in favour of awarding precedence as a surname to an inflected form of *Ua Canannáin* in a *Chronicum Scotorum* entry for AD 943 are advanced by Tomás G. Ó Canann (1993: 113f.). Ó Cuív's earliest example of a *Mac* surname is *Diarmait Mac Murchada* from the Book of Leinster in his death notice (AD 1171) (Ó Cuív 1986: 181). Of course, the central issue relates to the timing of the introduction and general adoption of the new naming system and only secondarily to the pioneering role of a particular family and name. The main difficulty in identifying the transition from patronymic to surname in Irish derives from the fact that a great many surnames are formed from first names, and can only be identified with certainty as surnames when it can be demonstrated that a particular individual described as "X ua Y" is not actually the grandson of Y, and that an individual described as "X mac Y," is not the son of Y. Given the relative paucity of documentation, it will be appreciated that corroborating evidence, which would settle the matter one way or another, is frequently not available.

From the testimony of the Annals and other sources, it would seem that the surname system may not have been in universal use until the thirteenth century. This and similar matters still await thorough investigation. For instance, it would

be important to know what regional and social variation there was in the adoption of surnames. Similarly, one would like to know if the inter-generational patronymic system lived on, side by side with surnames, for, as will be seen below, this system has continued to the present day in both Irish- and English-speaking communities in Ireland.

It may also be noted that not all Irish surnames conform to the *Ua/Ó* and *Mac* patterns. A small number are adjectival in form, e.g. *Caomhánach*, later anglicised *Kavanagh*, *Déiseach* from which came *Deasy*, and *Laighneach*, which gave *Lynagh*. It is to this category that *Breat(h)nach* belongs. *Breat(h)nach* is the Irish version of the Anglo-Norman surname *Walsh(e)* and it was destined to become one of the most frequent of all names in Ireland today.

The Anglo-Normans brought with them names such as *FitzX* and these were adopted into Irish as *Mac X*, thus *Fitzgerald* corresponds to *Mac Gearailt* and *Fitzmaurice* to *Mac Muiris*. The originally Irish name of *Mac Giolla Phádraig* was anglicised as *Fitzpatrick*. Some Anglo-Norman surnames still retain their original *de* in Irish, but not in English. So, we have *de Búrca* from *de Bourgo*, now generally *Burke* in English, while *de Paor* is now *Power*. In cases such as *de Buítléir*, anglicised *Butler*, the original article *le* of the Norman-French has been assimilated to *de*. Another pattern is seen in the correspondences between Irish *Feiritéir* and English *Ferriter*, Irish *Ruiséil* and English *Russell* (MacLysaght 1978).

## 2. Anglicisation Pressure

The fourteenth century saw English resurgent in England, as it moved to displace French. In Ireland steps were taken by the English administration to counter the influence of Irish. The 1366 Statutes of Kilkenny reflect concern at the adoption of Gaelic naming patterns by the colonists: “Also, it is ordained and established that every Englishman do use the English language, and be named by an English name, leaving off entirely the manner of naming used by the Irish” (Crowley 2000: 15).

A hundred years later an act was passed which sought the assimilation of those Irish who dwelt among the English of the Pale:

*Stat.Ire.* An Act that the Irishmen Dwelling in the Counties of Dublin, Meath, Uriel, and Kildare, Shall go Apparellled like Englishmen, and wear their beards after the English manner, Swear Allegiance, and Take English Surname, 1465.

At the request of the commons it is ordained and established by authority of the said Parliament, that every Irishman, that dwells betwixt or amongst Englishmen in the county of Dublin, Meath, Uriel and Kildare, shall go like to one Englishman in apparel and shaving of his beard above the mouth, and shall be within one year sworn the liege man of the king in the hands of the lieutenant or deputy, or such as he will assign to receive this oath, for the multitude that is to be sworn and shall take him to an English surname of one town, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Cork or Kinsale: or colour, as white, black, brown: or art or science, as smith or carpenter: or office, as cook, butler, and that he and his issue shall use this name, under pain of forfeiting of his good

yearly, till the premisses be done to be levied two times by the year to the King's wars, according to the direction of the lieutenant of the King or his deputy. (Crowley 2000: 16)

However, this Act seems to have had little effect, as Douglas Hyde observed: "This, however, the parliament was unable to carry through, none of the great Irish names within or alongside the Pale, Mac Murroughs, O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, O'Mores, O'Ryans, O'Conor Falys, O'Kellys, etc., seem to have been in the least influenced by it" (Hyde 1980: 610). Indeed, it was the continuing disparity in naming systems which prompted the Dublin apothecary, Thomas Smyth, to speak disparagingly in 1561 of those who were descended "of the septs of Ose or Max" (Quiggin 1911: 20). This convenient assignation, based on the most prevalent initial elements in native Irish surnames, served to identify readily the Pale's troublesome neighbours.

For much of the sixteenth century the Irish language continued to press the English. The English poet Edmund Spenser, who had large domains of lands in Munster, took a jaundiced view of the assimilation of the English to Gaelic ways. He lets his character Irenius argue that the English planted outside the English pale "are degenerate and grown to be as very patchocks as the wild Irish, yea and some of them have quite shaken off their English names and put on Irish that they might be altogether Irish." Irenius reported that the Fitz-Ursulas appeared by the signification of their Irish names, and that the Mac-swineys now in Ulster were anciently of the Veres of England. Lord Bretingham now named himself, Irish-like, Maccorish. Similarly, "the great Mortimer, who forgetting how great he was once in England, or English at all, is now become the most barbarous of them all, and is called Macnemmara" (Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 1596, in: Crowley 2000: 41-49, at 47f.).

### *3. Anglicisation: 1600-1900*

The defeat of the Irish by the English at the battle of Kinsale in 1601 was the turning point in the Nine Years War, 1594-1603. English success in war was inevitably followed by administrative manipulation of the peace. The Ulster chiefs decided to abandon their patrimony and go into exile in Rome in a move which became known as "The Flight of the Earls." The replacement of the native Irish Brehon laws by the English common law system saw English become the language of administration and the courts. The native Irish had to have recourse to it in a (frequently vain) effort to retain or regain their lands. At any rate, it was this process, which institutionalised anglicisation of Irish language place-names and personal names. This involved, not so much a new departure, but rather the consummation of a process which had been part and parcel of the Anglo-Norman conquest and expansion of influence in Ireland from the twelfth century on. For, just as Irish-language names had acquired latinised by-forms for

ecclesiastical purposes from the fifth century onwards, so anglicised variants of Irish names had been generated by the English. Of course, for as long as these forms were primarily in use among the English themselves, they had little impact on the Irish and their culture. As the sixteenth century advanced, however, the Irish found themselves grappling with a militarily stronger power. They realised that they could only contest their rights within the English administrative and legal systems, if they recognised the new nomenclature bestowed on their lands and assumed the alien personal designations being used to refer to themselves. This was all played out in the Irish Fiants of the Tudors, as observed by Tomás G. Ó Canann in his Introduction to a recent edition: “In most cases the fiants represent the first attempt to anglicize native Irish names and, thus, reflect the initial step in the changeover in the vernacular language that so transformed the cultural landscape of Ireland” (*Irish Fiants* 1994: I iii). In these documents one can see how English laws operated from the sixteenth century on, and were embedded in the seventeenth-century legal system.

This in effect is the background to and the basis for most public law and administration in Ireland down to the present day. It informs the attitudes to officialdom of much of the population, including that of the Irish-speaking or Gael-tacht regions, and it is the basis for the ongoing tension with the conflicting aspirations of the language revival movement.

The anglicisation of Gaelic surnames took several forms: phonetic approximation, translation and the establishment of equivalences with existing English surnames, combinations of these approaches being not infrequent. However, the principal process was that of phonetic approximation, whereby the sounds occurring in the Irish name were assimilated to the sound system of English, and represented according to the conventions of English orthography. In the illustrative examples in the following tables, the current standard orthography of Irish is used: this facilitates reference and reflects the pronunciation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on which the anglicised version is regularly based.

### 3.1. *Phonetic Approximation*

<b>Irish Version of Surname</b>	<b>Anglicised Version of Surname</b>
Mac Gabhann	McGowan
Mac Mánaís	McManus
Ó Dálaigh	O'Daly
Ó Flaitheartaigh	O'Flaherty
Ó hAilpín	Halpin
Ó hAilpíne	Hal(f)penny
Ó Lachtnáin	Loughnane

### 3.2. Simplification

<b>Irish Version of Surname</b>	<b>Anglicised Version of Surname</b>
Mac Giolla Iasachta	Lysaght < MacLysaght < Macgillysaghta

### 3.3. Translation

<b>Irish Version of Surname</b>	<b>Anglicised Version of Surname</b>
Mac Gabhann	Smith < ( <i>gabha</i> 'smith')
Mac an Iomaire	Ridge < ( <i>iomaire</i> 'ridge')
Ó Draighneáin	Thornton < ( <i>draighean</i> 'blackthorn')
Ó Gaoithín	Wyndham < ( <i>gaoth</i> 'wind')

### 3.4. Mistranslation

<b>Irish Version of Surname</b>	<b>Anglicised Version of Surname</b>
Mac Conraoi	King (< <i>rí</i> 'king')
Mac Giolla Eoin	Monday < MacAloon (< <i>Luan</i> 'Monday')
Ó Dubháin	Kidney (< <i>duán</i> 'kidney')

### 3.5. Equivalence with Existing English Surname

<b>Irish Version of Surname</b>	<b>Anglicised Version of Surname</b>
Ó Lachtnáin	Loftus

### 3.6. Multiplicity of Anglicised Forms

A single Irish surname may give rise to a host of variants, e.g.:

<b>Irish Version of Surname</b>	<b>Anglicised Version of Surname</b>
Mac an Bhreithiún (lit. 'son of the judge')	MacEbrehowne MacEbrehan MacAbrehan MacAbreham Abraham Breheny Judge

The anglicised forms can be legion. For instance, MacLysaght (1978: xiii) quotes some twelve variants for Cullen: *Cullen, Colins, Collen, Collins, Colquhoun, Culhoun, Culheeny, Cillinane, Cullion, Culloon, Cully, Quillan, Quillen*. One family of six members had six different tombstone versions of their surname in America: *McEneaney, McAneaney, McAneny, McEnaney, McEneany, Bird* (< *éan* ‘bird’). Similarly, siblings used both *Sruffaun* and *Bywater* (< *sruthán* ‘stream’) (*ibid.*).

### 3.7. Anglicisation of Prefixes

The following table sets out the current position as regards prefix usage:

Irish Version of Prefix Usage	Anglicised Version of Prefix Usage
<p>Mac + space + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case e.g. Mac Mánaís</p> <p>Mc occurs in manuscripts with suspension mark above both letters</p>	<p>Mac + space + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case e.g. Mac Manus</p> <p>Mac + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case e.g. MacManus</p> <p>[Scotland: Mac + initial letter of second element of surname in lower case]</p> <p>Mc + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case e.g. McManus</p> <p>M<sup>c</sup> + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case e.g. M<sup>c</sup>Manus</p> <p>M' + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case; no longer in use e.g. M'Manus</p>
<p>Ó + space + initial letter of second element of prefix in upper case e.g. Ó Dónaill</p>	<p>O + space + initial letter of second element of surname of prefix in upper case e.g. O Donnell</p> <p>O' + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case e.g. O'Donnell</p>

In general, the *McManus* pattern would be most common, with that of the *MacManus* type being considerably more frequent than that of *Mac Manus*. Similarly, the *O'Donnell* pattern would be a lot more common than that of *O'Donnell*.

MacLysaght (1978: x) points out that *O* names are slightly more numerous in Ireland than *Mac* names. From the seventeenth century on, the prefixes *Mac* and *O* were widely dropped, but were re-adopted as the nineteenth century progressed. The following statistics were taken by MacLysaght from birth registration and voters' lists to illustrate the point:

Year	Percentage Using the Prefix O
1866	4
1890	13
1914	20
1944	60
1972	70

The figure for 1972 is MacLysaght's estimate for the country as a whole, given a telephone directory estimate of 85% for urban areas. In the case of the surname *O'Connell*, MacLysaght attributes the even more marked increase from 9% to 33% in the period from 1866 to 1890, to the use of *O* by Daniel O'Connell, whose father was just Morgan Connell (MacLysaght 1978: xi). MacLysaght notes that many original *O* names resisted the reintroduction of the prefix, the figure for the surname *Kelly* standing at only 8% in 1972. *Mac* names were rarely reinstated (MacLysaght 1978: xi).<sup>2</sup>

#### 4. The Call to De-Anglicise

In his famous lecture entitled "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland" delivered to The National Literary Society, Dublin, 25 November 1892, which inspired the founding of the Gaelic League just over six months later, Douglas Hyde dwelt on the history of adoption of English surnames by the Irish: "It was, however, only after Aughrim and the Boyne that Irish names began to be changed in great numbers, and O'Conors to become 'Conyers,' O'Reillys 'Ridleys,' O'Donnells 'Daniels,' O'Sullivan's 'Silvans,' MacCarthys 'Carters,' and so on" (Hyde, in: Ó Conaire 1986: 162). Hyde's seminal lecture was as much a rallying cry as an academic exposition and he railed against this practice – ironically voicing concerns similar to those which had once moved Moryson, Spenser and Davies to indignation against the contrary process of linguistic-cultural assimilation:

<sup>2</sup> The author himself had adopted *MacLysaght* rather than his inherited *Lysaght*, when writing in English. In Irish he was known as *Eamonn Mac Giolla Iasachta*.



But it is the last sixty years that have made most havoc with our Milesian names. It seemed as if the people were possessed with a mania for changing them to something – anything at all, only to get rid of the Milesian sound. ... In Connacht alone I know scores of Gatleys, Sextons, Baldwins, Foxes, Coxes, Footes, Greenses, Keatings, who are really O’Gatlies, O’Sesnans, O’Mulligans, O’Shanahans, MacGillacullys, O’Trehys, O’Honeens, and O’Keateys. The O’Hennesys are Harringtons, the O’Kinsellaghs, Kingsleys and Tinslys, the O’Feehillys, Pickleys, and so on. (Hyde, in: Ó Conaire 1986: 162f.)

Even while still predominantly Irish-speaking, the Irish had felt it judicious to adopt anglicised names, which allowed them to interact with the authorities without drawing particular attention to themselves personally. However, the tension between a private Irish-speaking existence and public English-speaking interaction was ultimately resolved by the great majority of the population by switching to English as the language for all domains. In this, the process of name anglicisation gained momentum, as both surnames and first names conformed to the new linguistic reality. However, personal names have a deeply embedded psychological relationship with personal and community identity. It was this which Hyde astutely recognised and judged to be of such importance that he strove to get the Irish people to reverse the trend. Rhetorically, Hyde came into his stride when he turned his attention to the demise of the Irish Christian names, first male and then female. The effectiveness with which he marshalled his arguments and the impact they had and continue to have on identity in Ireland warrant the inclusion of a lengthy extract:

The man whom you call Diarmuid when you speak Irish, a low, pernicious, un-Irish, detestable custom, begot by slavery, propagated by cringing, and fostered by flunkeyism, forces you to call Jeremiah when you speak English, or as a concession, Darby. In like manner, the indigenous Teig is West-britonised into Thaddeus or Thady, for no earthly reason than that both begin with a T. Donough is Denis, Cahal is Charles, Murtagh and Murough are Mortimer, Dómnall is Daniel, Partholan, the name of the earliest coloniser of Ireland, is Bartholomew or Batty, Eoghan (Owen) is frequently Eugene, .... Félim is Felix, Finghin (Finneen) is Florence, Conor is Corney, Turlough is Terence, Éamon is Edmond or Neddy, and so on. In fact, of the great wealth of Gaelic Christian names in use a century or two ago, only Owen, Brian, Cormac, and Patrick seem to have survived in general use.

Nor have our female names fared one bit better; we have discarded them even more ruthlessly than those of our men. Surely Sadhbh (Sive) is a prettier name than Sabina or Sibby, and Nóra than Onny, Honny, or Honour (so translated simply because Nóra sounds like *onóir*, the Irish for ‘honour’); surely Una is prettier than Winny, which it becomes when West-Britonised. ... Aoife (Eefy), Sighle (Sheela), Móirín (Moreen), Nuala and Fionnuala (Finnoola), are all beautiful names which were in use until quite recently. Maurya and Anya are still common, but are not indigenous Irish names at all, so that I do not mind their rejection, whilst three other very common ones, Suraha, Shinéad, and Shuwaun, sound so bad in English that I do not very much regret their being translated into Sarah, Jane, and Joan, respectively; but I must put in a plea for the retention of such beautiful names as Eefee, Oona, Eileen, Mève, Sive, and Nuala. (Hyde, in: Ó Conaire 1986: 164f)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, Hyde’s own daughters were named *Nuala* and *Úna*.

Hyde's analysis struck a chord and has been resonating ever since. The wider issue of language revival formed the background to his proposals regarding personal names. Hyde's immediate concern at this point in his lecture was with the actual anglicised form of particular surnames. In the absence of specific investigation it is not possible to say whether or not his views have had an impact, apart, that is, from the gradual movement to reinstate the *O* and *Mac* prefixes. However, although not alluded to directly in his talk, the advance of the revival went hand in hand with a return to the actual original Irish language version of surnames, primarily in contexts where Irish was being used. This depended on the provision of lists giving Irish language equivalences for the anglicised versions. Such lists began to be published in 1900 on the pages of the newspaper *An Claidheamh Soluis* (lit. 'The Sword of Light'). A major outcome was the rise of dual versions of names, thus *Pádraic Mac Piarais* alongside *Patrick Pearse*, *Pádraig Ua Duinnín* beside *Patrick Dinneen*, *Peadar Ua Laoghaire* beside *Peter O'Leary* and of course *Douglas Hyde* alongside *Dúbhglas de hÍde*.<sup>4</sup> The influence is even to be seen in James Joyce's *Ulysses*, where *Barnie Kiernan's* pub on Little Britain street becomes "the ancient hall of *Brian O'Ciarnain's* in *Sraid na Bretaine Bheag*" in order to render it a fit setting for a discussion on the revival of Gaelic sports and the importance of physical culture (Joyce 1982: 315).

However, in some cases exclusive use was made of the Irish version of a name, e.g. by the writer *Pádraic Ó Conaire*. The promotion of Irish in the educational system and the civil service in general after the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 contributed to the widespread understanding that there were two versions of names, an original Irish language one and an anglicised version, either of which might be used. Although dual naming is still common in the nationwide voluntary sports organisation, the Gaelic Athletic Association, the trend in recent years has been for the adoption of one or other version of the name by an individual for all official purposes. Although this, of course, means that the anglicised version is regularly used by the vast majority of people, nonetheless Irish-language versions are preferred by a significant minority and now enjoy a normalised status in the broadcast and print media. However, this often leads to the typographical substitution of a hybrid form such as *O'Conchúir* for *Ó Conchúir*, corresponding to anglicised *O'Connor*.

The official proscribing of Irish forms of personal names became an issue in the post-1900 period, when some cart-owners, all of whom were obliged to display their name on their cart, chose to do so in Irish. A number of these were served with summonses by the Royal Irish Constabulary for allegedly having "illegible" names on their carts. Ruth Dudley Edwards sets the scene for Patrick Pearse's one and only court case, effectively contrasting the diplomatic bent of Hyde with the younger man's desire for action: "It was legally necessary for a

<sup>4</sup> It may be mentioned in passing that *noms de plume* enjoyed a great vogue in the first generation or two of the Revival, Hyde himself being well known as *An Craoibhin Aoibhinn* (lit. 'The Sweet Little Branch,' an eighteenth-century term of affection for the House of Stuart Pretender to the English throne).

cart-owner to put his name on his cart, and with the spread of the League's ideas on the use of Irish forms where possible, individual cart-owners began painting their Irish names in Irish characters. There were one or two prosecutions on this account, with small fines resulting" (Edwards 1977: 79). Hyde had "wanted the placing of the Irish forms on carts to become so common that it could not be interfered with, and the government was not interfering" (*ibid.*). However, Pearse appealed to the higher courts in the case brought against Niall Mac Giolla Brighde (Neil McBride) in 1905, and lost: "Thus it was made illegal not only to have the name in Irish letters but to have it in any form except the correct English form" (*ibid.*, 80f.). Pearse's own account of what transpired has quite a heroic ring to it:

On Tuesday last the language movement marched boldly into the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland, and for five hours counsel discussed with the Lord Chief Justice, Mr Justice Andrews, and Mr Justice Gibson, various questions ranging from the origin of the Irish alphabet to the position of the Pan-Celts with regard to the Irish language.

We are only carrying out the spirit of the resolution of the Ard-Fheis when we advise all Gaels to simply ignore the British Law that makes it penal for them to use their own language to the exclusion of English. If they are summoned and fined, let them refuse to pay; if they are sent to prison, let them go to prison. The question can be brought to a head no other way. (*ibid.*)

Mac Giolla Brighde lived in an Irish-speaking area and had been fined for having the Irish form of his name on his cart, the judge deciding that the Irish language had no standing in law. The Gaelic League said that the court had, in effect, called Irish a foreign language. In another case, in an English-speaking district, Tomás Mac Seoin, was sentenced to a week's hard labour when he refused to pay a fine of one shilling on being summoned for having his name in Irish on his cart (Ó Fearail 1975: 29).

A macaronic ballad-style song was composed, celebrating one such encounter between a representative of the state, a policeman named Thingyme, and the humble owner of an ass and cart. It tells how Mícheál an gabha (lit. 'Michael the smith') was accosted as he made his way across a bridge in Muileann na hAbhann:

*Ba ghairid go bhfaca mé asal a's trucail bheag,  
Chugaim ar a shodar faoi Mhícheál an gabha  
Siúd leis an Bobby: "This cart has no signature  
Only a lingo I cannot make out."*

"Your name my good man, and answer[ed] right quickly now."  
*"Amharc ar an trucail an bhfuileann tú dall?  
Tá m'ainmse breacaithe i dteanga a thuigimse,  
Agus fógraím thusa go hlfreann lom."*

"Ten shillings with costs or a fortnight's imprisonment.  
Next on the list. Take this reprobate down."  
*"Cuirtear faoi ghlasa mé feasta a ghlagaire,  
Puingin de m' sheilbh ní fheicfidh sibh ann."*

*It wasn't long till I saw a donkey and a little cart,  
Coming towards us at a trot with Micheál the smith  
Out steps the Bobby: "This cart has no signature  
Only a lingo I cannot make out."*

*"Your name my good man, and answer[ed] right quickly now."*

*"Look at the cart, are you blind,  
My name is written out in a language I understand,  
And I damn you to the bareness of Hell."*

*"Ten shillings with costs or a fortnight's imprisonment.*

*Next on the list. Take this reprobate down."*

*"Let me be locked up now you prattler,*

*Not a penny of my money will you see there."* (Cumann an Ógra 1998: 32f.)<sup>5</sup>

However, it is in the area of first names that the change since Hyde's day is most clear, for not only has there been a resurgence in most of the names then in decline, but there has been wave after wave of older Gaelic names adopted from the earlier literature. Popular male names include *Pádraig*, *Ciarán*, *Colm* and *Rónán*, while female names such as *Deirdre*, *Gráinne*, *Éadaoin* and *Caoimhe* have become quite commonplace. Indeed, some Irish-language names such as *Deirdre* and *Seán* enjoy considerable vogue outside Ireland in English-speaking countries, as ably demonstrated by Heidi Lazar-Meyn in her contribution on this topic to the 2004 Potsdam Colloquium and in her paper entitled "Irish First Names in the Diaspora: Leaping across Sociolinguistic Boundaries," read at the 12<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Celtic Studies, held at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, August 2003. Of course, alongside these native-based names one has many personal names inspired by the stars of screen and soap opera, thus *Errol*, *Glen*, *Kylie* and *Britney*. At any rate, the outcome is that the dominant unmarked naming pattern current in Ireland today is that of native-based first name and anglicised surname.

### 5. Current Personal Naming Patterns in Ireland

The following table summarises the predominant naming patterns to be found in Ireland today:

First Name	Surname
Native-based name Irish-language e.g. Eoghan Anglicised e.g. Eugene, Owen	Anglicised surname Complemented on occasions by Irish-language original e.g. Eugene Watters / Eoghan Ó Tuairisc
Foreign media-based name, e.g. Errol	Anglicised surname
Irish-language name e.g. Nuala	Irish-language surname e.g. Ní Dhomhnaill

<sup>5</sup> The sections in italics correspond to those in Irish in the original.

## 5.1. Current Modern Irish

## 5.1.1. The Traditional Irish System

The tables below set out the inherited traditional system of naming with *Mac* and *Ó* prefixes in Irish, with illustrative examples:

Male Surname	Female Surname
Mac (husband)	(Bean) Mhic (+ lenition) (wife)
Mac (son)	Nic (+ lenition) (daughter)

Thus, corresponding to anglicised *MacMullan* and *MacAndrew*, *Andrews* one has:

Male Surname	Female Surname
Mac Maoláin	Mhic Mhaoláin
Mac Maoláin	Nic Mhaoláin

Male Surname	Female Surname
Mac Aindriú	Mhic Aindriú
Mac Aindriú	Nic Aindriú

Male Surname	Female Surname
Ó (+ h prefixed to vowel) (father)	(Bean) Uí (+ lenition) (wife)
Ó (+ h prefixed to vowel) (son)	Ní (+ lenition) (daughter)

Therefore, corresponding to anglicised *O’Gorman* and *O’Houlahan*, *Hoolahan*, *Holland* one has:

Male Surname	Female Surname
Ó Gormáin	Uí Ghormáin
Ó Gormáin	Ní Ghormáin

Male Surname	Female Surname
Ó hUallacháin	Uí Uallacháin
Ó hUallacháin	Ní Uallacháin

As is clear from these examples, the anglicised surname is based on that of the (unmarked) male form. An early and rare instance of the whole anglicised surname project being called into question for its failure to reproduce the male/female differentiation of Irish is the following by Conor McSweeney in 1843:

... It is proper here to warn Irish ladies that they commit a blunder in writing their names with O or Mac instead of ní. They should bear in mind that O'Neil, Mac Carthy, O'Loughlen, O'Connell, are not surnames (sic) like the English – Baggs, Daggs, Scraggs, Drake, Hog, Moneypenny, Bastard &c. but simply mean son of Nial, son of Connell, son of Loughlen, &c. as the Jews say, son of Judah, son of Joseph &c. and that a lady who writes O or Mac to her name calls herself son instead of a daughter ... I therefore advise every Irish lady to substitute ní (sic), pronounced nee, for O or Mac, Julia ní Connell, Catherine ní Donnell, Ellen ní Neil, will at first sound strange, but they are not a whit less euphonious than the others, and use will make them agreeable. (quoted in Ó Drisceoil 2003: 148)

An amusing instance of the generalisation of the specific female *Ní* form is recounted by Angela Bourke, regarding one Nan Brennan, who happened to be looking after the children of her nephew about 1958:

... Richard Sinnott remembers that she sewed nametapes on to all his clothes before he went as a boarder to the Irish College at Ring, County Waterford. A nationalist and a seamstress, Nan wrote his name in Irish and stitched the labels securely, but she had no husband or son, and hadn't used Irish in years, so his name appeared as though it were a girl's: Ristéard Ní Shionóid. (Bourke 2004: 311)

### 5.1.2. Female Surname Forms in Irish Today

As we have seen, Irish – like Icelandic and the Slavic languages – differs from English and other western European languages, in having distinct male and female forms of surnames, with a further traditional subdivision of the female forms into “married (wife of)” and “daughter (of)” categories. Strangeness is always in the eye of the beholder. And those of us familiar in the first instance with what Whorf termed ‘Standard Average European’ (SAE) languages may look askance at the relational distinctions traditionally drawn by Irish in its surnaming system. However, someone coming to other naming systems from within the Irish perspective may find the lack of differentiation just as strange, and pose a question such as – “*Mammy Quilty, Daddy Quilty, Sinéad Quilty*, why are they all the same?” When it comes to dealing with the indexing and cataloguing of surnames belonging to the Irish system, a certain creativity is needed to deal coherently and systematically with the challenges involved. A number of approaches have been tried in the last generation or two.

#### 5.1.2.1. Cross-Referencing to Male Surname

Muiris Ó Droighneáin (1982) proposed that reference indexes such as telephone directories and library catalogues should use the male forms as the norm, cross-referencing to this from the female forms. Although this approach has had a limited success in Irish-language usage, it was handicapped from the start by the restricted familiarity even among Irish speakers with all the intricacies of the language's naming system. More recently it has been a casualty of the rise of femi-

nism in Anglo-America. In general, the simplest approach would seem to be to accept the form of the name used by the individual, male or female, and index this.<sup>6</sup>

The following table outlines the approach of Ó Droighneáin (1982), which records female surnames by redirection from the male forms:

Male Surname in Irish	First Name (and Female Form of Surname) in Irish	Anglicised Surname	First Name (and Female Title)
Mac Airt	Seán	MacArt	Seán
Mac Airt	Máire (Bean) Mhic Airt	MacArt	Mrs Máire
Mac Airt	Máire Nic Airt	MacArt	Miss Máire

Male Surname in Irish	First Name (and Female Form of Surname) in Irish	Anglicised Surname	First Name (and Female Title)
Ó Briain	Seán	O'Brien	Seán
Ó Briain	Máire (Bean) Uí Bhriain	O'Brien	Mrs Máire
Ó Briain	Máire Ní Bhriain	O'Brien	Miss Máire

### 5.1.2.2. *Gaeltacht Practice*

A different solution has been adopted in Gaeltacht areas, especially in Conamara, Co. Galway:

Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations	Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations
Mac X (husband)	Nic X, Nic/Ní Y [father's surname] (wife)
Mac X (son)	Nic X (daughter)

Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations	Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations
Ó X (husband)	Ní X, Nic/Ní Y [father's surname] (wife)
Ó X (son)	Ní X (daughter)

As can be seen from these tables, the specific married forms are not used. However, as a woman may, and frequently does, retain her maiden name (i.e. the surname of her father) after marriage, one has no way of knowing from the

<sup>6</sup> It may be observed in passing that the ability of the dominant indexing systems to deal in a logical alphabetical order with Irish surnames, be they original or anglicised is doubtful, as they grapple with the challenges of Mac#, Mac, Mc and Ó, O#, and O'. Irish telephone directories, for instance, normally do not distinguish between the prefixes Mc, Mac, M' and the spacing after them, the index order being determined by the next element of the name.

name itself, “Nic X” or “Ní Y,” whether the “X” or “Y” is that of the female’s pre-marriage status (based on her father’s surname), or that of her husband.

### 5.1.2.3. Practice outside the Gaeltacht

Outside the Gaeltacht, among a small number of women active in academic and Irish language circles, the following system has shown signs of expansion over the last thirty years or so:

Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations	Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations
Mac X (husband)	Mac X (wife)
Mac X (son)	Nic X (daughter)

Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations	Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations
Ó X (husband)	Ó X (wife)
Ó X (son)	Ní X (daughter)

The effect of this development is to isolate the daughter assignment somewhat, leaving it at variance with the strengthened male category, now including father, son and wife. The motivation for this development was the difficulty experienced in using different versions of surnames for husband and wife in Irish in an environment accustomed to the uniformity of English, a difficulty compounded by the morphological complexity of the married female form in Irish. This approach now seems to be in decline, having yielded to the fourth and final category.

### 5.1.2.4. Retention of Maiden Name

Increasingly nowadays outside the Gaeltacht, Irish-speaking females retain their maiden name after marriage, in line with current practice in English in the western world. The surname of their children, however, is regularly that of their husband. It would seem that this is the case also in the increasing number of instances where children are reared by an unmarried, cohabiting couple. This was often the case in the Gaeltacht in the past, e.g. Peig Sayers retained her inherited surname, *Sayers* – interestingly in its anglicised form, rather than in an Irish version – after marrying *Pádraig Ó Gaoithín*. However, when formal occasions demanded it, her children, used the surname *Ó Gaoithín*, not *Sayers*. Thus, this approach presents no inherent difficulty in the Gaeltacht areas:



<b>Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations</b>	<b>Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations</b>
Mac X	Nic/Ní Y [maiden name]
Mac X	Nic X

<b>Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations</b>	<b>Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations</b>
Mac Donncha	Ní Mhurchú [maiden name]
Mac Donncha	Nic Dhonncha

<b>Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations</b>	<b>Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations</b>
Ó X	Nic/Ní Y [maiden name]
Ó X	Ní X

<b>Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations</b>	<b>Female Surname in Irish/English over Two Generations</b>
Ó Gaoithín	Sayers [maiden name]
Ó Gaoithín	Ní Ghaoithín

In these cases then, the female adult's name remains apart from the new family unit, and harks back to the earlier generation in a different unit.

#### *5.1.2.5. Summary*

The impetus for all of this variation in Irish female surname designations is coming from the change of concept in English from the situation of a generation ago:

<b>Male Title over Two Generations</b>	<b>Female Title over Two Generations</b>
Mr, esq.	Mrs
Master	Miss

This situation has given way to the one next tabulated, where the motivation is to ensure that the marital and inter-generational status of women is no more transparent than that of males:

Male Title over Two Generations	Female Title over Two Generations
Mr	Ms
Mr	Ms

The main thrust for this change has come from the United States, where the precedence accorded to the use of first names reflects a society, which sets a premium on the individual, and has little time for inter-generational or marriage affiliation social capital. It is small wonder that the thousand-year-old system of Irish naming, in a society which sets such store on identifying one's relations – *Cér díobh thú?* ('Who are your people?') – and place/community of origin – *Cad as duit?* ('Where are you from?') – should sit uneasily alongside the outlook inherent in all-American introductions such as: *Hi!, I'm Bob, this is Kate.* So, ironically, a global village encounter which may last all of five minutes dispenses with surnames in a way that brings us back to the one-to-one personal names of a village, where as often as not they were embedded in a close community with a five-generation memory-span.

The intermediate stage we are currently in allows the following variation, with the titles in order of perceived frequency from left to right:

Male Title over Two Generations	Female Title over Two Generations
Mr	Mrs, Ms
Mr, Master	Ms, Miss

#### 6. Traditional Naming: "X (Son/Daughter) of Y (Son/Daughter) of Z"

A further naming system is well established in the traditional Irish-speaking areas, and lived on in Hiberno-English, following the language shift in other rural areas. The pattern involved is "first name + father's (less frequently mother's) first name + grandfather's (less frequently grandmother's) first name." An example would be that of the fictional West-Kerry hero of the work *Jimín Mháire Thaidhg* (An Seabhac, i.e. Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha<sup>7</sup> 1921). From the perspective of the dominant West-European naming pattern of first/personal/Christian name + surname, systems such as this may seem exotic at first. Of course, the West-European pattern must seem just as odd to one unacquainted with it, as John Millington Synge discovered. He recorded just such an experience on the Aran Islands at the beginning of the twentieth century, recounting how on one occasion, a boy of about fifteen, who used to read Irish to him every evening, brought up the subject of naming systems:

<sup>7</sup> An Seabhac, Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha's *nom de plume* literally means 'The Hawk' in English.

One day he asked me if there was great wonder on their names out in the country.

I said there was no wonder on them at all.

‘Well,’ he said, ‘there is great wonder on your name in the island, and I was thinking maybe there would be great wonder on our names out in the country.’

In a sense he is right. Though the names here are ordinary enough, they are used in a way that differs altogether from the modern system of surnames.

When a child begins to wander about on the island, the neighbours speak of it by its Christian name, followed by the Christian name of its father. If this is not enough to identify it, the father’s epithet – whether it is a nickname or the name of his own father – is added.

Sometimes when the father’s name does not lend itself, the mother’s Christian name is adopted as epithet for the children. ...

Occasionally the surname is employed in its Irish form, but I have not heard them using the ‘Mac’ prefix when speaking Irish among themselves. (Synge 1979: 108f.)

Fox (1978: 74) states that the situation on the Co. Donegal island of Tory was similar, with the exception that “the islanders know about, and use, the formal surname system with ‘Mac’ and ‘O,’ but only on very formal occasions: calling someone’s name in church; writing on documents when using Gaelic; requesting someone to sing or dance in the hall; carving on a tombstone.” As Fox’s analysis confirms, within the family only a first name was needed – this would regularly be complemented by hypocoristic or pet forms. The name in everyday use within the local community, the one employed in ordinary conversation to locate an individual regularly had two or three elements, thus:

John-Tom	John, son of Tom
Séamus-Uilliam	James son of William
Máire-Shéamuis Bháin	Mary, daughter of Fair James
Jimmy-Mháiri-Bhilli	Jimmy (of) Marie (of) Billy
Johnny-Dhonnchadha-Eoin	Johnny, Dennis, Iain
Anton-Phaidí-Anton	Anthony, Paddy, Anthony

Four-name strings are known, e.g.:

Peigi-Phaidí-Shéamuis-Dhomhnaill Peggy, Paddy, James, Donal

However, those expert in the genealogy of the community could cite strings of names such as the following, straddling six generations:

Nora-Thomáis-John-John-Eoin-Neilí (Fox 1978: 75f.)

## 7. *Nicknames*

Nicknames, too, formerly had an important role in Gaeltacht society, often totally eclipsing the bearer’s actual given name. These can be said to be of two main kinds. In one case, the first name of the bearer is retained but differentiated from others with the same first name, either by being accompanied by an adjective, often referring to hair colouring, or by a location marker.

One of the features which distinguishes the Irish physically from many other peoples is the variety in their hair colouring. This distinction has been traditionally reflected in epithets. Thus adjectives referring to colour of hair, including *rua* 'red,' *dubh* 'black' and *bán* 'white, fair,' are often employed in names, e.g. *Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin*, an eighteenth-century Kerry poet, *Eibhlín Dubh Ní Chonaill*, composer of *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire* (c. 1775), *Seán Bán Breathnach*, a well-known contemporary Irish-language broadcaster. Such colour designations regularly referred to the hair and not to the skin, for which a second series was required, e.g. *geal* 'white,' *gorm* 'black,' *buí* 'yellow' and *dearg* 'red.'<sup>8</sup> A name might be qualified by the use of a location marker, thus *Peig na Croise* (lit. 'Peig of the Crossroads'), who was so called because she lived in a house at a crossroads (Ó Cuív 1986: 175).

The second type of nickname is more thorough-going in that a new word becomes a name and replaces the original. Thus in West-Kerry in the first half of the twentieth century one had *Kruger* (Muiris Caomhánach, Engl. Maurice Kavanagh) (Ó Lúing 1986: 7), *Flint*, *Pound* and *Common Noun*, the origins of which might be generally known or guessed at. In the case of *Kruger*, for instance, the name apparently arose in the school yard when the Boer leader in South Africa was in the news (*ibid.*).

Two linked novels by Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin (1978, 1984) are set in his native part of the West-Kerry Gaeltacht in the nineteen-thirties. Although they have received relatively little critical attention, they derive much of their significance from the linguistically and culturally nuanced depiction of life in an area where Irish and English interact differently in the various generations, depending on their contact with the English-speaking world outside the Gaeltacht in Ireland and America. The following example is cited:

Dálamán [nickname]  
 Connie Mhicí Neilí [patronymic]  
 Conchúr Ó Ceallacháin [formal name in Irish]  
 Cornelius O Callaghan [formal name in English] (Ó Súilleabháin 1984: 37-40)

Therefore, as here and regularly for males there would be a nickname (local, informal), a patronymic "X of Y of Z" (local, unmarked), an anglicised personal name and surname (formal, unmarked) and an Irish language personal name and surname (formal, marked). A series of nicknames for the (fictional) members of a football team are outlined: *Jug*, *Pláta*, *Cócó*, *Geá-geá*, *Rajah*, *Bindo*, *Eisirt* and *Bébó*, one of the book's characters observing wryly to himself that these names are based on everything from kitchen utensils to historical and mythological personages (Ó Súilleabháin 1984: 116). These of course are all male names and it would seem that such nicknames may in fact have been predominantly used of males and reflect their camaraderie. At any rate, in the case of another character (female) one is not provided with a nickname, but rather with a patronymic, "X of Y" (local unmarked), Irish versions of personal name and surname (formal,

<sup>8</sup> For further discussion of the use of colour epithets in Irish see Mac Mathúna 1990: 95f.

marked), anglicised version of personal name and surname (formal, unmarked), americanised anglicisation of personal name and surname (informal and formal, unmarked), as well as a variety of hypocoristic forms of *Brid*, used by family members, as the fancy took them:

Bridín Jamesy [her common name when she lived in the glen]

Brid Ní Dhuibhne [her formal name in Irish]

Bridget Deeny [her formal name in English, used in Ireland and on the way over to America]

Bessie Devine [her choice of new formal name in English in Springfield, Massachusetts]

This character is called *Bid* by her brother and mother, *Bridín* by her father and *Bride* elsewhere in the text (Ó Súilleabháin 1978: 111f.). On the other hand, one *Neill Rua* (lit. ‘Red-haired Neill’) was better known as *An Bheach Rua* (lit. ‘The Red-haired Bee’) and *Bannrín na Bruíne* (lit. ‘The Queen of Trouble’) because of her bad temper (Ó Cróinín 1971, quoted in Ó Cuív 1986: 175f.). The latter two nicknames presumably belong to a subset, which would not have been used in the bearer’s presence.

Apart from Fox (1978), no comprehensive survey of the local naming systems of Irish-speaking and post-Irish-speaking areas has been published. This general lack is regretted by Prof. Tomás de Bhaldraithe in a brief discussion of the situation as it obtained in the Gaeltacht area of Mionlach, Co. Galway, in the first half of the twentieth century (de Bhaldraithe 1977). This book of lore was gleaned from Tomás Laighléis (1895-1984) who sets out the naming system of his youth as follows. His father (1852-1927) was known as *Pádraig Thomás Eibhlín*. He himself and his siblings were generally called after their mother, *Máire Ní Fhathaigh*, thus:

Seán Mháire Ní Fhathaigh

Team Mháire Ní Fhathaigh

Cáit Mháire Ní Fhathaigh

However, he informs us that a few people adhered to the older system and called his generation *Seán Phádraig Thomás Eibhlín*, and so on.

Tomás Laighléis’s own children were known as *Pádraig Lawless* and the like, that is their first name was in Irish, their surname in English, a circumstance which the informant attributed to the effect of the school they attended in Galway. This of course is in agreement with the general pattern throughout the country nowadays, as noted above. The editor, Tomás de Bhaldraithe, draws attention to the fact that one name might be used locally, e.g. *Tomás Aine* and another, by inhabitants of a different area, e.g. *Dúgán Rua* (de Bhaldraithe 1977: 8, 282).

Although many parallels could be drawn with the history of Welsh naming, with regard to origins, sources and development, space permits only the briefest of comments. Like Irish, Welsh experienced progression from a patronymic system to one of surnames. Cognate with Irish *mac*, Welsh *mab* ‘son’ (also *ab*, *ap*) was the vehicle for this change, which involved subsuming the earlier complementary role of *merch*, *ferch* ‘daughter.’ As in rural Ireland, retention of female

maiden surnames continued in Wales after marriage. In common with Irish usage, Welsh also favoured hypocoristic forms, but showed a greater propensity for generating surnames based on places. A good historical overview is available in Morgan and Morgan (1985: 5-35).

## 8. Conclusion

The Gaelic tradition set great store by the diachronic anchoring of the individual in the inter-generational community, as evidenced above by the ability of latter-day Tory islanders to trace their ancestry back some five generations. One or two further examples must suffice to confirm how pervasive a societal construct this was. In the well-known late eighteenth-century keen *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire*, composed by Eibhlín Dubh Ní Laoghaire (aunt of Daniel O'Connell) for her murdered husband Art Ó Laoghaire, Eibhlín Dubh addresses his dead body, tracing his ancestry back to his great-grand-father:

A Airt Uí Laoghaire  
Mhic Conchubhair, Mhic Céadaigh,  
Mhic Laoisigh Uí Laoghaire

“O Art Ó Laoghaire,  
son of Conchubhar,  
son of Céadach,  
son of Laoiseach Ó Laoghaire”

(Ó Tuama 1963: 40, lines 212-214)

Similarly, in his autobiography *An tAthair Peadar Ua Laoghaire* traces his own ancestry back over four generations to two brothers, *Diarmuid ua Laoghaire* and *Conchubhar ua Laoghaire*. He himself was born in 1839 and was able to trace his ancestry on one side, for instance, from the aforementioned Diarmuid as follows: Diarmuid / Conchubhar Máighistir / Barnabí Peadar / Diarmuid / Peadar (Ua Laoghaire 1915: 5-9).

As we have seen, Douglas Hyde's reaction against the abandonment of this rich cultural tradition of names was a central pillar of the Gaelic League's endeavour to make the present a rational continuation of the past.

The communal importance attaching to personal names and place-names is well illustrated by a song entitled *Sgoil Bharr d'Inse* ('Barr d'Inse School'), concerning a fight which broke out at a dance held in this small national school in the Muskerry Gaeltacht of Co. Cork, in the early part of the twentieth century. Composed by Dan Eoin a' Bhab Ó Súilleabháin it enumerates some fifty families and the townlands from which they hailed (Ní Shúilleabháin 1983: 5-7).

At this synchronic level, a multiplicity of systems jostle each other at the present day, particularly in Gaeltacht areas. There language-cum-cultural considerations vie with the varying demands of officialdom on the formal plane (surnames in Irish, English), while the community role of the individual and the strength of societal bonding are reflected in the tenacity of informal naming systems (patronymics and nicknames).

We may recall that a celebrated folklorist from the West-Kerry Gaeltacht encapsulated Ireland's ambivalent name inheritance which intersects with its two languages, when he declared that he himself was known by two names, "Joe Daly in Irish" and "Seosaimh Ó Dálaigh in English" (de Barra 1985: 162). Others enjoy a simpler, if still somewhat schizoid, existence, bearing their English name in English and their Irish name in Irish (e.g. the writer *Eugene Watters / Eoghan Ó Tuairisc*, the poet *Michael Hartnett / Micheál Ó hAirtnéide*); still others have one name only, be it Irish (e.g. the poet *Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill*) or English (e.g. the poets *Pearse Hutchinson, Michael Davitt*). The pattern of having one's first name in Irish and surname in English is now so widespread that the name *Pádraig Pearse / Pádraic Pearse* has been bequeathed retrospectively on the patriot, known in his own life-time either as *Patrick Pearse* or *Pádraic Mac Piarais*.

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