The Anglicisation of Irish Placenames. (*)

In the form in which Irish placenames are now generally most familiar they derive from the work of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland around 1830. An article in the *Cartographic Journal* of December 1971 (J. B. HARLEY, ,,Place-Names on the Early Ordnance Survey Maps of England and Wales") shows that the problem of deciding on a form of name for the Ordnance Survey maps had already made itself apparent in England and Wales in connection with the 1″ survey. Some progress was made there in developing a suitable procedure for solving the problem but the procedure was considerably elaborated on in Ireland and a special staff was recruited to operate it.

The names of Thomas A. LARCOM, in charge of the headquarters office of the Ordnance Survey for most of the period, and John O'DONOVAN, later editor of the *Annals of the Four Masters* among other scholarly works, are generally, and rightly, associated with this aspect of the work of the Ordnance Survey, although others were also involved, and LARCOM was, of course, involved in all aspects of the Survey's work.

I know of no document setting out the principles on which the forms of names were decided, and indeed it would seem likely that the principles really derived from the practice, from the solution of individual problems as they arose.

In the case of names of Irish-language origin, which form the great majority of the placenames of Ireland, the method seems to have been to decide, on the basis of a rather limited investigation, what Irish words made up the name and then transcribe these into a form of English orthography. The intention was, of course, that the transcription be consistent, but in practice it was not. Some dialectal differences in pronunciation, although not all by any means, were indicated in the Ordnance Survey form; some names had developed an anglicised spelling at variance with the Survey principles, but so entrenched that it could not well be changed; some landholders insisted on a spelling for their lands at variance with the Survey principles; and

there are some inconsistencies which I cannot explain, such as the three spellings, *disert*, *dysart* and *dysert* for the Irish *díseart*, ,,hermitage" (there could be some reason, either by way of a latinised form or some sort of local development, for the fourth spelling, *desert*).

The result, then, fell far short of perfection. The orthography, based on that of English, was unsatisfactory in a number of respects : it was unable to represent certain sounds, such as [x] (generally represented by *gh*), a sound no longer found in standard English; it could not show the vital distinction in Irish between slender and broad consonants (palatal or palatalised as opposed to velar or velarised); and it could give no indication of stress (so that a name like Ardara, properly stressed on the last syllable, was most likely to be stressed on the first by those dependent on the spelling). At the same time the orthography was not entirely true to English, since it made use of combinations of letters not found, or not found in the same position, to my knowledge, in that language (*e.g.*, Sh*eea*un, L*ei*trim, N*aa*s, Mayo, *Agh*nacliff, Ad*erg*). Moreover, some combinations of letters aimed at showing a distinction in pronunciation no longer made in standard English (as *ea* representing [e:] in Roscrea and *ee* representing [i:] in Iniskeen).

The Ordnance Survey, of course, only put the finishing touch to a process of anglicisation which had been going on for centuries, and this mainly in the way of an effort to achieve consistency. The ideal, and the only satisfactory, solution would have been to adopt the Irish orthography, which would have had no difficulty in representing the sounds concerned; but this would have been far too radical a solution for the time, and it is most unlikely that it was even considered. It would have meant rejecting what had been the general practice of non-natives since the Norman invasion of Ireland.

In the rest of this paper I shall be confining myself to the treatment of Irish-language placenames in the first two centuries, or thereabouts, after the Norman invasion, from 1169 until about 1350.

The conquest of Ireland beginning with the invasion of 1169 was reasonably successful until around 1300, although there must be some doubt as to how intensive the occupation was in any particular area, in other words, as to how far the native Irish population was replaced by a Norman or English population. (1) After c. 1300 the area under

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(*) A lecture given to the Annual Conference of the Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland in Bangor, Wales, on 18 March 1972.

(1) It will probably be simplest, and perhaps least misleading, if I describe the newcomers from this on as English, although they were, in fact, of various origins.

English rule contracted and for a large part of the time until after 1500 was confined to a comparatively small area known as the Pale (roughly comprising the modern counties of Dublin and Meath with the north of Co. Kildare). By about 1600 the English had control, although never undisputed control, of the whole country.

The Irish language never seems to have been given any form of official recognition by the English invaders, so that English (or possibly French in the earlier Norman period, at least for particular purposes) was the dominant language in the area controlled by the English. English only became the language of the majority in Ireland, taking the country as a whole, around 1850 or slightly earlier, but long before that it was the language of government, of law, of officialdom, of the upper class and of the professions, of commerce (at least in the towns) and of all those who aspired to rise in the world. We may note a law-case of 1307 (*Cal. Justic. Rolls*, II, 431) in which Gerald son of Nicholas Tancard lost his case for the restoration of his lands in Co. Limerick because he described them as being in Balytancard (= Ir. Baile Tancaird ,,Tancard's homestead") instead of Tancardeston. Against this, however, we have legal documents, based on English law but written in Irish, from Co. Clare until into the 17th century (see, for example, *Analecta Hibernica*, XXVI, 48-69), and one wonders if it was expected that these would be enforceable in English courts.

As I have indicated above, the area of Co. Dublin was under English domination continuously from the time of the Norman invasion until 1922. English has, therefore been the dominant language there for about 800 years (although it has not been the language of the majority for anything like that length of time). I felt it would be of some interest, therefore, to examine the placenames (or, rather, the more stable element of the placenames, the names of the townlands (²)) of that area to see what their linguistic origin was. Of the 860 or so townlands in the county about 2/3 are of English and 1/3 of Irish origin; this does not mean, of course, that the names of Irish origin are all pre-Norman, although some of them undoubtedly are, any more than it means that all the names of English origin go back to early Norman times, since it is quite clear that many of them do not. These figures show that, in certain circumstances at least, placenames do

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(²) The townland is the smallest administrative unit in Ireland, a subdivision of the parish. There are about 60,000 townlands in Ireland. Their areas vary considerably, but average about 140 hectares.

not change as quickly or as completely, as a result of invasion, as one might have thought.

The comparatively small number of Norse placenames in Ireland, representing a partial occupation of something in the region of 200 years, may be a further corroboration of this point. It is also clear, in view of the many post-Norman Irish names here, that a submerged language can continue to be productive of placenames for a considerable period.

There are, I think, only three ways in which an invading and conquering people speaking one language can deal with the placenames of a conquered people speaking another (apart, of course, from adopting the usage of the conquered, which is improbable). (1) They can accept the name they hear, which they will normally pronounce within the limits of their own phonological habits and which they will normally write in accordance with their own orthographic conventions. (2) They can translate the names they find before them into their own language; this, of course, implies at least some knowledge of the other language. (3) They can ignore the pre-existing names and coin their own names in their own language. The English adopted all three courses in Ireland to varying extents, and I shall briefly consider them in reverse order.

Incidentally, I know of no effort on the part of the English to enforce any particular official policy with regard to Irish placenames, apart from an Act of the second half of the 17th century, of which not very much notice was taken, although it did give rise to some names, both translations from the Irish and new coinages. The relevant section may be worth quoting :

> His Majestie taking notice of the barbarous and uncouth names, by which most of the towns and places in this Kingdom of Ireland are called, which hath occasioned much damage to diverse of his good subjects, and are very troublesome in the use thereof, and much retards the reformation of that Kingdom, for remedy thereof is pleased that it be enacted, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the lord lieutenant and council shall and may advise of, settle, and direct in the passing of all letters patents in that Kingdom for the future, how new and proper names more suitable to the English tongue may be inserted with an *alias* for all towns, lands and places in that kingdom, that shall be granted by letters patents; which new names shall thenceforth be onely names to be used, any law, statute, custome, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. *Statutes at Large ... Ireland* (GRIERSON 1786), III, 137.

The intent is clear, if not the syntax.

English coinages.

In the current placenames of the country as a whole English coinages are not too common and most of those there are are quite late names, often as late as the 18th century. In the small area of the Pale, however, which I have already mentioned, there is a considerable number of English coinages, many of which date back to the period up to c. 1350. I have said already that, of the townland names of Co. Dublin, as current at the present day, approximately 2/3 are of English origin, but many are clearly late and it would need fuller investigation than I have been able to make before one could estimate the number of pre-1350 names among them. The late Dr. Liam PRICE in his fine work, *The Place-Names of Co. Wicklow*, lxxxv, says that 300-400 of the 1400 Wicklow names (approximately 25 %) „were first formed in the centuries following the Norman invasion," presumably meaning roughly the first two centuries, since he mentions the fact that many of these names were gaelicised after c. 1300. This proportion, I must say, seems to me rather high, but I have not had the opportunity of checking Dr. PRICE's material.

For the country as a whole, a rough check of the names mentioned in vol. I of SWEETMAN and HANDCOCK's *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, which covers the period 1171-1250, shows only about 10 % of the names as being English coinages; the proportion of the names in vol. II, covering the period 1252-84, seems to show no change. This calendar relates, of course, to the whole country, but since the documents are official English records, they must deal much more frequently with the more normanised areas of the country than with the others.

Far the most common type of English name coined is that of personal name + *town*. A few examples are Palmerston, recorded in 1229 (Appendix to *35th Rep. Dep. Keeper of Public Records Ire.*, 30) and Backweston, recorded as Bakbyestoun in 1395 (*Rotulorum Pat. & Claus. Canc. Hib. Cal.*, I, pars 1, 152), both in Co. Dublin; Craddockstown in Co. Kildare, mentioned as Cradokeston in 1297 (*Cal. Justic. Rolls*, I, 177), the year in which Gilbert Craddoc was outlawed for robbing the castle and town of Kildare (*Cal. Justic. Rolls*, I, 188, 190); Blakestown in Co. Wicklow, first referred to in 1373 (as Blakyston, Blakistone) and possibly deriving its name from a Robert Niger who is mentioned in connection with the area c. 1260 (PRICE, *Place-*

Names of Co. Wicklow, 210); Bellewstown in Co. Meath, recorded as Bethleweston, Bellewyston in 1381 (*Irish Cartularies of Llanthony Prima & Secunda*, 292, 296) and Brownstown, also in Co. Meath, granted by Ernold Brun to St. Mary's Abbey in Dublin c. 1200 and apparently known earlier as Baile Ó Murchadha or something of the kind (Gilbert, *Chart. of St. Mary's Abbey*, I, 68).

There are many other forms of English coinages. Castlewarden in Co. Dublin is one of the earliest recorded : it occurs as Castellum Warin c. 1195 (GILBERT, *Reg. Abbey of S. Thomas*, 75) and the usual form is Castle Warning until 1783 when the modern form first appears. Baggot Rath in Dublin occurs at least as early as c. 1274 (MCNEILL, *Cal. of Archb. Alen's Reg.*, 146); from the word order it must be an English coinage and it indicates that the Ir. *ráth* (applied to an earthen ringwork indicating an early homestead) was borrowed into English. Similarly we get Moenesrath (*op. cit.*, 234), also in Dublin, from c. 1399 (so called from the de Moenes family who took it over about 1326), but in this case the name seems to have been later gaelicised by about 1500 to Ráth Maonais, from which we get the modern Rathmines.

Among these English coinages, we seem to get some which are apparently rare in England itself. I do not know of any Castle Warning in England, for instance, and the word *tristel*, which occurs in Tristeldermot, the early form of Castledermot, to be mentioned later, seems much commoner in Ireland than England. I have been told that names like Blackcastle, Greencastle, Redcastle, not at all uncommon in Ireland and mostly, I think, of early Norman origin, are rare or do not occur at all in England.

Translations into English.

There is some difficulty in deciding, with any certainty, to what extent translation was adopted by the English, since we must take the inevitable absence of evidence into account. Almost any of the names of English appearance could, at least in theory, be a translation from an Irish name. Names such as Craddockstown, undoubtedly containing an English surname, could in the first instance have been coined by neighbouring Irish-speakers and later translated. This is probably what happened in the case of Brannockstown in Co. Kildare, not too far from Craddockstown, although no recorded Irish form can be certainly identified with it; *brannock* probably represents

Ir. *breatnach*, „Welshman", and, if so, we must assume a hypothetical Baile an Bhreatnaigh or Baile na mBreatnach („homestead of the Welshman" or „of the Welshmen"), only partially translated in Brannockstown (first documented 1302 as Breynokeston, *Cal.Just. Rolls*, I, 414, when Robert Breynok had a holding there). In fact, it would be entirely possible that this hypothetical form, Baile an Bhreatnaigh or Baile na mBreatnach, would have existed side by side with Brannockstown until Irish ceased to be spoken in the area, without its ever appearing in writing.

A further difficulty, where we have evidence for the existence of an Irish and an English name, each a translation of the other, is that of deciding which is the original and which the translation. In some cases they may even have been independent coinages. This is particularly the case with some very obvious forms of name, such as Newcastle in Co. Dublin, which occurs in that form as early as 1215 (Sweetman & Handcock, *Cal. Doc. relating to Ire.*, I, 88) as well as in a Latin form, Novum Castrum. Although we do not find the corresponding Irish form, Caisleán Nua, before the middle of the 16th century (Mac Airt, *Leabhar Branach*, 70) it could well have existed earlier. The same would apply to other names of this kind, such as the common pairs, Milltown-Baile an Mhuilinn or Newtown-An Baile Nua. If not independent coinages, one should not be too positive with names of this kind which form was the original and which the translation.

Where we can be sure that we really have a translation and where we can be reasonably sure which is the translation and which the original, we still have the problem of deciding to which period the translation belongs and here again we are largely at the mercy of our source-material. The fact that, after the contraction of the area of English domination in the 14th century, the Irish in many cases took over the new English coinages and gaelicised them, most usually by way of translation or partial translation, adds a further complication. Thus in Co. Wicklow, Price (*op. cit.*, lxxxvi) mentions Baile na Míosta for Missettstown, Baile Bháltrain for Walterstown and Coill tSíomóin for Simonswood; in Co. Louth we find Baile an Talúnaigh for Tallanstown (O'Sullivan, *Carolan*, II, 48) and in Co. Kilkenny Áth Stúin for Stoneyford (Carrigan, *History & Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, IV, 10), for instance. I suspect that in the case of Baile Feoirlinge — Farthingstown in Co. Westmeath (we get both

forms in 1552, *Fiants Ed. VI*, no. 1147), the Irish is the translation, but it could really go either way. It is clear, incidentally, from the examples given that no great knowledge of English is implied by the kind of translations that occur.

There are quite a number of Irish names which were translated into English and some of them, particularly the mistranslations, are quite entertaining. Summerbank in Co. Meath is an accurate translation of Droim Samhraidh, as are Silverwood (Co. Armagh) of Coill an Airgid, Blindwood (Co. Wicklow) of Coill Chaoch (although rather too literal in this case), Sheephaven (Co. Donegal) of Cuan na gCaorach, Kingscourt (Co. Cavan) of Dún an Rí, Saintfield (Co. Down) of Tamhnach Naomh and even Charlesland (Co. Wicklow) of Acra na mBodach („churls' acre", where the earlier English forms actually have *churls* for *charles*, Price, *op. cit.*, 385). Less accurate are Barefield in Co. Clare from Gort Lomán („field of the bare things"; *lomán* is a derivative of *lom*, „bare", but means rather „something bare", as a stripped log or tree, or an exposed rock), Freshford in Co Kilkenny from Achadh Úr (where *achadh* means, not „ford" which is *áth*, but „field"). A particularly attractive mistranslation is the short-lived Dean Field (better Danefield) which appears in the 19th century Tithe Applotment Book for Gort Uí Lochlainn in Co. Galway („Ó Lochlainn's field"; the word *lochlannach* means, not „Dane" but „Norwegian").

From what limited investigation I have been able to make in preparing this paper, and allowing for deficiencies in documentation, it would seem that pre-1350 translations from Irish to English are rare. Among the few certain examples I can give are Mora in Co. Cork, occurring at least as early as 1252 (Sweetman & Handcock, *Cal. Doc. relating to Ire.*, II, 18), translating Móin („bog"); „the Isle" occuring in the same work, II, 10, also under 1252 and presumably representing *insula* in a Latin original, translating Inse Uí Uallacháin („Ó hUallacháin's island"); and Tristeldermot, the early form (from 1207) of Castledermot in Co. Kildare, partially translating Díseart Diarmada („Diarmaid's hermitage") (see *Dinnseanchas*, IV, 126-31, for documentation and discussion).

There are two further small classes of names that might well be mentioned here. First there are the Scandinavian names, of which we do not have very many in Ireland (not more than 100 at most), but some of which apply to what are now important towns. In most cases a corresponding Irish name for the place co-existed with the Scan-

dinavian one and survived in Irish-language contexts. The two names were generally completely unrelated coinages; thus we have Strangford (Co. Down) corresponding to Loch Cuan, Waterford to Port Láirge, Wexford to Loch Garman, among others. In the case of Leixlip (Co. Kildare) we know of no Irish form, although a Latin translation, Saltus Salmonum or, less commonly, Saltus Salmonis, occurs; the modern Irish form, Léim an Bhradáin, is a translation (a late gaelicisation, Leaspuic, of the Scandinavian name does occur). Dalkey (Co. Dublin) is exceptional in being a translation of Irish Deilginis („thorn island"). In all these cases it was the Scandinavian name that was taken over by the incoming English and that persisted in use by English-speakers since. The reason for this is uncertain and it raises the question whether Norse was still spoken in Ireland at the time of the Norman invasion. [3]

The second group of names I wish to refer to is that of the names of some of the monasteries founded by continental monastic orders, notably the Cistercians, shortly before or after the Norman invasion. In a number of cases, too many to be explained by coincidence, the names seem to be based on a form of punning. So we have Collis Victoriae for Cnoc Muaidhe in Co. Galway (from the phonological resemblance of the word *muadh*, „noble", to an eclipsed form, *mbuadh*, of the word *buadh*, „victory"); Samarium in Co. Sligo based on Samhaoir (the old name of the River Erne); Flumen Dei in Co. Longford based on Sruthar („stream"); Viride Lignum in Co. Down based on Iubhar (Cinn Tráchta) („yew (at the end of the strand)"), the Irish form of Newry; Rosea Vallis in Co. Laois based on Ros Glas („grey grove"); Lex Dei in Co. Laois on Laoighis.

Transliteration.

This is much the most common method of dealing with Irish placenames used by the English at all periods. The accuracy with which the Irish name heard by the Englishman was recorded in writing by him was limited in the first place by his capacity for hearing and distinguishing unfamiliar sounds and in the second place by the capacity

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[3] In the course of discussion after the paper it was pointed out to me that many of these places, being ports or otherwise important to sea-traders, might well have been known in Britain, by their Scandinavian names, long before the Normans came to Ireland; and this indeed seems quite probable.

of the orthography he was using for indicating the sounds he heard. In the material we now have available to work on allowance must also be made for mis-transcription : most of this material is the result of copying and re-copying, and a number of errors have crept in, not least in some of the modern printed editions and calendars.

These anglicised transcriptions can be very useful (as they have been used by T. F. O'RAHILLY in his article, „Notes on Middle-Irish Pronunciation," in *Hermathena*, XX, 152-95) in tracing the development of some Irish sounds in particular areas over the centuries after the Norman invasion. These sound-changes were largely ignored in the Irish orthography of the period, which was to a very considerable extent standardised and traditional. These transcriptions could, I am sure, also give useful information to English scholars on soundchanges in their language; but care should be taken in both cases not to assume too much knowledge of the lesser-known language. One could easily be in the position of trying to solve an equation with two unknowns and assuming a value for one of them. It should be noted that, due to the contraction in the English-dominated area, there is often a gap in the documentation from c. 1350 to c. 1550.

Many of our Irish names, particularly those of places of importance (such as the names of some ecclesiastical sites or areas and those of major castles, manors or settlements) were taken over early into an English orthography and quickly developed an orthographic tradition of their own. In this case, of course, the anglicised form will not, to any useful extent, reflect changes that may have occurred subsequently in the Irish sound-system. An example of this static orthography is in the name of the parish of Ardnurcher or Horseleap in Co. Westmeath, which was miswritten Ardnorchur as early as c. 1302 (replacing the more accurate earlier Hadhnorkur; for documentation and discussion see *Dinnseanchas* II, 115) and has been so written almost invariably in English contexts ever since. The documentation in Irish contexts, however, together with the very occasional English form in *ath-* or the like, shows that the Irish name persisted unchanged as Áth an Urchair („ford of the cast") rather than the Ard an Urchair („height of the cast") the more usual English form would seem to imply.

This name also illustrates another phenomenon. The modern pronunciation of the name [aːrdˈnortʃər] is not traditional at all (apart possibly from the position of the stress accent), but is based on the

spelling, since in general usage the name has now been replaced by the alias, Horseleap. No doubt the *ch*, *gh* written in the name to represent Ir. *ch*, pronounced [x], was a reasonably accurate representation of the sound when first written. But this sound has been lost in English generally, apart from dialects, so that, with the pronunciation following the spelling instead of the reverse, we now find this *ch* pronounced [tʃ], a sound not found in Irish at all. Similarly *Knock-* or *Cnok-* for Ir. *cnoc*, ,,hill'', would in the early period have been pronounced [knok] and would have been a good representation of the Irish sounds; but, when the sound of the initial *k* was lost in English, the pronunciation became [nɑk], very far indeed from the Irish. The English transcriptions of Irish names could never have given a fully accurate indication of the sound, as they were unable to show many of the essential distinctions (as between broad and slender consonants or between long and short vowels) with any consistency, but the shortcomings of these early transcriptions have increased enormously with the passage of time and the changes in the English sound-system.

These shortcomings have increased also with changes in the Irish sound-system. Where the Irish and the English forms both represented the same sounds at the initial stage, development in the Irish sounds, in particular the loss of certain consonants and, sometimes, consequential changes, has resulted in a considerable divergence in the later period between the pronunciation of the Irish and the anglicised forms of the same name. For instance, the name Fethard in Co. Tipperary (found as Fythard in 1305 (Sweetman & Handcock, *Cal. Doc. relating to Ire.*, V, 146)) represents Ir. Fiodh Ard, ,,high wood'', in which the *dh* represented a voiced dental fricative, shown as *th* in the anglicised forms. This fricative has long since been lost in Irish, so that the first word would now be pronounced [fi], and the anglicised form perpetuates a tradition of the older pronunciation. Similarly we find Killoteran in Co. Waterford (Killotheran 1247, Sweetman & Handcock, *Cal. Doc. relating to Ire.*, I, 430) for Cill Odhráin, ,,Odhrán's church'', where, following on the loss of *dh* in pronunciation, the preceding *o* was lengthened. So also we find *th* in the anglicised spelling of the name Rathkeale in Co. Limerick, which reflects an orthographic tradition going back at least as far as c. 1220 (Rathgeyl, *Black Bk. of Limerick*, 84), when the *th* in the Irish word *ráth* would have been pronounced [θ]. This later became [h] and the current traditional pronunciation is [raˈkeːl], although there is also an ,,educ-

ated'' pronunciation (raṭˌkiːl), which is based solely on the anglicised spelling.

One further factor which affected the faithfulness with which these anglicised forms reflected the Irish pronunciation was the tendency, natural in clerks unfamiliar with Irish or with the Irish places involved and possibly deliberate in some cases, to assimilate these anglicised forms to English words or placenames. One possible example of this is the Irish name Lugmad, which would have been pronounced [luɣβəð] in the Old Irish period and was commonly written Luvet (*Co. Louth Arch. Journ.*, IV, 12 (1210)), Loueth (McNeill & Otway-Ruthven, *Dowdall Deeds*, 109 (1381)), or the like in English records, which was quite a reasonably accurate representation of the Irish sound (assuming, as we must, that the [ɣ] had been lost by then, in which case it would seem probable that the *u* was lengthened). The name was, of course, pronounced in two syllables, *u* representing some form of [v], but to the eye it was so like the placename Louth in England that it was very soon written the same and became one syllable. The later Irish form of the name, Lú, may have been a re-gaelicising of the anglicised form, Louth, rather than a natural development.

A further example is Ard Ó bhFicheallaigh, ,,Ó Ficheallaigh's high place'', in Co. Cork, written Ardophiell, otherwise Ardafoile, in the early 17th century (*Cal. Pat. Rolls James I*, 104) and presumably pronounced at this time something [ȧːrdoˈfiːlə], but later written Ardfield. Similarly Garbhchoill in Co. Carlow would have been pronounced [ˈgɑrəβxil] and was written Garghill in 1397 and is given in translation as Corsewood in the 17th century, but later became Garryhill and has a current pronunciation [gariˈhil] from this spelling (for documentation and discussion see *Dinnseanchas* IV, 46).

I have already referred to T. F. O'Rahilly's article in *Hermathena* in which he analyses in some detail early anglicisations of Irish placenames and personal names. I shall not attempt to repeat his material here in detail, but merely refer very briefly to a few points.

Ir. *th* [θ]	is written in early English records *th* usually, occasionally *t*, *dh*, *d*.
Ir. *dh* [ð]	is written usually *th*, occasionally *d*.
Ir. *ch* [x]	is written usually *th* (one wonders could this be a misreading for *ch*), fairly often *ch* and occasionally *c*, *k*, *t*, *h*.
Ir. *s* [s, ʃ]	is written invariably *s*, *ss*. No distinction seems

to be made between the two sounds and O'Rahilly says that the Normans probably did not have an [ʃ] sound at the time of the Norman invasion.

Ir. *e(a)*
[e/a]　　is written *e* most commonly, but often *a*, which may be an indication that the earlier [e] was in process of becoming [a].

Ir. *é, ao, ia* [eː, iə]　　were all most generally written *e*.

Dublin.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Éamonn DE HÓIR.