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## Carroly and McCarroly (*MacFhearghaile*)

James Brown raises an interesting question about the possibility of a new *mac*-surname being coined in late sixteenth-century (1598) Dumfriesshire, specifically that Herbert, son of Robert Carroly, altered his surname or family name to McCarroly by prefixing it with *Mc*, i.e. *mac* 'son'. The answer lies in the origin of the underlying name Carroly and McCarroly itself. The same name occurs almost a century earlier in the form of 'Makkaroly' in 'Donald Makkaroly of Clanlayn' (1506). Brown suggests that this name is the same as MacKerrell, MacKerlie, Kerlie, Currell (1648), Kerrall (1672) and Curly (1761), and that these derive ultimately from 'the Ulster name MacCairill [sic leg.]', which spread to Galloway.

I can find no evidence for an Ulster surname *Mac Cairill*; it does not, for instance, occur in MacLysaght's *The Surnames of Ireland* (1969) or de Bhulbh's *Sloinnte na h-Éireann / Irish Surnames* (1997). Two sixth-century kings of the Ulaid (Dál Fiatach in north-east Ulster) are referred to as 'm[a]c Cairill' ('son of Cairell'), i.e. the brothers Demán (d. 572) and Báetán (d. 581), both sons of *Cairell mac Muireadaig Muindeirg* (AU s.a. 572.3. 581.2; Byrne 1973: 285), but 'mac Cairill' is a patronymic, not a surname.

It may be noted that the following names do not occur in Black's *Surnames of Scotland*, either as headword names or as variants of other names: Maccarroly, Carroly, Mackaroly, Currell, Kerrall and Curly. On the other hand, the three names (1) Mackerrall / Mackerrel; (2) Mackerly / Mackerlie / Macerlich; (3) Kerlie (from Mackerlie) do occur (Black [1946] 1989: 395, 526). We may also consider Kirlie, which Black suggests may be a variant of Kerlie ([1946] 1989: 407); in support of this, we may note Muhr and Ó hAisibéil's (2021: 83) inclusion of Kirley and Kerley as variants of Carley, which represents the same name under consideration here.

Black convincingly takes Mackerrall / Mackerrel to derive from *MacFhearghail* ('son of Fergal'); variant spellings include, but are not limited to: Gilbert M'Corrill in the barony of Buittle in modern Kirkcudbrightshire (1376); Gilbert Makcarole, tenant of the Grange of Ballyndune (1482); Gilbert M'Carole, a witness in Dumfries in 1534, and in 1541 as both M'Carule and Makcarrell; William Makcarole, tenant of Balcrag, Wigtownshire (1563); and M'Carole (1583) (Black [1946] 1989: 526). We may compare the Irish surname Mac Kerrel, which de Bhulbh also derives from *Mac Fhearghail*, and which he notes as rare and belonging to the Belfast area (de Bhulbh 1997: 283).

Black derives Mackerley / Mackerlie / Macerlich and Kerlie from '*Mac Thearlaich*' ('son of Charles'); he includes M'Carole, McKairlie, McKairly, etc. as some of the many spelling variants (Black [1946] 1989: 395, 526). It is difficult to reconcile the variant M'Carole with an underlying name *MacTheàrlaich*, and it is most likely that M'Carole represents a different name entirely or is indicative of influence from a different name altogether. An epenthetic vowel would not be expected in the cluster *rl* in a disyllabic word in either Gaelic or Scots (cf. Maguire 2017), which essentially means that M'Carole cannot derive directly from *MacTheàrlaich*.

Just as Mackerrall (with variants Makcarole, M'Carole, M'Carule) can be derived from *MacFhearghail*, the surname McCarroly can be derived from the earlier form of the name, *MacFhearghaile* ('son of Fergal') with final *-e*. This accounts neatly for the final *-y*, which points to a final vowel in the underlying Gaelic form. We may compare the Connacht name Carley (to be distinguished from the Co. Wexford English name of the same spelling), which also derives from *Mac Fhearghaile*, and which was formerly anglicised as MacCarrelly, common in sixteenth-century Co. Roscommon (MacLysaght 1969: 42); de Bhulbh (1997: 53, 151) notes Carley < *Mac Fhearghaile* as rare and

associated with Ulster and north Connacht; cf. Muhr and Ó hAisibéil (2021: 83). (Mac Kerley is usually the anglicised form of *Mac Fhearghaile* in Ireland, where it is mainly found in Oriel, Ulster, with an occasional variant, Curley, in County Offaly (MacLysaght 1969: 135); cf. de Bhulbh, who notes Kerley < *Mac Fhearghaile* for Counties Louth and Monaghan (de Bhulbh 1997: 238). Kerley is also the reduced anglicised form of *Mac Thoirdealbhaigh* (Muhr and Ó hAisibéil 2021: 266).

The form Curley reminds us of the variant spelling Curly (1761) identified by Brown. In Ireland, the name Curley is usually derived from *Mac Thoirdealbhaigh*, and is particularly connected with County Roscommon (de Bhulbh 1997: 170; Muhr and Ó hAisibéil 2021: 150). It is possible that there may have been confusion between both names, Curley and Carley (Muhr and Ó hAisibéil 2021: 150). The variant spelling Currell (1648), also identified by Brown, may be a further variant, or show the influence, of the English name Curle / Curll, possibly meaning ‘curly-headed’. The name Curle has the variant spelling Currell, which occurs in Roxburgh in 1668 (Black [1946] 1989: 193), and which may be indicative of epenthesis in the cluster *rl*, which is common in monosyllabic words ending in *rl* in Scots (Maguire 2017). De Bhulbh notes Currell as very rare in Counties Antrim and Down, and suggests tentatively a derivation from Mac Oirialla, which is a mere guess (de Bhulbh 1997: 170).

The name *Fearghal*, earlier *Fergal* (with *g* for *gh*), is a compound formation consisting of *fer* (‘man’) and *gal* (‘warlike ardour, fury, valour; steam, vapour, mist’), and thus means literally ‘man-valour’; see *eDIL* s.vv. *fer*, 1 *gal*. As *gal* was a feminine *ā*-stem noun, its original genitive form was *Fergaile* (modern *Fearghaile*), as was the case with other names formed with *-gal* as their second element, including *Áedgal*, *Báethgal*, *Cathgal*, *Congal*, *Dúngal*, *Fingal*, *Gormgal*, *Ruadgal*, *Róngal*, *Tuathgal*, etc. (O’Brien [1957] 1973: 224, §15(b); 226, §32). O’Brien notes dative in *-gail*, but accusative in *-gal*; against the latter, we may point to *fri Fergail* (‘against Fergal’) in a poem contained in the medieval tale *Cath Almaine* (‘The Battle of Allen’), apparently rhyming with *dermāir* (‘huge, vast’) (Stokes 1903: 54, §14). As a masculine name in reference, the name came to be declined as a masculine *o*-stem noun, in line with other male names such as *Cathal*, *Tuathal*, *Domnall*, *Cerball*, etc. This accounts for the innovative variant *MacFhearghail* with final *-l*. It is interesting to note the older genitive form *Fergaile* (in rhyme with *Bregmaine* ‘Bregia’) retained in the poem just referred to in *Cath Almaine*; cf. also *fergaile* in a poem in the same text (Stokes 1903: 48, §6). These older forms contrast with the shorter innovative genitive form *Fergail* (= modern *Fearghail*), which is the most common form in the prose text (Stokes 1903: 54, §14; 46, §5; 52, §11; 58, §18; 62, §§23, 24; 64, §§24–27), although the longer form *Fe(a)rgaile* also occurs once: *mac Feargaile / mac Fergaile* (Stokes 1903: 56, §17).

The *o*-vocalism in the unstressed syllable of McCarroly and M’Carole (cf. also M’Carule 1541) may be of phonological significance, and may indicate that the vocalisation of the velar fricative *gh* in the unstressed syllable gave rise to a rounded vowel (possibly via *bh* < *gh*; cf. South Uist *Carbhas* < *Carghas* ‘Lent’) in contrast to Modern Irish, where we have a long *í*-vowel, e.g. *Ó Fearáil*, etc. On the development of *-í* and *-ú* in unstressed syllables in Irish where *gh* is vocalised, see Ó Maolalaigh (2006: 56–57). We might compare the Kinlocheil (Lochaber) pronunciation of *MacFhearghais* and *Aonghas* as [mäxk ɟäɾäɟʃ] and [ɟuən`oɟs] respectively, both with rounded unstressed vowel (Ó Dochartaigh 1994–97, III: 50, 410, point 77). However, we must also keep in mind the possibility of influence from other names. De Bhulbh, for instance, notes that the Irish surname Mac Kerell (< *Mac Fhearghail*) shows some confusion with *Mac Cearbhaill* (‘Mac Carroll’) (de Bhulbh 1997: 283).

It is clear then that Carroly and McCarroly (both 1598) derive from the older name *MacFhearghaile*, with possible influence from reflexes of *Mac Cearbhaill* Carroly presupposes the existence of McCarroly, which is actually attested in the form Makkaroly (1506) almost a century earlier. We may conclude that Carroly is therefore a derivative of McCarroly rather than the other way round, and is either an early truncated form of McCarroly, or, as seems more likely, a mistranscription of McCarroly.

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