

A Study on Anglo-Scandinavian *by(r)*-names: Statistical Analysis and Case-Studies

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Abstract

This thesis is a large-scale analysis of place-names in England and southern Scotland that contain the settlement-term Old Norse (ON) *bý(r)* as their generic element. This analysis is based on what is, to my knowledge, the largest corpus of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names ever constructed. It has allowed for large-scale analysis of their geographical, chronological, and linguistic contexts, and analyses of *bý(r)*-name sub-groups within these contexts.

This thesis comprises four main chapters. Chapter One establishes the historical context for the use of ON *bý(r)* as a place-name-forming element in early medieval Britain and, through a case-study of *bý(r)*-names that seem to contain ethnonyms as their specific elements, suggests that the use of ON *bý(r)* was more diverse than has commonly been held. Chapter Two details the construction of an Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus for this thesis in a place-names database and its analysis. Chapter Three provides a large-scale analysis of the *bý(r)*-names corpus focused on their geographical distribution, chronological strata, and specific elements, with related case-studies. Chapter Four is a full-length case-study of 37 *bý(r)*-names whose generic elements seem to interchange with elements other than ON *bý(r)*.

A primary analytical tool for the analyses of *bý(r)*-names in this thesis is the use of a ‘heat-map’ representation of their distribution created using GIS software. This map illustrates the ‘core’ (i.e. ‘hot’) and ‘peripheral’ (i.e. ‘cold’) areas of the *bý(r)*-names distribution in Britain far more clearly than the traditional dot-based maps of place-name scholarship. In this thesis, Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, from large groups to single names, are analysed in the context of this heat-map.

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Abbreviations

Note: bibliographic abbreviations are given in the Bibliography.

A-Sc = Anglo-Scandinavian

AYR = Ayrshire

Bib. = Biblical

Bret. = Breton

BRK = Berkshire

BWK = Berwickshire

c. = circa

Cel. = Celtic

CHE = Cheshire

CG = Continental Germanic

CUM = Cumberland

DER = Derbyshire

DEV = Devon

DMF = Dumfriesshire

DUR = County Durham

e. = early

edn. = edition

esp. = especially

fem. = feminine

ELO = East Lothian

ESX = Essex

FIF = Fife

GLO = Gloucestershire

HAM = Hampshire

HER = Hertfordshire

KCB = Kirkcudbrightshire

KEN = Kent

l. = late

LAN = Lancashire

LEI = Leicestershire

LIN = Lincolnshire

LNK = Lanarkshire

m. = mid

ME = Middle English

MLO = Midlothian

NB = Northumberland

n.d. = no date

NOR = Norfolk

NOT = Nottinghamshire

NTH = Northamptonshire

ODan = Old Danish

OE = Old English

OEN = Old East Norse

OFr = Old French

WLO = West Lothian

OIr = Old Irish

YOR = Yorkshire

ON = Old Norse

ONorw = Old Norwegian

OSwe = Old Swedish

OWN = Old West Norse

OXF = Oxfordshire

PEB = Peeblesshire

Pers.n = personal name

pl. = plural

RNF = Renfrewshire

SEPN = *The Survey of English Place-*

Names

SOM = Somerset

SSPN = *The Survey of Scottish Place-*

Names

SSX = Sussex

SUF = Suffolk

SUR = Surrey

trans. = translated

Wap. = Wapentake

WAR = Warwickshire

WES = Westmorland

WIG = Wigtownshire

WIL = Wiltshire

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This thesis is an analysis of place-names in England and southern Scotland that contain the settlement-term Old Norse *bý(r)* as their generic element.¹ Place-names that contain Scandinavian elements comprise by far the largest body of historical evidence for the presence of Old Norse-speakers in early medieval Britain, and *bý(r)*-names are arguably the most significant among them. ON *bý(r)* is a diagnostically Scandinavian element in the place-name landscape of Britain, and *bý(r)*-names are abundant in areas where, for historical reasons, early medieval Scandinavian settlement is held to have occurred. The analysis in this thesis is based on a corpus of 806 *bý(r)*-names in England and Scotland which, to my knowledge, is the largest ever compiled. It has allowed for large-scale analysis of their geographical, chronological, and linguistic contexts, and analyses of *bý(r)*-name sub-groups within these contexts.

Scandinavian settlement in early medieval Britain, which the *bý(r)*-names in England and southern Scotland attest to, is a significant historical subject. Historians, archaeologists, and linguists have debated questions such as how many Scandinavian settlers there were, where they were from, where they settled, and what impact they had on language and society in Britain. This chapter aims to explain the position of *bý(r)*-names within these debates, and to establish the parameters for their analysis in this thesis. The parameters are based primarily

¹ In this thesis ‘Old Norse’ is used as a catch-all term for the languages/dialects spoken in early medieval Scandinavia at the time of Scandinavian settlement in Britain. It encompasses the divisions ‘Old East Norse’ (i.e. dialects broadly spoken in what is now Denmark and Sweden) and ‘Old West Norse’ (i.e. dialects broadly spoken in what is now Norway and Iceland). Relatedly, ‘Old Norse’ here encompasses the dialects ‘Old Danish’, ‘Old Norwegian’, and ‘Old Swedish’.

on the historical framework for Scandinavian settlement and the creation of Scandinavian place-names in Britain, and analysis of that framework by previous scholars. This thesis is focused on analysis of *bý(r)*-names as linguistic artefacts and not on Scandinavian settlement in Britain, but the two topics are directly linked, with the former a result of the latter.

This chapter is divided into three primary sections. In Section 1.2., a geographical definition of ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Britain’ is given as the historical linguistic area of England and southern Scotland encompassed by this thesis; and some of the evidence for early medieval Scandinavian settlement in that area is discussed. In Section 1.3., the etymology of ON *bý(r)* and its use as a settlement-term in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain is discussed. In Section 1.4., previous studies of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names are outlined and the scope of this thesis is detailed.

1.2. Anglo-Scandinavian Britain: Scandinavian Settlement in Britain and Anglo-Scandinavian Place-Names

Early medieval Scandinavian settlement in Britain incorporated the island into the Old Norse-speaking world and, particularly in England, had a significant impact on language and society. However, Scandinavian settlement in Britain is on the whole poorly attested in historical written records; and the archaeological record, while enlightening in its finds, offers relatively sparse evidence for the significant Scandinavian settlement that place-name evidence suggests took place (see Hadley 2006: 5). Nevertheless, the historical framework for Scandinavian settlement in Britain, as far as it can be established, offers important context for the study of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names. Here, information that is pertinent to the analysis of *bý(r)*-names in England and southern Scotland in this thesis will be discussed.

This section of the chapter is divided into five sub-sections. Section 1.2.1. defines the area encompassed by ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Britain’ as understood in this thesis; Section 1.2.2. discusses the first recorded ‘viking’ attacks on Britain and the arrival in the ninth century of a *micel here* ‘great army’, whose members were the earliest recorded Scandinavian settlers in Britain; Section 1.2.3. discusses the Alfred-Guðrum Treaty (a ninth-century peace agreement between King Alfred of Wessex and Guðrum, one of the leaders of the *micel here*) and ‘The Danelaw’, an Anglo-Scandinavian entity whose purported area contains the majority of the *bý(r)*-names analysed in this thesis; and Section 1.2.4. discusses north-western England and southern Scotland, areas that contain *bý(r)*-names but where Scandinavian settlement is largely unattested in historical written records.

1.2.1. Anglo-Scandinavian Britain

It is important to establish first the geographical scope of this thesis and the use of the term ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Britain’. The area(s) of England and southern Scotland covered by this thesis, from which all *bý(r)*-names were collected to form a corpus (see Chapter Two), is the historical linguistic area(s) where contact between Old English-speakers and Old Norse-speakers and/or Scandinavian settlement (supported by place-name evidence) is held to have occurred. This area encompasses mainland eastern/north-eastern England, north-western England, and southern Scotland. It is here designated, primarily in a historical linguistic sense, as ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Britain’. The place-names in this area that contain elements of Old Norse origin are here designated as ‘Anglo-Scandinavian place-names’. The map below illustrates Anglo-Scandinavian Britain as a highlighted area using county boundaries, and the table below lists the counties this area includes.

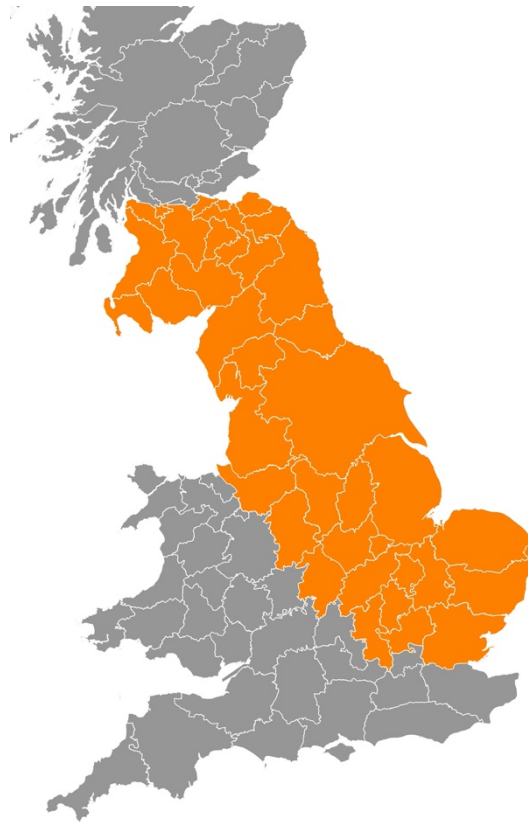


Figure 1.1: map of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain

<u>The Counties of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain²</u>	
Ayrshire (Scotland)	East Lothian (Scotland)
Bedfordshire (England)	Midlothian (Scotland)
Berwickshire (Scotland)	West Lothian (Scotland)
Buckinghamshire (England)	Norfolk (England)
Cambridgeshire (England)	Northamptonshire (England)
Cheshire (England)	Northumberland (England)
Cumberland (England)	Nottinghamshire (England)
Derbyshire (England)	Peeblesshire (Scotland)
Dumfriesshire (Scotland)	Renfrewshire (Scotland)
County Durham (England)	Roxburghshire (Scotland)
Essex (England)	Rutland (England)
Hertfordshire (England)	Selkirkshire (Scotland)
Huntingdonshire (England)	Staffordshire (England)
Kirkcudbrightshire (Scotland)	Suffolk (England)
Lanarkshire (Scotland)	Warwickshire (England)
Lancashire (England)	Westmorland (England)
Leicestershire (England)	Wigtownshire (Scotland)
Lincolnshire (England)	Yorkshire (England)

Table 1.1: the counties of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain

² Note that in keeping with the standard practice of name-studies in Britain, this thesis uses historical pre-1974 and pre-1975 county boundaries for England and Scotland, respectively.

The area of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain illustrated above encompasses 36 counties in England and Scotland. It covers territory which, when the Scandinavian *micel here* ‘great army’ arrived in England in 865, was covered in some way by the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Mercia, Northumbria, and Wessex. The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Northumbria extended to the Firth of Forth in eastern Scotland, and in the eighth and ninth centuries Dumfriesshire and Galloway (comprising Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire) formed part of its territory (see Oram 1995: 136; Woolf 2007: 4-7). The relationship between The Kingdom of Northumbria and Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, and Renfrewshire is somewhat uncertain, but Northumbrian conquest in south-western Scotland reached Dumbarton by 756 (see Clancy 2013: 293; Woolf 2007: 4-7), and the *bý(r)*-names in the counties are comparable to those in the rest of south-western Scotland.³ The territories of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain were, to varying degrees, impacted by early medieval Scandinavian conquest and settlement and/or formed part of an Anglo-Scandinavian polity such as ‘The Danelaw’ (see below).

There is a strong but not direct correlation between the counties that form Anglo-Scandinavian Britain and the counties that contain Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names.

Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northumberland, Renfrewshire, Roxburghshire, and Selkirkshire – counties that formed part

³ The historical context of Northumbrian expansion has allowed the Forth-Clyde line to function as the northern boundary of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain as it is defined in this thesis (i.e. the area(s) of Britain in which it can be said with some confidence that contact between Old English-speakers and Old Norse-speakers occurred in the early medieval period (see above)). However, fixed geographical points are imperfect as linguistic boundaries. Edmonds and Taylor (2017: 138) note that there has been debate on how to define the north of England in linguistic terms, and that place-names either side of the Firth of Forth share features. Most notably, in the context of this thesis, there are a small number of *bý(r)*-names in Angus, Fife, and Kinross (i.e. north of the Firth of Forth) that are comparable to the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names analysed here. Geographical limits have had to be established for the large-scale analysis of this thesis, however, and the probable restriction of an early medieval Northumbrian socio-political presence to south of the Forth-Clyde line suits its Old English-Old Norse contact remit. See Taylor (2004: 125-45) for discussion of the *bý(r)*-names in Fife, Angus, and Kinross, their context, and a dataset of the names.

of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain and/or contain Anglo-Scandinavian place-names – do not contribute any *bý(r)*-names to the corpus constructed for this thesis (see Chapter Two, Section 2.2.1.). The distribution of *bý(r)*-names across the counties of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain that do contain them is also very uneven (see Chapter Three, Section 3.2.). A number of factors can be suggested to account for this including the numbers of Scandinavian-speakers and settlers in certain areas, perhaps relative to the numbers of English-speakers; the variable currency of ON *bý(r)* as a settlement-term; and, relatedly, the fact that socio-political zones do not directly correlate with sociolinguistic zones.

Indeed, the relationship between the numbers of settlers in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain and the numbers of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names is a very complicated issue that has been extensively debated by previous scholars. As noted above, it is not the intention of this thesis to engage directly with these debates, but rather to focus on Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names as historical linguistic artefacts. This is not least because, in general, some consensus has been reached on these debates through analysis of *bý(r)*-names and other historical evidence by previous scholars. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 403-04), for example, produced a ‘bottom line’ for the *bý(r)*-names in eastern/north-eastern England on their linguistic origins and chronology that has not been seriously challenged.⁴ Nevertheless, it is pertinent to review in the following sub-sections of this chapter some aspects of Scandinavian settlement in early medieval Britain (as far as they can be established) to provide context for the creation of *bý(r)*-names in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain.

⁴ Abrams and Parsons (2004) assess only the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in eastern/north-eastern England, and only those in that area first attested by Domesday Book 1086. The Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus constructed for this thesis exceeds those geographical and chronological limitations, so their ‘bottom line’ cannot be applied wholesale to the entire corpus. However, *bý(r)*-names in the areas Abrams and Parsons (2004) assess do comprise by far the majority of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus (see Chapter Three, Section 3.2.).

1.2.2. ‘Viking’ Raids and the *Micel Here* ‘Great Army’

The first recorded attacks by ‘vikings’ (i.e. early medieval piratical Scandinavian raiders) on Anglo-Saxon kingdoms exist in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. The *Chronicles* (texts B, C, D, E, F) record that in 787 [789] *iii scipu Norðmanna* ‘three ships of the Northmen’ came to England for the first time during the reign of King Beorhtric of Wessex and, when met by a reeve on the Dorset coast who may have thought they were traders, killed him. The *Chronicles* state that *þæt wæron þa ærestan scipu Deniscra monna þe Angelcynnes lond gesohton* ‘those were the first ships of Danish men who sought out the land of the English’ (see Swanton 2000: 54-55, in translation).⁵ The Dorset attack is the first to be recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, but the viking raid on the Holy Island of Lindisfarne recorded in 793 has become more famous (see Swanton 2000: 54-56), and 793 is commonly taken as a starting date for ‘The Viking Age’ (see Jesch 2015: 8). The viking raids on Anglo-Saxon kingdoms continued throughout the early decades of the ninth century, but in the middle of ninth century a significant change in the Scandinavian engagement with Anglo-Saxon kingdoms occurred through settlement.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (texts A, E) record in 855 that *hæpene men ærest in Sceapigge ofer winter sætan* ‘heathen men first settled over winter in Sheppey’, an island off the north coast of Kent (see Swanton 2000: 66-67). This is the earliest written record of Scandinavians overwintering in Britain. The *Chronicles* then record the arrival in East Anglia of a *micel (hæþan) here* ‘great (heathen) army’ in 865 [866], and the military campaigns and

⁵ It should be noted that the ethnic labels ‘Northmen’ and ‘Danes’ are used interchangeably in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* and other Old English texts as terms for ‘Scandinavians’ (see Swanton 2000: 54; Downham 2012: 4). The use of OE *Dene* ‘Danes’ by Old English writers as a general label for Scandinavians (or peoples perceived by early medieval English-speakers to be Scandinavians) has contributed to the widely-held belief that the majority of Scandinavian settlers who coined Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names were ‘Danish’, and that the element in its Anglo-Scandinavian context is a reflex of Old Danish *býr* (see Section 1.3.).

conquests of its divisions in the late 860s and early 870s (see Swanton 2000: 66-72). Most significantly, in the context of this thesis, the *Chronicles* record divisions of the *micel here* then settling in England. In 876 [875] the *Chronicles* record that Halfdan, a viking leader in Northumbria, *Norðhymbra land gedælde þæt hie syððan ergende 7 tilgende wæron* ‘shared out the land of Northumbria and they [i.e. the *micel here*] were ploughing and working [the land]’; and further record Scandinavian settlements in Mercia in 877 [876] and East Anglia in 880 [879] (see Swanton 2000: 74-77).

The 876 [875] entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* provides a *terminus ante quem* for Scandinavian settlement in early medieval Britain that was more significant than overwintering or temporary occupation of territory in Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, which is recorded from the mid 850s. It is from 876 [875] that we can assume most Anglo-Scandinavian place-names, including *by(r)*-names, began to be coined (see definition of ‘Anglo-Scandinavian place-names’ above). The recorded settlements in Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia can be taken as the foundations of early medieval Anglo-Scandinavian polities now commonly referred to as ‘The Viking Kingdom of York’, ‘The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw’ (i.e. the Anglo-Scandinavian settlements at Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, and Stamford), and ‘The Viking Kingdom of East Anglia’.

The direct connections between the recorded settlements of the *micel here*, the total number of Scandinavian settlers in early medieval Britain, and the coining of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names are obscure and have been much debated (see Abrams and Parsons 2004: 379-81). Early scholarship held that the *micel here* was comprised of thousands of individuals and, in general, equated Anglo-Scandinavian place-names with the settlements of these individuals, their families, and descendants (see, for example, Stenton 1943: 243). However, Sawyer (1962: esp. 120-144, 156-167) argued for a considerably smaller *micel here* than previously thought and for the influence of a small Scandinavian elite

on place-naming, personal naming, and other social factors in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain; and his argument gained some popularity among historians and archaeologists in the second half of the twentieth century (see Hadley 2000: 19-22; Hadley and Richards 2021: 196).

It was maintained throughout these debates by nearly all place-name scholars that a large number of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names formed using a wide variety of Old Norse vocabulary must be equated with large numbers of Old Norse-speakers (see, for example, Gelling 1997: 220-21). Cameron (1965), in acceptance of Sawyer's (1962) argument for a small *micel here* but in order to explain the large numbers of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names, suggested secondary waves of Scandinavian settlers followed the *micel here* to England;⁶ and this suggestion seems to have become accepted (see Hadley and Richards 2021: 59). It is now generally accepted that the evidence, including recent archaeological finds, supports Anglo-Scandinavian place-names as evidence for a large *micel here* and large numbers of Scandinavian settlers in England (see Hadley and Richards 2021: 196-99; Raffield 2016: 309-10).

1.2.3. The Alfred-Guðrum Treaty and 'The Danelaw'

The *micel here* conquered much territory in East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria, and established Anglo-Scandinavian polities in those territories. The only Anglo-Saxon kingdom to resist conquest by a division of the *micel here*, with any success, was Wessex (see Hadley and Richards 2021: 58-59, 225-27). Following years of attacks on his kingdom, King Alfred of Wessex defeated a southern division of the *micel here*, led by a viking leader Guðrum, at The Battle of Edington in 878, and subsequently was in a strong position to negotiate with

⁶ Sawyer (1962: 149) himself states that '[i]t is indeed likely that the original [Scandinavian] settlers were joined by others in the three or four decades after the original settlements of 876-80'.

them. In c. 878-90, Alfred and Guðrum created a peace agreement, now commonly referred to as The Alfred-Guðrum Treaty, which survives in two early twelfth-century copies (see Liebermann 1903-16: 126). The treaty established their respective territories in England, the rights of English and Scandinavian peoples in those territories, and other laws (see Kershaw 2000: 43-45); and Kershaw (2000: 45) states that it ‘has frequently been regarded as nothing less than a foundation charter for “the Danelaw” [i.e. Anglo-Scandinavian England] itself’.

It is the land-boundary contained in The Alfred-Guðrum Treaty, which purports to delineate the respective territories of Alfred and Guðrum, that is of significance to this thesis. The boundary runs *up on Temese, 7 ðonne up on Ligan, 7 andlang Ligan oð hire æwylm, ðonne on gerihthe to Bedanforda, ðonne up on Usan oð Wætlingastræt* ‘up the River Thames, and then up the River Lea, and along the River Lea to its source, then straight to Bedford, then up the River Ouse to Watling Street’ (see Liebermann 1903-16: 126). Kershaw (2000: 45) notes that the boundary has been taken to delineate neatly the areas of English and Scandinavian rule in Anglo-Scandinavian England; and it commonly features on maps for the subject (see, for example, Hill 1984: 45). Indeed, it features prominently on Smith’s (1956c) famous place-name map of ‘The Scandinavian Settlement’, included in his EPNE volumes, as ‘[the] southern limit of the Danelaw’ (see below).

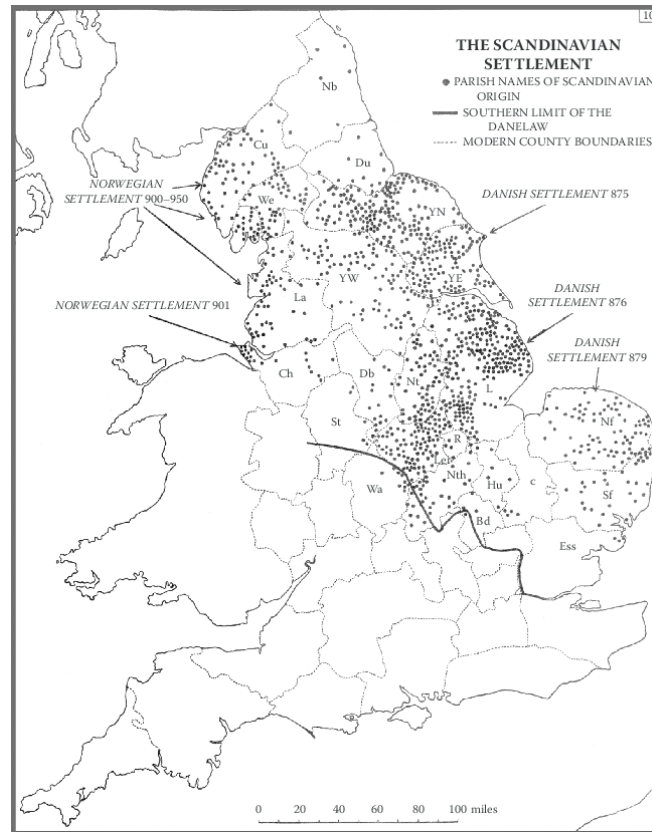


Figure 1.2: Smith's (1956c) map 'The Scandinavian Settlement'

However, the Alfred-Guðrum boundary is problematic as a neat delineation between English and Scandinavian territory in Anglo-Scandinavian England (i.e. The Danelaw) in a number of ways. The boundary seems to have collapsed during military campaigns between Wessex and Scandinavian forces in the early 890s, and by the end of the tenth century all of England was ruled (at least via overlordship) by Wessex (see Davis 1982: 805-06; Dumville 1992: 1, 19). Whatever the original efficacy of the border was, it was short-lived. Problematic too is how significant the boundary was for Anglo-Scandinavian England as a whole. Fellows-Jensen notes that because Guðrum was a leader only in East Anglia 'the Watling Street boundary could not have been relevant for any great distance' (see SSNEM 2). It is uncertain what influence Guðrum held in Mercia and Northumbria, and the influence of any division of the *micel here* in north-western England and southern Scotland is unknown (see below).

Because of these problems, the relationship between the Alfred-Guðrum boundary, Scandinavian settlement in early medieval Britain, and the formation of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names is uncertain. Smith's (1956c) map is labelled 'The Scandinavian Settlement', but Abrams and Parsons (2004: 392) state that it is correctly 'an index of the influence that Scandinavian language has had in England'. A straightforward direct correlation cannot be made between places which bear Anglo-Scandinavian place-names and the settlements of peoples we could identify as socio-ethnically, or even linguistically, Scandinavian. Nevertheless, it is accepted here that high numbers of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names (and *bý(r)*-names in particular) strongly suggest high numbers of Scandinavian-speakers in the areas in which they occur, and that the density of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names is related to the density of Scandinavian settlement. In this context, Smith's (1956c) map, which illustrates hundreds of *bý(r)*-names, shows that nearly all of them are located on the 'Scandinavian' side of the Alfred-Guðrum boundary.⁷ However, the boundary and the distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names do not correlate exactly, and their distribution is not even.

Smith's (1956c) map illustrates the paucity of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in Essex (including only one *bý(r)*-name),⁸ a county which The Alfred-Guðrum Treaty seems to place wholly in Guðrum's territory; and that Anglo-Scandinavian place-names (including

⁷ It should be noted that Smith's (1956c) map only includes 'parish names', and that there is no surviving dataset for the place-names he mapped. Comparisons to other maps can be made, but Smith's does appear to contain some errors. It is also uncertain what criteria he used to establish a 'Scandinavian origin' for a place-name to be included. Nevertheless, it offers a fairly accurate overview of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in England that mostly correlates with the distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in the country (see Chapter Three, Section 3.2.).

⁸ Smith's (1956c) map appears to include Kirby-le-Soken ESX (*Kirke-*, *Kyrkebi*, *-by* 1181) (a Kirkby-name); Thorpe-le-Soken ESX (*Torp(eia)* 1119-1202) (taken to more likely reflect ON *þorp* than OE *þrop* because it was a dependent settlement of Kirby-le-Soken ESX (see PNEss 353)); and Thorrington ESX (*Torinduna* 1086) (which appears to contain the personal name ON *Þóri*, *-r* as its specific element).

by(r)-names) occur on the ‘English’ side of Watling Street in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire. The lack of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in Essex has led previous scholars to doubt whether it formed part of Guðrum’s territory and/or experienced much Scandinavian settlement. In PNEss xxviii Reaney states, on the basis of place-name evidence, that ‘no serious attempt was made [by early medieval Scandinavians] to settle in Essex’. Dumville (1992: 15-19), to account for the Essex problem, offered a radical re-analysis of the Alfred-Guðrum boundary that places Essex in Alfred’s territory, but his re-analysis has not been widely accepted. Williams (1996: esp. 93, 97) assesses wide-ranging evidence for the status of Essex as part of The Danelaw, including place-names, and concludes that Essex did not form part of The Viking Kingdom of East Anglia, but rather an outpost of Alfred’s kingdom of Wessex that was vulnerable in the north to Scandinavian influence and military action.

Previous place-name scholars have also considered the Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire in reference to the Alfred-Guðrum boundary. In PNNth xxi, the editors state that ‘[w]e may presume that the county west of Watling Street was never in effective occupation by the Vikings, for in the peace of Alfred and Guthrum, Watling Street formed the western boundary of Guthrum’s kingdom’. Despite the existence of five Anglo-Scandinavian *by(r)*-names in Fawsley Hundred (i.e. on the ‘English’ side of the Alfred-Guðrum boundary), they state that all that could have taken place west of Watling Street in Northamptonshire ‘must have been the passing of some of the more important centres of population into the hands of Scandinavian or Anglo-Scandinavian overlords’ (see PNNth xxii). Similarly, the same editors note in PNWar xxi that ‘[in PNNth] we saw how the importance of Watling Street as the western boundary of Guthrum’s kingdom was reflected in the distribution of Scandinavian names east and west of that road’; and they state that

because Warwickshire lies west of Watling Street they ‘are not surprised to find therefore that Scandinavian influence in the place-names is but slight’.

It should be noted that PNNth and PNWar are older SEPN volumes published in the 1930s, and the views of the editors of the volumes reflect contemporary understanding. Nevertheless, the idea that there was a direct relationship between Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in the East Midlands, the Alfred-Guðrum boundary, and The Danelaw persisted. In her study of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in the East Midlands, Fellows-Jensen states that the northern boundary of Guðrum’s territory was probably formed by the River Avon and River Welland, placing Northamptonshire within it, but that Leicester was ‘the headquarters for an independent Danish army’. She notes that Scandinavian and scandinavianised place-names south and west of Watling Street show that Scandinavians settled there, but that ‘Watling Street would in fact seem to have functioned as the western boundary of the Danelaw proper as far north as that stretch of road that forms the boundary between Leicestershire and Warwickshire’ (see SSNEM 2-3). It is uncertain what Fellows-Jensen takes to comprise ‘the Danelaw proper’, but it seems likely that she at least means The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw, their respective counties, and Guðrum’s territory in East Anglia. She does not explicitly refer to Yorkshire as part of The Danelaw in SSNY, her regional study of the county.

This discussion has so far focused on The Danelaw in a geographical sense because the debates on the relationship between Alfred-Guðrum boundary, Anglo-Scandinavian place-names, and Scandinavian settlement have a natural geographical focus. However, the term ‘The Danelaw’ has not been limited in use to this sense. Abrams (2001: 128-29) notes that *Dena lage* (literally ‘law of the Danes’) is first attested as a term in the early eleventh century (so it is arguably anachronistic for the period of Scandinavian settlement); and she discusses how the modernised term ‘(The) Danelaw’ has been used and defined by scholars in a

number of ways including geographical senses, social and legal senses, and tenurial senses (Abrams cites Richards 1991: 20; Hart 1992: 3; Stenton 1910: 3-4 for examples of these usages, respectively). Abrams (2001: 129-33) notes that these definitions give us variants of 'The Danelaw' that vary in size, composition, and chronology, and she states that use of the term by many scholars 'disguises these difficulties'.

Hart's (1992: 3-4) definition of The Danelaw as 'those parts of England in which the customary law [...] exhibited a strong individuality, arising from the Danish influences which prevailed there' is literal in a 'law of Danes' sense, but he notes the difficulties in giving a singular definition to an entity which varied in time, place, and degree of Scandinavian influence. Hart (1992: 6-19) divides his Danelaw into five zones based on the areas of Scandinavian settlement and twelfth-century documents that list the counties considered to have developed out of Danish, Mercian, and West Saxon law. He gives a list produced by a twelfth-century Hexham monk who considered 15 counties to arise from 'Danish law': Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, and Buckinghamshire.⁹ Hart (1992: 8-19) places Norfolk and Suffolk in 'The Eastern Danelaw'; Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Essex in 'The "Southern Danelaw"'; Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, and Northamptonshire in 'The "Outer Danelaw"'; Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire in 'The Five Boroughs [of the Danelaw]'; and Yorkshire in 'The Northern Danelaw'. He acknowledges multiple variables across these zones including the density and length of Scandinavian settlement (see Hart 1992: 8-19).

⁹ The Mercian counties are listed as Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Oxfordshire; and the West Saxon counties as Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Devonshire (see Hart 1992: 8).

It is notable, in the context of this thesis, that no Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names occur in six of the supposed Danelaw counties: Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and Middlesex. Conversely, they do occur in the supposed Mercian law counties of Cheshire and Warwickshire. Hart's (1992) zones of The Danelaw also do not include the counties of Cumberland, County Durham, Lancashire, and Westmorland, where Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names occur; nor, of course, do the zones incorporate any of the Scottish counties that contain Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names.

It is evident that there is a relationship between the Alfred-Guðrum boundary, The Danelaw in its common definitions, and the distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, but not direct correlation. This is not least because, as noted above, socio-political zones do not necessarily equate to sociolinguistic zones. That Watling Street, at least, was sometimes understood to be a meaningful border in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain is confirmed by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* entry for 1013. It records how all the peoples north of Watling Street submitted to the Scandinavian leader Sveinn Forkbeard, father of Knútr, and that he attacked 'England' once he crossed Watling Street with his raiding-army (see Swanton 2000: 143-44). The *Chronicles* imply that the peoples north of Watling Street showed loyalty to a Scandinavian ruler, and it seems that from the chronicler's southern perspective in Wessex Sveinn only attacked 'English' territory once he crossed Watling Street.

Nevertheless, place-name evidence indicates that the Alfred-Guðrum boundary and common definitions of The Danelaw are limited in their usefulness for the study of Scandinavian settlement and the creation of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names. The Danelaw has commonly been used as a catch-all term for Anglo-Scandinavian England, particularly in a geographical definition such as Richards (1991: 20) provides, but it is avoided in this thesis except in quotations. The majority of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names do occur in areas taken to have formed parts of The Danelaw, but the corpus constructed for this thesis is not

limited to those areas. The term also encourages the somewhat problematic view that the use of ON *bý(r)* in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain was ‘Danish’ in origin (see Section 1.3.).

1.2.4. North-Western England and Southern Scotland

The *bý(r)*-names corpus constructed for this thesis includes those in areas of north-western England and southern Scotland that did not experience recorded settlements of a *micel here* division and lie outside of ‘The Danelaw’ by any of its common definitions. The historical circumstances of Scandinavian settlement in these areas are different to eastern/north-eastern England, and linguistic contact between multiple groups in the regions may have been more complex. Because of this, the ‘bottom line’ established by Abrams and Parsons (2004: 403-04) for the linguistic origins and chronology of *bý(r)*-names in eastern/north-eastern England, while relevant to the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus in general, cannot be applied wholesale to the *bý(r)*-names in north-western England and southern Scotland.

The historical record offers some detail for Scandinavian settlement in eastern/north-eastern England, discussed above, but very little for north-western England and southern Scotland. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* were primarily a product of Wessex (see Jorgensen 2010: 12-14), and the bias of this southern perspective on the chroniclers’ record-keeping is evident. The chroniclers do not at all mention Scandinavian settlement in north-western England or southern Scotland, to which Anglo-Scandinavian place-names and other historical evidence strongly attests (see Parsons 2011: 121),¹⁰ and the situation for Scotland is further

¹⁰ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* do state that in 875 [874] Halfdan’s Northumbrian division of the *micel here* often raided the lands of Picts and Strathclyde Britons; and that in 894 [893] *micel here* forces travelled to Wirral and besieged Chester (see Swanton 2000: 74-75, 88). Fellows-Jensen states that these raids must have taken Halfdan and his army across the Carlisle plain and into Dumfriesshire (see SSNNW 1). However, there is no description in the *Chronicles* of Scandinavian settlements in these areas as there is for East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria.

complicated by the fact that few historical texts or documents written in Scotland during the period of Scandinavian settlement survive (see Woolf 2007: 2). Some historical details are available, however, and contextual information including place-name evidence allows for insight into early medieval Scandinavian settlement in north-western England and southern Scotland.

It is a notable feature of Smith's (1956c) map that he attributes Scandinavian settlement in the east of England to 'Danes' and in the west of England to 'Norwegians', with different dates provided for those settlements. The dates given for eastern 'Danish' settlement correlate with the recorded settlements of *micel here* divisions in East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria discussed above. The date given for 'Norwegian' settlement of Cheshire is 901 (sic), and of Cumberland, Lancashire, and Westmorland as the first half of the tenth century. The date Smith (1956c) gives for Cheshire corresponds to the so-called 'Ingimundr Episode' of 902. The Irish *Annals of Ulster* record that a group of vikings, who in the Irish Sea region have generally been held to be 'Norwegian' in origin rather than 'Danish',¹¹ were expelled from Dublin in 902 (see Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983: 352-53); and a later but less reliable Irish source states that some of that group, led by an individual named Ingimundr, travelled to Wales and then to England where they were granted land near Chester by Lady Æðelflæd of Mercia (see Jesch 2000: 2).

Rye (2015: 144-82) reviews the textual, personal name, archaeological, genetic, and toponymic evidence for Scandinavian settlement in The Wirral, where there is a cluster of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. She notes that while 'The Ingimundr Episode' has been linked to initial Scandinavian settlement on the peninsula, Gelling (1992: 132-43; 1995: 193-94) identified problems with this theory because the lands settled by Ingimundr and his

¹¹ The identification of Scandinavian groups in different parts of the British Isles as 'Norwegian' or 'Danish' oversimplifies the mixed nature of the socio-ethnic groups involved (see Downham (2009; 2012), and below, for discussion of this topic).

followers were close to Chester rather than on The Wirral Peninsula itself. Gelling (1992; 1995) suggested instead that The Wirral was settled by Scandinavians who followed Ingimundr at a later date (see Rye 2015: 174).¹²

‘The Ingimundr Episode’ has been linked to Gaelic-Scandinavian settlement in north-western England more widely as part of the Irish Sea region. Edmonds (2019: 51, 53) notes that there was a dynastic link between Scandinavian polities in York and Dublin; and she argues that the 902 expulsion from Dublin was the beginning of a long phase of Gaelic-Scandinavian influence in north-west England.¹³ Indeed, many place-names in north-western England are Old Norse/Goidelic hybrid formations and/or Old Norse place-names formed in Goidelic structure (i.e. so-called inversion compounds), which must attest to contact between speakers of those languages and the presence of Gaelic-Scandinavians in the region (see Parsons 2011: 115, 121).

Gaelic-Scandinavians from the Irish Sea region have also been linked to early medieval Scandinavian settlement in south-western Scotland (see Woolf 2007: 293-95). However, as with north-western England, the Gaelic-Scandinavian presence in south-western Scotland is a complicated topic involving multiple factors. The political situation in early medieval southern Scotland more broadly, involving various Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Scandinavian, and Scots groups, was very complex, and so too was the resulting linguistic situation (see Taylor 2004: 133; Edmonds and Taylor 2017). Clancy (2013: 293) suggests that in the period 900-1100 Northern British, English, Norse, and Gaelic languages were being spoken concurrently

¹² This suggestion is comparable to Cameron’s (1965) theory that secondary waves of Scandinavian settlers followed the *micel here* to eastern/north-eastern England in the decades after their military conquests and initial land-taking (see above).

¹³ Edmonds (2019: 55) further notes, however, that while Scandinavian communities which began to settle in the region in the early tenth century have been linked to Dublin, isotope analysis has shown that some individuals who settled in north-west England came from Scandinavia.

in south-western Scotland, to different degrees in different regions, and with some regions linguistically mixed.

Clancy (2008) discusses the relationship between the Gall-Ghàidheil – whose name denotes ‘a foreign-seeming Gael; a scandinavianised Gaelic-speaker; a foreigner who speaks Gaelic’ – and Galloway (i.e. Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire), the region of south-western Scotland eventually named for them. He notes that by the middle of the ninth century intermarriage and cultural assimilation between Gaels and Scandinavians was occurring, probably earliest in the southern Hebrides (but perhaps in Ireland), and that different Scandinavian groups in the Irish Sea region (including those that probably spoke Gaelic rather than Old Norse) were being distinguished from one another in contemporary Irish sources (see Clancy 2008: 23). The exact nature of these (Gaelic-)Scandinavian groups and their connections to one another is not certain, but a Norse-dominated Irish Sea kingdom centred around Dublin and the Isle of Man emerged; and Scandinavian military activity in the Irish Sea region during the 910s, including Galloway, culminated with the recapture of Dublin in 917. It is probable that in this early tenth-century context Old Norse-speakers established a presence on the coasts of Galloway and introduced Scandinavian place-name formations to the region (see Clancy 2008: 40, 43-44).

There is, then, historical evidence for the tenth-century settlement of (Gaelic-)Scandinavians from the Irish Sea region in north-western England and southern Scotland. The connection between these settlers and Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in the region has, however, been debated. The natural assumption is that ON *bý(r)* formed part of the toponymicon(s) of those settlers, but the conditions of the element in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain (i.e. the reflexes of it that seem to occur and the types of settlements they were applied to) led Fellows-Jensen in particular to propose an alternative theory. She has argued throughout her career that ON *bý(r)* in its Anglo-Scandinavian context is ‘Danish’ in origin

(i.e. not ‘Norwegian’ or Gaelic-Scandinavian), and that *bý(r)*-names are a reliable guide to a ‘Danish’ presence (see, for example, Fellows-Jensen 1987: 56; Fellows-Jensen 2013: 85-87). She has explained the *bý(r)*-names in north-western England, south-western Scotland, and even the Isle of Man as a result of ‘Danish’ settlers from eastern/north-eastern England moving anti-clockwise through these regions and settling in the ninth and tenth centuries (see, for example, Fellows-Jensen 1989-90: 42-43; Fellows-Jensen 2013: 85-87).

Fellows-Jensen’s theory of a ‘Danish’ movement was accepted (see, for example, Higham 1995: 197), but has more recently been criticised. Grant (2003: 273-74) notes the improbable speed at which this anti-clockwise movement of Danes would have to have occurred to account for the *bý(r)*-names in north-western England and south-western Scotland; and Rye (2015: 177) questions whether the theory is necessary given that the Irish Sea region could be viewed as a ‘(Hiberno-) Norse *Sprachraum*’ with linguistic features shared by neighbouring speech communities (i.e. in eastern/north-eastern England). The existence of *bý(r)*-names in the Hebrides and the Northern Isles (whose forms, however, differ from Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names) is reliable evidence for the use of ON *bý(r)* to form place-names in the British Isles by Old Norse-speakers who were not ‘Danish’.¹⁴

Edmonds (2014: 42-44) states, based on the evidence, that the Scandinavian influence in north-western England and south-western Scotland was of a ‘multi-layered nature’ that involved Gaelic-Scandinavian settlers and settlers from The Danelaw. It is probable that in this context (i.e. Rye’s (2015: 177) *Sprachraum*) that different reflexes of ON *bý(r)* which were introduced converged, both in form and application, and that the element was used by

¹⁴ The *bý(r)*-names on the Northern Isles, for example, seem to reflect ON *bý(r)* in its OWN side-form *bær*. See Grant (2005), Smith (1995), and Thomson (1995) for discussion of *bý(r)*-names in the Hebrides, Shetland, and Orkney, respectively.

multiple sociolinguistic groups to form place-names.¹⁵ It is unnecessary to attribute *bý(r)*-names across Anglo-Scandinavian Britain to ‘Danish’ settlers. Indeed, the thirteen northern Sorbie-/Sowerby-names, which represent one of the most recurrent compounds in the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus, represent distinctly Old West Norse (i.e. Gaelic-Scandinavian, Icelandic, and Norwegian) formations (see Grant 2005: 129; Chapter Three, Section 3.4.2.1.5.).

The *bý(r)*-names in Ayrshire and Lanarkshire are geographically separate from those in the rest of south-western Scotland; and it has been suggested that they represent either the borrowing of ON *bý(r)* into English and Gaelic, or transferred place-names, because there is little other evidence for Scandinavian settlement in the area (see Grant 2005: 127). Grant (2005: 136-37) draws a connection between the Ayrshire *bý(r)*-names and Gaelic-Scandinavian place-names on the Western Isles, and suggests that they may represent Scandinavian settlement ‘under restrictive circumstances’ and/or the seasonal use of mainland resources by Gaelic-Scandinavians based to the west. Clancy (2013: 308-09), however, favours Barrow’s (1980: 47-48) interpretation that the Ayrshire names represent the importation of naming traditions by people granted land in Cunninghame in the twelfth century; and he places them in a context that looks south, where *bý(r)*-names and *tūn*-names with Anglo-Norman personal names as their specific elements exist, not west.¹⁶

A twelfth-century importation of place-naming traditions from northern England has also been offered as a possible explanation for the *bý(r)*-names in south-eastern Scotland, which are geographically separate from both those in south-western Scotland and north-

¹⁵ That the use of ON *bý(r)* in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain probably included multiple reflexes is the primary reason its Old Norse headform is used throughout this thesis (see Section 1.3.).

¹⁶ The Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in north-western England/south-western Scotland that contain Continental personal names as their specific elements offer strong evidence for the use of ON *bý(r)* as a place-name-forming element well into the twelfth century in the region (see Chapter Three, Section 3.3.3.).

eastern England because no *bý(r)*-names have yet been found in Northumberland (see, for example, Fellows-Jensen 1989-90: 55; and Taylor 2004: 129 for comment on this theory). Crawford (1987: 100-01), however, connects the *bý(r)*-names in south-eastern Scotland to earlier Scandinavian settlers from north-eastern England; and Grant (2003: 283-313), alternatively, concludes in her assessment that ON *bý(r)* may have been taken to ‘secondary colonies’ in the Central Lowlands by Gaelic-Scandinavians who coined *bý(r)*-names in north-western England and south-western Scotland.

There are, then, several theories for the *bý(r)*-names in south-eastern Scotland that connect them to settlers from other parts of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. However, they may represent a product of more direct Scandinavian settlement in the region, also including Fife and Kinross, counties not covered by this thesis because the Firth of Forth has been chosen as its north-eastern limit (see Footnote 3).¹⁷ Taylor (1995: 144-45) connects Scandinavian settlement in the region to viking activity in the ninth and tenth centuries, which may have been encouraged by Scots leaders to destabilise British and Pictish polities, and notes close dynastic links between Scots and Dublin-York Scandinavians that may have created a friendly environment for Scandinavian settlement. He suggests that the tenth century is the likely period of Scandinavian settlement in Fife, Lothian, and Angus, and that land in the region may have granted to Scandinavians by Scots in return for ‘mercenary activity’ (see Taylor 1995: 153).¹⁸ Clancy (2013: 308), too, accepts the tenth century as the likely origin of Scandinavian settlement in south-eastern Scotland.

¹⁷ Taylor (1995: 142, 155-57) identifies and analyses at least six *bý(r)*-names in Fife: Corbie FIF (*Corbi* c. 1231), Gedbys FIF (*Gaidbie* 1647), Humbie FIF (*Humbie* 1574), Sorbie FIF (no early forms), Weathersbie FIF (*Weathirsbie* 1659), and Weddersbie FIF (*Wedderisbe* 1509).

¹⁸ Taylor (2004) further discusses the connection between Scots and (Gaelic-)Scandinavians in Central Scotland more widely. He suggests Scandinavian activity may have been encouraged by Scots leaders to create a buffer between their kingdom and the northward expansion of Anglo-Saxon territory under the control of Wessex; and that the *bý(r)*-names in

The historical evidence suggests that Scandinavian settlement occurred in north-western England and southern Scotland in the early tenth century, and that this settlement was of a mixed nature involving Gaelic-Scandinavians, Scandinavians, and settlers from other parts of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. Settlements in southern Scotland of Northumbrians following the Norman Conquest, and of Anglo-Normans from the last decade of the eleventh century, mean that some *bý(r)*-names in the region may represent analogical or transferred formations (see Barrow 1980: 7; Taylor 1995: 151). This is perhaps most likely for the *bý(r)*-names in Ayrshire (see Clancy 2013: 308-09). On the whole, however, the *bý(r)*-names in north-western England and southern Scotland contribute to a body of evidence for early medieval Scandinavian settlement in the region, which was distinct from Scandinavian settlement in eastern/north-eastern England.

1.2.5. Summary

The discussion above has illustrated the limited usefulness of the Alfred-Guðrum Treaty and definitions of ‘The Danelaw’ for the study of early medieval Scandinavian settlement in eastern/north-eastern England and Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in the region. It has also demonstrated the evidence for (Gaelic-)Scandinavian settlement in north-western England and southern Scotland, which offers a more nuanced explanation for Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in the region than Fellows-Jensen’s ‘Danish’ model. This evidence informs the discussion below on the element in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names and the use of the headform ON *bý(r)* throughout this thesis (see Section 1.3.).

East Lothian, in particular, are well-placed for ‘encouraged settlement’ on that frontier (see Taylor 2004: 133).

1.3. Old Norse *bý(r)*: the etymology of the place-name element and its use in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain

1.3.1. Etymology of ON *bý(r)*

The Old Norse place-name element *bý(r)* is found in most of those parts of north-western Europe that formed the Old Norse-speaking world in the early medieval period. It is a diagnostically Old Norse element that developed reflexes with semantic, phonological, and orthographical variation in the different regions and time periods of this area.¹⁹ ON *bý(r)* is a noun derived from the verb *búa*, which carried several meanings including ‘to reside, live’, ‘to prepare, make ready’, and ‘to cultivate’. The original meaning of the noun as a place-name element is uncertain. Smith (see EPNE 1 66-67) and Fellows-Jensen (see SSNY 5-6; SSNEM 10-11; SSNNW10) discuss research by twentieth-century Scandinavian academics who sought to establish whether the original meaning of the element was ‘a dwelling’ or ‘a (new) cultivation’ – those who proposed ‘a dwelling’ accepted ‘a (new) cultivation’ as a secondary development and vice versa. Smith states that it is difficult to establish which meaning is original but that both can be taken as ‘the starting point’ (see EPNE 1 66-67).

¹⁹ It should be noted that a cognate Old English **bȳ* is possible, in the sense ‘dwelling’, and has been taken to underlie a tenth-century gloss *litelo by* in the Lindisfarne Gospels (see Pons Sanz 2000: 90-91; VEPN 2 104). The OE element has not seriously been considered as an alternative specific element for Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names because their distribution correlates with the known areas of Scandinavian settlement and their specific elements are overwhelmingly Old Norse (see VEPN 2 104). There is also not a parallel distribution of possible OE **bȳ*-names outside the areas of Scandinavian settlement to cause any etymological difficulty as there is with, for example, OE *þrop*/ON *þorp*-names and OE *tūn*/ON *tún*-names. As such, the possible OE element is not seriously considered in this thesis, with the caveat that it may underlie some Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. The OE element is not securely attested and, at any rate, probably would have fallen together with ON *bý(r)* into an Anglo-Scandinavian reflex. Based on probability, Pons Sanz (2000: 91) suggests the Lindisfarne Gospel gloss ‘should be analysed as an importation [from ON]’. It probably reflects early Anglo-Scandinavian use of ON *bý(r)* as a general term for ‘a settlement’.

The meaning ‘a dwelling’ ultimately took root in Scandinavia and it is in this sense that ON *bý(r)* was introduced to other parts of Europe by Scandinavian-speakers as a settlement-term. Variation exists between the use of the element in Old East Norse dialects (i.e. dialects spoken in what is now Denmark and Sweden) and in Old West Norse dialects (i.e. dialects spoken in what is now Norway, Iceland, and other islands in the Atlantic Ocean and North Sea). In EPNE 1 67-68, Smith states that it was common for ON *bý(r)* to denote ‘an isolated farmstead’ in Sweden; ‘a single homestead or farm’ in Norway; ‘a farmstead, landed estate’ in Iceland; and, in later development, ‘a village, village community’ in Denmark and Sweden.²⁰ Fellows-Jensen notes that Danish research has shown the meaning ‘a village’ is old in Denmark, but that ON *bý(r)* was also used by Old Danish-speakers to label single-farm (see SSNEM 11). In SSNNW 10-11, her study of north-western Anglo-Scandinavian place-names published seven years after SSNEM, she extends the meaning of ON *bý(r)* in medieval Scandinavia to ‘almost any kind of settlement’, but maintains a distinction between a wide-ranging use in Denmark and, more commonly, a ‘single farmstead’ use in Norway. However, the apparent distinction between the use of ON *bý(r)* in Denmark and Norway could simply reflect the kinds of settlements found in those places in the early medieval period, with nucleated villages more common in Denmark and dispersed settlement more common in Norway.

1.3.2. ON *bý(r)* in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain

²⁰ These regional reflexes are commonly written in their modern, dictionary forms as Old Norwegian *býr* and its side-form *bær*, used in Iceland, and Old Danish/Old Swedish *bý*. Old Norse *bý(r)* is a catch-all headform for the place-name element and is used throughout this thesis for reasons discussed below.

The particular forms of ON *bý(r)* that were introduced to Britain by Scandinavian-speakers have been the subject of discussion by previous scholars. This discussion has focused on the perceived ethno-national origins of the Scandinavian settlers in Britain and their use of ON *bý(r)* to label certain types of places of Britain in comparison to places in Scandinavia. It has generally been held by previous scholars that the majority of Scandinavian settlers in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain were ‘Danish’.²¹ This belief has been supported by the use of *Dene* ‘Danes’ by Old English-speakers to label Scandinavians in historical records, and the use of the term The Danelaw (< OE *Dena lagu*) to encompass the socio-political structures of Anglo-Scandinavian society in eastern/north-eastern England (see Section 1.2.3.).

The use of ON *bý(r)* as a settlement-term in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain has also been used to support the general ‘Danishness’ of Scandinavian settlement, especially in England. That it was applied to nucleated settlements has, in particular, been taken as evidence for significant Danish influence on its use. In EPNE 1 69-70, Smith outlines four uses of the element in England: 1) ‘newly developed ground’; 2) ‘new or secondary settlement’; 3) ‘isolated or single farmstead, single dwelling’; and 4) ‘hamlet, village’. He states that there are no certain instances of (1) because Danish settlement primarily comprised the acquisition of ‘well-established villages and lands’; that (2) may occur in some instances; that where (3) occurs it may indicate Norwegian usage because it seems most common in the north-west and parts of Yorkshire, ‘where Norwegian influence is strongest [on toponymy]’; and that (4) is the meaning the element ‘generally developed in the Danelaw for historical reasons’.

In EPNE 1 68 Smith states that meaning (4) could only have been used to replace or scandinavianise pre-existing settlement-names in England if the element had acquired the

²¹ Nationality terms are somewhat anachronistic in an early medieval context, but here ‘Danish’ can be taken to denote people from a geographical area that roughly corresponds to modern Denmark who spoke dialects of Old East Norse (and ‘Norwegians’ as people from a geographical area that corresponds to modern Norway who spoke dialects of Old West Norse, etc.).

sense ‘a village’ by the time of the Viking Age as it had in Denmark. Smith does, however, state that ‘geographical extension’ of ON *bý(r)* had occurred in Scandinavia by the Viking Age and that ‘since it was used by Danes and Norwegians alike it cannot therefore be used as a discriminating test of race in English [place-names]’ (see EPNE 1 70). The use of the term ‘race’ is anachronistic (see Footnote 21), but Smith’s statement can be adapted to say that he did not consider it to be a diagnostic feature of either the Old East Norse or Old West Norse toponymicons in English place-names.

The idea that ON *bý(r)* in English place-names is Danish in character has been continued in place-name scholarship, however, particularly by Fellows-Jensen (see Section 1.2.4., above, for her Danish migration theory). Fellows-Jensen discusses the origins of the element in her regional studies of Scandinavian place-names in Yorkshire (SSNY (1972)), the East Midlands (SSNEM (1978)), and the north-west (SSNNW (1985)). In SSNY 6, she notes that it is generally accepted that ‘village names in *-bý*’ were given by Danish settlers, but that the ‘village’ sense of the element had spread into Norway by the Viking Age. She states that none of the *bý(r)*-names in Yorkshire with a ‘demonstrably [West Scandinavian]’ specific element referred to settlements that can be shown to have been smaller than those in ‘demonstrably Danish areas’ (i.e. a Norwegian ‘single farmstead’ usage is not diagnostically identifiable at any of the places in Yorkshire that bear *bý(r)*-names).

In SSNEM 10-11, Fellows-Jensen again discusses the Danish and Norwegian uses of ON *bý(r)* and states that whatever its original significance the element must have developed the sense ‘a village’ by the time of Scandinavian settlement in England (see also EPNE 1 68 for this view). She further states that it was a ‘Danish army’ which established itself in the East Midlands territory of The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw; that it has been assumed the majority of the settlers in the area were Danish; and that ‘[t]he onomastic evidence tends to support this view’, including the prevalence of Normanton-names in the East Midlands that

may contain as their specific elements OE *norðman*/ON *norðmaðr* ‘a north-man’ in the sense ‘a Norwegian’ as a distinguishing characteristic of the settlements’ inhabitants (see SSNEM 261).²²

Fellows-Jensen is less certain in SSNNW 10-11, particularly with regards to the north-west of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain, noting that in England Old Norse *bý(r)* ‘would seem to have been used of every conceivable kind of settlement’. However, she later states that ‘[t]here might be some reason for looking upon the occurrence of... [*bý(r)*] as an indication of Danish influence’ because the element is comparatively rare in areas known to have been colonised by Norwegians, such as Iceland and the Scottish Isles. She states that it seems likely the *bý(r)*-names in the north-west ‘ultimately reflect influence from the Danelaw’, i.e. the areas of eastern/north-eastern England she takes to have been dominated by Danish settlers (see SSNNW 310). Fellows-Jensen’s belief that ON *bý(r)* in its Anglo-Scandinavian context reflects the presence and/or influence of Danes has persisted throughout her scholarship into the twenty-first century (see Fellows-Jensen 2013).

Such is the perceived ‘Danishness’ of Old Norse *bý(r)* in English place-name scholarship that in VEPN 2 104 – published in 2000 in a series that aims to replace Smith’s (1956) EPNE volumes – Old Danish *bý* is supplied as the only headform for the element in English place-names and glossed as ‘settlement’.²³ Parsons and Styles justify this editorial decision in VEPN 2 105 on two grounds: 1) Old West Norse *bý(r)* and its side-form *bær* would give Middle English forms in *-be* rather than *-bi/-by* and there are no ‘convincing signs of this’ (see also SSNNW 316); and 2) ‘the general historical grounds’ that the element is

²² This is complicated by the fact that OE *norðman* could mean ‘a Scandinavian’ in a general sense, because all Scandinavian men are ‘north-men’ from an English perspective, and that the OE/ON personal name *Norðman* is well-attested in independent use in England (see ethnonyms case-study below).

²³ In EPNE 1 66 Smith gives the headforms *bý*, *bý(r)*, and *bær*, but he notes that there are no certain examples of the side-form *bær* in English place-names.

most common in areas of England held to have been settled by Danes rather than Norwegians. They note Fellows-Jensen's argument that the distribution patterns of *bý(r)*-names in the 'Norwegian' north-west are likely to represent the presence and influence of Danes in the area; and state, as Smith and Fellows-Jensen do, that Old Danish *bý* is commonly applied to nucleated settlements in Denmark and England, whereas in Norway Old Norwegian *býr* tends to have been used for single farms and areas of dispersed settlement. Parsons and Styles acknowledge, however, that 'these generalities mask a range of uses in all three areas', i.e. Denmark, England, and Norway.

Parsons and Styles note that a significant amount of work has been done to try and establish what kinds of settlements are represented by the '*bý*-names' in England, particularly by Cameron (1965) and Fellows-Jensen in SSNY, SSNEM, and SSNNW (see VEPN 2 105-06). They state it is not appropriate to discuss the question in a place-name elements glossary because it is tied to the larger question of the nature of Scandinavian settlement in England, but summarise the views of Cameron that East Midlands *bý(r)*-names commonly represent settlements on 'second best' land and tend to represent colonisation by Danish farmers who followed the victorious Viking Army; and those of Fellows-Jensen that there is a distinction between Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names with personal name specific elements and *bý(r)*-names with common noun specific elements – in her view the former represent old estates broken up by Scandinavian settlers in the tenth century and the latter represent earlier formations, with those containing Old English elements as their specifics likely to reflect English villages taken over and partially re-named by Scandinavians.

The Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in north-western England and south-western Scotland are, however, challenging to attribute to Danish settlement. The eastern seaboard of England (and perhaps south-eastern Scotland) is a natural landing-place for Scandinavian settlers from what is now Denmark, but the western seabords of England and Scotland are

not. Nevertheless, as discussed above, Fellows-Jensen has attributed the *bý(r)*-names in north-western England/south-western Scotland to Danish influence (see, for example, SSNNW 310; Fellows-Jensen 1989-90: 42). She states that Scandinavian place-names in Galloway, Dumfriesshire, and Cumbria bear little resemblance to those formed by ‘Norwegian settlers’ in the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland, and that because of this a Danish movement to the area from eastern/north-eastern England is to be favoured over a Norwegian movement from the Irish Sea region to explain their origins (see Fellows-Jensen 1991: 85). The problems with Fellows-Jensen’s Danish movement theory are discussed above, as is the evidence for tenth-century (Gaelic-)Scandinavian settlement in north-western England and south-western Scotland, and it is not accepted here (see Section 1.2.4.). It is preferable to suggest that various groups of Old Norse-speakers settled in that region of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain and contributed to the use of ON *bý(r)* as a settlement-term.

There are probably many instances among Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names of formations that were originally coined by individuals who could be identified as, in a sense, Danish or Norwegian. However, it is held here that the Danish-Norwegian debate is limiting, and that it focuses too much on mainland Scandinavian use of ON *bý(r)* and not enough on Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. The socio-ethnic milieu of early medieval Britain may have been considerably more varied than that of medieval Scandinavia, and the types of settlements in the two areas were different. These conditions would have affected the use of ON *bý(r)* as a settlement-term in Britain, even by peoples for whom it already formed part of their toponymicons, which allows for the different forms of *bý(r)*-names in the Scottish Isles to not count against the use of the element by Gaelic-Scandinavians in mainland Britain.

Within a generation of Scandinavian settlements in Britain there were individuals who might best be labelled ‘Anglo-Scandinavian’ rather than ‘Danish’, ‘Norwegian’, or ‘Gaelic-Scandinavian’ because they were born in Britain and/or were of mixed heritage. Some hybrid

names – for example the OE specific element + *bý(r)* constructions taken by Fellows-Jensen to represent partial re-naming of Old English place-names by Scandinavian-speakers (see above) – may well have been formed by Anglo-Scandinavian individuals who spoke hybrid dialects. Alternatively, some may represent the use of ON *bý(r)* by ‘English’ or ‘British’ peoples who lived in parts of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain where the element became a dominant settlement-term. The Danish-Norwegian debate does not satisfactorily engage with these possibilities. There are a number of *bý(r)*-names that contain ethnonyms as their specific elements, which suggests that the parts of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain where they occur were even more linguistically mixed than has been discussed so far. These names will be examined below in a short case-study.

1.3.2.1. Case-study: Ethnonymic Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

There is evidence among Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names for the settlements of people that could be labelled Norwegians in areas held to have been settled by Danes, and vice versa.

There is also evidence for the settlements of other socio-ethnic groups in areas where ON *bý(r)* was used as a settlement-term. Up to forty-four *bý(r)*-names, 5.5% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus constructed for this thesis, possibly contain ethnonyms as their specific elements. They comprise six Birkby-/Bretby-names, which may contain OE *Brettas*/ON *Bretar* ‘Britons’; eight Danby-/Denby-names, which may contain OE *Dene* (pl.)/ON *Danir* ‘Danes’; Ferrensby YOR, which may contain ON *Færeyingr* ‘Faroe Islander’; Frankby CHE, which may contain OE *Frančan*/ON *Frankar* ‘Franks’; five Ingleby-names, which contain OE *Engle* (pl.)/ON *Englar* ‘Angle’; six Irby-names, which may contain the plural of ON *Íri* ‘Irishman’; eight Normanby-names, which may contain the plural of OE *Norðman*/ON *Norðmaðr* ‘north-men, Norwegians’; two Saxby-names, which may contain OE *Seaxe*/ON

Saksar ‘Saxons’; and *Scotby CUM*, which contains OE *Scottas*/ON *Skottar* ‘Scots’. The map below illustrates the distribution of these 44 *bý(r)*-names.

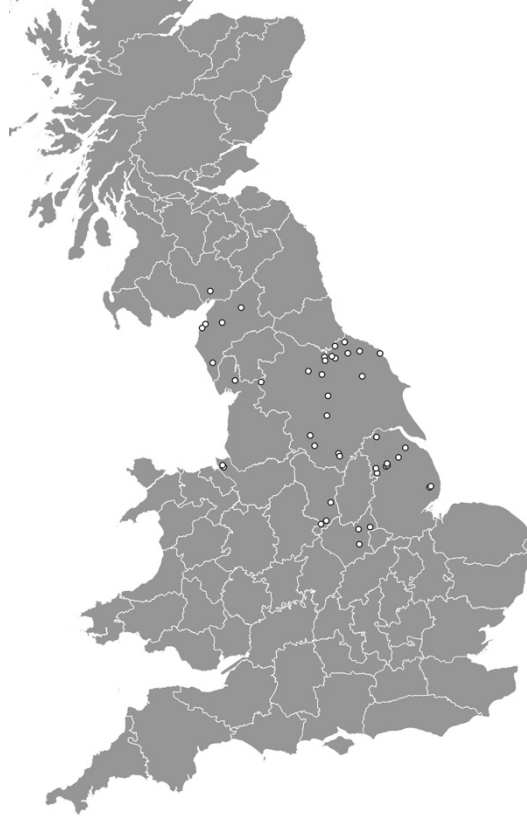


Figure 1.3: distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names that possibly contain ethnonyms as their specific elements

The 44 *bý(r)*-names that possibly contain ethnonyms as their specific elements are distributed widely across Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. It is ‘possible’ that they all contain ethnonyms because for many of them their specifics could, formally, reflect other elements. The Denby-names with early forms in *Dene-* could instead reflect OE *denu* ‘a valley’, and Irby-names may contain a personal name derived from ON *Íri* ‘Irishman’ or an OE personal name (see Carroll 2020: 94-95, 110). Normanby-names could contain the personal name OE/ON *Norðman(n)*, which is well-attested in early medieval England, and the Saxby-names could

contain the personal name ON *Saxi* (see Baker and Carroll 2020: 121-23; PNLei 2 135). Ferrensby YOR is somewhat uncertain – in PNWRY 5 92 Smith takes the specific element to be the ethnonym or an OE **Fear(n)ing* ‘a man from adjacent Farnham [YOR]’ (see also CDEPN 229, where Watts accepts the ethnonym). Frankby CHE may contain a personal name derived from the ethnonym OE *Franca*/ON *Frankar*. In PNChe 4 287 Dodgson rejects the personal name, stating that it would be ‘remarkable’ in a ‘Norse-Irish’ district. However, the name appears on a c. 1000 runic inscription on the Isle of Man (see Barnes 2019: 137-38), which suggests its appearance in Cheshire would not at all be remarkable. A ‘Frenchman’ is recorded living in the vicinity of Frankby CHE in Domesday Book (see CDEPN 240; SSNNW 30-31), but the specific element of Frankby CHE remains uncertain.

It seems preferable to focus on the possible ethnonymic *bý(r)*-names that recur because their recurrence has been taken to favour the ethnonyms over alternative specific elements, and it is very likely that at least some of them contain ethnonyms. The sites of the eight Danby-/Denby-names do not particularly support a suggestion they represent a recurrent hybrid *bý(r)*-name compound formed with the OE valley-term, which at any rate would not apply to those with early forms in *Dane-*; and the eight Anglo-Scandinavian Dalby-names that contain ON *dalr*/OE *dæl* as their specific elements offer a more reliable guide to ‘valley *bý(r)*’ constructions (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4.2.). Historical forms for the eight Normanby-names, in general, favour their specific elements as the genitive plural ON/OE **norðmanna-* ‘of the north-men’ (see Carroll 2020: 108-09). Only the earliest attestation *Normanesbi* 1086 for Normanby le Wold LIN, with its genitive *-(e)s-*, explicitly favours the ON/OE personal name. While personal names are possible as specific elements of some Irby-names, their recurrence points to the ethnonym.

The Saxby-names may be less secure because there are only two. In PNLei 2 135 Cox prefers the ethnonym to the personal name for Saxby LEI because of the forms *Saxenebi*

1175, 1198, but the Lincolnshire name is less certain (see CDEPN 529; SSNEM 66).

Fellows-Jensen states that if they contain the ethnonym then ‘Danes’ in early medieval England must have used two national terms for Anglo-Saxons synonymously (i.e. along with ON *Englar* ‘Angle’) (see SSNEM 66). However, Baker and Carroll (2020: 149) suggest that the term OE *Seaxan*/ON *Saksar* may have referred instead to Continental Saxons, not Anglo-Saxons (i.e. ‘English’ Saxons).

With the caveats for possible ethnonymic *bý(r)*-names established, discussion can turn to the evidence they offer for a socio-ethnic/sociolinguistic milieu in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain and the use of ON *bý(r)* as a settlement-term by a mixed population. Some of the possible ethnonymic *bý(r)*-names tally with commonly-held beliefs. Six of the eight Danby-/Denby-names are located in Yorkshire, where a stronger ‘Norwegian’ presence than in the East Midlands has been suggested (see EPNE 1 70), and half of the Normanby-names are located in Lincolnshire, a county held to have been settled predominantly by Danes (see above). Half of the Birkby-/Bretby-names and Irby-names are located in Cheshire, Cumberland, Lancashire and Yorkshire. The Birkby-/Bretby-names probably indicate surviving enclaves of Britons and, notably, Birkby LAN is located in Cartmel LAN which the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* states was granted to St Cuthbert *et omnes Britannos cum eo* ‘and all the Britons with him’ (see SSNNW 16-17, 26). Peoples identified as ‘Irish’ in some manner are to be expected in the Irish Sea region. The Ingleby-names, except for Ingleby DER, occur in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire where place-name evidence suggests Scandinavian settlement was densest. Settlements of ‘Angles’ (i.e. ‘English’ people) may have been notable in some areas.

It has traditionally been held in English place-name scholarship that settlement-names were coined by individuals from neighbouring settlements, and that ethnonyms denote the recognition by neighbours of minority groups. So, for example, a Normanby-name in

Lincolnshire was coined by a dominant Danish contingent in the area. Hough (2007: 109, 114-15) states that this explanation may be accurate in many instances, but she alternatively suggests that ethnonymic place-names may have been coined by the inhabitants themselves as an ‘affirmation of identity’ and a claim of rights to the land. This could explain why some of the ethnonymic *bý(r)*-names do not correlate with general patterns. There are, for example, Irby-names in Lincolnshire. Denaby YOR may be an instance of outsiders denoting the inhabitants of a settlement. Its earliest forms, e.g. *Degene-*, *Denegebi* 1086, point specifically to the diagnostically Old English genitive plural *Deniga* ‘of the Danes’ as its specific element and offer compelling evidence for the use of ON *bý(r)* by speakers of an Old English dialect in early medieval Yorkshire (see CDEPN 183; PNWRY 1 122).

The Firsby-/Frisby-names (and the Saxby-names, if they denote Continental Saxons) are not attached to any known settlements of Frisians (or Continental Saxons), but they suggest a reasonable Continental Germanic presence in the East Midlands. Fellows-Jensen states that the Firsby-/Frisby-names probably denote the presence of Frisians who took part in the ‘Viking invasions’ (see SSNEM 46); and, similarly, it has been suggested that the Birkby-/Bretby-names in Derbyshire and Yorkshire may attest to the presence of ‘Britons’ who accompanied Scandinavian settlers in their movements east from the Irish Sea region (see PNDer 3 639; PNWRY 4 103). That the *micel here* was comprised of a more socio-ethnically mixed group than previously thought has been suggested in recent scholarship (see Hadley and Richards 2021: 58). However, a militaristic explanation is perhaps not necessary – these *bý(r)*-names may simply attest to migrations of peoples who belonged to these socio-ethnic groups.

The possible ethnonymic Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names point to a mixed population in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain being recognised by individuals of varied backgrounds who use ON *bý(r)* as part of their toponymicons. We can speculate about how accurate some of

the denotations were. For example, were the ‘Danes’ of Denby DER from Denmark, or Anglo-Scandinavians whose speech and customs seemed ‘Danish’ to others? Were the ‘Irishmen’ of the Irby-names from Ireland, or were they Scandinavians from the Irish Sea region who seemed ‘Irish’ from an Anglo-Scandinavian perspective? Regardless, ethnonymic *bý(r)*-names attest to a mixed use of ON *bý(r)* in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain.

That Denaby YOR appears to preserve a diagnostic Old English grammatical inflection points to English-speakers in the region using ON *bý(r)* as part of their toponymicon. This evidence invites us to re-assess the interpretation of hybrid Old English + *bý(r)* constructions as partially re-named Old English place-names (see above), at least in areas such as Lincolnshire and Yorkshire where Scandinavian settlement is held to have been dense and ON *bý(r)* probably became a dominant settlement-term in the early medieval period. They may too suggest the presence of English-speakers who used ON *bý(r)* as part of their toponymicons, or they may belong to a period where Anglo-Scandinavian dialects emerged following the initial periods of Scandinavian settlement and integration. It is possible that individuals in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain recognised as belonging to other socio-ethnic groups in *bý(r)*-names, e.g. Britons and Frisians, also used ON *bý(r)* to form place-names. The discussion below of ON *bý(r)* in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain will conclude below, with this case-study in mind.

1.3.3. Summary

The possible ethnonymic *bý(r)*-names point to a socio-ethnic/sociolinguistic milieu in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain that expanded well beyond peoples of ‘Danish’ and ‘Norwegian’ origins, and support the view held here that the Danish-Norwegian debate on the use of ON *bý(r)* in Britain is limiting. The debate is useful for establishing what reflexes of the element

were brought to Britain initially, but less useful for its continued use in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. That ON *bý(r)* was adapted in its use in Britain is accepted, even by Fellows-Jensen in her Danish model – she notes in SSNNW 10-11, after all, that it ‘would seem to have been used of every conceivable kind of settlement’ (see above). It seems likely, in view of the discussions above of Scandinavian settlement in north-western England/south-western Scotland and ethnonymic *bý(r)*-names, that multiple reflexes of ON *bý(r)* converged in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain into a general settlement-term which assimilated into a regular form.

In this thesis, then, it is not considered appropriate to use the ODan reflex *bȳ* as the headform for the element in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. It could be argued that it is appropriate to use an Anglo-Scandinavian reflex, perhaps A-Sc **by*, as a headform.²⁴ However, such a reflex may not encompass Gaelic-Scandinavian use of the element in north-western Anglo-Scandinavian Britain; and it is uncertain, on a name-by-name basis in such a large corpus, whether a ‘Danish’, ‘Norwegian’, or ‘Anglo-Scandinavian’ reflex of ON *bý(r)* was originally used. Because of this, the headform ON *bý(r)* will be used throughout this thesis to encompass all of the reflexes that probably contributed to its use in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain as a wide-ranging, general settlement-term.

²⁴ There is precedent for this. Coates (2006) proposes a series of Anglo-Scandinavian reflexes for various Old Norse elements which better suit the written evidence from England, but his focus is on Old Norse (‘codified’, as such, in later medieval Iceland) as linguistically anachronistic for the Viking Age period.

1.4. Previous Large-Scale Studies of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names and Scope of the Thesis

Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names have been the focus of much attention by previous scholars because it is a diagnostically Old Norse element among the place-names of Britain (see Footnote 19), and *bý(r)*-names are a primary form of historical evidence for Scandinavian settlement in Britain. They are discussed in every place-name volume that covers areas of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain where they appear, including the 51 texts that provided data sources for this thesis (see Chapter Two, Section 2.2.1.), and others that cover areas where they might be expected to appear. Numerous academic articles and book sections, many of which are cited above and throughout this thesis, discuss *bý(r)*-names to varying degrees; and *bý(r)*-names feature, either directly or indirectly, as part of the wider corpus of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names, in nearly all discussions of Scandinavian settlement in Britain. Abrams and Parsons (2004) and Townend (2013) offer thorough literature reviews for much of this material.

The focus in this section will be on the previous large-scale analyses of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names which provide context for the large-scale analysis of this thesis. Section 1.4.1. discusses these previous large-scale studies, and Section 1.4.2. discusses the scope of this thesis in the contexts of these previous studies and the historical linguistic circumstances of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain discussed above.

1.4.1. Previous Large-Scale Studies of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

There have been four regional studies of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that can be classified as ‘large-scale’: Cameron (1965) and Fellows-Jensen’s SSNY, SSNEM, and

SSNNW. SSNNW is the only one of these regional studies to feature Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in Scotland because it covers Dumfriesshire and Galloway. These studies place significant emphasis on Anglo-Scandinavian place-names as evidence for Scandinavian settlement because questions related to this topic were heavily debated in the second half of the twentieth century (see Section 1.2.2.).

Cameron (1965) assesses 303 *bý(r)*-names in the first of three studies of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in the East Midlands that also assess OE *þrop*/ON *þorp*-names and OE *tūn*/ON *tún*-names (see Cameron 1970; Cameron 1971). He was pioneering in his use of drift geology to analyse the settlements that bear these names, and concluded that *bý(r)*-names are generally situated on poorer sites than OE *tūn*/ON *tún*-names but generally better sites than OE *þrop*/ON *þorp*-names. Cameron (1965) also notably suggested that secondary waves of Scandinavian settlers who followed the *micel here* to England in the decades following the mid ninth century in order to account for the significant numbers of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names (see Section 1.2.2.).

Fellows-Jensen's regional studies SSNY, SSNEM, and SSNNW collectively assess a total of 694 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names: 210 Yorkshire *bý(r)*-names (see SSNY 9), 333 *bý(r)*-names in the East Midlands (see SSNEM 15), and 151 *bý(r)*-names in the north-west of England and south-west of Scotland (see SSNNW 13). With some variation volume-to-volume, she analyses the specific elements of the *bý(r)*-names; their distribution; their evidence for the 'nationality' of Scandinavian settlers; and their archaeological, administrative, and documentary conditions as evidence for the age of the Scandinavian settlements, their significance, and the types of settlements they refer to. Fellows-Jensen's analyses of *bý(r)*-names in her regional studies are parts of wider analyses of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in the areas including OE *þrop*/ON *þorp*-names, OE *tūn*/ON *tún*-names, and possible scandinavianised place-names.

Fellows-Jensen, as noted above (see also VEPN 2 106), distinguishes between *by(r)*-names with ON/OE ‘appellatives’ (i.e. common nouns), ON personal names, and OE personal names as their specific elements as belonging to different strata of naming. She takes *by(r)*-names with common noun specifics to represent the oldest *by(r)*-name formations, those with ON personal name specifics to represent tenth-century breaking up of Anglo-Saxon estates and re-distribution of land, and those with OE personal name specifics to represent a later Anglo-Scandinavian use of ON *by(r)*. It is a notable feature of the etymologies Fellows-Jensen provides for *by(r)*-names in her regional studies that she often favours common nouns over personal names where there is uncertainty, i.e. formal overlap between possible specific elements. This is in contrast to many of the scholars who have produced or contributed to SEPN volumes that cover the same *by(r)*-names (see Chapter Two, Section 2.2.1.).

Abrams and Parsons (2004), a historian and a place-name scholar, do not offer a large-scale analysis of *by(r)*-names in the same sense as Cameron’s and Fellows-Jensen’s regional studies. However, they make a significant re-assessment of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names as historical evidence for Scandinavian settlement in Britain, with a focus on *by(r)*-names in eastern/north-eastern England. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 392-403) re-assess the *by(r)*-names evidence in light of wider historical evidence, Cameron’s and Fellows-Jensen regional studies, and studies by other scholars; and they present a ‘bottom line’ interpretation of the *by(r)*-names in eastern/north-eastern England.

Abrams and Parsons (2004: 403-04) bottom line comprises five main points: 1) *by(r)*-names were in general coined by Old Norse-speakers; 2) there were ‘sizeable communities’ of Old Norse-speakers in parts of eastern England; 3) the *by(r)*-names imply a ‘significant role’ in land-holding for Old Norse-speakers in parts of eastern England; 4) many of those land-holdings were ‘relatively marginal or low in status’; and 5) ‘there is some reason to

suspect' that most *bý(r)*-names in eastern/north-eastern England were coined before the eleventh century. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 403) state that any historical assessment of Scandinavian settlement in England should accept the five main points or produce new arguments to counter them, which have not emerged. Their 'bottom line' is accepted here for the *bý(r)*-names in eastern/north-eastern England but, as discussed above, it is difficult to apply wholesale to the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus constructed for this thesis, which also covers north-west England and southern Scotland. The *bý(r)*-names in eastern/north-eastern England do, however, comprise the majority of the corpus (see Footnote 4).

1.4.2. Scope of the Thesis

It is evident from the discussions above that this thesis contributes to a significant topic of historical research both on Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specifically and Scandinavian settlement in Britain generally. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, it is not the aim of this thesis to focus on the significant questions surrounding the nature of Scandinavian settlement in early medieval Britain, such as the total numbers of settlers and their socio-ethnic origins. Rather, the aim of the thesis is to offer new linguistic analyses of these place-names, which does secondarily incorporate some of these historical questions.

Nevertheless, a general historical framework for the introduction of ON *bý(r)* to Britain and the creation of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names has emerged from the discussions above. It seems likely that ON *bý(r)* was introduced to the different parts of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain early by several distinct groups of Old Norse-speakers, and that many Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names were coined during early phases of Scandinavian settlement. The case-study of possible ethnonymic *bý(r)*-names above highlights that Anglo-

Scandinavian Britain was a socio-ethnically mixed society; that peoples of various origins lived in areas where ON *bý(r)* was a common settlement-term in the early medieval period; and that the element was probably available in the toponymicons of peoples who spoke languages other than Old Norse dialects. It seems likely that in this sociolinguistic milieu various reflexes of ON *bý(r)* converged and developed its flexible application as a general settlement-term, which is unique in the Old Norse-speaking world to Anglo-Scandinavian Britain.

The linguistic analyses in this thesis are underpinned by a corpus of 806 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. This corpus is 16.1% larger than the collective 694 *bý(r)*-names Fellows-Jensen etymologises in her regional studies. The East Midlands *bý(r)*-names figure in the corpus constructed for this thesis is 336 *bý(r)*-names, three greater than Cameron (1965) and Fellows-Jensen in SSNEM; and the Yorkshire *bý(r)*-names figure in the corpus is 248, 18.1% larger than Fellows-Jensen's in SSNY. These differences are because of methodological variation in data-collection processes (see Chapter Two). The figure in the corpus for the north-western counties Fellows-Jensen assesses in SSNNW matches hers. However, a further 61 *bý(r)*-names from areas of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain that Cameron's and Fellows-Jensen's regional studies do not cover are included in the corpus constructed for this thesis.

Four further chapters comprise the rest of this thesis. Chapter Two details the methodological processes that have been followed to construct the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus for this thesis and analyse it, including the data sources for the corpus and the software used for analysis. Chapter Three is a large-scale statistical analysis of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus formed of three primary sub-analyses: their geographical distribution, their chronological strata, and a linguistic analysis of some of their specific elements. Chapter Four is a full-length case-study of 37 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-

names whose historical forms suggest interchange between ON *bý(r)* and other generic elements. Chapter Five is a summary conclusion of the analyses in this thesis and the possibilities for future research. The appendix to this thesis contains the total Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus, and provides their modern forms, counties, and earliest attestations.

Chapter Two: Methodology – Construction and Analysis of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names Corpus

2.1. Introduction

This chapter details the methodological approaches taken in this thesis to collect material for Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names (i.e. their historical forms and other geographical, chronological, and linguistic data), collate the material as a corpus in a place-names database, and use the database for large-scale analysis of the *bý(r)*-names corpus. The data collection for this thesis was a lengthy process that resulted in a corpus of 806 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, over 3300 historical forms for those *bý(r)*-names, and much other data including their probable and/or possible specific elements and the geographical locations of the land-units to which they are or were attached. This chapter is split into two primary sections: 1) the methodological approaches taken for construction of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus (Section 2.2.); and 2) the methodological approaches taken for analysis of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus (Section 2.3.). First, however, it is necessary to establish what criteria place-names had to meet to be included in the *bý(r)*-names corpus (see below).

2.1.1. The Parameters of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names Corpus

The corpus constructed for this thesis contains the vast majority of *bý(r)*-names that are located in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain, as it is defined in this thesis, including those whose exact locations in that historical linguistic area are now lost. However, it does not include all possible *bý(r)*-names in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain because a place-name has had to meet

four basic criteria to be included in the corpus. The criteria ensure a degree of uniformity in the corpus that makes the *bý(r)*-names it contains appropriate for large-scale analysis as constructions comparable in their historical linguistic context. The criteria are:

1. The place-name (i.e. the land-unit which bears/bore the name) is located in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain.
2. The place-name has at least one historical form that relatively securely contains ON *bý(r)* as its generic element.
3. The historical *bý(r)*-form is attested by AD 1500.
4. The place-name, if in England, is not treated as a ‘field-name’ in a SEPN volume.

The geographical area encompassed by Anglo-Scandinavian Britain, as understood in this thesis, is explained in Chapter One (see Section 1.2.1.). Criterion (1) establishes the geographical limitation of the *bý(r)*-names corpus to this area. The *bý(r)*-names in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain vary in many ways, but they are comparable as constructions formed in areas of predominantly Old Norse-Old English contact. The *bý(r)*-names in other parts of the British Isles (namely The Isle of Man, The Northern Isles, northern mainland Scotland, and Wales) belong to different historical linguistic contexts, and are distinct from Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names.

That a place-name requires a historical *bý(r)*-form to have been included in the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names seems remarkably obvious, but there are some complications that underlie criterion (2). There are 37 *bý(r)*-names in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus constructed for this thesis that have historical forms with a generic element other than ON *bý(r)*; and in four instances – Alston CUM, Coniston YOR, Leaston ELO, and Thringstone LEI – their earliest attestations are their only *bý(r)*-forms. These *bý(r)*-names, and the 33

others, are analysed in the generic elements interchange case-study of this thesis (see Chapter Four). It is notable, from a methodological perspective, that in her regional study of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in the East Midlands Fellows-Jensen excludes five *bý(r)*-names (Naseby NTH, Quenby LEI, Rugby WAR, Shoby LEI, and Thornby NTH) from her analysis because she accepts that their Domesday Book OE *byrig*-forms reflect their original generic elements (see SSNEM 13-14). Fellows-Jensen does not count them as *bý(r)*-names. In this thesis, any place-name that appears to have a genuine *bý(r)*-form at any stage before and up to 1500 has been included in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, regardless of whether the *bý(r)*-form may represent the original generic element of the name or some form of substitution.

The historical *bý(r)*-form of a place-name must be ‘genuine’ to have been included in the corpus: this reflects the fact that some place-name have historical forms which resemble *bý(r)*-forms but are probably not. For example, Wilby NOR is first attested in Domesday Book as *Wilebey*, *-by* 1086. The form with *-by* reflects ON *bý(r)* and the form with *-bey* is similar to the recurrent Domesday Book forms in *-bei* for Norfolk *bý(r)*-names (see Chapter Three, Section 3.3.1.). However, both Domesday Book forms could represent OE *bēg* ‘a ring, circle’, and subsequent forms for Wilby NOR (e.g. *Wilebegh*, *-b(e)ye*, *-bey(ghe)* 1254-1346) strongly suggest that it is an original OE **welīg-bēg* ‘circle of willow-trees’ formation (see CDEPN 680).²⁵

There are other English place-names with historical forms that resemble *bý(r)*-forms. Veraby DEV is first attested as *Farebi* 1238 and is etymologised by PNDev 2 384 as ‘fair (river) bend’, again with OE *bēg*; and Whalesbeech Farm SSX is first attested as *Waslebie* 1086 but its later forms such as *Walesbech* 1265, *Walesbergh* 1296 indicate that the specific

²⁵ It has been held that other Wilby-/Willoughby names which are included in the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus may represent scandinavianisations of this Old English compound. This theory, and the exclusion of Wilby SUF for the same reason as Wilby NOR, is discussed in the chronological analysis of the *bý(r)*-names corpus in this thesis (see Chapter Three, Section 3.3.1.).

element is OE *beorg* ‘a hill’ (see PNSsx 2 330). Two OE *byrig*-names located in counties where Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names occur, Hawksbury WAR and Prestbury CHE, have sixteenth-century forms that resemble ON *bý(r)*: *Hakesby* 1547 and *Presby* 1536 (see PNWar 189; PNChe 1 212). These forms, however, reflect a common scribal abbreviation through omission of *-er-* and not genuine *bý(r)*-forms (see Hector 1958: 30; Marshall 2004: 19 for scribal abbreviation).

The inclusion and exclusion of some place-names that have historical forms which resemble ON *bý(r)* is, unavoidably, somewhat subjective. For Veraby DEV and Whalesbeech Farm SSX, their locations well outside the areas of Scandinavian settlement in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain allow for ON *bý(r)* to be dismissed as their original generic elements, and the weight of forms for Whalesbeech Farm SSX strongly support OE *beorg* as its generic element. This is also the case for OE *byrig* as the original generic element of Hawksbury WAR and Prestbury CHE, whose attestations that resemble *bý(r)*-forms are at any rate too late to be included in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus here (see discussion of Criterion (3) below). However, that some place-names included in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus represent scandinavianisations of place-names formed with the elements OE *bēg* and OE *byrig* cannot be ruled out. Possible examples of scandinavianised OE *byrig*-names, with supporting historical forms, are discussed in Chapter Four.

Place-names such as Wilby NOR (and Wilby SUF) present more difficult methodological decisions. It is possible that their Domesday Book forms reflect original *bý(r)*-formations later interpreted as OE **welig-bēg* formations, or at least that a scribe/copyist understood them as *bý(r)*-names in counties where they occur. Whether the Domesday Book *Trangesbi* 1086 form for Thringstone LEI (a place-name included in the corpus that otherwise contains OE *tūn*/ON *tún* as its generic element in its historical forms), for example, is more or less of a genuine *bý(r)*-form than that of the two East Anglian Wilby-

names is potentially a matter of debate. Here, the Wilby-names have been excluded from the *bý(r)*-names corpus, but the five East Midlands names Fellows-Jensen excludes from her corpus have been included; these are examples of editorial decision-making that varies from scholar to scholar. However, the decision-making here (and in Fellows-Jensen's SSNEM) has been consistent and is based on careful consideration of geographical location, historical forms, and other contexts.

That a place-name must have a *bý(r)*-form recorded by AD 1500 to have been included in the corpus, as outlined by criterion (3), establishes the chronological limitation of the *bý(r)*-names corpus. This date has been chosen because it is a reasonable cut-off date for the medieval period in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. The 1500 cut-off was established at the earliest data collection stage of this thesis, so it is uncertain how many Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names have been excluded from the corpus because of it. However, 771 *bý(r)*-names, 95.7% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus constructed for this thesis, are first attested by the thirteenth century, which suggests the number is low. The 1500 cut-off will have had its biggest impact in north-western England and southern Scotland, where the earliest attestations of place-names, including *bý(r)*-names, are generally later than eastern/north-eastern England (see Chapter Three, Section 3.3.).

The effect of the 1500 cut-off on data collection for southern Scotland has been noticeable because the total number of *bý(r)*-names in the region is relatively small compared to England. There appear to be nineteen post-1500 instances in the counties covered by this thesis: Albie DMF (*A(u)ldbie* 1631); Appleby WIG (*Apilbie* 1643); Bagby KCB (*Bagby* 1537); Bakbie LNK (*Bakbie* 1668); Blegbie ELO (*Blakby* 1500-99); Bombie in Galloway (*Bombie* 1597); Busbie AYR (*Busbie* 1606); Columbie LNK (*Columbie* 1604); Corsby in Galloway (*Kuersbuy* 1600); Crosbie (West Kilbride) AYR (*Corsbie* 1626); Gillesbie DMF (*Gillisbye* 1512); Gotterbie DMF, which may be associated with a *Godfradby* 1505 form;

Humbie LNK (x2, no early forms); Humbie MLO (*Humby* 1546); *Lamanby* DMF (1505); Mumbie DMF (*Monkeby* 1552); Sorbie AYR (*Sorbie* 1609); and Wyseby DMF (*Wysiby* 1662) (see Grant 2003: 400-09; SSNNW 31-32; Taylor 2004: 139-42, 144; Williamson 1942: 112-14).²⁶ These exclusions are unfortunate, but the 1500 cut-off has been considered important here for ensuring that as many *bý(r)*-names in the corpus as possible represent original formations and/or medieval use of ON *bý(r)* as a place-name forming element. There is a higher chance that post-1500 *bý(r)*-names represent transferred place-names, place-names formed by analogy, or place-names whose original generic elements were later re-analysed as a reflex of ON *bý(r)*.²⁷

SEPN volumes comprise the largest group of data sources for the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus (see below); and, like all glossaries of historical place-names, their material is organised in particular ways. Criterion (4) establishes that no *bý(r)*-names categorised as ‘field-names’ in SEPN volumes have been included in the corpus. This is because the attitude of English place-name scholars towards place-names that can be classified as ‘field-names’ (and other ‘minor names’) has shifted considerably in the nearly a century since SEPN volumes were first published (see Carroll 2013: xiv-xv).²⁸ Field-name

²⁶ Most of these *bý(r)*-names have parallel formations in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus constructed for this thesis. See Williamson (1942: 112-14) for details and analysis of Albie DMF, Gillesbie DMF, Gotterbie DMF, *Lamanby* DMF, Mumbie DMF, and Wyseby DMF. See Grant (2003: 400-09) for details of Appleby WIG (including an erroneous twelfth-century form), Bagby KCB, Bombie in Galloway, and Corsby in Galloway. See Taylor (2004: 139-45) for details and analysis of Bakbie LNK, Blegbie ELO, Busbie AYR, Columbie LNK, Crosbie AYR, Humbie LNK (x2); Humbie MLO, and *bý(r)*-names in other parts of central Scotland not covered by this thesis. See Grant (2005: 129-30, 139) for analysis of Sorbie AYR.

²⁷ Taylor (2004: 140), for example, prefaces his analysis of Columbie LNK (*Columbie* 1604) as containing the Gaelic personal name *Colm* with ‘[i]f this is a genuine *bý*-name...’.

²⁸ In SEPN volumes, ‘minor names’ are place-names borne by land-units within a parish and/or township that do not or no longer hold administrative significance. Examples include the names of estates, farmsteads, and small hamlets. ‘Field-names’ comprise the names of less significant land-units still. They comprise, literally, the names of fields, but also on a volume-by-volume basis the names of other small features such as bridges, parks, and woodlands. Some field-names preserve the names of lost medieval settlements.

coverage varies significantly in SEPN volumes. In PNNRY 324, for example, published in 1928 and the earliest SEPN volume to form a data source for this corpus, Smith states that the field-names collected for The North Riding of Yorkshire survey ‘[are] impossible to deal with exhaustively because they are too numerous and many are without interest’. He provides just eight pages of field-name material, categorised by generic element (see PNNRY 324-31). In the eight Leicestershire SEPN volumes, published between 1998-2011 and the most recent SEPN volumes to form data sources for this corpus, Cox provides large amounts of field-name material, often several pages per parish.

SEPN volumes offer only partial coverage for two English counties in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain – County Durham and Lincolnshire – and there are currently no SEPN volumes for Lancashire and Suffolk. There are also no parallel *Survey of Scottish Place-Names* (SSPN) volumes yet available for any of the Scottish counties covered in this thesis. These counties are currently at a significant disadvantage in the availability of their field-name material compared to those with recent SEPN volumes. Between this and the variable approach to field-name material in SEPN volumes, the inclusion of field-names in the *bý(r)*-names corpus could create a false imbalance in the corpus that better reflects the publication range of SEPN/SSPN volumes than the use of ON *bý(r)* in certain counties. As with criterion (3), the exclusion of field-name material was established at the earliest data collection stage for this thesis, so it is uncertain how many Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that survive as field-names have been omitted because of it. However, ON *bý(r)* was a settlement-term so the number is probably low.

The four criteria establish the basic geographical, linguistic, chronological, and land-unit limitations on the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that have been collected to form the corpus for this thesis. They give a degree of uniformity to the corpus that makes the *bý(r)*-names comparable and suitable for cross-analysis; and they do not seem to have been

particularly limiting. Fellows-Jensen (2013: 83), who has studied Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names more than any other individual, estimated that there are c. 700 *bý(r)*-names in England. A total of 766 English *bý(r)*-names have been collected for the corpus within the four criteria, well in excess of Fellows-Jensen's estimation; and a total of 40 Scottish *bý(r)*-names have been collected for the corpus, to produce a total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus of 806 *bý(r)*-names. This is, to my knowledge, the largest corpus of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names ever compiled.

2.2. Construction of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names Corpus

The Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus for this thesis has been constructed by collecting material (within the four parameters outlined above) from texts published by previous scholars and entering that material into a custom-built place-names database. This section explains the texts that have been used as primary data sources (Section 2.2.1.), the data points that have been collected from those sources (Section 2.2.2.), and the creation of a place-names database for this thesis (Section 2.2.3.).

2.2.1. Data Collection: Sources

The area encompassed by Anglo-Scandinavian Britain, as defined in Chapter One (see Section 1.2.1.), includes 36 counties in England and Scotland. Anglo-Scandinavian place-names occur throughout these areas, but *bý(r)*-names do not occur throughout. They are found in 25, or 69.4%, of the counties in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain.²⁹ The map below illustrates the counties in which *bý(r)*-names occur coloured as solid fill, with the Anglo-Scandinavian counties they do not occur in coloured with hatching.

²⁹ Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names with historical forms that meet the data collection parameters of this thesis have not been found in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northumberland, Renfrewshire, Roxburghshire, Rutland, Selkirkshire, and Staffordshire.

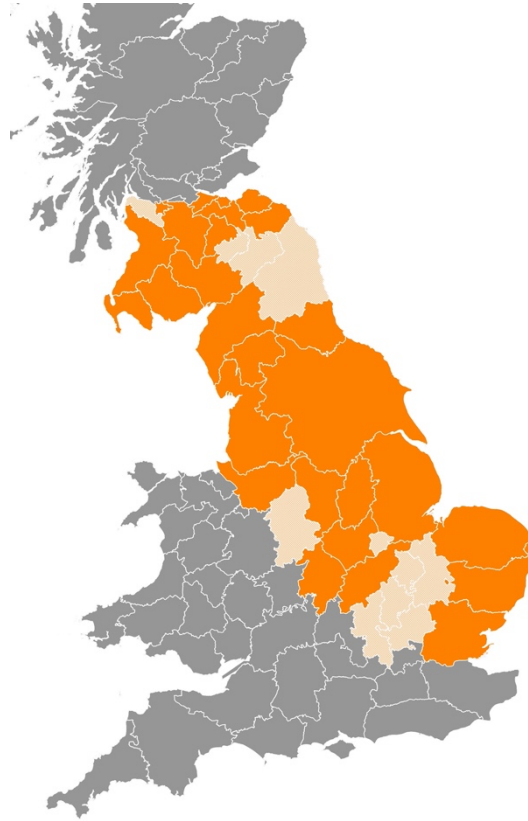


Figure 2.1: counties in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain where bý(r)-names occur

There is at least one scholarly work that covers Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in the 25 counties where bý(r)-names occur. These texts have formed the primary data sources for the bý(r)-names corpus and, with varying degrees of detail, supply the historical forms and probable/possible specific elements of the bý(r)-names. A total of 51 texts produced by previous scholars have provided data for the Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names corpus constructed for this thesis. The table below lists the texts by county.

<u>County</u>	<u>Primary Data Sources</u>
Ayrshire (SCO)	Clancy (2013); Grant (2003)
Berwickshire (SCO)	<i>Berwickshire Place-Name Resource</i> (2023); Grant (2003)

Cheshire (ENG)	PNChe 2, 3, 4 ; SSNNW	
Cumberland (ENG)	PNCum 1, 2 ; SSNNW	
Derbyshire (ENG)	PNDer 2, 3 ; SSNEM	
Dumfriesshire (SCO)	Grant (2003); SSNNW; Williamson (1942)	
County Durham (ENG)	PNDur 1 ; Watts (2002)	
Essex (ENG)	PNEss	
Kirkcudbrightshire (SCO)	Brooke (1992); Grant (2003)	
Lanarkshire (SCO)	Taylor (2004)	
Lancashire (ENG)	CDEPN; SSNNW	
Leicestershire (ENG)	PNLei 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 ; SSNEM	
Lincolnshire (ENG)	PNLin 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 ; SSNEM; Cameron (1998)	
East Lothian (SCO)	Grant (2003); Taylor (2004)	
West Lothian (SCO)	Grant (2003); MacDonald (1941)	
Midlothian (SCO)	Grant (2003); Dixon (1947)	
Norfolk (ENG)	CDEPN; PNNor 2, 3	
Northamptonshire (ENG)	PNNth; SSNEM	
Nottinghamshire (ENG)	PNNot; SSNEM	
Peeblesshire (SCO)	Taylor (2004)	
Suffolk (ENG)	Briggs and Kilpatrick (2016); CDEPN	
Warwickshire (ENG)	PNWar; SSNEM	
Westmorland (ENG)	PNWes 1, 2 ; SSNNW	
Wigtownshire (SCO)	Brooke (1992); Grant (2003)	
	East Riding	PNERy; SSNy

Yorkshire (ENG)	North Riding	PNNRY; SSNY
	West Riding	PNWRY 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; SSNY

*Table 2.1: data sources for the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus*

The 51 texts that have formed primary data sources for the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus comprise: 36 SEPN volumes; five place-names dictionaries (Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016; Cameron 1998; CDEPN; MacDonald 1941; Watts 2002); Fellows-Jensen’s three regional studies (SSNY; SSNEM; SSNNW); three PhD theses (Dixon 1947; Grant 2003; Williamson 1942); three articles/book chapters (Brooke 1992; Clancy 2013; Taylor 2004); and one online resource (*Berwickshire Place-Name Resource* 2023). Where possible, more than one text has been used as a data source per county. This is because, as discussed above, editorial decisions by individual scholars affect the material included in their texts. For example, Fellows-Jensen’s SSNY was published after all of Smith’s Yorkshire SEPN volumes and, as a result, offers updated opinion on the specific elements of Yorkshire *bý(r)*-names. However, Fellows-Jensen only includes *bý(r)*-names first attested in Domesday Book in her Yorkshire study (see SSNY 2), whereas Smith’s SEPN volumes have no such limitation. Because of this, Smith’s SEPN volumes and Fellows-Jensen’s SSNY are both valuable data sources for Yorkshire *bý(r)*-names.

Fellows-Jensen’s regional studies of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in the East Midlands and the north-west (SSNEM and SSNNW) do not have a Domesday Book limitation on their *bý(r)*-names material, not least because the Domesday survey did not cover much of north-west England or any of south-western Scotland. In these studies, Fellows-Jensen’s preference to at least suggest a common noun or adjective as the possible specific element of a *bý(r)*-name over an etymologically related or unrelated personal name is

more pronounced than in SSNY (see Chapter One, Section 1.4.1.). Her opinion on the etymologies of *bý(r)*-names in the East Midlands and north-west often differs from that of the scholars who produced SEPN volumes for the counties she covers. As with Yorkshire, a collation of the material in Fellows-Jensen's SSNEM and SSNNW and corresponding SEPN volumes has provided the data sources for those regions.

Eleven counties in England benefit from at least partial coverage by SEPN volumes and coverage by Fellows-Jensen's regional studies that form data sources for their *bý(r)*-names: Cheshire, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, Westmorland, and Yorkshire. Four counties in England – County Durham, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk – do not. However, County Durham is partially covered by PNDur **1**, and Watts's (2002) dictionary of County Durham place-names provides a data source for *bý(r)*-names in the county not covered by the SEPN volume. Essex has a complete SEPN survey and, at any rate, only contains a single *bý(r)*-name. Norfolk is partially covered by PNNor **1**, **2**, **3** and Watts's (2004) dictionary of English place-names (CDEPN) provides a data source for *bý(r)*-names in areas of the county not covered by the SEPN volumes. Suffolk does not yet have any SEPN volumes. However, Briggs and Kilpatrick's (2016) dictionary of Suffolk place-names provides a data source for the *bý(r)*-names in the county. Ekwall's (1960) and Watts's (2004) dictionaries of English place-names have provided secondary data sources for the English counties.

As discussed above, none of the Scottish counties in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain that contain *bý(r)*-names are yet covered by any SSPN volumes. However, other sources that provide historical forms for and discussion of *bý(r)*-names in the Scottish counties are available. Dumfriesshire is covered by both Williamson's (1942) PhD thesis and Fellows-Jensen's SSNNW, but Fellows-Jensen's data for Dumfriesshire must be used with some caution because her source is problematic (see Edmonds and Taylor 2017: 141). Grant's

(2003: 400-09) PhD thesis includes data for *bý(r)*-names in Ayrshire, Berwickshire, Dumfriesshire (taken from SSNNW), Kirkcudbrightshire, Lothian, Renfrewshire, and Wigtownshire. However, her source for Berwickshire is problematic and the Busby-name she assigns to Renfrewshire in fact belongs to Lanarkshire (see Edmonds and Taylor 2017: 141; Taylor 2004: 140). Taylor (2004: 139-45) provides data for the *bý(r)*-names in Lanarkshire, Peeblesshire, and other counties in central Scotland;³⁰ and Lothian is further covered by Dixon's (1947) PhD thesis on the place-names of Midlothian and MacDonald's (1941) study on the place-names of West Lothian.

Three sources provide more up to date information on some Scottish *bý(r)*-names than the texts listed above. The *Berwickshire Place-Name Resource* (2023), available online, provides more recent information for the Berwickshire *bý(r)*-names in the corpus than Grant's (2003: 400-09) PhD thesis; Brooke (1992: 321) provides an earlier form for Mabie KCB than Grant (2003: 409); and Clancy (2013: 299) discusses Cocklebee AYR, a *bý(r)*-name which has not yet been analysed elsewhere.

2.2.2. Data Collection: Data Points

The data sources listed above contain most of the information that has been collected to construct the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus for this thesis, but this information has been supplemented by some other sources (see below). The data collected for the *bý(r)*-names comprises five primary data points: the administrative details of the land-units which bear or bore them; the geographical locations of the land-units which bear or bore them; their

³⁰ Taylor (2004: 139-45) also provides data for *bý(r)*-names in Angus, Fife, and Perthshire, counties not covered in this thesis.

historical forms; their probable and/or possible specific elements; and their bibliographical references. The sub-sections below detail these data points and how they have been collected.

2.2.2.1. Administrative Details

The administrative details of the *bý(r)*-names relate to the land-units which bear them or once bore them. They comprise the county, hundred, parish, and township/chapelry the land-unit belongs or once belonged to, the administrative status of the land-unit within those divisions, and the modern form of the *bý(r)*-name, as far as these details can be ascertained. It is a relatively straightforward process to collect this material from SEPN county volumes, if a *bý(r)*-name is covered by one, because they are organised by these administrative details. However, not all of these details are available for each *bý(r)*-name because some of the land-units which bore them have had their status and/or location lost in the centuries since their formation.

Each *bý(r)*-name in the corpus has at least been categorised by the county it belongs to. For two lost *bý(r)*-names, *Easby* YOR and *Houcbig* LIN, this is the only administrative detail known about them. They are recorded as settlements in these counties, but no further information is available. All other *bý(r)*-names in the corpus are categorised by at least the parish and/or township their land-units belong or once belonged to. For 42 *bý(r)*-names, 5.2% of the corpus, this administrative detail is the closest geographical information for the one-time location of their land-units (see below).

The administrative status of the land-units which bear Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names has been collected, based on the pre-1974/75 divisions of historical counties in Britain. There are three categories of administrative status: parish names, township/chapelry names, and minor names (i.e. the names of estates, farms, villages/hamlets, etc.). A total of 365 *bý(r)*-

names, 45.3% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, are parish names; 129 *bý(r)*-names, 16.0% of the corpus, are township/chapelry names; and 312 *bý(r)*-names, 38.7% of the corpus, are minor names. All lost land-units that once bore *bý(r)*-names have been categorised as minor names. This information does not feature prominently in the analyses of this thesis, but it is useful for the categorisation of the *bý(r)*-names and as a data point for future analysis. 494 *bý(r)*-names, 61.3% of the corpus, are the names or parishes and townships/chapelries, which illustrate that they were significant settlements in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain.

The vast majority of the headforms for the *bý(r)*-names in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus are modern forms that preserve the generic element as ‘-by’ or, for some Scottish *bý(r)*-names, ‘-bie’. The *bý(r)*-names are referred to by their modern headforms throughout this thesis. However, 23 *bý(r)*-names, 2.9% of corpus, do not have modern forms because their land-units have been lost. These names are referred to by their latest historical form and are marked in this thesis by the use of italics, e.g. *Aschebi* WES and *Roberdesbi* DMF. Five *bý(r)*-names have modern forms that do not match their historical forms because the *bý(r)*-names seem to have been replaced by other place-names. These names are referred to by their modern forms, e.g. Felixkirk YOR, which seems to be at the site of a settlement named *Fridebi* 1086 in Domesday Book (see PNNRY 199).

2.2.2.2. Geographical Locations

The geographical location of each land-unit which bears/bore a *bý(r)*-name has been collected (with the exceptions of *Houchbig* LIN and *Easby* YOR) as a grid reference at a 1:500 scale (e.g. SK 80385 20118 for Freeby LEI).³¹ Some of the data sources used to form the

³¹ It must be remembered that these are the locations of the modern land-units that bear *bý(r)*-names. The exact proximity of a modern land-unit which bears a *bý(r)*-name to the medieval land-unit that was originally given the name is perhaps often uncertain, but it can be assumed

corpus provide grid references, at various scales, for *bý(r)*-names. The SEPN volumes for Cheshire, County Durham, and The West Riding of Yorkshire give grid references for parishes and townships; and Fellows-Jensen provides them for *bý(r)*-names in her regional studies SSNEM and SSNNW (but not SSNY). This information is useful, but it is not available in all of the published sources that cover Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. Because of this, grid references for the land-units that bear/bore a *bý(r)*-name have been individually collected for this thesis.

The grid references for the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in the corpus have been collected using the ‘Coordinate Capture’ tool on the online Digimap Ordnance Survey Collection (2022) (see [https://digimap/edina.ac.uk/os](https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/os)). The parallel Historic Digimap Collection (2022) (see [https://digimap/edina.ac.uk/historic](https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/historic)), which reproduces the Ordnance Survey maps first published 1846-1996, has allowed the locations of some land-units which once bore *bý(r)*-names considered lost by previous scholars to be found. This is because the online Digimap collections allow for the searching of Ordnance Survey material and production of grid references at a pace that was impossible for scholars in the twentieth century.

The grid references have been categorised on an accuracy scale because, as noted above, the exact locations of many land-units that once bore *bý(r)*-names is uncertain. An accuracy rating of ‘1’ is the exact location of a modern land-unit that bears a *bý(r)*-name (i.e. centred on the church of a parish; the church, town hall, or other significant feature of a township/chapelry; or the most significant feature of a minor land-unit). A total of 738 *bý(r)*-names, 91.6% of the corpus, have been located with this degree of accuracy. An accuracy rating of ‘2’ is the estimated location of a land-unit that once bore a *bý(r)*-name (e.g. the

that the majority of modern *bý(r)*-names locations correlate with the originals. It should also be acknowledged that the locations of the land-units have been collected as point data from settlement areas which would have been polygons.

location of a land-unit that seems to have absorbed it; the location of a street that preserves the *bý(r)*-name; etc.). A total of 21 *bý(r)*-names, 2.6% of the corpus, have been located with this degree of accuracy. An accuracy rating of ‘3’ is the location of the parish or township/chapelry that the land-unit which once bore a *bý(r)*-name, now lost, belonged to (using the method described above for accuracy ‘1’). A total of 45 *bý(r)*-names, 5.6% of the corpus, have been located with this degree of accuracy. An accuracy rating of ‘4’ denotes that the location of a land-unit which once bore a *bý(r)*-name is unknown. Only *Houchbig* LIN and *Easby* YOR, discussed above, have been given this rating.

The geographical locations of the land-units that bear/bore Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names collected for this corpus are, then, for the vast majority very accurate. The *bý(r)*-names that have been located only within the parish or township/chapelry their land-units once belonged to (i.e. accuracy rating ‘3’) have a margin of error of around a few square kilometres. However, all of the distribution maps produced for this are at a scale which encompasses the whole of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain (see below). At this scale, the margin of error for accuracy rating ‘3’ is acceptable.

2.2.2.3. Historical Forms

The historical forms of the *bý(r)*-names in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus are the most important data points – they allow for original etymologies to be suggested, which are often much less clear from their modern forms, and attest to when a *bý(r)*-name was first recorded. At least one historical written form has been collected for each *bý(r)*-name in the corpus from the data sources listed above (see Section 2.2.1.). The number of historical forms given for a *bý(r)*-name in the data sources varies quite considerably, based on the availability of forms in the historical record and the editorial practices of previous scholars. In SEPN volumes, for

example, there are in general fewer historical forms given for a place-name in older volumes and more given in recent volumes.

For 86 *bý(r)*-names, 10.7% of corpus, only one historical form is given in the data sources used for this thesis. However, there are several given in the data sources for the vast majority. Here, forms deemed of particular interest have been collected for the corpus. To have collected all of the historical forms available in the data sources would have been too time-consuming, and also unnecessary because those sources are readily available. The historical forms collected for the *bý(r)*-names in the corpus include their earliest forms and forms particularly significant for their proposed etymology and/or development. A total of 3339 historical forms have been collected for the *bý(r)*-names corpus, which accounts for an average of 4.1 historical forms per *bý(r)*-name.

2.2.2.4. Probable/Possible Specific Elements

The data sources used to form the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus give etymologies, certainly or uncertainly, for the *bý(r)*-names. The etymologies of around half the corpus are fairly transparent (e.g. that Thorlby YOR (*Toreilderebi* 1086) contains the personal name ON *Þóraldr* as its specific element (see PNWRY 6 76; SSNY 39)) but, as noted above, individual scholars interpret the specific elements of many *bý(r)*-names differently. All suggestions for the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names by previous scholars have been collected as probable and/or possible options.

For example, in PNNRY 171 Smith etymologises Stainsby YOR (*Steinesbi* 1086) with the personal name ON *Steinn*. Fellows-Jensen, based on the very close proximity of Stainsby YOR to Stainton YOR (*Steintun* 1086), suggests the *bý(r)*-name may contain as its specific element an elliptical form of the *tún/tūn*-name, indicating that it was a dependent settlement

(see SSNY 38). Neither scholar suggests that the specific element of Stainsby YOR could be the common noun ON *steinn*/OE *stān* ‘a stone’ (as Smith does for Stainton YOR (see PNNRY 171)), presumably because of the genitive *-es-* in its Domesday Book form. Here, all three options have been considered as possible specific elements for Stainsby YOR. Fellows-Jensen’s suggestion seems the least likely and, while the personal name is quite possible (for the specific element of Stainton YOR, too), it seems reasonable to suggest that the specific elements of Stainsby YOR and Stainton YOR both denote a local, stony landscape.

The inclusion of ON *steinn*/OE *stān* in the corpus as a possible specific element of Stainsby YOR shows that elements not suggested by previous scholars have been included in the corpus as possible specific elements of some *bý(r)*-names. These alternative specific elements have been collected using comparative material in place-name elements glossaries (i.e. EPNE 1, 2 and VEPN 1, 2, 3), place-name dictionaries (i.e. Ekwall 1960 and CDEPN), and the data sources used for this thesis as cross-references. For example, in PNLei 4 278 Cox notes, on formal grounds, that Thurnby LEI (*Turnebi* 1156) could contain the personal name ON *Þyrnir* rather than a thorn-tree element; and in SSNNW 41, Fellows-Jensen rejects the personal name as the specific elements of Thirby LAN (*Tiernebi* 1086), Thirneby CUM (*Thirnebi* c. 1205), and Thrimby WES (*Trnebi* 1200) in favour of thorn-tree elements. In PNNth 74, the editors do not suggest the Old Norse personal name as a possible specific element for Thornby NTH (*Torneberie* 1086), probably because of the spelling with *-o-* and the fact they take it to represent a scandinavianised OE *byrig*-name. The situation of its generic element is complicated, however (see Chapter Four), and here ON *Þyrnir* has been collected as a possible specific element of all five *bý(r)*-names.

The primary issue with the collation of formally possible specific elements for the *bý(r)*-names in the corpus is their relative probability. ON *Þyrnir* is an independently attested personal name in England and Scandinavia (see PNLei 4 278; SPNLY 319), but it seems

unlikely that it forms the specific elements of five *bý(r)*-names in England, particularly when thorn-tree elements are common in English place-names (see EPNE 2 204-05, 222-23). This issue is discussed below in the sub-section on the etymological analysis of the *bý(r)*-names corpus (see Section 2.3.3.).

2.2.2.5. Bibliographical References

The bibliographical references for each *bý(r)*-name have been collected – namely the sources their material have been collected from, and other sources that describe their probable/possible specific elements, directly or indirectly. This collection of this information has allowed for easier referencing and cross-referencing throughout the analysis of the *bý(r)*-names corpus in this thesis.

2.2.3. Data Collection: Place-Names Database

The data points detailed above, plus others that relate to the analysis of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus (see below), have been entered into a custom-built place-names database constructed using Microsoft Access (2019) software.³² Microsoft Access allows users to construct a relationship database comprised of multiple tables, run queries on the database, produce data forms and reports, and export data to other software. The Access database has allowed for large-scale analysis of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in this

³² The database has not been submitted as part of this thesis. Instead, the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names database has been converted into a table (see Appendix). However, the database is available to view at https://uniofnottm-my.sharepoint.com/:f:/r/personal/joshua_neal_nottingham_ac_uk/Documents/Joshua%20Neal%20Database?csf=1&web=1&e=Yef4HV.

thesis of a kind unavailable to the twentieth-century scholars who conducted large-scale analyses of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names.

The database constructed for this thesis comprises tables which contain the hundreds/wapentakes, parishes, townships, probable/possible specific elements, and bibliography for the corpus, and a primary table which collates the relevant information from those tables for each *bý(r)*-name. The primary table is fed by a data-entry form which was constructed for the data collection process of this thesis. The screenshot image below illustrates the data entry form.

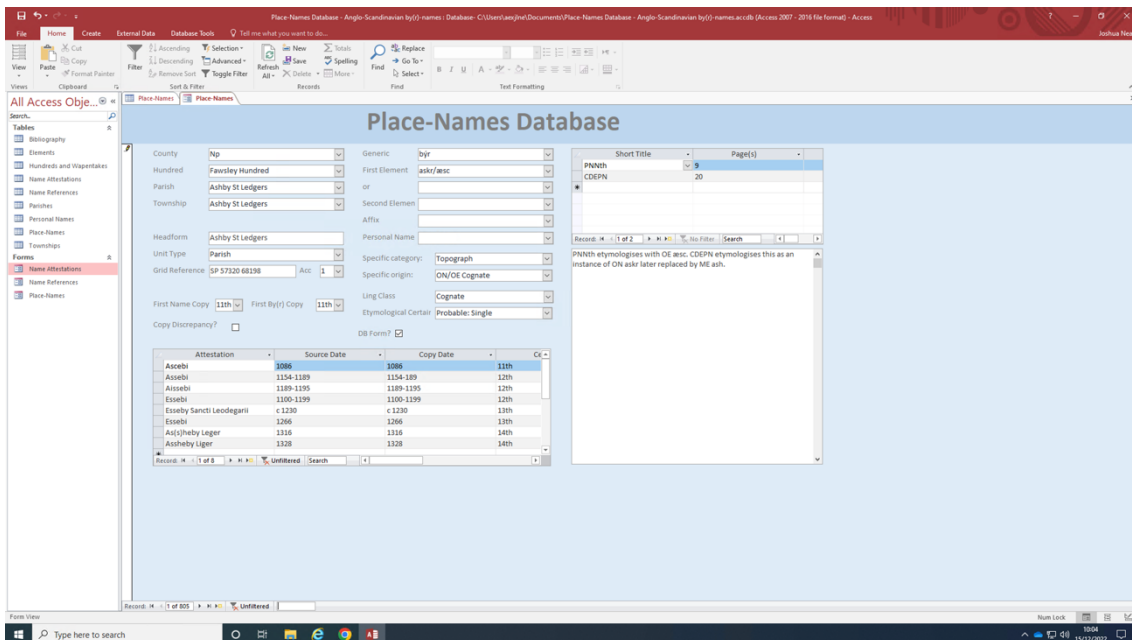


Figure 2.2: data-entry form of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names database

The data-entry form contains fields for all of the data points discussed above (see Section 2.2.2.) – administrative details, geographical location, historical forms, probable/possible specific elements, and an open-text field in which to summarise discussion by previous scholars. It also contains fields that relate to the analysis of the *bý(r)*-names corpus, namely the centuries of attestation of the names and the classification and etymological certainty of

their specific elements. These data points are discussed in the analysis section of this methodology (see below).

2.3. Analysis of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names Corpus

The construction process of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus described above has resulted in a place-names database that contains 806 *bý(r)*-names and their relevant data points. This section explains the methodological approaches that have been taken to produce the large-scale statistical analysis of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus in Chapter Three of this thesis. It is divided, as the large-scale analysis of Chapter Three is, into three primary divisions: the geography of the corpus (Section 2.3.1.), the chronology of the corpus (Section 2.3.2.), and the specific elements of the corpus (Section 2.3.3.).

2.3.1. The Geography of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names Corpus

The geographical locations of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names and their sub-corpora are illustrated in this thesis with distribution maps and county totals tables. Section 2.2.2.2. of this methodology explains that the geographical locations of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names have been collected as grid references using Digimap (see above). It is these grid references that have been used to produce the distribution maps of the total *bý(r)*-names corpus and various chronological and linguistic sub-corpora which feature throughout this thesis. The maps have been produced using the software QGIS (2022), which is a free-to-use and open-source Geographic Information System that allows graphical maps to be created and exported.

The grid references have been converted to delimited text layer files and imported into a QGIS project created for this thesis. These files produce customisable points on a map that has been produced using a shape file which illustrates the historical county boundaries of Great Britain (see Bibliography). The grid reference layer files have been used to produce

traditional dot-based maps, a cornerstone of place-name research, and also heat-maps. The application of a heat-map of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus as an analytical tool is explained in Chapter Three (see Section 3.2.2.). All of the maps produced for this thesis use the same scale and show the entire area of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. The image below illustrates this scale.



Figure 2.3: map of Great Britain at scale used throughout this thesis

2.3.2. The Chronology of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names Corpus

The chronology of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus is a complicated topic involving their *terminus post quem* (i.e. the dates they were coined) and their *terminus ante quem* (i.e. the dates they were first recorded). For the vast majority of *bý(r)*-names (and,

indeed, all medieval place-names in Britain) their precise creation dates are unknowable. Because of this, the categorisation and analysis of the *bý(r)*-names in this thesis is structured by the centuries in which they were first attested (see Chapter Three, Section 3.3.), and they are referred to chronologically by these centuries. For example, *bý(r)*-names first attested in the Domesday survey of AD 1086 are ‘eleventh-century *bý(r)*-names’, and so on.

The century of first attestation of a *bý(r)*-name is taken from the earliest surviving copy date of a historical form for it, not the earliest purported source of a form for it, as far as has been possible. For example, Lumby YOR has an earliest purported tenth-century form that only survives in a thirteenth-century copy, *Lundby* 963 [13th]. There is a minimum difference of over two hundred years between the source and copy dates of that form. The earliest surviving copy of a form for Lumby YOR is *Lundby* c. 1030. In this thesis, then, Lumby YOR is classified as an eleventh-century *bý(r)*-name and *Lundby* c. 1030 as its first attestation. Thirty-four other *bý(r)*-names, a total of 4.2% of the corpus including Lumby YOR, have discrepancies in their earliest source and copy dates. They are listed in the century sub-sections of the chronological analysis in Chapter Three (see Section 3.3.). The earliest copy dates of the *bý(r)*-names are taken as their earliest attestations because while a later copy may accurately preserve an earlier form, this cannot be guaranteed. Later copies of purportedly earlier forms could be spurious or anachronistic in some way.

Fourteen other *bý(r)*-names have discrepancies in their earliest copies whereby they are first recorded with generic elements other than ON *bý(r)* and later with it. These names are discussed in the generic elements interchange case-study in this thesis (see Chapter Four). They are recorded as ‘X-century *bý(r)*-names’ based on their earliest attestations with *bý(r)*-forms. For example, Rugby WAR is first attested in Domesday Book as *Rocheberie* 1086, with OE *byrig* as its generic element, and in the twelfth century as *Rochebi* 1154-89, with ON *bý(r)* as its generic element. It is, then, classified as a twelfth-century *bý(r)*-name. These

names are listed in the century sub-sections of the chronological analysis in Chapter Three (see Section 3.3.).

The earliest *bý(r)*-form for Rugby WAR, *Rochebi* 1154-89, shows that some of the earliest attestations of *bý(r)*-names have date ranges rather than specific dates. The *Rochebi* 1154-89 form was evidently recorded during the reign of Henry II of England, but at an uncertain point during his reign. If the first attestation of a *bý(r)*-name has a date range than crosses two centuries, it is classified as an ‘X-century *bý(r)*-name’ based on the earliest part of its date range. For example, Lockerbie DMF is first recorded as *Locardebi* 1194-1214, and is classified as a twelfth-century *bý(r)*-name. This issue only affects six other *bý(r)*-names, 0.7% of the corpus including Lockerbie DMF.

2.3.3. The Specific Elements of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names Corpus

The specific elements of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names are as complicated a topic as their chronology. As discussed in Section 2.2.2.4. (see above), the specific elements of around half the corpus are reasonably transparent and generally agreed upon, but around half are not. Previous scholars have provided different etymologies for *bý(r)*-names based on access to historical forms, personal preferences for certain types of specific elements, and developments in place-name research. As also discussed above in Section 2.2.2.4., specific elements not suggested by previous scholars have been included in the database as possible options for some *bý(r)*-names based on comparative material accessed during the data collection process. The etymological certainty of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-name formations ranges from near certain to entirely uncertain.

This scale of etymological certainty is an issue for producing meaningful statistics on the specific elements of the *bý(r)*-names corpus, and it has been faced by Fellows-Jensen in

her regional studies. In SSNY 9, Fellows-Jensen outlines specific elements that ‘certainly or most probably’ occur in Yorkshire *bý(r)*-names; in SSNEM 15 she outlines 79 *bý(r)*-names that have more than one possible specific element, three that cannot be offered a ‘satisfactory’ explanation, and others that have more than one possible specific element with ‘generally good reasons for preferring one of [them]’; and in SSNNW 13 she states that 148 of the 151 *bý(r)*-names in her north-western corpus ‘can be interpreted with a reasonable degree of certainty’. Fellows-Jensen’s methodologies are consistent in her regional studies, but the classification of specific elements as most probable, generally preferable, and reasonably certain is unavoidably subjective and other scholars may include or exclude different *bý(r)*-names in those categories.

In this thesis, it has been decided to divide the etymological certainties of the *bý(r)*-names into two categories: ‘relatively secure’ and ‘uncertain’. The aim of this division is to provide reasonably certain baselines for the occurrence of types of elements as the specifics of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. The linguistic analysis of Chapter Three is focused on personal names, topographical elements, and habitative elements that occur as the specifics of *bý(r)*-names, and on relatively secure examples of those categories in particular (see Section 3.4.). An element is taken to relatively securely occur as the specific element of a *bý(r)*-name if it meets three criteria, which will be explained below with examples of probable/possible personal name specific elements. The criteria are:

1. The element is independently attested in the historical record.
2. The element is satisfactorily identifiable in at least one historical form of the *bý(r)*-name.
3. There are no alternative specific elements that can reasonably be suggested for the *bý(r)*-name.

Criterion (1) establishes that an element must be independently attested in the historical record (i.e. in a charter, will, or other document).³³ Many unattested elements have been suggested as the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names. For example, Brattleby LIN (*Brotulbi* 1086) has been etymologised with an unattested personal name ON **Brótúlfr* (see PNLin 7 10; SSNEM 38). The personal name satisfies criteria (2) and (3): the prototheme ON **Brót-* is identifiable and the representation of the deutertheme ON *-úlfr* corresponds with other appearances in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names; and no alternative element can reasonably be suggested. However, the personal name does not appear anywhere else, and as a result the etymology of Brattleby LIN is classified as uncertain.

Criterion (2) establishes that an element which has been suggested as the specific element of a *bý(r)*-name must be satisfactorily identifiable in at least one of its historical forms. For example, ON *Hreiðarr* has been suggested as the specific element of four *bý(r)*-names: Raithby by Louth LIN, Rearsby LEI, Reasby LIN, and Rotherby LEI (see PNLei 3 121, 197; SSNEM 58, 63, 64). The prototheme and deutertheme of the personal name are satisfactorily identifiable in the forms *Radresbi* 1086, *Redresbi* 1086, and *Rederbia* c. 1130 for Raithby by Louth LIN, Rearsby LEI, and Rotherby LEI, respectively. The only historical forms available for Reasby LIN are *Reresbi* 1086, 1115-18. Similar forms occur for the other three *bý(r)*-names, but there are no forms for Reasby LIN that satisfactorily represent the prototheme and deutertheme of ON *Hreiðarr*. Indeed, Fellows-Jensen notes that ON *Hrórekr* has been suggested as an alternative specific element for the *bý(r)*-name (see

³³ Note that in this thesis fictional and legendary sources do not count as part of the historical record for independent attestations of place-name elements because they do not guarantee ‘real world’ use. See, for example, discussion of the personal name OE **Hnæf* in Chapter Four (Section 4.5.2.), the name of a legendary Scandinavian prince who appears in *Beowulf*, *The Finnsburg Fragment*, and *Widsith* as the leader of the Hocings tribe.

SSNEM 64). ON *Hreiðarr* is, then, here taken to relatively securely occur as a specific element in the *bý(r)*-names corpus three times and uncertainly once.

Criterion (3) establishes that a relatively secure specific element does not have reasonable alternatives. For example, the personal name ON *Auðunn* may occur as the specific element of four *bý(r)*-names: Aunby LIN (*Ounebi* 1219), Aunsby LIN (*Ounesbi* 1086), Owmbly (Aslaoe Wap.) LIN (*Oune(s)bi* 1086), and Owmbly (Yarborough Wap.) LIN (*Odenebi* 1086) (see SSNEM 33, 80). However, Fellows-Jensen states that the personal name is not particularly common and suggests that the noun ON *auðn*, in the sense ‘uninhabited (land)’, may occur in these *bý(r)*-names (see SSNEM 30).³⁴ Topographical elements occur as the specific elements of many *bý(r)*-names, and ON *auðn* is a possible alternative to ON *Auðunn* as the specific element of the four Lincolnshire names. As such, ON *Auðunn* and ON *auðn* are both taken to uncertainly occur as the specific elements of those *bý(r)*-names.

The examples given above to explain the relatively secure criteria show that probable specific elements are classified as uncertain in this thesis. Brattleby LIN probably does contain an unattested ON **Brótúlfr*, which Fellows-Jensen suggests may be an Anglo-

³⁴ The personal name ON *Auðunn* is not as rare in England as Fellows-Jensen (SSNEM 30) implies. Insley (1994: 84-86) identifies the personal name in the Norfolk field-name *Odenhou* c. 1240; notes that it is fairly frequent in English sources; proposes that an Anglo-Scandinavian reflex *Öðin* might underlie the personal name of a Norfolk individual recorded as *Oinus carpentarius* 1193, *Audenus carpentarius* 1204; and argues that the A-Sc reflex, rather than the theophoric personal name ON *Óðinn*, occurs as the name of an eleventh-century moneyer in York. Jesch (2020: 208) suggests that the personal name, in its A-Sc reflex, may also occur in the runic inscription *open* on a lead spindle whorl found in Saltfleetby St Clements LIN – the probable eleventh- or twelfth-century origin of the inscription makes a proposed occurrence of the god-name *Óðinn* open to challenge. Fellows-Jensen’s view on the rarity of the personal name is probably related to the fact that, while very common in Norway and Iceland, it seems to occur late and uncommonly in medieval Denmark (see Insley 1994: 84, but also Peterson 2007: 35 for possible earlier runic examples). As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, Fellows-Jensen strongly favours a problematic ‘Danish’ theory for early medieval Scandinavian settlement in Britain (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.4.). The evidence, however, points to a more mixed socio-ethnic situation in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain in which the appearance of OWN personal names in Lincolnshire would not be problematic.

Scandinavian formation (see SPNLY 66). The *Reresbi* 1086, 1115-18 forms for Reasby LIN correlate with forms for the three *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain ON *Hreiðarr*. Uncommon personal names relatively securely recur as the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, and ON *Auðunn* may have been a popular personal name in early medieval Lincolnshire. However, the relatively secure versus uncertain methodological approach taken here for the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names allows for a reasonably objective baseline for groups of specific elements to be established. The linguistic analysis of specific elements in Chapter Three is focused on relatively secure instances of personal names, topographical elements, and habitative elements, which comprise 355 *bý(r)*-names, 44.0% of the corpus (see Section 3.4.). Individual scholars would produce different probable figures for groups of specific elements from these names, and many of them are worthy of future analysis.

Cognate specific elements and indistinguishable elements, relatively secure or uncertain, are given together. For example, five Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names relatively securely contain the personal name ON *Ásgautr*/OE *Ōsgeat* as their specific elements (see Section 3.4.1.1.).³⁵ The Old Norse reflexes of cognate elements can be taken as more likely the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names, but in the sociolinguistic milieu of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain it is uncertain. Up to 24 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names contain an ash-tree word as their specific elements (see Section 3.4.2.1.4.). Here, the 13 relatively secure instances are said to contain ON *askr*/OE *æsc* ‘ash-tree’ and ON *eski*/OE *esce* ‘a place growing with ash-trees’ because the elements are very difficult to distinguish in historical place-name forms and probably influenced one another. That elements appear in multiple reflexes in historical place-name forms is a primary factor in this decision. The relatively secure and uncertain

³⁵ This methodological approach is comparable to Parsons’s (2002: 37) statistical analysis of Domesday Book personal names, in which he notes ‘any reasonable alternative’ to von Feilitzen’s (1937) etymological categorisations.

specific elements of the *bý(r)*-names are given in their standardised forms in this thesis (e.g. in the forms of EPNE and VEPN volumes) and, as is this case for the use of ON *bý(r)* as the headform of the generic element in this thesis (see Chapter One, Section 1.3.2.), these forms can be taken to encompass dialectal reflexes.

2.4. Conclusion

The methodological approaches taken in this thesis have enabled the construction of what is, to my knowledge, the largest corpus of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names ever made. The collation of *bý(r)*-names material produced by previous scholars in a place-names database, within certain parameters, has allowed for large-scale analysis of this corpus as a whole and analyses of groups of *bý(r)*-names in a large-scale context. The database allows for future analyses of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names to be conducted, and is readily available to be shared with other scholars. The challenges and problems of constructing such a large corpus (including possible omissions) have been acknowledged above. However, the weight of the data accumulated, following a rigorous approach, should mean that analyses and conclusions drawn from them are robust.

Chapter Three: A Statistical Analysis of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names Corpus

3.1. Introduction

This chapter is a large-scale statistical analysis of the 806 *bý(r)*-names that form the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus constructed for this thesis. It is comprised of three main sections: an analysis of the geographical distribution of the *bý(r)*-names (see Section 3.2.); an analysis of the chronology of their first attestations (see Section 3.3.); and a linguistic analysis of the specific elements of the *bý(r)*-names (see Section 3.4.). This statistical analysis differs from the previous large-scale analyses of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names conducted by Cameron (1965) and Fellows-Jensen in SSNY, SSNEM, and SSNNW in its methodological approaches, and primarily in its scope, but there is unavoidably some overlap because of shared material. However, the analyses of *bý(r)*-names groups are here relative to the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, rather than regional divisions; and they offer updated insights that this scale allows for, informed by modern place-name scholarship that post-dates the publication of previous large-scale studies.

3.2. Geography: The Distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

The geographical distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names is arguably the most significant factor in their historical importance, particularly from the more general point of view among historians other than place-name scholars. Townend (2013: 121-22) notes, in a call for novel approaches to the material, that Anglo-Scandinavian settlement-names in England have predominantly been analysed for the insights they offer into the settlement history of Scandinavians in the early medieval period. Their geographical distributions can be linked, with debatable directness, to the locations of Scandinavian settlements. While an Anglo-Scandinavian settlement-name cannot be directly linked to a Scandinavian settlement at its site, it can be correlated with Scandinavian linguistic influence on naming in its area. Dense concentrations of Anglo-Scandinavian settlement-names imply a strong Scandinavian presence in the area, including settlements, and lighter concentrations of Anglo-Scandinavian settlements imply a weaker Scandinavian presence in the area, including fewer settlements. Distribution maps of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names, such as Smith's (1956c) map, feature in practically all discussions of Scandinavian settlements in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain.

Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names feature prominently in distribution maps of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names both numerically and in significance. As discussed in Chapter One (see Section 1.3.), ON *bý(r)* holds a special position as a Scandinavian settlement-term that is diagnostically Old Norse (i.e. it does not overlap with an Old English cognate element, such as with ON/OE *þorp* and ON *tún*/OE *tūn*), whose use was wide-ranging, and whose distribution in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain is abundant in areas where Scandinavian settlement is accepted to have occurred. Many must attest to early medieval Scandinavian settlements at their locations, and their distribution correlates broadly with the recorded areas of Scandinavian settlement and the division of Anglo-Scandinavian England established in

the Alfred-Guðrum Treaty.³⁶ At the very least, they are diagnostic evidence for the influence of Old Norse-speakers on place-naming in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain.

The geographical distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names is just one factor in their analysis, but it affects all other factors. The chronological strata of *bý(r)*-names (i.e. when they are first attested) and their linguistic characteristics (i.e. types of specific elements, grammatical features, etc.) are significant in their distributions. Where groups of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names occur is a primary factor in their analysis and historical linguistic importance. Distribution maps feature throughout this statistical analysis. This section gives a dot-based map of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus and their county totals (see Section 3.2.1.), with commentary; and it introduces a ‘heat-map’ representation of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus as an illustration of relative density that groups of *bý(r)*-names can be mapped against (see Section 3.2.2.).

3.2.1. Dot-Based Map and County Totals of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus

The map below illustrates the total Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus as a traditional dot-based map;³⁷ and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the area densities those figures represent,³⁸ and the percentages of the total corpus those figures represent.

³⁶ The relationship between some groups of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names and early medieval Scandinavian settlement is uncertain. The Ayrshire *bý(r)*-names, for example, point to Scandinavian settlement in an area where there is little other evidence for it (see Grant 2005: 127).

³⁷ Easby YOR and *Houcbig* LIN are not mapped because their one-time locations are lost.

³⁸ The area density figures have been produced using county size data provided by The Historic Counties Trust (2020). Their square miles figures for county sizes have been converted here to square kilometres to produce density figures for *bý(r)*-names/1000km². Area data was not available for the three individual Ridings of Yorkshire, so the density figure for the county only reflects it as a whole.

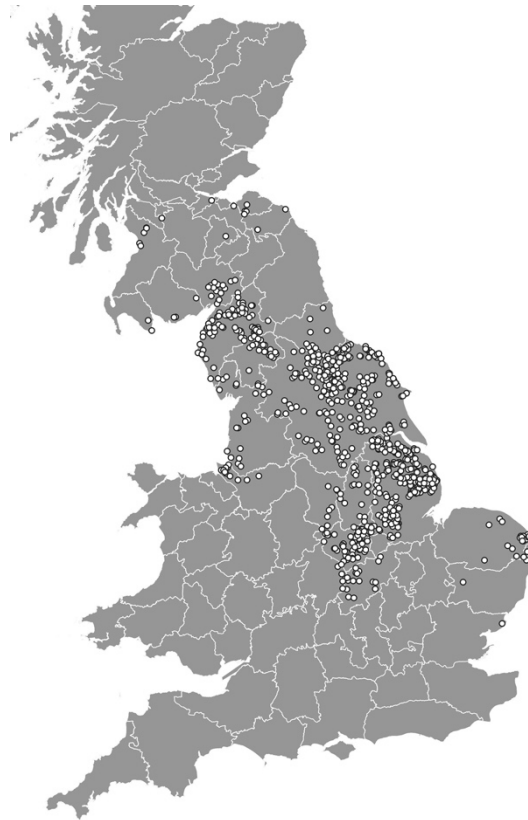


Figure 3.1: dot-based map of the Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names corpus

<u>County</u>		<u>Count</u>		<u>Density: bý(r)- names/1000km²</u>	<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)- names</u>	
Yorkshire	East Riding	41	248	15.8	5.1	30.8
	North Riding	153			18.9	
	West Riding	54			6.7	
Lincolnshire		236		33.9	29.3	
Cumberland		76		19.2	9.4	

Leicestershire	67	30.9	8.3
Westmorland	22	10.8	2.7
Dumfriesshire	21	7.6	2.6
Norfolk	21	3.9	2.6
Nottinghamshire	21	9.6	2.6
Lancashire	19	3.8	2.4
Northamptonshire	18	6.9	2.2
Cheshire	12	4.5	1.5
County Durham	10	3.8	1.2
Derbyshire	9	3.4	1.1
Ayrshire	4	1.4	0.5
East Lothian	4	5.8	0.5
Kirkcudbrightshire	3	1.3	0.4
Suffolk	3	0.8	0.4
Warwickshire	3	1.3	0.4
Berwickshire	2	1.7	0.2
Wigtownshire	2	1.6	0.2
Essex	1	0.2	0.1
Lanarkshire	1	0.4	0.1
Midlothian	1	1.1	0.1
West Lothian	1	3.2	0.1
Peeblesshire	1	0.7	0.1
Totals:	806	N/A	100

Table 3.1: county totals of the Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names corpus

The Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus is distributed across 25 counties in England and Scotland. The English counties outnumber the Scottish counties 15 to 10, and more significantly in the number of *bý(r)*-names they contain. A total of 766 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, 95.0% of the corpus, are located in England. Yorkshire (248 names) contributes the most *bý(r)*-names, particularly from its North Riding (153), which alone contains 18.9% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. Lincolnshire (236) contains the second largest number of *bý(r)*-names. The two English counties collectively contain a majority 60.0% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. None of the other English counties contain triple figure counts, but Cumberland (76) and Leicestershire (67) contribute significant numbers of *bý(r)*-names to the corpus. The county totals for Lancashire (19), Norfolk (21), Northamptonshire (18), Nottinghamshire (21), and Westmorland (22) are comparable to one another, as are those for Cheshire (12), Derbyshire (9), and County Durham (10). The remaining English counties contribute low single figure numbers of *bý(r)*-names. Essex is the only English county to contain a single Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-name.

A total of 40 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, 4.9% of the corpus, are located in Scotland. Dumfriesshire (21) contains 52.5% of the Scottish *bý(r)*-names in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. None of the other Scottish counties contain double figure counts, but Ayrshire (4), Kirkcudbrightshire (3), Wigtownshire (2), and Lanarkshire (1) contribute to a reasonably strong representation in the south-west of the country. Only nine Scottish *bý(r)*-names in the corpus, 22.5% of the country total, are located outside of the south-west. East Lothian (4) contributes half of the *bý(r)*-names in south-eastern Scotland, which otherwise include those in Berwickshire (2), Midlothian (1), West Lothian (1), and Peeblesshire (1).³⁹

³⁹ As discussed in Chapter Two (Section 2.1.1.), the Scottish dataset is negatively affected by the AD 1500 cut-off date established for the data collection process of this thesis. If a cut-off date for Scottish *bý(r)*-names was extended to, say, AD 1650, both the number and

The county figures are particularly notable when considered in terms of density because the 25 counties that contain Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names vary considerably in size.

Yorkshire is the largest county in the corpus by a significant margin – it is more than twice as big as Lincolnshire, the second largest county in the corpus, and more than 50 times bigger than West Lothian, the smallest county in the corpus. These differences in size must be considered in an analysis of the distribution of *bý(r)*-names. The five counties in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain with the densest concentrations of *bý(r)*-names are: 1) Lincolnshire (33.9 *bý(r)*-names/1000km²); 2) Leicestershire (30.9 *bý(r)*-names/1000km²); 3) Cumberland (19.2 *bý(r)*-names/1000km²); 4) Yorkshire (15.8 *bý(r)*-names/1000km²); and 5) Westmorland (10.8 *bý(r)*-names/1000km²). The five counties with the least dense concentrations of *bý(r)*-names, numbered by their position among the 25 counties in the corpus, are: 21) Midlothian (1.1 *bý(r)*-names/1000km²); 22) Suffolk (0.8 *bý(r)*-names/1000km²); 23) Peeblesshire (0.7 *bý(r)*-names/1000km²); 24) Lanarkshire (0.4 *bý(r)*-names/1000km²); and 25) Essex (0.2 *bý(r)*-names/1000km²).

The five English counties that contain the highest numbers of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names also have the densest distributions, but their positioning changes. Lincolnshire contains 12 fewer *bý(r)*-names than Yorkshire, but at less than half the size of its northern neighbour it has an area density figure more than twice as high. This is particularly notable given that the distribution of *bý(r)*-names (and other settlement-names) in Lincolnshire is negatively affected by fenland of The Wash (see Section 3.2.2. for discussion of topography).

Yorkshire is so large that despite its largest total figure it ranks just fourth for density of

distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in Scotland would change. Furthermore, if the geographical scope of the *bý(r)*-names corpus was extended beyond the northern limit of ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Britain’, as established in this thesis, the *bý(r)*-names in Angus and Fife would affect the balance between south-western Scotland and south-eastern Scotland. For discussion of Scottish *bý(r)*-names in southern Scotland outside of the chronological and geographical parameters established for this thesis, see Clancy (2013), Grant (2003; 2005), and Taylor (2004).

bý(r)-names – this is in no small part because *bý(r)*-names are relatively uncommon in its East and West Ridings compared to its North Riding. Leicestershire is a relatively small county, the seventeenth largest in the corpus, and so its 67 *bý(r)*-names form a dense concentration in its area. The two East Midlands counties of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire are the only counties to surpass 30 *bý(r)*-names/1000km² (or, indeed, 20 *bý(r)*-names/1000km²).

Cumberland and Westmorland maintain third and fifth positions, respectively, for both total numbers of *bý(r)*-names and area densities. Their figures are notable because the two north-western English counties have not in general been treated as historically significant for Scandinavian settlement as the eastern/north-eastern English counties are. Abrams and Parsons (2004), for example, did not include the north-west counties in their re-analysis of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in England. The county areas are not known landing-places for a division of the ninth-century *micel here*, nor do they form part of ‘The Danelaw’ by any common definition (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.3. for ‘The Danelaw’). The figures for Cumberland and Westmorland highlight the importance of analysing Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names on such a large scale in this thesis. The two counties contain higher numbers and greater densities of *bý(r)*-names than ‘The Five Boroughs’ territories encompassed by Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire and ‘The Viking Kingdom of East Anglia’ territories encompassed by Norfolk and Suffolk. The *bý(r)*-names of north-western England (and south-western Scotland, with which they form a contiguous area) are chronologically and linguistically distinct from those in eastern/north-eastern England (see Sections 3.3., 3.4.).

Four counties rank in the bottom 5 out of 25 for both their total numbers of *bý(r)*-names and their area densities: Essex, Lanarkshire, Midlothian, and Peeblesshire each contain a single *bý(r)*-name. West Lothian also contains one *bý(r)*-name, but it is the smallest county in the corpus. Essex and Suffolk are the fifth and seventh largest counties in the corpus,

respectively, making their *bý(r)*-names totals even less significant in terms of area density. It is notable that the territories encompassed by the two south-eastern counties were apparently ceded to Guðrum in The Alfred-Guðrum Treaty (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.3.), but the impact of this at least on the creation of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names was insignificant. Warwickshire is only the fourteenth largest county in the corpus, but its low total of three *bý(r)*-names places it in the bottom five for area density, just below Ayrshire.

3.2.2. Heat-Map: The Cores and Peripheries of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus

The discussion above highlights the need to make a distinction between the county totals of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names and the area densities those figures represent. However, while enlightening for a county-by-county understanding of *bý(r)*-names coverage, the area density figures are still confined to the administrative borders of historical counties. These borders have limited significance for Scandinavian settlement in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain and the sociolinguistic spread of ON *bý(r)* as a settlement-term. Further, the dot-based distribution map of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus above illustrates that *bý(r)*-names are distributed unevenly in the 25 counties that contain them, regardless of their relative area densities. On such a large scale as the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus constructed for this thesis, a dot-based map does not satisfactorily illustrate the densest concentrations of *bý(r)*-names. The dots layer on top of one another and this masks the relative density of *bý(r)*-names in different areas. The solution to this problem devised for this thesis is to represent the distribution of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus as a heat-map rather than a dot-based map. The map below illustrates the corpus in this way.

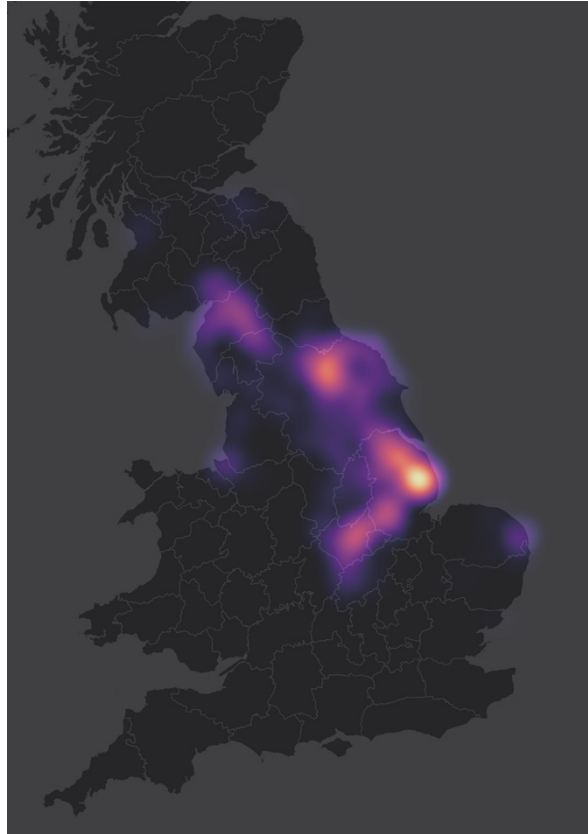


Figure 3.2: heat-map of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus

The heat-map of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus provides a very different representation of their distribution to the dot-based map, not least because it is relative to itself (i.e. the ‘hot’ and ‘cold’ areas are formed in relation to the corpus as a whole and their geographical positions, not just the latter). In this context, the high density of *bý(r)*-names in some clusters becomes more apparent than on the dot-based map and, conversely, so does the relative lower density in some areas that are reasonably well-represented on the dot-based map. The unevenness of the distribution of *bý(r)*-names in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain is significantly more apparent on the heat-map than the dot-based map.

The ‘hot’ parts of the heat-map can be defined as the core areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names distribution and the ‘cold’ parts as, to varying degrees, the peripheral areas of the distribution. There are four core areas of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-

names visible on the heat-map as hotspots. The foremost is north-eastern Lincolnshire – eastern Lincolnshire in particular is the ‘hottest’ part of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names distribution. Second is an area in the North Riding of Yorkshire, centred around the Vale of York. Third is an area encompassed by north-eastern Leicestershire and south-western Lincolnshire. The final core area, which is somewhat less ‘hot’ than the hotspots in eastern and northern England, is centred around Carlisle and encompasses north-eastern Cumberland, southern Dumfriesshire, and northern Westmorland.

All other areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names distribution are, to varying degrees, ‘cold’ and/or peripheral in relation to the four core areas listed above. Some areas are relatively ‘warm’, including the remainder of the Cumberland-Dumfriesshire-Westmorland area, an East Midlands area formed by southern Leicestershire and western Northamptonshire (which also includes the three *bý(r)*-names in Warwickshire where the three counties border), and some parts of the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire. The isolated clusters of *bý(r)*-names in the Wirral Peninsula and East Anglia are clearly visible. Derbyshire, County Durham, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, and Scotland outside of Dumfriesshire are relatively ‘cold’ in comparison to the rest of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus.

The heat-map illustrates the effect of topography on the distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names to a better extent than the dot-based map. The negative effects of The Peak District in the East Midlands, The Pennines between Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the fenland of The Wash that separates East Anglia and Lincolnshire are clearly visible in the distributions of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in the areas they encompass. These topographical features affect the distribution of settlement-names in general, however, and they must be acknowledged as a factor in the establishment of core and peripheral areas of the distribution of the *bý(r)*-names corpus.

3.2.3. Summary

The dot-based map, county totals, area densities (by county), and the heat-map all have their place in illustrating the distribution of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus. Dot-based maps are a cornerstone of place-names analysis, and the one above illustrates most clearly the distribution of modern places that bear *bý(r)*-names and the one-time locations of *bý(r)*-name settlements. Counties are convenient administrative and geographical land-units for the division of the *bý(r)*-names corpus and, while their significance is somewhat limited for the linguistic analyses of this thesis, they are nevertheless divisions of historical importance. The area density figures provide a more accurate representation of the county totals because of their varying sizes. The heat-map is somewhat related to the area density figures as a visual representation of relative density, but it is not limited by the county boundaries. It illustrates the uneven distribution of *bý(r)*-names within the counties themselves, regardless of their area density figures. The following analyses of the chronological strata and specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names will illustrate the distributions of sub-corpora with simple dot-based maps, as dots on heat-maps of the total corpus, and with county total tables.

3.3. Chronology: The First Attestations of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

The *bý(r)*-names that comprise the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus are first attested from the tenth to sixteenth centuries,⁴⁰ albeit very unevenly. Badby NTH and Derby DER are the only two *bý(r)*-names in the corpus first attested in the tenth century; and Bombie KCB is the only *bý(r)*-name first attested on the AD 1500 cut-off of this thesis, making it the only sixteenth-century *bý(r)*-name in the corpus. A majority 555 of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, 68.9% of the corpus, are first attested in the eleventh century, and the majority of those eleventh-century attestations are Domesday Book forms. A total of 248 *bý(r)*-names, 30.8% of corpus, are first attested in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. The graph below illustrates the distribution of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus by centuries of first attestations.

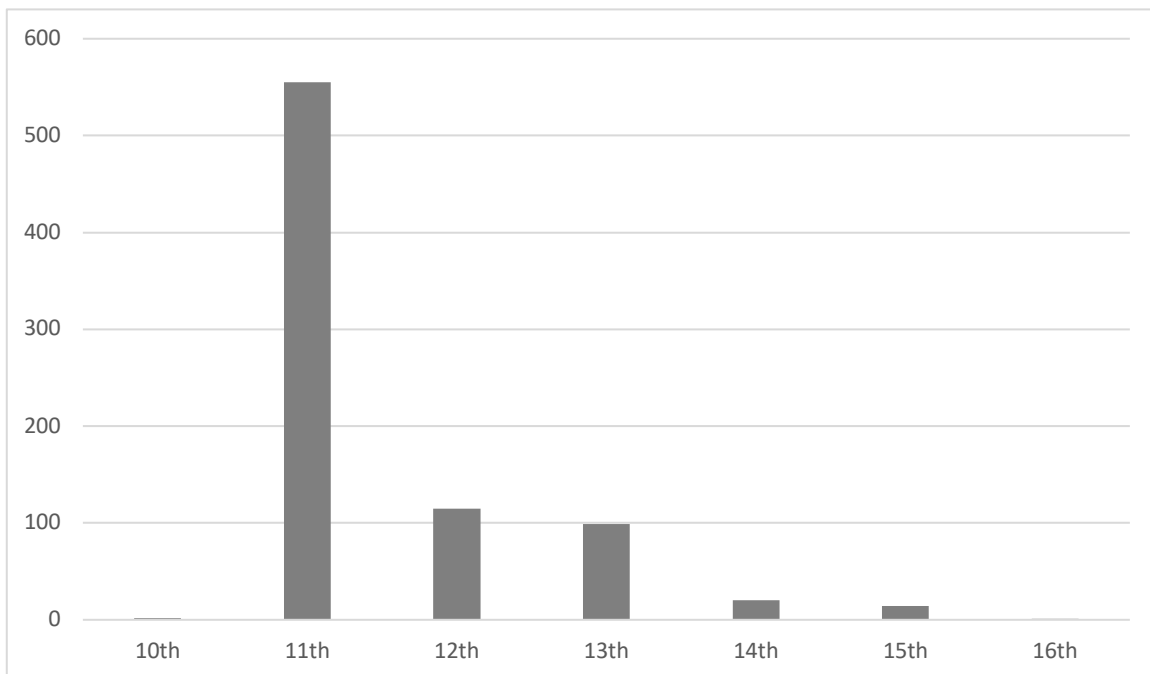


Figure 3.3: centuries of first attestations of the Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names corpus

⁴⁰ See Chapter Two, Section 2.3.2. for what dates are taken as the ‘first attestations’ of *bý(r)*-names in this thesis.

There are two primary factors that affect the first attestations of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names (and, indeed, all place-names): 1) the dates the *bý(r)*-names were coined (i.e. their *terminus post quem*); and 2) the dates of the earliest surviving sources the *bý(r)*-names are recorded in (i.e. their *terminus ante quem*). The relationship between these two dates is, with very rare exceptions, unknowable. Previous scholars have attempted to establish when *bý(r)*-names (and other Anglo-Scandinavian settlement-names) were first coined. Opinion on the dating of the *bý(r)*-names in eastern/north-eastern England, which form by far the majority of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus (see above), has ranged considerably. Some scholars take their creation to be contemporary with the first settlements of the *micel here* and their descendants in the late ninth century, while others have taken it to be in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, reflecting an Anglo-Scandinavian naming fashion that developed over time in ‘The Danelaw’ (see Abrams and Parsons 2004: 381-84).

The assessment by Abrams and Parsons (2004: 404), based on a thorough analysis of historical and linguistic factors, that the majority of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in eastern/north-eastern England were coined before the eleventh century seems to have been accepted. Some *bý(r)*-names, particularly those in in north-western England and south-western Scotland that have (Anglo-)Norman personal names as their specific elements, are in their current forms post-Conquest formations. This suggests ON *bý(r)* was a productive place-name element in the region into the eleventh and twelfth centuries (see Section 3.3.3.; Williamson 1942: 112).

This analysis does not offer any radical re-assessment of this chronology for the coining of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. It is accepted here that the majority of *bý(r)*-names first attested in the eleventh century (predominantly in Domesday Book) were coined before that century; and it seems likely that many later-attested *bý(r)*-names comparable to

the eleventh-century *bý(r)*-names, particularly in areas not covered by Domesday Book (see below), are also in origin early formations. However, there are *bý(r)*-names first attested from the twelfth century onward that are probably later formations. Those with Norman personal names and Middle English words of French origin as their specific elements, for example, are very likely to have been formed post-Conquest. Some recurrent compounds such as the 14 Newby-names – later-attested and recurrent in the same northern regions as the Norman personal name + *bý(r)* constructions – point to ON *bý(r)* as a living place-name element in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain at least into the twelfth century (see below).

The mention of Domesday Book above brings us to the issue that documentary sources which record historical place-name forms post-date the formation of those place-names. As direct evidence for Scandinavian settlement in early medieval Britain, place-name evidence is relatively late (see Abrams and Parsons 2004: 392-93 for discussion of this problem). A total of 547 *bý(r)*-names, 67.9% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, are first recorded in AD 1086 in Domesday Book; and only 11 *bý(r)*-names, 1.4% of the corpus, are first recorded earlier than Domesday Book (see below). Domesday Book is the primary early source for historical forms of settlement-names in England. However, if many of the *bý(r)*-names in eastern/north-eastern England first recorded in Domesday Book are to be taken as formations contemporary with Scandinavian settlements in the ninth and tenth centuries, then for the vast majority there is a difference of up to two centuries between their creation and first attestations.

A second issue is that Domesday Book did not cover all of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain, nor does it include all of the settlement-names from the areas it does cover. This is for two reasons: 1) the Domesday survey was an assessment of the territories held by William the Conqueror as parts of his English kingdom in 1086; and 2) only settlements taxable as villas were assessed in the Domesday survey (see Galbraith 1961: 45-54 for the framework of the survey). Lancashire and Westmorland are only partially covered by Domesday Book; and

Cumberland, County Durham, Northumberland, and all of southern Scotland are not covered at all. This means that 146 *bý(r)*-names, 18.1% of the corpus, lie outside the areas of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain that had full Domesday Book coverage. There are 126 *bý(r)*-names, 15.6% of the total corpus, in the areas of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain covered by the Domesday survey that are first attested post-Domesday Book. Among these *bý(r)*-names, particularly the 67 first attested in the twelfth-century, are almost certainly names as old as those first recorded in Domesday Book that were simply not attached to land-units taxable as villas in 1086.

The Domesday Book situation highlights the issues of documentary evidence for historical place-name formations lagging behind their coining, and that the dating of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus is affected by regional documentary coverage (including and excluding Domesday Book). Badby NTH and Derby DER, the only two tenth-century *bý(r)*-names in the corpus, are so early-attested because the settlements are situated within the catchment area of the literary output of Mercia and Wessex, which was greater than other parts of Britain in the early medieval period. In general, the further north/north-west in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain, the later *bý(r)*-names (and other settlement-names) are first recorded. The earliest-attested Scottish *bý(r)*-name in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, with a fixed copy date, is *Willambi* DMF (1190),⁴¹ first recorded over two centuries after Derby DER is recorded on coins minted 927-39 as *DEORABYI* and in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in 942 [c.955] (see below). Derby DER is an early-attested outlier in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, but the point here is that the earliest coining of *bý(r)*-names in south-

⁴¹ *Roberdesbi* DMF (l. 12th) is possibly recorded earlier than *Willambi* DMF, but it is uncertain whether its late twelfth-century form is pre-1190. The earliest *bý(r)*-form for Smeaton MLO is *Smithebi* 1153-65, but the *bý(r)*-forms for that place-name may represent a repeated scribal error (see Chapter Four, Section 4.5.3.). Regardless, the earliest-attested Scottish *bý(r)*-names in the corpus appear in the historical record over two centuries after Derby DER is recorded on coins minted 927-39.

western Scotland almost certainly does not lag two centuries behind the earliest coining of *bý(r)*-names in the East Midlands. The two regions have different documentary histories, and this affects the appearance of their *bý(r)*-names in the historical record.

There are, then, perhaps two primary considerations for the chronological analysis of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. The first is that the earliest attestations of the *bý(r)*-names inevitably lag behind their coining, and that in many instances this lag could have spanned several centuries. However, this is a condition that affects the study of all types of place-names in Britain. The second is that, even taking this lag into account, the division of the *bý(r)*-names by centuries of first attestation (as they are in this analysis) almost certainly does not map directly onto the centuries in which they were coined. The regional variation in documentary coverage is a factor in these divisions and chronological distribution maps must be taken to reflect this factor. However, some groups of *bý(r)*-names in the north of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain do attest to later use of ON *bý(r)* as a living place-name element; and earlier/later first attestations in the same regions must, to an extent, reflect earlier/later coining.

The following chronological analysis of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus is divided into sections by the centuries of their first attestations. The sections contain distribution maps, county totals tables, and discussion of notable *bý(r)*-names and features for each century. Discussion of the latter for the eleventh-century *bý(r)*-names is more limited because they are in a sense less notable (i.e. the majority of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names are first attested in the eleventh century), and eleventh-century *bý(r)*-names feature prominently in the linguistic section of this statistical analysis (see Section 3.4.). However, the eleventh century *bý(r)*-names are further divided into pre-Domesday Book names, Domesday Book names, and post-Domesday Book names sub-sections.

3.3.1. Tenth-Century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

The maps below illustrate the tenth-century *bý(r)*-names on a dot-based map and on a heat-map of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus; and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the percentage of the county totals those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus those figures represent.

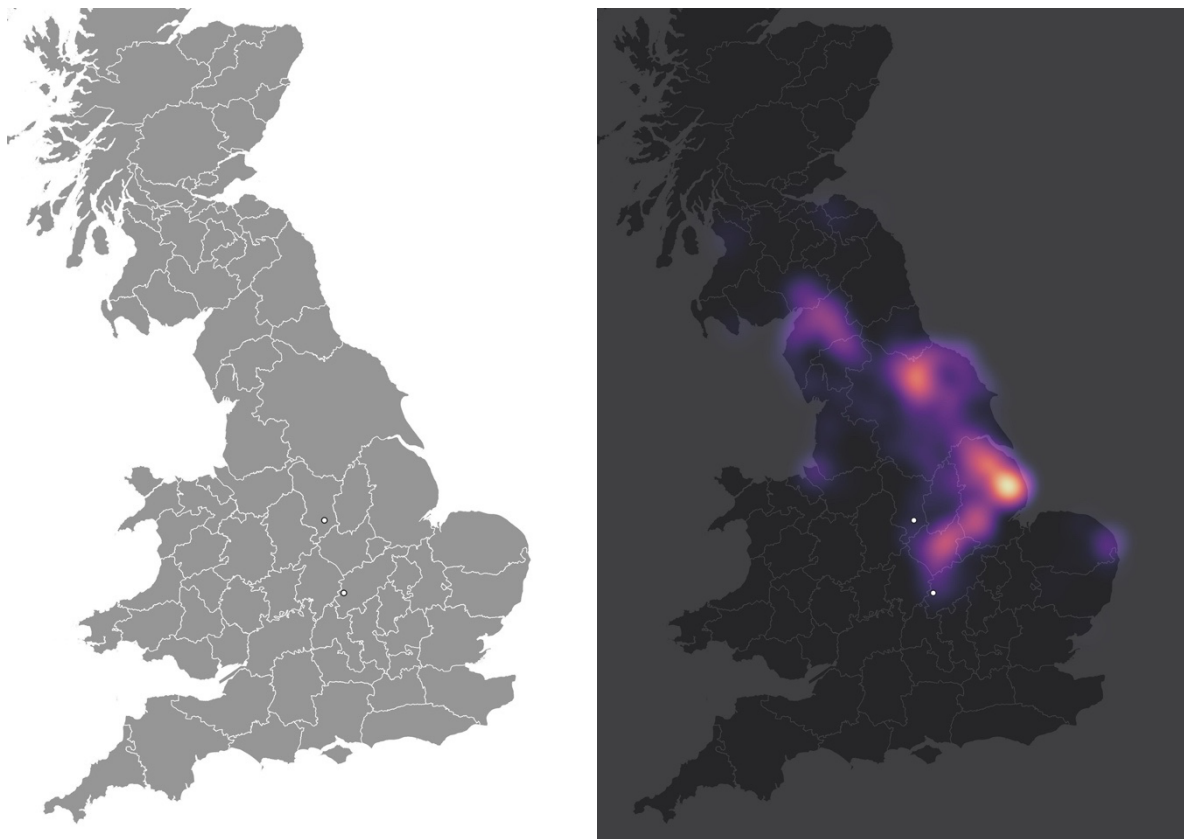


Figure 3.4: distribution of tenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of County <i>bý(r)</i>-names</u>	<u>% of A-Sc <i>bý(r)</i>-names</u>
Derbyshire	1	11.1	0.1
Northamptonshire	1	5.6	0.1

Totals:	2	N/A	0.2
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Table 3.2: county totals of the tenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

Two Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names are first attested in the tenth century: Badby NTH and Derby DER. Derby DER is the earliest-attested *bý(r)*-name in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus and the only name whose first attestation is a mint-signature – it appears in forms such as *DEORABV*, *DEORABYI* 927-39 on coins minted at Derby DER during the reign of the Anglo-Saxon king Æthelstan who reformed coinage in the 920s (see Carroll and Parsons 2007: 113, 115). Even without this unique evidence Derby DER would still qualify as a tenth-century *bý(r)*-name because it is mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* in 942 [c. 955] (see Swanton 2000: 110). The 942 [c. 955] attestation in the *Chronicle* is recorded in an Old English poem which recounts the conquest of The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw by the West Saxon king Edmund.

Badby NTH is first attested in 944 in Anglo-Saxon charter S495 because the settlement formed part of a land-grant of 30 hides from King Edmund to Bishop Ælfric of Ramsbury along with Dodford NTH and Everdon NTH (see PNNth 10). It appears in the forms *baddan byr(i)g* and *baddan by* in the charter. Badby NTH is probably in origin an OE *burh*-name whose generic element was scandinavianised to ON *bý(r)* – the reasons for this and the status of Badby NTH as one of 28 *bý(r)*-names whose historical attestations contain *burh*-forms and *bý(r)*-forms are discussed fully in the generic elements interchange case-study in this thesis (see Chapter Four).

It is notable that the only two *bý(r)*-names first attested in the tenth century are located in peripheral areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian distribution – Derbyshire and Northamptonshire collectively contain 27 *bý(r)*-names, just 3.3% of the total corpus.

However, Derby DER was one of ‘The Five Boroughs’ and a settlement of great importance in Anglo-Scandinavian England; and it underwent multiple exchanges between Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian political control in the ninth to eleventh centuries (see Carroll and Parsons 2007: 113). This guaranteed it a place in the literary output of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms Mercia and Wessex, including in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (see above), which was far greater than other contemporary polities in early medieval England (see above).

Badby NTH is located just on the ‘English’ side of Watling Street, a socio-political boundary that held some currency at various times in Anglo-Scandinavian England (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.3.), and so is located in an area where it was more likely to have been recorded in the literary output of the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

That two *bý(r)*-names located in peripheral areas are first attested in the tenth century provides some support for the early formation of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names more generally, particularly in eastern/north-eastern England. Such generalisations are, however, difficult to maintain. Nevertheless, the historical forms for Badby NTH suggest the scandinavianisation of an Old English place-name took place very early in the far south of the East Midlands *bý(r)*-names distribution. For this process to have occurred one could assume not only that ON *bý(r)* held currency in the toponymicon of this Anglo-Scandinavian border area, but that it held a strong enough position to adapt local nomenclature by the mid tenth century at the latest. This suggests that the *bý(r)*-names in parts of the East Midlands where they are more densely distributed (namely Leicestershire and Lincolnshire) are also early formations, particularly if the element is taken to have in spread in use from the core areas. The scandinavianisation of Badby NTH appears to have been recorded due to its southerly position, within the catchment area of the literary output of Mercia and Wessex. It may be that other such adaptations of pre-existing place-names occurred in core areas, but that these

processes are lost to the historical record because they were not noticed by Anglo-Saxon administrators.

There are five Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that are attested in purported tenth-century sources whose surviving copies post-date the tenth century: Belby YOR (*Belleby*, -by 959 [c. 1200]); Helperby YOR (*Helperby*, *æt heolperbi* 972 [11th]); Lumby YOR ((*on*) *Lundby* 963 [13th]); Skidby YOR (*Scyteby* 972 [c. 1200]); and Willoughby WAR (*on wiliabys* [?for *wiliabyg*] 956 [11th]). It is perhaps to be expected that Yorkshire, the county which contributes to the most *bý(r)*-names to the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus and whose place-name landscape is otherwise heavily scandinavianised, would contain some *bý(r)*-names of purportedly very early attestations. Willoughby WAR, like Badby NTH, is located on the periphery of the East Midlands *bý(r)*-names distribution where Mercian or West Saxon record keepers were most likely to recognise it. Its 956 [11th] form is contained in an eleventh-century copy of Anglo-Saxon charter S623 which records a land-grant of eight hides at Braunston NTH from the Anglo-Saxon king Eadwig to his minister, also named Eadwig (see PNWar 14-15). All of the five *bý(r)*-names mentioned in purportedly tenth-century texts are first attested in eleventh-century sources.

The generic element of Willoughby WAR in its *on wiliabys* [?for *wiliabyg*] 956 [11th] form must be discussed because it has been taken to possibly be OE *bēg* ‘ring’ and not ON *bý(r)*; and this has been used as supporting evidence for the theory that some or all Anglo-Scandinavian Wilby-names and Willoughby-names reflect scandinavianised OE **welīg-bēg* ‘ring of willow-trees’ formations (see PNDor 1 33; SSNEM 78; VEPN 1 71). In PNDor 1 33, Mills etymologises the bound *on þat withi begh* in Anglo-Saxon charter S573 dated 955 [14th] as OE **wīðig-bē(a)g* ‘ring of willows’ and compares it to Wilby SUF (*Wilebey*, -bi 1086), which has also been given this etymology (see Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016: 154; CDEPN

680).⁴² Mills states that this formation may underlie other Wilby-names, in particular Wilby NOR (*Wilgeby*, *Willebeih* 1086). However, in VEPN 1 72 Parsons and Styles note that charter S573 is spurious and that the bound *on þat withi begh* may be an error because it is recapitulated as *of þanne wipi bedde*, which contains instead OE *bedd* ‘bed, plot of land for growing plants’. OE **wīðig-bedd* is a recurrent compound in English place-names (see VEPN 1 69), which could explain its likely appearance in the charter or its substitution for an original OE **wīðig-bēg*.

This is a difficult issue because there is considerable phonological overlap between OE *bēg* and ON *bý(r)* in its unrounded Anglo-Scandinavian forms [bi], [bi:], which could have caused orthographical overlap in historical written records. However, the *Wilebeih* 1086 form for Wilby NOR is not strong evidence for an original OE *bēg* that was scandinavianised to ON *bý(r)* because Domesday Book forms in *-bei*, *-bey* (which seem to reflect the sound [bei]), are common among Norfolk *bý(r)*-names.⁴³ The representation of ON *bý(r)* as *-byg* also occurs in the historical forms of four other Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names: Appleby Magna LEI (*Æppelbyg* 1004 [e. 11th]); Claxby by Normanby LIN (*Cleaxbyg* c. 1067 [12th]); North Ormesby LIN (*Vrmesbyg* c. 1067 [12th]); and Wilby NTH *Wiliabyg* c. 1067 [12th]). The *-byg* forms for the final three names occur in the same document, Anglo-Saxon charter S906.

⁴² Wilby SUF has not been included in the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus constructed for this thesis, despite its *Wilebi* 1086 form. Its other historical forms, including its other Domesday Book form *Wilebey* 1086, suggest it is an original OE **Wilig-bēg* formation (see Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016: 154).

⁴³ The sixteen Norfolk *bý(r)*-names with Domesday Book *-bei/-bey* forms are: Alby NOR (*Ala-*, *Alebei* 1086); Ashby NOR (*Aschebei*, *Asseby* 1086); Billockby NOR (*Bit(h)lakebei* 1086); Clippesby NOR (*Clepesbe*, *-bei*, *Clipesby* 1086); Colby NOR (*Colebei* 1086); Filby NOR (*Fileby*, *Philebey*, *-by* 1086); Hemsby NOR (*Haimes-*, *He(i)mesbei* (1086); Herringby NOR (*Haringebei* 1086); Kirby Bedon NOR (*Kerkebei* 1086); Mautby NOR (*Maltebei*, *-bey*, *-by* 1086); Oby NOR (*Houby*, *Oebei*, *Othebei* 1086); Ormesby NOR (*Omesbei*, *Ormesbei*, *-by* 1086); Rollesby NOR (*Rotholfuesbei*, *-by* 1086); Scratby NOR (*Scroteby*, *Scroutebei* 1086); Stokesby NOR (*Stoches*, *Stokesbei*, *-bey* 1086); and Thrigby NOR (*Trike-*, *Trukebei* 1086).

Wilby NTH is another name in the Wilby-/Willoughby-names group that could represent scandinavianised OE **welig-bæg* formations; and the *byg*-form for Appleby Magna LEI, whose specific element is OE *æppel*/ON *epli* ‘apple’, could be argued to represent an original ‘ring of apple-trees’ formation that was scandinavianised. However, there are no other instances of this compound in English place-names.⁴⁴ OE *bæg* is not a reasonable explanation for the *byg*-forms of Claxby by Normanby LIN and North Ormesby LIN. There are three Claxby-names in Lincolnshire, each *Clachesbi* 1086 in Domesday Book, whose specific elements are either the ON personal name *Klakkr* or the noun OE **clæcc* ‘?hill-top, hillock’/ON *klakkr* ‘lump, hill, hillock’. The genitival constructions in the historical forms of the Claxby-names and debatable topographical appropriateness of OE **clæcc*/ON *klakkr* at the settlements which bear the place-names have been taken to favour the personal name (see PNLin 3 18; SSNEM 41; VEPN 3 89). North Ormesby LIN belongs to a group of six Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain the ON personal name *Ormr* as their specific elements.⁴⁵ The appearance of OE *bæg* in these recurrent *bý(r)*-name compounds is implausible.

There is, then, no direct barrier to accepting the *on wiliabys* [?for *wiliabyg*] 956 [11th] form for Willoughby WAR (and the *Wiliabyg* c. 1067 [12th] form for Wilby NTH) as a *bý(r)*-

⁴⁴ Appleby Magna LEI also belongs to a group of four Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain ON *epli*/OE *æppel* as their specific elements. The group otherwise comprises: Appleby LIN (*Aplebi* 1086), Appleby St Lawrence WES (*Appel-*, *Appilby* 1132-61), and Eppleby YOR (*Aplebi* 1086).

⁴⁵ The ON personal name *Ormr* derives from the common noun ON *ormr* ‘a worm, snake’. Following the methodological approach taken to specific elements in this thesis (see Chapter Two, Section 2.2.2.4.), the common noun should perhaps be considered an alternative specific element. However, there is no reliable evidence for the use of *ormr* in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names (which would be difficult to distinguish from OE *wyrm*); and a ‘settlement of the worm(s), snake(s)’ is not a reasonable suggestion because animals that could be labelled such are not tolerable for human habitation. This is not the case for domesticated animals or tolerable animals such as rooks, etc., that could have been denoted to have a presence at a particular site. This same reasoning applies to the five *bý(r)*-names which contain the personal name OE *Wulf*/ON *Ulf* as their specific elements (see below).

form. However, the situation of the Wilby-/Willoughby-names is complicated, not least because OE *welig* has no Old Norse cognate and so the nine Wilby-/Willoughby-names represent a very recurrent hybrid formation among Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. OE *bæg* cannot be ruled out as the original generic element of some Wilby-/Willoughby-names. The Domesday Book form *Wilebei* 1086 for Willoughby WAR is somewhat problematic, although it correlates with Domesday Book forms for 16 Norfolk *bý(r)*-names (see Footnote 43). Its other Domesday Book forms *Wilebec*, *-bene*, *-bere* 1086 are erratic and do not map well onto any generic elements. All that can be said with certainty for the generic element of Willoughby WAR is that its historical forms from the twelfth century onward reflect ON *bý(r)*.

3.3.2. Eleventh-Century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

The maps below illustrate the eleventh-century *bý(r)*-names on a dot-based map and on a heat-map of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus;⁴⁶ and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the percentage of the county totals those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus those figures represent.

⁴⁶ Easby YOR is not mapped because its location is lost.

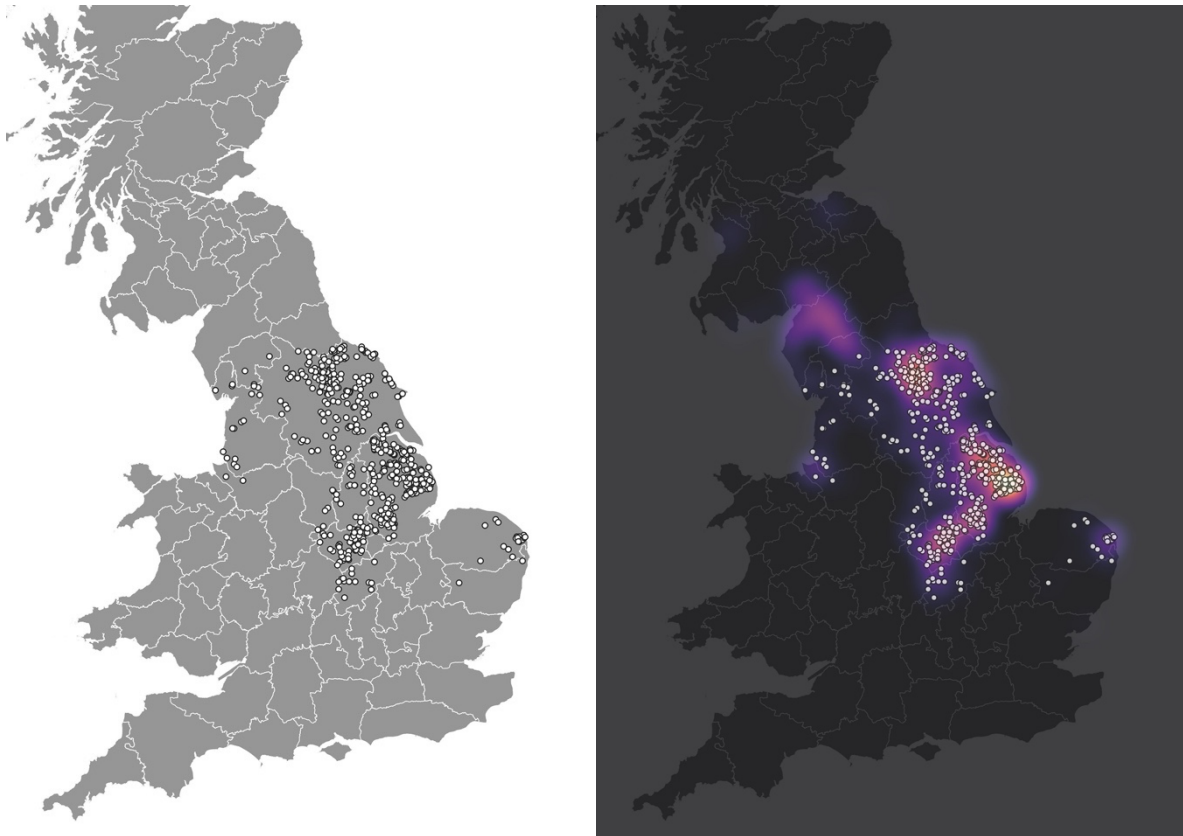


Figure 3.5: distribution of eleventh-century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

<u>County</u>		<u>Count</u>		<u>% of County bý(r)-names</u>		<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)-names</u>	
Lincolnshire		212		89.8		26.3	
Yorkshire	East Riding	36	204	14.5	82.3	4.5	25.3
	North Riding	130		52.4		16.1	
	West Riding	38		15.3		4.7	
Leicestershire		56		83.6		6.9	
Norfolk		20		95.2		2.5	

Nottinghamshire	20	95.2	2.5
Lancashire	15	78.9	1.9
Northamptonshire	13	72.2	1.6
Derbyshire	7	77.8	0.9
Westmorland	3	13.6	0.4
Cheshire	2	16.7	0.2
Suffolk	2	66.7	0.2
Warwickshire	1	33.3	0.1
Totals:	555	N/A	68.9

Table 3.3: county totals of eleventh-century Anglo-Scandinavian $bý(r)$ -names

Five hundred and fifty-five Anglo-Scandinavian $bý(r)$ -names, distributed across 12 counties in England, are first attested in the eleventh century. The eleventh-century $bý(r)$ -names are by far the largest group by century of first attestation – they represent a majority 68.9% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus – and are dominated by Domesday Book forms. Domesday Book provides first attestations for 547 $bý(r)$ -names, 67.9% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus (see below). All of the counties that contain eleventh-century $bý(r)$ -names are at least partially covered by Domesday Book; and only four counties (Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, Westmorland, and Yorkshire) have discrepancies between their total eleventh-century figures and their Domesday Book figures. A small number of $bý(r)$ -names in these counties have eleventh-century first attestations that pre-date and post-date Domesday Book. The eleventh-century $bý(r)$ -names are widely distributed across core and peripheral areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian distribution, but they do not occur in the core area centred around Carlisle, the peripheral distribution in County Durham, or southern Scotland.

3.3.2.1. Pre-Domesday Book Eleventh-Century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

The maps below illustrate the distribution of the pre-Domesday Book eleventh-century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names; and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the percentage of the county totals those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus those figures represent.

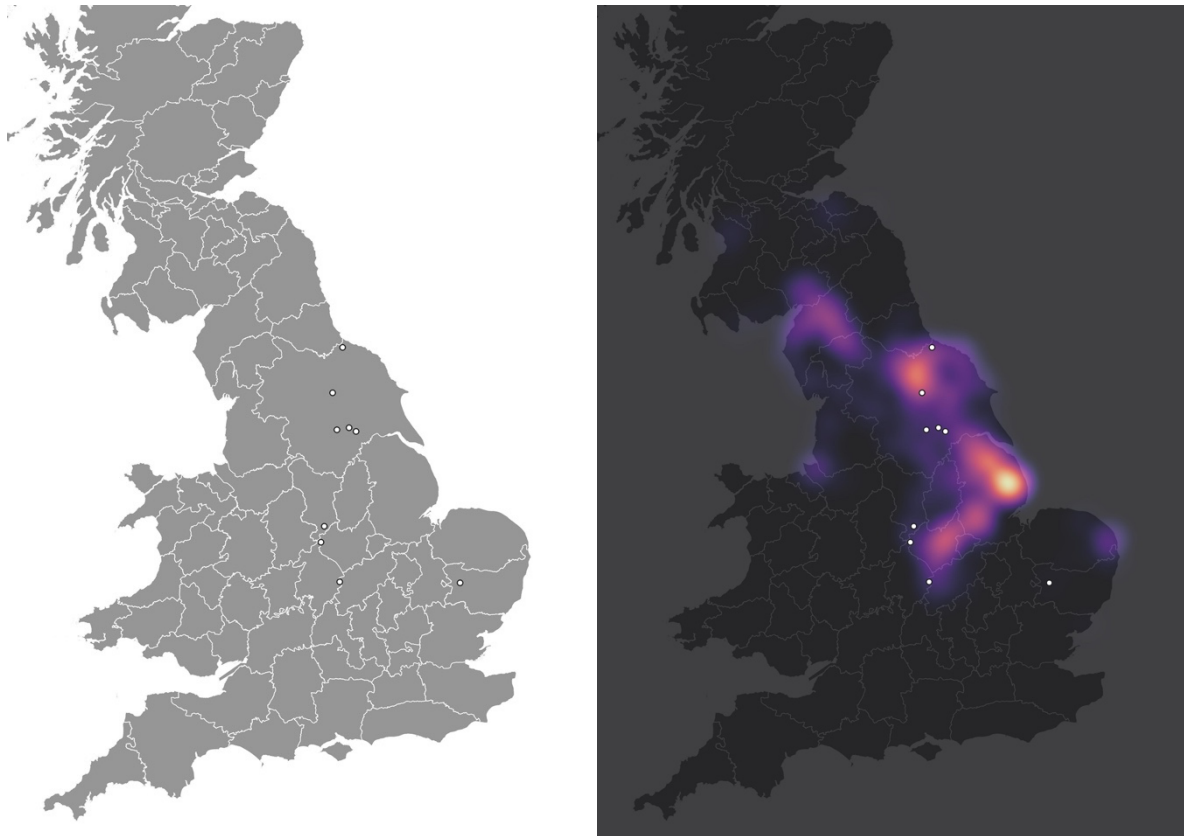


Figure 3.6: distribution of pre-Domesday Book eleventh century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of County <i>bý(r)</i>- names</u>	<u>% of A-Sc <i>bý(r)</i>- names</u>

Yorkshire	5	2.0	0.6
Derbyshire	1	11.1	0.1
Leicestershire	1	1.5	0.1
Suffolk	1	33.3	0.1
Warwickshire	1	33.3	0.1
Totals:	9	N/A	1.1

Table 3.4: county totals of pre-Domesday Book eleventh century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

Nine Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names are first attested with eleventh-century forms that pre-date Domesday Book: Appleby Magna LEI (*Æppelbyg* 1004 [e. 11th]); Barmby on the Marsh YOR (*Bærna- Barnabi* c. 1050); Helperby YOR (*Helperby, æt heolperbi* 972 [11th]); Ingleby DER (*Englabý* 1009); Lumby YOR (*Lundby* c. 1030); Normanby (Langbargh East Wap.) YOR (*Norðmannabi* c. 1050); Risby SUF (*Rysebi* 1045-65); Selby YOR (*Seleby* c. 1030); and Willoughby WAR (*Wiliabyg* 956 [11th]). Lumby YOR and Selby YOR are the only names in this group that are not later attested in Domesday Book (i.e. the land-units that bore the names were not assessed as taxable villis in the Domesday survey). The c. 1030 attestation for Lumby YOR is particularly significant because the place-name does not appear again in the historical record until the thirteenth century. Selby YOR, however, has two further c. 1050 and c. 1070 forms that pre-date Domesday Book.

Some of the pre-Domesday Book eleventh-century forms are of particular historical linguistic significance. Appleby Magna LEI is one of six Leicestershire bý(r)-names that have concurrent Domesday Book forms which contain ON bý(r) and OE *burh* (in its dative form *byrig*) as their generic elements. It is attested in Domesday Book as *Apelbi, -by, Apelberia*

1086. This phenomenon is fully discussed in the generic elements interchange case-study of this thesis (see Chapter Four). It suffices to say here that in Leicestershire it appears to reflect a repeated error of the Domesday Book scribes/copyists caused by phonological overlap between the two generic elements. Plant-terms do occur as the specific elements of OE *burh*-names (see VEPN 2 82), but the *Æppelbyg* 1004 [e. 11th] form for Appleby Magna LEI strongly supports the probability that Appleby Magna LEI is an original *bý(r)*-name with an erratic Domesday Book *byrig*-form.

The *Helperby*, *æt heolperbi* 972 [11th] form for Helperby YOR is the earliest Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-form that appears to contain a diagnostic Old Norse genitive *-ar* inflection. Helperby YOR relatively securely contains the personal name ON *Hjálp* as its specific element; and its historical forms (and, indeed, its modern form) reflect an original **Hjálparbý(r)* ‘Hjálp’s *bý(r)*’ construction. Secure evidence for the ON genitive *-ar* is very uncommon in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. This is not least because the genitive inflections of specific elements are in medial, semi- or unstressed positions in Anglo-Scandinavian place-name compounds. How many of the medial vowels that are ubiquitous in the early forms of *bý(r)*-names represent weakened genitive inflections, rather than svarabhakti vowels that developed in the consonant clusters of compound place-names, is uncertain.

There are nine other *bý(r)*-names which have historical forms that strongly suggest the presence of an ON genitive *-ar* at one time because, like the historical forms for Helperby YOR, they contain a medial *-r*-. The *bý(r)*-names, their historical forms which suggest a genitive ON *-ar*, and their relatively secure specific elements are: Aismunderby YOR (*Asmundrebi* 1086) (ON *Ásmundr*); Amotherby YOR (*Aimundre*-, *Edmundrebi* 1086) (ON *Eymundr*); Bellerby YOR (*Belgebi* 1086 > *Belgerby* 12th) (ON *Belgr*); Dolphenby CUM (*Dolphinerbi* 1202) (ON *Dolgfinnr*); Fotherby LIN (*Fdre*- (sic), *Fodrebi* 1086) (ON *Fótr* or

ON *fótr* ‘foot of a topographical feature’); Harby NOT (*Herde-*, *Herdrebi* 1086) (ON *Herrǫðr* or ON *hjǫrð* ‘a herdsman’); Romanby YOR (*Romundrebi* 1086) (ON *Hróðmundr*); and Thorlby YOR (*Toredere-*, *Toreilderebi* 1086) (ON *Þóraldr*).⁴⁷ A genitive ON *-ar* is the regular, expected genitive inflection for these elements except for ON *Dolgfinnr*, which would be expected to be *Dolgfinnns*, and ON *Þóraldr*, which would be expected to be *Þóralds*. Apparent instances of the genitive ON *-ar* can be taken as strong evidence for the formation of those *bý(r)*-names by Old Norse-speakers; and it is notable that with the exception of Harby NOT the *bý(r)*-names that appear to contain the inflection are located in the core areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, primarily in Yorkshire.

Normanby (Langbargh East Wap.) YOR is one of eight Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that contain either the ethnonym OE *norðman*/ON *norðmaðr* ‘a north-man’ or the personal name OE/ON *Norðman* as their specific elements. Their recurrence and the existence of other recurrent ethnonymic *bý(r)*-names favours the ethnonym as their specific elements, but the personal name is common in the English historical record and could form the specific element of some Normanby-names (see Chapter One, Section 1.3.2.1.). The Domesday Book form *Normanebi* 1086 for Normanby (Langbargh East Wap.) YOR contains a medial *-e-* that could be interpreted as a weakened form of a genitive plural *-a* or a svarabhakti vowel; and its next historical form, *Normannesbi* 1181, contains a genitive *-(e)s-* that suggests the specific element was interpreted as either the personal name or a singular ‘north-man’. The *Norðmannabi* c. 1050 form for Normanby (Langbargh East Wap.) YOR, however, suggests that its specific element is the genitive plural OE/ON *norðmanna* of the ethnonym and that its etymology is ‘the *bý(r)* of the north-men’.

⁴⁷ Because genitive *-ar* is a diagnostic feature of Old Norse (i.e. it does not occur in the Old English grammatical system), the Old Norse reflexes of cognate ON/OE elements have here been taken to be the specific elements of these *bý(r)*-names.

There are thirteen Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that are attested in purported pre-Domesday Book eleventh century sources whose surviving copies post-date the eleventh century: Ashby NOR (*Askeby* 1044-47 [13th]); Claxby by Normanby LIN (*Cleaxbyg* c. 1067 [12th]); *Houchbig* c. 1067 [12th] LIN; Kettleby LIN (*Kitlebi, -big* c. 1067 [12th]); Kilsby NTH (*Kildesbig* 1043 [17th]); West Kirby CHE (*Cherchebia* 1081 [12th]); Kirkby Mallory LEI (*Cherchebiae* s.a. 1081 [a. 1131]); Ormesby NOR (*Ormisby* c. 1020 [1. 13th]); North Ormsby LIN (*Vrmesbyg* c. 1067 [12th]); Raby DUR (*Raby* c. 1040 [12th]); Rollesby NOR (*Rollesby* 1044-47 [13th]); Scratby NOR (*Scroutebi* c. 1020 [14th]); and Wilby NTH (*Wiliabyg* c. 1067 [12th]). *Houchbig* LIN and Raby DUR are the only of these names that do not have Domesday Book attestations – *Houchbig* LIN is only attested once (and, indeed, its location is unknown) and County Durham was not covered by the Domesday survey. The purported pre-Domesday Book forms for *Houchbig* LIN, Kettleby LIN, North Ormsby LIN, and Wilby NTH are contained in copies of the same Anglo-Saxon will dated c. 1067.

3.3.2.2. Domesday Book Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

The maps below illustrate the distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that are attested in Domesday Book (including those with pre-Domesday Book first attestations); and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the percentage of the county totals those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus those figures represent.

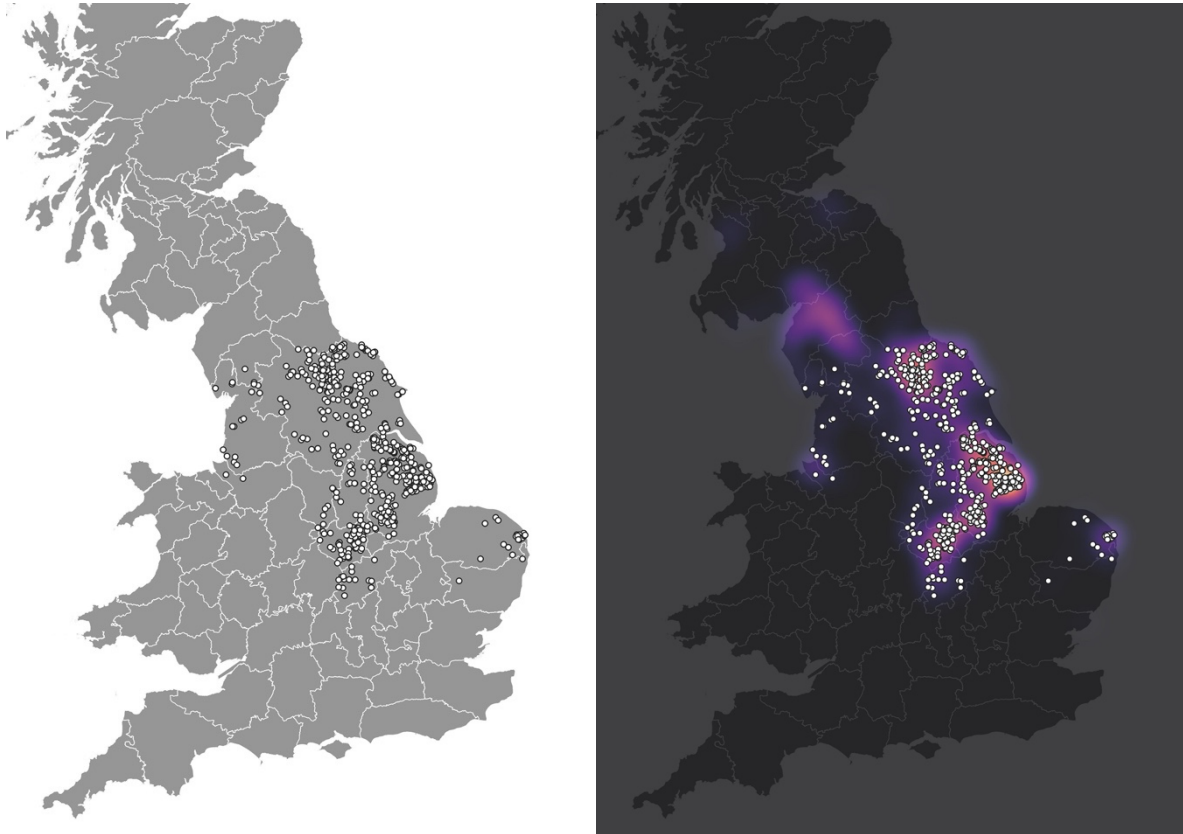


Figure 3.7: distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names attested in Domesday Book

<u>County</u>		<u>Count</u>		<u>% of County bý(r)- names</u>		<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)- names</u>	
Lincolnshire		212		89.8		26.3	
Yorkshire	East Riding	36	200	87.8	80.6	4.5	24.8
	North Riding	129		84.3		16.0	
	West Riding	35		64.8		4.3	
Leicestershire		56		83.6		6.9	
Norfolk		20		95.2		2.5	

Nottinghamshire	20	95.2	2.5
Lancashire	15	78.9	1.9
Northamptonshire	14	77.8	1.7
Derbyshire	8	88.9	0.9
Cheshire	2	16.7	0.2
Suffolk	2	66.7	0.2
Westmorland	2	9.1	0.2
Warwickshire	1	33.3	0.1
Totals:	552	N/A	68.5

Table 3.5: county totals of Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names attested in Domesday Book

The 552 Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names that have Domesday Book forms are distributed across 12 English counties covered by four of the seven circuits of the Domesday survey (see Finn 1973: 5; Galbraith 1961: 8 for the Domesday Book circuits). Two of the counties, Lancashire and Westmorland, were only partially covered by Domesday Book because parts of those historical counties lay outside the territory of the English kingdom held by William the Conqueror in 1086. Nevertheless, 78.9% of the bý(r)-names in Lancashire have Domesday Book attestations. That only 9.1% of the bý(r)-names in Westmorland have Domesday Book attestations may better reflect this limitation. The only county in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain covered by the survey that does not contribute to the Domesday Book total is Essex – its single bý(r)-name, Kirby-le-Soken ESX, is first attested in the twelfth century (see below).

Lincolnshire names and Yorkshire names comprise just over half the bý(r)-names with Domesday Book attestations. This is unsurprising given that the two north-eastern English

counties contain the majority of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, and were both fully covered by the Domesday survey. The percentage of Lincolnshire *bý(r)*-names attested in Domesday Book, 89.8%, is lower only than Norfolk and Nottinghamshire (95.2% each), two counties that each contain less than a tenth of the *bý(r)*-names in Lincolnshire. The total percentage of Yorkshire *bý(r)*-names attested in Domesday Book is somewhat lower, at 80.6%. Domesday Book attestations are high among *bý(r)*-names in the East and North Ridings, at 87.8% and 84.3% respectively, but only 64.8% of *bý(r)*-names in the West Riding of Yorkshire are attested in the survey. Three *bý(r)*-names in the West Riding of Yorkshire (Lumby YOR, Kirkby (Osgoldcross Wap.) YOR, and Selby YOR) are first attested in the eleventh century, but their land-units were evidently not assessed in the Domesday survey as taxable villis (see above).

A number of *bý(r)*-names in the West Riding of Yorkshire may in fact post-date Domesday Book in their formation. Austby YOR, Eastby YOR, four West Riding Newby-names, and Westby YOR contain adjectival specific elements (OE *ēast*/ON *austr* ‘east’, OE *nīwe* ‘new’, and OE *west*/ON *vestr* ‘west’, respectively), and thus belong to a group of *bý(r)*-name formations that have been suggested to represent likely candidates for post-Conquest formations (see Fellows-Jensen 1984: 37). Huby YOR (*Huby* 1198) contains the Norman personal name OFr *Hue* (< CG *Hugo*) as its specific element; and Fockerby YOR (*Fulwardby(e)* 1164-77) the personal name CG *Folcward*/ON *Folkvarðr*. The Old Norse personal name appears to have been a loan from the Continental Germanic name, and it has been suggested as a result that Fockerby YOR is more likely to contain the latter and represent a post-Conquest formation (see CDEPN 234; PNWRY 2 5).

The majority of East Midlands *bý(r)*-names are attested in Domesday Book and, with the exception of Badby NTH, these Domesday Book forms represent the earliest for the names. The figures for Leicestershire (83.6%) and Derbyshire (88.9%) are comparable to

those for Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; and Bleasby NOT (*Bleseby* 13th) is the only Nottinghamshire *bý(r)*-name to not be attested in Domesday Book. It purportedly appears earlier in a late copy with OE *tūn*/ON *tún* as its generic element in the form *Blistetune* 958 [14th], which is discussed in the generic elements interchange case-study of this thesis (see Chapter Four). The Domesday Book figure for Northamptonshire (77.8%) is lower, but only one of the three Warwickshire names has Domesday Book *bý(r)*-forms, Willoughby WAR (*Wilebec*, *-bei*, *-bene*, *-bere* 1086). Monks Kirby WAR and Rugby WAR appear in Domesday Book with the OE *byrig*-forms *Chircheberie* 1086 and *Rocheberie* 1086, respectively. They are first attested with ON *bý(r)* as their generic elements in the twelfth-century forms *Kirkebi* c. 1160 and *Roche-*, *Rokebi* 1154-89. These names are discussed in the generic elements interchange case-study of this thesis (see Chapter Four).

The East Anglian counties of Norfolk and Suffolk are well-represented in Little Domesday Book. The only Norfolk *bý(r)*-name to not have a Domesday Book *bý(r)*-form is Aldeby NOR, which appears in the survey with the OE *byrig*-form *Aldebury* 1086. It is first attested with ON *bý(r)* as its specific element in the twelfth-century form *Aldeby* c. 1180. This is another name discussed in the generic elements interchange case-study of this thesis (see Chapter Four). Ashby SUF (*Askebi* 1190) is the only of the three Suffolk *bý(r)*-names to not be attested in Domesday Book.

The north-western English counties have a mixed representation in Domesday Book. Despite being only partially covered by the survey, the figure for Lancashire (78.9%) is high and comparable to that for Northamptonshire. Partial coverage appears to have more greatly affected the *bý(r)*-names in Westmorland, with only Kirkby Kendal WES and Kirkby Lonsdale WES (both *Cherchebi* 1086) included in Domesday Book. However, Kirkby Stephen WES does appear in the eleventh-century post-Domesday Book form *Cherkaby Stephan* 1090-97 (see below). Cheshire was fully covered by the Domesday survey, but only

two of its twelve *bý(r)*-names appear with *bý(r)*-forms in Domesday Book, Helsby CHE (*Helesbe* 1086) and Raby CHE (*Rabie* 1086). Greasby CHE is attested in Domesday Book with the OE *byrig*-form *Gravesberie* 1086 (see Chapter Four), but Cheshire *bý(r)*-names are otherwise first attested in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Cumberland was not at all covered by the Domesday survey, so the county with the third highest *bý(r)*-names total in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus does not contribute any Domesday Book forms.

The Domesday survey also did not cover County Durham or any of southern Scotland because, as discussed above, these regions of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain were entirely outside the area of William the Conqueror's English kingdom in 1086. It must be acknowledged that Domesday Book is an early source for historical settlement-name forms governed by this socio-political factor (plus its coverage of only settlements that existed as taxable vills in the late eleventh century). The distribution of Domesday Book *bý(r)*-name forms has merit as a record of early formations, but the absence of some regions of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain from its coverage does not necessarily reflect the sociolinguistic reality in those regions.

3.3.2.3. Post-Domesday Book Eleventh-Century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

The maps below illustrate the distribution of the post-Domesday Book eleventh century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names; and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the percentage of the county totals those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus those figures represent.

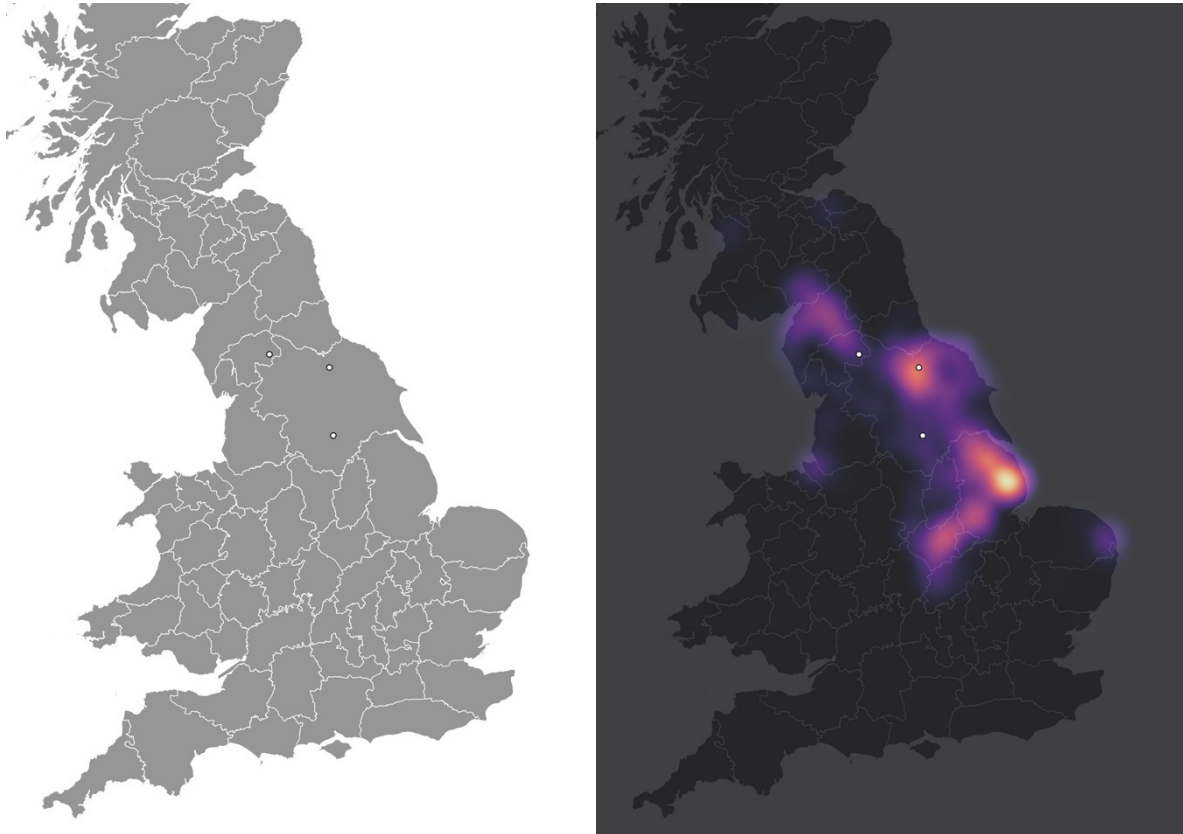


Figure 3.8: distribution of post-Domesday Book eleventh century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of County bý(r)-names</u>	<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)-names</u>
Yorkshire	2	0.8	0.2
Westmorland	1	4.5	0.1
Totals:	3	N/A	0.4

Table 3.6: county totals of post-Domesday Book eleventh century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

Three Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names are first attested with eleventh-century forms that post-date Domesday: Kirby Sigston YOR (*Kirchebi* 1088); Kirkby (Osgoldcross Wap.) YOR (*Ki-*, *Kyrkebi*, *-by* c. 1090); and Kirkby Stephen WES (*Cherkaby Stephan* 1090-97). They are all Kir(k)by-names, which with 45 examples form by far the most recurrent *bý(r)*-names compound in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. They are generally held to represent the recurrent application by Scandinavian-speakers of a pre-formed compound ON **kirkju-bý(r)* to appropriate sites (see analysis of Kir(k)by-names below). This compound has traditionally been interpreted as ‘*bý(r)* by/with a church’, but in a recent analysis Pickles (2018) has suggested they denote land-units owned by religious communities and/or the church as an institution (see analysis of Kirkby-names below). Thirty-two, or 71.1%, of Anglo-Scandinavian Kirkby-names are first attested in the eleventh century. Among these, Kirkby Sigston YOR, Kirkby (Osgoldcross Wap.) YOR (*Ki-*, *Kyrkebi*, *-by* c. 1090), and Kirkby Stephen WES (*Cherkaby Stephan* 1090-97) are the only ones to have not been assessed as taxable villis in Domesday Book.

Four *bý(r)*-names have purported eleventh-century source dates that post-date Domesday Book whose surviving copies post-date the eleventh century: Greasby CHE (*Grauisby* 1096-1101 [1150]); Irby CHE (*Irreby* 1096-1101 [1280]); Killerby DUR (*Culuerdebi* 1091-92 [12th]); and Whitby CHE (*Whitebia* 1096-1101 [1280]). These are the earliest *bý(r)*-forms for Greasby CHE and Whitby CHE. Both place-names are first attested with OE *byrig*-forms. This phenomenon is discussed in the generic elements interchange case-study of this thesis (see Chapter Four).

3.3.3. Twelfth-Century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

The maps below illustrate the twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names on a dot-based map and on a heat-map of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus;⁴⁸ and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the percentage of the county totals those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus those figures represent.

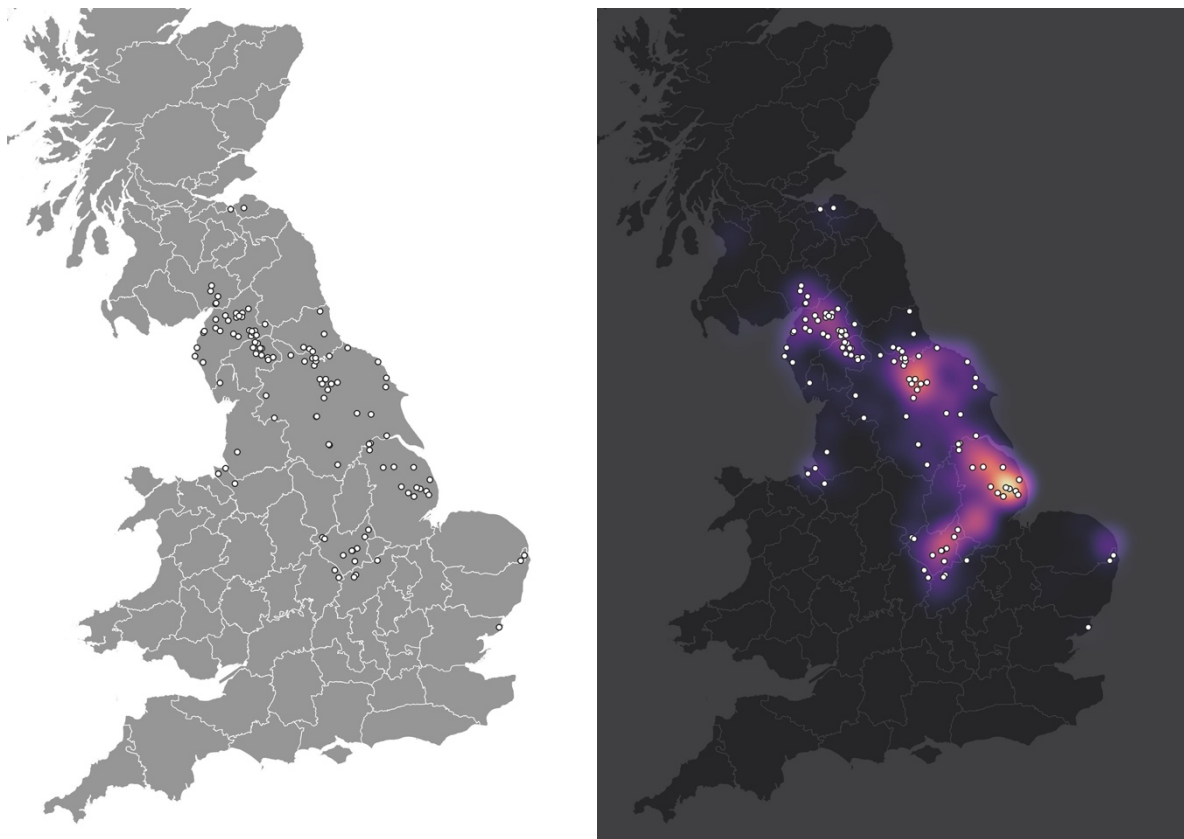


Figure 3.9: distribution of twelfth-century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of County <i>bý(r)</i>-names</u>	<u>% of A-Sc <i>bý(r)</i>-names</u>

⁴⁸ *Houcbig* LIN is not mapped because its location is lost.

Yorkshire	East Riding	4	29	9.8	11.7	0.5	3.6
	North Riding	15		9.8		1.9	
	West Riding	10		18.5		1.2	
Cumberland		26		34.2		3.2	
Lincolnshire		14		5.9		1.7	
Westmorland		10		45.5		1.2	
Leicestershire		9		13.4		1.1	
Dumfriesshire		6		28.6		0.7	
County Durham		6		60		0.7	
Cheshire		3		25		0.4	
Northamptonshire		3		16.7		0.4	
Lancashire		2		10.5		0.2	
Warwickshire		2		66.7		0.2	
Essex		1		100		0.1	
East Lothian		1		25		0.1	
Midlothian		1		100		0.1	
Norfolk		1		4.8		0.1	
Suffolk		1		33.3		0.1	
Totals:		115		N/A		14.3	

Table 3.7: county totals of twelfth-century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

One hundred and fifteen Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, distributed across 16 counties in England and Scotland, are first attested in the twelfth century. The twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names are the second largest group by century of first attestation (after the eleventh-century *bý(r)*-names (see above)), and they represent 14.3% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. Two English counties that were not covered by the Domesday survey, Cumberland and County Durham, first contribute *bý(r)*-names to the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus in the twelfth century. The 26 twelfth-century Cumberland *bý(r)*-names represent a county total for the century that is lower only than Yorkshire; and the two northern English counties collectively account for 47.8% of the twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names. Scottish Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names are first recorded in the twelfth century – the six Dumfriesshire names dominate a group of eight Scottish twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names otherwise comprised of Begbie ELO and Smeaton MLO, the only Midlothian *bý(r)*-name in the corpus.

The distribution of the twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names is noticeably more peripheral than that of the eleventh-century names. This is because the majority of the *bý(r)*-names in the core area formed by Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are first attested in the eleventh century (primarily in Domesday Book); and *bý(r)*-names in five English and Scottish counties that were not covered by the Domesday Book survey first appear in the historical record during this century. The north-western counties Lancashire and Westmorland, only partially surveyed in Domesday Book, also contribute further *bý(r)*-names in the twelfth century – the 10 Westmorland names represent a significant 45.5% of the *bý(r)*-names in the county. Kirby-le-Soken ESX (*Kirkby* c. 1127), the only *bý(r)*-name in Essex and the most southerly *bý(r)*-name in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, is first attested in the twelfth century; and Smeaton MLO (*Smithebi* 1153-65), the only Midlothian *bý(r)*-name which belongs to the

peripheral group of *bý(r)*-names otherwise located in East Lothian and West Lothian, is also first attested with a *bý(r)*-form in the twelfth century.⁴⁹

The twelfth-century totals for three English counties covered by Domesday Book which contain dense concentrations of *bý(r)*-names, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, are less significant. 89.8% of *bý(r)*-names in Lincolnshire are first attested in the eleventh century, and the 14 twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names in the county represent just 5.9% of its total. The twelfth-century names in Leicestershire and Yorkshire represent slightly higher proportions of the *bý(r)*-names in the counties, 13.4% and 11.7% respectively, but are still considerably less than the 83.6% and 82.3% of the *bý(r)*-names in those counties first attested in the eleventh century.

Because large parts of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain were not of central interest to Mercian and West Saxon administrators or chroniclers, and/or are not covered by the Domesday survey, some *bý(r)*-names first recorded in the twelfth century are probably just as old as *bý(r)*-names recorded earlier. It must also be remembered that only settlements taxable as individual villas were assessed in Domesday Book (see above). Many ‘lesser’ settlements were probably of comparable age to those assessed as taxable. Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that a number of *bý(r)*-names first attested in the twelfth century (and the thirteenth century) represent recent formations. Foremost among these are 14 *bý(r)*-names first attested in the twelfth century in northern England and Dumfriesshire that relatively securely contain Continental personal names introduced to Anglo-Scandinavian Britain by the Normans. Anglo-Scandinavian Newby-names, which may represent relatively late formations, are also first attested in the twelfth century. These groups of *bý(r)*-names are worthy of discussion.

⁴⁹ Smeaton MLO is first attested as *Smithetune* 1124-53, with ON *tún*/OE *tūn* as its generic element. It is discussed in the generic elements interchange case-study of this thesis (see Chapter Four).

The 14 twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names with Continental personal name specific elements are: Baggaby YOR (*Bagoteby* 12th) (OFr *Bagot* (< CG *Bago*)); Botcherby CUM (*Bocherby* c. 1170) (OFr *Bochard* (< CG)); Follingby DUR (*Foletesbi* c. 1150) (OFr *Folet*); Halnaby YOR (*Halnathebi*, -by 1170-88) (OFr *Halnath* (< CG *Halanant*)); Hoby YOR (*Huby* 1198) (OFr *Hue* (< CG *Hugo*)); Johnby CUM (*Ionesbi* 12th) (Bib. *Johannes*); Jolby YOR (*Jo(h)eleby* 1193-99) (Bib. *Johel*); Lockerbie DMF (*Locardebi* 1194-1214) (OFr *Lochard* (< CG)); Moresby CUM (*Moresceby* c. 1160) (OFr *Maurice*); Ponsonby CUM (*Puncunesbi* c. 1160) (OFr *Puncun*); Raisby DUR (*Racebi* 1183) (OFr *Race* (< CG)); *Roberdesbi* l. 12th DMF (OFr *Robert* (< CG *Hrodbert*)); Tarraby CUM (*Terrebi* 1177) (OFr *Terri* (< CG *Theodric*)); and *Willambi* 1190 DMF (OFr *William* (< CG *Wilhelm*)). The 14 names represent, by century of first attestation, the largest group of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain names imported from the Continent after the Norman Conquest as their specific elements.⁵⁰ Eleven further *bý(r)*-names in Cumberland with Continental personal name specific elements are first attested in the thirteenth century (see below).

Eight of the 14 twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names with Continental personal name specifics are located in Cumberland and Dumfriesshire, two counties separated by the modern England-Scotland border whose *bý(r)*-names form a contiguous distribution and share

⁵⁰ Five further twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names may contain Continental personal name specific elements, but the continental personal names have Old English and/or Old Norse cognates: Fockerby YOR (*Fulwardby(e)* 1164-67) (ON *Folkvarðr*/CG *Folcward*); Sibbaldbie DMF (*Sybaldeby* 1193) (OE *Sigebeald*/CG *Sigibald*); Upperby CUM (*Hobrithebi* 1164-67) (OE *Hünbeorht*/CG *Hubert*); and Warmanbie DMF (*Weremundebie* 1194-1214) (OE *Wærmund*/ON *Vermundr*/CG *Warimund*). In Cumberland and Dumfriesshire the continental reflexes can perhaps be favoured because of the recurrence of Continental personal name + *bý(r)* constructions in those counties. CG *Folcward* can perhaps be favoured for Fockerby YOR because the ON equivalent appears to have been a borrowing from the CG name (see PNWRY 2 5).

common origins.⁵¹ The *bý(r)*-names with Continental personal names as their specific elements in these counties are almost certainly a direct product of the north-western military campaign conducted by William Rufus, son of William the Conqueror, in 1092.⁵² He took Carlisle from men loyal to the Scottish king, garrisoned its castle with his men, and sent many Anglo-Norman peasants to settle and farm the surrounding areas (see SSNNW 5; Swanton 2000: 227).⁵³ This historical context gives a probable *terminus post quem* of 1092 for the construction of Continental personal name + *bý(r)* formations in north-western England and south-western Scotland.

Fellows-Jensen has consistently argued that these formations represent partial re-naming of pre-existing *bý(r)*-names (see, for example, Fellows-Jensen 1984: 36; Fellows-Jensen 1989-90: 44; SSNNW 5). This is because she strongly favours an early medieval ‘Danish’ origin for the vast majority of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. This explanation is problematic for a number of reasons, however, and has been criticised as unnecessary (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.4.). If Fellows-Jensen’s wholesale Danish model for Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names is dismissed, there is little reason not to accept the Continental personal name + *bý(r)* formations as part of a body of evidence for the use of ON *bý(r)* in northern England and south-western Scotland as a settlement-term until at least the twelfth century (see Barrow 1980: 47; Williamson 1942: 112 for this view).

The land-units in north-western England and southern Scotland which bear/bore Continental personal name + *bý(r)* formations seem to be contemporary with Anglo-Norman

⁵¹ There was not an established England-Scotland border in the eleventh century, when Anglo-Norman settlement in the region first occurred (see Scott 1997: 11).

⁵² See Scott (1997: esp. 12-16) for the historical context of this campaign, which ran parallel to an Anglo-Norman campaign in Wales as military action on the frontiers of their English kingdom.

⁵³ This military campaign preceded some two centuries of Anglo-Norman settlement in Scotland, particularly south of the Forth-Clyde line, with encouragement from Scottish nobility. See Barrow (1980: esp. 30-60) for full discussion of this process.

settlement in the region, which Barrow (1980: 48) states represented not just land-taking but the creation of ‘new agricultural colonies’. Roberts (1989-90: 29) notes ‘the overall distinctive and repetitive regularity’ of the land-units, still evident on nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey maps, which points to a common origin as post-1092 Anglo-Norman plantations; and Scott (1997: 21), too, suggests the place-name evidence in Cumbria and Annandale (i.e. part of Dumfriesshire and Galloway) shows that these plantations represent a single process which commenced immediately post-1092.⁵⁴ The physical evidence goes against Fellows-Jensen’s theory that the Continental personal name + *bý(r)* formations in the north-west represent partially re-named ‘Danish’ constructions. It suggests instead that in the north-west of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain ON *bý(r)* was a living place-name element well into the twelfth century, and that it was applied to Anglo-Norman settlements in the region. There are no other clusters of Continental personal name + *bý(r)* formations in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain to support Fellows-Jensen’s re-naming theory, and other *bý(r)*-names in the north-west point to later use of the element (see discussion of Newby-names below).

Such historical context as the 1092 military campaign of William Rufus in Carlisle is not available for the twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names with Continental personal name specifics in County Durham and Yorkshire. However, Baggaby YOR can be directly linked to a *Bagot* family who are recorded as living at the settlement in the late twelfth century (see PNER Y 169). Halnaby YOR and Jolby YOR are located in the same parish, Croft YOR in Gilling East Wapentake, and this might suggest (Anglo-)Norman land-holding took place in the area. Raisby DUR takes its specific element from an individual named Race Engaine who donated

⁵⁴ Scott (1997: 20) provides a detailed map of these place-names in their local context, which illustrates the positions of Anglo-Norman strongholds and Roman roads. One of the men involved in the Anglo-Norman settlement who gave his name to a *bý(r)*-name may be independently attested in the historical record: a *Johannes filius Puncun* held Ponsonby CUM in 1177 (see PNCum 2 427; SSNNW 38). It cannot be stated with certainty that this is the same *Puncun* who gave his name to Ponsonby CUM, but it is very likely.

a carucate of land in Kelloe to Sherburn Hospital (see Watts 2002: 101). It is preferable to propose that these *bý(r)*-names, like the Cumberland and Dumfriesshire names, represent contemporary formations.

Eight of the 14 Newby-names, hybrid formations of OE *nīwe* ‘new’ + ON *bý(r)*, are first attested in the twelfth century. Four are first attested in the thirteenth century, Newby PEB is first recorded in the fourteenth century, and Newbus DUR is first attested in the fifteenth century. Newby-names (and some other *bý(r)*-names with adjectival specific elements that are rare in Domesday Book) are, in contrast to the north-western *bý(r)*-names with Continental personal name specifics, accepted by Fellows-Jensen (1984: 37) as likely candidates for fully post-Conquest formations. This seems likely. They are late-attested, located in the north of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names distribution, hybrid, and expressly denote ‘the new *bý(r)*’. They cannot represent partial re-naming of pre-existing *bý(r)*-names.

Four of the six Anglo-Scandinavian Oldby-names, which are probably parallel formations to the Newby-names that contain the OE adjective *ēald* ‘old’ as their specific elements, are located in Cumberland and first attested in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. It seems probable that, on the whole, Newby-names and Oldby-names belong to the same later use of ON *bý(r)* as a place-name element in the north/north-west of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. It is possible that they are older, because within a generation of settlements being named with ON *bý(r)* they could be designated ‘new’ or ‘old’, but their conditions suggest they are younger. That the distribution of the Newby-names (and the majority of the Oldby-names) correlates with the *bý(r)*-names which contain Continental personal names as their specific elements supports the theory that ON *bý(r)* held currency as a settlement-term in those areas into the Middle English period.

Among the twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names are nine place-names first attested with generic elements other than ON *bý(r)* and later with *bý(r)*-forms: Aldeby NOR (*Aldebury* 1086 > Aldeby c. 1180); Kirby Hall NTH (*Chercheberie* 1086 > *Kirkeby* 12th); Monks Kirby WAR (*Kirkeberia*, *-biria* 1077, *Chircheberie* 1086 > *Kirkebi* c. 1160); Naseby NTH (*Navesberie* 1086 > *Nauesbi* 1166); Quenby LEI (*Qveneberie* 1086 > *Quenebia* c. 1130); Rugby WAR (*Rocheberie* 1086 > *Roche-*, *Rokebi* 1154-89); Smeaton MLO (*Smithetune* 1124-53, *Smithetun* 1150 > *Smithebi* 1153-65); Thornby NTH (*Torneberie* 1086 > *Thirnebi* c. 1160); and Whitby CHE (*Witerberia* 1096-1101 [1150]) > *Witebi* 1188-91). These *bý(r)*-names are discussed in the generic elements interchange case-study in this thesis (see Chapter Four).

There are seven Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that are attested in purported twelfth-century sources whose surviving copies post-date the twelfth century: Anderby LIN (*Andreby* 1123-47 [13th]); Careby LIN (*Careby* 1199 [1332]); Flimby CUM (*Flemyngeby* 1171-75 [1333]); Gilby LIN (*Gillebi* 1138-39 [13th]); Harraby CUM (*Henricheby* 1171-75 [1333]); Kirkby LIN (*Kyrchebeia* 1146 [13th]); and Traneby 1179 [13th] WES. Flimby CUM probably contains the ethnonym ON *Flæmingr*/OE *Fleming* ‘a Fleming’ as its specific element, although OE *flēming* ‘a fugitive’ is formally possible (see EPNE 1 176). Flemings accompanied the Normans on their conquest of England in 1066 (see Finn 1973: 4), so the ethnonym is far more likely the specific element of Flimby CUM given that it is located in the same region as the preponderance of Norman personal name + *bý(r)* formations. It is a unique compound, and the only other settlement-name in England to be relatively securely etymologised with ON *Flæmingr*/OE *Fleming* is Flempton SUF (*Flemingtuna* 1086) (see Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016: 53). There are, however, multiple Scottish place-names that appear to denote the presence of ‘a Fleming’ or ‘Flemings’, including ten Flemington-names (see Morgan 2013: 104-05). Harraby CUM contains the Norman personal name CG *Henric*

as its specific element and, probably along with Flimby CUM, further attests to the Anglo-Norman settlement in Cumberland in the late eleventh century.

3.3.4. Thirteenth-Century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

The maps below illustrate the thirteenth-century *bý(r)*-names on a dot-based map and on a heat-map of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus; and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the percentage of the county totals those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus those figures represent.

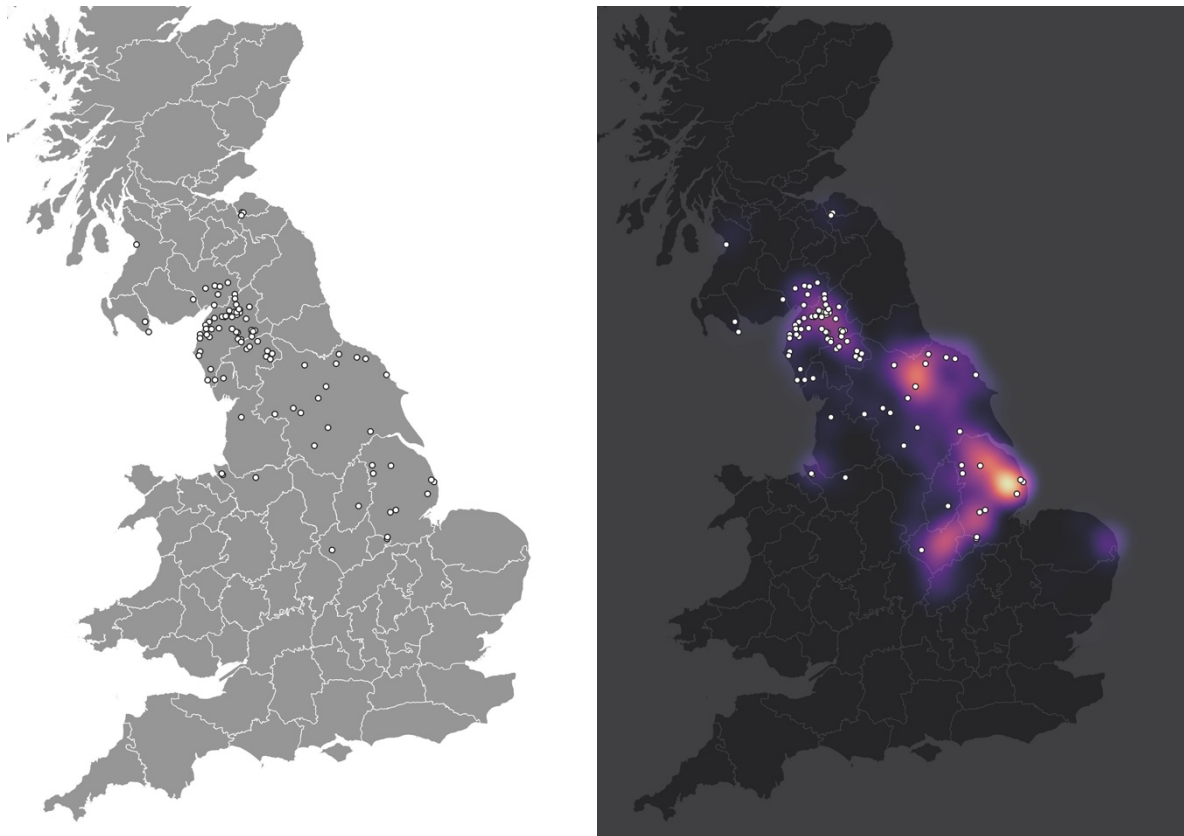


Figure 3.10: distribution of thirteenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

<u>County</u>		<u>Count</u>		<u>% of County bý(r)- names</u>		<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)- names</u>	
Cumberland		46		60.5		5.7	
Yorkshire	East Riding	1	14	0.4	5.6	0.1	1.7
	North Riding	7		2.8		0.9	
	West Riding	6		2.4		0.7	
Lincolnshire		10		4.2		1.2	
Dumfriesshire		7		28.6		0.9	
Westmorland		7		31.8		0.9	
Cheshire		4		41.7		0.6	
East Lothian		3		75		0.4	
Lancashire		2		10.5		0.2	
Wigtownshire		2		100		0.2	
Ayrshire		1		25		0.1	
Kirkcudbrightshire		1		33.3		0.1	
Leicestershire		1		1.5		0.1	
Nottinghamshire		1		4.8		0.1	
Totals:		99		N/A		12.3	

Table 3.8: county totals of thirteenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

Ninety-nine Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, distributed across 13 counties in England and Scotland, are first attested in the thirteenth century. The thirteenth-century *bý(r)*-names are the third largest group by century of first attestation (after the twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names (see above)), and they represent 12.3% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. Three Scottish counties – Ayrshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, and Wigtownshire – make their earliest contributions to the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus in the thirteenth century. The thirteenth-century totals for Cheshire, Cumberland, Dumfriesshire, and Westmorland represent significant proportions of the *bý(r)*-names in those counties. The 46 Cumberland-names comprise 47.4% of the total thirteenth-century *bý(r)*-names and 60.5% of *bý(r)*-names in the county.

There is, then, a strong cluster of thirteenth-century *bý(r)*-names in the north-western counties of Cumberland, Dumfriesshire, and Westmorland. Overall, however, the thirteenth-century *bý(r)*-names continue the peripheral distribution of the previous century (see above). Lincolnshire and Yorkshire contribute double figures of *bý(r)*-names by century of first attestation for the final time, at small proportions of the total figures for those counties. The East Midlands is otherwise only represented in the thirteenth-century *bý(r)*-names sub-corpus by single names from Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire. The first attestations of Scottish *bý(r)*-names in the corpus are fairly evenly distributed across the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, but the 14 thirteenth-century Scottish names (35.0% of the total Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in Scotland) represent the largest figure by century of first attestation in the country. As with the twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names, some thirteenth-century *bý(r)*-names may be contemporary formations.

There are 11 thirteenth-century *bý(r)*-names which relatively securely contain personal names imported from the Continent after the Norman Conquest as their specific elements. They are

the second largest group of these place-names by century of first attestation. The 11 names are: Aglionby CUM (*Agulunebi*, *Auguelun-*, *Agllunby* c. 1200) (OFr *Agllun*); Allonby CUM (*Alayneby* 1262) (Cel. *Alein*); Ellonby CUM (*Alaynby* c. 1220) (Cel. *Alein*); Etterby CUM (*Etardeby* 1246) (OFr *Etard* (< CG *Eidhart*)); Harraby CUM (*Henricheby* 1171-75) (CG *Henric*); Isaacby CUM (*Ysacby* c. 1275) (Bib. *Isaac*); Lamonby CUM (*Lambeneby* 1257) (OFr *Lambin* (< CG *Lambert*)); Rickerby CUM (*Ricardeby* 1246) (CG *Richard*); Robberby CUM (*Roberteby* c. 1237) (OFr *Robert* (< CG *Hrodbert*)); Wiggonby CUM (*Wigayne-*, *Wyganeby* 1278) (OFr *Wigan* (< CG)); and Pearsby DMF (*Perisbe* 1200) (OFr *Piers*).⁵⁵

Four of the men who gave their personal names to these *bý(r)*-names may be independently attested in the historical record. A Lawrence son of Agyllun is recorded holding land at Aglionby CUM in the twelfth century (see PNCum 1 158; SSNNW 25); a land-unit in Carlisle (of which Etterby CUM is a ward) is recorded in an 1130 Pipe Roll as *terra que fuit Etardi* (see PNCum 1 43; SSNNW 30); and an Isaac is recorded holding land in Torphenhow CUM, next to Isaacby CUM, in 1165 (see PNCum 3 xxxiii; SSNNW 33). The *Richard* of Rickerby CUM has been associated with Richergate (*in vico Ricard'* 1206) in Carlisle and the individual named Ricard who held Etterby CUM in 1130 (see PNCum 1 48; SSNNW 39). As with the twelfth-century examples, it cannot be stated with certainty that these are the men referred to in the place-names. However, if they are, this evidence suggests that the place-names Aglionby CUM, Etterby CUM, Isaacby CUM, and Rickerby CUM were coined in the twelfth century.

⁵⁵ Two further thirteenth-century *bý(r)*-names may contain continental personal name specific elements, but the continental personal names have Old English and/or Old Norse cognates: Arnaby CUM (*Arnolvebi* c. 1230) (OE *Earnwulf*/ON *Arnúlfr*/CG *Arnulf*) and Wormanby CUM (*Wynmerby* 1279 (OE **Winemær*/CG *Winimar*). Because an OE **Winemær* is not independently attested, CG *Winimar* can probably be favoured as the specific element of Wormanby CUM. Alstonby Hall CUM (*Astinebi* c. 1210) contains *Astin*, a diminutive form of ON *Ásketill*, as its specific element. This form of the ON personal name was popular among the Normans (see SPNLY 31).

Twelve Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain adjectival specific elements are first attested in the thirteenth century, and they form the largest group of these names by century of first attestation.⁵⁶ This may support Fellows-Jensen's (1984: 37) concession that some of these names represent post-Conquest formations.⁵⁷ The 12 names comprise four Newby-names and eight *bý(r)*-names that have directional or locational adjectives as their specific elements: Austby YOR (*Ousteby* 1246) (OE *ēast*/ON *austr* 'east'); Eastby YOR (*Estby* 1241-60) (OE *ēast*/ON *austr* 'east'); Middelbie DMF (*Middeby* 1291) (OE *middel*/ON *meðal* 'middle'); Netherby CUM (*Netherby* 1279) (OE *neoðera*/ON *neðri* 'nether'); Norby YOR (*Northebi* 1199-1216) (OE/ON *norð* 'north'); Southerby House YOR (*Southby super Swale* 13th) (OE *sūð*/ON *suðr* 'south'); Southernby CUM (*Sutherneby* 1292) (OE *sūðerne*/ON *suðraenn* 'southern'); and Westby Hall YOR (*Westby* 1226) (OE *west*/ON *vestr* 'west'). Directional adjectival specific elements otherwise occur in the eleventh-century names Asterby LIN, Itterby LIN, Westby LAN, and Westby LIN; and the twelfth-century name Norby YOR.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Six eleventh-century *bý(r)*-names relatively securely contain adjectival specific elements: Asterby LIN (*Estrebi* 1086) (OE *ēast*/ON *austr* 'east'); Itterby LIN (*Itrebi* 1086) (OE *ūtterra*/ON *ytri* 'outer'); Driby LIN (*Dribi* 1086) (OE *drýge* 'dry, dried out'); Mickleby YOR (*Michelbi* 1086) (OE *micell*/ON *mikill* 'big, great'); and Westby LAN (*Westbi* 1086) and Westby LIN (*Westbi* 1086) (OE *west*/ON *vestr*). Nine twelfth-century *bý(r)*-names relatively securely contain adjectival specific elements: the eight Newby-names discussed above; and Norby YOR (*Northebi* 1199-1216) (OE/ON *norð* 'north'). The fifteenth-century Newbus DUR (*Neubyhous* 1324 [15th]) is the latest-attested Newby-name.

⁵⁷ A counter-argument to this theory is that because these names are relational (i.e. they were coined in reference to something else) they may simply represent lesser settlements that were not significant enough to enter the historical record for some time.

⁵⁸ There are two uncertain examples of directional/locational adjectives as specific elements of *bý(r)*-names: OE *ofer* 'over, above, across' in Yearby YOR (*Uverby* 1174-79), Overby CUM (*Ouerbybek* 1292), and Ureby Field CUM (*Ourebyfeld* 1260), which alternatively contain OE *ōfer*/ON *ofar* 'a bank, river-bank' or OE **ofer* 'a slope, hill ridge'; OE *west*/ON *vestr* in *Westrebi* 1086 YOR, which may contain the personal name ON *Vestarr*; and OE *ūtterra*/ON *ytri* in Utterby LIN (*Uttrebi* 1197), which may contain the personal names OE *Uhtæd*, **Uhtere*.

Two *bý(r)*-names are first attested with *bý(r)*-forms in the thirteenth century that post-date their first attestations with generic elements other than ON *bý(r)*: Greasby CHE (*Gravesberie* 1086 > *Greuesby* 1249-1323) and Scaleby CUM (*villa de Scales* c. 1180 > *Schalebery*, -by c. 1235). Bleasby NOT is first attested as *Bleseby* 13th but has a tenth-century OE *tūn*/ON *tún* form Blisetune 958 [14th] that is recorded in a fourteenth-century copy. These *bý(r)*-names are fully discussed in the generic elements interchange case-study in this thesis (see Chapter Four).

There are two Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that are attested in purported thirteenth-century sources whose surviving copies post-date the thirteenth century: Frankby Hall CHE (*Frankeby* 1230 [17th]); and Humbie WLO (*Hundeby* 1290 [16th]). Frankby CHE is first attested in the fourteenth century and Humbie WLO in the fifteenth century.

3.3.5. Fourteenth-Century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

The maps below illustrate the fourteenth-century *bý(r)*-names on a dot-based map and on a heat-map of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus; and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the percentage of the county totals those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus those figures represent.

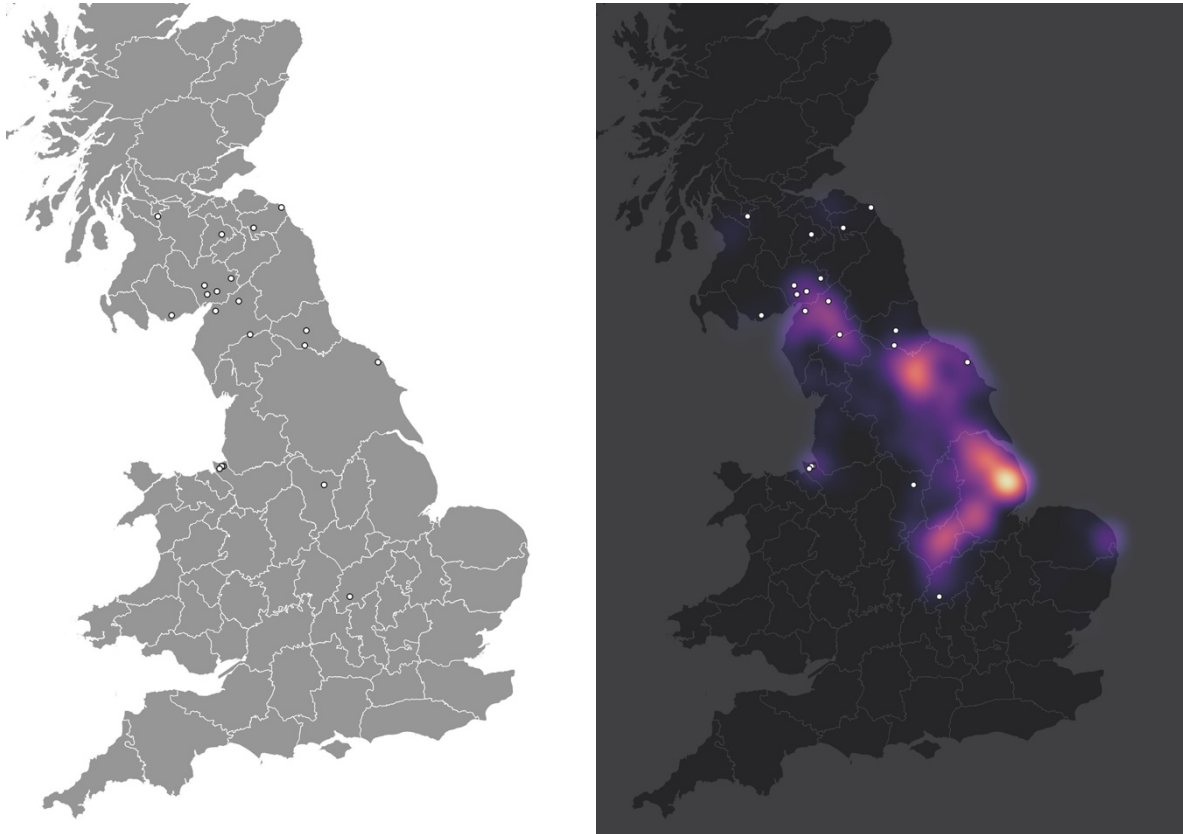


Figure 3.11: distribution of fourteenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of County bý(r)- names</u>	<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)- names</u>
Dumfriesshire	4	19.0	0.5
Cheshire	3	25	0.4
Berwickshire	2	100	0.2
Cumberland	2	2.6	0.2
County Durham	2	20	0.2
Derbyshire	1	11.1	0.1
Kirkcudbrightshire	1	33.3	0.1
Lanarkshire	1	100	0.1
Northamptonshire	1	5.6	0.1

Peeblesshire		1		100		0.1	
Westmorland		1		4.5		0.1	
Yorkshire	North Riding	1	1	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.1
Totals:		20		N/A		2.5	

Table 3.9: county totals of fourteenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

Twenty Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, distributed across 12 counties in England and Scotland, are first attested in the fourteenth century. The fourteenth-century *bý(r)*-names are the fourth largest group by century of first attestation (after the thirteenth-century *bý(r)*-names (see above)) and they represent 2.5% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. The fourteenth-century names are almost evenly split between England and Scotland and include the only Berwickshire, Lanarkshire, and Peeblesshire names in the *bý(r)*-names corpus.

Although less significant in number than the previous centuries of first attestations, the fourteenth-century names are again predominantly northern and peripheral. Kirby Grounds NTH (*Kerby* 1316), which may contain the personal name ON *Kæri(r)* but is perhaps too late-attested for certainty (see PNNth 47), is a southerly outlier; and Wragby YOR (*Wrauby* 1344) in Whitby Strand Wapentake, one of three Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that contain either the personal name ON *Vragi* or ON **vragi* ‘a bollard’ as their specific elements,⁵⁹ is the latest-attested Yorkshire name in the corpus. Lincolnshire names are not first attested past the thirteenth century; and the East Midlands is other than the Northamptonshire name only represented by Wingby DER (*Wengeby* 1315).

⁵⁹ The other three names are Wragby LIN (*Waragebi* 1086); Wragby YOR (*Wraggebi* 1160-70) in Osgoldcross Wapentake; and Wrawby LIN (*Waragebi* 1086).

There are two Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that are attested in purported fourteenth-century sources whose surviving copies post-date the fourteenth century: Colby Lodge, Road LEI (*Colby* 1320-40 [1467-84]); and Newbus Cottage, Grange DUR (*Neubihouse by Theese* e. 14th [15th]).

3.3.6. Fifteenth-Century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

The maps below illustrate the fifteenth-century *bý(r)*-names on a dot-based map and on a heat-map of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus; and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the percentage of the county totals those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus those figures represent.

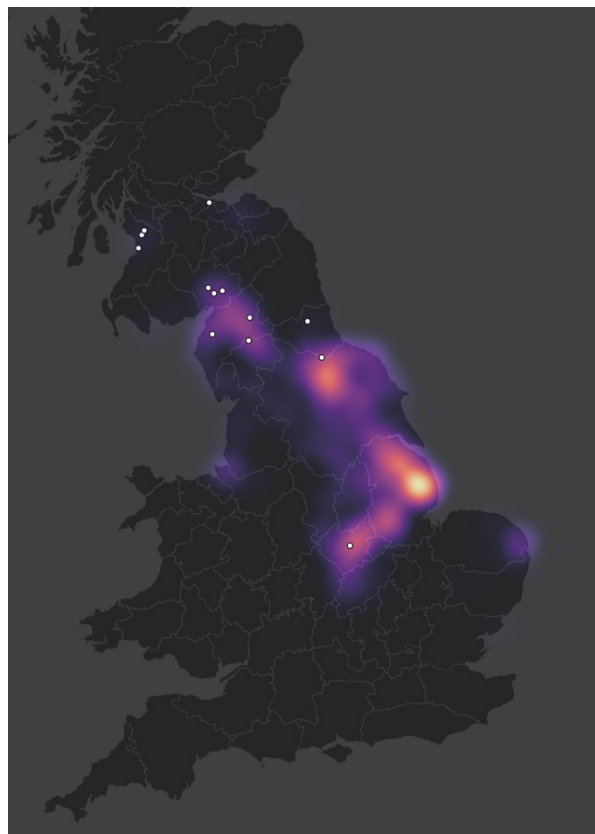


Figure 3.12: distribution of fifteenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of County bý(r)- names</u>	<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)- names</u>
Dumfriesshire	4	19	0.5
Ayrshire	3	75	0.4
Cumberland	2	2.6	0.2
County Durham	2	20	0.2
Leicestershire	1	1.5	0.1
West Lothian	1	100	0.1
Westmorland	1	4.5	0.1
Totals:	14	N/A	1.7

Table 3.10: county totals of fifteenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

Fourteen Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, distributed across seven counties in England and Scotland, are first attested in the fifteenth century. The fifteenth-century *bý(r)*-names are the fourth largest group by century of first attestation (after the fourteenth-century *bý(r)*-names (see above)) and they represent 1.7% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. Eight Scottish *bý(r)*-names, including three of the four Ayrshire names and the only West Lothian *bý(r)*-name in the corpus, represent the majority of fifteenth-century *bý(r)*-names. The fifteenth-century distribution is, again, peripheral; and Colby Lodge, Road LEI (*Colby* 1320-40 [1467-84]) represents the latest-attested East Midlands *bý(r)*-name in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus.

3.3.7. Sixteenth-Century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

The maps below illustrate the sixteenth-century *bý(r)*-names on a dot-based map and on a heat-map of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus; and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the percentage of the county totals those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus those figures represent.

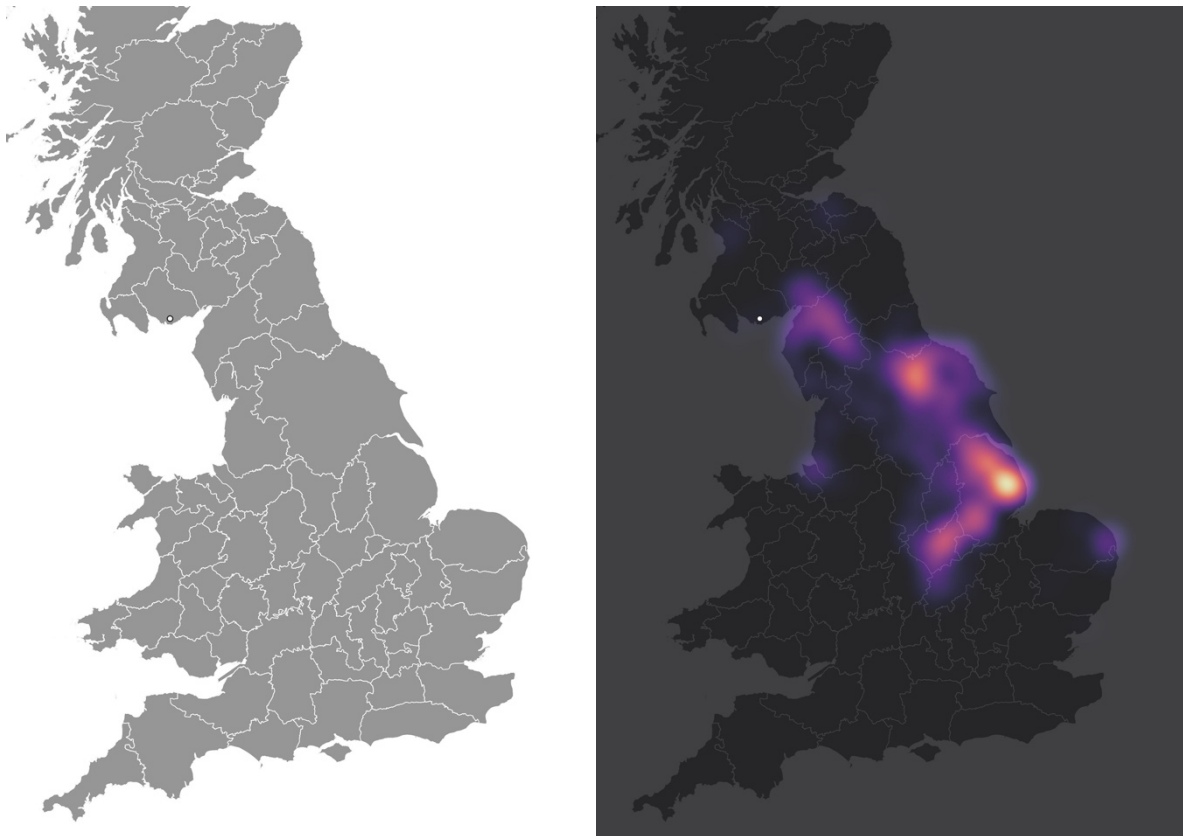


Figure 3.13: distribution of sixteenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of County <i>bý(r)</i>- names</u>	<u>% of A-Sc <i>bý(r)</i>- names</u>
Kirkcudbrightshire	1	33.3	0.1
Totals:	1	N/A	0.1

Table 3.11: county totals of sixteenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names

Bombie KCB (*Bondby* 1500) is the only Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-name first attested on the AD 1500 data collection cut-off selected for this thesis. As such, it is the only sixteenth-century bý(r)-name in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus assembled here. Bombie KCB is one of four bý(r)-name in the corpus – otherwise including Bombie DMF (*Bundeby* 1291), Bomby WES (*Bondby* 1292) and Bonby LIN (*Bode-*, *Bvndeby* 1086) – that appear to contain either ON *bóndi* ‘a peasant landowner’ or the personal name ON *Bóndi* derived from the common noun. Fellows-Jensen prefers the noun for the Lincolnshire name (see SSNEM 38); and Insley (1994: 105) also prefers the noun for instances of the element(s) in Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Westmorland and Yorkshire because the personal name is uncommon, but the occupational term seems to have had general use in Middle English. ON *bóndi* can perhaps be favoured as the specific element of Bombie KCB, then, because it is a late-attested bý(r)-name.

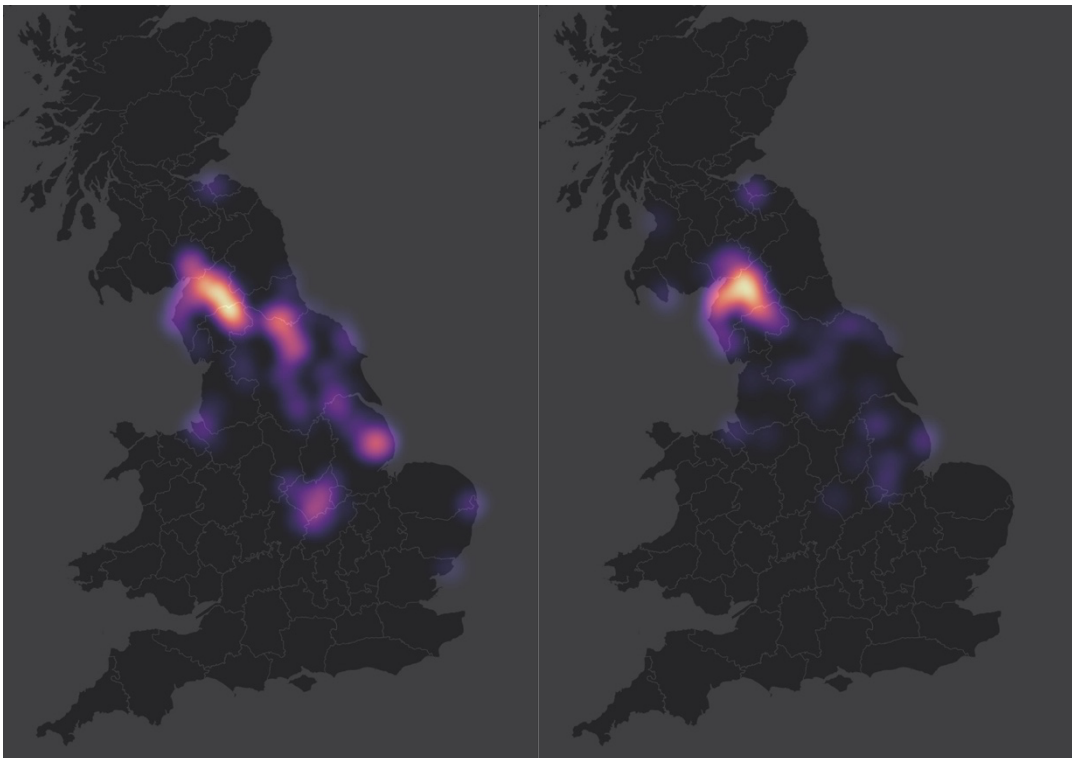
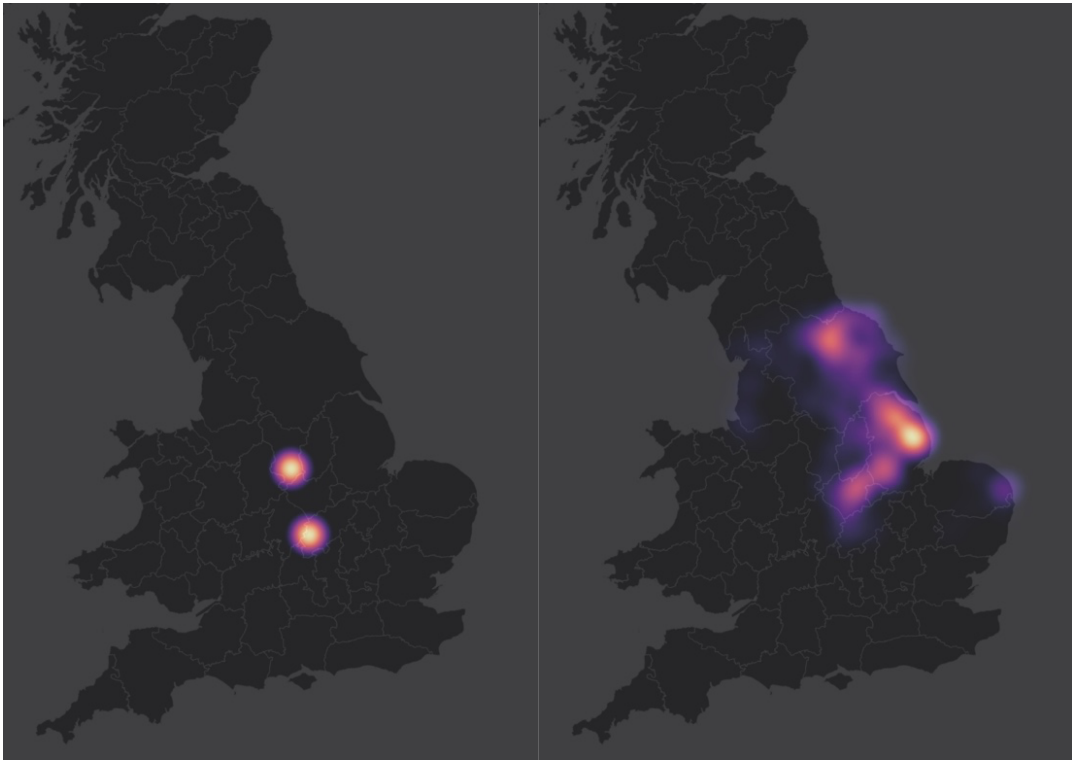
3.3.8. Summary

The chronological strata of the Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names corpus reflect the earlier and later coining of bý(r)-names, and the documentary history of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. The majority of Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names are located in eastern/north-eastern England, and the majority of those names are first attested in the eleventh century. Badby NTH and Derby DER are early outliers because the settlements, for different reasons, caught the attention of Mercian and West Saxon record keepers. The later-attested bý(r)-names in eastern/north-eastern England may in some instances reflect late formations, but probably

more often the relatively insignificant status of the land-units they were attached to causing later appearances in the historical record.

The overall later appearance of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in north-western England and southern Scotland reflects the limited coverage by Domesday Book of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain and the generally later record keeping in the region. However, a significant number of *bý(r)*-names in this region seem to have been later formations, at least in their current forms. This suggests ON *bý(r)* may have held currency as a living place-name element in the north/north-west of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain longer than it did in the east/north-east.

The maps below illustrate the distribution of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, by centuries of first attestations, as heat-maps (i.e. each century sub-corpus is represented as a heat-map). They show the lower number of *bý(r)*-names attested over time and the movement of the *bý(r)*-names corpus from core areas to peripheral areas across the centuries. The maps are chronologically ordered from the tenth to sixteenth centuries left to right and top to bottom in four rows.





*Figure 3.14: heat-maps of centuries of first attestations sub-corpora for the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus*

3.4. Linguistic Analysis: the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names

This linguistic analysis of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names focuses on their specific elements, the primary distinguishing factor among a group of place-names that share a generic element, and on three categories of specific elements in particular: personal names, topographical elements, and habitative elements. These are arguably the three main categories of place-name elements in Britain, referring to people, the landscape, and manmade buildings.

Previous scholars have put a significant amount of work into determining the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names to provide etymologies for them. The primary aim of SEPN volumes is to provide etymologies for the place-names they cover, for example; and Fellows-Jensen's regional studies, as part of wide-ranging analyses of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names, contain gazetteers of *bý(r)*-names that provide etymologies for them (see SSNY 17-41; SSNEM 30-82; SSNNW 25-43). These works (and the others detailed in Chapter Two, see Section 2.2.1.) provide the etymological material for the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus constructed for this thesis. Here, however, an objective approach has been attempted for this etymological material. Where previous scholars have made an (often very reasonable) editorial decision to favour one formally possible specific element over others, here all formally possible elements are considered options. Further, through the cross-referencing of *bý(r)*-names data sources, place-name dictionaries, and place-name element glossaries, formally possible specific elements that were not suggested by previous scholars have been considered.

This linguistic analysis focuses on the relatively secure instances of personal name, topographical, and habitative specific elements of *bý(r)*-names. What constitutes a relatively secure specific element is detailed in Chapter Two (see Section 2.3.3.). In short, a specific

element of a *bý(r)*-name is relatively secure if it is an independently attested word or personal name; it is identifiable in the historical forms of the *bý(r)*-name; and it is the only reasonable suggestion that can be made. This focus is because the most meaningful statistics and commentary can be produced for the relatively secure sub-corpora, without the caveats that must be made for the uncertain material. The relatively secure sub-corpora for personal name, topographical, and habitative specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names provide a minimum baseline for those categories. It is perhaps at the discretion of individual scholars as to which uncertain instances they would include, and for what reasons.

Nevertheless, the uncertain instances of personal name, topographical, and habitative specific elements do feature in this analysis. The linguistic analysis is split into three sections: personal names (Section 3.4.1.), topographical elements (Section 3.4.2.), and habitative elements (Section 3.4.3.). Each section gives a minimum (i.e. relatively secure) and maximum (i.e. relatively secure plus uncertain) figure for each category. The relatively secure sub-corpora are listed in tables, and distribution maps, county totals tables, and languages of origin tables for sub-corpora are given. Small case-studies of notable specific elements feature in this analysis.

3.4.1. Personal Names

<u>Minimum Pers.n Specific Elements</u>		<u>Maximum Pers.n Specific Elements</u>	
<u>Count:</u>	215	<u>Count:</u>	554
<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)- names</u>	26.7	<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)- names</u>	68.7

Table 3.12: minimum and maximum figures for personal name specific elements

A maximum of 554 *bý(r)*-names, 68.7% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, could formally contain personal names as their specific elements and/or have been suggested by previous scholars to do so. This maximum figure is comparable to Smith's estimation in EPNE 1 68 – whose publication pre-dates Cameron's and Fellows-Jensen's regional studies of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names (and, indeed, many SEPN volumes that cover *bý(r)*-names) – that 'approximately two-thirds' of *bý(r)*-names in England contain personal names as their specific elements. However, this estimation does not include Scottish Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names; and it reflects the general preference of English place-name scholars in the earlier part of the twentieth century to provide etymologies for place-name compounds (particularly involving habitative generic elements such as ON *bý(r)* and OE *tūn*) with personal name specific elements (see Gelling 1997: 166-71).

The maximum figure is in general higher than has been suggested overall for groups of *bý(r)*-names in regional studies of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names. Cameron (1965: 188) proposed that 207 of the 303 East Midlands *bý(r)*-names he analysed, or 68.3%, contain personal names as their specific elements. Fellows-Jensen proposed in her analysis that a minimum of 40% and a maximum of 69% of East Midlands *bý(r)*-names contain personal names (see SSNEM 15, 27);⁶⁰ and in her other two regional studies that 57% of Yorkshire *bý(r)*-names and 34% of north-western *bý(r)*-names, respectively, contain personal names (see SSNY 9; SSNNW 13). Fellows-Jensen later re-analysed her Yorkshire total at a minimum of 45% of *bý(r)*-names in the county containing personal name specific elements and then again at 42% (see Fellows-Jensen 1975: 447; Fellows-Jensen 1991: 348). Abrams

⁶⁰ It should be noted that Cameron's (1965) analysis of East Midlands *bý(r)*-names covered the counties associated with 'The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw', i.e. Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire, and Fellows-Jensen's (SSNEM) further included Northamptonshire and Warwickshire.

and Parsons (2004: 395-99) collate Cameron's and Fellows-Jensen's figures, favour Fellows-Jensen's as 'rather more objective', and estimate that 'around half' of *bý(r)*-names in eastern England contain personal names as their specific elements.

The figures produced by different scholars for the numbers of *bý(r)*-names (and other types of place-names) that contain personal names range, often quite considerably, because of methodological variation. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 395-96) note, for example, that in their analyses of East Midlands *bý(r)*-names Cameron favours the Old Norse reflexes of a cognate word over the Old English reflexes as specific elements, whereas Fellows-Jensen allows for uncertainty; and that where the specific element of a *bý(r)*-name could be a personal name or a related common noun Cameron favours the personal name but Fellows-Jensen, again, allows for uncertainty. These methodologies produce a difference of 18.3% in the estimation of East Midlands *bý(r)*-names that contain personal names. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 396-97) further note that in Fellows-Jensen's SSNY, published six years earlier than SSNEM, 'she counted rather more like Cameron' to propose that 57% of Yorkshire *bý(r)*-names contain personal names. Fellows-Jensen's most recent minimum estimation is 15% lower than in SSNY (see above). There are frequently differences in the interpretation of the specific element of a *bý(r)*-name as a personal name or an alternative element in the SEP volumes, place-name dictionaries, and the other sources that provide data for this thesis.

An estimated figure for the total number of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that contain personal names as their specific elements is not given here. Any such figure would be produced using an unavoidably subjective methodology that, like Cameron's and Fellows-Jensen's, could reasonably be disputed. Factors such as the commonality or rarity of a personal name, the possible recurrence of a particular personal name + *bý(r)* compound, and the appropriateness of an alternative noun or adjective as the specific element of a given

bý(r)-name can be interpreted differently and, on such a large scale, different interpretations can produce significantly different estimations.

What is given here is a reasoned estimation of the minimum number of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that contain personal names as their specific elements. This figure – 215 *bý(r)*-names, or 26.7% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus – has been produced by applying the ‘relatively secure’ methodological criteria for this thesis to possible personal names (see above). It must be acknowledged that this approach excludes many probable personal names. Personal names that are not independently attested almost certainly occur as the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names; personal names, like all place-name elements, were subject to factors that affected their representation and identifiability in historical place-name forms; and possible personal names that seem unreasonable or very unlikely could underlie some *bý(r)*-name formations. However, the relatively secure minimum sub-corpus of personal name specific elements is a reasoned baseline.

The minimum and maximum figures for Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that contain personal names as their specific elements have a significant difference of 339 *bý(r)*-names, 42.1% of the total corpus. This is because the vast majority of possible personal name specific elements contained in Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names are Old Norse and Old English, and it is the nature of Germanic personal naming systems (drawn as they were from common vocabulary (see Insley 2013: 216-28)) that there is considerable overlap between personal names, common nouns, and adjectives that could form the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names. The median figure for Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that contain personal names is 384.5 *bý(r)*-names, 47.7% of the total corpus, which is roughly in line with Abrams and Parsons (2004: 399) estimation that around half of the *bý(r)*-names in their analysis area contain personal name specific elements. However, the exact number is uncertain. It is proposed here that somewhere 26.7% and 68.7% of Anglo-Scandinavian

bý(r)-names contain personal names as their specific elements. Regardless of the exact number, personal names form the most significant group of *bý(r)*-name specific elements.

The following sections list the relatively secure personal names sub-corpus (Section 3.4.1.1.); illustrate the geographical distribution of the sub-corpus (Section 3.4.1.1.1.); give the languages of origin of the personal names in the sub-corpus (Section 3.4.1.1.2.); and list the recurrent personal names (Section 3.4.1.1.3.) There are small case-studies of ON *Þór*-names (Section 3.4.1.1.4.), the personal name ON *Ormr* (Section 3.4.1.1.5.), and the personal name ON *Eindriði* (Section 3.4.1.1.6.). To avoid repetition of the phrase ‘relatively secure’, Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain personal names as their specific elements are sometimes simply said to contain personal names.

3.4.1.1. The Relatively Secure Personal Names Sub-Corpus

The table below lists the sub-corpus of 215 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain personal name as their specific elements. It is alphabetised by personal name, and feminine personal names are labelled with ‘fem.’. Cognate personal names are grouped together (e.g. five *bý(r)*-names relatively securely contain ON *Ásgautr*/OE *Ōsgeat*), and etymologically unrelated personal names that are formally indistinguishable are also grouped together (e.g. four *bý(r)*-names relatively securely contain ON *Áli* or OE *Al(l)a*).

<u>Place-Name</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>First Form</u>	<u>Specific Element</u>
Alfletby	LIN	<i>Alfleteby</i> 1246	OE fem. <i>Ælfflæd</i> or OE fem. <i>Æðelflæd</i>

Autby	LIN	<i>Aluuolde(s)-</i> , <i>Alwoldebi</i> 1086	OE <i>Ælfweald</i> or ON <i>*Alfvarðr</i>
Ellerby	YOR	<i>Aluuarde-</i> , <i>Alu(u)erdebi</i> 1086	OE <i>Ælfweard</i> /ON <i>*Alfvarðr</i>
Ellerby	YOR	<i>Alwarde-</i> , <i>Elwordebi</i> 1086	
Atterby	LIN	<i>Adredebi</i> 1185	OE <i>Æðelræd</i> or OE <i>Éadræd</i>
Aglionby	CUM	<i>Agulunebi</i> , <i>Agyllun-</i> , <i>Auguelunby</i> c. 1200	OFr <i>Agyllun</i>
Allonby	CUM	<i>Alayneby</i> 1262	Bret. <i>Alein</i> (< Cel.)
Ellonby	CUM	<i>Alaynby</i> c. 1220	
Arkleby	CUM	<i>Arkelby</i> 1246	ON <i>Arnketill</i>
Ailby	LIN	<i>Ale-</i> , <i>Halebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Áli</i> or OE <i>Al(l)a</i>
Alby	NOR	<i>Ale-</i> , <i>Alebie</i> 1086	
Aylesby	LIN	<i>Alesbi</i> 1086	
Welby	LEI	<i>Alebi</i> 1086	
Arnaby	CUM	<i>Arnolvebi</i> c. 1230	ON <i>Arnúlfr</i> /CG <i>Arnulf</i> /OE <i>Earnwulf</i>
Osbourneby	LIN	<i>Esb'ne-</i> , <i>Osbernedebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Ásbjǫrn</i> /OE <i>Ōsbern</i>
Asserby	LIN	<i>Asforthebi</i> c. 1200	ON <i>Ásfrǫðr</i> /OE <i>Ōsfrīð</i>

Osgodby (Walshcroft Wap.)	LIN	<i>Osgote(s)bi</i> 1086	ON <i>Ásgautr</i> /OE <i>Ōsgeat</i>
Osgodby (Wraggoe Wap.)	LIN	<i>Osgotebi</i> 1086	
Osgodby	YOR	<i>Ansgote(s)bi</i>	
Osgodby	YOR	<i>Asgozbi</i> 1086	
Osgoodby	YOR	<i>Ansgotebi</i> 1086	
Asgarby (Aswardhurn Wap.)	LIN	<i>Asegarby</i> 1201	ON <i>Ásgeirr</i> /OE <i>Ōsgar</i>
Asgarby (Bolingbroke Wap.)	LIN	<i>Asgerebi</i> 1086	
Aisby (Corringham Wap.)	LIN	<i>Asebi, -by</i> 1086	ON fem. <i>Ása</i> or ON <i>Ási</i>
Aisby (Threo Wap.)	LIN	<i>Asebi</i> 1086	
Easby	YOR	<i>Asebi</i> 1086	
Alstonby Hall	CUM	<i>Astinebi</i> c. 1210	ON <i>Ásketill</i> and dim. <i>Astin</i>
Asselby	YOR	<i>Aschilebi</i> 1086	
Exelby	YOR	<i>Aschilebi</i> 1086	
Aislaby	DUR	<i>Aslakebi</i> 12 th	ON <i>Áslakr</i> /OE <i>Ōslac</i>
Aislaby (Pickering Lythe Wap.)	YOR	<i>Aslache(s)bi</i> 1086	
Aslackby	LIN	<i>Aslachebi</i> 1086	
Aismunderby	YOR	<i>Asmundre-</i> , <i>Hashundebe</i> 1086	ON <i>Ásmundr</i> /OE <i>Ōsmund</i>

Aislaby (Whitby Strand Wap.)	YOR	<i>Asulue(s)bi</i>	ON <i>Ásulfr</i> /OE <i>Ōswulf</i>
Usselby	LIN	<i>Osoluabi</i> 1115-18	
Aswarby	LIN	<i>Asuuarde-</i> , <i>Wardebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Ásvarðr</i> /OE <i>Ōsweard</i>
Aswardby	LIN	<i>Asewrdeby</i> 1147-66	
Baggaby Bottom	YOR	<i>Bagoteby</i> 12 th	OFr <i>Bagot</i>
Baldersby	YOR	<i>Baldrebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Baldhær</i> /OE <i>Baldhere</i>
Baldby Fields	YOR	<i>Baldebi</i> , <i>-by</i> 1086	ON <i>Baldi</i> or OE <i>Bealda</i>
Barlby	YOR	<i>Bardulbi</i> 1086	CG <i>Bardulf</i> /OE <i>*Bardwulf</i>
Bellerby	YOR	<i>Belgebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Belgr</i>
Barnaby	YOR	<i>Bernodebi</i> 1086	OE <i>Beornnōð</i>
Barnetby le Wold	LIN	<i>Bernete-</i> , <i>Bernodebi</i> 1086	
Barnoldby le Beck	LIN	<i>Bernulfbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Bjǫrnulfr</i> /OE <i>Beornwulf</i>
<i>Berguluesbi</i>	YOR	<i>Bergol-</i> , <i>Berguluesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Bergúlfr</i>
Botcherby	CUM	<i>Bocherby</i> c. 1170	OFr <i>Bochard</i> (< CG)
Barkby	LEI	<i>Barcheberie-</i> , <i>-bi</i> 1086	ON <i>Bǫrkr</i>

Battersby	YOR	<i>Badresbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Bqðvarr</i>
Battersby Farm	YOR	<i>Badresbi</i> 1086	
Brawby	YOR	<i>Bragebi, -by</i> 1086	ON <i>Bragi</i>
Brettanby Manor	YOR	<i>Bretanebi, -by</i> 12 th	OIr <i>Brettan</i>
Boothby	CUM	<i>Buethby</i> 1276	ON <i>Bueð</i>
Kingerby	LIN	<i>Chenebie</i> 1086	OE <i>Cynhere</i> or OE * <i>Cyngearð</i>
Dolphenby	CUM	<i>Dolphinerbi</i> 1202	ON <i>Dolgfinnr</i>
Dromonby	YOR	<i>Dragmalebi</i> 1086 > <i>Tromundesbi</i> c. 1150	ON <i>Dragmáll</i> > ON <i>Dromundr</i>
Dovenby	CUM	<i>Duvaneby</i> 1230	OIr <i>Dubhan</i>
Audleby	LIN	<i>Aldvlvebi</i> 1086	OE <i>Ēaldwulf</i>
Ainderby Quernhow	YOR	<i>Aiendre-, Andrebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Eindriði</i>
Ainderby Steeple	YOR	<i>Eindre-, Andrebi</i> 1086	
Enderby	LEI	<i>Andretesbi</i> 1086	
Easby (Birdforth Wap.)	YOR	<i>Asebi, -by</i> 1086	ON <i>Esi</i> or OE <i>Ēsi</i>
Easby (Gilling East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Asebi, -by</i> 1086	
Easby (Langbargh East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Esebi, -by</i> 1086	
Etterby	CUM	<i>Etardeby</i> 1246	OFr <i>Etard</i> (< CG)

Amotherby	YOR	<i>Aimundrebi</i> , <i>Edmundrebia</i> 1086	ON <i>Eymundr</i> or OE <i>Ēadmund</i>
Asenby	YOR	<i>Æstanesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Eysteinn</i> /OE <i>Æstan</i>
Faceby	YOR	<i>Feiz-</i> , <i>Fez-</i> , <i>Foitesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Feiti</i> , * <i>Feitr</i>
Fixby	YOR	<i>Fechesbi</i> 1086	OE <i>Fech</i> or OIr <i>Fíacc</i> or ?ON * <i>Feigr</i>
Fockerby	YOR	<i>Fulwardby(e)</i> 1164-77	CG <i>Folcward</i> /ON <i>Folkvarðr</i>
Gamblesby	CUM	<i>Gamelesbi</i> 1177	ON <i>Gamall</i>
Gamelsby	CUM	<i>Gamelesby</i> 1285	
Gautby	LIN	<i>Goutebi</i> 1195-96	ON <i>Gauti</i>
Goadby	LEI	<i>Govtebi</i> 1086	
Goadby Marwood	LEI	<i>Goutebi</i> 1086	
Garrowby	YOR	<i>Geruez-</i> , <i>Gheruenzbi</i> 1086	CG <i>Gerward</i> /ON * <i>Geirvarðr</i>
Gilby	LIN	<i>Gillebi</i> 1138-39 [13 th]	ON <i>Gilli</i> (< OIr)
Gilmonby	YOR	<i>Gil(le)maneby</i> 1146- 61	ON <i>Gilman</i> (< OIr)
Glassonby	CUM	<i>Glassanebi</i> 1177	Gael. <i>Glassān</i>
Gutterby (Egremont)	CUM	<i>Godri(c)keby</i> 1235	OE <i>Godric</i>
Gutterby (Whitbeck)	CUM	<i>Godrikeby</i> 1209	

Grimoldby	LIN	<i>Grimal-, Grimoldbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Grímolfr</i> /CG <i>Grimald</i>
Little Gonerby	LIN	<i>Gunnewordebi</i> 1086	CG <i>Gundoard</i> /ON <i>*Gunnvarðr</i>
Gunnerby	LIN	<i>Gunresbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Gunnarr</i>
Great Gonerby	LIN	<i>Gvnfordebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Gunnfrøðr</i>
Gunby	YOR	<i>Gunelby</i> 1066-69	ON fem. <i>Gunnhild</i> /CG fem. <i>Gunnhild</i>
Gunby	LIN	<i>Gunnebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Gunni</i>
Gunby St Nicholas	LIN	<i>Gvnnebi</i> 1086	
Haceby	LIN	<i>Hazebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Haddr</i> or OE <i>Hadda</i>
Haconby	LIN	<i>Hacone(s)-,</i> <i>Hacunesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Hákon</i>
Alston	CUM	<i>Aldeneby</i> 1164-71	ON <i>Halfdan</i>
Haldenby	YOR	<i>Haldanebi, -by</i> 1086	
Holdenby	NTH	<i>Aldenesbi</i> 1086	
Halnaby Hall	YOR	<i>Halnathebi, -by</i> 1170-88	OFr <i>Halnath</i> (< CG)
Hawerby	LIN	<i>Hauuardebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Hávarðr</i> or CG <i>Howard</i>
Harraby	CUM	<i>Henriby</i> 1272	OFr <i>Henric</i> (< CG)

Harrowby	LIN	<i>Herigerbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Hergeirr</i> or OE <i>Heregeard</i>
Helperby	YOR	<i>æt heolperbi</i> , <i>Helperby</i> 972 [11 th]	ON fem. <i>Hjálp</i>
Harmby	YOR	<i>Erne- Hernebi</i> , -by 1086	ON <i>Hjarni</i>
Haggenby	YOR	<i>Hagede-</i> , <i>Haghedene-</i> , <i>Hagendebe</i> 1086	ON <i>Hoggvandi</i>
Hagnaby (Bolingbroke Wap.)	LIN	<i>Hagenebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Hogni</i>
Hagnaby (Calcewath Wap.)	LIN	<i>Haghnebi</i> 1189-99	
Ranby	NOT	<i>Rane(s)bi</i> 1086	ON <i>Hrani</i>
Raithby by Spilsby	LIN	<i>Radebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Hraði</i>
Raithby by Louth	LIN	<i>Radresbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Hreiðarr</i>
Rearsby	LEI	<i>Redres-</i> , <i>Reresbi</i> 1086	
Rotherby	LEI	<i>Redebi</i> 1086	
Romanby	YOR	<i>Romundrebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Hróðmundr</i>
Rumby Hill	DUR	<i>Ronun(d)by</i> 1382	
Rollesby	NOR	<i>Rotholfuesbei</i> , -by, <i>Roluesbei</i> , -bi 1086	ON <i>Hróðúlfr</i>

Upperby	CUM	<i>Hobrihtebi</i> 1164-67	CG <i>Hubert</i> /OE <i>Hünbeorht</i>
Huby	YOR	<i>Huby</i> 1198	OFr <i>Hugo</i> (< CG)
Hundleby	LIN	<i>Hundelbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Hundulfr</i> /CG <i>Hundul</i>
Ingoldsby	LIN	<i>Goldes-</i> , <i>Ingoldesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Ingialdr</i> /OE <i>Ingeld</i>
Ewerby	LIN	<i>Geres-</i> , <i>Grene-</i> , <i>Ieresbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Ingvarr</i> or ON <i>Ívarr</i>
Old Ingarsby	LEI	<i>Inuuaresbie</i> , in <i>Gerberie</i> 1086	
Arnesby	LEI	<i>Erendesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Iqrund</i> or ON <i>*Erendi</i>
Isaacby	CUM	<i>Ysacby</i> c. 1275	Bib. <i>Isaac</i>
Jolby	YOR	<i>Jo(h)eleby</i> 1193-99	Bib. <i>Johel</i>
Johnby	CUM	<i>Ionesbi</i> 12 th	Bib. <i>John</i>
Careby	LIN	<i>Careby</i> 1199	ON <i>Kæri(r)</i>
Kearby	YOR	<i>Cherebi</i> 1086	
Cold Kirby	YOR	<i>Carebi</i> 1086	
Kirby Grounds	NTH	<i>Kerby</i> 1316	
Kirby Muxloe	LEI	<i>Carbi</i> 1086	
Keadby	LIN	<i>Ketebi</i> 1185	ON <i>Kæti</i>
Cowesby	YOR	<i>Cahosbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Kausi</i>
Kexby	LIN	<i>Cheftesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Keþr</i>

Goulceby	LIN	<i>Colchesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Kolka</i> , * <i>Kolkr</i>
Lamonbie	DMF	<i>Lammyaby</i> 1488	OFr <i>Lambin</i> (< CG)
Lamonby	CUM	<i>Lambeneby</i> 1257	
Legsby	LIN	<i>Lagesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Leggr</i>
Laceby	LIN	<i>Levesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Leifr</i>
Lockerbie	DMF	<i>Locardebi</i> 1194- 1214	OFr <i>Lochard</i> (< CG)
Moresby	CUM	<i>Moresceby</i> c. 1160	OFr <i>Maurice</i>
Maughonby	CUM	<i>Merchamby</i> 1254	Brit. <i>Merchiaun</i>
Milby	YOR	<i>Mildebi</i> , - <i>by</i> 1086	ON <i>Mildi</i> or OE * <i>Milda</i>
Moxby	YOR	<i>Molsce-</i> , <i>Molzbi</i> 1086	OE <i>Mold</i> /ON * <i>Moldr</i>
Motherby	CUM	<i>Mother-</i> , <i>Mothirby</i> 1279	ON fem. <i>Móðir</i>
Naneby	LEI	<i>Nauenbi</i> e. 13 th	ON <i>Nafni</i>
Navenby	LIN	<i>Nau-</i> , <i>Navenebi</i> 1086	
Naseby	NTH	<i>Navesberi</i> 1086	ON <i>Nafni</i> or OE * <i>Hnæf</i>
Anlaby	YOR	<i>Um-</i> , <i>Unlouebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Ólafr</i>
South Ormsby	LIN	<i>Ormesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Ormarr</i> or ON <i>Ormr</i>
Hornsby	CUM	<i>Ormesby</i> c. 1210	ON <i>Ormr</i>

Ormesby	CUM	<i>Ormesbye</i> c. 1227	
Ormesby	NOR	<i>Ormesbei, -by,</i> <i>Orbeslei</i> 1086	
Ormesby	YOR	<i>Ormesbi, -by</i> 1086	
North Ormesby	LIN	<i>Vrmesbyg</i> c. 1067 [12 th]	
Ornsby Hill	DUR	<i>Ormysby</i> 1408	
Otby	LIN	<i>Ote(s)bi</i> 1086	ON <i>Otti</i> or CG <i>Otto</i>
Pearsby	DMF	<i>Perisbe</i> 1200	OFr <i>Piers</i>
Ponsonby	CUM	<i>Puncunesbi</i> c. 1160	OFr <i>Puncun</i>
Raisby	DUR	<i>Racebi</i> 1183	CG <i>Race</i>
Rickerby	CUM	<i>Ricardeby</i> 1246	CG <i>Richard</i> (< CG)
Robberby	CUM	<i>Roberteby</i> c. 1237	CG <i>Robert</i> (< CG)
<i>Roberdesbi</i>	DMF	<i>Roberdesbi</i> l. 12 th	
Salmonby	LIN	<i>Salmundebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Salmundr</i>
Sibbaldbie	DMF	<i>Sybaldeby</i> 1193	CG <i>Sigibald</i> /OE <i>Sigebeald</i>
Sysonby	LEI	<i>Sistene-, Sixtenebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Sigsteinn</i> /OE <i>Sigestān</i>
Sileby	LEI	<i>Sigle(s)bie</i> 1086	ON <i>Sigúlfr</i> /OE <i>Sigewulf</i> /CG <i>Sigulf</i>
Shoby	LEI	<i>Seoldesberie</i> 1086	ON <i>Sigvaldr</i> / OE <i>Sigewald</i> /CG <i>Sigald</i>
Sewerby	YOR	<i>Siuar(d)bi</i> 1086	

<i>Siuarbi</i>	YOR	<i>Siuarbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Sigvarðr</i> /OE <i>Sigeward</i> /CG <i>Siward</i>
Scausby	YOR	<i>Scalchebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Skáld</i> or ON <i>Skalkr</i>
Scoreby	YOR	<i>Scornesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Skorn(ir)</i>
Scratby	NOR	<i>Scroutebei</i> , <i>Scroteby</i> , <i>Scroutebey</i> 1086	ON <i>Skrauti</i>
Serlby	NOT	<i>Serlebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Sorli</i> or CG <i>Serlo</i>
Stainby	LIN	<i>Stigandebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Stigandi</i>
Stearsby	YOR	<i>Estires-</i> , <i>Stirsbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Styrr</i>
Swarby	LIN	<i>Svarrebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Svarri</i>
<i>Tatebi</i>	LIN	<i>Tatebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Tati</i> or OE <i>Tāta</i>
Tarraby	CUM	<i>Terrebi</i> 1177	OFr <i>Terri</i> (< CG)
Tugby	LEI	<i>Tochebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Tóki</i> or OE <i>Tocca</i>
Tollesby	YOR	<i>Tolesbi</i> , <i>-by</i> 1086	ON <i>Tollr</i> /ON * <i>Tólr</i>
Thealby	LIN	<i>Tedul-</i> , <i>Tedulfi</i> 1086	ON <i>Þjóðúlfr</i> /CG <i>Theodulf</i>
Thoralby	YOR	<i>Turodebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Þóraldr</i>
Thoralby	YOR	<i>Turo(l)desbi</i> , <i>Toroldesbi</i> 1086	

Thoralby Hall	YOR	<i>Turalzbi</i> 1086	
Thoraldby	YOR	<i>Toro(l)des-</i> , <i>Tuoldesbi</i> 1086	
Thorlby	YOR	<i>Toredere-</i> , <i>Toreilderebi</i> 1086	
Thirkleby	YOR	<i>Turgislebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Þórgils</i>
Thorganby	LIN	<i>Torge(m)-, Turgribi</i> 1086	ON <i>Þórgrimr</i>
Thorganby	YOR	<i>Turgisbi</i> 1086	
Thirkleby	YOR	<i>Turchilebi</i> 1086	ON <i>Þórketill</i>
Thirtleby	YOR	<i>Torchilebi</i> 1086	
Thurlby (Calcewath Wap.)	LIN	<i>Toruluesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Þórolfr</i>
Thurlby (Graffoe Wap.)	LIN	<i>Turulf-, Tvrolfbi</i> 1086	
Thurlby (Ness Wap.)	LIN	<i>Torulf-, Tvrolvebi</i> 1086	
Thormanby	YOR	<i>Turmoz-, Tormozbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Þórmóðr</i>
Thornaby	YOR	<i>Thormoz-, Tormoz-</i> , <i>Turmozbi</i> 1086	
Thoresby	LIN	<i>Toresbia</i> 1142	ON <i>Þórr</i> or ON
Thoresby	YOR	<i>Toresbi</i> 1086	<i>Þóri(r)</i>
Thoresby House	NOT	<i>Turesbi</i> 1086	

North Thoresby	LIN	<i>Toresbi</i> 1086	
South Thoresby	LIN	<i>Toresbi</i> 1086	
Thursby	CUM	<i>Thoresby</i> c. 1165	
<i>Toresbi</i>	YOR	<i>Toresbi</i> 1086	
Throxenby	YOR	<i>Trstanebi</i> 1167	ON <i>Þórsteinn</i>
Ugglebarnby	YOR	<i>Ugleberdesbi</i> 1086	ON <i>Uglubárðr</i>
Oughterby	CUM	<i>Hochtredebi</i> 1177	OE <i>Uhtræd</i>
Ulnaby	DUR	<i>Vluenebi</i> c. 1100-30	ON <i>Úlfheðinn</i>
Ousby	CUM	<i>Vlmesbi</i> 1190	ON <i>Úlfr</i> /OE <i>Wulf</i>
Ouseby	DMF	<i>Ouseby</i> 1360	
Ouseby	LIN	<i>Vlues-</i> , <i>Vlves-</i> , <i>Vuesbi</i> 1086	
Ulceby	LIN	<i>Vlues-</i> , <i>Vlvesbi</i> 1086	
Ulceby by Spilsby	LIN	<i>Vlesbi</i> 1086	
Warmanbie	DMF	<i>Weremundebie</i> 1194-1214	ON <i>Vermundr</i> /CG <i>Warimund</i> /OE <i>Wærmund</i>
Wiggonby	CUM	<i>Wigayne-</i> , <i>Wyganeby</i> 1278	OFr <i>Wigan</i> (< CG)
Willerby (Dickering Wap.)	YOR	<i>Wi-</i> , <i>Wyllardebi</i> , <i>-by</i>	OE <i>Wilheard</i>
Willerby (Harthill Wap.)	YOR	<i>Wilgardi</i> 1086	
<i>Willambi</i>	DMF	<i>Willambi</i> 1190	OFr <i>Willelm</i> (< CG)

Wormanby	CUM	<i>Wynmerby</i> 1279	CG <i>Winimar</i> ?OE * <i>Winemær</i>
Worlaby	LIN	<i>Vlurice-</i> , <i>Wirichebi</i> 1086	OE <i>Wulfric</i>
Worlaby by the Hill	LIN	<i>Wlurice-</i> , <i>Wlvricesbi</i> 1086	

Table 3.13: the relatively secure personal name specific elements sub-corpus

3.4.1.1.1. Geographical Distribution of the Relatively Secure Personal Names Sub-Corpus

The maps below illustrate the distribution of the 215 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain personal names as their specific elements; and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the percentage of the relatively secure personal names sub-corpus those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus those figures represent.

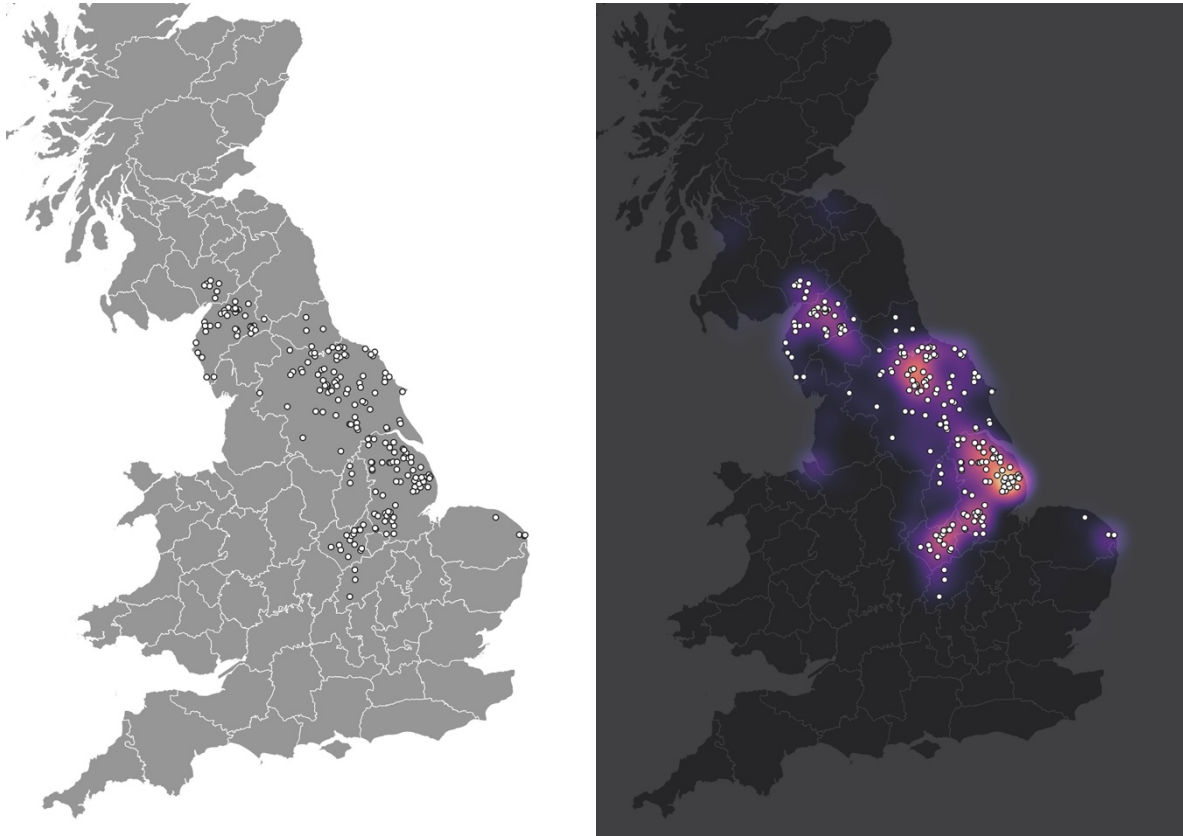


Figure 3.15: distribution of relatively secure personal name specific elements

<u>County</u>		<u>Count</u>		<u>% of RS Personal Name Specifics</u>		<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)- names</u>	
Yorkshire	East	17	74	7.9	34.4	2.1	9.2
	Riding						
	North	46		21.4		5.7	
	Riding						
	West	11		5.1		1.4	
	Riding						
Lincolnshire		67		31.2		8.3	
Cumberland		36		16.7		4.5	
Leicestershire		15		6.9		1.9	

Dumfriesshire	8	3.8	0.9
County Durham	5	2.3	0.6
Norfolk	4	1.9	0.5
Northamptonshire	3	1.4	0.4
Nottinghamshire	3	1.4	0.4
Totals:	215	100	26.7

Table 3.14: county totals of the relatively secure personal names sub-corpus

The 215 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain personal names as their specific elements are distributed across nine counties in England and Scotland.

Lincolnshire names and Yorkshire names collectively comprise 65.6% of the sub-corpus; and the figures for the two counties represent a comparable 28.4% and 29.8%, respectively, of the total *bý(r)*-names in the counties. The North Riding of Yorkshire contains the highest number of *bý(r)*-names with personal name specific elements of the three Ridings; and its total alone would rank below only Lincolnshire. The North Riding figure represents 30.1% of the total *bý(r)*-names in the Riding. This is a lower proportion than that of the East Riding of Yorkshire, whose 17 *bý(r)*-names with personal name specific elements represent 41.5% of its total *bý(r)*-names. The 11 West Riding *bý(r)*-names that contain personal names represent just 20.4% of the *bý(r)*-names in the Riding.

The East Midlands is fairly well-represented outside of Lincolnshire in the personal names sub-corpus, with only Derbyshire and Warwickshire absent, but the personal name figures for the other counties represent lower proportions of their total *bý(r)*-names. The 15 Leicestershire names represent 22.4% of the *bý(r)*-names in the county; the three Northamptonshire names represent 16.6% of the *bý(r)*-names in the county; and the

Nottinghamshire names represent 14.3% of the *bý(r)*-names in the county. However, Leicestershire does contain a high number of possible personal name specifics that formally overlap with other elements.

The north-west of England is only represented in the personal names sub-corpus by Cumberland. Cheshire, Lancashire, and Westmorland are entirely absent. However, the 36 Cumberland names comprise a county figure that ranks below only Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and they represent 47.4% of the total *bý(r)*-names in the county. This reflects the preponderance of Norman personal names + *bý(r)* formations in the county. Dumfriesshire, which shares a continuum of *bý(r)*-names with Cumberland, is the only Scottish county covered by this thesis to contain *bý(r)*-names with relatively secure personal name specific elements. Its 8 *bý(r)*-names that contain personal names represent a significant 38.1% of its total. The county with the highest proportion of *bý(r)*-names that contain personal names, however, is County Durham. Its 5 *bý(r)*-names in the sub-corpus represent 50% of the county total.

East Anglia is only represented in the relatively secure personal names sub-corpus by four Norfolk names, which represent 19% of the county total. However, like Leicestershire, Norfolk contains a high number of *bý(r)*-names that contain uncertain instances of personal names (see discussion of uncertain personal names below). The East Anglian figure is representative of the relatively low number of *bý(r)*-names in the region. Including the three Suffolk names and the Essex name, the four Norfolk names that contain personal names represent 16% of the *bý(r)*-names in the region.

The 215 *bý(r)*-names that contain personal names as their specific elements are, then, products of both core and peripheral areas in the Anglo-Scandinavian distribution. However, they predominantly occur in the core areas, with strong clusters in the ‘hot-spots’ of Cumberland, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and the North Riding of Yorkshire. That there are

clusters of personal name + *bý(r)* constructions in the core regions of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus could be linked to Fellows-Jensen’s theory that in the main areas of Scandinavian settlement in eastern/north-eastern England they represent the fracturing of pre-existing Anglo-Saxon estates into smaller land-units under the ownership of individuals for the first time (see, for example, Fellows-Jensen 1984: 35-36). The preponderance of Norman personal names + *bý(r)* constructions in Cumberland and Dumfriesshire can, at least, be linked to the north-western Anglo-Norman military campaign in 1092 that led to a redistribution of land (see above). It is also the case – and this itself could be linked to the fractured estates theory for eastern/north-eastern England – that personal names are effective as distinguishing specific elements among clusters of place-names in close proximity that share a generic element.

3.4.1.1.2. Languages of Origin of the Relatively Secure Personal Names Sub-Corpus

The table below lists the languages of origin of the relatively secure personal name specific elements, their total figures, the percentage of the relatively secure personal names sub-corpus those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus those figures represent. Cognate personal names are counted as instances of a cognate (e.g. ON/OE), and personal names of distinct linguistic origins that are formally indistinguishable are counted as instances of one origin or the other (e.g. ON or OE).

<u>Language of Origin</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of RS Personal Name Specifics</u>	<u>% of A-Sc <i>bý(r)</i>- names</u>
Old Norse	101	46.9	12.5
ON/OE Cognate	31	14.4	3.8

Old French	20	9.3	2.5
ON or OE	18	8.4	2.2
Old English	13	6.0	1.6
ON/CG Cognate	8	3.7	0.9
ON/OE/CG Cognate	6	2.8	0.7
OE/CG Cognate	4	1.9	0.5
Old Irish	4	1.9	0.5
Biblical	3	1.4	0.4
Breton	2	0.9	0.4
Celtic	2	0.9	0.4
ON or CG	2	0.9	0.2
OE or OIr or ON	1	0.5	0.1
Totals:	215	100	26.7

Table 3.15: languages of origin of the relatively secure personal name specific elements

The personal names that relatively securely occur as the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names are varied in their linguistic origins; and they reflect the personal naming traditions of four primary sociolinguistic groups who, with geographical and chronological variation, inhabited Anglo-Scandinavian Britain: Old Norse-speakers, Old English-speakers, Norman French-speakers, and speakers of Celtic languages. The language of origin of a personal name does not necessarily reflect the socio-ethnic status of an individual bearer (see McClure 2020: 125). However, the occurrence of particular types of personal names in certain areas can be taken to reflect the historical presence and/or influence

of the sociolinguistic groups who introduced the personal names to the naming stock of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain.

Old Norse is, expectedly, by far the most common language of origin for the relatively secure personal name specific elements. The 101 diagnostically Old Norse personal names represent 46.9% of the sub-corpus and 12.5% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements. These are minimum figures for the total *bý(r)*-names corpus and the personal names sub-corpus because cognate personal names are counted separately. In general, Old Norse reflexes of cognate personal names can be favoured as the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names, with some exceptions (see discussion of cognate categories below). The total possible Old Norse personal names in the sub-corpus, including cognate names and formally indistinguishable names, is 171. That figure represents 79.5% of the personal names sub-corpus and 21.2% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements.

The heat-map below illustrates the distribution of the diagnostically Old Norse personal names. They are products of core and peripheral regions, and their distribution mirrors that of the sub-corpus as a whole.

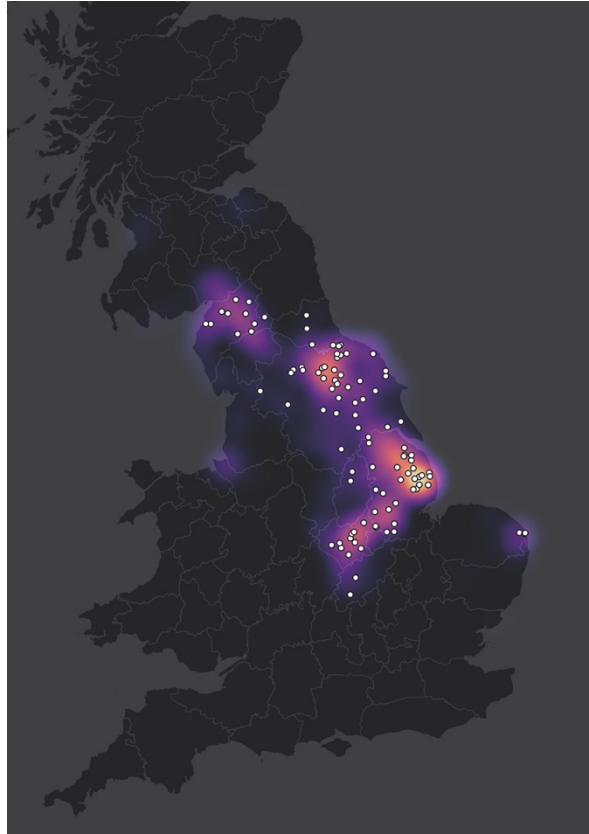


Figure 3.16: distribution of relatively secure Old Norse personal name specific elements

The 31 Old Norse/Old English cognate personal names, which represent 14.4% of the sub-corpus and 3.9% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements, are the second most common type. Seventeen of them, 54.8%, are dithematic personal names formed with the prototheme ON *Ás*-/OE *Ōs*-. ON *Ásketill*, which occurs as the specific element of three Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, is the only ON *Ás*-name in the sub-corpus that does not have an Old English cognate. The Old Norse/Old English cognate personal names also include five instances of ON *Úlfr*/OE *Wulf*, one of the most recurrent personal names to form the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names (see below).

The Old Norse reflexes of the cognate personal names are to be favoured as the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names, but the situation is complicated by the possible instances of

anglicisation, scandinavianisation, and Normanisation that affect the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names. Among the five *bý(r)*-names that contain ON *Ásgautr*/OE *Ōsgeat*, for example, only the Domesday Book form *Asgozbi* 1086 for Osgodby YOR fully reflects the Old Norse reflex of the personal name. The Domesday Book forms *Osgote(s)bi* 1086 for Osgodby (Walshcroft Wap.) LIN and Osgodby (Wraggoe Wap.) LIN reflect the prototheme OE *Ōs-* and, perhaps, the genitive OE *-es*. The Domesday Book form *Ansgote(s)bi* 1086 for Osgodby YOR and Osgoodby YOR reflect the Norman form *Ans-* of the prototheme (see SPNLY 31). In each instance the representation of the deutertheme better represents ON *-gautr* than OE *-geat*; and it may be that in some instances of Old Norse/Old English cognate personal names we are dealing with Anglo-Scandinavian reflexes that developed through sociolinguistic contact.

The heat-map below illustrates the distribution of the Old Norse/Old English cognate personal names. They are almost exclusively a Lincolnshire and Yorkshire phenomenon, except for Aislaby DUR (*Aslache(s)bi* 1086), which contains ON *Áslakr*/OE *Ōslac*; Ousby CUM (*Vlmesbi* (sic) 1190), which contains ON *Úlfr*/OE *Wulf*; and Sysonby LEI (*Sistenebi* 1086), which contains ON *Sigsteinn*/OE *Sigestān*.

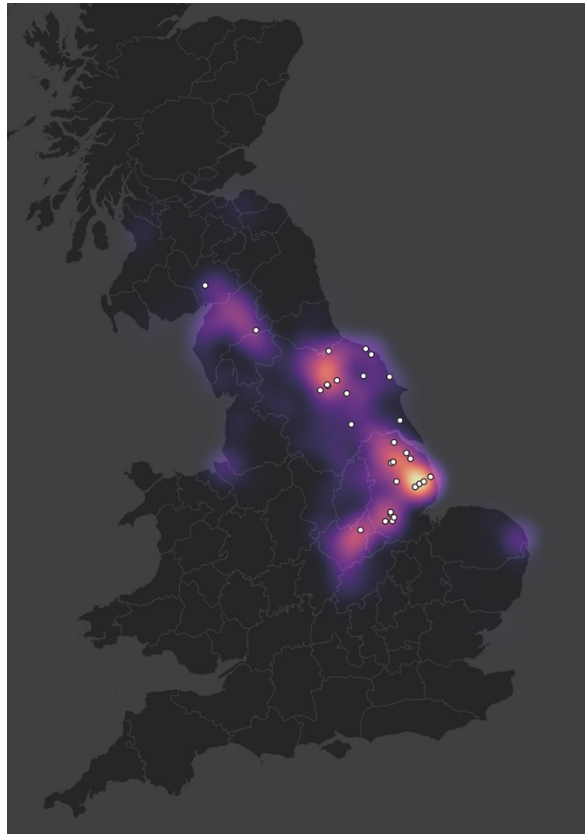


Figure 3.17: distribution of Old Norse/Old English cognate personal names

Old French personal names (i.e. names of French origin and Gallicised Continental Germanic names) represent 9.3% of the personal names sub-corpus and 2.5% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements. It is notable that they are more common than diagnostic Old English personal names, but they do not formally overlap with Old Norse personal names as Old English names do. Together with the Biblical personal names and Breton personal names (i.e. names from Brittany of Celtic origin), personal names introduced to Anglo-Scandinavian Britain by the Normans following their conquest of England in 1066 form the specific elements of 25 *bý(r)*-names, 3.1% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. The heat-map below illustrates the distribution of Norman personal names. They occur in Cumberland, Dumfriesshire, County Durham, and Yorkshire. The *bý(r)*-name formations in the north-west of can be linked to the Anglo-Norman military campaign of 1092; and in general they attest

to the late use of ON *bý(r)* as a settlement-term (or at least to late re-naming of pre-existing *bý(r)*-names) in the north of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain (see above).

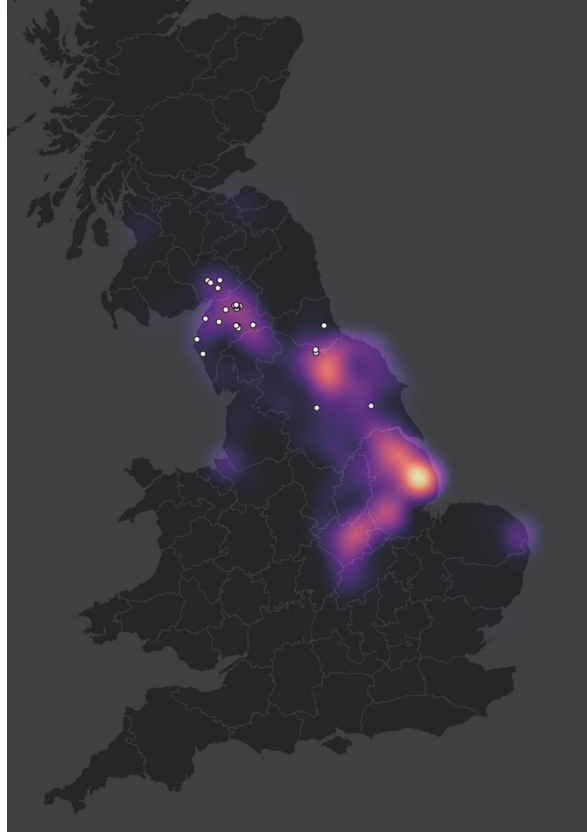


Figure 3.18: distribution of Norman personal name specific elements

The 18 Old Norse or Old English personal names, which represent 8.4% of the personal names sub-corpus and 2.2% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements, are distinct from the Old Norse/Old English cognate personal names in that they are etymologically unrelated but formally very difficult to distinguish in historical place-name formations. They include five instances of ON *Áli* or OE *Al(l)a*, three instances of ON *Ási* or OE *Asa*, and three instances of ON *Esi* or OE *Ēsi*. As with the cognate personal names, Old Norse personal names can in general be favoured. The heat-map below illustrates their distribution. Like the Old Norse/Old English personal names they are primarily a

Lincolnshire and Yorkshire phenomenon, but they also occur in Leicestershire, Norfolk, and Northamptonshire.

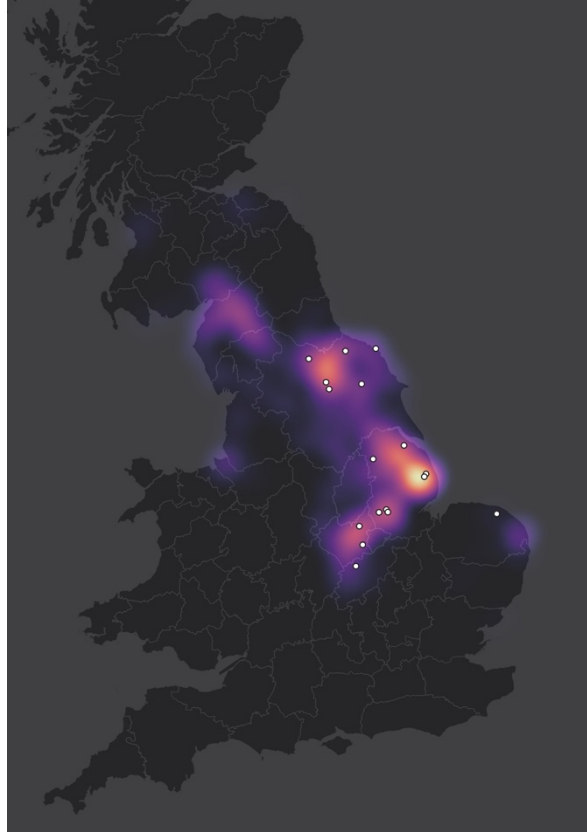


Figure 3.19: distribution of Old Norse or Old English personal names

The 13 diagnostically Old English personal names represent 6% of the personal names sub-corpus and 1.6% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements. As with the diagnostically Old Norse personal names, this is a minimum figure because Old English personal names overlap with Old Norse and Continental Germanic cognates. The maximum number of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that could contain Old English personal names, including cognate names and formally indistinguishable names, is 73. That figure represents 33.9% of the personal names sub-corpus and 9.1% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements. The heat-map below illustrates the distribution of diagnostic Old English

personal names. They are in the majority a Lincolnshire and Yorkshire phenomenon, but there are also three instances in Cumberland.

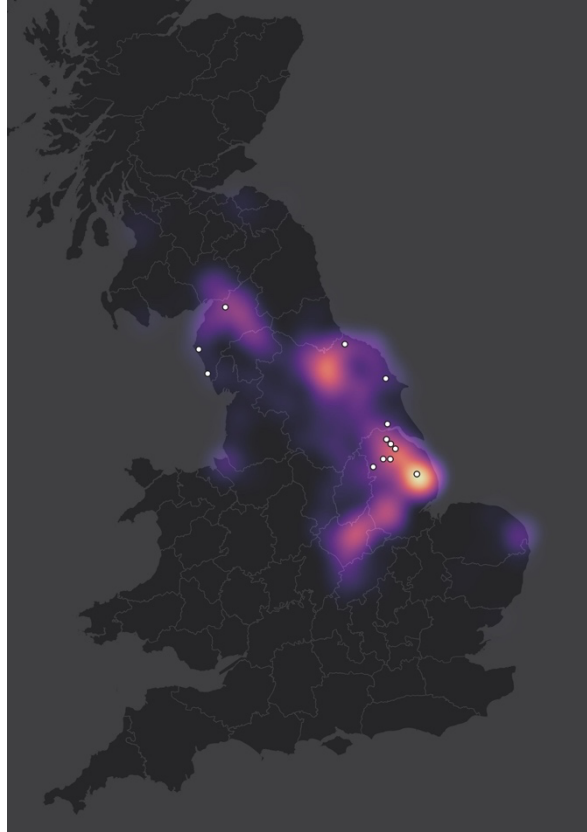


Figure 3.20: distribution of Old English personal names

Eight Old Norse/Continental Germanic cognate personal names, which represent 3.7% of the sub-corpus and 0.9% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements, are the largest group of possible Continental Germanic personal names. They otherwise include six ON/OE/CG cognate personal names, four OE/CG cognate personal names, and two ON or CG personal names. The groups collectively comprise 9.3% of the sub-corpus. Based on the distribution of Norman personal names discussed above, Continental Germanic personal names seem unlikely to form the specific elements of the Nottinghamshire *bý(r)*-name, two Leicestershire *bý(r)*-names, and five Lincolnshire *bý(r)*-names among these groups.

Conversely, CG *Arnulf* can probably be favoured over ON *Arnúlfr*/OE *Earnwulf* as the specific element of Arnaby CUM; CG *Winimar* over OE **Winemær* for Wormanby CUM, particularly as the OE personal name is not independently attested; CG *Hubert* over OE *Hūnbeorht* for Upperby CUM; CG *Warimund* over ON *Vermundr*/OE *Wærmund* for Warmanbie DMF; and CG *Sibald* over OE *Sigebeald* for Sibbaldbie DMF because of their geographical locations. The six Yorkshire names are less certain. However, CG *Bardulf* can perhaps be favoured over OE **Bardwulf* for Barlby YOR because the OE personal name is not independently attested; and the same may apply to CG *Gundoard* over a suggested ON **Geirvarðr* for Garrowby YOR. In PNWRY 2, Smith notes that ON *Folkvarðr* is a loan from CG *Folcward* and that Fockerby YOR may represent a post-Conquest formation (see also CDEPN 234; SSNY 28).

The heat-map below illustrates the distribution of the cognate and indistinguishable groups of personal names that involve Continental Germanic names. They are distributed across six counties: Cumberland, Dumfriesshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire.

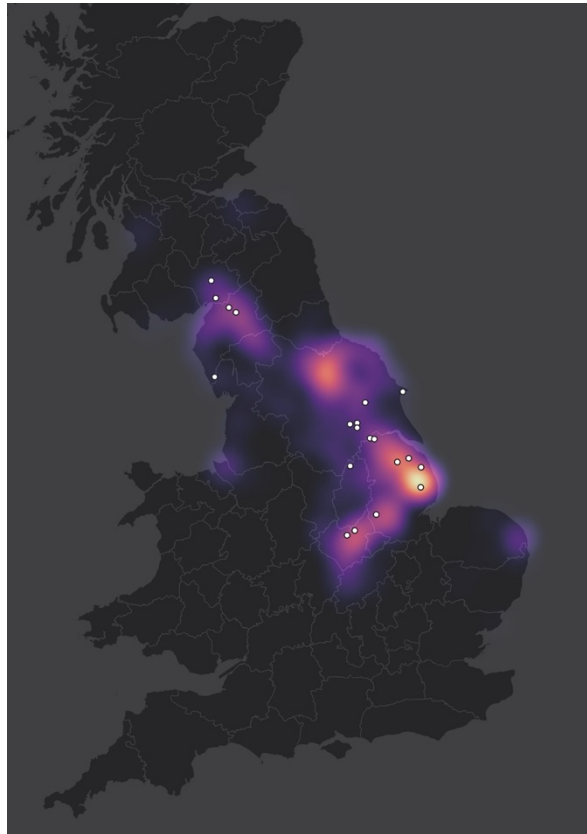


Figure 3.21: possible Continental Germanic personal names

Three Old Irish personal names, one British personal name, and one Gaelic name comprise 1.9% of the sub-corpus, and represent the personal naming traditions of early medieval Celtic-speakers in the British Isles. The personal names *Gilli* and *Gilman* (the specific elements, respectively, of Gilby LIN and Gilmonby YOR) are here classified as Old Irish because the Gaelic-Scandinavian element *Gilla*, *Gilli* is derived from OIr *Gilla* (< *gillae* ‘servant’) (see Thornton 1997: 81). In SSNNW 29, Fellows-Jensen states that the personal name OIr *Dubhan*, the specific element of Dovenby CUM, was borrowed by Old Norse-speakers and appears in the form *Dufan* in Icelandic sources. She further notes that the specific element of Maughonby CUM is a reflex of Old Welsh *Merchiaun*, OIr *Merccan*-, *-con*, Old Breton *Merchion*, ultimately derived from Latin *Marcianus* (see SSNNW 35). It has been classified here generically as ‘Celtic’, but its location in

Cumberland, where Norman personal name specific elements are common, could be argued to favour a Breton reflex. Glassonby CUM contains the Gaelic personal name *Glassān*, which has also been categorised as ‘Celtic’. The specific element of Fixby YOR may also be Old Irish, but has been the subject of some discussion. In PNWRY 3 35, Smith etymologises the name with OE *Fech*, but Fellows-Jensen accepts an OIr *Fíacc* over an unattested ON **Feigr* she had suggested (see SSNY 27). Individuals named *Fech(e)* and *Feg* appear as tenants in Domesday Book in Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Yorkshire. The heat-map below illustrates the distribution of the possible Old Irish and Celtic personal names.

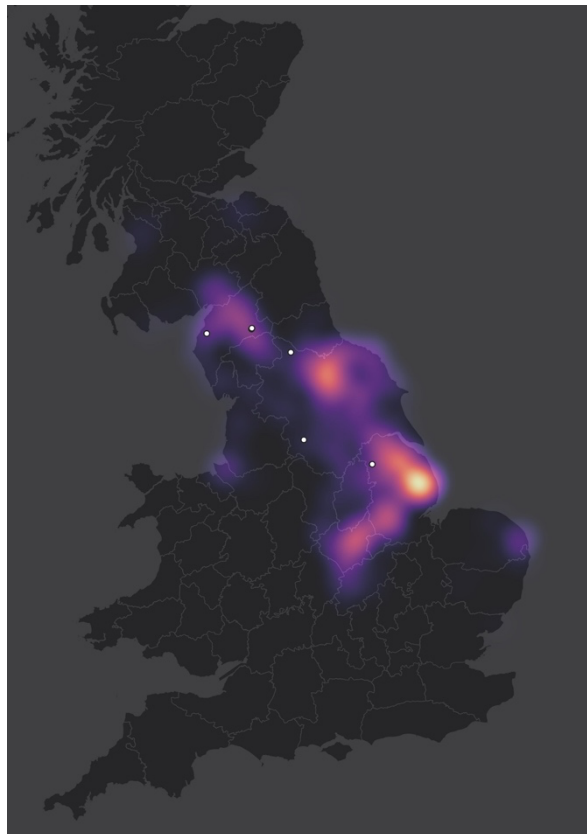


Figure 3.22: distribution of possible Old Irish and British personal names

3.4.1.1.3. Recurrent Relatively Secure Personal Names

The table below lists the personal names that relatively securely recur as the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, their total figures, the percentages of the relatively secure personal name sub-corpus those figures represent, and the percentages of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus those figures represent. The figures for ON *Eindriði*, ON *Ormr* and ON *Nafni* are given as ‘X (?Y)’ because there is a discrepancy between the number of times the personal names relatively securely occur and possibly occur. This also affects the total figures.

<u>Personal Name</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of RS Personal Name Specifics</u>	<u>% of A-Sc <i>bý(r)</i>- names</u>
ON <i>Þórr</i> or ON <i>Þóri(r)</i>	7	3.3	0.9
ON <i>Ormr</i>	6 (?7)	2.8	0.7
ON <i>Ásgautr</i> /OE <i>Ōsgeat</i>	5	2.3	0.6
ON <i>Kæri(r)</i>	5	2.3	0.6
ON <i>Þóraldr</i>	5	2.3	0.6
ON <i>Úlfr</i> /OE <i>Wulf</i>	5	2.3	0.6
ON <i>Áli</i> or OE <i>Al(l)a</i>	4	1.9	0.5
ON <i>Ási</i> or OE <i>Asa</i>	3	1.4	0.4
ON <i>Ásketill</i>	3	1.4	0.4
ON <i>Áslakr</i> /OE <i>Ōslac</i>	3	1.4	0.4
ON <i>Eindriði</i>	3 (?8)	1.4	0.4

ON <i>Esi</i> or OE <i>Ēsi</i>	3	1.4	0.4
ON <i>Gauti</i>	3	1.4	0.4
ON <i>Halfdan</i>	3	1.4	0.4
ON <i>Hreiðarr</i>	3	1.4	0.4
ON <i>Pórolfr</i>	3	1.4	0.4
OE <i>Ælfweard</i> /ON <i>*Alfvarðr</i>	2	0.9	0.2
Bret. <i>Alein</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Ásgeirr</i> /OE <i>Ōsgar</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Ásulfr</i> /OE <i>Ōswulf</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Ásvarðr</i> /OE <i>Ōsweard</i>	2	0.9	0.2
OE <i>Beornnōð</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Bqðvarr</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Gamall</i>	2	0.9	0.2
OE <i>Godric</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Gunni</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Hqgni</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Hróðmundr</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Ingvarr</i> or ON <i>Ívarr</i>	2	0.9	0.2
OFr <i>Lambin</i>	2	0.9	0.2

ON <i>Nafni</i>	2 (?3)	0.9	0.2
OFr <i>Robert</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Sigvarðr</i> /OE <i>Sigeward</i> /CG <i>Siward</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Þórgrimr</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Þórketill</i>	2	0.9	0.2
ON <i>Þórmóðr</i>	2	0.9	0.2
OE <i>Wilheard</i>	2	0.9	0.2
OE <i>Wulfric</i>	2	0.9	0.2
Totals:	108 (?115)	50.2	13.4

Table 3.16: recurrent relatively secure personal name specific elements

Thirty-seven personal names, including cognates and indistinguishable pairs, recur as relatively secure specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. They collectively occur a minimum of 108 times, which accounts for 50.2% of the personal names sub-corpus and 13.4% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements. The uncertain instances of ON *Eindriði*, ON *Ormr*, and ON *Nafni* would raise the figure to 115 and 14.3% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements. Recurrent personal names, then, account for just over half the personal names sub-corpus. They comprise 20 Old Norse names, seven Old Norse/Old English cognate names, four Old English names, two Old French names, one Breton name, and one Old Norse/Old English/Continental Germanic cognate name. The languages of origin that do not contribute recurrent personal names are: Biblical, British,

Gaelic, Old English/Continental Germanic cognate, Old Irish, Old Norse/Continental Germanic cognate, and Old Norse or Continental Germanic.

The seven instances of ON *Pórr* or ON *Póri(r)*, counted together here because they are very difficult to distinguish in historical place-name forms, represent the most recurrent personal name(s) in the sub-corpus; and five other ON *Pór*-names recur as specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names (see analysis of ON *Pór*-names below). There has been some debate as to whether ON *Póri(r)* is in origin an extended monothematic or dithematic personal name (see below). Because of this, ON *Ormr* (the second-most recurrent personal name in the sub-corpus) could be said to be the most recurrent monothematic personal name (see analysis of ON *Ormr* below); and ON *Ásgautr*/OE *Ōsgeat* (the third-most recurrent personal name in the sub-corpus) the most recurrent dithematic personal name. Five other ON *Ás*-/OE *Ōs*-names recur as specific elements of *bý(r)*-names. ON *Eindriði* is taken here to relatively securely occur three times, but it has been suggested as a possible specific element for five other *bý(r)*-names, which would make it the most recurrent personal name specific element of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. This seems very unlikely, but the group of *bý(r)*-names that possibly contain the personal name are notable (see analysis of ON *Eindriði* below).

Four diagnostic Old English personal names recur, twice each: OE *Beornnōð*, OE *Godrīc*, OE *Wilheard*, and OE *Wulfrīc*. It is notable that these recurring names account for just over half (i.e. eight out of thirteen) the diagnostic Old English personal names in the sub-corpus. Three Norman personal names recur, also twice each: Breton *Alein*, OFr *Lambin*, and OFr *Robert*. These names account for 24% of the 25 Norman personal names that relatively securely occur as the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. Norman personal names are, then, both more numerous than Old English personal names and more varied. However, it must be remembered that Old English personal names overlap

significantly with their Old Norse cognates, and they may be greater in number and variation than can be known.

3.4.1.1.4. Case-study: Old Norse *Þór*-names

The most recurrent personal names to relatively securely occur as the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names is ON *Þóri(r)* and/or ON *Þórr*. The two personal names are very difficult to distinguish from one another in place-names. However, ON *Þórr* has been widely held to not occur as a monothematic personal name, at least in Scandinavia (see discussion below). The personal names occur as the specific elements of seven *bý(r)*-names that are among a total of 23 *bý(r)*-names in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus which contain Old Norse personal names formed with the theme ON *Þór*- ‘the god Þórr’. This theophoric prototheme is unique to the Old Norse personal naming system – the equivalent Old English god-name *Dunor* was not used in the Old English personal naming system; and the *Þór*-names used by the Normans are loans from the Old Norse system, a legacy of the Scandinavian origins of Normandy. The 23 *bý(r)*-names with *Þór*-name specific elements are listed below, separated by personal name, and the following maps and table illustrate their distribution.

ON *Þóri(r)* and/or ON *Þórr*

1. Thoresby LIN: *Toresbia* 1142.
2. Thoresby YOR: *Toresbi* 1086.
3. North Thoresby LIN: *Toresbi* 1086, *Toresbi* 1115-18, *Thorisbeia* 1137-39, *Thoresbi* 1202, *Thorisby* 1242-43, *Thoresby* 1226-28, *Thorysby* 1420
4. South Thoresby LIN: *Toresbi* 1086.

5. Thoresby House NOT: *Turesbi* 1086, *Thuresby* 1234, *Thowrisby* 1272-1307, *Thouresby* 1276.
6. Thursby CUM: *Thoresby* c. 1165, *Toresbi* c. 1175, *Thursby* 1277.
7. *Toresbi* YOR: *Toresbi* 1086.

ON *Póraldr*

1. Thoralby (Buckrose Wap.) YOR: *Turodebi* 1086, *Thoraldebi*, -by 12th.
2. Thoralby (Hang West Wap.) YOR: *Toroldes-*, *Turo(l)desbi* 1086.
3. Thoralby Hall YOR: *Turalzbi* 1086, *Toroldebi* 1175-86, *Thorleby* 1398.
4. Thoraldby (Langbargh West Wap.) YOR: *Toro(l)des-*, *Tuoldesbi* 1086, *Thoroldeby* 1219, *Thoralby* 1285 [16th].
5. Thorlby (East Staincliffe Wap.) YOR: *Toredere-*, *Toreilderebi* 1086, *Thordelbi* a. 1208, *Torleby* 1285.

ON *Pórólfr*

1. Thurlby (Calcewath Wap.) LIN: *Toruluesbi* 1086.
2. Thurlby (Graffoe Wap.) LIN: *Turulf-*, *Tvrolf-*, *Torolue(s)bi* 1086.
3. Thurlby (Ness Wap.) LIN: *Torulf-*, *Tvrolvebi* 1086, *Turufesbi* c. 1128, *Thurleby* 1146.

ON *Pórgrimr*

1. Thorganby (Walshcroft Wap.) LIN: *Torgre(m)-*, *Turgrimbi* 1086, *Torgrim(e)bi* 1115-18.
2. ?Thorganby YOR: *Turgisbi* 1086, *Turgrimebi* 1192, *Turgrimesbi* 1194-1201, *Thurhamby* 1268, *Thorgand(e)by* 1285, *Thorganby* 1420.

ON *Pórketill*

1. Thirkleby (Birdforth Wap.) YOR: *Turchilebi* 1086, *Thirtle-*, *Thurkilleby* 1202, *Turkelby* 1224-30.

2. Thirtleby YOR: *Torchilebi* 1086, *Thikelebi* (sic) 1200, *Thorkelby* 1285, *Thurtilby* 1485.

ON *Þórmóðr*

1. Thormanby YOR: *Tormoz-*, *Turmozbi* 1086, *Trmodesbi* (sic) 1167, *Thormotheby* 1295, *Thormanby* 1481.
2. Thornaby YOR: *Thormoz-*, *Tormoz-*, *Turmozbi* 1086, *Thormodby* 1175-1200, *Thormotheby* 285.

ON *Þórgils*

1. Thirkleby (Buckrose Wap.) YOR: *Turgile-*, *Turgislebi* 1086, *Turgesleby* c. 1225, *Thurkileby* 1233, *Tirkalby* 1298.

ON *Þórsteinn*

1. Throxenby YOR: *Trstanebi* (sic) 1167, *Thurstanby* 1276, *Thorstanby* 1301, *Throssenbye* 1537, *Frostenby* 1577.

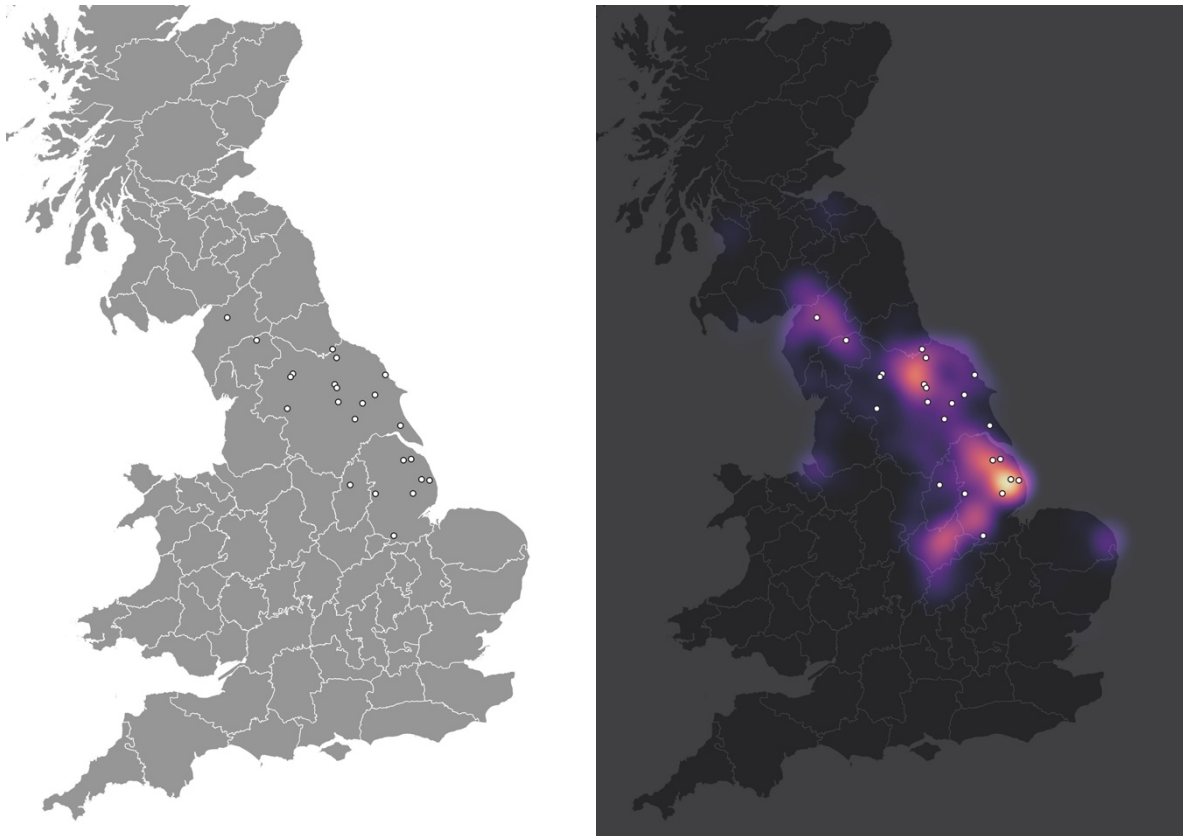


Figure 3.23: distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that contain ON *Þór*-names

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of <i>Þór</i>-name Specific Elements</u>	<u>% of Anglo- Scandinavian <i>bý(r)</i>- names</u>
Yorkshire	14	60.9	1.7
Lincolnshire	7	30.4	0.9
Cumberland	1	4.3	0.1
Nottinghamshire	1	4.3	0.1
<u>Totals:</u>	23	100	2.9

Table 3.17: county totals of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names with *Þór*-name specific elements

The 23 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that contain ON *Þór*-names as their specific elements are almost entirely a Lincolnshire and Yorkshire phenomenon (i.e. they are located in the main core areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names distribution). Yorkshire contains over half of the instances; and only Thoresby House NOT and Thursby CUM, two of the seven *bý(r)*-names which contain ON *Þóri(r)* or ON *Þórr*, are located outside the two north-eastern counties. There are some patterns to the *Þór*-name + *bý(r)* constructions. The seven instances of ON *Þóri(r)*/ON *Þórr* occur in all four counties that *Þór*-name + *bý(r)* constructions are found; and ON *Þórgrimr* occurs in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. However, the three instances of ON *Þórólfr* only occur in Lincolnshire; and the five instances ON *Þóraldr*, the two instances of *Þórketill* and *Þórmóðr*, and the single instances of *Þórgils* and *Þórsteinn* all only occur in Yorkshire. The limitations of *bý(r)*-names that contain the personal names *Þóraldr*, *Þórgils*, *Þórketill*, *Þórmóðr*, *Þórólfr*, and *Þórsteinn* to single counties is notable because the personal names are not restricted to those counties in the historical record and/or as the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian settlement-names whose generic elements are not ON *bý(r)*.

ON *Þóraldr* is well-attested independently in Lincolnshire and Norfolk and probably occurs in the settlement-name Harlesthorne DER (*Tharlestropp* 1216-72) (see SPNLY 296-98; Insley 1994: 392-96; PNDer 2 238); ON *Þórgils* occurs independently in Lincolnshire (see SPNLY 305; Insley 1994: 407); ON *Þórketill* is well-attested independently in Lincolnshire and Norfolk and occurs in the settlement-names *Thurketeliart* 1086 NOR, Thrupton HAM (*T'killeston* 1167), Thrupton HER (*Torchestone* 1086), and Thurcaston LEI (*Tvchiteles-*, *Turchitelestone* 1086) (see SPNLY 309; Insley 1994: 414-18; CDEPN 614; PNLei 7 229); ON *Þórmóðr* occurs independently in Norfolk and in the settlement names Thrumpton NOT (*Thurmeston* 1278), Thurmansley DER (*Thurmodesl'* c. 1180), Thurmaston

LEI (*Tvmodestone* 1086), and *Thurmodetun* 1202 NOR (see Insley 1994: 421; PNNot 90; PNDer 3 613; PNLei 3 237); ON *Þórólfr* is attested independently in Norfolk and Yorkshire and occurs in the settlement-names Tholthorpe YOR (*þurulfestune* 972 [11th]), Thulston DER (*Turulueston* 1086), and Thurlstone YOR (*Turulfestune* 1086) (see Insley 1994: 423; SPNLY 317; PNNRY 21; PNDer 2 462; PNWRY 1 339); and ON *Þórsteinn* is well-attested in Lincolnshire and Norfolk and occurs in the settlement-names Thrislington DUR (*Tursteint'* c. 1174-89), Thrussington LEI (*Turstanestone* 1086), Thurstaston CHE (*Turstanetone* 1086), Thurstonefield CUM (*Turstanfeld* c. 1210-1350), and Thuxton NOR (*Turstanestuna* 1086) (see SPNLY 313-14; Insley 1994: 425-29; Watts 2002: 125; PNLei 3 231; PNChe 4 279; PNCum 1 128).⁶¹

The geographical distinction between *bý(r)*-names with ON *Þór*-names as their specific elements and other Anglo-Scandinavian place-names that contain them is curious, particularly because the latter occur in seven counties that collectively contain 143 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names (i.e. Cheshire, Derbyshire, County Durham, Leicestershire, Norfolk, Nottinghamshire, and Warwickshire). The *bý(r)*-names appear to belong to a different stratum of place-naming in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Certain personal names held currency in different areas, but *Þór*-names were evidently current in the communities that coined Anglo-Scandinavian place-names outside of those two counties. Four settlement-names in Derbyshire, including two Grimston-/Toton-names, contain *Þór*-names as their specific elements; and so do four Grimston/Toton-names in Leicestershire, a county that

⁶¹ So-called Grimston-/Toton-hybrid names formed with ON *Þór*-names comprise 13 of the 17 settlement-names listed. They are a common place-name type in peripheral areas of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain and otherwise include ON *Þórfrøðr*, *-friðr* in Thurvaston DER (*Torverdestune* 1086) (see PNDer 3 593); and ON *Þórleifr* in Thurlaston LEI (*Lestone* 1086 > *Turlaueston* 1196) and Thurlaston WAR (*Torlauestone* 1086) (see PNLei 6 299; PNWar 147). Grimston-/Toton-hybrids have commonly been held to be hybrid formations formed with the generic element OE *tūn*, but they may instead contain the cognate ON *tún* (see Chapter Four, Section 4.3.2.).

contains 67 *bý(r)*-names. Why this distinction occurs in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names with ON *Þór*-names as their specific elements is uncertain.

Some caution must be established before further analysis of the *Þór*-name + *bý(r)* constructions with regards to their historical linguistic origins because certain *Þór*-names formed part of the (Anglo-)Norman personal naming system. Insley (1994: 397, 408-09, 419, 430) notes that ON *Þóraldr* was a frequent personal name in Normandy, occurs in Norman place-names, and was infrequent in England pre-1066; that ON *Þórgils* held ‘persistent’ use in Normandy and occurs in Norman place-names; that ON *Þórketill* occurs independently in Normandy and in Norman place-names; and that ON *Þórsteinn* was very common in Normandy and occurs in Norman place-names. He states that many bearers of these personal names in post-Conquest England were Norman or of Norman descent.

It is possible that many Anglo-Scandinavian place-names contain as their specific elements *Þór*-names borne by individuals as part of an Anglo-Norman naming tradition, particularly later-attested minor names and field-names. However, we can probably draw a distinction between *Þór*-names as part of an Anglo-Scandinavian naming tradition in early-attested place-names and mixed Anglo-Scandinavian/Anglo-Norman origins for their independent appearance in post-Conquest historical records and place-name formations. This is particularly the case for Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. Indeed, *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain personal names introduced by the Normans to Anglo-Scandinavian Britain (i.e. Biblical, Breton, Continental Germanic, and Old French personal names) are limited to Cumberland, Dumfriesshire, County Durham, and Yorkshire (see above); and they are not attested earlier than the twelfth century. The earliest fixed copy date for one of these *bý(r)*-names is *Moresceby* c. 1160, but *Baggaby Bottom* YOR (*Bagoteby* 12th) and *Johnby CUM* (*Ionesbi* 12th) could have been recorded at an earlier date in the twelfth century.

It is unlikely that *bý(r)*-names would have been formed with *Þór*-names borne by (Anglo-)Norman individuals in time to have been recorded as taxable villas in the Domesday Book survey. However, it must be acknowledged as possible that one or more of the Yorkshire names contains a *Þór*-name borne by an (Anglo-)Norman. Because *bý(r)*-names that contain identifiable Continental personal names do not occur outside of northern England and south-western Scotland, it is extremely unlikely that any of the Lincolnshire names or the Nottinghamshire name contain a *Þór*-name borne in this context. The most likely candidates as *bý(r)*-names that contain *Þór*-names as part of an Anglo-Norman tradition are Throxenby YOR (*Trstanebi* (sic) 1167) and Thursby CUM (*Thoresby* c. 1165). They are not attested until the mid-twelfth century and Thursby CUM is located in the county which contains the most *bý(r)*-names with identifiable Continental personal names as their specific elements. This possible status for Thursby CUM depends on whether it contains ON *Þóri(r)*, which was not current in the Norman personal naming system, ON *Þórr*, or a short form of a dithematic *Þór*-name (see below).

The seven Thoresby-/Thursby-names contain either ON *Þóri(r)* or ON *Þórr* as their specific elements. There has been some debate on the etymological origins of ON *Þóri(r)*. Fellows-Jensen (SPNLY 309) and Insley (1994: 411-12) state that ON *Þórir* is in origin either a dithematic formation ON **Þórvér* (< Primitive Scandinavian **Þunra-wīhaR*) (see also Peterson 2007: 232), or an extended monothematic *-ir* derivative of ON *Þórr*; and Insley (1994: 412) further states that ON *Þóri* is either a derivative side-form of ON *Þórir* or a short form of dithematic *Þór*-names. He notes that ON *Þórir* is found throughout Scandinavia but that ON *Þóri* is limited to the Old East Norse area (i.e. Denmark and Sweden). Here the headform ON *Þóri(r)* will be used to encompass the personal names. ON *Þóri(r)* is well-attested throughout Scandinavia, including runic inscriptions; is well-attested in independent

use in England (particularly ON *Þóri*); and (ON *Þórir* in particular) has been taken to form the specific element of a large number of English place-names ranging from settlement-names to field-names (see Insley 1994: 411-13; Peterson 2007: 232; SPNLY 307-09).

Among the Thoresby-/Thursby-names, previous scholars have taken ON *Þóri(r)* to form the specific element of Thoresby LIN, North Thoresby LIN, South Thoresby LIN, Thoresby House NOT (see Insley 1994: 413; PNLin 4 166 (for North Thoresby LIN); SSNEM 74), Thoresby YOR (see Insley 1994: 413; SSNY 39), *Toresbi* 1086 YOR (see SSNY 39), and Thursby CUM (see PNCum 1 154; SSNNW 41). However, PNNOT 92 etymologises Thoresby House NOT with ‘*Pur*’ and states that this personal name is a short form of a dithematic *Þór*-name or ON *Þóri(r)*; and Smith etymologises Thoresby YOR with ON *Þórr* (see PNNRY 266).

This brings us to discussion of the personal name ON *Þórr*. The debate here is not its etymological origin, but whether it existed as a monothematic personal name – Vikstrand (2009: 1014) notes the ‘well-known rule’ that designations for or names of supernatural beings do not occur as simplex given names in the Old Norse personal naming system, because such use would have been taboo.⁶² Personal names with the form *þor* occur on two Scandinavian runic inscriptions, but these have been taken to be short forms of one of the personal names ON *Þórir*, ON *Þórðr*, or ON *Þorn* (see Insley 1994: 391; Peterson 2007: 235).⁶³ A personal name that is evidently a reflex of ON *Þórr* is well-attested in independent use in Yorkshire, with other instances in Lincolnshire and Norfolk, but Fellows-Jensen

⁶² Vikstrand (2009: 1014) states that the personal names ON *Alfr* and ON *Dis* are exceptions to this apparent rule. The appearance of the personal name ON *Þórr* as a specific element in Scandinavian place-names, with both habitative and topographical generic elements, has been treated as denoting sites dedicated to the god *Þórr* in some way (see, for example, Brink 2007: 113-16; Brink 2013: 43-44).

⁶³ Personal names that appear in Scandinavian historical written records with the forms *Thor(e)* have also been taken to reflect short forms of dithematic *Þór*-names or extended monothematic *Þór*-names (see, for example, Janzén 1947: 241).

(SPNLY 296) and Insley (1994: 390-91) both take this to be an Anglo-Scandinavian short form of dithematic *Þór*-names (i.e. not directly a monothematic ON *Þórr*). Insley (1994: 390) gives A-Sc *Þōr*, *Þūr* as the headforms of this personal name in his Norfolk survey, but the ON headform *Þórr* will be used in this discussion.

Insley (1994: 413), in a footnote under his discussion of ON *Þóri(r)*, states that PNNRY 266 ‘wrongly’ gives ON *Þórr* as the specific element of Thoresby YOR; that PNN 92 ‘allows’ for A-Sc *Þōr*, *Þūr* as an alternative to ON *Þóri(r)* for Thoresby House NOT; and that it is normally not possible to separate ON *Þórir*, ODan *Þōri*, *Þūri*, and A-Sc *Þōr*, *Þūr* in minor names and field-names attested in the Middle English period.⁶⁴ He does not state why Smith is ‘wrong’ in PNNRY 266 to etymologise Thoresby YOR with ON *Þórr*. If ON *Þórr* was a common personal name in Yorkshire, which its recurrent appearance in independent attestations noted by Insley (1994: 391) indicates it was, it is not unreasonable to suggest it occurs as the specific element of a Yorkshire *bý(r)*-name. It is probable that Insley (1994: 391) and Fellows-Jensen, who also dismisses the suggestion of ON *Þórr* for Thoresby YOR in favour of ON *Þórir* (see SSNY 39), instead take the *Tores-* of its Domesday Book form to better represent the genitive *Þóris* of ON *Þórir* than the genitive *Þórs* of ON *Þórr*. However, this is not diagnostic.

A medial genitive *-es-* occurs in the first forms of all the Thoresby-/Thursby-names. These can be taken to represent the *-is-* of *Þóris*, the genitive form of ON *Þórir* (the side-form ON *Þóri* would perhaps be expected to give genitive *Þóra* but may also have been *Þóris*). However, medial *-e-* is ubiquitous as a svarabhakti vowel in the early historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names with strong masculine singular genitive constructions that contribute to consonant clusters. Among the *bý(r)*-names with *Þór*-name specific

⁶⁴ Note that Insley (1994: 413) draws a distinction between ON *Þórir* as an Old West Norse personal name (i.e. Icelandic and Norwegian) and ODan *Þōri*, *Þūri* as Old East Norse personal names (i.e. Danish and Swedish).

elements, for example, the Domesday Book forms *Toroldes-*, *Turo(l)desbi* 1086 for Thoralbby (Hang West Wap.) YOR; *Toro(l)des-*, *Tuoldesbi* 1086 for Thoraldby (Langbargh West Wap.) YOR; *Toruluesbi* 1086 Thurlby (Calcewath Wap.) LIN; and *Torolue(s)bi* 1086 for Thurlby (Graffoe Wap.) LIN contain medial *-e-* in representations of the genitive forms *Þóralds* and *Þórólfs* of, respectively, the personal names ON *Þóraldr* and ON *Þórólfr*.⁶⁵ It is reasonable to suggest that the Domesday Book *Tores-*, *Tures-* forms for Thoresby YOR, Thoresby House NOT, North Thoresby LIN, South Thoresby LIN, and *Toresbi* YOR could represent the genitive *Þórs* of ON *Þórr* (and perhaps *Þūr(e)s* of a specifically A-Sc reflex *Þūr* in Thoresby House NOT).

This is not to say that these *bý(r)*-names do not contain ON *Þóri(r)*. The later forms *Thowrisby* 1272-1307 for Thoresby House NOT and *Thorisbeia* 1137-39 for North Thoresby LIN in particular point more to ON *Þóri(r)* than ON *Þórr*. Rather, it is that ON *Þórr* may underlie some of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that have generally been held to contain ON *Þóri(r)*. It should be noted that, alternatively, some of the Thoresby-/Thursby-names may contain shortened forms of dithematic *Þór*-names borne by individuals who went by the prototheme alone as a nickname. These would, of course, be indistinguishable from the monothematic personal name ON *Þórr* in historical place-name forms.⁶⁶

The possible recurrence of ON *Þórr* as the specific element of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, in addition to its well-attested appearance in the historical written record, invites a challenge to the suggestion that the personal name is a short form of dithematic *Þór*-names, which also occur frequently as the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names and

⁶⁵ Fellows-Jensen takes some instances of *-es-* to represent substitution of a genitive ON *-s* for a genitive OE *-es* (see SPNLY xcix). This may, however, simply represent a natural development in an Anglo-Scandinavian written context rather than active substitution.

⁶⁶ The occurrence of ON *Þórr* or shortened form of dithematic *Þór*-names as personal names in early medieval Cumberland may be suggested by the appearance of an individual named *Thorfyinn mac Thore* in Gospatric's writ, dated c. 1041-64 [13th] (see Anglo-Saxon charter S1243). Insley (1987: 184), however, takes this to be a reflex of ON *Þórir*.

in independent attestations. A monothematic *Þór*-name also occurs in up to nine place-names in Normandy, including *Torholm*, *Turmolin*, and *Torvilla*, which Adigard (1954: 154) suggests may contain the Anglo-Scandinavian reflex discussed above. The Anglo-Scandinavian and Norman evidence might alternatively point to diasporic use of ON *Þórr* as a monothematic personal name, independent from short forms of dithematic *Þór*-names, which may have lost its taboo nature outside the Scandinavian homelands.

It is dithematic *Þór*-names (other than ON *Þóri(r)* if it is indeed a reduced form of ON **Þórvér*) that form a majority 16 of the 23 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names which contain *Þór*-names as their specific elements. They are on the whole a relatively straightforward group of names because dithematic *Þór*-names are so readily identifiable in historical place-name forms. ON *Þóraldr* is the most common dithematic *Þór*-name to occur and, as noted above, the five *bý(r)*-names that contain the personal name are an exclusively Yorkshire phenomenon. In contrast to the discussion above of svarabhakti vowels and an Anglo-Scandinavian genitive *-es-* (see Footnote 65), the Domesday Book form *Turalzbi* 1086 for Thorlby Hall YOR may in particular preserve the Old Norse genitive *-s-* of an original ON **Þóraldsbý(r)* construction; and the Domesday Book forms *Toredere-*, *Toreilderebi* 1086 for Thorlby (East Staincliffe Wap.) YOR appear to contain a secondary Old Norse genitive *-ar-*. Evidence for the Old Norse genitive *-ar-* is rare in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names, not least because it would be expected to weaken to a medial vowel in its semi-stressed position in place-name compounds. Where it does occur with some identifiability, it can be taken as evidence for place-name formations in an Old Norse-speaking environment (see Section 3.3.2.1., above, for *bý(r)*-names that appear to contain the ON genitive *-ar* in their historical forms).

Three other dithematic *Pór*-names relatively securely recur: three instances of ON *Pórolfr* (in Lincolnshire) and two instances each of ON *Pórketill* (in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire) and ON *Pórmóðr* (in Yorkshire). Either ON *Pórgrimr* or ON *Pórgils* also occur in two Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. The Domesday Book form *Turgisbi* 1086 for Thorganby YOR may contain ON *Pórgils* as its specific element but later forms (e.g. *Turgrimebi* 1192) suggest instead ON *Pórgrimr*. However, the thirteenth-century forms *Thurhamby* 1268 and *Thorgand(e)by* 1285 further reflect an unstable deuterotheme in the place-name compound. The two earliest forms for Thirkleby (Buckrose Wap.) YOR, *Turgile-*, *Turgislebi* 1086 and *Turgesleby* c. 1225, suggest that the original specific element is ON *Pórgils*, but from the thirteenth-century form *Thurkileby* 1233 onward ON *Pórketill* is substituted for ON *Pórgils*.

ON *Pórgils* seems to have been more common in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain than ON *Pórgrimr* (which was characteristic of Old West Norse (i.e. Icelandic and Norwegian) naming systems) and it formed part of the Norman personal naming system (see Insley 1994: 409). It is notable that it may have been replaced as the specific elements of two *bý(r)*-name by other *Pór*-names when it was current as part of the Anglo-Scandinavian and Anglo-Norman personal naming systems. However, the semi-stressed positions of dithematic personal name deuterothermes in place-name compounds makes them susceptible to re-analysis. If ON *Pórgrimr* replaced an original ON *Pórgils* in Thorganby YOR it is an interchange between two deuterothermes with initial /g/. The replacement of ON *Pórgils* by ON *Pórketill* in Thirkleby (Buckrose Wap.) YOR is by the syncopated form *-kell* of the deuterotheme ON *-ketill* for ON *-gils*; and the two elements could have had some phonological overlap in semi-stressed positions. Another such overlap between two deuterothermes in semi-stressed positions can be seen in the reduction of *Thorleby* 1348 for Thorlby Hall YOR, *Torleby* 1285 for Thorlby (East Staincliffe Wap.) YOR, and *Thurleby*

1146 for Thurlby (Ness Wap.) LIN, showing identical reductions of ON *-aldr* and ON *-ólfr* to a medial *-le-* in Middle English forms.

The prototheme ON *Þór-* appears predominantly as *Thor(e)-*, *Thur(e)-*, *Tor(e)-*, and *Tur(e)-* in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)-*names, which show various Anglo-Scandinavian and Anglo-Norman representations of the personal name element. It appears as *T(h)i(r)-* in thirteenth-century forms for Thirkleby (Buckrose Wap.) YOR, Thirkleby (Birdforth Wap.) YOR, and Thirtleby YOR, which is reflected in the modern forms of the place-names, and is only significantly re-analysed in the later sixteenth-century forms *Throssenby* 1537 and *Frostenby* 1577 for Throxenby YOR.

Two Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)-*names appear to have their specific elements re-analysed as dithematic *Þór-*names. Thornby NTH is first attested as *Torneberie* 1086 and its specific element is probably OE/ON *þorn* ‘thorn-bush’ (or perhaps the personal name ON *Þyrnir*), but its *Turlebi* 12th and *Thurleby* 1226 match the medial *-le-* forms for Thoralb Hall YOR, Thorlby (East Staincliffe Wap.) YOR, and Thurlby (Ness Wap.) LIN discussed above. It is possible that the thorn-element specific of Thornby NTH was mistaken for a *Þór-*name in those instances because of their shared initial *T(h)or-*. Rollesby NOR is first attested in Domesday Book with multiple forms: *Rotholfuesbi*, *-by*, *Rolues-*, *Rothyfuesbei*, and *Thorolvesby* 1086. Four Domesday Book forms and all subsequent forms indicate that the specific element is the personal name ON *Hrólfr* or its uncontracted form ON **Hróðúlfr*, but *Thorolvesby* 1086 evidently reflects ON *Þórólfr*. It seems that in one instance a Domesday Book scribe or copyist mistook one dithematic personal name formed with the deutertheme ON *-ólfr/-úlfr* for another.

3.4.1.1.5. Case-study: ON *Ormr*

The personal name ON *Ormr* is here taken to relatively securely occur as the specific element of six Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names: Hornsby CUM, Ormesby CUM, Ormesby NOR, Ormesby YOR, North Ormsby LIN, and Ornsby Hill DUR. It uncertainly occurs as the specific element of South Ormsby LIN, but that place-name may instead contain the personal name ON *Ormarr*. Regardless, it is the second-most common personal name to form the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names if ON *Þórr* or ON *Þóri(r)* are counted together. If they are counted separately, with the exact number of both names unknown (see above), then ON *Ormr* is the most common relatively secure personal name to occur as the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names. The seven *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely or possibly contain ON *Ormr* are listed below; and the following maps and table illustrate their distribution.

Relatively secure:

1. Hornsby CUM: *Ormesby* c. 1210, *Hormesby* c. 1230, *Hornesby* c. 1241.
2. Ormesby CUM: *Ormesbye* c. 1227, *Ormisby* 1308.
3. Ormesby NOR: *Ormisby* c. 1020 [l. 13th], *Ormesbei*, *-by*, *Omesbei*, *Ormesbey*, *Osmesbei*, *Orbeslei* 1086, *Ormesbi* 1157, *Hormesbi* 1199, *Ormesby* 1209, *Ormysby* 1428.
4. Ormesby YOR: *Ormesbi*-, *-by* 1086, *Ormysby* 1414.
5. North Ormsby LIN: *Vrmesbyg* c. 1067 [12th]; *Ormesbi* 1086.
6. Ornsby Hill DUR: *Ormysby* 1408.

Uncertain:

1. South Ormsby LIN: *Ormesbi* 1086, *Ormeres*-, *Ormesbi* 1115-18, *Hormeresbi* l. 12th, *Hormesby* 1242-43.

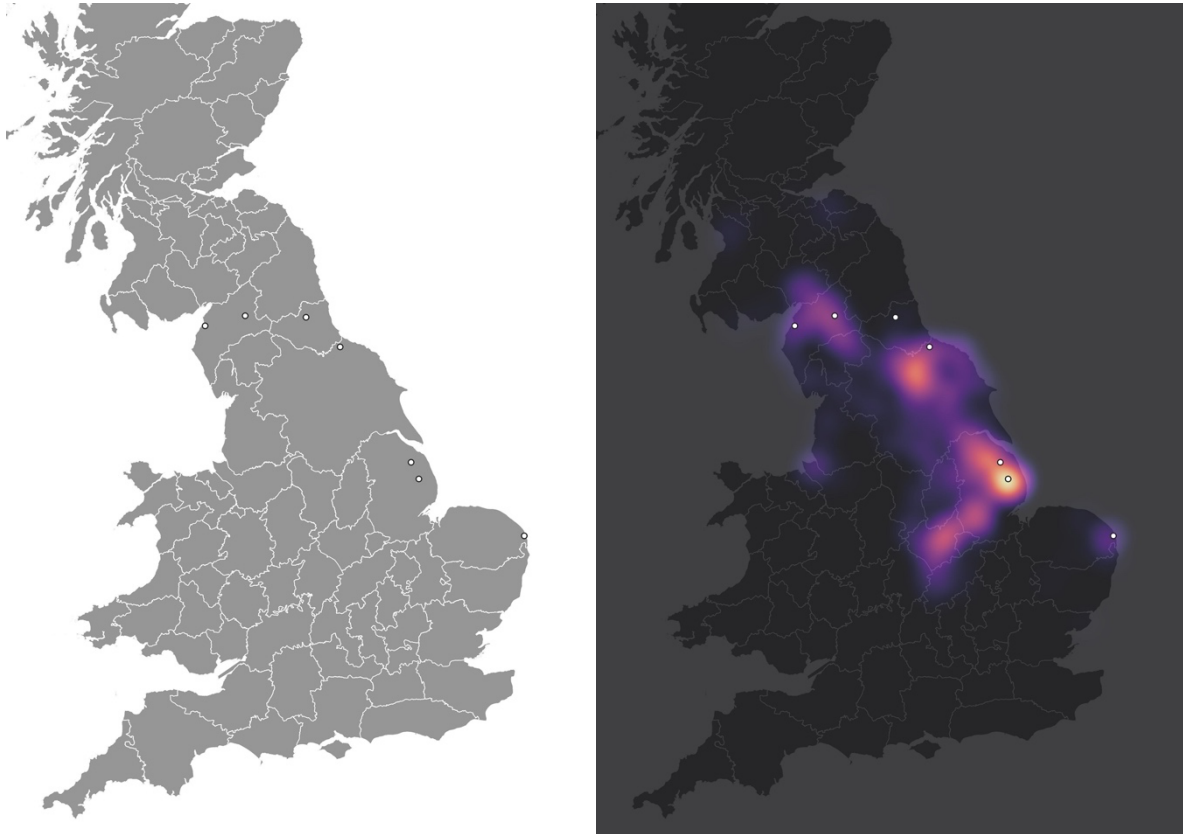


Figure 3.24: distribution of relatively secure and uncertain instances of ON Ormr

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of ON Ormr</u>	<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)- names</u>
Cumberland	2	28.6	0.2
Lincolnshire	2	28.6	0.2
County Durham	1	14.3	0.1
Norfolk	1	14.3	0.1
Yorkshire	1	14.3	0.1
Totals:	7	100	0.9

Table 3.18: county totals of possible instances of ON Ormr

The seven *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain the personal names ON *Ormr* and/or ON *Ormarr* as their specific elements are distributed across the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus in core and peripheral areas. There are two instances each in Cumberland and Lincolnshire, and one each in County Durham, Norfolk, and Yorkshire. There is not a geographical limitation on the distribution of ON *Ormr* as the specific element of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names as there is with, for example, dithematic ON *Þór*-names (see above). ON *Ormr* is independently attested in England and Scandinavian, and occurs as the specific element of other Anglo-Scandinavian place-names and place-names in Scandinavia (see Insley 1994: 314-16; SPNLY 204-06). It also appears on the Kirkdale sundial, dated c. 1055-65, which records the rebuilding of St. Gregory's Minster in Yorkshire by an individual named *Orm Gamalsvna* (see Watts et al. 1997: 51).

That ON *Ormr* occurs as the specific element of Hornsby CUM, Ormesby CUM, Ormesby NOR, Ormesby YOR, North Ormsby LIN, and Ornsby Hill DUR is transparent. Its possible occurrence as the specific element of South Ormsby LIN, and the relationship between the personal names ON *Ormr* and ON *Ormarr*, is somewhat complicated. In SSNEM 62, Fellows-Jensen states that South Ormsby LIN contains ON *Ormarr* and that the *Ormes*- forms show confusion with the more common personal name ON *Ormr* (see also CDEPN 452). This confusion might reflect some overlap between the personal names. Insley (1994: 312-13) records ON *Ormarr* as the specific element of the Norfolk field-name *Ormerescroft* 14th and notes that it occurs in Iceland and Norway, with some late medieval examples of ODan *Ormar*. He states that in the fifteenth century some *Ormarus*, *Ormer* forms in Denmark in fact represent ON *Ormr*, and that 'there was sometimes a certain confluence' between ON *Ormr* and ON *Ormarr* in late medieval Scandinavia.

Insley (1994: 313) further notes that discussion of ON *Ormarr* in England is complicated by the fact that the personal name OE *Ordmar* sometimes appears in the

historical record as *Ormar(us)*. However, the Old English personal name probably can be ruled out of discussion here. There are no forms for South Ormsby LIN that satisfactorily represent the prototheme OE *Ord-*, and the historical forms of the *bý(r)*-name reflect interchange between the two Old Norse personal names. It may be that the more common ON *Ormr* was substituted for ON *Ormarr*, as Fellows-Jensen suggests, or it may be that the forms for South Ormsby LIN reflect some overlap between the personal names in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain as well as in Scandinavia.

Other instances of similar interchanges between personal names in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names may occur between the monothematic ON *Steinn* and dithematic ON *Steinarr* in Stainsby DER (*Steinesbi* 1086, *Staineresbi* 1185, *Steynesbi* 1200) (see PNDer 2 270; SSNEM 71), and ON *Hrólf* and its full dithematic form ON *Hróðúlfr* in Rollesby NOR (*Rotholfues-*, *Roluesbei*, *-by* 1086, *Roluesby* 1127-34, *Rollesbi* 1193).

3.4.1.1.6. Case-study: ON *Eindriði*

The personal name ON *Eindriði* is here taken to relatively securely occur as the specific element of three Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names: Ainderby Quernhow YOR, Ainderby Steeple YOR, and Enderby LEI. However, it uncertainly occurs as the specific element of five other *bý(r)*-names: Ainderby Mires YOR, Anderby LIN, Bag Enderby LIN, Mavis Enderby LIN, and Wood Enderby LIN. If ON *Eindriði* was the specific element of eight *bý(r)*-names, it would be the most recurrent personal name specific element in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, with one more instance than ON *Þórr* or ON *Þóri(r)* if they are counted together. The eight *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely or possibly contain ON *Eindriði* are listed below; and the following maps and table illustrate their distribution.

Relatively secure:

1. Ainderby Quernhow YOR: *Aiendre-*, *Andrebi* 1086, *Ender-*, *Endreby* 1207, *Einderby* 1231, *Anderby* 1280.
2. Ainderby Steeple YOR: *Andre-*, *Eindrebi* 1086.
3. Enderby LEI: *Andretesbi*, *Endrebi* 1086, *Andredeberia* 1100, *Andredesbi* 1191, *Endredebi* 1200, *Enderby* 1254.

Uncertain:

1. Ainderby Mires YOR: *Endrebi* 1086, *Andrebi* 1198 *Enderdeby* 1280.
2. Anderby LIN: *Andre-*, *Handerbi* 12th, *Andreby* 1123-47 [13th].
3. Bag Enderby LIN: *Adrede-*, *Andrebi* 1086, *Anderbi* 1182-83, *Enderbi* 1202.
4. Mavis Enderby LIN: *Endrebi* 1086, 1115-18, *Enderbi* 1142-53, *Andrebi* 1154-89.
5. Wood Enderby LIN: *Endrebi* 1086, *Endrebi* 1195, *Wodenderby* 1198.

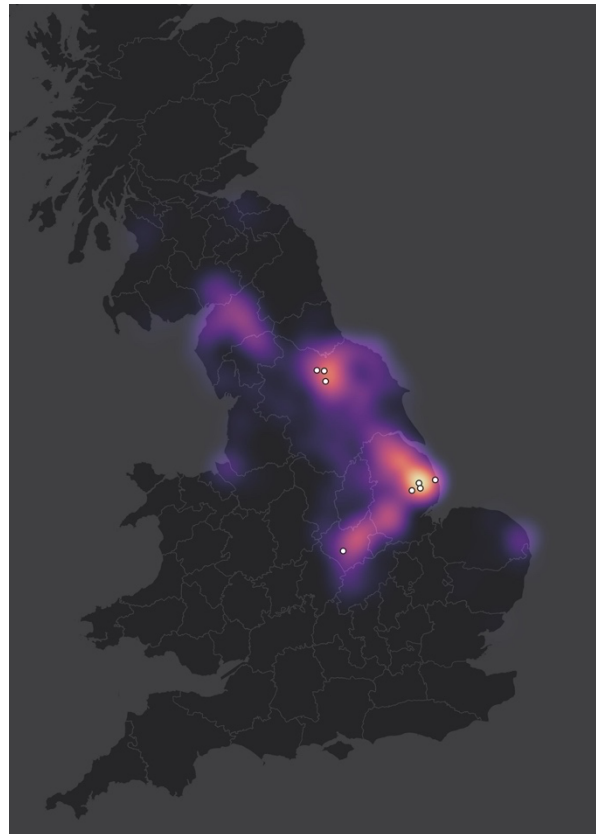


Figure 3.25: distribution of relatively secure and uncertain instances of ON *Eindriði*

<u>County</u>		<u>Count</u>	<u>% of ON Eindriði</u>	<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)- names</u>
Lincolnshire		4	50	0.5
Yorkshire	North Riding	3	37.5	0.4
Leicestershire		1	12.5	0.1
Totals:		8	100	0.9

Table 3.19: county totals of possible instances of ON *Eindriði*

The eight *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely and possibly contain ON *Eindriði* as their specific elements are almost entirely a Lincolnshire and Yorkshire phenomenon, with Enderby LEI a southerly outlier. They are a product of core areas. It is notable that the Lincolnshire names and Yorkshire names occur in clusters, which has been used to argue against the Lincolnshire names being a recurrent compound involving the personal name (see below). ON *Eindriði* is independently attested in Scandinavia, but neither Fellows-Jensen nor Insley (1994) provide independent attestations from Lincolnshire, Norfolk, or Yorkshire (see SPNLY 75-76). It has been taken to possibly occur in the *Durham Liber Vitae*, but the forms are uncertain (see Insley and Rollason 2007: 219). ON *Eindriði* may also occur as the original specific element of Woodthorpe LIN (*Endretorp* 1086), which was later substituted by OE *wudu* ‘a wood’ (see SSNEM 121).

It is pertinent to review how previous scholars have treated the *bý(r)*-names that may contain ON *Eindriði* as their specific elements. In PNNRY 223-24, Smith etymologises the

three Yorkshire Ainderby-names with the personal name; and he states that the *Ender*-forms are to be explained as a Scandinavian sound change of [ei] to [e] before *n* + consonant and *Ander*-forms as the influence of a side-form ON **Andriði*. In SSNY 17, Fellows-Jensen states that the personal name is ‘probably’ the specific element of the Yorkshire names (see also CDEPN 5). However, she is doubtful that ON *Eindriði* forms the specific elements of all the Leicestershire and Lincolnshire names. In SSNEM 30, she states that Anderby LIN has been etymologised with ON *Eindriði* (or ON *Arnþórr*), but based on its forms she prefers ON *qndurr*, *andri* ‘snow-shoe’ in the sense ‘billet of wood’ as its specific element. In CDEPN 14, Watts notes this possibility and suggests the personal name OFr *Andri* as another alternative. The Old French personal name seems unlikely given that relatively secure instances of Norman personal name + *bý(r)* formations do not occur at all in Lincolnshire (see above).

In discussion of Enderby LEI and the three Lincolnshire Enderby-names in SSNEM 45, Fellows-Jensen notes it is ‘strange’ that a personal name not independently attested in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire would form the specific elements of eight Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. She notes inconsistencies in their forms, and proposes that because the three Lincolnshire Enderby-names are in close proximity to one another it is ‘tempting’ to suggest that they each contain a pre-existing place-name for the area as their specific elements. Fellows-Jensen notes that some of their forms are similar to that of the British place-name which is preserved as the specific element of Andred Forest (*Andredesleage*, *Andred*, -*et* 1086), but the interpretation of that name as ‘the great fords’ does not suit the situation of the Lincolnshire names.

It is not clear how likely Fellows-Jensen considers ON *Eindriði* to be the specific element of Enderby LEI (see SSNEM 45). However, in PNLei 6 86 Cox etymologises Enderby LEI with the personal name. He notes that it developed a strong side-form ON *Eindriðr* but, because the side-form does not appear in Scandinavia until c. 1300, suggests

that the genitive *-es-* in some historical forms for Enderby LEI reflect anglicisation of the personal name. He cross-references the three Lincolnshire Enderby-names as other instances of the personal name in *bý(r)*-name formations, but not the Yorkshire names.

There is, then, very mixed opinion among previous scholars on the eight Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that possibly contain ON *Eindriði* as their specific elements. It is generally accepted that the Yorkshire Ainderby-names contain it, and there has been debate over the East Midlands names. However, Fellows-Jensen gave her opinion on the Yorkshire names in SSNY 17 prior to her analysis of East Midlands *bý(r)*-names material for SSNEM. Her concerns in SSNEM 45 that a personal name which is not independently attested in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire could be so recurrent in their *bý(r)*-names and that three identical formations with the personal name could occur in as close proximity as the Lincolnshire Enderby-names are to one another are valid. Bag Enderby LIN, Mavis Enderby LIN, and Wood Enderby LIN exist within area of just 26.5km². However, Fellows-Jensen's suggestion that they instead share a pre-existing place-name as their specific elements is equally problematic in this regard. The Yorkshire Ainderby-names, which in SSNEM she still accepts as probably containing the personal name, are also located in close proximity to one another, and exist within an area of just 43.3.km².

Here, ON *Eindriði* has been taken to relatively securely occur as the specific elements of Ainderby Quernhow YOR (*Aiendre-*, *Andrebi* 1086), Ainderby Steeple YOR (*Andre-*, *Eindrebi* 1086), and Enderby LEI (*Andretes-*, *Endrebi* 1086). Domesday Book forms for Ainderby Quernhow YOR and Ainderby Steeple YOR satisfactorily represent the prototheme ON *Ein-* of the personal name; and multiple forms for Enderby LEI, including the Domesday Book form *Andretesbi* 1086, satisfactorily represent the personal name in full and reflect a genitive *-(e)s-* which lends some support to it being a personal name + *bý(r)* formation.

Enderby LEI has multiple forms which reflect the generic element OE *byrig*, and it is discussed in the generic elements interchange case-study of this thesis (see Chapter Four).

At least some of the other five *bý(r)*-names may contain the personal name, but their forms are less satisfactory. Other elements including ON *ǫndurr*, *andri* and OFr *Andri*, however likely, could and have been suggested as their specific elements. It may be that we have several elements appearing in similar historical forms due to their weakening in semi-stressed positions in place-name compounds. The Lincolnshire Enderby-names in close proximity remain uncertain. It may be that ON *Eindriði* was a popular personal name in the locality, or that all three settlements were linked in some way to one individual. Alternatively, they may all denote an unidentified local feature. It seems very unlikely that ON *Eindriði* forms the specific elements of eight *bý(r)*-names. All other personal names that recur frequently are better attested in independent records in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain.

3.4.1.2. Uncertain Personal Names

The 339 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, 42.1% of the corpus, that uncertainly contain personal names as their specific elements are a complex group of place-names. The possible personal name specific elements formally overlap with topographical elements (see below), terms for peoples and human groups, habitative elements (see below), possible place-name formations, and adjectives. Otherwise unattested personal names have been taken to occur as the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names, and personal names have been suggested as the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names whose historical forms are very difficult to interpret.

Some possible personal names are very recurrent. Five *bý(r)*-names, for example, contain the personal name(s) ON *Hrókr*/OE **Hrōc(a)* or the animal-term ON *hrókr*/OE *hrōc* ‘a rook’, from which the personal name(s) are derived, as their specific elements; and 11

bý(r)-names contain the personal names ON *Barn*, ON *Bjarni* or ON *barn*/OE *bearn* ‘a child, offspring’ as their specific elements, which perhaps denoted settlements held by heirs or descendants (see Parker 1985). The focus on relatively secure personal names in this thesis has allowed for meaningful statistics to be produced that uncertain personal names can be measured against in future studies. The *bý(r)*-names that uncertainly contain personal names as their specific elements are listed in the corpus dataset of this thesis (see Appendix).

3.4.1.3. Summary

Personal names are, by any estimation between the minimum and maximum figures given in this thesis, the most numerically significant group of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements. They have also been (quite reasonably) treated by previous scholars as the most historically significant group of specific elements because they record the individuals who gave their names to settlements labelled with ON *bý(r)*. Clusters of personal name + *bý(r)* constructions in the core areas may attest to groups of settlements held by individuals, or at least to the need for personal names as distinguishing specific elements.

The sub-corpus of relatively secure personal names provides a minimum baseline for them as specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. This baseline includes county totals, languages of origin, and recurrence. Many of the uncertain instances of personal names are very probable (see above). However, the relatively secure baseline provides a measure against which the likelihood of particular uncertain personal names can be assessed. For example, that the four *bý(r)*-names which contain ON *Ketill* or the common noun ON *ketill*/OE *ci(e)tel* ‘a kettle, a kettle-shaped valley’ probably contain the personal name is reasonable given that the name is very well-attested independently in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain (see Insley 1994: 260-61). However, that the five *bý(r)*-names which contain ON

Malti or the common noun ON *malt*/OE *mealt* ‘malt’ all contain the personal name, which would make it as recurrent as ON *Ásgautr*/OE *Ōsgeat* and ON *Póraldr*, seems much less reasonable. The topographical noun can probably be favoured (at least in some instances) because malt was an important produce for export in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain (see CDEPN 394).

The Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain personal names as their specific elements are widely-distributed across core and peripheral areas of the corpus, with notable absences in the north-west of England outside of Cumberland and southern Scotland outside of Dumfriesshire. The sub-corpus is minimalist but nonetheless represents a significant number of *bý(r)*-names at county level and of the corpus as a whole. It reflects the personal naming traditions of each primary sociolinguistic group in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain, and the proportions of linguistic origins meet expectations. Old Norse is by far the most common language of origin, with the sub-corpus also reflecting the considerable overlap between cognate Germanic personal names and the Anglo-Norman presence in the north-west from the late eleventh century. That diagnostic Old English personal names occur in core areas is notable, because it would not be unreasonable to expect them in peripheral areas where Old English influence may have been stronger. However, their distribution may reflect the adoption of Old English personal names into an Anglo-Scandinavian personal naming system and/or that ON *bý(r)* became the dominant settlement-term in some areas of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain for all sociolinguistic groups.

The ON *Pór*-names case-study shows that some very recurrent personal name + *bý(r)* constructions are regionally specific; and, conversely, the ON *Ormr* case-study shows that some are not. The ON *Eindriði* case-study highlights a primary issue with an analysis of personal name specific elements on a large scale: their overlap with other elements. This is exacerbated by their representation in historical place-name forms. Uncertain instances of

personal name specifics considerably outnumber the relatively secure instances; and many groups of uncertain personal names are worthy of detailed analysis in the future.

3.4.2. Topographical Elements

<u>Minimum Topographical Specific Elements</u>		<u>Maximum Topographical Specific Elements</u>	
<u>Count:</u>	89	<u>Count:</u>	318
<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)-names</u>	11.0	<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)-names</u>	39.5

Table 3.20: minimum and maximum figures for topographical specific elements

A maximum of 318 bý(r)-names, 39.5% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, could formally contain topographical elements as their specific elements and/or have been suggested by previous scholars to do so.⁶⁷ In her regional studies, Fellows-Jensen identifies the specific elements of a total 116 bý(r)-names as various types of topographical elements (see SSNY 14-15; SSNEM 22-23; SSNNW 17-18). The topographical specific elements of bý(r)-names have in general received less attention than the personal names, not least because they are much less numerous. They are also arguably less historically significant as evidence for early medieval Scandinavian settlement – particularly from a general point of view for historians of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain – because they denote landscape features and not people. However, they comprise the second-most significant group of bý(r)-names specific elements

⁶⁷ Note that in this thesis animal-terms, e.g. the relatively secure occurrence of ON bý/OE *bēo* ‘a bee’ in Beeby LEI (*Bebi* 1086), are classified as topographical elements.

after personal names; and attest to the use of landscape features as distinguishing specific elements.

As discussed above for the personal name specific elements, any estimation of the exact number of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that contain topographical elements as their specifics is dependent on the methodological approach of an individual scholar; and, as with the personal names, an estimated figure is not given here. However, through application of the ‘relatively secure’ methodological criteria for this thesis (see above), a minimum figure of 89 *bý(r)*-names that contain topographical elements, or 11.0% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, has been produced. Again, this approach excludes probable topographical specific elements, but it is a reasoned baseline.

The minimum and maximum figures for Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that contain personal names as their specific elements have a significant difference of 229 *bý(r)*-names, 28.4% of the total corpus. This is proportionally around the same difference as the minimum and maximum figures for personal name specific elements and, again, is because there is considerable overlap between topographical elements, personal names, and adjectives that could form the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names. The median figure for Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that contain topographical specific elements is 203.5 *bý(r)*-names, 25.2% of the total corpus. The exact number of topographical specific elements is uncertain, but it is proposed here that somewhere between 11.0% and 39.5% Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names contain topographical elements as their specific elements.

The following sections list the relatively secure topographical elements sub-corpus (Section 3.4.2.1.); illustrate the geographical distribution of the sub-corpus (Section 3.4.2.1.1.); give the languages of origin of the topographical elements in the sub-corpus (Section 3.4.2.1.2.); and list the recurrent personal names (Section 3.4.2.1.3.) There are small case-studies of

Ashby-names (Section 3.4.2.1.4.) and the element ON *saurr* (Section 3.4.2.1.5.). To avoid repetition of the phrase ‘relatively secure’, Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain topographical elements as their specifics are sometimes simply said to contain topographical elements

3.4.2.1. The Relatively Secure Topographical Elements Sub-Corpus

The table below lists the sub-corpus of 89 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain topographical elements as their specifics. It is alphabetised by topographical element. Cognate topographical elements are grouped together (e.g. five *bý(r)*-names relatively securely contain ON *epli*/OE *appel*), and unrelated topographical elements that are formally indistinguishable are also grouped together (e.g. four *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain ON *rá* ‘a landmark, boundary’ or ON *rá*/OE *rā* ‘a roe, roe-buck’).

<u>Place-Name</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>First Form</u>	<u>Specific Element</u>
Aby	LIN	<i>Abi</i> 1086	ON <i>á</i> /OE <i>ēa</i> ‘river, stream’
Ashby Folville	LEI	<i>Ascebi</i> 1086	ON <i>askr</i> /OE <i>æsc</i>
Ashby Magna	LEI	<i>Essebi</i> 1086	‘ash-tree’ and/or ON <i>eski</i> /ON <i>esce</i> ‘a place growing with ash-trees’
Ashby Parva	LEI	<i>Essebi</i> 1086	
Ashby St Ledgers	NTH	<i>Ascebi</i> 1086	
Ashby St Mary	NOR	<i>Ascebi</i> 1086	
Ashby de la Zouch	LEI	<i>Ascebi</i> 1086	
Canons Ashby	NTH	<i>Ascebi</i> 1086	

Castle Ashby	NTH	<i>Asebi</i> 1086	
Cold Ashby	NTH	<i>Essebi</i> 1086	
Mears Ashby	NTH	<i>Asbi</i> 1086	
<i>Assheby</i>	CHE	<i>Assebe</i> 1287	
Great and Little Easby	CUM	<i>Essebi</i> 1159	
Esbie	DMF	<i>Eskeby</i> 1291	
Hesby	CHE	<i>Eskeby</i> 1357	
Beeby	LEI	<i>Bebi</i> 1086	ON <i>bý</i> /OE <i>bēo</i> ‘a bee’
Barby	NTH	<i>Berchebi</i> 1086	ON <i>berg</i> /OE <i>beorg</i> ‘a hill, mound’
Barrowby Grange	YOR	<i>Berghebi, -by</i> 1086	
Borrowby (Allerton Wap.)	YOR	<i>Ber(g)(h)ebi, -by</i> 1086	
Borrowby (Langbargh East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Berge(s)bi</i> 1086	
Borrowby	YOR	<i>Bergeby</i> 1236	
Dalby	LIN	<i>Dalbi</i> 1086	ON <i>dalr</i> /OE <i>dæl</i> ‘a valley’
Dalby (Bulmer Wap.)	YOR	<i>Dalbi, -by</i> 1086	
Dalby (Pickering Lythe Wap.)	YOR	<i>Dalbi, -by</i> 1086	
Great Dalby	LEI	<i>Dalbi</i> 1086	

Little Dalby	LEI	<i>Dalbi</i> 1086	
Old Dalby	LEI	<i>Dalbi</i> 1086	
<i>Dalebi</i>	WES	<i>Dalebibanc</i> 13 th	
Darby	LIN	<i>Derbi</i> 1086	ON <i>djúr</i> /OE <i>dēor</i> ‘a wild animal, deer’
West Derby	LAN	<i>Derbei, -berie</i> 1086	
Digby	LIN	<i>Dicbi</i> 1086	ON <i>dík</i> /OE <i>dīc</i> ‘a ditch’
Driby	LIN	<i>Dribi</i> 1086	OE <i>dryge</i> ‘dry (ground)’
Appleby	LIN	<i>Aplebi</i> 1086	ON <i>epli</i> /OE <i>appel</i> ‘apple (tree)’
Appleby	WES	<i>Appil-</i> , <i>Appelby, -bi(a)</i> 1132-61	
Appleby Magna	LEI	<i>Æppelbyg</i> 1004 [e. 11 th]	
Eppleby	YOR	<i>Aplebi</i> 1086	
Fenby	LIN	<i>Fen(de)bi</i> 1086	ON/OE <i>fen</i> ‘a fen’
Greasby	CHE	<i>Gravesberie</i> 1086 > <i>Greuesby</i> 1249-1323	OE <i>græf</i> ‘a digging, pit, trench’ or OE <i>græfe</i> ‘a copse, thicket’ or OE <i>grāf</i> ‘a grove, copse’
Grebby	LIN	<i>Gredbi</i> 1086	ON <i>grjót</i> /OE <i>grēot</i> ‘gravel’
Greetby	LAN	<i>Grittebi</i> c. 1190	

Gribdae	KCB	<i>Gretby</i> 1356	
Groby	LEI	<i>Grobi</i> 1086	ON <i>gróf</i> ‘a stream, a pit’
Hoby	LEI	<i>Hobie</i> 1086	ON <i>haugr</i> /OE <i>hōh</i> ‘a hill’
Huby	YOR	<i>Hobi</i> 1086	
Hairby	LIN	<i>Hedebi</i> 1086	ON <i>heiðr</i> /OE <i>hæð</i> ‘heath’
Helsby	CHE	<i>Helesbe</i> 1086	ON <i>hellir</i> ‘a cave’ or ON <i>hjalr</i> ‘a ledge on a mountainside’
Risby	LIN	<i>Risebi</i> 1086	ON <i>hrís</i> /OE <i>hrīs</i>
Risby	LIN	<i>Risebi</i> 1086	‘shrubs, brushwood’
Risby	SUF	<i>Rysebi</i> 1045-65	
Linby	NOT	<i>Lidebi</i> (sic) 1086	ON/OE <i>lind</i> ‘a lime-tree’
<i>Lindbi</i>	DMF	<i>Lindbi</i> 1349	
Lumby	YOR	<i>Lundby</i> c. 1030	ON <i>lúndr</i> ‘a small wood, grove’
Moorby	LIN	<i>Morebi</i> 1086	ON <i>mór</i> /OE <i>mōr</i> ‘a moor’
Moreby Hall	YOR	<i>Morebi, -by</i> 1086	
Overby	CUM	<i>Ouerbybek</i> 1292	ON <i>ofar</i> /OE <i>ofer</i> ‘a bank, riverbank,
Ureby Field	CUM	<i>Ourebyfeld</i> 1260	shore’ or OE <i>ofer</i> ‘a slope, hill, ridge’ or
Yearby	YOR	<i>Uverby</i> 1174-79	

			OE <i>ofer</i> ‘over, above, across’
Raby	CHE	<i>Rabie</i> 1086	ON <i>rá</i> ‘a landmark, boundary’ or ON <i>rá</i> /OE <i>rā</i> ‘a roe, roe-buck’
Raby	CUM	<i>Rabi</i> c. 1150	
Raby	DUR	<i>Raby</i> c. 1040 [12 th]	
Roby	LAN	<i>Rabil</i> (sic) 1086	
Riby	LIN	<i>Ribi</i> 1086	OE <i>rȳge</i> ‘rye’
Sorbie	DMF	<i>Sowreby</i> 1349	ON <i>saurr</i> ‘mud, dirt’ sour ground’
Sorbie	WIG	<i>Soreby</i> 1306-29	
Sowerby	CUM	<i>del Wode de Soureby</i> 1285	
Sowerby	LAN	<i>Sorbi</i> 1086	
Sowerby (Birdforth Wap.)	YOR	<i>Sorebi</i> 1086	
Sowerby (Whitby Strand Wap.)	YOR	<i>Sourebi, -by</i> 1086	
Sowerby	YOR	<i>Sorebi</i> 1086	
Sowerby Bogs	YOR	<i>Souresby</i> 1242	
Sowerby under Cotcliffe	YOR	<i>Sourebi, -by</i> 1086	
Sowerby Hall	LAN	<i>Sourebi</i> 1086	
Brough Sowerby	WES	<i>Sowreby</i> 1235	
Castle Sowerby	CUM	<i>Sourebi</i> 1185	
Temple Sowerby	WES	<i>Sourebi</i> 1177-79	

Spanby	LIN	<i>Spane(s)bi</i> 1086	ON <i>spann</i> ‘shingle’ or OE <i>spann</i> ‘a span, strip (of land)’
Waitby	WES	<i>Watheby</i> 12 th	ON <i>vátr</i> /OE <i>wēt</i> ‘wet’
Wetherby	YOR	<i>Wedrebi</i> 1086	ON <i>veðr</i> /OE <i>weðer</i> ‘a castrated ram’
Wauldby	YOR	<i>Walbi</i> 1086	OE <i>wald</i> ‘woodland’
Walby	CUM	<i>Walleby</i> 12921	OE <i>wall</i> ‘a wall’
Wilby	NOR	<i>Wilgebeih -by</i> 1086	OE <i>welig</i>
Willoughby (Bassetlaw Wap.)	NOT	<i>Wilgebi</i> 1086	
Willoughby (Thurgarton Wap.)	NOT	<i>Wilgebi</i> 1086	
Willoughby	WAR	<i>Wiliabyg</i> 956 [11 th]	
Willoughby in the Marsh	LIN	<i>Wilgebi</i> 1086	
Willoughby on the Wolds	NOT	<i>Wilge-</i> , <i>Willebi</i> 1086	
Scott Willoughby	LIN	<i>Wilgebi</i> 1086	
Silk Willoughby	LIN	<i>Wilgebi</i> 1086	
West Willoughby	LIN	<i>Wilgebi</i> 1086	
Welby	LIN	<i>Wellebi</i> 1086	OE <i>wiella</i> ‘a well’

Table 3.21: the relatively secure topographical specific elements sub-corpus

3.4.2.1.1. Geographical Distribution of the Relatively Secure Topographical Elements Sub-Corpus

The maps below illustrate the distribution of the 89 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain topographical elements as their specifics; and the table below lists the county totals of the *bý(r)*-names, the percentage of the relatively secure topographical elements sub-corpus those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus those figures represent.

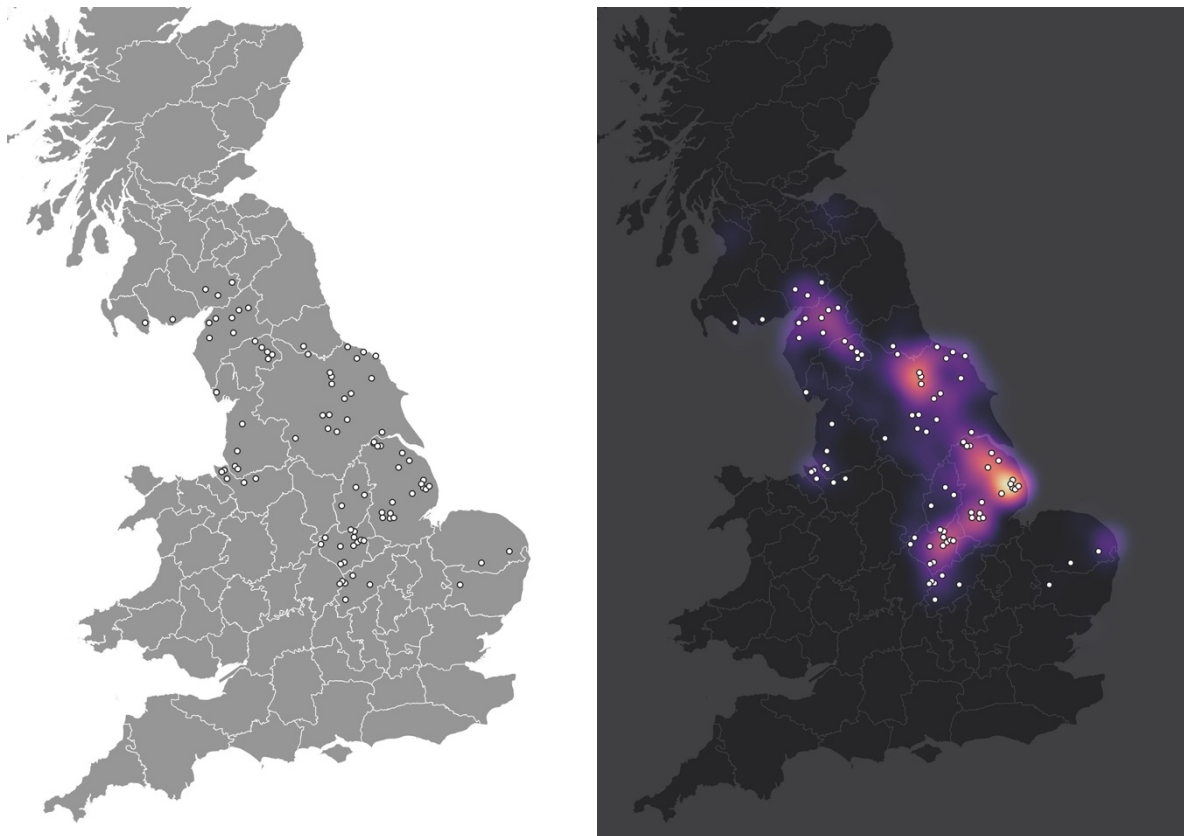


Figure 3.26: distribution of relatively secure topographical specific elements

<u>County</u>		<u>Count</u>		<u>% of RS</u> <u>Topographical</u> <u>Specifics</u>		<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)-</u> <u>names</u>	
Lincolnshire		19		21.3		2.4	
Yorkshire	East Riding	2	18	2.2	20.2	0.2	2.2
	North Riding	11		12.4		1.4	
	West Riding	5		5.6		0.6	
Leicestershire		11		12.4		1.4	
Cumberland		7		7.9		0.9	
Cheshire		5		5.6		0.6	
Lancashire		5		5.6		0.6	
Northamptonshire		5		5.6		0.6	
Westmorland		5		5.6		0.6	
Nottinghamshire		4		4.5		0.5	
Dumfriesshire		3		3.4		0.4	
Norfolk		2		2.2		0.2	
County Durham		1		1.1		0.1	
Kirkcudbrightshire		1		1.1		0.1	
Suffolk		1		1.1		0.1	
Warwickshire		1		1.1		0.1	
Wigtownshire		1		1.1		0.1	

Totals:	89	100	11.0
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Table 3.22: county totals of relatively secure topographical elements sub-corpus

The 89 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain topographical elements as their specifics are distributed across 16 counties in England and Scotland. Their distribution is more varied than that of the relatively secure personal names, which only occur in nine counties. Lincolnshire and Yorkshire names collectively comprise 41.6% of the topographical sub-corpus; and the figures for the two counties represent 8.1% and 7.3%, respectively, of their total *bý(r)*-names. The North Riding of Yorkshire contains the highest number of *bý(r)*-names with topographical specific elements of the three Ridings; and its total alone is equal to that of Leicestershire.

The East Midlands is represented outside of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire by Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, and Warwickshire. The five Northamptonshire names represent 27.8% of the *bý(r)*-names in the county, and the four Nottinghamshire names represent 19.0% of the *bý(r)*-names in the county. These are higher proportions of the total *bý(r)*-names in the counties than the relatively secure personal names that occur. The Warwickshire name, Willoughby WAR, is one of three *bý(r)*-names in the county.

All of the counties in the north-west of England are represented in the relatively secure topographical elements sub-corpus. This is notable in comparison to the limitation of personal name specific elements to Cumberland. Cumberland contributes the most topographical specific elements to the sub-corpus, but its seven instances represent only 9.2% of the *bý(r)*-names in the county. Five instances of topographical specific elements occur each in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Westmorland; and those figures represent, more significantly, 41.7%, 26.3%, and 22.7% of the *bý(r)*-names in those counties, respectively.

Scotland is also more widely represented in the topographical elements sub-corpus than the personal names sub-corpus, which is limited to Dumfriesshire. The three Dumfriesshire names that contain topographical elements are the most numerous, however, and represent 14.3% of the *bý(r)*-names in the county. The Wigtownshire name is one of only two *bý(r)*-names in the county, and the Kirkcudbrightshire name is of three *bý(r)*-names in the county. None of the Scottish *bý(r)*-names outside of the south-west of the country relatively securely contain topographical specific elements.

The 89 *bý(r)*-names that contain topographical elements as their specifics are then, like those which contain personal names, products of both core and peripheral areas in the Anglo-Scandinavian distribution. However, they are distributed more widely across the corpus and are better represented in peripheral areas. That the north-western counties Cheshire, Lancashire, and Westmorland, absent from the personal names sub-corpus, contain 16.9% of the *bý(r)*-names which contain topographical elements is particularly notable.

Fellows-Jensen has suggested that *bý(r)*-names which contain common nouns (including topographical elements) are older formations than those which contain personal names; and that those which contain Old English elements represent partial re-naming of pre-existing settlements by Scandinavians (see Chapter One, Section 1.3.2.). The possible instances of hybrid names are complicated by the fact that the majority of topographical elements in the sub-corpus are Old Norse/Old English cognates (see below). In the peripheral areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names distribution, particularly the north-west, the topographical *bý(r)*-names formations may simply represent a different naming-practice to eastern/north-eastern England. In contrast to the clusters of *bý(r)*-names that contain personal names as their specific elements (see above), it may also be that in peripheral areas topographical elements were effective as distinguishing specifics among fewer *bý(r)*-names.

3.4.2.1.2. Languages of Origin of the Relatively Topographical Elements Names Sub-Corpus

The table below lists the languages of origin of the relatively secure topographical specific elements, their total figures, the percentage of the relatively secure personal names sub-corpus those figures represent, and the percentage of the total Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus those figures represent. Cognate topographical elements are counted as instances of a cognate (e.g. ON/OE), and topographical elements of distinct linguistic origins that are formally indistinguishable are counted as instances of one origin or the other (e.g. ON or OE).

<u>Language of Origin</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of RS Topographical Specifics</u>	<u>% of A-Sc <i>bý(r)</i>- names</u>
ON/OE Cognate	49	55.1	6.1
Old Norse	16	17.9	1.9
Old English	15	16.9	1.9
ON or OE	9	10.1	1.1
Totals:	89	100	11.0

Table 3.23: languages of origin of the relatively secure topographical specific elements

Topographical elements that relatively securely occur as the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names are only of Old Norse and Old English origin. The topographical elements sub-corpus is, then, considerably less varied in its linguistic origins than the personal names sub-corpus. Topographical elements that existed in the vocabularies of

Norman French-speakers and Celtic-speakers, whose personal naming traditions are represented in the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus, do not relatively securely occur.

Forty-nine instances of Old Norse/Old English cognate elements, which represent 55.1% of the topographical sub-corpus, represent the most common linguistic origin and reflect the considerable amount of vocabulary shared between the two languages. As with the cognate personal names, Old Norse reflexes can probably in general be favoured as the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names. However, the situation may be more nuanced. It is commonly held that many Ashby-names reflect partial Scandinavianisations of pre-existing OE Ashton-names, for example (see analysis of Ashby-names below); and OE *dæl* seems to have developed the meaning 'a valley' from its original 'pit, hollow' under the influence of ON *dalr* (see Gelling and Cole 2000: 113). It is likely that in many instances of cognate elements we are dealing with Anglo-Scandinavian reflexes that developed through Old English-Old Norse language contact in Britain. The map below illustrates the distribution of Old Norse/Old English cognate topographical elements. They are widely distributed across core and peripheral areas.

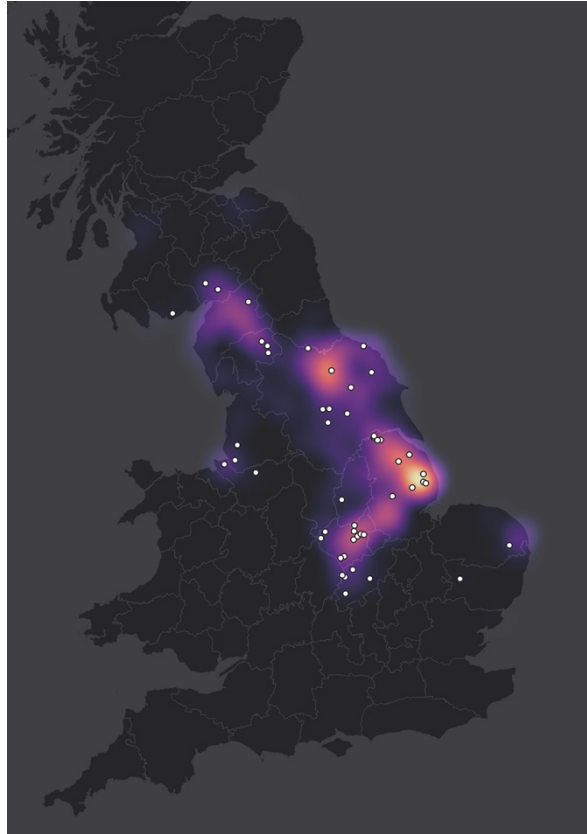


Figure 3.27: distribution of relatively secure Old Norse/Old English cognate topographical elements

The 16 diagnostically Old Norse topographical elements, which represent 17.9% of the sub-corpus and 1.9% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements, are the second most common type. Thirteen, or 81.3% of them, contain ON *saurr* and represent one of the most recurrent Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-name compounds (see analysis of ON *saurr* below). The diagnostic Old Norse elements are otherwise comprised of single instances of ON *gróf*, ON *hellir* or ON *hjalr*, and ON *lúndr* in Groby LEI, Helsby CHE, and Lumby YOR, respectively. The map below illustrates the distribution of the Old Norse topographical elements which, naturally, mirrors the northerly distribution of the *bý(r)*-names that contain ON *saurr*. Groby LEI is a southerly outlier in this group.

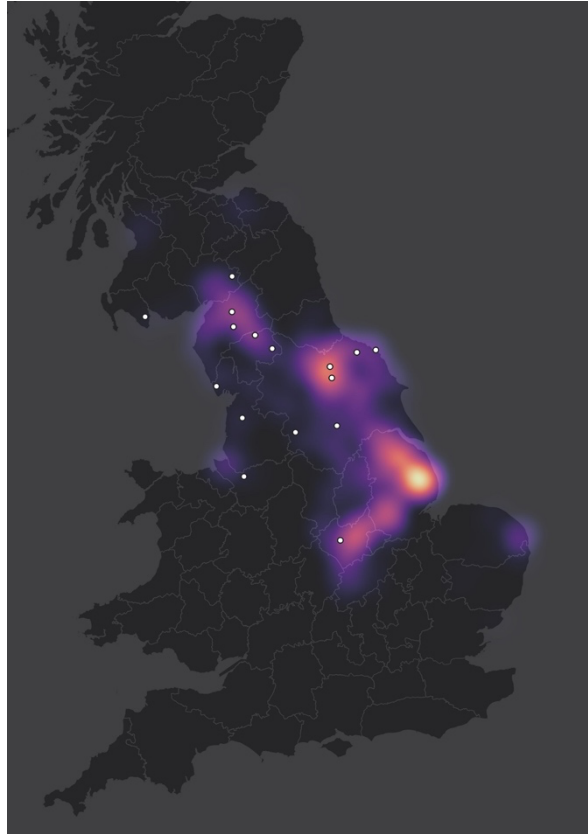


Figure 3.28: distribution of relatively secure Old Norse topographical elements

The 15 diagnostically Old English topographical elements represent 16.9% of the sub-corpus and, like the diagnostically Old Norse elements, are comprised in the majority by a single recurrent compound. Nine Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names relatively securely contain OE *welig* as their specific elements. No other elements recur, and it is somewhat uncertain which of the related elements OE *græf*, OE *græfe*, and OE *grāf* forms the specific element of Greasby CHE. It is first attested in Domesday Book with the form *Gravesberie* 1086 and may represent a scandinavianised OE *byrig*-name (see Chapter Four). The map below illustrates the distribution of the diagnostically Old English topographical elements. It reflects the predominantly East Midlands distribution of Wilby-/Willoughby-names.

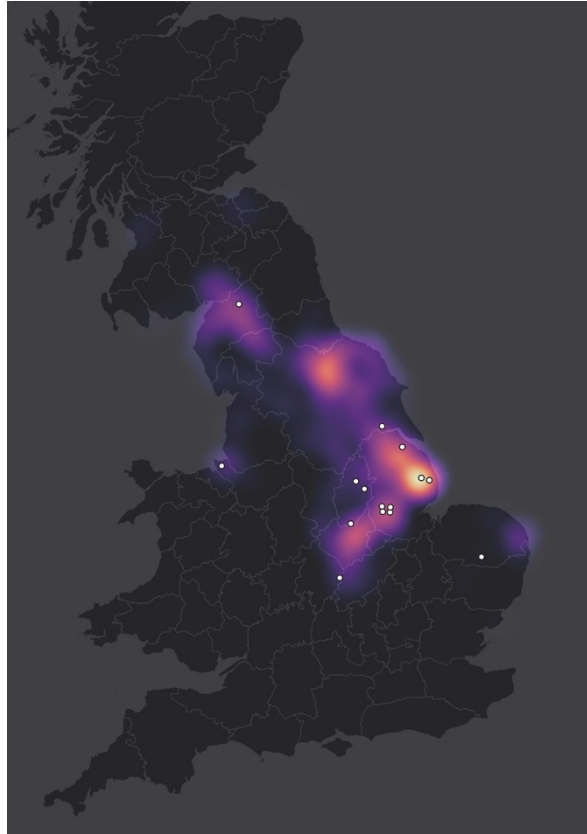


Figure 3.29: distribution of relatively secure Old English topographical elements

There are nine *bý(r)*-names, 10.1% of the relatively secure topographical elements sub-corpus, that contain Old Norse or Old English elements of distinct etymological origins which are indistinguishable in historical place-name forms. They are comprised of two main groups: four *bý(r)*-names which contain ON *rá* ‘a landmark, boundary’ or ON *rá*/OE *rā* ‘a roe, roe-buck’; and three which contain ON *ofar*/OE *ōfer* ‘a bank, riverbank, shore’, or OE *ofer* ‘a slope, hill, ridge’, or OE *ofer* ‘over, above, across’. It has generally been held that the Raby-/Roby-names in the north-west refer to boundaries. In SSNNW 38, Fellows-Jensen notes that Raby CUM and Roby LAN lie close to parish boundaries; and Raby CHE may denote the border of the land granted by Lady Æðelflæd of Mercia to Scandinavian settlers from the Irish Sea region (see PNChe 4 229; SSNNW 38). The three *bý(r)*-names that contain ON *ofar*/OE *ōfer*, OE *ofer*, or OE *ofer* can be said to denote high ground in some sense. The

map below illustrates the distribution of the Old Norse or Old English topographical elements. Spanby LIN is a southerly outlier in this group.

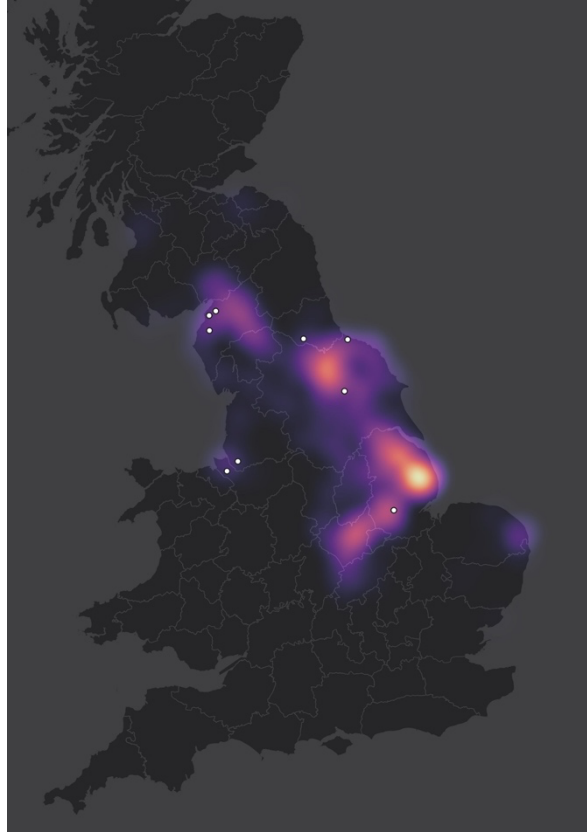


Figure 3.30: distribution of relatively secure Old Norse or Old English topographical elements

3.4.2.1.3. Recurrent Relatively Secure Topographical Elements

The table below lists the topographical elements that relatively securely recur as the specifics of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, their total figures, the percentages of the relatively secure topographical elements sub-corpus those figures represent, and the percentages of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus those figures represent. The figures for ON *askr*/OE *æsc* and ON *eski*/OE *esce*, ON *dalr*/OE *dæl*, and ON *djúr*/OE *dēor* are given as ‘X (?Y)’

because there is a discrepancy between the number of times the elements relatively securely occur and possibly occur. This also affects the total figures.

<u>Topographical Element</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of RS Topographical Specifics</u>	<u>% of Anglo-Scandinavian <i>bý(r)</i>-names</u>
ON <i>askr</i> /OE <i>æsc</i> and ON <i>eski</i> /OE <i>esce</i>	13 (?24)	14.6	1.6
ON <i>saurr</i>	13	14.6	1.6
OE <i>welig</i>	9	10.1	1.1
ON <i>dalr</i> /OE <i>dæl</i>	7 (?8)	7.9	0.9
ON <i>berg</i> /OE <i>beorg</i>	5	5.6	0.6
ON <i>epli</i> / OE <i>æppel</i>	4	4.5	0.5
ON <i>rá</i> or ON <i>rá</i> /OE <i>rā</i>	4	4.5	0.5
ON <i>grjót</i> /OE <i>greot</i>	3	3.4	0.4
ON <i>hrís</i> /OE <i>hrīs</i>	3	3.4	0.4
ON <i>ofar</i> /OE <i>ōfer</i> or OE <i>ofer</i> or OE <i>ofer</i>	3	3.4	0.4
ON <i>djúr</i> /OE <i>dēor</i>	2 (?3)	2.2	0.2
ON <i>haugr</i> or OE <i>hōh</i>	2	2.2	0.2
ON/OE <i>lind</i>	2	2.2	0.2
ON <i>mór</i> /OE <i>mōr</i>	2	2.2	0.2

Totals:	72 (?85)	80.9	8.9
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Table 3.24: recurrent relatively secure topographical specific elements

Fourteen topographical elements, including cognates and indistinguishable groups, recur as relatively secure specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. They collectively occur a minimum of 72 times, which accounts for 80.9% of the topographical elements sub-corpus and 8.9% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements. The uncertain instances of ON *askr*/OE *æsc* and ON *eski*/OE *esce*, ON *dalr*/OE *dæl*, and ON *djúr*/OE *dēor* would raise the figure to 85 and 10.5% of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements. Recurrent topographical elements account, then, for the vast majority of the topographical elements sub-corpus. They comprise nine Old Norse/Old English cognate elements, three ON or OE elements, one diagnostic Old Norse element, and one diagnostic Old English element.

The thirteen relatively secure instances of ON *askr*/OE *æsc* and ON *eski*/OE *esce* (counted together here because they are very difficult to distinguish in historical place-name forms) and thirteen instances of ON *saurr* represent the most recurrent topographical elements in the sub-corpus. Ash-tree elements may be far more numerous because there are 10 *bý(r)*-names that contain either an ash-tree element or the personal name ON *Aski* as their specific elements (see analysis of Ashby-names below). If 24 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names do contain an ash-tree element, they would represent the most recurrent group of *bý(r)*-names after only Kirkby-names (see analysis of Kirkby-names below).

Old Norse *dalr*/OE *dæl* relatively securely occurs as the specific elements of seven *bý(r)*-names, and uncertainly as the specific element of Dalderby LIN. Its first attestation *Dalbi* 1115-18 suggests the element, but its later forms *Dalderby* 1147-51 [14th], *Dauderbi* 1.

12th, and *Dalderby* 1221 are difficult. Ekwall (1960: 138) suggested the specific element of Dalderby LIN is the genitive *dældar* of ON *dæld* ‘little valley’, but in SSNEM 43 Fellows-Jensen states that its historical forms do not suit this element. She suggests that either ON *dalr* was added as a prefix to an original ON **djúra-bý(r)* ‘*bý(r)* of the wild animals, deer’ formation or that the historical forms for Dalderby LIN were influenced by those for neighbouring Wood Enderby LIN. Fellows-Jensen similarly suggests that Swinderby LIN (*Suindre-*, *Sunderby* 1086) might reflect the addition of ON *svín*/OE *swīn* ‘a swine’ to an original ON **djúra-bý(r)* formation (see SSNEM 73). The prefix + **djúra-bý(r)* formations explanations are not particularly convincing. That an original ON *dæld* + *bý(r)* formation was abbreviated in the 1115-18 historical form for Dalderby LIN or that an ON *dalr*/OE *dæl* + *bý(r)* formation was influenced in its form by a local Enderby-name seem more likely as possible explanations.

An ON **djúra-bý(r)* formation (or hybrid **dēora-bý(r)* formation) does relatively securely occur in Darby LIN and West Derby LAN. ON *djúr* has also traditionally been held to form the specific element of Derby DER. However, it has been more recently suggested that the specific element of Derby DER is probably a reference to the River Derwent, on which the settlement stands (see Carroll and Parsons 2007: 118).

3.4.2.1.4. Case-study: ON *askr*/OE *æsc* and ON *eski*/OE *esce*

A total of 24 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names possibly contain ash-tree elements as their specifics. They comprise 21 Ashby-names that have commonly been held to contain the OE *æsc*/ON *askr* ‘ash-tree’ as their specific elements, particularly in their (genitive) plurals *æsca/aska* (see, for example, SSNEM 32). Esbie DMF and Hesby CHE appear to contain the collective term OE **esce*/ON *eski* ‘a place growing with ash-trees’ as their specific elements,

and Great and Little Easby CUM may also. These 24 *bý(r)*-names are here grouped together because the ash-tree elements are very difficult to distinguish from one another in early historical forms due to their dialectal reflexes and/or phonological and semantic overlap. Multiple Ashby-names have early historical forms that could suggest at least the influence of OE **esce*/ON *eski*. The *bý(r)*-names that possibly contain ash-tree elements account for 2.9% of the total Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. However, the personal name ON *Aski* could underlie some of the Ashby-names – the genitive plural constructions A-Sc **æsca-*, ON *aska-bý(r)* ‘*bý(r)* of the ash-trees’ and the genitive construction ON **Aska-bý(r)* ‘Aski’s *bý(r)*’ are formally indistinguishable in historical place-name forms. The 24 possible ash-tree *bý(r)*-names are listed below and the following maps and table illustrate their distribution.

1. Asby WES: *Ascabio* 12th, *Ascheby* 1190, *Eskebi* c. 1216.
2. *Aschebi* LAN: *Aschebi* 1086.
3. Ashby LIN: *Aschebi* 1086, *Asche-*, *Asebi* 1115-18.
4. Ashby NOR: *Aschebei*, *Asseby* 1086, *Askebi* 1196, *Essebi* 1199, *Ascheby* 1361.
5. Ashby SUF: *Aschebi* 1198, *Askebi* 1190, *Haskeby* 1291, *Asshby* 1524.
6. Ashby by Partney LIN: *Aschebi* 1086, 1115-18.
7. Ashby cum Fenby LIN: *Aschebi* 1086, *Aches-*, *Asc-*, *Aschebi* 1115-18, *Askby* 1276, *Askby* 1402.
8. Ashby de la Launde LIN: *Aschebi* 1086.
9. Ashby de la Zouch LEI: *Ascebi* 1086, *Assebia* c. 1130, *Esseby* 1202, *Assheby* 1277.
10. Ashby Folville LEI: *Ascebi* 1086, *Essebia* c. 1130, *Aessebi* 1185, *Hesseby* 1236, *Assheby* 1310.
11. Ashby Magna LEI: *Essebi* 1086, *Essebiam* c. 1175, *Eissebi* 1203, *Esseby* 1221, *Assheby* 1316.

12. Ashby Parva LEI: *Essebi* 1086, *Essebia* c. 1130, *Assheby* 1251.
13. Ashby Puerorum LIN: *Aschebi* 1086, *Ascbi* 1115-18.
14. Ashby St Ledgers NTH: *Ascebi* 1086, *Assebi* 1154-89, *Aissebi* 1189-95, *Essebi* 1256, *As(s)heby Leger* 1316.
15. Ashby St Mary NOR: *Ascebi* 1086, *Asheby* 1251.
16. *Assheby* CHE: *Assebe* 1287, *Assheby* 1507.
17. Canons Ashby NTH: *Ascebi* 1086, *Essheby* 13th, *Canounes Hessheby* 1287, *Assheby Canonorum* 1320.
18. Castle Ashby NTH: *Asebi* 1086, *Esseby* 12th, *Axeby* 1235, *Castel Assheby* 1361.
19. Cold Ashby NTH: *Essebi* 1086, *Caldessebi* c. 1150, *Kaldessebi* 1205.
20. Mears Ashby NTH: *Asbi* 1086, *Essebi* 1166, *Aiseebi* 1176, *Northesseby* 1220, *Esseby Mares* 1281.
21. West Ashby LIN: *Aschebi* 1086, *Asc-*, *Aschebi* 1115-18.
22. Great and Little Easby CUM: *Essebi* 1159, *Ecchesby* 1363, *Esby* 1384, *Eseby* 1485.
23. Esbie DMF: *Eskeby* 1291, *Esseby* 1296, *Esby* 1486.
24. Hesby CHE: *Eskeby* 1357.

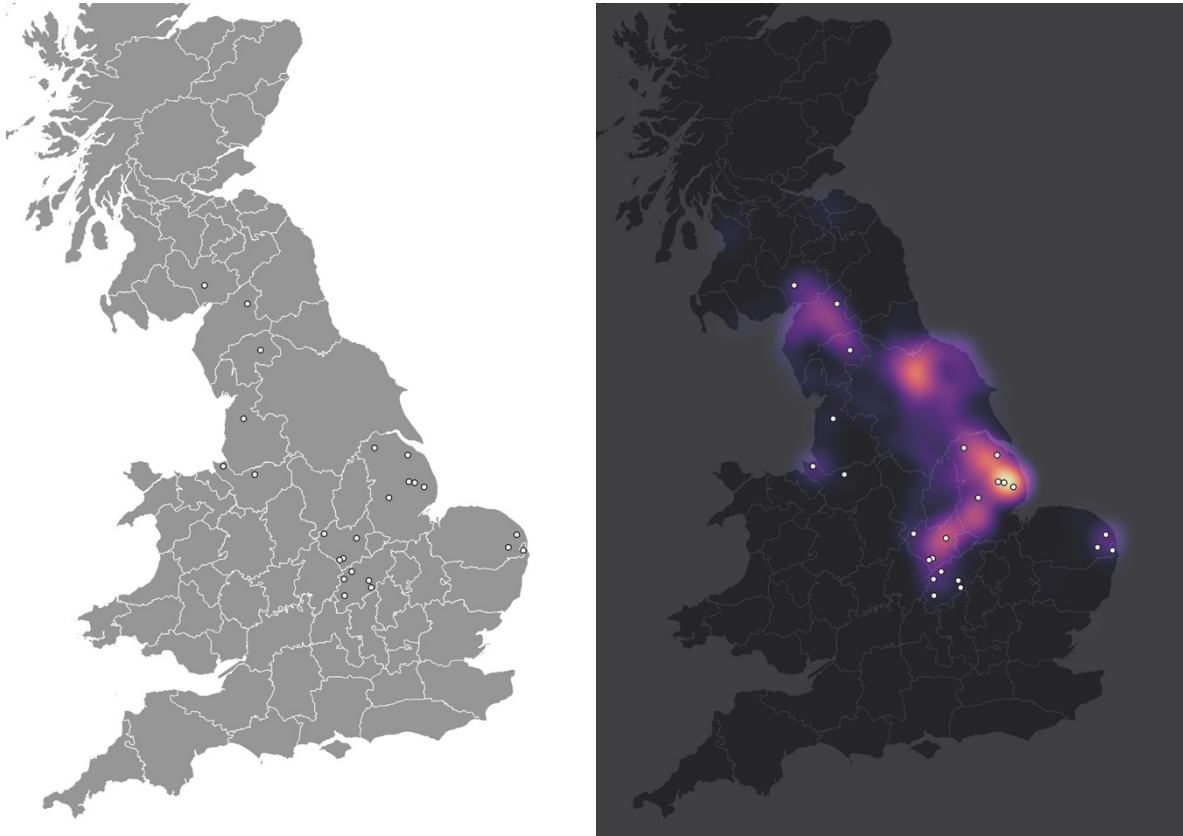


Figure 3.31: distribution of possible ash-tree bý(r)-names

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of Ash-tree Names</u>	<u>% of Anglo- Scandinavian bý(r)- names</u>
Lincolnshire	6	25	0.7
Northamptonshire	5	20.8	0.6
Leicestershire	4	16.7	0.5
Cheshire	2	8.3	0.2
Norfolk	2	8.3	0.2
Cumberland	1	4.2	0.1
Dumfriesshire	1	4.2	0.1
Lancashire	1	4.2	0.1

Suffolk	1	4.2	0.1
Westmorland	1	4.2	0.1
Totals:	24	100	2.9

Table 3.25: county totals of possible ash-tree *bý(r)*-names

The 24 *bý(r)*-names that possibly contain ash-tree elements as their specifics are distributed across 10 counties in England and Scotland. Lincolnshire contributes the most names, and the Leicestershire and Northamptonshire totals are also significant. The Lincolnshire names account for just 2.5% of the *bý(r)*-names in the county, but the Northamptonshire names comprise a significant 27.8% of the county total. The three East Midlands counties account for a majority 65.2% of the possible ash-tree *bý(r)*-names. The north-west is represented by five *bý(r)*-names in Cheshire, Cumberland, Dumfriesshire, Lancashire, and Westmorland; and East Anglia by three in Norfolk and Suffolk. Yorkshire contributes to the majority of recurrent *bý(r)*-name compounds but is notably absent from the distribution of possible ash-tree *bý(r)*-names.

The distribution of the possible ash-tree *bý(r)*-names makes them a product of both core and peripheral areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. Ash-names are widespread in Britain because ash has no climatic limit on its growth here. The *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain OE *esce*/ON *eski*, Esbie DMF and Hesby CHE, are notably peripheral. Ashby-names occur most often in Lincolnshire, the county which contributes the second largest number of *bý(r)*-names to the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus after Yorkshire, but also recur in East Anglia and the north-west. The Northamptonshire names (and to a lesser extent the Leicestershire names) make the possible Ashby-names a notable feature of the East Midlands border region of Anglo-Scandinavian England. That they recur in this region may lend some support to the

theory that some Ashby-names represent scandinavianised OE **æsc-tūn* ‘ash-tree *tūn*’ names (see below).

The elements OE *æsc*/ON *askr* ‘ash-tree’ are very recurrent in English place-names (see EPNE 1 4-5, 13; VEPN 1 21, 22-23 for an overview of their use). OE *æsc* is common in the bounds of Anglo-Saxon charter charters (see Hooke 2010: 202; VEPN 1 32); and it commonly occurs as a simplex place-name and as the specific element of many place-names, particularly with ‘wood’ generic elements (e.g. OE *holt*, OE *lēah*, and OE *wudu*) (see Gelling 1984: 219). ON *askr* has been taken to occur with Old English and Old Norse generic elements and in many instances to have replaced an original OE *æsc* in English place-name formations, at least phonologically (see VEPN 1 21). The commonality of the element(s), particularly in charter bounds and in simplex place-names, is probably because ash-trees can grow to become very large and noticeable features in the landscape (see Rackham 2014: 8).

Ash-trees were an important resource in early medieval England – they grow quickly, and their timber had wide-ranging use in building construction and tools (see CDEPN 22). It is in the context of ash as a managed timber resource that Ashby-names and parallel Ashton-names (i.e. habitative rather than topographical place-name formations) have been considered by previous place-name scholars (see Treacher (forthcoming)). In their place-name elements glossaries, Smith and Parsons do not give ON **askr-by(r)* or OE **æsc-tūn* as pre-formed appellative compounds as they do for OE **appel-tūn* in the sense ‘an orchard’ (see EPNE 1 4; VEPN 1 30). However, Ashby-names and Ashton-names considerably outnumber Appleby-names and Appleton-names. Their recurrence, plus the value of ash as a timber-resource, makes it reasonable to suggest that OE **æsc-tūn* and ON **askr-by(r)* existed as pre-formed compounds that were applied by English-speakers and Scandinavian-speakers to land-units designated for the cultivation of ash-trees (see also the discussion of OE **mersc-*

tūn names and ON **saurr-bý(r)*-names below). It is possible, of course, that some Ashby-names and Ashton-names simply denote ‘*bý(r)*-, *tūn* by or with an ash-tree’. Indeed, in VEPN 1 30 Parsons allows for the possibility that some Appleton-names simply denote ‘farm with an apple-tree’ rather than ‘an orchard’ in a special sense.

The probability that Ashby-names denote the cultivation of ash-trees (and at least the presence of ash-trees) is complicated by the existence of the personal name ON *Aski*, a short form of the dithematic *Ás*-names ON *Ásgautr*, ON *Ásgeirr*, and ON *Ásketill* (see Insley 1994: 60). ON *Ásgautr* occurs as the specific element of five Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names (Osgodby x2 LIN, Osgodby x2 YOR, and Osgoodby YOR); ON *Ásgeirr* as the specific element of two *bý(r)*-names (Asgarby x2 LIN); and ON *Ásketill* as the specific element of two *bý(r)*-names (Asselby YOR and Exelby YOR). These *bý(r)*-names belong to a sub-group of 22 *bý(r)*-names in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus that relatively securely contain dithematic ON *Ás*-names as their specific elements (see above).⁶⁸ ON *Aski* is a less common personal name than the dithematic *Ás*-names, but it is independently attested in England (see Insley 1994: 60-61; SPNLY 32-33); and the possibility that some Anglo-Scandinavian Ashby-names contain it as their specific elements must be considered.⁶⁹

The possibility that some Ashby-names contain ON *Aski* as their specific elements is an orthographical and phonological issue caused by, as noted above, the formal

⁶⁸ It is assumed in this discussion that the *bý(r)*-names contain the Old Norse and not Old English reflexes of these Germanic personal names. See discussion of OE *Ōs*-/ON *Ás*-names above.

⁶⁹ It should be noted, as a further complicating factor, that the personal name OE *Æsc(a)* also existed. The personal name is attested as the name of a witness in charters S331, S339 and has been suggested as the specific element of an **Æscingas-tūn* formation for Ashington SSX (see CDEPN 21). It is possible that the personal name forms the specific element of some place-names that have been taken to contain OE *æsc*. There is a chance an Ashby-name contains OE *Æsc(a)* as its specific element, particularly if it is a scandinavianisation of a pre-existing Old English place-name, but it is extremely unlikely. The OE personal name will not be considered as a factor in this analysis of Ashby-names, but it should perhaps be considered as an alternative specific element to OE *æsc* for some Ashton-names.

indistinguishability in historical place-name forms between the genitive plural constructions **asca-*, *aska-bý(r)* ‘*bý(r)* of the ash-trees’ and the genitive construction ON **Aska-bý(r)* ‘Aski’s *bý(r)*’. Even if they are in origin non-genitive constructions, the ubiquity of svarabhakti vowels in the consonant clusters of *bý(r)*-names compounds and the orthographical/phonological overlap between the elements involved makes it very difficult to determine whether an Ashby-name was formed with OE *asc* (either as a hybrid formation or through substitution of a pre-existing generic element by ON *bý(r)*), ON *askr*, or ON *Aski*.

Ashby-names have been etymologised differently by previous place-name scholars based on their historical forms. These etymologies are perhaps best summarised on a regional basis. Fellows-Jensen etymologises five East Midlands *bý(r)*-names that have Domesday Book *Ase-*, *Asc-*, and *Asce-* forms with an Anglian reflex of OE *asc* (Ashby de la Zouch LEI, Ashby Folville LEI, Ashby St Ledgers NTH, Canons Ashby NTH, Castle Ashby NTH, and Cold Ashby NTH); two *bý(r)*-names that have Domesday Book *Esse-* forms with the Mercian reflex *esc* (Ashby Magna LEI and Cold Ashby NTH); and six *bý(r)*-names that have Domesday Book *Asche-* forms with ON *askr* (Ashby LIN, Ashby by Partney LIN, Ashby cum Fenby LIN, Ashby de la Launde LIN, Ashby Puerorum LIN, and West Ashby LIN). She classifies the six Lincolnshire names as ‘pure [Scandinavian] compounds’ (although she notes it is possible they represent scandinavianisations of a sort) and the Leicestershire and Northamptonshire names as hybrids formed either by an Anglo-Scandinavian population, anglicisation of ON **askr-bý(r)* names, or partial scandinavianisations of pre-existing Old English place-names (see SSNEM 31-32).

Fellows-Jensen’s assessment of the Leicestershire and Northamptonshire Ashby-names mostly correlates with the etymologies provided in the SEPN volumes for the counties that pre-date and post-date the publication of SSNEM. PNNth 9, 39, 64, 137, 142 etymologises all of the Northamptonshire names with OE *asc*; and Cox does too for the Leicestershire names

in his SEPN volumes for the county (see PNLei 3 98; PNLei 5 9, 12; PNLei 7 7). However, he proposes the influence of OE **esce*/ON *eski* on the historical forms of Ashby Magna LEI and Ashby Parva LEI rather than the Mercian reflex *esc* of OE *æsc* that Fellows-Jensen suggests (see PNLei 5 9, 12). The SEPN volumes available for Lincolnshire do not yet cover all of the wapentakes that Ashby-names occur in. However, the editors on PNLin 4 49 state that it is best to take the Lincolnshire Ashby-names as Old Norse compounds; and, somewhat contradictorily, state that while ‘it is clear’ they are ‘[*bý(r)*] where ash-trees grow’ formations, the personal name ON *Aski* is possible as their specific elements. They suggest that Ashby cum Fenby LIN is ‘is probably to be interpreted’ as ‘Aski’s [*bý(r)*]’. The editors of PNLin 6 19, in discussion of Ashby LIN, state that while ON *Aski* is formally possible as the specific elements of Lincolnshire Ashby-names, they probably represent ‘the [*bý(r)*] where ash-trees grow’ formations.

The variation in the etymologies provided for Ashby-names reflects the different beliefs held by individual scholars. However, a determining factor for the various etymologies may be the representation of their specific elements in their earliest forms. *As-*, *Asc-*, *Asce-*, *Ase-*, and *Esse-* have in general been taken to represent OE *æsc*, its Mercian reflex *esc*, or at least the influence of OE **esce*; and *Asca-*, *Asche-* have been taken to represent ON *askr* and/or ON *Aski*. This is a reasonable division given that the medial *-s-*, *-sc-*, *-sce-* of the former group seem to better reflect the [ʃ] of the Old English elements and the medial *-sca-*, *-sche-* of the latter group seem to better reflect the [k] of the Old Norse elements. The genitive plural *æsca* of OE *æsc*, however, may also have produced a [k] sound.

The phonology of the elements (and their orthographical representations in historical place-name forms) is somewhat more complicated than this. OE *æsc* (i.e. the element in its standardised, West Saxon form) seems to have retained its initial [æ], but this was adapted to

[ɛ] in West Mercian (i.e. West Midlands) dialects (see Jordan 1974: 54); and in northern dialects [æ] was adapted to [e] before [ʃ] (see Kristensson 1987: 40; 1995: 19). The West Mercian and northern reflexes were represented by *e* in written forms. In the East Midlands, then, initial *A-* in the early forms of Ashby-names can be taken to represent at least the influence of ON *askr*. However, chronology is a factor in these developments. Distinction between the two elements is complicated by the fact that they fell together into ME *ash*; and the identification of *Esse-* forms as representing a Mercian reflex of OE *æsc* or OE **esce*/ON *eski* by the fact that it could simply represent Anglo-Norman influence on OE *æsc* and/or ON *askr*.

The medial *-s-*, *-sc-*, *-se-*, and *-sse-* in the earliest forms of most Ashby-names in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire do reflect the [ʃ] of the Old English elements; and Old Norse [sk] was often represented by *-sch-* (see von Feilitzen 1937: 112). The initial *Asche-* of the earliest forms of Ashby-names in East Anglia, Lincolnshire, and the north-west, then, suggests either ON *askr* or ON *Aski*. What the medial *-sce-* of the Domesday Book forms for Ashby de la Zouch LEI, Ashby Folville LEI, Ashby St Mary NOR, Ashby St Ledgers NTH, and Canons Ashby NTH represents is uncertain – it seems it could reflect the [ʃ] of the Old English elements or the [k] of the Old Norse elements.

The issue with these divisions is one shared by other Old English/Old Norse cognate elements with phonological and semantic overlap that form the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bȝ(r)-*names. It is uncertain, on a name-by-name basis, whether their earliest forms represent anglicisation, scandinavianisation, original Old Norse formations, or original hybrid formations; and, further, whether these processes reflect the influence of local speech communities or scribes/copyists. Re-analyses of the specific elements of Ashby-names in historical forms following their earliest are ubiquitous and they all assimilate to reflexes of ME *ash*. Whether any Ashby-names represent scandinavianisations of original Ashton-names

is uncertain. That the distributions of the two recurrent compounds do not overlap suggests they may do, but ash was a common resource and Ashby-names exist in Scandinavia (see SSNEM 32). The ‘Englishness’ of the specific elements of some Ashby-names (particularly in the border regions of Anglo-Scandinavian England) may reflect hybridisation or scandinavianisation, but alternatively could simply reflect the dominant reflex OE *æsc*/ON *askr* where they occur. It seems as much an issue of accent and dialect as it is one of various Old English and Old Norse reflexes.

The simplest solution to the ON *Aski* issue is one of likelihood. Ashby-names and Ashton-names represent very recurrent parallel formations that probably denote the cultivation of an important resource in the early medieval period. Based on historical written forms, ON *Aski* seems formally possible as the specific element of Asby WES, *Aschebi* LAN, Ashby NOR, Ashby SUF, and the six Lincolnshire Ashby-names. That 11, or 50%, of the *bý(r)*-names with dithematic *Ás*-names as their specific elements occur in Lincolnshire perhaps makes it more likely for the Ashby-names in that county. However, ON *Aski* is an uncommon personal name in the independent historical record, and the weight of Ashby-names and Ashton-names strongly supports OE *æsc*/ON *askr* (perhaps with influence from OE **esce*/ON *eski*) as their specific elements. It seems sensible to accept that Ashby-names are **asca-*, ON *aska-bý(r)* formations but acknowledge that ON *Aski* possibly underlies some formations.

The historical forms for Great and Little Easby CUM, Esbie DMF, and Hesby CHE better reflect OE **esce*/ON *eski* than ON *askr*/OE *æsc*. In PNCum 1 66, the editors state that the specific element of Great and Little Easby CUM is a personal name, and that while ON *Ese* has been suggested its *Ecchesby* 1363 form may reflect OE *Ecci*, *Ecgi*. However, this is the earliest form they provide in the SEPN volume. In SSNNW 29, Fellows-Jensen supplies an

earlier form *Essebi* 1159 which better reflects an ash-tree element. The variation in the forms for Great and Little Easby CUM is problematic, however, and Fellows-Jensen suggests that the specific element is the personal name ON *Esi*, which perhaps replaced or was influenced by ON *eski*. The historical forms for Esbie DMF and Hesby CHE are consistent and the names relatively securely contain ash-tree elements as their specifics, probably OE **esce*/ON *eski*.

3.4.2.1.5. Case-study: ON *saurr*

Thirteen Anglo-Scandinavian Sorbie-/Sowerby-names comprise the most recurrent relatively secure topographical compound among Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. As a topographical compound they are only possibly surpassed in number by Ashby-names, depending how many of that compound contain an ash-tree element or alternatively the personal name ON *Aski* (see above). Sowerby-names account for 1.6% of the total Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus; and they contain ON *saurr* ‘mud, dirt, sour ground’ (or possibly in some instances the OE adjective *sūr*) as their specific elements. The 13 Sowerby-names are listed below, and the following maps and table illustrate their distribution.

1. Brough Sowerby WES: *Sowreby* 1235, *Souerby* 1241.
2. Castle Sowerby CUM: *Sourebi* 1185.
3. Sorbie DMF: *Sowreby* 1349, *Sourbie* 1426.
4. Sorbie WIG: *So(u)reby* 1306-29, *Soreby* 1451, *Sorby* 1488.
5. Sowerby (lost) CUM: *del Wode de Soureby* 1285, *Sourebywode* 1358.
6. Sowerby LAN: *Sorbi* 1086, *Sourebi* 1246.
7. Sowerby (Birdforth Wapentake) YOR: *Sorebi* 1086, *Sourebi*, *-by* 1228.

8. Sowerby (Elland Chapelry) YOR: *Sorebi* 1086, *Sorbi* 1. 12th, *Soureby(e)* 13th, *Saurby* 1323, *Sawerby* 1453.
9. Sowerby (Whitby Strand Wapentake) YOR: *Sourebi*, *-by* 1086, *Saurebi* 1145-48.
10. Sowerby Bogs YOR: *Souresby* 1242.
11. Sowerby Hall LAN: *Sourebi* 1086.
12. Sowerby under Cotcliffe YOR: *Sourebi*, *-by* 1086, 1088, *Saurebi* 1240-50, *Suleby* (sic) *sub Koteclyf* 1285
13. Temple Sowerby WES: *Sourebi* 1177-79, *Saurebi* 1185-99.

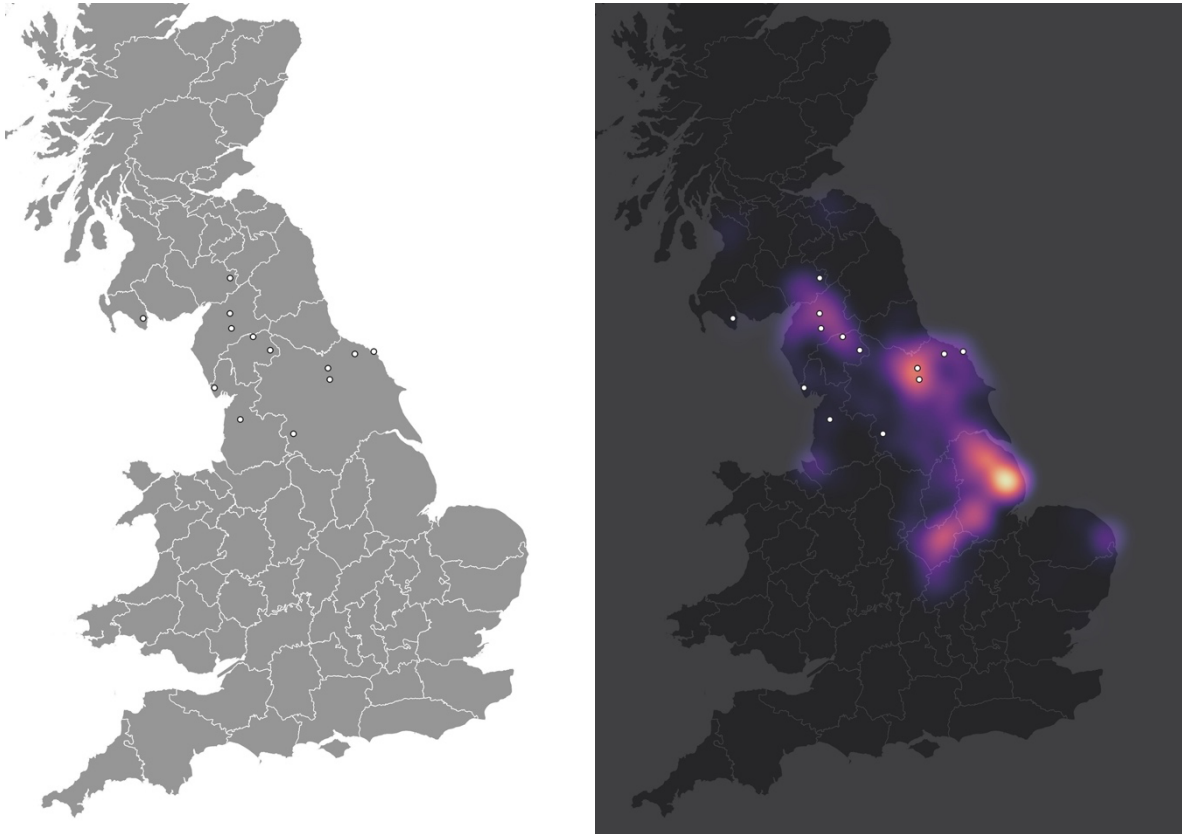


Figure 3.32: distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian Sorbie-/Sowerby-names

<u>County</u>		<u>Count</u>		<u>% of ON <i>saurr</i></u>		<u>% of Anglo- Scandinavian <i>bý(r)</i>- names</u>	
Yorkshire	North Riding	4	5	30.8	38.5	0.5	0.6
	West Riding	1		7.7		0.1	
Cumberland		2		15.4		0.2	
Lancashire		2		15.4		0.2	
Westmorland		2		15.1		0.2	
Dumfriesshire		1		7.7		0.1	
Wigtownshire		1		7.7		0.1	
Totals:		13		100		1.6	

Table 3.26: county totals of Anglo-Scandinavian Sorbie-/Sowerby-names

The 13 Sorbie-/Sowerby-names are distributed across six counties in England and Scotland. Yorkshire contributes the most Sowerby-names and they are particularly common in its North Riding. The north-western counties Cumberland, Lancashire, and Westmorland contribute two each, however, and Dumfriesshire and Wigtownshire one each. Sowerby-names are, then, in the majority a feature of north-western England/south-western Scotland. This makes them a product of both core and peripheral areas in the distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, but a distinctly northern phenomenon.

Anglo-Scandinavian Sorbie-/Sowerby-names belong to a recurrent *bý(r)*-name compound in the Old Norse-speaking world. There are 16 Saurbær-names in Iceland, at least nine Sørbø-/Sørby-names in Norway (among 28 farm-names that appear to contain ON *saurr* as their specific elements), and a Swedish place-name Sörby (see SSNNW 40; Rygh NG §§2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 31, 32, 36, 49, 61, 63, 69, 88, 90, 95, 96, 122, 140). Elsewhere in the British Isles, there are instances in Argyll and the Hebrides, and a Surby on the Isle of Man (see Grant 2003: 258-59). There do not appear to be any ON **saurr-bý(r)* formations in Denmark, and the Swedish name is an outlier among the Scandinavian examples that are otherwise an Old West Norse (i.e. Icelandic and Norwegian) phenomenon. One of the Icelandic Saurbær-names in Iceland appears in *Landnámabók* and is explained as having been coined by a settler named Steinólfr *því at þar var myrlent mjök* ‘because it was very swampy there [at the settlement]’ (see Benediktsson 1986: 156).

The distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian Sorbie-/Sowerby-names and their wider Scandinavian context means that they provide evidence for the probable use of ON *bý(r)* by speakers of Old West Norse dialects from the Irish Sea region in the north-west of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain (see Grant 2003: 259; Grant 2005: 129).⁷⁰ Their existence counters Fellows-Jensen’s theory that Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names are to be explained *en masse* as a result of ‘Danish’ settlement and/or the influence of ‘The Danelaw’ on place-naming throughout Anglo-Scandinavian Britain (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.4.). The appearance of ON *saurr* in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names more widely may further point to the influence of speakers of Old West Norse dialects. The element otherwise appears to occur in the settlement-names Sawrey LAN (*Sourer* 1336), Sogill LAN, Sosgill CUM (*Solrescales*

⁷⁰ In her discussion of Sorbie AYR (*Sorbie* 1612), Grant (2005: 129) connects ON **saurr-bý(r)* formations in the British Isles to a ‘Gaelic-Scandinavian continuum’. She notes the existence of Soroba near Oban and Soroba in Craignish (whose generic elements have been Gaelicised), Soroby on Tiree, Soriby on the Isle of Mull, and two possible Saurbie-names on the Isle of Skye.

(sic) c. 1203), and Southwaite WES (*Surthayt* 13th), i.e. in settlements in the counties of north-west England, part of the Irish Sea region.

There has been some discussion on the meaning of ON **saurr-bý(r)* in the Old Norse-speaking world. Fellows-Jensen notes that Ståhl (1961) argued, in discussion of the Swedish name, that the compound need not have been used in a derogatory sense but possibly for very fertile land that was once marshland; and that Guðmundsson (1959: 129) argued, because five of the 16 places in Iceland named Saurbær had churches, that the compound may have held special significance for sacred heathen sites. Fellows-Jensen states, however, that the high status of Icelandic places named Saurbær may also reflect the fertility of reclaimed marshland at the sites (see SSNNW 40).

The practical explanation of ON **saurr-bý(r)* names in the Old Norse-speaking world as denoting fertile land is preferable, particularly because they are predominantly settlement-names (i.e. they are not attached to small land-units that could imply a specialised, religious function). The Anglo-Scandinavian Sorbie-/Sowerby-names are perhaps comparable in this sense to the recurrent compound OE **mersc-tūn* ‘marsh *tūn*’ in English place-names. Gelling and Cole (2000: 36, 57-58) state that many of the marshes referred to in English place-names that contain OE *mersc* and OE *mōr* ‘a moor’ have been drained for centuries and ‘now give the appearance not of marsh but of fertile farmland’; and they list the OE **mersc-tūn* settlement-names (in their modern form Marston) in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire (x2), Cheshire, Derbyshire (x2), Gloucestershire, Herefordshire (x2), Hertfordshire, Kent, Leicestershire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire (x2), Oxfordshire, Somerset (x2), Staffordshire (x2), Sussex, Warwickshire (x6), Wiltshire (x3), and the West Riding of Yorkshire. With the exception of Marston YOR in the West Riding there is not overlap in the distributions of Marston-names and Sorbie-/Sowerby-names. They appear to be parallel Old English/Old

Norse formations for settlements on (reclaimed) marshland that may in some instances have held some economic importance with productive, fertile soil at their sites.

It should be noted that a parallel adjective OE *sūr* existed (which is not strictly cognate with ON *saurr* because the Scandinavian element is a noun) and that it has been suggested to be the specific element of three English place-names: Appledore (Halberton Hund.) DEV (*Surapla* 1086), Surfleet LIN (*Sverefelt* 1086), Surrendell WIL (*Sorendene* 1211) (see PNDev 2 574; CDEPN 590; PNWil 71; EPNE 2 169). The Old English adjective could formally underlie some of the Sorbie-/Sowerby-names, but their forms seem to reflect the diphthong of the Old Norse element. Place-names that possibly contain the Old English element are also extremely rare, with Surfleet LIN the only example in Anglo-Scandinavian England (albeit well outside the distribution of Sorbie-/Sowerby-names). Sorbie-/Sowerby-names, conversely, belong to a very recurrent compound distributed across multiple parts of the Old Norse-speaking world. It is very unlikely, in this context, that OE *sūr* forms the specific element of any Sorbie-/Sowerby-names. Indeed, Sorbie-/Sowerby-names are so recurrent that it could be suggested ON **saurr-by(r)* was a pre-formed compound applied to appropriate sites, as has been suggested for Kirkby-names by previous scholars (see analysis of Kirkby-names below).

3.4.2.2. Uncertain Topographical Elements

The 229 Anglo-Scandinavian *by(r)*-names, 28.4% of the corpus, that uncertainly contain topographical elements as their specifics are, like those which uncertainly contain personal names, a complex group of place-names. The possible topographical elements formally overlap with personal names (see above), terms for peoples and human groups, and possible

place-name formations. Otherwise unattested topographical elements have been taken to occur as the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names, and topographical elements, like personal names, have been suggested as the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names whose historical forms are very difficult to interpret. The focus on relatively secure topographical elements in this thesis has allowed for meaningful statistics to be produced that uncertain topographical elements can be measured against in future studies. The *bý(r)*-names that uncertainly contain topographical elements as their specifics are listed in the corpus dataset of this thesis (see Appendix).

3.4.2.3. Summary

Topographical elements, by any estimation between the minimum and maximum figures given in this thesis, form a significant number of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names specific elements. The sub-corpus of relatively secure topographical elements provides a minimum baseline for them as specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. This baseline includes county totals, languages of origin, and recurrence. Many of the uncertain instances of topographical elements are very probable (see above). However, the relatively secure baseline provides a measure against which the likelihood of particular uncertain topographical elements can be assessed.

Topographical elements occur in core and peripheral areas of the *bý(r)*-names distribution, including areas where relatively secure personal names do not occur. They are more limited than the personal names in terms of unique elements and languages of origin, but they include many of the most recurrent compounds in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. The Ashby-names and Sorbie-/Sowerby-names case-studies, which assess the two most

recurrent topographical *bý(r)*-names compounds, show that some topographical elements are limited in their geographical distribution, but others are not.

3.4.3. Habitative Elements

<u>Minimum Habitative Specific Elements</u>		<u>Maximum Habitative Specific Elements</u>	
<u>Count:</u>	47	<u>Count:</u>	54
<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)-names</u>	5.8	<u>% of A-Sc bý(r)-names</u>	6.7

Table 3.27: minimum and maximum figures for habitative specific elements

A maximum of 54 *bý(r)*-names, 6.7% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, could formally contain habitative elements as their specifics and/or have been suggested by previous scholars to do so.⁷¹ This maximum figure for habitative elements is considerably lower than the maximum figures for personal names and topographical elements. This is for two primary reasons: 1) habitative elements are, by any estimation, rare as the specific elements of *bý(r)*-names; and 2) habitative elements do not formally overlap with other elements as commonly as personal names and topographical elements do (primarily with each other). There is only a difference of seven *bý(r)*-names between the minimum and maximum figures for habitative specific elements, just 0.9% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus.

⁷¹ Note that in this thesis ‘habitative elements’ comprise words which directly denote habitations (e.g. ON *bý(r)* ‘a settlement’ itself) and elements which denote building structures (e.g. the specific element OE *cirice*/ON *kirkja* ‘a church’ in the Kir(k)by-names). The latter type do not necessarily point to habitation at their sites.

The minimum figure of 47 *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain habitative elements as their specifics, which has been produced by applying the ‘relatively secure’ methodological criteria for this thesis (see above), represents 5.8% of the corpus. It is dominated by 45 Kir(k)by-names, which contain ON *kirkja*/OE *cirice* ‘a church’ as their specific elements and represent by far the most recurrent compound in the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus.⁷² Only Scaleby CUM (*villa de Scales* c. 1180), which contains ME *scales* (< ON *skáli* ‘a temporary hut or shed’) as its specific element (see SSNNW 39) and Milnby DMF (*Millebie* 1194-1214), which contains OE *myln*/ON *mylna* ‘a mill’ (see SSNNW 36), otherwise relatively securely contain habitative specific elements.

The uncertain instances of habitative specific elements include the Lincolnshire names Boothby Graffoe LIN, Boothby Hall LIN, and Boothby Pagnell LIN (all first attested in Domesday Book as *Bodebi* 1086) that have been etymologised with ON *búð* ‘a booth, temporary shelter’ (see SSNEM 38). This etymology is probable, but the personal name OE *Bod(a)* is formally possible. Quarmby YOR (*Corne(l)bi* 1086) contains ON *kvern*/OE *cweorn* ‘a quern, hand-mill’ as its specific element. This may have denoted a mill in a habitative sense, like OE *myln* in Milnby DMF (see above), but alternatively it could have denoted a place where mill-stones were obtained (see EPNE 1 122). Fellows-Jensen notes that Tumby LIN (*Tvnbi* 1086) has been etymologised with the personal name ON *Tími*, but alternatively suggests it contains ON *tún/tūn*, perhaps denoting a fence or the site of a deserted settlement (see SSNEM 75). Finally, Scalby YOR (*Sc-*, *Skallebi*, *-by* 1086) could contain ON *skáli*, like Scaleby CUM (see above), but ON *skalli* ‘a bald head, a bare hill’ or the personal name ON *Skalli* derived from that element are both formally possible.

⁷² The 13 instances each of relatively secure Ashby-names, Newby-names, and Sorbie-/Sowerby-names represent the most recurrent compounds after Kirby-/Kirkby-names.

The relatively secure habitative elements sub-corpus is so limited outside of Kir(k)by-names that there is little need to break down its geographical distribution, languages of origin, and recurrent elements in the same manner as the personal names and topographical elements sub-corpora (see above). Milnby DMF and Scaleby CUM are north-western, contain an Old English element and an Old Norse element, respectively, and neither element relatively securely recurs in the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus. Instead, analysis of the habitative elements sub-corpus will focus on a case-study of the 45 Kir(k)by-names (Section 3.4.3.1.).

3.4.3.1. Case-study: Kir(k)by-names

Forty-five Kir(k)by-names, which contain ON *kirkjal*/OE *cirice* ‘a church’ as their specific elements, comprise by far the most recurrent compound among Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. They account for 5.6% of the total corpus alone. The extremely frequent recurrence of Anglo-Scandinavian Kirkby-names compared to all other *bý(r)*-name compounds has led to the suggestion that they represent the application of a pre-formed appellative unit ON **kirkju-bý(r)* to appropriate sites by Scandinavian-speakers (see EPNE 2 4; Gelling 1997: 234. However, there has been recent re-analysis of the meaning of Kir(k)by-names (see below), and the possibility that some of them contain OE *cirice* as their specific elements cannot be ruled out. The 45 Kir(k)by-names are listed below and the following maps and table illustrate their distribution.

1. Cartmel LAN: *Cherchebi* 1086.
2. Kirby YOR: *Cherchebi* 1086, *Kircha-*, *Kirkabi* 1140-54.
3. Kirby Bedon NOR: *Kerkebei* 1086, *Kirkeby Bydon* 1291.

4. Kirby Bellars LEI: *Cherche-*, *Chirchebi* 1086, *Kirchebia* 1163, *Kirkebi* 1166.
5. Kirby Cane NOR: *Kerkeby* 1086, *Kyrkeby Cam* 1282, *Kirkebycaam* 1375.
6. Kirby Grindalythe YOR: *Chirchebi* 1086, *Kirkebi*, *-by* 12th, *Kerkebi* 1194.
7. Kirby Hall NTH: *Chercheberie* 1086, *Cherchebia* 1121-29, *Chirchebi* 1162.
8. Kirby Hall YOR: *Chirchebi* 1086, *Kirkeby* 12th, *Kirkby Cattall* 1383, *Kyrkebyhall* 1383.
9. Kirby Hill (Birdforth Wap.) YOR: *Chirchebi* 1086, *Ki-*, *Kyrkeby in Mora*, *-super More* 1224-30.
10. Kirby Hill (Gilling West Wap.) YOR: *Kirkebi*, *-by* 1154-66.
11. Kirby Knowle YOR: *Chirchebi* 1086.
12. Kirby Misperton YOR: *Chirchebi* 1086, *Ki-*, *Kyrkebi*, *-by* 1094-99, *Kirkabi* 1308.
13. Kirby Sigston YOR: *Kirchebi* 1088, *Kirkeb'*, *-by* 1208-10.
14. Kirby-le-Soken ESX: *Kirkby* c. 1127, *Kirke-*, *Ky-*, *Korkebi* 1181.
15. Kirby Underdale YOR: *Cherche-*, *Chirchebi* 1086, *Kircabi* 1156-57.
16. Kirby Wiske YOR: *Chi(r)che-*, *Cherchebi* 1086.
17. East Kirkby LIN: *Cherchebi* 1086, *Chirche-*, *Circebia* 1142.
18. Kirkby LAN: *Cherchebi* 1086, *Karkebi*, *Kierkebi* 1176.
19. Kirkby YOR: *Kirke-*, *Kyrkeby* 13th, *Kirby* 1382.
20. Kirkby LIN: *Kyrchebeia* 1146 [13th], *Kirche-*, *Kyrchebi* 1163 [13th].
21. Kirkby (lost) YOR: *Ki-*, *Kyrkebi*, *-by* c. 1090, 1122.
22. Kirkby Fleetham YOR: *Cherche-*, *Chirchebi* 1086, *Fletham et Kirkeby* 13th.
23. Kirkby Green LIN: *Cherchebi* 1086.
24. Kirkby in Ashfield NOT: *Chirchebi* 1086, *Kirchebi* 1166, *Kirkeby in Esfeld* 1216.
25. Kirkby Ireleth LAN: *Gerluuorde* 1086, *Kirkebi* 1191-98.
26. Kirkby la Thorpe LIN: *Cherche-*, *Chirchebi* 1086.

27. Kirkby Kendal WES: *Cherchebi* 1086, *Kircabikendala* 1090-97 [1308].
28. Kirkby Lonsdale WES: *Cherchebi* 1086, *Kircabi Lauenesdale* 1090-97 [1308].
29. Kirkby Malham YOR: *Chirchebi* 1086, *Ki-*, *Kyrk(e)bi*, *-by* 1154-91.
30. Kirkby Mallory LEI: *Chere-*, *Cherchebi* 1086, *Kirkebi* 1202, *Kirkeby* 1220.
31. Kirkby Malzeard YOR: *Chirchebi* 1086, *Chirchaby* 1154-91, *Ki-*, *Kyrkby* 1285.
32. Kirkby Moorside YOR: *Chirchebi* 1086, *Ki-*, *Kyrkebi*, *-by* c. 1170.
33. Kirkby on Bain LIN: *Cherche-*, *Chirchebi* 1086.
34. Kirkby Overblow YOR: *Cherche-*, *Chirchebi* 1086, *Ki-*, *Kyrkebi*, *-by* 12th, *Kyrkby* 1355.
35. Kirkby Stephen WES: *Cherkaby Stephan* 1090-97, *Kirkabistephan* 1157.
36. Kirkby Thore WES: *Kirkebythore* 1179.
37. Kirkby Underwood LIN: *Cherchebi* 1086.
38. Kirkby Wharfe YOR: *Chirchebi* 1086, *Kirke-*, *Kyrkebi*, *-by* 1180-1200.
39. *Kirkebi Johannis* CUM: *Kirkebi Johannis* 1305, *Neutonarlosh?* 1345.
40. *Kirkeby Crossan* CUM: *Kirkeby crossan* m. 13th, *Kirkecrossan* 13th.
41. Monks Kirby WAR: *Kirkeberia*, *-biria* 1077, *Chircheberie* 1086, *Kirkebi* c. 1160.
42. South Kirkby YOR: *Cherche-*, *Chirchebi* 1086, *Suthkerchebi* 1121, *Sutkirkeby* 1229, *Kirby* 1292.
43. St Bees CUM: *Cherchebi* c. 1125, *Kirkebibeccoch* 1189-99 [1308].
44. Wallasey CHE: *Kirkeby in Waleya* c. 1180-1245, *Kirkeby* 1254, *Kyrkeby Waley* 1272-1307.
45. West Kirby CHE: *Cherchebia* 1081 [12th], *Kircheby* 1153-81, *Ki-*, *Kyrkeby* 1137-40 [1271].

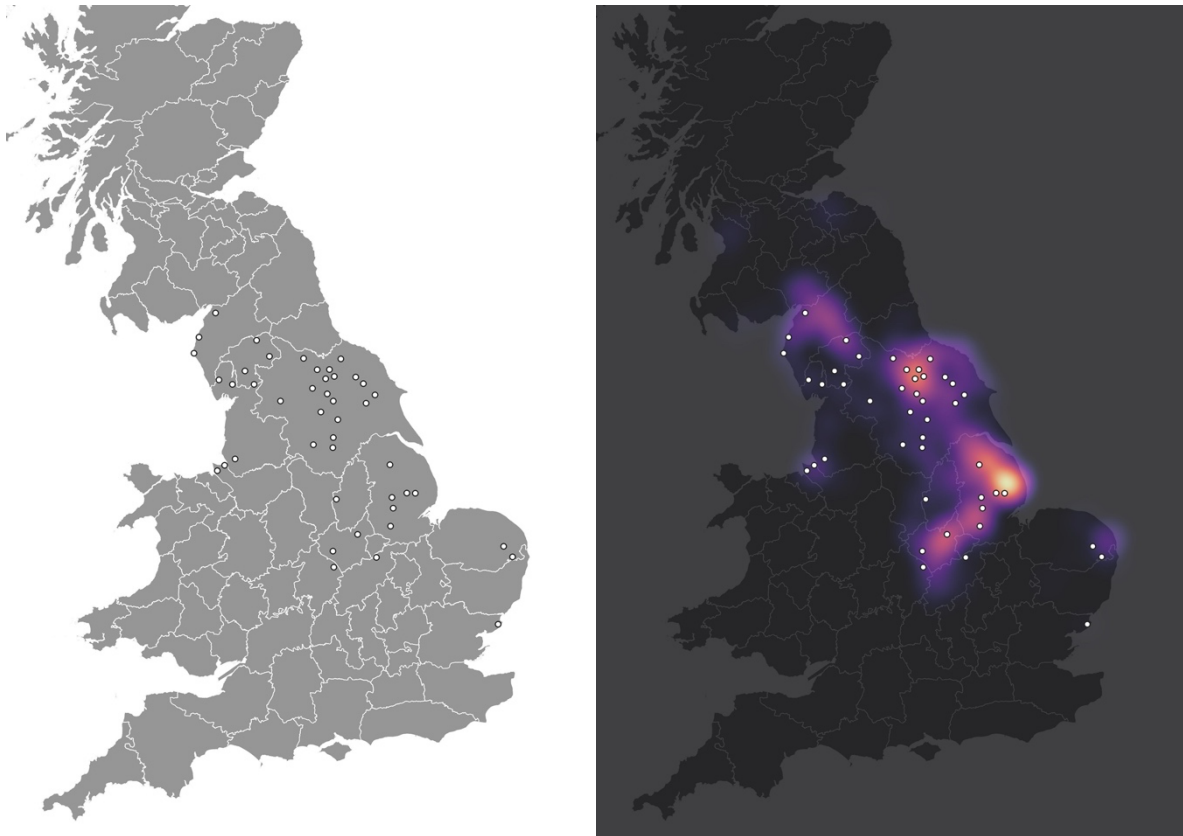


Figure 3.33: distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian Kir(k)by-names

<u>County</u>		<u>Count</u>		<u>% of Kir(k)by-Names</u>		<u>% of Anglo-Scandinavian bý(r)-names</u>	
Yorkshire	East Riding	2	19	4.4	42.2	0.2	2.4
	North Riding	9		20		1.1	
	West Riding	8		17.8		0.9	
Lincolnshire		6		13.3		0.7	
Lancashire		4		8.9		0.5	

Westmorland	4	8.9	0.5
Cumberland	3	6.7	0.4
Cheshire	2	4.4	0.2
Norfolk	2	4.4	0.2
Essex	1	2.2	0.1
Leicestershire	1	2.2	0.1
Northamptonshire	1	2.2	0.1
Nottinghamshire	1	2.2	0.1
Warwickshire	1	2.2	0.1
Totals:	45	100	5.6

Table 3.28: county totals of Anglo-Scandinavian Kir(k)by-names

The 45 Anglo-Scandinavian Kir(k)by-names are distributed across 12 English counties that cover all areas of Anglo-Scandinavian England. Yorkshire contains the most Kir(k)by-names with over three times as many as the next county, Lincolnshire. They are common in its North Riding and West Riding but less so in its East Riding. Kir(k)by-names represent 7.7% and 2.5% of the total *bý(r)*-names in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire respectively, however, which are relatively less significant proportions than some other counties. Kir(k)by-names comprise 16.7% of *bý(r)*-names in Cheshire, 21.1% of those in Lancashire, and 18.2% of those in Westmorland. Their commonness in the north-western English counties is broken only by representing just 3.9% of *bý(r)*-names in Cumberland, the north-western county that contains considerably more *bý(r)*-names than the others. Kir(k)by-names are comparatively less common in East Anglia and the East Midlands. However, Monks Kirby WAR is one of

only three *bý(r)*-names in Warwickshire; and Kirby-le-Soken ESX is the only *bý(r)*-name in Essex, a county whose overall coverage by Anglo-Scandinavian place-names is limited.

The wide distribution of Kir(k)by-names across 12 counties means that they are a product of both core and peripheral areas in the distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, although the Lincolnshire names and Yorkshire names do comprise over half their number. The most notable absence from the Kir(k)by-names distribution is Scotland. Only *Kirkebi Johannis CUM* occurs close to the modern border between the two countries in the contiguous Cumberland-Dumfriesshire *bý(r)*-names area. Their absence from Scotland may be related to the relationship between Kirkby-names and estate management in Anglo-Scandinavian England (see below).

The traditional view held by previous place-name scholars is that Kir(k)by-names represent naming by Scandinavian-speakers of settlements whose churches were noteworthy features; and that in many instances Kirkby-names replaced pre-existing Old English place-names for those settlements (see, for example, CDEPN 349; Gelling 1997: 234; PNLin 3 52; SSNNW 34). In EPNE 2 4, Smith suggests that many Kirkby-names may have specifically replaced parallel OE **cirice-tūn* formations, but there is no surviving evidence for this in the historical forms of any Kir(k)by-name. It has also been held that Kir(k)by-names might belong to a period after Scandinavian settlers in England had converted to Christianity (see PNNth xxiv; SSNEM 287), but the recognition of a church as a noteworthy feature does not require a Christian perspective. Indeed, if some Kir(k)by-names belong to an early period of place-naming in England by Scandinavian-speakers, they could be explained as a result of Scandinavian settlers noting a type of building in English settlements that did not exist in Scandinavian at the time. It is generally held, as noted above, that Kir(k)by-names represent the application of a pre-formed ON **kirkju-bý(r)* compound rather than the recurrent,

independent coining of ON *kirkja* + ON *bý(r)* formations. Kir(k)by-names are consistently etymologised as ‘church [*bý(r)*]’ or ‘[*bý(r)*] with a church’ in SEPN volumes.

Pickles (2018: 248-53) persuasively re-analyses the ‘church *bý(r)*’ or ‘*bý(r)* with a church’ etymologies given to the Kir(k)by-names, pointing out that a significant number of them are attached to places which were at one time the locations of religious communities and/or lands under the control of religious communities.⁷³ Pickles (2018: 252-53) suggests, based on a body of evidence for this association, that Kirkby-names could mean ‘religious community’, ‘farm of the church’, or ‘farm with/by a church’, but that ‘farm of the church’ (i.e. denoting ownership of the land-unit by the church) is ‘the simplest and most persuasive solution’ for the majority. He notes that only 26 places that bore Kir(k)by-names in the eleventh century had churches.

Pickles (2018: 252) maintains that Old Norse-speakers who settled near to these locations coined Kir(k)by-names and that the compound could have meant different things in different places. It cannot be ruled out that some Kir(k)by-names did simply denote a settlement with a church. However, under Pickles’s (2018: 252-53) theory the majority of Kir(k)by-names were coined to denote the presence and/or possessions of religious communities rather than simply settlements with churches. Indeed, that churches were ubiquitous in Anglo-Saxon England by the time of Scandinavian settlement would seem to make them not noteworthy enough features to so recurrently denote their presence. Pickles (2018) does not discuss Kirby-le-Soken ESX, but the fact that along with Thorpe-le-Soken ESX it once formed a *sōcn* (i.e. special jurisdiction) held by St Paul’s Cathedral in London

⁷³ Pickles (2018: 248-51) discusses in particular Kirkby Overblow YOR, Cartmel LAN, Kirkby (lost) YOR (in the parish of Pontefract), St Bees CUM, Monks Kirby WAR, Kirby Grindalythe YOR, and West Kirby CHE as the holdings of religious communities; and Kirby Hill YOR, Kirkby Kendal WES, Kirkby Lonsdale WES, Kirby Misperton YOR, and Kirkby Moorside YOR as possessing church(es) that preserve early stone sculpture which may attest to ‘satellite lands’ belonging to churches and/or religious communities.

provides further support for his theory from the most isolated *bý(r)*-name in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus (see PNEss 355).

The special status of Kir(k)by-names, which has led to the suggestion they represent a recurrent application of the pre-formed compound ON **kirkju-bý(r)* by Scandinavian-speakers in Anglo-Scandinavian England, means that previous scholars have not widely discussed the possibility that some of them may instead contain OE *cirice* as their specific elements. That some Kir(k)by-names may have replaced original OE *cirice*-names has been suggested (e.g. Smith's suggestion in EPNE 2 4 that many may have replaced parallel OE **cirice-tūn* formations (see above)). Whether this process would constitute an active replacement of OE *cirice* by ON *kirkja* or a more passive, phonological scandinavianisation of the Old English element is, however, uncertain. This is a difficult issue with cognate Old English/Old Norse elements in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names that share a semantic space and/or phonological overlap.

In VEPN 3 62-72, Parsons discusses OE *cirice* in place-names, distinguishing the element from ON *kirkja*, and OE **cirice-tūn* names in particular. Following Gelling (1981), he notes that settlement-names which contain OE *cirice* are not particularly numerous, not least because most Anglo-Saxon settlements would have had churches (see above), making their presence unremarkable. Parsons discusses the issue of distinguishing OE *cirice* from ON *kirkja* in eastern and northern England because ME *kirk* commonly replaced ME *chirch* in these areas. He notes that it is difficult to distinguish the elements in Middle English orthography; to determine whether a place-name with ME *kirk* pre-existed in a wholly Old English form before Scandinavian settlement; and to decide whether the Old Norse influence is direct (i.e. from Old Norse-speakers) or indirect (i.e. from Old Norse-influenced Middle English dialects). Parsons states that these issues will be discussed under ON *kirkja* in VEPN,

but ‘K’-volumes of the place-name elements glossaries are as yet unpublished. He does, however, include Kirkham-names in discussion of OE *cirice* because the generic element OE *hām* ‘a homestead’ is taken to be old (i.e. to pre-date Scandinavian settlement) and two Kirton-names because they may represent scandinavianised OE *cirice-tūn* names or hybrid **kirkja-tūn* names.

Parsons notes that Gelling (1981: 5) argued that the probable **cirice-tūn* place-names (assuming some of them do not alternatively contain British **krouko-* ‘hill, OE **cēodor* ‘hollow, ravine’, or ME *cheri* ‘cherry-tree’ as their specific elements) should be interpreted as ‘settlement with or by a church’ and not ‘estate belonging to a church’. This is on the basis that OE *mynster* seems to have referred to churches served by religious communities and OE *cirice* to subordinate churches in settlements run by a single priest (see VEPN 3 64). This is a similar issue to the ‘farm with/by a church’ or ‘farm of the church’ etymological debate for Kir(k)by-names (see above). Indeed, Parsons states that it is ‘tempting’ to instead link OE **cirice-tūn* names to the structure of large Anglo-Saxon estates in the same way that Charlton-names and Kingston-names have. In this context he suggests OE **cirice-tūn* names could have been the only part of a large estate to possess a church, or an estate belonging to the church (i.e. ‘the church’ as an institution) (see VEPN 3 65).

In VEPN 3 65, Parsons lists the ‘main examples’ of OE **cirice-tūn* as ?Cherington GLO, Cheriton DEV, Cheriton HAM, Cheriton KEN, Cheriton SOM, Cheriton Bishop DEV, Cheriton Fitzpaine DEV, Cherrington WAR, Chirton NB, Chirton WIL, Churston DEV, ?Churton CHE, Kirton LIN (x 2), Kirton NOT, and Kirton SUF. They are primarily a southern phenomenon located outside the main areas of Anglo-Scandinavian England, except for the Northumberland name and two possible scandinavianised examples in Lincolnshire. In this context, it is tempting to link ON **kirkju-bý(r)* names and OE **cirice-tūn* names as parallel formations denoting lands held by church estates as suggested by Pickles (2018) and

Parsons in VEPN 3 65; and, because their distributions are parallel in northern and southern England, to suggest that some Kir(k)by-names replaced pre-existing OE **cirice-tūn* names as suggested by Smith in EPNE 2 4.

This returns us to the OE *cirice*/ON *kirkja* issue. If some Kirkby-names do represent substitutions for pre-existing OE **cirice-tūn* names, then it is possible OE *tūn* was substituted by ON *bý(r)* and that the original specific element was scandinavianised in a manner that reflects accent and/or dialect rather than active substitution. This is, as noted above, part of a wider issue with Old English/Old Norse cognate elements of active versus passive substitution where it has been suggested. OE *cirice* and ON *kirkja* are cognate elements with complete semantic overlap and phonological overlap outside of two [tʃ] sounds in the Old English element and two sounds [k] in the Old Norse element. It seems preferable to accept that ON **kirkju-bý(r)* was applied as a pre-formed compound in Anglo-Scandinavian England because it is so recurrent, but also that some Kir(k)by-names may represent (to varying degrees) partial scandinavianisations of OE *cirice*-names. Indeed, OE *cirice* and ON *kirkja* fell together in Anglo-Scandinavian England to ME *kirk* and so, after a time, any distinction between the two elements in place-name formations would have been lost.

3.4.3.2. Summary

Habitative elements, by any estimation, form the specific elements of a minority of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names; and that minority figure is dominated by Kir(k)by-names. If Pickles (2018) theory for the origins of some Kir(k)by-names as lands belonging to religious communities and/or a church is correct, then many of the Kir(k)by-names themselves may in fact contain ON *kirkja*/OE *cirice* in an institutional sense ‘the church’ rather than a physical

sense ‘a church’. The element remains habitative in origin, but it was perhaps not always habitative in application for the formation of Kir(k)by-names.

It is perhaps to be expected that habitative elements would be uncommon as the specifics of place-names formed with ON *bý(r)*. It is itself a habitative settlement-term. However, some habitative elements occur frequently in combination with OE *tūn* in English place-names, the habitative Old English settlement-term that ON *bý(r)* can be said to have run parallel with in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. The probable OE **cirice-tūn* formations are discussed above, and OE *boðl-tūn* ‘house-enclosure, house-farm’ and OE *burh-tūn* ‘*burh* settlement’ are very recurrent compounds (see VEPN 1 137; VEPN 2 87-88). It seems that despite becoming the dominant settlement-term in parts of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain, ON *bý(r)* did not develop as many habitative functions as OE *tūn*.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has presented a large-scale analysis of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus comprised of three primary areas: the geography of the *bý(r)*-names corpus; the chronology of the *bý(r)*-names corpus; and the relatively secure personal name, topographical, and habitative specific elements of the *bý(r)*-names corpus. The geographical analysis of the corpus has provided county totals, relative county densities, and a novel heat-map representation for Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. The heat-map representation of the *bý(r)*-names corpus is, in particular, an effective tool for the analysis of groups of *bý(r)*-names.

The chronological analysis of the corpus has provided strata of *bý(r)*-names by their centuries of first attestations and the geographical distributions within those strata. It has also analysed some of the notable features of the *bý(r)*-names by their centuries of first attestations; and has shown the chronological movement of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus across the centuries using heat-map representations.

The linguistic analysis of the corpus has provided baselines for the occurrences of personal names, topographical elements, and habitative elements as the specifics of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. It has given the geographical distributions, languages of origin, and recurrent elements of these sub-corpora; and has included case-studies of notable specific elements. The analyses of the three relatively secure sub-corpora collectively cover the specific elements of 352 *bý(r)*-names, 43.7% of the total corpus.

Chapter Four Generic Elements Interchange in the Historical Forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, a case-study

4.1. Introduction

This case-study is an analysis of 37 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names whose historical written forms indicate interchange between Old Norse *bý(r)* and one or more other generic element(s).⁷⁴ This process is not unique to *bý(r)*-names – such phenomena occur in the historical forms of other English and Scottish place-names. Ekwall (1962; 1964) discusses interchange between Old English generic elements in English place-names; and Taylor (1997) discusses interchange phenomena in the place-names of eastern Scotland in particular. Taylor (1998: 7-9) distinguishes between ‘substitution’, where one element seems to have simply been confused with another, and ‘variation’, where a place seems to have been known by more than one name. Here, the broader term ‘interchange’ is used as a catch-all term for instances of possible anglicisation of original *bý(r)*-names; possible scandinavianisation of Old English place-names by substitution of ON *bý(r)* for pre-existing generic elements; and possible scribal errors. Which of these processes has occurred is in many instances uncertain, but the analysis below offers probable answers for the phenomena based on an assessment of multiple factors: semantics; phonology; documentary sources; and, in relation to the previous factors, the regions of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain in which interchanges in the historical forms of *bý(r)*-names occur.

⁷⁴ Note that, in keeping with the criteria established in Chapter Two (see Section 2.1.1.), an ‘Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-name’ is here a place-name whose historical forms contain at least one *bý(r)*-form. In the context of this case-study of generic elements ‘interchange’, a *bý(r)*-form is in several instances the erratic generic element among a run of otherwise consistent forms which contain a different generic element.

4.2. The Generic Elements Interchange Sub-Corpus

It is important to establish first the sub-corpus of 37 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names whose historical forms indicate interchange between Old Norse *bý(r)* and one or more other generic element(s). The table below lists the *bý(r)*-names in their modern forms, their counties, and the elements other than ON *bý(r)* that seem to occur in their historical forms.⁷⁵

<u>Place-Name</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Interchange Element(s)</u>
Aldeby	NOR	OE <i>byrig</i>
Alston	CUM	OE <i>tūn</i> /ON <i>tún</i>
Appleby Magna	LEI	OE <i>byrig</i>
Arnesby	LEI	OE <i>byrig</i>
Asfordby	LEI	OE <i>byrig</i>
Badby	NTH	OE <i>byrig</i>
Barkby	LEI	OE <i>byrig</i>
Bleasby	NOT	OE <i>tūn</i> /ON <i>tún</i>
Coniston	YOR	OE <i>tūn</i> /ON <i>tún</i>
West Derby	LAN	OE <i>byrig</i>
Enderby	LEI	OE <i>byrig</i>
Gaddesby	LEI	OE <i>byrig</i>

⁷⁵ It is specifically the dative form OE *byrig* of OE *burh* that appears in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names (see below). Because of this, the form OE *byrig* is used throughout this case-study. It is uncertain whether it is the ON or OE reflexes of the cognate elements ON *þorp*/OE *þrop* and ON *tún*/OE *tūn* that occur in the historical forms of *bý(r)*-names (see below). In keeping with the methodological approach of this thesis, they are here given together (see Chapter Two, Section 2.3.3.).

Greasby	CHE	OE <i>byrig</i>
Helsby	CHE	OE <i>byrig</i> ; OE <i>lēah</i>
Holdenby	NTH	OE <i>tūn</i> /ON <i>tún</i>
Old Ingarsby	LEI	OE <i>byrig</i>
Irby	CHE	OE <i>byrig</i>
Kirby Hall	NTH	OE <i>byrig</i>
Leaston	ELO	OE <i>tūn</i> /ON <i>tún</i>
Monks Kirby	WAR	OE <i>byrig</i>
Naseby	NTH	OE <i>byrig</i>
Normanby	LIN	OE <i>stōw</i>
North and South Owersby	LIN	OE <i>byrig</i>
Pensby	CHE	OE <i>lēah</i>
Quenby	LEI	OE <i>byrig</i>
Roxby	LIN	OE <i>byrig</i>
Rugby	WAR	OE <i>byrig</i>
Scaleby	CUM	OE <i>byrig</i> ; ME <i>maner</i> ; Latin <i>villa</i>
Scawby	LIN	OE <i>byrig</i>
Shoby	LEI	OE <i>byrig</i>
Smeaton	MLO	OE <i>tūn</i> /ON <i>tún</i>
Somerby	LEI	OE <i>byrig</i>
Stainsby	DER	OE <i>byrig</i>
Tealby	LIN	OE <i>byrig</i>
Thornby	NTH	OE <i>byrig</i>

Thringstone	LEI	OE <i>tūn</i> /ON <i>tún</i> ; OE <i>þrop</i> /ON <i>þorp</i>
Whitby	CHE	OE <i>byrig</i> ; OE <i>lēah</i>

Table 4.1: the generic elements interchange sub-corpus

The generic elements interchange sub-corpus listed above is widely distributed among Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, and multiple generic elements seem to interchange with ON *bý(r)* in their historical forms. The following sections detail the geographical distribution of the sub-corpus (Section 4.2.1.), the elements other than ON *bý(r)* that seem to occur in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names (Section 4.2.2.), and the individual breakdowns of those elements (Section 4.2.3.).

4.2.1. Geographical Distribution of the Generic Elements Interchange Sub-Corpus

The maps below illustrate the distribution of the generic elements interchange sub-corpus as a dot-based map and in relation to a heat-map of the total Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus. The table below gives the county totals for generic elements interchanges, the percentage of the interchange sub-corpus those figures represent, and the percentage of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus those figures represent.

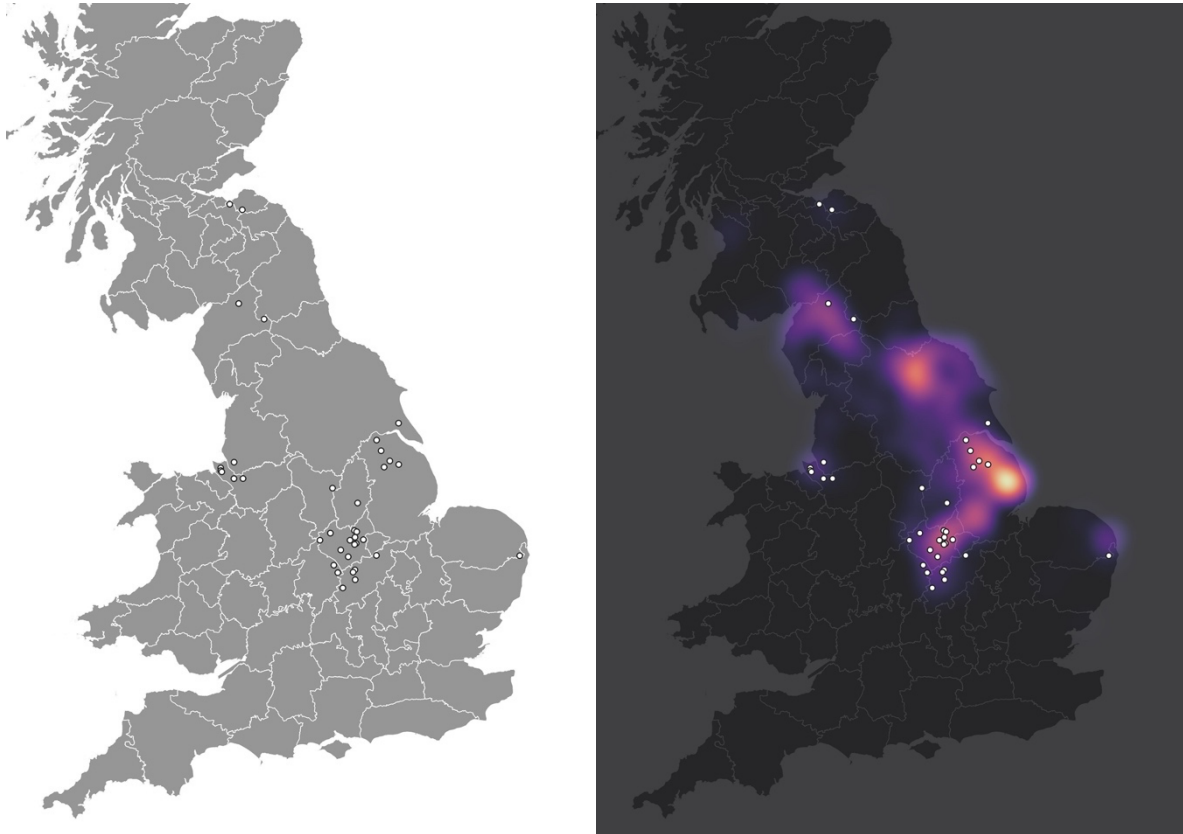


Figure 4.1: distribution of the generic elements interchange sub-corpus

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of Generic Elements Interchange Corpus</u>	<u>% of Anglo- Scandinavian <i>bý(r)</i>- names</u>
Leicestershire	11	29.7	1.4
Cheshire	5	13.5	0.6
Lincolnshire	5	13.5	0.6
Northamptonshire	5	13.5	0.6
Cumberland	2	5.4	0.2
Warwickshire	2	5.4	0.2
Derbyshire	1	2.7	0.1
Lancashire	1	2.7	0.1

East Lothian	1	2.7	0.1
Midlothian	1	2.7	0.1
Norfolk	1	2.7	0.1
Nottinghamshire	1	2.7	0.1
Yorkshire	1	2.7	0.1
<u>Totals:</u>	37	100	4.6

Table 4.2: county totals of the generic elements interchange sub-corpus

The 37 *bý(r)*-names that comprise the generic elements interchange sub-corpus are distributed unevenly across the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus – there are clusters of names, isolated examples, and areas wholly unaffected by the interchange phenomena. Generic elements interchanges are most common in the East Midlands, with the six counties from that region contributing 25 *bý(r)*-names, 67.6% of the corpus. The southerly East Midlands counties of Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Warwickshire – border counties in the context of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain – form the majority of this cluster and comprise 48.6% of the corpus. There are two further clusters formed in the west by the Cheshire names and Lancashire name, and in Lincolnshire by a group of names in the north-west of the county. The other *bý(r)*-names in the corpus are quite isolated in comparison to these clusters; and the Cumberland names, East Lothian name, and Midlothian name represent notably northern examples.

It is on the heat-map (which delineates the core (i.e. ‘hot’) and peripheral (i.e. ‘cold’) areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names distribution far more clearly than the distribution map) that the generic elements interchange phenomena are shown to be relatively peripheral, other than the clusters in north-east Leicestershire and north-west Lincolnshire.

The densest cluster of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, in east Lincolnshire, is entirely unaffected; and the only Yorkshire-name in the corpus is located in the south-east of the East Riding, where *bý(r)*-names are sparsely distributed in comparison to other parts of the county.

4.2.2. The Generic Elements that Interchange with ON *bý(r)*

The table below lists the generic elements that seem to interchange with ON *bý(r)* in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, the total instances of interchange with those elements, the percentage of the generic elements interchange sub-corpus those figures represent, and the percentage of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus those figures represent.

<u>Element</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of Generic Elements Interchange Corpus</u>	<u>% of Anglo-Scandinavian <i>bý(r)</i>-names</u>
OE <i>byrig</i>	28	75.7	3.5
OE <i>tūn</i> /ON <i>tún</i>	7	18.9	0.9
OE <i>lēah</i>	3	8.1	0.4
ME <i>maner</i>	1	2.7	0.1
OE <i>stōw</i>	1	2.7	0.1
OE <i>þrop</i> /ON <i>þorp</i>	1	2.7	0.1
Latin <i>villa</i>	1	2.7	0.1

*Table 4.3: the elements that seem to interchange with ON *bý(r)* in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names*

Seven elements appear to interchange with ON *bý(r)* in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names: OE *byrig*, OE *tūn*/ON *tún*, OE *lēah*, ME *maner*, OE *stōw*, OE *þrop*/ON *þorp*, and Latin *villa*. The most common element to interchange with Old Norse *bý(r)* is by far OE *byrig*, with 28 instances that affect 75.7% of the *bý(r)*-names in the case-study and 3.5% of the total Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus. OE *tūn*/ON *tún* is the second most common element to occur in historical forms of *bý(r)*; and OE *lēah* seems to occur in the historical forms of three Cheshire names. The other elements each occur once, and ME *maner* and Latin *villa* both occur in historical forms for Scaleby CUM.

There are some regional patterns to the interchange phenomena. The 25 East Midlands *bý(r)*-names, noted above to comprise more than two-thirds of the names in the case-study, are dominated by 21 *bý(r)*-names that have historical OE *byrig*-forms. They represent 84% of the *bý(r)*-names from that region in the case-study and 75% of the total *bý(r)*-names that have historical OE *byrig*-forms. The *bý(r)*-names that have OE *lēah*-forms are solely a Cheshire phenomenon; and the seven *bý(r)*-names with historical ON/OE *tūn*/*tún*-forms are notable for not having a regional pattern, being widely distributed across the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-name corpus (see individual elements breakdowns below).

As noted above for Scaleby CUM, not all of the generic elements interchanges occur independently of other elements. Two of the three Cheshire names that have historical OE *lēah*-forms are earlier affected by interchange with OE *byrig*; and Thringstone LEI has a *bý(r)*-form, OE/ON *tūn*/*tún*-forms, and an OE/ON *þrop*/*þorp*-form. The only single instance of an element interchange to occur independently from other elements is that of OE *stōw* in the earliest form for Normanby LIN.

4.2.3. Individual Corpora of Generic Elements that Interchange with ON *bý(r)*

The sub-sections give individual breakdowns of the elements that appear to interchange with ON *bý(r)* in the historical forms of 36 *bý(r)*-names. The sub-sections give the historical forms of relevant *bý(r)*-names, distribution maps, and county totals for each element.

4.2.3.1. Interchange with OE *byrig* Sub-Corpus

1. Aldeby NOR: *Aldebury* 1086, *Aldeby* c. 1180.
2. Appleby Magna LEI: *Æppelbyg* 1004 [e. 11th], *Apelbi*, *-by*, *-beria* 1086, *Apelbia* c. 1130.
3. Arnesby LEI: *Erendesbi*, *-berie* 1086, *Ernebi* 1177.
4. Asfordby LEI: *Esseberie*, *Osferdebie* 1086, *Asfordebi* 1184.
5. Badby NTH: *baddan byrig*, *-by* 944, *Badebi* 1086.
6. Barkby LEI: *Barchebi*, *-berie* 1086, *Barkebia* c. 1130.
7. West Derby LAN: *Derbei*, *-berie* 1086, *Derby* 1094.
8. Enderby LEI: *Andretes-*, *Endrebie* 1086, *Andredeberia* 1100, *Andredesbi* 1191.
9. Gaddesby LEI: *Gadesbi* 1086, *Gadesby* c. 1130, *Gadesberi* 1200, *Gadesbir'* 1201, *Gaddesby* 1263.
10. Greasby CHE: *Gravesberie* 1086, *Grauesbyri* 1096-1101 [1150], *Grauisby* 1096-1101 (1280), *Greuesby* 1249-1323.
11. Helsby CHE: *Helesbe* 1086, *Ellesbi* 1185, *Hellesberie* 1189-99, *Helesby* 1217-29, *Hellesorhee* a. 1245, *Helysbi* 1240-49, *Hellesley* 1300.
12. Old Ingarsby LEI: *Inuuaresbie*, *in Gerberie* 1086, *Inguarebi* 1177.
13. Irby CHE: *Yrreby* 1271, *Erberia*, *Irreby* 1096-1101 [1280].
14. Kirby Hall NTH: *Chercheberie* 1086, *Kirkeby* 12th, *Cherchebia* 1121-29.

15. Monks Kirby WAR: *Kirkeberia*, *-biria* 1077, *Chircheberie* 1086, *Kirkebi* c. 1160.
16. Naseby NTH: *Navesberi* 1086, *Nauesbi*, *-y* 1166.
17. North and South Owersby LIN: *Ares-*, *Oresbi* 1086, *Ouresbi* 1115-18, *Orisberia* 1110 [c. 1200].
18. Quenby LEI: *Qveneberie* 1086, *Quenebia* c. 1130.
19. Roxby LIN: *Roxebi* 1086, *Rochesbi* 1115-18, *Rochesberia* 1090-1100 [1401].
20. Rugby WAR: *Rocheberie* 1086, *Rochebi* 1154-89.
21. Scaleby CUM: *villa de Scales* c. 1180, *manerium de Scales* 1227, *Schalebery*, *-by* c. 1235, *Scaleby* c. 1245.
22. Scawby LIN: *Scal(l)ebi* 1086, *Scallebi* 1115-18, *Scaleberia* 1090-1100 [1401].
23. Shoby LEI: *Seoldesberie* 1086, *Siwaldebia* c. 1130.
24. Somerby LEI: *Sumerlide-*, *Summerdebie*, *Svmerdeberie* 1086, *Sumerdebi* 1169.
25. Stainsby DER: *Steinesbi* 1086, *Stein(e)bi(a)* 1175, *Stainisberia* 1176, *Staineres-*, *-is-*, *-beria* 1179, *Staineresbi* 1185.
26. Tealby LIN: *Taveles-*, *Tauele(s)bi* 1086, *Tablesberiis* 1090-1100 [1402], *Tauellesbury* 1154-89 [1409], *Teilebi* 1210.
27. Thornby NTH: *Torneberie* 1086, *Thirnebi* c. 1160.
28. Whitby CHE: *Witerberia* 1096-1101 [1150], *Witebi* 1188-91, *Quiteleye* 1291, *Whitby* 1402.

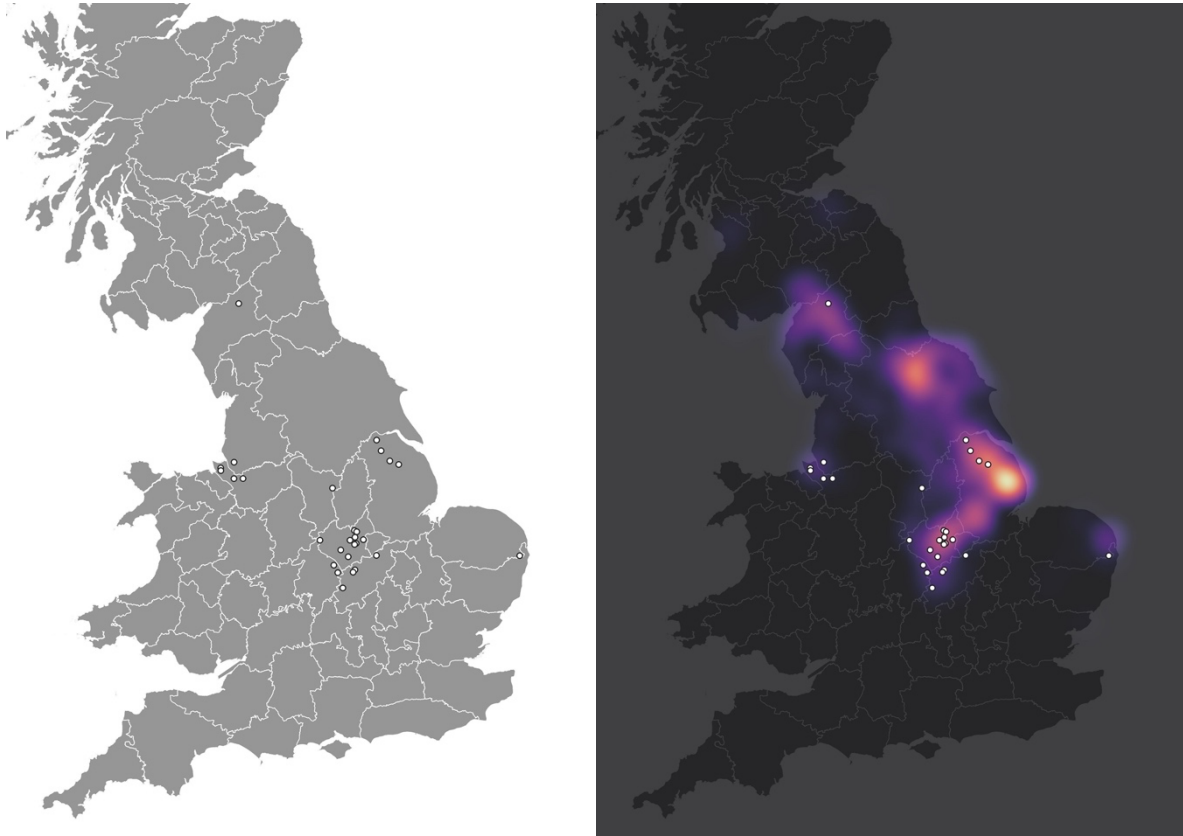


Figure 4.2: distribution of bý(r)-names that appear to have historical OE byrig-forms

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of case-study bý(r)-names</u>
Leicestershire	10	27.0
Lincolnshire	4	10.8
Northamptonshire	4	10.8
Cheshire	3	8.1
Warwickshire	2	5.4
Cumberland	1	2.8
Derbyshire	1	2.7
Lancashire	1	2.7
Norfolk	1	2.7
Totals:	28	75.6

Table 4.4: county totals of bý(r)-names that appear to have historical OE byrig-forms

4.2.3.2. Interchange with OE/ON *tūn/tún* Sub-Corpus

1. Alston CUM: *Aldeneby* 1164-71, *Aldenestoun* c. 1208.
2. Bleasby NOT: *Blisetune* 958 [14th], *Bleseby* 13th.
3. Coniston YOR: *Co(i)ningesbi* 1086, *Cuningeston* 1190.
4. Holdenby NTH: *Aldenesbi* 1086, ?*Aldenestone* 1086, *Haldenebi* 1169.
5. Leaston ELO: *villa de Laysynbi* 1294.
6. Thringstone LEI: *Trangesbi*, -by 1086, *Strengeston* c. 1160, *Threingesthorpe* 1276, *Threnkeston* 1332.
7. Smeaton MLO: *Smithetune* 1124-53, *Smithetun* 1150, *Smithebi* 1153-65, *Smithebi* 1154-59, *Smihet(un)* (sic) 1170, *Smetheby* 1232, *Smithetune* 1234.

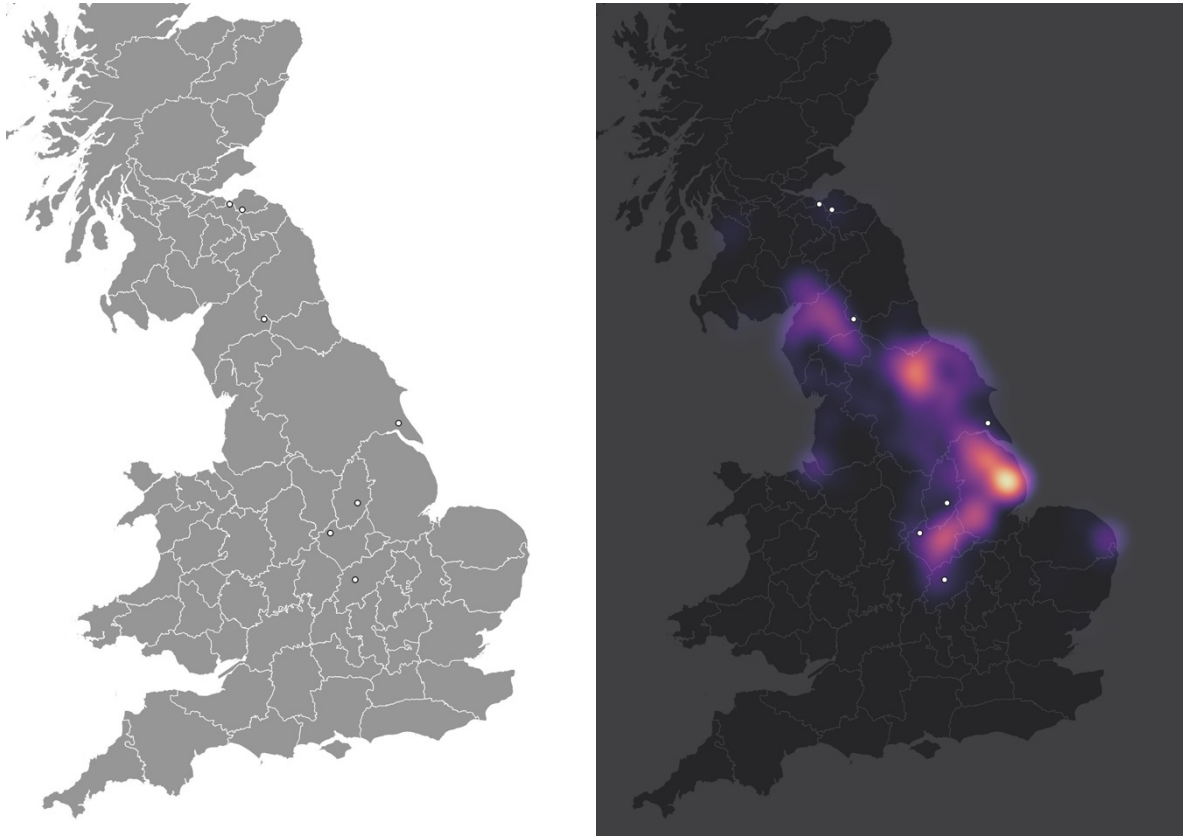


Figure 4.3: distribution of *bý(r)*-names that appear to have historical OE/ON *tūn/tún*-forms

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of case-study <i>bý(r)</i>-names</u>
Cumberland	1	2.7
Leicestershire	1	2.7
East Lothian	1	2.7
Midlothian	1	2.7
Northamptonshire	1	2.7
Nottinghamshire	1	2.7
Yorkshire	1	2.7
Totals:	7	18.9

Table 4.5: county totals of *bý(r)*-names that appear to have historical OE/ON *tūn/tún*-forms

4.2.3.3. Interchange with OE *lēah* Sub-Corpus

1. Helsby CHE: *Helesbe* 1086, *Ellesbi* 1185, *Hellesberie* 1189-99, *Helesby* 1217-29, *Hellesorhee* a. 1245, *Helysbi* 1240-49, *Hellesley* 1300.
2. Pensby CHE: *Penisby* c. 1229, *Penlisby* 1307, *Pennesley* 1438, *Pynnesby* 1522.
3. Whitby CHE: *Witerberia* 1096-1101 [1150], *Witebi* 1188-91, *Quiteleye* 1291, *Whitby* 1402.

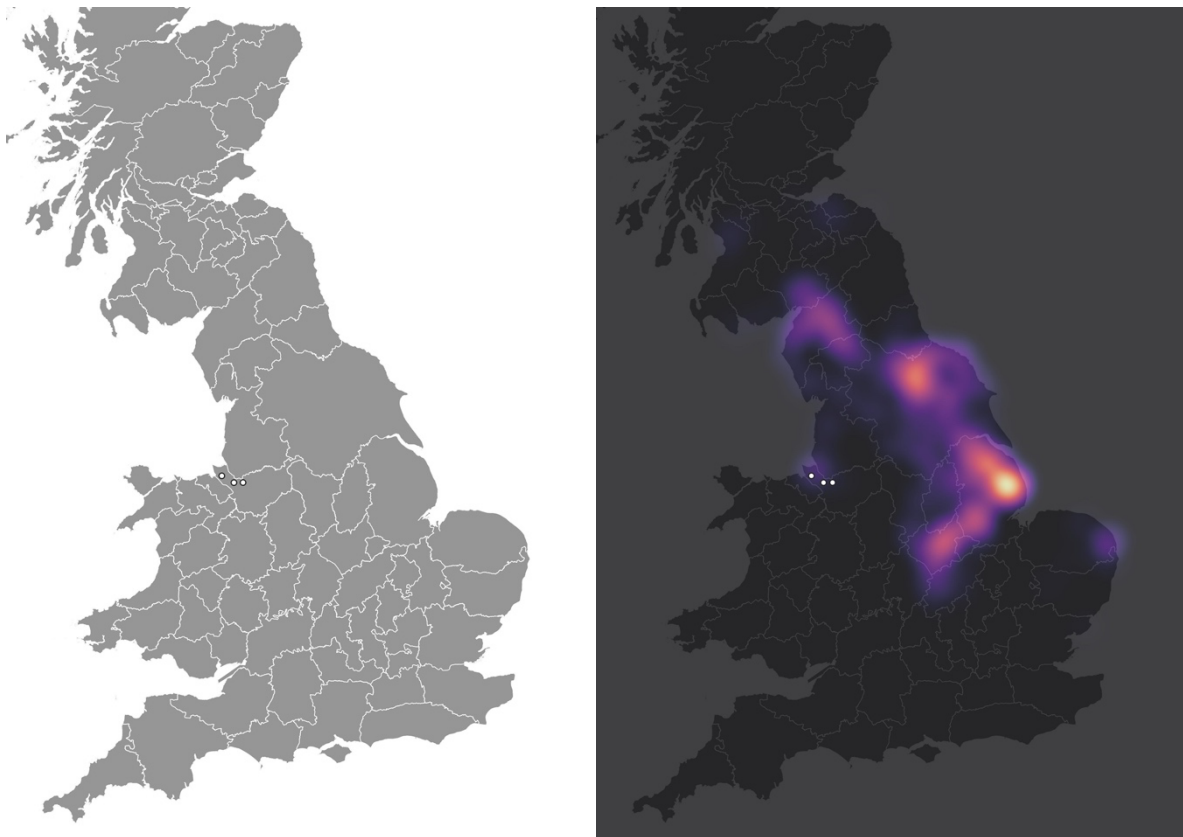


Figure 4.4: distribution of bý(r)-names that appear to have historical OE *lēah*-forms

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of case-study bý(r)-names</u>
Cheshire	3	8.1

Totals:	3	8.1
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Table 4.6: county totals of bý(r)-names that appear to have historical OE/ON OE *lēah*-forms

4.2.3.4. Interchange with ME *maner* and Latin *villa* Sub-Corpus

1. Scaleby CUM: *villa de Scales* c. 1180, *manerium de Scales* 1227, *Schalebery*, -by c. 1235, *Scaleby* c. 1245.

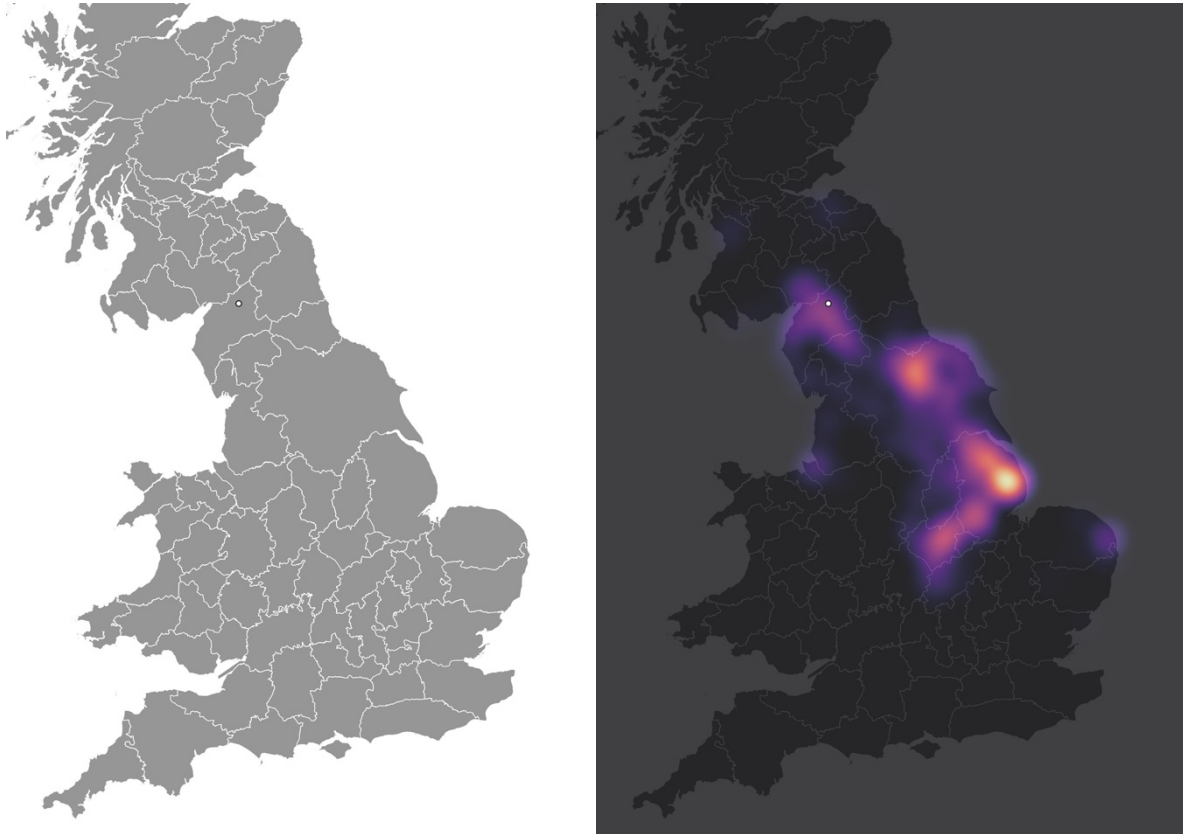


Figure 4.5: distribution of bý(r)-names that appear to have historical ME *maner*-/Latin *villa*-forms

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of case-study bý(r)-names</u>
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Cumberland	1	2.7
Totals:	1	2.7

Table 4.7: county totals of bý(r)-names that appear to have historical ME maner-/Latin villa-forms

4.2.3.5. Interchange with OE *stōw* Sub-Corpus

1. Normanby (Aslaoe Wap.) LIN: *Normanebi, Normanestouu, -stov* 1086, *Nordmanabi* 1115-18.

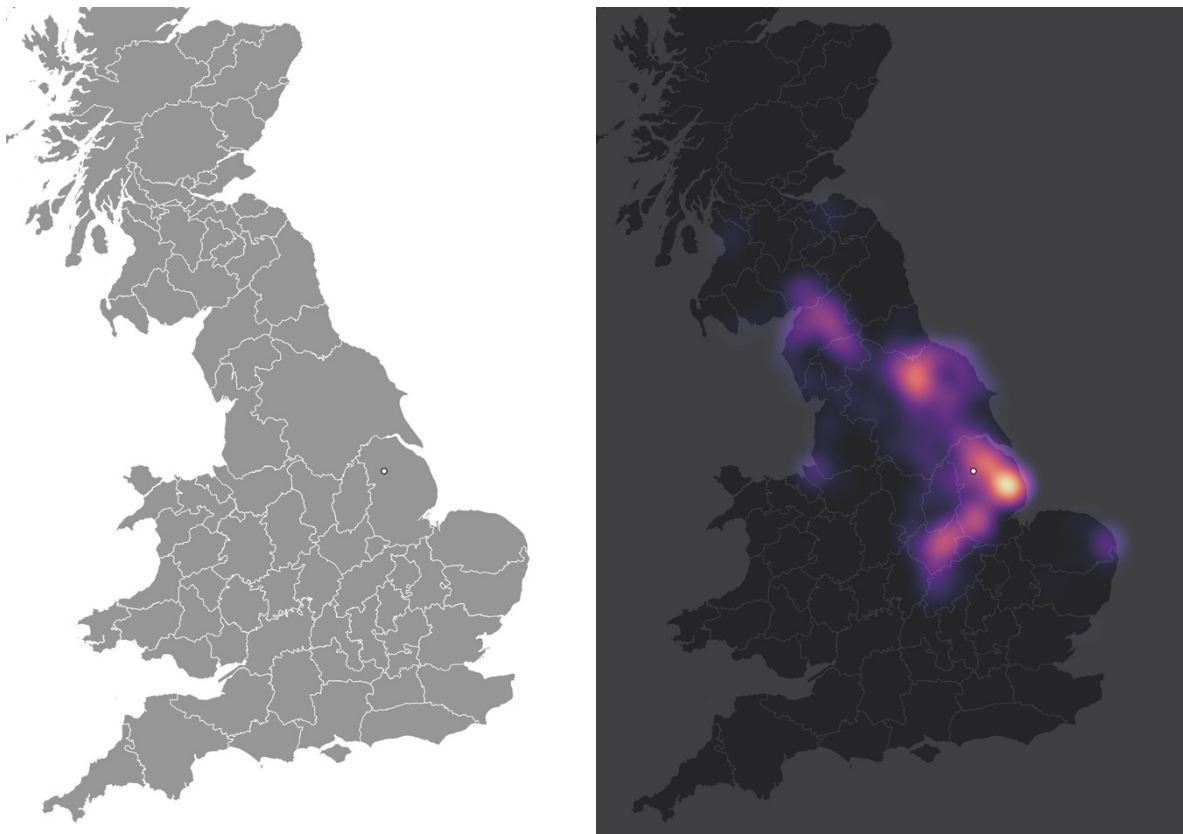


Figure 4.6: distribution of bý(r)-names that appear to have historical OE stōw-forms

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of case-study <i>bý(r)</i>-names</u>
Lincolnshire	1	2.7
Totals:	1	2.7

Table 4.8: county totals of *bý(r)*-names that appear to have historical OE *stōw*-forms

4.3.4.6. Interchange with OE *þrop*/ON *þorp* Sub-Corpus

1. Thringstone LEI: *Trangesbi*, -by 1086, *Strengeston* c. 1160, *Threingesthorpe* 1276, *Threnkeston* 1332.

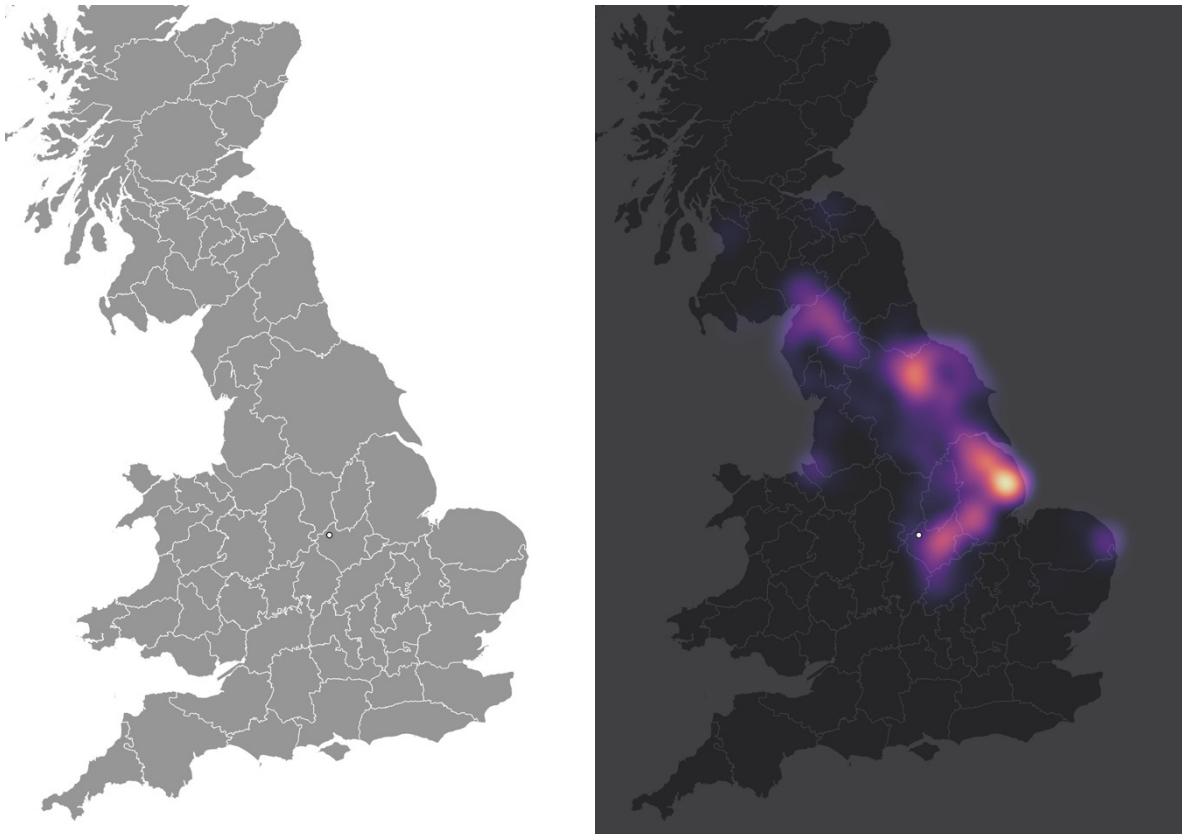


Figure 4.7: distribution of *bý(r)*-names that appear to have historical OE *þrop*/ON *þorp*-forms

<u>County</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of case-study <i>bý(r)</i>-names</u>
Leicestershire	1	2.7
Totals:	1	2.7

*Table 4.9: county totals of *bý(r)*-names that appear to have historical OE *þorp*/*ON þorp*-forms*

4.2.4. Summary

The generic elements interchange phenomena in the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus is a complicated topic affected by the elements involved, geography, and, though not yet discussed, the documentary sources the interchanges occur in. The analysis in this case-study of the interchange phenomena is split into three sections, based on the primary factors that seem to have caused them: semantics (Section 4.3.), phonology (Section 4.4.), and documentary conditions (Section 4.5.). In some instances of generic elements interchange one of these factors seems more dominant than the others; and in some instances a combination of these factors seem have been involved.

4.3. Analysis: Semantics

Old Norse *bý(r)* does not share an etymological background, or possibly even language of origin (but see discussion of OE *tūn*/ON *tún* below), with any of the other generic elements it appears to interchange with in the historical forms of 37 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. However, it does, to varying degrees, share a semantic space with the other elements as settlement-terms in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. This semantic overlap with the other elements is unique to the Anglo-Scandinavian reflex(es) of ON *bý(r)* in the early medieval Scandinavian-speaking world – the Old Norse element was used with such flexibility in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain that in her last published survey which analyses *bý(r)*-names Fellows-Jensen states ‘it would seem to have been used of every conceivable kind of settlement’ (see SSNNW 11).

The following discussion focuses on the relationships between ON *bý(r)* and OE *byrig*, OE *tūn*/ON *tún*, and OE *lēah* because semantics plays a role in the analysis of some *bý(r)*-names whose historical forms contain interchange between those elements. The relationships between ON *bý(r)* and ME *maner*, OE *stōw*, OE *þrop*/ON *þorp*, and Latin *villa* are not discussed here because semantics, outside of their shared status as settlement-terms, does not play a significant role in the analysis of *bý(r)*-names whose historical forms contain interchange between those elements. However, the *maner*-form and *villa*-form for Scaleby CUM may support the appropriateness of the *byrig*-form for the name (see below). Normanby LIN and its *stōw*-form are discussed in Section 4.5. with other Domesday Book forms; and the *þrop*/*þorp*-form for Thringstone LEI, a *bý(r)*-name whose post-Domesday Book *tūn*/*tún*-forms are discussed in this semantics section, is discussed with the other post-Domesday Book forms in Section 4.5.

4.3.1. Old English *byrig*

ON *bý(r)* interchanges by far most commonly with OE *byrig* in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, but the two elements do not directly share a semantic space. OE *burh*, to use its nominative headform, denoted a fortification of some kind – it is glossed by EPNE 1 58 as ‘a fortified place’ and by VEPN 2 74 as ‘a stronghold’. The two place-name element dictionaries provide a number of sub-meanings for OE *burh* that include: 1) ‘an Iron Age hill-fort, encampment’; 2) ‘a Roman station, camp’; 3) ‘an Anglo-Saxon or later medieval fort’; 4) ‘a (fortified) town’; 5) ‘a manor house’; and 6) ‘a market town, borough’.⁷⁶ The sub-meanings 4-6 are held to be, in general, post-Conquest developments, but Anglo-Saxon manors could be labelled a *burh*. VEPN 2 74 states that if a common characteristic is shared by pre-Conquest *burh*-sites, it may have been the presence of an outer wall, rampart, or fence. OE *burh* is cognate with ON *borg*, but the Old Norse element is not a factor to consider in this case-study because the Old English element appears in its diagnostic dative form *byrig* in the historical forms of *bý(r)*-names (see Section 4.4. below).

OE *burh* was, then, a specialised term for a type of place or settlement. ON *bý(r)* was, in its Anglo-Scandinavian context, a general settlement-term. However, the flexibility of ON *bý(r)* in Anglo-Scandinavian England means it could, and almost certainly was, used to form place-names for sites that could have been labelled using OE *burh* (or ON *borg*). Perhaps the prime example of this is Derby DER – the settlement was one of The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw and as such was a fortified place (see Stafford 1985: 47). However, Scandinavian-

⁷⁶ There may have been other uses of the element. Campbell (1979: 42-43) and Blair (2005: 249-51, 267-70, 285-89) draw attention to the possible association of OE *burh* with monastic sites. Draper (2008; 2009) also draws attention to this possible application of the element as part of a wide-ranging use of the element to denote ditched, fenced, hedged, and walled enclosures (see Draper 2008: 249).

speakers coined a *bý(r)*-name for the settlement. ON *borg* appears to have been available in the Anglo-Scandinavian toponymicon, but diagnostic examples of the element in Anglo-Scandinavian England are not common (see VEPN 1 128-29; Section 4.4.).

The interchange between ON *bý(r)* and OE *burh* in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names is to be explained primarily as a result of phonological overlap between ON *bý(r)* in its Anglo-Scandinavian reflex(es) and *burh* in its dative form *byrig*, which affects *bý(r)*-names in some parts of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain (see Sections 4.4., 4.5.). There are, however, three *bý(r)*-names whose *byrig*-forms carry semantic weight: Aldeby NOR, Badby NTH, and Scaleby CUM. Aldeby NOR and Badby NTH are the only two *bý(r)*-names in this case-study to have local archaeological evidence that suggests OE *byrig* in the sense ‘fortification’ would have been an appropriate label for the settlements; and Scaleby CUM may be an instance where its thirteenth-century *byrig*-form is accurate in a post-Conquest, manorial sense. These *bý(r)*-names are discussed below.

Aldeby NOR is not covered by the SEPN volumes currently available for Norfolk and Fellows-Jensen has not published an East Anglian survey to match her surveys of Yorkshire, the East Midlands, and the north-west. Because of this, discussion of the name has not matched that of the other English *bý(r)*-names in this case-study. Watts etymologises Aldeby NOR as an original Old English place-name **Ealdan-byrig* ‘the old fort’ whose generic element was later replaced by ON *bý(r)* (see CDEPN 6). This etymology places Aldeby NOR in a group of sixteen Oldbury-names in England that can be etymologised as a recurrent compound ‘the old fort, fortified place’ – VEPN 2 75 states that this compound is likely to have denoted prehistoric sites, particularly hill-forts if the situation is appropriate (see also

Gelling 1997: 143-45).⁷⁷ The label ‘the old fort, fortified place’ is also recurrent in Anglo-Saxon charters, including charter S495 in which Badby NTH is first attested. The boundary feature *þa ealdan burh æt baddan byrg* in charter S495 appears to be the feature Badby NTH takes its *byrig*-form from (see below). The Old English compound also occurs, with slight variation, in the bounds of charters S558, S647, S685, S830, S912, S955, and S1339.

Six of the Oldbury-names have been taken by place-name scholars to denote Iron Age hill-forts, Roman settlements, camps, or other earthworks at or near the settlements that bear the names. These are: the Roman town of *ISVRIVM*, now Aldborough YOR (see CDEPN 6; PNWRY 1 80); Scots Dyke and other entrenchments at Aldborough St John YOR (see CDEPN 6; PNNRY 296); the Romano-British camp located 2.7km south of Albury SUR (see CDEPN 6; PNSur 219); the camp at Oldbury WAR (see CDEPN 450; PNWar 92); the hill-fort at the site of Oldbury Castle WIL (see CDEPN 450; PNWil 262); and the camp located in the north of Oldbury-on-Severn GLO parish (see CDEPN 450; PNGlo 3 8).⁷⁸ Aldeby NOR itself is situated between two East Anglian Oldbury-names. Aldborough NOR (*Aldeburg* 1086) is located 48.8km to its north, and Aldeburg SUF (*Aldeburc* 1086) is located 36.5km to its south. There is no evidence for the fortified places these place-names appear to have referred to, but Briggs and Kilpatrick (2013: 1) state that any such site at Aldeburgh SUF may have been lost to coastal erosion.

⁷⁷ The personal name OE *Eald(a)* is formally possible as the specific element of Oldbury-names and has been suggested in some instances (see Briggs 2021: 110-11; CDEPN 450). It is also formally possible as the specific element of the five other Oldby-names in the Anglo-Scandinavian *by(r)*-names corpus. The adjective OE *eald* ‘old’ is more likely the specific element of both groups of names because they are so recurrent, and it is highly unlikely that a monothematic Old English personal name would recur as the specific element of Oldby-names. There are 12 parallel Newby-names in the Anglo-Scandinavian *by(r)*-names corpus whose distribution closely matches that of the Oldby-names.

⁷⁸ In PNShr 1 226, Gelling also takes Oldbury SHR to be named after a prehistoric construction atop nearby Panpudding Hill. However, in PNShr 7 247, Baker notes that current evidence indicates the earthwork at the site is in fact a post-Conquest construction.

There are also no identified earthworks or fortifications in the immediate vicinity of Aldeby NOR. However, the modern settlement is situated at the foot of a notable hill named Round Hill whose top features the remains of a twelfth-century Benedictine Priory and Aldeby Hall, an eighteenth-century house which encloses a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century timber-framed house (see Pevsner 1962: 178-79; VCH NOR 2 328). The hill was evidently an important site for centuries. Gelling (1997: 143) states that if a *burh/byrig*-name is situated on a hill ‘it is virtually certain to contain the element in its archaeological sense’, i.e. denoting a hill-fort, and usually also does if the *burh/byrig*-name is at the foot of a ‘defended hill’. It seems probable that Aldeby NOR, situated at the foot of Round Hill, once fell into the latter category.

The *bý(r)*-forms for Aldeby NOR, *Aldeby* c. 1180 onward, assimilate the place-name to the recurrent Anglo-Scandinavian Oldby-name compounds that probably contain OE *eald* ‘old’ as their specific elements (see Footnote 77). The five Oldby-names are: Aldby (Cleator) CUM (*Aldeby* 1278); Aldby (Dacre) CUM (*Aldebi* 1203); Aldbyfield CUM (*Aldbyfeld* 1485); *Aldeby* 1479 CUM; and Aldeby St. John LEI (*Aldeby* 1154-89). They are almost entirely a Cumberland phenomenon, with Aldeby St John LEI a southerly outlier whose name appears to denote an abandoned village 1.7km east of Enderby LEI (see PNLei 6 87). The 14 corresponding Newby-names, hybrid constructions of OE *nīwe* ‘new’ + ON *bý(r)*, also have a northerly distribution – they occur in Cumberland, Dumfriesshire, Westmorland, and Yorkshire. That Newby-names and Oldby-names are, with the exception of Aldeby St John LEI, a northern phenomenon supports the physical evidence of Round Hill to favour Aldeby NOR as an original Old English Oldbury-name whose generic element was later scandinavianised.

Because of archaeological evidence and its probable inclusion in a recurrent compound in English place-names, Badby NTH can also be favoured as an original *byrig*-name whose

generic element was scandinavianised. Badby NTH is first attested in Anglo-Saxon charter S495, dated 944, in which it is named both *baddan byr(i)g* and *baddan by* (see Section 4.5.). It is next attested as *Badebi* 1086 in Domesday Book (although a purported pre-Domesday Book *Badebi* 1020 [14th] survives in a fourteenth-century copy) and there are no *byrig*-forms attested outside of charter S495. Nevertheless, PNNth 13 etymologises Badby NTH as ‘Badda’s *burh*’, with the personal name OE *Badda*, and states that its generic element was replaced by ON *by(r)* ‘owing to Scandinavian influence’. Fellows-Jensen includes Badby NTH in her survey of East Midlands *by(r)*-names because its first *by(r)*-forms and *byrig*-forms are concurrent. However, she notes that Badby NTH belongs to a group of place-names that can or have been etymologised as ‘Badda’s *burh*’ and that their specific elements may in fact be pre-English. The group Fellows-Jensen identifies otherwise comprises Badbury Hill BRK, Badbury DOR, Badbury WIL, Baumber LIN, and a field-name *Badbury* in Oxfordshire (see SSNEM 12).

The Badbury-names are associated with the sites of historical fortified places. Badbury Clump and Rings DOR ((*æt*) *Baddan byrig* e. 10th) is associated with a Romano-British hill-fort; and the place-name appears to be a substitution by English-speakers for the original British name for the place *Vindocladia*, *-gladia* recorded in the Antonine Itinerary. The etymology of *Vindocladia*, *-gladia* is ‘(the town with) the white ditches’, a reference to the chalk which the hill-fort exposed (see PNDor 2 177). Badbury WIL (*Baddeburi* 955 [14th], *Baddeberi* 1197) has been taken to refer to the fourth-/fifth-century hill-fort now called Liddington Castle, 1.3km to the south-east of modern Badbury WIL (see CDEPN 30; PNWil 281); and Badbury Hill BRK (*Badbery Hill* 1539), though late-attested, also refers to a prehistoric hill-fort (see PNBrk 2 362). In PNBrk 2 362 Gelling notes that the field named *Badbury* in Clanfield OXF (not listed in the field-names for Clanfield OXF in PNOxf 2 313-14) has been identified as a site where the remains of an ancient enclosure are visible in aerial

photographs. There is no physical evidence for a former fortified place at Baumber LIN (*Badeburg* 1086), but its location fills a gap in a series of fortifications which formed a defensive line for the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Lindsey (see Cox 1997-98: 30-31).

Badby NTH can also be associated with a site once perceived to be a historical fortified place. In charter S495 two separate features are named ‘the old *burh*’, a very recurrent compound in English place-names (see above). The first is Borough Hill in Daventry NTH (see PNNth 19); and the second is *þa ealdan burh æt baddan byrg*, i.e. ‘the old *burh* at Badby’, which is probably to be associated with what PNNth 13 identifies as ‘the prehistoric camp on Arbury Hill’. What was for centuries identified as a hill-fort atop Arbury Hill was revealed by excavations in the 1920s to in fact comprise ‘ramparts’ caused by soil-creep and ‘ditches’ created by natural drainage gulleys (see RCHME NTH 3 8-9). However, that the ‘hill-fort’ at Arbury Hill is not real is not a barrier to it having been labelled **Baddan-byrig* by Old English-speakers because the natural features would have been easily confused with the types of prehistoric remains that gave rise to the other Badbury-names.

The specific element of Badby NTH and the other Badbury-names has been the subject of discussion. Ekwall (1960: 21) suggests that the personal name *Badda* may have referred to a legendary hero who was associated with ‘ancient camps’; and in PNDor 2 177 Mills states that the fact this personal name would probably have been derived from OE *beadu* ‘war’ supports this suggestion. However, Mills notes that historians have taken Badbury Clump and Rings DOR (and Badbury WIL) to be the possible site of the battle of *Mons Badonicus*, where the sixth-century historian Gildas states an army of Britons defeated Saxon invaders in c. 500. In line with this theory, Old English **Baddan-* is perhaps an anglicisation of that place-name (see PNDor 2 177-78). In VEPN 2 36, Parsons and Styles note that Coates (1988) argues for an OE **bade* as the etymon of ME *badde* ‘bad, worthless, evil’ and that this element may underlie the Badbury-names.

The Badbury-names are comparable in this regard to English Cadbury-names. Cadbury DEV (*Cadeberie* 1086), Cadbury GLO (no pre-1500 historical forms), and South Cadbury SOM (*Svcadeberie* 1086) are also all attached to hill-fort sites and have been etymologised with the personal name *Cada* (see CDEPN 108; PNDev 2 559). Watts states that it is unlikely the same personal name would recur in *byrig*-names with distinctive sites by chance, and he suggests that ‘we should probably consider that *Cada* was a traditional figure of myth or folklore’ (see CDEPN 108). Carroll and Parsons (2007: 60) note this possibility and alternatively suggest that the Old English **Cadan*- which appears to form the specific element of Cadbury-names could reflect re-analysis of pre-existing British names, particularly involving British **catu*- ‘battle’ because of the association with hill-forts.

The Badbury-names and Cadbury-names, then, form a group of English place-names whose specific elements are uncertain but whose etymologies are with consensus held to relate to battle or legendary figures in some way because of their recurrence and association with the sites of hill-forts and other encampments. Regardless of what the specific element of Badby NTH (and the other Badbury-names) is, the proximity of the settlement to Arbury Hill which contains a feature probably identified as an *ealdan burh* in charter S495 and the recurrence of the Old English place-name **Baddan-byrig* is compelling evidence for Badby NTH as an original *byrig*-name that was scandinavianised.

The probable original name for Badby NTH is recorded in a tenth-century charter, a product of the settlement being situated in a part of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain covered by the literary output of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex (see Section 4.5.). Without this early evidence the only suggestion an original Old English **Baddan-byrig* underlie the *by(r)*-name would be its specific element. This might suggest that more Anglo-Scandinavian *by(r)*-names are scandinavianisations of *byrig*-names whose original forms are lost to the historical record.

The semantic discussion of Scaleby CUM is distinct from that of Aldeby NOR and Badby NTH because it does not involve any archaeological evidence, nor does it involve OE *byrig* in its original ‘fortification’ sense. Rather, it involves its later ‘manorial’ sense. Scaleby CUM is first attested as *villa de Scales* c. 1180, next as *manerium de Scales* 1227, and then as *Schalebery, -by* c. 1235. All subsequent attestations are *bý(r)*-forms. PNCum 1 106 etymologises Scaleby CUM as ‘[*bý(r)*] near the shielings’, with ON *skáli* ‘a shieling’ as its specific element, and the editors note the interchange between ON *bý(r)* and OE *byrig* ‘after the fashion of certain early forms in the Danelaw’. They do not directly comment on the earliest forms. Fellows-Jensen states that if the earliest two forms are reliable then the *bý(r)*-name replaced an earlier simplex place-name ME **Scales* ‘the shieling-huts’ (see SSNNW 39). She does not comment on the *byrig*-form in this discussion. However, earlier in SSNNW 13 she considers it is a notable substitution because the normal form of the Old English element in Lancashire and the Lake District is the nominative OE *burh*, and she does not treat it as authentic.

An alternative suggestion made here is that the *Schalebery* c. 1235 form is authentic, if not as an original formation then as a scribal error that is semantically appropriate for the site. The c. 1180 *villa*-form and 1227 *maner*-form for Scaleby CUM clearly indicate that Scaleby CUM was a manor in the post-Conquest period. In this context, OE *byrig* in a thirteenth-century ‘manorial’ sense is an appropriate generic element for the settlement-name if it expanded from a simplex name to a compound name. The possibility that the *villa*-form and *maner*-form are translations of an original **Scale(s)-byrig* formation in Medieval Latin and Medieval French documents is a possibility, but there is no evidence for it. However, a scribe familiar with Scaleby CUM as a manor could reasonably have mistaken ON *bý(r)* for OE *byrig*. Despite Fellows-Jensen’s statement that OE *burh* is the usual form of the element in the Lake District, there are pre-1500 *byrig*-forms for the Cumberland-names Ellenborough

(*Alenbury* c. 1300) and High Nentsberry CUM (*Nentesbiry*, *-byry* 1285 (see PNCum 2 284-85; PNCum 1 175).

4.3.2. Old English *tūn*/Old Norse *tún*

Semantic overlap is the primary factor to consider in an analysis of the seven Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names in whose historical forms ON *bý(r)* has been taken to interchange with OE *tūn*. There is clearly no phonological relationship between the two elements to consider. Rather, the relationship between ON *bý(r)* and OE *tūn* is one of a shared semantic space as the most common, general terms for ‘a settlement’ in the Old Norse and Old English toponymicons of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain (see EPNE 1 66; EPNE 2 188). This shared semantic space could have caused multiple forms of a settlement-name to arise, place-names to have been adapted in a mixed speech community, or scribal variations and errors to occur. Interchange between ON *bý(r)* and OE *tūn* in the historical forms of six *bý(r)*-names is complicated by the existence of the cognate ON *tún*, from which the Old English element is phonologically and orthographically indistinguishable.

The OE *tūn*/ON *tún* issue was recognised early in English place-name scholarship – in EPNE 2 192-93, for example, Smith states that it is ‘a special problem’ – but the Old Norse element has in general not been treated as a major factor to consider in the etymologies of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names. This is primarily because ON *tún* has been taken by to be more strongly a feature of the Old West Norse (broadly ‘Norwegian’) toponymicon than the Old East Norse (broadly ‘Danish’) toponymicon; and the majority of Scandinavian settlers in Anglo-Scandinavian England have been taken to be ‘Danish’ (see Chapter One, Section 1.3.2.). ON *tún* has been given more consideration in the areas of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain where settlement by Old West Norse-speakers is taken to have occurred. For example, in her

study of the north-west, Fellows-Jensen states that settlement there was different to the ‘Danish’ conditions of the east of England and that it must be determined whether ON *tún* was introduced by ‘Norwegian’ settlers (see SSNNW 182-83); and Dodgson states that ON *tún* ‘might be thought to be preferable’ to OE *tūn* in Cheshire-names whose specific elements are Scandinavian (see PNChe 5:2 233).

The conditions of OE *tūn* and ON *tún* in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names have been reconsidered in more recent scholarship. So-called Grimston-/Toton-hybrids, Anglo-Scandinavian place-names generally held to be ON personal name + OE *tūn* formations, have been a focus point. They have commonly been interpreted as Anglo-Saxon estates taken over by Scandinavian settlers (and perhaps partially re-named), but Parsons (2001: 308-09) notes that, if this were the case, it is strange that there are not comparable groups with other Old English habitative generic elements such as OE *hām*, OE *wīc*, and OE *worð*. He suggests, as possible explanations for this, that Scandinavian settlers may have adopted OE *tūn* into their toponymicon in the sense ‘English village’, and coined place-names with it, or that Old English-speakers coined Grimston-/Toton-hybrids to denote estates held by Scandinavian landowners.

There may be a simple explanation for the apparent regular recurrence of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names that contain OE *tūn* as their generic elements. If Grimston-/Toton-hybrids are indeed hybrids, formed by Old Norse-speakers and/or Old English-speakers, their commonality may simply reflect that OE *tūn* was ubiquitous as the primary, general settlement-term by the time of Scandinavian settlement in England. In comparison to the other elements Parsons (2001) highlights, OE *hām* is held to belong to the early period of English settlement in Britain and to have later lost currency (see EPNE 1 227; Gelling 1997: 112); and OE *wīc* and OE *worð* are more specialised terms for types of settlements (see EPNE 2 257, 273). Scandinavian-speakers who encountered English estates and nucleated

settlements from the late ninth century onward are most likely to have encountered places labelled with OE *tūn*.

The alternative possibility, to return to the issue here, is that some or all of the Grimston-/Toton-hybrids – and other Anglo-Scandinavian place-names that have been held to contain OE *tūn* as their generic elements – in fact contain a reflex of ON *tún*. Townend (2013: 188) addresses this possibility in response to Parsons's (2001) theories because he notes that some Grimston-/Toton-hybrids contain an Old Norse genitive *-s* in their historical forms, which he takes to suggest they are Old Norse constructions, and the issue of why this hybridisation should disproportionately affect *tūn*-names remains unresolved. Townend (2013: 118-19) proposes an alternative theory: rather than representing partial scandinavianisations of pre-existing *tūn*-names or hybrid constructions, Grimston-/Toton-hybrids and other such types could reflect recurrent re-naming of any pre-existing English place-name under the formula 'X's *tún*'; and that these names could contain the Old Norse element in the sense 'English village', or 'English village transferred into Scandinavian lordship', or, even more specifically, 'English village transferred into Scandinavian lordship and now assuming a new, nucleated form'.

The issues with possible hybrid Anglo-Scandinavian *tūn*-names that Townend (2013) highlights can be addressed. Genitive constructions written as *-es-* and *-s-* in eleventh century documents or later are not a reliable guide for the original use of the genitives OE *-es* or ON *-s* in place-name constructions. Multiple *bý(r)*-names that relatively securely contain Old Norse personal names exhibit genitive *-es-* in their historical forms. Thoraldby YOR, for example, which is in the North Riding of Yorkshire and contains the personal name ON *Þóraldr* as its specific element, is first attested as *Toro(l)des-*, *Turoldesbi* 1086. The linguistic and geographical conditions of Thoraldby YOR strongly favour it as a construction formed by Scandinavian-speakers, but its genitive inflection is 'English' in its written forms. This,

and other instances, could reflect anglicisation in English historical records, or it could reflect a natural process by which svarabhakti vowels appeared in phonologically challenging consonant clusters created by compound place-name formations. The second issue Townend (2013) highlights, the apparent commonality of hybrid *tūn*-names compared to other hybrids, is best addressed as above: OE *tūn* was ubiquitous as a term for ‘a settlement’ in England during the period of Scandinavian settlement.

It is outside the scope of this case-study, and indeed this thesis, to fully explore the nature of OE *tūn*/ON *tún* in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names. A future study of these names, in tandem with instances of OE personal name + OE *tūn* constructions outside the areas of historical Scandinavian settlement in Britain, is required; and Townend’s (2013) theory that Grimston-/Toton-hybrids in particular could reflect a formulaic use of ON *tún* should be considered. It is a radical theory, however, given the ubiquity of OE *tūn* in English place-names, and so a more cautious approach will be taken in this case-study. Here, it is accepted that reflexes of ON *tún* probably occur in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names and that these occurrences are not limited to areas associated with ‘Norwegian’ settlers. However, it is also accepted here that we cannot be confident which groups of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names, or even which specific instances on a name-by-name basis, contain the Old English or Old Norse elements.

This uncertainty is not unique among Anglo-Scandinavian place-name elements to OE *tūn*/ON *tún*. It affects many other Old English/Old Norse cognate elements that are phonologically and orthographically difficult or impossible to distinguish in historical place-name forms. The most appropriate comparison for this case-study, as a settlement-term which interchanges with ON *by(r)* in Thringstone LEI, is OE *þrop*/ON *þorp* (not least because the Old English element also occurs in the form *þorp*). Cullen, Jones, and Parsons (2011: 28-32) establish primarily geographical parameters for the division of Old English and Old Norse

examples of the elements in their analysis of *þrop/þorp*-names in England, but note the difficulties of overlap in historical forms; the possibility that some *þrop/þorp*-names in Anglo-Scandinavian England pre-date Scandinavian settlement; and the possibility in the Midlands particularly of linguistic drift of the Old Norse element from areas of Scandinavian settlement to ‘English’ areas.

A variation of the linguistic drift theory for *þrop/þorp*-names for this case-study could be termed ‘semantic drift’. It is meant by this that ON *tún* was probably adapted in its meaning(s) by Scandinavian-speakers in Britain who encountered Old English *tūn*-names, different types of settlements in Britain compared to Scandinavia, and the application of OE *tūn* by English-speakers to those settlements. If Fellows-Jensen is correct that ON *tún* had lost its currency in Denmark by the time of Scandinavian settlement in England (see SSNEM 175-76), then Scandinavian-speakers from areas encompassed by the modern country could have had the element re-invigorated in their toponymicon through exposure to OE *tūn* in England. The application of settlement-terms is determined by the conditions of settlement, and many settlement-terms are demonstrably flexible. All previous scholars, to varying degrees, accept that ON *by(r)* was adapted into its Anglo-Scandinavian context (see Chapter One, Section 1.3.2.). It is perfectly reasonable to suggest that ON *tún* was too, and that the exposure of Scandinavian-speakers to the use of OE *tūn* by English-speakers as a settlement-term was the primary factor in this adaptation.

In sum, it is held here that ON *tún* probably underlies some of the Anglo-Scandinavian place-names that have, in general, previously been held to contain OE *tūn* as their generic elements; and that OE *tūn*/ON *tún* would have shared a semantic space in the toponymicon(s) of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain through exposure. What numbers of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names contain the Old English and Old Norse elements is uncertain because the elements are indistinguishable, but a large-scale study of *tūn/tún*-names may offer further

insights. For the purposes of this case-study, it will be said that in the historical forms of six Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names ON *bý(r)* interchanges with OE *tūn*/ON *tún*. Because their hybridity is uncertain, the group of names previously held to be ON personal name + OE *tūn* constructions will be labelled ‘Grimston-/Toton-names’. The six Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that have historical *tūn/tún*-forms are discussed below.

Four of the seven *bý(r)*-names that have historical *tūn/tún*-forms may fall into the Grimston-/Toton-names group of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names. Those four *bý(r)*-names are distinct from the main body of the Grimston-/Toton-names corpus because they also have historical *bý(r)*-forms. It is uncertain whether ON *bý(r)* or OE *tūn*/ON *tún* formed their original specific elements, and this uncertainty is a semantic issue because of the overlap between the elements as general settlement-terms in Anglo-Scandinavian. Up to four names ‘may’ belong to the Grimston-/Toton-names group because the specific elements of Bleasby NOT and Thringstone LEI are uncertain.

Bleasby NOT contains either the personal name ON *Blesi* as its specific element or the noun ON *blesi* ‘white spot, blaze, bare spot of ground’ from which the personal name is derived (see PNNot 155; SSNEM 37). The same element(s) seems to occur in Bleasby LIN (*Blase-*, *Bles(e)bi* 1086). Thringstone LEI has been etymologised with the otherwise unattested personal name ON **Præingr* derived from ON *þrár* ‘obstinate’ which is formally suitable but, in the context of this thesis, is not relatively secure (see PNLei 7 70; SSNEM 75). The *tūn/tún*-form for Bleasby NOT occurs in a fourteenth-century copy of a purported tenth-century form, and so the interchange is best discussed in the documentary sources section of this case-study (see Section 4.5.). However, the interchange in the historical forms of Thringstone LEI may represent a semantic issue.

In PNLei 7 70, Cox states that the *bý(r)*-form for Thringstone LEI is ‘presumably an error of the [Anglo-Norman] scribe’. This is a different stance to that which he takes for the Leicestershire *bý(r)*-names with Domesday Book *byrig*-forms (see below), and it is because of local context. He states that Thringstone LEI, Ravenstone LEI, and Snibstone LEI ‘[form] an area of early Scandinavian appropriation of English settlements’; and notes that only three other *bý(r)*-names occur in the periphery of East Goscote Hundred in Ashby de la Zouch LEI parish, with Ashby de la Zouch LEI and Blackfordby LEI having ‘English specifics’ and the three *bý(r)*-names ‘[appearing] to be late constructions’. This explanation may not be as sound as Cox suggests. His ‘Scandinavian appropriation’ theory for Thringstone LEI, Ravenstone LEI, and Snibstone LEI raises the uncertain Grimston-/Toton-names hybridity issue discussed above. Indeed, Ravenstone LEI (*Ravenestun* 1086) may not be a Grimston-/Toton-name – Cox etymologises it with the personal name ON *Hrafn* (see PNLei 7 179), but an OE personal name **Hræfn* or the common nouns OE *hræfn*/ON *hrafn* ‘a raven’ from which the personal names derive are formally possible as its specific element.

More significantly, from a semantic viewpoint at least, is whether the location of Thringstone LEI counts against it as an original *bý(r)*-name. Ravenstone LEI and Snibstone LEI form a parish and are located c. 4km south-southwest of Thringstone LEI, but Ashby de la Zouch LEI is only 6.6km to the west of Thringstone LEI. Kilwardby LEI survives only as a street-name in Ashby de la Zouch LEI, and Blackfordby LEI is a further 3.3km to the north-west. While Blackfordby LEI (*Blakefordb*’ c.1130) appears to contain an OE place-name **blæc-ford* ‘the black ford’ as its specific element (see PNLei 7 14; SSNEM 37), Kilwardby LEI (*Culverteb*’ c. 1130) belongs to a group of four *bý(r)*-names whose specific elements are uncertain but have been held to be an ON personal name **Ketilfrið* (see Insley 1994: 283-84; SSNEM 57). Ashby de la Zouch LEI (*Ascebi* 1086) has been held to contain OE *æsc* ‘ash-tree’ by previous scholars (see PNLei 7 7; SSNEM 32), but may contain the cognate ON

askr. With further Leicestershire *bý(r)*-names to its south and Derbyshire *bý(r)*-names to its north, Thringstone LEI is not as isolated from other settlements with *bý(r)*-names as Cox implies.

The evidence available points to Thringstone LEI as an original *bý(r)*-name whose generic element was later substituted by OE *tūn*/ON *tún*. The burden of proof lies with the alternative. A scribal error is possible, but there is no phonological overlap to consider, which favours some Leicestershire *bý(r)*-names with Domesday Book *byrig*-forms as original *bý(r)*-names (see below). It seems probable that the generic element of Thringstone LEI was altered by its proximity to Ravenstone LEI and Snibstone LEI. In Leicestershire *tūn/tún*-names with Old Norse specific elements are common (see PNLei 8 120-21). If Thringstone LEI was perceived to have an Old Norse personal name as its specific element, which the consistent genitive *-(e)s-* in its historical forms supports, it seems reasonable to suggest it assimilated a *tūn/tún*-name in its local context and in a county where the semantic overlap between ON *bý(r)* and OE *tūn*/ON *tún* in Anglo-Scandinavian society may have been particularly strong.

Two of the possible Grimston-/Toton-names, Alston CUM and Holdenby NTH, do relatively securely contain Old Norse personal names as their specific elements, and in both instances that personal name is ON *Halfdan*. Alston CUM is first attested with a *bý(r)*-form, *Aldeneby* 1164-71, and next with the *tūn/tún*-form *Aldenestoun* 1208. All subsequent historical forms for Alston CUM contain OE *tūn*/ON *tún*. Previous scholars have treated the name differently. In PNCum 1 172, the editors of the Cumberland survey denote Alston CUM as ‘an outlying member of the group of names in [*bý(r)*], of which Gamblesby [CUM], Glassonby [CUM] and Melmerby [CUM] are the best recorded examples’. The editors discuss the documentary conditions of the *bý(r)*-form and first *tūn/tún*-form, whose variance appears to have caused a legal challenge over the identity of the settlement, but evidently classify Alston CUM as a *bý(r)*-name. In SSNNW 25, Fellows-Jensen favours a replacement

theory for the place-name. She states that a Scandinavian place-name replaced a pre-existing Old English *tūn*-name wholly in the first form and partially in later forms, although she notes the possibility an original *bý(r)*-name ‘has been partially anglicised in the later forms cannot be ruled out’.

Fellows-Jensen’s theory cannot be ruled out as a possibility, but it less favourable as a starting point for Alston CUM than the proposal that it is an original *bý(r)*-name whose generic element was substituted by OE *tūn*/ON *tún*. This is simply because its historical forms suggest that that is what occurred (see discussion of Thringstone LEI above). There is no evidence for the specific element of the Old English *tūn*-name Fellows-Jensen proposes the *bý(r)*-name replaced in the historical forms of Alston CUM, so the only reasonable alternative to suggest is that Alston CUM is an original Grimston-/Toton-name whose generic element was influenced by the proximity of the settlement to nearby settlements with *bý(r)*-names.

Alston CUM is the most easterly *bý(r)*-name in Cumberland, with Gamblesby CUM the closest other example, 13.1km to the south-west in a cluster of 11 *bý(r)*-names which itself is peripheral to the main cluster around Carlisle. This situation could be used to argue for the influence of a *bý(r)*-names cluster on a nearby *tūn/tún*-name with an Old Norse personal name as its specific element, or the replacement of ON *bý(r)* in a peripheral position by the other general settlement-term in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. An alternative theory, not explored by previous scholars, is that the generic element of Alston CUM, as an original *bý(r)*-name, was influenced by the forms of the other settlements in the two documents it is first attested in. Alston CUM is listed as property of two other settlements, one of which bore a *tūn/tún*-name (see Section 4.5.).

The specific element of Holdenby NTH is the same as Alston CUM, but the interchange between ON *bý(r)* and OE *tūn*/ON *tún* is quite different. Holdenby NTH appears

to be first attested with Domesday Book forms that contain both elements, *Aldenesbi*, *-tone* 1086, and it is next attested as *Aldenebi* 1184. All subsequent historical forms for Alston CUM contain ON *bý(r)*. It ‘appears’ to be first attested with both generic elements because the *tūn/tún*-form is uncertainly attached to Holdenby NTH – the forms appear in separate sections of the Northamptonshire Domesday Book survey, but the lands attached to those forms collectively comprise the usual four hides of a Domesday Book vill (see VCH NTH 1 328, 378). PNNth 86 states that if the *Aldenestoun* 1086 form provided in VCH NTH 1 is for Holdenby NTH we may have a variant form of this name with second element [*tūn*]. Fellows-Jensen does not provide the *tūn/tún*-form in her analysis of East Midlands *bý(r)*-names (see SSNEM 54).

The personal name ON *Halfdan* is not common in the place-names of the Anglo-Scandinavian border counties. The only other relatively secure instances are the field-names *Haldeneclough* 1290 in Derbyshire – etymologised by Cameron in PNDer 1 71 as an Old English construction *halh* ‘nook of land’ + *denu* ‘valley’ + *clōh* ‘ravine, valley, dell’, but corrected by him in PNDer 3 vi to ON *Halfdan* + OE *clōh* – and *Haldeynisbroch* 13th, 1207-72 in Leicestershire (see PNLei 3 224). This, coupled with the fact that the land encompassed by *Aldenesbi* and *Aldenestone* comprise the usual size of a vill assessed in Domesday Book, suggests they are the same place. A possibility, noted by VCH NTH 1 328, is that *Aldenestone* was just part of Holdenby NTH. In this interpretation, a land-unit labelled OE *tūn*/ON *tún* was part of the Holdenby NTH estate, and both units almost certainly took their specific elements from the personal name of the same man.

If the *Aldenesbi*, *-tone* 1086 forms record two names for the estate of Holdenby NTH, and not in the case of the *tūn/tún*-name a smaller land-unit within it, then they may represent the clearest example among the six Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names with historical *tūn/tún*-forms of semantic overlap between the settlement-terms causing variants of the same place-

name to emerge. In this instance, a reflex of OE *tūn* could probably be favoured as the generic element of the *Aldenestone* form, used by local English-speakers, and ON *bý(r)* as the generic element of the *Aldenesbi* form, used by local Scandinavian-speakers. That Northamptonshire is an Anglo-Scandinavian border county bisected by the Alfred-Guðrum boundary favours it as an area where such a linguistic process, recorded in Domesday Book before being lost to the historical record, could have occurred.

Coniston YOR, Leaston ELO, and Smeaton MLO stand apart from the other four *bý(r)*-names with historical *tūn/tún*-forms. Their specific elements are (at least possibly, in the case of Leaston ELO) common nouns and the interchanges in their historical forms raise different semantic questions. Coniston YOR is first attested as *Co(i)ningesbi* 1086 and next as *Cuningeston* 1190. All subsequent historical forms contain OE *tūn*/ON *tún* as its generic element. In PNER 47, Smith etymologises Coniston YOR as ‘the king’s farm’, with ON *konungr* as its specific element and replacement of an original ON *bý(r)* by OE *tūn*. Fellows-Jensen accepts the *bý(r)*-form as ‘represent[ing] a genuine form of the name’, but suggests that because Coniston YOR is only recorded in Domesday Book in the accounts of the fief of Drogo de la Beuvrière, it is ‘very possible’ that the name was scandinavianised by the individual who provided or recorded the information about the fief (see SSNY 8, 24). This is because, she explains, other place-names appear with Scandinavian forms in the fief account that otherwise appear with ‘English’ forms elsewhere in Domesday Book. She suggests that these forms and other possible erratic Scandinavian(ised) forms reflect ‘[the provider of the information’s] language and not the normal form of the [place-names]’ (see SSNY 131-32).

The Scandinavian forms in the Domesday Book accounts of the fief of Drogo de la Beuvrière Fellows-Jensen refers to are *Gagenestad* 1086 for Ganstead YOR (next attested as *Gaunstede* 1150-60) and *Wifestad* 1086 for Winstead YOR (otherwise *Wife-*, *Wistede* 1086 in Domesday Book). She takes these to show replacement of an original generic element OE

stede ‘a place’ by the ON cognate *staðr* (see SSNY 132, 145, 150). Whether these cognate elements were distinct in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain in such a way that one could ‘replace’ the other is the same issue discussed above for OE *tūn*/ON *tún*, OE *þrop*/ON *þorp*, and other cognate elements with indistinguishable or very similar spoken and written forms. It could be argued to be more an issue of accent and/or dialect. Regardless, a proposed substitution of OE *stede* with ON *staðr* by a speakers of an Anglo-Scandinavian dialect is not comparable to a proposed substitution by that speaker of OE *tūn*/ON *tún* with ON *bý(r)*. It seems pertinent to explore the possibility that Coniston YOR was an original *bý(r)*-name whose generic element was later replaced by OE *tūn*/ON *tún*.

Coniston YOR is one of three Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names that can be etymologised as ‘the king’s *bý(r)*’ formations, otherwise including North and South Conesby LIN (*Cunesbi* 1086) and Coningsby LIN (*Cuningesbi* 1086), whose specific elements have been taken to be ON *konungr* (see PNLin 6 52; SSNEM 42). The exact meaning of this *bý(r)*-name compound is uncertain, but in Domesday Book Coningsby LIN is one of 106 Lincolnshire villas named as lands in possession of the King William (see PNLin 6 52). The *bý(r)*-names are parallel formations to Kingston-names. Bourne (2017: 3) identifies 70 examples of this recurrent compound in English place-names, held to be Old English **cyninges-tūn* ‘the king’s *tūn*’ formations, and she notes that ON *konungr* may underlie forms of some of these names. The significance of Kingston-names is partially uncertain, but they seem to have been connected to the enforcement of royal authority in various ways (see Bourne 2017: 75-81). Ekwall (1960: 120) takes Coniston YOR to reflect a scandinavianised **cyninges-tūn*; and this possibility cannot be ruled out for the Lincolnshire names.

If Coniston YOR is an original ‘the king’s *bý(r)*’ formation that was later anglicised then it is a process easily explained by the influence of an extremely recurrent *tūn/tún*-name in English place-names. The Kingston-names are likely to represent recurrent application of a

pre-formed compound rather than a series of novel formations (see Bourne 2017: 3). This means the semantic shift from *Cyninges-*, *Konungs-bý(r)* to a Kingston-name, if that is what occurred in Coniston YOR, is not simply a substitution of ON *bý(r)* by OE *tūn*/ON *tún* but assimilation of the place-name to an appellative compound. This could be explained as a result of the scribes who recorded the *tūn/tún*-forms being familiar with the Kingston-names. Coniston YOR is located in the county which contributes the most *bý(r)*-names to the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, but its position in the south-east of the East Riding where *bý(r)*-names in the county are relatively less dense could have made it more susceptible to this substitution.

Leaston ELO is first securely attested as *villa de Laysinbi* 1294. Grant (2003: 406) provides a *Laysynbi* form with an uncertain date range ?1201-1346, but neither she nor Taylor (2004: 142) provide any historical *tūn/tún*-forms for the place-name. They are presumably later-attested than the earliest *bý(r)*-form, and the modern form of the name indicates that the *tūn/tún*-form endured. Leaston ELO is one of four Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names – otherwise comprising Lazenby (Allerton Wap.) YOR, Lazenby (Langbargh East Wap.) YOR, and Lazonby CUM – that contain either ON *leysingi* ‘freedman’ or the personal name ON *Leysingi*, derived from the common noun, as their specific elements.

Taylor (2004: 142), in contrast to his view on Smeaton MLO (see discussion below), favours Leaston ELO as an original *bý(r)*-name whose generic element was replaced by the more common Scots *toun* (< OE *tūn*); and notes that it would not be unusual to find a *bý(r)*-name in the area – Leaston ELO is a settlement located in Humbleton ELO parish. However, Taylor (2004: 142) notes the existence of Leaston (*Lesingetoun* c. 1350) in Perthshire, which provides evidence for a *tūn/tún*-name formed with ON *leysingi* or ON *Leysingi* in central Scotland; and he states that the chronicler who recorded the *villa de Laysinbi* 1294 form for Leaston ELO was writing in Cumbria, where *bý(r)*-names are common, and may have

substituted an original *tūn/tún* for *bý(r)*. There is, then, supporting evidence for Leaston ELO as either an original *bý(r)*-name or *tūn/tún*-name.

Smeaton MLO further unique in how many times its generic element interchanges between ON *bý(r)* and OE *tūn*/ON *tún* in its historical forms. Whether it is an original *bý(r)*-name or *tūn/tún*-name has been the subject of some discussion. Grant (2003: 283-300) discusses the problematic nature of *bý(r)*-names in the Scottish Lowlands outside of the ‘established parameters of settlement’ (i.e. south-western Scotland), and whether they are to be accepted as genuine *bý(r)*-formations by Scandinavian-speakers; as reflections of the influence of Scandinavian settlers in south-western Scotland and northern England on English dialects; and/or as *bý(r)*-names transferred by English settlers from areas of relatively secure historical Scandinavian settlement. Grant (2003: 283) notes that Barrow (1998: 70-73) advises caution in ascribing Scandinavian origin to Scottish place-names outside of the south-west, and that in the specific case of Smeaton MLO the fluctuation may be evidence for Scandinavian influence on the local English dialect rather than a Scandinavian place-name formation. Grant (2003: 283-84) accepts this argument and states that the forms for Smeaton MLO ‘suggest that this is a purely Old English name that briefly exhibited [*bý(r)*] forms’.

Taylor (2004: 144) discusses the alternating forms of Smeaton MLO and favours it as an original *tūn/tún*-name (with OE *smið* rather than ON *smiðr* as its specific element) because the *bý(r)*-forms only occur in charters that are royal confirmations to Dunfermline Abbey. He proposes that the *bý(r)*-forms represent an error by a scribe from an area of England or south-western Scotland where *bý(r)*-names are common that was repeatedly copied in later charters. Whether the scribe who produced the original *bý(r)*-form was from an area of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain where *bý(r)*-names recur, or indeed if the *bý(r)*-form is an error, is uncertain. However, that subsequent *bý(r)*-forms represent copies of the original seems probable. It perhaps also favours Smeaton MLO as an original *tūn/tún*-name that *bý(r)*-names

are less common in Lothian than other parts of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain, and a further ‘the smith’s *bý(r)*’ construction only occurs in Smisby DER (*Smidesbi* 1086).

4.3.3. Old English *lēah*

Old English *lēah* denoted ‘a clearing (in a wood)’ and is a very common element in English place-names, particularly in areas once forested (see EPNE 2 18). Its Old Norse cognate *ló* ‘a glade, a meadow’ has been taken to occur as the generic element of Belleau LIN (*Elgelo* 1086) in compound with the personal name ON *Helgi* (see EPNE 2 25; CDEPN 49), but the Scandinavian element is not a factor for consideration in this case-study. The *lēah*-forms that occur in the historical forms of three Cheshire *bý(r)*-names reflect a Middle English reflex of the Old English element (see Section 4.4.). The direct semantic overlap between ON *bý(r)* and OE *lēah* in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain is – as with all elements it interchanges with other than OE *tūn*/ON *tún* – limited to the flexibility of ON *bý(r)* as a settlement-term because OE *lēah* was a specialised term. A significant phonological factor contributes to the interchange between ON *bý(r)* and OE *lēah* (see below).

However, there is also a semantic factor to consider because OE *lēah* appears to have been used as a more general settlement-term in once forested areas of England where settlements in clearings were common – Gelling labels this use of the element as ‘quasi-habitative’ (see Gelling 1984: 198; Gelling and Cole 2000: 220). Interchange between ON *bý(r)* and OE *lēah* only occurs in Cheshire *bý(r)*-names, a county where the majority of settlement-names have topographical terms as their generic elements and of which OE *lēah* is the most common (see PNChe 5:2 226). The *lēah*-forms for Helsby CHE, Pensby CHE, and Whitby CHE are late and must reflect scribal errors, but this error can in part be attributed to OE *lēah* being a very common settlement-term in Cheshire and ON *bý(r)* an uncommon one

limited to the Wirral peninsula. That there was phonological overlap between the generic elements in the Middle English period also contributed to this interchange.

4.4. Analysis: Phonology

Old Norse *bý(r)*, in its Anglo-Scandinavian form(s), has phonological overlap with two of the elements it recurrently interchanges with in the historical forms of *bý(r)*-names: OE *byrig* and OE *lēah*. This phonological overlap is not immediately apparent in the dictionary forms of the elements, but occurs in the reflexes that historical place-name forms suggest they took. Phonological overlap, in whatever form the elements take, is not a factor to consider in the relationships between ON *bý(r)* and the other elements it interchanges with in historical *bý(r)*-name forms: ME *maner*, OE *stōw*, OE *tūn*/ON *tún*, OE *þrop*/ON *þorp*, and Latin *villa*. The interchanges with those elements are affected by semantic overlap and the documentary conditions they occur in, and they are discussed in those sections of this case-study (see Sections 4.2., 4.5.).

4.4.1. Old English *byrig*

The element ON *bý(r)* interchanges with most commonly in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names is OE *byrig* ‘a fortification’. The semantic overlap between the elements is limited to the flexibility of ON *bý(r)* as a label for any type of settlement in its Anglo-Scandinavian context (see Section 4.3.); and it should also be noted that the interchange between ON *bý(r)* and OE *byrig* is also limited to certain documents and particular areas of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain (see Section 4.5.). The commonality of the interchange – whether it is a scribal phenomenon, a reflection of a natural process in certain speech communities, or a mixture of both – is to be explained primarily as a result of phonological overlap between the two elements in the areas of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain

where it occurs: primarily the East Midlands, with a cluster in the Wirral, and isolated examples in East Anglia and north-west England.

It is phonology and orthography that allows ON *borg*, the cognate of OE *byrig*, to be ruled out from consideration in this case-study as an element which ON *bý(r)* may interchange with in Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. This is not always the case in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names. Like OE *tūn*/ON *tún*, OE *byrig*/ON *borg* shared a common etymological background and semantic space; and in their nominative forms the elements are very difficult or impossible to distinguish in historical place-name forms. This itself may reflect scribal issues – in EPNE 1 42, Smith states that the two elements are ‘usually confused’ in areas of historical Scandinavian influence. For example, ON *borg* has been associated with Scarborough YOR (*Escardeburg* 1155-63) and Flamborough YOR (*Flaneburc*, *-burg* 1086) because of medieval legend. The thirteenth-century Icelandic text *Kormáks saga* tells that the eponymous *Kormák* and his brother *Þórgils Skarði* founded a stronghold **Skarðaborg* ‘*Skarði*’s fort’ (see PNNRY 105; CDEPN 530); and another legend tells that a *Fleinn*, also a brother of the aforementioned *Skarði*, founded Flamborough YOR (see CDEPN 232; VEPN 1 129). However, the generic elements of both place-names could readily be said to reflect OE *burh*.

VEPN 1 128-29 identifies ON *borg* specifically in three place-names: Borrow Beck WES (*Borra watter, torrentis de Borra* 1170-84), a Roman site, because the forms *Bargera* 1279 and *Borgherey* 1558 seem to suggest the element combined with ON *á* ‘river’ in its genitive form *borgar*; in Borrowdale WES (*Borgheredal* 1175-84), named from the same fort, as part of an Old Norse genitive construction **borgar-dalr* or **borgar-á-dalr*; and in a parallel pair of place-names *Borghra* 1211 [15th] CUM, a name for part of the Derwent river, and Borrowdale CUM (*Borgordale* c. 1170) located in the river valley (see PNCum 2 349). VEPN 1 129 also identifies the Old Norse element in the Yorkshire field-name *le Borgh* 1256

LIN, and as alternating with OE *burh* in the Lincolnshire field-name *Borg*, *Retro Borg* 1231-40, *Bure*, *Bihindburc* c. 1216-44 LIN. The field-name examples seem less certain, however, because they do not reflect the diagnostic genitive form *borgar* of the Old Norse element as the Cumberland-names and Westmorland-names do.

The Cumberland and Westmorland names given by VEPN 1 128-29 offer relatively secure evidence that ON *borg* formed part of the Anglo-Scandinavian toponymicon, at least in north-west England. However, it is OE *byrig*, the dative singular form of OE *burh*, that interchanges with ON *by(r)* in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names. It appears with variation in the historical forms of *by(r)*-names as *-beri* (Leicestershire 13th; Northamptonshire 1086); *-berie* (Cheshire, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire 1086, Cheshire 12th); *-beriiis* (sic) (Lincolnshire 12th [15th]); *-bery* (Cumberland 13th); *-bury* (Norfolk 1086); *-byrig* (Northamptonshire 10th); and in the latinised forms *-beria* (Cheshire 11th [12th], Derbyshire 12th, Leicestershire 1086, 12th, Warwickshire 11th) and *-biria* (Warwickshire 11th). The forms vary by date, region, and scribal languages used (i.e. English or Latin), but they are all reflexes of the Old English element in its dative form *byrig*. This is a diagnostically Old English grammatical reflex which eliminates ON *borg* from consideration – the dative form of the Old Norse element is *borg(u)*.

ON *by(r)* is represented in the historical forms of *by(r)*-names with historical *byrig*-forms as *-be* (Cheshire 1086); *-bei* (Lancashire 1086); *-bi* (Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire 1086, Northamptonshire 12th, Warwickshire 12th); *-bie* (Leicestershire 1086); *-by* (Cheshire 11th [12th], 13th, Cumberland 13th, Leicestershire 1086, Norfolk 12th, Northamptonshire 10th, 12th); *-byg* (Leicestershire (11th); and the latinised form *-bia* (Cheshire 11th [13th], Leicestershire 12th). Again, there is variation by date, region, and scribal language, but the written forms of the element represent the usual unrounded Anglo-

Scandinavian development of Old Norse *bý(r)* as [bi] and/or [bi:].⁷⁹ The written forms of *byrig* appear to represent the sounds [bəri] and [buri]. A central schwa may account for some of the orthographical variation in the representation of the Old English element, but the semi-stressed position of the vowel in compounded place-name formations means that some variation is to be expected.

There is, then, phonological and orthographical overlap between ON *bý(r)* and OE *byrig* in the historical forms of the *bý(r)*-names which experience interchange between the elements. This overlap would have been exaggerated by the semi-stressed positions of the words as generic elements in compound place-name formations. Because the interchange between ON *bý(r)* and OE *byrig* has a distinct distribution and occurs in certain documents – most notably Domesday Book in the East Midlands – the remainder of the *bý(r)*-names affected by the phenomenon are discussed in the documentary sources discussion below (see Section 4.5.).

4.4.2. Old English *lēah*

The interchange between ON *bý(r)* and OE *lēah* in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names is specifically a Cheshire phenomenon. That this interchange occurs is partly to be explained by the use of OE *lēah* in the county by English-speakers as a general settlement-term, allowing for semantic overlap with *bý(r)* (see above), and partly because there is phonological overlap between the elements in their Middle English reflexes – the *lēah*-forms in Cheshire *bý(r)*-names are thirteenth-, fourteenth-, and fifteenth-century

⁷⁹ The Lancashire Domesday Book form may instead reflect [bei] – its form is parallel to the representation of Old Norse *bý(r)* in Norfolk Domesday forms, e.g. *Osmebei*, *-bey* 1086 for Ormesby NOR.

occurrences.⁸⁰ Two of the three Cheshire *by(r)*-names with historical *lēah*-forms, Helsby CHE and Whitby CHE, also have historical *byrig*-forms. Scaleby CUM and Thringstone LEI also undergo interchange between ON *by(r)* and more than one other word as their generic element – OE *byrig*, ME *maner*, Latin *villa* and OE *tūn*/ON *tún*, OE *þrop*/ON *þorp*, respectively – but the Cheshire-names are the only *by(r)*-names in the case-study whose interchanges with multiple elements can be explained, at least in part, phonologically.

With regards to OE *byrig*, Helsby CHE is to be favoured as an original *by(r)*-name with an erratic twelfth-century *byrig*-form, and Whitby CHE is perhaps to be favoured as an original *byrig*-name first attested in the twelfth century whose generic element assimilated to ON *by(r)* (see Section 4.5.). Both place-names are recorded with *lēah*-forms in the later Middle English period – Helsby CHE as *Hellesley* 1300 and Whitby CHE as *Quiteleye* 1291. Pensby CHE seems to have an undated *byrig*-form (*Penelsbury* n.d.) (see PNChE 4 271), but is to be favoured as an original *by(r)*-name (albeit one first attested relatively late in the thirteenth century as *Penisby* c. 1229). Its *lēah*-form is also later-attested than the other two Cheshire-names, appearing in the fifteenth century as *Pennesley* 1438. The date of the forms and their orthographical representation of OE *lēah* indicate that we are dealing with its Middle English descendant reflex *ley*.

The representation of ON *by(r)* in the historical forms of Cheshire *by(r)*-names is, as noted above, consistent with the unrounded Anglo-Scandinavian reflex of the element which produced the sounds [bi] or [bi:], and ME *ley* produced the sound [li:]. The two elements, then, shared a vowel sound in an Anglo-Scandinavian Middle English context. The *lēah*-forms are likely to be a scribal issue – Old English *lēah* is rarer as a generic element in the

⁸⁰ A sixteenth-century *lēah*-form *Frankley* 1523 is recorded for Frankby CHE. In keeping with the AD 1500 cut-off date for the main analysis of *by(r)*-names established for this thesis, it is excluded from analysis in this case-study (see Chapter Two, Section 2.1.1.). However, it does provide further evidence for the interchange as a Cheshire phenomenon that in total, including Frankby CHE, affects a third of the *by(r)*-names in the county.

Wirral than other parts of Cheshire (see PNChe 5:2 226), and a local speech community familiar with the generic element ON *bý(r)* is unlikely to have confused the elements. A scribe familiar with OE *lēah* as a settlement-term in Cheshire could have confused a less familiar element with a final [i:] with a more familiar one, and it is not impossible that a scribe could have misread /b/ as /le/. That it is the vowel sound which drove the confusion is perhaps confirmed by the erratic form *Hellesorhee* a. 1245 for Helsby CHE. The generic element of that erratic form does not correspond to an identifiable element, but again it features a final [i:] sound.

4.5. Analysis: Documentary Sources

The generic elements interchanges in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names occur in a limited number of historical documents, and documentary/scrival conditions are a primary factor for analysis alongside semantics and phonology. Indeed, whether the cause of interchanges with certain elements is driven by semantic or phonological overlap, they are all ultimately scribal phenomena. This section focuses on names and groups whose generic elements interchanges are particularly linked to the documents in which they occur; and it is split into three main sections: pre-Domesday Book, Domesday Book, and post-Domesday Book.

4.5.1. Pre-Domesday Book

Three *bý(r)*-names in this case-study are, according to the purported source dates of later copies of documents, first attested pre-Domesday Book, and in each instance the pre-Domesday Book form contains a generic element other than ON *bý(r)*. For Badby NTH and Monks Kirby WAR the element other than ON *bý(r)* is OE *byrig* and for Bleasby NOT it is OE *tūn*/ON *tún*. The place-names and their forms are:

1. Badby NTH: *baddan by*, *-byrig* 944, *Badebi* 1020 [14th], *Badebi* 1086.
2. Bleasby NOT: *Blisetune* 958 [14th], *Bleseby* 13th.
3. Monks Kirby WAR: *Kirkeberia*, *-biria* 1077, *Chircheberie* 1086, *Kirkebi* c. 1160.

The 1077 form for Monks Kirby WAR is recorded in a gift of land from Geoffrey de Wirce to the monks of St Nicholas of Angers, from whom the modern place-name takes its affix

(see PNWar 112). Monks Kirby WAR is discussed below in the Domesday Book section, however, because its *Chircheberie* 1086 form places it among a recurrent interchange phenomenon of the East Midlands Domesday Book circuit which also involves another Kirkby-name, Kirby Hall NTH (see below).

Badby NTH is also discussed more fully above because there are semantic reasons which strongly favour it as an original Old English *byrig*-name that was later scandinavianised (see Section 4.3.). From a documentary perspective, Badby NTH is notable as one of only two Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names first attested in the tenth century, along with Derby DER. Its tenth-century attestation is in Anglo-Saxon charter S495, dated 944, which records a land-grant of 30 hides at Badby NTH, Dodford NTH, and Everdon NTH from King Edmund to Bishop Ælfric of Ramsbury (see PNNth 10). Badby NTH is named six times in the perambulation that details the land-grant – four times as *baddan byr(i)g* and twice as *baddan by*. That it appears with multiple *bý(r)*-forms and *byrig*-forms in the same document is curious from a scribal perspective. If the *bý(r)*-forms are errors (which in outcome they are not because Badby NTH becomes a *bý(r)*-name) then it is notable the error is repeated in the same document. It is possible that by 944 both the probable original *byrig*-form of Badby NTH and its *bý(r)*-form were current among an Anglo-Scandinavian population, and the scribe recorded both forms.

The *tūn/tún*-form for Bleasby NOT, *Blisetune* 958 [14th], is challenging with regards to its accuracy because there is a minimum discrepancy between its source date and copy date of 342 years. Previous scholars have handled the form differently. PNNot xi explains the place-name as a hybrid Grimston-/Toton-name – the editors etymologise it with the personal name ON *Blesi* and not the common noun ON *blesi* (see PNNot 155) – that was later made wholly Scandinavian by substitution of OE *tūn*/ON *tún* for ON *bý(r)*. Fellows-Jensen prefers the common noun as the specific element of Bleasby NOT and notes that it is impossible to

determine whether the *tūn/tún*-form is a scribal error or the original generic element of the place-name. She states that if it is the latter then the specific element was scandinavianised before 956 (i.e. an ON personal name was substituted for the original specific element of a pre-existing OE *tūn*-name), and that ‘scandinavianisation was complete’ by the time of the Domesday Book survey (see SSNEM 37).

The *Blisetune* 958 [14th] form occurs in Anglo-Saxon charter S659 which records a grant of 20 hides at Southwell, with its various dependent settlements, from King Eadwig to a Bishop Oscytel. Among the *tūn/tún*-names featured are Fiskerton NOT (*fiscetune* 958 [14th]), Normanton NOT (*normantune*) 958 [14th], and Upton NOT (*uptune* 958 [14th]). Bleasby NOT is the only *bý(r)*-name to feature in the document. It is possible in this context, if Bleasby NOT is not an original *tūn/tún*-name whose generic element was later replaced by *bý(r)*, that the *tūn/tún*-form for Bleasby NOT is a scribal error made either by the original scribe or the fourteenth-century copyist.

4.5.2. Domesday Book

The Domesday Book survey of 1086 is the single most important historical source for the study of English place-names and the most significant source for historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names – 555 *bý(r)*-names (68.9% of the total corpus) are recorded in Domesday Book, and in 547 instances (67.9% of the total corpus) those Domesday Book forms provide the earliest attestation of a *bý(r)*-name (see Chapter Three, Section 3.3.2.). Twenty-nine of the 36 *bý(r)*-names in this case-study are attested in Domesday Book, and Domesday Book forms comprise the largest source of historical evidence which attests to generic elements interchange in Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. Nine *bý(r)*-names have concurrent Domesday Book forms both with ON *bý(r)* and another element as their generic

element; two *by'(r)*-names have Domesday Book forms which are their only *by'(r)*-forms; and sixteen *by'(r)*-names, including the nine previously mentioned with concurrent Domesday Book forms, have Domesday Book forms which are their only forms to contain a generic element other than ON *by'(r)*. This part of the documentary section will discuss these names whose Domesday Book forms are important for the analysis of their generic elements interchanges.

Domesday Book has been widely studied because of its enormous significance as a historical text – all aspects of its compilation and contents have been the subject of academic research (see, for example, Galbraith 1961). The two factors most significant for this case-study are which circuits of the survey the *by'(r)*-names feature in and what impact scribal practice and/or errors may have had on their historical forms. There are held to have been seven regional circuits for the Domesday Book survey(s), and the *by'(r)*-names with generic elements interchanges that relate to their Domesday Book forms are distributed across six counties on four circuits: 1) a north-western circuit including south Lancashire; 2) an East Midlands circuit including Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Warwickshire; 3) a north-eastern circuit including Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; and 4) an East Anglian circuit including Norfolk (see Finn 1973: 5; Galbraith 1974: 38). The East Midlands circuit is, in particular, a factor for consideration in this analysis.

The second factor is the impact of the Domesday Book scribal practice on generic elements interchange in Anglo-Scandinavian *by'(r)*-names. The Domesday Book scribes have been held accountable, by many scholars, for inaccurate representation of place-name forms. These mistakes have most often been attributed to them being ‘Anglo-Norman’ (i.e. Francophone) and dealing with unfamiliar languages, personal names, and place-name elements (see Clark 1995: 168-69; Zachrisson 1909: esp. 5-14; Zachrisson 1924: esp. 98-99). The ethnolinguistic origins of the primary Domesday Book scribes are somewhat uncertain,

however (see Clark 1995: 172-74), and it must be remembered that other individuals were involved in the compilation of the survey including copyists, local officials, and landowners. Nevertheless, the Domesday Book survey was a process where numerous errors could occur. Dodgson (1987: 123) notes that, from a place-names perspective, we must allow for possible instances of mishearing, misreading, mispronunciation, and miscopying; different languages, scripts, readers, writers, speakers, and hearers; and even deafness and dentition. The compilation of Domesday Book in the socio-linguistic milieu of early medieval England, completed on a tight schedule, must be considered as a factor in the analysis of generic elements interchanges in the Domesday Book forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names.

It seems pertinent to group the *bý(r)*-names whose Domesday Book forms feature generic elements interchange by which circuit of the survey they belong to. The largest group by far is names in the East Midlands circuit that, in the context of this case-study, affects 15 *bý(r)*-names in Leicestershire (nine names), Northamptonshire (four names), and Warwickshire (two names). This circuit also covered Oxfordshire and Staffordshire, and so in the context of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names is a more ‘English’ circuit than the others which feature in this case-study. The names and their Domesday Book interchange forms are:

1. Appleby Magna LEI: *Æppelbyg* 1004 [e. 11th], *Apelbi*, *-by*, *-beria* 1086.
2. Arnesby LEI: *Erendesberie*, *-bi* 1086.
3. Asfordby LEI: *Esseberie*, *Osferdebi* 1086.
4. Barkby LEI: *Barcheberie*, *-bi* 1086
5. Holdenby NTH: *Aldenesbi*, *-tone* 1086.
6. Old Ingarsby LEI: *in Gerberie*, *Inuuaresbi* 1086.
7. Kirby Hall NTH: *Chercheberie* 1086, *Kirkeby* 12th.
8. Monks Kirby WAR: *Kirkeberia*, *-biria* 1077, *Chircheberie* 1086, *Kirkebi* c. 1160.

9. Naseby NTH: *Navesberi* 1086, *Nauesbi* 1166.
10. Quenby LEI: *Qveneberie* 1086, *Quenebia* c. 1130.
11. Rugby WAR: *Rocheberie* 1086, *Roche-*, *Rokebi* 1154-89.
12. Shoby LEI: *Seoldesberie* 1086, *Siwaldebia* c. 1130.
13. Somerby LEI: *Su(m)mer(li)ebie*, *Svmerdeberie* 1086.
14. Thornby NTH: *Torneberie* 1086, *Thirnebi* c. 1160.
15. Thringstone LEI: *Trangesbi*, *-by* 1086, *Strengeston* c. 1160.

The interchange phenomenon in the Domesday Book forms of the East Midlands circuit is overwhelmingly one involving OE *byrig* – only the forms for Holdenby NTH and Thringstone LEI do not involve that element, instead OE *tūn*/ON *tún*. The distinction, then, is that with the Domesday Book *byrig*-forms we have a scribal factor overlapping primarily with a phonological factor; and with the *tūn*/*tún*-forms a scribal factor overlapping primarily with a semantic factor. The *tūn*/*tún*-forms for Holdenby NTH and Thringstone LEI are discussed above (see Section 4.3.). From a documentary perspective, the impact of local place-names context for Thringstone LEI; the possible distinction of the *Aldenesbi* 1086 and *Aldenestone* 1086 forms in Domesday Book for Holdenby NTH as separate land-units; and in both instances the impact of the idiolectal toponymicons of scribes, copyists, and other individuals on their written forms must be considered as possible factors.

The 13 *by(r)*-names from this Domesday Book circuit with *byrig*-forms are a group that require closer consideration from a documentary/scribal perspective because the elements are more easily confused and it is a recurrent phenomenon that has, with some variation (and perhaps inconsistency), been treated by previous scholars as a scribal issue. Chief among these are the six Leicestershire *by(r)*-names which have concurrent Domesday Book *by(r)*-names and *byrig*-forms: Appleby Magna LEI, Arnesby LEI, Asfordby LEI, Barkby LEI, Old

Ingarsby LEI, and Somerby LEI. Cox and Fellows-Jensen attribute the *byrig*-forms to a recurrent error by the Domesday Book scribe who compiled the Leicestershire survey (see PNLei 3 10; SSNEM 15). Cox identifies this as a phenomenon in a particular group of East Goscote Hundred names, including Asfordby LEI, Barkby LEI, and Old Ingarsby LEI from the current discussion but also Gaddesby LEI, Quenby LEI, and Shoby LEI (see PNLei 3 10). Quenby LEI and Shoby LEI are distinct from the other names and discussed below because they only have Domesday Book *byrig*-forms without concurrent *bý(r)*-forms. Gaddesby LEI should not be included in this group – its two *byrig*-forms are recorded in the thirteenth century (see below). It should also be noted that the concurrent phenomenon is as common outside East Goscote Hundred as it is in it – Appleby Magna LEI is in Sparkenhoe Wapentake,⁸¹ Arnesby LEI is in Guthlaxton Wapentake, and Somerby LEI is in Framland Wapentake.

There are several factors which support the proposition that the *byrig*-forms for the Leicestershire *bý(r)*-names with concurrent Domesday Book forms are erratic. The first is the simple fact that the *byrig*-forms are concurrent with *bý(r)*-forms. Second is that *byrig* is not the usual form of the Old English element in the county – as Cox notes (see PNLei 3 10), it appears in its nominative form *burh* in Leicestershire place-names whose etymology with the element is relatively secure (see, for example, *Cvinburg* 1086 for Queniborough LEI, discussed below). Two names in the group also have documentary/scribal conditions which support the *byrig*-forms as errors. Appleby Magna LEI is the only Leicestershire *bý(r)*-name first attested in a pre-Domesday Book copy and it is a *bý(r)*-form, *Æppelbyg* 1004 [e. 11th]. Old Ingarsby LEI also has its specific element, the personal name ON *Ingvarr*, mishandled in its Domesday Book *byrig*-form. The *in Gerberie* 1086 form suggests a Domesday Book

⁸¹ Appleby Magna LEI was in Derbyshire at the time of the Domesday survey (see PNLei 6 7).

scribe mistook the initial *In-* of the personal name for the Latin preposition *in* (see PNLei 3 152; SSNEM 54).⁸² Its Domesday Book *bý(r)*-form *Inuuaresbi* 1086 is unaffected. This is further evidence for scribal issues affecting Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names on the East Midlands Domesday Book circuit.

It is also favourable for taking the *byrig*-forms as erratic that the specific elements of the Leicestershire *bý(r)*-names with concurrent Domesday Book *bý(r)*-forms and *byrig*-forms are predominantly Old Norse. Arnesby LEI, Barkby LEI, and Old Ingarsby LEI relatively securely contain the Old Norse personal names *Iqrund*, *Bqrkr* or *Barki*, and *Ingvarr*, respectively. Appleby Magna LEI contains either OE *æppel* or ON *epli* ‘an apple’ as its specific element, but there are five Anglo-Scandinavian Appleby-names. The specific element of Somerby LEI is more uncertain because it is either the personal name ON *Sumarliði* or the noun ON *sumar-liði* ‘summer-traveller, i.e. a viking’ from which the personal name is derived. The personal name is probably to be favoured because it is independently well-attested in England (see Insley 1994: 351; SPNLY 271). Like Appleby Magna LEI, Somerby LEI belongs to a very recurrent compound in Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names, with four other instances.

Asfordby LEI is distinct from the rest of the Leicestershire-names with concurrent Domesday Book *bý(r)*-forms and *byrig*-forms because its specific element is different in its two forms – *Esseberie* 1086 appears to contain an ash-tree element and *Osferdebi* 1086 the personal name OE *Ōsferð*/ON *Ásfrøðr*. The two forms are entirely different place-name constructions, and it is difficult to establish which specific element is original and which is the scribal error, if either are. Fellows-Jensen takes the *byrig*-form to possibly indicate that an original Old English place-name **Æsbyrig* was replaced by a *bý(r)*-name (see SSNEM 31).

⁸² This error also seems to occur in the Domesday Book forms *Golde-*, *Ingoldebi* 1086 for Ingoldsby LIN (see SSNEM 55).

She borrows this explanation from Cox's (1971: 75) PhD thesis, but he evidently amended his view by the publication of PNLei 3. In the SEPN volume, Cox explains *-berie* as an error; notes that multiple forms such as *Osfordebi* 1102-06 and *Asfordebi* 1184 appear to contain the personal name; and states that 'the weight of [later] forms' from the thirteenth century onwards (e.g. *Essefordebi* 1204, *Ashford(e)by* 1294) suggests we should take an Old English place-name **Æscford* as the specific element of Asfordby LEI (see PNLei 3 10).

That OE *byrig* seems to appear in its nominative form *burh* in Leicestershire makes Asfordby LEI as a scandinavianised Old English **Æscbyrig* an unlikely explanation. However, it is not impossible that the element could appear in its dative form in Leicestershire Domesday Book forms due to scribal error or re-analysis. The county was on the same survey circuit as Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, and Warwickshire, counties where *byrig* (i.e. *-berie* in Domesday Book) is a regular form of the element. This is a factor to consider for the etymologies of Quenby LEI and Shoby LEI (see below). This, of course, opens up that possibility for the five Leicestershire *by(r)*-names discussed above, but their stable specific elements and the fact that those specific elements are Old Norse and/or recur with ON *by(r)* makes OE *byrig* unlikely to be their original generic elements.

Because the specific elements of the Domesday Book forms for Asfordby LEI are so distinct, Cox has suggested that the *Esseberie* 1086 form may instead be for Ashby Folville LEI, 7km to the south (see PNLei 3 10). This would make it a more 'regular' erratic *byrig*-form and remove the specific element issue because the specific element of Ashby Folville LEI is probably Old English *æsc*/Old Norse *askr*. However, it leaves the forms which appear to contain OE *Ōsferð*/ON *Ásfrøðr* unexplained, particularly if Cox's OE **Æscford* + ON *by(r)* explanation for Asfordby LEI is to be accepted. His alternative suggestion, that *Esseberie* 1086 could be explained by the Domesday Book scribe misattributing to it the four

syllables of an *Osferdebi/Asfordebi* construction (see PNLei 3 10), seems an unlikely explanation.

This case-study has focused on generic elements but it has been necessary, in the case of Asfordby LEI, to consider the specific element. Specific elements are a factor in the documentary/scribal conditions that allow generic elements interchange to occur. What can be said with certainty is that the specific element of Asfordby LEI has been re-analysed by scribes, but what original element was re-analysed is uncertain. If the original specific element was OE *Ōsferð*/ON *Ásfrøðr* – and it is more likely to have been ON *Ásfrøðr* – then confusion between the prototheme ON *Ás-* and an ash-tree element and the deutertheme ON *-frøðr* and ‘ford’, particularly in a Middle English context, is possible. The personal name has been suggested as the specific element of Asserby LIN and its historical forms *Asforthebi* c. 1200, *Esfordebi* 1202, *Asfordebi* 1212 show development of the deutertheme to *-ford(e)*. Asfordby LEI is located in close proximity to an Ashby-name and its position on the River Wreake, 8.5km to the west of the *ford*-name Wyfordby LEI, makes a *ford*-name for Asfordby LEI a reasonable ‘mistake’ for a scribe to make. Old English *æsc* + *ford* is also a recurrent compound in English place-names (see VEPN 1 33).

The seven other *bý(r)*-names are recorded with Domesday Book *byrig*-forms on the East Midlands circuit are distinct from the Leicestershire-names discussed above because they do not have concurrent Domesday Book *bý(r)*-forms. They are, consequently, a more challenging group to analyse and have been treated differently by previous scholars. Quenby and Shoby LEI belong to the East Goscote Hundred group of *bý(r)*-names with Domesday Book *byrig*-forms which Cox identifies as repeated scribal errors in the area (see PNLei 3 10), but neither name is attested with a *bý(r)*-form until c. 1130. Fellows-Jensen excludes the Leicestershire-names – along with Badby NTH, Naseby NTH, Rugby WAR, and Thornby NTH – from her analysis of East Midlands *bý(r)*-names because she accepts their *byrig*-forms

as genuine, i.e. that the six place-names represent scandinavianised *byrig*-names. This stance is complicated by Fellows-Jensen's acceptance of Kirby Hall NTH and Monks Kirby WAR as original Old Norse Kir(k)by-names, despite their own Domesday Book *byrig*-forms. Her justification is that the specific elements of former group are 'English' and the latter are 'Scandinavian' (see SSNEM 14).

Fellows-Jensen's distinction between the 'English' specific elements of the *bý(r)*-names she excludes from her East Midlands survey and the 'Scandinavian' specific elements of the Kir(k)by-names she includes is an editorial decision on her part because, in all seven instances, the specifics are cognate elements or OE/ON elements that are very difficult to distinguish in Anglo-Scandinavian place-name formations. The Kir(k)by-names Kirby Hall NTH and Monks Kirby WAR contain OE *cirice*/ON *kirkja*;⁸³ Naseby NTH contains OE **Hnæf*/ON *Nafni*; Quenby LEI contains OE *cwēn* 'a queen' or OE *cwene*/ON *kona* 'a woman'; Rugby WAR contains OE *hrōc*/ON *hrókr* 'a rook' or the personal names OE **Hrōc(a)*/ON *Hrókr*; Shoby LEI contains OE *Sigeweald*/ON *Sigvaldr*/CG *Sigald*; and Thornby NTH probably contains OE *þorn*/ON *þorn* or a closely-related thorn-element.⁸⁴

Cox etymologises Quenby LEI as an original ON **kvenna-bý(r)* 'the farmstead of the women' construction and Shoby LEI as an original Old Norse **Sigvalds-bý(r)* 'Sigvaldr's farmstead, village' construction, both with erratic Domesday Book *byrig*-forms (see PNLei 3 154-55, 111). He does not consider the cognate personal names for Shoby LEI, but he does note that Ekwall (1960: 377) took Quenby LEI to represent an earlier OE **Cwēne-byrig* 'the queen's manor' construction whose generic element was later replaced by ON *bý(r)*. Cox dismisses this possibility on two grounds: 1) the usual form of the Old English element in

⁸³ Anglo-Scandinavian Kir(k)by-names have, however, been taken to represent the recurrent application of a pre-formed compound ON **kirkju-bý(r)* (see Gelling 1997: 234).

⁸⁴ The personal name ON *Þyrnir* is independently attested and formally possible as the specific element of Thornby NTH (see SPNLY 319).

Leicestershire is, as noted above, the nominative *burh*; and 2) Queniborough LEI (*Cvinburg* 1086) – which he does etymologise as ‘the queen’s manor’ (see PNLei 3 182) – is only 7.6km north-west of Quenby LEI and ‘[i]t is scarcely conceivable that two royal villis so close together would have been known by identical names’.

Cox states that a possible but less likely option is that the specific element of Quenby LEI is OE *cwēn*; that an original generic element such as OE *þrop* or OE *stoc* was replaced by ON *bý(r)*; and that Quenby LEI was in origin an outlying, dependent settlement of Queniborough LEI (see PNLei 3 155). There is no evidence in the historical forms of Quenby LEI for this, however, and such a theory complicates the *byrig*-form even further. The theory can perhaps be taken as an acknowledgement from Cox that the etymology of the name is challenging.

Naseby NTH, Rugby WAR, and Thornby NTH have generally been held to be original Old English *byrig*-names, with accurate Domesday Book forms, whose generic elements were later scandinavianised (see CDEPN 429, 512, 609; Ekwall 1960: 336, 396, 467; PNNth 73, 74; PNWar 143). The situations of their etymologies are very similar. Naseby NTH has been etymologised with the personal name OE **Hnæf* as its specific element, which is somewhat uncertain because the name is not independently attested. It is, however, the name of a legendary Scandinavian prince who is mentioned in *Beowulf*, *The Finnsburg Fragment*, and *Widsith* as the ruler of the Hocings tribe, and a boundary feature *hnæfes scylfe* occurs in Anglo-Saxon charter S801 (see PNNth 73).

It is possible that the legendary Hnæf was associated with a *byrig* and a ‘shelf of land’ in the same sense as ‘Badda’ probably was with Badby NTH and other Badbury-names (see above). PNNth 73 notes that the thirteenth-century forms *Naveneby* 1253 and *Navenesby* 1275 for Naseby NTH show the influence of the personal name ON *Nafni*, but that ‘[w]e can hardly start from that name here, as it is unlikely that it would be compounded with *burh*, and

would leave the genitival *s* unexplained'. However, *Nafni* relatively securely occurs as the specific element of Navenby LIN (*Nau-*, *Navenebi* 1086), and a genitive *-(e)s-* is not necessarily a barrier to an etymology with the Old Norse personal name (which should take a weak genitive form *Nafna*, as it appears to in the historical forms of Navenby LIN) in the context of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain.

The editors of PNNth xxii also explain Thornby NTH as a scandinavianised *byrig*-name. They focus instead on whether the original specific element is OE *þorn*, suggested by the Domesday Book form *Torneberie* 1086, or OE *þyrne* 'a thorn-bush', suggested by the twelfth- to fourteenth-century forms with medial *-i-* or *-u-* (e.g. *Thirnebi* c. 1160, *Turnebi* 1175) (see PNNth 74-75). The Old English elements are indistinguishable from the cognate elements ON *þorn* and ON *þyrnir* in Anglo-Scandinavian place-names – indeed, Watts suggests for Thornby NTH that an ON **þyrnir-by(r)* construction fully replaced a pre-existing OE **þorn-byrig* (see CDEPN 609). Rugby WAR is handled similarly by the same editors as PNNth in the Warwickshire SEPN volume. They state that the etymology of the name is probably OE **Hrocan-byrig* 'Hroca's *burh*' or less likely OE **hroca-byrig* '*burh* of the rooks', and that the generic element was 'altered to [*by(r)*] through Scandinavian influence'. They point to Rokeby YOR (*Rochebi* 1086) for comparison (see PNWar 143).

There is, then, a clear distinction in the SEPN volumes for Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Warwickshire. In PNLei standalone Domesday Book *byrig*-forms are favoured as erratic forms of original *by(r)*-names, and in PNNth and PNWar as accurate forms of original *byrig*-names. In PNLei Old Norse forms of cognate elements are favoured to support proposed etymologies, and in PNNth and PNWar Old English forms favoured for the same reason. However, the linguistic and documentary conditions of the five *by(r)*-names discussed so far in this section are nearly identical and alternative possibilities for their origins are viable, particularly when viewed in a wider context as place-names first recorded

on the same Domesday Book circuit and not just at a county level. If we were to accept the *byrig*-forms of the Leicestershire-names as erratic, then the possibility that the *byrig*-forms for the Northamptonshire-names and Warwickshire-name are erratic must be considered; and if we were to accept that the *byrig*-forms of Northamptonshire-names and Warwickshire-name are accurate then the possibility that the *byrig*-forms of the Leicestershire-names are accurate must also be considered.

That OE *byrig* normally takes its nominative form *burh* in Leicestershire place-names, as noted above, does count against the validity of the *byrig*-forms for Quenby LEI and Shoby LEI. However, it should be noted that OE *burh* is uncommon as a generic element in major Leicestershire settlement-names (see PNLei 8 70) – it occurs only as a simplex name in Burrough on the Hill LEI (*Bvrg* 1086) and as the generic element of Queniborough LEI (*Cvinburg* 1086) (see PNLei 2 231; PNLei 3 182).⁸⁵ The compound OE *burh-tūn* occurs in Burton Lazars LEI (*Burtone* 1086), Burton Overy LEI (*Burtone* 1086), and Burton on the Wolds LEI (*Bvrtone* 1086) (see PNLei 2 62; PNLei 4 21; PNLei 3 54). Among settlement-names in the county, the apparently erratic *byrig*-forms for eight *bý(r)*-names outnumber the *burh*-names.

Nevertheless, it is the nominative OE *burh* which occurs in those place-names and Quenby LEI, as an ON **kvenna-bý(r)* construction, has parallels in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain and Scandinavia. Whenby YOR (*Quennebi* 1086) has been etymologised as the same compound (see PNNRY 31; SSNY 41), and there is a Swedish place-name *Kvinneby* (see CDEPN 671; PNLei 3 154). The Old English elements *cwēn* and *cwene* must be considered as possible specific elements for the two Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names – and the influence of nearby Queniborough LEI on the specific element of Quenby LEI is perhaps a

⁸⁵ That these names contain the element in its nominative form does make the cognate ON *borg* possible. However, because the ON element has only relatively securely been identified in the north-west of England (see Section 4.4.1.), it will not be considered here.

factor – but, from a generic elements perspective, a ‘*bý(r)* of the women’ construction recurs in the place-names of the Old Norse-speaking world. It is probable that, like the Leicestershire-names with concurrent Domesday Book *bý(r)*-forms and *byrig*-forms, the *byrig*-form for Quenby LEI represents a scribal error influenced by the phonological overlap between the two elements on a Domesday Book circuit where place-names formed with the dative OE *byrig* are common. The same explanation can be given for Shoby LEI, regardless of which of the cognate personal names OE *Sigeweald*/ON *Sígváldr*/CG *Sigald* it contains as its specific element.

The situation for Naseby NTH, Rugby WAR, and Thornby NTH is different because in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire *byrig* is a form the Old English element takes in place-names whose etymologies are relatively secure. Nine further *burh/byrig*-names in Northamptonshire are recorded in Domesday Book, with an almost even split between *burh*-forms for Desborough NTH (*Dereburg* 1086), Guilsborough NTH (*Gisleburg* 1086), Irthlingborough NTH (*Erdi(n)burne* (sic) 1086), Peterborough NTH (*Burg* 1086), and Sudborough NTH (*Sutburg* 1086) (see PNNth 111, 70, 182, 224, 187); and *byrig*-forms for Grimsbury NTH (*Grimberie* 1086), Kissingbury NTH (*Cifelingeberie* 1086), Stuchbury NTH (*Stoteberie* 1086), and Wellingborough NTH (*Wendle(s)berie* 1086) (see PNNth 63, 86, 58, 140). In Warwickshire all further *byrig*-names recorded in Domesday Book occur with the dative form of the element: Birdingbury WAR (*Berdingeberie*, *Derbingerie* (sic) 1086), Harbury WAR (*Edbur-*, *Erburberie* 1086), Kingsbury WAR (*Chinesberie* 1086), and Wappenbury WAR (*Wapeberie* 1086) (see PNWar 126-27, 170, 16, 148). The Domesday Book *byrig*-forms are not a barrier to accepting the Old English element as original in these counties.

Naseby NTH and Thornby NTH are situated in a small cluster of settlement-names that otherwise includes the *bý(r)*-name Cold Ashby NTH (*Essebi* 1086) and Guilsborough NTH, a

byrig-name named after an encampment which was apparently still visible at the settlement in the eighteenth century (see CDEPN 265; PNNth 70). Cold Ashby NTH is just 1.4km north-northwest of Thornby NTH, and the four modern settlements are situated in an area of just 6.7km². This local context, coupled with both *by(r)*-names and *byrig*-names being recurrent in the county, could be used to argue for the Domesday Book *byrig*-forms of Naseby NTH and Thornby NTH as scribal errors or as accurate forms of original *byrig*-names that were later scandinavianised in an Anglo-Scandinavian linguistic context.

The specific elements of the names do not shed light on their linguistic origins. The proposed legendary OE **Hnæf* for Naseby NTH is uncertain, with no parallel constructions to compare with, and ON *Nafni* is possible because the anglicisation of Old Norse personal names in Anglo-Scandinavian place-name forms is ubiquitous. Thornby NTH has an Old English or Old Norse thorn-element as its specific element, and whether it is an original Thornbury-name or Thornby-name places it in a recurrent compound in English place-names. There are three other Anglo-Scandinavian Thornby-names, and Thornbury-names are a very recurrent compound (see VEPN 2 82). The evidence available offers multiple possible explanations for Naseby NTH and Thornby NTH. The facts that their specific elements are uncertainly Old English or Old Norse and that their generic elements interchanges match the Leicestershire names above means that the possibility they are original *by(r)*-names with erratic Domesday Book *byrig*-forms must be allowed for.

The same is true for Rugby WAR. PNWar 143 etymologises the place-name with either the personal name OE **Hrōca* or OE *hrōc* ‘a rook’ as its specific element, but the personal name ON *Hrókr* or ON *hrókr* ‘a rook’ are formally possible. Rokeby YOR (*Rochebi* 1086), which the Warwickshire editors point to as a parallel for Rugby WAR in its *by(r)*-forms (see PNWar 143), is also etymologised in PNNRY 301 with the Old English personal name. Fellows-Jensen, however, alternatively suggests the Old Norse personal name or the genitive

plural of the Old English/Old Norse bird-term as possible specific elements of the Yorkshire name (see SSNY 35). There are three other Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names which contain one of these elements as their specifics: Rookby WES (*Rochebi(a)* 1178), Roxby LIN (*Rosce-, Roxebi* 1086), and Roxby House YOR (*Rokeby* 1198). There are, then, multiple parallels for Rugby WAR as a *bý(r)*-name compound but none as a *byrig*-name compound. Perhaps in favour of Rugby WAR as an original *byrig*-name is that ON *bý(r)* is very rare as a generic element in Warwickshire, with only three examples, and that only the generic element of Willoughby WAR is unaffected by interchange between *bý(r)* and *byrig*. However, this rarity itself could be used to argue in favour of an erratic anglicisation in Domesday Book.

The discussion of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire leads to Kirby Hall NTH and Monks Kirby WAR, which have so far not been discussed because as Kir(k)by-names they are distinct from the other *bý(r)*-names on this Domesday Book circuit. There are 45 Anglo-Scandinavian Kir(k)by-names that comprise 5.6% of the total Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus; and they are so recurrent that it has been suggested they represent repeated application by Old Norse-speakers of a pre-formed ON **kirkju-bý(r)* compound (see above). Kirby Hall NTH and Monks Kirby WAR are the only two Kirkby-names with generic elements interchange in their historical forms, which in both instances is with OE *byrig*.

Kirby Hall NTH and Monks Kirby WAR are two of the most peripheral Kir(k)by-names in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. They are the most southerly instances in the East Midlands and only the Kirby le Soken ESX is located further south. Although Kir(k)by-names are notable for being so widely distributed across the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus, they are nevertheless more strongly represented in northern England – Yorkshire, for example, contains 19 Kirkby-names. Kirby Hall NTH and Monks Kirby WAR are the only Kir(k)by-names in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, respectively, and only two

Leicestershire Kirkby-names are recorded in Domesday Book: Kirby Bellars LEI (*Cherche-, Chirchebi* 1086) and Kirby Mallory LEI (*Cherchebi* 1086). That the scribes for the East Midlands Domesday Book circuit only dealt with four Kir(k)by-names perhaps increased the chance they could have been given two erratic *byrig*-forms, if that is what occurred.

Previous scholars have treated the names differently. In the SEPN volumes for Northamptonshire and Warwickshire the editors discuss the possibilities that Kirby Hall NTH and Monks Kirby WAR are *bý(r)*-names with erratic *byrig*-forms or scandinavianised *byrig*-names. Kirby Hall NTH is etymologised in PNNth 167 as ‘[*bý(r)*] by or with a church’, but earlier in the introduction to the volume the editors debate whether the place-name represents ‘[a] Scandinavian name pure and simple’ or a scandinavianisation of an original OE **cirice-byrig* reflected by the Domesday Book form *Chercheberie* 1086. They decide that an original *bý(r)*-name construction must be accepted because there are ‘some thirty’ (sic) Kir(k)by-names in England and only one example of an OE **cirice-byrig* formation, Chirbury SHR (*Cyricbyrig* c. 1000) (see PNNth xxiv).

In PNWar the editors favour the Monks Kirby WAR as a place-name which was ‘in the earliest days an English form’ and later scandinavianised (see PNWar xxii, 112). Fellows-Jensen treats Monks Kirby WAR and Kirby Hall NTH as probable original Kir(k)by-names with either ON *kirkja* or a scandinavianised OE *cirice* as their specific elements, although this stance is partly based on her incorrect statement that there are no examples of OE *cirice* in compound with OE *burh/byrig* (see SSNEM 14). In CDEPN 349-50, Watts treats Kirby Hall NTH as an original *bý(r)*-name but Monks Kirby WAR as an original *byrig*-name that was later scandinavianised.

Watts’s distinction between the two names in CDEPN 349-50 might be a minor discrepancy, but he does note that Monks Kirby WAR has more than one *byrig*-form: *Kirkeberia, -biria* 1077 and *Chircheberie* 1086. The 1077 forms are recorded in a gift of land

at Monks Kirby WAR from Geoffrey de Wirce to the monks of St Nicholas of Angers (see PNWar 112). Whereas the pre-Domesday Book *bý(r)*-form for Appleby Magna LEI favours it and the other Leicestershire *bý(r)*-names with concurrent Domesday Book *bý(r)*-forms and *byrig*-forms as original *bý(r)*-names (see above), the 1077 form for Monks Kirby WAR favours it as an original *byrig*-name. The Domesday Book *Chircheberie* 1086 form is not an erratic form among *bý(r)*-forms. It is possible that both *byrig*-forms represent scribal errors, but the scribe(s) who wrote Geoffrey de Wirce's gift of land in 1077 were probably local and familiar with the land-unit. Domesday Book scribes worked with local materials and may have had access to this source or ones with similar forms.

Kirby Hall NTH is first attested with its Domesday Book *byrig*-form *Chercheberie* 1086 and from the twelfth century onward with *bý(r)*-forms, making its documentary conditions the same as the five *bý(r)*-names from Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Warwickshire with standalone Domesday Book *byrig*-forms discussed above. Its status is similarly uncertain. The rarity of an OE **cirice-byrig* compound in English place-names and the frequency of Anglo-Scandinavian Kir(k)by-names favours Kirby Hall NTH and Monks Kirby WAR as peripheral *bý(r)*-names that were incorrectly recorded, although the rarity of the Old English compound itself makes this error hard to explain. It could alternatively be theorised that some Kir(k)by-names in areas where *byrig* was a common form of the Old English element in place-name formations could represent original OE **cirice-byrig* names whose generic elements were weakened to ON *bý(r)* under Scandinavian influence. A recurrence of OE **cirice-byrig* names in England outside the main areas of Scandinavian settlement would make this theory more plausible.

There are four other Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names whose historical forms involve generic elements interchanges relevant specifically to Domesday Book forms. They are

distributed across four counties covered by three separate Domesday Book circuits. The names and their Domesday Book forms are:

1. Aldeby NOR: *Aldebury* 1086, *Aldeby* c. 1180.
2. Coniston YOR: *Co(i)ningesbi* 1086, *Cuningeston* 1190.
3. West Derby LAN: *Derbei-*, *-berie* 1086, *Derby* 1094.
4. Normanby LIN: *Normanebi*, *Normanestouu*, *-stov* 1086, *Nordmanabi* 1115-18.

Domesday Book is significant for these names because the Domesday Book *byrig*-forms for Aldeby NOR and West Derby LAN are the only *byrig*-forms for those place-names; the Domesday Book *stōw*-forms are the only *stōw*-forms for Normanby LIN; and the Domesday Book *bý(r)*-form is the only *bý(r)*-form for Coniston YOR. There are semantic reasons that strongly favour Aldeby NOR as an original *byrig*-name that was later scandinavianised; and the interchange in the historical forms of Coniston YOR between ON *bý(r)* and OE *tūn*/ON *tūn*, assimilating it to the recurrent Kingston-names compound, is primarily a semantic issue. Both names are discussed fully in the semantics section of this case-study (see Section 4.3.). This leaves West Derby LAN and Normanby LIN to discuss here from a scribal perspective.

West Derby LAN is first attested in Domesday Book with a concurrent *bý(r)*-form and *byrig*-form and is, then, directly comparable to the five Leicestershire names which experience the same phenomenon. It is, however, an isolated example outside of the East Midlands county that cannot be explained as part of the wider phenomenon on the East Midlands Domesday Book circuit. West Derby LAN is one of 15 Lancashire *bý(r)*-names recorded in Domesday Book, and the other 14 *bý(r)*-names in the county do not experience generic elements interchanges in their historical forms. However, West Derby LAN is located in the south-west of Lancashire near to the Wirral peninsula in Cheshire, where four *bý(r)*-

names experience interchange in their historical forms between ON *bý(r)* and OE *byrig*. Only two of the Cheshire names that feature in the case-study are attested in Domesday Book: Greasby CHE (*Gravesberie* 1086), a probable original *byrig*-name that was later scandinavianised, and Helsby CHE (*Helesbe* 1086), a probable *bý(r)*-name with an erratic *byrig*-form and *lēah*-form (see below). It is probable that the *byrig*-form for West Derby LAN represents an early example of a generic elements interchange phenomenon that recurs in the area.

The *stōw*-forms for Normanby LIN are difficult to explain for any reason because the element does not have the phonological overlap with ON *bý(r)* that ON *byrig* has nor the semantic overlap with the Old Norse element that OE *tūn*/ON *tún* has. Previous scholars have not particularly addressed the *stōw*-forms. Fellows-Jensen provides the *Normanestov* 1086 form in her East Midlands survey but does not comment on it (see SSNEM 60-61); and the editors of PNLin 6 44 simply note that the *stōw*-form(s) is ‘a form not supported by any later spellings’, i.e. is erratic. The facts that the *stōw*-forms occur concurrently with a *bý(r)*-form and that Normanby LIN is one of eight Normanby-names in the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus favour it as an original *bý(r)*-name with erratic Domesday Book forms caused by scribal error. However, these erratic forms are less comfortably explained than *byrig*-forms and *tūn/tún*-forms.

4.5.3. Post-Domesday Book

There are 12 *bý(r)*-names in the case-study that are either first attested later than the Domesday Book survey or have generic elements interchanges that are pertinent to discuss in a post-Domesday Book scribal context. The *bý(r)*-names and their relevant historical forms are:

1. Alston CUM: *Aldeneby* 1164-67, *Aldenestoun* c. 1208.
1. Enderby LEI: *Andretesbi*, *Endrebi* 1086, *Andredeberia* 1100.
2. Greasby CHE: *Gravesberie* 1086, *Grauesbyri* 1096-1100 [1150], *Grauisby* 1096-1101 [1280], *Greuesby* 1249-1323.
3. Helsby CHE: *Helesbe* 1086, *Hellesberie* 1189-99, *Hellesorhee* a. 1245, *Hellesley* 1300.
4. Irby CHE: *Erberia*, *Irreby* 1096-1101 [1280], *Yrreby* 1271.
5. Leaston ELO: *villa de Laysynbi* 1294.
6. North and South Owersby LIN: *Ares-*, *Oresbi* 1086, *Orisberia* 1110 [c. 1200].
2. Roxby LIN: *Rosce-*, *Roxebi* 1086, *Rochesberia* 1090-1100 [1401].
7. Scaleby CUM: *villa de Scales* c. 1180, *Schalebery*, *-by* c. 1235.
8. Smeaton MLO: *Smithetune* 1124-53, *Smithetun* 1150, *Smithebi* 1153-65, 1154-59, *Smihet(un)* 1170 (sic), *Smetheby* 1232, *Smithetune* 1234.
9. Stainsby DER: *Steinesbi* 1086, *Stainisberia* 1176.
10. Tealby LIN: *Tau-*, *Tavele(s)bi* 1086, *Tablesbeia* 1094, *Tablesberiiis* 1090-1100 [1402] (sic), *Tauellesbury* 1154-89 [1409], *Teilebi* 1210.
11. Thringstone LEI: *Trangesbi*, *-by* 1086, *Strengeston* c. 1160, *Threingesthorpe* 1276.
12. Whitby CHE: *Witerberia* 1096-1101 [1150], *Witebi* 1188-91, *Witebia* 1096-1101 [1280], *Quiteleye* 1291.

Alston CUM, Leaston ELO, and Smeaton MLO are discussed more fully in the semantics section of this case-study because the interchange between ON *bý(r)* and OE *tūn*/ON *tún* is a semantic issue (see Section 4.3.). It is notable from a documentary perspective, however, that the *bý(r)*-form for Leaston ELO may represent an error by a scribe familiar with *bý(r)*-names

in Cumbria. Smeaton MLO is unique in the case-study corpus for how many times its generic element interchanges between two elements. Its two earliest attestations are *tūn/tún*-forms, followed by two *bý(r)*-forms, a *tūn/tún*-form, a *bý(r)*-form, and then *Smithetune* 1234, a *tūn/tún*-form from which its generic element does not deviate again. This run of forms suggest that either two forms of the place-name once existed, or that the generic element of Smeaton MLO was influenced by nearby *bý(r)*-names in East Lothian and West Lothian. Scaleby CUM is also discussed in the semantics section of this case-study because its interchanges between ON *bý(r)*, OE *byrig*, ME *maner*, and Latin *villa* in its earliest forms was also perhaps semantically driven (see above).

This leaves nine *bý(r)*-names to be discussed with interchanges in post-Domesday Book sources, which can be evenly split between four Cheshire-names and four names in the East Midlands. Greasby CHE and Whitby CHE have been held by previous scholars to be original *byrig*-names that were later scandinavianised. In PNCh 4 291, Dodgson etymologises Greasby CHE as an original ‘stronghold at a wood’ construction that was later scandinavianised, with OE *græfe* ‘a grove, copse, thicket’ as its specific element.⁸⁶ Fellows-Jensen excludes the name from her analysis of north-western *bý(r)*-names because she takes it to be an original *byrig*-name ‘[whose] English element survived long enough to be recorded several times before succumbing’ (see SSNNW 12).

Dodgson also etymologises Whitby CHE as an original Old English compound OE *hwīt* ‘white’ + OE *byrig* that later underwent scandinavianisation (see PNCh 4 198). Fellows-Jensen is less certain. In SSNNW 12 she states that its specific element of Whitby CHE ‘very probably’ ON *hvítr* ‘white’ and that its *byrig*-form ‘betray[s] the influence of an English

⁸⁶ In CDEPN 260, Watts alternatively suggests that the specific element of Greasby CHE is OE *græf* ‘a digging, pit, trench’. The two elements and their variants are very difficult to distinguish in historical place-name forms (see EPNE 1 207). Regardless, the specific element of Greasby CHE is relatively securely a reflex of one of these OE elements and so the place-name is, in its *bý(r)*-forms, a hybrid name.

element which was common in the area' (i.e. *byrig*), but in SSNNW 43 she states that the specific element is OE *hwīt*/ON *hvítr*, probably denoting whitewashed buildings, and that ON *bý(r)* may have replaced OE *byrig*. Regardless, unlike Greasby CHE, she includes Whitby CHE in her analysis of north-western *bý(r)*-names. The adjectives OE *hwīt*/ON *hvítr* are indistinguishable in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in the absence of evidence for the diagnostic weak OE inflection *hwītan-*; and it should be noted that the personal names OE *Hwīt(a)*, ON *Hvíti*, *-r*, derived from the adjectives, are formally possible as the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian Whitby-names.⁸⁷

The documentary conditions of the interchange between ON *bý(r)* and ON *byrig* in the historical forms of Greasby CHE and Whitby CHE are very similar, with the significant exception that Greasby CHE is first attested in Domesday Book with a *byrig*-form and Whitby CHE was not assessed as a taxable vill in that survey. Greasby CHE and Whitby CHE have *byrig*-forms in a mid twelfth-century copy of an earlier charter, *Grauesbyri* 1096-1101 [1150] and Whitby CHE *Witerberia* 1096-1101 [1150]; and they have *bý(r)*-forms in thirteenth-century copies of the same document, *Grauisby* 1096-1101 [1280] and *Witebia* 1096-1101 [1280]. Whitby CHE is attested with a *bý(r)*-form in an earlier attestation, *Witebi* 1188-91. The strength of the claim that Greasby CHE represents an original *byrig*-name is the relatively secure Old English origin of its specific element and its Domesday Book *byrig*-form. It is difficult to determine, without a Domesday Book form to rely on, whether Whitby CHE is an original *byrig*-name or a *bý(r)*-name.

The issue is complicated further by Irby CHE, which appears in the thirteenth-century document with a concurrent *bý(r)*-form and *byrig*-form, *Erberia, Irreby* 1096-1101 [1280].

⁸⁷ The two other Whitby-names are Whisby LIN (*Wizebi* 1086) and Whitby YOR (*Witebi*, *-by*, *Wytebi*, *-by* 1086). The Yorkshire-name could formally reflect one of the adjectives or the personal names (see SSNY 41), but the forms for the Lincolnshire-name appear to reflect a **Hvítsbý(r)* construction which contains ON *Hvítr* as its specific element (see SPNLY 147; SSNEM 77).

The earliest copy of a historical form for Irby CHE is *Yrreby* 1271. Dodgson and Fellows-Jensen take the specific element of Irby CHE to be the genitive plural of ON *Írar* ‘Irishmen’ and the place-name to be an original ‘*bý(r)* of the Irishmen’ construction with an erratic *byrig*-form (see PNChE 4 264; SSNNW 33).⁸⁸ Irby-names are a recurrent compound among Anglo-Scandinavian place-names and there are no examples in English place-names of ON *Íri*, personal name or ethnonym, in compound with OE *byrig*. The available evidence, then, suggests that the *Erberia* 1096-1101 [1280] form for Irby CHE is erratic. This may support the suggestion that *Witerberia* 1096-1101 [1150] for Whitby CHE is also.

A possible scribal explanation for this relies on the fact that OE *byrig* appears in the forms for Irby CHE and Whitby CHE in the latinised form *-beria*. The Old English element also appears in latinised forms for the five East Midlands *bý(r)*-names listed above: Enderby LEI (*Andredeberia* 1100); North and South Owersby LIN (*Orisberia* 1110 [c. 1200]); Roxby LIN (*Rochesberia* 1090-1100 [1401]); Stainsby DER (*Stainisberia* 1176, *Staineresberia* 1179); and Tealby LIN (*Tablesberiiis* 1090-1100 [1402] (sic)). These *byrig*-forms post-date the earliest attestations of the East Midlands *bý(r)*-names, which are all Domesday Book *bý(r)*-forms. There is nothing to suggest that these *byrig*-forms are authentic.

It is possible that the *byrig*-forms for Irby CHE, Whitby CHE, and the East Midlands names represent erroneous expansions by scribes/copyists familiar with the Old English element of *-bia*, a latinised form of ON *bý(r)* which occurs in historical attestations of 59 *bý(r)*-names in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, to *-beria*. Medial *-er-* was often omitted in Medieval Latin(ised) documents in England as part of a wide-ranging scribal abbreviations system (see Hector 1958: 30; Marshall 2004: 19). Evidence for this abbreviation in the

⁸⁸ The personal name ON *Íri*, derived from *Íri* ‘Irishman’, is formally possible as the specific element of Irby CHE and the four other Irby-names: Irby in the Marsh LIN (*Irebi* 1115-18); Irby Manor YOR (*Irebi* 1086); Ireby LAN (*Irebi* 1086); and High and Low Ireby CUM (*Irebi* c. 1160) (see Chapter One, Section 1.3.2.1.).

historical forms of *byrig*-names is seen in those for Bradbury and the Isle DUR (*Bradb'ia* e. 13th) and Little Sodbury and Old Sodbury GLO (*Parua Schob'ia* 1167, *Magna Schob'ia* 1167) (see PNDur 1 170; PNGlo 3 52-53).⁸⁹ Therefore, an original **Witebia* 1096-1101 form for Whitby CHE, for example, could have been mistaken by the 1150 copyist as **Witeb'ia* and incorrectly expanded into the *Witerberia* 1096-1101 [1150] form. The latinised *beria*-forms for Irby CHE, North and South Owersby LIN, Roxby LIN, Tealby LIN, and Whitby CHE all occur in later copies of original documents. That the two *byrig*-forms for Greasby CHE reflect the element in its English form does not allow for this explanation, and further supports the probability that it is an original *byrig*-name whose generic element was scandinavianised in an area (and documents) where there is regular interchange between the elements in historical forms.

The *Hellesberie* 1189-99 form for Helsby CHE and *Tauellesbury* 1154-89 [1409] form for Tealby LIN do not fit the explanation above. Helsby CHE is first attested in Domesday Book with a *by'(r)*-form and its specific element is either ON *hjallr* 'hut, ledge on a mountainside' or ON *hellir* 'rocky cavern on a cliff-side' (see PNChe 3 326; SSNNW 32). Its *byrig*-form is erratic, but the name also has a historical *lēah*-form and a *Hellesorhee* a. 1245 form whose generic element is not readily identifiable but may be a scribal error for a second *lēah*-form (see Sections 4.3., 4.4.). In each instance the phonological and/or semantic overlap between the elements is probably the cause of erratic forms for an original *by'(r)*-name.

The specific element of Tealby LIN is very uncertain. Fellows-Jensen favours OE **tæfl(i)*/ON *tafl* 'chess-board, plateau, square-shaped piece of land' (see SSNEM 74), but in PNLin 3 133-35 the editors note the possibility of the personal name OE *Peabul* but favour the tribal-name OE **Tāflas/Tæflas*. Regardless, it is evident from the historical forms of the

⁸⁹ The generic elements of these *byrig*-names are also abbreviated with loss of medial *-r-* in the forms *Bradb'y'i* c. 1240 for Bradbury and Isle DUR and *Sodb'i* 1207-72 for Little Sodbury GLO (see PNDur 1 170; PNGlo 3 52).

place-name that it was treated with some uncertainty by medieval scribes. Although its *-bury* form cannot be explained as a result of erratic expansion of latinised *-bia*, the fact that it occurs in a copy which post-dates its source by over two centuries suggests it is a comparable scribal error.

The *Threingesthorpe* 1276 form for Thringstone LEI is the only example of interchange between ON *bý(r)* and OE *þrop*/ON *þorp* in the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus, and the interchange affects a place-name which develops into a *tūn/tún*-name following a Domesday Book *bý(r)*-form. The *þrop/þorp*-form appears in a document where Thringstone LEI is listed immediately below Osgathorpe LEI, and it seems likely that the scribe compiling that document erroneously repeated the generic element of that name (see PNLei 7 70). The alternative possibility is that the document records a dependent settlement of Thringstone LEI, but there is no further evidence for this in historical records. In PNLei 7 70, Cox takes the *Threingesthorpe* 1276 form as that which most closely records the unattested personal name ON **Þræingr* he suggests is the specific element of Thringstone LEI.

4.6. Conclusion

Generic elements interchange in the historical forms of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names is a complex phenomenon that was caused by semantic and phonological overlap between ON *bý(r)* and other generic elements; and implemented by speech communities and/or scribes and copyists. That they occur, on the whole, in more peripheral areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names distribution suggests that the Old Norse element was more susceptible to adaptations of various kinds outside the areas where it held its strongest currency as a settlement-term.

However, some caution must be maintained and it certainly cannot be stated that generic elements interchanges did not occur in the core areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names. It is an obvious point, but one worth remembering, that all of the interchanges are ultimately scribal phenomena and are filtered to us through the medium of historical written records. These written records probably post-date the coining of the place-names involved by decades to centuries. It is uncertain to what extent, on a name-by-name basis, the scribal interchanges were informed by natural processes in local speech communities, and whether scribal interchanges influenced the forms of the place-names used by local speech communities. It may be in the core areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names distribution that interchange was common, particularly in the form of ON *bý(r)* replacing pre-existing generic elements. However, these interchanges may have been so well enforced by Scandinavian-speakers that no trace of them survived by 1086, the earliest date most *bý(r)*-names were recorded, in Domesday Book. The core areas of the *bý(r)*-names distribution correlate with areas of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain that had a weaker literary output compared to Mercia and Wessex in the ninth and tenth centuries.

It is possible that during interchange processes settlements were known by more than one name, perhaps to different parts of a mixed speech community. The historical forms of Badby NTH and Holdenby NTH, located in a county where there were probably fewer Scandinavian-speakers to foster a scandinavianisation process (certainly compared to Lincolnshire and Yorkshire), may have recorded this process in progress before *bý(r)*-forms won out. The multiple interchange forms for Smeaton MLO, though later, may reflect that the place-name had two forms; that a scandinavianisation process (perhaps under the influence of *bý(r)*-names in East Lothian and West Lothian) was unsuccessful; or that an original *bý(r)*-name was anglicised to a *tūn*-name in a county where it was the only *bý(r)*-name.

Some of the generic elements interchanges are almost certainly scribal errors which probably had no impact on how the *bý(r)*-names involved were used or understood by local speech communities. Chief among these are the Leicestershire names with concurrent Domesday Book *bý(r)*-forms and *byrig*-forms and the *bý(r)*-names with latinised *-beria* forms in the Middle English period which probably reflect erroneous expansions of *bý(r)*-forms by copyists. The possible assimilation of Coniston YOR to the recurrent Kingston-name type and assimilation of Thringstone LEI to the generic element of its closest neighbours may reflect scribal errors which ultimately caused permanent adaptations to the place-names. Other instances are more uncertain. The *lēah*-forms for the three Cheshire names are late and are unlikely to reflect original generic elements for the names, but whether they are simply scribal errors or forms of the names used in local speech communities – by that time formed of Middle English-speakers living in a one-time region of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain where *bý(r)*-names are uncommon but *lēah*-names are frequent – is uncertain.

This case-study offers some new insights into place-names whose etymologies have generally been held to be secure. If we accept that the standalone Domesday Book *byrig*-forms for Quenby LEI and Shoby LEI are errors of the same scribal processes that produced

concurrent Domesday Book *bý(r)*-forms and *byrig*-forms for other Leicestershire names then Naseby NTH, Rugby WAR, and Thornby NTH – recorded on the same Domesday Book circuit as the Leicestershire names – must be accepted as possible erratic forms for original *bý(r)*-names. Conversely, if they are accurate, then the possibility that Kirby Hall NTH and Monks Kirby WAR reflect scandinavianised OE **Cirice-byrig* names must be considered. That Monks Kirby WAR has two standalone *byrig*-forms that pre-date its first *bý(r)*-form makes this possibility stronger, and it raises a potential question of how many other Anglo-Scandinavian Kirkby-names reflect scandinavianised forms of a place-name compound that is otherwise only relatively securely attested in Chirbury SHR.

The archaeological evidence and recurrent Badbury-names and Oldbury-names in English place-names strongly suggests that Aldeby NOR and Badby NTH were original *byrig*-names and that scandinavianisation processes did occur. This is rare evidence, however, where sites are suited to the meaning of OE *byrig*, and in many instances the original generic elements of the *bý(r)*-names in this case-study are uncertain. However, based on the analysis contained in this case-study it is held here in conclusion that: Appleby Magna LEI, Arnesby LEI, Barkby LEI, West Derby LAN, Enderby LEI, Gaddesby LEI, Helsby CHE, Old Ingarsby LEI, North and South Owersby LIN, Pensby CHE, Roxby LIN, and Tealby LIN are original *bý(r)*-names with erratic forms; it is held that: Asfordby LEI, Bleasby NOT, Coniston YOR, Holdenby NTH, Kirby Hall NTH, Monks Kirby WAR, Leaston ELO, Naseby NTH, Normanby LIN, Quenby LEI, Rugby WAR, Scaleby CUM, Smeaton MLO, Thringstone LEI, and Whitby CHE are uncertain as to their original generic elements; and it is held that Aldeby NOR, Badby NTH, and Greasby CHE are original *byrig*-names whose generic elements were later scandinavianised.

Chapter Five: Summary Conclusion

This thesis contributes a large-scale analysis of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names to the ongoing discussion on the historical linguistic impact of early medieval Scandinavian settlement in Britain. This analysis is based on a corpus of 806 Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names which is, to my knowledge, the largest ever constructed. The construction of this *bý(r)*-names corpus, within the parameters established in Chapter Two (see Section 2.1.1.), is in itself significant for understanding the use and extent of ON *bý(r)* as a place-name element in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. Recent estimations of the number of *bý(r)*-names in England have ranged from c. 700 given by Fellows-Jensen (2013: 83) to c. 850 given by Hadley and Richards (2021: 101). The 766 English *bý(r)*-names collected as part of the corpus for this thesis represent a realistic number between these estimations; and the place-names database constructed for this thesis is readily available to be shared with other scholars.

This thesis is not only the first large-scale study of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names to encompass all of England, but also the first to properly extend analysis north of the modern England-Scotland border.⁹⁰ The collection of Scottish *bý(r)*-names material was more challenging than the English material – there is a paucity of SSPN volumes compared to SEPN volumes, and regional studies of Scandinavian place-names in Scotland comparable to Fellows-Jensen’s English studies have not yet been conducted – but this was a rewarding endeavour in order to produce a ‘national’ corpus of 806 *bý(r)*-names.⁹¹ The Scandinavian settlements in early medieval Britain varied regionally, both in nature and scope (see Chapter

⁹⁰ Fellows-Jensen (SSNNW 6) incorporates Dumfriesshire in her study of Anglo-Scandinavian settlement-names in the north-west because she interprets Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in the county as evidence for Scandinavian settlement originating from Cumberland.

⁹¹ The total number of Scottish *bý(r)*-names collected for this thesis, 40 names, was negatively affected by the AD 1500 cut-off established for the data collection process of this thesis (see Chapter Two, Section 2.1.1.).

One, Section 1.2.), but the modern England-Scotland border holds little significance for these processes. The uneven large-scale analysis of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names in England and Scotland produced is illustrated by Smith's (1956c) map 'The Scandinavian Settlement', still widely reproduced despite its age, which uses the modern England-Scotland border as an artificial cut-off for the distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names.

The border cut-off on Smith's (1956c) map is in one sense perfectly understandable – it was produced as part of his EPNE volumes, which take their geographical scope from the remit of *The Survey of English Place-Names* to cover the historical counties of England. Indeed, all previous analyses of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names, English or Scottish, are to varying degrees limited in their geographical scope. Fellows-Jensen's SSNEM, which covers six counties in the East Midlands, is the broadest previous study. There is a certain amount of dialogue between previous studies of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names but, nevertheless, their analysis and results stand in isolation from one another.

Geographical limitation is not the only factor which has affected the scope of previous studies and their analysis of *by(r)*-names. SEPN volumes, which collectively represent the most numerous datasets for the *by(r)*-names corpus constructed for this thesis, are separated not only by their county-by-county production but also by their disparate publication dates. At either side of this date range, in the context of this thesis, Smith's commentary in PNNRY on *by(r)*-names in The North Riding of Yorkshire was published seventy-four years before Cox's on Leicestershire *by(r)*-names in PNLei 2, the first of seven Leicestershire SEPN volumes to analyse *by(r)*-names. Smith analysed *by(r)*-names in PNNRY without large-scale datasets from other counties to compare with, and he and other early SEPN editors did not have the context which has resulted from the significant research done on Scandinavian settlement in Britain in the second half of the twentieth century (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.).

The amount of work previous scholars put into the production of analyses of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names and/or studies that cover them cannot be understated, and the scale of these undertakings is a primary reason for their geographical limitations and disparate publication dates. SEPN volumes, for example, take years to compile. Much of this work was undertaken before the advent of modern software tools, which increasingly allow twenty-first-century place-name scholars to produce previously unachievable large-scale analyses, or even desktop computers. The many boxes of handwritten place-name forms transcribed by previous scholars for use in SEPN volumes and other studies, held by the Institute for Name-Studies at the University of Nottingham, attest to the painstaking nature of this work. Without this foundational work by previous scholars large-scale analyses of place-names in Britain, such as that conducted in this thesis, would not be possible within a reasonable timeframe.

The construction of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus for this thesis was, despite the availability of datasets from previous studies and modern tools, very time-consuming. The custom-building of a database, collation of *bý(r)*-names material from fifty-one data sources, collection of geographical co-ordinates, and cross-referencing of proposed etymologies on such a large scale were unavoidably slow processes. The result, however, is a corpus of *bý(r)*-names 142.0% larger than has previously been presented in a single study – the 333 East Midlands *bý(r)*-names assessed by Cameron (1965) and Fellows-Jensen's SSNEM – and 16.1% larger than the 694 *bý(r)*-names collectively analysed by Fellows-Jensen across her three regional studies. The corpus constructed for this thesis is not restricted by the county or regional limitations of previous studies. This has allowed for a larger-scale analysis of *bý(r)*-names than has previously been conducted, in view of the developments of late-twentieth and twenty-first century place-name scholarship.

It is the large-scale approach of this thesis that is its primary contribution to the study of Anglo-Scandinavian place-names. Such a large dataset has allowed for better informed

analysis of both large groups of *bý(r)*-names and individual names – ranging at either end of that scale from the 555 *bý(r)*-names first attested in the eleventh century to the isolated Aldeby NOR with its Domesday Book OE *byrig*-form (see Chapter Three, Section 3.3.2.; Chapter Four, Section 4.3.1.) – within a wider context. This wider context of the total Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus has been visually represented throughout this thesis as a heat-map, which to my knowledge is a novel contribution to place-name research. The heat-map of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus not only illustrates the relative density of its distribution in a superior, more easily understood manner than a traditional dot-based map, but also provides visual context as an underlay for dot-based maps of groups of *bý(r)*-names. It would be useful to see this methodological approach applied in other studies that handle reasonably-sized datasets, whether they be further single-element analyses or broader surveys of place-names.

The use of a heat-map of the total Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus as an underlay for dot-based distribution maps in this thesis, which illustrates groups of *bý(r)*-names in relation to the ‘cores’ and ‘peripheries’ of the corpus (see Chapter Three, Section 3.2.2.), has proven to be a valuable analytical tool. It has shown, as examples, that later-attested *bý(r)*-names are increasingly peripheral over the centuries (see Chapter Three, Section 3.3.); that personal name specific elements are more common in core areas, where they may have been more effective as distinguishing labels (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4.1.1.); and that generic element interchange phenomena are more common in peripheral areas (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2.1.). In contrast to personal names, topographical specific elements are more evenly spread across core and peripheral areas (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4.2.1.1.); and Kir(k)by-names, which represent the most recurrent compound in the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus, occur in every core and peripheral area outside of Scotland (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4.3.1.).

These results, among others in this thesis, are for the most part unsurprising – what they tend to illustrate is reassuringly logical, which further supports the use of heat-maps as an analytical tool. However, they offer new insights, including into some widely-held beliefs. Fellows-Jensen, for example, has argued that the preponderance of personal name + *by(r)* constructions in eastern/north-eastern England represent the fracturing of Anglo-Saxon estates into smaller land-units under the ownership of individuals for the first time (see Fellows-Jensen 1984: 35-56; VEPN 2 105-06). Many land-units in eastern/north-eastern England given *by(r)*-names probably did represent fractured estates, but their personal name specifics may have been given less as a statement of personal ownership and more out of practical necessity in areas of dense *by(r)*-names clusters.⁹² Presumably some of the land-units in the west of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain that were given *by(r)*-names also represent fractured estates, or re-purposed settlements, but in areas of less dense distributions of *by(r)*-names topographical elements were more appropriate as distinguishing elements.

Pickles's (2018: 252-53) theory that the majority of Kir(k)by-names were coined to denote the presence and/or possessions of religious communities in Anglo-Scandinavian England features in discussion of the recurrent compound in this thesis (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4.3.1.). The illustration of their distribution relative to a heat-map underlay of the total *by(r)*-names corpus shows that they are not only widely distributed across all regions of Anglo-Scandinavian England where *by(r)*-names occur, which is well known, but that they occur in core and peripheral areas of those regions. This perhaps lends support to Pickles's (2018) theory – if Kir(k)by-names predominantly represent administrative place-name formations, rather than repeated application by Old Norse-speakers of a (pre-formed) compound to settlements with churches, they would attest to the influence of Scandinavian-

⁹² A similar theory could be suggested for the clusters of (Anglo-)Norman personal name + *by(r)* constructions in the north-west of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain that probably represent contemporary plantations (see Chapter Three, Section 3.3.3.).

speakers on place-naming in Anglo-Scandinavian society but not necessarily to Scandinavian settlement where they occur. As a result, they would not correlate directly with core or peripheral areas of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus.

The heat-map distributions show that generic element interchange phenomena predominantly occur in the historical forms of peripheral *bý(r)*-names, with some regional variation, which is a logical outcome. The main cluster of *bý(r)*-names that have historical *byrig*-forms occur in the East Midlands border region of the Anglo-Scandinavian place-names distribution (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2.3.1.), which is reasonably apparent on a simple dot-based map. The seven *bý(r)*-names with historical *tūn/tún*-forms, however, are widely distributed across the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. It is the heat-map underlay to their distribution which illustrates that the disparate instances in Cumberland, the East Midlands, Lothian, and Yorkshire all occur in the peripheries of *bý(r)*-names clusters in those regions (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2.3.2.). This is much less apparent on a dot-based map of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus which, again, supports the usefulness of heat-mapping as an analytical tool in large-scale place-name research.

The use of heat-maps is not the only methodological development in this thesis. The separation of the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names into ‘relatively secure’ and ‘uncertain’ etymological categories – the criteria for which are explained in Chapter Two (see Section 2.3.3.) – has allowed for baseline statistics to be produced on a large scale that do not require extensive caveat and/or a series of subjective etymological decisions to be made. The minimum and maximum figures for personal name specifics produced for this thesis are different by 339 *bý(r)*-names, 42.1% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, which highlights the difficulty in dealing with naming systems that drew from common vocabulary and their appearance in historical place-name forms (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4.1.).

The sub-corpus of 215 *by(r)*-names that relatively securely contain personal names as their specific elements represents 26.7% of the total corpus constructed for this thesis. However, they represent a more significant 51.9% of the total *by(r)*-names whose specific elements are relatively secure which, somewhat provisionally, is 414 names, or 51.4% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus. The additional 62 *by(r)*-names not covered by the specific elements analysis of Chapter Three (see Section 3.4.) predominantly comprise those with adjectives, ethnonyms, and other common nouns as their specific elements, most of which are discussed elsewhere in this thesis. The proportion of *by(r)*-names with relatively secure etymologies whose specific elements are personal names roughly correlates with figures produced or estimated by previous scholars for broader corpora – Fellows-Jensen (SSNEM 15, 27; 1991: 348) proposed that between 40% and 69% of East Midlands *by(r)*-names contain personal names and settled on a figure of 42% for Yorkshire; and Abrams and Parsons (2004: 395-99) estimate that ‘around half’ of *by(r)*-names in eastern/north-eastern England contain personal names (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4.1.).⁹³ The correlation between these figures supports the relatively secure methodological approach developed for this thesis, which allows uncertain specific elements to be analysed relative to more certain instances.

The focus of this thesis, using the methodologies discussed above, has been analysis of the Anglo-Scandinavian *by(r)*-names corpus as a linguistic artefact of Scandinavian settlements in early medieval Britain, rather than as historical evidence for those settlements. However, the analysis in this thesis of *by(r)*-names in their historical context has allowed for further insights into some of these historical topics. For example, a body of evidence points to

⁹³ Fellows-Jensen (SSNNW 13) proposes that 34% of *by(r)*-names in the north-west contain personal names where, as discussed in this thesis, topographical elements are relatively more common as specific elements compared to eastern/north-eastern England (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4.2.1.1.).

ON *bý(r)* having had a broader origin and use in Britain than has generally been held. The perceived ‘Danishness’ of the element in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain is illustrated by the decision in VEPN 2 104 to use the reflex ODan *bȳ* as the headform for the element in English place-names. The geographical remit of VEPN does not include Scotland, but does include north-western England where there is ample evidence for Gaelic-Scandinavian settlement (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.4.). The recurrent Sorbie/Sowerby-names compound which occurs in the north-west of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain and northern Yorkshire is a distinctly Old West Norse formation that otherwise occurs outside of Scandinavia in Iceland, the Isle of Man, and the Scottish Western Isles; and it offers compelling evidence for the use of ON *bý(r)* in Britain by Old Norse-speakers who were not ‘Danish’ (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4.2.1.5.).

The ethnonymic case-study in the introduction to this thesis illustrates that, across the corpus, multiple non-Scandinavian socio-ethnic groups are identified in the specific elements of Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names (see Chapter One, Section 1.3.2.1.). It seems likely that in areas of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain where ON *bý(r)* became a dominant settlement-term it was used by non-Scandinavians to form place-names – the Domesday Book forms *Degene-*, *Denegebi* 1086 for Denaby YOR, which reflect the diagnostic Old English genitive plural *Deniga* ‘of the Danes’, offer evidence for the coining of a *bý(r)*-name by English-speakers. This points to an Anglo-Scandinavian usage that previous discussions on the origins of ON *bý(r)* in Britain, focused on a ‘Danish’ versus ‘Norwegian’ debate, have not properly addressed (see Chapter One, Section 1.3.2.). It seems likely that in the sociolinguistic milieu of early medieval Britain reflexes of ON *bý(r)* would have developed within a generation or two of Scandinavian settlements that cannot be accurately labelled ‘Danish’ or ‘Norwegian’ (or perhaps, in the north-west, ‘Gaelic-Scandinavian’).

An Anglo-Scandinavian reflex, perhaps A-Sc **by*, should probably be added to discussion of the element to reflect its development in Britain.⁹⁴ However, as noted in the introduction to this thesis, an Anglo-Scandinavian reflex of the element does not encompass its probable use across different regions in Britain, and time-periods, by Scandinavians, English peoples, Anglo-Scandinavians, and others (see Chapter One, Section 1.3.2.). The use of ON *bý(r)* as a catch-all headform for its use in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain, as part of a language-contact situation involving multiple groups, seems most appropriate. ODan *bȳ* was undoubtedly a reflex involved in this situation, and perhaps in some regions and/or time-periods the dominant reflex, but it is too limiting in its scope to be used as the headform of the element in Anglo-Scandinavian Britain.

An Anglo-Scandinavian reflex might be most appropriately applied to later use of ON *bý(r)* as a place-name-forming element. The *bý(r)*-names in the north-west of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain that contain (Anglo-)Norman personal names as their specific elements offer the strongest evidence for the use of the element in the region as late as the twelfth century (see Chapter Three, Section 3.3.3.). Fellows-Jensen's (1984: 36; 1989-90: 44; SSNNW 5) suggestion that these place-names represent partially re-named, pre-existing *bý(r)*-names seems less a practical one than one which fits her problematic theory that Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names are a product, *en masse*, of early 'Danish' settlement throughout England and south-western Scotland (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.4., for discussion of this theory and the evidence against it).

The (Anglo-)Norman personal name + *bý(r)* constructions do not stand alone as evidence for the later use of the element to form place-names in the north of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. The fourteen Newby-names and six Oldby-names, hybrid formations

⁹⁴ Smith (EPNE 1 66) states that 'the usual form [of the element] in England is OE *by*, *big*, ME *bi*, *by* (from ODan *bȳ*, ON *býr*)'. His use of 'OE' to label the forms is perhaps misleading, but he evidently recognised Anglo-Scandinavian forms of the element.

that contain OE *nīwe* ‘new’ and (probably) OE *ǣald* ‘old’ as their specific elements, dominate a group of *by(r)*-names with adjectival specific elements that even Fellows-Jensen (1984: 37) has accepted as likely post-Conquest formations. The distributions of these compounds broadly correlate with the *by(r)*-names that contain (Anglo-)Norman personal names, and these groups collectively form a body of evidence for later use of the element in northern Anglo-Scandinavian Britain. There is context for this use – Parsons (2011: 126) notes the existence of twelfth-century inscriptions in the north-west of England that indicate Old Norse was a living language at the time; and that this, plus the place-name evidence (otherwise including inversion compounds and late diagnostic Old Norse *-ar* genitive inflections), might suggest Old Norse remained ‘the dominant vernacular’ in the region between the tenth and twelfth centuries. The continued use of ON *by(r)* as a place-name-forming element during this period would seem to have formed part of this vernacular.

The large-scale analysis of this thesis and the methodologies developed for it invite future research on Anglo-Scandinavian *by(r)*-names and other place-names with other generic elements. The full-length case-study of generic element interchange in the historical forms of *by(r)*-names presented here discusses a phenomenon that affects only 37 *by(r)*-names, or 4.6% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, and highlights how much there is to unpack through analysis of *by(r)*-names groups in the historical context(s) of Anglo-Scandinavian Britain (see Chapter Four). A smaller number of Anglo-Scandinavian *by(r)*-names experience specific element interchange in their historical forms, and various other historical linguistic features in the corpus are worthy of future analysis.

While some appear in discussions throughout this thesis, the 392 *by(r)*-names (which represent 48.6% of the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus) whose specific elements are categorised here as ‘uncertain’ in particular deserve fuller analysis. The future analysis of these *by(r)*-names and their specific elements is now better facilitated by the statistics, distributions, and

heat-maps produced for this thesis. Further work on the historical importance of *bý(r)*-names, outside of the significant historical questions relating to Scandinavian settlement that have dominated discussion, is required. Recent research by Wrathmell (2020; 2021; 2022) examines the establishment of early medieval Anglo-Scandinavian rural communities in eastern Yorkshire using settlements with *bý(r)*-names as historical evidence; and such smaller-scale, detailed studies of *bý(r)*-names and their historical significance are also required. These, too, will be better informed by the context of the large-scale analysis of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus produced for this thesis.

Further large-scale, statistical studies of other generic elements in British place-names are needed. The obvious candidate, most comparable to ON *bý(r)* as a settlement-term, is OE *tūn*/ON *tún*, but large-scale statistical studies of other generic elements including OE *þrop*/ON *þorp* would be beneficial.⁹⁵ A large-scale study of OE *tūn*/ON *tún* in the style of this thesis, producing robust baseline statistics, distribution maps, and heat-maps would allow significant historical linguistic questions to be addressed. Townend's (2013: 118-19) theory that at least some Grimston-/Toton-names contain ON *tún*, discussed in the generic elements interchange case-study of this thesis (see Chapter Four, Section 4.3.2.), would be best explored in the context of a study that illustrates where and how they occur relative to a broader *tūn/tún*-corpus. Future large-scale studies of this type are not limited to settlement-terms relevant to Anglo-Scandinavian Britain, but they offer the opportunity for novel approaches to research on early medieval Scandinavian settlement in Britain, which remains an engaging topic. Such undertakings are challenging, but rewarding in their finds, and this thesis provides a secure foundation for research of this kind.

⁹⁵ Cullen, Jones, and Parsons (2011) have produced an excellent large-scale study of OE *þrop*/ON *þorp*-names in England focused on developed a hypothesis on the meaning of the elements as settlement-terms, which would form the starting point of such a statistical analysis.

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Appendix

This appendix contains a dataset of the Anglo-Scandinavian *bý(r)*-names corpus constructed for this thesis. It gives the modern (or last surviving) form of each *bý(r)*-name in the corpus, their counties, their first attestations, and the national grid references of the land-units they are/were attached to.

<u>Place-Name</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>First Form</u>	<u>Grid Reference</u>
Aby	LIN	<i>Abi</i> 1086	TF 41074 78540
Aglionby	CUM	<i>Agyllun-</i> , <i>Auguellun-</i> , <i>Agulunebi</i> c. 1200	NY 44789 56577
Ailby	LIN	<i>Hale-</i> , <i>Alebi</i> 1086	TF 43792 76975
Ainderby Mires	YOR	<i>Endrebi</i>	SE 25682 92755
Ainderby Quernhow	YOR	<i>Aiendre-</i> , <i>Andrebi</i> 1086	SE 34933 80923
Ainderby Steeple	YOR	<i>Eindre-</i> , <i>Andrebi</i> 1086	SE 33468 92099
Aisby (Corringham Wap.)	LIN	<i>Asebi</i> , <i>-by</i> 1086	SK 87292 92971
Aisby (Threo Wap.)	LIN	<i>Asebi</i> 1086	TF 01397 38765
Aislaby	DUR	<i>Aslakebi</i> 12 th	NZ 40468 12326
Aislaby (Pickering Lythe Wap.)	YOR	<i>Aslache(s)bi</i> 1086	SE 77597 85680

Aislaby (Whitby Strand Wap.)	YOR	<i>Asulue(s)bi</i> 1086	NZ 86024 08682
Aismunderby (Close)	YOR	<i>Asmundre-</i> , <i>Hashundebe</i> 1086	SE 31407 70367
Alby	NOR	<i>Ala-</i> , <i>Alebei</i> 1086	TG 19422 34225
Aldby (Allerdale Above Wap.)	CUM	<i>Aldeby</i> 1278	NY 02382 14955
Aldby (Leath Wap.)	CUM	<i>Aldebi</i> 1203	NY 46205 27772
Aldbyfield	CUM	<i>Aldbyfeld</i> 1485	NY 54827 52393
Aldeby	CUM	<i>Aldeby</i> 1479	NY 14711 34623
Aldeby	NOR	<i>Aldebury</i> 1086; <i>Aldeby</i> c. 1180	TM 45046 93304
Aldeby St John	LEI	<i>Aldeby</i> 1154-89	SP 55347 99073
Alfletby	LIN	<i>Alfleteby</i> 1246	SK 87422 84516
Allerby	CUM	<i>Crosseby Aylward</i> 1258	NY 09026 39537
Allonby	CUM	<i>Alayneby</i> 1262	NY 08163 43319
Alston	CUM	<i>Aldeneby</i> 1164-71	NY 71809 46473
Alstonby Hall	CUM	<i>Astinebi</i> c. 1210	NY 40973 65253
Amotherby	YOR	<i>Aimundre-</i> , <i>Edmundrebia</i> 1086	SE 75009 73410
Anderby	LIN	<i>Ander-</i> , <i>Handerbi</i> 12 th	TF 52348 75452
Anlaby	YOR	<i>Um-</i> , <i>Unlouebi</i> 1086	TA 03349 28878

Appleby	LIN	<i>Aplebi</i> 1086	SE 95317 15062
Appleby	WES	<i>Appil-</i> , <i>Appelby, -bi(a)</i> 1132-61	NY 68327 20439
Appleby Magna	LEI	<i>Æppelbyg</i> 1004 (e. 11 th)	SK 31507 09847
Arkleby	CUM	<i>Arkelby</i> 1246	NY 14150 39220
Arnaby	CUM	<i>Arnolvebi</i> c. 1230	SD 18315 84670
Arnesby	LEI	<i>Erendesbi</i> 1086	SP 61718 92168
Asby	WES	<i>Ascabio</i> 12 th	NY 68053 13232
<i>Aschebi</i>	LAN	<i>Aschebi</i> 1086	SD 49933 39887
Asenby	YOR	<i>Estanesbi</i> 1086	SE 39611 75110
Asfordby	LEI	<i>Esseberie</i> 1086; <i>Osferdebie</i> 1086	SK 70814 18935
Asgarby (Aswardhurn Wap.)	LIN	<i>Asegarby</i> 1201	TF 11620 45387
Asgarby (Bolingbroke Wap.)	LIN	<i>Asgerebi</i> 1086	TF 32999 66917
Ashby	LIN	<i>Aschebi</i> 1086	SE 89869 08602
Ashby	NOR	<i>Aschebei, Asseby</i> 1086	TG 41898 15756
Ashby	SUF	<i>Aschebi</i> 1198	TM 48970 99035
Ashby by Partney	LIN	<i>Aschebi</i> 1086	TF 42885 66876
Ashby cum Fenby	LIN	<i>Aschebi</i> 1086	TA 25450 00948

Ashby de la Launde	LIN	<i>Aschebi</i> 1086	TF 05252 55283
Ashby de la Zouch	LEI	<i>Ascebi</i> 1086	SK 36087 16764
Ashby Folville	LEI	<i>Ascebi</i> 1086	SK 70677 11985
Ashby Magna	LEI	<i>Essebi</i> 1086	SP 56369 90475
Ashby Parva	LEI	<i>Essebi</i> 1086	SP 52563 88622
Ashby Puerorum	LIN	<i>Aschebi</i> 1086	TF 32800 71409
Ashby St Ledgers	NTH	<i>Ascebi</i> 1086	SP 57320 68198
Ashby St Mary	NOR	<i>Ascebi</i> 1086	TG 32927 02230
Ashby, Canons	NTH	<i>Ascebi</i> 1086	SP 57790 50520
Ashby, Castle	NTH	<i>Asebi</i> 1086	SP 86362 59131
Ashby, Cold	NTH	<i>Essebi</i> 1086	SP 65610 76267
Ashby, Mears	NTH	<i>Asbi</i> 1086	SP 83842 66650
Ashby, West	LIN	<i>Aschebi</i> 1086	TF 26576 72464
Aslackby	LIN	<i>Aslachebi</i> 1086	TF 08537 30386
Asselby	YOR	<i>Aschilebi</i> 1086	SE 71993 27989
Asserby	LIN	<i>Asforthebi</i> c. 1200	TF 49489 77697
<i>Assheby</i>	CHE	<i>Assebe</i> 1287	SJ 61908 80135
Asterby	LIN	<i>Estrebi</i> 1086	TF 26383 79511
Aswarby	LIN	<i>Warde-, Asuuardebi</i> 1086	TF 06718 39906
Aswardby	LIN	<i>Asewrdeby</i> (sic) 1147-66	TF 37571 70199
Atterby	LIN	<i>Adredebi</i> 1185	SK 98091 92989
Audleby	LIN	<i>Aldvlvebi</i> 1086	TA 11093 03947

Aunby	LIN	<i>Ounebi</i> 1219	TF 02191 14602
Aunsby	LIN	<i>Ounesbi</i>	TF 04463 38836
Austby	YOR	<i>Ousteby</i> 1246	SE 09987 49406
Autby	LIN	<i>Aluuolde(s)-</i> , <i>Alwoldebi</i> 1086	TF 28038 97112
Aylesby	LIN	<i>Alesbi</i> 1086	TA 20291 07587
Badby	NTH	<i>baddan byrig, -by</i> 944	SP 55971 58735
Bagby	YOR	<i>Baghe-, Bagebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 46338 80633
Baggaby Bottom	YOR	<i>Bagoteby</i> 12 th	SE 85112 49892
Balby	YOR	<i>Balle(s)bi, -by</i>	SE 56418 01549
Baldby Fields	YOR	<i>Baldebi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 90157 11294
Baldersby	YOR	<i>Baldrebi</i> 1086	SE 38782 76303
Barby	NTH	<i>Berchebi</i> 1086	SP 54331 70294
Barkby	LEI	<i>Barchebi, -berie</i> 1086	SK 63672 09853
Barlby	YOR	<i>Bardulbi</i> 1086	SE 63223 34035
Barmby on the Marsh	YOR	<i>Bærna-, Barnabi c.</i> 1050	SE 69021 28430
Barmby on the Moor	YOR	<i>Barne-, Bernebi</i> 1086	SE 77641 48941
Barnaby	YOR	<i>Bernodebi</i> 1086	NZ 57095 16010
Barnby	SUF	<i>Barneby</i> 1086	TM 48018 89913

Barnby (Bulmer Wap.)	YOR	<i>Barnebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 72516 60906
Barnby (Langbargh East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Barnebi</i> 1086	NZ 82700 12547
Barnby Dun	YOR	<i>Barnebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 61412 09726
Barnby Hall	YOR	<i>Barnebi</i> 1086	SE 29271 08136
Barnby in the Willows	NOT	<i>Barnebi</i> 1086	SK 86030 52182
Barnby Moor	NOT	<i>Barnebi</i> 1086	SK 66384 84473
Barnetby le Wold	LIN	<i>Bernode-, Bernetebi</i> 1086	TA 06149 09077
Barnoldby le Beck	LIN	<i>Bernulfbi</i> 1086	TA 23554 03308
Barrowby	YOR	<i>Bergeby</i> 1236	SE 39032 33605
Barrowby Grange	YOR	<i>Berghebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 33424 47842
Barsby	LEI	<i>Barnesbi</i> 1086	SK 69867 11380
Battersby	YOR	<i>Badresbi</i> 1086	NZ 59545 07492
Battersby Farm	YOR	<i>Badresbi</i> 1086	SD 67155 67357
Baxby	YOR	<i>Basche(s)-, Bachesbi</i> 1086	SE 51236 75190
Beeby	LEI	<i>Bebi</i> 1086	SK 66401 08319
Beelsby	LIN	<i>Beles-, Bilesbi (corr. Blesbi)</i> 1086	TA 20749 02064
Beesby	LIN	<i>Bese-, Basebi</i> 1086	TF 26691 96617
Beesby in the Marsh	LIN	<i>Bize-, Besebi</i> 1086	TF 46349 80228

Begbie	ELO	<i>Bagby</i> c. 1178	NT 49185 70838
Belby	YOR	<i>Belle-, Ballebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 77128 28839
Bellerby	YOR	<i>Belgebi</i> 1086	SE 11553 92753
<i>Berguluesbi</i>	YOR	<i>Bergulues-, Bergolbi</i> 1086	TA 01499 83382
<i>Bernebi</i>	YOR	<i>Bernebi</i> 1086	SD 9551 9619
Bescaby	LEI	<i>Berthaldebia</i> (<i>rectius</i> <i>Berchaldebia</i> c. 1130	SK 82309 26330
Bessingby	YOR	<i>Basing(h)ebi, -by</i> 1086	TA 15906 65948
Bielby	YOR	<i>Belebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 78868 43723
Bigby	LIN	<i>Bechebi</i> 1086	TA 05974 07473
Bilby	NOT	<i>Billebi</i> 1086	SK 63692 83097
Billockby	NOR	<i>Bit(h)lakebei</i> 1086	TG 43102 13266
Bilsby	LIN	<i>Bil(l)esbi</i> 1086	TF 46643 76711
Birkby (Allerdale Above Wap.)	CUM	<i>Brettebi</i> 1086	SD 13693 96109
Birkby (Allerdale Below Wap.)	CUM	<i>Bretteby</i> c. 1215	NY 05956 37490
Birkby	YOR	<i>Bretebi</i> 1086	NZ 33156 02387
Birkby Hall	LAN	<i>Bretebi</i> 1086	SD 37589 77091

Birkby Hall	YOR	<i>Bretebi</i> 1086	SE 35797 39508
Bittesby	LEI	<i>Bichesbie</i> (sic) 1086	SP 50232 85351
Blaby	LEI	<i>Bladi</i> (sic) 1086	SP 57029 97852
Blackfordby	LEI	<i>Blakefordeb'</i> c. 1130	SK 33044 18127
Blansby	YOR	<i>Blandebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 82812 87544
Bleasby	LIN	<i>Blase-, Blese-, Blesbi</i> (corr. <i>Belesbi</i> 1086	TF 13055 84926
Bleasby	NOT	<i>Blisetune</i> 958 (14 th); <i>Bleseby</i> 13 th	SK 71779 49681
Blingsby Gate	DER	<i>Blanghesbi</i> 1086	SK 45856 64523
Boltby	YOR	<i>Boltebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 49062 86657
Bombay	KCB	<i>Bondby</i> 1500	NX 71306 50221
Bombie	DMF	<i>Bundeby</i> 1291	NY 32043 88736
Bomby	WES	<i>Bondby</i> 1292	NY 52233 17681
Bonby	LIN	<i>Bvnde-, Bodebi</i> 1086	TA 00374 15517
Boneby	WES	<i>Boneby</i> 1413-22	NY 53620 27779
Boothby	CUM	<i>Buethby</i> 1276	NY 55052 62864
Boothby Graffoe	LIN	<i>Bodebi</i> 1086	SK 98291 59260
Boothby Hall	LIN	<i>Bodebi</i> 1086	TF 48522 68629
Boothby Pagnell	LIN	<i>Bodebi</i> 1086	SK 97179 30829
Bordelby	YOR	<i>Bordlebi, Bordelbia</i> 1086	SE 44854 98465

Borrowby (Allerton Wap.)	YOR	<i>Ber(g)(h)ebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 42829 89275
Borrowby (Langbargh East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Berge(s)bi</i> 1086	NZ 77030 15553
Botcherby	CUM	<i>Bocherby</i> c. 1170	NY 42282 55663
Boulby	YOR	<i>Bol(l)ebi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 76057 18999
Braceby	LIN	<i>Breizbi</i> 1086	TF 01647 35349
Bransby	LIN	<i>Branzbi</i> 1086	SK 89970 79367
Brandsby	YOR	<i>Branzbi</i> 1086	SE 59838 71942
Brattleby	LIN	<i>Brotvl-, -ulbi</i> 1086	SK 94733 80799
Brawby	YOR	<i>Bragebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 73872 78158
Brentingby	LEI	<i>Brantingbia</i> c. 1130	SK 78476 18800
Bretby	DER	<i>Bretbi</i> 1086	SK 29409 23262
Brettanby Manor	YOR	<i>Bretanebi, -by</i> 12 th	NZ 22489 09908
Brocklesby	LIN	<i>Bracheles-, Brochelesbi</i> 1086	TA 13964 11308
Brooksby	LEI	<i>Brochesbi</i> 1086	SK 67093 16002
Brumby	LIN	<i>Brunebi</i> 1086	SE 89580 09638
Buckby, Long	NTH	<i>Buchebi</i> 1086	SP 62721 67738
Budby	NOT	<i>Butebi</i> 1086	SK 61873 70119
Bulby	LIN	<i>Bolebi</i> 1086	TF 05036 26082
Burnby	YOR	<i>Brunebi</i> 1086	SE 83568 46380
Busbie	AYR	<i>Busby</i> 1467-68	NS 39215 40887

Busby	LNK	<i>Busby</i> c. 1342	NS 58268 56439
Busby, Great	YOR	<i>Buschebi</i> 1086	NZ 51987 05711
Bushby	LEI	<i>Bucebi</i> 1175	SK 65349 03908
Bysbie	WIG	<i>Buskeby</i> 1296	NX 47495 35991
Cadeby	LEI	<i>Catebi</i> 1086	SK 42576 02394
Cadeby	YOR	<i>Catebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 51476 00521
Cadeby, North	LIN	<i>Cadebi</i> 1086	TF 27027 95932
Cadeby, South	LIN	<i>Catebi</i> 1086	TF 24442 87742
Caenby	LIN	<i>Couenebi</i> 1086	TF 00000 89290
Calceby	LIN	<i>Calesbi</i> 1086	TF 38977 75700
Canonbie	DMF	<i>Cannaby</i> 1275	NY 39496 76328
Candlesby	LIN	<i>Calnodesbi</i> 1086	TF 45571 67340
Careby	LIN	<i>Karbi</i> 1202	TF 02574 16480
Carlby	LIN	<i>Carlebi</i> 1086	TF 04971 13889
Carnaby	YOR	<i>Cherendebi</i> 1086	TA 14469 65593
Carperby	YOR	<i>Chirprebi</i> 1086	SE 00971 90040
Cartmel	LAN	<i>Cherchebi</i> 1086	SD 37976 78797
Catesby	NTH	<i>Catesbi</i> 1086	SP 51551 59575
Claxby	LIN	<i>Clachesbi</i> 1086	TF 45289 71475
Claxby by Normanby	LIN	<i>Clachesbi</i> 1086	TF 11086 94596
Claxby Pluckacre	LIN	<i>Claches-, Clasbi</i> 1086	TF 30652 65134
Cleasby	YOR	<i>Clesbi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 24919 13077

Clippesby	NOR	<i>Clepe(s)bei, -be,</i> <i>Clipesby</i> 1086	TG 42842 14582
Clixby	LIN	<i>Clisbi</i> 1086	TA 10242 04339
Cocklebee	AYR	<i>Cokilvy</i> 1482	NS 41758 46174
Colby	NOR	<i>Colebei</i> 1086	TG 22033 31120
Colby (Lodge, Road)	LEI	<i>Colby</i> 1320-40 (1467-84)	SK 62092 08384
Colby	WES	<i>C-, Kollebi</i> 1100-33	NY 66607 20689
Coleby (Boothby Wap.)	LIN	<i>Colebi, -by</i> 1086	SK 97516 60592
Coleby (Manley Wap.)	LIN	<i>Colebi</i> 1086	SE 89824 19715
Conesby, North and South	LIN	<i>Cunesbi</i> 1086	SE 89439 13756
Coningsby	LIN	<i>Cuningesbi</i> 1086	TF 22233 58039
Coniston	YOR	<i>Co(i)ningesbi</i> 1086	TA 15534 35139
Corby	NTH	<i>Corb(e)i</i> 1086	SP 89837 88768
Corby, Great and Little	CUM	<i>Corkeby</i> 1130	NY 47079 54198
Corsbie	BWK	<i>Crossebie</i> 1309	NT 60692 44158
Cosby	LEI	<i>Cossebi</i> 1086	SP 54793 94855
Coulby	YOR	<i>Colebi</i> 1086	NZ 50387 14968
Cowesby	YOR	<i>Cahosbi</i> 1086	SE 46456 89960
Coxbench	DER	<i>Herdebi</i> 1086	SK 37030 43515

Crooksby	YOR	<i>Croc(he)sbi</i> 1086	SD 98007 85119
Crosbie	AYR	<i>Crosby</i> a. 1214	NS 34426 29491
Crosbie	DMF	<i>Corsby</i> 1464	NS 35685 26768
Crosby	LIN	<i>Cropesbi</i> 1086	SE 89370 11952
Crosby	YOR	<i>Crox(e)bi</i> 1086	SE 39316 91882
Crosby and Crosscanonby	CUM	<i>Crosseby</i> 1123-50	NY 06919 39000
Crosby on Eden	CUM	<i>Crossebi</i> c. 1200	NY 44813 59587
Crosby Garrett	WES	<i>Crossebi, -by</i> 1200	NY 72998 09714
Crosby House	YOR	<i>Crosby</i> 1184	SE 30362 87528
Crosby Ravensworth	WES	<i>Crosseby</i> <i>Ravenesvart</i> c. 1160	NY 62145 14832
Crosby, Great and Little	LAN	<i>Crosebi</i> 1086	SJ 32161 99855
Croxby	LIN	<i>Cro(c)sbi</i> 1086	TF 18972 98141
Dalby	LIN	<i>Dalbi</i> 1086	TF 41052 70077
Dalby (Bulmer Wap.)	YOR	<i>Dalbi, -by</i> 1086	SE 63721 71213
Dalby (Pickering Lythe Wap.)	YOR	<i>Dalbi, -by</i> 1086	SE 85653 87452
Dalby, Great	LEI	<i>Dalbi, -by</i> 1086	SK 74205 14420
Dalby, Little	LEI	<i>Dalbi</i> 1086	SK 77494 13652
Dalby, Old	LEI	<i>Dalbi</i> 1086	SK 67398 23542
Dalderby	LIN	<i>Dalbi</i> 1115-18	TF 24933 65774

<i>Dalebi</i>	WES	<i>Dalebibanc</i> 13 th	NY 74298 15703
Danby	YOR	<i>Danebi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 70763 08516
Danby on Ure	YOR	<i>Danebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 15904 87109
Danby Wiske	YOR	<i>Danebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 33809 98346
Darby	LIN	<i>Derbi</i> 1086	SE 87965 17973
Deightonby Fields	YOR	<i>Dictenbi</i> 1086	SE 46025 06162
Dembleby	LIN	<i>Denbel-, Delbe-, Dembelbi</i> 1086	TF 04217 37727
Denaby	YOR	<i>Denege-, Degenebi</i> 1086	SK 48262 99049
Denbie	DMF	<i>Daneby</i> 1304	NY 11100 72950
Denby	DER	<i>Denebi</i> 1086	SK 39856 46490
Denby	YOR	<i>Denebi, -by(e)</i> 1086	SE 22630 07164
Denby, Upper	YOR	<i>Denebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 17951 18197
Derby	DER	<i>Deoraby</i> 924-39	SK 35227 36501
Derby, West	LAN	<i>Derbei, -berie</i> 1086	SJ 39731 93345
Digby	LIN	<i>Dicbi</i> 1086	TF 07951 54818
Dolphenby	CUM	<i>Dolphinerbi</i> 1202	NY 57623 31149
Dovenby	CUM	<i>Duvaneby</i> 1230	NY 09471 33205
Dowsby	LIN	<i>Dvse-, Dusebi</i> 1086	TF 11325 29273
Driby	LIN	<i>Dribi</i> 1086	TF 38845 74392
Dromonby	YOR	<i>Dragmalebi</i> 1086; <i>Tromundesbi</i> c. 1150	NZ 53165 05829

Duggleby	YOR	<i>Difgeli-, Dighelibi</i> 1086	SE 87859 67026
Dunnabie	DMF	<i>Dundoby</i> 1452	NY 25569 81124
Dunsby	LIN	<i>Dvnes-, Dunesbi</i> 1086	TF 10521 26819
Dunsby St Andrew	LIN	<i>Dunnesbi</i> 1086	TF 04028 51348
Earby	YOR	<i>Eurebi</i> 1086	SD 90758 46881
Easby (Birdforth Wap.)	YOR	<i>Asebi</i> 1086	N/A
Easby (Birdforth Wap.)	YOR	<i>Asebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 36978 75234
Easby (Gilling East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Asebi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 18554 00280
Easby (Langbargh East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Esebi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 57783 08690
Easby, Great and Little	CUM	<i>Essebi</i> 1159	NY 53985 62814
Eastby	YOR	<i>Estby</i> 1241-60	SE 02020 54409
Ellerby (Holderness Wap.)	YOR	<i>Aluuarde-,</i> <i>Alu(u)erdebi</i> 1086	TA 16767 38052
Ellerby (Langbargh East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Elworde-, Alwardebi</i> 1086	NZ 80000 14655
Ellonby	CUM	<i>Alaynby</i> c. 1220	NY 42512 35399
Enderby	LEI	<i>Andretesbi</i> 1086	SP 53760 99423

Enderby, Bag	LIN	<i>Andre-, Adredebi</i> 1086	TF 34915 72053
Mavis, Enderby	LIN	<i>Endrebi</i> 1086	TF 36358 66575
Enderby, Wood	LIN	<i>Endrebi</i> 1086	TF 27353 64132
Eppleby	YOR	<i>Aplebi</i> 1086	NZ 17741 13202
Eresby	LIN	<i>Iresbi</i> 1086	TF 39541 65169
Esbie	DMF	<i>Eskeby</i> 1291	NY 08201 82621
Etterby	CUM	<i>Etardeby</i> 1246	NY 39169 57339
Ewerby	LIN	<i>Geres-, Ieres-, Grenebi</i> 1086	TF 12164 47279
Exelby	YOR	<i>Aschilebi</i> 1086	SE 29456 87026
Faceby	YOR	<i>Fe(i)z-, Foitesbi</i> 1086	NZ 49555 03024
Farmanby	CUM	<i>Faremannebi</i> 1187- 91	NY 59286 37101
Farmanby	YOR	<i>Farmanesbi</i> 1086	SE 83830 83127
Fearby	YOR	<i>Federbi</i> 1086	SE 19382 81033
Felixkirk	YOR	<i>Fridebi</i> 1086	SE 46790 84762
Fenby	LIN	<i>Fende-, Fenbi</i> 1086	TF 25994 99283
Ferrensby	YOR	<i>Feresbi</i> 1086	SE 36951 60696
Ferriby, North	YOR	<i>Ferebi</i> 1086	SE 98900 25782
Ferriby, South	LIN	<i>Ferebi</i> 1086	SE 98842 20830
Filby	NOR	<i>Phile-, Fileby</i> 1086	TG 46895 13222

Firby (Buckrose Wap.)	YOR	<i>Friebia</i> 1086	SE 74479 66353
Firby (Hang East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Fredebi</i> 1086	SE 26579 86333
Firsby	LIN	<i>Frisebi</i> 1202	TF 45504 62637
Firsby	YOR	<i>Frisobeia</i> 1121-27	SK 49386 96011
Fixby	YOR	<i>Fechesbi</i> 1086	SE 13255 19474
Flasby	YOR	<i>Flatebi</i> 1086	SD 94686 56664
Flaxby	YOR	<i>Flatesbi</i> 1086	SE 39580 57860
Flimby	CUM	<i>Flemingeby</i> 1201	NY 02370 33324
Flotmanby	YOR	<i>Flotemanebi</i> 1086	TA 07952 79858
Fockerby	YOR	<i>Fulcwardby(e)</i> 1164-77	SE 84640 19023
Follingby	DUR	<i>Foletesbi</i> c. 1150	NZ 30594 60231
Fonaby	LIN	<i>Fuldenebi</i> 1086	TA 10900 02983
Formby	LAN	<i>Fornebei</i> 1086	SD 28067 06713
Formby	YOR	<i>Forneby</i> c. 1210	SE 28633 65079
Fotherby	LIN	<i>Fdre-</i> (sic), <i>Fodrebi</i> 1086	TF 31698 91716
Foulby	YOR	<i>Folebi</i> , -by 1166-93	SE 39899 17742
Frankby	CHE	<i>Fraunkbi</i> 1346	SJ 24279 86377
Freeby	LEI	<i>Fredebi</i> 1086	SK 80385 20118
Frisby	LEI	<i>Frisebi(e)</i> 1086	SK 70374 01657

Frisby on the Wreake	LEI	<i>Frisebie</i> 1086	SK 69575 17797
Frisby, East and West	LIN	<i>Frisebi</i> 1086	SK 98790 85118
Fulletby	LIN	<i>Fvll-, Fvlnodebi</i> 1086	TF 29818 73389
Fulnetby	LIN	<i>Fulnedebe</i> 1086	TF 09776 79439
Fulsby	LIN	<i>Folesbi</i> 1086	TF 24304 60881
Gaddesby	LEI	<i>Gadesbi</i> 1086	SK 68975 13042
Galby	LEI	<i>Galbi</i> 1086	SK 69492 01063
Gamblesby	CUM	<i>Gamelesbi</i> 1177	NY 60963 39360
Gamelsby	CUM	<i>Gamelesby</i> 1285	NY 25872 52407
Garrowby	YOR	<i>Gheruenz-, Geruezbi</i> 1086	SE 79532 57225
Gatenby	YOR	<i>Ghetenes-, Chenetesbi</i> 1086	SE 32433 87977
Gautby	LIN	<i>Goutebi</i> 1195-96	TF 17468 72442
Gilby	LIN	<i>Gillebi</i> 1138-39 (13 th)	SK 86376 93307
Gillenbie	DMF	<i>Gillonby</i> 1296	NY 18083 85365
Gilmonby	YOR	<i>Gil(le)maneby</i> 1146- 61	NY 99341 13150
Gimmenbie	DMF	<i>Gimonbie</i> 1478	NY 16536 78407
Girsby	LIN	<i>Grisebi</i> 1086	TF 21767 87035

Girsby	YOR	<i>Grisebi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 35397 08326
Glassonby	CUM	<i>Glassanebi</i> 1177	NY 57669 38929
Goadby	LEI	<i>Govtebi</i> 1086	SP 75022 98881
Goadby Marwood	LEI	<i>Goutebi</i> 1086	SK 77933 26376
Gonerby, Great	LIN	<i>Gvnforde-, Gunforde-, Gouerdebi</i> 1086	SK 89780 38112
Gonerby, Little	LIN	<i>Gunnewordebi</i> 1086	SK 91331 37352
Goulceby	LIN	<i>Colchesbi</i> 1086	TF 25517 79311
Graby, East and West	LIN	<i>Greibi</i> 1086	TF 09750 29592
Grainsby	LIN	<i>Grenesbi</i> 1086	TF 27815 99480
Granby	NOT	<i>Grane-, Grenebi</i> 1086	SK 75099 36206
Grasby	LIN	<i>Gros(e)bi</i> 1086	TA 08734 04915
Greasby	CHE	<i>Gravesberie</i> 1086; <i>Greseby</i> 1272	SJ 25470 87240
Grebby	LIN	<i>Gred-, Greibi</i> 1086	TF 43717 68701
Greetby	LAN	<i>Grittebi</i> c. 1190	SD 42138 09577
Greinby	LIN	<i>Grenebi</i> 1196	TF 44314 67732
Gribdae	KCB	<i>Gretby</i> 1356	NX 73061 50510
Grimoldby	LIN	<i>Grimal-, Grimoldbi</i> 1086	TF 39277 87950
Grimsby	LIN	<i>Grimesbi</i> 1086	TA 27800 09553

Grimsby	YOR	<i>Grimesbi</i> 1086	NZ 77040 15579
Grimsby, Little	LIN	<i>Grimesbi</i> 1086	TF 32645 91319
Groby	LEI	<i>Grobi</i> 1086	SK 52313 07613
Gunby	LIN	<i>Gunnebi</i> 1086	TF 46867 66823
Gunby	YOR	<i>Gunelby</i> 1066-69	SE 70882 35335
Gunby St Nicholas	LIN	<i>Gvnnebi</i> 1086	SK 91274 21552
Gunnerby	LIN	<i>Gunresbi</i> 1086	TF 21598 99046
Gutterby (Egremont)	CUM	<i>Godri(c)keby</i> 1235	SD 10427 84442
Gutterby (Whitbeck)	CUM	<i>Godrikeby</i> 1209	NY 00984 10490
Haceby	LIN	<i>Hazebi</i> 1086	TF 03028 36062
Haconby	LIN	<i>Hacunes-</i> , <i>Hacone(s)bi</i> 1086	TF 10670 25253
Haggenby	YOR	<i>Hage(n)de-</i> , <i>Haghedenebi</i> 1086	SE 48590 43507
Hagnaby (Bolingbroke Wap.)	LIN	<i>Hagenebi</i> 1086	TF 34532 62579
Hagnaby (Calcewath Wap.)	LIN	<i>Haghnebi</i> 1189-99	TF 47989 79911
Hairby (alias Haythby)	LIN	<i>Hedebe</i> (<i>corr.</i> <i>Hodebi</i>) 1086	SE 88298 19302
Haldenby	YOR	<i>Haldanebi, -by</i> 1100-08	SE 82923 18115
Halnaby	YOR	<i>Halnathebi, -by</i> 1170-88	NZ 26229 06887

Hanby	LIN	<i>Hunde-, Hubi, Hunbia</i> 1086	TF 47490 69723
Harby	LEI	<i>Herdebi</i> 1086	SK 74731 31290
Harby	NOT	<i>Herd(r)ebi</i> 1086	SK 87813 70505
Hareby	LIN	<i>Harebi</i> 1086	TF 33891 65704
Harmby	YOR	<i>Hernebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 12748 89710
Harraby	CUM	<i>Henriby</i> 1272	NY 41538 54368
Harrowby	LIN	<i>Herigerbi</i> 1086	SK 93574 35806
<i>Hashundebi</i>	YOR	<i>Hashundebi</i> 1086	SE 31445 71125
Hawerby	LIN	<i>Hauuardebi</i> 1086	TF 26081 97597
Hawnby	YOR	<i>Halm(e)bi, -by</i> 1086	SE 54189 89735
Haxby	YOR	<i>Haxebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 60683 58270
Hellaby	YOR	<i>Helge-, Elgebi</i> 1086	SK 50569 92269
Helperby	YOR	<i>Helperby</i> 972 (11 th)	SE 43989 69756
Helsby	CHE	<i>Helesbe</i> 1086	SJ 49272 75859
Hemingby	LIN	<i>Hamingebi</i> 1086	TF 23718 74422
Hemsby	NOR	<i>He(i)mes-, Haimesbei</i> 1086	TG 49437 17378
Herringby	NOR	<i>Haringebei</i> 1086	TG 44641 10352
Hesby	CHE	<i>Eskeby</i> 1357	SJ 28298 89001
Hoby	LEI	<i>Hobie</i> 1086	SK 66913 17347
Holdenby	NTH	<i>Aldenesbi, -tone</i> 1086	SP 69188 67594

Holtby (Bulmer Wap.)	YOR	<i>Boltebi</i> (sic) 1086	SE 67520 54190
Holtby (Hang East Wap.)	YOR	<i>(H)elte-, Holte-, Boltebi</i> 1086	SE 26799 92268
Hornby	LAN	<i>Hornebi</i> 1086	SD 58511 68587
Hornby (Gilling East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Hornebia</i> 1086	NZ 36278 05569
Hornby (Hang East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Hornebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 22243 93754
Hornby Hall	WES	<i>Horneby</i> 1365	NY 56921 29969
Hornesby	CUM	<i>Ormesby</i> c. 1210	NY 51604 50107
<i>Houcbig</i>	LIN	<i>Houcbig</i> c. 1067 (12 th)	N/A
Huby (Bulmer Wap.)	YOR	<i>Hobi</i> 1086	SE 56696 65653
Huby (Claro Wap.)	YOR	<i>Huby</i> 1198	SE 27053 47747
Humbie	ELO	<i>Hundeby</i> c. 1250	NT 47033 63950
Humbie	WLO	<i>Hundby</i> 1481	NT 11467 75388
Humby, Great	LIN	<i>Humbi</i> 1086	TF 00667 32396
Hundleby	LIN	<i>Hundelbi</i> 1086	TF 38914 66524
Hunmanby	YOR	<i>Hundemanebi</i> 1086	TA 09593 77468
Hunsonby	CUM	<i>Hunshwan-, Hunswanby</i> 1292	NY 58051 35601

Ingarsby, Old	LEI	<i>Inuuaresbie</i> 1086; in <i>Gerberie</i> (sic) 1086	SK 68534 05322
Ingleby	DER	<i>Englabý</i> 1009	SK 35093 26890
Ingleby	LIN	<i>Englebi</i> 1086	SK 89375 77929
Ingleby Arncliffe	YOR	<i>Englebi</i> , -by 1086	NZ 44725 00973
Ingleby Barwick	YOR	<i>Englebi</i> 1086	NZ 44381 13967
Ingleby Greenhow	YOR	<i>Englebi</i> , -by 1086	NZ 58090 06283
Ingoldsby	LIN	<i>Goldes-</i> , <i>Ingoldesbi</i> 1086	TF 01021 30065
Irby	CHE	<i>Erberia</i> 1096-1101 (1280); <i>Irreby</i> 1096- 1101 (1280)	SJ 25583 84365
Irby on Humber	LIN	<i>Ire-</i> , <i>Iribi</i> 1086	TA 19588 04954
Irby Manor	YOR	<i>Irebi</i> 1086	NZ 41010 03073
Irby in the Marsh	LIN	<i>Irebi</i> 1115-18	TF 46839 63755
Ireby	LAN	<i>Irebi</i> 1086	SD 65465 75465
Ireby, High and Low	CUM	<i>Irebi</i> c. 1160	NY 23782 39205
Isaacby	CUM	<i>Ysacby</i> c. 1275	NY 22534 39968
Itterby	LIN	<i>Itrebi</i> 1086	TA 31040 08027
Johnby	CUM	<i>Ionesbi</i> 12 th	NY 43222 33153
Jolby	YOR	<i>Jo(h)eleby</i> 1193-99	NZ 25776 10204
Keadby	LIN	<i>Ketebi</i> 1185	SE 83504 11698
Kearby	YOR	<i>Cherebi</i> 1086	SE 34608 47041
Keelby	LIN	<i>Chele-</i> , <i>Chilebi</i> 1086	TA 16497 09956

Keisby	LIN	<i>Chisebi</i> 1086	TF 03714 28581
Kelby	LIN	<i>Chele-, Chillebi</i> 1086	TF 00357 41418
Ketsby	LIN	<i>Chetelesbi</i> 1086	TF 36909 76678
Kettleby	LIN	<i>Chetelbi</i> 1086	TA 03326 07850
Kettleby, Ab	LEI	<i>Chetelbi</i> 1086	SK 72424 22869
Kettleby, Eye	LEI	<i>Chitebie</i> 1086	SK 73384 16748
Kexby	LIN	<i>Cheftesbi</i> 1086	SK 87328 86030
Kexby	YOR	<i>Kexebi, -by</i> 1170-80	SE 70065 51035
Kilby	LEI	<i>Cilebi</i> 1086	SP 61904 95690
Killerby	DUR	<i>Culuerdebi</i> 1091-92 (12 th)	NZ 19187 19965
Killerby (Hang East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Chiluordebi</i> 1086	SE 25929 96062
Killerby (Pickering Lythe Wap.)	YOR	<i>Chilverte-, Chiluertesbi</i> 10856	TA 06284 82871
Kilsby	NTH	<i>Chidesbi</i> 1086	SP 56395 71159
Kilwardby	LEI	<i>Culverteb' c.</i> 1130	SK 35510 16668
Kingerby	LIN	<i>Chenebi</i> 1086	TF 05730 92856
Kirby (Langbargh West Wap.)	YOR	<i>Cherchebi</i> 1086	NZ 53839 06056
Kirby Bedon	NOR	<i>Kerkebei</i> 1086	TG 27851 05440
Kirby Bellars	LEI	<i>Cherche-, Chirchebi</i> 1086	SK 71786 18238

Kirby Cane	NOR	<i>Kerkeby</i> 1086	TM 37361 94165
Kirby Grindalythe	YOR	<i>Chirchebi</i> 1086	SE 90372 67515
Kirby Grounds	NTH	<i>Kerby</i> 1316	SP 63481 49488
Kirby Hall	NTH	<i>Chercheberie</i> ; <i>Cherchebia</i> 1121-29	SP 91861 93571
Kirby Hall	YOR	<i>Chirchebi</i> 1086	SE 45769 60918
Kirby Hill (Birdforth Wap.)	YOR	<i>Chirchebi</i> 1086	SE 39319 68598
Kirby Hill (Gilling West Wap.)	YOR	<i>Kirkebi</i> , -by 1154-66	NZ 14040 06602
Kirby Knowle	YOR	<i>Chirchebi</i> 1086	SE 46834 87278
Kirby Misperton	YOR	<i>Chirchebi</i> 1086	SE 77923 79549
Kirby Muxloe	LEI	<i>Carbi</i> 1086	SK 52067 04653
Kirby Sigston	YOR	<i>Kirchebi</i> 1088	SE 41657 94673
Kirby-le-Soken	ESX	<i>Kirkby</i> c. 1127	TM 21956 22030
Kirby Underdale	YOR	<i>Cherche-</i> , <i>Chirchebi</i> 1086	SE 80844 58592
Kirby Wiske	YOR	<i>Chi(r)che-</i> , <i>Cherchebi</i> 1086	SE 37631 84834
Kirby, Cold	YOR	<i>Carebi</i> 1086	SE 53365 84515
Kirby, Monks	WAR	<i>Kirkeberia</i> , -biria 1077; <i>Kirkebi</i> c. 1160	SP 46321 83139

Kirby, West	CHE	<i>Cherchebia</i> 1081 (12 th)	
Kirkby	LAN	<i>Cherchebi</i> 1086	SJ 40835 98985
Kirkby	LIN	<i>Kyrchebeia</i> 1146 (13 th)	TF 06329 92776
Kirkby (Agbrigg Wap.)	YOR	<i>Kirke-, Kyrkeby</i> 13 th	SE 24522 14227
Kirkby (Osgoldcross Wap.)	YOR	<i>Ki-, Kyrkebi, -by</i> c. 1090	SE 45785 21860
Kirkby in Ashfield	NOT	<i>Chirchebi</i> 1086	SK 49020 55833
Kirkby on Bain	LIN	<i>Cherche-, Chirchebi</i> 1086	TF 24369 62449
Kirkby Fleetham	YOR	<i>Chirche-, Chercebi</i> 1086	SE 28574 94511
Kirkby Green	LIN	<i>Cherchebi</i> 1086	TF 08499 57786
Kirkby Ireleth	LAN	<i>Gerleuuorde</i> 1086; <i>Kirkebi</i> 1191-98	SD 23592 83571
Kirkby Kendal	WES	<i>Cherchebi</i> 1086	SD 51371 93142
Kirkby Lonsdale	WES	<i>Cherchebi</i> 1086	SD 61127 78821
Kirkby Malham	YOR	<i>Chirchebi</i> 1086	SD 89360 60990
Kirkby Mallory	LEI	<i>Cherchebi</i> 1086	SK 45410 00341
Kirkby Malzeard	YOR	<i>Chirchebi</i> 1086	SE 23538 74531
Kirkby Moorside	YOR	<i>Chirchebi</i> 1086	SE 69751 86617

Kirkby Overblow	YOR	<i>Cherche-, Chirchebi</i> 1086	SE 32472 49222
Kirkby Stephen	WES	<i>Cherkaby Stephan</i> 1090-97	NY 77521 08819
Kirkby Thore	WES	<i>Kirkebythore</i> 1179	NY 63803 25943
Kirkby la Thorpe	LIN	<i>Cherche-, Chirchebi</i> 1086	TF 09790 46276
Kirkby Underwood	LIN	<i>Cherchebi</i> 1086	TF 06982 27043
Kirkby Wharfe	YOR	<i>Chirchebi</i> 1086	SE 50607 41072
Kirkby, East	LIN	<i>Cherchebi</i> 1086	TF 33447 62270
Kirkby, South	YOR	<i>Cherche-, Chirchebi</i> 1086	SE 45299 11069
<i>Kirkeby Crossan</i>	CUM	<i>Kirkeby crossan</i> 1225-75	NY 02237 29302
Laceby	LIN	<i>Leves-, Lenesbi</i> 1086	TA 21441 06526
Lackenby	YOR	<i>Lache(ne)bi</i> 1086	NZ 56502 19400
Lamonbie	DMF	<i>Lammyaby</i> 1488	NY 10438 84302
Lamonby	CUM	<i>Lambeneby</i> 1257	NY 40962 35943
Langwathby	CUM	<i>Langwadebi, -by</i> 1159	NY 56901 33725
Lazenby (Allerton Wap.)	YOR	<i>Leisenchi, Leisinghi</i> (sic) 1086	SE 33951 98527
Lazenby (Langbargh East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Lesinge-, Lesighebi,</i> <i>Laisinbia</i> 1086	NZ 57253 19745

Lazonby	CUM	<i>Leisingebi</i> 1165	NY 54921 39761
Leaston	ELO	<i>Laysynbi</i> 1201-1346	NT 48529 63525
Leckby	YOR	<i>Ledeby-, by</i> 1086	SE 41603 74037
Legsby	LIN	<i>Lagesbi</i> 1086	TF 13702 85658
Linby	NOT	<i>Lidebi</i> (sic) 1086	SK 53713 51047
<i>Lindbi</i>	DMF	<i>Lindbi</i> 1349	NY 21434 76156
Lockerbie	DMF	<i>Locardebi</i> 1194- 1214	NY 13563 81858
Lowesby	LEI	<i>Glowesbi</i> (sic) 1086	SK 72368 07471
Lumby	YOR	<i>Lundby</i> c. 1030	SE 48600 30190
Lusby	LIN	<i>Lvzebi</i> 1086	TF 34028 67933
Mabie	KCB	<i>Mayby</i> 1200-34	NX 95008 70772
Magby	AYR	<i>Makbehill</i> 1451	NS 41889 45678
Maltby	LIN	<i>Maltebi</i> 1086	TF 31057 84024
Maltby (Langbargh West Wap.)	YOR	<i>Maltebi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 46908 13515
Maltby (Strafforth Wap.)	YOR	<i>Maltebi, -by</i> 1086	SK 52766 91888
Maltby le Marsh	LIN	<i>Malte(s)bi</i> 1086	TF 46214 81389
Manby (Louthesk Wap.)	LIN	<i>Mannebi</i> 1086	TF 39917 86644
Manby (Manley Wap.)	LIN	<i>Mannebi</i> 1086	SE 93653 08769
Marderby Grange	YOR	<i>Martrebi</i> 1086	SE 46809 83939

Maunby	YOR	<i>Manne(s)bi</i> 1086	SE 35214 86447
Markby	LIN	<i>Marche(s)bi</i> 1086	TF 48721 78811
Maughonby	CUM	<i>Merchamby</i> 1254	NY 57263 37989
Mautby	NOR	<i>Malteby, -bey, -bei</i> 1086	TG 48063 12374
Melmerby	CUM	<i>Malmerbi</i> 1201	NY 61110 37442
Melmerby (Halikeld Wap.)	YOR	<i>Malmerbi, -by</i> 1086	SE 33568 76824
Melmerby (Hang West Wap.)	YOR	<i>Melmerbi</i> 1086	SE 07641 85451
Melsonby	YOR	<i>Malsenebi</i> 1086	NZ 20116 08449
Meltonby	YOR	<i>Melte-, Metelbi</i> 1086	SE 79993 52297
Mickleby	YOR	<i>Michelbi</i> 1086	NZ 80228 12973
Middlebie	DMF	<i>Middeby</i> 1291	NY 21434 76156
Milby	YOR	<i>Mildebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 40258 67867
Milnby	DMF	<i>Millebie</i> 1194-1214	NY 18948 68306
Miningsby	LIN	<i>Melingesbi</i> 1086	TF 32158 64185
<i>Monkby</i>	YOR	<i>Munkeby</i> 13 th	NZ 14094 00422
Moorby	LIN	<i>Morebi</i> 1086	TF 29149 64054
Moreby Hall	YOR	<i>Morebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 59585 43224
Moresby	CUM	<i>Moresceby</i> c. 1160	NX 99036 21228
Motherby	CUM	<i>Mother-, Mothirby</i> 1279	NY 42835 28416

Moxby	YOR	<i>Molz-, Molscebi</i> 1086	SE 59693 66940
Mumby	LIN	<i>Munde-, Mvndebi</i> 1086	TF 51558 74434
Naneby	LEI	<i>Nauenbi</i> c. 13 th	SK 43435 02569
Naseby	NTH	<i>Navesberi</i> 1086; <i>Naesbi, -y</i> 1166	SP 68893 78130
Nateby	LAN	<i>Natebi, -by</i> 1204	SD 46428 44738
Nateby	WES	<i>Nateby</i> 1242	NY 77419 06849
Navenby	LIN	<i>Nav-, Nauenebi</i> 1086	SK 98637 57840
Netherby	CUM	<i>Netherby</i> 1279	NY 39651 71614
Newbie	DMF	<i>Neuby</i> 13 th	NY 17422 64690
Newbus Cottage	DUR	<i>Neubihous</i> l. 14 th (15 th)	NZ 31924 09668
Newby (Cumberland Wap.)	CUM	<i>Neuby</i> 1211	NY 36827 53881
Newby (Eskdale Wap.)	CUM	<i>Neubi</i> c. 1175	NY 47556 58400
Newby	PEB	<i>Newby</i> 1359	NT 26599 37113
Newby	WES	<i>Neubi, -by</i> 12 th	NY 58936 21332
Newby (Harewood)	YOR	<i>Neuby</i> 1182-85	SE 26528 47422
Newby (Ripon)	YOR	<i>Neweby</i> 1166	SE 34784 67433

Newby (East Staincliffe)	YOR	<i>Neubi, -by</i> 1154-89	SD 72857 70003
Newby (Langbargh West Wap.)	YOR	<i>Neubie, -by</i> c. 1236	NZ 50796 12184
Newby (Pickering Lythe Wap.)	YOR	<i>Neuby</i> 1244	TA 01582 90030
Newby (West Staincliffe)	YOR	<i>Neubi, -by</i> 12 th	SD 81743 46116
Newby on Swale	YOR	<i>Neuby</i> 1157	SE 38773 76262
Newby Wiske	YOR	<i>Neuby</i> 1157	SE 36630 87550
Newton Arlosh	CUM	<i>Kirkebi Johannis</i> 1305	NY 19960 55207
Norby	YOR	<i>Northebi</i> 1199-1216	SE 42633 82490
Normanby (Aslaoe Wap.)	LIN	<i>Normanestov, -touu;</i> <i>Normanebi</i> 1086	TF 00116 88108
Normanby (Halikeld Wap.)	YOR	<i>Normanebi</i> 1086	SE 30467 83559
Normanby (Manley Wap.)	LIN	<i>Normanebi</i> 1086	SE 88731 16525
Normanby (Langbargh East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Norðmannabi</i> c. 1050	NZ 54662 18338
Normanby (Ryedale Wap.)	YOR	<i>Normanebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 73485 81658

Normanby (Whitby Strand Wap.)	YOR	<i>Normanneby</i> c. 1110	NZ 92539 06070
Normanby by Stow	LIN	<i>Normanebi</i> 1086	SK 88217 83007
Normanby le Wold	LIN	<i>Normane(s)bi</i> 1086	TF 12302 94735
Oadby	LEI	<i>Oldebi</i> (sic) 1086	SK 62375 00382
Oasby	LIN	<i>Asedebi</i> 1086	TF 00221 39060
Oby	NOR	<i>Oe-, Othebei, Houby</i> 1086	TG 40997 14005
Orby	LIN	<i>Heresbi</i> 1086	TF 49063 67246
Ormesby	CUM	<i>Ormesbye</i> c. 1227	NY 08816 39300
Ormesby	NOR	<i>Ormesbei, -by,</i> <i>Omes-, Osmesbei,</i> <i>Ormesbey, Orbeslei</i> (sic) 1086	TG 49878 14530
Ormesby	YOR	<i>Ormesbi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 53093 16714
Ormsby, North	LIN	<i>Ormesbi</i> 1086	TF 28911 93243
Ormsby, South	LIN	<i>Ormesbi</i>	TF 37235 75413
Ornsby Hill	DUR	<i>Ormysby</i> 1408	NZ 16641 48451
Osbourneby	LIN	<i>Esb 'ne-,</i> <i>Osbernedebi</i> 1086	TF 06723 38234
Osgodby (Walshcroft Wap.)	LIN	<i>Osgote(s)bi</i> 1086	TF 07216 92661
Osgodby (Wraggoe Wap.)	LIN	<i>Osgotebi</i> 1086	TF 13064 72737

Osgodby (Pickering Lythe Wap.)	YOR	<i>Asgozbi</i> 1086	TA 05562 84731
Osgodby (Wap. of Ouse and Derwent)	YOR	<i>Ansgote(s)bi</i> 1086	SE 64581 33836
Osgoodby	YOR	<i>Ansgotebi</i> 1086	SE 49232 80923
Otby	LIN	<i>Ote(s)bi</i> 1086	TF 13868 93551
Oughterby	CUM	<i>Hochtredebi</i> 1177	NY 29369 55701
Ousby	CUM	<i>Vlmesbi</i> 1190	NY 62614 34614
Ouseby	DMF	<i>Ouseby</i> 1360	NY 08123 82497
Ouseby	LIN	<i>Vlves-, V(l)uesbi</i> 1086	TF 10399 34301
Overby	CUM	<i>Ouerbybek</i> 1292	NY 12039 46749
Owersby, North and South	LIN	<i>Ares-, Oresbi</i> 1086	TF 06186 94741
Owmby (Aslaoe Wap.)	LIN	<i>Ovne-, Oune(s)bi</i> 1086	TF 00014 87347
Owmby (Yarborough Wap.)	LIN	<i>Odenebi</i> 1086	TA 07775 04911
Parsonby	CUM	<i>Personeby</i> 1292	NY 14552 38998
Pearsby Hall	DMF	<i>Perisbe</i> 1200	NY 23542 84588
Pensby	CHE	<i>Penisby</i> c. 1229	SJ 26604 83042
Pogbie	ELO	<i>Pokby</i> 1238-70	NT 46503 60652
Ponsonby	CUM	<i>Puncunesbi</i> c. 1160	NY 05479 05562
Prestby	YOR	<i>Prestebi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 90318 11227

Quarmby	YOR	<i>Corne(l)bi</i> 1086	SE 11556 17192
Quenby	LEI	<i>Qveneberie</i> 1086; <i>Quenebia</i> c. 1130	SK 70185 06399
Raby (Hall)	CHE	<i>Rabie</i> 1086	SJ 31111 80016
Raby	CUM	<i>Rabi</i> c. 1150	NY 19118 51502
Raby	DUR	<i>Raby</i> c. 1040 (12 th)	NZ 12930 21770
Raisby	DUR	<i>Racebi</i> 1183	NZ 34931 35955
Raithby by Louth	LIN	<i>Radresbi</i> 1086	TF 31010 84719
Raithby by Spilsby	LIN	<i>Radebi</i> 1086	TF 37378 67065
Ranby	LIN	<i>Randebi</i> 1086	TF 23132 78500
Ranby	NOT	<i>Rane(s)bi</i> 1086	SK 65616 81031
Ratby	LEI	<i>Rotebie</i> 1086	SK 51309 05958
Rauceby, North and South	LIN	<i>Rosbi</i> 1086	TF 02109 46444
Rearsby	LEI	<i>Re(d)resbi</i> 1086	SK 65111 14635
Reasby	LIN	<i>Reresbi</i> 1086	TF 06712 79701
Revesby	LIN	<i>Resuesbi</i> 1086	TF 29841 61410
Riby	LIN	<i>Ribi</i> 1086	TA 18463 07485
Ribby	LAN	<i>Rigbi</i> 1086	SD 39766 31602
Rickerby	CUM	<i>Ricardeby</i> 1246	NY 41346 57019
Rigsby	LIN	<i>Rig(h)esbi</i> 1086	TF 43093 75386
Risby (Manley Wap.)	LIN	<i>Risebi</i> 1086	SE 92016 14760

Risby (Walshcroft Wap.)	LIN	<i>Risebi</i> 1086	TF 14517 91996
Risby	SUF	<i>Rysebi</i> 1045-65	TL 80222 66372
Risby	YOR	<i>Risbi</i> 1086	TA 00923 34889
Robberby	CUM	<i>Roberteby</i> c. 1237	NY 58971 36612
<i>Roberdesbi</i>	DMF	<i>Roberdesbi</i> l. 12 th	NY 21434 76156
Roby	LAN	<i>Rabil</i> (sic) 1086	SJ 42723 90437
Rokeby	YOR	<i>Rochebi</i> 1086	NZ 08280 14179
Rollesby	NOR	<i>Rotholfuesbei, -by,</i> <i>Roluesbi,</i> <i>Thorolvesby</i> (sic) 1086	TG 44617 15750
Romanby	YOR	<i>Romundrebi</i> 1086	SE 36040 93201
Rookby	WES	<i>Rochebi(a)</i> 1178	NY 80378 10963
Rotherby	LEI	<i>Redebi</i> 1086	SK 67523 16539
Roxby	LIN	<i>Roxe-, Roscebi</i> 1086	SE 92061 17019
Roxby (Langbargh East Wap.)	YOR	<i>Rosce-, Rozebi</i> 1086	NZ 76083 16348
Roxby (Pickering Lythe Wap.)	YOR	<i>Roze-, Rosebi</i> 1086	SE 82761 82920
Roxby House	YOR	<i>Rokeby</i> 1198	SE 32864 82508
Rudby	YOR	<i>Rodebi</i> 1086	NZ 47187 06672

Rugby	WAR	<i>Rocheberie</i> 1086; <i>Roche-, Rokebi</i> 1154-89	SP 50596 75112
Rumby Hill	DUR	<i>Ronun(d)by</i> 1382	NZ 17012 34237
Saleby	LIN	<i>Salebi</i> 1086	TF 45783 78762
Salmonby	LIN	<i>Salmundebi</i> 1086	TF 32535 73472
Saltby	LEI	<i>Saltebi</i> 1086	SK 85133 26552
Saltfleetby	LIN	<i>Salflatebi</i> 1086	TF 47699 90021
Saundby	NOT	<i>Sandebi</i> 1086	SK 78549 87976
Saxby	LEI	<i>Saxebe</i> 1086	SK 81979 20080
Saxby	LIN	<i>Sassebi</i> 1086	TF 00447 86125
Saxelby	LEI	<i>Saxelbie</i> 1086	SK 70002 20983
Saxilby	LIN	<i>Saxebe</i> 1086	SK 89272 75347
Scalby (Howdenshire Wap.)	YOR	<i>Skalleby</i> 1230	SE 84489 29444
Scalby (Pickering Lythe Wap.)	YOR	<i>Sc-, Skallebi, -by</i> 1086	TA 00913 90333
Scaleby	CUM	<i>Schalebery, -by c.</i> 1235	NY 44695 63137
Scamblesby	LIN	<i>Scamelesbi</i> 1086	TF 27633 78475
Scausby	YOR	<i>Scalchebi</i> 1086	SE 53891 05159
Scawby	LIN	<i>Scal(l)ebi</i> 1086	SE 96880 05632
<i>Schatteby</i>	BWK	<i>Schatteby c.</i> 1300	NT 90385 65943
Scoreby	YOR	<i>Scornesbi</i> 1086	SE 68784 54829

Scotby	CUM	<i>Scotebi, -by</i> 1130	NY 44089 55198
Scratby	NOR	<i>Scroutebei, Scoteby,</i> <i>Scroutebey</i> 1086	TG 50777 15396
Scremby	LIN	<i>Screnbi</i> 1086	TF 44302 67759
Scrivelsby	LIN	<i>Scriu-, Scrivelesbi</i> 1086	TF 26553 65771
Scrooby	NOT	<i>Scrobi</i> 1086	SK 65217 90753
Searby	LIN	<i>Soure-, Seure-,</i> <i>Sevrebi</i> 1086	TA 07257 05863
Selaby	DUR	<i>Seleby</i> 1183 (14 th)	NZ 15319 18295
Selby	YOR	<i>Seleby</i> c. 1030	SE 61560 32373
Serlby	NOT	<i>Serlebi</i> 1086	SK 63444 89343
Sewerby	YOR	<i>Siuuar(d)bi</i> 1086	TA 19756 68802
Shearsby	LEI	<i>Sevesbi</i> 1086	SP 62322 90989
Shoby	LEI	<i>Seoldesberie</i> 1086; <i>Siwaldebia</i> c. 1130	SK 68307 20260
Sibbaldbie	DMF	<i>Sybaldeby</i> 1193	NY 14639 87688
Sileby	LEI	<i>Sigle(s)bi(e)</i> 1086	SK 60053 15175
Silkby	LIN	<i>Silkebi</i> 1212	TF 05723 42996
Sinderby	YOR	<i>Senerebi</i> 1086	SE 34532 82087
<i>Siuuarbi</i>	YOR	<i>Siuuarbi</i> 1086	SE 70831 30212
Skeeby	YOR	<i>Schirebi</i> 1086	NZ 20119 02615
Skegby (Broxtow. Wap.)	NOT	<i>Schegebi</i> 1086	SK 49251 60967

Skegby (Thurgarton Wap.)	NOT	<i>Scachebi</i> 1086	SK 78520 69987
Skendleby	LIN	<i>Scheueldebi</i> 1086	TF 43264 69788
Skewsby	YOR	<i>Scoxebi</i> 1086	SE 62697 70942
Skidby	YOR	<i>Schitebi, -by</i> 1086	TA 01392 33606
Skitby	CUM	<i>Westscotardeby</i> 1325	NY 44788 65675
Slingsby	YOR	<i>Selunges-, Eslingesbi</i> 1086	SE 69685 74986
Sloothby	LIN	<i>Slodebi, Lodeby (sic)</i> 1086	TF 49526 70715
Smeaton	MLO	<i>Smithetune</i> 1124-53; <i>Smithebi</i> 1153-65	NT 35067 69470
Smisby	DER	<i>Smidesbi</i> 1086	SK 34794 19124
Snitterby	LIN	<i>Esnetre-, Snetrebi</i> 1086	SK 98578 94696
Somerby	LEI	<i>Sumerlide-, Summerdebie, Svmerdeberie (sic)</i> 1086	SK 77943 10487
Somerby (Corringham Wap.)	LIN	<i>Sum(m)ertebi</i> 1086	SK 85137 88919
Somerby (Yarborough Wap.)	LIN	<i>Sum(m)ertebi</i> 1086	TA 06231 06624
Somerby, Old	LIN	<i>Sum(m)erdebi</i> 1086	SK 96487 33963

Somersby	LIN	<i>Summerdebi</i> 1086	TF 34367 72657
Sorbie	DMF	<i>Sowreby</i> 1349	NY 36592 90063
Sorbie	WIG	<i>Sowrby</i> 1185-1200 [c. 1220]	NX 43618 46869
Sotby	LIN	<i>Sotebi</i> 1086	TF 20431 78869
Soulby	CUM	<i>Suleby</i> 1225	NY 46295 25210
Soulby	WES	<i>Sulebi, -by</i> c. 1160	NY 74610 10770
Southerby House	YOR	<i>Southby</i> 13 th	SE 36966 77604
Southernby	CUM	<i>Sutherneby</i> 1292	NY 36496 39268
Sowerby	CUM	<i>del Wode de Soureby</i> 1285	NY 36422 52139
Sowerby	LAN	<i>Sorbi</i> 1086	SD 47490 38550
Sowerby (Birdforth Wap.)	YOR	<i>Sorebi</i> 1086	SE 43114 81375
Sowerby (Morley Wap.)	YOR	<i>Sorebi</i> 1086	SE 04296 23202
Sowerby (Whitby Strand Wap.)	YOR	<i>Sourebi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 90159 11299
Sowerby Bogs	YOR	<i>Souresby</i> 1242	NZ 69901 08776
Sowerby under Cotcliffe	YOR	<i>Sourebi, -by</i> 1086	SE 41193 93480
Sowerby Hall	LAN	<i>Sourebi</i> 1086	SD 19866 72464
Sowerby, Brough	WES	<i>Sowreby</i> 1235	NY 79470 12782
Sowerby, Castle	CUM	<i>Sourebi</i> 1185	NY 38000 36141

Sowerby, Temple	WES	<i>Sourebi</i> 1177-79	NY 61170 27134
Spanby	LIN	<i>Spane(s)bi</i> 1086	TF 09412 38073
Spilsby	LIN	<i>Spilesbi</i> 1086	TF 40026 66085
St Bees	CUM	<i>Cherchebi</i> c. 1125	NX 96882 12117
Stainby	LIN	<i>Stigandebi</i> 1086	SK 90525 22818
Stainsby	DER	<i>Steinesbi</i> 1086	SK 44938 65620
Stainsby	LIN	<i>Stafnebi</i> 1196	TF 33821 71508
Stainsby	YOR	<i>Steinesbi</i> 1086	NZ 46431 15176
Stakesby	YOR	<i>Staxebi</i> 1086	NZ 88575 10712
Stearsby	YOR	<i>Estires-, Stirsi</i> 1086	SE 61150 71521
<i>Stemanesbi</i>	YOR	<i>Stemanesbi</i> 1086	TA 00915 90326
Stokesby	NOR	<i>Stoches-, Stokesbei,</i> <i>-bey</i> 1086	TG 43582 10564
Stonesby	LEI	<i>Stovenebi</i> 1086	SK 82225 24766
Strubby (Calcewath Wap.)	LIN	<i>Strobi</i> 1086	TF 45271 82570
Strubby (Wraggoe Wap.)	LIN	<i>Strubi</i> 1086	TF 16010 77252
Sulby	LAN	<i>Sulbythwayt</i> 1286	SD 27351 86405
Sulby	NTH	<i>Solebi</i> 1086	SP 65519 81551
Sutterby	LIN	<i>Sutrebi</i> 1086	TF 38572 72408
Swaby	CUM	<i>Swalebymire</i> 1292	NY 17718 50817
Swaby	LIN	<i>Suabi</i> 1086	TF 38625 77097

Swainby (Halikeld Wap.)	YOR	<i>Suanebi</i> 1086	SE 33631 85610
Swainby (Langbargh West Wap.)	YOR	<i>Swayn(e)sby</i> l. 13 th	NZ 47791 02013
Swarby	LIN	<i>Svarrebi</i> 1086	TF 04705 40563
Swinderby	LIN	<i>Sunder-, Suindrebi</i> 1086	SK 86834 63215
Sysonby	LEI	<i>Sis-, Sixtenebi</i> 1086	SK 74522 20865
Sythesby	LIN	<i>Schithesbia</i> 1142	TF 30998 62002
Tarraby	CUM	<i>Terrebi</i> 1177	NY 40973 58159
<i>Tatebi</i>	LIN	<i>Tatebi</i> 1086	TF 42000 73999
Tealby	LIN	<i>Taveles-, Taeue-, Taeuesbi</i> 1086	TF 15709 90897
Thealby	LIN	<i>Tedul(f)bi</i> 1086	SE 89283 18102
Thimbleby	LIN	<i>Stimble-, Stinlebi</i> 1086	TF 24040 70025
Thimbleby	YOR	<i>Timbelbi, Timbelli</i> (sic) 1086	SE 44997 95444
Thirkleby (Birdforth Wap.)	YOR	<i>Turchilebi</i> 1086	SE 47312 78743
Thirkleby (Buckrose Wap.)	YOR	<i>Turgislebi</i> 1086	SE 47319 78738
Thirlby	YOR	<i>Trillebi(a), Trylleby</i> 1189	SE 49151 84080

Thirnby	LAN	<i>Tiernebi</i> 1086	SD 61000 77001
Thirneby	CUM	<i>Thirnebi</i> c. 1205	NY 01121 10569
Thirtleby	YOR	<i>Torchilebi</i> 1086	TA 17602 34677
Thoralby (Buckrose Wap.)	YOR	<i>Turodebi</i> 1086	SE 90375 67515
Thoralby (Hang West Wap.)	YOR	<i>Turo(l)-, Toroldesbi</i> 1086	SE 00066 86769
Thoralby Hall	YOR	<i>Turalzbi</i> 1086	SE 77065 58503
Thoraldby	YOR	<i>Turolde-</i> , <i>Toro(l)desbi</i> 1086	NZ 49268 07194
Thoresby	LIN	<i>Toresbia</i> 1142	TF 30999 62008
Thoresby	YOR	<i>Toresbi</i> 1086	SE 02610 90120
Thoresby House	NOT	<i>Turesbi</i> 1086	SK 63835 71126
Thoresby, North	LIN	<i>Toresbi</i> 1086	TF 28997 98763
Thoresby, South	LIN	<i>Toresbi</i> 1086	TF 40136 77070
Thorganby	LIN	<i>Turgri-</i> , <i>Torgre-</i> , <i>Torgrembi</i> 1086	TF 20817 97612
Thorganby	YOR	<i>Turgisbi</i> 1086	SE 68960 41640
Thorlby	YOR	<i>Toredere-</i> , <i>Toreilderebi</i> 1086	SD 96639 52842
Thormanby	YOR	<i>Turmoz-</i> , <i>Tormozbi</i> 1086	SE 49589 74965
Thornaby	YOR	<i>Turmoz-</i> , <i>T(h)ormozbi</i> 1086	NZ 45056 16439

Thornby	CUM	<i>Thorneby</i> 1279	NY 28826 52084
Thornby	NTH	<i>Torneberie</i> 1086; <i>Thirnebi</i> c. 1160	SP 66958 75630
Thrigby	NOR	<i>Trike-, Trukebei</i> 1086	TG 46051 12388
Thrimby	WES	<i>Trnebi</i> (sic) 1200	NY 55303 20248
Thringstone	LEI	<i>Trangesbi, -by</i> 1086	SK 42669 17439
Throxenby	YOR	<i>Trstanebi</i> (sic) 1167	TA 01431 88921
Thurlby (Calcewath Wap.)	LIN	<i>Toruluesbi</i> 1086	TF 48702 76038
Thurlby (Graffoe Wap.)	LIN	<i>Tvrolf-, Turolfbi</i> 1086	SK 90894 61713
Thurlby (Ness Wap.)	LIN	<i>Tvrolve-, Torulfbi</i> 1086	TF 10504 16798
Thurnby	LEI	<i>Turneby</i> 1154-89	SK 64581 03946
Thursby	CUM	<i>Thoresby</i> c. 1165	NY 32421 50288
Tithby	NOT	<i>Tied(e)bi</i> 1086	SK 69839 36941
Tollesby	YOR	<i>Tolesbi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 51159 15527
<i>Toresbi</i>	YOR	<i>Toresbi</i> 1086	SE 51091 59935
Tothby	LIN	<i>Touedebi</i> 1086	TF 44501 76677
Tranby	YOR	<i>Tranebi, -by</i> 12 th	TA 01792 27018
Traneby	WES	<i>mira de Traneby</i> 1179 (13 th)	NY 63802 25942
Tugby	LEI	<i>Tochebi</i> 1086	SK 76176 01011

Tumby	LIN	<i>Tvnbi</i> 1086	TF 23857 60111
Tyby	NOR	<i>Tytheby</i> 1086	TG 07939 27775
Uckerby	YOR	<i>Ukerby</i> 1198	NZ 24370 02228
Ugglebarnby	YOR	<i>Ugleberdesbi</i> 1086	NZ 87996 07148
Ulceby	LIN	<i>Vlves-, Vluesbi</i> 1086	TA 10339 14606
Ulceby by Spilsby	LIN	<i>Vlesbi</i> 1086	TF 42247 72611
Ulnaby	DUR	<i>Vluenebi</i> c. 1100-30	NZ 22673 17179
Uncleby	YOR	<i>Unchel(f)s-, Unglesbi</i> 1086	SE 81117 59151
Upmanby	CUM	<i>Vochemanby</i> c. 1170	NY 19008 42291
Upperby	CUM	<i>Hobrihteby</i> 1164-67	NY 41161 53692
Ureby Field	CUM	<i>Ourebyfeld</i> 1260	NY 12362 30633
Usselby	LIN	<i>Osoluabi</i> 1115-18	TF 09477 93640
Utterby	LIN	<i>Uttrebi</i> 1197	TF 30597 93248
Waitby	WES	<i>Watheby</i> 12 th	NY 75185 08233
Walby	CUM	<i>Walleby</i> 1292	NY 43862 60390
Walby, Kiln	CHE	<i>Gildewalleby</i> 1321	SJ 26630 89015
Walesby	LIN	<i>Walesbi</i> 1086	TF 13487 92313
Walesby	NOT	<i>Walesbi</i> 1086	SK 68499 70749
Wallasey	CHE	<i>Kirkeby in Waleya</i> c. 1180-1245	SJ 29636 92174
Warlaby	YOR	<i>Warlaues-, Werleges-, Werglesbi</i> 1086	SE 34940 91595

Warmanby	DMF	<i>Weremundebie</i> 1194-1214	NY 19499 68988
Wartnaby	LEI	<i>Worcnodebie</i> 1086	SK 71240 23152
Wauldby	YOR	<i>Walbi</i> 1086	SE 96853 29730
Weelsby	LIN	<i>Wivelesbi</i> 1086	TA 28177 07962
Welby	LEI	<i>Alebi(e)</i> 1086	SK 72520 20974
Welby	LIN	<i>Wellebi</i> 1086	SK 97537 38183
Westby	LAN	<i>Westbi</i> 1086	SD 38102 31689
Westby	LIN	<i>Westbi</i> 1086	SK 97221 28305
Westby	YOR	<i>Westby</i> 1226	SD 82299 48052
Westerby	LEI	<i>Westerby</i> c. 1130	SP 67758 92713
Westlaby	LIN	<i>Westledebi</i> 1086	TF 09385 81114
<i>Westrebi</i>	YOR	<i>Westrebi</i> 1086	SE 37796 23823
Westonby House	YOR	<i>Westingebi</i> 1254	NZ 79329 07247
Wetherby	YOR	<i>Wedrebi</i> 1086	SE 40400 48377
Whenby	YOR	<i>Quennebi</i> 1086	SE 63077 69821
Whisby	LIN	<i>Wizebi</i> 1086	SK 90245 67104
Whitby	CHE	<i>Witerberia</i> 1096- 1101 (1150); <i>Witebia</i> 1096-1101 (1280)	SJ 39575 75783
Whitby	YOR	<i>Wite-, Wytebi, -by</i> 1086	NZ 90162 11287

Wickenby	LIN	<i>Wichinge-, Wighingesbi</i> 1086	TF 08801 81956
Wiggonby	CUM	<i>Wygane-, Wigayneby</i> 1278	NY 29836 53006
Wilby	NOR	<i>Wilgeby, Willebeih</i> 1086	TM 03100 89902
Wilby	NTH	<i>Wilebi</i> 1086	SP 86665 66171
Wilksby	LIN	<i>Wilges-, Wilchesbi</i> 1086	TF 28474 62952
<i>Willambi</i>	DMF	<i>Willambi</i> 1190	NY 21432 76158
Willerby (Dickering Wap.)	YOR	<i>Wi-, Wyllardebi, -by</i> 12 th	TA 00835 79180
Willerby (Harthill Wap.)	YOR	<i>Wilgardi (sic)</i> 1086	TA 02572 30482
Willoughby (Bassetlaw Wap.)	NOT	<i>Wilgebi</i> 1086	SK 68890 70761
Willoughby (Thurgarton Wap.)	NOT	<i>Wilgebi</i> 1086	SK 78004 62561
Willoughby	WAR	<i>Wiliabyg</i> 956	SP 51586 67437
Willoughby in the Marsh	LIN	<i>Wilgebi</i> 1086	TF 47339 71960
Willoughby Waterleys	LEI	<i>Wilebi</i> 1086	SP 57523 92453
Willoughby on the Wolds	NOT	<i>Wille-, Wilgebi</i> 1086	SK 63385 25410

Willoughby, Scott	LIN	<i>Wilgebi</i> 1086	TF 05361 37632
Willoughby, Silk	LIN	<i>Wilgebi</i> 1086	TF 05723 43002
Willoughby, West	LIN	<i>Wilgebi</i> 1086	SK 96730 43854
Winceby	LIN	<i>Wi(n)zebi</i> 1086	TF 32077 68399
Wingby	DER	<i>Wengeby</i> 1315	SK 35992 69065
Worlaby	LIN	<i>Wlv-, Wlvrice-, Wirichebi</i> 1086	TA 01527 14025
Worlaby on the Hill	LIN	<i>Wlu-, Wlvricesbi</i> 1086	TF 34035 76811
Wormanby	CUM	<i>Wynmerby</i> 1279	NY 33540 58877
Wragby	YOR	<i>Wraggebi, -by</i> 1160- 70	SE 40762 16997
Wragby	LIN	<i>Waragebi</i> 1086	TF 13456 77961
Wragby	YOR	<i>Wrauby</i> 1344	NZ 93629 00394
Wrawby	LIN	<i>Waragebi</i> 1086	TA 02020 08610
Wyfordby	LEI	<i>Wivordebie</i> 1086	SK 79345 18930
Yearby	YOR	<i>Uverby</i> 1174-79	NZ 60059 20981