

**Dialect in the Viking-Age Scandinavian Diaspora:**

**The Evidence of Medieval Minor Names**

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Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

SEPTEMBER 2015



## **Abstract**

This thesis investigates the Scandinavian contribution to medieval microtoponymic vocabulary in two areas of northwest England, Wirral, part of the historic county of Cheshire in the north-west Midlands, and an area of the county of Cumbria, the West Ward of Westmorland Barony. It is shown that there was far greater Scandinavian linguistic influence on the medieval microtoponymy of the West Ward than on the medieval microtoponymy of Wirral.

This thesis also assesses what conclusions can be drawn from the use of Scandinavian-derived place-name elements in microtoponyms. Scandinavian influence on microtoponymy has previously been interpreted, at one extreme, as evidence for Scandinavian settlement, and, at the other extreme, only as reflecting widespread Scandinavian influence on the English language and English naming practices. The relationship between Scandinavian settlement and Scandinavian influence on naming microtoponymy is explored by considering the microtoponymic evidence in the light of evidence illuminating the circumstances of Scandinavian settlement in the case-study areas, and by considering the evidence from the case-study areas within the wider context of Scandinavian influence on English naming practices.

The substantial Scandinavian influence on major place-names in both areas confirms that Scandinavian had been spoken in Wirral and the West Ward. However, the Scandinavian contribution to toponymic vocabulary as recorded in the late-medieval period was very different in the two areas, hinting at the indirectness of the link between Scandinavian settlement and influence on later microtoponymy. Indeed, detailed consideration of the use of individual Scandinavian-derived place-name elements at a national level indicates that the areas over which some Scandinavian-derived place-name elements were used increased during the Middle English period. The factors underlying the usage of Scandinavian-derived toponymic vocabulary in the late-medieval period are therefore more varied than has sometimes been acknowledged.

103,488 words



## Acknowledgments

I am very grateful to my supervisors, Jayne Carroll and Judith Jesch, for invaluable advice, discussion and support over the past four years. Thank you for all your input, and for the innumerable cups of tea and coffee, Jayne, which made the writing much more pleasant. I would also like to thank my examiners, Richard Coates and David Parsons, for an enjoyable discussion of this thesis and for their many helpful comments and suggestions.

This thesis was funded by the Leverhulme Trust as part of an interdisciplinary research programme at the Universities of Leicester and Nottingham, *The Impact of Diasporas on the Making of Britain: Evidence, Memories, Inventions*. I am very grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for their financial support. I would also like to thank my colleagues on the programme for introductions to diverse subjects and fascinating discussions over the past four years.

I have learnt much by attending workshops and conferences during the course of my doctorate, and am grateful to those who have shared their knowledge and experience. In particular, thanks to Richard Jones and Peder Gammeltoft, who organised GIS courses, and to fellow students and ‘masters’ on the AHRC-funded Orkney Project and Languages, Myths and Finds programme. I am also grateful to the Society of Name-Studies in Britain and Ireland for financial support towards the cost of attending conferences and workshops.

Numerous other people have provided valuable advice along the way. I am particularly grateful to Tom Schmidt and the other onomasts at the University of Oslo, who introduced me to Norwegian place-name studies and provided patient encouragement in my efforts to learn Norwegian during an exchange semester. Terje Spurkland, also at the University of Oslo, introduced me to runology during the same period. I am again grateful to Peder Gammeltoft for introducing me to the Danish place-name database. The inclusion of Scandinavian material in this thesis would have been much more difficult

without these scholars' help. Thank you also to all the administrative staff in the School of English at Nottingham for their help over the past four years.

Thanks to friends in Nottingham who have made the process fun, and borne with my moaning. The company of fellow Nottingham early medievalists and onomasts, John Baker, Sarah Beach, Paul Cavill, Graham Collis. Ruarigh Dale, Rebecca Gregory, Chris Hickling, Lara Hogg, Dale Kedwards, Kelly Kilpatrick, Brent LaPadula, Christina Lee, Elizaveta Matveeva, Eleni Ponirakis, Aya van Renterghem, Marjolein Stern and Teva Vidal has been a delight. To Christy Shucksmith, Mikhail Matveev, Neil Meggison, Sam Nandi, and to the other PhD students in the School of English, in particular Freya Waninge and Makenzi Crouch: thanks for keeping me company, often over a glass or two. Thanks also to far-flung fellow onomastics PhD students, especially Alison Burns, Alice Crook and Emily Pennifold: conferences and workshops have been much more fun thanks to your presence.

Finally, thanks to my family, Sue, John and Olivia. Thanks, first, for the brainwashing: my decision to study medieval languages no doubt has its origins in dinner-table conversations at a formative age. More recently, your practical and emotional support over the past few years has made this all possible.

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### Abbreviations

acc. = accusative	masc. = masculine
Britt. = Brittonic	ME = Middle English
AN = Anglo-Norman	Merc. = Mercian
Angl. = Anglian	MLG = Middle Low German
ASC + letter = Anglo-Saxon	ModE = Modern English
Chronicle + manuscript	Nhb. = Northumbrian
signum	neut. = neuter
c. = century	nom. = nominative
<i>c.</i> = <i>circa</i>	ODan. = Old Danish
CP = Civil Parish	OE = Old English
dat. = dative	OEN = Old East Norse
e = early	OHG = Old High German
DB = Domesday Book	OIr. = Old Irish
EP = Ecclesiastical Parish	ON = Old Norse
fem. = feminine	OWN = Old West Norse
gen. = genitive	pl. = plural
Goid. = Goidelic	s.a. = <i>sub anno</i>
Gmc = Germanic	sg. = singular
l = late	ScGael. = Scottish Gaelic
Lat. = Latin	WGmc = West Germanic
MDu. = Middle Dutch	WSax. = West Saxon

Bibliographic abbreviations are given in the Bibliography



## Chapter One: Introduction

### Aims and Structure of the Thesis

Place-names associated with Scandinavian settlement in the British Isles have received a great deal of scholarly attention. Most scholarship has concentrated on the names of villages and larger settlements, which have frequently been used to delimit areas of Viking-Age Scandinavian settlement, as, for instance, on the much-reproduced map entitled ‘the Scandinavian Settlement’ in Smith’s *English Place-Name Elements* (1956). There has been rather less study of minor names, the names of smaller places including fields and their subdivisions, streets and minor landscape features, although there has more interest in minor names from areas where Scandinavian major names are few or non-existent. As is outlined below, Scandinavian influence on minor place-names has been used, at one extreme, as evidence for Scandinavian settlement, and at the other extreme, simply as evidence for Scandinavian influence on later medieval dialect vocabulary.

The broad aims of this thesis are twofold. On one level, the thesis aims to investigate the Scandinavian contribution to medieval microtoponymic vocabulary in two areas of northwest England, a region in which Scandinavian influence on microtoponymy has not been investigated as frequently as in eastern England. The two areas investigated are Wirral, part of the historic county of Cheshire in the north-west Midlands, and an area of the historic county of Westmorland in the present county of Cumbria, the West Ward of Westmorland Barony. On another level, the thesis attempts to clarify what Scandinavian-derived place-name elements in minor names can tell us. However, in order to assess both the Scandinavian contributions to microtoponymic vocabulary and what these might reveal, a number of fundamental questions concerning methodology and the nature of the source material need to be addressed first.

The first question addressed in the thesis is how the Scandinavian contribution to microtoponymy might best be assessed. This is addressed in this introductory chapter, which is primarily a review of existing literature that

has analysed Scandinavian influence on medieval microtoponymy, and concludes by selecting a method used to analyse Scandinavian vocabulary in the rest of the thesis. Literature pertinent to the question of ascertaining what medieval minor names can tell us about settlement and/or local dialects is also reviewed, focussing on the period(s) of name-formation that corpora of microtoponyms represent and the extent to which toponymic vocabulary is similar to non-toponymic vocabulary.

A further point arising from the methodologically-orientated review of existing studies of Scandinavian influence on microtoponymy is that distinguishing between place-name elements of OE and Viking-Age Scandinavian derivation is problematic, primarily because the languages are closely related and many elements have near-identical forms and meanings. The question of how these elements might be distinguished is addressed in Chapter Two, which consists of a review of the evidence for selected Scandinavian phonological developments that might be of relevance for distinguishing cognate elements, followed by discussions of how similar pairs of elements can or cannot be distinguished.

In Chapters Three and Four, the levels of Scandinavian contribution to Wirral and the West Ward's microtoponymies are assessed. In both chapters, other evidence for Scandinavian settlement and cultural and linguistic influence in the areas investigated is reviewed in order to assess factors that might have determined the characteristics of the two areas' microtoponymies. Further, the relationship between toponymic and lexical usage of Scandinavian- and Goidelic-derived vocabulary is assessed by means of case-studies of selected elements.

It is argued throughout that consideration of these wider contexts for the use of Scandinavian-derived vocabulary in the areas, and comparison of the findings from the areas, reveals rather different factors shaping the make-up of toponymic vocabulary in the two areas. These disparities between the developments of the two areas' microtoponymies confirm the indirectness of the link between Scandinavian settlement and influence on later microtoponymy. Further, comparison of wider lexical as well as toponymic evidence tends to suggest similarities between lexical and toponymic usages,

meaning that microtoponyms are likely to be a reasonable proxy for dialect vocabulary. However, it will be argued that there is a great deal of variation in the usage of different elements, implying that detailed consideration of individual place-name elements is desirable if we are to truly understand the character of England's late-medieval microtoponymy.

## **Literature Review**

### ***Existing Minor Name Studies***

Several studies have discussed Scandinavian-derived minor names from England, and these studies can be divided into two groups. One type of study, here termed 'qualitative', uses the field-name material selectively, commenting on names thought to be interesting drawn from what is usually a broad geographic area. The other type of study, here termed 'quantitative', counts elements or names to arrive at a numerical value for the Scandinavian contribution to the minor name material as a whole and therefore considers all the minor names from what tends to be a smaller geographical area (or, in one instance, from one document). It is argued here that the methods used by the quantitative studies permit greater confidence in the validity of the results obtained and are more useful in a comparative context than those of the qualitative studies. However, the qualitative studies raise methodological questions that are also relevant in a quantitative context and make assertions that are testable in a quantitative study.

### ***Qualitative Studies***

In the earlier part of the twentieth century there was particular interest in demonstrating that minor name vocabulary might show Scandinavian influence, even where major name vocabulary was entirely or predominantly English in origin. Evidence from minor names formed only a small part of the evidence presented in early studies, but its use nevertheless demonstrates growing appreciation of the value of minor names as a source of linguistic evidence. Thus, Lindkvist (1912; esp. pp. 30–35), Ekwall (1922:250–55),

Mawer (1932:120–21) and Wainwright (1945:202–14) all demonstrated the potential of using minor names to demonstrate Scandinavian linguistic influence on toponymy. In some cases, this was interpreted as evidence for Scandinavian settlement. Mawer (1932:122) interpreted his findings as evidence for Scandinavian settlement (but noted reservations as far as common dialect words were concerned). Similarly, Wainwright, in a study of the field-names of Amounderness and in a further article presenting Scandinavian minor names as part of wider evidence for Scandinavians in Lancashire (1945–46:87–101), inferred Scandinavian settlement in the areas from the occurrence of Scandinavian-derived place-name elements.

The growing appreciation of the value of minor names more generally can be traced in the volumes of the English Place-Name Survey. In the initial eight county volumes, field-names cover only a few pages of the volumes. Indeed, the editors noted that it was impossible to deal exhaustively with the field-name material gathered because ‘[i]n the first place they [field-names] are too numerous, in the second many of them are without much interest, consisting largely of forms which are common in all field-names ...’ (*PNBu*:257). However, from the publication of the Northamptonshire volume in 1933, the field-name material was published in greater detail: field-names found in medieval documents were listed by generic, there was discussion of elements particularly common in modern usage and, significantly as far as localised studies of field-name vocabulary are concerned, modern field-names were arranged according to the parish in which they occurred (*PNNth*:259–89). However, it was with the publication of the volumes for Cumberland between 1950 and 1952 that both historic and modern field-names began to be published with major names by parish (*PNCu*:1950–52). The developments in the detail in which the field-name material was published clearly reflect increasing interest in the material and, of course, by publishing the data collected from many otherwise unpublished sources, enabled detailed study of field-names by other scholars.

Some more recent qualitative studies have focussed entirely on minor names. Following an earlier quantitative study (Cameron 1973), Cameron’s later studies of Lincolnshire field-names were qualitative in approach.



Cameron's (1978) study of the minor names of the Holland division of Lincolnshire, an area where most of the major names are English-derived, focussed on how frequently Scandinavian-derived elements occurred (acknowledging that the outline was based on incomplete data). The article concluded that there was strong Scandinavian influence in the region based on the variety of elements found. Cameron was no doubt correct to argue that the variety of Scandinavian elements found is an indicator of the strength of Scandinavian linguistic influence, as this could less readily be explained by the diffusion of a few common elements in ME dialects. However, the discussion focussed on a few common elements (especially *deill*, *eng*, *garðr*, *gata*, *holmr* and *toft*), whose occurrence could theoretically reflect diffusion of these elements in the ME period, and there was only limited reference to less-common elements (for instance, *stefna* and *krákr*), whose occurrence would be more difficult to ascribe to diffusion in the ME period. A more general criticism of this type of approach is that it cannot gauge the significance of the Scandinavian element in the medieval vocabulary as a whole if the Scandinavian element is presented in isolation.

Two further articles by Cameron listed the Scandinavian element of the minor-names of the wapentakes of Yarborough, Walshcroft and Haverstoe (1996) and (again) Yarborough (1997). However, all the material in the 1997 article was presented almost identically in the 1996 article, in which Cameron compared the numbers of Scandinavian elements in three wapentakes in Lincolnshire by listing the Scandinavian elements found in Yarborough by number of occurrences and then comparing the number of times these elements occurred in the remaining wapentakes. (As the elements were drawn from a body of material of an unknown size and not discussed in the context of the material as a whole, this approach bears closest affinities with the qualitative studies.) Additionally, Cameron presented further evidence for Scandinavian linguistic influence in the form of Scandinavian personal names, evidence for the ON masculine genitive singular inflexion in *-s* and the Scandinavianisation of English place-names (1996:11–13). Cameron concluded that the variety of Scandinavian elements found (over eighty place-name elements and over sixty Scandinavian personal names) must be

indicative of colonisation on a large scale. However, he explained the infrequency of Scandinavian elements in the wapentakes of Walshcroft and Haverstoe, when compared with Yarborough, as due to the more limited survival of medieval records in the former areas (1996:14, 20 and 26). The variety of elements is interesting and better demonstrated than in the article discussing the minor names of Holland (1978). However, as demonstrated by the explanation that the varying levels of Scandinavian influence should be explained by the varying medieval documentary coverage, it is again hard to judge how significant the variety of Scandinavian elements was when it cannot be compared with either the variety of non-Scandinavian elements or even the number of names from which the Scandinavian elements have been drawn.

Insley (1985) compared field-name material from Northamptonshire (taken to be representative of the southern Danelaw) and from the Lincolnshire villages of Ingham and Hackthorn (taken to be representative of the northern Danelaw), and discussed aspects of the names that could be revealing in distinguishing areas of intense Scandinavian linguistic influence from areas of weaker Scandinavian linguistic influence.<sup>1</sup> Insley first considered Scandinavian personal names in field-names and, finding personal names from Lincolnshire (but not Northamptonshire) that were unparalleled elsewhere in England, argued, as Cameron had argued with respect to place-name elements, that the greater variety of names in the Lincolnshire material was indicative of intense Scandinavian linguistic influence (Insley 1985:115–22). Insley then assessed the preservation (or non-preservation) of Scandinavian diphthongs in personal names, and again argued for stronger Scandinavian influence on local dialects in the northern Danelaw where Anglicised forms seemed to be less common (1985:122). Finally, Insley (1985:124–28) gave examples of cases where Scandinavian-derived forms predominated over their English cognates (e.g. OE/ON *stān/steinn*) in the Lincolnshire field-names. However, in all cases material was presented as

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<sup>1</sup> The Northamptonshire names were taken from a list of personal names found in the field-names published in the survey volume (*PNNth*:291–92).

interesting examples rather than as representative of a defined corpus of names. Again, then it is impossible to gauge how much more common Scandinavian personal names, diphthongs and cognates were in the northern Danelaw than in Northamptonshire as we do not know the size of the corpora of names being compared. Thus, whilst the conclusion that there was greater Scandinavian linguistic influence in the northern Danelaw than in Northamptonshire is probably valid, it is not securely demonstrated.

### *Quantitative Studies*

Kristian Hald's article 'Vore Marknavnes Alder' (1948) is the earliest field-name study that is in some sense a quantitative assessment of the Scandinavian contribution to medieval field-name vocabulary, and seems to have inspired later studies (Cameron 1973:38; Watts 2002:53–54). Hald was primarily concerned with demonstrating the antiquity of field-naming in Danish, and included a discussion of between eighty and ninety field-names from the English-named Lincolnshire village of Benniworth to demonstrate this (Hald 1948:25–28).<sup>2</sup> The generics were sorted according to whether they were Scandinavian- or English-derived, and certain elements considered indistinguishable in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms. Hald found that the Scandinavian-derived elements formed a more significant part of the field-name vocabulary than English-derived elements, and inferred from this the presence of a Danish-speaking community during the Viking Age in this English-named village (1948:27). The names consisting of both Scandinavian and OE (or other) elements, for instance *Aldholm* (OE *eald* and ON *holmr*), cast doubt on Hald's argument (1948:28) that the English and Scandinavian elements derive from different periods, the OE names being either older than the Scandinavian settlement or datable to a period after Scandinavian speech had fallen out of use. However, it is the technique used which is of interest here. Despite Hald's purpose being to find analogues to Danish field-name

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<sup>2</sup> Hald argued from the Scandinavian elements occurring that there must have been a fully developed system of field-name elements in Danish in the Viking Age.

elements, the treatment of the names was objective, both in accepting that it was not always possible to distinguish between OE and ON elements, and in interpreting each element independently of other elements in the names (this will be discussed further below). Significantly, in allowing relative OE and ON contributions to toponymic vocabulary to be calculated, the technique allows relative Scandinavian contributions to toponymic vocabulary in different areas to be considered with the confidence that like is being compared with like.

Hald's detailed presentation and analysis of minor names proved to be influential and, some quarter of a century after Hald's article, a flurry of articles analysing Scandinavian material in minor names appeared. There was particular emphasis on demonstrating Scandinavian linguistic influence on microtoponymy in regions where this might not be expected from the major names. Cameron was particularly prolific in this respect and his involvement in the dispute over the number of Scandinavians who settled in England probably goes some way towards explaining his interest in highlighting areas of Scandinavian linguistic influence, presented as evidence for a mass Scandinavian immigration.<sup>3</sup> Besides the two qualitative articles by Cameron discussed above, Cameron also examined thirty-nine minor names from the Lincolnshire village of Dunholme quantitatively (1973). As with Hald's study (1948), the village has an English name: the 1086 form is *Duneham* (OE pers.n. *Dunna* and *hām* 'homestead, estate') and final *-holm(e)* only occurs from the second half of the sixteenth century (*PNLi* vii:41). Noting that the village is situated between English-named villages to the west and Scandinavian-named villages to the east, Cameron interpreted the field-names (1973:38–42) as evidence of 'a considerable admixture of Danish words in the local dialect vocabulary' whose variety was indicative of significant Danish settlement in the surrounding area. As Cameron considered the variety of both English-derived and Scandinavian-derived vocabulary in the study, his

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<sup>3</sup> The debate can be followed in Sawyer (1958; 1969), Cameron (1965, esp. pp. 10–11 and 20) and in Cameron's comments in Sawyer (1969:176–79).

conclusion is more convincing than those of his later articles discussed above, although the number of names considered was low.

More recently, a statistical treatment of certain Durham field-names was carried out by Watts (2002). In terms of method used, the approach taken by Watts closely recalls that of Cameron (1973) and Hald (1948) as Watts counted the numbers of English-derived, Scandinavian-derived and indistinguishable generics amongst approximately 250 field-names (mostly recorded between the thirteenth and early fifteenth centuries) from two townships in County Durham, Billingham and Wolviston. Additionally, Watts counted the specifics (2002:62–64), thus treating the entirety of the toponymic material methodically.<sup>4</sup>

Further studies did not simply use the field-name material to demonstrate Scandinavian evidence in a defined area, but examined relative numbers of Scandinavian- and English-derived minor names in different areas. Fellows-Jensen (1974) calculated the percentage of names (taken from a list of 1233 names recorded in a mid-fourteenth-century survey of the lands of the See of Lincoln) by county containing Scandinavian elements and thus was able to compare the levels of Scandinavian linguistic influence across several counties. Scandinavian elements were found to be most common in Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland and Leicestershire, less common in Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire and nearly non-existent in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire (Fellows-Jensen 1974:50). A few methodological decisions are not entirely clear. Fellows-Jensen does not detail how the names have been classified: results are described as ‘figures for

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<sup>4</sup> It is slightly unclear how Watts selected the names. Watts was working on the survey volume for County Durham at the time of his death in the same year the article was first presented (Watts 2002:53; *PNDu* i:v) and there are many field-names from Billingham and Wolviston listed in *PNDu* (i:8–20 and 26–38) which are not included in the article’s data. For instance, *PNDu* (i:35) lists *kirk-*, *kerkfeld* recorded in 1613; this does not appear in the article, although other names recorded in 1613 were included in the article (Watts 2002:59–64). However, incomplete material need not invalidate the results as long as there was no bias in name selection.

the distribution of Scandinavian elements' but it seems from the numbers given that these are not numbers of elements but numbers of names.<sup>5</sup> This being so, it is unclear how names formed from elements deriving from more than one language were classified (Fellows-Jensen 1974:50). The names were taken from one document (Fellows-Jensen 1974:47) and thus could be biased according to the compiler's usage. However, the majority of the Scandinavian elements cited (Fellows-Jensen 1974:48–49) could not be Scandinavianisations of English elements. Thus, despite these reservations (which, in any case, should have applied to the data from all areas equally), as the method was applied consistently to a defined body of data, there is no reason to doubt the general validity of the results obtained.

Cox's study of the minor names of Rutland (1990) analysed over 1200 elements (the number of names is unclear) and calculated relative levels of English- and Scandinavian-derived elements by parish across the county. Cox (1990:7–8), like Watts (2002), counted all identifiable elements rather than solely generics thus allowing for a fuller assessment of the available evidence, and additionally calculated the relative numbers of English- and Scandinavian-derived elements cumulatively by century. A further innovation was that Cox carried out two separate analyses of the names: Cox first calculated numbers of elements occurring including repeats ('A' values), and then calculated numbers of different elements occurring ('B' values); Cox was thus able to distinguish between the repeated use of a few elements that were widespread in ME dialects and the use of a wide variety of elements (1990:7–8 and 12). The division of the elements by century revealed an infiltration of Scandinavian elements from the time of the earliest records until c.1600, which was more marked amongst the crude figures than the number of different elements and thus probably indicates widespread adoption of a few Scandinavian-derived elements, and a more limited infiltration of other

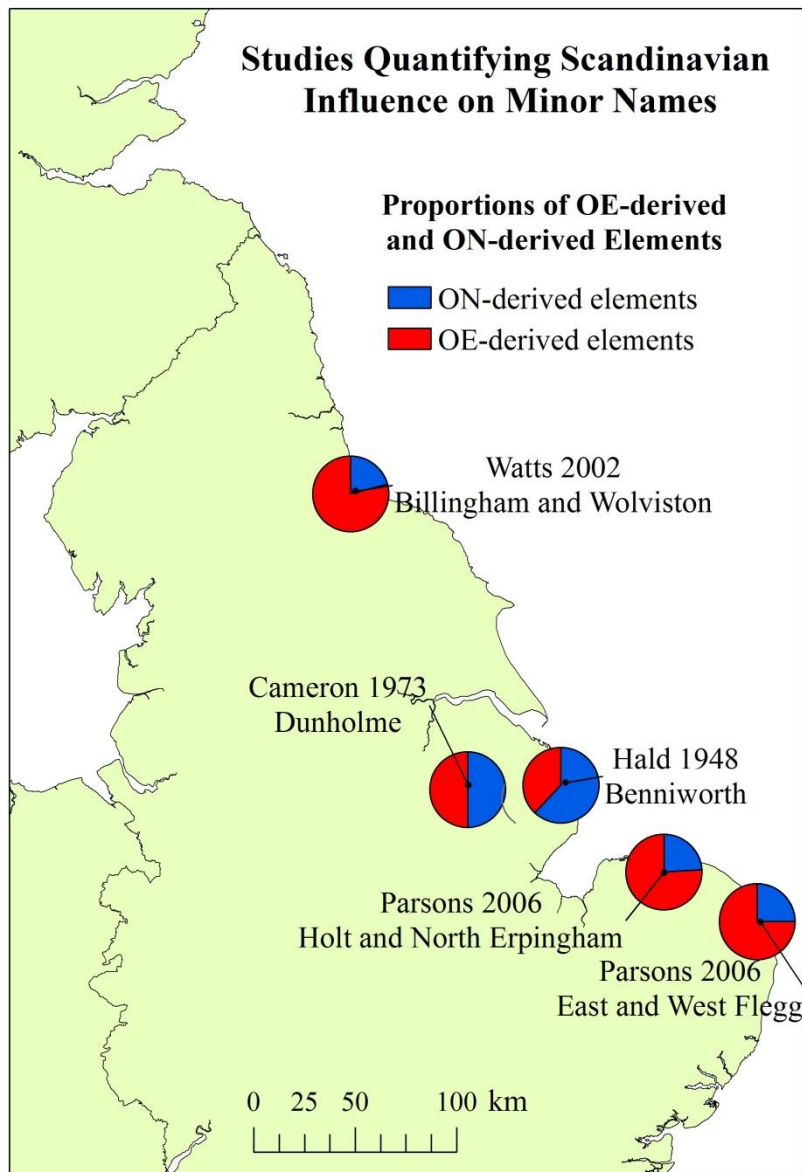
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<sup>5</sup> For instance, forty-four items (or 69%) amongst the Bishop Norton material are Scandinavian; forty-four names would be 69% of the sixty-four names from Bishop Norton (cf. Fellows-Jensen 1974:47 and 50). Comparison of the results with the numbers of names from the other estates confirms the figures for Scandinavian items given to refer to names not elements.

Scandinavian-derived elements (Cox 1990:7, 13–22). Cox acknowledged (1990:8) that the limited numbers of names for certain parishes might not be statistically viable but, reasonably, argued that the findings were nevertheless significant as the results showed a clear pattern. One could perhaps quibble with the cumulative presentation of the data as any early concentrations of Scandinavian elements could perhaps mask any later decline in the frequency of their usage. However, such a presentation allows the results to be compared with those from the other quantitative studies, which effectively present their results cumulatively (perhaps masking chronological variation in Scandinavian vocabulary usage). Overall, the application of a statistical method to a wider area than had previously been examined in this manner, and the chronological breakdown, permitted a more nuanced investigation than had previously been carried out of the relative levels of Scandinavian elements in the ME toponymicon of a broad area.

The most recent statistical analysis of minor-name data, Parsons' analysis (2006) of the field-names of the Norfolk hundreds of East and West Flegg and Holt and North Erpingham, analysed approximately 950 minor and field-names recorded between *c.*1100 and *c.*1400. Parsons explained both his method and the reasoning behind it in some detail. The analysis proceeded from the premise that field-names have a more limited life than major names (considered in more detail below), and was thus argued to be primarily a study of ME dialects (Parsons 2006:166). Parsons used only the generics in his calculations, largely for practical reasons because, he reasoned, generics are generally easier to identify (2006:167). This approach is practical and permits a swifter analysis of the data but much of interest amongst specifics (or other elements) is lost. Parsons then carried out two analyses of the data, first analysing all distinct (different) generics (corresponding to Cox's 'B' values) and then considering recurrent generics only (2006:166–71). The merits of the first approach have already been discussed so it is the second method which will be discussed here. The reasoning behind the analysis of recurrent generics only was that it would remove both uncertain elements and bias the data towards the local dialect of the time of the texts by eliminating at least some names surviving from earlier periods (2006:170–71). However, in doing

so, it is evident that much information about the variety of elements in the corpora of names is lost, which might in itself be a telling indicator of the level of linguistic contact.



Shapefiles: ELC1, ELC2, GRO

### *The classification of elements*

Quantitative studies in particular require that decisions be made about distinguishing English- and Scandinavian-derived place-name elements, which is problematic due to the close relationship between the languages. The lack of certainty means that assessment of the significance of the Scandinavian element in the vocabulary of the minor names is determined only following subjective decisions about the origins of the elements, which raises the



possibility of results being skewed by an over- or under-enthusiastic interpretation of elements as Scandinavian-derived. The security with which elements can or cannot be identified as English- or Scandinavian-derived is problematic to the extent that no two of the existing studies discussed here classified elements in the same way. The authors of the existing field-name studies decided it was impossible to decide whether more than fifty elements were of OE or of Scandinavian origin as cognate elements are identical or similar in the languages. Phonological and semantic developments meaning elements are (or occasionally are not) indistinguishable in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms are detailed in Chapter Two. However, a couple of other methods that have been used to distinguish (formally indistinguishable) English- and Scandinavian-derived elements are discussed here.

It has sometimes been assumed that an element is probably Scandinavian if the other element in the compound is Scandinavian (and similarly for English elements). For instance, this was assumed by Sandred (who considered ME *wang/wong* to derive from ON *vangr*) with reference to the first element in *Mykkylwong* (1979:111) and by Cameron, who noted the indistinguishability of forms such as *dike/dyke*, *sike/syke* and *sty* but nevertheless listed names containing these elements amongst his lists of Scandinavian compounds (1996:8–9, 18 and 25). However, examples of minor names in which both elements are certainly to be derived from different languages, for instance, *milneflat* and *parkesflatt* (Watts 2002:60), both with the ON generic *flat*, *flot* but with specifics of OE and Anglo-Norman derivation respectively, demonstrate that ON *flat*, *flot* had been borrowed into the local dialect and highlight the dangers of such an approach. Interpreting the elements in a name independently of each other (unless, of course, one element provides additional information about the meaning of the other) is of particular importance when analysing field-names recorded in the ME period as the majority cannot be proved to have been formed when Scandinavian was still spoken.

Sandred (1979:102–05) suggested elements might be distinguished by looking at synonymous variants deriving from different languages, noting

examples of alternations of elements of English and Scandinavian origin, for instance ON *bekkr* and OE *brōc*, or ME *sty* and OE *lanu*. From this, Sandred argued (albeit tentatively) that the alternations suggested that the elements were not derived from the same language and then used the identification of one element to identify the other (in the example given, ME *sty* would be interpreted as ON *stígr*). Presumably, this is to be explained by different forms of the names arising at a time when speakers of OE and ON had variant names for a place, perhaps not fully comprehensible to speakers of the other language. However, as instances of variation between elements of the same language occur,<sup>6</sup> the sole reason for variation in elements cannot be that names were formed in different languages, and variation in elements must instead sometimes simply reflect the existence of available synonyms. Consequently, this does not seem a reliable method of classifying indistinguishable elements.

Finally, ME elements that could derive from either OE or Scandinavian have sometimes been identified as deriving from one language or the other where there is evidence that an English- or a Scandinavian-derived form was common in the local toponymicon. For instance, Sandred (1979:109) argued that ME *gate* derived from ON *gata* in all instances as *gate* could be shown to refer to roads in some cases, and Cox claimed (1989–1990:8) that ME *dale* probably reflected ON *dalr* because OE *dæl* was rare. These assumptions may be true in most cases but may well not be true of an individual instance of the name, and do not allow for the possibility of competing or changing usages in the area considered.

### *Chronological Considerations*

The authors of the existing quantitative minor name studies evidently had different opinions about which periods their corpora represented. Both Hald and Cameron inferred the presence of Danish-speaking communities during the Viking Age in English-named villages from the use of Scandinavian

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<sup>6</sup> For instance, *Plumyard* (1250, generic OE *geard* ‘fence, enclosure’) and *Plumworth* (1291, generic OE *worð* ‘enclosure’) in Eastham, Cheshire (PNCh:iv 187–88).

elements in minor names, and Cameron was explicit about this necessitating large-scale Scandinavian settlement (Hald 1948:27; Cameron 1973:42). Similarly, Watts (2002:58) argued that a low number of Scandinavian elements in minor names suggested a lack of Scandinavian ownership of the areas he investigated. However, Cox (implicitly) and Parsons (explicitly) took a different approach. Cox (1989–90:11–12) argued that Scandinavian elements can be seen to diffuse into Rutland throughout the ME period (although one might quibble with the interpretation of this as ‘the Scandinavian language’ spreading into the area rather than borrowed place-name elements and personal names). Parsons proceeded from the premise that field-names survive for a shorter time than major names and explicitly argued that his study was a ME dialect study, any inferences about Scandinavian settlement in the region being strictly secondary (Parsons 2006:166). In the light of these varying opinions about which periods minor names reflect and the inferences that can be drawn from the proportions of Scandinavian elements in corpora of minor names, it is worth reviewing literature dealing with place-name survival.

There have only been a handful of investigations into the survival of place-names, both major and minor. Pre-English place-name survival following the immigration of Germanic speakers was briefly considered in the context of a wider attempt to investigate early English naming practices by Barrie Cox (1975–76:56–57). However, more focussed investigations into place-name survival have recently been undertaken by Arnold Baines (1996 [1998]), Della Hooke (1997) and Alaric Hall (2012).<sup>7</sup> Hall’s study is not considered in detail here as it concerns major name survival rather than minor name survival, but it is worth noting that Hall found that there was a greater likelihood of larger Domesday vills surviving than smaller vills, supporting the hypothesis — not a new one (cf. Wainwright 1962:58) — that it is less

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<sup>7</sup> Hall (2012:105) and Baines (1996 [1998]:165–66) both considered survival of the specific alone to constitute survival as generics might be expected to recur more often within a small area.

common for a new name to be adopted for a place known to a larger number of speakers (Hall 2012, esp. 107–08).

There is, to my knowledge, only one study which has investigated minor name survival for a complete corpus of names, a study of field-name survival in Sherington, Buckinghamshire (Baines 1996 [1998]). There are three more-or-less complete surveys of the field-names of Sherington from *c.* 1300, 1580 and the mid-twentieth century, which Baines (1996 [1998]:164–67) used to assess the survival of field-names, finding that 62% of the field-names survived from *c.* 1300 to 1580 whilst 25% survived from *c.* 1300 to 1950. Baines' study thus indicated greater longevity for minor names than has perhaps sometimes been envisaged. However, Baines also found there to be variation in name survival dependent on land tenure in the village and the date at which names were first recorded. He calculated 'rates of decay' of the name stock, and found that the time taken for half the names to be lost or replaced in the common fields was 670 years over the period 1300–1580 but only 170 years for the names in the demesne lands (Baines 1996 [1998]:167). Thus, Baines' findings suggest that the way land is farmed could affect minor name survival, and that open-field farming in particular might be linked to increased minor name longevity due to the names being known to a greater number of people. A similar explanation might explain Baines' finding (1996 [1998]:168) that names first recorded in 1580 were less likely to survive to 1950 (half-life of approximately 170 years) than names recorded in 1580 that had also been recorded in *c.* 1330 (half-life of approximately 280 years), which Baines explained as being due to the later-recorded names referring to less-significant features.

However, one of the areas considered here, the West Ward of Westmorland Barony, is an area which lay outside the main area of open-field farming and where substantial areas of land were better suited for livestock rearing than arable farming. In order to see whether comparable levels of minor name survival were also seen amongst the West Ward's medieval minor names, I calculated the percentage of the 533 minor names recorded before 1500 for which a related modern name is given in the relevant Survey volume (see table below). I found that 38% of the names recorded before 1500 had a

modern reflex. The survival rate was thus higher than the 25% rate of survival from c.1300 to c.1950 that Baines found in his Sherington investigation, although the time-span was smaller. Although the difference in dates of record and in types of places designated makes exact comparison impossible, it seems, then, that minor name survival at significant levels is not just a phenomenon of areas of open-field farming.

It is also interesting that the proportion of names that survive to the present day declines from those first recorded in the twelfth century to those first recorded in the fourteenth century, although the number of names first recorded in the twelfth century is low:

<b>Century Recorded</b>	<b>No. Minor Names</b>	<b>No. Surviving Names</b>	<b>% Survival</b>
12th	53	27	51
13th	258	90	35
14th	155	55	35
15th	67	28	42
<b>All Names</b>	<b>533</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>38</b>

The results appear to suggest that names recorded earlier have a greater chance of surviving longest, which might be explained by variation in the significance of the places named, and resultant differences in the number of people who knew them. Whether the recording of the names affected their survival is, of course, impossible to ascertain due to our ignorance of unrecorded names.

Indeed, besides Baines' findings outlined above, these inferences are supported by a study by Della Hooke (1997) considering the survival of minor names recorded in Anglo-Saxon charter bounds from Worcestershire. Hooke discussed survival on an element-by-element basis and did not detail the survival of all place-name elements occurring in the bounds so the study cannot be used to calculate survival rates across the corpus.<sup>8</sup> However, she

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<sup>8</sup> It is also unclear what criterion Hooke used to assess survival of the names, or whether her counts included estate names, which may better be regarded as major names.

did give full details for certain place-name elements and found, for instance, a stream with a name in *burna* seems to have stood a greater chance of survival than a stream with a name using the element *brōc*, whilst a clearing known as a *lēah* seems to have been more likely to survive than a *grāf* ‘a grove’ (Hooke 1997:171–72 and 176–77). Hooke explained (1997:180–81) the finding that there were significant discrepancies between how long names using different elements survived as due to different types of names being referred to more frequently than others.

The studies outlined above suggest that minor names can survive in substantial numbers from a much earlier period, and that the names of some landscape features might tend to survive for longer than others; this means it is perhaps over-simplistic to say that all minor names tend to have a limited lifespan. The question of name survival was viewed rather differently by the authors of the existing quantitative studies with earlier scholars inferring the presence of Danish-speaking communities in English-named villages from the use of Scandinavian elements in minor names, although Cameron and Wainwright admitted the indirectness of the link (Hald 1948:27; Wainwright 1962:88; Cameron 1973:42). In general, the more recent studies have tended to interpret the minor names as reflecting ME dialects rather than earlier periods of name formation. However, the truth may lie somewhere in between, with the possibility of higher proportions of certain types of names surviving than others (although it is, of course, uncertain whether the tendencies that can be observed between the twelfth century and the nineteenth century were also true in an earlier period).

The implication for this study is that it will be hard to pin down what periods minor names can tell us about. This is further reason to analyse the material chronologically (as detailed below) to see whether the character of toponymic vocabulary used changes during the later medieval period. A further decision that has been made is that major names in the areas investigated, which are recorded earlier than the minor names, will be analysed and compared with the minor names to see whether differences in the vocabulary used can be observed.

### *Lexicon or Toponymicon?*

Until recently, it was a common assertion that place-names had their origins in everyday speech (e.g. Cameron 1996:13). A common piece of supporting evidence for this assertion is the fact that place-names of OE origin sometimes show evidence of being used in the construction ‘*at the* + NAME’, as is evident in the case of place-names like Newnham, Northamptonshire (*æt niwanham* 1021–23; *PNNth*:xxxiii and 26–27) where medial /n/ is a remnant of a weak dative inflexion and is thus probably indicative of a (lost) definite article in most cases (cf. Mitchell 1985: §114). However, in recent years, some scholars, chiefly Wilhelm Nicolaisen (1980, 1995), have proposed that the body of place-name vocabulary, the toponymicon, has features distinguishing it from the lexicon and should be conceived of separately. This point has been generally accepted by later scholars, who have contributed further examples of distinctions between onomasticon and lexicon. Carole Hough (2010) pointed out that some toponymic elements’ usage clearly differs from that of their lexical cognates: for instance, OE *hām* appears to have been used in place-name formation only in the early Anglo-Saxon period, but survives as the lexeme *home* to the present day, whilst OE *beorg* appears to have had a wider range of lexical than onomastic meanings.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, Peter Kitson (1996, esp. 85–89) has suggested the existence of an onomastic dialect semi-independent of ordinary lexis in early Indo-European dialects as many roots attested otherwise only in eastern Indo-European lexemes seem to be used in western Indo-European river names.

It is possible that the case has, at times, been somewhat overstated. Some of the discrepancies between onomasticon and lexicon that Nicolaisen (1980) highlighted were not necessarily true at the time the elements in question were used in place-names. For instance elements Nicolaisen considers to exist only in the onomasticon, such as Spanish *San(ta)* in *San*

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<sup>9</sup> OE *beorg* meant ‘small, rounded hill or tumulus’ in place-names (Gelling and Cole 2000 [2003]:145) but ‘mountain, hill, mountain range, cliff, headland, promontory, barrow, tumulus, (burial-)mound, heap, pile’ as a lexeme (*TDOE*: s.v. *beorg*).

*Diego* and *Santa Barbara*, may well have existed in the lexicon of those who formed the names. It is also worth pointing out that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish onomastic and lexical usages, particularly when dealing with minor names, and it is not hard to see why minor names have sometimes been treated as ‘less name-like’ than other types of name (Wainwright 1962:86). Indeed, there are indications in one of the corpora of names considered here that uncertainty about what constituted a name was felt by users of the names or lexemes in the ME period.<sup>10</sup> However, such quibbles with individual examples do not invalidate the idea as a whole. If the concept of an onomasticon that, although related to the lexicon, behaves in some way independently of it, is accepted, then we must ask whether studies of minor names recorded in the ME period are really studies of ME dialects, as suggested by Parsons (2006:166) or whether they can only be interpreted as studies of toponymic dialects.

This is not the place for a thorough assessment of how different the composition of the landscape-related lexicon and the toponymicon might be, and such an assessment would in any case be difficult for historic material. However, case-studies of selected Scandinavian-derived elements are carried out, in which onomastic and lexical evidence for the elements’ usage across England (and occasionally more widely) has been considered. Not only does this permit differences in lexical and onomastic usages of elements to be perceived, it also permits examination of one of the claims that is sometimes

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<sup>10</sup> In later medieval records, the choice of Latin or English sometimes serves as a guide to what was considered a name and what was considered a description. For instance, in a document concerning land at Westhoughton, Lancashire (Lancashire Archives, DDHU/37/5), (*ad*) *nigrum puteum* ‘to the black pit’, seems to have been treated as a description in that the lexical content appears to have been uppermost in the mind of the scribe. In contrast *Bastardeston* in *moram de Bastardeston* in the same document appears to be treated as a name but *moram* as a description. However, one of the names from the West Ward, Swindale Beck, Shap Rural, is recorded as *Swyndelbeck* in 1249 but as *aquam de Swyndale* in 1292 (PNWe ii:177) and appears to show a form that looks like a ‘description’ recorded slightly later than a form that looks like a ‘name’.



made about toponymic vocabulary, namely that it tends to diffuse geographically less than lexical vocabulary (Parsons 2006:175–76).

### **Conclusions and Methodological Decisions**

In this overview of studies investigating Scandinavian linguistic influence on microtoponymy, it has been argued that the results of quantitative studies (studies examining defined corpora of microtoponyms) are more compelling than those of qualitative studies (studies analysing only selected names), as evidence presented in the latter tends to be illustrative rather than demonstrably typical of the minor-name material. It has consequently been decided to carry out a quantitative analysis in this study.

The quantitative studies have varied in approach but all have counted elements of secure English and Scandinavian origin from a defined area and compared the figures obtained, providing results that are demonstrably typical of the corpora investigated and which can be compared with results from other areas. By limiting the analysis to generics (with the exception of Watts' study), much potentially interesting data is omitted; this loss of data is even greater using Parsons' (2002) 'recurrent generics' technique. In order that the variety of Scandinavian elements used might be assessed, it has been decided to analyse all elements in the corpora (rather than simply generics or recurrent elements), although this is more time-consuming. An analysis of recurrent elements will additionally be carried out.

Careful linguistic classification of elements is more significant in quantitative studies than in qualitative studies. Quantitative studies, commenting on the character of an area's names rather than analysing all of the names, need only deal with securely-identifiable elements. However, studies aiming to analyse the composition of an area's medieval vocabulary must tackle the problem of which elements can be securely derived from one language or another, and which cannot. If the results of such studies are to be convincing, then a cautious approach, that examines the material without preconceptions about what is considered likeliest in the local area, is to be preferred. The various methods proposed for identifying elements of otherwise indistinguishable English or Scandinavian origin (alternation with

other elements, the secure English or Scandinavian derivation of another element in the name and the secure identification of an English- or Scandinavian-derived meaning locally) have been shown to be fallible. They are consequently avoided here in order to give greater confidence in the results obtained when the make-up of toponymic vocabulary is itself the object of study.

What exactly the results reveal cannot be pinned down with any certainty. An overview of studies of minor name survival and a cursory analysis of one of the corpora of names investigated here suggest that minor names survive many centuries more often than has perhaps been envisaged and that the nature of the referent affects name survival. The likelihood of minor names recorded in the ME period dating from different periods will therefore need to be borne in mind. Consequently, the corpora will be analysed according to the century in which names are first recorded and compared with the major names from the areas in order to see whether the makeup of toponymic vocabulary can be observed to change over time. The question of the relationship between onomasticon and lexicon is difficult to answer for historical periods, but element case-studies will be carried out in an attempt to investigate whether there are observable differences in lexical and onomastic usage and whether toponymic vocabulary behaves differently from lexical vocabulary (as has sometimes been claimed) in terms of geographical diffusion.

## Chapter Two: Distinguishing English- and Scandinavian-derived Place-Name Elements

### Introduction

A significant methodological problem when assessing relative OE and ON contributions to minor-name vocabulary is deciding how elements in the related languages can be distinguished — the focus of this chapter. It is often impossible to determine which elements are of Scandinavian origin and which are of OE origin (here termed ‘indistinguishable’ throughout). In most instances, the impossibility of determining the origin is due to the relatedness of OE and ON. An OE or Scandinavian origin for an element is secure only where sound changes or semantic developments restricted to one of the languages allow cognates to be distinguished, or where an element is recorded in only one of the languages (and there can be uncertainty in this respect).

The greater part of this chapter consists of an alphabetical list of elements that are indistinguishable or potentially indistinguishable, where phonology and semantics are considered to assess whether elements can reasonably be ascribed English or Scandinavian origins. The reasons for considering elements indistinguishable are considered in some detail owing to the varied complications in deciding whether they can be distinguished. Representative examples of the elements’ use in England and Scandinavia are given in the Appendix to Chapter Two in order to demonstrate that elements were used onomastically as well as lexically in both areas. Illustrative Scandinavian examples are generally from Denmark and Norway, the areas from which most Scandinavian settlers in Britain are thought to have come (although Swedish and Icelandic place-names may be discussed where there is scant evidence elsewhere).<sup>11</sup> Scandinavian examples are generally taken from Rygh’s *Norske Gaardnavne* (1897–1936) and the online database of Danish place-names, a digitised version of *Danmarks Stednavne* (covering

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<sup>11</sup> Swedish place-names were investigated using Wahlberg et al. (2003); Icelandic place-names were investigated using *ONP* (and other sources where appropriate).

approximately two-thirds of Denmark but with varying levels of minor-name coverage) with additional material collected by the Afdeling for Navneforskning.<sup>12</sup> Examples from England were taken, where possible, from areas where there is not thought to have been significant Scandinavian influence on place-names and were investigated using LangScape,<sup>13</sup> *VEPN* and *EPNE*, although in later stages of research the digitised Survey of English Place-Names was also used.<sup>14</sup> Element definitions and examples given are from Parsons et al. (1997–) and Smith (1956) unless otherwise stated.

There are a number of phonological developments that are known to have taken place by the time of the earliest Scandinavian manuscripts but which do not seem to be reflected in Scandinavian lexical and onomastic material from England. To avoid repetition in the discussion of individual element pairs, these developments are discussed in the first section in this chapter.

## **Viking-Age Scandinavian**

### ***Background***

In discussions of the impact the settlers had on the English language, it is conventional to refer to Scandinavian etyma in standardised ON forms, despite the fact that the earliest manuscripts (upon which these forms are based) were written in Iceland and Norway during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Schulte 2002:882–83). This is therefore both a later form of the language and one from a narrower area than those from which Scandinavians settling in the British Isles came. Viking-Age Scandinavian cannot therefore be taken to be identical with the language of the later manuscripts and undoubtedly differed from standardised ON. This is significant when differentiating English and Scandinavian elements in English place-names as some of the changes differentiating OE and ON reflexes of cognate Germanic etyma postdate

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<sup>12</sup> <[http://nfi.ku.dk/publikationer/trykte\\_serier/danmarks\\_stednavne/](http://nfi.ku.dk/publikationer/trykte_serier/danmarks_stednavne/)> [accessed 16/02/15].

<sup>13</sup> <<http://www.langscape.org.uk/>> [accessed 13/07/15].

<sup>14</sup> <<https://epns.nottingham.ac.uk/>> [accessed 16/02/15].

Scandinavian settlement in the British Isles. Determining which sound changes can be used to distinguish between OE and ON cognates is therefore important.

Scholars focussing on the use of Scandinavian language in the British Isles have used the Scandinavian linguistic material from Britain, especially place-names, personal names and loanwords, as a source of evidence for Viking-Age Scandinavian. Discussions of Scandinavian linguistic material in an English context can be broadly divided into two groups. Some studies have (often as part of wider studies) sought to identify Scandinavian material in English and define diagnostic criteria for its identification (Björkman 1900–02; Dance 2003:74–91; Coates 2006; Pons-Sanz 2013:25–122). These studies differ significantly in approach from those which have used Scandinavian lexical material from England (and other areas of the British Isles) to make inferences about Viking-Age Scandinavian (Noreen 1923: *passim*; Kolb 1965, 1969). There are significant methodological problems with using Scandinavian linguistic material from Britain as evidence for Viking-Age Scandinavian. One particular reason for caution is the possibility that phonological assimilation to English may, at least in part, have determined the form of borrowed Scandinavian material. The use of Scandinavian linguistic material from Britain in dating Scandinavian phonological developments is also problematic given variation in the length of time for which different areas of Britain maintained contacts with other areas where Scandinavian was spoken, and the likelihood that Scandinavian material from England is not equally representative of language in all areas of Scandinavia. Borrowed linguistic material is thus a problematic source for Viking-Age Scandinavian, over-reliance on which could render invisible developments that were instead part of the interaction of Scandinavian and English in the British Isles (which might be interesting in themselves). These concerns affect chronologies provided by the grammars, which, being written mainly in the first half of the twentieth century, are not entirely up-to-date. In particular, numerous runic inscriptions have been discovered since the grammars were written, many inscriptions have been reinterpreted and new insights into relevant linguistic changes have been offered.

### *Runic Inscriptions as a Source of Evidence for Viking-Age Scandinavian*

Few recent studies of Scandinavian influence on English have made direct use of the Scandinavian texts that date from the Viking Age, runic inscriptions.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, reliance on the historical grammars of ON has occasionally led to erroneous remarks.<sup>16</sup> In the light of the aforementioned reservations about using the standard grammars as a source of evidence, there is scope for reconsidering what Viking-Age runic inscriptions reveal about Viking-Age Scandinavian in the light of new finds, interpretations and more recent linguistic thinking. In particular, recent studies have highlighted linguistic variation in the Viking Age that does not necessarily conform to an East-Scandinavian/West-Scandinavian divide (Barnes 1997; 2003).

There are, of course, complications in using runic inscriptions as a source of evidence about Viking-Age Scandinavian. The inscriptions from the relevant period are not evenly distributed across the North Germanic *Sprachraum*, which means that we tend to be informed about the language of one area for one period, and the language in another region for another period.<sup>17</sup> Further, dating the inscriptions is often problematic: most are datable only to rather broad periods, and when linguistic forms play a part in dating

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<sup>15</sup> Pons-Sanz (2013) is a partial exception.

<sup>16</sup> See Barnes' review (2004: esp. 133–34) of Townend (2002).

<sup>17</sup> Using data in the *Samnordisk Runtextdatabas* version 3.0 (2014 release), Jesch (2015:170–71) gives totals for numbers of inscriptions by period in different countries. Figures Jesch (250:170) calculated for Viking-Age and earlier inscriptions from mainland Scandinavia are as follows: older futhark inscriptions (before c. 750): Denmark (165), Norway (66) and Sweden (51); Viking-Age inscriptions (c. 750–1100): Denmark (462), Norway (139) and Sweden (2978). Further diachronic and diatopic variation in the number of inscriptions produced, and the media on which they were carved, is apparent within these periods (Jesch 2015:170). Chronological and geographical variation in the distribution of memorial inscriptions was discussed in detail by Palm (1992), whose maps (pp. 71–77) of inscription distribution by period provide clear illustrations of the geographical variation in the production of memorial inscriptions within the medieval Scandinavian realms.

the inscriptions, there is a danger of circularity in using the inscriptions as witnesses to the language of a particular period.

Moreover, there are certain characteristics of Scandinavian runic scripts that mean that inscriptions can be more illuminating about some phonological developments than others. The convention of omitting nasals before consonants means that runic inscriptions cannot shed much light on the so-called West Scandinavian nasal assimilation, for instance (Noreen 1923:§§266–63; Haugen 1976:155). Further, the limited number of characters used in the younger futhark, whose sixteen characters do not usually distinguish mutated vowels from their non-mutated counterparts, means that certain developments are hard to perceive in inscriptions. It means, for instance, that the presence of *u*-mutation can only occasionally be demonstrated in Viking-Age inscriptions (which could not be used to demonstrate its absence). On a more positive note, however, the lack of written standards such as existed for OE and later ON (see below) means that features that might not be represented in standardised writing systems are sometimes apparent.<sup>18</sup>

In the discussion below, particular attention is paid to a handful of linguistic features which pertain to the problem of distinguishing OE and ON cognates: *u*-mutation/umlaut, stress-shift of diphthongs, breaking/fracture, and the maintenance of the distinction between /r/ and the so-called ‘palatal-*r*’ deriving from Gmc \*/z/. Consideration of all the evidence for these features of Viking-Age Scandinavian would be beyond the scope of this thesis, so this section is in essence a survey of recent discussions of the evidence, particularly the runic evidence, for the developments in question.

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<sup>18</sup> For instance, Barnes (2003) details instances of phonological, inflexional and lexical variations apparent only in Viking-Age inscriptions, often only from small areas, and Palm (1992:177–200) highlights diatopic variation in lexis used in Viking-Age memorial inscriptions.

## U-umlaut

*U*-umlaut refers to a phonological change by which /u/ or /w/ in a following syllable caused rounding of a preceding vowel, thus /a(:), e, i(:), ei/ became /ɔ(:), ø, y(:), ey/ respectively (Hreinn Benediktsson 1963:409; Noreen 1923:§§76–77). Conventionally, the change has been understood to have taken place in two distinct periods. An older period of *u*-umlaut by /u/ or /w/ lost before the time of the earliest Scandinavian manuscripts (for instance, ON *sok* from earlier \**sacu*) was thought to have taken place throughout Scandinavia, although occasionally removed by analogy with non-umlauted forms in East Scandinavian (Noreen 1904:§67; Noreen 1923:§80; Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–73 i:§85). This period was further divided into a period of *u*-umlaut in long, stressed syllables (and in short, stressed syllables before syncopated medial syllables) *c.* 700–900, and a period of *u*-umlaut in short, stressed syllables *c.* 900, the periods being dated by the loss of /u/ in the relevant environments (Noreen 1923:§80, 1–2; Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–73 i:§85). A second period of *u*-umlaut by preserved /u/ was considered younger due to its restricted distribution to Western Scandinavia (excluding eastern Norway) and the fact that it is first known from rhymes in skaldic verse datable to *c.* 1200 (Noreen 1904:§67; Noreen 1923:§80).

However, linguistic understanding of the operation of *u*-umlaut underwent substantial revisions during the twentieth century, particularly in the light of structuralist re-interpretations of sound changes, which distinguish phonetic and phonemic change. These revisions have consequences for understanding the dating and distribution of *u*-umlaut, and are worth examining briefly. Objections to the conventional view are on the one hand general and theoretical: the division of one phonetic change caused by the same conditioning factor into two periods of operation has been thought unlikely. On the other hand, there is substantial evidence for the so-called ‘younger’ *u*-umlaut in eastern Norwegian and Swedish dialects and place-names and occasionally in Old East Norwegian and Old Swedish manuscripts, suggesting that the so-called younger umlaut was not exclusively a West Scandinavian phenomenon (Hreinn Benediktsson 1963:410–12). In this section, the limited evidence for *u*-mutation in Scandinavian linguistic



material in England is examined and scholarly interpretations of the material summarised. Linguistic evidence from mainland Scandinavia is then examined to see whether it can shed light on the extent of *u*-mutation in Viking-Age Scandinavian.

An overview of the evidence for *u*-mutation in Scandinavian lexical material from England was given by Björkman (1900–02:11–12, 289–90 and 295) and Luick (1921:§382.4). Björkman noted *u*-mutation of earlier \*/a/ in ME *hold* (< ON *hōldr*) and IOE *hofding(e)* (< ON *hōfðingi*), and *u*-mutation of \*/a:/ in ME *cōme* ‘a coming’ from oblique cases of *kváma*.<sup>19</sup> Luick (1921:§382.4) noted only ME *hold* but suggested that, whilst the lack of evidence for *u*-mutation might be explained either by the borrowing of East Norse forms (cf., along similar lines, Townend 2002:36), it might alternatively be explained by the sound represented by ON <q> being closer to OE /a/ than to OE /o/. Dance (2003:115) similarly suggested that ON [ɔ] might be expected to merge with OE /a/ as rounding of low-back phonemes in English was not distinctive. Alternatively, analogy with OE words may have been significant in determining the form of these lexemes.<sup>20</sup>

Similarly, where place-names spell the reflex of ON <q> as <o>, this can generally be explained by processes other than *u*-mutation. The dominance of spellings with medial <o> in ME reflexes of ON *hōfuð* (Smith 1956: s.v. *hōfuð*) may be explicable, as Coates suggests, by the fact that ON /ɔ/ in *hōfuð* derives from /au/ in earlier \**haufuð*, the ME reflex of which was usually <o> or <ou> (Coates 2006:49–52; Jordan 1974:§130,3; Noreen 1923:§98,1). Coates (2006:49–52) suggested that forms such as <stong->

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<sup>19</sup> Björkman (1900–02:11–12 f.n. 2), drew attention to an Old Swedish form *kōma* ‘arrival’, and argued this to be an instance of the development of /wa:/ to /wo:/ (rather than /wɔ:/) when followed by retained /u/, an example of ‘combined labial mutation’ (cf. Noreen 1923:§77,11).

<sup>20</sup> ON *hōldr* might have been associated with OE *hold* ‘faithful, loyal’ (Fellows-Jensen 1989:90); IOE *hofding* might have been associated with OE *hof* and ME *come* (cf. OE *cyme*) might have been influenced by that of ME *comen* ‘to come’ rather than oblique cases of ON *kváma* (Dance 2003:152–53 n. 135).

(ON *stong*) and <throng-> (ON *þrong*) could derive from OE tenth-century rounding of /a/ before a nasal, comparing the development of ModE *long*, although an explanation involving adaptation to the OE phonological system might instead be preferred.<sup>21</sup> Analogy with OE *cnotta* might explain /o/ in reflexes of ON *knotttr* in place-names with medial <o>, which Coates suggested as evidence of *u*-mutation.<sup>22</sup> As the evidence for *u*-mutation in ON material in England is scanty and the few forms which might suggest /ɔ/ rather than /a/ could reasonably be due to English phonological changes and the actions of analogy, it is safest not to assume that the absence of *u*-mutation can be used to distinguish OE and ON cognates such as OE *catt* and ON *kotttr* (discussed in detail below).

Some light can be shed on the lack of evidence for *u*-umlaut in borrowed Scandinavian material from England by considering evidence from mainland Scandinavia. Contrary to the conventional understanding of *u*-umlaut, the existence of limited mutated forms in East Scandinavian has been interpreted as implying that the older and younger umlauts were

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<sup>21</sup> Both Campbell (1959:§130) and Hogg (1992:§§5.3–5.6) date the rounding much earlier, and the Middle English reflex of the rounded form was in any case most often ME <a> everywhere but the West Midlands (Jordan 1974:§30), so OE rounding would seem unlikely to explain ME forms of ON *þrong* and *stong*. However, a development comparable with that of ModE *long* may explain rounding in reflexes of ON *stong* and *þrong* in England. The usual development of OE /a/ followed by /ng/ was to /a:/ in the OE period (Campbell 1959:§283; Hogg 1992:§5.202; Jordan 1974:§22). During the Middle English period, (lengthened) /a:/ regularly developed to /ɔ:/ (<o>) in Southumbria but was shortened c. 1400 (Kristensson 1995:4–6, 15; *ibid.* 1967:31; Jordan 1974:§§22 and 30). ModE *long* is thus explained as reflecting the Southumbrian development of the word. It is feasible that the Scandinavian loanwords \*/stang-/ and /þrong-/ would have been assimilated to the lengthened forms when borrowed into English and developed in a similar fashion to OE *lang*, *long*.

<sup>22</sup> The distribution of the place-name element was seen as evidence of Scandinavian origin by Smith (1956: s.v. *knotttr*) but the word is usually presumed to be native and occurs, for instance, in the OE translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* (*OED*: s.v. *knot* n.<sup>1</sup>; Hogg 1992:§4.2; *TDOE*: s.v. *cnotta*).

analogically removed in East Scandinavian, the latter more extensively than the former (although this explanation cannot account for all forms without the umlauted vowels) (Hreinn Benediktsson 1963:412–15). Analogical replacement before non-preserved /u/ appears to have been taking place during the late thirteenth century in Eastern Norway, but seems to have taken place earlier in Denmark and Sweden (Hreinn Benediktsson 1963:413–14 and 426–28). The forms **tanmaurk** in the longer of the tenth-century Jelling inscriptions (contrasting with **fabur** with preserved /u/), **aut** (ON *qnd*) in the Kimstad inscription from Östergötland, and **aukmuntr** (ON *Qgmundr*) and **ausualti** (ON *Ásvaldi*) in the Stratomta inscription from Östergötland testify to the survival of forms affected by the ‘older’ umlaut into the tenth and eleventh centuries in Denmark and Sweden (Brate 1911:151–52 and 209–10; Hreinn Benediktsson 1963:426–28).<sup>23</sup> Consequently, analogical replacement by non-mutated forms may be too late to explain the lack of the so-called older umlaut in Scandinavian linguistic material in England.

Ascertaining whether the so-called older umlaut had been phonemicised by the time of Scandinavian settlement in England is problematic. Runic inscriptions in Scandinavia provide convincing evidence that /u/ had been lost after long stressed syllables and in medial syllables subject to syncope long before the ninth century, when Scandinavian settlement in England began. A handful of runic inscriptions demonstrate unambiguous syncope of final /u/ after a long syllable or in syncopated medial syllables at an early date. The form **sbA** (< Gmc *\*spahu*, ON *spǫ*, later *spá*) in the Björketorp inscription, dated to c.675–700, is commonly highlighted as an early example of apocope of final /u/ after a long syllable (Noreen 1923:§153,7; Krause and Jankuhn 1966:215–217; Nielsen 2000:96).<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Both inscriptions from Östergötland presumably date from the eleventh century or later: Kimstad (Ög 161) bears a cross, a Christian invocation and has dotted runes; Stratomta (Ög 224) also has a cross decoration and (from the transcription given) must use a dotted **i** rune.

<sup>24</sup> Presumably compensatory lengthening of /a/ when /h/ was lost (Noreen 1923:§123) preceded syncope (cf. Nielsen 2000:260).

Syncope of medial /u/ is demonstrated in **nAkda[n]** (< \**nakuðan*, ON *nøkðan*) in the Eggja inscription (Sogndal), dated to c.650–700 (Noreen 1923:§153,7; Krause and Jankuhn 1966:229, 234; Nielsen 2000:100, 108; Spurkland 2006:337).<sup>25</sup> There are slightly earlier inscriptions which may also show syncope in these environments, but their interpretations have been disputed.<sup>26</sup> In the British Isles, the mutated vowel seems to be indicated where /u/ had been lost in the form **þurbiaurn** (ON *Þorbjörn*) in the Marown (Rhyne) inscription from Man (Olsen 1954:200).

However, the situation as concerns short syllables and forms where /u/ was preserved is more uncertain. After short syllables, inscriptions in the Older Futhark provide a few instances of the preservation of /u/ but none, to my knowledge, of its loss.<sup>27</sup> Generally, loss of /u/ after short syllables seems to conform well to Noreen's dating of c.900 (1923:§§80.1–3), although a couple of Swedish inscriptions suggest survival of /u/ after short syllables to

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<sup>25</sup> The form **solu** (ON *sól*, dat.sg. *sólu*) retains /u/ after a long syllable but, as the /u/ was retained in classical ON, its retention in a form understood as a dative was perhaps motivated by the desire to distinguish the dative singular and is not necessarily problematic here (Krause 1971:§58,2; Nielsen 2000:260–61).

<sup>26</sup> The Noleby inscription (Västergötland), dated to the end of the sixth century, may show syncope of final /u/ after a long syllable in **fahi** (< \**fāhiu* < *faihiu*) (Krause and Jankuhn 1966:149–51; Nielsen 2000:260); however, this reading and the inscription's dating have been disputed (Antonsen 2002:180–83). The same form appears on the Åsum bracteate but is probably corrupt (Moltke 1985:114).

Similarly, the late-sixth- or early-seventh-century Setre comb may show syncope of final /u/ in **hal** (*hail* < \**hailu*) (Krause and Jankuhn 1966:90). However, again Antonsen (2002:299–300) has disputed the interpretation and details (the spelling of the diphthong /ai/ as **A** and the gen.pl. \**meyna* for expected \**meyja*) mean the example is uncertain.

<sup>27</sup> For instance, the Setre comb form **Alu** (ON *ǫl*), and the form **hapu-** in the Gummarp, Stentoften and Istaby inscriptions from Blekinge (c.600–650) (Krause and Jankuhn 1966:89–91, 205–14 and 218–20; Nielsen 2000 95–96). The Eggja inscription has also been argued to show retention of /u/ in the same word (Krause and Jankuhn 1966:231; Nielsen 2000:100 and 108); however the reading of this line is very uncertain (Spurkland 2005:60, 64 and 66; 2006:338).

c.1000. The vowel is maintained in the masc.acc.sg. **sunu** in (?late-eighth- and) early-ninth-century inscriptions from Sölvesborg (Blekinge), Rök and Kälvesten (Östergötland), and in late-tenth- or eleventh-century inscriptions from Bjälbo (Östergötland) and Möne (Västergötland) (Moltke 1985:157 and 160; Nielsen 2000:99–100 and 261; Barnes 2008:276–77; Brate 1911:5–8, 63–66 and 233; Jacobsen and Moltke 1942:399–400 and 1035; Jungner and Svärdström 1940–70 i:299–300; Peterson 1994:66–67).<sup>28</sup> Apocope of /u/ is seen in acc.sg.m. **kuþumut** but not in acc.sg.m. **brupursunu** in the Helnæs inscription from Fyn (c.750–900), whilst the apocopated form **sun** is seen in the Tryggevælde and Rønninge inscriptions from eastern Sjælland and Fyn (thought to have been carved by the same carver c.900) (Moltke 1985:156, 226, 314; Nielsen 2000:99, 261). Before preserved /u/ umlaut need not have been phonemicised, and runic evidence presented by Hreinn Benediktsson (1963:415–216) suggests identification at times with /a/ (e.g. **faþur** in the Jelling inscription), at times with /ɔ/ (e.g. **haufþa** and **faufþur** in the Åbyggeby inscription, datable to the first half of the eleventh century) (Fuglesang 1998:206; Wessén and Janson 1953–58 i:551–53). Inscriptions from the Isle of Man (generally dated to between c.925 and 1000–1030) seem to indicate the mutated vowel in **faufþur** (Andreas I, ON *fǫður*) (Olsen 1954:183–84 and 201) and **arinbiaurk** (Andreas II, ON *Arinbjörgu*; Olsen 1954:184).<sup>29</sup>

In summary, then, it seems most likely that /ɔ(:)/ would have been phonemicised by the time of Scandinavian settlement in Britain where /u/ was syncopated early, i.e. after a long vowel and where /u/ occurred in a medial syllable after a short vowel. However, /ɔ(:)/ could feasibly have remained an allophone of /a/ where /u/ occurred after a short vowel and may not yet have been syncopated, and even more feasibly where /u/ was preserved. However,

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<sup>28</sup> The Möne inscription is not dated by Jungner and Svärdström (1940–70 i:299–300) but the occurrence of a dotted **i** rune means the inscription is likely to date from the late tenth century or later (cf. Jacobsen and Moltke 1942:999–1000).

<sup>29</sup> Braddan III [**f**]**aþ**[**ur**] is perhaps a form with no indication of the mutated vowel, but much of the reading at this point is a reconstruction (Olsen 1954:191–92).

the Manx runic corpus, which is admittedly a little later than the principal period of Scandinavian settlement, at least in eastern England, has convincing indications of mutated vowels in all these positions. Indeed, lexemes from England where *u*-umlaut has been suggested to occur do not correspond to words in which *u*-umlaut would have been phonemicised early, as all instances concern the umlaut of \*/a/ rather than \*/a:/ (with the exception of ON *\*k(v)ómu*, which is a different case on account of the rounding effect of preceding /w/). The lack of a corresponding English phoneme may, then, have been more significant than the progress of *u*-mutation in Scandinavia in determining the borrowed forms of Scandinavian lexemes with *u*-mutation.

***Stress-Shifted Diphthongs: ON /ju:/ < Gmc \*/eu/ and ON /jo:/ < Gmc \*/eu/***

The second element of the Germanic /eu/ diphthong was lowered to /o/ in West Saxon, Kentish and Mercian and /a/ or a sound intermediate between /a/ and /o/ in Northumbrian; this development is thought to have been before the time of the earliest OE manuscripts, predating Scandinavian settlement in England (Hogg 1992:§§5.41–46). The OE diphthong was monophthongised to /e:/ towards the end of the OE period (Hogg 1992:§§5.210–211, 5.214).

In ON, the diphthong developed to the rising diphthongs, /ju:/ before /f, g, k, p/, and /jo:/ elsewhere (Noreen 1923:§§56 and 101; Ralph 2002:706 and 710). Noreen dated the raising of the first element of the diphthong to c.550 before /i, u/ in a following syllable or directly before palatal-*r*, and to before c.900 elsewhere; he gave no indications of the chronology of stress-shifting other than noting it may have been incomplete in some Norwegian dialects as late as the thirteenth century (Noreen 1923:§§56 and 101). Thus, the reflexes of certain English and Scandinavian cognates, for instance OE *grēot* and ON *grjót* ‘gravel, stones’ and OE *dēop* and ON *djúpr* ‘deep’, appear more different in the normalised forms of these languages than they might have been during the Viking Age.

Runological evidence can contribute little to the dating of the developments. The forms **liubu** and **iupingar** (cf. OHG *Eodunc*) in the Norwegian Opedal and Reistad inscriptions form have been presented as evidence for the raising of the first element of the /eu/ diphthong before /i, u/

and palatal-*r* already in the fifth and sixth centuries (Noreen 1923:§56; Krause and Jankuhn 1966:170–72 and 174–78), although the readings have been questioned.<sup>30</sup> However, the use of separate graphemes for /e/ and /i/ and /o/ and /u/ was lost in the transition from the older to the younger futhark, and may be seen as early as the mid-eighth century in the Ribe cranium inscription forms **uþin** (ON *Óðinn*) and **tuirk** (?ON *dverg*) (Stoklund 1996:201 and 204–05; Barnes 2009:124–25). Thereafter, /e/ and /i/ were not distinguished again in runic inscriptions until c.1000 in Denmark and c.1050 in Norway (and then not consistently), and /o/ and /u/ were not distinguished again until the early eleventh century in Norway and c.1050 in Denmark (Knirk 2010:190; Jacobsen and Moltke 1942:999–1000 and 1024; Spurkland 2005:97–03). Consequently, the quality of the elements of the diphthongs considered here are obscure in the centuries preceding and following Scandinavian settlement in England.

There is only very slim evidence that the diphthongal Scandinavian reflexes of Germanic \*/eu/) were preserved (except in initial position) in Scandinavian linguistic and onomastic material from England.<sup>31</sup> Just one

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<sup>30</sup> Antonsen (2002:5 and 138–39) claimed to read **leuba** (with a bind rune **eu**) and **idringaz** in these inscriptions (but these readings seem to have been made, at least initially, from photographs).

<sup>31</sup> In initial position, the stress-shifted diphthong was retained, as perhaps in ME *ʒol*, and in a number of place-names including York and Yanwath, discussed in Chapter Four (Björkman 1900–02:242; Luick 1921:§384 Anm. 3; Fellows-Jensen:1987:147–48; Coates 2006:56). The occurrence of the rising diphthong in initial position is usually ascribed to earlier stress-shift in this position (Luick 1921:§384 Anm. 3; Gordon and Taylor 1957:275); it is worth bearing in mind, however, Fellows-Jensen’s observation that a similar development has taken place in English place-names where Scandinavian settlement is not reckoned with and it may instead be that the preservation and/or development of diphthongs initially was phonologically more likely. Indeed, Ross (1939–40) makes such a suggestion, arguing that the existence of rising diphthongs initially in OE made equivalence with these diphthongs possible (for instance, ME *ʒald* ‘a nag’ < ON *jalda*), whereas medially only falling diphthongs existed, with which the Scandinavian medial diphthongs were equated.

Scandinavian loanword containing ON /jo:/ or /ju:/ preserves a diphthong, ME *mēoc* (< ON *mjúkr*) (Björkman 1900–02:217).<sup>32</sup> Elsewhere, ON <jó> appears as ME /e:/ medially (Jordan 1974:§140 remark 4; Luick 1921:§384,3).

Similarly, in place-names, the usual reflex of the Scandinavian diphthongs is ME /e/, although a handful of names from north-west England and Yorkshire might show reflexes of stress-shifted diphthongs (Coates 2006:54–56).<sup>33</sup> Thus, in the majority of instances of words such as OE/ON *grēot/grjót* and OE/ON *dēop/djúpr* are indistinguishable in their OE and ON forms, giving ME /gre:t/ and /de:p/ respectively. Names accepted as possible evidence for the stress-shifted diphthong include three names perhaps derived from ON *\*sjónar-haugr* ‘lookout mound’ Shundraw, Cumberland (*Shonderhowe* 1571; *PNCu*:314) and Shunner Howe (*Senerhou* 13th c., *Shonerhom* [sic] 1252; *PNYN*:130) and (late-recorded) Shunner Fell, North Yorkshire (Coates 2006:55–56; cf. Dieth 1955:214) which might, as Coates notes, concern the form of a single lexeme. Further forms given by Coates are Deepdale (*Duppedale a.* 1187, *Diupedalhed* 13th c.; cf. ON *djúpr*) and Dyrah, Cumberland (*Dyrawe* 1332; *PNCu*:236) in which ON *dýr* is taken as the monophthongised form of earlier *\*djúr* (Coates 2006:54).<sup>34</sup> Alongside these

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<sup>32</sup> OE *scēot* (< ON *skjótr*) ‘swift’, if indeed a loanword, may also preserve the diphthong (cf. Björkman 1900–02:125–26); however, it is possible that the lexeme is native with Scandinavian influence responsible for the Middle English reflex with initial /sk-/ (Pons-Sanz 2013:403). Sandahl (1964:269–72) discusses further possible examples of medial reflexes of stress-shifted diphthongs as /ju(:)/ and /u(:)/, but notes that all examples are either doubtful (and could be entirely English) or reflect ongoing trade contacts with Scandinavia or the Northern Isles.

<sup>33</sup> Coates reasonably dismisses the evidence of Shoulthwaite, Cumbria (*Heolthwaitis c.*1280, *Shewltath* 1564; *PNCu*:316) as a reflex of ON *hjól* ‘wheel’ (which does not, in any case, reflect a reflex of Germanic *\*/eu/*), arguing instead that the <o> might reflect the distinctive second syllable of earlier *\*/h(w)e:wul-/*. It is possible, however, that the later pronunciation with initial /ʃ-/ reflects a shift in stress to the second element of the diphthong, which may be ascribed to Scandinavian linguistic influence (see discussion of Shap in Chapter Four).

<sup>34</sup> Beetham, in which both fracture and stress-shifting are involved, is discussed in the following section.



names might be considered a couple of further names containing ON *djúpr* where early forms of the names do not indicate a diphthong, but suggest /u/ rather than /e/ and thus perhaps imply that the second element of the diphthong was more prominent: Deepdale, Lancashire (*Dupedale* 1228, *de Depedale* 1354; Ekwall 1922:146), *Duphyard* (1260–80), Higher Bebington, Cheshire (*PNCh* iv:248) and *Dupwath* (1286) Loweswater, Cumberland (*PNCu*:412).<sup>35</sup> The evidence is scanty and in the instances discussed here contemporaneous spellings indicate the reflex of the non-stress-shifted diphthong. However, the evidence for non-stress-shifted forms alongside apparent evidence for stress-shifted diphthongs in Scandinavian place-names and loanwords in England does not mean that the apparently stress-shifted forms need be erroneous forms; instead, the variant forms could indicate variant pronunciations of the names.<sup>36</sup>

To sum up, the Scandinavian runic evidence does not permit conclusions as to the progress of the development of falling to rising diphthongs in Viking-Age Scandinavian. However, there are arguably sufficient traces of such diphthongs in Scandinavian linguistic material from England, particularly in place-names, to suggest that stress-shifted diphthongs existed in the speech of at least some Scandinavian settlers in England. The general lack of evidence for stress-shifted diphthongs in England could be explained in two ways, not necessarily mutually exclusive. The lack of these forms in England could reflect the lack of the development in Viking-Age Scandinavian, and the consequent identification of the Scandinavian diphthongs with native /eo:/,

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<sup>35</sup> Jurby, Isle of Man (*Dureby* 1291, *Jourbi* 1580; Broderick 1994–2005 ii:245) must also derive from the stress-shifted variant but, as Scandinavian linguistic contact with Man was presumably maintained into the thirteenth century when the island came under Scottish rule (Fellows-Jensen 2005:358), this name is not good evidence for the Scandinavian language in earlier centuries.

<sup>36</sup> Indeed, lexical and onomastic evidence for stress-shift of OE /eo:/ in ME *she* and in names like *Shap* in the so-called Scandinavian Belt (discussed in Chapter Four) might indirectly provide evidence for the existence of stress-shifted diphthongs in the form of the remodelling of native lexemes to stress-shifted forms used in Scandinavian.

with which they shared subsequent developments (cf. Luick 1921:§382,4; *PNYN*:xxii–xxiii). Alternatively, the diphthongs could have developed to rising diphthongs but the lack of evidence for them in England results from the assimilation of these diphthongs to cognate English diphthongs (cf. Björkman 1900–02:300). If the first explanation is followed, then the limited occurrence of the diphthongs must be explained by prolonged contacts with Scandinavian speakers. If the second explanation is accepted, then it follows that, in areas where the stress-shifted diphthongs survive, the phonemes were not so thoroughly assimilated to the English cognate phonemes, presumably indicating that the diphthong had been borrowed into English in some sense, albeit apparently restricted to Scandinavian-derived place-name elements. It is probably impossible to decide whether apparent instances of stress-shifted diphthongs in England reflects prolonged contacts with Scandinavia (or other areas of Scandinavian settlement in the North Atlantic) or indicates a lack of assimilation to English. The evidence for stress-shifted diphthongs is restricted to Cumbria and Yorkshire, and in the former at least, there is runological evidence for continued contacts with Scandinavia (see Chapter Four); however, this is also the area where Scandinavian seems to have survived longest and borrowing of Scandinavian phones into English might have been likely.

### ***Breaking/Fracture***

Breaking (or fracture) refers to the diphthongisation of Germanic \*/e/ to ON /ja/ (<ja>) and /jɔ/ (<jɔ>) in long stressed syllables before syllables containing /a/ and /u/ respectively.<sup>37</sup> The process has commonly been linked with syncope

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<sup>37</sup> The conditions under which diphthongs created by breaking developed remain unresolved. Early interpretations saw the process as conditioned by consonants (as in OE) but it was very soon thereafter suggested (first by Holzmann) that breaking was instead conditioned by /a/ and /u/ in a following syllable (Ralph 2002:709). This explanation, refined by Wahlenberg who suggested that the process entailed the development of a parasite vowel after /e/ (Ralph 2002:709), remained current throughout much of the twentieth century (Noreen 1923:§§87–96; Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–73 i:§§93–97;

and divided into a period of breaking in long stressed syllables *c.* 650–900 and a second period *c.* 900 in short stressed syllables and before retained /a/ and /u/ (Kock 1916:275–79; Noreen 1923:§95; Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–73 i:§93).<sup>38</sup> However, there is little evidence for the broken diphthongs in Scandinavian etyma from England, for instance (*a*-breaking) ON *kjarr* ‘brushwood, a marsh’ (cf. ME *ker*) and ON *fjall* ‘mountain’ (cf. ME *fell* and ON *fell*), and (*u*-breaking) ON *tjörn* ‘mountain lake’ (cf. ME *terne*) (Björkman 1900–02:292–93; Luick 1921:§382.5; Coates 2006:52–56).

Beetham in Westmorland (*Biedun* 1086, *Beuthum* 1198–89; cf. ON *bjóð* ‘a table’; *PNWe* i:66–67 and ii:221–22) and Muker, North Yorkshire (*Meuhaker* 1274; *PNYN*:272) remain the only place-names where indications of broken medial diphthongs might occur (Coates 2006:52–56). Few explanations for the lack of breaking in Scandinavian material from England have been given. Björkman (1900–02:292–93) simply noted the lack of evidence. Coates implicitly allows for the possibility that the dating of breaking in Scandinavia could be significant, noting that there is evidence for breaking in initial positions and observing that breaking ‘seems to have applied early in absolute-initial position’ and is generally reflected in

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Haugen 1976:153). A recent return to a consonant-driven explanation has major flaws (see Hreinn Benediktsson (1982:41–55). Further suggestions (but still no consensus) are summarised by Ralph (2002:709–10).

Details of the pathway by which the development took place are also uncertain. It is agreed that the development of /e/ before /a/ was to /ea/, which then developed to the rising diphthong /ja/ (Noreen 1923:§88). However, there is uncertainty about the pathway by which the diphthong developed before /u/ (Hreinn Benediktsson 1982:39). One view holds that /e/ developed first also to /ea/, which then developed to /ia/ before undergoing *u*-mutation to /io/, and this view seems most widely accepted (Noreen 1923:§89; Haugen 1976:153). However, it has also been suggested that, before /u/, /e/ developed via /eu/, which then underwent stress-shifting (and presumably rounding and lowering of the second element of the diphthong) (Kock 1916:248 and 279–84; Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–73 i:§93).

<sup>38</sup> For a different interpretation distinguishing phonetic and phonemic breaking, see Steblin-Kaminskij (1957).

Scandinavian etyma from England (Coates 2006:53).<sup>39</sup> However, besides the dating of breaking, it is also possible that the lack of evidence for broken Scandinavian diphthongs in England could be explained by accommodation to and developments within the OE phonological system. Both possibilities are considered in this section

Scandinavian runic inscriptions provide some evidence for breaking in the period before Scandinavian settlement in England. Forms from a group of seventh-century inscriptions from Blekinge have frequently been highlighted as early evidence for breaking, namely Björketorp **haerama** (interpreted as reflecting /hearma/), cf. ON *\*hjarm-* ‘rest’ and Istaby **haeru**, cf. ON *hjor-* ‘sword’ (but not Stentofen **herama**) (Nielsen 2000:96, 108–09 and 261–62; Kortlandt 2008:21; Krause and Jankuhn 1966:209–220). These interpretations have not gone unchallenged, but seem generally accepted.<sup>40</sup> (Antonsen’s argument (2002:69–70) that the rune transliterated as **A** here, the *\*jāra* rune, could still stand for /j/ non-initially, and so that stress-shifting as well as breaking are shown here, is more controversial.)<sup>41</sup> Further broken diphthongs are thought to be found in the early-eighth-century Rök inscription, for instance in **fiakura** and **fiakurum**, forms of ON *ffórir* ‘four’ (cf. genitive *ffogurra* and dative *fforum*), **fiaru** (either acc.sg. of *ffor* ‘life’ or an oblique case of *fiara* ‘beach’), **iatun** (cf. ON *jotunn* ‘giant’), and **skialti** (cf. ON *skjoldr*, dat. sg. *skildi*) (Brate 1911:234–35; K. M. Nielsen 1961:39). Broken diphthongs have also been seen in slightly later inscriptions from modern-day Denmark, in the form **hiAlb**, ‘help’ (cf. ON *hjalp*) on an early-eighth-century inscription on a cranium fragment from Ribe and, c.900, in Rønninge **skialta**

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<sup>39</sup> Compare, for instance, the forms of Yanwath (< ON *jafn*) with initial <y> given in Chapter Four.

<sup>40</sup> Hreinn Benediktsson (1982:41) expressed uncertainty about **ae** representing breaking in the Blekinge inscriptions but did not elaborate on his reasons. Barnes (1974–77:456) doubted that this (and other) development(s) should be found so early, but later retracted this in an article arguing that ‘Common Scandinavian’ should not be seen as variation-free (1998:38).

<sup>41</sup> Nielsen (2000:95, 126 and 256) argues that instances of /a/ represented by **A** demonstrate loss of initial *\*j-*. The use of **A** for /a/ is clear-cut in, for instance, Stentofen **haþuwolafz**, the first element hardly /hjðu-/ or /hjðu-/.

‘shield’ (genitive singular, cf. ON *skjaldar*) (Nielsen 2000:99, 109 and 261–62; Stoklund 1996:202–06). There is, then, not inconsiderable evidence for breaking already in areas of Denmark and Sweden before the ninth centuries. Moreover, indications of broken diphthongs might be noted in a number of tenth- or early-eleventh-century inscriptions from the Isle of Man: **sunr biarnar** (Andreas I, ON *sonr Bjarnar*), **arinbiaurk** (Andreas II, ON *Arinbjörgu*) and **purbiaurn** (Marowne (Rhyne), ON *Þorbjörn*) (Olsen 1954:183–84 and 201).<sup>42</sup> Collectively, the runic evidence suggests that the apparent absence of the development in Scandinavian linguistic material in England cannot simply be explained by the development taking place after Scandinavian settlement in England.

There are a number of possible explanations for the non-occurrence of reflexes of broken diphthongs in Scandinavian linguistic material from England. On the one hand, as pointed out by Sandahl (1964:274), frequent use of inflected cases where breaking would not be expected (e.g. ON *bergi*, dative singular of *berg*, *bjarg*) might mean that some words were borrowed or preserved in forms without breaking. Use of place-name generics in the dative might, for instance, have been significant. However, this could not explain forms like ME *terne* where broken forms (both from *a*- and *u*-breaking) are found throughout the paradigm.<sup>43</sup> Alternatively, broken Scandinavian diphthongs, whether /ea/ or /ja:/ or /eu/ or /ju:/, might have been identified with OE /eo(:)/, as suggested by *Beormas* for ON *Bjarmar* in Ohthere’s account of a voyage entered into the OE *Orosius* (and less certainly by OE *scēot* for ON *skjótr*, but the word may be native) (Ross 1939–40).<sup>44</sup> The latter explanation could explain forms like ME *terne* for ON *tjörn*, as OE /eo/ was monophthongised to late OE [ø], itself unrounded to ME /e/ in the North and

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<sup>42</sup> An otherwise unknown name **iualfir** (Kirk Michael V, ON *?Jóalfr*) would presumably contain the prototheme *Jór* (< Gmc *\*exwaz*) and thus be an indication of breaking (Orel 2003: s.v. *\*ehwaz*; Noreen 1923:§106 Anm. 1); however, the reading of this sequence is uncertain (Olsen 1954:217–18).

<sup>43</sup> Singular: nom./acc. *tjörn*, gen. *tjarnar*, dat. *tjörn*; plural: nom./acc. *tjarnir*, gen. *tjarna*, dat. *tjörnum*.

<sup>44</sup> Ross (1939–40:7) rules out identification with OE <ea> (/æɑ/) as the first element of the diphthong was not /e/. For discussion of OE *scēot* see f.n. 32.

East Midlands by the twelfth century (Hogg 1992: §§5.210–211; Jordan 1974: §§65–66). Moreover, Ross argued (1939–40) that initially the diphthongs might instead be identified as rising diphthongs, as these existed in OE, thus avoiding the need to assume breaking at different periods word-initially and medially. This explanation, if not much cited, can at least explain why broken (and, as discussed above, perhaps stress-shifted) Scandinavian diphthongs are more frequently represented initially than medially, despite the evidence, albeit limited, for the development in Scandinavia by the period of Scandinavian settlement in England.

Ross's explanation cannot account for occurrences of broken and stress-shifted medial diphthongs in a small number of place-names and lexemes, Muker and Beetham (see above), and ME *fuk* 'foresail', perhaps related to ON *fjúka* 'to drive' (but plausibly also related to ModE *fuck*, perhaps originally meaning 'to strike', in which case a Scandinavian origin is not secure) (Sandahl 1964:269–71; *OED*: s.v. fuck, v.; Briggs 2012). Sandahl (1964) suggested that chronology was significant, arguing that such forms were borrowed later. As with the stress-shifted diphthongs discussed above, this explanation would require that Scandinavian settlers kept abreast of linguistic developments in Scandinavia (which is not entirely at odds with Sandahl's explanation as the evidence considered includes loanwords that might post-date the Viking Age). However, the runic evidence considered here suggests (more convincingly than could be demonstrated for stress-shifted diphthongs) that the breaking had taken place in Viking-Age Scandinavian. The vanishingly rare indications of broken (and stress-shifted) diphthongs medially might therefore reflect particular sociolinguistic conditions that permitted the survival of characteristically Scandinavian phones in some areas.

Overall, then, the explanation for the general occurrence of ME <e> for ON /ja/, /jɔ/ from the breaking of earlier \*/e/ is unlikely to be simply that the forms did not exist in Viking-Age Scandinavian. Instead, the use of non-broken forms and the identification of the phones by English-speakers, which may well have varied regionally, chronologically and in different lexemes,

could both have played their part in explaining the variety of reflexes of these phones in Scandinavian linguistic material from England.

**‘Palatal-r’ (< *Gmc* /z/) and /r/**

Evidence for the preservation of the strong masculine inflexion in Scandinavian loanwords in OE and ME is extremely limited, consisting only of ME *hazher*, derived from ON *hagr* ‘handy, skilful’ and, less certainly, in OE *præll*, ME *prall* with /ll/ (<\*/lz/) contrasting with forms with single *l* from oblique cases and in the first element of the Ormulum’s *kaggerleȝc* ‘wantonness’, of uncertain etymology (Björkman 1900–02:17–21; *MED*: s.v. *hauer*, adj.; *OED*: s.v. *kaggerleȝc*, n.).<sup>45</sup> Similarly, there is very little evidence for the retention of this ending in Scandinavian place-name elements in English place-names; indeed, sometimes final /r/ that was historically part of the stem has been lost, for instance in place-names containing *sætr* ‘shieling’ (Coates 2006:59 n.3). As the ending was maintained into the medieval period in Scandinavia, the general lack of the ending in Scandinavian linguistic material from England cannot be explained by the ending’s non-existence in Viking-Age Scandinavian. There are, however, perhaps three explanations for the non-occurrence of the ending that might be suggested, the first concerning the nature of the phone concerned and the second and third (inter-relatedly) concerning the contexts in which it might have been heard and its consequent survival in Viking-Age Scandinavian in Britain and in Scandinavian linguistic material in English.

The first possibility, that the ending maintained palatal characteristics alien to the phonemic inventory of OE speakers who consequently did not

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<sup>45</sup> The significance of the spelling of OE *præll* with final <ll> is perhaps less compelling than it has been taken to be. The spelling is restricted to Aldred’s gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels (Pons-Sanz 2013:70), and there are instances where OE shows variation in spelling of final (original) geminates (perhaps due to influence from non-shortened inflected forms), meaning that it is unclear whether OE orthographic representation of final geminates corresponded reliably to their phonological realisation (Hogg 1992:§§ 2.7 and 7.81).

adopt it, can be investigated using runic evidence from Scandinavia and the British Isles as the reflexes of Germanic \*/z/ and \*/r/ were represented using distinct runes (conventionally transliterated as **R** and **r** respectively). In Scandinavia, the distinction between so-called ‘palatal-*r*’ (< Gmc /z/) and non-palatal /r/ seems to have been maintained for longer in East Scandinavian than in West Scandinavian. Larsson (2002:189) has argued from runic evidence that the distinction was maintained (if not universally) after vowels as late as the thirteenth century, although the distinction began to be lost after dentals from the tenth century (and less certainly earlier in Blekinge).<sup>46</sup> For instance, the younger of the Jelling inscriptions, dating from the later tenth century, contains the sequence **haraltr : kunukR**, preserving the palatal reflex of Gmc \*/z/ in *konungr* but not after a dental in *Haraldr* (Jacobsen and Moltke 1942:65–81). In contrast, in Norway the distinction is held to be lost already

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<sup>46</sup> The early-tenth-century (Danish) Tryggevælde inscription has **ragnhiltr**, where ‘unetymological’ **r** is used instead of **R** for the reflex of Gmc \*/z/ (Jacobsen and Moltke 1942:281–84; Nielsen 2000:258). In Norway, a ninth-century inscription from Valby maintains the distinction between palatal-*r* and /r/ after dentals in **auarþr** (ON *Hávarðr*), but the distinction has been lost in an early-eleventh-century inscription from Galteland containing the forms **tupr** (ON *dauðr*) and **knutr** (ON *Knútr*) (Spurkland 2005:76–77 and 97; Olsen et al. 1941–90 ii:171–75 and iii:26). The Ramsund rock inscription from Sweden, dated to the first half of the eleventh century, uses non-palatal-*r* (where etymologically palatal-*r* is expected) after a dental in **sirþr** (Brate and Wessén 1924–36 i:71–73).

The Istaby form **afatr** ‘after’ where non-palatal-*r* is (probably) to be expected may indicate confusion of **r** and **R** after a dental consonant in Blekinge as early as the seventh century (Krause and Jankuhn 1966:218–20; Antonsen 2002:85; Larsson 2002:77–79; Nielsen 2000:95–96). (Larsson (2002:77–79) discusses the problematic word **afatr** and suggestions as to its identification and etymology but ultimately considers the question unresolved.) Antonsen (2002:85 and 305–06) further argued that Stentoften **hideR-** and Björketorp **haidR-** (cf. ON *heiðr* ‘bright’ < Gmc \**xaiðaz*; Orel 2003: s.v. \**xaiðaz*) showed similar confusion but, as Orel’s reconstructed form shows, a form with a reflex of Germanic \*/z/ has also been suggested, and these examples have not been widely accepted (cf. Nielsen 2000:96; cf. Barnes 1974–77:456). The evidence for a phonetic merger after dentals earlier than the tenth century is therefore extremely limited.



by c.900 (Barnes, Hagland and Page 1997:14; Larsson 2002:33 and 90), but where evidence is noted, it is limited (and from the Isle of Man), and seems to be instead an example of a widespread earlier development of /r/ to palatal-*r* after front vowels.<sup>47</sup>

Nevertheless, a distinction between East and West Scandinavian reflexes of Germanic \*/z/ appears to be reflected in Scandinavian runic inscriptions in Britain. Of the Scandinavian inscriptions from Britain (excluding the Isle of Man), only two inscriptions mark palatal-*r*, and there are grounds to believe that both of these inscriptions could have been made in an East Scandinavian context (Barnes and Page 2006:78–79).<sup>48</sup> Palatal-*r* is marked (in the form *ɹ*) in just one inscription from the Isle of Man, **aftiɹ** in Andreas IV (Page 1983:140–41).<sup>49</sup> In contrast, the **r**-rune occurs twice in runic inscriptions from England for the reflex of Germanic \*/z/, in the Lincoln comb case inscription name **porfastr** (perhaps an import), and in **runr** for *rúnar* in an inscription from Carlisle (Barnes and Page 2006:83 and 289–95; cf. Chapter Four below). The ending is better attested in the Manx inscriptions, where the **r**-rune occurs frequently for the reflex of Germanic \*/z/, for instance in the personal names **kautr** (ON *Gautr*) and **qulaibr** (ON *Áleifr*) in the Andreas I and Ballaugh inscriptions, and in both these inscriptions in the

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<sup>47</sup> A development of /r/ to /R/ especially after /i(:)/ but also after other front vowels has been proposed to explain the frequent occurrence of certain very common words with etymologically unexpected **R** (Larsson 2002:75–84). This would explain the form **fap̃iɹ** in the ninth-century Rök inscription (Brate 1911:233), **sustiɹ** in the Tryggevælde inscription (Jacobsen and Moltke 1942:281–84; Nielsen 2000:258) and **mup̃iɹ** (< Gmc \**mōdēr*) and **tutiɹ** (<Gmc \**duxtēr*) in the eleventh-century Ramsund rock inscription from Sweden (Brate and Wessén 1924–36 i:71–73 (Sö 101); Orel 2003: s.vv. \**duxtēr* and \**mōdēr*).

<sup>48</sup> Namely, an uncertain occurrence on an ?eleventh-century inscription from Winchester, and a secure occurrence, **runar** (ON *rúnar* ‘runes’), in a late-tenth or eleventh-century inscription from St Albans with other East Scandinavian characteristics (Barnes and Page 2006:320–28).

<sup>49</sup> This form (although etymologically ‘incorrect’) was common in mainland Scandinavia (Larsson 2002:75) and might be an example of the development of /r/ to /R/ after front-vowels discussed above.

sequence **sunr** (ON *sunr*) (Olsen 1954:183 and 189; Page 1983:140–41).

Overall, then, it seems likeliest that a distinctively palatal reflex of Germanic /z/ might have been retained in East Scandinavian but was less likely to be preserved in West Scandinavian; it would have been realised as /r/ after dentals in both East and West Scandinavian. Thus, whilst the alien nature of the phoneme might explain its lack of survival in linguistic material borrowed from East Scandinavian speakers in England, an alternative explanation is required to explain why it was not borrowed from West Scandinavian speakers and after dentals regardless of the type of Scandinavian spoken.

Another possibility to be considered is if and how widely inflexional-*r* survived in Viking-Age Scandinavian in Britain, particularly in language-contact situations where some simplification might have occurred. Examples of the use of the element in runic inscriptions from England have already been given, but there are also inscriptions where it is expected but not found. There is only one instance where inflexional-*r* is expected but is probably missing in a runic inscription from England, **tolf(i)n**, in the aforementioned inscription from Carlisle, which Barnes and Page suggested (2006:83) might be due to influence from English. (As noted in Chapter Four, the name might have arisen in Britain.) Indeed, Townend (2002:196–201) not unreasonably argues that inflexional simplification (in both English and Scandinavian) in a specifically OE-Scandinavian contact situation would have been favoured, as (most of) the endings would have hindered rather than aided communication. However, inflexional-*r* is also lacking in places in a few inscriptions from the Isle of Man and one from Co. Clare where direct influence from English is less likely. For instance, Kirk Michael II has the form **kaut** for expected *Gautr* (alongside **sunr**), and inflexional-*r* also seems to be lacking in Kirk Michael IV **[k]rim** for ON *Grímr* (Page 1983:136 and 140; Olsen 1954:209 and 217). The runic inscription on a cross fragment at Killaloe cathedral, Co. Clare has been read as **þurkri\*+risli+ [k]ruspina** also seems to lack the nominative singular inflexional ending (Page 1992:133; Barnes, Hagland and Page 1997:53–56). If inflexional simplification is to be explained as arising in language-contact situations, it is probably not, then, a specifically English-Scandinavian contact phenomenon. This leads into the final (and

related) possible explanation, which concerns the forms that words would have been used in and borrowed from. Although there must have been variation in the frequency with which words and names were used in different grammatical cases (personal names and adjectives used of people might have occurred relatively frequently in the nominative, for instance), words referring to landscape features, whether used in names or not, would frequently have been used in accusative and dative cases (i.e. indicating motion or position). The borrowing of stems, rather than nominative singular forms, is perhaps then to be expected, rather than being a feature requiring explanation.

In summary, the lack of evidence for the borrowing of ON /r/, the reflex of Germanic \*/z/, is unlikely to be explained by its absence in Viking-Age Scandinavian or, at least as far as north-west England is concerned, by its being alien to the English phonetic system. Instead, its non-occurrence is perhaps to be explained either because it was unstable in the Scandinavian spoken in England, or, not unrelatedly, it is plausible that the borrowing of stems rather than nominative forms is also a factor in its non-occurrence.

### *Summary*

In the foregoing discussion of runological evidence for phonological developments that are very often the only feature distinguishing OE and ON cognates but which are rare in Scandinavian linguistic material from England, runological evidence indicates that all but one of the developments were already widespread by the time of significant Scandinavian settlement in England. In the case of stress-shift of diphthongs, the limited character set of the younger futhorc means the runic evidence is unenlightening; however, in this case there is sufficient evidence for the development in Scandinavian linguistic material from England. The general absence of evidence for these developments in England seems, then, to be related to the process of incorporating these alien phones into English. Thus, Scandinavian /ɔ/, with no corresponding OE phoneme, seems to have been identified with /ɑ/ except occasionally where analogy with English words with corresponding /o/ was possible. It also appears significant that the better evidence for broken and

stress-shifted Scandinavian diphthongs initially than medially corresponds to a greater range of English diphthongs initially than medially. The non-occurrence of ON /r/ (< Gmc \*/z/) is slightly different, but the runological evidence suggests that /r/ would have existed already by the period of Scandinavian settlement in West Scandinavian and after dentals and would not, therefore, have been an alien phoneme in these cases. However, it is far less clear that we should ‘expect’ the survival and/or borrowing of an inflexion, so its absence may not really require explanation.

### **Element Discussion**

The greater part of the remainder of this chapter consists of a list of elements that have here been treated as indistinguishable in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms (ordered alphabetically by the OE element) and explanation detailing why the elements have been considered indistinguishable. This is followed by similarly arranged treatments of a handful of elements that have been considered distinguishable, and a further few that are only distinguishable in some circumstances. All elements occurring in the corpora of names from Wirral and the West Ward which are considered indistinguishable, or where the distinction is possible but requires explanation, are discussed. Representative examples of the elements’ use in England and Scandinavia are given in the Appendix to Chapter Two.

### ***Orthography***

Initially it is worth providing a brief consideration of how written OE and ON related to spoken forms of the languages, as elements whose conventional spellings would indicate identical pronunciations in these orthographic systems are not discussed in detail in this section (unless there is doubt about the existence of elements in the onomasticon of one or the other of the languages). As noted above in the discussion of Viking-Age Scandinavian, the orthographic system of ON is used for convenience, but is in fact a standardised system devised for Old West Norse (and particularly Old Icelandic) as written in the later medieval period, to which ON texts are

conventionally normalised in non-diplomatic editions (Schulte 2002:882–83). Similarly, conventional OE orthographic standards exist, to which non-diplomatic editions of texts are frequently normalised, and this standard reflects one particular dialect of OE, namely West Saxon. However, the situation as concerns OE orthography is slightly different in a couple of respects. There are two ‘standards’ that are conventionally used, ‘Early West Saxon’, a term use of West Saxon up to the early tenth century, and ‘Late West Saxon’ used from the later tenth century and probably reflecting a conscious attempt at standardisation of orthography, lexis and morphosyntax (Gneuss 1972; Hogg 1992:§§1.4 and 1.10–12). In both cases, then, the orthographic systems commonly employed are ‘convenient fictions’, masking both diachronic and synchronic variation in the languages and dialects concerned, but are used here for the sake of convenience, Late West Saxon being used for OE forms.

In several instances, the phonemes signified by the graphemes of OE and ON are likely to have been similar enough that words which are orthographically similar in the two languages would have been phonologically similar. Thus, the short and long ON vowels *a/á* [a(:)], *e/é* [e(:)], *i/í* [i(:)], *o/ó* [o(:)], *u/ú* [u(:)] and *y/ý* [y(:)] correspond to the short and long OE vowels *a/ā*, *e/ē*, *i/ī*, *o/ō*, *u/ū* and *y/ȳ* (Gordon and Taylor 1957:§5; Hogg 1992:§§2.10–16). However, the correspondences between mutated vowels (other than /y(:)/) are less exact: only /æ:/ would be represented by <æ> in both ON and OE (it being normalised as <ǣ> in the latter) (Hogg 1992:§2.12; Gordon and Taylor 1957:§§5–6). There are similarly several correspondences between the OE and ON graphemes for consonants. The sibilant /s/, the nasals /m/ and /n/ and the liquids /l/ and /r/ were represented by <s>, <m>, <n>, <l> and <r> respectively in both systems (Hogg 1992:§§2.63, 270–74; Taylor and Gordon 1957:§§12–13, 18 and 20; Noreen 1923:§34). Further consonant graphemes represented identical phones in some or most environments (considered in the element list where pertinent). The voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ were represented by OE <p>, <t>, and <c> and ON <p>, <t> and <k> (though <p> also stood for /f/ in ON when followed by /s/ or /t/ and OE <c> can represent /tʃ/) (Hogg 1992:§§2.48–50, 2.65; Gordon and Taylor 1957:§§12, 17 and 26).

The voiced stops /b/, /d/ and /g/ were represented by OE <b>, <d> and <g> (though <g> could also represent [j], [ɣ] and non-syllabic [ɨ]) and by ON <b>, <d> and <g> (though <g> could also represent /k/, /ɣ/ and /x/, all of which had palatal and velar allophones dependent on environment) (Hogg 1992:§§2.54–56; Gordon and Taylor 1957:§25; Noreen 1923:§37). The voiceless fricatives /f/, /θ/ and /x/ were represented in OE by <f>, <ð> or <þ> and <h> and in ON by <f>, <þ> and <h> (though <f> could also represent [v] and <h> [h] in both orthographies) (Hogg 1992:§§2.58–60; Gordon and Taylor 1957:§§15, 21; Noreen 1923:§38). There are further (straightforward) differences in the phonological values of a few characters. In ON <ð> represents the voiced fricative /ð/ but in OE either [θ] or [ð], the distinction being allophonic (Hogg 1992:§2.59; Taylor and Gordon 1957:§21). More significant when distinguishing Scandinavian- and English-derived forms is the use of <v> in ON for a phoneme that would have represented /w/ during the Viking Age; in OE /w/ was usually represented by <p> (often, as here, normalised to <w>) (Hogg 1992:§2.77; Taylor and Gordon 1957:§16; Noreen 1923:§250).

### ***Indistinguishable Elements***

The following elements have been classified as indistinguishable in English-derived and Scandinavian-derived forms. In all cases, the English and Scandinavian elements would be phonologically indistinguishable in ME dialects in northern and eastern England, and most elements are also recorded in place-names from Scandinavia and areas of England where there is no substantial Scandinavian influence on early-recorded toponyms. A handful of elements are not recorded in place-names or as lexemes either in ‘English’ England or in Scandinavia (e.g. OE/ON *\*innām*/*\*innám*) and are classed as indistinguishable as there is no reason to prefer either an English or a Scandinavian origin for the element’s toponymic usage in England. Other elements are only securely recorded in place-names in either ‘English’ England or Scandinavia, but available evidence does not allow the use of the element in the other area to be entirely ruled out (e.g. OE/ON *tunge*/*tunga*). Personal names are discussed where relevant in Chapters Three and Four.

*OE æcer / ON akr 'plot of arable land'*

OE *æcer* would normally have unpalatalised (and consequently unassibilated) /k/ here and so would be indistinguishable from its Scandinavian cognate following the late OE merger of /æ/ and /a/ (Hogg 1992:§§5.215–16, 7.16, 7.33; Jordan 1974:§32). The element is widely used in place-names from Norway, Denmark and England.

*OE beorg 'rounded hill, tumulus' / ON berg 'rock, precipice', ON bjarg 'hill, mountain, rock, cliff'*

OE *berg*, the (smoothed) Anglian counterpart of West Saxon *beorg* (Hogg 1992:§5.96) is phonologically indistinguishable from ON *berg*. ON /ja/ in *bjarg* results from the fracture of /e/ to /ea/, later /ja/ but as discussed above, usually appears as /e/ medially in Scandinavian linguistic material from England. Consequently, ON *bjarg* would also be indistinguishable from OE/ON *berg*.

The OE term seems to have been used to refer to rounded hills and to tumuli in charter boundaries (Gelling and Cole 2000 [2003]:145–51; *VEPN*: s.v. *berg*). In Scandinavia, *berg/bjarg* had a diverse range of meanings and forms. In Danish place-names it is recorded to be of a general meaning 'hill(ock), elevation', and Gelling and Cole suggest that the element had the same meaning as OE *beorg* where used in place-names in England (Jørgensen 2008: s.v. *bjerg*; Gelling and Cole 2000 [2003]:151–52). In Norway, *NG* (i:42–42) noted the meanings 'mountain' and 'rocky ground' and, in a side-form *bjørg*, 'steep, rather high and sticking out mountain' and (regionally) 'a row of low rocks, a ridge'. In the light of this variation in what was signified by *berg/bjarg/bjørg* in Denmark and Norway, distinguishing between ON *berg* and *bjarg* semantically in England is unlikely (cf. *VEPN*: s.v. *berg*).

*OE **blæc** 'black' and OE **blāc** 'pale, white' / ON **blakkr** 'pale, tawny' and (in poetry) 'a horse'*

VEPN notes (s.v. *blæc*) that the OE adjective *blæc* is often indistinguishable from OE *blāc* since, although one would expect ME *blōk* for OE *blāc* in the south, open syllable lengthening of the inflected form *blacan* and the shortening of *blāc-* in compounds mean that ME *blak* and *blok* can both mean either 'pale' or 'black' (cf. Jordan 1974:§§23–25). The Scandinavian occurrences of *blakkr* (< PGmc *blankaz*; OED: s.v. *black adj. and n.*; Orel 2003: s.v. *\*blankaz*) in place-names are frequently explained as a personal name and/or byname *Blakkr* or (the weak form of the name) *Blakki*. This is true of all but three of the thirteen instances for which *blakkr* is listed as an element in *NG*, for example Blackstad and Blakkestad. There are also four instances of the element listed in *DS*. The presence of the assimilated form in Swedish dialects has been explored by Moberg (1944:84–89), who explained it as a borrowing from Norwegian related to the import of Norwegian horses. Whatever the reason for its existence in East Scandinavian dialects, there is sufficient evidence to support the use of *blakkr* in Scandinavia and so to consider it and OE *blæc/blāc* indistinguishable.

*OE **blind** / ON **blindr** 'blind, concealed, closed at one end'*

VEPN (s.v. *blind*) notes a number of instances in England where the element refers to overgrown or hidden streams in pre-Conquest documents, and later evidence of application to roads and settlements with no thoroughfare. These usages are paralleled in Denmark, where the element occurs in (at least) five different lake and river names, viz. Blindbæk (twice), Blinddam (twice), Blindeå (twice), Blindflyd, and Blindsø (twice), and is taken to mean either that a watercourse cannot be seen or that it ends 'blind' (Kousgård Sørensen 1968–96:i:168–70). Similar uses are also found in Norway, where the element may additionally have been used to indicate a remote location.



OE **boga** 'bow, arch, bend' / ON **bogi** 'bow, arch, vault'

VEPN (s.v. boga) notes several instances of the element either referring to an arched bridge or to something bent (and perhaps denoting woods where wood for bows was grown). Similar usages are seen clearly in Denmark and less clearly in Norway.

OE **br̥ēc** 'breach, land broken up for cultivation' / OWN **brekka** 'slope, hill'<sup>50</sup>

Although these elements appear different in standardised written forms, distinguishing the elements in the ME period is problematic. There is a variety of reflexes of the OE form. The Anglian equivalent of West Saxon /æ:/ (ā<sup>2</sup>) was /e:/, which yielded northern ME /e:/ (Hogg 1992:§§3.23–25; VEPN: s.v. br̥ēc; Jordan 1974:§49). Final /k/ only underwent palatalisation and assibilation finally after /i(:)/ so would be expected to remain as /k/ in OE *br̥ēc* (and Anglian *br̥ēc*) (Hogg 1992:§7.16; cf. Campbell 1959:§§428 and 433–35).<sup>51</sup> The development of OE *br̥ēc* is complicated by the existence of forms suggestive of final /tʃ/ (cf. ModE *breach*) which would be phonologically distinct from reflexes of ME *brekka* but, in any case, difficult to distinguish orthographically (see *dīc/dík* below).<sup>52</sup> Consequently, the expected ME reflex of OE *br̥ēc* would be /bre:k/ in Anglian areas and /br̥e:k/ elsewhere, both generally spelt <e> until the fifteenth century (Jordan 1974:§49), which means that distinguishing the elements by vowel length orthographically is unlikely. Moreover, a shortened (presumably modern) variant *breck* is apparently well attested (VEPN: s.v. br̥ēc), and any ME

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<sup>50</sup> OWN *brekka* seems to occur beyond the traditionally accepted West Scandinavian area: the assimilated form occurs widely in Swedish dialects and place-names (Moberg 1944:89–107) and may occur in the North Jutland name Breckholm.

<sup>51</sup> In medial position, of relevance for inflected forms, /k/ was only palatalised and assibilated before /i/ or /j/ so palatalised and assibilated forms would not be expected elsewhere in the paradigm.

<sup>52</sup> It is uncertain whether final /tʃ/ reflects palatalisation and assibilation in OE, or influence from OE *bryce* and/or OFr *breche* 'act of breaking' (Campbell 1959:§435; Hogg 1992:§7.16 n. 3; VEPN: s.v. br̥ēc; OED: s.v. breach, n.).

antecedents of this form would be both phonologically and orthographically indistinguishable from the reflex of ON *brekka*.

In some probable instances of ON *brekka* in western Lancashire and southern Westmorland it has been thought possible to distinguish the elements on topographical grounds (Fellows-Jensen 1985a:82; *VEPN*: s.v. *brekka*). However, in the names considered here, only one has an associated modern reflex and so can be accurately localised, Breck Rd, Wallasey, Wirral (*le Brekkes* 14th c.) and although it is tempting to see this as a reflex of ON *brekka* as Breck Road runs past an area recorded under the name ‘The Slopes’ on an OS map from the 1870s at SJ299912, OE *bræc* cannot safely be ruled out.<sup>53</sup> As the elements cannot reasonably be distinguished on phonological or topographical grounds, the elements have been counted as indistinguishable here.

OE *\*bræcen* /ON *\*brakni* ‘bracken’

The early distribution of the lexeme and the lack of a plausible OE source-form have been seen as evidence for ModE *bracken* being a Scandinavian loanword (*OED*: s.v. *bracken*, n.1). However, a Scandinavian derivation is also problematic: modern Scandinavian forms suggest ON *\*brekni* (with *i*-mutation) but this should give Middle-English forms with medial <e> (*VEPN*: s.v. *braken*; Björkman 1900–02:289). There is thus also no suitable source-form in ON either, so ON *\*brakni* has been reconstructed. This is a plausible derivative formed with a suffix derived from PGmc *\*-unjōn-* (ON *-ynja*), which did not cause *i*-mutation (cf. ON *vargynja* ‘she-wolf’ and ON *vargr* ‘wolf’) (Kluge 1926:§§41–42). However, ON *-ynja* appears to have been only infrequently used: Cleasby-Vigfusson (s.v. *-ynja*-) lists only *apynja*, *forynja* and *vargynja*.

However, ME *braken* may alternatively reflect an unrecorded OE *\*bræcen*, derived from OE *bracu* ‘fern, thicket’, cognate with Norw. *brake* ‘juniper bush’ and MLG *brake* ‘branch’ and recorded in OE charters (*VEPN*:

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<sup>53</sup> Edina ‘Ancient Roam’ < <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk/ancientroam/historic> > [accessed 03/09/14].

s.v. *braken*; cf. Orel 2003: s.v. \**brakōn*). It is unclear whether OE \**bræcen* would be derived from (an early form of) *bracu* by a suffix causing *i*-mutation due to the possibility of analogical levelling of (first-fronted) /æ/ to /a/ where a lexeme with a back-vowel in the following syllable existed, i.e. here, *bracu* (Hogg 1992:§§5.79(2)).<sup>54</sup> Consequently, OE \**bræcen* can plausibly be derived by means of a number of derivational suffixes.<sup>55</sup> Alternatively, OE \**bræcen* could have originated as an adjective formed with OE *-en* (<PGmc \**-īna-*), which was used to form adjectives meaning ‘characterised by, growing with’, and which appears to have remained productive in OE beyond the period of *i*-mutation (VEPN: s.v. *braken*; Smith 1956: s.v. *-en*<sup>2</sup>).

Overall, there are, then, possible suffixes that could have been used to derive suitable source-forms in both OE and ON (although rarely used in the latter at least). Neither form is attested, so there is not much reason to prefer either; consequently, OE/ON \**bræcen*/\**brakni* are here classed as indistinguishable.

*OE Brettas* ‘Britons’ / *ON Breiti* (pl. *Bretar*) ‘Briton’

VEPN (s.v. *Brettas*) argues that the presence or absence of double <tt> is not secure grounds for distinguishing these otherwise indistinguishable elements and this is borne out by the examples in the corpus. Forms with <tt> and <t> occur in forms of the Wirral field-name *le Brettelondes* (1398, *Bretlondes* 1432, 1440; *PNCh* iv:195), and in the West Ward example (*Britscoghenges*,

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<sup>54</sup> Although *i*-mutation of OE /æ/ to /e/ did not always take place, it appears to have been regular when the intervening consonant was single or geminate (Hogg 1992:§5.80(1)).

<sup>55</sup> Of the OE derivational suffixes listed by Smith (1956: s.v. *-en*<sup>1</sup>) several are plausible: (ii) PGmc *-injō-* forming nouns for females from words for males but probably identical with (v) WGmc *-innjō-*, an abstract suffix used concretely of a place (cf. Hogg and Fulk 2011:§2.47(2)); (iii) PGmc *-ina-* forming diminutives e.g. *gāten* ‘kid’ < OE *gāt* ‘goat’; (iv) PGmc *-īni-* forming abstract nouns that subsequently developed concrete senses (from weak verbs) (Kluge 1926:§§41, 57–58 and 148–50); (v) *-unnjō-* with the same sense as (ii); Sense rules out (i) PGmc *-ina-* (used to form words for males) (cf. Kluge 1926:§20).

*Brotestegh* [sic for *Bretescogh*]; *PNWe* ii:138) the form appears to be an OE variant *Brittas* or *Bryttas*, but is spelt with single <t>. Unsurprisingly, the element does not seem to occur in Scandinavia, but ON *Breti* is recorded in compounds and is thought to be used in Scandinavian major names elsewhere in England (*ONP*: s.v. *breti*; *VEPN*: s.v. *Brettas*). OE *Brettas* is hard to distinguish from other OE place-name elements, and occurs only uncertainly in ‘English’ England but is recorded as a lexeme in OE (*VEPN*: s.v. *Brettas*; *OED*: s.v. *Brett*, n.1 and adj.). It would be unwise to rule out the occurrence of OE *Bretta* (and variants) in place-names, especially in the light of a form with initial <Brit-> in the West Ward, so the elements are considered indistinguishable here.

*OE brōc* ‘stream’ and (in early usages) ‘marsh’ / *ODan \*brōk* ‘marsh’

ME *brok* is usually understood simply as a reflex of OE *brōc* (e.g. *MED*: s.v. *brok*, n.3, *OED*: s.v. *brook*, n.) However, the occurrence of ON *\*brók* in a handful of names in Denmark and perhaps Norway means that the possibility of the element being Scandinavian in some instances should be considered. The Scandinavian place-name evidence for ON *\*brók* (which Fellows-Jensen (1978:39) suggested might occur in Brooksby, Leicestershire) is limited. Searching the digitised version of *Danmarks Stednavne* seems to yield just two possible occurrences of *ODan \*brōk*, Sabro and Brokflod. However, Kousgård Sørensen (1968–96 i:226–29) raises the possibility that a name recorded as *brokabe(c)k* in 1684, where nearby modern names are *Brokakärr* and *Brokabro* could derive from an earlier name *\*Broka(n)* used, as in OE, either of the stream or a marsh (*VEPN*: s.v. *brōc*); if this is so, the name could be a further example of ON *\*brók* rather than ON *brók* ‘trousers’, from which the names have previously been derived. In the case of Sabro, however, *Danmarks Stednavne* (xii:37) admits the possibility that the element was a loanword from OE. However, there may be evidence for the element also in Norwegian farm names. One name is suggested to contain the element in *Norske Gaardnavne*, Honnebrog in Aust-Agder. However, Braker, Oppland (*i Brokom* 1348), which is situated by the confluence of a stream and a river, and a couple of further farms with the same name from Oppland which are later-

recorded (*NG* iv:228 and 289), could also contain the element, perhaps from an earlier river name (although *Norske Gaardnavne* considers the element in these names to be related to ON *brak* ‘noise’). Overall, then, whilst the Danish and Norwegian names discussed here do not necessarily mean that the element was productive during the Viking Age, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that ON *\*brók* might have been used by Scandinavian settlers in England. The element, which occurs in four names from the Wirral corpus, has consequently been considered indistinguishable in English and Scandinavian forms.

*OE brūn* adj. / *ON brúnn* adj. ‘brown’

OE *brūn*, also a common personal name or byname, and its cognate ON *brún* are self-evidently indistinguishable and are additionally indistinguishable from ON *brún* ‘brow of a hill’ and, when shortened in compounds, ON *brunnr* ‘spring’, (in some dialects) OE *bryne* ‘(place cleared by) burning’ and ON *bruni* ‘place cleared by burning’ (*VEPN*: s.v. *brūn*<sup>1</sup>).

*OE brycg* ‘bridge’ and possibly ‘causeway’ / *ON bryggja* ‘landing-stage, gang-plank, jetty, pier’.

Although apparently phonologically and semantically distinct, distinguishing these elements is problematic. Whilst OE *brycg* is a commonly occurring place-name element, ON *bryggja*, although well-recorded as a lexeme, seems to have been rarely used in place-names (although it is used in modern Scandinavian place-names), and its (apparent) frequent use in England may reflect English influence (*VEPN*: s.v. *brycg*; Ekwall 1918:48–49; *ONP*: s.v. 1.*bryggja*).

The OE and ON words are phonologically distinct as *\*/gg/* before */j/* developed to the (voiced palato-alveolar) affricate */dʒ/* by palatalisation and assibilation in OE, but *\*/gg/* remained in this position in Scandinavian (Hogg 1992:§§7.16–17 and 7.33). However, distinguishing ME orthographic representations of */dʒ/* and */g/* is problematic. Whilst <ge> was an established representation of */dʒ/* in Anglo-Norman and occurs in DB for names where */dʒ/* is secure, it has also been identified as representing */g/* occasionally in the

early-twelfth-century *Lindsey Survey* (although <gh> for /g/ was more frequent before <e>) (Pope 1952:§§692 and 699; Fellows Jensen 1969:71–74; Styles 2001:293). Similarly, whilst frequently representing /g/, <gg> was also frequently used to represent /dʒ/ already in the twelfth century in the *Peterborough Chronicle* (Jordan 1974:§192). Styles noted the further example of both *egge* ‘edge’ (<OE *ecg*>) and *eggen* ‘to egg on’ (<ON *eggja*>) being most frequently spelt with ME <gg> (Styles 2001:293; *MED*: s.v. *egge* n.2 and *eggen* v. 1). The plosive and the affricate cannot therefore be reliably distinguished in ME orthography.

Semantic differentiation of the elements is also difficult. The original meaning of the Germanic ancestor of these words is thought to have been ‘bridge’, as in all Germanic languages bar ON, where the usual term for a bridge was *brú* (*OED*: s.v. bridge, n.<sup>1</sup>). However, place-names with the Scandinavian phonological form occur where the meaning ‘landing-stage, jetty’ is implausible (*VEPN*: s.v. *brycg*, *bryggja*). These names might therefore reflect phonological Scandinavianisation of OE *brycg*, or adoption of the meaning ‘bridge’ by Scandinavian speakers in England. However, isolated instances of *bryggja* with the meaning ‘bridge’ are known in ON texts and it is consequently also possible that ON *bryggja* could mean ‘bridge’ during the Viking Age (Whaley 1996:94 n. 16; Styles 2001:294–95; *VEPN*: s.v. *bryggja*; *ONP*: s.v. *bryggja*). Conversely, OE *brycg* may have had the sense ‘causeway’ occasionally in place-names, for instance Slimbridge, Gloucestershire which is thought to mean ‘bridge or causeway over the mud or a muddy place’ (Gelling and Cole 2000 [2003]:68; *VEPN*: s.v. *brycg*). A postulated OE compound *hrīsbrycg* ‘brushwood causeway’ occurs in minor names from southeast England (and areas of Scandinavian settlement) and may provide further evidence that OE *brycg* could mean ‘causeway’. However, these names are only recorded from the late twelfth century and it is alternatively possible that OE *hrīs* might have referred to material more substantial than brushwood (Gelling and Cole 2000 [2003]:68; *OED*: s.v. rice, n.1; *VEPN*: s.v. ‘*brycg*’).

Overall, then, these elements are indistinguishable in ME orthography and cannot reliably be distinguished on semantic grounds.

OE *bucca* (and rare strong form *bucc*) ‘buck, male deer’ and sometimes ‘he-goat’ / ON *bukkr* ‘he-goat’.

These elements might be distinguished by different inflexions in standard OE and ON but, unless clear remnants of these inflexions survive, the elements, which occur widely in place-names from both England and Scandinavia, are indistinguishable.

OE *būr* ‘chamber, dwelling, cottage’ / ON *búr* ‘store-house, small house’

The words are self-evidently indistinguishable and additionally hard to distinguish from OE *burh* ‘stronghold’ and OE *ge-būr* ‘peasant’ (VEPN: s.v. *būr*).

OE (\*)*busc* / ON \**buskr* (?and ODan *buski*) ‘bush, thicket’

ME, ModE *bush* is frequently considered to be a Scandinavian loanword deriving from ON *buskr* (OED: s.v. *bush* n.1). However, the existence of cognates in OHG (*busc*) and MDu. (*busc*, *bosc*), the word’s geographical distribution, and evidence for the related OE \**bysce* (compare the Danish place-name Buske) suggest that the word might have existed in OE (VEPN: s.v. *busc* and \**bysce*; OED: s.v. *bush*, n.1; Kluge 1995: s.v. *Busch*).<sup>56</sup> A further complication is that medial \*/sk/ may not have undergone palatalisation and assibilation before a back vowel in OE so forms with medial /sk/ need not reflect ON *buskr* (Hogg 1992: §§7.17(4) and 7.37), which may explain such forms in Kent, Sussex and Devon. There is, then, sufficient reason to think OE \**busc* might have been used in place-names and, as forms with final /-sk/ (as all examples here) could derive from OE or Scandinavian forms, the element is considered indistinguishable.

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<sup>56</sup> A twelfth-century copy of an eleventh-century charter concerning land in Huntingdonshire (S1463) could contain OE *busc* in *wiðibuscemære*, although the word could feasibly be an ON borrowing (VEPN: s.v. *busc*).

*OE camb / ON kambr* ‘comb, crest’

These elements are self-evidently indistinguishable, and additionally hard to distinguish from Britt. *\*kambo-* ‘crooked’ (VEPN: s.v. camb).

*OE catt / ON kōttr* ‘cat’

It is uncertain whether an etymon of OE *catt*, ON *kōttr* existed in Proto-Germanic: the word is not attested in Gothic, and the fact that both /k/ and /t/ (or their regular reflexes) are found in several European languages indicates that the word is either a loanword in (Northwest) Germanic or (probably less likely) from Germanic into other European languages (OED: s.v. cat, n.1; de Vries 1977: s.v. kōttr). The attested Germanic forms indicate the Northwest Germanic form of the word to be *\*kattuz*, from which ON *kōttr*, with *u*-mutation, derives (Noreen 1923: §§77 and 80,2; OED: s.v. cat, n.1). Due to the lack of evidence for *u*-mutation in Scandinavian linguistic material in England discussed above, the OE- and ON-derived forms would not be distinguishable from their stem vowels.

However, it is possible that the initial consonant might sometimes permit a distinction to be made between the forms, despite the fact that the OE forms listed by *TDOE* seem to indicate initial /k/ (before /a/). Reflexes of OE (*\*)ceatt* (with initial palatal consonant) might be found in certain place-names, for instance Chatsworth, Derbyshire and Chatley, Essex amongst others (VEPN: s.v. catt), although the specifics in these names have (methodologically problematically) otherwise been interpreted as personal names *Ceatt* and *Ceatta* (PNDb:73 and PNEss:256; Watts 2004: s.v. Chatsworth).<sup>57</sup> Variation between initial /k/ and /tʃ/ is explicable by analogical

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<sup>57</sup> This is a regularly derived form, in which Gmc *\*/a/* was fronted to *\*/æ/*, which in turn caused palatalisation and assibilation of /k/ to /tʃ/; /æ/ was subsequently diphthongised to <ea> in West Saxon and Northumbrian (especially North Northumbrian) by the palatal consonant (Hogg 1992: §§5.49–52 and 7.15–16).

See also Chat Moss (Greater Manchester), Chatburn (Lancashire), Chatcull (Staffordshire), ?Chattenden (Kent), Chatteris (Cambridgeshire), Chattisham



extension of different case forms throughout the paradigm.<sup>58</sup> Unless the OE forms show initial /tʃ/ (which is not always easy to distinguish, see OE/ON *dīc/dík* below), ON *kōttr* and OE *catt*, *catte* must be considered indistinguishable.

OE (WSax) *ceald*, (Angl). *cald* / ON *kaldr* 'cold, exposed'

The Anglian and Scandinavian forms are self-evidently indistinguishable; the elements are thus indistinguishable in areas of Scandinavian settlement.<sup>59</sup>

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(Suffolk), Chatton (Northumberland) and Great- and Little Chatwell (Staffordshire) (Watts 2004: s.vv; Smith 1956: s.v. cat(t)).

<sup>58</sup> The word did not remain a *u*-stem noun in OE and is found, predominantly in glosses, as a strong masculine or neuter noun (i.e. *a*-stem with genitive singular *cattes*), and as a weak feminine or neuter noun (i.e. *n*-stem) (*TDOE*: s.v. cat, catte; cf. Hogg and Fulk 2011: §§3.7 and 3.105). Retraction of \*/æ/ to /ɑ/ would be expected where a back vowel occurred in an inflexional ending, thus in the plural of the *a*-stem and in all forms of the *n*-stem except nom.sg. (if feminine) or nom. and acc.sg. (if neuter) (Hogg 1992: §§ 5.35–37). In forms in which /ɑ/ was restored, initial /k/ rather than /tʃ/ would be expected (Hogg 1992: §§7.15–16). However, analogical extension of one form or the other frequently took place and, although \*/æ/ was frequently extended analogically into the plural, especially before geminate consonants (meaning /tʃ/ might then be found throughout the paradigm), in a handful of nouns /ɑ/ instead seems to have been extended (Hogg 1992: §5.37(1)). Indeed, extension of /ɑ/ rather than /æ/ frequently took place in *n*-declension feminine (and perhaps neuter) nouns, so analogy with the weak feminine/neuter form *catte* might have encouraged extension of /ɑ/ (Hogg 1992: §§5.37(1) f.n.1 and 5.37(4)). Analogical extension of /ɑ/ in some forms, /æ/ in others, might explain the variety of OE forms found. There is not sufficient information in the contexts of the records of OE *catt*, *catte* and *ceatt* to ascertain whether any of the variants were used to distinguish between male and female cats.

<sup>59</sup> The Anglian form differs from that of the southern OE dialects in the following ways: (1) either failure of first-fronting before covered /l/ (Hogg 1992: §§5.10, 5.15) or the restoration of /ɑ/ in this position in Anglian but not in (later) Kentish and Late West Saxon (Campbell 1959: §§131 and 143); (2) subsequently, breaking of /æ/ (ultimately) to /æɑ/ (<ea>) in the southern dialects before covered /l/ but no change to /ɑ/ in Anglian dialects (Campbell 1959: §143; Hogg 1992: §§5.16, 5.20); and (3) palatalization and assibilation of /k/ (ultimately) to /tʃ/ in southern dialects of OE in initial position before /æ/,

*OE cealf / ON kalfr 'calf'*

OE *cealf*, Angl. *calf* (compare the developments listed under OE/ON *ceald/kaldr* above) and Scandinavian *kalfr* are self-evidently indistinguishable. In both English and Scandinavian place-names, the term may be used metaphorically of the smaller of two features (Sandnes and Stemschaug 1997: s.v. *kalven*), and it is possible that this usage could be borrowed from Scandinavian. However, it is difficult to ascertain the antiquity of this usage in English place-names as the early examples noted in *VEPN* (s.v. *calf*) are from Lancashire and North Yorkshire and could be Scandinavian or Scandinavian-influenced usages. *OED* (s.v. *calf*, n.1) derives this usage from ON *kálfr* [sic] noting the expression to be only known in English in the 'Calf of Man' ('[*insula*] *quae vocatur Calfis* 1325; Broderick 1994–2005:vi:512). There are, however, modern examples from the South West including 'the Calf', the smaller of two offshore rocks (*PND*o i:111) and 'Calf Ridge' (and 'Cow Ridge'), smaller and larger ridges in Shropshire (*PNS*a iii:237). As this specialised usage could plausibly have arisen independently in both English and Scandinavian, it is not considered grounds for ascribing a Scandinavian origin to such usages.

*OE \*clæcc 'a hill a peak' (?and personal name \*Clacc) / ON klakkr 'a mountain knoll, a clump, a peak' (and personal name Klakkr)*

The Scandinavian element is of relatively frequent occurrence and survives as a lexeme in Modern Danish, Swedish and Norwegian dialects (*ODS* s.v. *klak* 1. sb.; *NO*: s.v. 1.klakk; *DS* ii:149). The OE element is of less certain occurrence but there are a reasonable number of place-names where OE *\*clæcc* or derived forms might occur, the most convincing of which are from areas where direct Scandinavian influence is unlikely (*VEPN*: s.v. *\*clæcc*).<sup>60</sup>

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but not before retained/retracted /a/ in Anglian dialects (Campbell 1959: §§427, 431–32; Hogg 1992: §7.15–16).

<sup>60</sup> *PNW* (271) suggested OE *\*clacc* as the first element of Clack Barn, Hampshire (*molendin. de Clak* c. 1200, *atte Clakke* (p) 1327; *PNW*:271).

As there is sufficient evidence to suspect that OE \**clæcc* existed, and, as it would have been formally indistinguishable from ON *klakkr*, the forms are considered indistinguishable here.

OE *clif* ‘cliff, steep slope’ / ON *klif* ‘a cliff’ (in Norway) ‘cliff with a path’<sup>61</sup>

These elements are self-evidently indistinguishable. The side-form *kleif* (NG i:60–61) is distinguishable and occurs in Claife, Lancashire (PNLa:219; Watts 2004: s.v. Claife Heights).

OE *cnotta* ‘a knot’ / ON *knōttr* ‘a ball’ and topographically ‘a rounded mountain top’<sup>62</sup> (ME *knot* ‘a hard mass, a rocky hill’)

ME *knot* has been etymologised as a reflex of ON *knōttr* in place-names due to the predominantly northern distribution of the element in place-names (Smith 1956: s.v. *knōttr*; PNCh v(1):254; Whaley 2006:407).<sup>63</sup> However, recorded OE *cnotta* ‘knot, fastening’ and figuratively ‘snare’ and ‘puzzle’ (TDOE: s.v. *cnotta*), is usually thought to be native, occurring, for instance, in the OE translation of Gregory the Great’s *Dialogi* (OED: s.v. *knot* n.1; Hogg 1992:§4.2; TDOE: s.v. *cnotta*; DOST: s.v. 1.knot). Indeed, a couple of early occurrences in place-names from areas where there was not a great deal of Scandinavian influence on place-names are sufficient reason to suspect OE *cnotta* might also have been used topographically, most compellingly Knotting, Bedfordshire, derived by PNBd (15) from a personal name but on a hill (Watts 2004: s.v. Knotting), and the later-recorded names Notting Hill, Middlesex and Knottenhill, Worcestershire. Although the distributional evidence is otherwise suggestive of Scandinavian influence underlying many

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However, this could feasibly be ME *clak(ke)* in the sense ‘mill clapper’ (MED: s.v. *clak(ke)*, n.2; PNEss:liv.)

<sup>61</sup> NG (i:61).

<sup>62</sup> NG (i:61).

<sup>63</sup> As discussed above, analogy with OE *cnotta* could account for the rounded vowel where the Scandinavian form occurs.

examples from England, the elements are considered indistinguishable here on the grounds that any one instance cannot be reliably distinguished.

*OE cot(t), cotte / ON kot* ‘cottage, hut’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE \*crōc / ON krókr m.* ‘a crook, a bend’.

The word *crook* is commonly derived from ON *krókr*, particularly as the only Germanic cognates (OHG *chracho*, *chracco* ‘hook’ and ON *kraki* ‘boat hook’) belong to a different ablaut series (*OED*: s.v. *crook*, *n.* and *adj.*). Further, the citation of OE *gecrocad* ‘crooked’ in *TDOE* cannot be taken as evidence for the existence of the term in OE (cf. *MED*: s.v. *croked*, *ppl.*) as the occurrence is in a mid-twelfth-century manuscript of *The Life of St Giles* (Treharne 1997:1, 146 and 161; Dance 2003:346 and 417).

However, there are a number of place-names that might contain the element which are recorded in the OE period outside areas of significant Scandinavian settlement. OE *\*crōc* is difficult to distinguish from OE *crocc* ‘a crock, earthenware pot’, so the occurrence of OE *\*crōc* is uncertain in some names where it has been suggested, such as the (lost) *Crockhurst* in Sussex (Smith 1956: s.v. *\*crōc*). However, ‘crooked’ natural features sites exist at or near certain settlements whose place-names might contain OE *\*crōc*, and in these instances the occurrence of OE *\*crōc* is more likely. The first element of Crookham, Berkshire could feasibly refer to nearby river-loops (*PNBrk*:188–89). The first element of Cricklade, Wiltshire might refer to either a river-loop or a crook in Ermine Street and is most frequently spelt with medial <o> on tenth- and eleventh-century coins (Carroll and Parsons 2007:108–12). Finally, either a nearby river-bend or a distinctive local building type could support the use of the element in Cruckmeole and Cruckton in Shropshire (*PNSa* ii:32–34).

In Scandinavia the element is very frequently used: there are approximately ninety occurrences in *Norske Gaardnavne* (some instances perhaps the personal name ON *Krókr*) and over 1500 instances of the use of

*krog* as a generic in *Danmarks Stednavne* (many of them only late-attested); it is used with reference to a bend in a river or shore-line and in some cases to refer to an out-of-the-way location (*NG* i:62; Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997: s.v. Kroken). Although undoubtedly more common as a place-name element in Scandinavia, the evidence for postulated OE \**crōc* is such that there is reason to suspect its existence also in OE and consequently it seems safest to treat these elements as indistinguishable.

OE *cū* / ON *kýr* ‘a cow’.

Although distinguishable in the nominative forms, the paradigms of OE *cū* and ON *kýr* both had non-mutated forms with root vowel /u:/<sup>64</sup> and mutated forms with stem vowel /y:/ from *i*-mutation and, in ON *R*-mutation (Hogg and Fulk 2011:§§2.110–111; Noreen 1923:§§412–13 and 418).<sup>65</sup> As detailed above, ON *-r* (< Gmc /z/) is generally lacking in Scandinavian linguistic material from England (at least where there is no vowel intervening between it and the stem), so this would be unlikely to distinguish the elements. There are variant dialectal forms that might permit OE forms to be distinguished (for instance, Nhb. *cȳna*; Hogg and Fulk 2011:§3.127), but these words must otherwise be considered indistinguishable.

OE *dæl* ‘a pit, hollow’ and probably also ‘a valley’ / ON *dalr* ‘a valley’

OE *dæl* would be indistinguishable from its Scandinavian cognate following the late OE merger of /æ/ and /a/ (see *æcer/akr* above). However, although the terms were widely used in place-names both in England and Scandinavia and cannot be distinguished phonologically,<sup>66</sup> it has been argued that there was a

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<sup>64</sup> OE *cū* (nom./acc.sg.), *cūa* (gen.sg.) and *cūum* (dat.pl.) and ON *kú* (acc./dat.sg.), *kúa* (gen.pl.) and *kúm* (dat.pl.).

<sup>65</sup> OE *cȳ* (gen./dat.sg. and nom./acc.pl.) and ON *kýr* (nom./gen.sg. and nom./acc.pl.).

<sup>66</sup> Kitson (1995:59–60) demonstrates the word to be most common in the Midlands in OE charter bounds

semantic distinction between the terms. If true, this could permit a distinction to be made on topographic grounds, and so this suggestion is considered briefly here.

Gelling and Cole (2000 [2003]:110–13) argued that ME *dale*'s meaning 'main valley' was borrowed from Scandinavian, as the sense 'main valley' is only common in northern and eastern England (excluding Northumberland and Durham)<sup>67</sup> whilst 'pit, hollow', closer to the meaning of OE *dæl* in literary sources, is more appropriate for place-name usages of the element further south and east. However, some of the names Gelling and Cole list under OE *dæl* 'pit, hollow' (not from areas of Scandinavian settlement and recorded before the thirteenth century) could feasibly instead mean 'valley', for instance, Doverdale, Worcestershire (Gelling and Cole 2000 [2003]:112). Further examples of valleys can be found, for instance, Dalwood, Devon in a valley along the Corry Brook, and Debdale Farm, Cookley, Worcestershire where a valley-mouth meets the Stour. These examples might, admittedly, mean 'side valley' rather than 'main valley', but are nevertheless reason to think that OE *dæl* could sometimes mean 'valley', albeit probably more rarely than 'pit, hollow'. It is not disputed here that the occurrence of ME *dale* predominantly with the meaning 'valley' reflects semantic influence from Scandinavian. However, there is limited evidence that OE *dæl* was used with a similar meaning in areas where Scandinavian influence is unlikely, which means that it would be unwise to assume that ME *dale* with the meaning 'valley' in any particular name, must reflect borrowed ON *dalr*. The elements are therefore considered indistinguishable, even where topographically identifiable with a valley.

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<sup>67</sup> The southernmost examples given by Gelling and Cole (2000 [2003]:110–12) are Botesdale, Suffolk (*Botholuesdal* 1275; Watts 2004: s.v. Botesdale) and Withersdale, Suffolk (*Weresdel* 1086, *Wideresdal(a)*, *-dale* 1184–1286; Watts 2004: s.v. Withersdale Street).

*OE \*demming / ON \*demming 'a dam'*

ME *demming* is considered a derivative of a word meaning 'dam', so it is necessary to consider the evidence for the latter in both OE and ON. ME *dam* has reasonably been derived from an unattested OE word on the basis of WGmc cognates and a derived verb, IOE/eME *fordemman* 'to stop up' (*OED*: s.v. dam, n.1; Löfvenberg 1942:49; *TDOE*: s.v. for-demman). *MED* (s.v. dam, n.) prefers derivation from ON *damm*, *dammr* but as this is only recorded from the fourteenth century in ON there is no real reason to prefer this to the suggested OE form (*ONP*: s.v. dammr, sb.). A verbal derivative, *demma* 'to dam' is also known from ON (*ONP*: s.v. demma, vb.). Finally, *-ing*<sup>1</sup> (< Gmc *-ingō-*), was productive in both OE and ON (cf. ODan. *dæmning*, *dæmning*), meaning that ME *demming* could plausibly derive either from English or Scandinavian forms (Smith 1956: s.v. *-ing*; Kluge 1926:§159; *ODS*: s.v. *dæmning* sb.). Although there are no place-name instances of OE/ME (\*)*demming* from outside areas of Scandinavian settlement, the element is also late-recorded in Scandinavian (and more specifically Danish) place-names. The elements are consequently considered indistinguishable here.

*OE dēop, adj. / ON djúpr, adj. 'deep'.*

See 'Stress-Shifted Diphthongs' above.

*OE \*dūfe / ON dúfa 'pigeon, dove'*

The etymon of ModE *dove* is recorded from c.1200 in English, and is not found in early-recorded place-names but, given its occurrence elsewhere in WGmc (*OED*: s.v. dove, n.), it would be unwise to rule out its existence in OE. Following the merger of /a/ and /e/ in unstressed syllables by the eleventh century (Hogg 1992:§§6.62), OE \**dūfe* and ON *dúfa* would be indistinguishable.

*OE ende / ON endi 'end'*

Following the merger of /e/ and /i/ in unstressed syllables by c.800 (Hogg 1992: §§6.50 and 6.53), these elements would be indistinguishable.

*?OE fealden / ON faldinn 'folded'*

This element might occur as the specific of *le Faldenedyke* (1279) Shap Rural (*PNWe* ii:180), where it is not glossed. The element appears to be a reflex of either OE *fealden* or ON *faldinn*, past participles of OE *fealdan* and ON *falda* meaning 'to fold' and the name would then mean 'the ditch/dyke with bends'; however, the ME verb could also have the sense 'collapsed' (*MED*: s.v. *folden*, v.2), which could also be relevant here. An alternative possibility is that the specific is ME *falding* 'act of folding sheep' (or perhaps sometimes OE/ODan *fald*/\**fald(a)* 'a fold' and ON *eng* 'meadow')<sup>68</sup> thought to occur in Fordingdale (Force), Bampton, Westmorland (*Faldingdale* 1285–90; *PNWe* ii:195) and a handful of times elsewhere, frequently in a compound *falding-word* (*PNYW* i:289, ii:142 and 197, iii:22, 34, 54 and 75, iv:170; *PNL* ii:167 and vi:39; *PNYN*:186; *MED*: s.v. *folding*, ger.1). The first possibility cannot be supported with comparable onomastic evidence, but is semantically reasonable. The second is more likely on the basis of comparable onomastic evidence, but requires <n> for /ŋ/ (or perhaps /-ende/). Either way, OE and ON etyma are impossible to distinguish.

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<sup>68</sup> For the Scandinavian terms, see, for instance, *DS* xvi:42 and xiv [no page] (s.v. *Falen*).



OE (WSax.) *(ge)feall*, (Angl.) *(ge)fall* ‘a fall’, in place-names ‘a felling of trees’ / ON *fall* ‘a fall’, in place-names ‘fallen trees, a felling of trees, land-slip’<sup>69</sup>

OE initial *ge-* only survived in ME in the south (Jordan 1974:§144), so these elements are indistinguishable in Anglian and Scandinavian forms.<sup>70</sup> The Danish reflex of the element seems to mean both ‘slope’ and ‘group of fields’ but the meaning ‘clearing’ occurs in Swedish place-names (*DS* iii:xxv; Wahlberg 2003: s.v. Falla).

OE *flēot* ‘an estuary, inlet, arm of the sea’ / ON *fljót* ‘a river’

See ‘Stress-Shifted Diphthongs’ above. The Scandinavian element appears to be rarer in place-names from mainland Scandinavia than its English cognate (see Appendix), but is found eleven times in Icelandic place-names in *Landnámabók* (Bandle 1977:52).

OE *flōr*, *flōre* ‘floor’ / ON *flórr* ‘cow-stall (floor)’

Self-evidently indistinguishable. The OE examples are suspected to refer to Roman mosaicked floors, although only at Fawler has such been discovered; alternatively, the sense ‘valley floor’ is possible, as suggested for Flore, Northamptonshire (Watts 2004: s.v. Flore). I have not found secure examples of the element in Scandinavian place-names, but the lexeme is restricted to the dialects of Skåne and Bornholm in Denmark (cf. *DS* xvi:225) and the Norwegian material searched is limited to farm-names, so absence may not be significant. The referent of the Wirral minor name containing the element is not known (*PNCh* iv:253).

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<sup>69</sup> Cf. *PNCh* (Smith 1956: s.v. \*(ge)fall) and Rygh (1898:49).

<sup>70</sup> The Anglian form reflects the failure of fronting of /a/ before covered /l/ (in turn not broken to /æɑ/ as /æ/ was in West Saxon) (Hogg 1992:§§5.15 and 5.20).

*OE fōt* 'foot, the bottom' / *ON fótr* 'foot'

Self-evidently indistinguishable. The elements have also been considered indistinguishable in forms with *i*-umlaut (e.g. OE *fēt* dat.sg. and nom./acc. pl., ON *fæti* dat.sg., *fætr* nom./acc.pl.) because reflexes of both Old English and Scandinavian umlauted vowels would usually have been unrounded to /e:/ in names recorded in the Middle English period (see OE/ON **grēne**/**grænn** above) and would thus also be indistinguishable.

*OE fūl*, adj. / *ON fúll* 'foul' adj.

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE gærs, græs* (and perhaps *gres*) / *ON gras, \*gres* 'grass'

Although sometimes distinguished by metathesis and perhaps vocalism in OE and ON forms, the variety of the forms these cognates take in OE and ON makes it impossible to distinguish them.

The form ON *gres* is usual in works on English place-names; however, the usual spelling of the word in ON (and in Modern Icelandic, Faroese and Nynorsk) is <gras> suggesting PGmc \*/grasan/ (ONP: s.v. *gras* sb.; Orel 2003: s.v. \**grasan* sb; cf. Smith 1956: s.v. *gærs, græs gres* OE, *gres* ON). ON *gras* would be indistinguishable from OE *græs* following the late OE merger of /æ/ and /a/ (Hogg 1992: §§5.125–26). The form \**gres* is presumably reconstructed on the basis of Danish (ODan. *græs*, Dan. *gress*) and Swedish evidence (OSw. *græs*, Sw. *gräs*) suggesting the existence of an *i*-mutated form, which may also be found in ON *illgresi* 'evil grass, tares' (Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007: s.v. *gras*). Indeed, such an East Scandinavian form has occasionally been suggested to underlie ME /gres-/ (de Vries 1970 s.v. *gras*; Serjeantson 1935:83). Danish place-names provide further evidence for the mutated variant, but the lateness of the Norwegian forms means Danish influence cannot be ruled out.

However, the form \*/gres/ may also have existed independently in OE. Ignoring inflexional and orthographic variants (i.e. the use of <ę> or <æ>) the forms listed by *TDOE* can be condensed to *gærs, gers, gears* and *gars* (with

metathesis) and *græs* and *gres* (without metathesis); however, *gears* and *gars* occur only in twelfth-century texts (*TDOE* s.v. *gærs*, *græs*). OE <gres-> is relatively frequently recorded, although some examples are late,<sup>71</sup> others may reflect West Mercian or Kentish forms (Hogg 1992: §§53.87–88 and 5.189),<sup>72</sup> and others are found in texts where Scandinavian influence cannot be ruled out.<sup>73</sup> However, there are also a couple of eleventh-century instances of <gers> listed in the *Toronto Web Corpus*, found in glosses, in West Saxon texts which could reflect OE *gres*.<sup>74</sup> Overall, it cannot be demonstrated that the <gres> forms were native to OE, particularly due to the lateness of the recorded examples and the occurrence of some of the examples where Scandinavian linguistic influence may have been significant. However, it would perhaps also be unwise to exclude the possibility that the forms reflect native variants. (Indeed, it is interesting that reflexes of OE *cærse* ‘cress’ tend to be spelt <cres-> in the north and <cars-> in the south (*VEPN*: s.v. *cærse*), and there are no grounds for thinking the northern form is not native to OE.)<sup>75</sup>

In summary, the existence of /*gras*/ and possibly /*gres*/ in Viking-Age Scandinavian, and *græs* and possibly *gres* in OE means that the cognates cannot be distinguished vocally. (The metathesised OE forms *gærs* and

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<sup>71</sup> For instance, <gres> in the twelfth-century Laud Herbal Glossary (*TDOE*: s.v. *gærs*, *græs*; Da Rold and Morgan 2010 [2013] [accessed 25/05/15]) and <gres-> (twice) in a thirteenth-century copy of an early eleventh-century Wiltshire charter (thought genuine) where another copy has <gærs-> (S934; Kelly 2000–01 ii:535–40).

<sup>72</sup> For instance, <gers> in a contemporary copy of a charter dated to 858 concerning land in Kent (S328).

<sup>73</sup> For instance, five times in the Lindisfarne Gospel gloss and three times in Owun’s (Northumbrian) gloss to the Rushworth Gospels (*TDOE*: s.v. *gærs*, *græs*; Pons-Sanz 2000; Hogg 1992: §1.7). and

<sup>74</sup> Notably occurrences in the Lambeth Psalter gloss datable to the first half of the eleventh century and in the eleventh-century West Saxon Bath Gospels (*TDOE*: s.v. *gærs*, *græs*; Treharne 2010 [2013]; <[http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms\\_no=140](http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms_no=140)> [accessed 25/05/15]).

<sup>75</sup> The cognate of ON *cærse* is not known to have existed in Scandinavia before borrowing from Low German (*OED*: s.v. *cress*, n.; *ODS*: s.v. *karse*, sb.).

*gers* might be distinguished, but only non-metathesised forms occur in the corpora considered here.)

*OE **ġealga** / ON **galgi** ‘gallows’*

In Anglian, OE *galga* (without fronting of /a/ to /æ/ and so without breaking of /æ/ to /æɑ/) rather than *gealga* would be expected and, since the initial consonant was not followed by a front vowel, /g-/ rather than /j-/ would be found (Hogg 1992:§§5.15, 5.20 and 7.16). This form would be indistinguishable from ON *galgi*. Both Scandinavian and English forms are generally late-recorded in place-names, and the sole OE charter-bound attestation is from an area where Scandinavian influence is not out of the question.

*OE **ġeat** ‘a hole, opening, gap’ / ON **gata** ‘way, path, road’*

ME *gate* could reflect ON *gata* or oblique cases of OE *geat* in which the inflexional ending contained a back vowel (i.e. plural forms) in which the back vowel would have caused retraction of \*/æ/ (from Gmc \*/a/ by first fronting) to \*/ɑ/, and \*/ɑ/ would not then have caused palatalization of the initial velar consonant /g/ (Hogg 1992:§§5.10, 5.35 and 7.16). Thus whilst ME forms with an initial palatal derive from OE *geat*, those with an initial stop could derive from ON *gata* or plural forms of OE *geat*. Consequently, forms with initial /j-/ can be treated as OE-derived, but those with initial /g-/ could be OE- or Scandinavian-derived.

The difference in meaning means that it is possible to distinguish the elements where the referent is known. Thus, the generics of Walmgate, Bampton and Sowerby-Gate, Cliburn, both in the Westmorland corpus, were interpreted as ON *gata* as the names may refer to roads (although the evidence is perhaps less certain than *PNWe*’s treatment implies).<sup>76</sup> Where the referent is not known, the elements have been considered indistinguishable.

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<sup>76</sup> Walmgate is the name of a farm by the side of a road (*PNWe* ii:193), but *PNWe* gives no evidence that the road was known by the same name

*OE grēne/ON grænn* ‘green, young, growing’ (cf. also *OE \*grēne* n. ‘a grassy spot, a village green’)

In *OE grēne*, /e:/ derives from earlier \*/o:/ that has undergone *i*-umlaut to /ø:/ with subsequent unrounding to /e:/ (regular in West-Saxon and Kentish and more limited in Anglian); the usual ME reflex is /e:/ (<e> and <ee>) (Hogg 1992:§5.77; Jordan 1974:§51). Unrounding of /ø(:)/ to /e(:)/ from the twelfth century in northern and eastern England (Jordan 1974:§§65, 84), would make any survival of /ø:/ in field-names recorded in the ME period unlikely. Similarly, ON /ø:/ (<æ>) is the *i*-umlauted reflex of Gmc \*/o:/ (Noreen 1923:§63,5), but such evidence as there is suggests that ON /ø:/ unrounded to /e:/ by the time it was recorded in place-names in England (Coates 2006:46). The forms are therefore considered indistinguishable here.

*OE grēot* ‘gravel’ / *ON grjót* ‘stones’

See ‘Stress-Shifted diphthongs’ above. Distinguishing the cognate elements semantically where localisable would be difficult, if not impossible, and the antiquity of the semantic distinction is in any case unclear. The elements are consequently treated as indistinguishable here.

*OE \*hæfera* / *ON hafri* ‘oats’ and *OE hæfer* / *ON hafr* ‘he-goat’

The elements referring to both oats and goats are phonologically indistinguishable from one another in ME records due to the development of OE /æ/ to ME /a/ (Hogg 1992:§§5.215–16).<sup>77</sup> It might sometimes be possible to distinguish the elements referring to oats from those referring to goats according to the other elements in the compound. For instance, Haverland in the West Ward (*Haverland(es)* 13th c.) seems more likely to refer to oats than

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elsewhere. It is not clear from *PNWe* (ii:138) that Sowerby Gate’s referent is known, despite the interpretation ‘road to Temple Sowerby’ being very plausible.

<sup>77</sup> Note that the final /r/ of ON *hafr* forms part of the stem (i.e. it is not inflexional-*r*) (Cleasby-Vigfusson: s.v. *hafr*; Orel 2003: s.v. \**habraz*).

to goats if *-land* here bore the meaning ‘strip of arable land in a common field’, which was common in ME field-names (Smith 1956: s.v. *land*; *MED*: s.v. *lond*, n.).

At this point, the evidence for the existence of OE *\*hæfera* needs to be considered as its existence is not beyond doubt. If OE *\*hæfera* did not exist, then names where other elements in the name suggest an arable referent might be interpreted as containing ON *hafri* (but if it did exist, then names with an arable referent could contain either OE *\*hæfera* or ON *hafri*). OE *\*hæfera* has been suggested to occur in a handful of place-name, and the existence of WGmc cognates including OHG *habaro* and OS *havoro* makes the existence of an OE cognate plausible (Orel 2003: s.v. *\*habraz*). Additionally, there are a number of names that have been suggested to contain an otherwise unrecorded OE personal name *\*Hæfer* and/or an element *\*hæfer* ‘raised ground’ and it is possible that some of these names could instead contain OE *\*hæfera* ‘oats’.<sup>78</sup> Although the other elements considered here (i.e. ON *hafri* and OE/ON *hæfer/hافر*) cannot be ruled out in any of the suggested name occurrences of OE *\*hæfera*, it is considered here that the existence OE *\*hæfera* is plausible.<sup>79</sup> This makes distinguishing ON *hafri* ‘oats’ from the indistinguishable English- and Scandinavian-derived elements referring to goats unwise, even where the meaning ‘oats’ may be appropriate. As OE/ON *\*hæfera/hافر* ‘oats’ is generally indistinguishable from OE/ON *hæfer/hافر* ‘he-goat’, all these elements are considered indistinguishable in their ME reflexes.

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<sup>78</sup> For instance, Quadring, Lincolnshire (*Quadheueringe*, *Quedhaueringe* 1086), an island of higher ground in the fens (Ekwall 1923:85–86; Coates 1997:38–39).

<sup>79</sup> It has been suggested that OE *\*hæfera* might occur in Market Harborough, Leicestershire (*Hauerberga* 1219) and Haverhill, Suffolk (*Hauerhella* 1086); however, ON *hafri* (or indeed *hæfer/hافر*) could occur in these names (Ekwall 1936:106; Smith 1956: s.v. *\*hæfera*).

OE *\*hær* / ON *\*har* ‘rocky ground’

The element could, in the names where it occurs,<sup>80</sup> instead be OE *hara* ‘hare’ or (more plausibly perhaps than OE/ON *\*hær*/*\*har*) OE/ON *hār/hár* ‘grey’ (Whaley 2006: s.v. Harrop). The Scandinavian form is found only in place-names and in Swedish dialect *har* ‘rocky ground’, but is difficult to distinguish from other place-name elements (NG xiii:206; DS xvii:333). Nearly all the examples of OE *\*hær* given by Smith (1956: s.v. *\*hær*) are either flagged up as being difficult to distinguish from other elements (Harrold, Bedfordshire, and Harwood Dale, North Yorkshire) or from areas of possible Scandinavian influence, viz. Harland and Harome, North Yorkshire, and Harras, Cumberland, the latter given a Scandinavian etymon in *PNCu* (452). Thus, there is a great deal of uncertainty about which of several plausible OE and ON etyma occurs in the West Ward names.

OE *\*hamol* ‘maimed, mutilated’ and/or ‘flat-topped’<sup>81</sup> / ON *hamall* ‘wedge-shaped’ or ON *\*hǫmull* ‘layer of pebbles’<sup>82</sup>

As /a/ and /o/ merged in unstressed syllables in OE from the ninth century (Hogg 1992:§6.60), and as final /l/ in the Scandinavian form is inflexional, these elements are formally indistinguishable in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms. The existence of a Norwegian dialect compound *humulstein* (cf. NG vii:38) means that ON *hǫmull* might be preferred for the sole occurrence here, in the Wirral name Umberstone Covert (*Homilston*’ 13th c.; *PNCh* iv:255), especially as OE *\*hamol* is thought to occur primarily in hill-names (Smith 1956: s.v. *\*hamol*). However, the sense ‘mutilated stone’

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<sup>80</sup> Harrop Pike (*Haropes* 12th c., *Harhopes* 13th c.) and Harberwain (*Harburwanes* (p) 13th c., *Harburghwanes* 14th c., *Herberwaynes* 15th c.) (*PNWe* ii:155 and 168).

<sup>81</sup> Smith (1956: s.v. *\*hamol*) suggests the meaning ‘mutilated’, LangScape prefers ‘flat-topped’.)

<sup>82</sup> Sandnes and Stemshaug (1997: s.v. ‘Hummelsund’) gloss ON *\*hǫmull* as ‘layer of pebbles’; in Old Norse texts, it is recorded only in the compound *hǫmulgrýti* ‘heaps of earth-fast stones’ (Cleasby-Vigfusson: s.v. ‘hǫmulgrýti’).

suggested by *PNCh* (iv:255) (or indeed ‘flat-topped stone’) would also be feasible, so the elements have been considered indistinguishable here.

*OE healf / ON halfa* ‘side, half’ *n.* and *OE healf / ON halfr* ‘half’ *adj.*

Standard reference works show variety in the length of the vowel in the ON forms (Cleasby-Vigfusson: s.v. *hálf*; *ONP*: s.v. *halfa*; Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007 s.v. *halv*), but the evidence of Germanic cognates (e.g. OE *healf* and OHG *halb*) is indicative of an original short vowel in Germanic (*OED* s.v. *half*, *adj.*) and the long vowel of Modern Icelandic *hálfur* and Faroese *hálvur* *hálfur* (de Vries 1977: s.v. *halfr*) can be explained as resulting from a development whereby short back vowels were lengthened in the sequence /VIC/ (where C was not a dental consonant) which took place in Iceland from the end of the twelfth century (thus *ulfr* > *úlfr* ‘wolf’ and *halmr* > *hálmr* ‘straw’) (Stefán Karlsson 2004:13). ON *halfr* and OE *healf* (Anglian *half*) would thus be indistinguishable in Viking-Age Scandinavian and in Anglian, in which either fronting failed before covered /l/ or /a/ was restored in this position (and so was not broken to /æɑ/) (Hogg 1992:§§5.15 and 5.20; Campbell 1969:§§131 and 143). Use as a generic, as occurring in the corpus in *Langhalfe* (13th c.) Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187), is rare in both England (except in ME field-names from Wiltshire) and Scandinavia.

*OE \*healf-land / ON \*half-land* ‘half-selion’

The element is not recorded in early English place-names or Scandinavian place-names (and, as far as I can tell, is only recorded beyond Cheshire in ME minor names from Shropshire); the categorisation here as an element indistinguishable in English and Scandinavian forms reflects the fact that the compound’s components could both be either English- or Scandinavian-derived (see entries for the respective head-forms).

*OE h(e)all / ON holl* ‘hall’

Without the representation of *u*-mutation in ON *holl* (see above) and with either failure of fronting (of /a/ to /æ/) or subsequent restoration of /a/ before



covered /l/ (rather than breaking to /æɑ/) in Anglian (Hogg 1992:§§5.15 and 5.20; Campbell 1959:§§131 and 143) these elements are indistinguishable. However, although frequently recorded lexically (*ONP*: s.v. *hǫll* sb.; *OED* s.v. *hall*, n.1), the elements either occur rarely in both English and Scandinavian place-names, or are, in both areas, hard to distinguish from other place-name elements such as OE *healh* and ON *hǫll* ‘a slope’ (L297.000; *NG* i:58; Smith 1956 s.v. *hall*). There is therefore no reason to prefer an English or a Scandinavian etymon, so these elements are considered indistinguishable.

*OE heor(o)t / ON hjǫrtr ‘a hart, a stag’*

As noted above, there is little evidence for breaking and *u*-umlaut in Scandinavian linguistic material from England, so ON *hjǫrtr* would usually appear as ME *\*hert-*. This would be indistinguishable from the reflex of OE *heor(o)t* (deriving from earlier /e/ by back-umlaut before historic \*/u/), the diphthong of which was monophthongised to /ø/ in the late OE period and unrounded to /e/ in the twelfth century in the North and East Midlands (Hogg 1992:§§5.105 and 5.210–11; Jordan 1974:§§65 and 73). The elements are therefore indistinguishable unless the rounded reflex of OE /eo/ is preserved.

*OE hlið / ON hlið ‘a slope, hill-side’*

Although distinct in vowel length and so perhaps sometimes distinguishable in later forms, such distinctions are not reliably indicated orthographically in ME, and can be disrupted by various processes of lengthening and shortening depending on position, compounding and inflexional endings (Jordan 1974:§§22–27).<sup>83</sup> Consequently, the elements are considered

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<sup>83</sup> These problems can be exemplified by the case of Upleatham, North Riding of Yorkshire, where the DB spelling <Upelider> indicates a Scandinavian inflexion and suggests the element is ON *hlið*; however, forms with <e> and <ey> (*Uplethum* 1285 (16), 1407, *Upleythome* 1581) indicate that the vowel followed the (northern) development of /i/ to /e:/ in open syllables from the thirteenth century (*PNYN*:153; Jordan 1974:§26), suggesting that the vowel

indistinguishable here. The element is (unsurprisingly) very common in Norway (NG i:65) and appears far less common in Denmark.

OE *hōh* ‘a heel, a spur of land’ / ON *haugr* ‘a hill, a heap, a mound’

OE *hōh* (nominative singular) regularly yields ME *hough*, *heugh* (Smith 1956: s.v. *hōh*; Jordan 1974:§§187 and 197); however, OE *hōge*, *hōhe* (dative singular)<sup>84</sup> gives ME *howe* due to processes of labialisation and vocalisation occurring from the thirteenth century, which similarly explain the development of ON [ɣ] to ME /w/ in ON *haugr* to ME *howe* (Jordan 1974:§186; Kristensson 1967:206; *ibid.* 1995:139). ME representations of ON /au/ in loanwords vary: /o:/ (<o>), /ou/ (<ou>) and /au/ (<au>) are all found, and the first two would be indistinguishable from ME *howe* (Jordan 1974:§130; Luick 1921:§384.2). Semantic distinction between the elements may at times be possible where the feature can be identified, but the breadth of meanings both elements had make this potentially problematic, and I did not think it practicable here.<sup>85</sup> The elements are considered indistinguishable here except where orthographic representation of ON /au/ permits a distinction to be made.<sup>86</sup>

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either had always been short or had been shortened before the thirteenth century.

<sup>84</sup> The regularly derived dative singular was *hō* with loss of medial \*/x/ (Hogg 1992:§7.45; Campbell 1959:§574.2); however, the form <hohe> (in a late tenth-century charter S782; L782.000) presumably reflects an analogical formation based on the nominative singular.

<sup>85</sup> OE *hōh* could be used of both heel-shaped hill spurs and low ridges, and ON *haugr* is thought to have been used of large hills in the Lake District (Gelling and Cole 2000 [2003]:176 and 186–88); ON *haugr* might be preferred in the case of clear mounds (provided they are not also ridge-like), but distinguishing a hill-spur use of OE *hōh* from ON *haugr* may be more problematic.

<sup>86</sup> I.e. the *Wett(e) Haves* and *The Wyt-, the White Haves* (15th c.) Caldý (*PNCh* iv:287).

*OE **hol** / ON **hol** ‘a hole’*

Self-evidently indistinguishable; as a specific, hard to distinguish from OE/ON *hol/holr*.

*OE **hol** / ON **holr** ‘hollow’*

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE **holt** / ON **holt** ‘wood’*

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE **horn** / ON **horn** ‘horn’*

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE **hræfn** / ON **hrafn** ‘raven’*

Indistinguishable following the late-OE merger of /æ/ and /a/ (Hogg 1992: §§5.215–16).

*OE **hrīȝ** / ON **hrís** ‘brushwood’*

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE **hrycg** ‘a ridge, a long, narrow hill’ / ON **hryggr** ‘a ridge’*

The problems of distinguishing the elements in ME orthography are identical to those for OE/ON *brycg/bryggja* above; the elements are considered indistinguishable here.

OE *hūs* / ON *hús* ‘house’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.<sup>87</sup>

OE *hwīt* / ON *hvítr* ‘white’

Self-evidently indistinguishable as ON <v> represents Viking-Age /w/ (see above).

OE (WSax.) *īeg*, *īg*, (Angl.) *ēg* / ON *ey* ‘island’

The OE dialectal forms Anglian/Kentish *ēg* and West Saxon *īeg*, *īg* represent differing results of *i*-mutation of OE /æɑ(:)/;<sup>88</sup> it is significant only in so far as (Anglian) /e:/ would be expected where the Scandinavian cognate might occur. The phonology of the Scandinavian form might similarly have varied in different Scandinavian dialects. ON (OIcel.) *ey* is the *i*-mutated reflex of PGmc \*/au/, whose Old Norwegian and East Scandinavian cognate was *øy* (Noreen 1923: §§55 and 63,14; Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007: s.v. *øy*).<sup>89</sup> However, as Scandinavian-derived rounded vowels appear to have been unrounded in Scandinavian linguistic material from England (Coates 2006:46–47), both /øy/ and /ey/ would be expected to occur in OE and ME as /ei/. As ON *ey* in Scandinavian loanwords in ME merged with the reflex of OE /eɜ/ and OE /e:ɜ/ in syllable- and word-final positions (i.e. /ei/, later /ai/), reflexes of the English- and Scandinavian-derived forms are formally indistinguishable in ME (Jordan 1974: §§97.1a and 130.1–2; Björkman 1900–02:64–67).

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<sup>87</sup> It has been suggested that the simplex dat.pl. form *húsum* is typically Scandinavian due to its frequent occurrence in Scandinavia (Ekwall 1960: s.v. *hūs*; Fellows-Jensen 1978:149; cf. *PNL* ii:76); however, none of the occurrences in the corpora considered here is in a simplex name.

<sup>88</sup> I.e. <e(:)> in non-West Saxon and <ie(:)>, later <i(:)> and <y(:)>, in West Saxon (Campbell 1959: §200; Hogg 1992: §5.82).

<sup>89</sup> The East Scandinavian form was monophthongised to /ø/ from the tenth or eleventh centuries (Noreen 1923: §§55 and 63,14; Birkmann 2002:696).

*OE ingang / ON innganga* ‘entrance, act of entering’

Both OE *ingang* and ON *innganga* (Bosworth-Toller: s.v. in-gang; *ONP*: s.v. innganga sb.; Cleasby-Vigfusson: s.v. inn-ganga) could formally underlie ME *ingang*, the second element of which is recorded with both palatalised and non-palatalised initial consonant in ME, the latter not only in texts from areas where Scandinavian influence is likely (*OED*: s.v. ingang | inyong). Despite *OED*’s suggestion (s.v. gang, n.) that the occurrence of *gang* rather than *yong* in northern place-names might suggest borrowing of *gang* from Scandinavian, the non-palatalised forms are regular in OE.<sup>90</sup> The element is rare and late in English place-names (there are no occurrences in LangScape or in Smith 1956), and I have not been able to trace the element in Scandinavian place-names. Either the OE or ON substantive could underlie the form so the elements are classed as indistinguishable here.

*OE \*innām / ON \*innám* ‘piece of land taken in or enclosed’

Although the ON form is not asterisked by Smith (1956), absence from Cleasby-Vigfusson and from *ONP*’s word-lists suggests the form is also unattested in ON. I have not been able to trace the element in Scandinavian place-names and examples from England are late (but not restricted to areas of probable Scandinavian settlement) and so it is unclear whether the element existed in either OE or Scandinavian. The element is counted as indistinguishable in English and Scandinavian-derived forms as both constituents (i.e. OE/ON *in(n)-/inn-* ‘into, in’ and OE/ON *nām/nám* ‘seizure (of property)’)) are themselves indistinguishable.

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<sup>90</sup> The following nasal would be expected to prevent fronting of \*/a/ to early OE \*/æ/ and initial \*/g-/ would therefore not be expected to be palatalised to /j-/ (Hogg 1992: §§5.3–4, 5.10 and 7.16). The forms with palatal consonant might perhaps be analogical formations based on the palatalised consonant of the preterite of *gangan* (*ġēong*) from earlier \*/geang-/ (Hogg and Fulk 2011: §6.70).

*OE lamb / ON lamb* ‘a lamb’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE land / ON land* ‘land’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE lang / ON langr* ‘long’

Self-evidently indistinguishable (final *-r* in ON *langr* is inflexional).

*OE līm / ON līm* ‘lime’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE līn / ON līn* ‘flax’

Self-evidently indistinguishable; in Danish place-names, only known from Bornholm.

*OE lytel / ON lítill* ‘little’

Despite Kristensson’s finding (1987:81–100) that OE /y(:)/ (where the *i*-mutation of /u(:)/ in Cheshire remained as /y(:)/ (<u>) in eME, all instances of the element in the Wirral corpus are spelt <i> (three thirteenth-century records) or <y> (a fifteenth-century record). This need not reflect the Scandinavian form given that there are numerous instances of eME <i> for the reflex of OE /y(:)/ in southern Lancashire in eME, and that the unrounded vowel spread south and westwards during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Kristensson 1967:102–20; Jordan 1974:§§41–42). ME /i(:)/ is the expected reflex of OE /y(:)/ in Westmorland (Kristensson 1967:102–20). As the stem-vowels are not reliably distinguishable, and the unstressed vowels /e/ and /i/ were no longer distinct (Hogg 1992:§§6.50 and 6.53), the elements are not considered distinguishable here.

*OE micel / ON mikill ‘great’*

ME forms with medial /k/ could arise either through Scandinavian phonological influence or lexical borrowing, or from syncopated forms of OE *micel* in which /k/ may have replaced expected /tʃ/ (*OED*: s.v. mickle, adj., pron. (and n.), and adv.). Forms with medial /tʃ/ might be distinguished, but are not found in either Wirral or the West Ward.

*OE mōr ‘a marsh, a moor, wasteland’ / ON \*mór ‘?marsh’*

OE *mōr* has generally been considered indistinguishable from ON *mór* (Smith 1956 s.v. *mōr*; Cameron 1973:39–41; Cox 1989–90:8; Watts 2002:61–62; Parsons 2006:188). OE *mōr* is recorded early in place-names with the meanings ‘marsh’ and, slightly later, ‘barren upland’ and it is possible that this sense in part reflects ON *mór* (*OED*: s.v. moor, n.1; Gelling and Cole 2000 [2003]:58–60).

However, the <r> of ON *mór* is inflexional (OE *mōr* and ON *mór* are not cognates) and is lost in later reflexes of the word in the Scandinavian languages (i.e. *mo*) and in Shetlandic *mui* and *mø* (*OED*: s.vv. moor, n.1 and moler, n.2; Cleasby-Vigfusson: s.v. mór; de Vries 1977: s.v. mór 1; Jakobsen 1936:160). As noted above, there is very little evidence for the survival of the inflexional-*r* either in ON loanwords in English or in place-names containing Scandinavian elements. It would be exceptional, then, if ON *mór* appeared in English place-names as /mo:r/ unless by analogy with OE *mōr*. Additionally, the vowel of ON *mærr* (cognate with OE *mōr* but with -jō- stem and resultant *i*-umlaut), would probably have been unrounded to /e:/ in ME (see discussion of OE/ON *grēne*/*grænn* above; *OED*: s.v. moler, n.2; *OED*: s.v. moor, n.1; Noreen 1923:§384; Coates 2006:46).

However, the existence of a Scandinavian name with stem-final /r/, ON \**mór* ‘swamp’ (cognate with OE *mōr* and the etymon of Swedish dialect *mor* ‘wooded marshland’ and Jutlandic *mor* ‘peat-like soil’), has been suggested. This would be indistinguishable from OE *mōr* both phonologically and semantically. ON \**mór* has been suggested to occur in Morum in North Jutland, where the description is topographically appropriate (Hald 1942:85–

86), in a later recorded name from Fyn and in a handful of Norwegian place-names from Østerdalen with the meaning ‘little wood’ (Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997: s.v. Mora; *NG* iii:311). These instances of place-names that might indicate the existence of ON \**mór* mean that the possibility of such a word’s use in areas of Scandinavian settlement in England cannot be entirely excluded and such an element would be indistinguishable from OE *mōr*.

*OE mos / ON mosi* ‘moss, bog’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE (ge)mōt / ON mót* ‘meeting’

Indistinguishable as OE initial *ge-* would not be expected to survive (see OE/ON *(ge)feall/fall* above). The sense ‘meeting-place’ (for people) is more common in English than Scandinavian place-names, but there is one Danish example of this usage, which is known lexically in ON (Cleasby-Vigfusson s.v. *mót*).

*OE mūs / ON mús* ‘mouse’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE næss (Anglian, West-Saxon) ness (Kentish, Mercian) / ON nes* ‘a headland, promontory’

The dialectal division given above (Smith 1956 s.v. *næss*) implies that OE *næss* would be found in Northumbria and would be distinguishable from ON *nes*. However, it is unclear why OE *ness* should not also have been found in Anglian (and indeed West Saxon) areas and conversely why OE *næss* should not occur in Mercia (outside West Mercia). The vowel of OE *ness* derives regularly by first-fronting of Gmc \*/a/ to /æ/, with subsequent *i*-umlaut of \*/æ/ to /e/ by a following /j/ (Hogg 1992: §§5.10–13, 5.80(1)). However, OE *næss/ness* is one of a number of words where levelling by analogy with related lexemes with a back vowel in the following syllable (in this case OE *nasu*)



seems to have taken place. In these levelled variants, \*/æ/ appears to have been levelled to \*/ɑ/, which then underwent *i*-mutation to /æ/ (Campbell 1959:§193 (c); Hogg 1992:§5.79(2)(e)). The variant *næss* is one of these levelled variants, and should give ME, ModE *nass*, which can be distinguished from ON *nes*. Neither Campbell nor Hogg gives any indication that these analogical levelled variants prevailed in Anglian, where OE *ness* could therefore also have occurred. ME *nes(se)* could therefore derive from either OE *ness* (in any dialect) or ON *nes* and such forms have been considered indistinguishable.

*OE neoðera, niðera / ON neðri* ‘lower’

Variation in the stressed vowel of the OE forms reflects variable operation of back umlaut of \*/i/ in different OE dialects; in later Anglian texts, there was back umlaut (here, *u*-umlaut) of \*/i/ to /io/ before a dental consonant (more widespread than in West Saxon), and this /io/ subsequently developed to /eo/ everywhere by the ME period (Hogg 1992:§§5.103–04 and 5.155–61; Jordan 1974:§74). Following the late OE monophthongisation of OE /eo/ to /ø/, subsequently unrounded to /e/ from the twelfth century in northern and eastern England (Hogg 1992:§§5.210–11; Jordan 1974:§§65, 84), OE *neoðera* would be indistinguishable from ON *neðri* based on the stem vowel. The possibility of the addition of an epenthetic vowel in the Scandinavian form and of the loss of the second vowel in OE, mean that distinction on the basis of the OE unstressed stem vowel is likely to be unreliable.

*OE norð (adv.) / ON norðr* ‘north’ (*n.* and *adv.*)

It is unclear whether final /r/ would survive in Scandinavian linguistic material from England. Unlike Gmc cognates, /r/ seems to have been part of the stem in ON (cf. gen.sg. *norðrs*), but a form without final /r/ occurs as the first element of compounds, meaning forms without final /r/ might also have occurred

(*OED*: s.v. north, adv., adj., and n.; Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007: s.v. nord).<sup>91</sup>

The elements have consequently been classed as indistinguishable here.

*OE pīl* ‘shaft, stake’ / *ON pīll* ‘willow’<sup>92</sup>

The final /l/ of *ON pīll* is inflexional (cf. *ONP*: s.v. pīll), meaning these elements are indistinguishable.

*OE pōl* / *ON pollr* ‘a pool, a pond’<sup>93</sup>

Distinguishing reflexes of *OE pōl* and *ON pollr* in Middle English minor names is problematic, as the inflexional-*r* of *ON pollr* would not be expected to be conserved (see above) and as distinguishing the elements on vowel length is unlikely in isolated written records. If the referent is unclear, distinguishing either element from *OE pāl* ‘pole’ in areas where *OE* /a:/ developed to *ME* /ɔ:/, later /o:/, i.e. south of a line running from the Ribble to the southern boundary of Lindsey (Jordan 1974:§44; Kristensson 1967:30–36) is unlikely. (In areas of possible Goidelic influence, distinguishing either element from *Ir. poll* ‘hole, pit’ and *ScGael. poll* ‘hole, body of stagnant water’ (cf. *OED*: s.v. pool, n.1) may also be problematic.) *OE/ON pōl/pollr* have therefore been considered indistinguishable here, although in some cases there may be further uncertainty about the identity of the element. However, *OE \*pull* ‘a tidal creek’ can probably be distinguished from *ON pollr*, but may sometimes reflect the etymon of Welsh *pwll* (if the latter is not a borrowing from English) (Smith 1956: s.v. \*pull; *OED*: s.v. pool, n.1).

*OE (\*)potte* ‘a hole’ / ?*ON \*pottr* ‘?hole’ (cf. *ON pottr* ‘a pot’)

The origins of *ME potte* ‘a pit, a hollow’ are uncertain: the word is thought to derive either from *OE pott* ‘a pot’ (cf. also *ON pottr*) or to be a borrowing

<sup>91</sup> The existence of forms without final-*r* might have encouraged loss of stem-final *r*, as in forms of *séctr* from England mentioned above

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *Salix pīll* in a fifteenth-century manuscript (*ONP*: s.v. pīll).

<sup>93</sup> Only occurs in the Wirral corpus.

from a Scandinavian variant of *pyttr* (*OED* notes OSw. *potter* ‘hole, abyss’) that lacked *i*-mutation, particularly on the grounds that many early place-name usages are from northern England (*OED*: s.v. *pot*, n.2). All examples of the element listed in LangScape are occurrences as a specific where OE *pott* is also possible (cf. L80.0.00, L881.0.00, L1599.0.00, L1599.0.00 and L1664.0.00). I have not found examples of the element’s use in *NG*, and all examples given in *DS* where the element describes depressions have no early forms (and in one case the element possibly replaces earlier *pyt*). The decision to class the elements as indistinguishable reflects uncertainty about its origin.

*OE pytt / ON pyttr ‘pit’*

Without inflexional-*r* (see above), these elements are self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE rā (eOE rāha) / ON rá ‘roe-deer’ and ON rá ‘a boundary’.*

Self-evidently indistinguishable unless distinguished by inflexions (cf. OE gen.sg. *rān*) or the survival of final /h/ in OE (cf. *OED*: s.v. *roe*, n.1).

*OE (\*)ræn ‘?a furrow (either used for drainage or between ridges in a ploughed field)’ / ON rein ‘a strip of land, a boundary strip’*

The element, which occurs three times in the Wirral corpus, is considered to derive from ON *rein* in *PNCh* (v(2):318) and was considered a Scandinavian borrowing already by Björkman (1900–02:63).

The element is commonly used in western and northern Norway of grass borders between fields and other ploughed plots of land (*NG* i:70). In Denmark the element appears more common in Bornholm than elsewhere, and is interpreted as referring to ditches between fields serving as drains formed by repeated ploughing in one direction (*DS* xv:175). However, an English etymology has also been suggested, which resolves difficulties with the phonological development of certain dialectal forms previously derived from ON *rein*, although the evidence for the English form is also slightly

problematic. The existence of a dialect word *rean* recorded from the fifteenth century and rhyming with ME *lene* ‘lean’ (adj.) and *vnclene* ‘unclean’ suggests the ME word contained ME ‘open  $\bar{e}$ ’ / $\epsilon$ :/ generally deriving from OE  $\bar{a}^1$ , the *i*-umlaut of PGmc \*/ai/ (*OED*: s.v.: *rean*, n.; Jordan 1974:§48). OE (\*)*rān* would then be a variant of OE *rān* ‘boundary strip’ with *i*-umlaut (*OED* s.v.: *rean*, n.). Indeed, OE (\*)*rān* may be recorded in an Anglo-Saxon charter from Shropshire where <rāne> occurs; this boundary mark is repeated as <rære> (see Appendix), but this is not obviously explained so the first reading is probably to be preferred. Although forms that do not suggest a diphthong (all the Wirral names bar one) might be seen rather as deriving from OE *rāne*, the Wirral minor name *the Wet(t) Reynys*, *the Wete Reynes*, *the Wette Reynes Fylde* (Caldy, 15th c.) confounds the issue, corresponding semantically to the other Shropshire/Cheshire examples of this name noted by Gelling (1995:188–89) but apparently showing a reflex of a Scandinavian diphthong. This suggests the forms may have influenced each other too greatly to be safely distinguishable on phonological grounds. The element has therefore been classified here as indistinguishable in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms.

*OE \*ragge / ON rōgg ‘tuft, shagginess’*

ME *rag(ge)* ‘a scrap of cloth, hard rough stone’ and the related adjective ME *ragged(e)* have often been derived from ON *rōgg* ‘a tuft, shagginess’ (< PGmc \*/rawwō) on the grounds that /gg/ should not have existed in OE<sup>94</sup> whilst it existed in Scandinavian following the development known as sharpening/Holtzmann’s law (*MED*: s.v. *rag(ge)*, n. and *ragged*, adj.; Dance 2003:371; Noreen 1923:§227; Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007: s.v. *ragg*, n.). In the etymon of ON *rōgg*, PGmc \*/ww/ would develop to OE /-æaw-/ (Hogg 1992:§3.17; Dance 2003:371). OE *raggie* glossing Lat. *setosa* ‘bristly’

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<sup>94</sup> Germanic \*/-gj-/ would develop to \*/-ggj-/ by WGmc gemination, but the following /j/ would then have caused palatalization and assibilation of the consonant cluster to /dʒ/ (Hogg 1992:§ § 4.11, 7.15 and 7.17.3).

recorded once in a late gloss has consequently been interpreted as a Scandinavian loanword (Dance 2003:371).

However, these phonological points are not uncontentious and various suggestions for a native origin have been made. Pons-Sanz, discussing OE *raggie* (2011:42–43), points out on the one hand, that development of ON *røgg* might not have involved sharpening (cf. Bjorkman 1900–02:35 n. 2) and, on the other hand, that there are sporadic cases of sharpening in WGmc, for instance OE *brycg* (cf. ON *brú*). Alternatively, Coates (1982) suggests that the OE and ME forms could be hypocoristic derivatives of OE *ragu* ‘lichen’, noting parallel formations amongst animal terms, other foliage terms, and terms relating to bogs (cf. *OED*: s.v. dog, n.1).<sup>95</sup> Finally, Ragley Hall, Warwickshire provides either place-name evidence for the development of OE /g/ to ME /gg/ in what is thought to be the reflex of either OE *ragu* ‘lichen’, or the OE etymon of ME *ragge* ‘coarse stone’ (were the latter to be derived otherwise than from OE *ragu*) (*PNWa*:196; Ekwall 1960 s.v. Ragley Hall). Either way, the element is probably English-derived. A reference to lichen could be semantically plausible in a name such as *le Raggedestean* (13th c.) in the Wirral corpus, and perhaps in the byname *Ragge*, suggested by *PNCh* (iv:129) as the specific of *Raggisfeld* (14th c.) if referring, for instance, to hair. The decision to class the elements as indistinguishable here therefore reflects the feasibility of both English and Scandinavian etyma for ME *rag(ge)*.

OE *\*rān* ‘a boundary strip, a balk’, ?ME *rīne*, *rune* ‘a running, a course’ /  
ON *runnr* ‘a brake, a thicket’

Ekwall suggested (1918:93–94) that ON *runnr* might occur in place-names from the North-West, and this interpretation was accepted by *PNWe* (ii:281) to explain a number of names included in the corpus (viz. *Ronesiche*, *Haverunes*,

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<sup>95</sup> Coates (1982) suggested that these forms developed by addition of a suffix /-ga/ to stems formed either from existing terms for the referent, for instance OE *frosc/frogge* ‘frog’, or from stems relating to some characteristic of the referent, for instance OE *hogg* related to unattested OE *\*hōpa* ‘testicle’ and linked by Coates to early usages referring to castrated animals. However, this linkage is disputed by *OED* (s.v. hog, n.1).

*le Scharruns*, *Rongainer*, *Run-*, *Rongayner*, all 13th c.; *Celleron* (*Selleron* 14th c.) and *le Halirone* (14th c.)). However, OE *\*rān* ‘boundary strip, balk’ has been suggested as the etymon for a semantically and phonologically similar ME form, ME *ron* ‘balk, boundary strip, thicket, bush’ (*MED*: s.v. *ron*, n.3).<sup>96</sup> This, though, is not a satisfactory etymon for the form in northern England, as the reflex of OE /a:/ was ME /a:/ in northern ME (Jordan 1974:§44; Kristensson 1967:30–36).<sup>97</sup> Indeed, it is elsewhere suggested that ON *runnr* (whose further etymology seems problematic)<sup>98</sup> or a closely related word is the etymon of ME *ron*, ModE *rone* ‘a brake, a thicket’, although this would not be a satisfactory etymon of the ModE dialect form (*OED*: s.v. *rone*, n.2; *DSL*: s.v. *rone*, n.2). An alternative suggestion, that ME *ron*, ModE *rone* derives from ON *hraun* ‘stony, barren ground’ does not adequately explain the Westmorland forms as no spellings in <au> or <ou> occur, as found in other reflexes of ON /au/ in place-names from the area (*PNWe* i:li).<sup>99</sup> With one

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<sup>96</sup> This derivation is presumably based on the modern pronunciation /rəʊn/, implying ME /ɔ:/, later /o:/, the expected reflex of OE /a:/ south of a line running from the Ribble to the southern boundary of Lindsey (*EDD*: s.v. *rone*, sb.2; Jordan 1974:§44; Kristensson 1967:30–36).

<sup>97</sup> However, the generic of *Birkrane* (Cliburn, 1366) is a satisfactory reflex of OE *\*rān*, so *PNWe*’s interpretation of the element as ON *\*rān* has been followed here (*PNWe* ii:138).

<sup>98</sup> Cleasby-Vigfusson (s.v. *runnr*) confusingly notes that the older form of the word was *ruðr*; however, the majority of the citations in *ONP* have spellings reflecting the form *runnr*, and the spellings indicative of ON *ruðr* occur only in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts (*ONP*: s.v. *runnr*). There is an instance of a compound *faldruðr* ‘bush of the hood’ in the late-twelfth- or thirteenth-century poem *Jómsvíkingadrápa* (Lethbridge 2012:954–55 and 970). However, these instances need not reflect early forms, and it seems more likely that *ruðr* has the development /nnr/ > /ðr/ earliest recorded c. 1000 (Noreen 1923:§261 and 265). Indeed, Orel (2003: s.v. *\*run(n)iz*) and de Vries (1977 s.v. *runnr*) derive ON *runnr* from a root with original /nn/; however, Germanic cognates have senses to do with running or flowing (Orel 2003: s.v. *\*run(n)iz*) and it is hard to see how the meaning ‘bush, thicket’ relates to the cognates.

<sup>99</sup> ON *hraun* occurs in Norwegian and Icelandic place-names (Björkman 1900–02 i:6; Thorson 1936:40; Rygh 1897:69–70; Cleasby-Vigfusson s.v. *hraunr*; Bandle 1977:58) and would satisfactorily explain the modern form

exception, then, the place-names in the Westmorland corpus thought to contain ON *runnr* are satisfactory phonological developments of ON *runnr* but not of OE *\*rān* (although the same would not be true further south). It is difficult to relate the modern dialect forms to the supposed ON etymon and its occurrence in place-names and there may well have been some confusion between reflexes of the two words in ME.<sup>100</sup>

In investigating this element, other instances of ON *runnr* recorded by the sixteenth century were extracted from the SEPN and Ekwall (1922); they are given in the Appendix, and have been mapped below. The element is difficult to distinguish from OE *rūm*, ON *rúm* ‘room, space, a clearing’ and only those names where early forms are predominantly spelt with final <n> were mapped.<sup>101</sup> As the map shows, the element is predominantly restricted to North-West England and, even there, was not used particularly frequently.<sup>102</sup> There is no discernible spread during the ME period in the area where the element was used, partly as most of the names are first recorded in the thirteenth century. From the distribution, it is possible that the element became unproductive relatively early on in the ME period; however, this is uncertain and could just be coincidental given the small number of names considered.<sup>103</sup>

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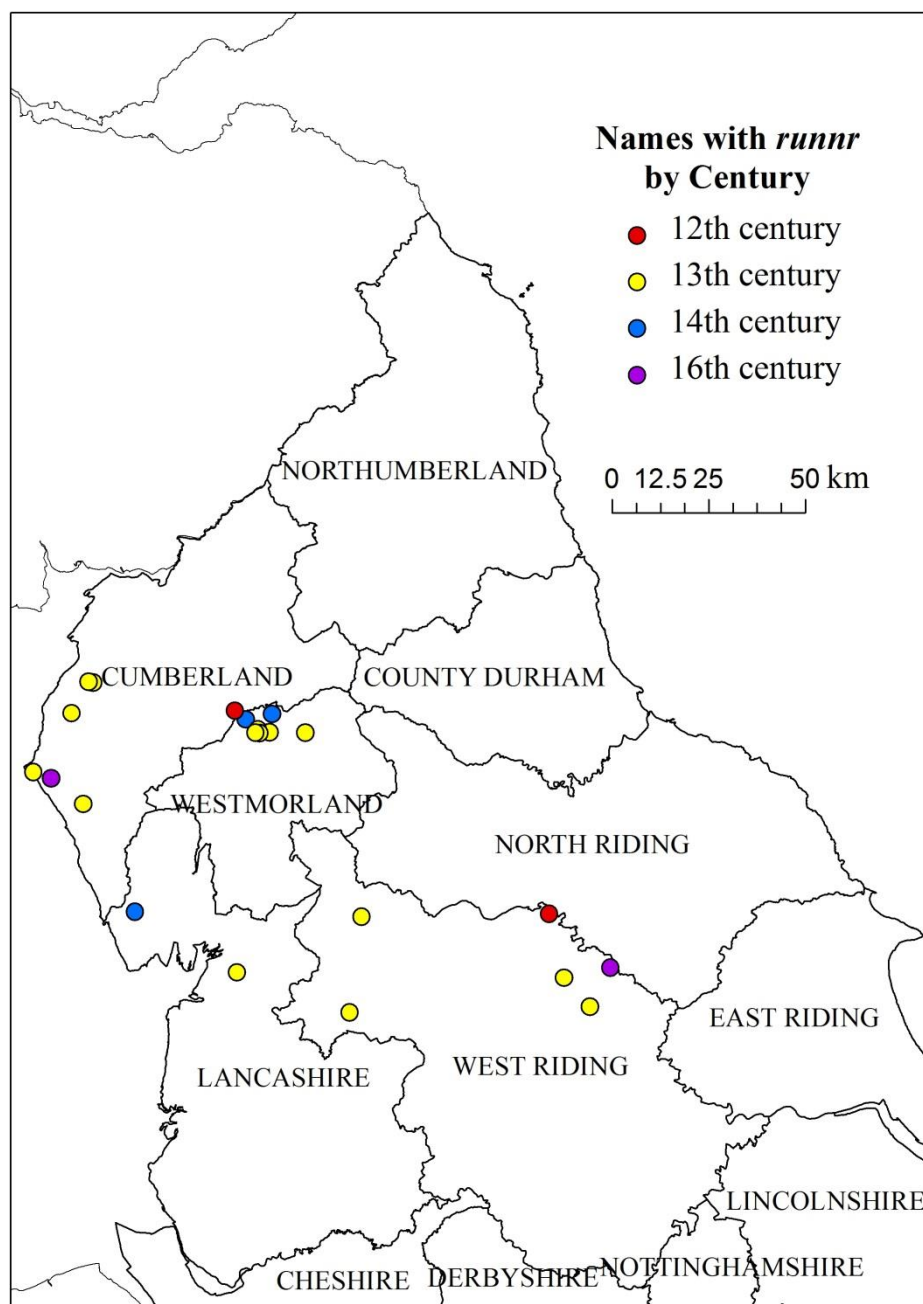
phonologically, as the reflexes of ON /au/ in ME were /o:/ and /ou/ or /ow/ (Jordan 1974:§130.3; Dance 2003:128–29).

<sup>100</sup> Indeed, *OED* (s.v. rone, n.1) notes reflexes of OE *\*rān* apparently meaning ‘bush’.

<sup>101</sup> Thus, Boldron, Startforth (*Bolrum* 1175–88, *Bulrun* 1280; *PNYN*:303–04) was not included, although it could be a further instance of ON *runnr*.

<sup>102</sup> The element has also been suggested to occur in Scalp Run, Norfolk; However, *PNNf* gives no earlier forms than the 1900–06 Ordnance Survey map (*PNNf* iii:137).

<sup>103</sup> A seventeenth-century record of a name containing the element is also possible in the West Riding name Boldron Hill, Kirkby Malzeard (*Bowtheronfeilde* 1618; *PNYW* v:211).



Shapefiles: ELC2, GRO, GBHGIS1961

The distribution given above would be consistent with a Scandinavian origin for the element. However, in collecting the *runnr*-names from England, it became apparent that there might be other elements with which ON *runnr*, if found at all, might have been confused. The elements with which *runnr* is compounded are a slight cause for concern and raise the possibility that in some names the element could be the etymon of ModE *run* ‘a narrow path made by the regular passage of particular animals, esp. small mammals’ or



‘(an area for) the ranging of people or animals’ (*OED*: s.v. *run*, n.2). ModE *run* is not recorded with these senses until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively; ME *rine* (< OE *ryne*) was used with similar senses but would not be a suitable etymon of ModE *run* (*OED*: s.v. *run*, n.2; *MED*: s.v. *rine*, n.1). Nevertheless, a meaning ‘running, course’ plausible in some cases, especially where so-called *runnr* is compounded with words for ditches and water sources: (in the West Ward) *Geldrūsic*, *Kelderunesyc* and *Ronesiche*. Instances where the first element has been understood to refer to a type of animal, all first recorded in the thirteenth century,<sup>104</sup> and *Spil(e)manrun* (12th c., West Yorkshire), where the first element is ME *spilman* ‘sportsman’ or a derived byname, look suspiciously like they might contain the etymon of ModE *run* with the sense ‘passage’ (cf. *rat-run*; cf. *OED*: s.v. *run*, n.2). If these names contain the etymon of ModE *run* ‘running’, then analogy with forms of ME *rennan* with stem /u/ might perhaps explain the noun’s phonology, although the origin of the verbal forms is also unclear (cf. *OED*: s.v. *run*, v.).

Overall, then, despite the formal distinguishability of reflexes of OE *\*rān* and ON *runnr* in the West Ward, there are sufficient indications of confusion between these elements and the feasibility of other elements occurring to consider these elements (and others) indistinguishable where spelt with medial <o> or <u>.<sup>105</sup>

*OE rūn / ON rún* ‘runic letter’<sup>106</sup>

Self-evidently indistinguishable; not, as far as I can tell, found in other place-names but recorded as OE and ON lexemes (Bosworth-Toller: s.v. *rūn*; Cleasby-Vigfusson: s.v. *rún*).

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<sup>104</sup> The names are *Bolerund/Bolerun* (ON *boli* ‘a steer, bull’), *Haverunes* (OE/ON *hæfer/hafri* ‘he-goat’), *Tykerun* (OE *ticcen* ‘a kid’), *Rarun* (OE/ON *rā/rá* ‘roebuck’), *Hagwrinrun*, *Hagwrinron* (ME *hagworm* ‘viper’), *Stodfaldrunes* (see Appendix).

<sup>105</sup> However, *Bradrane* (13th c.) was considered a reflex of OE *\*rān*.

<sup>106</sup> In this sense in the West Ward name *Runcrosbanc* (13th c.).

*OE sǣ / ON sjór, sǣr, sjár* ‘sea, lake’

The variant forms ON *sjór*, *sǣr*, *sjár* would all usually give ME <se-> for ME /se:-/, and (alongside <se->) <sea-> for ME /sɛ:-/, the reflex of OE *ǣ*<sup>2</sup> (Kristensson 1987:42–47; see ‘Breaking/Fracture’ above).<sup>107</sup> Final-*r* would not be expected in the acc.sg. of the Scandinavian forms (although reflexes of /w/ might be expected in the gen.sg. and pl.; Noreen 1923:365) so these elements would be indistinguishable in some forms.

*OE sand / ON sandr* ‘sand’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE \*singel / ON \*singull* ‘small stones’

See pp. 308–09 below.

*OE smæl* ‘small, narrow’ / *ON \*smalr* ‘small’

ON *smal-* seems to have been rare, being found in the literary period only in a limited number of compounds and derived forms (*OED*: s.v. small, adj. and n.2; Cleasby-Vigfusson s.vv. smali, smal-vamm, smá, smælingi, smælki and smalmenni). However, reflexes of the Scandinavian form are known from Old Danish and Old Swedish and the modern Scandinavian languages, and are recorded in place-names, although I have not been able to find any early-recorded examples (*OED*: s.v. small, adj. and n.2; *ODS*: s.v. smal, adj., *NO*: s.v. 4 smal). Overall, it would be unwise to rule out the use of ON *\*smalr* as a place-name element and, as it would be indistinguishable from OE *smæl* following the late-OE merger of /æ/ and /a/ (Hogg 1992:§§5.215–16), the elements are here considered indistinguishable.

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<sup>107</sup> For evidence that ON /æ:/ was equated with OE /æ:/ elsewhere see Dance (2003:120–23). The forms are compatible with the occurrence of the element in Wirral in *the Se Bonke* (15th c.).

*OE smið / ON smiðr* ‘smith’

ON final-*r* is inflexional so these elements are indistinguishable.

*OE stæc* ‘starling’ / *ON star(r)i* ‘starling’ or *ON storr* ‘bent-grass’

The first element of Starleyfield, Crosby Ravensworth in the Westmorland corpus (*Starlech* 1278, *Starley* 1332; *PNWe* ii:157) could be either OE *stæc* or ON *stari*, which would be indistinguishable following the late-OE merger of /æ/ and /ɑ/ (Hogg 1992:§§5.215–16) or ON *storr* which would usually be indistinguishable from OE/ON *stæc/star(r)i* in an English context (i.e. without indication of *u*-umlaut). All elements are found in English and Scandinavian place-names.

*OE stearc* ‘stiff, hard’ / *ON sterkr* ‘strong’

The cognates OE *stearc* and ON *sterkr* are in some cases distinguishable. ON *sterkr* and its later reflexes have an *i*-mutated stem vowel as a result of influence from *i*-stem nouns, and would give ME /e/ <e> (a form without *i*-mutation is recorded in ON poetry and in Old Swedish and Old Danish) (Noreen 1923:§424,1; Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007: s.v. sterk; Björkman 1900–02:289). In Anglian areas, OE /æɑ/ (<ea>) would usually be smoothed to /æ/ and then raised to /e/ before /rk/ (Hogg 1992:§5.98).<sup>108</sup> However, Kristensson (1967:131 and 142–43) found only ME forms with <a> for reflexes of OE /æɑ/ before /rk/ in northern counties, and suggested that smoothing failed in the material investigated (one place-name and three bynames). However, the only occurrence of OE/ON *stearc/sterkr* in the corpus is spelt <e> (*le Sterk acra* 1366; *PNWe* ii:139) and, since this would be the regularly derived Anglian form (and is found in ME texts; *MED*: s.v. stark, adj.), it seems unwise to rule out a native origin simply as an unexpected development is seen in Kristensson’s very limited material. The element is

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<sup>108</sup> Elsewhere, OE *stearc* would usually yield ME /a/, following monophthongisation of the diphthong in late OE and the merger of /æ/ and /ɑ/ (Hogg 1992:§§5.212 and 5.215–16).

interpreted as a byname in *PNWe* (ii:139), but the adjective would also make sense here. Both byname and place-name element are known from Scandinavia<sup>109</sup> but just the place-name element from England (as far as I can tell); neither is common in either area.

*OE stīg / ON stígr ‘path’*

Both /j/ and /y/ may have been found in forms of OE *stīg* as palatalisation and assibilation did not take place medially before a back vowel (cf. OE *stīgas*) (Hogg 1992:§7.16); consequently, some forms of OE *stīg* would be indistinguishable from ON *stígr* (final-*r* being inflexional). Analogy with palatalised forms may explain ME forms reflecting the palatalised form (Hogg 1992:§7.16 n.4).

*OE stīg-weg / ON stígr-vegr*

See OE/ON *stīg/stígr* and *weg/vegr*.

*OE stybb, stubb / ON stubbr, stubbi ‘stub, stump’*

OE *stubb* (recorded in OE texts, whether a phonological variant or a historically distinct form of OE *stybb*) and ON *stubbr*, *stubbi* are self-evidently indistinguishable; OE *stybb* (either a distinct form with a suffix causing *i*-mutation or a phonological variant of OE *stubb*),<sup>110</sup> would be distinguishable in Westmorland but hard to distinguish in Wirral (were it to occur).<sup>111</sup> The Old Danish reflex of the Scandinavian forms is recorded early in place-names; however, in Norway reflexes of the (related) variants ON *stofn*, *stufn* and ON *stúfr* seem to have been used in the medieval period, with <-stub-> found (sometimes replacing reflexes of ON *stofn*, *stufn* and ON *stúfr*) from the fifteenth century (*NG* i:79–80; Noreen 1923:§§61,1, 172,3 and 318,1).

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<sup>109</sup> For the byname see Lind (1920–21: s.vv. Sterki and Sterkr).

<sup>110</sup> Kitson (forthcoming, 6.11.2) argues OE *stubb* is an OE phonological variant; *OED* (s.v. stub, n.) presents the alternative view.

<sup>111</sup> The reflex of OE /y(:)/ was written <u> (thought to be /y(:)/) in the West Midlands in eME (Jordan 1974:§§42; Kristensson 1987:81–99).

*OE sūð* ‘south, southern’ (adj. and adv.) / *ON suðr* (earlier *sunnr*) ‘the south, south’ (n. and adv.)

OE *sūð* and ON *sunnr*, *suðr* both derive from Gmc \*/sunþiz/ (Orel 2003: s.v. \*/sunþiz/). OE *sūð* reflects loss of the nasal before a fricative and compensatory lengthening long before the Viking Age (Hogg 1992:§3.14). However, the development of ON *suðr* is more complicated. An early form ON *sunnr* reflects the development of \*/nþ/ to /nn/, dated to before c.950 by Noreen, partially on the evidence of Scandinavian material from England.<sup>112</sup> ON *sunnr* then developed to *suðr* in West Scandinavian, where ON /nnr/ (including -r from Gmc /z/) developed to /ðr/ (Noreen 1923:§261 and 275; Ralph 2002:716–17). As expected, then, reflexes of ON *suðr* are found in place-names from Norway but not Denmark.<sup>113</sup> This later development was dated by Noreen (1923:§261) to the Viking Age at the earliest (Noreen notes poetic evidence for the development from c.1000), which means that it may or may not have taken place by the time of Scandinavian settlement in England. Unfortunately, the available linguistic evidence is not very enlightening. The development either did not take place across the entire lexicon or was sometimes removed by analogy with oblique and plural forms (cf. ON *munnr*, Icel. *munnur* ‘mouth’); consequently, the existence of *munnr* in Scandinavian linguistic material from England does not necessarily mean that the development of /nnr/ to /ðr/ postdates Scandinavian contacts with England.

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<sup>112</sup> For instance, the personal name Gunnar and *munnr* ‘mouth’, the proposed etymon of EngDial. *mun* ‘mouth’, which is used of river mouths in three place-names from East Yorkshire (*OED*: s.v. *mun*, n.1; *PNYE*:327).

<sup>113</sup> The Danish place-name examples given reflect earlier \*/*sunnr* (and related forms) but show (Old Danish) *d*-insertion (Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–73 ii:§350; *ODS*: s.vv. *sønder*<sup>2</sup> adv and *søndre*<sup>1</sup> adj.). Some Norwegian place-names may reflect ON *sunnr* (see Appendix), explained by *NG* (vii:57) as ‘old compounds’; however, derivation from (or analogy with) ON *sunnar* (comp. adj.) would also be plausible.

Only one place-name in England is thought to contain ON *sunnr*,<sup>114</sup> and none is thought to contain ON *suðr*.<sup>115</sup> One might wonder from the absence of ON *sunnr*, *suðr* whether the element occurs more often but has been interpreted as OE *sūð* (the development of /nnr/ to /ðr/ having taken place), but this is speculative.<sup>116</sup> As the development /nnr/ > /ðr/ might have occurred in West Scandinavian by the time of Scandinavian contacts with OE, the elements have been considered indistinguishable.<sup>117</sup>

*OE sūr* ‘sour, damp, coarse’ / *ON súrr* ‘sour, acid’

These elements are self-evidently indistinguishable; the elements are known only from late-recorded place-names in England and Scandinavia but are OE and ON lexemes (*ONP*: s.v. *súrr*; *OED*: s.v. *sour* adj. and n.1).

*OE sūtere* / *ON sūtari* ‘shoemaker’

As /a/ and /e/ merged in unstressed syllables by the eleventh century (Hogg 1992:§ 6.62, these elements would be indistinguishable.

*OE swīn* / *ON svín* ‘swine’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

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<sup>114</sup> I am aware only of South Otterington, North Yorkshire, where a 1088 form *Sonotrinctune* is thought to indicate ON *sunnr* (*PNYN*:208).

<sup>115</sup> There are grounds for believing that the first element of *Súðvirki* ‘Southwark’ (in later forms < OE *sūð*-(ge)*weorc* ‘southern stronghold’; *PNSr*:29–30) in early-eleventh-century skaldic verse is not ON *suðr* but is either OE *sūð* or has been understood as ON *súð* ‘planking’ because of the long vowel (rhyming with *búðir*) and lack of final <r> in most manuscripts (Townend 1998:72–74; Jesch 2012:544).

<sup>116</sup> Distinguishing West Scandinavian *suðr* from OE *sūð* would be problematic, especially where the vowel might be shortened. Where it remains long, OE /u:/ may be written <ou>, which is only a rare spelling for (short) /u/ (Jordan 1974:§§37, 55, Kristensson 1967:100–01).

<sup>117</sup> Were they to occur, forms reflecting ON *sunnr* would evidently be distinguishable from OE *sūð*.

*OE þæc / ON þak* ‘a roof, thatch’

Despite the ModE. form, the final consonant of OE *þæc* was /k/ rather than /tʃ/ as palatalisation and assibilation did not usually take place word-finally after non-high front vowels or medially except after /i/ (Hogg 1992:§7.16).<sup>118</sup>

There are localised variations in meaning (in Norway, the word is thought, as in later dialectal reflexes, to have been used of bark used for thatching (cf. *NG x:37*)) but the cognates are recorded in early recorded names from both England and Scandinavia.

*OE þēof / ON þjófr* ‘a thief, a robber’ (and perhaps *ODan \*þiūf* ‘scrub, thicket’)

As discussed above (under discussion of stress-shifted diphthongs), the ME reflexes of these forms would be indistinguishable and have been treated as such here. Examples of use as a place-name element are known from England and Scandinavia. In Denmark, the element is hard to distinguish from *ODan. \*thiūf* ‘scrub, thicket’ (suggested to occur in some early-recorded names, in one case as a generic; *DS* viii:116, xvi:144 and xxiv:76), and it is possible that this element might also occur as a Scandinavian-derived place-name element in England.

*OE þing / ON þing* ‘assembly’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE þistel / ON þistill* ‘a thistle’

Following the merger of /e/ and /i/ in unstressed syllables by c.800 (Hogg 1992:§§6.50 and 6.53), and noting that that the final /l/ of ON *þistill* includes

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<sup>118</sup> The palatalised and assibilated final consonant of ModE. *thatch* is thought to have arisen by analogy with the palatalised, assibilated consonant of the verb, and is recorded from the late fourteenth century by *OED* (s.v. *thatch*, n.).

an (assimilated) masculine singular inflexion, these elements would be indistinguishable in ME field-names.

*OE þorn / ON þorn* ‘thorn(bush)’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE þrop / ON þorp* ‘secondary settlement, ?settlement linked with arable-farming’

The use of OE *þrop* and ON *þorp* in England has recently been investigated in a detailed interdisciplinary study by Cullen, Jones and Parsons (2011), whose findings suggest a specific context for the use of *thorp* in England. If accepted, their hypothesis means that the frequent use of *thorp* is a feature of the later Anglo-Saxon period; its use in the Danelaw would then have been in an Anglo-Scandinavian milieu and so making the distinction between the English and Scandinavian forms less meaningful. Consequently, the established view that the majority of place-names in *thorp* in England are Scandinavian—and more specifically East Scandinavian—in origin may need revision. In this entry, the recent reinterpretation of the *thorp* names in England is briefly outlined, and implications for the classification of OE/ON *þrop/þorp* are considered. The evidence of *torp*-names in Scandinavia is also considered, with a view to assessing on the one hand whether the main factor determining the distribution of the element in Scandinavia is the element being predominantly East Scandinavian, and on the other hand whether the element was already widely used in Scandinavia by the Viking Age, as is assumed in the traditional interpretation of the *thorp* names in England as Scandinavian in origin.

The earlier orthodoxy can be outlined as in Smith (1956: s.v. *þorp*), where *þorp* ‘secondary settlement’ was taken to be Scandinavian in the majority of instances on the grounds that it predominantly occurs in the Danelaw. Cameron (1970) assessed the locations of *þorps* in relation to drift geology, and argued that settlements with *þorp*-names were in inferior locations to the so-called Grimston-hybrids and names in *-bý(r)*; this was seen



as support for the interpretation of *þorp*-names as secondary or dependent settlements, perhaps developing later than the ‘Grimston-hybrids’ and names in *-bý(r)*. In contrast, OE *þrop* ‘secondary settlement’, cognate with Scandinavian *þorp*, was thought to have been used predominantly by Saxons rather than Anglians, it being thought that the element had not spread to continental Anglian areas by the time of the Anglo-Saxon migrations (Smith 1956: s.v. *þrop*). However, *þrop* was thought to be used only in the early Anglo-Saxon period as it is not found in Devon and Cornwall, i.e. areas of later Anglo-Saxon settlement (Smith 1956: s.v. *þrop*). Before the recent revised interpretation was proffered, those who questioned the orthodoxy tended to do so on the grounds of the difficulty of determining whether OE *þrop* and ON *þorp*, distinguished only by metathesis in OE *þrop* (cf. Go. *þaurp*, OHG *dorf*), could be reliably distinguished in place-names.<sup>119</sup>

However, Cullen, Jones and Parsons (2011) argue that the use of the element *þrop/þorp* was connected with the spread of open-field farming, and was probably used most frequently from the ninth century in place-names in England. This interpretation arises in part from the similarity of the Danelaw and ‘English’ *thorps* in terms of continuity of distribution, size, date and status, which suggests that the emergence of *thorps* should be seen in the same context in both the Danelaw and ‘English’ England.<sup>120</sup> Cullen, Jones and Parsons highlight a correlation between the distribution of *thorp*-names and soils best suited for arable farming and, more specifically, the areas where open-field farming took place,<sup>121</sup> and demonstrate a contrasting correlation between *bý(r)*-names and soils suitable for pastoral farming. Significantly, the

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<sup>119</sup> For instance, Lund (1976) argued instead that the English element might underlie the Danelaw *thorps*; however, this view did not find widespread acceptance, largely due to the rarity of the element outside the Danelaw (cf. Fellows-Jensen 1991–92:40–41 and 50).

<sup>120</sup> A later dating for the *thorps* in ‘English’ England than had been customary accords better with their late dates of first record, small size and dependent status than assuming them to be very early place-names (Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011:62–64).

<sup>121</sup> The period of emergence of open-field farming is contested but most recent commentators would date it to somewhere between the ninth and tenth centuries and the twelfth or thirteenth centuries (cf. Williamson 2003:1–27).

*Upthrop* charter of 869 (S214), which antedates the bulk of Scandinavian settlement in England, refers to plough-land and grazing land held in common, suggesting the existence of open fields already in this period and meaning that Scandinavian settlement was not necessarily causal to the development of *thorps* (Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011:83–84). Cullen, Jones and Parsons’ hypothesis provides, to my mind, a more coherent explanation for the development of *thorp*-names in England than has previously been given, and, arising from detailed investigation of settlement contexts, is to be preferred to a more hypothetical interpretation explaining the distribution of the term in England ultimately according to its distribution in Migration-Age Germanic dialects. If accepted, as here, then the use of the place-name element *thorp* is not a specifically Scandinavian feature but rather a feature of the later pre-Conquest period and the early post-Conquest period; the occurrence of most *thorps* in the Danelaw is then not an argument for Scandinavian origin but simply reflects the distribution of soils suited to arable farming in central and eastern England. Nevertheless, in the majority of *thorp*-names, the form seems to reflect ON *þorp* rather than OE *þrop*, although the existence of an OE unmetathesised form *\*þorp* cannot be entirely ruled out.

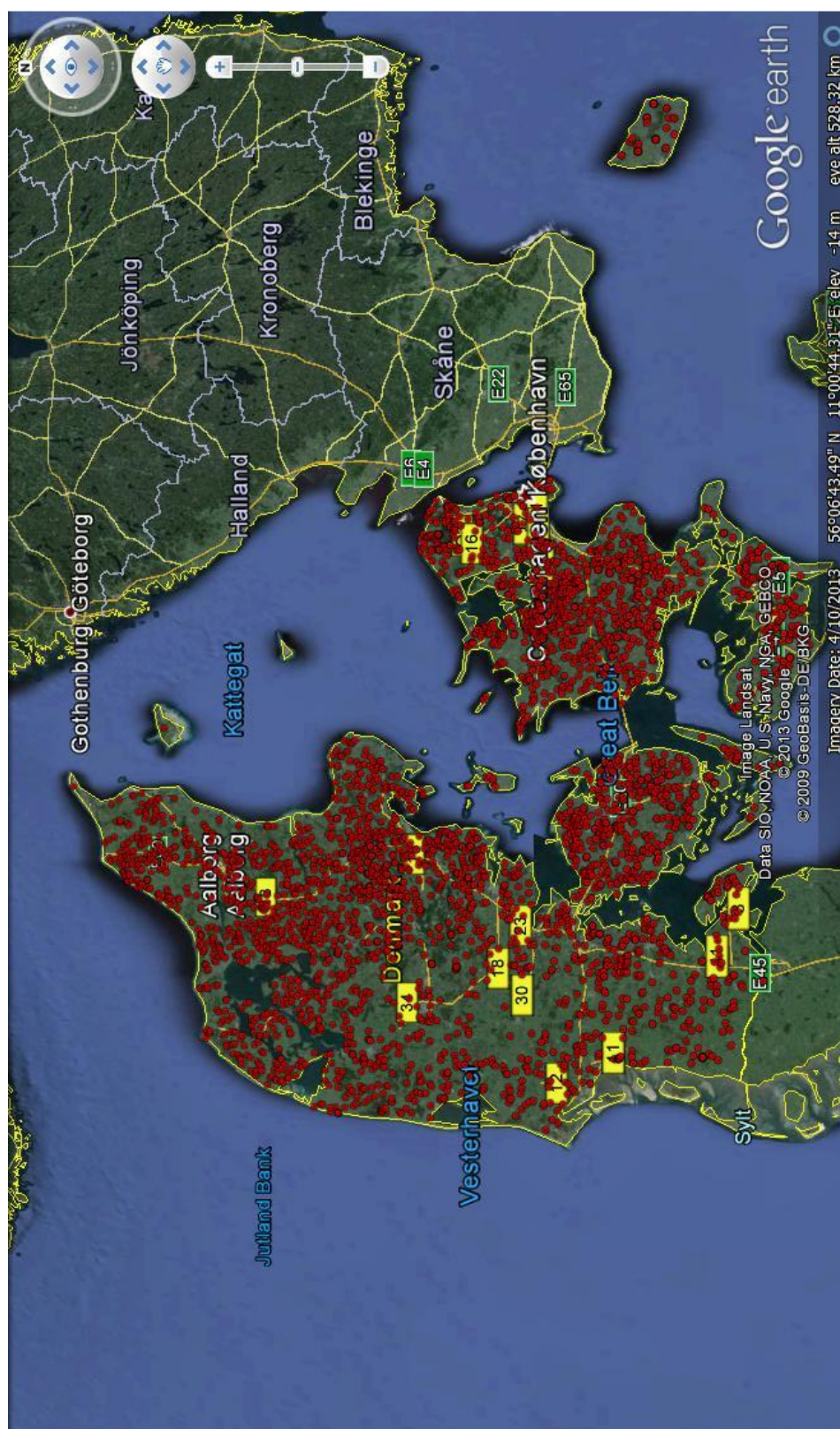
In Scandinavia, the element has been considered to be a predominantly East Scandinavian element referring to settlements formed by movement to the outlying areas of existing settlements (Hald 1965:141). Detailed analysis of the use of ON *þorp* and later reflexes is beyond the scope of this entry, but a cursory consideration of the distribution of the element in relation to (modern) land-use suggests that the supposedly East-Scandinavian distribution is as likely to be topographically as linguistically determined.

*Images have been removed from the online version of this thesis. A hard-bound copy is available in the Institute for Name-Studies, University of Nottingham. Alternatively, contact the author.*

#### Land Use in Scandinavia (Sporrong 2003:19)

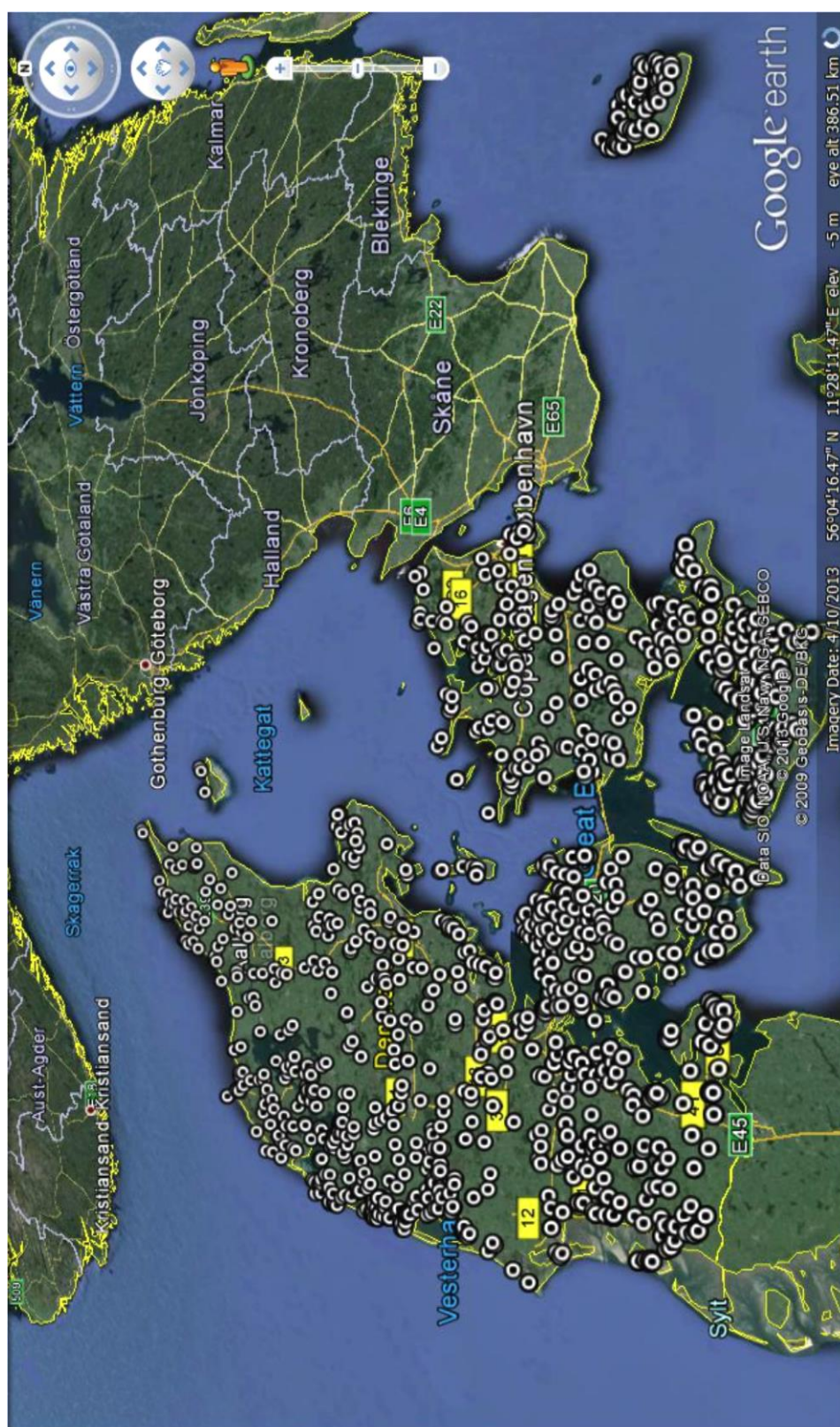
In Denmark, *torp* is extremely common and widely distributed (see map below), and this could reflect the suitability of most of Denmark for arable farming (see map above). Further, *torp*-names seem to be thinner on the ground in a north-south strip along central Jutland, approximately corresponding to the area where Sporrong's land-use map (above) shows that arable land use is not dominant. (Comparison with the distribution of

*bý(r)*-names suggests that the distribution of *torp*-names does not merely reflect the distribution of settlements; see maps below.)



*Torp*-names in Denmark (data from *DS Online*)





*Bý(r)*-names in Denmark (data from *DS Online*)

In Norway, where approximately 3% of land is suitable for cultivation, *torp*-names are generally uncommon (Orrman 2003b:262; Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997: s.v. *torp*). Strikingly, of the approximately 265 *torp*-names in *NG*, approximately two-thirds are found in Østfold (generally interpreted as an extension of the Swedish *torp*-name; Hellberg 1954:149 and 168; Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997 s.v. *torp*). However, the Norwegian *torp*-name distribution might also be interpreted as reflecting areas of Norway where arable farming (on post-glacial clay soils) is possible, south-east Norway and the areas south and east of Trondheimsfjord (Orrman 2003b:252 and 262; Sporrang 2003:19 [map above]). Indeed, Akselberg (2003: esp. 19–20) considered the relation of the surviving farm-names in *torp* in Østfold to soil-type and observed a general correlation between *torp*-names and better agricultural soils.

*Images have been removed from the online version of this thesis. A hard-bound copy is available in the Institute for Name-Studies, University of Nottingham. Alternatively, contact the author.*

*Torp-names in Norway (Hellberg 1954:165)* <sup>122</sup>

In Sweden the correlation is imperfect: the greatest concentration of *torp*-names is in regions where arable farming was most prevalent (Halland and coastal areas of Skåne, Öster- and Västergötland, Södermanland, Närke

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<sup>122</sup> Circles represent compound names, squares indicate simplex names and crosses represent names with suffixed definite articles. The large circle represents sixty-three compound *torp*-names and the large square represents thirty-two simplex names.

and Västmanland), but numerous *torp*-names are found outside these areas. However, as the element *torp* continued in use in Sweden to denominate cotters' cottages into modern times, the wider distribution of the element in Sweden might be partly explained by this specialised usage (cf. Nyström 2009).

*Images have been removed from the online version of this thesis. A hard-bound copy is available in the Institute for Name-Studies, University of Nottingham. Alternatively, contact the author.*



Overall, the distribution of *torp* in Scandinavian place-names might also be explained as reflecting the distribution of arable land in Scandinavia, rather than the spread of an East Scandinavian element northwards as has generally been assumed to explain the element's Scandinavian distribution (Sahlgren 1923:88; Smith 1956: s.v. *þorp*; Hald 1965:137–39).

However, a correlation with open-field farming, referred to in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Scandinavian provincial law codes but perhaps practised for a few centuries before this, is uncertain (Hopcroft 1999:199–202 Orrman 2003b:273). In Denmark, open-field farming was predominantly a feature of the Danish islands and adjacent area along the south-eastern coast of Jutland whereas in western and northern Jutland more extensive cultivation systems (including continuous cropping) survived (Hopcroft 1999:20; Orrman 2003b:271–2). The higher density of *torp*-names in Jutland thus extends beyond the main area of open-field farming. In Sweden, open-field farming was found in Skåne and in central and eastern Sweden around the Swedish great lakes (Hopcroft 1999:199–202) and, as in Denmark, the greater part of the area where names in *torp* are concentrated is within the area of open-field farming but the correlation is imperfect. In Norway, the distribution is neater as the distribution of names in *torp* more closely mirrors the areas where open-field systems were found, namely in south-eastern Norway and the east of Trondheimsfjord (Orrman 2003b:272–73).

The formation of the bulk of names in *þorp* (later *torp*) in Scandinavia has been dated to the tenth centuries and later in Denmark by consideration both of the elements occurring compounded with the element *torp* and general indicators for the status of the settlement (Hald 1965:127–31 and 139). However, attempts have been made to differentiate dates of formation of simplex and compound *torp*-names in Norway, particularly by using taxation values, settlement survival rates and administrative status as indicators of the *torp*-settlements' status relative to settlements named using other elements. This has then been linked with settlement age, the assumption being that older settlements are of higher status; Jørn Sandnes (1977:59–69) and Schmidt (2009:101–03) have dated compound *torp*-names in Østfold to the period

c.800–1200 but dated simplex names to before c.600. Similar arguments have been applied to *torp*-names in southern Jutland, where *torp*-names have been suggested to predate the Viking Age due to the lack of Christian personal names and loanwords compounded with *torp*, the greater size and more frequent parish-status of *torp*-settlements when compared with other areas (Hald 1965:139–40; Gammeltoft 2003:61–62; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. *torp*). However, back-projection of high status to before the Viking Age based on evidence from the High Middle Ages is problematic, especially given the late dates of parish-formation in Scandinavia.<sup>123</sup> In the case of the apparent differences in status between the simplex and compound names, it is also conceivable that it was the status of the settlement that determined the form the name took, rather than the period at which the name was formed.<sup>124</sup> Overall, the evidence for the dating of *torp*-names in Scandinavia is rather uncertain, but there is little positive evidence for a pre-Viking-Age date and such claims as have been made for pre-Viking-Age dates are speculative (and, I suspect, a response to the distribution of the element across the Germanic languages). As there is little positive evidence that the widespread use of the element in Scandinavia significantly antedates the use of *þrop/þorp* in England, there is no reason to assume that the element was ‘brought’ to England by Scandinavian settlers.

Overall, the linkage of *thorp* names in England with arable farming in later Anglo-Saxon England, and perhaps more specifically with areas of

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<sup>123</sup> Parish formation, probably in connection with the introduction of tithes, is dated to c. 1050–1200 in Denmark, c.1150–1300 in Norway, c.1150–1250 in Väster- and Östergötland and c. 1150–1300 in the area around lake Mälaren (Orrman 2003a:432–34). It might be significant that Lerche Nielsen found no significant differences (in, for instance, proportions of Christian names and dithematic names) between the specifics compounded with Danish *torp*-names that are parish names and those that are not parish names (Lerche Nielsen 2003:189–92).

<sup>124</sup> It is plausible to imagine a situation where settlements with *torp*-names that had attained a relatively high status by the time at which they were recorded were sufficiently few and prominent to be distinct without an affix, whereas *torp*-settlements of lesser status came to be distinguished from these (and each other) by means of an affix. The uncertainty concerning the possible development of simplex names to compound names is acknowledged by Schmidt (2009:102–03).

open-field farming, seems preferable to earlier ideas. There are sufficient grounds to doubt the earlier view that *thorp* was a specifically Scandinavian place-name element; instead, it is likely to have been used amongst English and Anglo-Scandinavian speech communities in the later Anglo-Saxon period. The elements have therefore been classified here as indistinguishable. Interestingly, the distribution of *torp*-names in Scandinavia may also be explained as reflecting areas where arable farming was most intensive, rather than being an originally East Scandinavian place-name element. There are no firm grounds to say that the element was in widespread use in Scandinavia before the Viking Age, meaning that the periods of use in England and Scandinavia could plausibly have been approximately contemporaneous.

*OE þrȳ / ON þrír 'three'*

Although distinguishable in some forms (e.g. gen. pl. ON *þriggja* and OE *þrēora*), either OE *þrim* (dat.) or ON *þrim* (dat.) could occur in the Wirral minor name *Midlethrinlowe*, *Trymeloe* (14th c.) (cf. Hogg and Fulk 2011:§4.85; Cleasby-Vigfusson: s.v. *þrír*).

*OE þyrne / ON þyrnir 'a thorn, thorn-bush' and ON þyrni 'place growing with thorns'*

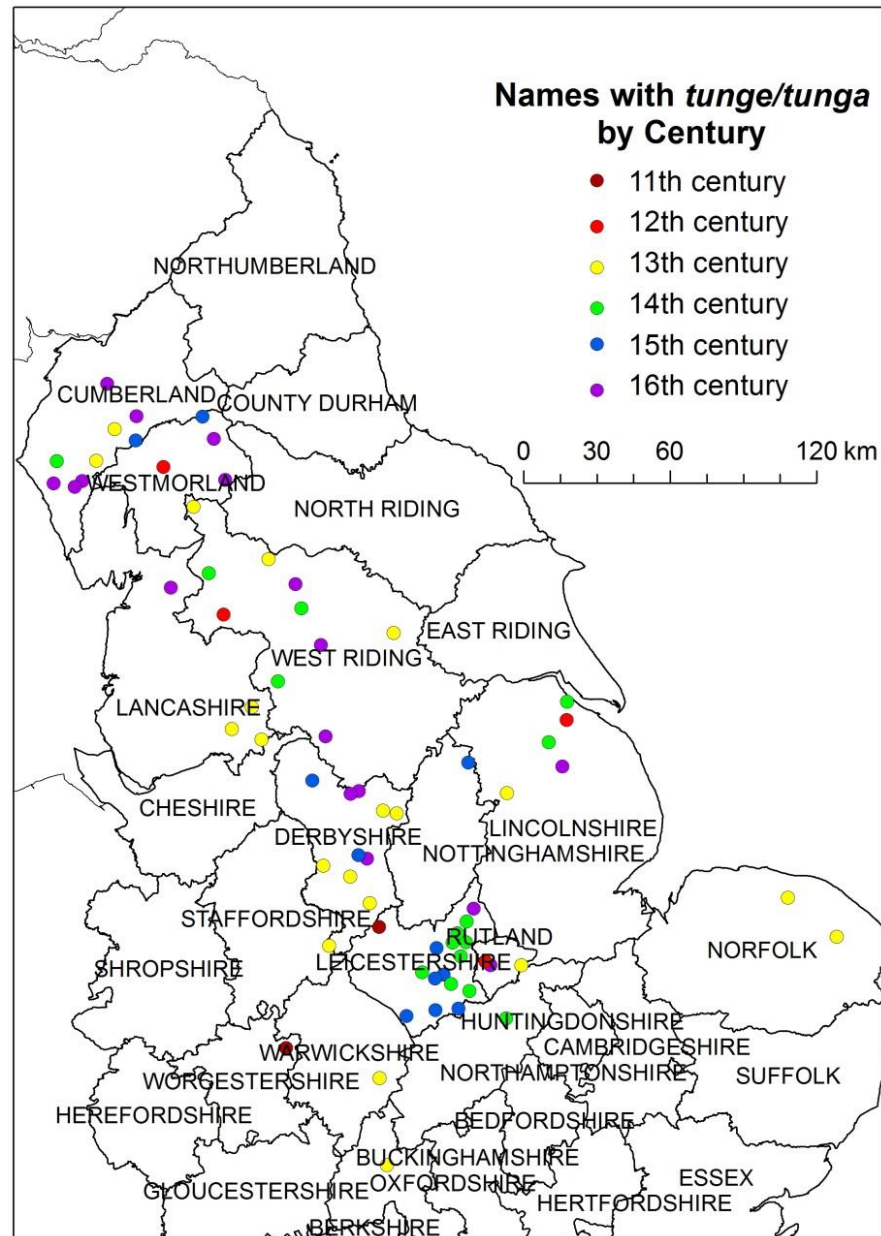
The final /r/ of ON *þyrnir* is inflexional so OE/ON *þyrne/þyrnir* are indistinguishable and additionally hard to distinguish from a collective noun ON \**þyrni* (cf. NG i:82).

*OE tūn / ON tún 'an enclosure, a farmstead, a village, an estate'*

These elements are self-evidently phonologically indistinguishable but the element is usually interpreted as OE *tūn* in the Danelaw (see Chapter Three for fuller discussion of OE/ON *tūn/tún* in major names). However, ON *tún* occurs in place-names from across Scandinavia, as a generic and a specific. Since the occurrence of the Scandinavian element cannot therefore be excluded, the elements are considered indistinguishable here.

*OE tunge / ON tunga 'a tongue, a tongue of land'*

Given the development of OE unstressed vowels to /ə/ probably by the eleventh century (Hogg 1992:§ §6.59–62), these elements, recorded in both England and Scandinavia, would be indistinguishable. There are no certain examples of OE *tunge*: names perhaps containing OE/ON *tunge/tunga* are recorded from Worcestershire and Leicestershire in 1086; however the difficulty in distinguishing the element from other elements (e.g. OE *tang*, which is given as the etymon of the Worcestershire name) means that these names are not secure examples of OE *tunge* (Ekwall 1922:18; Watts 2004: s.v. Tonge; *PNWo*:335). Names that might contain the element that are recorded by the sixteenth century are mapped below (non-localised examples from the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire could not be mapped). The element is found further south and west than securely Scandinavian-derived elements mapped in Chapters Three and Four. This need not rule out a Scandinavian origin for the onomastic usage of ME *tong(e)*, but is not very secure grounds for arguing for a Scandinavian origin. When the difficulty in distinguishing the element from native elements is also taken into account, it seems safest to treat OE *tunge* and ON *tunga* (and similar elements) as indistinguishable in any one name, even if the frequent usage in the north and east seems generally likely to reflect Scandinavian influence.



Shapefiles: ELC2, GRO, GBHGIS1961

*OE ūt / ON út* 'outside, outer'

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE ūtgang / ON útganga* 'exit, act of leaving'

Both *OE ūtgang* and *ON útganga* (Bosworth-Toller: s.v. ūt-gang; Cleasby-Vigfusson: s.v. útganga) could formally underlie *ME outgang*, the second element of which is recorded with both palatalised and non-palatalised initial consonant (*MED*: s.v. outgang, n.). Forms where the second element has

initial /g/ could be native or Scandinavian-derived (compare OE/ON *ingang/innganga* above). The element seems only to be recorded from the ME period in English place-names, and perhaps later in Scandinavia (see Appendix; there are no occurrences in LangScape). The decision to class the elements as indistinguishable indicates that either the English or Scandinavian substantive could underlie the form.

*OE wang* ‘meadow-land, an open field’ / *ON vangr* ‘a garden, an in-field’

Despite the existence of OE *wang*, ME *wang/wong* has sometimes been considered to derive from ON *vangr* (ON <v> representing Viking-Age /w/, as detailed above) due to the restriction of OE *wang* to poetry (it is absent also from OE charter bounds and early-recorded place-names) and its later restriction to Scandinavianised dialects (Sandred 1979:109–110; Fellows-Jensen 1974:49). OE *wang* seems to occur in the place-name *Medilwong* recorded in the *Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert*. Further, ME *wang*, *wong* occurs by the thirteenth or fourteenth century outside areas of Scandinavian influence and, although onomastic use of the element might have spread rapidly from areas northern and eastern England, these names are further reason to suspect that OE *wang* was used (perhaps only rarely) in OE place-names. As derivation from OE *wang* cannot be excluded in any given name, OE/ON *wang/vangr* are considered indistinguishable here.

*OE (WSax) wearm, (Nhb.) warm* / *ON varmr* ‘warm’

These elements would be indistinguishable in OE- and ON-derived forms as OE *wearm*, *warm* usually gives ME *warm* (Kristensson 1967: 142–43; 1987:11).

*OE weg* / *ON vegr* ‘a road’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE weðer / ON veðr* ‘wether’

The final <r> of ON *veðr* is part of the stem (Cleasby-Vigfusson: s.v. *veðr*), so would be expected to be preserved in Scandinavian linguistic material from England. In Scandinavia, the element is difficult to distinguish from ON *veðr* ‘weather’ (hence the uncertainty of some of the examples given in the Appendix). The presence or absence of an unstressed vowel before the final consonant is unlikely to be sufficient grounds to distinguish the elements, due both to the possibility of an epenthetic vowel being inserted and the possibility of syncope in inflected forms (cf. Jordan 1974:§142.c; Watts 2004: s.v. Witheridge).

*OE wīðig / ON víðir* ‘willow’

As final-*r* in ON *víðir* is inflexional, and as OE /j/ would have been vocalised in *wīðig* (giving /wi:ði/), the OE- and ON-derived forms would be indistinguishable (cf. Hogg 1992:§7.70).

*OE wilde / ON villr* ‘wild’

Considered indistinguishable only in the West Ward name *Wildale* (12th c.) owing to the following /d/.

*OE wind / ON vindr* ‘wind’

Self-evidently indistinguishable.

*OE wrang (adj.) / ON rangr (adj.)* ‘crooked or twisted’

ME *wrong* and the corresponding noun is often considered a Scandinavian loanword (*OED*: s.vv. *wrong* *adj.* and *adv.* and *wrong*, n.2; *MED*: s.v. *wrong*, *adj.* and *wrong*, n.2; Dance 2003:387). However, there are grounds for arguing for a native origin: the adjective is recorded in a tenth-century boundary clause (surviving in a thirteenth-century copy but thought to be genuine), and is known from other WGmc languages, for instance MLG

*wrange*, *wrangh* ‘sour, bitter’ (*OED*: s.v. *wrong*, adj. and adv.; Pons-Sanz 2013:466). The adjective also occurs as a twelfth-century byname from Devon, and (in the derived form *wrangwise*) in a gloss written in a twelfth-century hand (*PND*:286–87; Pons-Sanz 2013:466).<sup>125</sup> Overall, the WGmc cognates and the OE charter-bound evidence are sufficient reason to suspect that the element existed in OE (Pons-Sanz 2013:466–67; Smith 1956: s.v. *wrang*). As initial \*/w-/ would have been preserved in Viking-Age Norse *\*wrangr*, as in the Modern Swedish and Danish forms (Noreen 1923:§288), the postulated OE element and its Scandinavian cognate would be indistinguishable.

### *Distinguishable Elements*

The following elements have been classified as distinguishable in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms. In most cases, this decision was made as there is convincing evidence that elements were used onomastically in Scandinavia, but are not found elsewhere in England except in areas of known Scandinavian settlement. In two cases, OE *stræt* and OE *uferra*, there are clear phonological grounds for the elements’ derivations. The remaining element, ON *\*slakki*, is a slightly different case as the element is perhaps problematically not known from mainland Scandinavia; however, evidence from Scandinavian settlements elsewhere in the North Atlantic means that the element can still be considered Scandinavian-derived.

*ON barn* ‘child, offspring’ (or pers.ns *Barn*, *Barni*) (not OE *b(e)arn* ‘child, offspring’)

The Northumbrian (and early Mercian) form of OE *bearn*, /barn/ with /a/ from ‘combinative breaking’ of /æ/ (retraction to /a/ in the sequence /CærC/ where either consonant is labial), would be formally indistinguishable from ON *barn* (Hogg 1992:§5.29). However, I cannot find any secure instances of the

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<sup>125</sup> Twelfth-century examples given by *OED* (s.v. *wrong*, adj. and adv.) are from Rutland, Suffolk and ?West Yorkshire, areas where Scandinavian influence cannot be ruled out.



word's use as a place-name element, and the non-inclusion of OE *b(e)arn* in *VEPN* suggests that the editors also could not find toponyms using the word. *TDOE* lists no instances in charter boundary clauses, and Smith (1956: s.v. *bearn*) gives no examples. I have not found any instances of an OE personal name *\*\*Bearn* corresponding to ON *Barn*, *Barni* in either *PASE* or the *SEPN*.

In contrast, the Scandinavian element *barn* is thought to occur fourteen times in the recurrent compound *barna-bý(r)* in Yorkshire and the East Midlands (although personal names might formally occur in some of these names) (Fellows-Jensen 1972:19; 1978:34–35; Parker 1983–84:5–7). The element is recorded twice compounded with ON *ruð* in Norwegian farm-names, and in three early-recorded names compounded with *þorp* in Denmark. The West Ward occurrence of the element in Barnskew (*Barnesthagh* [sic for *–schagh*] 13th c.) is not one of the recurrent compounds discussed here, which have good claim to be Scandinavian formations. Nevertheless, the lack of evidence for the use of OE *bearn* in place-names considered alongside the secure Scandinavian evidence for the use of ON *barn* in place-names means that the element has been classified as Scandinavian here, with some hesitancy.

*ON fé-hús* 'treasury' and 'byre', *fjós* 'byre, cattle-shed' and *fjár-hús* 'byre' (not *OE feoh-hūs* 'treasury' (?and 'cattle-shed'))

ON *fé-hús* glosses or corresponds to Lat. (*a*)*erarium* 'treasury' in two texts cited by *ONP* (s.v. *fé-hús*; cf. Lewis and Short 1879: s.v. *aerarium*). ON *fjár-hús* (i.e. formed from *fjár*, the genitive singular of ON *fé*), and the contracted form *fjós* are much more frequently recorded and appear to mean 'byre' (*ONP*: s.vv. *fjár* and 2.*fjós*).<sup>126</sup> A cognate formation OE *feohhus* is recorded once in OE glossing Lat. *aerarium* 'treasury' (*TDOE*: s.vv. *feoh* and *feoh-hūs*) and once in a ME text perhaps datable to c.1475, where *ffehowse*

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<sup>126</sup> The form that ON *fjós* would take in an English context is uncertain. The diphthong of the contracted form develops from hiatus following loss of medial /h/ and is dated only approximately by Noreen to sometime before 1200 (Noreen 1923: §§133a and 294).

glosses Lat. *bostar* ‘a byre, cow-shed’ (*MED*: s.v. *fē* n.(1); *DMLBS*: s.v. *bostar*). It is difficult to ascertain whether, phonologically, ME forms representing /fe:hu:s/ or similar could represent OE *feoh-hūs* (in areas of Scandinavian settlement, the smoothed Angl. form *\*feh-hūs*) (Hogg 1992:§5.96) as the loss of /h/ initially in the second element of compounds is frequent (Kristensson 1967:215–16; Jordan 1974:195) and so the single medial /h/ does not tell against an English origin. Semantically, the meaning ‘byre’ is not recorded in the OE period but the compound could very plausibly mean ‘byre’ given that OE *feoh* also meant livestock. Overall, then, it is hard to rule out an OE etymon for the ME form.

However, place-name evidence suggests that toponymic usage of the compound is more likely to be Scandinavian- than English-derived. *Norske Gaardnavne* lists eleven relatively certain instances of the occurrence of the reflex of ON *fjós* in place-names, six of which are recorded in records dating from before 1500 (see Appendix). As far as I can tell, there is no instance of either *fé-hús* or *fjós* in the place-names covered so far by *Danmarks Stednavne*. In England, the element is known only from areas with substantial Scandinavian influence on toponyms, and further from areas where West Scandinavian influence is usually reckoned with. This suggests the occurrences of the element in England are best explained as the ON (and perhaps predominantly OWN) element *fé-hús*.

*ON hegning* ‘enclosed land’ (not a derivative of OE *\*hægen* ‘an enclosure’)

ME *heining*, Scots *haining*, referring to enclosed land, is commonly derived from ON *hegning*, a derivative of ON *hegna* ‘to protect, defend’ (Smith 1956: s.v. *hegning*; *MED*: s.v. *heining*; *OED*: s.v. *haining*; *DOST*: s.v. *haining*, vbl.). ON *hegning* usually means ‘punishment, protection, defence’ in *ONP*’s citations, but means ‘enclosure’ in one instance, a meaning continued in Danish (*ODS*: s.v. *hegning* sb.; *ONP*: s.v. *hegning*). There is just one non-toponymic example in *MED*’s citations (s.v. *heining*), where *heyningsilver* is used of ‘the commutation of the service of setting hedges about an enclosure’ in a Latin text. It is not entirely clear whether ME *heining* is a borrowing of ON *hegning* as ME *heining* could be either a derivative of

ON *hegna*, which was borrowed into English (*OED* s.v. *hain*, v.1; *DOST* s.v. *hain*, v'), or of a postulated OE *\*hægen*, *\*hagen*, which has been suggested to account for place-names that seem to contain the element in Kent and other areas of southern England (Smith 1956: s.v. *\*hægen*, *\*hagen*; Watts 2004: s.v. Haynes).<sup>127</sup>

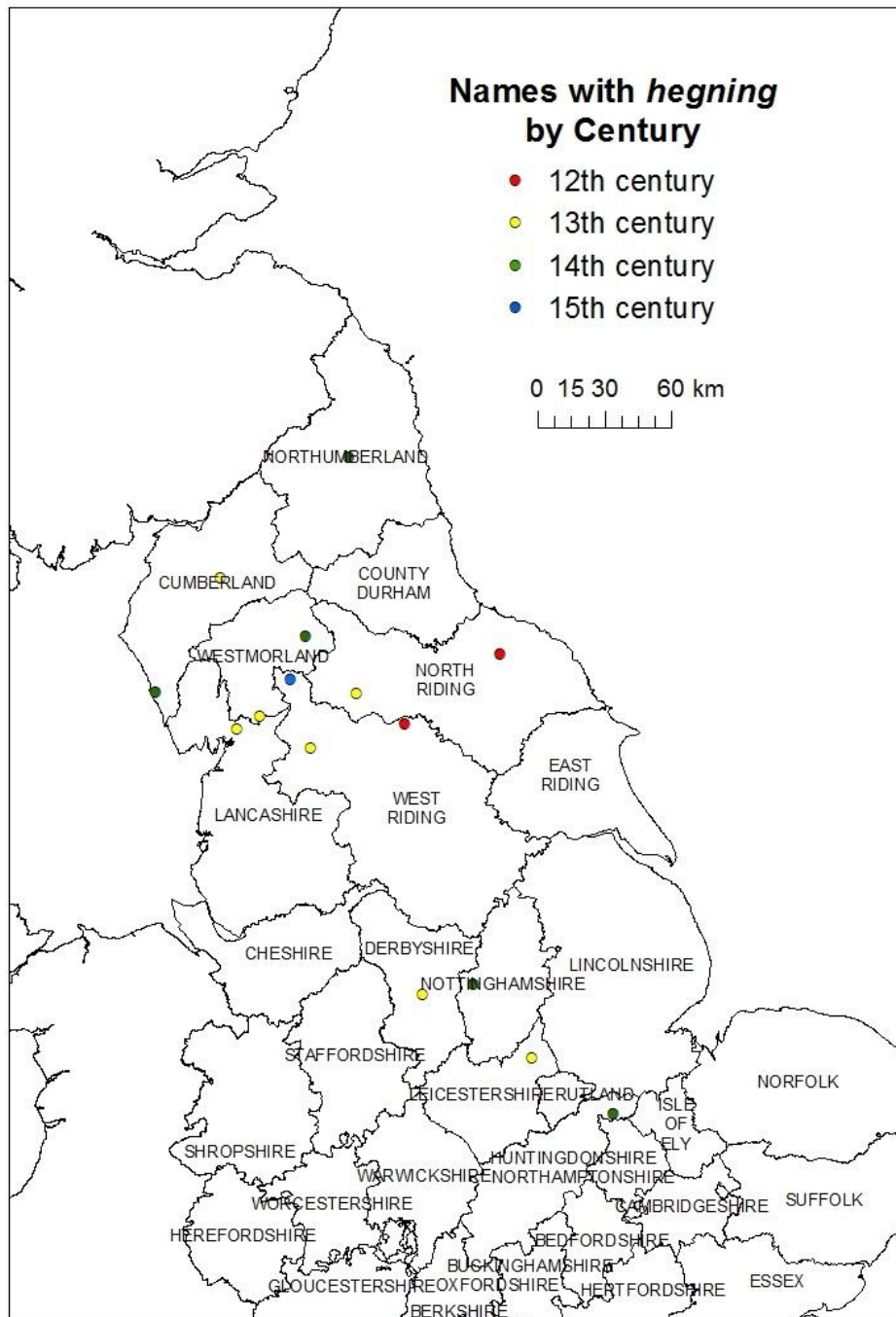
Again, however, the distribution of the place-names in which ME *heining* is used supports the interpretation that ME *heining* is either a borrowing of ON *hegning* or derived from ON *hegna*. Place-name usages of *hegning* occur widely if infrequently in northern and eastern England (see map below for examples recorded before the sixteenth century).<sup>128</sup> The decision has been taken here to class the element as Scandinavian both because a suitable Scandinavian etymon existed and because toponymic usage of *hegning*, *haining* is restricted to areas of Scandinavian settlement (the later dialect distribution is largely but not entirely restricted to such areas).<sup>129</sup> However, an English origin cannot be entirely excluded, and I have not found medieval examples of reflexes of ON *hegning* in Scandinavian place-names, so this is a hesitant attribution.

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<sup>127</sup> Smith (1956: s.v. *\*hægen*, *\*hagen*) suggests an occurrence of ME *hain* in *Lazamon's Brut* might be a reflex of an OE form; however, Dance (2003:198 and 359) analyses this as a Scandinavian borrowing (observing that its use elsewhere is restricted to the North and North Midlands).

<sup>128</sup> *MED* (s.v. *heining*) lists four further Co. Durham examples, but these are not localised and so not shown here.

<sup>129</sup> *EDD* (s.v. *haining*, *sb.*) records *haining* 'the preserving of grass for cattle, an enclosure' in Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Northumberland and Yorkshire.



Shapefiles: ELC2, GRO, GBHGIS1921

*ON holmr, holmi* ‘islet’ (not OE *holm* ‘sea, wave’)

Although OE *holm* and ON *holmr* would be indistinguishable phonetically, OE *holm* is not generally thought to occur in place-names, whereas its Scandinavian cognate is thought to be the source of ME *holm(e)* ‘small island, raised ground in a marsh’ (*OED*: s.v. *holm* | *holme*, n.1; *MED*: s.v. *holm(e)*,

n.(1); Smith 1956: s.v. *holmr*, *holmi*). Late OE *holm* is found twice with the meaning ‘island’; however, both occurrences may reflect Scandinavian forms and one (at least) is toponymic. ASC B and C refer to a battle in 902 *æt þam Holme* between Danes and the men of Kent (Taylor 1983:xxiii and 49; O’Brien O’Keefe 2001:xxvi and 75); other manuscripts locate this battle in East Anglia, and it has been suggested that *æt þam Holme* refers to Holme, Huntingdonshire (Bately 1986:62–63; Cubbin 1996:36–37; Hart 1992:514–15). Bearing in mind the location of the battle, the possibility of this being a Scandinavian place-name cannot be excluded. ASC EF (written in the early twelfth century) record how Knútr travelled ‘to *Denmearcon mid scipon to þam holme æt ea þære halgan* (Irvine 2004:xviii–xix and 75; Baker 2000:lxvii and 112). This entry could reflect knowledge of a Scandinavian place-name or be an early borrowing of ON *holmr*, *holmi* (in a passage intriguingly suggested to have traces of Scandinavian syntactic influence).<sup>130</sup> The use of ON *holmr*, *holmi* only in a toponym and in what is feasibly either a borrowing into IOE or a Scandinavian toponym are not good evidence for toponymic use of OE *holm*.

There are further hints that the element could have been used toponymically in OE, but the evidence is, to my mind, not strong enough to necessitate considering OE *holm* ‘island’ a toponymic possibility. On the one hand, the Middle Low German cognate apparently meant ‘island in a river’ (Pons-Sanz 2013:81–82; de Vries 1977: s.v. *holmi*). On the other hand, more problematically, such a usage may be recorded in an OE charter boundary clause to Wrington, Somerset (S371) dated to 903/904 but surviving only in fourteenth-century manuscript. However, although the charter is thought genuine, its bounds (as well as those to a related charter S367) are thought to be later additions (Keynes 1993:309 n. 43 and 311). The language of the bounds is evidently later than the later-tenth-century context Keynes suggests

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<sup>130</sup> The possibility has been raised that the word order seen in *ea þære halgan* reflects a Scandinavian place-name *á in halga*, recorded in Ottar svarti’s *Knútsdrápa* (Hofmann 1955:216; Townend 2012:781–83) but such word-order elsewhere in OE has been noted (Pons-Sanz 2013:82).

for alterations to the charter text more generally.<sup>131</sup> It is unclear whether this reflects ‘updating’ of the text of earlier bounds, which leaves the question of the boundary clause’s date wide open. Given the lack of other early indications of the toponymic use of OE *holm* in areas where direct Scandinavian influence is not usually reckoned with,<sup>132</sup> and the possibility that the Wrington bounds are late enough to show borrowed ON *holmr*, *holmi*, the decision has been taken to classify ME *holm* as of Scandinavian origin, but this is again uncertain.

*OWN \*slakki* ‘pit, hollow’

ME *slak*, ModE. *slack* ‘a hollow’, ‘a pass between hills’ and ‘a hollow boggy place’, is recorded lexically from c.1400 and is known from a wide range of modern dialects, principally but not exclusively from areas of Scandinavian settlement (*OED*: s.v. slack, n.1; *MED*: s.v. slak n.2; *EDD*: s.v. slack sb.3).<sup>133</sup> The word is generally thought to be a borrowing of OWN *\*slakki*, a West Scandinavian form (cf. Nynorsk *slakke* ‘small depression or small hollow in terrain’) cognate with Danish *slank* ‘pit, hollow in the land’, MLG *-slunc*, Low German *slenk* ‘valley, hollow, rut in a road’ and possibly with various English dialectal forms (*NO*: s.v. 1 slakke 2.; *ODS*: s.v. slank<sup>2</sup> sb.; de Vries 1977: s.v. slakkafótr; *OED*: s.vv. slack, n.1. and slonk, n.; Smith 1956: s.v. slakki).<sup>134</sup> In place-names, the element is recorded only in areas of likely Scandinavian settlement, with the exception of one problematic name from Shropshire (mapped in Chapter Four). ON *slakki* has been suggested to occur in a lost settlement name from Pimhill Hundred, Shropshire (*Slacheberie* 1086, *Slachbur* 1255 *PNSa* v:1). The occurrence of the element this early in

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<sup>131</sup> Grundy (1935:172) thought the language more or less contemporaneous with the date of the copy.

<sup>132</sup> Holme, Warwickshire is close to the Leicestershire border.

<sup>133</sup> *EDD* notes the use of slack in Scotland, Ireland, Northumbria, Co. Durham, Lakeland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Somerset and Devon.

<sup>134</sup> *EDD* (s.vv. slank sb., slonk sb. 2 and slunk sb.) lists a number of words for depressions that may be English cognates but could also be borrowings of the East Scandinavian form.

Shropshire would be remarkable and is a slight cause for concern that there may have been a similar OE element. However, as no other evidence suggests the existence of an indistinguishable OE element, it was decided that this was not sufficient reason to consider ON *slakki* indistinguishable from an otherwise unrecorded OE element.

However, Scandinavian evidence for the place-name element is slim. Neither OWN *\*slakki* nor OEN *\*slank-* is known in place-names from Norway or Denmark (NG; DS; Berit Sandnes personal comment), which casts some doubt on the Scandinavian etymology of ME *slak*, ModE. *slack*. Indeed, most of the apparent instances of the word in ON are problematic. Cleasby-Vigfusson notes a local name *Slakka-gil* recorded in *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, actually an emendation where the manuscripts suggest initial /skalk-/ or /?sklak-/ (the name is spelt <sclakkagile> *bis* and <skalca gile>; Jón Sigurðsson 1857–76:280, 471 and 475). An example of *slakki* as a nickname is similarly problematic.<sup>135</sup>

Nevertheless, there is better evidence for a place-name element *slakki* in modern Icelandic and Faroese place-names. It seems that *slakki* is current as an appellative in Icelandic and may be found in some Icelandic minor names: in a report on archaeological sites in Rangárvallasýsla, the term is used in a handful of minor names. The element is also listed as occurring in place-names in a modern Faroese dictionary with the meaning ‘hollow’ (Jacobsen and Matras 1961: s.v. *slakki*).

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<sup>135</sup> Cleasby-Vigfusson gives an example of a nickname in *Guðmundar saga byskups* and in *Sturlunga saga*. The instance from *Guðmundar saga byskups* reads *hann atte Þorgerðe dottur Halldors slacka* (AM 399 4), for which AM 657 c 4° has <skaka fots> (ONP: s.v. *slakki*; Stefán Karlsson 1983:46–47). However, the same person is apparently referred to as *slakkafótr* in most of manuscripts of *Sturlunga saga* (Stefán Karlsson 1983:46–47). This byname has been interpreted as referring to the location of the bearer’s farm, and hence interpreted as a toponymic usage of *slakki* (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnusson 1989: s.v. *slakkafót(u)r*). However, ON *skaka-fótr* ‘[with a] wry foot’ has also been proffered as an interpretation of the byname (Cleasby-Vigfusson s.v. *skakkr*) so all that can really be said is that the manuscript variants indicate confusion about the byname.

Overall, the distribution of forms thought to derive from ON *\*slakki* in English place-names and the evidence, albeit limited, for a form of identical or similar meaning to that proposed for ON *\*slakki* in Icelandic and Faroese place-names and in modern Norwegian dialects is considered here to be sufficient evidence to support the existence of OWN *\*slakki*. The existence of a West Scandinavian form *\*slakki*, which seems to have Low German and East Scandinavian cognates (although the latter could plausibly be a borrowing of the former) showing the expected phonological divergences, would be highly coincidental if the forms were not related. The distribution of forms thought to reflect ON *\*slakki* in place-names from England is consistent with a West Scandinavian origin, but it seems that the lexeme's distribution in areas of Scandinavian speech was restricted to limited areas of Norway, Iceland and the Faroes, and in place-names perhaps limited to Iceland and the Faroes. It has therefore been decided to class the element as Scandinavian, but it is acknowledged that there is uncertainty about the term's origin.

*OE stræt 'street' (not ON stréti 'street')*

Although widely recorded in ON prose by the thirteenth century (*ONP*: s.v. *stréti*, sb.) and found in skaldic poetry attributed to Einarr Skúlason composed in the twelfth century, in one case interpreted as a Bergen street-name (Gade 2009:537 and 564) and in the other used in a kenning for ARM ('street of hawks') (Chase 2007:5–6 and 27), there is good evidence to consider ON *stréti* a loan from OE or Old Frisian,<sup>136</sup> meaning that the element can very probably be considered English-derived in English place-names. ON *stréti* has not, to my knowledge, ever been suggested to occur in Scandinavian place-names in England (*OED*: s.v. *street*, n. and adj.; *ODS*: s.v. *stræde*, sb.; *DS* xvi:174). Reflexes of ON *stréti* appear to occur only in Norwegian place-names recorded in the post-medieval period but occur by the fourteenth century in Danish place-names (see Appendix),

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<sup>136</sup> This is necessary to account for the vowel /æ:/, as the expected reflex of Lat. *strāta* would be /a:/ in ON (Noreen 1923:§§53 and 174–218).



*ON svartr* ‘dark, black’ (not OE *sweart*)

The reflex of OE /æɑ/ in both areas would usually be ME /a/ (including Northumbrian forms where retraction of /æ/ rather than breaking had taken place) (Jordan 1974:§59; Kristensson 1967:142–43; 1987:121; Hogg 1992:§§5.28–29). However, there is no evidence for the use of OE *sweart* in early-recorded place-names except in areas of strong Scandinavian linguistic influence (including in charter bounds entered in LangScape) but the element is used early-recorded Scandinavian place-names. The decision has therefore been taken to classify ME *swart* in place-names as of Scandinavian origin.

*ON tafl-borð* ‘table-board, gaming-board’ (not OE \**tæfl-bord*)

The occurrence of this element in the corpora considered here is slightly uncertain. The element occurs only in the West Ward minor name Tailbert (pre-1500 forms: *Thambord* (c.1200),<sup>137</sup> *Thannellbord* (1339), *Taylleborth* (1357) and *Taylebord* (1384)). If the name is to be interpreted as ON *tafl-borð* (as *PNWe* ii:171–72; Fellows-Jensen 1985:167 and Whaley 2006:335), then the earliest forms are corrupt. This interpretation is nevertheless accepted here as no alternative interpretation has been proposed.

*PNWe* also suggests OE \**tæfel-bord*, reconstructed on the basis of ME *tævel-bred* in *Lazamon's Brut* and recorded OE *teblae*, *tæf(e)l*, and it would be unwise to rule out the existence of the compound noun in Old English.

However, apart from another possible occurrence of the element in Tailber, Westmorland (1688; *PNWe* i:48), I am not aware of any further instances of the element in English place-names but the element is more common in Scandinavian place-names (see appendix). It seems preferable, then, to interpret the compound noun as a reflex of ON *tafl-borð* rather than OE \**tæfel-bord* where it occurs in place-names in England.

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<sup>137</sup> *PNWe* (ii:171) suggests this is an error for *Thauibord*, *Thanibord* or *Thaulbord*.

*OE uferra* ‘upper’ (not *ON øfri*)

These elements are likely to have been phonologically distinguishable, despite the widespread change of /u/ to /o/ in ME by analogy with the reflex of OE *ofer* (adv.) (*OED*: s.v. over, adj. and n.2), as ME /e/ (<e>) would be expected for the reflex of ON /ø/ in the Scandinavian form (see discussion of OE/ON *grēne*/*grænn* above).

### ***Partially Distinguishable Elements***

English- or Scandinavian-derived reflexes of three elements can be distinguished only in some names. In two cases, OE/ON *dīc*/*dík(i)* and OE/ON *sīc*/*sík*, forms deriving from the singular of the OE lexemes can be distinguished on phonological grounds, but forms deriving from the plural of the OE forms cannot be distinguished from the Scandinavian-derived forms. In the remaining case, OE/ON *wiella*/*vella*, varying dialectal developments of the OE element permit the elements to be distinguished in Wirral but not in Westmorland.

*OE dīc* / *ON dík(i)* ‘ditch’

Forms with final /k/ are of uncertain derivation as they could derive either from ON *dík(i)* or from inflected OE forms (for instance, dat.pl. *dīcum*) in which palatalisation and assibilation did not take place due to a following back vowel (Hogg 1992:§§7.16, 7.33; Jordan 1974:§179.c). Additionally, the distribution of *dike* in ModE dialects does not suggest derivation solely from ON *dík(i)* (Sandred 1979:113–14). However, forms with final /tʃ/ must derive from OE *dīc* and so are distinguishable, but identification of such forms can be problematic. The grapheme <ch> was used to represent /tʃ/ from the second half of the twelfth century and was more-or-less consistently used by the thirteenth century, although occasionally <ch> was still used to represent /k/ (Scragg 1974:44–45; Jordan 1974:§§17.2 and 179.c). However, the use of <ch> for /k/ appears to have been extremely rare: in Kristensson’s *Survey of Middle English Dialects*, only in the East Midlands (1995:135) does

Kristensson record a few forms where <ch> unambiguously reflects /k/.<sup>138</sup> It is therefore likely that in the overwhelming majority of instances, <ch> in reflexes of OE *dīc* reflect the palatalised OE form and such forms will be considered OE-derived, if slightly hesitantly.

*OE sīc* ‘a small stream’ / *ON sík* ‘a ditch, a trench’

As with *dīc/dík*, only forms showing /ʃ/ can be identified (as OE *sīc*) as final /k/ could derive either from ON *sík* or from oblique cases of OE *sīc* with a back-vowel in the inflectional ending (Hogg 1992:§§7.16, 7.33).

*OE wiella* (Ang., *Kt. wella, well(e)*, (West) Merc. *wælla, wælle*) ‘well, stream, spring’ / *ON vella* ‘boiling heat, ebullition’

The majority of the areas of possible Scandinavian settlement are areas in which the Anglian *well*-forms are found, which would be indistinguishable from ON *vella* and it is these forms that will be discussed here (and the so-called Mercian forms touched upon).<sup>139</sup> The element is well-recorded in English place-names from areas where Scandinavian influence is unlikely. In ME, Anglian (non-Mercian) *well*-forms are found in the East Midlands and the North (except Lancashire South of the Ribble) whereas the Mercian (or perhaps more accurately West Mercian) forms are found in the West Midlands (including Lancashire south of the Ribble (Ekwall 1917:62–63; Kristensson 1967:126–29, 141–42; 1987:105–08, 119–21; 1995:79–81, 91). The discrepancy between the distribution of OE /æ/, which is found in all Anglian

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<sup>138</sup> Spellings of *acre, akre* with <ch> in Lancashire (*Clyuacher*) may be further examples; however, the evidence of later pronunciations of this name, Cliviger, and of Alsager (Cheshire) could indicate palatalization and assibilation after /æ/ in the area (Kristensson 1967:199; *PNCh* iii:2).

<sup>139</sup> WSax. *wiella* derives regularly by first-fronting of Gmc \*/a/ to /æ/, breaking of /æ/ to /æɑ/ before covered /l/ and i-mutation of /æɑ/ (see Hogg 1992:5.10, 5.15, 5.82, 5.163–75).

areas, and the distribution of ME /a/ (< OE /æ/),<sup>140</sup> found only in West Mercia, was highlighted by Ekwall (1917:64), who suggested that the reflex of Gmc /a/ when followed by covered /l/ and /i/ or /j/ was [æ] in West Mercian but [ɛ] in other Anglian dialects (which subsequently merged with [e]).

Alternatively, Kristensson (1986:451–52, 1987:40–41) argued that the divergent development in West Mercian might be explained by the *i*-mutated reflex of Anglian /a/ before covered /l/ merging with OE [ɛ] (from second fronting of /æ/)<sup>141</sup> and then eventually lowered with it to ME /a/ by the thirteenth century (Jordan 1974:§32). Whichever explanation is preferred, reflexes of the OE and ON forms are phonologically distinct in the West Midlands, and so in the Wirral corpus (where the element is consistently spelt with medial <a>).

Parsons (2006:168) argued that ON *vella* was unlikely to occur as a generic in place-names from England, as he knew of no examples of use as a generic in Scandinavia. The element is recorded as a specific in Danish place-names and a case has been made for its use in Welby (Lincolnshire) so considering the elements indistinguishable as a specific seems sensible (cf. Fellows-Jensen 1978:76–77; Parsons 2006:168). However, using online resources now available, it is possible to find several place-names that have been interpreted as containing reflexes of ON *vella* as a generic. The evidence for ON *vella* used as a place-name generic referring to springs in Denmark and streams in Norway is not insignificant and the use of ON *vella* in England cannot therefore be ruled out. Consequently, OE *wella* and ON *vella* have been considered indistinguishable here where not phonologically

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<sup>140</sup> The Mercian forms with /æ/ derive from Anglian forms in which first fronting of /a/ was either prevented by covered /l/ or in which /a/ was restored in this position; consequently the vowel was not broken before being *i*-mutated to /æ/ (Campbell 1959:§§131 and 143; Hogg 1992:5.10–13, 5.15, 5.79(2)). These forms regularly give ME /a/ (see *æcer* above). The occurrence of ME forms with /e/ in Anglian areas is therefore puzzling.

<sup>141</sup> Kristensson argued that the product of second fronting of /æ/ was [ɛ], as ME place-names in which the elements would have become opaque (and thus not susceptible to analogical change) maintain the distinction between OE /e/ and <e> from second fronting (Hogg 1992:§5.87).

distinguishable (i.e. they have been considered indistinguishable in the Westmorland corpus).

### Closing Remarks

This chapter has detailed the reasons why elements can or cannot be distinguished in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms and, as such, underpins the methodology detailed in Chapter One and applied in the following chapters, case-studies of the Scandinavian contribution to minor name vocabulary in Wirral and the West Ward of Westmorland Barony. In order to deal with the lateness of the bulk of evidence for ON with respect to the main period of contact between speakers of OE and (Viking-Age) Scandinavian, evidence for Scandinavian developments that took place before the manuscript period that might distinguish OE and ON cognates was assessed. In all instances it was argued that there is sufficient evidence to assume the developments were at least in progress in Viking-Age Scandinavian, and consequently it was suggested that the lack of evidence for the developments in Scandinavian linguistic material from England can be at least partly explained by assimilation to the English phonological system. Instances where distinctively Scandinavian phones survive (some of which have been noted) are linguistically interesting and will be considered in the following chapters.

Assessments have erred on the side of caution, as reflected in the extensive ‘indistinguishable elements’ section, as it is crucial to the methodology that every occurrence of a place-name element is considered independently and not interpreted on the basis of wider frequencies of place-name elements. Thus, whilst it is likely that ME *brok* is the reflex of OE *brōc* and that *wang* is the reflex of ON *vangr* in the majority of the elements’ occurrences, this is uncertain in any one name.<sup>142</sup>

Except in the case of elements that are distinguishable on phonological criteria, the assessment that some elements can be distinguished on other

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<sup>142</sup> Abrams and Parsons (2004:394) make a similar point with regard to distinguishing Scandinavianised forms of *burh* from ON *-bý(r)*.

grounds might seem under-cautious. Assessments made on an absence of evidence for the elements' use in OE toponyms were made hesitantly, particularly given the lack of early evidence for place-naming vocabulary in northern and eastern England. However, the lack of evidence for the use of these elements in OE toponyms, which are plentifully recorded from areas where direct Scandinavian influence is not usually reckoned with (despite, in three cases, good evidence for lexical usage), combined with good Scandinavian evidence for the elements' use, was felt sufficient to classify the elements as Scandinavian-derived. In one instance, ON *\*slakki*, the element's distribution appears to be restricted to the North Atlantic, and it will be interesting to see whether similar distributions are found amongst other Scandinavian elements occurring in the case-study areas.

Overall, the decisions made here are necessarily subjective, but reflect an attempt to answer the question of how English- and Scandinavian-derived place-name elements can be distinguished taking both English and Scandinavian evidence into account.

## Chapter Three: Wirral

### Introduction

There is significant evidence suggesting that Scandinavians were present in Wirral, historically part of Cheshire,<sup>143</sup> during the Viking Age, and this chapter assesses how their language left its mark on the medieval minor place-names of the area. Before considering the minor names, the evidence indicating a Scandinavian presence in Wirral – and what this reveals about the circumstances of Scandinavian settlement in the region – is outlined. The material can be broadly divided into documentary sources, archaeological and sculptural evidence, genetic evidence and Scandinavian and Goidelic major place-names (the existence of the Goidelic names may be in some way linked with Scandinavian activity in Ireland or the Scottish seaboard). The evidence has been interpreted as reflecting Scandinavian settlement either from Ireland or from the Isle of Man: F. T. Wainwright linked the settlement with a recorded expulsion of Scandinavians from Dublin in 902 and, more recently, Gillian Fellows-Jensen proposed that (at least some of) the Scandinavians who settled in Wirral came from the Isle of Man. The evidence in favour of both interpretations is assessed and it is argued that neither of these interpretations is entirely supported by the available evidence. However, it is clear that the Scandinavian settlement of Wirral was very much part of Scandinavian activity in the Irish Sea region in this period and this activity may be adequate to explain the characteristics of the settlement.

The minor names of Wirral recorded before c.1500 are shown to support the idea of settlement by Scandinavian and Goidelic speakers in the area. However, the minor names do not demonstrate the same level of Scandinavian-derived vocabulary (proportional to English-derived vocabulary) which we might expect from the extent to which a Scandinavian history has been claimed for Wirral. The situation in Wirral contrasts with areas of Scandinavian settlement in eastern England where the proportion of Scandinavian-derived vocabulary in medieval minor names is much greater.

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<sup>143</sup> That is, the county's pre-1974 area.

## Scandinavian Settlement in Wirral

### *Textual Sources*

The documentary evidence for a Scandinavian presence in Cheshire is limited to a handful of references in manuscripts of ASC and to an embellished account found in an Irish text preserved only in a very late manuscript (though Welsh and Irish sources provide corroborating details).

ASC ABCD (s.a. 893) records that the great (Scandinavian) army temporarily occupied Chester; the text of MS A reads (Bately 1986:58):

þa hie on Eastseaxe comon to hiora geweorce 7 to hiora scipum,  
 þa gegaderede sio laf eft of Eastenglum 7 of Norðhymbrum  
 micelne here onforan winter 7 befæston hira wif 7 hira scipu 7  
 hira feoh on Eastenglum 7 foron anstreces dæges 7 nihtes þæt  
 he gedydon on anre westre ceastre on Wirhealum seo is  
 Legaceaster gehaten. þa ne mehte seo fird hie na hindan offaran,  
 ær hie wæron inne on þæm geweorce; besæton þeah þæt  
 geweorc utan sume twegen dagas [...]

When they came to their fort and their ships in Essex, the remainder again gathered a great army from the East Angles and the Northumbrians before winter and secured their women and their ships and their property amongst the East Angles and travelled continuously, by day and by night, until they reached a deserted city in Wirral called *Legaceaster* [Chester]. The [Anglo-Saxon] army could not overtake them before they were in the fort; however, they laid siege to the fort for two days [...]

This is unlikely to have led to a lasting Scandinavian presence in the area as the observation that women, ships and possessions remained in East Anglia suggests this to have been a raid rather than a settlement. Indeed, the



*Chronicle*'s entry for the following year records their departure (MS A; Bately 1986:58):

Ond þa sona æfter þæm on ðys gere for se here of Wirheale in  
on Norðwealas, forþæm hie ðær sitton ne mehton, þæt wæs  
forðy þe hie wæron benumene ægðer ge þæs ceapes ge þæs  
cornes ðe hie gehergod hæfdon.

And then soon after that in this year the army travelled from  
Wirral into Wales because they could not remain there, which  
was because they were deprived both of the livestock and of the  
corn that they had plundered.

It is also likely that the Battle of Brunanburh, in which Æðelstan defeated an alliance of Scandinavians (led by one Anlaf) and Scots (led by Constantine) and commemorated in verse in several of the manuscripts of the ASC (s.a. 937), took place near Bromborough in Wirral. The debate surrounding the location for the battle is discussed by Cavill (2011). Numerous locations have been proposed for the site of the battle, but Bromborough is the only place identified whose name can derive from the form *Brunanburh*. This event need not imply a long-term Scandinavian presence in the area, but it has been suggested that Scandinavian settlement in Wirral might have contributed to its being a logical site for the battle in the Scandinavians' or indeed both parties' eyes, with Scandinavian-controlled areas on one side and Anglo-Saxon-controlled areas on the other offering both sides possible escape routes (Dodgson 1957:312–13; Jesch 2000:8).

In contrast, events described in an Irish source of doubtful provenance (whose details are nevertheless corroborated by Irish and Welsh annals) have been interpreted as describing a more permanent Scandinavian settlement in the region. The account is recorded in the so-called *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (or *Three Fragments*), preserved only in a nineteenth-century edition, in turn based on a seventeenth-century transcript. The account describes how Norsemen expelled from Dublin and led by *Hingamund* (ON Ingimundr) were

granted land near Chester by Æthelflæd, but subsequently became unhappy with their allotted lands and attacked Chester (alongside Irishmen and Danes), which Æthelflæd's forces successfully defended (Ekwall 1918:7; Wainwright 1948:146–50; Radner 1978:166–73). Whilst the account itself, with its descriptions of a defence of the city involving boiling beer and bees, is clearly embellished, it is corroborated (and dated to 902) by the expulsion of heathens from Dublin recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* (Mac Airt and Mac Niocall 1983:352–53) and by an annal in *Annales Cambriae* recording that one *Igmunt* went to Anglesey and held *Maes Osmeliaun* (Morris 1980:90). The restoration of Chester recorded in the so-called *Mercian Register* s.a. 907 ('her wæs Ligceastre geedneowad'; MS B; Taylor 1983:49; cf. O'Keefe 2001:75) has been seen as a response to Scandinavian settlement in the area, both providing defence against further Scandinavian attacks and a base for controlling locally settled Scandinavians (Wainwright 1943:19). Thus, despite doubts about the historicity of the account provided in the *Three Fragments* account, there is at least reason to believe that it preserves a kernel of truth.

### ***Personal Names***

It is highly uncertain whether bearing a Scandinavian personal name in 1066 can be seen as indicative of Scandinavian ethnicity, given the centuries that had passed since Scandinavian settlement in England began and Danish rule during some of this period. Nevertheless, personal names recorded in place-names, Scandinavian personal names recorded in DB and the names of moneyers at the Chester mint have been discussed by scholars as evidence for Scandinavian immigration in or near Wirral, occasionally with errors.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Griffiths (2006:156), citing Sawyer (1987), refers to two 'pre-Conquest tenants with Norse names, Leofnoth and Arni' whose holdings in Wirral and across the Dee in Atiscros Hundred are recorded in the Cheshire Domesday. Griffiths later argued (2010:156–57) that it might be significant that large areas of the Dee's banks were controlled by 'Norse-named individuals'. This suggestion is repeated by Bailey (2010:135). However, Leofnoð is an OE name (see below).

The names of Domesday tenants in western Cheshire were considered by Wainwright (1943:32–38), who observed that approximately 50% of DB's 1066 landholders in west Cheshire had names of Scandinavian origin (compared with about 20% in central Cheshire), although he declined to draw historical conclusions from the distribution. Fellows-Jensen (1997:91) also considered DB personal names in Cheshire, noting a concentration of Scandinavian personal names around Raby and Chester but observing that Scandinavian personal names were no more concentrated in the north of the peninsula than elsewhere. In the light of this use of personal name evidence, it is worth briefly reassessing that evidence here.

The fifty-two estates in Wirral Hundred listed in DB (Morgan 1978a) can be arranged according to the language of the holders' names as follows:<sup>145</sup> Anglo-Scandinavian: Æsgot (Neston, Hargrave).

Continental Germanic: Colbert (Noctorum, Upton, Wervin).

OE: Æscwulf (Landican), Dunning (Greasby, Storeton), Eadric (Prenton) Earl

Eadwine (Eastham, Hadlow, Upton), Earngeat (Caldy, Ledsham, Ness), Earnwine (Pool), Godwine (Mollington), Leofede (Prenton), Leofgeat (Barnston), Leofing (Saughall), Leofnoð (Caldy, Gayton, Leighton, Meols (x2), Thurstaston), Ording (Trafford), Uhtræd (Wallasey), Wulfgeat (Prenton).

Scandinavian: Arni<sup>146</sup> (Capenhurst, Neston), Gamall (Poulton), Gunnarr (Mollington), Hravnsvartr (Barnston), ?Rognvaldr<sup>147</sup> (Stanney), Úlfkell

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<sup>145</sup> The lost vill of *Edelaue* appears to survive as Hadlow, Willaston (*PNCh* iv:232). Linguistic attributions were taken from Insley with Rollason (2007a; 2007b), Insley and Rollason with McClure (2007), McClure with Rollason (2007) and von Feilitzen (1937).

Other landholders are: See of Chester (Guilden Sutton), St Werburgh's Church (Croughton, Lea, Neston, Raby, Saughall, Shotwick, Sutton, Wervin).

<sup>146</sup> In an Anglicised form *Erne* or *Erne* (Fellows-Jensen 1997:89).

<sup>147</sup> The name, DB <Ragenal> could formally be Continental Germanic Raginald. However, the form here perhaps suggests the Irish form of Rognvaldr, Ragnall: a similar form is found only otherwise in DB in Adwick upon Dearne, West Yorkshire (Faull and Stinson 1986:10W, 14), the fourteen other DB instances listed in *PASE* (s.v. Regnvald 1) all have final <d> or <t>.

(Heswall), Úlfketill (Thornton),<sup>148</sup> Úlfr (Mollington), Vetrliðr (Thingwall).

From this information, the ratio of Scandinavian-named to English-named estate holders can be calculated in two ways. The first approach is to count estates, as Wainwright claims to have done, obtaining a figure of 45.5% Scandinavian names for the Domesday Hundred of *Wilaveston* (1943:36–38). This gives a ratio of thirty-seven ‘Scandinavian’ to sixty-three ‘English’ estates or, if the Anglo-Scandinavian names are included with the Scandinavian, forty ‘(Anglo-)Scandinavian’ to sixty ‘English’ estates. Within the supposed Scandinavian enclave in north-west Wirral (discussed further below), the ratio of ‘Scandinavian’ to ‘English’ estates is thirty-three to sixty-seven, or, if the Anglo-Scandinavian names are included with the Scandinavian, thirty-nine ‘(Anglo-)Scandinavian’ to sixty-one ‘English’ estates. However, the holders named Arni, Colbert, Dunning, Earngeat, Leofnoð and Tóki may be identical, as Sawyer and Thacker (1987:320–25) suggest, as their lands tended to pass to the same 1086 holders and/or were in close proximity. The calculations based on manors probably therefore overestimate number of landholders considerably. Considering identically named holders to refer to the same individual gives (if Úlfketill and Úlfkell are considered the same person) a ratio of forty-three (Anglo-)Scandinavian names to fifty-seven OE names. In the possible Scandinavian enclave, however, the ratio of (Anglo-)Scandinavian-named to English-named landholders is sixty-three to thirty-seven. These figures could underestimate the number of landholders slightly, but are probably more reliable than calculations based on numbers of estates.

A similar analysis was carried out by David Parsons (2002, esp. p. 42) who counted the number of different names of English and Scandinavian

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Pre-Conquest moneyers at York, Lincoln and an unknown mint (*PASE* s.vv. Ragnald 3–6) all have a final dental, as does a witness to an eleventh-century charter (S596). The only instance listed in *PASE* (s.v. Ragnall 1) without final dental is from an Irish source (viz. *The Fragmentary Annals*).

<sup>148</sup> Perhaps identical with Úlfkell (Fellows-Jensen 1997:90).

origin in von Feilitzen's *Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (1937) by county and found that Cheshire had a proportion of forty-six names of ON origin to fifty-four of OE origin. This is slightly higher than the proportion of Scandinavian names in the neighbouring counties of Lancashire (thirty-six per cent), Derbyshire (forty-three per cent), Staffordshire (thirty-seven per cent) and Shropshire (thirty-seven per cent) (Parsons 2002:42). Comparison with Parsons' findings suggests that by the mid-eleventh century, the proportion of the population that bore names of Scandinavian origin was no greater in Wirral than elsewhere in Cheshire. It is just perhaps possible that the slightly raised proportion of Scandinavian personal names in Cheshire compared with neighbouring counties reflects Scandinavian influence on naming practices following settlement in Wirral (and perhaps neighbouring areas). However, a westward spread in the popularity of Scandinavian names from Derbyshire, West Yorkshire (and beyond) could also be significant.

Moneyers' names from the Chester mint have also been discussed as evidence of the effects for Scandinavian settlement in the vicinity (Thacker 1987:257; Wainwright 1943:32–33). Wainwright (1943:32–33) listed ten moneyers in the century before the Conquest bearing Scandinavian names and four in the century following the Conquest; he also noted that five of the moneyers had 'Irish' names, although some of these could in fact be Scottish.<sup>149</sup> Thacker (1987:257) notes additionally the names *Irfara* (ON *Irfari* 'Ireland traveller') (899–924) and Oslac (see below), although it should be noted that *Irfara* occurs on a non-mint-signed coin, so the association with Chester is based on the coin-type being associated with north-western mints

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<sup>149</sup> Scandinavian names (c. 950–1066): Colben (ON Kolbeinn), Colbrand (ON Kolbrandr), Croc (ON Krókr), Fargrim (ON Fargrímr), Huscarl (ON Húscarl), Sweartcol (ON Svartkollr), Sweartinc (ON Svartingr), Swegen (ON Sveinn), Thorald (ON Þóraldr) and Thurmod (ON Þórmoðr); (c. 1066–1150): Sunoulf (ON Sunnúlfr), Ravenswart (ON Hrafnswartr), Thurbern (ON Þorbjörn) and Unnulf (ON Hundólfr).

Goidelic names: Mældomen (924–37), Mælsuthan (943–75), Macsuthan (1016–35), Gillechrist (1035–42) and Gillemor (1100–35). Smyth (1975:81–82) suggested that Macsuthan, Mældomen, Mælsuthan and Gillechrist might be specifically Scottish rather than Irish.

and found in Chester hoards (Dolley 1955:5). Problematically, the presentation of the names in these studies gives little idea of how common names of Scandinavian origin were when compared with names of other origins.

However, the proportion of moneyers with Scandinavian names can be ascertained relatively easily using moneyers' names collected by Dolley (1955), Smart (1968; 1987) and Colman (1992). Chester lies outside the area considered, so a full consideration of moneyers' names from the mint is not presented in full here; however, two snapshots from the reigns of Edgar (959–75) and Edward the Confessor (1042–66) are presented.<sup>150</sup> From Edgar's reign, two moneyers probably have Scandinavian names (?\*Iór(f)røðr, Þormóðr), nine have OE names Æðelhelm, Ælfsige, Ælfstan, Deorlaf, Eadmund, Ealdwine, Freothuric,<sup>151</sup> \*Teoðic, Wulfgar) and two have Goidelic names (Gillys, Máelsuthainn).<sup>152</sup> The ratio of Scandinavian to English names is thus 18:82. However, the proportion of moneyers with Scandinavian names was much higher during the reign of Edward the Confessor: seven moneyers had Scandinavian names (Fargrimr, Huskarl, Kolbrandr, Kolþegn, Krókr, Svartkollr, Prondr) and eleven had OE names (Ælfgar, Ælfsige, Ælfsige Ealda, Ælfwine, Bruning, Duning, Dunstan, Ealhwise, Leofnoð, Leofwine, Ordric).<sup>153</sup> The ratio of Scandinavian to English names is thus 37:63.

The numbers of moneyers firmly associated with the Chester mint for both periods are low, and it is possible that moneyers worked for more than one mint. Nevertheless the proportion of moneyers with names of Scandinavian origin was, by the reign of Edward the Confessor, comparable

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<sup>150</sup> Only the names occurring on coins with unequivocal mint-signatures listed by Dolley (1955:12–13) are included here.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Insley and Rollason with McClure (2007:119).

<sup>152</sup> Linguistic attributions were taken from von Feilitzen and Blunt (1971); names not counted here are Durand (Romance), Flodger (Continental Germanic), Martin (Latin) and Boiga (OE or Continental Germanic) (Von Feilitzen and Blunt 1971:193, 195 and 200).

<sup>153</sup> Linguistic attributions were taken from Colman (1992:75–125 and 243–47); Snell, Sprot and Wigal were excluded as they are of uncertain origin.

with (but very slightly lower than) the proportion of Domesday landholders in Wirral and Cheshire as a whole with names of Scandinavian origin. The numbers are very low, but it is interesting that the proportion of Chester moneyers with names of Scandinavian origin during the reign of Edward the Confessor was higher than during the reign of Edgar (and indeed in intervening periods).<sup>154</sup> Smart (1987:248–49) noted that the proportion of Scandinavian moneyers was higher in Chester than in other West Midlands mints, of which only Shrewsbury had moneyers with Scandinavian and/or Goidelic names. Smart considered whether this might arise from Chester being a larger trading centre (presumably attracting people from further afield

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<sup>154</sup> Calculations for intervening periods indicated a steady increase in the proportion of moneyers bearing linguistically Scandinavian names:

1. In the period 973–1016, the ratio of Old English to Scandinavian names of Chester moneyers was 72:28 (OE names: *Æðelwine*, *Ælfnoð*, *Ælfstan*, *Ealhsige*, *Deorlaf*, *Eadric*, *Æðelmod*/*Ælfmod*, *Goda*, *Leofnoð*, *Leofmann*, *Leofwine*, *Sigewine*, *Wulflaf*; Scandinavian names: *Gunnleifr*, *Ásketell*, *Auðulfr*, *Sveinn*, *Þorald*; Smart 1968:219–21 and 226). *Boga* and *Ric(w)ulf* were both excluded as they could be Old English or Continental Germanic in origin (see above; Insley and Rollason with McClure 2007:144). The remaining name, *Dufnel(m)* is perhaps Brittonic (Smart 1968:226).
2. In the period 1017–42, the ratio of Old English to Scandinavian names of Chester moneyers was 71:29 (OE names: *Ælfnoð*, *Ælfsige*, *Ælfstan*, *Ælfwine*, *Æthelric*, *Æthelwine*, *Ceolnoð*, *Ealhsige*, *Godric*, *Godwine*, *Leofa*, *Leofing*, *Leofnoð*, *Leofsige*, *Leofwig*, *Leofwine*, *Wulfsige*; Scandinavian names: *Fargrimr*, *Gunnleifr*, *Kolbeinn*, *Krókr*, *Sveinn*, *Svertingr* and (fragmentary) *Þorald*; Smart 1987:241–43). Additionally, three moneyers (*Gillacrist*, *Macsuthainn* and *Trotan*) had Goidelic names (Smart 1987:241–43). (A *Wulfnoð* on a further coin from either Chester or Leicester should probably be associated with Leicester; Smart 1987:242).

than smaller centres) but ultimately explained the Scandinavian moneyers' names from Chester as resulting from Scandinavian settlement in Wirral. However, the apparent increase in the popularity of names of Scandinavian origin through the tenth and early eleventh centuries suggests, to my mind, that Scandinavian names might also have been spreading from other areas of northern and eastern England during the period. That is, the use of Scandinavian names amongst Chester moneyers need not reflect Scandinavian settlement in the local area.

Overall, then, personal names recorded from Wirral and Chester are not markedly more Scandinavian than those from elsewhere in Cheshire, and the proportion of Scandinavian names in Cheshire accords with a wider distribution of Scandinavian names that could reflect Scandinavian influence on naming practices from the east as well as from Wirral.

### *Archaeological and Sculptural Evidence*

Sculpture displaying features typical of areas of Scandinavian settlement in the British Isles is known from Wirral. Hogbacks, a form of sculpture known from areas of Scandinavian settlement in Britain and generally dated to the first half of the tenth century, are found at West Kirby and Bidston. The Bidston hogback is most similar to those from Brompton, North Yorkshire and the West Kirby hogback(s)<sup>155</sup> is/are most similar to Cumbrian examples (Bailey 2010:38–39, 49–51 and 135–36). The hogbacks are, like other hogbacks from Cheshire and Lancashire, all close to accessible harbours or beaches (Bailey 2010:38). Fragments of cross-shafts and heads are known from Bromborough, Hilbre Island, Neston, West Kirby and Woodchurch; circle-headed cross-heads are found at all of these sites except Woodchurch and a ring-head may occur at Bromborough (Bailey 2010:52–57, 81–82, 85–90, 133–36 and 146–47). Tenth- and/or eleventh-century ring- and circle-headed crosses are considered a Viking-Age introduction to England, although Bailey notes the Western Isles are as likely places of origin as Ireland or Man,

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<sup>155</sup> A fragment could be part of a recumbent slab or a hogback (Bailey 2010:136).



which are both commonly suggested (Bailey 2010:29–31). Outside Wirral, the types are only otherwise known in Cheshire from Chester, conforming to the wider distribution in western Britain from Cumbria to North Wales (with later outliers in Cornwall), although the ornament of the Cheshire group is distinct from the Cumbrian examples (Bailey 2010:31–32). Bailey suggests that Irish traits occur on a ringed cross on a slab from Hilbre Island and on a slab from Bromborough, but assigns these features only to western Britain and Ireland elsewhere, whilst significant parallels with Cumbrian sculpture and a couple of parallels to sculpture from Yorkshire are also seen (Bailey 2010:39; cf. Bailey 2010:55 and 82). However, Bailey (2010:39) found no trace of Manx influence in the sculpture from Wirral. Overall, then, the Viking-Age sculpture shares features with Cumbria and other areas around the Irish Sea as well as with Yorkshire, demonstrating contacts the inhabitants may have had with these areas (although whether all of these shared traits were necessarily seen as ‘Scandinavian’ is perhaps less certain, given the more general distribution of some forms in Ireland and western Britain).

The occurrence of foundations for curvilinear buildings at a site one kilometre north of the centre of modern Irby has been seen as evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian settlement at Irby (Philpott and Adams 2010:1, 54–61 and 185–86). The buildings can be (stratigraphically) dated only to between the late fourth century and the thirteenth century, but are similar to Viking-Age houses found in areas of Scandinavian settlement around the Irish Sea and North Atlantic, including Dublin; however, similar structures are also known from the sixth to eighth centuries elsewhere in western Britain (Philpott and Adams 2010:214–18). Fragments of amber might be further evidence for a Scandinavian presence at the site, but could also date from the Roman period (although rarer during this period than in later centuries) (Philpott and Adams 2010:163 and 215). Overall, the suggestion that the site was Anglo-Scandinavian is circumstantial and to a considerable degree dependent on place-name and historical evidence for Hiberno-Norse settlement in Wirral, as Philpott and Adams acknowledge (2010:218).

However, an area of coastline near Meols has yielded several finds with Scandinavian, Anglo-Scandinavian or Hiberno-Norse characteristics.

Most of the finds were collected by members of the public and antiquarians in the nineteenth century following significant coastal erosion, although a smaller number of artefacts were found in the twentieth century (Griffiths and Philpott 2007:2–10). As a result, the corpus of finds known from Meols is unlikely to be representative of what was originally uncovered; instead, it partly represents what was of interest to nineteenth-century collectors, particularly in the case of artefacts found earlier in the nineteenth century (Griffiths and Philpott 2007:24–26). Further, although many finds were subsequently acquired by local museums, others were lost after they were recorded, and many were probably never recorded at all (Griffiths and Philpott 2007:26–28). Nevertheless, the artefacts demonstrate that the site was of some significance throughout the Viking Age, as well as in earlier periods.<sup>156</sup> Scandinavian involvement is possibly indicated by part of a merchant's scales with Scandinavian parallels (Griffiths 2007a:70; 2007b:402) and by a possible Scandinavian burial, if that is what a group of iron weapons found in the winter of 1877–78 represents (Griffiths 2007a:71–77; 2007b:402). Other objects with more certain Scandinavian, Anglo-Scandinavian and Hiberno-Norse characteristics include objects with Ringerike- and Urnes-style decoration and nineteen ringed pins (a collection outnumbering that from York and outnumbered only by Dublin); the objects are probably mostly of eleventh- rather than tenth-century date (Griffiths 2007a:62–63 and 67–71; 2007b:402). The site was not unique on the eastern side of the Irish Sea: there is evidence for a possible Norse trading settlement at Llanbedrgoch (Anglesey), where the range of imported materials is similar to that known from Meols (Griffiths 2006).

There are indications of an upturn in external contacts at Meols from the ninth century, initially with Anglo-Saxon England, but in the tenth and eleventh centuries with northern and western areas of Britain. Griffiths (2007a:61–62; 2007b:401–05) notes that typically Scandinavian and

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<sup>156</sup> Meols seems to have been a port from the Iron Age on (Philpott 2007a; Philpott 2007b), but trading activity seems to have been taking place only on a small scale between the seventh and ninth centuries (Griffiths 2007b:399–401).

Hiberno-Norse finds are accompanied by tenth- and eleventh-century objects also common in Anglo-Saxon contexts, suggesting strong links with the rest of England in the period. The site's relationship with Chester is interesting. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Chester was a significant trading site and mint with significant contacts with the Irish Sea area;<sup>157</sup> however, the lack of coins from the Chester mint at Meols in the earlier part of the tenth century is curious, and Griffiths suggests (2007b:406) that the site may have been something of a tax haven, beyond the jurisdiction of Chester. (If, as Blackburn suggests (1996:10–15), Wirral was the site of an unofficial mint making forgeries of Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type, then the predominantly Baltic Sea distribution of the coins might indicate ongoing contacts with Scandinavia; however, the attribution to Wirral is uncertain.)

### *Genetic Evidence*

A recent genetic study has found results suggestive of significant Scandinavian male ancestry in the region (Bowden *et al.* 2008). The study typed the Y-chromosomes of men with two generations of residency in Wirral (the 'modern' sample), a subset of whom had surnames recorded in the area in the medieval period ('the 'medieval' sample, selected to exclude immigrants into the area from the Industrial era onwards). Significantly, proportions of the Y-chromosome haplogroup HgR1a1, which is relatively common in Norway and in areas of Norwegian settlement (Shetland, Orkney, and the Isle of Man) but rare in most mainland English and Welsh samples, were greater in the 'medieval' than the 'modern' sample (Bowden *et al.* 2008:303–05; cf. also Capelli *et al.* 2003:983–84). This suggests that the medieval population had a greater proportion of Norwegian ancestry than does the modern population. Admixture analysis (estimating the input required from two parental populations, in this case the modern populations of Norway and central Scotland pooled with central Ireland) estimated Norwegian male ancestry to

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<sup>157</sup> The significance of links with Ireland is indicated by the fact that the majority of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon coins found in Ireland were from the Chester mint (Griffiths 2007b:405).

be 38% ( $\pm 3\%$ ) for the modern population. For the medieval population, Norwegian male ancestry was estimated to be 47% ( $\pm 5\%$ ), and 51% ( $\pm 6\%$ ) for the medieval population if only surnames with fewer than 20,000 bearers in 1998 were considered (Bowden *et al.* 2008:304–07).

The results are, of course, only estimates (cf. the slight discrepancies between the estimates for Norwegian male ancestry in Shetland and Orkney in Bowden *et al.* (2008:305) and Goodacre *et al.* (2005:132); perhaps due to chance variation between samples and the different resolutions at which the samples were investigated).<sup>158</sup> However, the sampling of men with surnames recorded in the area in the medieval period should mean that the results have not been significantly skewed by subsequent Scandinavian input into the local gene pool, suggested as a possibility by Griffiths.<sup>159</sup> Additionally, the authors acknowledge that drift (the change in the proportions of various haplotypes due to variation in the numbers of offspring bearers of the haplotypes have over successive generations) could have significantly altered the proportions of the various haplotypes in the centuries between Scandinavian immigration and the adoption of surnames. Nevertheless, as it is, the evidence is strongly indicative that a significant proportion of the male population of Wirral in the medieval period had Norwegian ancestry. Griffiths (2010:23) has argued that raised levels of Scandinavian male ancestry need not reflect settlement by Scandinavian men in the area (presumably envisaging sexual encounters between local women and passing Scandinavians). This would mean that children with Scandinavian male ancestry need not have been raised by Scandinavian-speaking fathers. However, the other evidence for a Scandinavian linguistic and cultural legacy in the area presented here implies some permanence to the Scandinavian presence in the area, and it therefore seems unlikely that the genetic evidence is to be explained entirely by the situation Griffiths envisages.

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<sup>158</sup> Bowden *et al.* (2008:305).

<sup>159</sup> Griffiths (2010:15) noted the presence of Norwegian and Swedish sailors' hostels and churches in western ports including Liverpool in the nineteenth century.

### *Toponymic Evidence.*

The major place-names of Wirral show substantial Scandinavian and occasional Goidelic input and are discussed in this section. Here, only the names that provide any possible indication of Scandinavian or Goidelic linguistic influence are discussed in detail and all interpretations and early forms are taken from *PNCh* (iv:166–335) unless otherwise stated. The earliest recorded form of each name is given and later instances only where they shed further light on the derivation or suggest the existence of a competing form of the name. Names that could be either English or Scandinavian in their entirety are noted separately, but names that contain an element indistinguishable in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms compounded with one that is clearly English are not separately noted. (The reasons for considering the elements indistinguishable are given in Chapter Two.)

Names are classified as major names if they were the names of townships or ecclesiastical parishes and where there are so many early forms that *PNCh* presents the forms in the same manner as the township and parish names, probably indicating the place named was of some significance in the medieval period.<sup>160</sup>

### *Brittonic Names*

One name, Landican, is of Brittonic origin (*PNCh* iv:266–67).

### *Old English Names*

Forty-two of the major names are of unambiguous English origin.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> The names considered major names that are not township or parish names are Denhall (Ness), *Edelaue*, named in DB and probably to be identified with Hadlow (Willaston), Plymyard (Eastham) and Wooton (Bidston cum Ford) (*PNCh* iv:187, 220–21, 232 and 310).

<sup>161</sup> The etymology of Wervin remains uncertain (*PNCh* iv:137–39).

Backford, (Higher and Lower) Bebington, Bidston,<sup>162</sup> Blacon, Bromborough, Burton, Capenhurst,<sup>163</sup> Chorlton, Croughton, Eastham, *Edelaue*, Ford, Hargrave, Hilbre, Hooton, Lea, Ledsham, Leighton, (Little) Mollington, Moston,<sup>164</sup> Oldfield, Netherpool and Overpool, Newton, Picton, Plemstall,<sup>165</sup> Plymyard, Poulton,<sup>166</sup> Poulton,<sup>167</sup> Prenton, Puddington, (Great and Little) Saughall,<sup>168</sup> Saughall (Massie),<sup>169</sup> Seacombe, Stanlow, (Great and Little) Stanney, Stoke, (Great and Little) Sutton,<sup>170</sup> (Guilden) Sutton, (Mickle) Trafford, Wallasey, Willaston, Woodchurch and Wooton.

Additionally, although both elements of Moreton<sup>171</sup> (OE/ON *mōr*/\**mór* and OE/ON *tūn*/*tún*) could formally be English or Scandinavian (see Chapter Two), the widespread occurrence of the name as a recurrent compound in England and lack of evidence for such a compound in Scandinavia makes an English etymology preferable.<sup>172</sup>

The classification of Caldý (*Calders* (1086), *Caldei* (1182); *PNCh* iv:282–84) is complicated by the existence of two competing forms of the name. The form represented by the form *Calders*, spelt

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<sup>162</sup> The first element is obscure (*PNCh* iv:308–09).

<sup>163</sup> The first element is obscure (*PNCh* iv:200–01).

<sup>164</sup> Of uncertain classification as the etymology is uncertain. The name is interpreted either as *mōrsæ* and *tūn* ‘*tūn* by (a place called) *Mōrsæ* (‘lake by a marsh/moor’)’ or OE *mōr* and (*ge*)*set* ‘enclosure’ (perhaps in the dative plural \**mōr-setum*, reduced to *mōr-setun* and then reanalysed as *mōrse-tūn*) (*PNCh* iv:141–42). Both proposed interpretations could be OE formations but the former could formally also be a Scandinavian formation (see Chapter Two).

<sup>165</sup> Mickle Trafford.

<sup>166</sup> Poulton cum Spital.

<sup>167</sup> Poulton cum Seacombe.

<sup>168</sup> Shotwick.

<sup>169</sup> Bidston.

<sup>170</sup> OE *tūn* and its relationship with ON *tún* are discussed further below.

<sup>171</sup> Moreton cum Lingham. *Morton* (1272–1307; *PNCh* iv:319–20).

<sup>172</sup> Watts (2004: s.vv. Moreton and Morton) lists twenty-five instances of the settlement name in England; I have not found instances of the name in Norway or Denmark.

with final <ers> in nearly all later forms,<sup>173</sup> is best interpreted as a hill name composed of OE *ceald* ‘cold’ and *ears* ‘arse’ (*PNCh* iv:282–84). Although the specific could formally be OE *ceald* or ON *kaldr* (see Chapter Two), the generic is better interpreted as OE *ears* than ON *ars*.<sup>174</sup> However, both elements of the form of the name represented by *Caldei* are formally indistinguishable in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms. This form of the name is therefore treated separately under ‘Indistinguishable Names’ (below). The competing forms are both represented on the map that follows the discussion of Wirral’s major names.

### *Middle English Names*

Three place-names are ME formations. There are two instances of the name Grange, Claughton cum Grange and Grange (formerly Great Caldý or Caldý Grange) and one of ME *spitel* in (Poulton cum) Spital. The elements *grange* and *spitel* are post-Conquest borrowings from Romance (*OED Online* s.v. spittle, n.1; *OED Online* s.v. grange, n.). These names will not be further discussed, but their distribution will be considered below in order to contextualise the extent of Scandinavian naming in the region.

### *Indistinguishable Names*

Seventeen names could formally be of Scandinavian or English origin, although in certain cases there are reasons to prefer an English etymology. Some of the ambiguity arises from the late date at which some of the names

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<sup>173</sup> An isolated exception, *Caldelrs* (1136–53 (1357); *PNCh* iv:282), may be a scribal corruption.

<sup>174</sup> The expected reflex of OE /æɑ/ is ME /a/ due to monophthongisation to /æɑ/ and subsequent merger with /ɑ/ in the late OE or early ME period (Hogg 1992:§§5.210–16; Jordan 1974:§59). However, consistent <e> spellings, consistent with the ME reflex of OE /æɑ:/ (Kristensson 1987:134–38 and 145–46), suggest that the diphthong was lengthened in this name, as appears to have happened elsewhere with OE *ears* (Jordan 1974:§22).

are first recorded, for instance Brimstage, meaning that inflexions cannot be used to distinguish English- and Scandinavian-derived forms (due both to phonological reduction of inflexional endings and the possibility of secondary ME inflexions occurring for earlier endings).

**Barnston** *Bernestone* (1086), *Berles-*, *Berlistona in Wirhale* (1096–1101 (1280)), *Bernolweston* (13th c. (p)). The specific could be either OE *Beornwulf* or ON *Bjornulf* as the diphthong in both names would usually be ME /e/ (*PNCh* iv:263; Insley 1999:53; Kristensson 1987:114–16 and 122).<sup>175</sup> The generic is either OE *tūn* or ON *tún*.

**Brimstage** *Brunestape* (13th c.). Perhaps (*æt*) *Brūnan stæpe* ‘(at) Brūna’s river-bank’ (< OE pers.n. *Brūna* and OE *stæp* ‘river-bank’), but a Scandinavian etymology is also possible.

Formally, the specific could be OE *brūn* or ON *brúnn* ‘brown’, ON *brún* f. ‘brow of hill’, ON *brunnr* ‘spring, stream’ or the personal names OE *Brūna* or ON *Brúni* (*VEPN*: s.v. *brūn*<sup>1</sup>, *brún*<sup>2</sup> and *brunnr*). The generic could be OE *stæð* or ON *stǫð* ‘river bank/landing-place’, as is suggested for Toxteth and Croxteth over the Mersey in south-west Lancashire (Ekwall 1922:114–15; Fellows-Jensen 1985:56 and 59–60). Less likely is ON *staðr* ‘place’, which is not otherwise thought to occur in England; it is, however, found in Man and the Isles and could be found in Croxteth and Toxteth (Ekwall 1922:114; Fellows-Jensen 1983a:40). The personal name may be identical with that in nearby Bromborough and Brimston, in which case an English personal name is most likely if, as has been proposed, Bromborough is identical with *Brunanburh* (*PNCh* iv:234–40).

**Caldy** *Calders* (1086), *Caldei* (1182). The form represented by *Caldei* could be OE *ceald* or ON *kaldr* and OE *ēg* ‘island’ or ON *ey* ‘island’ (*PNCh* iv:282–84). The form represented by the 1086 form was discussed above under ‘Old English Names’.

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<sup>175</sup> The apparent absence of diphthongs created by fracture in Scandinavian linguistic material from England is discussed in Chapter Two.



**Childer Thornton** *Thorinthun* (1200–20), *Thornton* (13th c.), *Childrethornton* (1288). *PNCh* (iv:196–97) analyses as OE/ON *þorn* ‘thorn-bush’ and OE *tūn* with affix OE *cildra* ‘of the children’, but formally ON *tún* cannot be excluded (although the affix is certainly English).

**Claughton (cum Grange)** *Clahton* (1260). OE/ON \**clacc/klakkr* ‘lump, hill’ and OE/ON *tūn/tún* (*PNCh* iv:316; Chapter Two).

**Crabwall**<sup>176</sup> *Crabbewalle* (c.1200–50), *Crabbewell* (1265). The specific is either OE *crabba* ‘freshwater crayfish’ or ON *krabbi* ‘crab’ (Chapter Two). The generic is most frequently spelt <wall(e)>, as would be expected for the reflex of OE *wella* in western Mercia; however, the handful of forms spelt <-well> means that ON *vella* cannot be ruled out (*PNCh* iv:169; Chapter Two).

**Denhall** *Danewell* (1184), *Danewall* (1302), *Denewell* (c.1240–1369), *Denewale* (1288–90); The name is interpreted as a compound of OE *Dene* or ON *Danir* ‘Danes’ and OE *wella*, *wælla* in *PNCh* (iv:220–21). However, the final element (spelt –*well(e)* in the majority of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century forms) could formally also be ON *vella* (*PNCh* iv:2201–21; Chapter Two). Whatever the case, the name seems to refer to Scandinavians.

**Heswall** *Eswelle* (1086), *Haselwell* (1190–1200 (p)). *PNCh* (iv:276–77) analyses as a compound of OE *hæsel* ‘hazel’ and OE *wella* ‘spring, well’ with influence from ON *hesli*. Cavill (2000:136) suggests (more explicitly than Dodgson) that the frequent spelling of the specific with <e> shows influence from ON *hesli*, which seems likely as the reflex of OE /æ/ in *hæsel* elsewhere in the West Midlands is predominantly (if not entirely) spelt <a> (Kristensson 1987:32–33, 40–42). Many of the forms of the generic are spelt <wall(e)>, as would be expected for the reflex of OE *wella* in western Mercia (see Chapter Two). However, the approximately similar number of forms spelt <well(e)> means that ON *vella* cannot be ruled out. Due to forms suggesting both OE *hæsel* and ON *hesli* as the specific and the impossibility of ruling out ON *vella*, the name could be English or Scandinavian.

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<sup>176</sup> *Blacon cum Crabwall*.

**Hoose** *Holes* (13th c.). Probably from OE *hol* ‘hollow’ (*PNCh* iv:293–94) as the plural form supports an English origin; however, ON *hol* (with secondary ME inflexion) cannot formally be ruled out.

**Irby** *Erberia* (1096–1101 (1280)) (and two further forms of similar date); *Irreby* (1096–1101 (1280)) (and at least forty forms reflecting ON *bý(r)* from the twelfth century and later). *PNCh* (iv:264) derives the name from ON *Íri* ‘Irishman’ (genitive plural *Íra*) and ON *bý(r)* and notes confusion with OE *burh*. This interpretation was followed by Fellows-Jensen (1985:33). Formally, the name could be entirely English with the specific OE *Īras* ‘the Irish’ (genitive plural *Īra*; Bosworth-Toller: s.v. *Īras*), as admitted by Coates (2011:373), who nevertheless prefers to see the name as Scandinavian. However, the chronological divide between forms suggesting OE *-burh* is not as clear as for Greasby (below), and there are fewer forms suggesting OE *-burh* for Irby. Further, the proportion of forms suggesting *-burh* to those suggesting *-bý(r)* is similar to that for Whitby, which Dodgson considers English. The evidence is therefore not considered sufficient to prefer either the OE or the Scandinavian generic here, and the name is consequently considered of uncertain origin.

**Ness** *Nesse* (1086), *Nasse* (p) (1322). Dodgson (*PNCh* iv:220) gives OE *næss*, *ness* ‘promontory, headland’ but ON *nes* ‘headland, promontory’ cannot be ruled out (Chapter Two). The 1322 form might suggest OE *næss* but this is the sole example of such a form whereas forms with medial <e> are plentiful so it would be unwise to make too much of this.

**(Great, Little) Neston** *Nestone* (1086), *Naston* (p) (1351). Dodgson analyses as OE *ness*, *næss* (or the the adjacent township name Ness) and OE *tūn* but, as in Ness, the first element could formally be OE *ness*, *næss* or ON *nes* and ON *tún* cannot be ruled out.

**Oxton** *Oxton* (13th c.(1605)), *Oxeton* (1278). *PNCh* (iv:269–70) gives OE *oxa* ‘ox’ and ON *tūn* but formally ON *oxi* and ON *tún* are possible.

**Thornton (Hough)** *Torintone* (1086); *Thornton* (p) (1260). *PNCh* (iv:230) gives OE/ON *þorn* ‘thorn-bush’ (and, perplexingly as all but one of the spellings have medial <o>, OE *þyrne*) and OE *tūn* but formally ON *tún* is possible.

**Upton**<sup>177</sup> *Optone* (1086). *PNCh* (iv:305) interprets the name as a compound of OE *upp* ‘up’ and OE *tūn*. but formally, the elements could also be ON *upp*, *uppi* ‘up, above’ and ON *tún*. An OE etymology might be thought more likely as the name is a recurrent compound: Watts (2004: s.v. Upton and Upton Lovell) noted thirty-seven instances of the name and analysed it as a compound meaning ‘higher settlement’, whilst Jones (2012:301) noted sixty-four examples of the name in documents datable to before 1500. However, *Norske Gaardnavne* (N xi:405 and xii:10) lists two instances of a Norwegian farm name *Optun* (although an early form of one name suggests earlier \**Øfstatún* ‘uppermost farm’ <ON *ǫfstr*, *efstr*). Nevertheless, the greater frequency of the compound in English place-names means an English origin is more likely if not provable.

**Upton**<sup>178</sup> *Hupton* (958 (13th c.)). See Upton (above).

**Whitby** *Witeberia* (1096–1101 (1150), 1150); *Witebia* (1096–1101 (1280)) (and at least twenty further forms suggesting ON *-bý(r)*). *PNCh* (iv:198) interprets as a compound of OE *hwīt* ‘white, stone-built’ and OE *burh* with later replacement by ON *bý(r)*. Formally, however, the specific could be ON *hvítr* ‘white’ and the name could be a Scandinavian name. This uncertainty is reflected in the various interpretations of the name. Fellows-Jensen (1985:12 and 43) seems to prefer to see the name as originally Scandinavian, arguing for replacement of ON *-bý(r)* by OE *-byrig* (but acknowledging the former could alternatively have replaced the latter). Conversely, Coates (2011:373) (who nevertheless admits to being sceptical about the number of fortified sites apparently in the area) follows *PNCh*’s interpretation. Here, it has been decided that the evidence is too inconclusive to decide either way.

#### *Scandinavian Names*

There are twelve names that are likely to be Scandinavian in their entirety. These can be further divided into names formed with the specific *-bý(r)*, the

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<sup>177</sup> Overchurch Parish.

<sup>178</sup> St Mary on the Hill parish.

so-called ‘Grimston/Toton-’ and ‘Carlton-hybrids’ and the remaining Scandinavian names, which are mainly topographical names.

*Names in -bý(r) ‘settlement, village’*

Five of the names in *-bý(r)* are unproblematic and have spellings that consistently indicate the generic *bý(r)* (although, for reasons discussed below, one of these five names, Frankby, is considered a ME formation). However, the spellings of three names show competing forms deriving from OE *burh* and may be Scandinavianisations of the English element or Anglicisations of earlier Scandinavian names. One of these, Greasby, is discussed below as an instance of a Scandinavianisation of an English name. As argued above, early forms of the names Irby and Whitby are too inconclusive to decide whether the names were originally English or Scandinavian formations. The names in *-bý(r)* for which there is little or no evidence of competing forms with OE *-burh* are:

**Pensby** *Penisby* (p) (c.1229); *Penlisby* (p) (1307). *PNCh* (iv:271) analyses as PrWelsh *penn* ‘top, end’ (treated as a place-name) and ON *bý(r)* and notes the suitability of the topography as the settlement lies under the slopes of a prominent hill; forms with medial <l> may indicate a form of the name with epexegetic OE *hyll*. As the survival of Brittonic in Wirral as late as the early tenth century is unlikely, this name is here considered a Scandinavian name incorporating an earlier place-name of Brittonic origin transmitted through OE.

**Raby** *Rabie* (1086). ON *rá* ‘boundary’ and ON *bý(r)*. *PNCh* (iv:228–29) notes similar place-names Roby (Lancashire), Raby (Cumberland) and Raby (Co. Durham) and suggests that the place-name probably refers to the confines of a Scandinavian enclave. Indeed, Raby (Cumberland) and Raby (Lancashire) are near or on parish boundaries (*PNCu*:292; Ekwall 1922:113). However, OE/ON *rā/rá* ‘roe-deer’ is a formal possibility. Indeed, in Scandinavian place-name scholarship, it seems the matter of whether the specific refers to a boundary or a roe-deer is undecided. The specific in the Swedish and Danish place-names Råby may be either ‘boundary (mark)’ or

‘roe-deer’ (Wahlberg et al. 2003: s.v. Råby-Rönö; *DS* xvi:66). The presence of a known later boundary here (see below) makes the sense ‘boundary’ perhaps more convincing. Regardless of how the first element is interpreted, there is no good reason to argue against a Scandinavian name, particularly given the existence of the name in Scandinavia.

**Kirkby** (now Wallasey) *Kirkeby in Waleya* (c.1180–1245) < ON \**kirkju-bý(r)* ‘church-village’ (*PNCh* iv:332) + an OE district name. The compound occurs frequently in areas of Scandinavian settlement (Smith 1956: s.v. *kirkju-bý(r)*).

(**West**) **Kirby** *Cherchebia* (1081 (12th c.)), *Cerchebia* (1081 (17th c.)), *Chercabia* (12th c.), *Kirkeby*, *Kyrkeby* (*in Wyrhale*) (1137–47 (1271), (14th c.)). As *Kirkby* (in Wallasey), this is ON *kirkju-bý(r)* (*PNCh* iv:294–95). Some eleventh- and twelfth-century forms with initial and medial <ch> (of which there are far fewer than those with initial and medial /k/) may reflect OE *cirice* ‘church’; however, determining whether <ch> reflects /tʃ/ or /k/ in the period of these records (the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries) is problematic (Chapter Two). In any case, the common occurrence of the name Kir(k)by suggests the existence of a meaningful compound *kirkju-bý(r)* and would mean that forms reflecting OE *cirice* would be best interpreted as partial Anglicisations of an originally Scandinavian name.

#### *‘Hybrid’ place-names in -tūn?*

Four place-names in Wirral consist of a Scandinavian-derived personal-name or noun compounded with the final element OE/ON *tūn/tún*. In such contexts, the generic is usually interpreted as OE *tūn* ‘enclosure, farmstead, estate, village’ as the cognate element *tún* ‘enclosure’ is far rarer in Scandinavia, especially in East Scandinavian areas (Smith 1956: s.v. *tūn*). Such names have been interpreted as ‘hybrid’ names, termed ‘Grimston-hybrids’ or, more recently, ‘Toton-hybrids’ (Fellows-Jensen 1972:203). In eastern England, place-names compounding so-called OE *tūn* with a Scandinavian personal name have been interpreted as reflecting estate take-over by Scandinavians (although possibly just people with Scandinavian names) and the subsequent

renaming of the estates under Scandinavian control (Cameron 1971; Fellows-Jensen 1972:109; 1978:368; 1985:180–81).

However, the validity of the term ‘hybrid’ as applied to place-names has repeatedly been queried (Richard Cox 1988–89; Sandnes 2005; Coates 2008:50). For instance, Richard Cox (1988–89:2–4) has argued that a name like *Loch Lacsabhat* is a Gaelic formation including an existing name (< ON \**Laxavatn* ‘lake of the salmon’) as its specific. Berit Sandnes (2005:176–77) has similarly distinguished Orkney formations that are Scots but incorporate a name or word borrowed from Norse, further noting that hybrid formations – involving code-shift within the unit of a name – are generally not considered possible linguistically. Thus, a name like *Lambsquoy*, showing a Scots inflexion on the specific, is probably a Scots formation using *quoy* ‘enclosure’, a word borrowed into the local dialect (in contrast to *Lamaquoy*, whose medial /a/ reflects an ON genitive plural). The doubt that has reasonably been cast on the existence of ‘hybrid’ place-names requires that a decision be made about the languages of formation of the place-names previously termed ‘hybrids’. The so-called ‘hybrids’ could therefore be classed as English names using borrowed Scandinavian elements and personal names or as Scandinavian names using borrowed OE *tūn* (although ON *tún* could theoretically have been used) (Parsons 2001:308–09).

However, ON *tún* occurs, if more rarely than in England, as a generic in place-names from across Scandinavia (Jørgensen 2008: s.v. *tun*; Coates 2011:371; Appendix to Chapter Two). Consequently, some instances of *tūn/tún* in place names in areas of Scandinavian settlement in England could formally be ON *tún* rather than OE *tūn* and need not be termed ‘hybrids’ at all. In other cases, it is a possibility that familiarity with ON *tún* might have facilitated the borrowing of OE *tūn* without a great deal of difficulty (cf. Townend 2013:117–20). In the case of the so-called ‘hybrids’ in *-tun* from Wirral, inflectional material cannot demonstrate whether the names were Scandinavian or English formations. Coates (2011:370–73) similarly argues that the possibility of these being Scandinavian names should at least be considered. As names in *tūn/tún* in England could be Scandinavian formations, such names here which have a Scandinavian-derived specific

have been classified as Scandinavian names as more of their lexical content is certainly Scandinavian than is certainly English. This is, however, more likely to be true for those place-names with a Scandinavian noun rather than personal name as a specific, since the latter need not have been borne by a Scandinavian-speaker. The names are:

**Gayton** *Gaitone* (1086). Probably ON *geit* ‘goat’ and OE/ON *tūn/tún* (*PNCh* iv:275). Alternatively, the specific may be an unrecorded personal name OE *\*Gæga* (related to OE *forgægan* ‘to transgress’), the reflex of which would also satisfactorily explain the ME spellings <ai, ay, ei, ey> (Ekwall 1960: s.v. Gayton; cf. Orel 2003: s.v. *\*zaiǰjanan* ~ *\*zaiǰōjanan*; Kristensson 1987:182).

**Larton** *Layrton* (1291). ON *leirr* ‘clay’ and OE/ON *tūn/tún* (*PNCh* iv:300–01).

**Storeton** *Stortone* (1086), *Magna Stortton* (13th c.). ON *stórr* ‘large’ (or ON *storð* ‘young wood’ in the thirteenth-century form) and OE/ON *tūn/tún* (*PNCh* iv:253–54).

**Thurstaston** *Turstanetone* (1086), *Turstemeston* (for <-teines->; 1121–29 (1280)), *Tursteineston* (p) (1202–29). ON personal name *Þorsteinn* (Anglicised in most forms) and OE/ON *tūn/tún* (*PNCh* iv:279–80).

#### *Other Scandinavian Names*

(**Great, Little**) **Meols** *Melas* (1086), *Molis* (1195–1205 until 1338), *Moeles* (1228–*et freq.* to 1432). ON *melr* ‘sandbank’ (*PNCh* iv:296–98).

**Thingwall** *Tinguelle* (lit. *Tuig-*; 1086), *Thingwalle* (12th c. (17th c.)). ON *þing-vǫllr* ‘plain where an assembly meets’, parallel to Thingwall near Liverpool on the other side of the Mersey (*PNCh* iv:273).

**Tranmere** *Tranemul* (112th c. *et freq.*), *Tranemol* (e13th c. *et freq.*), *Tranemor* (1260 (p) *et freq.*), *Tranemel* (1290). Probably ON *trani* ‘crane’ and ON *melr* ‘sandbank’ (*PNCh* iv:257–58). ON *mǫl* ‘mound of pebbles’ was suggested by Sørensen to explain spellings in <-mul> and <-mol> (*PNCh* iv:258). However, Dodgson dismisses this (*PNCh* iv:258 and 297) on the grounds that the early forms of Tranmere and Meols instead reflect a more

widespread apparent rounding of /e/ in plural forms of ON *melr* in English place-names, perhaps due to vocalisation of /l/ before a following /s/.<sup>179</sup>

### *Scandinavianised Old English Names*

Two major names in Wirral seem to be Scandinavianisation of English names:

**Birkenhead** *Bircheveth* (1190–1216), *Byrkeheveht* (1259), *Byrchenid* (p) (1277). OE *birce* ‘birch’ and OE *bircen* ‘of birch’ and OE *hēafod* ‘head, headland, promontory’. Scandinavianisation can be seen in the replacement of OE \*/f/ by \*/k/ through the influence of ON *birki* and in the final dental of OE *hēafod* being replaced by a fricative (cf. ON *hǫfuð*) in some forms (*PNCh* iv:313–14).

**Greasby** *Gravesberie* (1086); four eleventh- or twelfth-century forms with *-byri*, *-biri*, *beri* and one fourteenth-century occurrence of *-bury*); *Grauisby* (1096–1101 (1280)); approximately forty further forms reflecting ON *-bý(r)* from the twelfth century onwards. *PNCh* (iv:291) analyses as OE *grǣfe* ‘wood’ and OE *burh* ‘stronghold’ (dative singular *byrig*) with OE *burh* later replaced by ON *bý(r)*.<sup>180</sup>

### *Scandinavian Influence in the Middle English Period or later*

Four names show Scandinavian influence but may reflect the spread of words and names of Scandinavian origin in the post-Conquest period.

**Frankby** *Frankeby* (1230; (17th c.)). Probably ME *Franke* ‘Frenchman’ and ON *bý(r)*; the first element was earlier explained as an un-

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<sup>179</sup> Similar early forms are known for Meols, Cheshire (see above), Ravensmeols and *Argarmeles* Lancashire (Ekwall 1922:125) and Ingoldmells, Lincolnshire (Watts 2004: s.v. Ingoldmells).

<sup>180</sup> *PNCh* (iv:291–92) adds that *Groseby* (1329 (p)) suggests OE *grāf* ‘grove, copse’, making derivation from OE *græf* ‘a digging, a trench, a grave’, as proposed by Ekwall (1960: s.n. Greasby) unlikely.



assimilated OWN or ODan personal name *Franki*, OWN *Frakki*.<sup>181</sup> However, the record of a Frenchman holding land in Little Caldy in 1086 ('unus Francigena ... habet ii carucas') is compelling evidence to believe this to be a post-Conquest formation with the ethnonym as the specific (*PNCh* iv:287–88). This implies that ON *bý(r)* was productive in the region at least into the late eleventh century.

**Lingham**<sup>182</sup> *Langholme Farm & Lane* (1831). Ostensibly OE/ON *lang/langr* and ON *holmr* 'island (in marsh)'. However, the name is recorded late and the possibility that this is a Middle or Modern English formation cannot be excluded, particularly as *holmr* was borrowed into ME and used across Cheshire (Gelling 1995:190).

**Great Mollington** was formerly also known as **Mollington Torold**, the earliest instance of the affix being the 1286 form *Molynton Thorot*; the majority of recorded forms suggest, like the recorded pronunciation ['tɒroud], pronunciation with /t/ rather than /θ/ from an early stage (*PNCh* iv:177–78). *PNCh* notes that the affix is that of a family who owned land in Mollington from 1271 and that the surname derives from ON *þór(v)aldr*, which appears to be a predominantly West Scandinavian name (Insley with Rollason 2007b:236). However, the occurrence of the Scandinavian-derived name in the region need not reflect local practices of Scandinavian naming. The name is rare in pre-Conquest records but more common after the Conquest and was particularly common in Normandy (des Gautries 1954:171–73 and 342–47; Insley with Rollason 2007b:236) and the evidence for pronunciation with /t/ favours the interpretation that the name could be a post-Conquest Norman introduction. The name is, however, recorded in the area in the pre-Conquest period as the name of a Chester moneyer (see above).

**Woodbank** (*olim* Rough Shotwick) is first recorded in 1260 as *Wodebonc* (p); however, the name appears to be recorded in a variant form as *le bonk* in Rough Shotwick (13th c.; *PNCh* iv:208–09). The name is

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<sup>181</sup> Fellows-Jensen (1983a:50) compared the name \**Franki frąka* in a runic inscription from Man, suggesting an unassimilated form would be possible in the late tenth century.

<sup>182</sup> Moreton cum Lingham.

transparently ME *wode* (< OE *wudu*) and ME *bank(e)* (< OEN *banke*) and arguably the thirteenth-century description *le bonk* suggests the name in its present form only came into existence about this time and should be viewed as a ME formation.

### *Goidelic Names*

Two place-names are most probably Goidelic place-names, and a further name may well be (in addition to a Scandinavian name indicating the presence of Irishmen in Wirral discussed above):

**Arrowe** *Arwe* (1240–49), *Argh'* (p) (1296). Probably Goidelic *áirge* 'shieling' borrowed into ON as ON *árgi*, but possibly a Brittonic river-name identical to that of the River Arrow in Wales and Herefordshire (*PNCh* iv:261–62; Ekwall 1928:17–18; Fellows-Jensen 1985:61). Fellows-Jensen (1980:68–9; 1983a:50) suggested that ON *árgi* was brought to Wirral by settlers from Man, as the element is rare in Ireland but more widespread on Man. However, as discussed in Chapter Four, the wider distribution of the element along the western seaboard of Scotland suggests a large area where the element could have been adopted and means that its precise geographical origin remains uncertain.

**Liscard** *Lisnekarke* (13th c.). OIr/MIr *lios na carraige* 'hall at the rock' (Coates 1997–98:23–24). Coates' suggestion that the name is Old or Middle Irish obviates certain problems with the PrWelsh etymology *\*lis an garreg* 'hall at the rock' proposed by Ekwall and accepted by Dodgson (Ekwall 1960 s.v. Liscard; *PNCh* iv:324–26).<sup>183</sup>

**Noctorum** *Chenoterie* (1086), *Cnoctyrum* (1119 (1150)). Goidelic *cnocc* 'hill, hillock' and Goidelic *tírim* 'dry' (cf. ScGael., Manx *tirim*), apparently a topographically appropriate interpretation as

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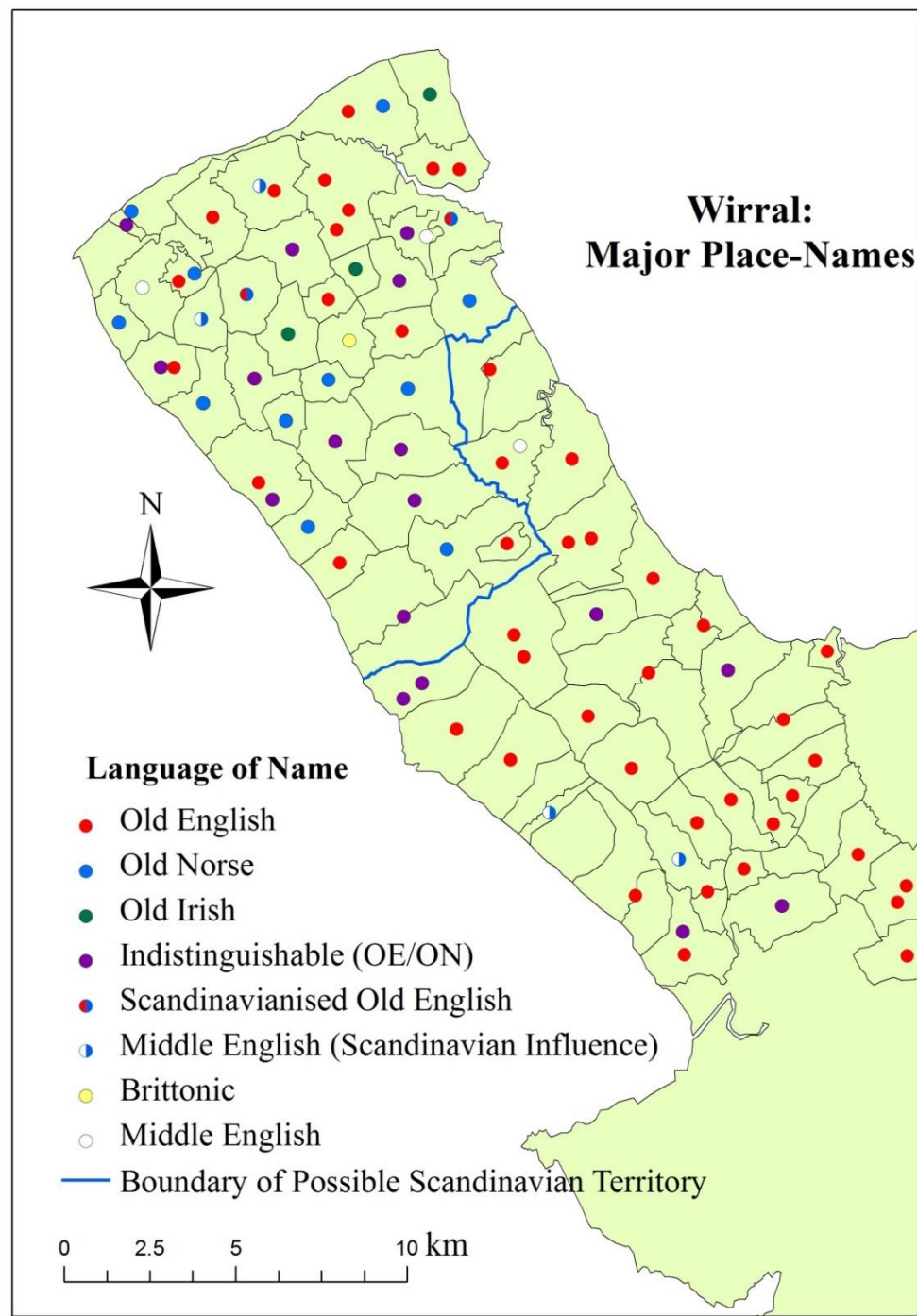
<sup>183</sup> Namely the need to postulate an early form of the definite article parallel to Cumbric *\*en*, representation of lenited *\*/k/* (i.e. */g/*) by */k/* and reduction of *-reg* in a syllable stressed in Welsh.

early-nineteenth-century records indicate that the hamlet was on an elevation above marshy land (*PNCh* iv:268–69).

*Summary: Numbers and Distribution of Names of English, Irish and Scandinavian Origin*

Although English and Brittonic major names are in the majority in Wirral, accounting for forty-seven place-names (of which three are ME names) as well as one of the competing forms of Caldy, there are a significant number of names showing some level of Scandinavian influence. Eleven are probably Scandinavian in their entirety, and a further two are best accounted for as Scandinavianisations of English names. During the post-Conquest period, a further four names show some level of Scandinavian linguistic input, although this need not reflect a Scandinavian presence in the area itself in the case of Woodbank and Mollington Torold. Two or three names are best explained as Goidelic names.

As the map on the following page demonstrates, the Scandinavian and Goidelic names are found predominantly in the north-western end of the peninsula. (The reasons for dividing the peninsula in the manner shown are discussed below.) This contrasts with the names that show Scandinavian input in the post-Conquest period, only one of which is found in the northwest of the peninsula. Indeed, in northwest Wirral, the Norse and Goidelic names account for fifteen names, rivalling the English names, of which there are sixteen (seventeen counting the English variant of Caldy), in number. Further, two of the English names, Birkenhead and Greasby, appear to have been Scandinavianised.



Shapefiles: KO 2001, SB2004.

## *Interpretations*

### *1. The Ingimundr Episode*

The major place-names of Wirral indicative of the presence of Scandinavian and Goidelic speakers have long been held to reflect an immigration of Scandinavians into northwest Wirral. In the 1940s, Wainwright linked the Scandinavian and Goidelic place-names in Wirral with the episode recorded in the text known as the *Three Fragments* discussed above and noted the presence of moneyers at Chester with Irish names (Wainwright 1943; 1948). The linking of the episode with Scandinavian settlement in Wirral has been widely accepted (Thacker 1987:249–50; Jesch 2000:2–3).

There are indeed several indications that northwest Wirral had a distinctive administrative structure. Dodgson (1957:309–12) argued for the existence of a minor hundred in northwest Wirral, *Caleihundredum*, recorded in a Pipe Roll dated to 1182 and apparently coterminous with certain post-Conquest land-holdings, of which Raby and Hargrave marked the southern boundary. Dodgson then argued that the existence of a *ping* at Thingwall and the concentration of Norse place-names in the area suggested that this was an area under Norse control as shown on the following map:

*Images have been removed from the online version of this thesis. A hard-bound copy is available in the Institute for Name-Studies, University of Nottingham. Alternatively, contact the author.*

### Wirral's Major Names and the Boundary of the Supposed Norse Enclave

(Dodgson 1957:206)

However, Margaret Gelling suggested a slight modification to the course of events sketched by Wainwright. Gelling (1992:132–34; 1995:193–94) noted problems with the link between the Ingimundr episode and Scandinavian settlement in Wirral, as the land granted to Ingimundr was near Chester whilst north-west Wirral is some distance from Chester, and as some of the place-names in *-bý(r)* are on poorer quality land. Gelling suggested instead that the lands settled by Ingimundr's followers were closer to Chester but that the names were not Scandinavianised; the presence of these lords did, however, permit immigration of further Norse settlers into relatively unsettled lands in northern Wirral, where new settlements were founded with Norse names and some existing ones Scandinavianised (Kirkby, Greasby and perhaps Whitby). However, it is unclear whether north-west Wirral really was sparsely populated; indeed, the considerable evidence for trading activity in north-west Wirral detailed above, and the presumed existence of a church at Kirkby by the time the name was formed, imply otherwise.

As tempting as it is to link the evidence for a Scandinavian and Irish presence in Wirral with a recorded event, any link between the Ingimundr episode and Scandinavian settlement in Wirral remains uncertain. N. Higham (2004:298) highlights Wirral's proximity to areas of Scandinavian settlement in Lancashire and the existence of a ferry crossing at Birkenhead, known to have been significant in later centuries, meaning that Scandinavian place-names in Wirral could reflect settlement from the northern bank of the Mersey (although he by no means rules out the historicity of the Ingimundr episode).

## *2. Settlement from the Isle of Man?*

### The Problem of the *-by(r)* Names in the North-West

A radically different explanation for Scandinavian settlement in Wirral was proposed by Fellows-Jensen (1983a) to explain the occurrence of the element *-by(r)* in Wirral, which has generally been linked with Danish settlement in England.

### Perambulating Danes?

Fellows-Jensen explained the place-names in *-by(r)* in areas of northwest England, southwest Scotland and the Isle of Man as resulting ultimately from immigration by Danish settlers from eastern England. Fellows-Jensen proposed that these settlers moved across the Pennines and went, via the Eden Valley, to Carlisle, whence some continued northwards into eastern Dumfriesshire and others made their way southwards along the coastal plain of Cumberland, some then continuing to the Isle of Man and thence to Wirral and South Lancashire (Fellows-Jensen 1985:287–89; 1983a:46–50). Besides the need to explain why the element is used in the North-West, Fellows-Jensen argued that names of identical etymology in the Danelaw and the regions subsequently (in her view) settled by East Scandinavian speakers indicated the movement of people between the regions.

It is implicit that Fellows-Jensen views these names in some respect as transferred names. Fellows-Jensen (1983b:49) argued that thirteen of twenty-

eight Manx place-names in *-bý(r)* which are doublets of names in Cumbria or Yorkshire suggested ‘a northern English origin for the Scandinavian settlers in Man’. The names are Colby (twice), Crosby (twice), Dalby, Jurby, Kirby, Raby, Rheaby, Surby and Sulby (thrice) (Fellows-Jensen 1992:27). Additional evidence noted in support of links between northwest England and Man includes the Ballaquayle coin hoard, composed predominantly of coins from mints in northwest England and deposited c.975 (Fellows-Jensen 1983a:48; cf. Graham-Campbell 1983:57). However, Fellows-Jensen (1983a:46) notes that all other words and all personal names used in place-names that can be distinguished in East and West Scandinavian forms occur on Man in West Scandinavian forms, with the exception of the personal name *Tófa* recorded in a runic inscription, supporting the view that the settlement was predominantly Norwegian. Fellows-Jensen (2001) has more recently allowed for the possibility that some of the Manx *-bý(r)* names might have been transferred to Man from mainland Britain during the period of English administration under Sir John Stanley, who was granted the island in 1405, after which there was significant immigration from the mainland (more specifically, probably largely from Lancashire). However, she still believes that the majority of Manx *-bý(r)* names predate this, although this can only be proven for a handful of names which are recorded before the fifteenth century (Fellows-Jensen 2001:46).<sup>184</sup>

To explain the subsequent migration from Man to Wirral and southwest Lancashire, Fellows-Jensen (1983b:49) highlighted place-name doublets in Man and Wirral and/or southwest Lancashire. The names that also occur in Man are: (in Wirral) (West) Kirby, Kirby, Raby and Thingwall and (in southwest Lancashire) Crosby, (West) Derby, Kirkby, Roby, Sowerby and

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<sup>184</sup> Derby cannot be a form transferred from *Derby* names in England as the Manx form was recorded by the Stanley administrators as *Jourby* whilst late-medieval forms of places in England named Derby seem to have been pronounced with initial /d-/ (Fellows-Jensen 2001:39; *PNDb*:446; Ekwall 1922: 93 and 114; Kenyon 1974–75:55 and 64). Four names are recorded from the period before English administration: a (lost) *Brottby* (post 1360 (16th c.)), Kirby (*Kyrkbye* post 1360 (16th c.)), Tosaby (*Totmanbu* c.1280) and Sulby (*Sulaby* c.1280) (Fellows-Jensen 2001:40–41).



Thingwall. Fellows-Jensen argued (1983a:49–50) that further evidence suggested a link between Man and Wirral/southwest Lancashire: Goidelic place-names in Wirral, the use of ON *árgi* alongside *-bý(r)* (not known to have been used by Scandinavians in Ireland), the rare personal name *Frakki* found in a runic inscription from Man and (Fellows-Jensen argued) the Wirral place-name Frankby (but see above), and the possible occurrence of ON *staðr* in Croxteth and Toxteth.

### Objections to the ‘anti-clockwise movement’ theory

However, it is questionable whether the anti-clockwise movement of Danes supposed by Fellows-Jensen is really necessary to explain the place-name evidence, when the Irish Sea area could alternatively be viewed as a particular (Hiberno-)Norse *Sprachraum* with – like other areas over which a dialect or language is spoken – linguistic features shared with neighbouring speech-communities. It is not normally assumed that because a linguistic feature is common to an area, itinerant speakers moved throughout the area carrying the feature with them; rather, diffusion of features across the area as speakers adopted features from neighbouring speakers would be assumed. Looked at in this light, it is perhaps unnecessary to envisage Danish settlers moving around the North West (and speedily at that)<sup>185</sup> and leaving traces of their presence in the major names as they travelled.

However, more specific objections to Fellows-Jensen’s argument can be made. On the one hand, it seems likely that the element *-bý(r)* (OWN *bær*) could have been – and probably was – used by West Scandinavian speakers in Britain in place-names where the form of the element is indistinguishable from the East Scandinavian form of the element (see Chapter Four). Indeed, there is a case for arguing instead that some of the place-names Fellows-Jensen uses as evidence are more likely to be West than East Scandinavian. Further, the evidence of the supposed occurrence of transposed names in the regions might

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<sup>185</sup> The speed at which these movements would need to have taken place, probably entirely within the tenth century, was highlighted by Grant (2003:273–74).

not be convincing enough an indication of migration to support the weight of the argument depending on it. Fellows-Jensen's explanation for the *-bý(r)* names in the North-West has been evaluated in detail by Alison Grant (2003), and what follows is heavily indebted to her analysis of Fellows-Jensen's evidence. However, here the issues will be examined principally with reference to Wirral, but considering the wider Irish Sea context where relevant.

### 1. Could Names in *-bý(r)* be OWN formations?

ON *\*bý(r)* 'settlement, village' occurs in areas of Scandinavian settlement in England and is generally interpreted as ODan *-bȳ* rather than the OWN side-form *-bær*, partly due to the distribution of names in *-bær/bȳ* in Scandinavia and Britain, partly due to the phonological form occurring, and partly due to a perceived difference in meaning in Denmark and Norway. The security of these claims is examined in the following section.

ON *-bý(r)* occurs frequently in areas of probable East Scandinavian settlement in Eastern England and occurs infrequently in areas of predominantly West Scandinavian settlement in the North Atlantic, except in the simplex form (which is common in Norway) and the compound *\*húsabær*, which occur in the Northern and Western Isles (Fellows-Jensen 1983b:49; 1985:10; Hovda 1957:384). However, there are grounds for arguing that some of the names in *-bý(r)* in northwest England and southern Scotland have better West than East Scandinavian parallels. Grant (2003:258–59) observes that *\*saurr-bý(r)* 'mud-, swamp-village' (giving Surby on Man and Sorbie in Ayrshire) is found in Norway,<sup>186</sup> Iceland, and along the Western Seaboard of Scotland (for instance Soroba near Oban, Soroby on Tiree and Soriby on Mull) but only rarely in Denmark.<sup>187</sup> Further, some Manx *bý(r)*-names have a Hiberno-Norse distribution (Crosby, Cragby) and one, Slegaby, has an

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<sup>186</sup> Searching 'Saurbýr' in *NG* gives ten results from Akershus og Oslo, Buskerud, Hedmark, Vestfold, Sogn og Fjordane, Østfold and Rogaland.

<sup>187</sup> For instance, Sørby, Lolland (*Sørby agger* 1616; *DS* xi:155) and Sørby, Langeland (*Sørby tycke* 1572; *DS* xiii:228).

ostensibly West Scandinavian specific ON *slakki* (Grant 2003:260–61 and 268). Indeed, Fellows-Jensen (1983b:46) has noted that the *bý(r)*-names in the North-West are compounded with a personal name less frequently than in the Danelaw, which supports the idea that at least a proportion of them can be seen as in some ways closer to practices in Scandinavia than their Danelaw counterparts.

It has also been argued that the form the element takes in place-names in England reflects the East Scandinavian, rather than the West Scandinavian, phonological form. *VEPN*, citing Fellows-Jensen, claims that we would expect the spellings <be> (rather than <by> and <bi>) in areas where the OWN form *-bær* was used (*VEPN* s.v. *bý*; Fellows-Jensen 1985:316). However, /bi/ seems possible as a reflex of OWN *bær* in unstressed position and *býr* was apparently a common East Norwegian and North Norwegian form (Ekwall 1918:8). Fellows-Jensen (1985:316) similarly observed that the element as a generic is weakened to /-bi(:)/ in the Northern Isles and it is only in simplex forms that forms suggestive of *Bø*, *Bea* are found; she further notes that analogy with OEN-derived forms in England would further encourage this development. Thus, forms of /bi/ where the element occurs as a generic could reflect OWN *bær* that had developed to /bi/ in unstressed position.

Finally, ON *bý(r)* has been observed to be used of similar settlements in Denmark and England, where the element was used of nucleated villages, but not in Norway (and some areas of Sweden), where *bý(r)* tended to be used of single farmsteads (*VEPN*: s.v. *bý*; Fellows-Jensen 1985:10; Hovda 1957:381). However, Fellows-Jensen (1985:10) notes that in Denmark *-bý* could also be used of single farms, dependent secondary settlements and areas of dispersed settlement, so the distinction seems to be less clear-cut than usually envisaged. Further, the antiquity of these various usages is unclear: it has been suggested that the element meant simply ‘settlement’ before taking on the more specialised meanings ‘village’ and ‘single farm’ in certain areas, but I am not aware that anyone has proposed datings for the developments of these meanings (Hovda 1957:381).

In summary, then, it seems likely that the element was used by West Scandinavian speakers in Britain, so it is not safe to use ON *bý(r)* as a ‘test-

word' for Danish, i.e. East Scandinavian, linguistic influence. However, the instances of the use of *-bý(r)* in a West Scandinavian context still do not explain why the element was used more frequently in the North-West than in other areas of supposedly West Scandinavian settlement, which had been interpreted by Fellows-Jensen (noting 151 *-bý(r)* names in the North-West) as evidence for a Danish presence in the region (Fellows-Jensen 1983b:49). (The probability of some of these names, however, being late post-Conquest formations is discussed further below.) In this respect, Grant's more nuanced interpretation (2003:270–71) that the use of *-bý(r)* by predominantly West Scandinavian speakers around the Irish Sea may have been augmented (perhaps at the expense of the use of elements like *staðr*) by contact with East Scandinavian speakers seems a more plausible explanation.<sup>188</sup> Rather than necessitating the presence of large numbers of East Scandinavian speakers, this interpretation means that the names can be interpreted as West Scandinavian formations, albeit reflecting some degree of contact with East Scandinavian speakers.

## 2. Transferred names or coincidentally identical formations?

The strength of the evidence of the place-name doublets occurring both on the Isle of Man and in areas of Scandinavian settlement in England has been questioned by Gelling, who interprets the names as being coincidentally parallel formations (Gelling 1991:149–50):

These coincidences only demonstrate that people who share a great deal of inherited vocabulary, and perhaps an inherited notion of what a settlement should be like, will produce the same place-names in response to similar circumstances without any actual contact between the inhabitants of the several Dalbys or Rabys. [...] One would not use English names like Eaton, Houghton, Moreton, Wootton in this sort of argument.

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<sup>188</sup> Possible East Scandinavian influence on two Manx runic inscriptions is discussed by Barnes (2012:72).

Gelling's objections highlight a potentially serious flaw in the evidence for movement from Man to Wirral (and southwest Lancashire). If the parallels between Wirral and Man are examined, the occurrence of the place-name Kir(k)by in both areas cannot carry much weight, since this is such a common place-name in areas of Scandinavian settlement in England (as noted above). Similarly, Roby/Raby is a relatively commonly occurring place-name known both from other areas of Scandinavian settlement in England, Denmark and Sweden, and the occurrence of the Thingwall/Tynwald place-names in both areas – a place name occurring widely in the Scandinavian world – demonstrates only the continuation of a Scandinavian establishment in the areas of Scandinavian settlement outside Scandinavia.<sup>189</sup>

The doublets from southwest Lancashire and Man could similarly be coincidentally parallel formations. Sowerby is a place-name of relatively widespread occurrence especially in areas of supposed West Scandinavian settlement (Grant 2003:258–59). Similarly, the place-name Crosby, the specific of which is ON *kross*- 'cross' (a Goidelic loanword), is of relatively frequent occurrence around the Irish Sea and may well have originated there, as discussed by Grant (2003:259–60). Finally, Derby/Jurby reflects a place-name from a compound noun *djúra-bý(r)* 'deer farm' known from Denmark, perhaps occurring in the Lincolnshire place-name Swinderby and at least influencing the form of Derby in the East Midlands (Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Dyreby; Watts 2004: s.n. Swinderby; Carroll and Parsons 2007:117–19).

Examination of the major name doublets shared between Man and Wirral and West Lancashire supports Gelling's objections to Fellows-Jensen's 'anti-clockwise movement' idea. The doublets are all names that are relatively common in Scandinavia or areas of Scandinavian settlement in Britain (and, in

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<sup>189</sup> The most well-known example is *Thingvellir* in Iceland; further instances from the British Isles are Tingwall (Orkney and Shetland), *Tiongal* (in Cnoc an Tiongalairidh, Lewis), Dingwall (Ross and Cromarty), Tinwald (Dumfriesshire), Dingbell Hill (Northumberland) and two lost names (*Glen Tinwhil* (1733, Skye) and *Thingwala* (12th c.; North Riding of Yorkshire) (Marwick 1952:121; Nicolaisen 1976:119–20; Fellows-Jensen 1993).

most cases, in areas of predominantly West Scandinavian settlement in particular). There is therefore little reason why these coincidentally identical names could not have arisen both in Man and in Wirral and West Lancashire.

#### A Manx element to the Wirral Settlement?

Consideration of the detail of Fellows-Jensen's argument for a settlement into Wirral from Man suggests that the evidence is not especially compelling. The place-name doublets found in Wirral and Man are all more widely occurring compounds of common nouns with ON *-bý(r)* (and the same is true of the Southwest Lancashire examples). Gelling's suggestion that these are coincidentally parallel formations seems a satisfactory explanation for the doublets and thus there is no need to argue for movement between Wirral and Man to explain them. Additionally, as was discussed under the place-name Frankby above, the interpretation of the first element as an early form of a (rare) West Scandinavian personal name *Frakki* is not the simplest or the most convincing interpretation of this name and can therefore be dismissed as of any significance in arguing for Manx immigration into Wirral. Indeed, the parallels between the place-names of the two areas are more generally explicable as reflecting features of the language spoken around the Irish Sea in the period and this explains the possible use of ON *áergi* 'shieling', a Goidelic loanword found across areas of Scandinavian settlement both around the North Sea and the Northern Isles and as far north as the Faroes. This is not to deny that there were links between Man and Wirral, but rather to argue that contacts between Man and Wirral need not have been any more significant than contacts between Wirral and other areas around the Irish Sea.

## The Minor Names of Wirral

### *Method*

#### *Area and Period Investigated*

All 584 minor names recorded before 1500 from the Domesday Hundred of *Wilaveston* and published in *PNCh* (and addenda) have been analysed. The boundaries of the modern Hundred of Wirral, according to which *PNCh* is organised, include a smaller area than those of the early medieval hundred and consequently the names investigated do not entirely correspond to those published under Wirral Hundred in the Survey volume. Townships formerly part of *Wilaveston* Hundred which are now part of Broxton Hundred are also included.<sup>190</sup> The total area covered is approximately 28,500 hectares.

For names recorded in records datable only to a range of years, the latest possible year of the names' records was taken as the date of first record. This means that a name such as *le Heyegreue* (1250–1300) was considered to have been certainly recorded only by 1300. Centuries were interpreted as running from AD 1–100 and so on, so *le Heyegreue* was considered to have been recorded in the thirteenth century.

#### *Names Considered Minor Names*

The classifications of names as major or minor names made in *PNCh* have not been followed exactly as the distinctions between the names are not strictly based on the nature of the place referred to, as outlined in the guidelines for the preparation of County Surveys (Smith 1954:23–24). These guidelines categorise both names for which a 'fair body of early material exists' and 'names for which early material exists demanding lengthy discussion' as major names (alongside parish names and the names of sizeable settlements or prominent topographical features). Minor names include those 'for which only later material (post 1500) has been found, which is inadequate for

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<sup>190</sup> Viz. Guilden Sutton, Mickle Trafford, Moston (formerly part of Backford parish), Picton, Upton (near Chester) and Wervin (*PNCh* iv:166–67).

etymological purposes or is capable of summary treatment'. The distinction between minor names and field-names is also unclear for the period considered here (i.e. material from before c.1500) as any 'unidentified minor names from earlier documents' are included as field-names. These guidelines therefore suggest that the classification of a name as a major name need not imply the settlement was any more significant than the places referred to by names considered minor names. Similarly they suggest that there is no meaningful distinction for minor names and field-names recorded before c.1500 if the places referred to are now unknown.

In general, major names tend to be recorded earlier than minor names. The date of first record might sometimes be a useful tool in distinguishing major names from minor names in some areas. For instance, Parsons notes (2006:166) that his decision to study only names first recorded after 1100 (and before 1400) meant that that the majority were minor names and field-names, as most major names are recorded in DB or earlier in East Anglia. However, the same cannot be said of all of Wirral's major names. Although the distinction is probably valid for the eleventh and twelfth centuries, twenty-five major names (mainly township names) are first recorded only in the thirteenth century, when many minor names are also recorded.<sup>191</sup> Consequently, the date at which names are first recorded does not seem to be a reliable indicator of the significance of a settlement or a landscape feature.

Instead, all township or ecclesiastical parish names have been classed as major names and, with a few exceptions, the remaining names classed as minor names. However, there are a handful of names for which there are so

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<sup>191</sup> Viz. Arrowe, Bidston, Birkenhead, Crabwall, Brimstage, (Childer) Thornton, Cloughton, Frankby, Oldfield, Hoose, Liscard, (Little) Mollington, Little Saughall, Little Sutton, Moreton, Newton, Larton, Oxton, Pensby, Poulton, Seacombe, Saughall (Massie), Stoke, Wallasey and (Wood)bank. Three township names are not recorded until the fourteenth century; two probably refer to places carved out of older territorial divisions (Shotwick Park and Grange, formerly Great Caldý and Caldý Grange) and one refers to a hospital not founded until at least the late twelfth century (Spital) (*PNCh* iv:210, 251 and 288–89).



many early forms (and variants of these) that the names are presented in the same format as the township and parish names: Plymyard (Eastham), Denhall (Ness) and Wooton (Bidston cum Ford) (*PNCh* iv:187, 220–01 and 310). The number of times these names were recorded in surviving medieval records suggests these were places of significance and they have therefore been classed as major names.<sup>192</sup>

### *Names Excluded*

Decision about which names to include have required consideration of diverse issues. Names recorded only in Latin (or French in one instance) are not considered as it is uncertain what vernacular forms might have been.<sup>193</sup> However, Latinised forms containing non-Latin names have been included (for instance, *boscus vocatus le Groue* (Great Mollington), recording a non-Latin name *Groue*). Material considered to be a description rather than a place-name has not been considered.<sup>194</sup> Minor names inferred only from surnames have not been included (but forms occurring in surnames where

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<sup>192</sup> This raises the question of whether some of the names classed as major names were indeed places of any significance in the medieval period. Oldfield (Heswall cum Oldfield) is recorded only twice before 1500 (and only four times thereafter) and Lingham (Moreton cum Lingham) is not recorded until the nineteenth century (and hence is unproblematic as it would not be included in the corpus if considered a minor name; *PNCh* iv:277 and 319). However, such cases should be the exception rather than the rule, and are far outnumbered by the minor names in the corpus.

<sup>193</sup> The names excluded for this reason are *bruera de Bebington*, *bruerium* (Lower Bebington); *boscus de Hoton*, *le grauntboys de Hoton* (Hooton); *fossatum abbatis Cestr'* (Ledsham), *le molyn de Pulle* (Netherpool) and *pons de Pulton* (Poulton cum Spital).

<sup>194</sup> Under a Woodbank minor name *Litlebach* (*PNCh* iv:209), there is a stream-name recorded as *le sych in fine de brokynlittelbach*; *Brokynlittelbach* has been (hesitantly) classed as a name but *sych* has not been counted as a place-name. Similarly, in the Hooton field-name record *le Nethergap de Coulehey(dyche)*, *Nethergap* has been counted as a description and *Coulehey* as a minor name (with a final element *dyche*) (*PNCh* iv:191).

there is independent evidence for the minor name have been included).<sup>195</sup> In one instance, it is uncertain whether two names or one are recorded,<sup>196</sup> and in a number of other instances names duplicated in adjacent townships have been assigned to one township.<sup>197</sup> The name of a Roman road running from Chester at least as far as Willaston and probably as far as Claughton cum Grange has also been counted only once.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Thus, the surname *Burnhull*, recorded in Ledsham in 1286 but suggested to derive from the nearby place-name *Burnhull* (an earlier name of Shotwick Park), is not considered to be a minor name in Ledsham (*PNCh* iv:210 and 218). Pre-1500 forms of Brimston, a lost name in Brimstage (suggested by Dodgson to be an alternative form for Brimstage) have not been included as the identification of the surname and the place-name is probable but not certain and as the name is not recorded other than in surnames before 1500 (*PNCh* iv:236).

<sup>196</sup> *PNCh* (iv:200) analyses *Reynaldesfeld* (1432), *Rawnuesfeld* (1440) as one name and this has been followed here; however, the second form may instead contain a reflex of OE/ON *Hræfn/Hrafn*.

<sup>197</sup> *Moundesmere* (1343) Capenhurst and Moon's Mare, Woodbank (*Moundesinere* (1369)) (cf. also Moon's Mere (1843), Shotwick) were considered under Woodbank (*PNCh* iv:202 and 208–09); *le Bruchelond* (1432) Lea and *le Bruchelond* (1440) Chorlton were considered under Lea (*PNCh* iv:175 and 177); *Bottislowe*, *Raggedestean* and *Swalwelowe* (all 13th c.) listed under Oxton and Claughton cum Grange were counted under Oxton (*PNCh* iv:271 and 319); *Holmlake* (1209) Great Stanney and *Holmlache* (1209) Stanlow were considered under Stanlow (*PNCh* iv:184 and 186); *Duphyard* (1260–80) Higher Bebington and *le Depeyhard* (1250–1300) Lower Bebington were considered under Higher Bebington (*PNCh* iv:248 and 250); *Cattismetete* (1398) Overpool and (*le-*) *Cattismetete* (1398) Little Sutton were considered under Little Sutton (*PNCh* iv:193 and 196).

<sup>198</sup> The road is termed *le Blakestrete* (1331) in Claughton cum Grange (and identically in 1343 in Capenhurst and at an unclear date in Childer Thornton); here, the name is treated under Claughton cum Grange (*PNCh* iv:198, 202, 232 and 319). *PNCh* (i:39–40) notes that this road ran from Chester, via the boundary of Willaston (and thus Childer Thornton) to Wallasey Pool. It seems likely that this is *le Blakestrete* in Claughton cum Grange (termed the *vicus qui ducit versus Cestr'* in 1357), although further north-west than the road has otherwise been traced (cf. Margary 1973:199–200).

### *Minor Name Distribution*

The data is extremely unevenly distributed; some townships, for instance Frankby, have no minor names recorded before 1500 and others, for instance Caldy, have very many. Consequently, in an attempt to obtain groups of townships with sufficient minor names to discuss, the elements are analysed mainly by ecclesiastical parish. However, certain ecclesiastical parishes do not have many minor names recorded before 1500 (viz. Plemstall with nine, Stoke with eleven, Holy Trinity Chester with four, St Oswald's Chester with two, Heswall with six, Burton with twelve and Thurstaston with four). Here, parishes with fewer than fifteen minor-names recorded before 1500 are counted with the neighbouring parish with the fewest minor-names recorded before 1500. Thus, Stoke, St Oswald's Chester and Plemstall are grouped together, Blacon cum Crabwall is grouped with Upton (St Mary on the Hill), Burton with Neston and Heswall and Thurstaston parishes with Woodchurch parish. Further, the detached Hilbre township is included with West Kirby parish, to which it earlier belonged, Stanlow, probably formerly part of Great Stanney is grouped with Great Stanney, and Shotwick Park, originally part of Shotwick, was grouped with Shotwick (*PNCh* iv:185, 210 and 282). Despite merging these areas considered, the numbers of minor names per unit are very varied; for instance, Overchurch has fifteen minor names and Bebington one hundred and three.

### *Linguistic Classification of Elements*

The elements categorised as ME are something of a mixed bag. The majority, twenty words, are uncontentious post-Conquest borrowings from Romance or are Continental Germanic and Latin personal names only common in England after the Conquest.<sup>199</sup> For several other elements, classification as a Romance

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<sup>199</sup> *OED* (s.vv. fletcher, n., grand, adj. and n., grange, n., hermit, n., mallard, n., marl, n.1, marl-pit, n., park, n. and parrook, n.); *MED* (s.vv. par(r)ok, n., petty, adj. and n., and spitel n.); cf. Smith (1956: s.v. pearroc); cf. Clark (1992b:565).

borrowing is more complex. Some elements may have had OE etyma (although the degree of certainty about the existence of these varies) but are not recorded in place-names before the ME period, and their ME usage seems generally more likely to indicate Romance influence (whether in terms of reinforcing a previously rare form or in terms of phonological or semantic influence).<sup>200</sup> These words are classified as ME as it is impossible to tell whether they would have been used in place-names without Romance influence on the language. Others elements are well-recorded in ME but their

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CGmc personal names: Arnald, Emmot (pet-form of Emma), Henri, Richard, Warin and Wilkin (a diminutive of William < CGmc *Willihelm* with a Flemish-derived diminutive form) (McClure and Rollason 2007a:47, 52, 58, 70–71 and 78; Reaney 1967:156); Latin personal names: James, Mabel, Magot and Stephen (McClure and Rollason 2007b:189, 198, 202, 210).

*Edwenet* is perhaps a Middle English diminutive of either OE Eadwynn or OE Eadwine (*PNCh* iv:179; cf. Reaney 1967:152–56). However, it is noted in the corrections to *PNCh* (iv:xiv) that this name could alternatively be a misreading of *Edeneuetis* – from the Welsh personal name *Ednyfed*.

<sup>200</sup> ME *butte* ‘short strip of arable land’ could derive from OE *\*butta* ‘butt,?stump, ?mound’ (*VEPN*: s.v. *\*butta*; *OED*: s.v. butt, n.3) but derivation or influence from Fr. *bout* ‘end’ (cf. ModE *abut*) may also have been involved (*VEPN*: s.v. *butte*; *OED*: s.v. butt, n.6 and *abut*, v.; *MED*: s.v. but(t)(e), n.3). ME *castel* ‘stronghold’ probably represents Old Northern French *castel* ‘castle, fort’ but is indistinguishable from OE *castel* ‘village, town’ (*OED*: s.v. castle, n.; *TDOE*: s.v. *castel*). ME *lake* ‘a lake’ probably derives from Old French *lac* (*\*/lei/*) but influence from the reflex of OE *lacu* ‘a small stream, a channel’ and/or Lat. *lacus* and/or ON *lækr* might have influenced the pronunciation of the Middle English form (*OED*: s.vv. lake, n.3 and lake, n.4; *MED* s.v. lak(e), n.1). ME *mounde* in Moon’s Mare (*Moundesmere* 14th c.) is interpreted in *PNCh* (iv:209) as meaning ‘the earth’ as the sense ‘hedge, fence, border, mound’ (perhaps from OE *mund* ‘hand, protection’) is only recorded from the fifteenth century (cf. *OED*: s.v. mound, n.1 and mound, n.2). However, the occurrence of (possibly native) *mounde* ‘hedge, fence, border, mound’ cannot be entirely ruled out (indeed, the name is cited by *OED* as a possible antedating of mound, n.2). OE *ōstre* ‘oyster’ (< Lat. *ostrea*) was reinforced by Anglo-Norman/Old French *oistre* (*OED*: s.v. oyster, n. and adj.); the spelling <oy> in *Hoysterlak*, Liscard suggests that this word cannot be derived solely from OE.

etymology is obscure and the decision to class them as ME reflects the fact that their source-language cannot be pinned down with any certainty.<sup>201</sup>

A few elements are formed using Scandinavian (or possibly Scandinavian) elements but show English developments which mean that they cannot be treated as straightforward borrowings or as elements indistinguishable in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms.<sup>202</sup> However, some elements

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<sup>201</sup> ME *\*berse* ‘forest enclosure’ is of obscure etymology but may be connected to Romance and Low German forms (VEPN: s.v. *berse*). ME *leine* ‘strip of arable land’ may derive from the past participle of ME *lien*, but this is uncertain (MED: s.v. *leine*, n.2).

ME *pigh(t)el* may be related to the verb *pitch* and/or the related noun ‘a pitch, a plot of marked-out land’ (OED: s.v. *pightle*, n.; PNCh v(1):304).

The etymology of ME *wrinkel*, ModE *wrinkle*, is obscure (OED: s.v. *wrinkle*, n.1, *wrinkle*, v. and *wrinkled*, adj.1). Two instances of the adjective in the *Toronto Corpus* (*on ða gewrincloda dic* (?1027 (12th c.)), bounds to Abbots Worthy, Hampshire (S962) and in a gloss to *serrata* in Prudentius) suggest a native origin for the adjective. However, evidence for the noun (as found here) in MED (s.v. *wrinklen*, v. and *wrinkle*, n.) is from the late-fourteenth century and later and it seems that the noun may only have developed in the Middle English period.

The specific in *Hondeponnesfeld* (15th c., Bromborough) could be a byname *Honde* (< OE/ON *hand* /*hand* ‘hand’) or the first word in an otherwise unrecorded compound *hand-panne* ‘?salt-pan’, probably of native origin (PNCh iv: iv and 244; cf. OED: s.v. *pan*, n.1).

<sup>202</sup> ME *brend* ‘burnt’ (*the Brankers Pytte* 15th c.) is not a straightforward derivative of either OE *ge-bærned*, *ge-berned* or ON *brent* ‘burnt’. Forms that (with respect to the OE forms) show metathesis in Middle English are usual in southern England in late Middle English and need not reflect influence from ON *brenna* (past participle *brent*) (VEPN: s.v. *brend*). The form <bran-> is most common in the South-West Midlands (VEPN: s.v. *brend*) and suggests that derivation from ON *brent* alone is unlikely.

The adjective *croked* is related to either OE *\*crōc* or ON *krókr* (see Chapter Two) and could be either an adjective derived from a related weak verb or an adjectival formation direct from the noun; derivation directly from ON *krókr* in Old Norse is unlikely as the relevant derivational affix causes *i*-umlaut in ON (OED: s.vv. *crooked*, adj., -ed, suffix1 and -ed, suffix2; TDOE: s.v. -ede).

ME *flashe*, *flask*, *flosh* may derive from ODan. *flask* but French and native origins are also possible (OED: s.vv. *flash*, n.1, *flosh*, n.1 and *flask*, n.1;

*MED*: s.v. flashe, n). The element is not recorded in ON (*ONP*) but a number of Danish minor names are derived from an element *flask*, derived by *ODS* (s.v. flask eller flaske.1 sb.) from ON *flatr*. However, none of these names (Vedsø Flask, Viborgområdet (*Vitsiø flask* 1488; *DS* ix:9), (Inderste-, Yderste-) Flaskeeng, Københavns Amt (*Flasche Engen* 1682; *DS* xix:102)) is particularly early-recorded and it might be unwise to rule out Low German influence here. Indeed, *ODS* (s.v. flask eller flaske.1 sb.) notes the existence of Low German *flatsch*. The element has been considered as Middle English here due to the uncertainties of the derivation.

ME *gild(e)* is not a straightforward reflex of Angl. (*ge*)*geld* (IWSax. (*ge*)*gyld*, and Scandinavian influence may be significant. OE forms are expected to have initial palatal /j/ (before /e/) (which causes diphthongisation of the vowel in West Saxon) (Hogg 1992:§§5.53, 5.55 and 7.16). However, forms with medial <i>, <y> seem far more common than those with medial <e> in Middle English, and medial <i> is found in the Wirral name *Gildewalleby* (14th c.) although ME <e> is formally expected (*MED*: s.v. *gild(e)*, n.; Kristensson 1987:133). Forms without initial palatal consonant and with medial <i, y> in areas where ME <e> would be expected might then be derived from ON *gildi*, and the Middle English form has indeed been interpreted as a Scandinavian loanword (Björkman 1900–02:154). However, guilds are only thought to have developed in Scandinavia from c.1000, and *ONP* suggests the borrowing of the sense ‘guild’ from Low German, presumably about this time (Brate 1911:64–65; *ONP*: s.v. 2.gildi). The word is also therefore hard to class entirely as a Scandinavian loanword on chronological grounds and the classification as Middle English here reflects this uncertainty.

The personal name or appellative *Lathegest*, which was analysed as OE/ON *lāð/leiðr* and OE/ON *gest/gestr* by Dodgson (*PNCh* iv:244), could be either an Anglo-Scandinavian or a Middle English formation. The first element seems to be a reflex of OE *lāð* but the second element is Scandinavian or Scandinavian-influenced as the initial palatal consonant of the OE form would be expected throughout the paradigm (Hogg 1992:§§5.35–37; Hogg and Fulk 2011:§§2.56–57 and 2.69). Consequently, initial /g-/ in Middle (and Modern) English forms is widely accepted to reflect Scandinavian influence on the word (Dance 2003:79; *OED*: s.v. *guest*, n.; *MED*: s.v. *gest*). *Lathegest* has been counted as Middle English here as it cannot be explained simply as containing OE and ON elements.

ME *rake* ‘a narrow path up a hill, a drove lane’ has been derived from OE *hraca*, *hrace* ‘a throat, a pass’ and from ON *rák* ‘a stripe’ (cf. Smith 1956: s.v. *rák*). The latter presents phonological difficulties (Smith 1956: s.v. *rák*; cf. Kristensson 1987:27–28) but the similarity of meaning with reflexes of ON

classified in the Survey volume as ME have been classified differently here, in once case as Goidelic,<sup>203</sup> in a few cases as OE,<sup>204</sup> and in some cases as indistinguishable in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms.<sup>205</sup>

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*rák* (Norw. *råk* also means (amongst other things) ‘cow path, trail’) means that ME *rake* has been seen as at least influenced by ON *rák* (*OED*: s.v. *rake*, n.3). Due to the apparent involvement of both English and Scandinavian elements, ME *rake* has been considered of Middle English origin.

*Reynald*, occurring in a name recorded in the fifteenth century, was a common Anglo-Norman (and Middle English) reflex of CGmc Reginald and it is probably this name rather than ON *Rognvaldr*, but the latter cannot be entirely excluded (cf. McClure and Rollason 2007a:68).

<sup>203</sup> ME *capel* in *le Caplesfeld*, Storeton (see below).

<sup>204</sup> ME *dede-man* in *le Dedemonnes Greue* (14th c.) is classified as deriving from OE *\*dēad-mann* (cf. *TDOE*: s.v. *dēad*). ME *elbowe* ‘elbow’ is recorded in OE (*TDOE*: s.v. *eln-boga*) and the lack of *i*-mutation in ON *ql(n)-bogi* (Noreen 1923:§§67, 291,9 and 378) makes the OE form a preferable etymon. ME *pilede* ‘stripped, peeled’, recorded in eME, has been derived from an unrecorded OE verb *\*pilian* (*OED*: s.v. *pill*, v.1). ME *Welisc-man* (*le Walsemanesland*, -mannes- 13th c.) was considered to derive etymologically from OE *wilisc* (Angl. *wælisc*, *welisc*) and OE *mann*, both well-attested in the OE period (*PNCh* iv:209; *OED* s.v. *Welsh*, adj. and n.). *Weland* in Rice Wood, Bromborough (*Welondriz*, (*boscus de*) *Welondrys* 14th c.) is interpreted in *PNCh* (iv:241) as CGmc *Weland* but OE *Weland* is said to be possible. The name is recorded as the name of a pre-Conquest landholder, and the name was well-known as the name of a legendary smith (and is recorded in pre-Conquest charter bounds apparently in this sense) (Forssner 1916:250; S564; *PASE*; s.v. *Weland*, 1). In the light of the fact that a name *Weland* was known in the OE period, the element was classed as English-derived.

<sup>205</sup> See Chapter Two for reasons why ME *demming*, *healf-land* and *ragge* were considered indistinguishable. ME *sty-weg* could derive from OE/ON *stīg/stīgr* and OE/ON *weg/vegr* (see Chapter Two) and was considered indistinguishable. ME *toun* ‘town’ was counted as OE/ON *tūn/tún* (the element occurs in *the Townys ende* (1454; *PNCh* iv:287) where it is uncertain whether the element need have the sense of ‘town’).

## Results

### *Different Elements by Century*

The numbers of different elements occurring by century of the names' first attestation are as follows:<sup>206</sup>

Different Elements	OE	ON	OE/ON	Goid.	Britt.	ME	Total Elements	Ratio OE:ON
11th c.	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	100:0
12th c.	5	0	1	0	0	0	6	100:0
13th c.	78	15	29	1	0	11	134	84:16
14th c.	112	22	47	4	3	14	202	84:16
15th c.	92	12	35	3	4	18	164	88:12
All Names	201	42	75	5	6	37	366	83:17
% of Elements	55	11	21	1	2	10		

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<sup>206</sup> Excluding obscure elements.



*All Elements by Century*

The total numbers of elements (counting repeated elements more than once) occurring by century of the names' first attestations are as follows:<sup>207</sup>

All Elements	OE	ON	OE/ON	Goid.	Britt.	ME	Total Elements	Ratio OE:ON
11th c.	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	100:0
12th c.	5	0	1	0	0	0	6	100:0
13th c.	138	16	62	1	0	15	232	90:10
14th c.	267	27	103	6	3	26	432	91:9
15th c.	195	19	98	4	4	25	345	91:9
All Names	607	62	264	11	7	65	1017	91:9
% of Elements	60	6	26	1	1	6		
Recurrent Elements	69	8						90:10

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<sup>207</sup> Excluding obscure elements. The 'Recurrent Elements' line counts the numbers of different elements that occur more than once in the area.

*Different Elements by Parish*

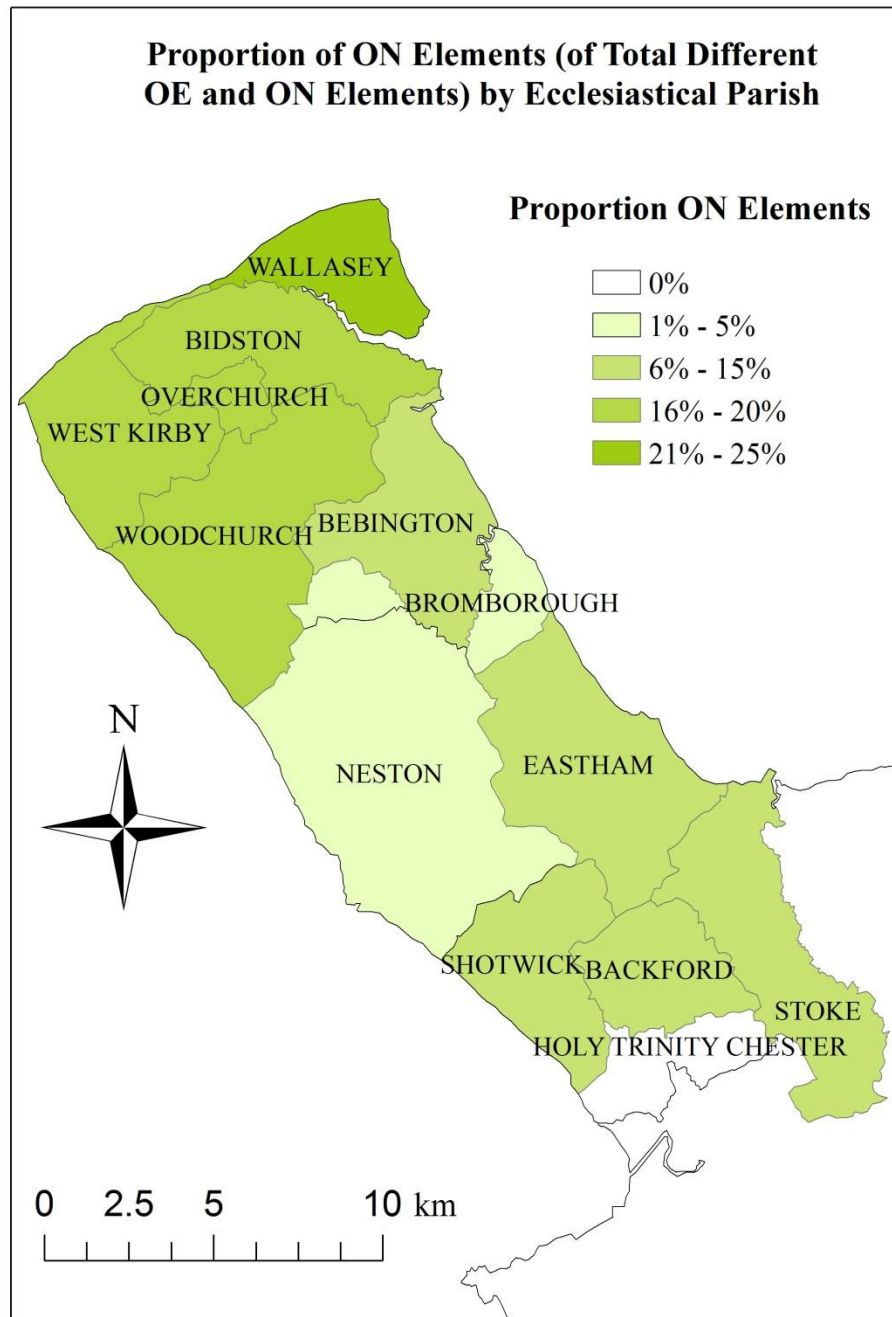
The following table shows the total numbers of different elements occurring by ecclesiastical parish in the Wirral corpus:

Ecclesiastical Parish	OE	ON	OE/ON	Goid.	Britt.	ME	Total Elements	Ratio OE:ON
Backford	16	1	4	1	0	5	27	94:6
Bebington	60	11	24	2	0	12	109	85:15
Bidston	20	5	10	0	0	1	36	80:20
Bromborough	37	2	12	0	0	4	55	95:5
Eastham	54	6	23	3	1	5	92	90:10
Neston	31	1	19	1	1	5	58	97:3
Overchurch	13	3	2	0	0	2	20	81:19
Shotwick	33	3	12	0	0	2	50	92:8
Holy Trinity & St Mary	18	0	7	0	0	3	28	100:0
Stoke, St Oswald's & Plemstall	19	2	9	0	0	2	32	90:10
Wallasey	28	9	9	0	0	5	51	76:24
West Kirby	47	9	20	2	3	7	88	84:16
Woodchurch	27	6	9	1	1	2	46	82:18

*All Elements by Parish*

The following table shows the total numbers of elements occurring by ecclesiastical parish in the Wirral corpus:

Ecclesiastical Parish	OE	ON	OE/ON	Goid.	Britt.	ME	Total Elements	Ratio OE:ON
Backford	22	1	5	1	0	5	34	96:4
Bebington	117	11	48	2	0	17	195	91:9
Bidston	31	6	10	0	0	1	48	84:16
Bromborough	61	2	18	0	0	5	86	97:3
Eastham	87	7	46	3	2	5	150	92:8
Neston	39	1	24	2	1	6	73	97:3
Overchurch	20	3	2	0	0	2	27	87:13
Shotwick	45	3	16	0	0	2	66	94:6
Holy Trinity & St Mary	24	0	10	0	0	4	38	100:0
Stoke, St Oswald's & Plemstall	19	2	11	0	0	2	34	90:10
Wallasey	34	9	14	0	0	6	63	79:21
West Kirby	73	11	46	2	3	9	144	87:13
Woodchurch	35	6	15	1	1	2	60	85:15



Shapefiles: KO 2001, SB2004 [edited by the author].

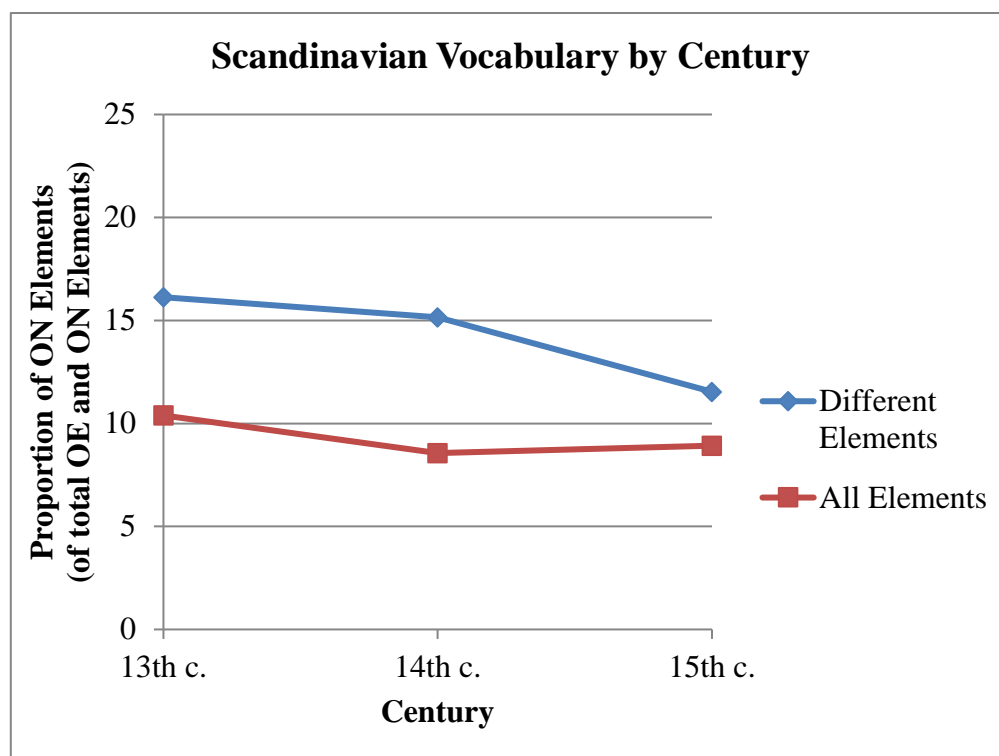
### *The Proportion and Distribution of Scandinavian Place-Name Elements*

The foregoing review of scholarly discussion of Scandinavian settlement in Wirral gives an indication of the significance that Scandinavian settlement in the area has assumed in the understanding of the area's history. Community engagement projects and popular publications discussing 'Viking Wirral' have recently also brought Scandinavian settlement in the area to the attention of

the local population.<sup>208</sup> Seen in this context, the Scandinavian contribution to the medieval minor name vocabulary is a little underwhelming. In the Wirral corpus, Scandinavian elements account for just under one-fifth of the different elements that can be securely identified as of OE or Scandinavian origin. Further, the proportion of vocabulary of Scandinavian origin is substantially lower when repeated elements are counted more than once, meaning that elements of English origin were more widely used than elements of Scandinavian origin. Results obtained by counting recurrent elements are similar, suggesting infrequent use of Scandinavian-derived vocabulary towards the period of the names' records. When considering the proportion of Scandinavian vocabulary according to the century names were first recorded (discounting the twelfth century when there are very few names recorded), a slight decline in the proportion of Scandinavian elements recorded by century is seen:

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<sup>208</sup> Popular publications on 'Viking Wirral' include Harding (2000), Harding, Jobling and King (2010) and (a collection of scholarly articles collected and interpreted for a popular audience) Cavill, Harding and Jesch (2000). The 'Wirral and West Lancashire Project' gave numerous public lectures (Harding, Jobling and King 2010:118–20), and a Viking village has recently been developed (<<http://bigheritage.co.uk/wirral-viking-village-announced/>> [accessed 14/02/15]).



At a local level, proportions of Scandinavian vocabulary from parishes within the possible Scandinavian territory tend to be greater than those outside the area, but Scandinavian elements nowhere exceed one-quarter of the elements that can be securely identified as of OE or Scandinavian origin. The highest proportion of different elements of Scandinavian origin is found in Wallasey where the ratio of different Scandinavian elements to English elements is twenty-four to seventy-six. When compared with the findings of the few similar existing minor name studies, these levels of Scandinavian contribution to the medieval vocabulary are low, the proportion of different elements of Scandinavian origin relative to elements of English origin being lower even than that in Billingham and Wolviston, Co. Durham (mapped in the Conclusion). In Wallasey, where the ratio of Scandinavian to English elements is highest, the proportion of Scandinavian elements is identical to that in Hart and North Erpingham, Norfolk (mapped in the Conclusion).

### *Scandinavian Inflexions*

There are very few indications of Scandinavian inflexions in approximately 600 minor names recorded before 1500 from Wirral.<sup>209</sup> The most convincing instance of a Scandinavian inflexion is in the forms *Argan* (1432), probably the dative plural of ON *árgi* (but formally possibly an OE plural). The form *Arnehowe* (1331) could perhaps indicate an earlier Scandinavian inflexion (*Arna*, genitive singular of the personal name Arni or *arnar*, genitive singular of the noun ON *ørn*) but this is uncertain as <e> could alternatively be a svarabhakti vowel (although a secondary ME genitive is clearly not used). There is, then, just one probable example of a Scandinavian inflexion and one doubtful example in the medieval minor names from Wirral.

### *Scandinavianisation of non-Scandinavian Elements*

In the Wirral corpus, the evidence for Scandinavianisation of English elements is slight. A clear example of Scandinavianisation occurs in *Fleckeriscroft* (113th c.) Lower Bebington (*PNCh* iv:250), from OFr. *flech(i)er*. Although the phoneme /k/ was found in OE (for instance in *dīcas* ‘ditches’), there is evidence that the correspondence between OE /ʃ/ and ON /k/ in cognates such as OE *cirice* and ON *kirkja* was understood and that English words containing /ʃ/ were Scandinavianised as, for instance, in Skipton < OE *scēp-tūn*

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<sup>209</sup> A couple of names appear at first glance to show a Scandinavian (strong masculine) -s genitive, viz. *Ketilspoll'* (1402), a neut.gen. in *Brankers Pytte* (1454) and the female personal names in Raynilds Pool (1330; Ragnhildr) and *Ingriessiche* (1340; Ingíriðr) (although in these names we would expect instead the genitives *Ragnhildar* and *Ingríðar*). Scandinavian personal names with a secondary ME -es genitives occur in names recorded in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *Steyncolesdale* (1298; *Steinkell*; gen. *Steinkels*), *Seurydas alfland* (*Sigríðr*) (gen. *Sigríðar*) and *Tokesford* (Tóki; 1397; gen. *Tóka*). However, all instances of the Scandinavian-looking -s genitive occurs only on disyllabic names recorded in the fourteenth century or later whereas disyllabic names recorded in the thirteenth century have an -es genitive. These names are better interpreted as showing the loss of covered *e* in third syllables from c. 1300 (Jordan 1974:§139) than the relics of a Scandinavian genitive.

(Townend 2002, esp. p. 86). Consequently, replacement of /tʃ/ by /k/ may be considered an example of Scandinavianisation.

In a couple of names, it is unclear whether Scandinavianisation of English-derived elements or Anglicisation of Scandinavian-derived elements has occurred. In two instances, the vowel of ON *meðal* ‘middle’ can be suggested to have influenced that of OE *middel* ‘middle’ in *the Medyl fylde* (1454) Caldý (*PNCh* iv:286) and *Medlestehyard* (1260–80) Higher Bebington (*PNCh* iv:248). The elements were classified according to this interpretation in this study; however, it is alternatively possible that the lexeme is of Scandinavian origin with the OE consonant influencing the Scandinavian form. The name *Lathegestfeld* (1412) Bromborough (*PNCh* iv:244), may contain an Anglicised form of a Scandinavian personal name *Leiðgestr* or a Scandinavianised form of a name or compound of OE origin *\*Lāð-gest* in which the palatalised consonant of OE *gest* has been replaced by the velar stop /g/; the element was classified as ME here due to this uncertainty (see above). A name from Storeton, *le Leyt Yate* (13th c.; *PNCh* iv:256) is also puzzling. *PNCh* (followed here) analyses the name as a compound of ON *leið* ‘a road, a track’ and, if this interpretation is correct, then the voiced dental fricative has been replaced by a voiceless dental stop (compare cognate OE *lād*). However, this example is perhaps slightly suspect in the light of a recurrent OE compound *hlid-geat* ‘swing-gate’ (Smith 1956: s.v. *hlid-geat*), but the apparent diphthong in *leyt* is then puzzling.

#### *Non-Assimilation of Scandinavian Elements*

One name in the corpus (*Duphyard* 1260–80; *PNCh* iv:248) was interpreted as containing ON *djúpr* rather than OE/ON *dēop/djúpr*; if the first element is correctly identified, then the stress-shifted diphthong of ON *djúpr* seems to be reflected.



## *Analysis*

### *Overview*

It appears, then, that despite the not inconsiderable evidence for Scandinavian linguistic, genetic and cultural influence in Wirral, rather low levels of Scandinavian vocabulary are found in the area's medieval minor names. As outlined in Chapter One, there is a chronological remove between the time at which major names are first recorded and that at which minor names are recorded. Further, minor names seem to have a shorter lifespan than major names, although the length of time for which minor names survived probably depended partly on what they named. Overall, it is likely, then, that the minor names analysed here are, as a corpus, later than the major names. Both date of record and date of formation are therefore likely to be at some chronological remove from the principal period of Viking-Age Scandinavian settlement.

The disparity in levels of Scandinavian influence on the major and minor place-names of Wirral suggests, I think, rather different linguistic contexts for the formation of the areas' major and minor names. Differences in the linguistic conditions under which the names were formed need not have been purely chronological, but certain features of the minor name evidence arguably point in this direction. The lower levels of Scandinavian vocabulary calculated for the Wirral corpus when repeated elements were counted more than once indicate that several Scandinavian-derived place-name elements occur only once or twice. This is supported by the recurrent element analysis, and suggests that some of the elements were not current in the naming repertoire, i.e., some elements might survive in names from an earlier period when the use of Scandinavian place-name elements might have been higher. This would be consistent with the slight decrease in the proportion of Scandinavian elements recorded by century noted by above.

The finding that rather low levels of Scandinavian vocabulary are used in Wirral's medieval minor names addresses, as detailed in the introduction, only one of the questions that this thesis set out to address. However, the finding that the minor name evidence differs substantially from the major

name evidence, and the suggestion that this might be explained by a chronological difference in the periods of name formation begins to address the second broad question of this thesis, asking what minor name evidence can realistically tell us. In order to address this second research question, Scandinavian and Goidelic elements are considered in more detail in the remaining part of this chapter. Particular attention is paid to considering the wider context of the elements' usage, both toponymic and lexical; this reveals both that some elements are more likely to have been used by, or borrowed directly from, ON speakers in Wirral than others, and sheds light on the relationship between toponymic and lexical usage.

Additionally, attention is paid to the question of whether Scandinavian influence in Wirral is predominantly East or West Scandinavian (or perhaps neither). As will be clear from the outline of previous interpretations of Scandinavian settlement in Wirral given above, much of the debate to date has focussed on where the Scandinavians who settled in Wirral came from: were they predominantly West Scandinavians active in the Irish Sea region or East Scandinavians who reached Wirral by a rather circuitous route? However, this debate has largely (if not entirely) ignored the possibility of indirect East Scandinavian linguistic influence on Wirral's dialect and toponymy through the diffusion of Scandinavian-derived vocabulary from other areas of northern and eastern England. This question is of fundamental importance for gauging what minor names can tell us, particularly in assessing the extent to which toponymic vocabulary spreads horizontally. The question of East or West Scandinavian influence is also illuminated by the element case-studies, and findings are drawn together at the end of the chapter. Scandinavian personal names in the corpus are considered first, followed by other place-name elements.

### *Scandinavian Personal Names*

Of the thirty-seven names whose specific is a personal name, *PNCh* analyses eight of Wirral field-names as containing Scandinavian personal names, the names being Arni, Ingiríðr, Ketill, Ragnhildr, Rauðr, Sigríðr, Steinkell and Tóki. Two further possible Scandinavian personal names, Grímr and Hrafn,

might occur (cf. Lind 1931: s.v. Grímr and Hrafn); however, both were classed as indistinguishable as the former could also be the OE Woden-name *Grīm* (Smith 1956: s.v. \*Grīm) and the latter could alternatively be OE/ON *hræfn/hrafn* (see Chapter Two). The identifications of the names are generally secure, and most of these names are well recorded elsewhere in England. Most of the names (viz. Arni, Ingiríðr, Ketill, Ragnhildr, Sigríðr and Tóki) are recorded in the Durham *Liber Vitae*, and Insley/Rollason (2007:214, 227–28, 230, 232 and 24) note examples of the names' occurrences elsewhere in England for all the names. Steinkell is recorded as the name of 1066 landholders in Berkshire, Cheshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire in DB. Rauðr is thought to occur as the specific of Rostherne, Cheshire, (North and South) Rauceby, Lincolnshire and Roxby, North Yorkshire and is recorded in Lincolnshire as a personal name in an early-thirteenth-century document (*PNCh* ii:56–57; Fellows-Jensen 1978:64; *PNYN*:90; Fellows-Jensen 1968:216).

In terms of prevalence in early Scandinavian dialects (where noted), Insley/Rollason note that Ingiríðr and Sigríðr were more common in West Scandinavian areas but found elsewhere in Scandinavia; however, Tóki was a characteristically Danish form (Insley with Rollason 2007b:227, 232 and 241; cf. Peterson 2007:275–76). Fellows-Jensen (1968:216 and 264) notes that *Rauðr* is recorded early as a personal name across Scandinavia, but perhaps especially in Norway and Denmark, whilst *Steinke(ti)ll* is recorded in West Scandinavia but was fairly frequent in Denmark. None of the names need therefore be West Scandinavian in origin, although one name *Tóki*, is characteristically Danish. The personal names of Scandinavian origin, although outnumbering those from the Westmorland corpus, are not quite as numerous as the twelve names of secure OE origin (viz. Bott, Dunn, Eada, Eastmund, Heahstan, Leofwine, Wærhelm, Wærstan, Winebald, Wulfhild, Wulfstan and Wulfwynn).<sup>210</sup> For comparison, there are ten ME personal

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<sup>210</sup> Two further names were analysed as containing or perhaps containing personal names of OE origin, OE Mann in *Manislawe feld' de Bromb'* (1265–91; *PNCh* iv:244) and Rice Wood, Bromborough (*Welondriȝ* 1347, *Welondrys*

names (27% of the total) and two further uncertain example, Honde and Edwenet (see above), two or three Welsh names, Hywel (twice) and possibly Dyfog and Ednyfed (see above), one byname (*Ragge*) that could be English- or Scandinavian derived and one element interpreted as an (unidentified) personal name in *Havenanhishacker* (although David Parsons (personal comment) suggests instead ON *afnám*). The ratio of personal names of Scandinavian origin to personal names of OE origin (40:50) is greater than the ratio of Scandinavian- to English-derived lexemes in the corpus but similar to that found both amongst the Domesday landholders of Wirral and Chester moneyers. Both the comparability of the proportion of personal names of Scandinavian origin with that in Cheshire more widely and the fact that the Scandinavian personal names occurring are recorded elsewhere in England mean that Scandinavian influence on personal nomenclature in Wirral minor names cannot securely be separated from that on English personal nomenclature more widely.

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1357; *PNCh* iv:241). If the first element of *Manislawe* is indeed a personal name, then Scandinavian *Man*, *Manni* would be indistinguishable (cf. Fellows-Jensen 1968:194). However, the compound bears a striking parallel to another suggested ‘significant word’ found in minor names such as *Manneshou* (1220, Caistor next Yarmouth) and *Manneshowe* (c. 1280, Paston) and in *Maneshou wapentac* (1286, North Riding of Yorkshire) (Insley 1998:116; Parsons 2006:196). Parsons (2006:196) suggests that the compound meant ‘public mound’ as the first element would appear to be or be related to OE *mann/maðr* (Parsons compares the senses of ON *almanna* ‘general, common’ and OE *ge-māene* ‘common’ and OE *ge-māennes* ‘community’) and perhaps referred to mounds used as meeting places or marking boundaries. Due to the range of possible interpretations of the element, it was classed as of uncertain origin here. However, the first element of *Welondriȝ* was (hesitantly) classed as of OE origin as (although properly a Continental Germanic name) *Weland* was known in Anglo-Saxon England, and the occurrence of the name here could refer to the mythological figure (von Feilitzen 1937: s.v. *Weland*; Abels 2009:559–60).

### *Place-name Elements*

The following elements of Scandinavian origin occur in the corpus of names from Wirral (number of occurrences shown in parentheses):

*kjarr* (6), OEN *banke* (5), *holmr* (3), *sker* (3), *bȳ* (2), *lyng* (2), *skógr* (2), *af-nám* (1), *askr* (1), *djúpr* (1), *eng* (1), *eski* (1), *eyrr* (1), *gap* (1), *góligr* (1), *\*griða-mót* (1), *haugr* (1), *hella* (1), *kirkja* (1), *klint* (1), *lágr* (1), *leið* (1), *mál* (1), *mjór* (1), *rauðr* (1), *raun* (1), *sel* (1), *selja* (1), *skammr* (1), *?stórr/storð* (1), *strengr* (1), *svartr* (1), *þveit* (1), *torf* (1) and *vrá* (1).

Five of these elements, two of which occur relatively frequently (OEN *banke* and ON *sker*), and three of which only occur once (ON *góligr* and ON *hella* and OEN *klint*), are considered in more detail in the section below.

### *Element Case Studies*

The following case-studies consider toponymic evidence for selected elements' usage from across England and compare this with lexical evidence where appropriate. In order to do this, the Survey volumes and Ekwall's *Place-Names of Lancashire* (1922) have been searched for the elements. Most of the Survey volumes were searched in electronic format; however, counties for which I was unable to get hold of electronic copies were searched manually, using indexes where available (*PNCu* ii; Ekwall 1922 [Lancashire]; *PNDu* i; *PNGL*; *PNLei* vi; *PNSa* vi and *PNNf* i and ii).

The results are necessarily incomplete. There are no Survey volumes for some counties (Cornwall, Dorset, Hampshire, Herefordshire, Kent, Northumberland, Somerset and Suffolk), although in most cases these are not counties whose place-names are likely to shed much light on the early use of Scandinavian-derived elements. More problematic are those counties which are currently only partially covered by Survey volumes (Co. Durham, Leicestershire, Norfolk, Shropshire and Staffordshire), for some of which direct Scandinavian influence on local dialects and toponymy is likely. Further, there is much variation in the level of coverage of the Survey

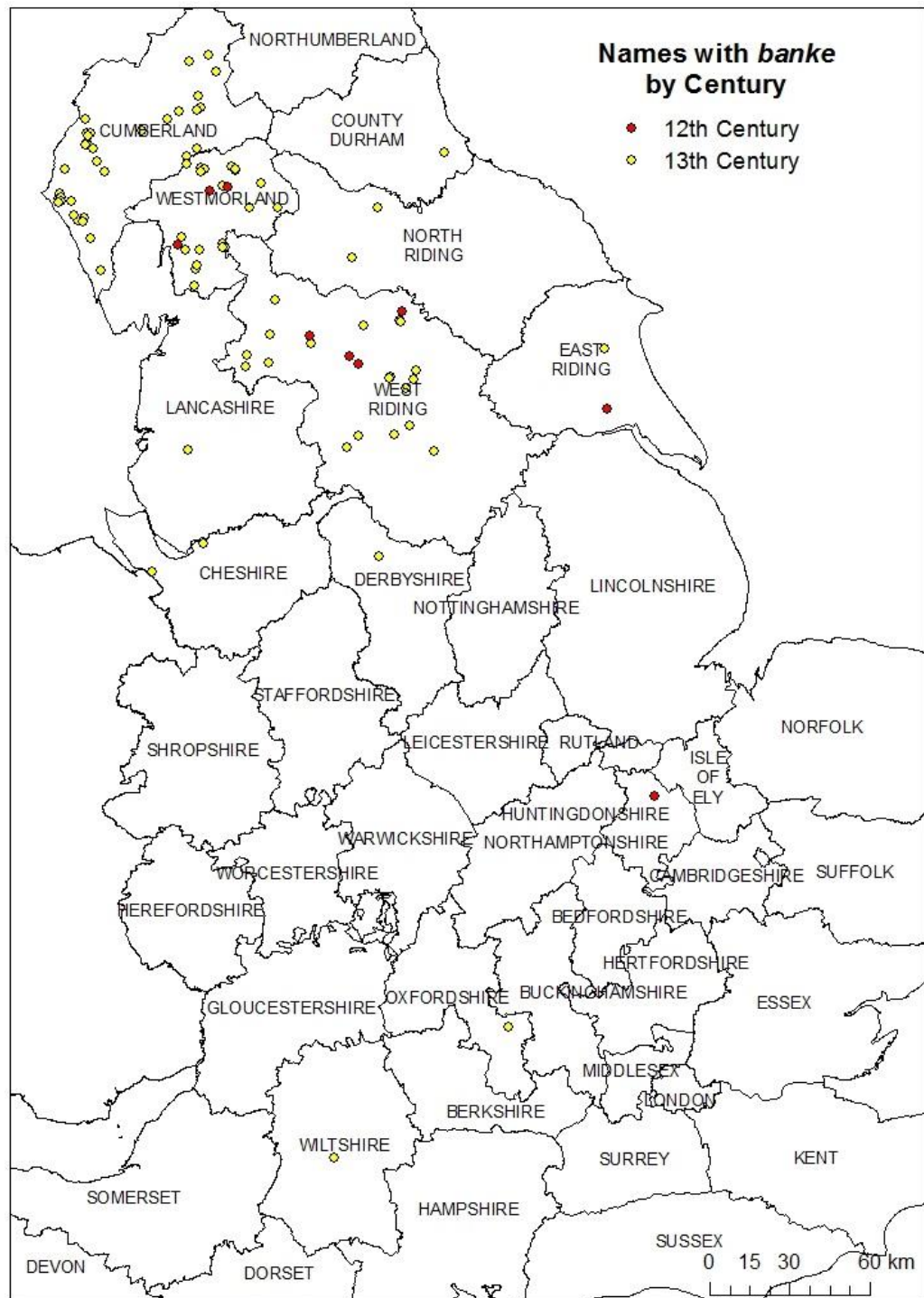
volumes: Survey volumes published in the first half of the twentieth century have limited coverage of field-names, meaning that the numbers of occurrences of Scandinavian-derived elements in different counties cannot be reliably compared where the Survey volumes' coverage is not comparable. In general, the elements were only counted where glossed in Survey volumes; however, in *PNCu banke* was not routinely glossed so was counted where not glossed.

ON *bakki*, OEN *banke* 'a bank'

The etymon of ModE *bank* is usually thought to be an East Scandinavian form *banke*, which, unlike its West Scandinavian cognate (ON *bakki*) does not show characteristically West Scandinavian nasal assimilation (Noreen 1923:§266,3). However, its distribution in place-names in England is puzzling, as it does not conform very well to areas of supposed East Scandinavian settlement. If the occurrences of the element in English place-names are mapped according to the century at which the names are first recorded, it can be seen that the majority of names with *banke* recorded by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are from the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and the West Riding. There are fewer occurrences also in the North and East Ridings and Lancashire; however, few field-names are recorded in the Survey volumes for these counties (or in Ekwall 1922), so the number of occurrences of the element is probably under-represented in these areas. However, there are substantial numbers of field-names in the Survey volumes for Cheshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire and northern Lincolnshire, so the more limited occurrence of the element in these counties is probably accurate.<sup>211</sup>

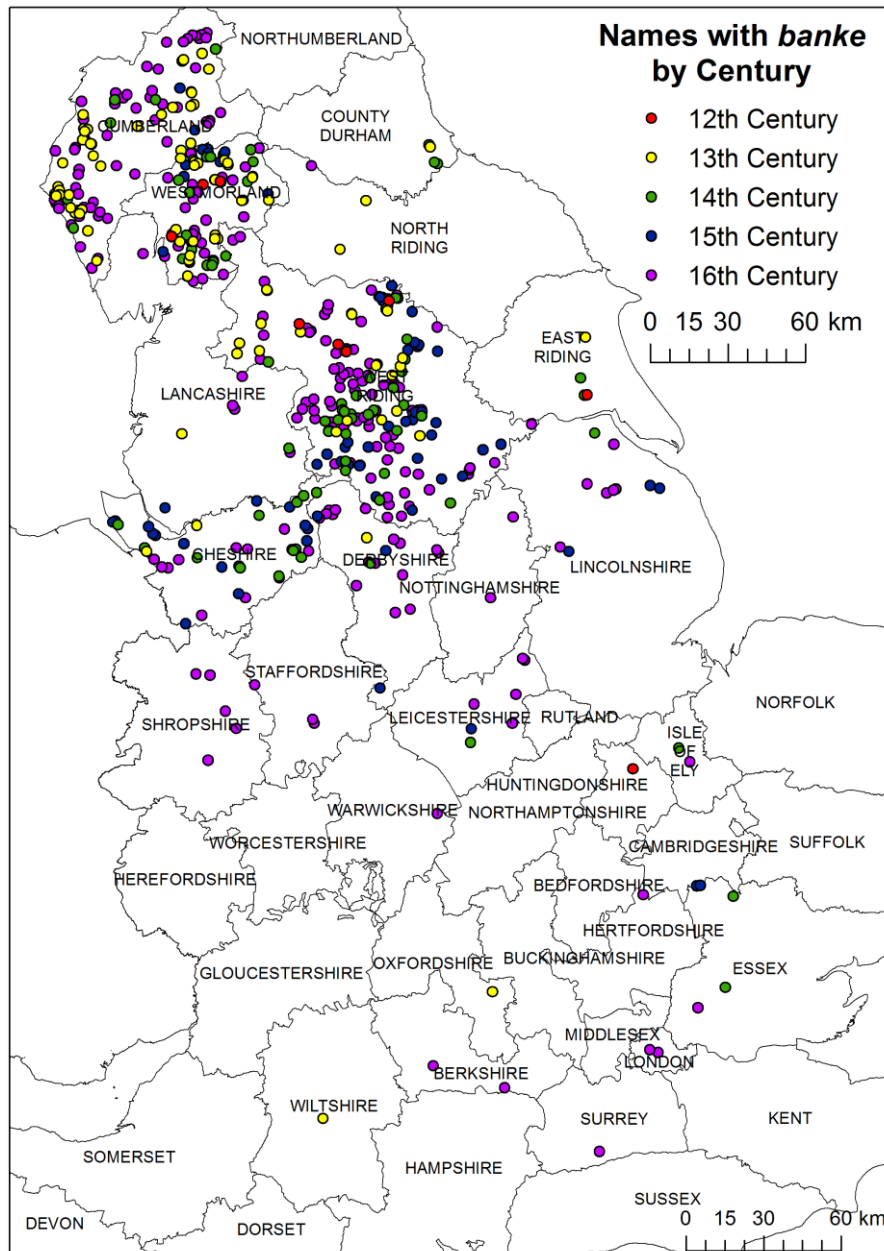
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<sup>211</sup> Some areas are undoubtedly better served by surviving medieval records of an early date containing field-names; however, this cannot be the sole explanation for the apparent southwards expansion of the element, as this would imply the records were similarly distributed.



Shapefiles: ELC2, GBHGIS1961

When the names with *banke* first recorded in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are also mapped, it can be seen that the use of the element seems to spread outwards from the areas where the element was already frequently used:



Shapefiles: ELC2, GBHGIS1911

Considering the occurrences of the element across England suggests that the frequent use of *banke* as a place-name element (particularly in minor and field-names, which represent the bulk of the names mapped above) spread southwards and eastwards from the North-West, particularly in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The element does not seem to have been common in the eastern counties, where significant East Scandinavian settlement is usually reckoned with, before the fourteenth century or indeed later (*contra* *VEPN*: s.v. *banke*). Instead, the element's later use in these



counties seems best explained by the expansion of the element's usage in a later-medieval English-speaking context, which meant that by the sixteenth century the element could be used in much of England.

However, a handful of the earliest examples of the element are not from the North-West.<sup>212</sup> It is possible that the element occurs in a Huntingdonshire name recorded in the twelfth century, but the evidence is problematic and should perhaps be dated to the thirteenth century.<sup>213</sup> The thirteenth-century occurrences of the element seem more secure. The Oxfordshire occurrence of *banke* (*PNO* i:145) is in the *Rotuli Hundredorum* (1278–79) naming the holding of *unā placiam q' vocat' Bankeham* (Illingworth and Caley 1812–18 ii:820). A *Northbanke* in Lavington, Wiltshire is recorded in a document dated to 1225, but survives only in a late-fourteenth-century cartulary transcript (*PNW*:422; Stevenson 1987:xxvii and 89–90).

Indeed, names containing the element and recorded by the thirteenth century give no particular reason to think the early names are Scandinavian rather than ME formations. There is just one possible Scandinavian inflexion in *Brunnum Banc* (1190–1220), Alwoodley (*PNYW* iv:180) (although this could alternatively be a metathesised form of OE *burna* with an OE dat.pl. inflexion) but more evidence for ME plural inflexions, for instance *Bankys* (1256; *PNCu*:70), *Bankes* (c.1210; *PNCu*:325), *le Stanbancks* (1268; *PNYW* iv:210). Scandinavian elements are compounded with *bank(e)*, for instance *eik* 'oak' in *Aikebanc* (c.1170; *PNYW* vi:52), *gil* in *Gillebank* (1292; *PNWe* i:104) and *steinn* in *Staynbanck* (13th c.; *PNWe* i:121–22) but (Old or Middle)

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<sup>212</sup> An apparent *bank* in Lumburn (*the bank of Lambre* 1133–89 [15th c.]; *PND* i:9) appears to be ModE *bank* given when translating from a Latin original rather than an early example of the element (cf. Weaver 1909:153).

<sup>213</sup> I have not been able to pinpoint the document referred to as 'Cott vii.3' in *PNBd* (190), but it might be significant that the forms from this document (*Swerord super Witlemærebanc* 1146; *PNBd*:190) are not included by Watts (2004: s.v. Whittlesey Mere) and that other 1146 forms from the same document for Coppingford (*PNBd*:237) are not included in Watts (2004 s.v. Coppingford) whilst the same forms are dated to the thirteenth century by Page and Proby (1926–38 iii:35).

English elements are also compounded with *banke*, for instance OE *hamm* in *Bankeham* (1278–9; *PNO* i:145) and ME *cheri-tre* ‘cherry-tree’ in *Chiritrebanc* (12th/13th c.; *PNYW* v:67). There is, then, good evidence that the element was being used in English-speaking contexts; name-formation using *banke* in Scandinavian-speaking contexts is probable but not clearly demonstrated by the evidence.

The earliest recorded lexical occurrence of ME *bank(e)* is in the *Ormulum* (?c.1200), but there are no further occurrences cited by *MED* until the fourteenth century, particularly the later part of the century (*MED*: s.v. *bank(e)*, n.1). The Oxfordshire and Wiltshire examples antedate the bulk of the earliest occurrences of *banke* listed in *MED*, suggesting earlier currency outside areas of Scandinavian settlement than the lexical evidence implies. These early onomastic usages appear reliable and must be examples of the early use of the element in an English-speaking context. The expansion of the element’s usage observed here is perhaps, then, an expansion in the area over which the element was commonly used, rather than necessarily the area where the element was known.

The occurrence of what is ostensibly an East Scandinavian form of OWN *bakki* in areas of supposedly West Scandinavian settlement in England has been the subject of some debate. The north-western distribution of *banke* was noted by Kolb (1969:11–12), who suggested that nasal assimilation was still in progress during the period of Scandinavian settlement in the area and then argued that assimilated forms were introduced a few decades later. Fellows-Jensen (1985:316–18) disagreed with Kolb’s suggestion that nasal assimilation was ongoing c.900–50, arguing that it was unlikely that assimilations took place in place-names in the North-West containing *slakki* and *brekka* but not *banke*, *brant* and (generally) *klint*, particularly since only assimilated forms are known in Icelandic, Shetland and the Isle of Man (cf. Moberg 1944:205). Fellows-Jensen (1985:318) instead argued that the non-assimilated forms were introduced by Danish settlers and then used by West Scandinavian speakers. Alternatively, Kolb suggested (1969:11) that English-speakers would be unlikely to borrow the assimilated form *bakki* due

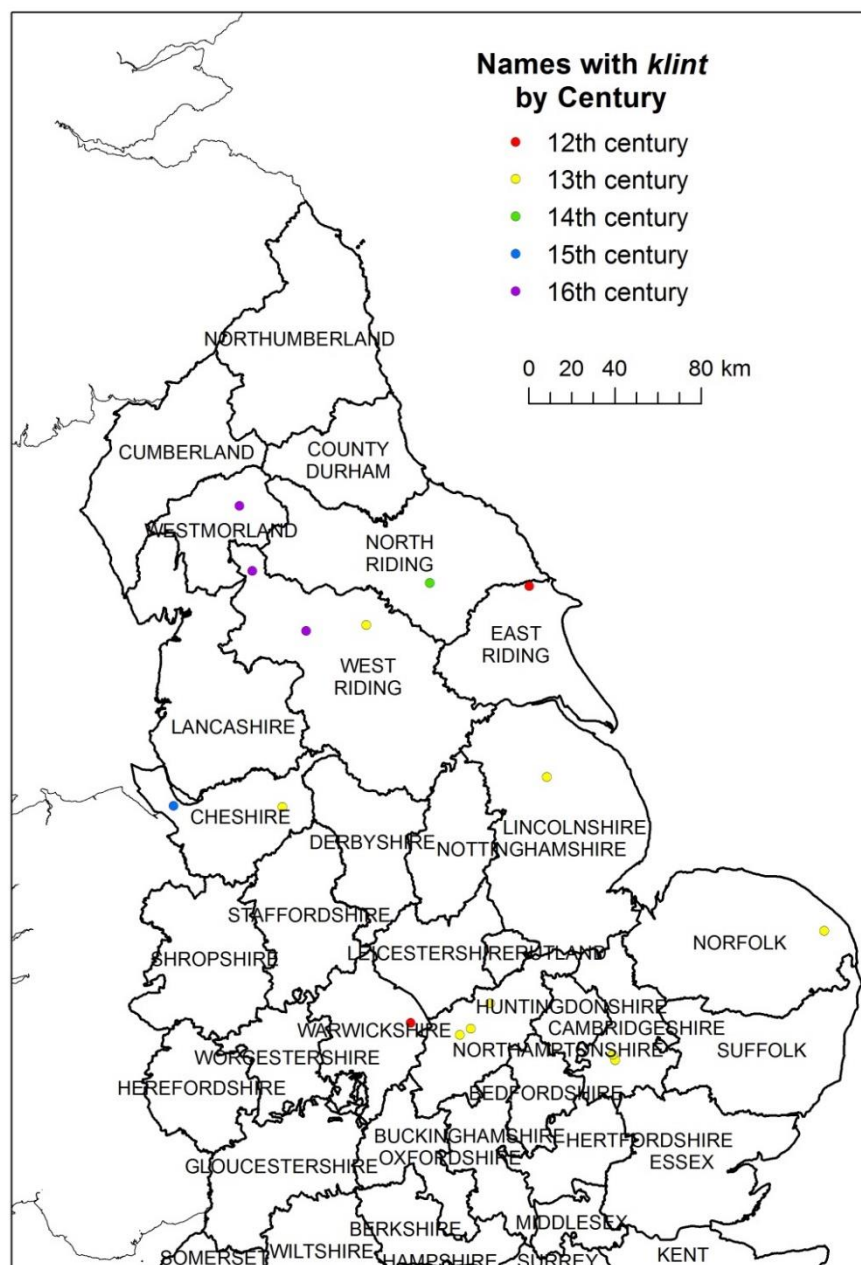
to homophony with OE *bæc* (or its ME reflex), which might explain the lack of borrowing of the West Scandinavian form.

Some of the arguments listed here are tenuous. Studies of the progress of phonological changes observe gradual progress through the lexicon (cf. McMahon 1994:50–56); consequently, it is not impossible that assimilation of the nasals in *banke* and *klint* could have taken place later than in *slakki* and *brekka*. Significant Norwegian contacts with Iceland and Shetland were maintained after the initial periods of Scandinavian settlement so there is no need to assume that Scandinavian speech in those areas was isolated from that of Norway following the initial settlements. Consequently, settlement in Shetland from c.800 and Iceland from c.870 need not be viewed as a *terminus ante quem* for the operation of nasal assimilation in West Scandinavian. All that can safely be said, then, is that nasal assimilation had probably taken place in some words and/or in some dialects at the time of Scandinavian settlement in Britain, but it cannot be said with certainty that it had taken place in all words and dialects where it is known from later manuscript sources. Overall, uncertainties about the progress of nasal assimilation and the possible motivation of avoiding homophony with OE *bæc* mean that ME *banke* should probably not be seen as necessarily of East Scandinavian origin.

OEN \**klint* ‘a rocky cliff’

ME *clint* has also been derived from an East Scandinavian form (contrast ON *klettr*) owing to the unassimilated nasal consonant and lack of associated lowering of /i/ to /e/ (Noreen 1923:§§110,1 and 266,2; Smith 1956: s.v. *klint*; *OED*: s.v. *clint*, n.). The assimilated form occurs only uncertainly in English place-names. It has been suggested to occur in a handful of place-names, Cleator, Cumberland (*Cletertha* c.1185; *PNCu*:357), Cleatlam, Co. Durham (*Cletlinga* c.1050; Mawer 1920:47–48) and Cleatop, Settle, West Yorkshire (*Clithopriding* e. 13th c.; *PNYW* vi:151). However, two of these names have since been suggested to contain OE *clāte* ‘burdock’ (Ekwall 1962:78; Watts 2004: s.vv. Cleator and Cleatlam; *VEPN*: s.v. *clāte*). In contrast to ME *banke*, *klint* is found earliest in the East Midlands and Yorkshire (see map below), which is consistent with the supposed areas of predominantly East

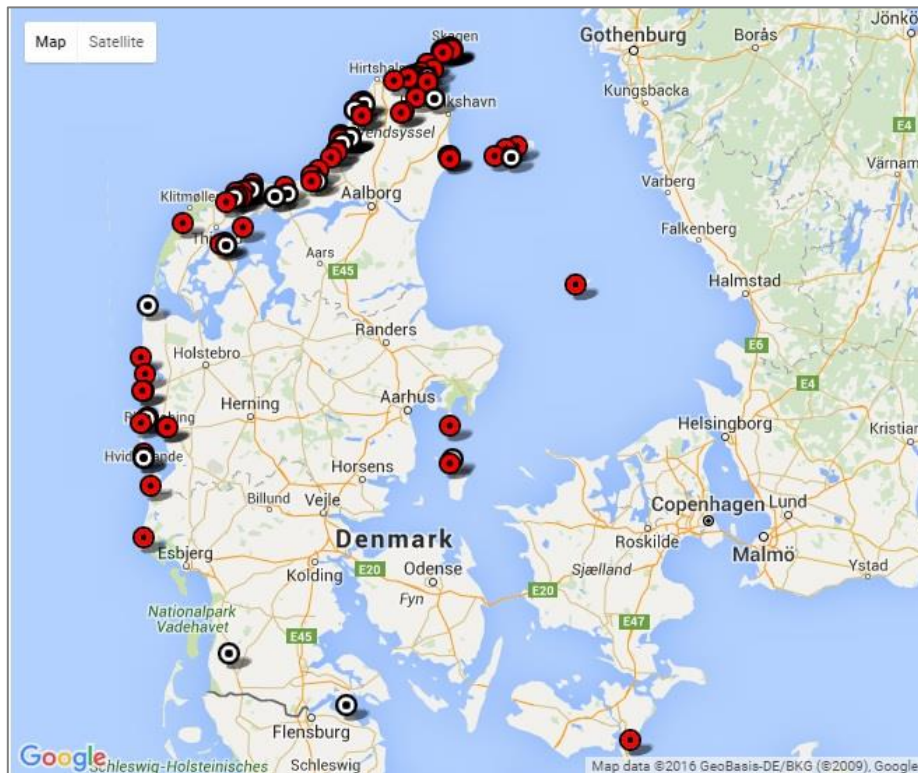
Scandinavian settlement. The element is not common so inferences are more speculative than for ME *banke*, but it may be that the names recorded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from western Cheshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire and Westmorland reflect the spread of the element northwards and westwards during the later ME period. Indeed, the element is found more frequently in Cumberland, Westmorland and West Yorkshire in later centuries (cf. *PNCu*:481; *PNWe* ii:268; *PNYW* vii:216), perhaps reflecting wider currency of the lexeme in the modern period (cf. *OED*: s.v. clint, n.). ME *clint* is known from a fourteenth-century manuscript of *Cursor Mundi* probably written in West Yorkshire and a fifteenth-century copy of *Wars of Alexander* from Durham (*MED*: s.v. clint).



Shapefiles: ELC2, GRO, GBHGIS1911

Intriguingly, despite the fact that the (supposedly) East Scandinavian form appears to be more widespread in England than the (supposedly) West Scandinavian form, in Scandinavia the form with the non-assimilated nasal consonant is restricted to southern Jutland. The Danish dialect form *klit*, Jutlandic *klet*, *klæt* (ODS: s.v. ‘*klit*<sup>1</sup> sb.’; Nielsen 1966: s.v. ‘*klit*’) occurs in several place-names predominantly found on the west and north coasts of Jutland, evidently reflecting its more specialised meaning of ‘a steep slope by

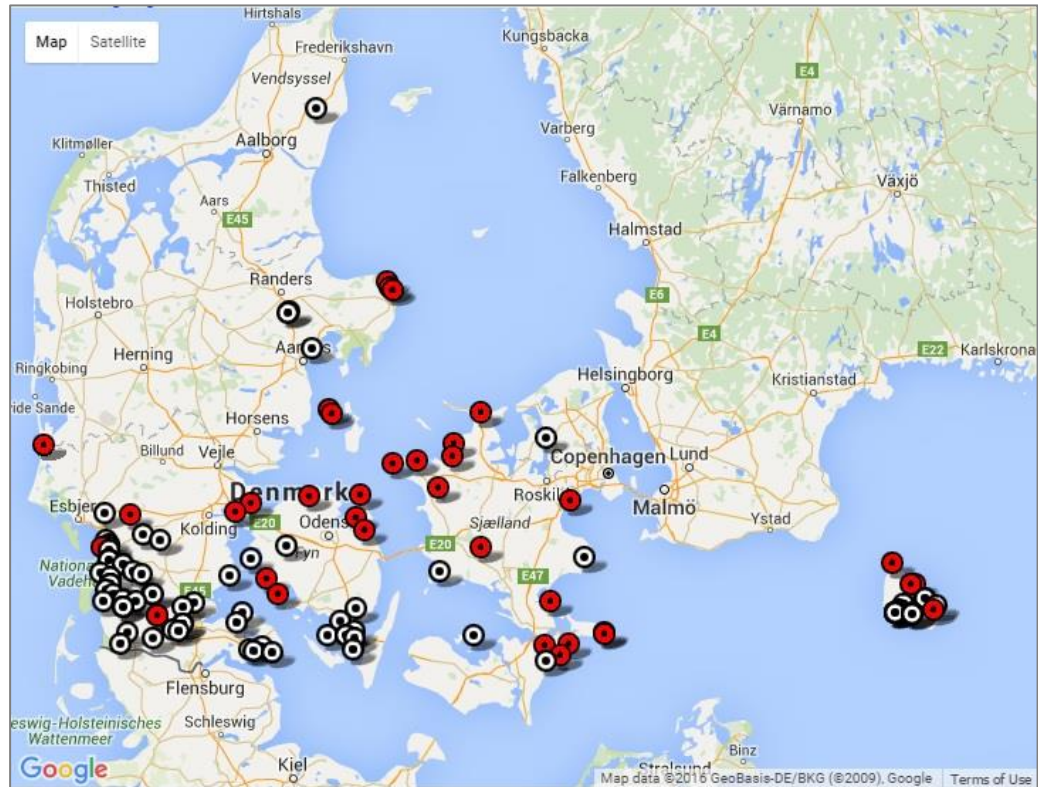
the sea' (*DS* i:103; see map below).<sup>214</sup> Place-names containing the element are generally late-recorded, but a few are recorded in the fifteenth century.<sup>215</sup> (All examples in *NG* found by searching '*klettr*' have the assimilated form.) In contrast, the element *klint* is distributed predominantly in Southern Jutland and on the islands to the east (in both inland and coastal areas), although there are a handful of outlying examples in western Jutland (see map below), the most northerly of which, Klinten, is relatively early-recorded (*Klinten* 1566; *DS* [online only]). It is uncertain, however, whether the more limited distribution of the forms conserving the nasal consonant goes back to the medieval period or whether it is a more recent development.



<sup>214</sup> Instances from other areas are predominantly from the islands lying off the western coast of Jutland, thus Højklit, Samsø (*DS* i:103) and Nordstand Klit, Anholt (*DS* online only); however, *klit* (etc.) occurs once in a place-name from Falster, Stovby Klit (*DS* xi:204) and in two place-names from southern Jutland, Pilegårds Klit (*DS* v:425) and Havklit (*DS* vii:123).

<sup>215</sup> Viz. Klitmøller, north-west Jutland (*Klitmølle* 1470; Jørgensen 2008 s.v. 'Klitmøller'), Dorklit, northern Jutland (*Dorklitte* 1463 [c. 1600]; *DS* xxi:72) and Nørklit, western Jutland (*Nørklit* 1411; *DS* xvii:484).

Dan. *klit* in Danish Place-Names (DS [online]).



Dan. *klint* in Danish Place-Names (DS [online])

?ON *góligr* ‘gay, joyful’

The specific of Golacre, Liscard (*le Goliacr* 1398; *PNCh* iv:328) is suggested by *PNCh* to be ON *góligr*, or its ME reflex. The lexeme is not (yet) known to occur in other place-names covered by the Survey of English Place-Names, but occurs once in ME in the *Ormulum* (?c.1200) (*MED*: s.v. *golike*, adj.). The lack of indication of final /k/ in OE/ON *æcer/akr* or its ME reflex might be expected.<sup>216</sup> Interestingly, the *Ormulum* usage (?c.1200) is quasi-onomastic, the word being used in a translation of the place-name Capernaum (albeit in an

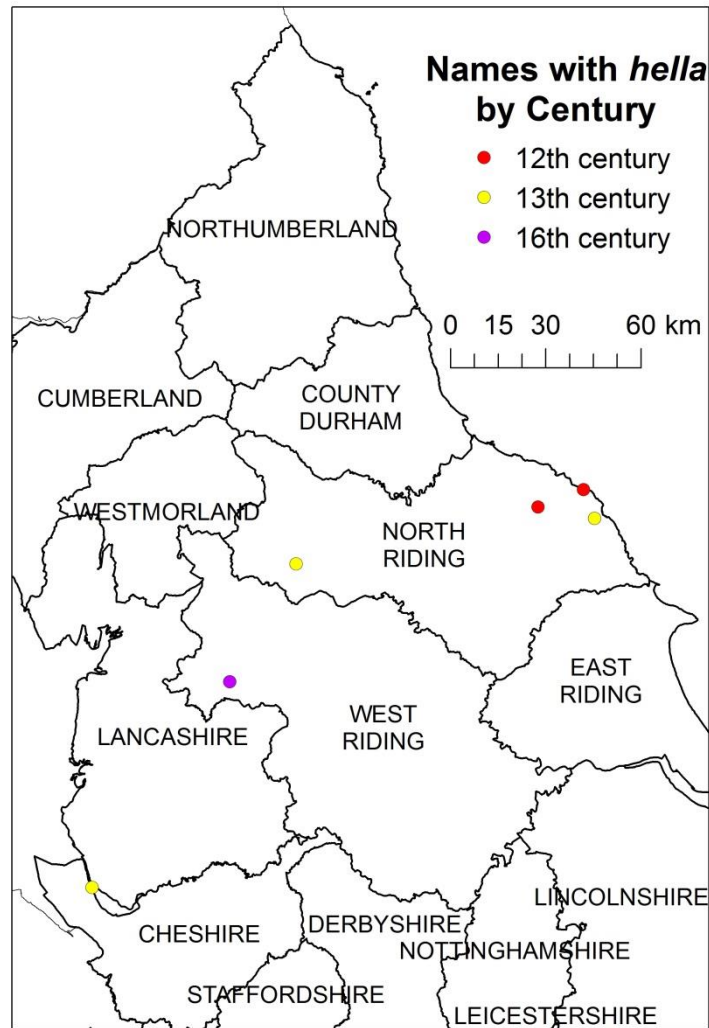
<sup>216</sup> It is unlikely (but not impossible) that the specific is ME *joli* ‘cheerful, pleasing, vigorous etc.’ as ME forms of the word are overwhelmingly spelt with initial <i> (or its allograph <j>): in *MED*’s citations (s.v. *joli*, adj.) there is one instance with initial <g> and more than 150 with initial <i> or <j>.

exegetical context): *Cafarrnaum bitacneþþ Golike tun & scone tun & fazzerr to bihaldenn...*(*MED*: s.v. *golike*, adj.). Overall, if correctly identified, the use of ME *golike* in Wirral is an example of a ME borrowing from ON that, as far as can be judged, was not in common usage in ME.

ON *hella* ‘a flat stone, a flag-stone’

ON *hella* is thought to occur in the name Ellen’s Rocks, Lower Bebington (*Hellelond* 1250–1300; *PNCh* iv:248). However, the element is generally difficult to distinguish from the elements ON *hellir* ‘cave under a projecting rock’, ON *hjalir* ‘ledge’, OE *hel*, *helle* ‘hell’ and possibly ON *hjalli* ‘a shed’ (Smith 1956: s.vv. *hell* and *hella*). The examples shown on the map below are therefore those names where the identification with ON *hella* has been made on topographical grounds, but may not include all the names where the element occurred.





Shapefiles: ELC2, GRO, GBHGIS1961

The element is, as can be seen, only securely known from North Yorkshire before *c.*1500. There are, however, late-sixteenth-century examples from West Yorkshire: a lost name in Bolton-by-Bowland (*Helbrigge* 1594; *PNYW* vi:159) and Helwith Bridge, Horton in Ribblesdale (*Helworthe Brigge* 1590; *PNYW* vi:222). The element may occur in Helvick, Co. Waterford, but other elements are possible (Mac Giolla Easpaig 2002:468–69), but is thought to occur in Orkney and Shetland (Sandnes 2010:389; Marwick 1970:3; Jakobsen 1936:58–59). It is used in Norwegian and Danish place-names; it appears to be used only in a handful of place-names from Jutland, although this apparent rarity could be related to the difficulty of distinguishing it from other elements (*NG* i:55; *NG* vii:238, x:238; *DS* vi:43 and 357; cf. Kousgård

Sørensen 1968–96 iii:62).<sup>217</sup> Again, it is possible that the element is incorrectly identified, but this appears to be another example of a Scandinavian place-name element that was not widely (if at all) borrowed into ME.

ON *sker* ‘a rock, a scar, a reef, a skerry’

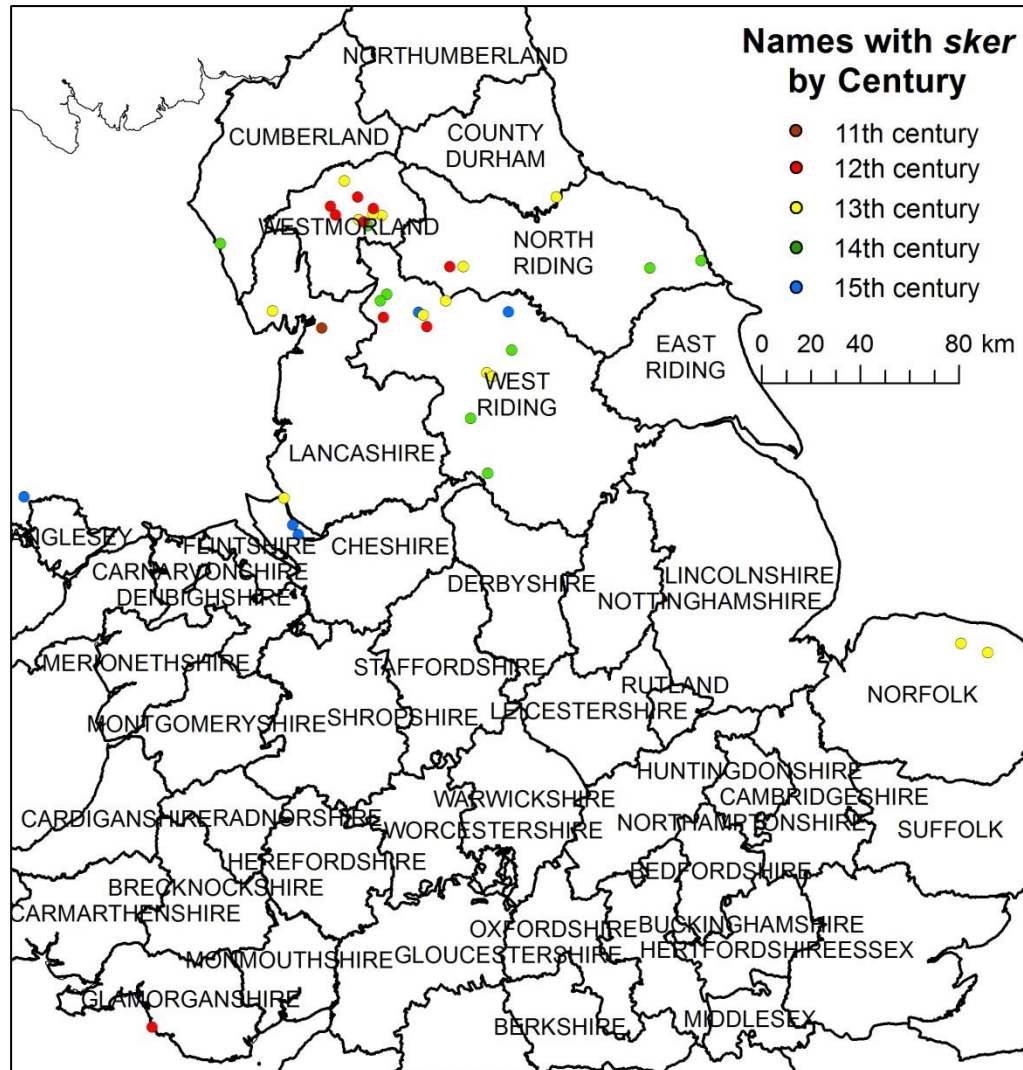
Both ModE *scar* ‘steep face of rock, a low or sunken rock’ and *skerry* are generally derived from ON *sker*, although *skerry* in modern usage is thought to derive from Northern Isles dialect (*OED* s.vv. *scar*, n.1 and *skerry*, n.2; cf. *DOST* s.v. *skerry*, n.). As the map below shows, in place-names recorded by 1500 the element *sker* is restricted to areas of Scandinavian settlement,<sup>218</sup> but the place-names from Norfolk and Wales containing the element recorded in the thirteenth century are testament to a wider distribution than some of the other elements considered here and in Chapter Four. Place-names containing the element and recorded in the twelfth century or earlier are all found in Westmorland, the West Riding and northern Lancashire. However, the element occurs in Norfolk by the thirteenth century (compounded with OE *hangra* or its ME reflex) and may have been independently borrowed into English in the area. The element is also known from coastal areas in Wales, where its usage can, in two instances (*Sker* (House, Point), Glamorgan (12th c.) and *Tuskar Rock*, Glamorgan (16th c.; not mapped but listed in the Appendix)), be seen in the context of other Old Norse place-name formations along sailing routes around the Irish Sea (cf. Owen and Morgan 2007 s.v. *Skerries*, (The), *Ynys(oedd) Y Moelrhoniaid*). However, Owen and Morgan suggest that the name *Skerries*, Anglesey (*le Skerrys* (15th c.)) might be an English formation, which would be the earliest evidence for the form *skerry* in

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<sup>217</sup> The generic in the two Danish examples, of which *Hellevad*, *Tønderområdet* (*Haellæwath* 1330–48; *DS* vi:43) is early-recorded, is *vað* meaning the names are identical to some found in England.

<sup>218</sup> A further place-name containing the element from Glusburn, West Yorkshire (*Grentlyskarr*, 1341) is noted by *MED* but not included in *PNYW* and not shown on the map (*MED* s.v. *scarre*, n.; cf. Madden vi:305). Its inclusion would not alter the element’s distribution significantly.

English (Owen and Morgan 2007: s.v. Skerries, (The), Ynys(oedd) Y Moelrhoniaid). This casts some doubt on the interpretation that ModE *skerry* derives solely from Northern Isles dialect, but there is more evidence for the form from the Northern Isles (*OED* s.v. *skerry*, n.2).



Shapefiles: GRO, KO2001

Survey volumes specify that the element is used of coastal and riverine features (i.e. skerries) in Cheshire, Cumberland and Lancashire (*PNCh* iv:32, 190 and 245; *PNCu*:377; Ekwall 1922:177 and 208). The meaning ‘scar, rocky declivity’ is likely for the names from Norfolk, Westmorland, the West Riding (*PNNf* iii:70 and 131; *PNWe* i:18 and ii:285; *PNYW* vii:244), and at least some of the North Riding names (cf. *PNYN*:255). The distinction between forms with the spellings <scar-> and <sker-> (or similar) does not

correspond to semantic differentiation (as Modern English forms might suggest), but instead reflects the expected development of ME (short) /er/ to /ar/ when syllable-final in the fourteenth century (if not earlier) in the North and the fifteenth century further south (Jordan 1974:§66).

Both the meanings ‘face of rock’ and ‘sunken rock’ are attested in ME texts. The meaning ‘skerry’ is only recorded in two texts cited by *MED*, a mid-fifteenth-century text from Northumberland or Durham (*An Alphabet of Tales*) and three times in a fifteenth-century copy of Mirk’s *Festial* (a. 1415) in a Staffordshire manuscript (*MED* s.v. *scarre*, n.2). The sense ‘rocky cliff, a crag, jagged outcropping’ is recorded from texts from a wider area. ME *scarre* is found with this meaning in, for example, a late-fourteenth-century manuscript of Trevisa’s translation of Higden’s *Polychronicon*, in a Buckinghamshire manuscript (a. 1425) of the Wycliffite Bible, in mid-fifteenth-century manuscripts from Durham (*The Wars of Alexander*) and North Yorkshire (*The Life of St Christopher*) (*MED*: s.v. *scarre*, n.2; cf. Field and Smith 2014:257).

The meanings ‘protruding rock’ and ‘skerry’ are known from Norway, in both place-names and the lexicon (*NG* i:75; *NO* s.v. *skjer*, n.3). However, the Danish cognate *skær* is rare in place-names except in Bornholm (*DS* x:277, 329, 376 and 477), and an association of the lexeme with Bornholm (and further Norway and Sweden) is noted by *ODS* (s.v. *skær*, 5.sb). The element could therefore be a northern Scandinavian loanword into English; however, it is of course uncertain whether the modern distribution of the element in Scandinavia reflects the distribution of the element in Viking-Age Scandinavia.

The fact that the Wirral forms are relatively geographically distant from the other forms might suggest borrowing into the local dialect directly from Scandinavian, especially in the case of the name recorded in the thirteenth century (which could also explain the element’s use in Norfolk place-names). However, the widespread distribution of the element in late ME means this is uncertain.

### Element Studies: Conclusions

Only a small number of elements were considered in detail and the selected elements' usage in English place-names differs considerably. Three of the elements considered, OEN *banke*, OEN *klint* and ON *sker*, were evidently borrowed into ME. In the case of *banke*, it is a possibility that the element's use in Wirral might be explained by the element's subsequent widespread usage in English place-names. (It is interesting in this respect that the element is not recorded in Wirral before the fourteenth century, when it is recorded in two names, and is recorded in five names first recorded in the fifteenth century.) Consequently, the element's usage in Wirral need not reflect direct borrowing from Scandinavian in the area or the survival of place-names given in ON. However, the evidence is less clear-cut in the case of OEN *klint* and ON *sker*.

In contrast, ON *góligr* is not known elsewhere from English place-names and ON *hella* is only known from a handful of English place-names (although it is difficult to identify). The lexemes do not seem to have been widely adopted into ME, and their usage in Wirral is correspondingly more likely to reflect direct borrowing into the local dialect from Scandinavian or the survival of names given in ON. It is also interesting that *hella* seems to have been used more frequently in Norway than Denmark, which means that its occurrence in Wirral may be more likely to reflect West Scandinavian rather than East Scandinavian linguistic influence (although the latter cannot be entirely ruled out).

Overall, then, Scandinavian-derived elements in the corpus appear to reflect both the spread of certain Scandinavian-derived elements in ME but, most securely in the case of elements that do not seem to have been widely borrowed into English, probably also testify to direct Scandinavian influence on local toponymic vocabulary.

### *What type of Scandinavian?*

#### East Scandinavian Speakers in Wirral?

The Scandinavian-derived minor names occurring in Wirral for which it is possible to make an East Scandinavian-West Scandinavian distinction are not, at first glance, consistent with influence solely from West Scandinavian speakers. Two ostensibly East Scandinavian elements are found, OEN *banke* and *\*klint*; the distribution of these elements in English place-names was discussed above and it was argued that the use of both elements could have been widening during the ME period. Consequently, rather than account for their use in Wirral by the supposed presence of Danes amongst Ingimundr's party, the use of these elements in Wirral could instead reflect the more general expansion in the use of these lexemes throughout England in the ME period. However, there is also little to suggest specifically West Scandinavian linguistic influence. ON *brekka*, with characteristically West Scandinavian assimilation of /nk/ to /kk/ (contrast OEN *\*brinke*) (Noreen 1923:§266,3) might occur in Breck Road, Wallasey (*le Breccfeld* c.1280 [18th c.], *le Breckes* (1331); *PNCh* iv:333) and *Knavenebrec* (13th c.[1605]), Oxton (*PNCh* iv:271). However, as discussed in Chapter Two, ON *brekka* is formally impossible to distinguish from OE *bræc* (Angl. *brēc*) (although in the case of *le Breckes*, Wallasey, a nineteenth-century name 'The Slopes' might support but would not prove the occurrence of ON *brekka*). As discussed above, one personal name in the corpus is distinctively Danish and two are more common in West Scandinavian than East Scandinavian areas; however, these names seem to have had wide currency in later medieval England. Overall, then, the evidence for East and West Scandinavian influence in Wirral is inconclusive.

#### *Goidelic Elements*

Four place-name elements that are ultimately from Goidelic occur in the Wirral minor name material, ME *capel* 'draught horse', late OE/ME *cros* 'cross' and reflexes of Goidelic *áirge* 'shieling' and *\*cnoicín* 'small hillock'. A Goidelic personal name *Coscrach* is suggested (somewhat tentatively) to

occur in *Coscarshull* (1365) in Great Sutton (*PNCh* iv:195).<sup>219</sup> Goid. *áirge*, ON *érgi* is discussed in Chapter Four and is not discussed further here other than to say that the distribution and later use of the element gives little reason to see them as linked with so-called ‘Hiberno-Norse’ settlement.

Goid. *capall*, ON *kapall* ‘(draught-)horse’

ME *capel* is recorded first in fourteenth-century texts and it appears broadly accepted that the word is ultimately from Vulgar Latin *caballus* ‘horse’ via Goidelic. The element has been classified as Goidelic here. However, it is unclear whether the word was transmitted into ME directly from Irish or whether it was transmitted via ON. The earliest ME non-onomastic occurrences are from texts written in the south-west Midlands and Ireland, which has been seen as evidence in favour of direct borrowing from Irish (*MED*: s.v. *capel*; cf. Henry 1972:120–21; Irwin 1933:639–642). However, the borrowing of the word also into ON has been seen as evidence in favour of transmission into English via Scandinavian (Ureland 1991:42, n.24; *MED*: s.v. *capel*; Smith 1956: s.v. *kapall*).<sup>220</sup> Indeed, place-name evidence for the element from England is from areas where direct Scandinavian influence on naming is likely, and is not restricted to areas where Goidelic was probably spoken for reasons unconnected with Scandinavian settlement in the region, i.e. parts of Cumbria (see Chapter Four). This suggests that place-name occurrences of the element are unlikely to reflect transmission directly from Irish into ME.

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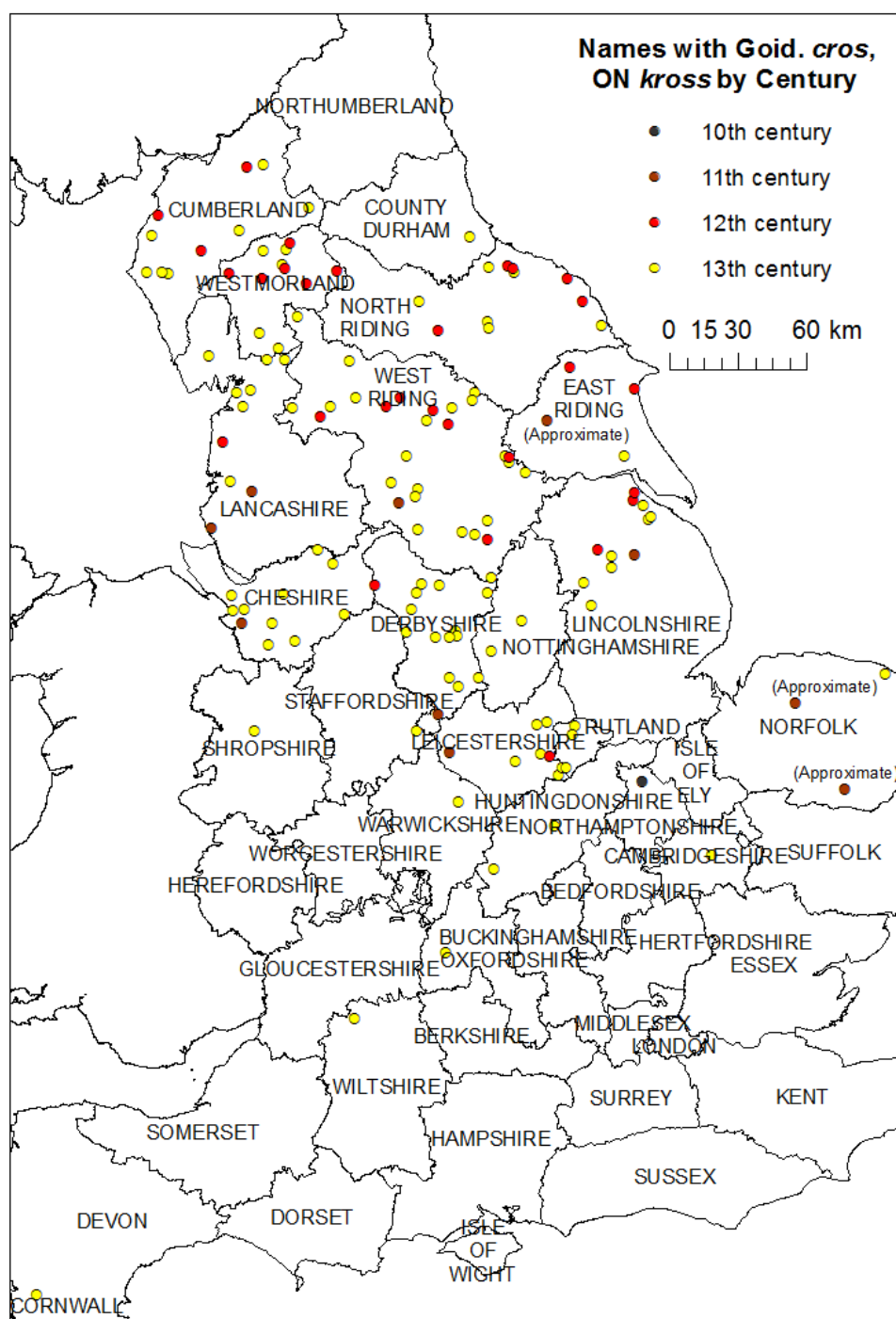
<sup>219</sup> The name is well-recorded in Irish genealogical material (Ó Brien 1962 [1976]:568–69).

<sup>220</sup> It has been objected that the word was too rare and too late-recorded in ON to be the source of ME *capel* (*OED* suggests direct borrowing from Latin in ON) but it is possible that the word was instead just more common in Iceland than Norway (Irwin 1933:648; *OED*: s.v. *caple* | *capul*). *ONP*’s sixteen citations (s.v. *kapall*) are predominantly from *Diplomatarium Islandicum* but include an instance from a family saga (*Reykðæla saga ok Víga-Skútu*) and one of the *riddarasögur* (*Adóníass saga*). Bandle (1967:222) notes that the word survives in modern Icelandic dialects.

Goid. *cross*, ON *kross* ‘cross’

ME (and IOE) *cross* is thought to be ultimately derived from Goidelic, but transmitted into English via Scandinavian (*OED*: s.v. *cross*, n.) and there seems little reason to see it as particularly common in areas of so-called ‘Hiberno-Norse’ settlement. No attempt was made to distinguish *cross* ‘cross’ and ModE *cross* (adj.) ‘athwart’, possibly occurring earlier than recorded lexically in some names (cf., for instance, *PNL* vii:34 and 51; *PNLei* vi:194). The names in which *cross* is used are given in the Appendix; however, unlike other elements considered here and in Chapter Four, only names recorded by the thirteenth century were mapped as names containing *cross* are very numerous.





Shapefiles: ELC2, GRO, GBHGIS1921

By the thirteenth century, the element was widely used in place-names and, being found in a handful of place-names from the South-West, can hardly by that date be indicative of direct Scandinavian influence on local dialects. It was apparent whilst collecting the early attestations of the element that the form *cros* was replacing existing terms for crosses in some areas during the

post-Conquest period. In Surrey there are no instances of the element before 1500, but ME *crouche* (< IOE *crūc* is common);<sup>221</sup> in Sussex *crouche* is also the form found earliest and most frequently (*PNSx*:541; *PNSr*:342); *crois* replaces *crouche* in a names from Gloucestershire and Hertfordshire during the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries (*PNGL* ii:128; *PNHrt*:222). In one Leicestershire instance, a neighbouring field name may contain the reflex of OE *rōd* (*PNLei* iv:24).

The widespread use of the term in place-names by the thirteenth century is mirrored by the lexical evidence: the lexeme is recorded from at least the thirteenth century (for instance in a Herefordshire manuscript of *Ancrene Riwe*) and was common in fourteenth-century texts (*MED* s.v. *crois*, n.).<sup>222</sup> French-derived ME *crois*, *croys* appears to be found in some place-names (cf., for instance, *PNGL* iv:116), but in many instances the spelling could merely reflect French influence on orthography, as appears to be the case in early spellings of the name South Crosland, West Yorkshire (*Croisland*, *Crosland* 1086; *PNYW* ii:265). However, the similarity between the French- and Goidelic-derived forms, and even late OE *crūc*, (all ultimately derived from Lat. *crux*, *crucis*) may have played a part in the element's relatively swift and widespread borrowing into ME.

Overall, then, the place-name evidence does not suggest a particularly strong association with supposed areas of 'Hiberno-Norse' settlement. Names recorded by the eleventh century containing the element are found in Cheshire, southern Derbyshire, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and the East and West Ridings. (The absence of evidence for the element's use in Cumbria at this point is probably not significant as most of the area was not included in the Domesday survey.)

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<sup>221</sup> The palatalised final consonant and long vowel mean that this is better interpreted as a IOE borrowing of a form with (Romance-influenced) final /tʃ/ and late-Latin lengthened /u:/, rather than very early borrowing of Lat. /kruki-/ and subsequent palatalisation and assibilation before /i/ (the latter does not explain the long vowel) (*OED*: s.v. *crouch*, n.1; cf. Kluge 1995: s.v. *Kreuz*).

<sup>222</sup> Despite inclusion in *TDOE* (s.v. *crois*), it is not entirely clear that the element had been borrowed into late OE as all *TDOE*'s examples are place-names.

Goid. \**cnoicín* ‘small hillock’

Unlike the other elements of Goidelic origin discussed here, *cnoicín* probably indicates direct Goidelic influence on local toponymy. Coates (2011:368 and 378) has discussed the reasons for preferring to analyse the Wirral field-names (*monticulus qui vocatur*) *Knukyn* (14th c.) in Woodchurch and *Kne(c)kyn* (15th c.) in West Kirby as containing \**cnoicín*, a diminutive of Goid. *cnocc* ‘hillock’ (as found also in the Wirral major name Noctorum) rather than Welsh *cnycyn*, which Coates suggests to be a modern derivative of Welsh *cnwc*, which Coates suggests to be late copying from Irish.<sup>223</sup> However, the diminutive form occurs in Knockin, Shropshire (*Cnukin* 1195–96, *Knukin* 1198; *PNSa* i:168), where derivation from Welsh *cnycyn* is uncontroversial (there is no reason to believe that the name could be a Goidelic formation).<sup>224</sup> The Wirral names could formally therefore be Welsh names despite Coates’ objections, but a Goidelic origin might still be preferred given the reasonably extensive evidence for Goidelic name-giving in the area. The element *cnocc* is thought to occur in the Cumberland names Knock Murton, Knockupworth and *Cnokdentwald* (14th c.) and the Westmorland name Knock; however, the existence of a formally indistinguishable OE \**cnocc* means that instances elsewhere (and perhaps some of these instances) are uncertain (see *VEPN*: s.v. *cnocc*, 1 and \**cnocc*, 2).

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<sup>223</sup> The element Goid. *cnocc* is formally indistinguishable from OE \**cnocc*, of the same meaning (*VEPN*: s.v. *cnocc* 1 and \**cnocc* 2); however, the Goidelic diminutive ending here means the element can probably be interpreted as entirely Goidelic. The diminutive ME suffix *-kin* (*MED* s.v. *-kin*, suf.), predominantly used in Low German borrowed words, personal names and in some words that were probably Middle English formations (e.g. *napkin*, *bodkin*), cannot, perhaps, be formally ruled out, but seems unlikely.

<sup>224</sup> I am grateful to David Parsons for bringing this name to my attention.

## Conclusion

Scandinavian settlement in Wirral and adjacent areas of south-west Lancashire has been inferred from Scandinavian and Goidelic place-names and personal names in the area, Anglo-Scandinavian and Hiberno-Norse sculpture and, recently, genetic evidence. This settlement has predominantly been understood in the context of an episode recorded in a late Irish text, albeit one of dubious provenance, recording a settlement of Scandinavians near Chester. However, the episode might just have been one of several comings and goings in the area, particularly given the existence of significant trading sites with links to areas around the Irish Sea at Meols and (later) Chester.

Yet, despite an uncontentious Scandinavian and Goidelic contribution to the minor names of Wirral, levels of Scandinavian vocabulary are low when compared with areas of eastern England for which similar quantitative minor name studies have been undertaken. An area of Scandinavian control in north-west Wirral has been postulated based on later land-holdings, and there is indeed a concentration of Scandinavian vocabulary in north-west Wirral. However, even in this area, levels of Scandinavian vocabulary are lower than most other areas for which similar quantitative minor name studies have been undertaken.

How is this to be reconciled with the not insignificant evidence for Scandinavian settlement in the region? The major name evidence, predominantly recorded by the twelfth century, indicates that there had been substantial Scandinavian influence on the naming repertoire in Wirral, and a genetic survey suggests a substantial level of Scandinavian male ancestry in the populations. It appears, then, that although the linguistic consequences of Scandinavian settlement in the area might initially have been significant, developments in the following centuries led to lower levels of Scandinavian influence upon place-name vocabulary by the ME period. Indeed, the lower level of Scandinavian vocabulary in Wirral's microtoponymy when all elements (including repeats) are counted suggests that Scandinavian elements formed a less significant part of the area's onomasticon in the later medieval period than elements of OE origin. In turn, this probably suggests early and

extensive inroads by OE and/or ME in the area, and extensive Anglicisation of toponymic vocabulary.

Moreover, there are indications that some Scandinavian elements in the Wirral corpus may not directly reflect Scandinavian linguistic influence in the area (although elements including ON *góligr* and *hella* may well directly reflect linguistic influence). Examination of the use of ME *bank(e)* nationally suggests that its use in the area could feasibly reflect the spread of the element in the later medieval period, and it is possible that this could be true of other elements borrowed into ME not examined in detail here such as ON *þveit* and ON *gap*. Similarly, as the proportion of Scandinavian personal names in the area's minor names is comparable with the proportions of Scandinavian personal names amongst 1066 landholders in Wirral and eleventh-century Chester moneyers, it is also doubtful whether Scandinavian personal nomenclature in the region can solely be ascribed to Scandinavian settlement in Wirral.

Evidence for where the Scandinavians who settled in Wirral came from is inconclusive. The suggestion that certain elements that have hitherto been seen as evidence for East Scandinavian settlement in Wirral could instead reflect the expansion of these elements in the later medieval period in an English context means that there is little secure evidence for East Scandinavian settlement in Wirral. There is also little conclusive evidence for specifically West Scandinavian forms in the area but there is evidence for Goidelic influence on both major and minor nomenclature. In a couple of cases, this might reflect name-formation by Goidelic speakers. However, in others, the use of elements derived from Goidelic is seen either in wider areas of Scandinavian settlement and, in one case, ultimately across much of England.

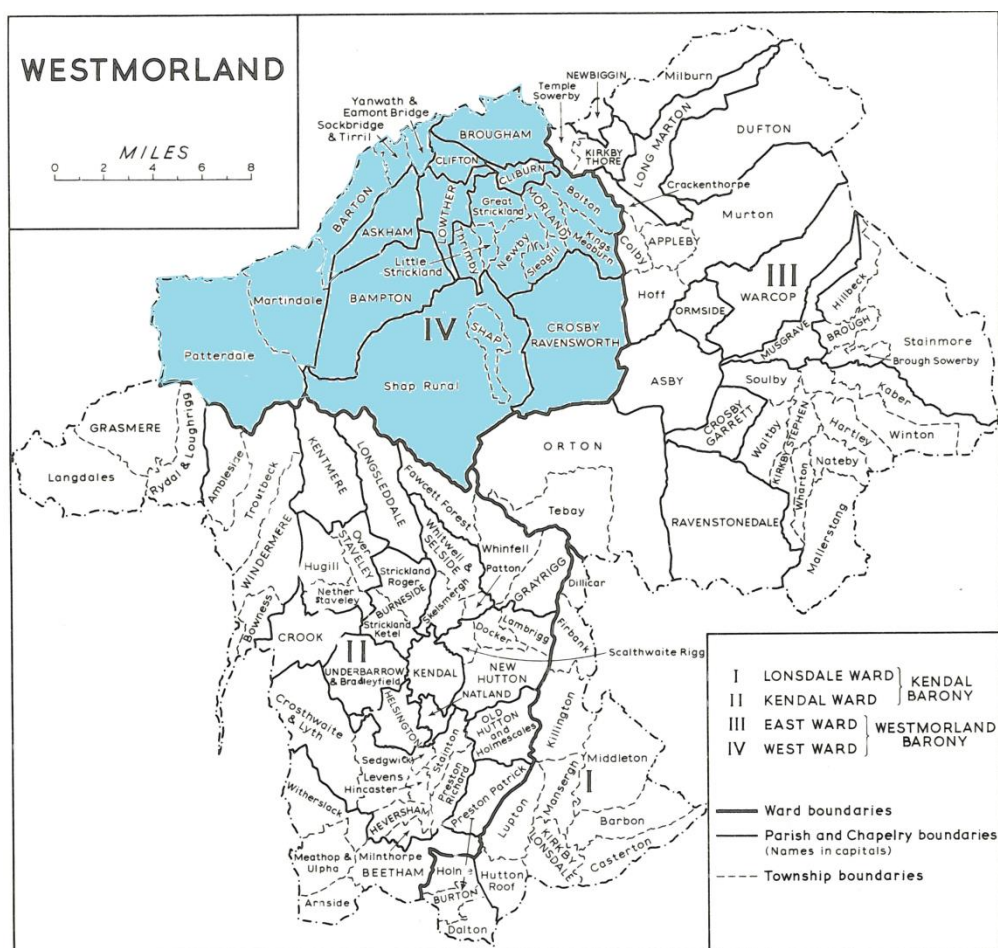
These findings have implications for the question of assessing what minor name evidence can tell us. The disparity between major and minor name evidence seems to suggest that the character of medieval minor names can differ significantly from (major) names recorded somewhat earlier in the same area, which might be indicative of the general impermanence of minor place-names. The evidence of the element case-studies supports this, if

obliquely, by demonstrating the rapid expansion in the areas in which certain elements, most clearly OEN *banke* and Goid. *crois* expanded in the post-Conquest period. The majority of the elements considered in the case-studies are recorded as lexemes in ME, suggesting an overall correspondence between toponymic vocabulary and related lexical vocabulary. However, there are also elements that were not borrowed so widely, if at all, feasibly survive in names dating from periods of direct Scandinavian and Goidelic influence on name-formation, and it is unclear whether these elements were also borrowed into the local ME dialect.

## Chapter Four: the West Ward of Westmorland Barony

### Introduction

As with Wirral, the Westmorland area corresponds to an earlier administrative unit, the West Ward of the Barony of Westmorland (henceforth the ‘West Ward’). However, the West Ward is not of the same antiquity as the Hundred of Wirral. The County, formed of the Baronies of Kendal and Westmorland, was created in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and the Wards are only recorded from the sixteenth century (*PNWe* i:xvii and ii:127). The area comprises varying terrain, being predominantly upland in the west but including part of the Upper Eden valley in the east.



The Area Investigated: The West Ward of Westmorland Barony

Map from *PNWe*

Unlike in Wirral, Scandinavian settlement in the West Ward was not thought to be isolated from other areas of Scandinavian settlement in England; instead, the area is part of a much larger area comprising the modern English counties of Cumbria and Lancashire (as well as areas of south-western Scotland) where there is evidence for Scandinavian settlement. Consequently, in the consideration of the evidence for Scandinavian settlement in the area, evidence from these adjacent areas is also taken into account. However, for reasons of space, the discussion of the toponymic evidence is limited to the West Ward.

## **Scandinavian Settlement in Westmorland**

### ***Textual Sources***

There is no certain direct documentary evidence for Scandinavian settlement in the West Ward. However, a handful of references are thought to refer to Scandinavian settlement in Cumbria.

Two passages that have been interpreted as pertaining to Scandinavians in Cumbria occur in chapters eleven and twelve of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, a text either written in the mid-tenth century and extended in the eleventh century or compiled entirely in the eleventh century (Johnson South 2002:25–36). The passages are as follows (Johnson South 2002:60–61):

Chapter twenty-one: Tempore eiusdem Eadwardi regis Tilred abbas de Hefresham uillam quae uocatur Iodene Australem emit. Cuius dimidiam partem dedit sancto Cuthberto ut esset frater in eius monasterio, alteram apud Northam ut ibi esset abbas



In the time of the same King Edward, Tilred abbot of Heversham bought [...] <sup>225</sup> the township which is called Castle Eden. <sup>226</sup> Half of it he gave to St Cuthbert so that he might be a brother in his monastery; the other [half he gave] to Norham, so that he might be abbot there.

Chapter twenty-two: His diebus Elfred filius Brihtulfinci, fugiens piratas, uenit ultra montes uersus occidentem et quaesiuit misericordiam sancti Cuthberti et episcopi Cutheardi ut praestarent sibi aliquas terras.

In these days Elfred son of Brihtwulf, fleeing pirates, came over the mountains in <sup>227</sup> the west and sought the mercy of St Cuthbert and Bishop Cutheard so that they might present him with some lands.

These records have been widely interpreted as alluding to Scandinavian settlement in Cumbria, although the evidence is particularly slim in the case of Tilred of Heversham (in Westmorland), often assumed to be a refugee (Stenton 1936 [1970]:216; Higham 1986:322; Woolf 2007:132; Edwards 2013:496). Chapter eleven is roughly datable by the references to the reign of Edward the Elder (899–924) and the episcopacy of Cutheard, bishop from the early 900s, to some point in the second decade of the tenth century. <sup>228</sup> The entry in Chapter twelve precedes a battle between a Scandinavian king *Regenwald[us]* and the Scots and English at Corbridge, perhaps in 918 (Johnson South

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<sup>225</sup> Johnson South's translation (2002:61) adds that the land was bought 'from King Edward' but this is not in the (Latin) text of the *Historia* as he has edited it.

<sup>226</sup> Cf. Watts (2004: s.v. Eden).

<sup>227</sup> Or perhaps better 'to, towards' (cf. *DMLBS*: s.v. 2 versus, ~um).

<sup>228</sup> Dated by Johnson South (2002:59) to '901–915?' and by Woolf (2007:132) to 904–18.

2002:58–61).<sup>229</sup> Both these events are therefore purported to have taken place in the first decades of the tenth century. However, it has been suggested that there had not been substantial Scandinavian settlement in Cumbria when the Community of St Cuthbert fled Lindisfarne and travelled west of the Pennines in the later ninth century as recorded in Chapter Twenty of the *Historia* (Bailey 1980:35; cf. Johnson-South 58–59).

Further references to Westmorland are found in ASC annals for 926, 945, 966 and 972. These references more explicitly concern Westmorland, but whether they have anything to do with Scandinavians in the area is uncertain, although they might illuminate shifting degrees of English control over the area. The earliest occurs in ASC D s.a. 926, which records that Athelstan ruled over ‘ealle þa cyngas þe on þyssum iglande wæron’, including ‘Cosstantin Scotta cyning’, and that they swore oaths to him ‘on þære stowe þe genemned is æt Eamotum’ (Cubbin 1996:41). This has been interpreted as suggesting that the northernmost region over which Athelstan held sway was Westmorland, with the boundary between areas of English and Cumbrian dominance running along the line of the later boundary between Westmorland and Cumberland (Stenton 1936 [1970]:217–18). However, an entry s.a. 945 found in several recensions of ASC seems to indicate English interest (if temporary) in areas further north, recording that ‘her Eadmund cyning oferhergode eal Cumbra land 7 hit let to eal Malcume Scotta cyninge’ (ASC A; Bately 1986:74). Whatever the rationale behind the attack and the granting of the area to Malcolm, this has been interpreted as a possible context for Goidelic influence over ‘Cumbra land’ (discussed below), which is probably not to be identified with the county of Cumberland (Ekwall 1918:3–5; Parsons 2012:129; Woolf 2007:183–84).<sup>230</sup> However, whether the shifting areas of

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<sup>229</sup> An apparent second battle at Corbridge is recorded in Chapter twenty-four of the *Historia*, but Johnson South suggests that the compiler has inadvertently duplicated a single battle at Corbridge due to the battle being recorded in more than one source document (Johnson South 2002:105–06).

<sup>230</sup> *Annales Cambriae* also records the harrying (‘Srat Clut vastata est a Saxonibus’; Morris 1980:91); this has been interpreted as indicating that ‘Cumbra land’ included Strathclyde at this point (Kirby 1962:86; Edmonds 2014:205–08).

English dominance had anything to do with Scandinavian settlement is uncertain. Fellows-Jensen suggests (1985:3) that the southward expansion of Strathclyde implied by the annal for 926 might partly have resulted from Scandinavian disruption of the region, but the possibility remains that other factors were at work.

The remaining reference and possible reference to Westmorland are problematic. An entry for 966 in ASC DEF, records, ‘her Ðoreð [MS E:*Pored*; MS F:*Thored*], Gunneres sunu, forhergode Westmoringaland’, ‘in this year Thored, Gunnar’s son, harried Westmorland’ (Cubbin 1996:46; Irvine 2004:58; Baker 2000:83). This has been interpreted as an attack on Scandinavians in Westmorland by a subordinate of King Edgar in the context of alliances between the British kings of Strathclyde/Cumbria and Scandinavians (N. Higham 1986:321). However, Stenton (1936 [1970]:218–19) noted that this episode could have been a private act of violence rather than royally-sanctioned suppression of a disaffected populace as this annal – unlike others – gives the king no role in the events and as Thored appears to have been out-of-favour with the king at the time. Ultimately, then, it is uncertain how to interpret this annal.

An entry in ASC DEF *s.a.* 974 has at times been interpreted as naming a Scandinavian-named ruler of Westmorland. The annal records the submission of six kings to King Edgar at Chester (Cubbin 1996:46; Irvine 2004:59; Baker 2000:84), and the last one of these kings is named in post-Conquest sources, first in Roger of Wendover’s *Flores Historiarum*, as ‘Jukil Westimariæ’ (Coxe 1841–44 i:415). This name has been interpreted as the Scandinavian personal name Jókell (Stenton 1936 [1970]:219; Smith 1967:x1). However, Stenton noted (1936 [1970]:219) that the older versions of these lists of kings found in John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury did not specify the rulers’ domains, and suggests that these might have been conjecture on the part of Roger of Wendover. Further, Stenton noted (1936 [1970]:139) that William of Malmesbury’s form ‘Judethil’ for this ruler seemed to be a British name Judic(h)ael, common in Brittany, rather than a Scandinavian personal name. It is therefore uncertain both whether reliable information lies behind the name, and if it should be linked with Westmorland.

A further reference in Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* has been linked with Scandinavian involvement in Westmorland (Coxe 1841–44, i:402–03; Giles 1849:256):

Anno Domini DCCCL. rex Eilricus in quadam solitudine quæ  
 “Steinmor” dicitur, cum filio suo Henrico et frater Reginaldo,  
 proditione Osulfi comitis, a Macone consule fraudulenter  
 interempti sunt, ac deinde in partibus illis rex Eadredus regnavit.

A.D. 950. King Eilric, by the treachery of earl Osulf, was slain  
 by a nobleman called Macon, together with his son Henry and his  
 brother Reginald, in a lonely spot called *Steinmor*; after which  
 King Eadred reigned in those parts.

‘Eilricus’ has been identified with Eiríkr bløðøx, and the event dated to 954 by the record of Eiríkr’s expulsion from Northumbria in ASC DE (Cubbin 1996:45; Irvine 2004:56; Stenton 1936 [1970]:218). This event has been interpreted as indicating that Eiríkr was attempting to flee to Ireland or the Western Isles via the North-West, thought to be a safe route due to Scandinavian settlement there (Griffiths 2010:45; Smyth 1975–79, ii:174–75).

In summary then, there are two references in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* that record two men with Anglo-Saxon names leaving Cumbria, in one case explicitly because of raiders who are presumed to be Scandinavians. ASC’s references to Westmorland hint that the West-Saxon dynasty’s area of influence – or area of desired influence – did not extend north of Westmorland, but tell us nothing concrete about Scandinavian activity in the region.

### ***Archaeological Evidence***

Archaeological evidence also provides evidence for Scandinavian cultural influence in Cumbria. Of the corpus of sculpture and archaeological finds with Scandinavian characteristics from northwest England compiled by Edwards (1992), a spear-head from Nan Bield Pass (Shap Rural) and three

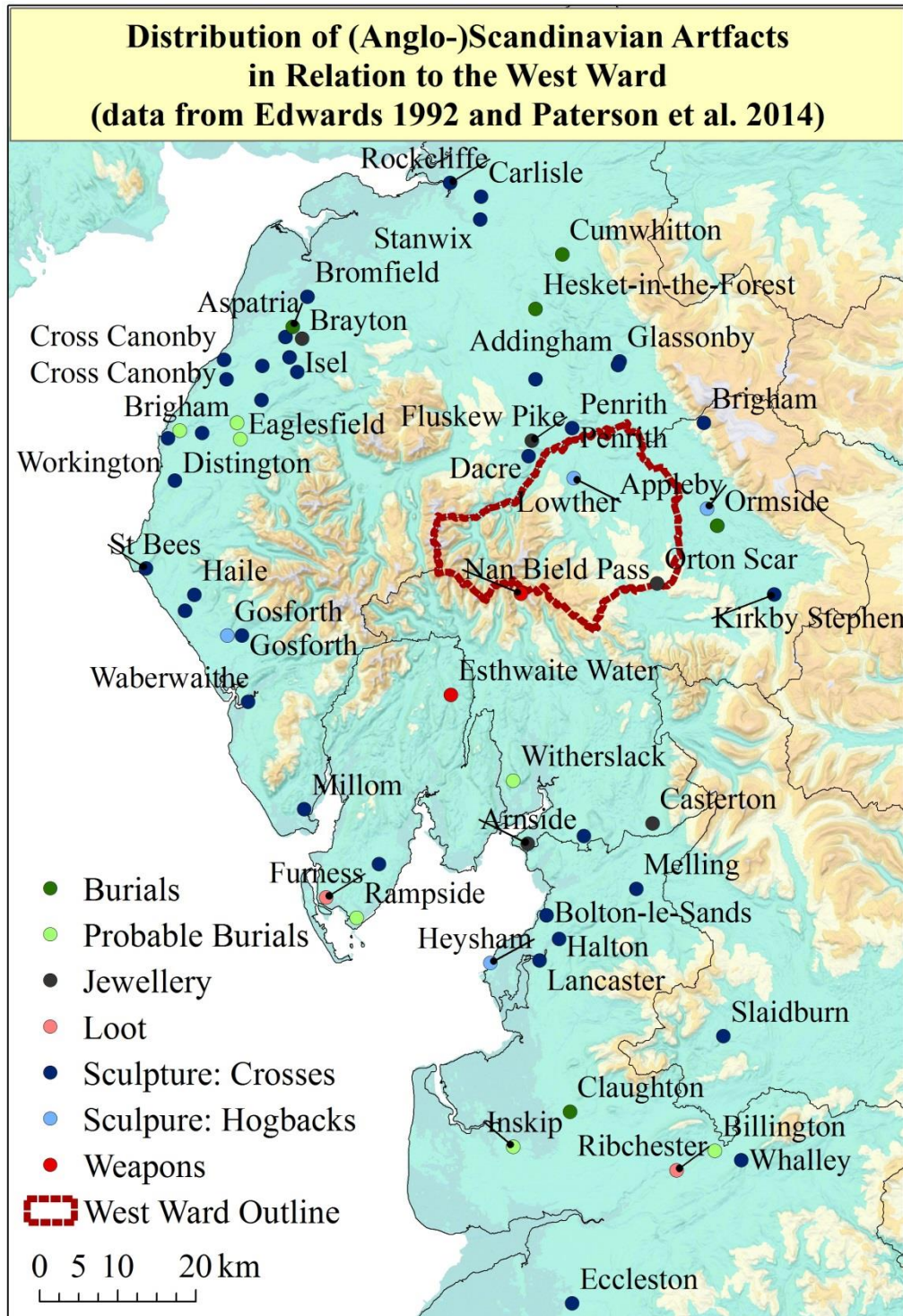
hogbacks from Lowther are from the West Ward. Edwards (1992:59; 1998:27) gives little information about the iron spear-head from Nan Bield Pass beyond location and dimensions, but it was classified as ‘a Viking spear-head’ by Webster and Cherry (1972:149). There are two more-or-less complete hogbacks and a further fragmentary hogback from Lowther, a site with Anglian sculpture; the iconography of one of the hogbacks shows similarities with the iconography on picture stones from Gotland and the Oseberg tapestries, and the design of the other has parallels with hogbacks from Brompton and Dewsbury, North Yorkshire and Heysham, Lancashire (Bailey and Cramp 1988:129–31). There is also a grave cover, whose asymmetrical interlace is like that common on the Isle of Man, but also found sporadically in Yorkshire (Bailey and Cramp 1988:132).

The map below shows these and other archaeological finds and sculpture from Cumbria with some degree of Scandinavian influence as listed by Edwards (although some objects were excluded as it was not clear that they were Scandinavian finds).<sup>231</sup> Also shown is a tenth-century Scandinavian cemetery at Cumwhitton where two female and four male burials were recently excavated, all of them richly furnished (Paterson et al. 2014). In broad terms, the majority of the sculpture with Anglo-Scandinavian characteristics is clearly concentrated in coastal areas and in the Eden Valley plain rather than in the mountainous and more sparsely populated inland area. The West Ward, which includes both an area of upland to the west and an area of lowland in the upper Eden Valley to the east, is thus on the periphery of an area where Anglo-Scandinavian style sculpture is found, and it is in this context that the hogbacks from Lowther are found. The distribution does not imply, of course, that areas without many Scandinavian-style finds, such as the West Ward, are areas where there was not Scandinavian settlement or influence. Instead, the distribution, dominated by the body of sculpture, probably reflects both the density of settlement in the lowland areas when compared with the upland

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<sup>231</sup> Hoards were not included as it was not clear on what grounds Edwards classified them as Scandinavian (for criteria see Graham-Campbell 1992b:109). A spear-head from Lancaster was also excluded as it was described as of late-Saxon style (Edwards 1992:51).

areas and the differences in prosperity between these areas. A greater proportion of cultivated land in the lowland areas has also presumably increased the likelihood of objects from these areas being uncovered. Taken as a whole, then, the artefact distribution suggests Scandinavian cultural influence in the West Ward and the wider area.



Shapefile: KO2001; SRTM Data: JRNG2008

### *Genetic Evidence*

No genetic survey of the West Ward comparable to that undertaken for Wirral has been carried out. However, Scandinavian male ancestry in the modern population of nearby Penrith has been estimated at 37 ( $\pm 3\%$ ) (Bowden *et al.* 2008:305; Capelli *et al.* 2003). The proportion of Scandinavian male ancestry in the local modern population is thus very similar to that from Wirral (see Chapter Three).

### *Inscriptional Evidence*

There are no inscriptions from within the area investigated, although intriguingly a minor name from Lowther, *Runcrosbanc* (13th c.), seems to refer to a cross with a runic inscription (but need not refer to a Scandinavian inscription). However, there are eight inscriptions in Scandinavian runes from Cumbria, one of which certainly testifies to Norse being used in the area and one of which either testifies to English-influenced Norse or Norse-influenced English being used.<sup>232</sup> None of these inscriptions is from the West Ward, but the Penrith Brooch inscription was found just outside the area. There are a further eight non-runic inscriptions from Cumbria and Lancashire; however, these are either illegible or of pre-Viking Age date, and so are not considered here.<sup>233</sup> In this section, the evidence indicative of ON being spoken in the area in the post-Conquest period is considered first, followed by consideration of what the runic evidence indicates about the area's contacts with Scandinavia or other areas of Scandinavian colonisation.

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<sup>232</sup> The inscriptions which only provide evidence for the use of Scandinavian runes and not for the use of ON are: the Middle English Bridekirk font inscription (with Scandinavian influence postulated for unclear parts of the inscription); an inscription from Carlisle Cathedral consisting of three letters **ai\***; the Dearham inscription, which has not been satisfactorily interpreted; the (now lost) Conishead Priory inscription interpreted as an otherwise-unrecorded personal name *Dotbert*; the Penrith brooch *fupark*-inscription (Barnes and Page 2006:278–85, 191–92, 295–98, 317–20 and 331–33).

<sup>233</sup> Detailed by Elisabeth Okasha (1971:52, 61–62, 81, 88–89 and 129; 1992:48, 58 and 60; 2004:233).

The longest of the three Carlisle inscriptions is in ON but shows English influence. The inscription has been read as **tolf(i)nuraitþ\*sarunrab\*sastain**, interpreted as *Dólgfinnr wreit þessa(r) rúnar á þessa stein* ‘Dolfin scratched these runes on this stone’ (Barnes and Page 2006:289–91). Certain features suggest a demotic form of ON, especially the form **runr** for ON *rúnar* and the demonstrative *þessa* in concord with accusative masculine singular *stein* where *þenna* would be expected (Barnes and Page 2006:290–91). Further, Barnes and Page (2006:291) note that the loss of nominative singular masculine *-r* in **tolf(i)n**, and the form **urait** where a labial is preserved (contrast West Norse *ríta*, which was rarely used of runic writing) might suggest influence from (or use of) OE *writan* ‘to write’ and an English form of the personal name *Dólgfinnr*. Indeed, the name *Dólgfinnr*, unknown in Scandinavia, is often associated with members of the Cumbrian ruling class,<sup>234</sup> although it was also borne by a handful of landholders in Derbyshire and Yorkshire in 1066 (Morgan 1978b:17.3; Faull and Stinson 1986:1W.40 and 9W.110) and 1086 (Morgan 1978b:17.8, 17.9; Faull and Stinson 1986:9W.41, 29W.40 and 29W.39). The inscription presumably postdates the cathedral’s construction in the 1120s (cf. Barnes 2010), and has been dated to the twelfth century (Barnes and Page 2006:291). The language of the inscription is clearly ON and thus testimony to Scandinavian speech in Cumbria in the twelfth century. However, a recently discovered twelfth- or thirteenth-century inscription also from Carlisle Cathedral, consisting only of a personal name, is less certain evidence of demotic ON.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> ASC E records the expulsion of *Dolfin*, probably the son of Gospatric Earl of Northumbria, from Carlisle in 1092 (Irvine 2004:103; McDonald 2004). There are two other entries for the name in *PASE*: one apparently a Cumbrian noble killed in 1054, the other an early-eleventh-century man Torfin whose daughter married someone with the typically Cumbrian name Gospatric (*PASE*: s.vv. Dolfin 1 and Dolfin 3). The personal name is also thought to be the specific of Dolphenby, Cu (*Dolphinerbi* 1202), while the name is known from Scandinavian sources only as the name of a thirteenth-century Bishop of Orkney (*PNCu*:191).

<sup>235</sup> The inscription reading **r(a)\*nalt** has been interpreted as the personal name *Rognvaldr* and the lack of inflexional-r either as indicating an anglicised



The twelfth-century Pennington tympanum inscription (datable by its ornament) is more problematic. The inscription has been read as **kml :lita :pina :kirk :\*ub\*rt:masun :\*\*\* :\*\*\*\*\* ....** +, and interpreted (partly on the basis of earlier readings) as *Gamall leta penna kirk. Hubert mason vann* ‘Gamall did not leave this church. Hubert the mason completed’ (Barnes and Page 2006:308–311). The only unambiguously Scandinavian lexemes in the inscription are those interpreted as *penna kirk* ‘this church’.<sup>236</sup> However, the use of the form **pina**, ON *penna* (masculine) appears, like the Carlisle inscription, to show confusion about gender or demonstrative pronouns or the use of historically incorrect forms in the local area as (feminine) *pessa* would be expected, whilst **kirk** appears to have lost its inflexional ending (Page 1971:172). Further, the word-order is likely to have been influenced by English, as the demonstrative would be expected to follow the noun in ON, although there are exceptions to the rule (Page 1971:172; H. F. Nielsen 2000:173–77; Faarlund 2002:729). The inscription probably also contains the Scandinavian personal name Gamall (Page 1971:171; Barnes and Page 2006:310–12).<sup>237</sup> However, a proposed reading of runes twenty-two to twenty-six as a patronymic ‘the son of *Már*’ (Ekwall 1930:24; Page 1971:172) looks less likely than the French loanword ME *masoun*, recorded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a byname, which makes sense contextually (Fransson 1935:175; MED: s.v. masoun, n.). Overall, the inscription is testimony to a twelfth-century dialect that was either English with Norse (and French)

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form of the name or breakdown of the inflexional system in the local Scandinavian dialect (Barnes 2010). However, it is possible that the name is CGmc Raginald (>AN, ME *Reynald*); twelfth-century forms <Rainald>, <Raynald> and <Reinald> are consistent with the orthography of the Carlisle graffito (cf. McClure and Rollason 2007:68).

<sup>236</sup> The sequence **lita** is hard to interpret, and **uan** (which is in any case now illegible) could be from OE *winnan* ‘labour’ or OE *vinna* ‘work, achieve’ (Barnes and Page 2006:310–12).

<sup>237</sup> As an abbreviated name of the patron is unexpected, Holman suggested the sequence in question should be interpreted as ON *kuml* ‘monument’ (Holman 1996:75); however, this interpretation is also problematic (Barnes and Page 2006:312).

influence on lexis and names, or Norse with inflexional breakdown and English syntactic influence.

The rune forms of certain inscriptions suggest ongoing contacts with other areas where Scandinavian runes were used. Least remarkable is the use of the fourth rune for /o/ in the Bridekirk and Conishead inscriptions and the longest Carlisle inscription, as, although not known to have been used in mainland Scandinavia before the eleventh century, the fourth rune was used for /o/ in inscriptions from Man thought to date from the tenth century, Braddan II and Kirk Michael III (Barnes and Page 2006:278–85, 289–91, 317–20; Spurkland 1995:4–5; Spurkland 2005:97–100 and 113–14; Olsen 1954:191 and 215–17; Page 1983:140; Moltke 1985:394–95). Similarly, the occurrence of the ‘dotted’ form of the **i** rune (used for /e/) in the Pennington inscription is only found in Denmark from c.1000 and in Norway from c.1050, but is found in tenth-century and early-eleventh-century inscriptions from Man, German II, Maughold IV, Kirk Michael III and Onchan (Barnes and Page 2006:53–54; Knirk 2010:190; Jacobsen and Moltke 1942:999–1000; Olsen 1954:199–200, 206–07 and 216; Page 1983:137–41; Spurkland 2005:102–03). Thus, although some of the features exhibited by the runic inscriptions from Cumbria are not known from mainland Scandinavia until a century or so after Scandinavian settlement in Cumbria is thought to have begun, these features seem to have been used somewhat earlier around the Irish Sea, and so are not necessarily indicative of continued contacts with mainland Scandinavia. Indeed, the use of the † rune for **h**, only otherwise seen on Man, on the Penrith brooch (which need not have been inscribed in the area it was found but is thought to have been inscribed in the Irish Sea region) indicates an Irish Sea context for the inscription, which is supported by the Irish Sea distribution of similar brooches (Barnes and Page 2006:333).

However, other features of the inscriptions suggest more wide-ranging contacts than with Man alone. The form of the **b** rune used in the Pennington inscription, **B**, is not that which was widely used on the Isle of Man † (Page 1983:141), perhaps suggesting that the inscription does not simply result from a late (re)introduction of runic script from the Isle of Man, as Page (1971:174) suggested might be true of Scandinavian speech in the North-West. Further,

the use of a dotted **t** rune in the thirteenth-century Conishead inscription is not paralleled in Denmark until the second half of the eleventh century and Barnes and Page tentatively suggest that the use of ‘the more complex rune types’ (perhaps including the use of **B** for the **b** rune and **↑** for **t** as well as the dotted form) in the inscription might suggest East rather than West Scandinavian influence (Moltke 1985:391–95; Knirk 2010; Barnes and Page 2006:319). Finally, the Bridekirk inscription’s use of a form **†** of the dotted **i**-rune (representing /e(:)/) is apparently only found in Scandinavia from c.1150 (Barnes and Page 2006:285) and so would seem to be a plausible indication of ongoing contacts with Scandinavia or other areas of Scandinavian settlement. Similar forms may be found in a graffito on the Onchan inscription from Man, in the eleventh- or twelfth-century Tuquoy inscription from Westray (Orkney), and in three inscriptions from Holy Island of uncertain date and (some at least) probably carved by passing Norwegians (Olsen 1954:194–99; Page 1983:141; Barnes and Page 2006:197–200, 255–60, 265–68).

In summary, only one inscription, the longest Carlisle inscription, is clear evidence for the use of ON in the North-West, and its twelfth-century date is significant evidence for the use of ON in the post-Conquest period. The Pennington tympanum inscription additionally testifies to either English influence on Scandinavian or Scandinavian influence on English. Further, many of the inscriptions use rune forms used in Scandinavia long after the initial settlement in the North-West, possibly suggesting continued contacts with people using Scandinavian runes. Two features, the use of the fourth rune for /o/ and the use of a dotted form of the **i** rune for /e/, are seen earlier in Man than in mainland Scandinavia. More remarkable, however, are the occurrence of a dotted form of **t** found from the end of the eleventh century in Denmark in the Conishead Priory inscription, and a form of dotted **i** only seen in Scandinavia from c.1150 (and perhaps found in other inscriptions from around the Irish Sea and Northern Isles) in the Bridekirk Font inscription. Only innovations seen in Scandinavia up to the first half of the eleventh century are seen in the Manx inscriptions (Page 1983:139), so the later innovations seen in the North-West suggest the area was in contact with Scandinavia or areas of Scandinavian settlement other than the Isle of Man.

This maintenance of contacts with the ‘homeland’ is seen in modern diasporic communities (Cohen 2008:18).

### *Toponymic Evidence*

Place-names are one of the major reasons for believing there was substantial Scandinavian settlement in Cumbria, including the West Ward. As in Wirral, the major place-names of West Ward show substantial Scandinavian and Goidelic input. Here, only the names that provide any possible indication of Scandinavian or Goidelic linguistic influence are discussed in detail and all interpretations and early forms are taken from *PNWe* (ii:127–228) unless otherwise stated. The earliest recorded form of each name is given and later instances only where they shed further light on the derivation or indicate a competing form of the name. Names that could be either English or Scandinavian in their entirety are noted separately, but names that contain an indistinguishably English/Scandinavian element compounded with one that is clearly English are not separately noted. (The reasons for considering the elements indistinguishable are discussed more fully in Chapter Two.)

In the Wirral corpus, names were classified as major names if they were the names of townships or ecclesiastical parishes and only exceptionally were other names counted as major names. However, a different method of classifying names as major or minor names was applied in the West Ward as there are many names that are not the names of civil or ecclesiastical parishes with a substantial number of early attestations, suggesting the places named were significant in the medieval period.<sup>238</sup> Consequently, any name with five or more pre-1500 forms was considered to be a major name, and names recorded fewer than five times before 1500 were considered to be minor names. However, the ecclesiastical and civil parish names are considered separately from the other major names.

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<sup>238</sup> For instance, Wasdale and Hackthorpe (*PNWe* ii:172–73 and 182–83).

*Ecclesiastical and Civil Parish Names*

There are only nineteen civil or ecclesiastical parish names in the West Ward (when names distinguished only by later affixes are excluded). Nine of these names are ecclesiastical and ten are civil parish names. All but four are first recorded in the twelfth century; Askham, Strickland, Martindale and Thrimby are recorded from the thirteenth century.

Brittonic and English Names

Six of the ecclesiastical and civil parish names are of unambiguous English origin, in one case perhaps incorporating an earlier Brittonic name: Bampton (later recorded with a Goidelic personal name as an affix; EP),<sup>239</sup> Barton (EP), Bolton (CP), Brougham (possibly incorporating a Roman-British name *Brocavo*; EP),<sup>240</sup> Sockbridge (CP)<sup>241</sup> and (Great-, Little-) Strickland (CP).<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> *Bampton(e) Patrik*, -yk- (1292): *PNWe* (ii:189) interprets this as referring to Patrick de Culwen, a twelfth century owner, but notes that the parish church is also dedicated to St Patrick.

<sup>240</sup> Rivet and Smith (1979:240 283–84); *PNWe* (ii:127–28) prefers OE *burh*.

<sup>241</sup> Either OE *\*socabred* ‘board serving as a footbridge over marshy spots’ (Ekwall 1960: s.v. Sockbridge) or a compound of ME *soc* ‘ploughshare’ (< OE *sōcn* ‘jurisdiction, estate’ or OFr. *soc* ‘ploughshare’) and ME *brede* (< OE *brædu*) ‘broad cultivated strip, furrow’ (*PNWe* ii:207–08; *OED* s.v. *soke*, n.1).

<sup>242</sup> The generic could formally be OE *land* or ON *land*, but the specific is OE *stīrc* ‘young bullock or heifer’ (*PNWe* ii:149).

A further three parish names could be of English or Scandinavian origin, namely Askham (EP),<sup>243</sup> Cliburn (EP)<sup>244</sup> and Clifton (EP).<sup>245</sup>

### Scandinavian Names

Five of the parish names from the West Ward are Scandinavian in origin, and a further two names are probably Scandinavianisations of English names.

**Crosby Ravensworth** (EP) *Crossebi*, -by (12th c.–1361), -*Rau*, *Raven(e)swart*, -*su(u)art*, *svart* (12th c.–1582). ON *kross* (< OIr. *cross*) in the genitive plural *krossa* and ON *bý(r)*.

The name occurs elsewhere as a major name in the north-west and less certainly in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire,<sup>246</sup> and is comparable with *kirkju-bý(r)* names, although denoting a cross rather than a church. The affix is the Scandinavian personal name *Hrafnsvart*, found a number of times in DB (von Feilitzen 1937:293).

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<sup>243</sup> *Asc-*, *Askum* (1232–1476). Interpreted either as ON *askum* ‘at the ashes’ or a Scandinavianised form of OE *æscum* (PNWe ii:200). However, the form could perhaps simply be native. Palatalization and assibilation of /sk/ to /ʃ/ occurred medially except before a back vowel (contrast OE *disces* /difes/ and OE *discas* /diskas/) (Hogg 1992:§§7.16, 7.17(4) and 7.33). The form *æscum* would presumably behave like *discas* and so retain medial /sk/, unless the palatalised, assibilated consonant were extended throughout the plural of the paradigm by analogy with the singular forms. The existence of competing singular forms may be significant in determining the forms of the same name elsewhere in England, Ashton, Northamptonshire and Ashen, Essex (PNNth:96; PNEss:406).

<sup>244</sup> *Clibbrun* (1133–47), *Cli-*, *Kli-*, *Clybburn(e)* (1204–). PNWe (ii:136) analyses as OE/ON *clif/klif* ‘cliff, bank’ and OE *burna* but ON *brunnr* seems to appear in some early forms (although outnumbered by forms suggesting OE *burna*).

<sup>245</sup> (*Clif-*, *Clyfton* 1196–). OE/ON *clif/klif* ‘cliff, bank’ and OE/ON *tūn/tún* ‘enclosure, farmstead, estate, village’ (PNWe ii:187).

<sup>246</sup> The other instances of the name are Crosby on Eden and Crossby/Crosscanonby (PNCu:76 and 282), Crosby Garrett, Westmorland (PNWe ii:39) and less-certainly Crosby, North Yorkshire (for which the DB form suggests ON *Krókr*; PNYN:205–06) and Crosby Lincolnshire (for which the DB form suggests ON *Kroppr*; PNLi:vi:51).

**Morland** (EP) (*Morlund(ia)* (1133–47 to 1405), *Morland* (1133–89 to 1703). OE/ON *mór/mōr* ‘moor, bog’ and ON *lundr* ‘wood’.

**Sleagill** (CP) *Slegil(l)(e)*, *-gyl(l)(e)* (1180–90 *et freq* to 1777); *Scleg(h)il(le)* (1190–1285); *Sleuegill* (p) (1294); *Slenegill* (p) (13th c.); *Selegile* (1250–60) and *Slehgile* (1208). ON *slefa* ‘?saliva, ?a small snake’ and ON *gil* ‘a ravine’.

Ekwall, comparing *Slævdal* in Norway, suggested (1960:426) that the first element was a stream name derived from ON *slefa* ‘saliva’ and referring to a trickling stream. *PNWe* (ii:148) similarly suggests that the specific was ON *slefa*, comparing Norwegian *Sleueland* (1519), but suggests *slefa* was used as a byname since Sleagill Beck is too vigorous a stream to be termed ‘trickling’. However, the element is not interpreted as a byname in the Norwegian farm-name (it is interpreted by *NG* as referring to a small marsh from which water seeps out). This is acknowledged in the corrections to *PNWe*, which note that the element could refer to a small river or a serpent in the Norwegian name (*NG* x:76; *PNWe* ii:xiv). No other instances of the element *slefa* are noted in Smith (1956) and, overall, the meaning and identification of the element here is unclear.

**Thrimby** (CP) *Trnebi* (p) (1200); *Turnebi* (p) (c.1225); *Ti-*, *Tyrneby* (1200–1279); *Thi-*, *Thyrneby* (c.1200 *et passim* to 1540). Probably OE/ON *þyrne/þyrnir* ‘thorn-tree’ and ON *bý(r)* (*PNWe* ii:153).

Ekwall (1960: s.v.) suggested an ON personal name *Þyrni*, but *PNWe* (ii:153) thought this to be unlikely, particularly as the personal name seems to have an Old East Scandinavian distribution. Fellows-Jensen (1985:41) similarly prefers OE/ON *þyrne/þyrnir*, noting that the compound occurs in the Danish place-name Tjørneby (*Tyrneby* 1379 (1433); *DS* xi:66).

**Yanwath** (CP) *Euenewit* (1150–62), *Euenwith* (p) (c.1270); *Yau-*, *Yavenwith(e)*, *-wyth* (c.1200 *et freq.* to 1324), *Yafnewit* (1247); *Yanewhyt* (p) (1279), *-with*, *-wyth* (1312 *et passim* to 1634).

Although the majority of the forms ostensibly represent ON *jafn* ‘even, level’ and *viðr* ‘wood’, the forms in *Euen(e)-* have been interpreted as suggesting the specific was originally the OE cognate of *jafn*, *efn*, and consequently the name may be a Scandinavianisation of OE *Efna-wudu*

(Ekwall 1960: s.v; *PNWe* ii:205).<sup>247</sup> However, as there is no trace of earlier *wudu* in the early forms of the names, the vowel being consistently spelt <i> or <y> and the final consonant <t> or <th>, it is also possible that the earliest forms represent a partial Anglicisation of ON *jafn-viðr*. This name has been classed as a Scandinavian name here, despite the evidence of the forms in *Euen(e)*-, as there is no evidence for an English generic.

### Scandinavianised Old English Names

**King's Meaburn** (CP) *Meabruna Gerardi* (12th c., *Mebrun(n)* 1158–66 to 1241), *Meburn(e)* (1200–1429), *Medeburn*, *Kingesmedburn(e)* (1279).

OE *mæd* ‘meadow’ and OE *burna*, with replacement in some instances by ON *brunnr*, unless these forms are to be explained as occurring independently by metathesis (Fellows Jensen 1985:239). Gerard is interpreted as the name of an (unidentified) post-Conquest owner; the estate is known to have belonged to the Crown.

**Shap** (and **Shap Rural**) (EP) *Hep* (12th c.), *Heph* (1199; Dodgson and Khaliq 1969–70:73), *Hepp(e)* (1246–1468), *Yhep* (1241), *Yhap* (1292), *Shep* (1256), *S(c)happ* (1279–1823). OE *hēap* ‘heap, pile’, perhaps referring to a prehistoric monument south of Shap.

It is uncontentious that the name was originally an OE simplex name. However, there has been less agreement about whether Scandinavian influence on the name is needed to explain the development of the initial consonant from /h/ to /ʃ/ before an originally falling diphthong. The phonetic development of the place-name Shap (and others showing a similar development) has most frequently been discussed in discussions of the origin of ModE *she* and so this is touched upon here.

It has long been considered that Scandinavian influence might explain the development of the OE pronoun *hēo* to *she*. Flom (1909) argued that *she* could not derive from the OE demonstrative pronoun *sēo* since this had been supplanted by ME *þe* before ME *sche*, *scho* appears. Instead he argued that

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<sup>247</sup> The broken reflex of Germanic /e/ is represented in initial position in ON material in England (Coates 2006:53; cf. Noreen 1923:§§88, 95,2 and 133,a).



the distribution of the earliest forms of *she* with initial /ʃ/ and the fact that the change of /hj-/ to /ʃ/ is paralleled in Norwegian dialects and in Shetland dialect suggested *she* could develop from OE *hēo* under Scandinavian influence.

However, the first treatment of the development of ‘she’ which considered place-name evidence (Smith 1925) did not consider the development an instance of Scandinavianisation, probably because Smith was aware that the parallel Norwegian development of /hj-/ to /ʃ-/ only took place long after contact with England had ceased (PNYN:16). Instead, Smith suggested a native explanation for the development of ME *sche* from OE *hēo* similar to that seen in modern pronunciations of the name Hugh with initial palatal consonant [çj-] (<hj-/) (Smith 1925:437–40). Smith (1925:437–40) noted that the development is paralleled in place-names from the North and East Ridings,<sup>248</sup> Westmorland,<sup>249</sup> Orkney<sup>250</sup> and Shetland<sup>251</sup> (to which Shoulthwaite in Cumberland can be added).<sup>252</sup> The following year, Ruud (1926) linked the arguments of Flom and Smith, pointing out that all the place-names adduced by Smith as comparanda for the otherwise unparalleled development of /hje:/ to /ʃe:/ were either Scandinavian or in areas where

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<sup>248</sup> North Riding: Shipton (*Hipton* 1086, *Hieptuna* 1154–89, *Yhupton* 12th c., *S(c)upton* 13th c.; OE *hēope* and OE *tūn*) and Shawm Rigg<sup>248</sup> (*Halmerigg* 1214–22, *Scalmeryg* 1305–22, *Shalmerigge* 1355–72; possibly ON *hjalmr* ‘helmet’ and ON *hryggr* ‘ridge’; PNYN:15–16 and 122–23; Ekwall 1924:92). East Riding: Shaps (*Hyap* 13th c., *Hepum* 13th c., *Schap* early 14th c.; OE *hēap*) and Shipton (*Epton* 1086, *Hyepton* 1176 (p), *Sipton* 1219, *S(c)hupton* 1234; OE *hēope* and OE *tūn*; PNYE:95 and 228).

<sup>249</sup> Shap (see above), Choup Gill (Choop Gill 1859), Chowpow (Chowpow 1700) and Shoop Tree Nook (Shoop tree nook 1841) (PNWe ii:24–25 and 53–54). However, the lateness of the forms for all of the Westmorland names bar Shap and the fact that *choop*, *chowp*, *shoop* survive in modern dialects (Dieth 1955), mean that the latter three names are not necessarily indicative of the historic extent of the development of /hēo-/ to /tʃ-/ or /ʃ-/.

<sup>250</sup> Orkney: Shapinsay (ON *Hjálpandisøy*).

<sup>251</sup> Shetland (ON *Hjaltland*).

<sup>252</sup> Cumberland:Shoulthwaite (*Heolthwaitis* c. 1280, *Shewltath* 1564; ON *hjóll* and ON *þveiti*; PNCu:314).

Scandinavian influence was strong and thus place-names could potentially have been ‘transmogrified’ by Scandinavian speakers.

A further explanation of the mechanism by which place-names and the pronoun *sēo* might be altered in such a way as to lead to the development of an initial palatal consonant was presented by Dieth (1955), an article noting that ModE reflexes of OE *hēope* with initial /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ (*shoops*, *choops* and *chowps*), demonstrate the same development of initial /heo:-/ to /tʃ-/ and /ʃ-/. Dieth (1955:210) noted that the development to /tʃ/ or /ʃ/ occurred only when the stress on the /eo:/ diphthong was shifted to the second element, yielding /jo:/. (Earlier discussions had hinted at the relevance of the shift of stress but not been so explicit about it.)<sup>253</sup> Samuels (1972:114–16) then proposed that the selection of stress-shifted variants /hjo/ and /hje/, the first stage in the development of *she* from OE *hēo*, arose in the Scandinavian-influenced Cumberland-Yorkshire belt.<sup>254</sup> This allows for Scandinavian influence, but overcomes the difficulty that the first Norwegian examples of the change /hj-/ to /ʃ-/ are late and post-date the earliest English example of the change in Shipton in the East Riding. This view was accepted by Britton (1991:14–15) for all instances of the development barring the pronoun,<sup>255</sup> who argued that

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<sup>253</sup> Smith (*PNYN*:16) suggested that the stress-shifted diphthong in the place-name Shipton yielded ME /hjo:-/, ModE <shu-> whereas the non-stress-shifted diphthong yielded /hje:-/, ModE <shi->, but in *PNYE* (xxxi, 95, 228) hints that the stress-shift was causal.

<sup>254</sup> Samuels noted that short-lived forms of *she* with initial <gh> were found in areas in between the areas where /ʃ-/ and /h-/ forms were used, and noted that such forms could be seen to spread south during the Middle English period.

<sup>255</sup> The pronoun is recorded with spellings indicative of initial /hj-/ earlier and further south than the other lexemes discussed here, which Britton thought might be explained by development of /heo:/ to /hjo:/ in positions of reduced stress, as Luick had suggested (Luick 1921: §360; Britton 1991:9). Britton (1991) then argued that the development of the pronoun *hēo* to *she* did not require Scandinavian influence, pointing out that the development /hj-/ to /ʃ-/ is attested in Scots forms of *huge*, *hook* ‘sickle’ and the personal name *Hugh*, pronounced [ʃudʒ], [ʃuk] or [ʃʌk] and [ʃu:] respectively (in areas where contact with Scots Gaelic is unlikely in the past 600 years). This, Britton argued, demonstrated the plausibility of the development of /hj-/ to /ʃ-/ without external influence (the development is datable to after 1550 as it requires the

the change should not be labelled as a feature of Old West Norse, but rather as reflecting the ‘relatively late date of the survival of ON speech in those parts of England’.

However, as argued in Chapter Two, there is a reasonably good body of evidence for Scandinavian etyma with stress-shifted medial diphthongs in place-names in north-west England, suggesting that the presence of stress-shifted diphthongs might indicate a lack of assimilation to English forms rather than (necessarily) lateness of name-formation. If it is accepted that the stress-shifted diphthongs existed, then Shap and the other names discussed here might provide further indirect evidence for stress-shifted diphthongs in showing Scandinavianisation of native falling diphthongs to stress-shifted rising diphthongs.

To sum up, various evidence points to the development of /heo:/ to /hjo:/ as being a necessary stage for the development of the initial consonant to /ʃ/. Since OE /eo:/ was cognate with ON /jo:/ in many instances (cf. OE *flēot*, ON *fljótt*), the shift of stress in the diphthong is a plausible example of Scandinavianisation, and indeed most of the examples of the development of OE /heo:/ to /hjo:/ occur in areas of Scandinavian settlement. The development of the place-name Shap is therefore interpreted here to be an example of Scandinavianisation by the substitution of a rising diphthong /jó/ for an original falling diphthong.

#### Names with Goidelic Elements

**Patterdale** (CP). *Patrichesdale* (a. 1184), *Paterickedale* (c.1189). Goid. pers.n. *Patraic* and OE/ON *dæl/dalr*.

Goid. *Patraic*, ME *Patric* is recorded in the area into the fourteenth century; it is unclear whether this is the saint’s name, but *PNWe* notes that it is probable that the church dedication was suggested by the valley name as the church was recorded as *capella de Patrikedale* in 1348.

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development of ME [iu] to [hj-], first recorded after c. 1550; Britton 1991:20–28).

### Middle English Names

**Martindale** (CP) *Martindale*, -yn- (1220–1823).

*PNWe* analyses as the saint's name Martin, to whom the chapel is dedicated, but admits the possibility the dedication was suggested by the valley name, in which case the ME (< Lat.) personal name Martin would occur here. The final element is OE/ON *dæl/dalr*.

**Newby** (CP) *Neubi*, -by (12th c.–1631). OE *nīwe* 'new' and ON *bý(r)* 'settlement, village'.

None of the other 'Newby' names listed by Watts (2004) is recorded before the second half of the twelfth century. Whilst this is not unusual in this area of Westmorland, elsewhere 'Newby' place-names occur in areas where other names are earlier attested.<sup>256</sup> Consequently, this name (and the other identical names) should perhaps be interpreted as ME names incorporating -*bý(r)*, comparable with other post-Conquest names in -*bý(r)* such as Frankby, Wirral (see Chapter 3).

### Names of Uncertain Origin

**Lowther** (EP). *Lauuedra* (1174), *Lauder* (1170–80 to 1370), *Louther*, -er, -ir (1190–1200 to 1476).

The name, from the name of the River Lowther, was interpreted in *PNWe* as ON *lauðr-á* 'lather river' following Ekwall, who (slightly tentatively) suggested the interpretation noting that there is no parallel Scandinavian river-name (Ekwall 1928:266–67). The element is thought to

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<sup>256</sup> Newby, Stokesley Parish, North Yorkshire. Newby is the only one of the townships not recorded in *DB*; two places that did not become townships, Blaten (Carr) and Tanton are named in *DB* (*PNYN*:169–70). Newby, Scalby Parish, North Yorkshire (not a township name); *Neuby* 1244. All of the townships in Scalby Parish are named in *DB*; other names that did not become townships are recorded earlier than Newby (*PNYN*:107–11). Newby on Scale, Topcliffe Parish. Eight of ten townships in the parish were named in *DB*; two further places in the parish are mentioned in *DB* (*PNYN*:182–86).

occur in a handful of Danish place-names, notably Lørsted, Vendsyssel (*Løchyrstat* 1356)<sup>257</sup> where the foam referred to is thought to be that occurring at the confluence of two rivers (*DS* xxi:116; Kousgård Sørensen 1958:97–98). However, Ekwall also suggested derivation (with or without the addition of final element Brit. *dubro-* ‘water, river’) from a Brittonic root *\*lou-* ‘to wash’ found in Gaul *lautro* ‘bath’, OIr *lóathar* ‘a trough’, OIr. *lóthar* ‘a water conduit’ and the place-name Lowder in Berwickshire (Ekwall 1928:266–67). The latter derivation was favoured by Fellows-Jensen (1985:423) on the grounds that the /au/ of ON *rauðr* has developed differently in Rawthey (with [ɔ:]) and Rothay (with [ɔ]) in contrast with /au/ in Lowther.<sup>258</sup> The name has been classified as of uncertain origin here.

### *Summary*

When both ecclesiastical and civil parishes are considered, there are similar numbers of English and Scandinavian names, six unambiguously English, five unambiguously Scandinavian, whilst three names could be either English or Scandinavian. There is further evidence for Scandinavian influence in two English names that have been Scandinavianised and in one name showing continued Scandinavian influence on ME name-formation. One name contains a Goidelic personal or saint’s name, and the origin of one name is obscure. In contrast to the Scandinavian names in Wirral, there is not an evident difference in distribution between the Scandinavian and English names as both are most concentrated in the low-lying eastern side of the area, reflecting the general distribution of civil and ecclesiastical parish names.

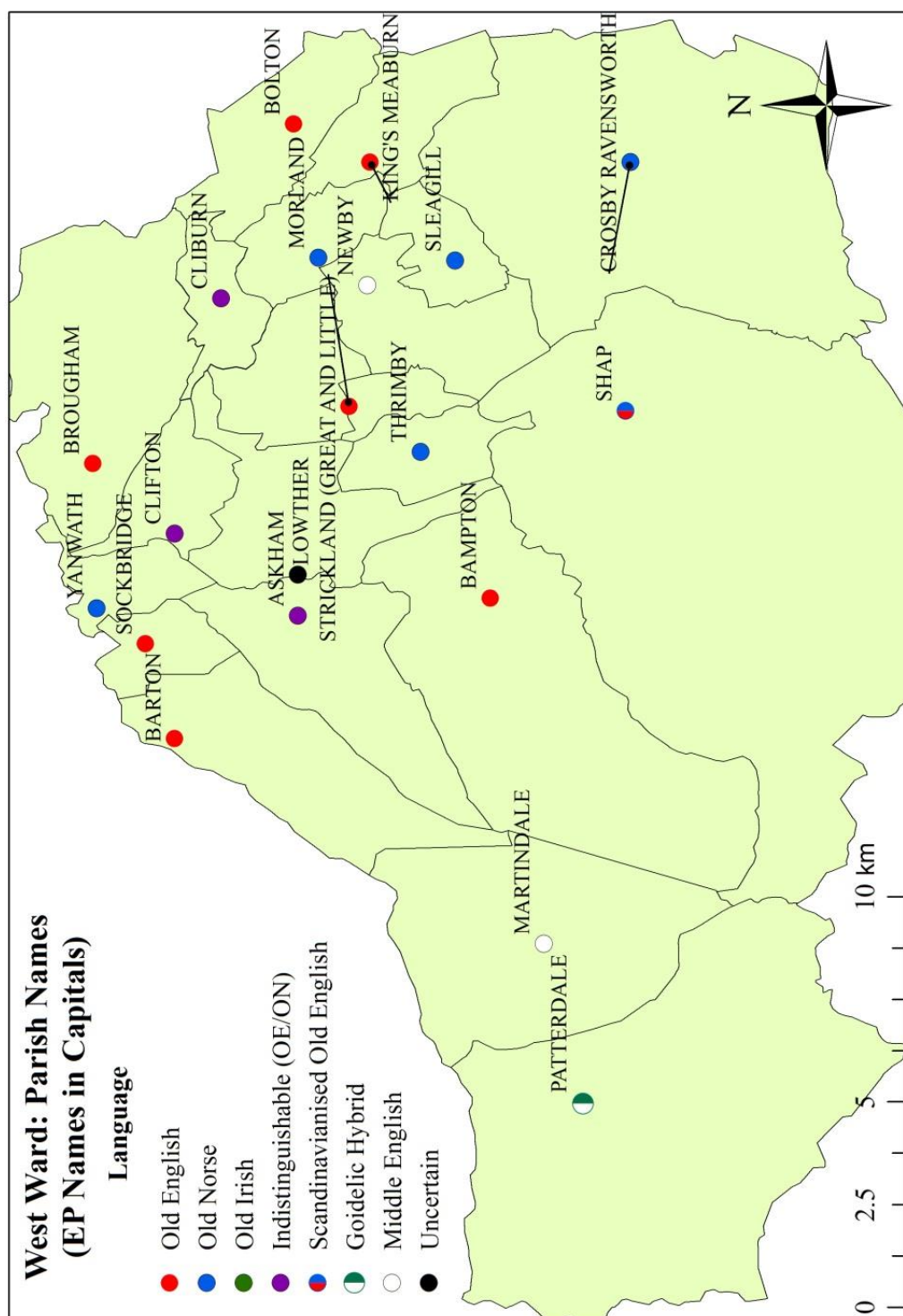
However, of the ecclesiastical parish names, indicated in capitals on the map below, there are a greater number of English than Scandinavian names. English names account for four of the nine ecclesiastical parish names (although Shap has probably been Scandinavianised), whilst only one is Scandinavian

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<sup>257</sup> *DS* suggests confusion between <ch> and <th>.

<sup>258</sup> *PNWe* (i:li) notes development of /au/ to [ɔ:] to be most frequent, but notes Roundthwaite (*PNWe* ii:51), in which the first element was analysed as ON *raun*, to also have what is interpreted as a ‘spelling pronunciation’.

(one is obscure and three could be English or Scandinavian). It is likely that the places that became ecclesiastical parishes were of higher status than the places that became civil parishes. Consequently, the ecclesiastical parish names were perhaps known to a greater number of people and/or recorded in administrative records, both of which could have favoured the names' survival, meaning that the ecclesiastical parish names might be earlier as a group, and date from a period before Scandinavian settlement in the area. In contrast, more of the civil parish names might have developed after Scandinavian influence on the toponymic vocabulary of the local area. However, the numbers of ecclesiastical parish names are low so it would be unwise to make too much of this discrepancy between the proportions of English and Scandinavian ecclesiastical and civil parish names.



Shapefile: GBHGIS 1881.

*Other Major Names*Old English Names

**Butterwick** *Buttyrwick, Buttyrwyk* (1246, 1478), *Butterwik, Butterwyk(e), Butterwick(e)* (13th c., 1279 (p), 1285–90, 1289, 1425 *et passim* to 1777), *Botrewyk* (1292 (p)), *Botterwyke* (1369).

OE *butere* ‘butter’ and OE *wīc* ‘specialised farm, dairy farm’ (which is semantically and topographically preferable to ON *vīk* ‘bay’). The final /k/ in the reflex of OE *wīc* could derive from plural forms of the element where palatalisation and assibilation did not take place due to a following back vowel (Hogg 1992: §§7.16 and 7.33) or by Scandinavianisation of earlier /-wi:ʃ/.<sup>259</sup>

**Hardendale.** *Harnedale* (1235), *Hardingdall*’ (1242–56), *Hardenesdale* (1247–1544).

PNWe (ii:168) prefers a pers.n. \**Harden*, an otherwise unattested reduced form of OE *Heardwine* (followed by OE/ON *dæl/dalr*) to the OE personal name or the ME surname *Harding*, but admits these might also occur. Either way, there is no secure Scandinavian content.

**Hartsop Above How, Low Hartsop** *Herteshop(e)* (a. 1184). OE/ON *heorot/hjōrtr* ‘hart’ and OE *hop* ‘remote, enclosed place’.

The inland location precludes ON *hóp* ‘small, land-locked bay or inlet’ (Gelling and Cole 2000 [2003]:133).

**Littlewater** *Litelwater, Lytelwater, -il-* (1289, 1291, c. 1297 *et freq* to 1392).

OE/ON *lȳtel/litill* ‘little’ and OE *wæter* ‘water, a river, a lake.’

Middle English Names

**Birkshaw** [lost] *Birk(e)sawe(s), Byrk(e)sawe(s)* (1278), *-shages, -shawes* (1279), *Byrscawe* (1278, 1279), *Burchesaches* (1278), *Byrckescaw* (1278), *Berchawes* (1279).

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<sup>259</sup> The occurrence of forms of the lexeme and place-name element with final /k/ in southern England in Middle English (*MED*: s.v. *wik(e)*, n.1) suggests the existence of plural Old English forms without palatalisation and assibilation.



ON *birki* ‘birch’ and OE *sceaga* ‘small wood’. *PNWe* (ii:216) suggests that ON *birki* might have replaced OE *birce* ‘birch’, but it is alternatively possible that the name is a Middle English formation with reflexes of the English and Scandinavian elements.

**Christy Bridge** *Kyrkesyde* (1278, 1279), *Kyrkesite* (1279), (*Kyrbsite* 1278), *Kyrkesy* (1279).

ON *kirkja* ‘church’ and OE *sīde* ‘side’, the latter referring wither to a hill-side or river-bank here (*PNWe* ii:216). The name has been classified as Middle English as it is formed from both English and Scandinavian elements, and there is no evidence that replacement of either element in the name has taken place (i.e. there is no evidence that the specific was earlier OE *cirice* or that the generic was earlier ON *síða*).

**Oddendale** *Odehenedale* (1262), *Odelmedal* (1279), *Hodelesdale* (1279). ME personal name (< Continental Germanic) *Odelin*, or the feminine form *Odelina*, and OE/ON *dæl/dalr*.

**Place Fell** *Plesterfeld* (1256), *Plescefel* (1266, 1337), *Plessefeld* (1256), *-(f)fel* (1256 and 1339), *Ples(e)fel* (1278 and 1279).

Uncertain but perhaps OE *plæce*, *plæse* ‘open place’ (reinforced in ME by Anglo-Norman and Old French *place*; see f.n. 293 below) and ON *fell*, *ffjall* on topographical grounds, despite the early forms suggesting OE *feld* (*PNWe* ii:224; Whaley 2006:266).

#### English or Scandinavian Names

**Boredale** *Burdale* (1250–1300), *Buredale* (1256–c.1290), *Bur(e)sdal(le)* (1279), *Bourdal(e)*, *-dall* (1291–1377); *Bowrdall*, *-dale* (1425). OE/ON *būr/búr* and OE/ON *dæl/dalr*.

**Cawdale** [lost] *Caluedal(le)* (1220–47, 1265, 1278, 1279), *Calverdal* (1266), *Cal(e)wedale* (1278, 1279), *Caluesdale* (1279).

OE/ON *cealf/kalfr* ‘calf’ and OE *dæl* ‘pit, hollow ?valley’ / ON *dalr* ‘valley’.

**Hackthorpe** *Haka-*, *Hacatorp* (c.1150); *Haketorp*, *-thorp(e)* (c.1150–1401).

*PNWe* (ii:182–83) interprets as ON personal name *Haki* and OE/ON *prop/porp*; alternatively, Fellows-Jensen (1985:57) interprets the specific as OE/ON *haca/haki* ‘hook’ referring to a promontory between the River Leith and Bessy Gill. Hackthorpe is in the Eden Valley, one of the few areas where arable farming is possible in Westmorland, so the occurrence of the element *prop/porp* here is in accordance with the general distribution of the element in arable areas (*PNWe* i:xxiv; Chapter Two).

**Helton** *Helton* (p) (c.1160–1634), *-Moruyll*, *-uill sie Flechan* (1278).

*PNWe* (ii:200) analyses as OE *helde* ‘a slope’ and OE/ON *tūn/tún*; however, as Whaley points out (2006:162) the first element could alternatively be ON *hjalli* ‘ledge on a hill-side’ as the usual reflex of ON /ja/ in England is /e/ (see Chapter Two).

**Heltondale** *Heltondale* (c.1160, 1220–47, 1279, 1369 *et freq* to 1710), *Heltondall(e)* (1478).

See Helton (above); the suffix is OE *dæl* ‘pit, hollow ?valley’ / ON *dalr* ‘valley’.

**Measand Beck & End** *Mussaund* (1265), *Mesand(e)* (1308–). OE *mēos* ‘marsh’ or ON *mjór* and OE/ON *sand/sandr* ‘sand’.

An earlier interpretation ON *mjósund* ‘narrow strait’ was ruled out in *PNWe* (ii:192) as it was deemed to be ‘improbable phonologically’. This is presumably because spellings like *sund* are not found (early spellings of the specific could represent ON *mjór*).<sup>260</sup> However, since OE *sand* would be indistinguishable from ON *sandr* and the first element could be either OE *mēos* or ON *mjór* it seems preferable to treat the name as indistinguishably English or Scandinavian.

**Pooley Bridge.** *Pulhou(e)* (1252–1335), *Poulhou* (1284), *Poullou* (p) (c.1290), *Pullou*, *-au* (1292–1578).

Previous interpretations have suggested OE *pōl* ‘pool’ and OE/ON *hōh/haugr*, whilst Whaley acknowledges that Brittonic *pwll* might also occur in the area (*PNWe* ii:211; Fellows-Jensen 1985:244; Whaley 2006:414). The

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<sup>260</sup> The development of either OE /eo:/ or ON /jo:/ in the first element would be to ME /e:/ <e> (via earlier /ø:/, for which <u> could be used) (Chapter Two; Jordan 1974:§84; Kristensson 1967:176).

element corresponding to ModE *pool* here has not been interpreted as ON *pollr* ‘pool’, which is found in Norwegian place-names (NGi:69). However, PNWe (i:liii) notes that ME /ol/ was frequently diphthongised to /oul/, which means that the final element could formally also be ON *pollr*.

**Swindale** *Swindal(e)*, *Swyndal(e)*, *-dall* (c.1200, 1235, 1247, 1256–57 (p), 1257 *et passim* to 1777); *Sundall'* (1235, 1242 (p)).

OE/ON *swīn/svín* ‘swine, pig’ and OE *dæl* ‘pit, hollow ?valley’ / ON *dalr* ‘valley’.

### Scandinavian Names

**Bannerdale, Bannerdale Beck** *Baynwytdale* (1256–65), *-wyth-* (1278), *-wayt-*, *-wythes-* (1279); *Benewe(y)dale* (1278–79); *Baynewychdalebech* (1279). PNWe (ii:215) interprets as ON *bein-viðr* ‘holly’, OE/ON *dæl/dalr* and ON *bekkr*.

**Bower Bank** *Bovrbank* (c.1290 (p)), *Bourebank(e)* (1292 (p), 1463, 1476 *et passim* to 1699, *Bowerebank* (1292 (p)), *Burbank(e)* (1495, 1499).

OE *būr* ‘chamber, dwelling, cottage’ or ON *búr* ‘storehouse’ and ON *banke* ‘bank’.

**Cross Dormant** *Trostermod* (1202), *-mouth* (1376), *Trostormot* (1256–1333), *Trostormond(e)* (1295–1401).

An inversion-compound with generic ON *tros* ‘rubbish gathered for fuel (and hence perhaps ‘brushwood’) and the Scandinavian personal name Þormóðr (PNWe ii:210; Whaley 2006:87).

**Deepdale** *Duppedale* (a. 1187), *-dalhed* (l.12th c., 13th c.); *Depedal(e)* (p) (1197–1202 *et passim* to 1648). ON *djúpr* and OE/ON *dæl/dalr*.

Although generally OE *dēop* and ON *djúpr* are indistinguishable in areas of Scandinavian settlement in England as discussed above and in Chapter Two, here the form *duppe-* suggests ON *djúpr*.

**Fusedale** *Fe(e)usdale* (1220–78), *Fehwsdale* (1278–79), *-house-* (1375 and 1377), *Fewesdale* (1279). ON *fé-hús* ‘cattle-shed’ and OE/ON *dæl/dalr*.

As discussed in Chapter Two, ON *fé-hús* is recorded in a handful of place-names from other areas of Scandinavian settlement in England and the decision to classify this element as Scandinavian rather than English is based

on the fact that the compound is much more widely used in place-names in Scandinavia than in England.

**Grisedale** *Crisdale* (1291), *Gris(e)dal(e)*, *Grys(e)dal(e)* (1292, 1309, 1363, 1375 *et passim* to 1823, *Grissedale*, *Gryssedale* (1377, 1425).

ON *gríss* ‘piglet’ and OE *dæl* ‘pit, hollow ?valley’ / ON *dalr* ‘valley’.

**Hegdale** *Hegdal* (a. 1201). ON *heggr* ‘bird-cherry, hagberry’ and OE/ON *dæl/dalr*.

**Knipe, High & Low** *Gnip(e)*, *Gnyp(e)* (c.1160–1422), *Knipe*, *Knyp(e)* (1246–), *Hognip(p)*, *-nyp(e)* (1241–a. 1296), *Hocknyp* (1246) and *Hoknyp* (1292).

ON *gnípa* ‘steep rock, overhanging rock’ referring to the rocky scarp at Knipe Scar; ON *hár* ‘high’ probably occurs in some forms (*PNWe* ii:191; Whaley 2006:200).

**Reagill** *Reue-*, *Revegil(l)(e)* (1176–1526). ON *refr* ‘fox’ and ON *gil* ‘ravine’ (*PNWe* ii:157).

**Rosgill** *Rossegil(e)*, *gyl(e)*, *gill* (l.12th c.–1372). ON *hross* ‘horse’ (gen.pl. *hrossa*) and ON *gil* ‘ravine’ (*PNWe* ii:170).

**Sandwick (Bay)** [lost] *Sandwic*, *Sandwik(e)*, *Sandwyk(e)*, *Sandwick(e)* (1200, 1250 (p), 1252, 1344 *et freq* to 1823), *Sanwic* (1250–60 (p)), *Sandewyk* (1279).

OE/ON *sand/sandr* ‘sand’ and ON *vík* ‘bay’. The hamlet’s proximity to a bay on Ullswater and the frequent occurrence of the name in Norway (*PNWe* ii:217) mean OE *wīc* is unlikely here.<sup>261</sup>

**Setterah Park** *parcus de Saterhou* (1289), *parci de Saterhowe* (c.1291), *Satrou* (1339), *Satrowe park(e)* (1420, 1425), *Seterocke parke* (1437), (*parke of*) *Setterhaw* (1459), *Sattrepark* (1488).<sup>262</sup>

ON *sætr* ‘shieling’ and OE/ON *hōh/haugr* (with affix ME *park* < OFr. *parc*) (*PNWe* ii:201; Whaley 2006:305).

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<sup>261</sup> Searching the name ‘Sandvik’ yields fifty results in *Norske Gaardnavne* [accessed 13/12/15].

<sup>262</sup> Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century forms from Whaley (2006:305).

**Tirril** *Ti-*, *Tyrerghe* (c.1189), *-erh(e)* (c.1200–80), *-ergh(a)* (c.1100–1348), *Tyr(r)er* (1247–1346). ON *tyr(v)i* ‘resinous pine-wood’ and ON *árgi* (< Goidelic *áirge*) (*PNWe* ii:208; Fellows-Jensen 1985:72).

**Thornship** *Fornhep* (1226), *Fornischap(p)* (1292), *Thorn(e)shapp(e)* (1395). ON personal name *Forni* and place-name *Shap* (discussed above).

*PNWe* (ii:166) does not follow Ekwall’s interpretation (1960 s.v. *Thornship*) of the first element as ON *forn* ‘old’ as the site is not thought to be the earlier site of *Shap*.

**Wasdale** *Wassadala* (12th c.), *Wcedal(e)* (1235 and 1292), *Watedale* (1292), *Wascedal(e)* (1235–92).

Generally interpreted as either ON *vatns-dalr* ‘valley of the lake’ (a twelfth-century reference to *Wascedalterne* could refer to such a lake) or ON *vatns-á* ‘river of the lake’ (i.e. *Wast Water*) and ON *dalr* (although OE *dæl* is a formal alternative) (*PNWe* ii:172–73; Whaley 2006:360).

**Whale** *Vwal* (1178), *wal’* (1179–1238), *Qual* (1239).

ON *hváll* ‘an isolated round hill’, referring to the prominent hill between *Whale* and *Lowther* (*PNWe* ii:183–84). As far as I am aware, the element has only been suggested to occur elsewhere in a late-recorded field name from Leicestershire.<sup>263</sup>

**Whinfell (Forest, House)** *Wine-*, *Wynefeld* (1204 (1398)–1588); *Whin*, *Whynfel(l)* (1204–1823); *Quynes-*, *Quinesfell* (1247) and (p) (1256); *Whyn-*, *Whinf(i)eld* (1308–1790). ON *hvin* ‘gorse’ and ON *fell*, *ffall*.

**Wickerslack** *Wykeslak* (13th c.), *Wytekerslake* (p) (1279), *Wytekersclac* (1289), *-slak* (1321), *Wythereslak* (1292), *Wyk(k)er-*, *Wickersla(c)k(e)* (1363–).

*PNWe* (ii:158) interprets as *with-ker* ‘willow marsh’ (< OE *wīðig* ‘willow’ and ON *kjarr* ‘marsh’) and ON *slakki* ‘hollow on a hillside’. However, ON *víðir* ‘willow’ or *viðr* ‘wood’ could also occur here, meaning the name could be Scandinavian in its entirety.

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<sup>263</sup> *Whale Gates* (1715) *Little Stretton* (*PNLei* iv:160).

**Winder, High** *Winderge* (1170–80, 1203), *Winderhe* (c.1240, 1280), *Wynderegh* (p) (1256), *Wi-*, *Wyndergh* (1279–1411). OE/ON *wind/vindr* and ON *ðergi* (< Goidelic *áirge*).

**Winderwath** *Wi-*, *Wynderwhat* (1207–72 *et freq.* to 1375), *-wat* (1292), *-thwat* (1338), *Wynandarwath* (1343); *Wi-*, *Wynandrewath* (1342–69), *-wayht* (1370); *Wyanderwath* (1415).

That the generic here is ON *vað* ‘a ford’ is clear; however, the interpretation of the specific is more problematic. Ekwall’s suggestion (1922:193) that the specific of Winderwath and of Windermere (*Winendermer* 1333x89) should be derived from a personal name \**Vinundr* recorded as <*Vinnunder*>, <*Vinandus*> in Finland in the fourteenth century was accepted by Smith, who, however, gave the form as \**Vin(n)andr* (*PNWe* i:18; *PNWe* ii:55, 132–33 and 314).

However, Insley (2005) has argued that the name is not a Scandinavian personal name at all, although it is inflected with the ON *-ar* genitive form. He points out that \**Vin-* is not otherwise attested as a prototheme in North Germanic personal names, although it is common in WGmc personal names (Insley 2005:66; cf. Ekwall 1922:193). Further, the fourteenth-century forms *Vi-*, *Wi-*, *Wynandus* (along with *Vi-*, *Winaldus* and *Winoldus*) are regarded as representing a German borrowing into Swedish meaning that the name only existed in Scandinavia after the Viking Age (Insley 2005:66–69).<sup>264</sup> Insley consequently proposes (2005:74–77) that Windermere contains a Frankish personal name *Winand* inflected with a Scandinavian *-ar* genitive, probably the name of a northern French or Flemish knight in the area in the post-Conquest period. In the case of Winderwath, however, Insley observes (2005:77) that forms with medial *-and-* only occur from the fourteenth century, and Insley suggests that they reflect influence from the ME forms of

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<sup>264</sup> Insley presents detailed and convincing evidence that the name spread from Hanseatic ports in northern Germany in the thirteenth century on to Finland and Gotland by the fourteenth century; this evidence is complemented by records of Scandinavians in these areas in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Insley 2005:67–69).

Windermere. Instead, Insley proposes derivation from ON *\*vind* (f.) ‘a bend’ referring to a bend in the R. Eden,<sup>265</sup> which seems a preferable interpretation.

### Scandinavianised Old English Names

?**Eamont Bridge** *æt Ea motum* (c.1100 [ASC D s.a. 926]), *ponte (de) Amot* (1279), *Amotbrig(g)*, *-brig(g)e* (1361–1523), *Emotbryghe* (1477).

*PNWe* (ii:205) suggests that this was originally OE (*æt*) *Ea motum* (OE *ēa-mōt* ‘confluence’) later replaced by the Scandinavian cognate *á-mót*. The expected development of OE /æɑ:/ here would be to ME /ɛ:/ <e> (Jordan 1974:§§23 and 81; cf. Kristensson 1967:165–67), so <a> is highly unlikely to be a reflex of OE *ēa*.<sup>266</sup> The affix is OE/ON *brycg/bryggja*.

However, as the English form is not found after its first occurrence until the fifteenth century, it is doubtful whether the name was an originally English name, and it could perhaps be a Scandinavian name Anglicised in ASC. The compound is relatively common in Norwegian place-names, for instance, *Åmot*, Akershus (*Aamot* 1362; *NG* ii:170) and *Åmot*, Vestfold (*Amot* 1366; *NG* vi:94).<sup>267</sup> However, the only other instance of this compound of which I am aware in English place-names is in a nineteenth-century field-name *Emmots* supported by the form *eomot* in (a probably spurious) ninth-century charter preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript (S216; *PNWo*:153). It is possible, then, that this is an example of Anglicisation rather than Scandinavianisation.

**Maulds Meaburn** *Mai-*, *Mayburne* (1100–35), *-brunne* (13th c.), *Mebrun(e)* *–born(e)* (1153–82 to c.1210), *Medbrunne* (13th c.) OE *mæd* and OE *burna*, seemingly replaced by ON *brunnr* in some forms. The affix (*Mauld*, *Mauldis*, *Maulds* c.1210) is the ME personal name Maud.

<sup>265</sup> Insley compares the Norwegian farm-name Vinderen where the name is topographically apt (*i Vindarini* c. 1400; *NG* ii:100).

<sup>266</sup> Nearly all the forms Kristensson gives (1967:165–66) where ME <a> occurs for OE /æɑ:/ are those where /æɑ:/ was followed by more than one consonant.

<sup>267</sup> I have not been able to find any examples of the compound in Danish place-names.

### Names with Goidelic Elements

**Glencoyne, Glencoyne Beck** *Glencaine* (1212), *Glenekone* (1255).

The discussion in *PNWe* (ii:222) attempts to interpret the name as Brittonic, despite evident difficulties, and can be summarised as follows. *PNWe* followed Ekwall (1928: s.v. Glencoyne Beck) in interpreting the first element as British \**glennos* ‘glen’, but doubted that the second element could be a river name related to Gaulish *Kaivós* and OIr *cáin* ‘beautiful’ as Ekwall had proposed.<sup>268</sup> *PNWe* argued – as noted also by Ekwall (1928: s.v. Glencoyne Beck) – that the dialectal pronunciation /-kiun/ suggested ME – *cōne* (in Cumberland dialect), and followed a suggestion previously made by Ekwall (1918:112) that the second element might be related to Welsh *cawn* ‘reed-grass’. However, Ekwall had subsequently ruled this out (1928: s.v. Glencoyne Beck) as the stream is fast-flowing and the growth of reeds would be improbable.

However, Whaley (2006:131–32 and 400) points out that the structure would be untypical of Brittonic and suggests the name to be entirely Goidelic, with Goidelic *gle(a)nn* as the first element. The element \**glinn* is, Whaley points out (2006:400), rare in Brittonic whilst Goidelic *gle(a)nn* is very common in Scottish and Irish place-names. Further, Whaley (2006:131–32) notes that a Goidelic adjective, OIr. *cáin* ‘pleasant, fair’ could then explain the final element. Given the substantial evidence for the use of Goidelic in the region in the later medieval period (Parsons 2012), discussed below, this is entirely reasonable and permits a more straightforward interpretation of the name as a whole.

**Knottkanan** [lost] *Knotkanan(e)*, *Knotcanane* (1220–47, 1278 [twice], 1279), *Knotcanen*, *Knochanan* (1279).

An inversion compound of OE/ON *cnotta/knōttr* and a Goidelic personal name, Canainn, Canánn or Conán.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> The substitution of OE \**cōn-* for PrWelsh \**coin* (British \**caino*) was deemed to be impossible, and there was additionally no evidence for the word in Brittonic (cf. Jackson 1953:328).

<sup>269</sup> The possibility of OIr. Conán depends on OIr /a:/ becoming ON /a:/, as in ON Kalman from OIr. Colmán (Ekwall 1918:40–41; *PNWe* ii:217).



**Melkinthorpe** *Melcanetorp* (p) (c.1150), *Melkan-*, *Melcanthorp(e)* (c.1199–). Goidelic personal name *Maelchon* and OE/ON *þorp/þorp* (PNWe ii:183).

#### Names of Uncertain Origin

**Hallin Fell** *Haylin*, *Haylyn* (1266, 1278, 1279), *Halin* (1279), *Halen* (1292 (p)), *le Hayling* (1279).

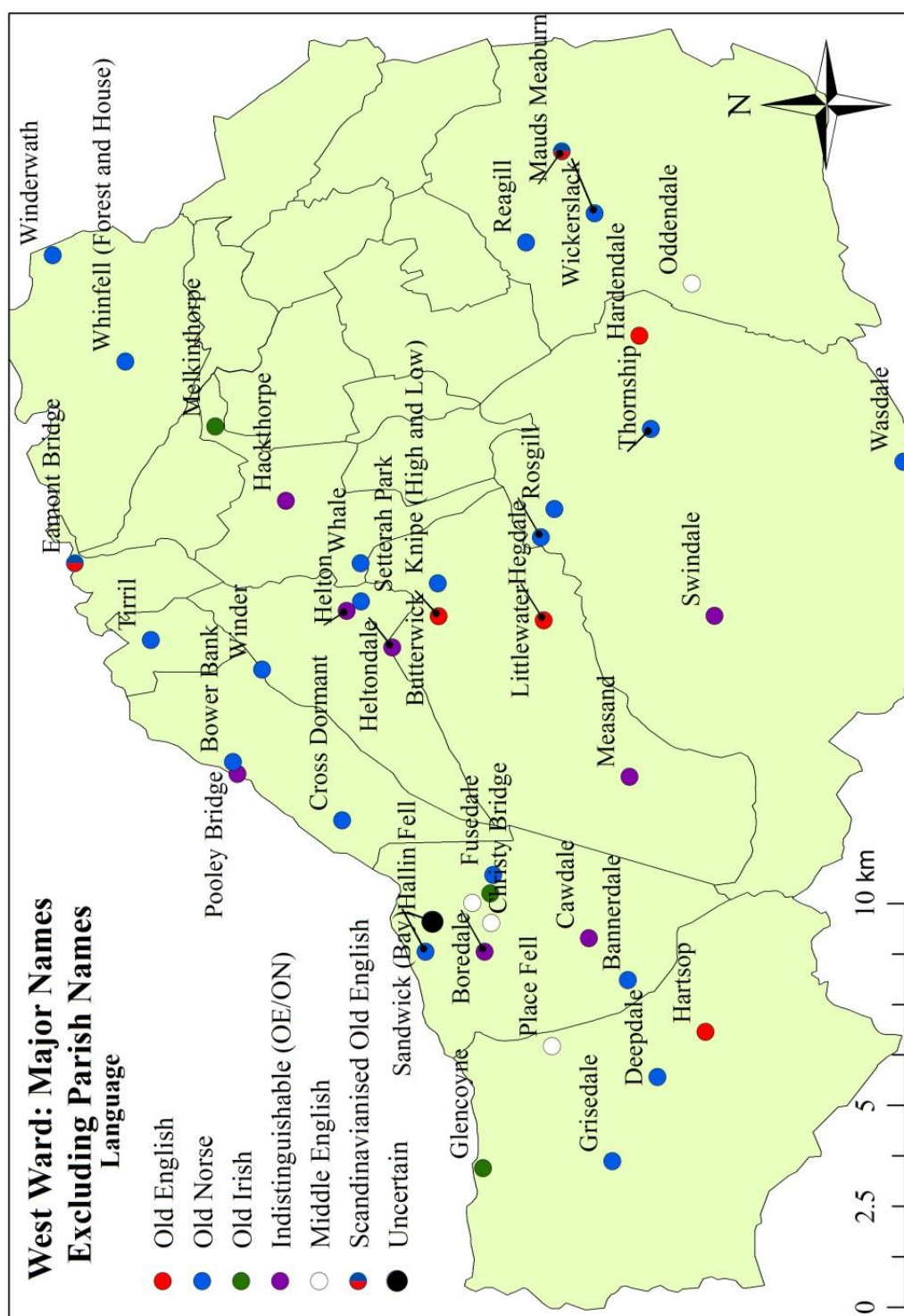
The name's etymology is considered obscure by PNWe (ii:217). Whaley (2006:150) observes that the earliest farms might be related to ON *heill* 'good fortune', found in some Norwegian mountain names, but she does not consider this idea very likely as such names are thought to have been named as sailors' landmarks (which is unlikely in this case as the fell is inland, albeit above Ullswater), and the *-ing* suffix would be unexplained.

#### *Summary*

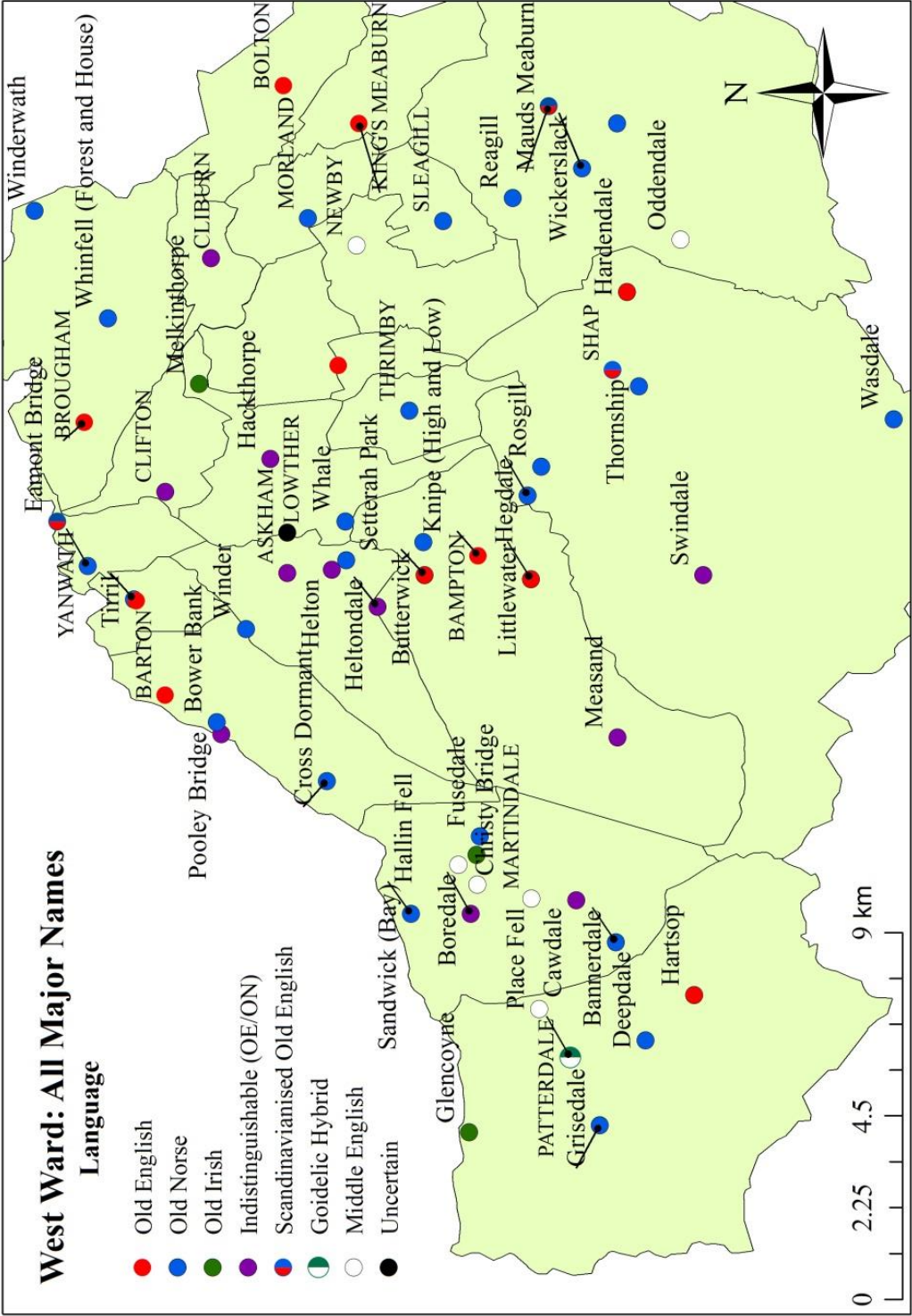
The major names that are not civil or ecclesiastical parish names are shown separately on the map below. In contrast with the civil and ecclesiastical names, the majority of the other major names are of Scandinavian origin. There are twenty unambiguously Scandinavian names (48% of the names) compared with just four unambiguously OE names (10% of the names), and two names that have been Scandinavianised (if Eamont Bridge was not originally a Scandinavian name). Three names incorporate Goidelic elements: in Melkinthorpe and Knottkanan the specifics are Goidelic personal names and Glencoyne is probably entirely Goidelic. Two further names, Cross Dormant and Knottkanan, show Goidelic influence on word-order, and two names contain the Goidelic loanword into ON, *érgi*; these are discussed further below. Of the remaining names, eight names could be English or Scandinavian, four are probably ME formations (three of which incorporate Scandinavian-derived place-name elements), and one name is of obscure origin.

The names that are not civil or ecclesiastical parish names are slightly later recorded as a group than the civil and ecclesiastical parish names: just

over half were first recorded in the thirteenth century and all the other names except Eamont Bridge were first recorded in the twelfth century. Although there is still a greater concentration of names in the east of the West Ward, the names are slightly more evenly distributed across the area than the civil and ecclesiastical parish names. However, the difference in distribution of the names does not explain the marked increase in the number of Scandinavian names, as most of the names in the eastern part of the area are also Scandinavian in origin. Instead, it is possible that these names as a group were coined at a later period, when Scandinavian was spoken in the area or when Scandinavian words had been borrowed into the local dialect.



Shapefile: GBHGIS 1881.



Shapefile: GBHGIS 1881.

### *Interpretations*

Unlike the Scandinavian place-names from Wirral, Scandinavian place-names from Cumbria have not consistently been linked with any one historical (or quasi-historical) event, although scholars in the early and mid-twentieth century linked settlement with the expulsion of Scandinavians from Dublin, also linked with settlement in Wirral. Instead, Scandinavian place-names have generally been interpreted in the context of settlement by Scandinavians – predominantly West Scandinavian rather than East Scandinavian speakers – arriving via the Irish Sea. However, the occurrence of certain place-name elements thought to be of East Scandinavian origin, most notably the place-names in ON *-bý(r)* (interpreted as ODan. *-bȳ*) has led to the suggestion that some Scandinavians settled in the area from eastern areas of England. The Scandinavians and Gaels who settled in the area are often termed ‘Hiberno-Norse’, either Scandinavians who had been linguistically influenced by Goidelic speakers in earlier settlements around the Irish Sea and Western Isles of Scotland, or who were accompanied by Goidelic speakers from these areas. Goidelic influence in the areas is seen in the occurrence of Goidelic personal names and place-name elements in Cumbria, as well as the occurrence of Scandinavian personal names in a place-name construction in which the specific follows the generic, the so-called inversion-compounds. These interpretations are analysed in the following section.

#### *Were the bý(r)-names formed by East Scandinavian speakers?*

Ekwall (1918:8) gave good reasons why names in *-bý(r)* in the North-West could be either East or West Scandinavian; however, most scholars since have seen the names as indicative of East Scandinavian speech in the region. This may in part be because the idea that the names in *-bý(r)* were East Scandinavian was embraced by such heavyweights as Stenton, who argued that there was likely to have been a Danish element to Scandinavian settlement in northwest England because of these names. However, as argued in Chapter Three, it is probably too simplistic to see all instances of *-bý(r)* in place-names as indicative of East Scandinavian influence. The phonological differentiation

between OWN *bær* and OEN \**bȳ(r)* would probably not be reflected in records of place-names where the element occurs in final position (in an unstressed position). Further, it is uncertain when the element, which tends to refer to nucleated settlements in Denmark and to single farms in Norway, developed different meanings in Denmark and Norway. It is true that compound *bȳ(r)*-names are more common in Denmark than Norway (where they are, however, not unknown); this is balanced by the fact that some of the *bȳ(r)*-names in north-west England and south-west Scotland have more parallels in Norway and Iceland than Denmark. The wider difficulties in distinguishing East and West Scandinavian forms of the element were considered in Chapter Three and are not repeated here. However, a further argument for an East Scandinavian origin for the *bȳ(r)*-names in Cumbria, which is based on their distribution in Cumbria and thus is particular to the *bȳ(r)*-names in the region, is examined here.

Stenton argued that, since the *bȳ(r)*-names were likely to be principally Danish, the distribution of these names suggested that East Scandinavian settlers from the Danelaw had crossed into the Eden valley either via the pass between Wensleydale and Mallerstang or along the Roman road through Brough to the Eden valley at Appleby (Stenton 1936 [1970]:216–17). In contrast, he argued that the Hiberno-Norse place-names in western Cumbria, including those in northern Westmorland, were likely to reflect Norwegian settlement with a ‘separate invasion from Ireland’ evidenced in the Hiberno-Norse names of Kentdale and upper Lonsdale (Stenton 1936 [1970]:216–17). A similar stance was taken by Gillian Fellows-Jensen (1985). As outlined in Chapter Three, Fellows-Jensen has explained the Scandinavian names of the North-West as reflecting both ‘Gaelic Norwegian’ settlement from the Irish sea and migration of settlers from the Danelaw across the Pennines.

Fellows-Jensen’s (1985:287–90) chief grounds for arguing that there was settlement from the Danelaw across the Pennines was the distribution of the names in *-bȳ(r)*, which are clustered in the Eden valley, the Carlisle plain and the coastal plains of Cumberland and south-east Dumfriesshire (see map below). Fellows-Jensen argues (1985:287–88) that the distribution of the *bȳ(r)*-names suggests the ‘arrival of settlers from the Danelaw, who crossed

the Pennines and made their way along the Eden valley to Carlisle' and seems to suggest that the routes of the Roman roads were used by settlers moving into Cumbria from the Danelaw (1985:306–07). Fellows-Jensen was not explicit about the routes the settlers might have taken, but two major Roman roads are thought to have met in the Eden valley, Margary 7, linking Manchester with Carlisle via Ribchester and Brougham, and Margary 82, running from Scotch Corner to Brougham via Stainmore (Margary 1973:358–59 and 433–36). (Conversely, it has been argued that some of the Hiberno-Norse names in Yorkshire reflect movement in the opposite direction eastwards across the Pennines along Roman roads; Fellows-Jensen 1972:187–89.)

*Images have been removed from the online version of this thesis. A hard-bound copy is available in the Institute for Name-Studies, University of Nottingham. Alternatively, contact the author.*

The distribution of the names appears striking and clearly differentiated from that of the Scandinavian hybrid and Scandinavianised names and Scandinavian topographical names mapped by Fellows-Jensen (1985:286 and 300). If the distribution of the names in *-bý(r)* is traced and overlaid on Fellows-Jensen's distribution map of the Scandinavian topographical names from Cumbria and southern Scotland (see below), it can be observed that the topographical names extend into the central, upland areas of Cumbria (and further into Dumfriesshire) than the *bý(r)*-names.<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> A similar pattern is observed if the distribution of the names in *-bý(r)* is compared with the distribution of 'hybrid and scandinavianised names' (Fellows-Jensen 1985:286), only with slightly fewer names in the central, upland area of Cumbria.



Distribution of *bý(r)*-names (in red) shown against Scandinavian topographical names (Fellows-Jensen 1985:290 and 300)

However, the distribution of *bý(r)*-names is also strikingly similar to Fellows-Jensen's distribution map of the distribution of English place-names in -*ingtūn*, -*tūn* and -*lēah* and Anglian-period sculpture (see below), which raises some questions about the restricted distribution of the *bý(r)*-names.

*Images have been removed from the online version of this thesis. A hard-bound copy is available in the Institute for Name-Studies, University of Nottingham. Alternatively, contact the author.*

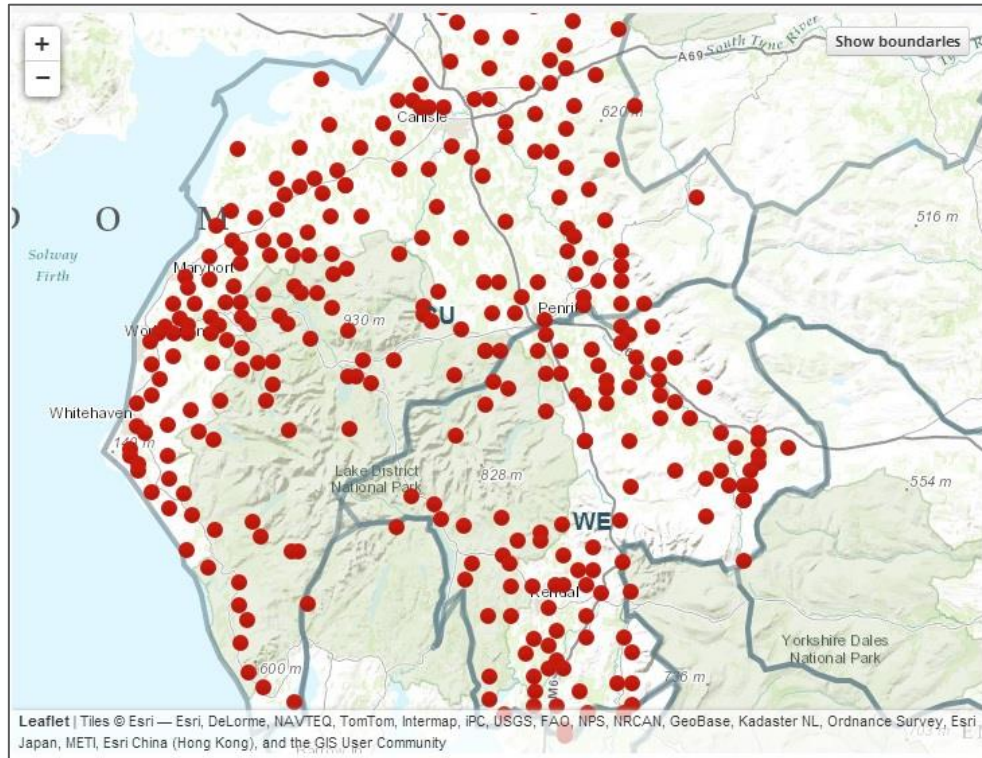
Distribution of *bý(r)*-names (in red) shown against English place-names in -*ingtūn*, -*tūn* and *lēah* and Anglian-period sculpture (Fellows-Jensen 1985:272 and 290)

The most obvious question this raises is whether the distributions of both the *bý(r)*-names and certain English place-names and Anglian-period sculpture (which would presumably tend to be associated with prosperous settlements) might instead be explained either by the distribution of settlement names in general or by the situation of the type of settlement termed a *bý(r)* in lower lying areas.<sup>271</sup> If the names in Westmorland and Cumberland classified

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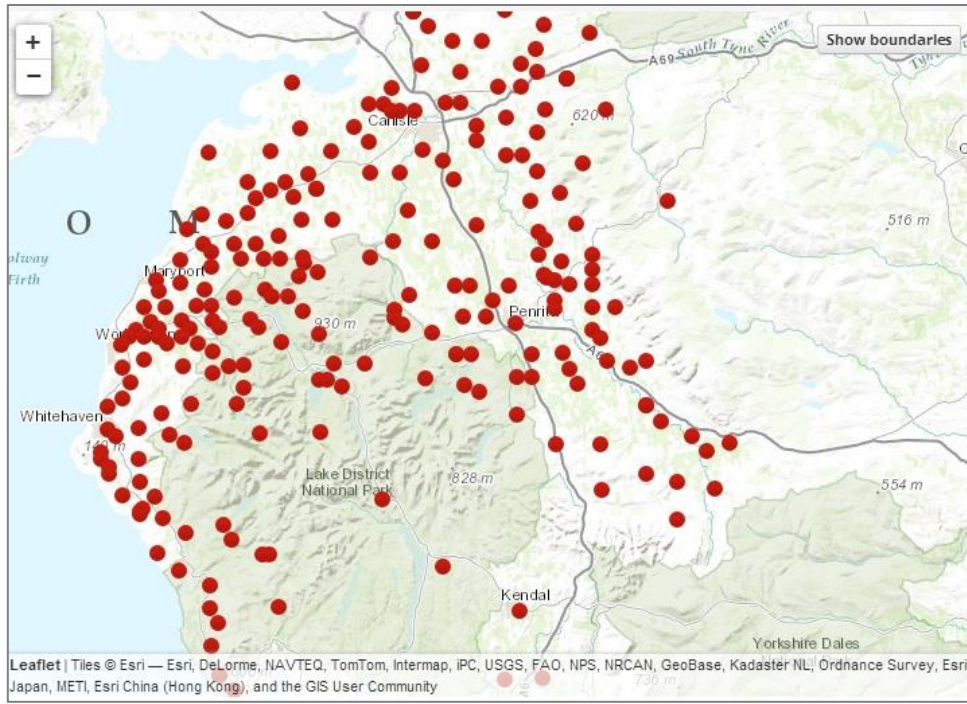
<sup>271</sup> Fellows-Jensen herself suggests (1972:188) that such factors might partly explain correlations between Roman roads and Scandinavian place-names in Yorkshire, surmising that '[t]he same ground probably appeared advantageous to both the Roman road-builders and the Danish and Norwegian settlers'.

as ‘major settlements’ in the *Digital Survey of English Place-Names* are mapped it can be seen that more of the major settlements are found (unsurprisingly) in lower lying areas than upland areas, and the pattern is more marked for the parish names (see below).<sup>272</sup> In contrast, the ‘hybrid and Scandinavianised’ names and ‘topographical’ names might refer to settlements of more diverse types that could be found in both lowland and upland areas.



The ‘major settlement’ names of Westmorland and Cumberland (*Digital Survey of English Place-Names*)

<sup>272</sup> <<https://epns.nottingham.ac.uk/>> [accessed 25/07/15].



The parish names of Westmorland and Cumberland (*Digital Survey of English Place-Names*)

One further complicating factor is that the element probably survived as a productive place-name element in the area into the post-Conquest period. Although there are many names which could predate the Norman Conquest, having specifics that are Scandinavian, OE, Goidelic or Brittonic, twenty-nine names listed in Fellows-Jensen's list of *bý(r)*-names in the North West (1985:25–43) have a specific that Fellows-Jensen classifies as Continental Germanic, Old French or Biblical, for instance *Willambi* (CGmc), *Pearsby* (OFr.) and *Isaacby* (Biblical). These names occur rarely in Anglo-Saxon England (Insley 2007:10; Clark 1992a:464–65) but became extremely common after the Conquest.<sup>273</sup> To these names can be added a further five names<sup>274</sup> where there is evidence that the name incorporates that of a post-Conquest landholder recorded in documentary sources (Fellows-Jensen

<sup>273</sup> Continental Germanic and Biblical names account for approximately eighty percent of the personal names recorded in the late-twelfth century section of the Durham *Liber Vitae* and in records from late-twelfth-century Newark and Canterbury amongst others (McClure 2007:13–14; Clark 1992b:558–63).

<sup>274</sup> Viz. Alstonby, Farmanby, Frankby, Gamblesby and Glassonby.

1985:22 and 25–43). These names all occur in Cumbria, with the exception of Frankby in Wirral. Fellows-Jensen (1985:24) also points out that fifteen of the eighteen adjectives occurring as specifics are certainly or possibly of English origin, suggesting these names might be late formations.

Fellows-Jensen (1985:22–24) interprets the names where the specific is a post-Conquest personal name as older *bý(r)*-names where the specific has been replaced with the name of a post-Conquest landholder, especially for the names around Carlisle where settlers were planted following William II's capture of Carlisle in 1092. Replacement of a sort can indeed be seen in Allerby, Cumberland, recorded as *Crosseby aylward* (1258) and *Aylwardcrosseby* (1260) but as *Aylewardby* (c.1275) (cf. Fellows-Jensen 1985:28). However, to argue that all the late *bý(r)*-names arose in this way seems to be rather a strained argument, and it seems preferable to accept that the element was productive into the post-Conquest period. Indeed, the idea that the *bý(r)*-names with unambiguously late specifics are names where an earlier specific has been replaced has not been universally accepted. For instance, Insley (1986:172) suggests that these names should instead be taken to imply that 'the element *-bý* remained in use for a long time in this region'. Post-Conquest usage would not indicate anything about the Scandinavian settlement, rather that the element had been borrowed into the local toponymicon.

Overall then the *bý(r)*-names could have arisen in a West Scandinavian speaking environment as the phonological form is not unexpected in an unstressed position and the element is known — if not especially common — in place-names in Norway. Further, although the distribution of the *bý(r)*-names in Cumbria appears to suggest cross-Pennine movement of East Scandinavian speakers into the region, it could equally well be determined by the distribution of good settlement land, and hence the distribution of major settlement names.

*Is the Goidelic element in Cumbrian place-names connected with Scandinavian settlement?*

The co-occurrence of Scandinavian and Goidelic place-name elements in Cumbria has long been understood as connected with the settlers termed ‘Hiberno-Norse’ (or ‘Irish-Norwegian’), that is settlers that were either mixed groups of Scandinavian and Goidelic speakers or Scandinavians whose speech had been influenced by Goidelic.<sup>275</sup> Until recently, there was much debate about whether the Hiberno-Norse had predominantly come from Ireland or from the western seaboard of Scotland. Recently, however, David Parsons has argued that the inversion-compounds, one of the types of place-name that has long been associated with the ‘Hiberno-Norse’, need not be associated with Goidelicised Scandinavians or mixed groups of Scandinavians and Goidelic-speakers. He argues that the inversion-compounds might instead reflect the presence of Goidelic-speaking peoples in Cumbria at some point after Scandinavians had settled in the region, although some of the candidates for Goidelic-speaking groups in Cumbria were groups perceived as in some way ethnically Scandinavian. The evidence for each of these perspectives is examined below. The different scholarly interpretations of the so-called ‘Hiberno-Norse’ place-names that were proffered in the twentieth century are surveyed. However, more recent scholars, particularly Alison Grant and David Parsons, have argued that the borrowing of a Goidelic place-name element *áirge* and the inversion-compounds should be considered separately. Consequently, the interpretation of both of these types of evidence is considered separately here.

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<sup>275</sup> It should be noted, additionally, that Goidelic cultural influence in Cumbria is possible before the Viking Age. There were connections between Northumbria and Ireland through the island of Iona (part of Dál Riata, which spanned the Irish Sea) and there was clearly Northumbrian interest in areas bordering the Irish Sea during the period of Northumbrian expansion from the seventh century (Edmonds 2007:28–29).

### The twentieth-century viewpoint

In a perceptive discussion of the problem, Ekwall (1918:10–12) seems to argue that the inversion compounds and the names with Goidelic elements, most notably *áirge*, in northwest England, suggested that the Scandinavians who settled in Cumbria had come from Ireland, the Isle of Man and the Hebrides and consequently their language ‘bore traces of a prolonged contact with Goidelic’. However, Ekwall (1918:54–55) also expressed reservations about Scandinavians, however ‘deeply influenced’ their language was by contact with Goidelic speakers, adopting non-Germanic word-order. Consequently, Ekwall toyed with the ideas that the names might have been formed either by Goidelic-speaking Gall-Gàidheil (Goidelic speakers who were perceived as in some way ethnically Norse) whom he supposed might have been largely bilingual in Irish and Scandinavian, or by a subjugated group of Goidelic speakers. Ultimately, Ekwall rejected these interpretations, arguing that the high proportion of Scandinavian specifics and the preservation of Scandinavian plural inflexions on generics suggested the names to be Scandinavian-language formations. Ekwall (1918:65) noted, however, that the lack of an inversion-compound with the generic *áirge* was puzzling. In terms of dating, Ekwall did not link the Hiberno-Norse place-names of the North-West with any known historical events and, arguing that sufficient time must have passed since settlement of areas around the Irish Sea for the Scandinavians’ language to have been influenced by Goidelic, he dated Hiberno-Norse settlement in the North-West to sometime in the tenth century (Ekwall 1918:95). On the rather unspecific grounds that the personal names in inversion compounds ‘bore an archaic stamp’ (yet noting that some Norman names are found in inversion compounds) Ekwall argued (1918:64) that the inversion compounds were amongst the earliest of the Scandinavian names in northwest England, but their usage fizzled out about the year 1000.

Although the place of origin of Ekwall’s Hiberno-Norse settlers was more cautiously described as being Ireland, the Western Isles or the Isle of Man, this subtlety was lost in slightly later discussions of Hiberno-Norse settlement in the area. Whilst *PNCu* assigns the settlers an Irish or Manx origin, in the Survey volume for Westmorland and Stenton’s discussion of

pre-Conquest Westmorland they are described only as Irish (*PNCu*: xxii–xxvi; *PNWe* i:xxxix–xlii; Stenton 1936 [1970]:216–17). The suggestion that the Scandinavian names of the north-west reflected settlement by Scandinavians from Ireland has since led to the events being linked with the expulsion of Scandinavians from Dublin in 902 discussed in Chapter Three (e.g. Griffiths 2010:21). Indeed, the *PNWe* volume also suggests that land in north-west England might have been desirable to Scandinavian settlers as land routes between Dublin and York crossed the region (*PNWe* i:xxix–xl). In summary, then, early and mid-twentieth-century scholars were in no doubt that the inversion compounds and *áirge*-names reflected Hiberno-Norse settlement in the North-West. However, whilst Ekwall had not specified one point of origin for these settlers, mid-twentieth-century scholars ran with the idea that they had come from Ireland.

More recently, the idea that the Hiberno-Norse came from the western seaboard of Scotland has been re-expressed, particularly by Smyth (1975:75–92), and those who have followed in his wake. Smyth argued that key place-names seen as typical of Hiberno-Norse settlement, Goidelic *áirge* and inversion-compounds, were more common in Scottish Gaelic than in Irish, and suggested the inversion-compounds of north-west England reflected an extension of the Norse settlements in Galloway (Smyth 1975:80–81). Smyth additionally noted (1975:81–82 and 91 ns. 30–31) that several personal names recorded in northern England (including the North-West) that had previously been interpreted as Irish looked Scottish,<sup>276</sup> whilst evidence for Icelandic settlers of Hebridean origin also pointed to Goidelic-Norse interaction along the western seaboard of Scotland. Bearing this in mind, Smyth (1975:84) argued that land to the west of the Pennines was settled by ‘Norwegians from the Isles, with their Gaelic admixture’. Fellows-Jensen (1985:319–20) and

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<sup>276</sup> Namely, four Chester moneyers (Macsuthan, Maeldomen, Maelsuthan and Gillicrist; cf. Wainwright 1948:164); four names from post-Conquest Yorkshire (Malcolumbe, Duncani, Doneuuald and Ghilander; cf. Smith 1927:40–46) and seven from north-west England (Gilandreas, Gilchrist, Gilmichael, Gilmor, Murdoch, Duncan and Kenneth; cf. Ekwall 1918:66–72). However, Edmonds (2009:11) points out that Gilla-Míchifill occurs in Ireland.



Alison Grant both largely accepted the view that the ‘Hiberno-’ element to ‘Hiberno-Norse’ settlement in the North-West came predominantly from the Western Isles or Galloway rather than Ireland. Grant additionally noted that there is only limited evidence for specifically Irish lexical items being used in Cumbria, whilst the greater number of place-names of Scandinavian origin in western Scotland and Scandinavian loanwords in Scottish Gaelic suggests closer linguistic contact with Scottish Gaelic speakers than Irish speakers (Grant 2003:67–78).<sup>277</sup>

Having considered the early-twentieth-century discussions of Hiberno-Norse settlement in north-west England, Smyth’s arguments do not seem as revolutionary as they have sometimes been considered to be (cf. for instance Grant 2003:67–70), although clearly challenging the mid-twentieth-century tendency to see the Hiberno-Norse as Irish rather than from the Irish Sea littoral more generally.<sup>278</sup> Smyth’s views have not gone entirely unchallenged, although until recently challenges tended to come in the form of quibbles with points of detail rather than the overall argument. The idea that settlement in the north-west was linked, at least in part, to the movements of Scandinavians between Dublin and York — which does not seem to be clearly expressed before Smyth’s *Scandinavian York and Dublin* — is still current and evidence supporting such an interpretation has been bolstered by recent finds and further interpretations of the evidence.<sup>279</sup> However, scholars have recently sought to explain the discrepancies between the two key types of evidence for

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<sup>277</sup> Grant (2003:73–74) points out that the only item the *Survey* volumes describes as Middle Irish (and therefore differentiated from Goidelic) is *tresc* ‘refuse’, which has a Scottish Gaelic cognate.

<sup>278</sup> As noted above, Ekwall (1918), to whom Smyth (1975:78–79 and 90 ns. 12–14) ascribes the view that the Hiberno-Norse were principally from Ireland itself, did not claim this.

<sup>279</sup> For instance, Edmonds (2009:5–8) suggests that the rulers of Dublin might have added the North-West to their hegemony and that the deposition of a silver hoards at Cuerdale in Lancashire and Huxley in Cheshire might be connected with exiles from Dublin.

Goidelic influence in north-west England, the use of the element *áirge* and the inversion-compounds.

### Goidelic *áirge* ‘shieling’

ON *\*érgi*,<sup>280</sup> a borrowing of Goidelic *áirge*, is recorded in areas of Scandinavian settlement around the Irish Sea and Scottish Isles and as far north as the Faroes (Fellows-Jensen 1980). The prior existence of a Scandinavian word for a shieling, ON *sáetr* (found, for instance, in Setmurthy in Cumberland), has led to speculation about whether the type of shieling known as an *\*érgi* was in some way distinct from a *sáetr* (Fellows-Jensen 1980:71; *VEPN*: s.v. *\*érgi*; M. Higham 1977–78; 1996). The element has frequently been linked to ‘Hiberno-Norse’ settlement in the areas where it occurs (e.g. Fellows-Jensen 1985:319–20; cf. Smith 1956: map ‘Distribution of Irish-Norwegian place-names’).

There has been some debate about whether the element was borrowed from Scottish or Irish forms of Goidelic. Although Ekwall (1918:74–75) did not specify anything further than a Goidelic origin, slightly later scholars assumed the element was Irish (e.g. Stenton 1936 [1970]:216; Wainwright 1948:162). This provoked something of a backlash, with several scholars pointing out that the element was more common along the western seaboard of Scotland than in Ireland and so unlikely to have been borrowed from Old Irish (Smyth 1975:80 and n. 19; Fellows-Jensen 1980:68–90; Grant 2003:130). However, it has recently been argued that the element *áirge* does occur in areas where there was Scandinavian settlement in Ireland, for instance around Limerick and Waterford,<sup>281</sup> meaning that the occurrence of the element in north-west England would not entirely preclude borrowing from Old Irish.

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<sup>280</sup> The form *érgi* is to be preferred to *erg*, which was widely used in earlier place-name literature but only occurs in a sixteenth-century Danish translation of *Orkneyinga saga* (Fellows-Jensen 1980:67).

<sup>281</sup> *Áirge* was not unknown in Ireland, either as a lexeme or as a place-name element. Matras et al. (2003) note two passages from the *Book of Leinster* where *áirge* is used of shielings and a number of place-names (provided by

However, arguments about the element's origin based on its distribution are weakened by the probable Scandinavian role in its diffusion. Grant (2003:134 and 163–67) observes that the distribution of Scottish Gaelic *áirigh* is restricted to areas of Scandinavian settlement and argues from this that the element's use in place-names in Northern England reflects Scandinavian borrowing from Scottish Gaelic. However, just like the Irish examples noted by Matras et al. (2003:209), it could in theory be the case that this distribution results from a Scandinavian role in the element's dissemination. This possibility could weaken the case for ON *árgi* being necessarily 'not Irish' based on the distribution of the Goidelic forms of the element. Regardless of the precise origin of the element, the distinction Grant (2003:163–67) makes between ON *árgi*, which was used widely after borrowing into Scandinavian, and other possible instances of Goidelic influence on Scandinavian, is sufficient to explain why the element is used more widely than the inversion-compounds.

Comparison of the treatment of OIr. *áirge* and OIr. *cross* in place-name literature is revealing. OIr. *cross*, the Scandinavian borrowing of which, ON *kross*, is generally thought to be the source of ModE. *cross* (*OED*: s.v. *cross*, n.) has only occasionally been linked with Hiberno-Norse settlement in place-name scholarship (e.g. Smith 1956: s.v. *cross* and map 'Distribution of Irish-Norwegian place-names').<sup>282</sup> Generally, however, Goidelic *cross* has not been interpreted as an indicator of Hiberno-Norse settlement to the same extent as *árgi* (cf. Fellows-Jensen 1985:319–20; Ekwall 1918:73–74). This is confirmed by consideration of the distribution of *cross* in English place-names, which does not suggest any particular distinction from other Scandinavian place-name elements, as discussed in Chapter Three.

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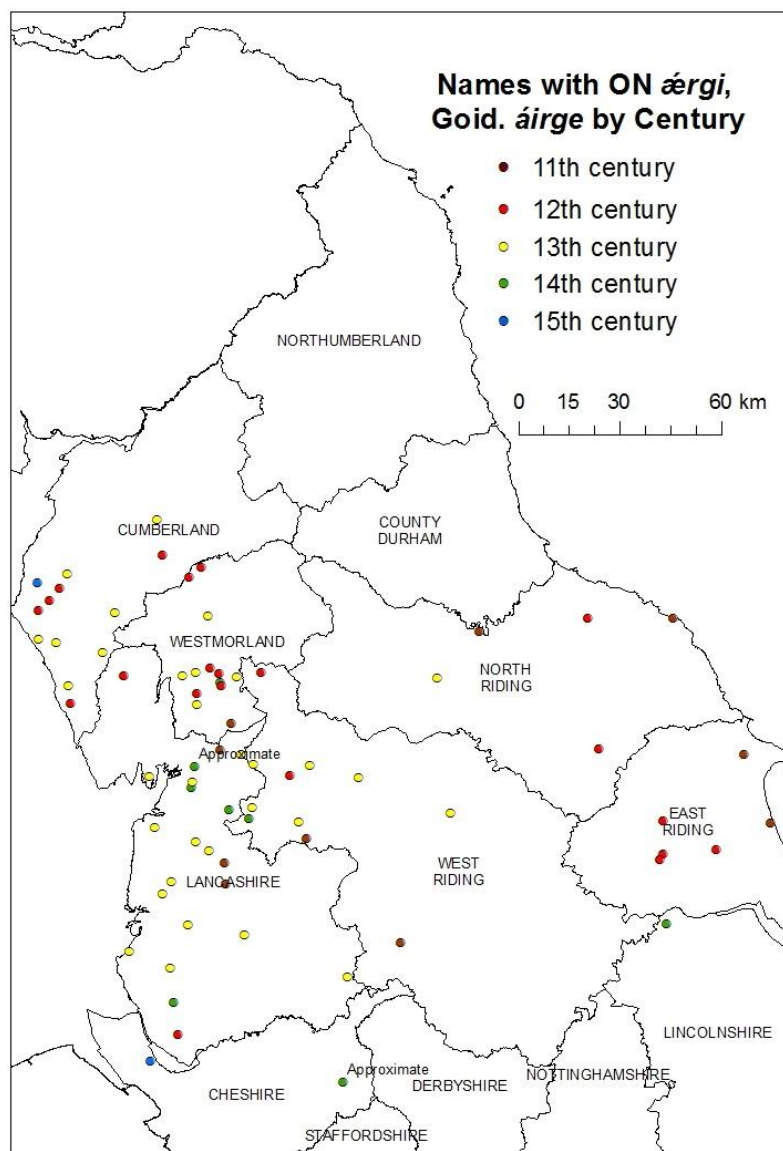
Breandán Ó Cíobháin), *Arrybreaga* and *Arywee* (Co. Limerick), *Glenary*, (Co. Waterford) and *Shronahiree Beg/More* and *Drominaharee* (Co. Kerry).

<sup>282</sup> Grant (2003:259–60) argues that the restriction of the compound *\*kross-bý* to areas of Gaelic-Norwegian influence suggests that this name might have a Gaelic-Norwegian connection (although this may not be true of the element more generally).

However, *áirge* is found throughout the ‘Scandinavian Belt’<sup>283</sup> by the twelfth century. There is, as with most of the elements considered here, a concentration of forms in the North-West; however, this may partly reflect the fuller place-name Surveys for Cumberland, Westmorland and the West Riding than for the North and East Ridings as a North-West-centred distribution is not so pronounced amongst the earliest recorded forms. The relatively wide distribution and occurrence of many of the North and East Yorkshire forms in Scandinavian (or less likely OE) dative plural forms, suggests that the element is best interpreted simply as a Scandinavian term from a variety of Scandinavian where the term, ultimately borrowed from Goidelic, was used, rather than as direct evidence for Goidelic influence in the areas where it occurs (cf., along similar lines, *PNYE*:24).

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<sup>283</sup> Samuels (1985) coined the term to include these areas except the south of the West Riding (and sometimes including parts of northern Lincolnshire) although the precise limits of the area are not defined. The term corresponds to Hart’s ‘Northern Danelaw’ (Hart 1992:19) with the addition of Cumbria.



Shapefiles: ELC2, GRO, GBHGIS1961

It seems, then, that the case for Goidelic *áirge* being evidence for ‘Hiberno-Norse’ settlement has been somewhat overstated and it is preferable to interpret Goidelic *áirge* as only indirect evidence for Goidelic influence.

### The inversion-compounds

In certain place-names from northwest England, the generic precedes the specific, and the place-names are therefore structurally similar to later Celtic (including Goidelic) place-names. In names like Greysouthen, Cumberland (*Craykesuthen* c.1187, Goid. *craicc* ‘rock’ and Goidelic personal name *Suthán*; *PNCu*:397–98), where the generic is Goidelic, there is no reason to

believe these names are not entirely Goidelic formations, albeit occasionally with a personal name of Scandinavian origin as a specific (Ekwall 1918:16; Parsons 2012:115, 126–29 and 147).<sup>284</sup> However, in other names with a Celtic structure such as Setmurthy, Cumberland (*Satmerdac* 1195, ON *sætr* ‘shieling’ and Goidelic personal name *Muiredach*; *PNCu*:433–34), the generic is not Goidelic (and in the majority of cases is Scandinavian); these names have generally be interpreted as Scandinavian names with Goidelic-influenced word order (Ekwall 1918:52–55; Parsons 2012:115 and 140–44).

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<sup>284</sup> A handful of names have a Goidelic generic and a non-Goidelic specific, but in all but one of these instances (Cannerheugh, discussed below), the specifics are personal or family names, which do not imply anything about the language of the name (Parsons 2012:146–48).

*Images have been removed from the online version of this thesis. A hard-bound copy is available in the Institute for Name-Studies, University of Nottingham. Alternatively, contact the author.*

The inversion-compounds of north-west England (Parsons 2012:116)

Until recently, it was generally thought that these names were coined by Scandinavians whose language had been influenced by Goidelic (Fellows-Jensen 1985:319–20), by Goidelic-speakers who had borrowed Scandinavian generics accompanying Scandinavian settlers (Ekwall 1918:62–63), or by native Goidelic-speakers speaking Scandinavian with Goidelic word-order (Grant:2003:96–103). However, it has recently been suggested by Parsons (2012) that, whilst the inversion-compounds are no doubt indicative of Goidelic speakers in the region imposing their linguistic structure on

Scandinavian, contexts besides ‘Hiberno-Norse’ settlement could have brought Goidelic speakers to a predominantly Scandinavian-speaking Cumbria. It is particularly problematic as far as an Irish or Scottish origin for the inversion compounds is concerned that no comparable body of similar names are known from other areas where Scandinavians were in contact with Goidelic (Parsons 2012:120–25). Parsons consequently argues that the names should be seen as a phenomenon particular to Cumbria, and that the explanation for these names should be sought in this area rather than elsewhere.<sup>285</sup>

Parsons then points out that there is evidence indicative of specifically Scottish Gaelic influence in the place-names Kinmond (Westmorland), Kilmond (North Yorkshire) and Kinmont (Cumberland), which are interpreted as the Goidelic recurrent compound *ceann monaidh* ‘head of the hill/mountain’; consequently, Scottish Gaelic influence is plausible north of these places, where the majority of the inversion-compounds are found (Parsons 2012:116 and 128–29; see map below).<sup>286</sup> As Ekwall’s claim that the inversion-compounds tend to be early as the personal names are archaic is extremely tenuous, and there is instead evidence that inversion-compounds were formed in the post-Conquest period (Parsons 2012:122–23), Parsons argues that the inversion-compounds probably reflect the expansion of Goidelic speech southwards at some point in the eleventh or twelfth centuries.<sup>287</sup> There are possible contexts for Scottish Gaelic influence in

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<sup>285</sup> There are grounds for arguing that the inversion-compounds of northwest England are not part of the same phenomenon as the ‘inversion-compounds’ with *kirkja* found in Galloway (Parsons 2012:116–19 and 137; cf. Grant 2003:178–79).

<sup>286</sup> The element *monadh* is thought to have been borrowed into Scottish Gaelic from a Brittonic language and is not known in Irish or Manx place-names (Parsons 2012:128).

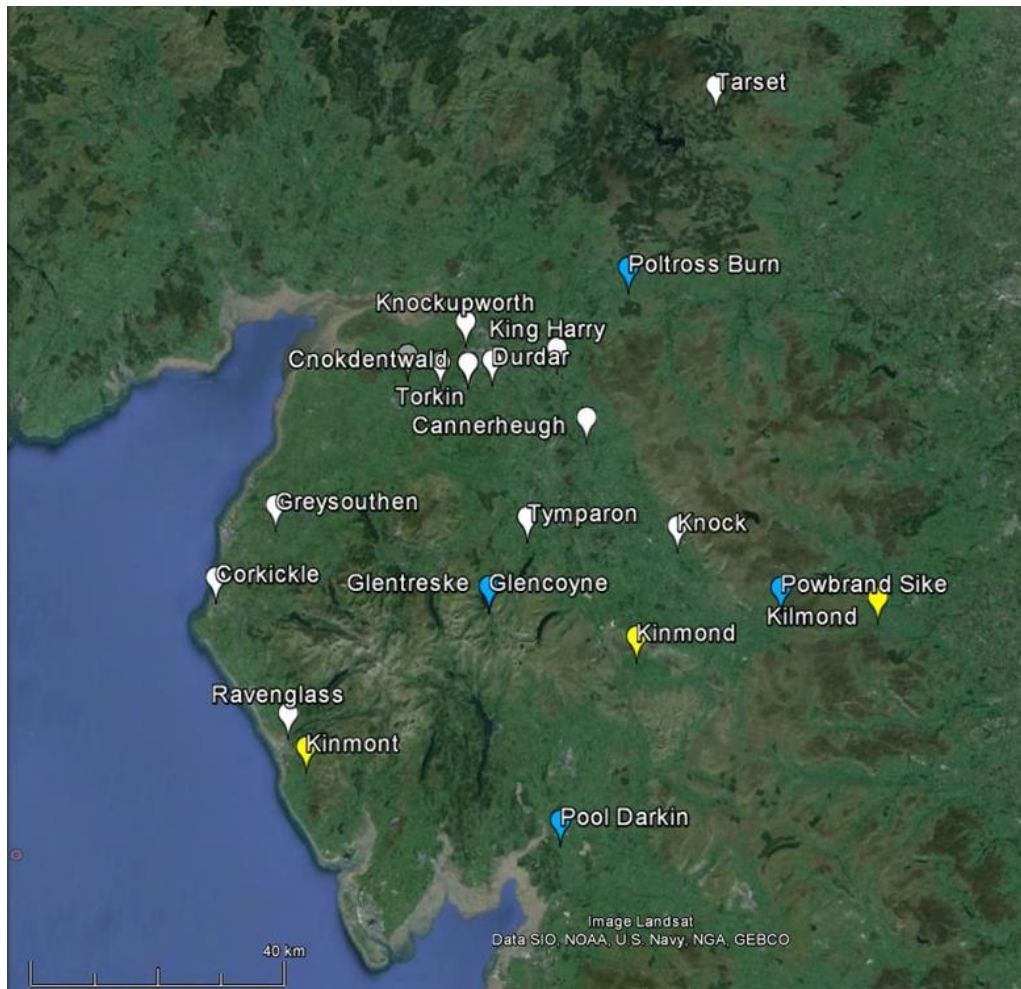
<sup>287</sup> The evidence of Gospatric’s Writ (Harmer 1989:423–24) is tantalising in this respect. Although written in (late) OE in the name of someone bearing a Cumbrian name, the beneficiary, *Thorfynn mac Thore* bears a Scandinavian personal name, but the form of the patronymic (though not his father’s name itself) is Goidelic. Further, the names of those who seem to have held the






Cumbria, some of which involve Gall-Ghàidheil; however, although perhaps culturally Scandinavian, Gall-Ghàidheil need not have been Scandinavian-speaking so their presence would not necessarily be a factor promoting Norse in the area (Parsons 2012). For the purposes of this examination of Scandinavian influence on the place-names of the West Ward, it is sufficient to note that the inversion-compounds need not be evidence for Scandinavian settlement in Westmorland.

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estates *on Eadread dagan*, whenever this might have been (Harmer 1989:423–24; *PNCu* iii:xxvii) are Goidelic (*Melmor*), Scandinavian (*Thore*) and English/Scandinavian (*Sygoolf*), implying that men in the region bore Goidelic names perhaps a generation earlier.



### Key

-  Goidelic place-name
-  *ceann monaidh* place-name
-  Possible Goidelic place-name

ScGael. *ceann monaidh* names and other Goidelic names

(mapped in Google Earth; data from Parsons 2012:128 and 146–48)

## The Minor Names of the West Ward

### *Method*

#### *Area and Period Investigated*

The method followed here is identical to that followed in the analysis of names from Wirral. All 555 minor names recorded before 1500 from the West Ward, an area of approximately 48,000 hectares, have been analysed. Again, where a name's first attestation falls within a range of dates, the latest possible year was taken as the earliest date at which a name is certain to have existed and centuries were interpreted as running from AD 1–100 and so on.<sup>288</sup>

#### *Names Considered Minor Names*

The classification of names as major or minor names was different from that used in Wirral, where all township names and only a handful of other names were considered major names. In Westmorland, there are fewer equivalent names (i.e. civil parish names), there being nineteen civil or ecclesiastical parish names compares with Wirral's eighty-one township names. As discussed above, only names with fewer than five pre-1500 attestations were classified as minor names and have been included in the statistics below. Where it could be ascertained from *PNWe* that a name was recorded more than once in a single document, repeated records of the name in the document were not considered as counting towards the tally of occurrences before 1500. Where it could not be ascertained whether a name was recorded five times or more before 1500 because date-ranges span the period before and after 1500, names were classified as minor names.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> A handful of names in Lowther dated *post* 1317 (*PNWe* ii:186–87) were considered to have been recorded by the end of the fourteenth century. For obvious reasons, Brocavum, recorded in Classical sources (*Brocauo* 4th c.; *PNWe* ii:128), was not included.

<sup>289</sup> Viz. Thornthwaite Hall, Bampton (*PNWe* ii:192) and Thorpe, Sockbridge (*PNWe* ii:208).

*Names Excluded*

As in the Wirral corpus, there are a couple of names which occur twice in close proximity and which may therefore be different forms of the same name. In the Westmorland corpus, these are the names Linefoot in Bampton (*Langlynefitt* 1488) and *Linsite* (1200–30; possibly for *-fite*) in Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187 and 198),<sup>290</sup> for which only the earlier form has been included. Caldegate (1235) Crosby Ravensworth may be identical with *Caldegate* (12th c.), Shap Rural (*PNWe* ii:163 and 180) and only the latter was included. *Potschalemyre* (1384) in Shap Rural was considered to be a form of *Potscales* (1241) Bampton (*PNWe* ii:181 and 199) and consequently the affix ON *mýrr* was the only element counted afresh in Shap Rural (OE/ON (\*)*potte*/\**pottr* and ON *skáli* being classified as ‘duplicate’ elements). *Coterodes* (1366) Cliburn may be same name as Coat roads, Lowther and was included under Cliburn as it is not recorded before 1500 in Lowther.

Names entirely in Latin were not included as the elements used in the vernacular form(s) of the name cannot be ascertained. Thus Bewley Castle, Morland, which is only recorded in Latin before 1500 (e.g. *Bellum locum* 1250; *PNWe* ii:139), was not included. Similarly, names or descriptions where *PNWe* gives a translation from (presumably) Latin were not included. Thus, St Wilfred’s Church, Brougham (‘the church of *St. Wilfrid de Burgham*’ (1367; *PNWe* ii:133), Strickland Mill, Great Strickland (*molendinum de Stirk(e)land, molendinum de Stirc(e)land* 1234–46; *PNWe* ii:151) and Four Stones, Crosby Ravensworth (‘four stones’ (a. 1239); *PNWe* ii:159) were not included. However, names with Latin inflexions where a vernacular element was identifiable (e.g. *ad Rossam* (1235); *PNWe* ii:181) were included. In one

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<sup>290</sup> The parishes share a boundary; however, without sight of the Bampton Tithe Map it is uncertain whether Linefoot (parcels 242, 285, 489, 493, 1375 and perhaps 1081) was on the border with Lowther.

instance, an element glossed by *PNWe* was counted a lexeme rather than a name and so was not included in the corpus.<sup>291</sup>

### *Treatment of Affixed Forms*

Names with and without affixes were entered separately and thus count as more than one name in the total numbers of names. However, where it was clear that a name could be considered an affixed form of another (i.e. where both affixed and non-affixed forms are recorded), elements repeated in an affixed form were categorised as ‘duplicates’ and do not count again towards the totals of the number of occurrences of elements in different languages. Where the first occurrence of an affixed name is recorded earlier than the non-affixed name, all elements were considered to have been recorded by the time the affixed form was recorded, and all elements in the later-recorded non-affixed name were classified as ‘duplicates’. In some cases a simplex name might plausibly underlie different names but there is no record of a non-affixed form (e.g. *Birkgill*, *Birkrane*, and *Birksdune* and *Le Coterodes* and *Cotewalles* in Cliburn). In these cases, all names were counted as distinct names (i.e. with repeated use of a place-name element, not a name) as it was not felt the evidence for any underlying simplex name was secure.

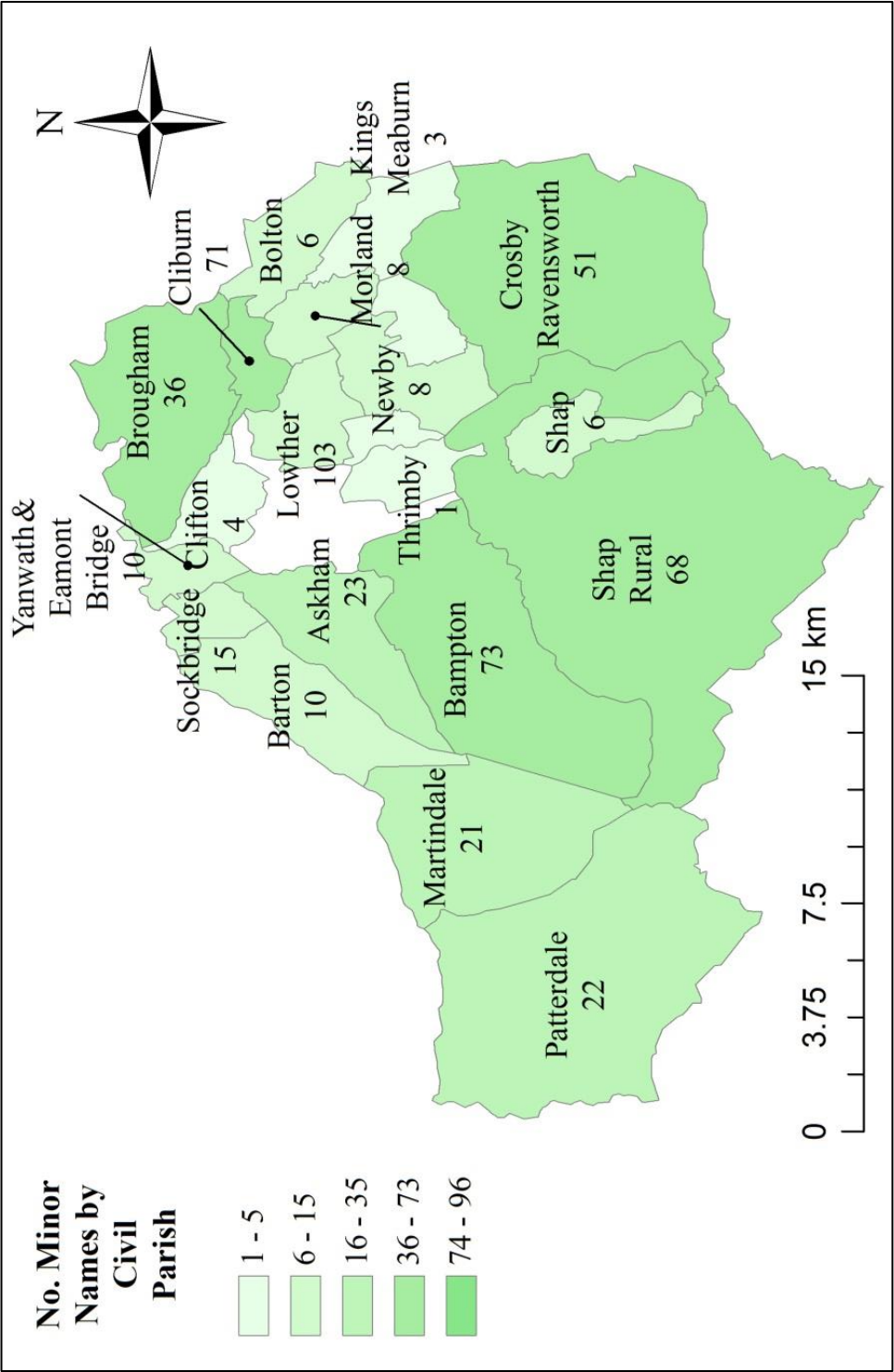
### *Distribution of the Minor Names*

Despite the West Ward covering a much larger area than the Wirral study area, the numbers of minor names from both areas are approximately comparable. As in the Wirral corpus, the number of minor names recorded before 1500 varies greatly from civil parish to civil parish as shown on the map below. Consequently, as in Wirral, in an attempt to obtain groups of townships with sufficient numbers of minor names to be discussed meaningfully, the elements are analysed mainly by ecclesiastical parish. The areas covered by the

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<sup>291</sup> Viz. OE *burgæsn* in ‘a *Borwayne* at *Helton townehend*’ (*PNWe* ii:204) in which ‘*Borwayne*’ was considered not to be a name, and *Helton townehend* was considered a name.

different parishes vary greatly, reflecting sparser settlement in upland areas in the west.



Shapefile: GBHGIS1951

*Linguistic Classification of Elements*

As with the Wirral corpus, the elements categorised as ME are something of a mixed bag. The majority, twenty-eight elements, are those uncontentionally thought to be post-Conquest borrowings from Romance (including Continental Germanic and Latin personal names common in England after the conquest).<sup>292</sup> For several other elements, the decision to class the words as Romance borrowings is more complex. Some of these words may have had OE etyma (although the degree of certainty about the existence of these varies) but are not recorded in place-names before the ME period and their ME usage seems generally more likely to indicate Romance influence (whether in terms of reinforcing a previously rare form or in terms of semantic influence).<sup>293</sup> These words are classified as ME rather than OE as it is impossible to tell

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<sup>292</sup> *OED* (s.vv. abbey, n., blank adj. and adv., cellar, n.1, chapel, n., common adj. and adv., common n.1, demesne, n., forest, n., grange, n., mustard n. and adj., park, n., perch, n.1, parson, n., rail, n.2, ratton, n., sorrel, n.1 and spitel n.); cf. Smith (1956: s.v. pearroc).

CGmc personal names: Arnald, Herbert, *Gerin* (Warin), Hughelot (double diminutive of Hugo), Odelin(a), Ralf, Robbe and Roger (twice) (McClure and Rollason 2007a:47, 59, 61, 66–67 71–73 and 78; cf. McClure and Rollason 2007c:270; Forssner 1916:195); Latin personal names: Adam, Christian (twice), Clarice and Paul (McClure and Rollason 2007b:187, 192 and 207; Reaney 1967:133).

The specific in the inversion-compound *Rongainer*, *Run-*, *Rongayner* (13th c.) is either a byname/surname derived from ME *gainere* (< Old French *gāaignëor*) ‘farmer’ or the noun underlying the byname/surname (*PNWe* ii:187; cf. *MED*: s.v. gaineier, n.; cf. Reaney and Wilson 2005 s.v. Gayner, Gaynor).

<sup>293</sup> ME *pie* ‘magpie’ is derived by *OED* (s.v. pie, n.1) from OE *pyge* (<Lat. *pica*) with subsequent reinforcement by the Romance form; OE *pyge* only occurs in a transcript of a now-lost manuscript in a glossary entry reading ‘Pica, pyge the is on englisc Aguster’ (Ker 1957:470–71). ME *place* ‘open space’ is similarly derived by *OED* (s.v. place, n.1) as reflecting both Medieval Latin *platea* ‘square, public square, market-place’, borrowed into OE as (Northumbrian) *plæce*, *plæse*, and Anglo-Norman and Old French *place*, with the latter reinforcing the former. ME *butte* and *castel* are discussed in Chapter Three.

whether the words existed or would have been used in place-names without Anglo-Norman/Old French influence on the language. Others are words which are well-attested in ME but their etymology is obscure and the decision to class them as ME reflects the fact that their source-language cannot be pinned down with any certainty.<sup>294</sup> One word, ME *bigging* ‘building’, is probably a ME formation based on a verb borrowed from Scandinavian, ME *biggen* (<ON *byggja*) rather than ON *bygging*, *bygning*, which seems to develop only in the later medieval period in Scandinavia and, initially, to have had a different meaning (VEPN: s.v. bigging; OED: s.v. bigging, n. and big, v.1).<sup>295</sup> In a couple of cases, elements classified in the *Survey* volume as ME have been classified instead as OE.<sup>296</sup> The elements classified as ME in *PNWe*

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<sup>294</sup> ME *bur-tre* ‘elder-tree’ is of obscure etymology (VEPN: s.v. bur-tre; OED: s.v. bourtree, n.).

ME *crabbe* ‘crab apple’ has been explained as either a reflex of a Scandinavian form (cf. Swedish dialect *skrabba* ‘wild apple’, thought to be the etymon of Scots and Northern *scrab* ‘crab-apple’) or from OE *crabba* ‘crab’ in a transferred sense also represented by ModE *crabbed* ‘perverse, contrary’ (OED: s.vv. ‘crab, n.1, crab, n.2, crabbed, adj. and scrab, n.1; MED: s.v. crab(b)(e), n.2).

ME *cragge* is discussed below in the discussion of possible Goidelic elements. ME *poke* ‘a bag’ might derive from Anglo-Norman/Old French, or from a Germanic etymon of the Romance form, which has English and Scandinavian cognates (OED: s.vv. poke, n.1 and pouch, n.).

Rest Dod is analysed as perhaps containing ME *rest* ‘rest, resting place’ in *PNWe* (ii:217), although the identification is uncertain. Although OE *rest*, *ræst* is well attested in OE (OED: s.v. rest, n.1), the element could alternatively be one of the Romance-derived forms meaning ‘act of stopping’ and ‘remainder’ (OED s.v. rest, n.2 and rest, n.3).

<sup>295</sup> *ONP*’s citations (s.v. bygging) show that the word was used in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts but only with the sense ‘cultivation, inhabitation’ and ‘leasing of land’ and, in the fifteenth century, ‘construction work’. The element does not seem to be used in Norwegian or Danish place-names (*NG*; *DS*).

<sup>296</sup> ME *dodde* has been analysed as OE *\*dod*, *\*dud* ‘rounded hill’ as the element may occur earlier in other place-names, including some of those conventionally derived from an OE personal name *Dodda* (cf. Watts 2004: s.v. Doddington; Fellows-Jensen 1996).



but as indistinguishable in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms here (ME *folden*, *in-gang*, *potte*, and what could be ME *stark* or a derived byname) are discussed further in Chapter Two. Finally, four instances of present participles in the corpus are difficult to classify as they could be formed on OE, Scandinavian (and in one case Middle Dutch) roots but are all characteristically ME participial forms; here, they have been classified as ME.<sup>297</sup>

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A byname ME *Crisp* ‘curly-haired’ seems to derive from OE *crispa* (< Lat. *crispus*) recorded as an adjective in OE (*TDOE*: s.v. *cirps*, *crisp*; *OED* s.v. *crisp*, adj.) and may occur as a byname in S235 (688 (12th c.)) if the personal name *Criswa* is a misreading of <Crispa> (S235).

<sup>297</sup> The names *Stupandestane* (Shap, 12th c.), *Ringand(e)keld(e)* (Shap, 12th c.) and *Claterandsker* (Shap, 13th c.) all show the characteristically northern Middle English form of the present participle ending (cf. ON *-andi* and OE *-ende*). However, *Standinstayn* (Crosby Ravensworth, 13th c.) appears to show the southern Middle English form *-inde* or *-inge* (cf. OE *-ende*). Three of the participles could formally be based on OE- or Scandinavian-derived forms, cf. OE *stūpian* ‘to stoop’ and ON *stúpa* ‘to stoop’, OE *hringan* ‘to ring’ and ON *hringja* ‘to ring bells’, and OE *standan* ‘to stand’ and ON *standa* ‘to stand’ (*OED* s.vv. *ring*, v.1, *stoop*, v.1 and *stand*, v.). The derivation of ME *clateren* is slightly more complex. ME *claterand* may be of native, Scandinavian (cf. ON *klatr* n. ‘a clatter’ and NNorw *klatra* ‘to knock’) or Dutch origin (*VEPN*: s.vv. *clater* and *clatering*; *OED* s.vv. *clatter*, n.1 and *clatter*, v.; *MED*: s.v. *clateren*).

## Results

### *Different Elements by Century*

Numbers of different elements occurring by century of the names' first attestation are as follows:<sup>298</sup>

Different Elements	OE	ON	OE/ON	Goid.	Britt.	ME	Total Elements	Ratio OE:ON
12th c.	9	28	22	4	0	6	69	24:76
13th c.	66	68	66	5	3	18	226	49:51
14th c.	47	41	37	2	0	16	143	53:47
15th c.	26	20	33	1	0	18	98	57:43
All Names	112	95	93	9	3	47	359	54:46
% of Elements	31	26	26	3	1	13		

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<sup>298</sup> Excluding obscure elements.

*All Elements by Century*

Numbers of elements occurring by century of the names' first attestation are as follows:<sup>299</sup>

All Elements	OE	ON	OE/ON	Goid.	Britt.	ME	Total Elements	Ratio OE:ON
12th c.	11	39	35	5	0	6	96	22:78
13th c.	96	158	188	8	3	29	482	38:62
14th c.	77	99	84	4	0	24	288	44:56
15th c.	31	36	47	1	0	21	136	46:54
All Names	215	332	354	18	3	80	1002	39:61
% of Elements	21	33	35	2	0	8		
Recurrent Elements	39	44						47:53

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<sup>299</sup> Excluding obscure elements.

*Different Elements by Parish*

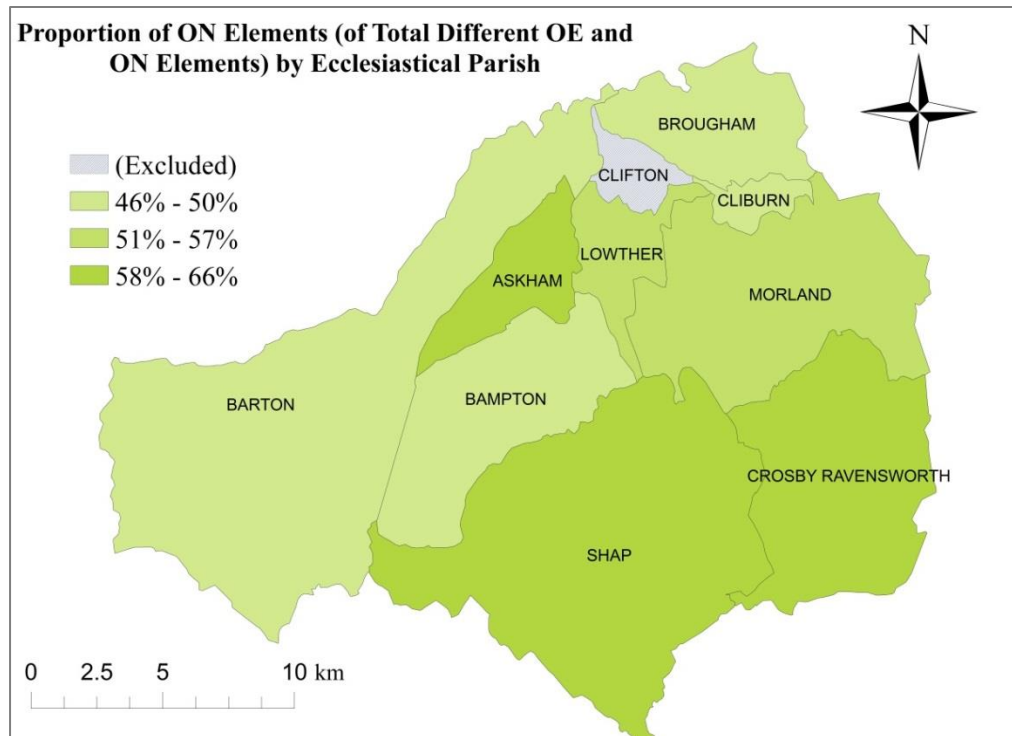
The following table shows the total numbers of different elements occurring for all languages used in the area's minor names by ecclesiastical parish:

Ecclesiastical Parish	OE	ON	OE/ON	Goid.	Britt.	ME	Total Elements	Ratio OE:ON
Askham	9	13	11	0	1	2	36	41:59
Bampton	28	28	27	1	0	6	90	50:50
Barton	25	25	27	5	0	12	94	50:50
Brougham	13	13	16	0	0	8	50	50:50
Cliburn	29	25	22	2	0	7	85	54:46
Clifton	1	4	2	1	0	0	8	20:80
Crosby Ravensworth	11	21	24	1	0	3	60	34:66
Lowther	24	29	39	2	1	10	105	45:55
Morland	16	18	16	1	0	3	54	47:53
Shap	20	26	29	2	1	12	90	43:57

*All Elements by Parish*

The following table shows the total numbers of elements occurring for all languages used in the area's minor names by ecclesiastical parish:

Ecclesiastical Parish	OE	ON	OE/ON	Goid.	Britt.	ME	Total Elements	Ratio OE:ON
Askham	9	14	15	0	1	2	41	39:61
Bampton	34	41	51	1	0	9	136	45:55
Barton	30	38	43	6	0	15	132	44:56
Brougham	15	22	22	0	0	12	71	41:59
Cliburn	40	49	41	2	0	7	139	45 :55
Clifton	1	4	2	1	0	0	8	20 :80
Crosby Ravensworth	15	34	35	1	0	4	89	31:69
Lowther	31	58	69	4	1	16	179	35:65
Morland	17	26	28	1	0	3	75	40:60
Shap	23	46	48	2	1	12	132	33:67



Shapefile: GBHGIS1951 [edited by the author]

### *The Proportion and Distribution of Scandinavian Place-Name Elements*

A far greater proportion of the place-name elements occurring in the corpus of minor names from the West Ward are identifiably Scandinavian than in the corpus of minor names from Wirral. In the West Ward, Scandinavian-derived words account for nearly half of the different elements of English or Scandinavian origin, and account for 95 out of the 359 different place-name elements found (26% of the different elements occurring). (In Wirral, 11% of the different elements were identifiably Scandinavian.) When the material is analysed by ecclesiastical parish (and Clifton, for which very few medieval minor names are included in *PNWe*, is excluded from consideration), the percentage of the different elements used that are identifiably Scandinavian out of all the vocabulary that is either of OE or Scandinavian origin is everywhere between 46% and 66%. Unlike Wirral, there is not a marked difference in the proportions of Scandinavian vocabulary in different areas, although the proportion of Scandinavian vocabulary is particularly high in Crosby Ravensworth.

The proportions of Scandinavian vocabulary used in this corpus of Westmorland minor names are as high as any of those from existing studies that have quantified the Scandinavian contribution to minor name vocabulary (see map in Conclusion). The proportion of the minor name vocabulary in use which is of Scandinavian origin falls somewhere between the proportions of Scandinavian elements from the areas of Lincolnshire investigated by Cameron (1973, Dunholme) and Hald (1948, Benniworth): the levels of Scandinavian vocabulary from the West Ward tend to be slightly higher than in Dunholme but only Crosby Ravensworth has a proportion of Scandinavian vocabulary as high as Benniworth.

### *Scandinavian Inflexions*

Whilst there is no secure evidence in the Wirral corpus for the preservation of Scandinavian inflexions, two of the names from the Westmorland corpus preserve distinctively Scandinavian inflexions (as does one of the major names, Winderwath). One name seem to show a Scandinavian genitive singular in *-ar*, *Herterkelde* (recorded in the twelfth century)<sup>300</sup> and one name has a Scandinavian plural inflexion, *Whelter* (*Quilt'*, *Quilter* 1366).<sup>301</sup> That these names have Scandinavian inflexions implies that they were given in ON, and consequently they must survive from a period when ON was still spoken in the area. The number of Westmorland names with distinctively Scandinavian inflexions does not seem particularly impressive at first glance. However, the preservation of distinctively Scandinavian inflexions also appears to be rare in other quantitative minor name studies. For instance, Cameron (1973) identified just one Scandinavian inflexion in his corpus of seventy-five names.

Slightly different is the use of the Scandinavian present participle ending *-andi* in three names from Westmorland, *Claterandsker* (1279), *Ringand(e)keld(e)* (12th c., 1578) and *Stupandestane* (1235). These names all use the typically northern ME form of the present participle, which is

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<sup>300</sup> ON *hjortr* 'hart' (gen.sg. *hjortar*) and ON *kelda* 'spring'.

<sup>301</sup> ON *hvilft* (nom.pl. *hvilftar*) 'a hollow'.

generally interpreted as a borrowing from Scandinavian (e.g. Horobin and Smith 2002:117). Consequently, in these names the ending could have been a borrowing into English and need not imply that the names developed when Scandinavian was spoken in the area. As detailed above, all three of the verbs found in these names could formally be either English or Scandinavian, we cannot be certain whether the ending is a borrowing or not here.

### *Scandinavianisation of non-Scandinavian elements*

The greater levels of lexical and inflexional borrowing in the Westmorland corpus are accompanied by a greater level of borrowing of Scandinavian phonological material in the Westmorland corpus than in Wirral. There are two names where Scandinavianisation of English vocabulary by replacement of English phones with their Scandinavian cognates seems to have taken place. In Eastward (*Esforth* 13th c.; *PNWe* ii:194) a dental stop seems to have been replaced by a fricative in OE *ford* (cf. (with different ablaut grade) ON *fjǫrðr*; *OED*: s.v. *ford*, n.1). In *le Skouilbrad* (14th c.; *PNWe* ii:187) /ʃ/ (found initially in OE even before back-vowels) has been replaced by /sk/ in OE *\*scofl-brædu* (cf. OE *scip*, ON *skip*; cf. Hogg 1992: §7.17(4)).

In other names, it is more problematic to pin down whether elements have been Anglicised or Scandinavianised. Thus, the specifics of the early forms of Sceugh (*Medil Scogh* 15th c.; *PNWe* ii:196) and of The Knott (*Medilknott* 13th c.; *PNWe* ii:219) could, as in a couple of examples from Wirral, be OE *middle* with vocalic influence from ON *meðal* (as the names were analysed in this study); however, it is alternatively possible that the lexeme is of Scandinavian origin with the OE consonant influencing the Scandinavian form. Similarly, the specific of Goodcroft (*Gothescrofft* 15th c.), interpreted as the byname ME *Gōde* by *PNWe* (ii:174), could be either (frequently recorded) OE *Goda* (cf. *PASE*: s.vv. *Goda* 1–25) or, perhaps less likely, ON *goði* or *góði*, frequently used as bynames in Scandinavia (*ONP* s.v. *goði*; Lind 1920–21: s.v. *Góði*). The element was classified as indistinguishable here, but if it is OE *Gōda*, then a dental stop has been replaced by a fricative.

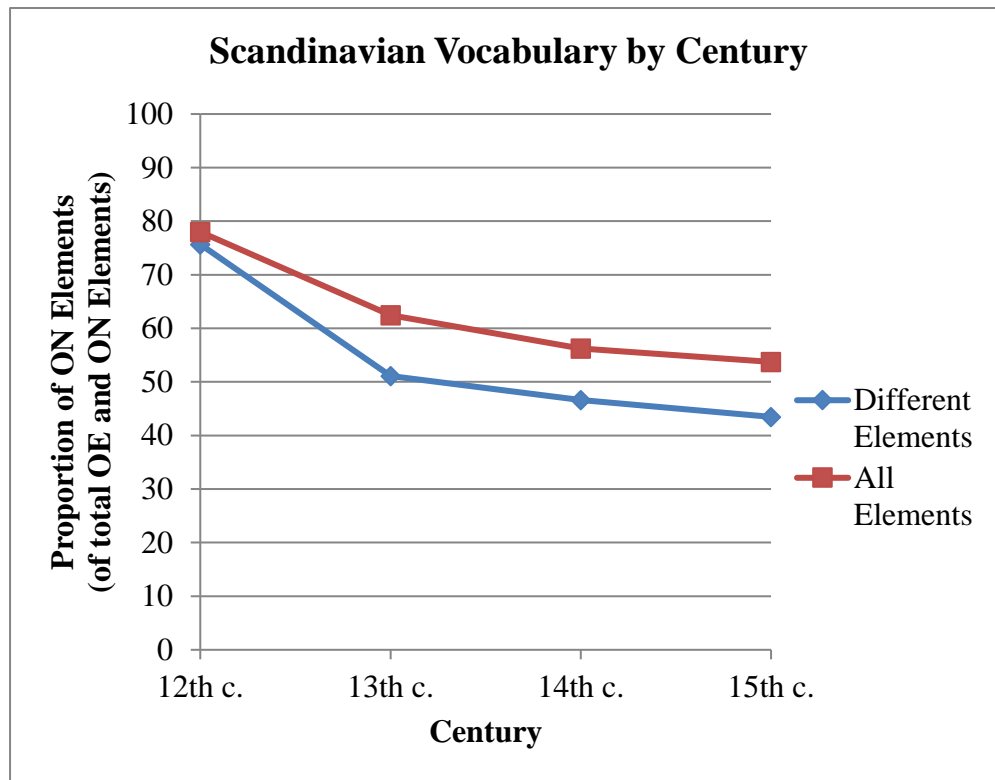


## *Analysis*

### *Overview*

Unlike in Wirral, the evidence for Scandinavian genetic and cultural influence, and linguistic influence on major names, is accompanied by a substantial Scandinavian contribution to the vocabulary used in the West Ward's medieval microtoponymy. It was argued in Chapter Three that the low Scandinavian contribution to Wirral's medieval minor name vocabulary when compared with major names might partly be explained by the chronological remove between the two types of names. In the West Ward, there is also a chronological divide between the dates at which major and minor names are recorded but it is not so great. It was noted above that the overwhelming majority of the West Ward's major names are not recorded until the twelfth or thirteenth century so they are later recorded as a group than Wirral's major names. However, fifty-three of the West Ward minor names are first recorded in the twelfth century (compared with four in Wirral) meaning the minor names as a group are earlier recorded in the West Ward than in Wirral.

The fact that the minor names from the West Ward are slightly earlier recorded may be one factor contributing to the higher levels of Scandinavian vocabulary in use in the West Ward. When considered by the century in which names are first recorded (see chart below), it can be seen that the proportion of Scandinavian- and OE-derived elements declines from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, with a slighter decline thereafter. There are relatively few elements occurring in names first recorded in the twelfth century (sixty-nine different elements, ninety-six elements including repeats), so it is possible that the twelfth-century figures are less reliable than those for later centuries. However, despite the possible decline in Scandinavian-derived vocabulary by the thirteenth century, Scandinavian-derived vocabulary continued to account for approximately half of the words of secure English or Scandinavian origin.



Unlike the Wirral minor name corpus, the proportions of all elements and different elements of Scandinavian origin are relatively similar, and the proportion of elements of Scandinavian origin is higher when repeated elements are considered than when only different elements are considered. In Chapter Three, it was argued that the reverse situation in Wirral (where the proportion of elements of Scandinavian origin was higher when distinct elements were considered than when repeated elements were considered) was perhaps explicable by the survival of a small number of names from a period when a more diverse range of Scandinavian toponymic elements were in use, whereas by the later medieval period the Scandinavian elements used in new names were more restricted. This does not seem to be the case in the West Ward, where the higher proportion of Scandinavian elements when repeated elements are considered appears to indicate that Scandinavian toponymic elements continued to play a significant part in the local toponymicon at a period closer to that when the names were first recorded. However, the lower proportions of Scandinavian-derived vocabulary seen when recurrent elements only are considered suggests that some Scandinavian-derived elements are

occurring very frequently, boosting the proportions of elements when repeats are included considerably.

The continued use of significant levels of Scandinavian vocabulary in the West Ward can be related to two pieces of evidence suggesting the survival of the Scandinavian language into the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Cumbria: the place-name Windermere and the longer of the Carlisle runic inscriptions, both discussed above. In the light of this evidence, it is likely (but impossible to prove) that a higher proportion of the West Ward's minor names than Wirral's minor names were formed when Scandinavian was still spoken in the area, particularly given the earlier date of the West Ward corpus as a whole.

The evidence considered so far in this chapter has been interrogated in order to ascertain the size of the Scandinavian contribution to the area's microtoponymic vocabulary, and has begun to consider what this can tell us, by considering the significance of dating in affecting levels of Scandinavian vocabulary used. The remaining part of this chapter assesses how Scandinavian influence on the West Ward's microtoponymy relates to influence on toponymy elsewhere in England, and to Scandinavian influence on English lexis. As in Chapter Three, this is carried out through case-studies of selected elements. Scandinavian personal names in the corpus are considered first, followed by other place-name elements. However, the assessment is structured slightly differently. There are several Scandinavian elements that are repeated several times; these are all examined, albeit in less detail than in the case-studies. There are then a series of case-studies, predominantly focussing on the less frequently used elements, but including a couple of the more frequently used elements. As in Wirral, the selection of elements was made in part to address some of the questions about Scandinavian linguistic and cultural influence in Cumbria outlined above, namely whether it predominantly involved East or West Scandinavian speakers, and whether Goidelic influence is to be associated with Scandinavian influence.

### *Scandinavian Personal Names*

Thirty-two of the minor names are interpreted here as having personal names as specifics.<sup>302</sup> Five Scandinavian personal names are suggested to occur amongst the West Ward field names in *PNWe*, Grímr, Móðir, \*Nenninn, Þórir and \*Singulfr/\*Singull; however, as noted in Chapter Three, Grímr is impossible to distinguish from OE Grīm and the occurrence of ON \*Singulfr is very doubtful, as discussed below.<sup>303</sup> Two of the remaining three names are fairly well recorded elsewhere in England. Scandinavian Móðir, which is apparently best-recorded in Danish sources, is recorded in an early-twelfth-century section of the Durham *Liber Vitae* as the name of the wife of one Tófi (itself a characteristically Danish name) and occurs in the place-name Motherby, Cumberland (*PNCu*:198; Insley and Rollason 2007b:230). ON Þórir, Þóri occurs in several place-names, in numerous post-Conquest Lincolnshire and Yorkshire records, and in several Viking-Age runic inscriptions in Scandinavia (Fellows-Jensen 1968:307–09; Peterson 2007: s.v. ÞōriR/ÞūriR). However, the personal name \*Nenninn, suggested by Ekwall (1918:38) to derive from a byname based on ON *nenninn* ‘active’ (not recorded in prose but recorded at least twelve times in skaldic verse).<sup>304</sup> The element is suggested (alongside alternatives, including a Scandinavian form of the saint’s name Ninian) to occur in a couple of Norwegian place-names, Nenningsland, Vest-Agder (*Neningland* 1594; *NG* ix:231) and Linnesholm, Vestfold (*Ninningβholm* 1574–77; *NG* vi:381). The existence of the name, and so its occurrence in the West Ward corpus, is thus very uncertain.

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<sup>302</sup> Additionally, the specific in *Ulvegile* (12th c.; *PNWe* ii:149) could be a personal name Ulfr, apparently the brother of the William who witnessed the deed, but medial <e> may suggest the genitive plural of the noun *ulfr* ‘wolf’.

<sup>303</sup> The names are: *Croftgrime* [lost], Lowther (*Crofte(s)grime* 13th c.), *Modersike* (13th c.) Newby, Fitnenin [lost] (*Fithnenin* 12th c.), *Thoresdale* (13th c.) Martindale and *Senglestain* (12th c.) Patterdale (*PNWe* ii:139, 148, 184, 220 and 228).

<sup>304</sup> *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages* (<<https://abdn.ac.uk/skaldic/db.php>>; accessed 19/12/2014).

The occurrence of \*Singulf in *Senglestain* (12th c.) is even more uncertain and is not accepted here as an alternative etymology is possible. The name is not recorded in ON sources (*PNWe* ii:228), but it (or \*Singull) is thought to occur in some Norwegian place-names, for instance Singsaker, (*af Singulsakre* 1430–40; *NG* xiv:344) and Singsås, Sør-Trøndelag (*Ssynoss* 1489 but *Singillsaas* 1559; *NG* xiv:228) and a lost name *Singulshaugr* in Manger (Hordaland), dated only to ‘the Middle Ages’ by *NG* (xiv:228). *NG* notes (vii:1) that Singulf is recorded as an Old German personal name. However, an alternative possibility is that the element in the Westmorland name (and perhaps also in the Norwegian names)<sup>305</sup> is instead a noun related to ModE *shingle* ‘small roundish stones’, only recorded outside place-names from the late sixteenth century but thought to occur in a few early-recorded place-names (*OED* s.v. *shingle*, n.2).<sup>306</sup> The element’s origin is disputed. Comments in *PNEss* (p. 19) indicate that the element had been viewed as a Scandinavian loanword and *OED* (s.v. *shingle*, n.2) noted that the word’s relationship with Norw. *sing(e)l* ‘coarse sand, small stones’ and North Frisian *singel* ‘large gravel’ was unclear. However, *NG* (xi:177) derived the Norwegian word from English, and *NO* (s.v. 1. *singel*), significantly noting the existence of a compound *singelstein*, suggested borrowing from Dutch. The word could feasibly have existed in both OE and Low German and have been borrowed into certain Scandinavian dialects from Dutch during the High Middle Ages. However, in light of the reasonably early examples of the

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<sup>305</sup> Indeed, an element \**singla*, \**single* is suggested for two Danish place-names, Singelsvad, Svendborg Amt (*Singels wod* 1576; *DS* xv:58) and Singlehøj, Bornholm, where there are apparently pebbles (*Single høye* 1720; *DS* x:27).

<sup>306</sup> Chingford, Essex (*Cingeford* 1042–66 [12th c.], *Chingelford* 1242–1349; Watts 2004 s.n. Chingford), where there is a ford and gravelly soil, probably contains the element, which seems to appear as reflexes of both OE \**cingel* and \**singel*, despite the different etymology offered in *PNEss*. (*PNEss* (18–19) derives the name from OE \**cægingaford*, ‘the ford of the dwellers by the stumps’ but this etymology is based on the evidence of a single thirteenth-century form (Watts 2004: s.n. Chingford).) Further, *PNBu* (p. 69) notes the continued existence of gravel quarries at Shelspit on the edge of Shingleborough (*Sincleberia* 1086, *Singlebergh* 1152–58; *PNBu*:69).

element in Norwegian place-names, it would perhaps be unwise to rule out the existence of the element in North Germanic, and the element has been classified as of indistinguishable English or Scandinavian origin here.

There are, then, only two names interpreted as containing Scandinavian personal names that are at all well recorded elsewhere in England or indeed Scandinavia. However, it should be noted that the variety of English personal names found in the corpus is not much greater consisting only of the names Aldred, Ægen, Cirsp/Crips, Leofwine and Oda. Unlike in Wirral, there is no external evidence with which to compare the proportions of personal names occurring in the minor-name corpus. It is evident from the total number of names occurring that there are slightly fewer personal names relative to the number of minor names investigated than in Wirral, which may partly be explained by different agricultural arrangements in the areas.<sup>307</sup> However, unlike Wirral, where more than half the personal names were either of OE or Scandinavian origin, most of the West Ward personal names are neither English- nor Scandinavian-derived. Six names are of Goidelic origin and are discussed further below; fifteen (including three repeated names) are of ME origin (see above), one is Brittonic (Ouien) and three could be English- or Scandinavian-derived (OE/ON Grīm/Grīmr, OE/ON Hræfn/Hrafn and OE/ON Gōða/goði). Bearing these other names in mind, the low numbers of both English- and Scandinavian-derived personal names can be explained in part by the not insignificant contribution of Goidelic to the area's personal nomenclature, and in part by the higher number of ME (Continental Germanic and Latin origin) personal names in use.

#### *Elements occurring five times or more*

In this section, all elements occurring more than five times in the corpus are considered. In order to assess whether the frequent use of these elements in

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<sup>307</sup> Some Wirral personal names are compounded with elements perhaps related to divided arable fields (OE/ON *æcer/akr*, OE/ON *\*healf-land/\*half-land* and OE *tilð*); these elements are not compounded with personal names in the West Ward corpus.

the West Ward reflects their wider borrowing into ME, the elements occurrences have been checked in *MED* and *OED*. There is then a consideration of the languages of the names that the elements are used in, followed by an in-depth consideration of some of the elements in place-names from across England.

Element	No. occurrences	Borrowed into English?
<i>flat</i>	25	Yes. First non-onomastic attestation c.1400 ( <i>OED</i> : s.v. flat, adj., adv., and n.3).
<i>banke</i>	22	Yes. First non-onomastic attestation ?c.1200 ( <i>OED</i> : s.v. banke. n.1).
<i>gil</i>	20	Yes. First non-onomastic attestation 15th c. ( <i>MED</i> : s.v. gil, n.1; attestations mainly northern and north Midlands).
<i>kelda</i>	20	Borrowed into northern dialects; first non-onomastic attestation 18th c. ( <i>OED</i> : s.v. keld, n.2).
<i>bekkr</i>	15	Borrowed into northern dialects; first non-onomastic attestation a. 1400 ( <i>MED</i> : s.v. bek, n.1).
<i>holmr</i>	14	Yes. First non-onomastic attestations 13th c. ( <i>MED</i> : s.v. holm(e, n.1). <sup>308</sup>
<i>mýrr</i>	14	Yes. First non-onomastic attestation a. 1300 ( <i>OED</i> : s.v. mire, n.1).
<i>þveit</i>	12	Borrowed into certain dialects; first attestation 1628 in <i>OED</i> (s.v. thwait(e n.)), although a vernacular usage might be reflected in a twelfth-century Latin text (discussed below).
<i>steinn</i>	11	Northern and Scottish variant of <i>stone</i> ( <i>OED</i> : s.v. stone; <i>MED</i> : s.v. stōn, n.)
<i>eng</i>	10	Borrowed into certain dialects; recorded in non-onomastic usages from the 15th c. ( <i>OED</i> : s.v. ing, n.; <i>MED</i> : s.v. eng, n.).
<i>skáli</i>	10	Borrowed into northern ME ( <i>MED</i> 's examples (s.v. scale, n.3) are from Cursor Mundi (14th c.) and texts concerning a monastery at Tynemouth (1291)).



<i>slakki</i>	9	Borrowed into Northern, Scottish, and Midlands dialects; first non-onomastic attestation c.1400 ( <i>OED</i> : s.v. slack, n.1; <i>MED</i> : s.v. slak n.2.).
<i>vað</i>	7	Borrowed into certain dialects; first non-onomastic attestation 15th c. ( <i>MED</i> : s.v. wath, n.).

A check of the *MED* and *OED* entries for these elements has suggested that the majority of the fourteen elements occurring five times or more in the West Ward's minor names were borrowed into ME, some used widely in the ME and modern periods (*banke*, *flat*, *gil*, *holmr* and *mýrr*) and some apparently restricted to northern and north midlands dialects (*bekkr*, *eng*, *gil*, *slakki*, *skáli* and *vað*). Two elements (*kelda* and *þveit*) are first attested either very late or only uncertainly in the ME period, although a vernacular usage of *þveit* seems to be preserved in a twelfth-century charter (surviving in a fourteenth-century copy) in favour of Carlisle Priory (but this is probably not a Scandinavian plural form as has been claimed).<sup>309</sup> However, the Modern English quotations given by *OED* for *keld* and *thwaite* do not imply widespread currency of the terms. *Thwaite* occurs in seventeenth-century records, once in a passage explaining the meaning of legal terms in Coke's *Institutes of the Lawes of*

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<sup>308</sup> Late OE instances that may instead be Scandinavian place-names are discussed in Chapter Two.

<sup>309</sup> ON *þveit* in the charter, published in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1817–30 vi:144), was identified by Lindkvist (1912:97) in a passage concerning land at Ireby, Cumberland which Dugdale had read *Langethweit, et Stalethweit, et alios Thweiter qui pertinent ad Langethwest* [sic]. Lindekvist (1912:97), and after him Smith (1956: s.v. þveit) and Fellows-Jensen (1996:104), interpreted this as a reflex of the ON nom./acc.pl. *þveitar*. However, Dugdale's edition of this charter has been described as 'corrupt in several particulars' by later editors who read the passage as *alios thweites* (Wilson and Bewley 1903:246–49). Without sight of the text, it is uncertain that the more recent reading is to be preferred; however, the plausible confusion of <s> and <r> graphs and the discrepancies in readings mean that, whilst the passage does probably reflect an underlying nominal use of *þveit*, it is doubtful that this passage contains a Scandinavian inflexion.

*England* and in Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1670) where the entry derives from the same passage; later entries suggest restriction to northern England (*OED*: s.v. *thwait(e n.)*). Similarly, *OED*'s citations for *keld* occur in place-names, works on northern dialects and in a collection of children's stories written by a Cleveland vicar who also published a work on Cleveland dialect (*OED*: s.v. *keld*, n.2; Atkinson 1891:203; cf. Atkinson 1868). Overall, then, the elements occurring five times or more were all borrowed into ME although some remained restricted to northern dialects.

### Borrowed vocabulary or Scandinavian place-names?

As outlined above, there are only a handful of distinctively Scandinavian inflexional endings preserved in the Westmorland corpus so this is not particularly helpful as a criterion for deciding which language a name was given in. Instead, in order to estimate which of the elements were borrowed into the local onomastic dialect and which might only have been used in Scandinavian names, the other elements in compounds containing common Scandinavian elements are considered in the following section. This can only be a rough approximation, however, as there are many elements which are indistinguishable in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms, and as it is possible that English vocabulary was borrowed into Scandinavian in the area, as indeed seems to be the case with the name Windermere (Insley 2005).

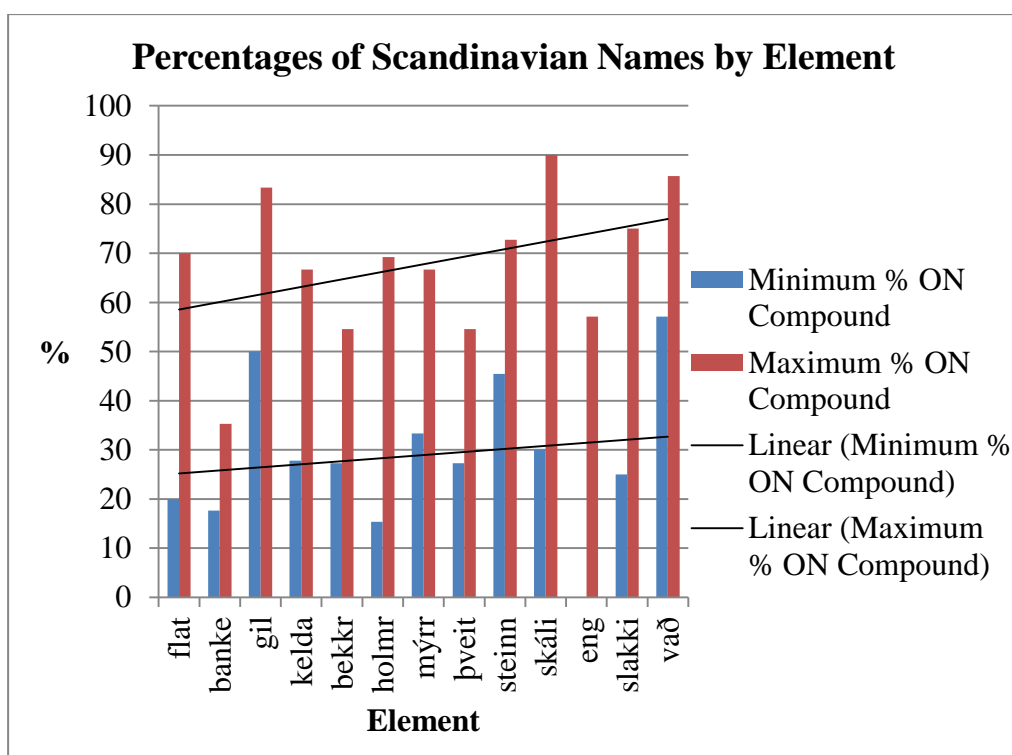
Table One below shows the positions where the Scandinavian elements discussed here occur in the names. In Table Two, the languages of other elements in the names where these elements occur is detailed, but names where the Scandinavian element is considered to have been affixed to an existing name, for instance Greystone Brow (*Graystone flatt* 14th c.) are excluded. In Table Three, the minimum and maximum percentages of the names containing common Scandinavian elements that are entirely of Scandinavian origin are shown. The minimum figures show only names that are simplex names and names where both elements are of Scandinavian origin (personal names ultimately of Scandinavian origin are not included here, since these need not be indicative of Scandinavian language). The maximum

figures include, additionally, elements compounded with elements that could be either English or Scandinavian and personal names.

<b>Table One: Element Position</b>					
<b>Element</b>	<b>Simplex</b>	<b>Specific</b>	<b>Generic</b>	<b>Affix</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>flat</i>	0	0	20	5	25
<i>banke</i>	1	0	16	5	22
<i>gil</i>	3	0	15	2	20
<i>kelda</i>	1	2	15	2	20
<i>bekkr</i>	2	0	9	4	15
<i>holmr</i>	2	0	11	1	14
<i>mýrr</i>	1	0	8	5	14
<i>þveit</i>	0	0	11	1	12
<i>steinn</i>	0	7	4	0	11
<i>skáli</i>	0	5	5	0	10
<i>eng</i>	0	1	6	3	10
<i>slakki</i>	1	1	6	1	9
<i>vað</i>	0	0	7	0	7

Table Two: Language of other element in compound (occurrences as affixes excluded)									
Element	OE/ON	ON	Ø [simplex]	Pers.n.	OE	ME	Goid.	Other	Total
<i>flat</i>	8	4	0	2	4	1	1	0	<b>20</b>
<i>banke</i>	3	2	1	0	4	5	0	2	<b>17</b>
<i>gil</i>	6	6	3	0	2	0	0	1	<b>18</b>
<i>kelda</i>	5	4	1	2	4	1	1	0	<b>18</b>
<i>bekkr</i>	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	5	<b>11</b>
<i>holmr</i>	4	0	2	3	2	1	1	0	<b>13</b>
<i>mýrr</i>	3	2	1	0	1	0	0	2	<b>9</b>
<i>þveit</i>	3	3	0	0	3	0	1	1	<b>11</b>
<i>steinn</i>	3	5	0	0	1	1	0	1	<b>11</b>
<i>skáli</i>	4	3	0	2	0	0	0	1	<b>10</b>
<i>eng</i>	3	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	<b>7</b>
<i>slakki</i>	4	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	<b>8</b>
<i>vað</i>	2	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	<b>7</b>

Table Three			
Element	Total occurrences	Minimum % ON Compound (ON + Ø)	Maximum % ON Compound (ON+ Ø + OE/ON + pers.n.)
<i>flat</i>	20	20	70
<i>banke</i>	17	18	35
<i>gil</i>	18	50	83
<i>kelda</i>	18	28	67
<i>bekkr</i>	11	27	55
<i>holmr</i>	13	15	69
<i>mýrr</i>	9	33	67
<i>þveit</i>	11	27	55
<i>steinn</i>	11	45	73
<i>skáli</i>	10	30	90
<i>eng</i>	7	0	57
<i>slakki</i>	8	25	75
<i>vað</i>	7	57	86



Interpreting these percentages of Scandinavian names by element requires some consideration of the overall percentages of Scandinavian and possibly Scandinavian elements in the corpus. Of the 1002 elements found

(including repeated elements and personal names), 332 are Scandinavian-derived and 354 could be English- or Scandinavian-derived. This means that thirty-three per cent are certainly Scandinavian-derived (which can be compared with the 'Minimum % ON Compound' column in Table Three), and sixty-eight per cent could formally be Scandinavian-derived (which can be compared with the 'Maximum % ON Compound' column in Table Three). The percentages of the elements considered here occurring in possibly or entirely Scandinavian compounds is broadly comparable with the overall 'minimum' and 'maximum' figures for the percentage of Scandinavian elements found.

It might be expected that the percentage of the occurrences of elements occurring in entirely Scandinavian names would increase as the overall number of the occurrences of the elements in question decreased (i.e. that the most-frequently used elements might have been borrowed into local English dialects and so be compounded with elements derived from other languages). However, as can be seen when the elements are ranged in decreasing order of the number of times they occur and the percentages of entirely Scandinavian names plotted, there is only a slight trend in this direction. However, three elements, *gil*, *steinn* and *vað* occur in a greater percentage of entirely Scandinavian names than the other elements considered here. The numbers of occurrences are small, so this need not be significant. However, one might wonder whether the names of gills and fords, referring to significant topographical features and crossing points respectively, might be likely to survive for longer than some of the other features referred to and so whether more of these names might have been formed in ON. The early dates of recording of names containing ON *steinn* may be significant, as three names are recorded by the twelfth century, seven in the thirteenth century and only one in the fourteenth century. Otherwise, the Scandinavian elements occurring five times or more are generally no more likely to be compounded with other Scandinavian elements than would be expected were the other elements chosen more or less at random.

*Other Place-name Elements: Case-Studies*

The following elements occur fewer than seven times in the corpus of names from the West Ward (number of occurrences shown in parentheses):

*birki* (6), *garðr* (5), *trani* (5), *hegning* (4), *kirkja* (4), *knotttr* (4), *leirr* (4), *sætr* (4), *sker* (4), *skógr* (4), *tjörn* (4), *vrá* (4), *baun* (3), *blár* (3), *bónði* (2), *fjall* (3), *hveiti* (3), *kirkja* (3), *kjarr* (3), *sætr* (3), *\*gríma* (2), *broti* (2), *eik* (2), *elri* (2), *fit* (2/3), *gata* (2), *geil* (2), *hafri* (2), *kjarr* (2), *hlaða* (2), *hreysi* (2), *hveiti* (2), *karl* (2), *seila* (2), *svartr* (2), *vátr* (2), *vík* (2), *\*lopt-rann* (1), *almr* (1), *barn* (1), *bónði* (1), *breiðr* (1), *bý(r)* (1), *bygg-hús* (1), *?eið* (1), *fé-hús* (1), *gaukr* (1), *gildi-hús* (1), *gnípa* (1), *grár* (1), *gríss* (1), *haukr* (1), *heiðr* (1), *hellir* (1), *hesli* (1), *hjørtr* (1), *hogg* (1), *hvilft* (1), *jarl* (1), *kot-karl* (1), *kví/kvíga* (1), *lágr* (1), *lopt* (1), *meiri* (1), *meðal* (1), *melr* (1), *naddr* (1), *óss*, *ósi* (1), *rauðr* (1), *ruð* (1), *sæti* (1), *sel* (1), *set-berg* (1), *skalli* (1), *skarð* (1), *skati* (1), *skinnari* (1), *skjalf* (1), *skolli* (1), *sökk* (1), *steinung* (1), *tafl-borð* (1), *þréll* (1), *toft* (1), *troll* (1), *ulfr* (1), *fé-hús* (1), *vík* (1), *vreini* (1).

Place-name usages of certain elements have been investigated in more detail to shed light on how widely the elements were used and whether their areas of usage changed throughout the ME period. The method used was identical to that used in Chapter Three, i.e. toponymic instances of elements were collected from *Survey* volumes, which were searched electronically in most instances but indices alone were used where electronic versions were not available; examples from Lancashire were collected using the index to Ekwall (1922).<sup>310</sup>

For reasons of space, only a couple of the frequently used elements are investigated here, *skáli* and *slakki*. However, ME *banke* was discussed as one of the case-studies in Chapter Three, and reference will be made to this

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<sup>310</sup> The following volumes were not available electronically and have no index and so were not searched: *PND*o, *PNS*a (iv; other Shropshire volumes searched electronically).

discussion when considering what the case-studies reveal.<sup>311</sup> The frequently occurring elements considered therefore include two that have typically been seen as of West Scandinavian derivation (*slakki* and *skáli*) and one traditional seen as of East Scandinavian derivation (*banke*). (ON *runnr* was initially considered in a case-study, but upon closer investigation it was decided that the element could not securely be distinguished from native elements; see Chapter Two.)

A selection of the less frequently occurring elements was also investigated. In one case, the selection of elements was motivated by the desire to see whether the elements' somewhat uncertain identification could be refined (*kví* 'a pen' or *kvíga* 'a heifer') but otherwise there was no particular reason for element selection (*eið* 'neck of land, isthmus', *geil* 'ravine, narrow way', *hreyssi* 'cairn', *óss, ósi* 'river mouth, outlet of a lake', *tjörn* 'pond, tarn' and *troll* 'troll'). Additionally, ON *hegning* is discussed in Chapter Two.

#### ON *eið* 'neck of land, isthmus'

ON *eið*'s occurrence in the West Ward is uncertain. The *Survey* volume prefers the element, which occurs in the lost name Aisdale, Patterdale (*Aidesdale* 12th c.; *PNWe* ii:221), to the rare personal name Eiðr but acknowledges that there is no identifiable *eið*. Although not otherwise known in English place-names, the element was borrowed into Scottish Gaelic (Cox 1991:485). It also occurs in the Northern Isles, for instance the Orkney island name Eday (*Etheay* c.1475) where the island has a pronounced isthmus (Marwick 1952:48), and in the Faroes and Iceland (Waugh 2010).<sup>312</sup> The element occurs in Norwegian place-names but is only thought to occur once in Danish place-names considered by *DS*, in the island-name Masnedø, Præstø Amt (*Masnæth* 1231 [c.1300]; *DS* xvi:231; *NGi*:48). It has been suggested

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<sup>311</sup> Additionally, ON *holmr, holmi* is discussed briefly in Chapter Two.

<sup>312</sup> The element may occur in Manx place-names including Eye (Calf of Man), but an English origin is also possible for this name; other place-names where *eið* is a possibility are only recorded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Broderick 1994–2005:vi:372, 434, 464, 517 and 520).



that the element might have been used of isthmuses where portages took place, principally as many *eið*-names occur in suitable locations for portages, and the meaning ‘place where a journey was continued overland’ is known from Norwegian instances of *eið* (Waugh 2010; *NGi*:48; *NG* v:369; Sandnes and Stemshaug 2007:129–30). However, this need not rule out the application of *eið* to isthmuses where portages did not take place.<sup>313</sup> If indeed ON *eið*, the lack of other place-name or lexical evidence for the element in England means there is no other evidence for thinking the element was borrowed into English. The possible occurrence in the West Ward would either be in a name formed in ON or would indicate localised borrowing into English.

ON *geil* ‘a narrow ravine, a way, esp. a narrow lane’

ON *geil* is known from place-names from Norfolk and southern Derbyshire, but occurs predominantly in the Scandinavian Belt.<sup>314</sup> There is additionally a possible example from Lincolnshire (not mapped below due to the uncertainty; see Appendix). The element is related by ablaut to ON *gil* ‘a ravine’ (Smith 1956 s.v. *gil*; *OED* s.v. *gill*, n.2) and whether it earlier had the same meaning is uncertain. All lexical occurrences given by *MED* (s.v. *gil*, n.1) reflect ON *gil* and all citations reflecting *geil* are onomastic. The element has at various times been seen as a typically Norwegian element, particularly where meaning ‘a narrow passage, a narrow lane between houses’ (*PNYE*:25 and 286; *PNYW* vii:193). However, in place-name surveys of the North-West it is ascribed neither an East nor a West Scandinavian origin: it is glossed as ‘ravine, narrow valley’ in Lancashire (Ekwall 1922:10), as ‘ravine, cleft and narrow path’ in *PNCu* (475) and as ‘ravine, narrow way’ in *PNWe* (ii:254). These varying glosses reflect a possible east-west divide in the meaning of the term in England. In the East Riding examples (all York street-names) the element is

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<sup>313</sup> Besides the meanings ‘overland route between two lakes’ and ‘route alongside a waterfall’, Sandnes and Stemshaug (2007:129–30) give the meanings ‘side valley’ and ‘narrow isthmus’ for ON *eið*.

<sup>314</sup> It has also been suggested that the element might occur in Newgale, Pembrokeshire but early spellings of the generic (*-gal*, *-gol*, *-gyll*) do not greatly support this (cf. Owen and Morgan 2007: s.v. Newgale, Niwgw1).

replaced by or alternates with terms for streets (ON *gata*, OE *lane*, *lanu*), and in a couple of names from Acaster Malbis nearby in the West Riding the element is found in street names (see Appendix). However, in Cumberland, Lancashire, Westmorland and the North Riding of Yorkshire any alternation is instead with ON *gil* (see Appendix). The element is not used in, for instance, Carlisle street-names, where *gata*, *stræt* and *vennelle* seem particularly common and where most of the street-names are presumably a little later as much of the town dates from the later eleventh century (*PNCu*:47–49; Jones 1976; McCarthy 1994:544).

Scandinavian evidence might indicate a difference of meaning in West and East Scandinavian. ON *geil* is not recorded in medieval sources in street-names from Norway, but is used as a substantive of cattle-ways and other roads (Syvertsen 1997:56; *ONP*: s.v. *geil*, sb.). The element is thought to occur in this sense (or perhaps of cattle-ways with fences on both sides) in a number of Norwegian farm names including Gile, Vestfold (*i Gæilum*, *Gælum* c.1400; *NG* vi:181). The element also seems to occur in some Danish place-names. Most of these are only recorded in modern records but are noted by *DS* to be topographically appropriate names as the places are in or near ravines (cf. *DS* v:444, vi:47 and ix:245).<sup>315</sup> On the surface, there seem to be similarities in the use of the element between Denmark and the North-West and between Norway and the area round York.

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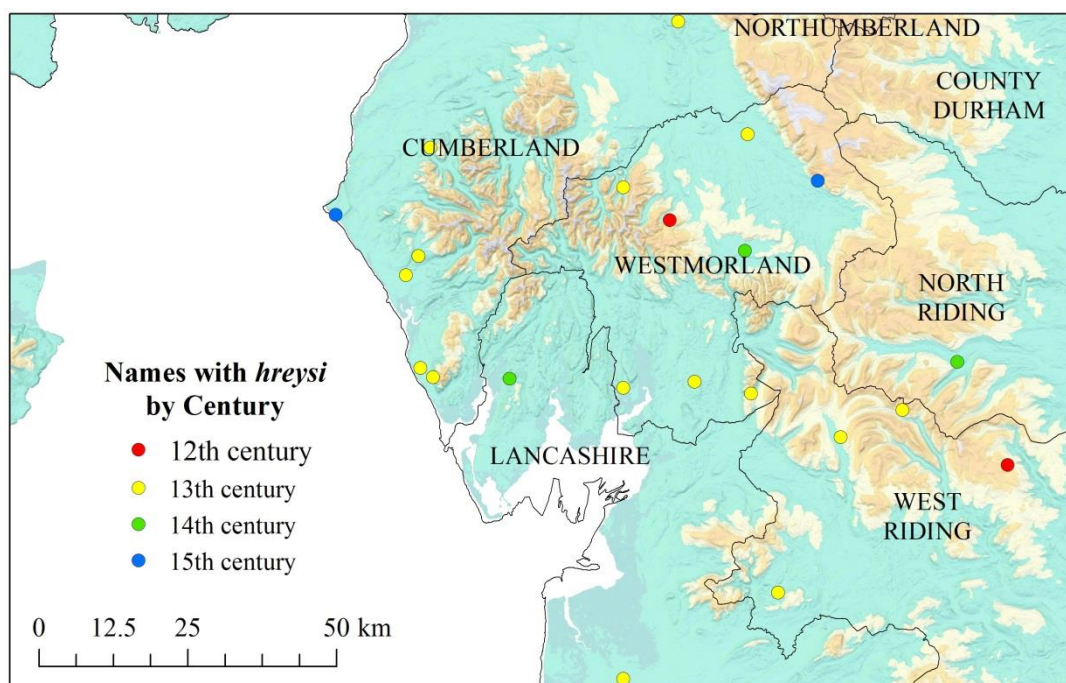
<sup>315</sup> E.g. Gelsted, Assensområdet (*Gelsted* 1380 [1572]; Kousgård Sørensen 1958:63–64) and Gelballe, Esbjergområdet (*Gielballe* 1498; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Gelballe).



a term borrowed from Norman French term, *vennelle*, in Carlisle). The lack of lexical evidence for a reflex of ON *geil* in English and the restriction of the element to areas of Scandinavian settlement, in York compounded with English elements, suggest that the term was only locally borrowed into English.

ON *hreyssi* ‘a cairn, a heap of stones’

The element *hreyssi* has a markedly north-western distribution in English place-names. This distribution is probably partly topographically determined: the element occurs frequently in upland areas (see map below). However, the occurrence of the element in lower-lying areas of the North-West, and the non-occurrence of the element in upland areas in Derbyshire or eastern Cheshire suggest the distribution is not solely determined by topographical factors and is partly dialectal. *OED*’s earliest citation (s.v. *raise*, n.2) is from the late seventeenth century, and all citations suggest the word was restricted to northern dialects.



Shapefile: GBHGIS1921; SRTM Data: JRNG2008

ON *hreyssi* is well recorded in Norwegian place-names, and occurs rarely in Danish place-names; the substantive survives in both Danish and

Norwegian (*ODS* s.v. *røse* 1.sb; *NO* s.v. 1. *røys*). Searching *DS* for Dan. *røse* yields a couple of instances of the element referring to cairns, Nordre Røse, Københavns Amt (*Røssen* 1690; *DS* xxii:83) and Røsehøj, Svendborg Amt (*Røssebjerg* 1682; *DS* xiii:139), one name where the element seems to alternate with a related word, Søndersø, Odense Amt (*Sundrus*, *Syndrøse* 1180 (1450–1500) ; *DS* xiv:224–25) and an uncertain occurrence in Røstofte (*Røstofæ* 1370–95; *DS* xvi:215).<sup>316</sup> The element is recorded in thirty farm names from central and southern Norway including Røysheim, Oppland (*a Ræysæimi* 1315; *NG* iv:61) and Røysing, Nord-Trøndelag (*af Røsinge* 1430–40; *NG* xv:223). Overall, ON *hreyssi* is a further element that seems to have been used in place-names and as a lexeme only in the North-West. The likelihood of more frequent usage in more mountainous areas, both in Scandinavia and in England, mean the element's north-western distribution need not solely reflect West Scandinavian influence, particularly as there is (limited) evidence for the element in Denmark.

ON *kví* 'a pen' / ON *kvíga* 'a heifer'

In order to consider how the occurrence of the element analysed as either ON *kví* or ON *kvíga* in the West Ward corpus in *Quypotte* (13th c., Shap; *PNWe* ii:181) fits into the wider pattern of the element's usage, it is first necessary to consider whether one of the suggested elements is to be preferred to the other. Despite being only rarely used in Shetland and only occurring once in *NG*, ON *kví* 'enclosure' (and its Scots borrowing *quoy*) is apparently the most frequent place-name element in Orkney place-names (Sandnes 2010:87–89; cf. *NG* xii:93). This could lend support to the interpretation of the specific, either *kví* or *kvíga*, in the Shap name *Quypotte* (13th c.; *PNWe* ii:181) as *kví*. However, differences in the names containing either *kví* or *kvíga* in England from those interpreted as containing *kví* in Orkney probably indicate that *kvíga* is to be preferred in the English names. In Orkney, *kví/quoy* occurs both as generic and specific, and occurrence as a generic (often in inverted word-order but

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<sup>316</sup> There are further instances of the element in a meaning 'underwater heap of stones' in late-recorded names (*DS* xxii:96).

where the final element is a personal name or adjective) or simplex is particularly common in Sandnes' material (2010:88, 138–140, 234–36 and 331–32). However, in the material from England so-called ON *kví* occurs exclusively as a specific.

The problem of distinguishing ON *kví* and *kvíga* is acknowledged in *PNCh* (ii:150), where Queastybirch, Cheshire (*Quisty* 1216–72) is suggested to be more likely to be a compound of ON *kvíga* and ON *stía* 'a sty, a kennel' or OE *stigu* 'a sty, a pen' than a tautological name meaning 'sty in a fold' or 'sty fold' (cf. Fellows-Jensen 1997:87). A small number of names from areas of Westmorland other than the West Ward are interpreted in the Survey volumes as containing ON *kvíga* or a dialectal reflex: *Quiopot* (13th c.) in Mansergh, and Wyegarth Gill (1859) in Ravenstonedale (*PNWe* i:53 and ii:8). The names thought to contain ON *kvíga* from the West Riding are all first recorded in the seventeenth century (Wye Gill) or later (Wye Furlong, *Quiby Close*, Qaymires Close, Quey Crag, Quey Syke, Whybutts) and interpreted as dialectal *wye*, *whey* 'heifer', ultimately from ON *kvíga* (*PNYW* i:170 and 273, iv:42, v:217, vi:7 and 136). Other names where the reflex of ON *kvíga* could occur (although *kví* is suggested in the Survey volumes) are Whaw, North Riding (*Kiwawe* 1280, *le Kuawe* 1285; *PNYN*:296), where the generic ON *hagi* 'enclosure' again renders a specific meaning 'enclosure' less likely, and Wheyrigg, Cumberland (*Quirig* 1285; *PNCu*:140).<sup>317</sup>

The relatively frequent occurrence of the reflex of ON *kvíga* in ME but the lack of evidence for the survival of a reflex of ON *kví* supports the idea that the element occurring in these place-names is more likely to be a reflex of ON *kvíga* than of ON *kví*. The reflex of ON *kvíga* occurs as a surname from about 1300 and in documents from Co. Durham, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire (*OED*: s.v. *quey*, n.; *MED*: s.v. *quie*, n.) and is noted by *EDD* to occur dialectally in Scottish, Irish, Northern and Midland dialects.<sup>318</sup> However, a

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<sup>317</sup> A further late-recorded possibility is Que Close, Lincolnshire (1817; *PNL* iii:34).

<sup>318</sup> Specifically, the element is known from Scotland, Ireland, Northumberland, Co. Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire,

reflex of ON *kví* is only recorded in Orkney and Shetland (*OED*: s.v. quoy, n.; *DOST*: s.vv. quoy, n.2 and quoy, n.2). Thus, although the (modern) dialectal use of the word seems to encompass much of the North and northern Midlands, the place-name usage of the element appears to be restricted to the West Riding and Westmorland, with early usages known only from Westmorland.

ON *óss*, *ósi* ‘river mouth, outlet of a lake’

The occurrence of ON *óss*, *ósi*, which is not known elsewhere in English place-names, in Eusemire Hill, Barton (*Osemire*, *Osemyre* 1278, 1279; *PNWe* ii:210–11) is also a little uncertain. The first element could alternatively be OE *ōsle* ‘blackbird’, but the interpretation of the first element as *óss*, *ósi* is topographically appropriate to the place’s situation at the outlet of Ullswater, and the name would then have a parallel in *Osmyr* in Rogaland (*PNWe* ii:211). The element is known from the Northern Isles, for instance one of the Orkney names Isbister (*Ossbustir* 1492) is situated at the mouth of a stream (Marwick 1954:120) whilst the word has apparently developed a more specialised sense in later dialects meaning ‘opening of a lagoon to the sea’ (Sandnes 2010:78 and 230). The element is known in both Norwegian and Danish place-names, where it has the meanings ‘water outlet, fjord-mouth’ (*NG* i:69), and occurs for instance in Mosseros, Østfold (*i Mosseross* 1483; *NG* i:364), Åsen, Akershus og Oslo (*Ossin* c.1320; *NG* ii:105) and Århus (AROSEI 1035–42 [on a coin]; *DS* xii:6 and xvii:381; Jørgensen 2008 s.v. Århus). If correctly identified, there is no other evidence for this element’s use in England meaning the element need not have been borrowed widely or at all into English.

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Lancashire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire (*EDD* s.v. quey, sb. 1).

ON *skáli* ‘a (shieling-)hut’

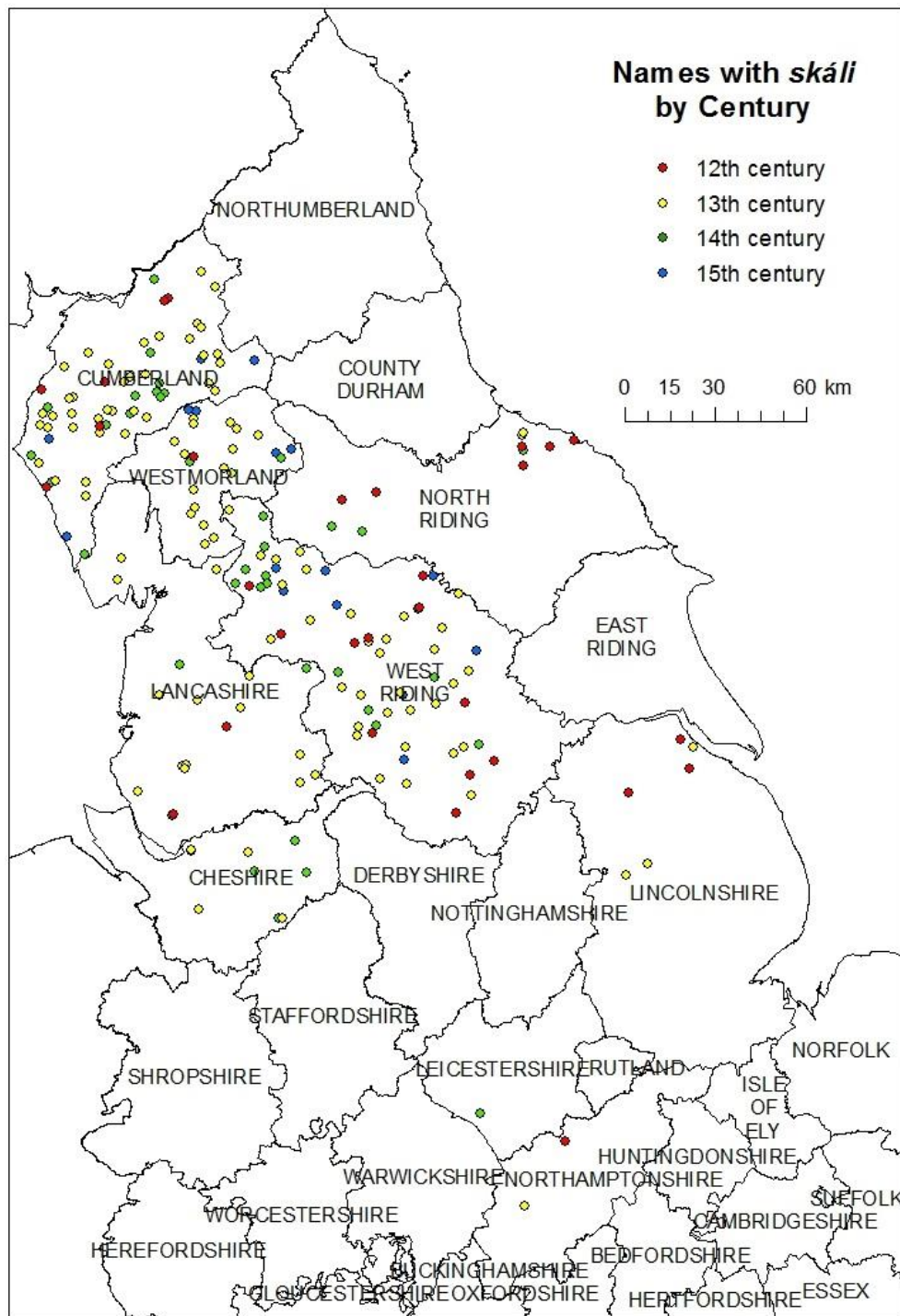
ON *skáli* ‘shieling-hut’ has sometimes been seen as a typically West Scandinavian element (Smith 1956: s.v. *skáli*). However, Fellows-Jensen (1985:311) has pointed out that the element probably occurs in Løvskal, Jutland (*Løfskalle* 1600; *DS* ix:178), so the distinction might rather be one of topography rather than simply element distribution, although the element is still far more common in Norwegian than Danish place-names.<sup>319</sup>

The element is widely distributed by the twelfth century, and names containing the element first-recorded in later centuries do not show the names’ distribution becoming discernibly wider. Unlike *banke*, the element occurs widely across the entirety of the ‘Scandinavian Belt’ at an early date, with early-recorded names from outside this area in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. There is some potential for confusion with other elements. As acknowledged by *PNNf* (ii:118), distinguishing reflexes of ON *skáli* from OE *scōl*, ME *scole* in areas where OE /a:/ developed to ME /ɔ:/, later /o:/, is problematic. However, the occurrence of a reflex of ON *skáli* in the Northamptonshire minor names *Scaleberg* (1199; *PNNth*:260) and *Cattescaldis* (1207–72; *PNNth*:269) are secure. The specific in *Schalhull* (1323), Leicestershire, has been interpreted as OE *scēla* influenced by ON *skáli* (*PNLei* vi:230); however, the spelling does not absolutely preclude pronunciation with initial /sk-/ (cf. Kristensson 1995:135) and the lack of evidence for OE *\*scēla* outside the northern counties (cf. *PNDb*:164; Smith 1956 s.v. *\*scēla*) suggests this form is unlikely to underlie all the more southerly occurrences of the element. The place-name record seems to show that ON *skáli* or its ME reflex was used over a wider area than would be apparent from the citations in *OED* and *MED* (see above).

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<sup>319</sup> The element also seems to occur in Koldskål, South Jutland (*Koltschahl* 1704; *DS* vi:302); searching *NG* for *skáli* yields thirty-nine results.





Shapefiles: ELC2, GRO, GBHGIS1911

It is worth briefly commenting on the semantics of ON *skáli* as, although usually translated as ‘(shieling-) hut’ in English place-names (Smith 1956: s.v. *skáli*), Griffiths has recently suggested (2010:52) that the element might have meant ‘hall’ in some cases as it seems to refer to high-status residences in Orkney, where it is a common place-name element (cf. Harrison

2013:132–34; Marwick 1952:237–40; Sandnes 2010:89–90). The element had the meanings ‘hut’, ‘main room in a house’ and ‘entire house’ in medieval Scandinavian sources, but the terms *holl* and *salr* seem instead to have been used of the most high-status residences (Cleasby-Vigfusson: s.v. *skáli*; Vidal 2013:49 and 265–76). However, rather than argue that the element everywhere solely referred to huts as has generally been supposed outside Orkney (cf. Fellows-Jensen 2000:137), it is instead possible that one of the possible meanings of *skáli*, that referring to domestic residences, came to predominate in Orkney. Indeed, a range of senses of ON *skáli* is represented in modern reflexes of the word (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989: s.v. *skáli* [2]; Jacobsen and Matras 1966: s.v. *skáli*; *NG* i:74–75), with some languages generalising one or the other meaning.

In England, both lexical and toponymic evidence point to the meaning ‘shieling hut’ rather than ‘high-status building’ in the English borrowing of ON *skáli* and less certainly in the use of the Scandinavian element itself. The lexical instances cited by *MED* (s.v. *scale*, n.3) point unambiguously to the meaning ‘hut’. The element is used of fishermen’s huts in Tynemouth documents and is used of poor housing (for which *cote* is a variant in another manuscript) in a manuscript of *Cursor Mundi*. Whyte (1985:108–11) notes further evidence for the meaning ‘shieling’ in documents pertaining to Cumbria dating from the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries. A recent study of the situations of *skáli* place-names from modern maps reached the conclusion that the element frequently meant ‘shieling’ but, as suggested by the lexical evidence, appears just to have meant ‘hut’ in some instances where it occurs close to villages (Winchester 2011).<sup>320</sup> In sum then, there is reasonable evidence that the element was borrowed into English as a word for a shieling or a hut, but evidence for a meaning referring to high-status residences is at present lacking.

Overall, the frequent occurrence of ON *skáli* in the West Ward is unsurprising given the element’s widespread use in most of the ‘Scandinavian

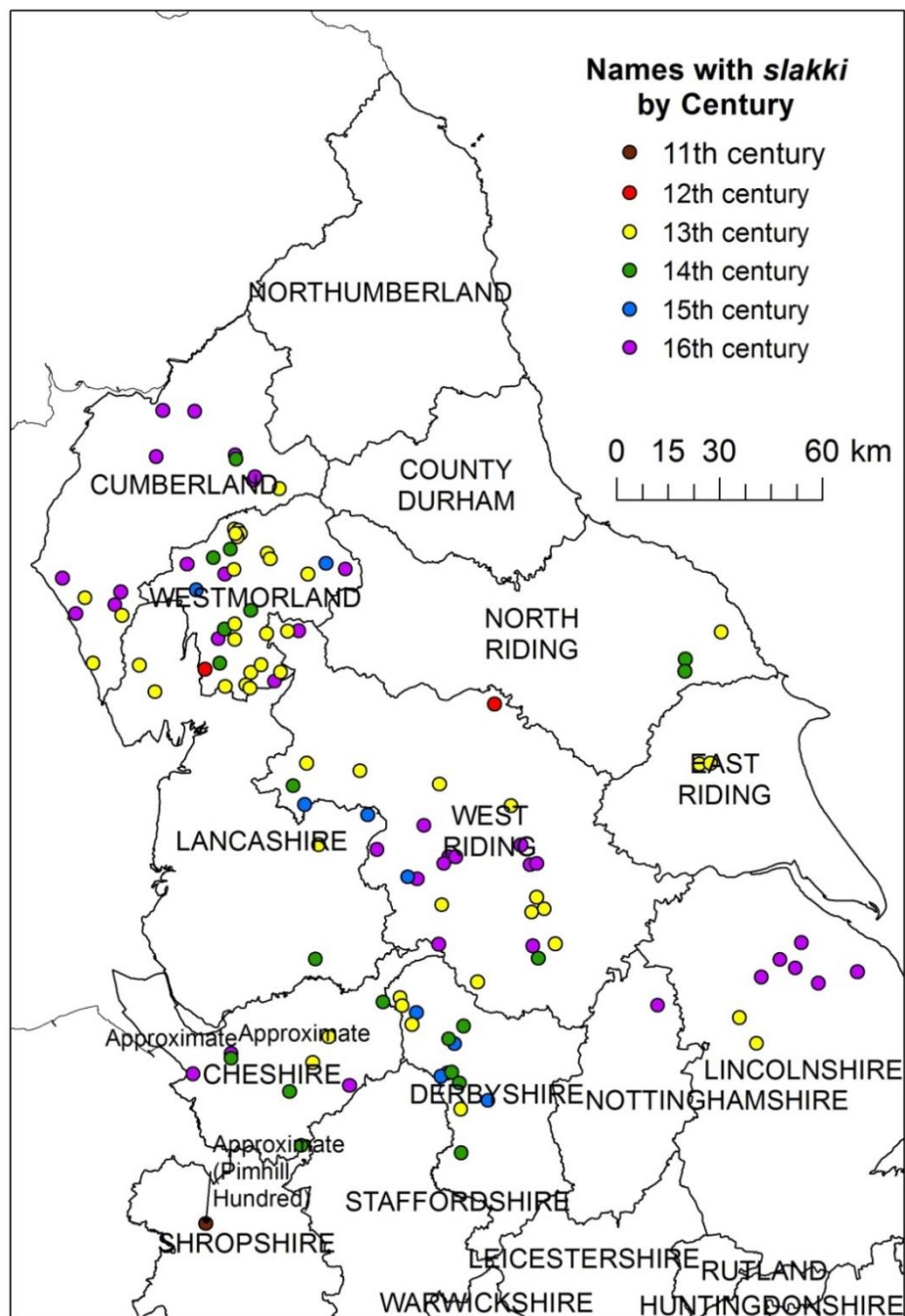
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<sup>320</sup> It is also worth noting, however, that shielings need not always have been at higher altitudes: Whyte (1985:109) notes that islands and low-lying moorland were used as shielings in seventeenth-century Scotland.

Belt’ and indeed (occasionally) in counties further south. The place-name element occurs over a wider area than might be expected from the lexical evidence, but only infrequently in the southern Midlands. In other respects, lexical and toponymic usages appear to be very similar.

ON *slakki* ‘a pit, a hollow’

ME *slak*, occurring in place-names predominantly in north-west England (see below), is generally derived from ON \**slakki*, thought to mean ‘a pit, a hollow’ and also thought to be of West Scandinavian origin due to the apparent occurrence of an assimilated consonant cluster (Smith 1956: s.v. *slakki*; Fellows-Jensen 1985:316–18). A Scandinavian derivation is not entirely straightforward, however, as discussed in Chapter Two. As with *skáli*, the element is found across the ‘Scandinavian Belt’ in names recorded by the fifteenth century, but *slakki* is, unlike *skáli*, also used in names from Derbyshire. However, there is perhaps some discernible diffusion of the element visible in names first recorded in the sixteenth century, as the element seems to have been rare in much of Cumberland before this point. (A reflex of ON *slakki* suggested to occur in a lost settlement name from Pimhill Hundred, Shropshire, is discussed in Chapter Two.) Lexical usages are discussed in Chapter Two.



Shapefiles: ELC2, GRO, GBHGIS1911

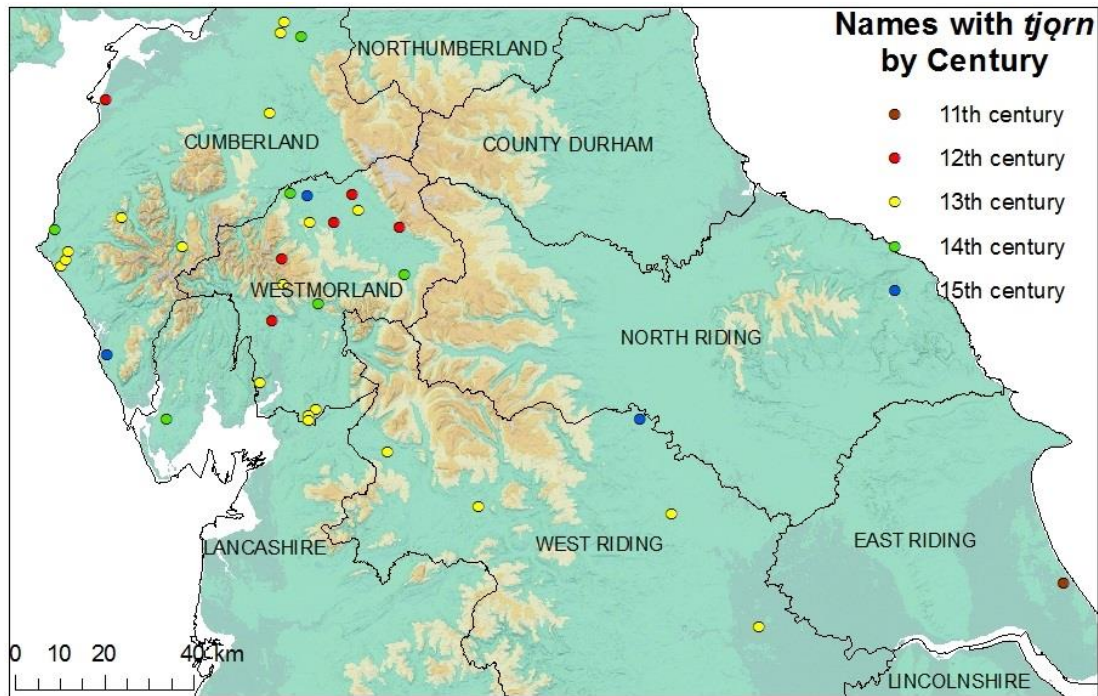
### ON *tjorn* ‘a tarn’

ON *tjorn* is predominantly recorded in place-names from the North-West, although the element is also found in eastern areas of West Yorkshire and once in East Yorkshire (provided none of these instances is instead a reflex of

OE/ON *pyrne/pyrnir*).<sup>321</sup> The element is recorded in many names recorded in *NG*, for instance Kjenset, Oppland (*i Tiornosætre, Tiærnosætre* 1437; *NG* iv:8) and Jerpekjøn, Vestfold (*i Jarpaternom* 1389, *i Jarpatiærnom* c.1400; *NG* vi:149). The element is also thought to occur in Orkney, although all Sandnes' examples are recorded only from the nineteenth century (Sandnes 2010:219–220, 256 and 364). The word is very seldom recorded in Danish: *DS* (xviii(i):80) doubts the existence of the reflex of ON *tjörn* at all in Danish and *ODS* (s.v. kern 2. eller kærn) suggests a handful of dialectal occurrences could be borrowings from Norwegian or Swedish. The element has better claim, then, to be of West Scandinavian derivation, than other elements considered here such as *skáli* and *hreysi*. The word is recorded in northern English texts ascribed by *LALME* to Durham, Cheshire and Lancashire (*MED* s.v. *terne*, n.1), meaning that the area where the word is recorded in place-names is similar (but not identical) to the area of the non-onomastic occurrences of the element.

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<sup>321</sup> ME <i> for the reflex of OE/ON /y/ is most common in Cumbria, Durham, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, but there are spellings with <e> (Kristensson 1967:117). This means that the some of the names here could plausibly contain a reflex of OE/ON *pyrne/pyrnir*, although in the instances mapped here there is a pool in a suitable location to be referred to by the names.



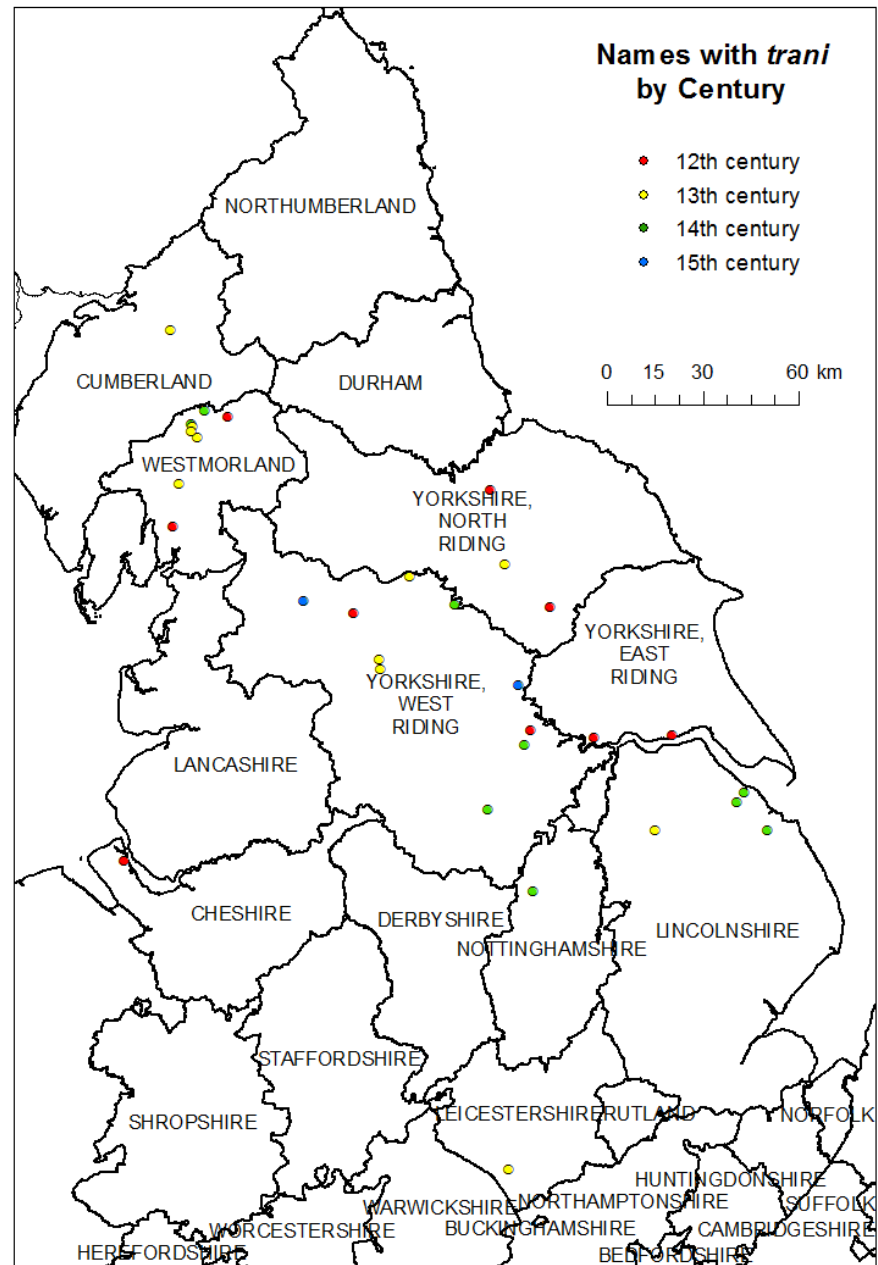
Shapefile: GBHGIS1921; SRTM Data: JRNG2008

ON *trani* ‘a crane’.

The element *trani*,<sup>322</sup> which occurs in the five times in the West Ward minor name corpus, and also occurs in the Wirral major name Tranmere, is known from place-names recorded before 1500 from the ‘Scandinavian Belt’, Nottinghamshire and south Leicestershire shown on the map below. However, the Northamptonshire minor names *Thranedale* (14th c.) and *Tranwelle* (15th c.) also seem to contain the element, but could not be mapped as no location is given for the names in the Survey volume (*PNNth*:262 and 272).

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<sup>322</sup> The element is recorded in both Norwegian and Danish place-names (see, for instance, *NG* ii:36, xvi:399; Jørgensen 2008: s.vv. Tranekær and Tranebjerg).



Shapefiles: ELC2, GRO, KO2001

In contrast, in toponyms from Nottinghamshire southwards, OE-derived terms predominated.

*Images have been removed from the online version of this thesis. A hard-bound copy is available in the Institute for Name-Studies, University of Nottingham. Alternatively, contact the author.*

Boisseau and Yalden (1998:484): Distribution of place names invoking the  
Crane in Britain.

[Ma = Major place names; Mi = minor place names and FN = field-names] <sup>323</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> Boisseau and Yalden (1998) mapped all instances of the elements regardless of date of record. The the bird became extinct by about 1600 (Boisseau and Yalden 1998:486), but the transferral of the word to other species (*OED*: s.v. crane, n.1 [sense 1.b]) means that names might have been formed after this period.



The element has at times been suggested to be a Scandinavian byname (Smith 1956: s.v. *trani*; *PNYE*:216) and the byname is recorded in three Norwegian and Icelandic texts but may refer to the same person in some of these instances (Lind 1920–21: s.vv. *Trani* and *Trana*; cf. *ONP*: s.v. 2.*trani*, sb.). However, the name is not recorded in *PASE*, and in light of the byname's relative rarity in Scandinavian sources, it is likely to be the place-name element rather than the byname in most instances. A lexical reflex of ON *trani* is not recorded in either *MED* or *OED* so it is unclear whether the word was borrowed into English. The toponymic evidence suggests the element remained restricted to areas of Scandinavian settlement.

ON *troll* 'a troll, a supernatural being'

ON *troll* (or a derived byname) occurs in place-names recorded in the medieval period in both Norway and Sweden (cf. *NG* ii:301 and vi:164; *DS* viii:100 and xvii:408), but, apart from the West Ward instance Trough Gill (*Trollgilleghes* 1366; *PNWe* ii:137), is known in England is only from place-names in Northumberland<sup>324</sup> and Lincolnshire<sup>325</sup> (alongside an uncertain Leicestershire example).<sup>326</sup> The (first edition) entry in *OED* describes ModE *troll* as a nineteenth-century borrowing from Scandinavian except in the Northern Isles (*OED* s.v. *troll*, n.2 and *trow* n.4). However, *MED*'s entry (s.v. *trol*, n.) suggests the term was used in the ME period, occurring as an early-thirteenth-century byname *trol* and in Robert Mannyng's fourteenth-century *Chronicle*. Collectively, this evidence suggests the borrowing of the term from Scandinavian in northern and eastern England and the survival of the term into the ME period. However, the term could feasibly have been lost before reintroduction in the nineteenth century, as suggested by *OED*, particularly as both lexical and toponymic evidence suggest the word was rarely used in the later medieval period.

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<sup>324</sup> Troughburn, Heathpool (*Trollop* 1352, *Trolhop* 1367; Mawer 1920:200).

<sup>325</sup> Lincolnshire: *Trolleheudland*' (1309 (e.14th c.)), Goxhill (*PNL* ii:134).

<sup>326</sup> *Tralleswellehul* (1212), Burton on the Wolds, probably contains ON *þráll*, but ON *troll* cannot be completely discounted (*PNLei* iii:58).

### Scandinavian Element Case-Studies: Conclusions

In general, the Scandinavian elements that occur frequently in the West Ward corpus are also relatively well recorded elsewhere, whilst those that occur less frequently are also rarer outside this area. Of the elements occurring seven times or more and considered in this section, both *skáli* and *slakki* are well recorded outside the area, although *slakki* occurs less frequently than *skáli*. However, unlike *banke* discussed in Chapter Three, an expansion of the area over which the elements were used during the later Middle Ages is not apparent for any of the elements considered here. Of the elements that occur infrequently in the West Ward corpus, a couple do not otherwise occur in place-names thus far included in SEPN, *eið* and *óss, ósi*. However, the remaining elements, *geil*, *hreysi*, *tjörn*, *troll* and what is arguably *kvíga* rather than *kví* occur elsewhere in place-names recorded before 1500, if not so frequently as *skáli* and *slakki*. The element *hegning*, occurring four times in the West Ward corpus and discussed in Chapter Two, is similar in this respect. In most cases, then, the frequency with which the elements occur in the West Ward is broadly similar to the frequency with which the elements occur elsewhere.

There appear to be marked differences in the areas over which the elements occur outside the West Ward. Some of the elements, *geil*, *hegning*, *skáli*, *slakki* and *troll* occur in place-names from wide areas of Scandinavian settlement, albeit generally less frequently outside the so-called ‘Scandinavian Belt’ than elsewhere. However, some of the elements, occur in England predominantly (in the case of *tjörn*) or entirely (in the case of *hreysi*) in the North-West. Frequent use by Scandinavian-speakers in the North-West could have favoured the survival of the terms in local dialects but, whilst topographical factors are clearly relevant to the distribution of *hreysi* and *tjörn*, the occurrence of these elements in lower lying areas suggests topography is not the sole reason why these elements are not widely found outside the North-West. Indeed, there are grounds for suspecting that ON *tjörn* might be a West Scandinavian-derived element.

The lack of place-name surveys for some areas, for instance southern Lincolnshire and much of Norfolk, and the lack of many field-names from areas including the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire mean that the element distributions discussed here might not reflect reality. These reservations notwithstanding, it is perhaps interesting that the distributions of the elements discussed here do not overwhelmingly suggest that elements more common in Norway than Denmark are more likely to be found west of the Pennines. Of the elements that, if not unknown in Denmark, are more frequent in Norway (*hreysi*, *skáli* and *tjörn*) as well as the problematic *slakki*, none is entirely found in the North-West, although *hreysi* and *tjörn* do seem more concentrated in the North-West than elsewhere. Further, there is not a great deal of evidence for similarity with place-names from the Northern Isles: *eið*, whose occurrence is not beyond dispute, is the sole contender for an element found in the Northern Isles but not known elsewhere from England whilst *kví*, which is common in Orkney, probably does not occur in the West Ward.

The element case-studies have demonstrated that, as in Wirral, there are grounds for suspecting that elements not found elsewhere lexically or toponymically might have been used in the West Ward either in linguistically Scandinavian name-formation, or in English contexts by speakers who had borrowed the terms from local Scandinavian-speakers. In other cases, the much wider use of the elements lexically and in place-names from England means that direct Scandinavian influence on local dialect or name-formation is not necessary to explain the elements' use. Nevertheless, the element case-studies in this chapter and in Chapter Three show that in most cases (*klint* perhaps excepted), the North-West is part of the heartland of Scandinavian influence on toponymy, comparable with the 'Scandinavian Belt' coined (mostly) with respect to Scandinavian influence on areas of language other than toponymy (Samuels 1985). Additionally, it was found that, in most cases, widespread use in toponyms is accompanied by evidence for lexical use over a similar (but by no means always identical) area. This further suggests that the divide between the onomasticon and the toponymicon is not so great that the Scandinavian contribution to the vocabulary of microtoponymy should

be radically different from the contribution to the lexicon, although names surviving from earlier periods no doubt complicate the picture somewhat.

*East or West Norse Speakers in Westmorland?*

As in Wirral, there are only a few elements that scholars would now agree can be distinguished in their East and West Scandinavian forms. The only element to show the characteristically West Norse nasal assimilation is *slakki* ‘shallow valley’, which occurs in six minor names recorded in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Something parallel to what is seen with *banke* in Wirral can also be observed in Westmorland, where the proportion of names first recorded each century containing *banke* falls slightly from two per cent of names in the twelfth century to two per cent in the thirteenth century, but rises dramatically from four per cent of names in the thirteenth century to ten per cent of names in the fourteenth century. However, as argued in Chapter Three, the element appears to have been most widely used in the so-called Scandinavian Belt in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, so this may indicate a general increase in the frequency with which the element was being used rather than diffusion into the area. In addition to the formally phonologically East and West Scandinavian elements, it is possible that the frequent use of ON *tjörn* in the West Ward could, at least in part, reflect the wider use of the element in West than East Scandinavian. However, ON *geil*’s use in the West Ward seems semantically closer to Danish rather than Norwegian usages, but the antiquity of the divide between the meanings is uncertain.

*Goidelic Elements Occurring in the Minor Names*

The corpus contains a handful of personal names and place-name elements of Goidelic origin, as well as a number of inversion compounds. As discussed above, it is uncertain whether all the names that ultimately show some Goidelic influence in the West Ward should be linked with Scandinavian settlement. The material is considered briefly in the section that follows, with

particular attention paid to the question of whether the Goidelic elements should be linked with Scandinavian settlement.

The Goidelic personal names occurring are Bru(i)de,<sup>327</sup> Cennán,<sup>328</sup> Ciarán,<sup>329</sup> \*Collán,<sup>330</sup> and Gillamuire.<sup>331</sup> Unlike some of the names discussed by others who have considered Goidelic influence in the North-West, there is no indication given in the *Survey* volumes that any of these names was more common in either Ireland or Scotland. Certainly, it is possible to find many of the names in Irish genealogical material, although this includes material for Dál Riata (Kelleher 1968:142).<sup>332</sup> Bruide is recorded as the name of an early-eighth-century king of the Picts, who seems, however, to have had Gaelic ancestry (Clancy 2004 *passim*). Overall, then, the personal names occurring in the corpus do not shed light on the issue of where Goidelic influence in the region came from. As discussed above, the number of Goidelic personal names is actually greater than the number of secure Scandinavian personal names and comparable with the number of personal names of OE origin in the corpus. Given the likelihood of minor names surviving for relatively short periods, this raises the question of whether people considering themselves ethnically Goidelic might have been more recent migrants into the area than Scandinavians. However, the very low numbers of names involved mean it would be unwise to make too much of this.

The other lexical items are not particularly enlightening in determining the type(s) of Goidelic linguistic influence on the minor names of the West

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<sup>327</sup> *Brudescarth* (Patterdale, 12th c.; *PNWe* ii:228).

<sup>328</sup> *Merskenen* (Barton, 13th c.; *PNWe* ii:215).

<sup>329</sup> *Keldekeran*, (Bampton, 13th c.; *PNWe* ii:199).

<sup>330</sup> *Collanflat* (Cliburn, 14th c.; *PNWe* ii:138). The personal name is supposed to occur in *Sliabh Calláin*, Co. Clare (Mills 2003 s.v. Slievecallan).

<sup>331</sup> *Gilmorewde*, *Gilmourheued*, *-buttes* (Lowther, 13th c.; *PNWe* ii:186).

<sup>332</sup> The index to the (predominantly Irish) genealogical material edited by O'Brien contains records of people named Bruid(g)e and Ciarán; names in Gilla- are found from c. 900 in Irish sources (O'Brien 1962 [1976]:527, 533, 544; 1973:221 and 229–30).

Ward. As discussed above in the discussion of Glencoyne, it is uncertain whether ME *glen* should be derived from Goidelic or Brittonic, although the fact that the element is more common in Scottish and Irish place-names than in Brittonic place-names means the Goidelic element might be more likely. A similar problem affects interpretation of ME *cragge*, which has been counted as a ME element where it occurs in the corpus.<sup>333</sup> There is one element that the *Survey* volume describes as Middle Irish, *tresc* ‘refuse’ in *Glentreske* (Patterdale, 12th c.; *PNWe* ii:228). However, Grant (2003:74) has noted evidence for a Scots Gaelic cognate in Modern Scots Gaelic *treasg* ‘refuse of brewer malt’, although it is possible that the element is not Goidelic at all, as Brittonic and Scandinavian etymologies have also been suggested (James [2014]:367; *eDIL*: s.v. *tresc*; cf. *OED*: s.v. *trash*, n.1). However, two elements, ultimately of Goidelic origin, are more securely linked with areas of Scandinavian settlement, Goidelic *áirge* (ON *árgi*) discussed above and Goidelic *cross* discussed in Chapter Three. The distributions of both of these elements in English place-names are not focussed on the North-West; instead,

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<sup>333</sup> Middle English *cragge* is unanimously agreed to be a borrowing from Celtic (*OED*: s.v. *crag*, n.1; *MED* s.v. *crag*, n.), but deciding whether this was from Brittonic or Goidelic is more problematic. James (2014 ii:121–22) discusses the element, which he reconstructs as Neo-Brittonic (mid-sixth century–mid-ninth century) *cr̥e:g*, in some detail and suggests variant forms in early Celtic, *\*cracjā-* (> Welsh *craig*, Scottish Gaelic *craig*) and *\*cracā* (> MBret *cragg* and, via British and OE, ME *cragge*, related to Scottish Gaelic *creag*). With reference to Jackson (1953:§137), James remarks that the expected form of PrWelsh word final (lenited) /g/ (from Brittonic /-k-) when borrowed into early OE is OE /-k/. James (2014 ii:121) consequently notes that final /-g/ in this word could reflect Goidelic influence, but does not rule out developments within Middle English and Older Scots leading to the same outcome. However, even if from Brittonic, the element need not have been borrowed into early OE in Cumbria as James seems to imply in his discussion of the name (but not in the introduction, cf. James 2014 i:10), which adds further complexity. Middle English (stem) /a/ seems to be derived from *\*cracā* (via British and OE) by James (*OED*: s.v. *crag*, n.1; James 2014 ii:121). Thus, contradictorily, the final consonant of ME *cragge* seems better to be derived from a Goidelic form, whilst ME /a/ seems better to reflect a West Brittonic form.

the elements are used in place-names from areas similar to those of other Scandinavian elements, meaning that they are not secure indicators of direct Goidelic influence on local toponymy.

### *Inversion Compounds*

There are nine names that might be considered inversion-compounds amongst the West Ward corpus (shown on the map below), which seem to be more concentrated in the north of the West Ward; one further name, *Glentreske*, Patterdale (12th c.; *PNWe* ii:228) seems likely to be an entirely Goidelic name despite the uncertainty about whether the first element is ultimately of Goidelic, Scandinavian or Brittonic origin. Cross Dormant and Knottkanan were discussed with the major names and are the only names to contain Scandinavian personal names, although (as discussed above) a Scandinavian personal name Nenninn might occur in Fitnenin. Of the remaining personal names, three are Goidelic (Ciarán, Cennán and Canainn), two or three are post-Conquest (Adam, ?Gainere and perhaps Morvill),<sup>334</sup> two are Brittonic (Ouein and ?\*Dubaco-) and one could be OE or Scandinavian (Grim/Grímr).<sup>335</sup> The generics are of Scandinavian (*fit*, ?*gil*, *kelda*), OE (*croft*, *mersc*), ambiguous (OE/ON *land*, *mōr/mór*, ?*rān/runnr*) and Goidelic origins (*cros*), although as argued in Chapter Three, *cros* should probably be seen as a Scandinavian borrowing in English place-names. The inversion-compounds in the West Ward therefore conform to those from elsewhere: the generics are predominantly Scandinavian, whilst the personal names are of more varied origins (and two or three must be post-Conquest).

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<sup>334</sup> *Gilmorvill* was noted by Ekwall (1918:38) but not included in *PNWe*; the name was analysed as ON *gil* followed by a surname of Romance origin.

<sup>335</sup> The names are: [12th c.]: Fitnenin [lost], Bolton (*Fithnenin* 12th c [14th c.]; *PNWe* ii:139); [13th c.]: Moor Divock, Askham (*Moredvuock* 13th c.; *PNWe* ii:201), *Keldekeran*, Bampton (13th c.; *PNWe* ii:199), *Merskenen*, Barton (13th c.; *PNWe* ii:215), *Keldowansik* (13th c.; *PNWe* ii:186), *Rongainer*, Lowther (13th c.; *PNWe* ii:187); [14th c.]: Long-Adam, Cliburn (*Landadam*, *cultura* 14th c.; *PNWe* ii:138), Croftgrime [lost], Lowther (*Crofte(s)grime* 14th c.; *PNWe* ii:184).

The minor name evidence cannot shed much light on the recent dissociation of the inversion-compounds from Scandinavian settlement in the region, which is after all primarily a reinterpretation of the circumstances rather than the evidence itself. However, it is interesting that the number of Goidelic personal names occurring in the corpus is comparable with the number of names of English origin and greater than the number of Scandinavian personal names whilst the number of Goidelic lexemes in the corpus is much lower relative to Scandinavian and English vocabulary. This suggestion that people who considered themselves ethnically Goidelic but who did not contribute many Goidelic elements to the area's surviving medieval microtoponyms is consistent with both Grant's (2003) and Parsons' (2012) suggestions that the inversion-compounds were formed by native Goidelic speakers speaking Scandinavian. However, the hint that Goidelic personal names might have been common in the area might suggest a later context for (at least some of the) Goidelic influence on the area's toponymy as suggested by Parsons.



SRTM Data: JRNG2008



## Conclusion

The West Ward is part of a much wider area of Scandinavian settlement in the North-West, long known about from onomastic, artefactual and inscriptional evidence, and in this respect differs from Wirral where Scandinavian settlement seems to have encompassed a more limited area on the Wirral peninsula and nearby coastal areas of southern Lancashire. However, levels of Scandinavian vocabulary in the West Ward's medieval microtoponymy are far greater than in Wirral and are broadly comparable with the levels of Scandinavian vocabulary in microtoponyms from areas of Lincolnshire investigated by Hald (1948) and Cameron (1973). Further, the level of Scandinavian vocabulary in the West Ward's microtoponymy is greater when all elements (including repeats) are counted, probably suggesting that Scandinavian elements remained an important part of the area's onomasticon into the later medieval period.

There has been no genetic survey of Scandinavian ancestry in the medieval population of the West Ward comparable to that for Wirral and West Lancashire; Scandinavian male ancestry in the modern population of Penrith is comparable with that from Wirral, but may have been distorted by population movements in the post-medieval period. However, there is onomastic evidence that Scandinavian speech survived into the late eleventh century in Cumbria, and inscriptional evidence suggesting the use of Scandinavian language into the twelfth century. It is possible that the late use of Scandinavian in the region resulted, at least in part, from Scandinavian settlement that was numerically great in relation to the number of OE speakers. However, it is perhaps equally likely that the peripheral location of Cumbria in respect to English-speaking polities, and indeed competing influences from the neighbouring polities with interest in the region, meant that Anglicisation was less significant in the area in the later medieval period. Unlike Wirral, then, Scandinavian cultural, genetic and linguistic influence visible in other sources is accompanied by significant Scandinavian contribution to minor name vocabulary.

The minor name evidence suggests that there was relatively significant Goidelic influence on personal nomenclature without similar levels of use of

Goidelic place-name elements in microtoponyms, which would accord well with the late survival of Scandinavian speech in the region that Parsons' model of explaining the inversion-compounds requires. Perhaps unsurprisingly given the limited extent to which the languages were differentiated in the Viking Age, the West Ward's minor names do not reveal very much about East or West Scandinavian influence in the area. Two of the elements, *óss*, *ósi* and *eið* (both slightly uncertain), are not known elsewhere in English place-names but may be recorded in Orkney place-names; however, of the other elements investigated in detail, most would not be unexpected elsewhere in the so-called 'Scandinavian Belt'.

Element case-studies were carried out, in part to assess how Scandinavian elements used in the West Ward relate to non-toponymic usages, and in part to assess whether the elements are likely to have been used by, or borrowed directly from, Scandinavian speakers in the area itself. In the cases of elements that are not recorded elsewhere and not recorded lexically, it was suggested that, in some cases at least, the elements could be relics from a time when Scandinavian was spoken and need not have been used in an English-speaking context. In this respect, the toponymic evidence is not a terribly good witness to local dialect vocabulary. However, in the cases of more commonly used elements, there was generally found to be a good fit between lexical and onomastic usages. For instance, two elements that have generally been regarded as of West Scandinavian provenance, *slakki* and *skáli*, are widely distributed in English place-names and recorded in similar areas in ME and later dialects. In these cases, toponymic evidence seems a better proxy for ME dialects, but the Scandinavian elements were less certainly used by, or borrowed directly from, Scandinavian speakers in the area.

## Chapter Five : Conclusion

The existence of substantial corpora of minor names recorded in the ME period means that it is possible to quantify ratios of Scandinavian- to English-derived vocabulary used in microtoponyms, and to compare these findings in different areas. One of the aims of this thesis was to investigate levels of Scandinavian-derived vocabulary used in areas of northwest England, where there had previously been no such study despite suitable material being readily available in published volumes of the Survey of English Place-Names. The areas selected for study were the Wirral peninsula, historically part of Cheshire, and the West Ward of Westmorland Barony in present-day Cumbria.

Scandinavian influence on the English language is pervasive, and probably reflects the existence of substantial Scandinavian speech-communities in areas of England in the ninth and tenth centuries (and, in places, perhaps later). Many Scandinavian-derived major place-names, often recorded by the eleventh century, must have been formed by Scandinavian speakers. However, it is less clear how Scandinavian influence on late-medieval microtoponyms is to be explained. As was outlined in the introduction to the thesis, Scandinavian influence on minor place-names has been used, at one extreme, as evidence for Scandinavian settlement, and at the other extreme, simply as evidence for Scandinavian influence on later medieval dialect vocabulary. A further aim of the thesis was, then, to clarify what studies of medieval minor names can tell us. In part this was achieved by comparison of the minor names from the two case-study areas, in part by comparing the minor names in each case-study area with other evidence for Scandinavian influence on major place-names, material culture and population genetics in the areas. Additionally, case-studies of selected Scandinavian elements in their wider toponymic and lexical contexts assessed the reasons for the use of the elements in the case-study areas, and the relationship between lexical and toponymic usages.

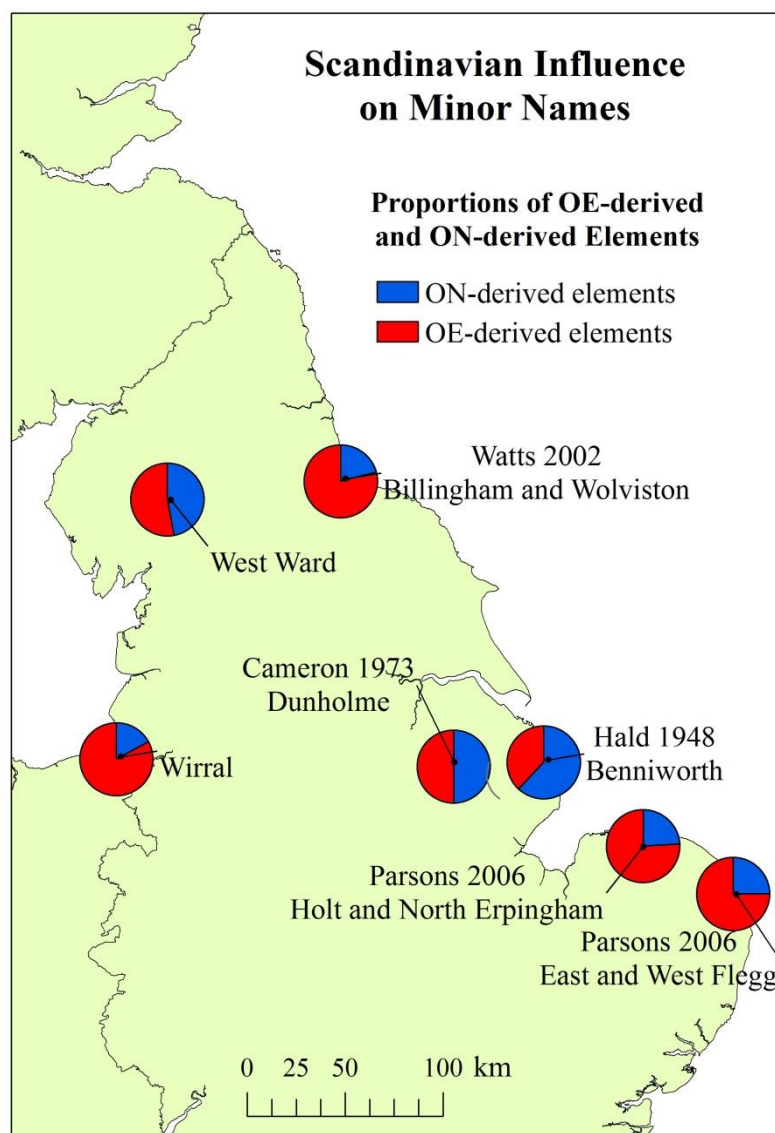
In order to calculate proportions of English- and Scandinavian-derived elements, a great deal of time was expended ascertaining which elements could or could not be distinguished in English- and Scandinavian-derived forms. Nevertheless, decisions made are in part subjective. Comparison of

mainland Scandinavian evidence for place-name element usage allowed consideration of whether different Scandinavian dialectal influences might be discerned. However, in nearly all instances dialectal differences were not clear-cut and often explicable better by Scandinavian topographical variation than by purely linguistic differences.

The research has demonstrated that the use of vocabulary of Scandinavian origin in the medieval minor names of Wirral was much lower than that in the West Ward of Westmorland Barony, despite the significant evidence for Scandinavian settlement in Wirral. The major name evidence, predominantly recorded by the twelfth century, indicates that there had been substantial Scandinavian influence on the naming repertoire in Wirral as well as the West Ward, and genetic surveys suggest comparable levels of Scandinavian male ancestry in both populations. (It is unknown whether Scandinavian female ancestry is comparable in the case-study areas' populations.) The difference in relative proportions of Scandinavian-derived vocabulary obtained by the different methods of counting are illuminating when compared with each other. When recurrent generic analyses were considered, the ratio of Scandinavian-derived to English-derived vocabulary in Wirral was comparable with the lower ratio obtained when all elements (including repeats) were considered. Both methods of counting indicate that many of the Scandinavian elements occurring were used infrequently, suggesting they might have fallen out of use in the area by the later medieval period. However, in the West Ward, the ratio of Scandinavian- to English-derived elements was higher than the ratio of different Scandinavian- to English-derived elements, suggesting continued currency of much of the Scandinavian-derived vocabulary. However, the ratio of Scandinavian- to English-derived recurrent elements was lower than the ratio obtained when all elements (including repeats) were considered, suggesting that a few Scandinavian-derived elements must have been used very frequently. This can be seen to be the case for some of the frequently occurring elements considered in Chapter Four.

Comparison with the results of similar studies shows the proportion of vocabulary of Scandinavian origin in the Westmorland study-area to be

comparable with areas of Lincolnshire. However, the proportion of the vocabulary of Scandinavian origin in Wirral is approximately comparable with (but lower than) an area of County Durham where significant Scandinavian influence on toponymy is not usually reckoned with.



Shapefiles: ELC1, ELC2, GRO

It appears then, that although the circumstances and linguistic consequences of Scandinavian settlement in both areas might initially have been broadly similar, developments in the following centuries led to very different levels of Scandinavian influence upon place-name vocabulary by the ME period. The higher levels of Scandinavian vocabulary in the West Ward are accompanied by higher numbers of other indications of Scandinavian

influence on name-formation or language, namely distinctively Scandinavian inflexions and Scandinavianisation of non-Scandinavian vocabulary, but such evidence is nevertheless slight. However, non-assimilation of Scandinavian elements to English forms (as seen in ON *djúpr* in *Duphyard* in Wirral) is not seen in the West Ward's minor names, although it is evident in some forms of the West Ward major name Deepdale. There is evidence that Scandinavian continued to be used in Cumbria into the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which probably goes some way to explaining the higher level of Scandinavian vocabulary used in Westmorland. However, it is also perhaps significant that the corpus of medieval minor names from the West Ward contains more names recorded by the twelfth century than that from Wirral.

The disparity between the two areas, and between the major and minor name evidence from Wirral in particular, has implications for how minor name evidence is interpreted. The disparity between the areas shows that what might have been similar circumstances of settlement could have little bearing on the character of minor names recorded at least a couple of centuries later. Further, the low level of Scandinavian vocabulary used in Wirral's minor names when compared with Wirral's major place-names shows that the character of medieval minor names can differ significantly from (major) names recorded somewhat earlier in the same area, which might be indicative of the general impermanence of minor place-names. Overall, then, comparison of results from the two areas, and comparison of the minor name evidence with other evidence within each area, supports the argument that studies of late-medieval minor names are better interpreted as studies of ME minor names, rather than as direct evidence for name-giving, much less settlement history, in the pre-Conquest period.

A valuable feature of the case-studies of selected Scandinavian-derived place-name elements was to confirm that, in the cases of elements such as Goid. *crois* and OEN *banke*, the rapid spread of the elements by the later medieval period means horizontal patterns of element diffusion can be demonstrated to have disrupted links between Scandinavian settlement (or its absence) and Scandinavian influence on microtoponymy at a local level. The same seems to be true of Scandinavian influence on personal nomenclature

already in the late OE period in Wirral (there is no comparable evidence for the West Ward). This means that the use of Scandinavian-derived personal names and place-name elements in minor names reflects, in certain cases, regional (and indeed national) trends of usage than more localised direct Scandinavian influence on naming vocabulary. Nevertheless, the higher ratios of Scandinavian to English vocabulary usage in north-west Wirral when compared with the rest of Wirral suggest that horizontal diffusion has not been so extensive as to mean that the link between Scandinavian settlement and linguistic influence at a local level is entirely disrupted. In broader terms, the case-studies demonstrated similarities between lexical and onomastic usages, both in terms of areas of usage and semantics, and, in general, elements widely used in place-names seem also to have been used lexically.

However, the case-studies also highlighted elements used in both areas' minor names that are only sparsely recorded elsewhere toponymically and lexically. In these instances, there is better claim for direct local Scandinavian influence on microtoponymy, perhaps even for Scandinavian-language name-formation, which is only securely demonstrable in the small number of names using demonstrably Scandinavian inflexions. This has the important corollary that the minor name corpora probably contain an unknown number of names dating from much earlier periods, as seems to be the case in the few studies that have investigated minor name survival. Yet, differences in the levels of Scandinavian contribution to Wirral's major and minor names in particular hint at large-scale turnover of names between the periods at which major and minor names were recorded. The minor names, as they were analysed, are therefore probably not entirely representative of dialects at the time they were recorded.

The explanations given for the different proportions obtained are consistent with a more general conclusion that can be drawn from the element studies, namely that the use of individual elements varied greatly over both time and space. Proportions of Scandinavian-derived elements are therefore only a crude snapshot of toponymic vocabulary usage. Detailed consideration of individual place-name elements is preferable in order better to understand the forces shaping the character of England's medieval microtoponymy.





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CUP = Cambridge UP.

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*DS* = *Danmarks Stednavne*. 1922–.

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*EDD* = Wright, Joseph (ed.). 1898–1905.

*eDIL* = G. Toner et al. (eds). 2013. <http://www.dil.ie/>.

*EPNE* = Smith (1956).

EPNS = English Place-Name Society.

IfNS = Institutionen för nordiska språk.

*JEPNS* = *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*.

*L* = *LangScape: The Language of Landscape: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Countryside* (October 2008) <http://landscape.org.uk/index.html>.

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NIN = Navnestudier udgivet af Institut/Afdeling for Navneforskning.

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*NoB* = *Namn och Bygd*.

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*OED* = *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. June 2015. [www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)

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OUP = Oxford UP.

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*PNBu* = Mawer, A. and F. M. Stenton. 1925.

*PNCa* = Reaney, P. H. 1943.

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*PNYE* = Smith, A. H. 1937.

*PNYN* = Smith, A. H. 1928.

*PNYW* = Smith, A. H. 1961.

*S* = Sawyer, Peter. 1968 (2010–). [Cited by number.]

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*SEPN* = Survey of English Place-Names.

*SPNS* = Scottish Place-Name Society.

*TCWAAS* = *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*.

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*VEPN* = Parsons, David et al. 1997–.

*VSNR* = Viking Society for Northern Research.



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## Appendices

Early forms of place-names discussed and/or mapped in the thesis are given below, organised by Chapter.

### Appendix to Chapter Two: Distinguishing English- and Scandinavian-derived Place-Name Elements

#### *Indistinguishable Elements*

*OE æcer, m. 'plot or strip of cultivated land' / ON akr, m. 'a field, plot of arable land'*

Denmark: Højsager (*Høcksaker* 1211; DS ii:18), Roager (*Rodagger* 1294; DS v:107), Agerhøjsager, Sorøområdet (*Agherhøusagher* 1254 (c.1440); DS xxiii:60), Bjerager, Århusområdet (*Bierreagger* 1384; DS xii:75).

Norway: Aakre, Rogaland (*a Akrom* 1302; Rygh 1898:41; NG x:301), Oksum, Telemark (*i Aakersemne* 1461; NG vii:84), Aaker søndre, mellem og store, Østfold (*a Akre* 1317; NG i:328).

England: Linacres Fm, Worcestershire (*Linaceran wege* 1038; PNWo:111), Coombre, Buckinghamshire (*Cumbingacre* 1195; PNBu:150), *on ðone heafod æcer* (956 (12th c.)) Tadmarton, Oxfordshire (L617.000; S617).

*OE beorg 'hill, mound (with a continuously rounded profile)' / ON berg 'rock, precipice' and ON bjarg 'hill, mountain, rock, cliff'.*

Denmark: Bjerger, Holbækområdet (*Biarge* 1135 (16th c.), *Byargh* 1235; DS *Online*), Aunsbjerg, Viborgområdet (*Awænsberg* 1377 (c.1475); DS ix:187), Bannenbjerg, Frederiksborg Amt (*Bannæbiaergh* 1351–1400; DS ii:62).

Norway: Bergeim, Oppland (*i Bergæimi, Bærgæimi* 1320; NG iv:254), Bergland, Telemark (*a Berglande* 1493; NG vii:394), Berg, Akershus og Oslo (*Bærg* 1264; NG ii:101).

England: Inkberrow, Worcestershire (*Intanbeorgas* 789 (11th c.); *PNWo*:324),  
 Brokenborough, Wiltshire (*Breokeneberga* 956 (13th century); S629;  
 Kelly 2005:227–31; *PNWi*:53–54), Bromsberrow, Gloucestershire  
 (*Brvnmeberge* 1086; *PNGl* iii:166–67).

*OE blæc* 'black' and *OE blāc* 'pale, white'/*ON blakkr* 'pale, tawny' (used as  
 a nickname), poet. 'a horse'.

Denmark: Blak, Djursland (*Blak* 1730; *DS* xviii, ii:30), Blaksholm,  
 Vejleområdet (*Blachsholmb* 1413 [1611]; *DS* viii:48), (unassimilated  
 form in) Blanke, Assensområdet (*Blancke* 1447; *DS* xiv [no page]).

Norway: Blackstad, Møre og Romsdal (*Blackstad* 1603; *NG* xiii:146),  
 Blakkestad, Akershus og Oslo (*a Blakkæstodum* 1307; *NG* ii:158),  
 Blakrusten, Oppland (*Blackerust* 1668; *NG* iv:224).

England: Blackborough, Devon (*Blacheberia*, *Blac(h)aberga* 1086; *PND*:564)  
 and Blackwell, Worcestershire (*Blacwælle* 964 (12th c.); *PNWo*:172).

*OE blind* 'blind, concealed, dark or closed at one end'/*ON blindr* 'blind,  
 concealed'

Denmark: Blinde Sig, Djursland (1683 *den Blind sig*), Blindkilde, Ringkøbing  
 Amt (1506–15 *Blindkiællæ* 1506–15).

Norway: Blinde, Hordaland (*Blindernar* 1427; *NG* xi:359), Blindem, Møre og  
 Romsdal (*Blinndem* 1603; *NG* xiii:143).

England: *on þonan blindan will* (1044) Dawlish, Devon (S1003; Hooke  
 1994:204), Blindwell Butts and Field, Oxfordshire (*Blundewlle* c.1230  
 (c.1280); *PNO* i:175).

*OE boga* 'bow, arch, bend'/*ON bogi* 'bow, arch, vault'.

Denmark: Bov, Tønderområdet (*Bughe* 1365; *DS* v:612), Bov, Åbenråområdet  
 (*Bow* 1313; *DS* vi:558), Bovbjerg, Ringkøbing Amt (*Boemenbergen*  
 1516; *DS* xvii:153).

Norway: Bøgaset, Buskerud (no early forms) from hypothesised \**Bogasetr*  
 and by a curve in a mountain (*NG* v:88), ?Bogsti, Hedmark (*Bogestig*



1520; *NG* iii:12), Baugtveit, Hordaland (*Bogetwet* 1519–20; *NG* xi:335).

England: Boughton, Gloucestershire (cf. *Bougham* 1317; *PNGl* iii:204) (with *OE hamm*), Boode, Devon (*Boghewode* 1330; *PND*:33).

*OE bræc* 'breach, land broken up for cultivation' / *OWN brekka* 'slope, hill'.

Denmark: Brækholm, Thy (*Breckholm* (1430 (1584); *DS* xxi:255).

Norway: Lerbrekke, Rogaland (*i Læirbrecku* 1389; *NG* x:115) and Brekke, Østfold (*i Brækko* 1366; *NG* i:204).

England: *innon þa bræce* (11th c.) Chilton, Berkshire (S934; Kelly 2000–01 ii:537), *on bican brache* (10th c.) Upton Lovell, Wiltshire (S642; L 642).

*OE \*bræcen* 'bracken' / *ON \*brakni* 'bracken'

Denmark: *Bregentved* [lost] Roskildeområdet (*Brekethued* 1364; *DS* xxvi:164), Bregninge, islands south of Fyn (*Bregning* 1375; *DS* xiii:52).

Norway: ?Brekne, Vest-Agder (*a Bræknom* 1292; *NG* ix:189).

England: Breckenbrough, North Yorkshire (*Bracheberc* 1086; *PNYN*:275) and *Brakenhalecroft* (1355) Berkshire (*PNBrk*:510).

*OE Brettas* 'Britons' / *ON Breti* (pl. *Bretar*) 'Briton'

Denmark: no examples found.

Norway: no examples found.

England: ?*Brutecombe* (1280) Isle of Wight (*VEPN*: s.v. *Brettas*; possibly instead *OE bryten* 'spacious').

*OE brōc* 'stream' and (in early usages) 'marsh' / *ODan \*brōk* 'marsh'

Denmark: Brokflod, Ringkøbing Amt (*stein brog flodh* 1486; *DS* xvii p. 211), Sabro, Århus Amt (*Saghæbrokheret* 1231 (c.1300), *Sauebrock* 1236 (1606); *DS* xii p. 37).

Norway: Honnebrog, Aust-Agder (*Honnebrog* 1593; *NG* viii:120), ?Braker, Oppland (*i Brokom* 1348; *NG* iv:193).

England: *on smalan cumbes broc* (970 (12th c.)) Clifton, Somerset (L777.000; S777), *on tenet para brocas 7 on hyring brocas* (978), Tenterden, Kent (L1215.000; S1215).

OE **brūn** adj. 'dark, brown'/ON **brúnn** adj. 'brown'

Denmark: Brolund, Odenseområdet (*Brunlund* 1610; *DS* 14 [no page]), *Brunshussted* [lost], Ringkøbing Amt (*Brunshusted* 1444; *DS* xii:82).

Norway: ?Brunla, Vestfold (*a Brynla* 1376–, *Brølla* 1444–, *Brunlach* 1472; *NG* vi:314), Brønstad, Buskerud (*a Brunstodum* 1381; *NG* v:392) (or ON**brunnr**) and four other identical names, Brunstad, Vestfold, Bromstad, Sør-Trøndelag, Brønstad, Nord-Trøndelag and Brunstad in Hedmark (*NG* vi:181, xiv:339, xv:281 and iii:133).

England: (probably as a river-name) *Bronsforde* [lost], Kent (*æt brunes forda* 940; S464; Cullen 1997:39), Brendon, Somerset (*Brunedun* 1204 (14th c.). *VEPN*: s.v. brūn<sup>1</sup>).

OE **brycg**, f. 'bridge' and possibly 'causeway'/ON **bryggja**, f. 'landing-stage, gang-plank, jetty, pier'.

Denmark: (?)Birkesø, Århusområdet (*Brygesøe* 1469 (1606)) and nearby Bryggebjerg (*Bryge Bierg* 1780 [1903]; *DS* xii:128).

Norway: Bryggja, Sogn og Fjordane (*Bryggen* 1723; Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997: s.v. Bryggja).

England: Bristol (*to brycgstowe*; ASC D s.a. 1052; Cubbin 1996:71), *to mægdenne brigce* (975x78 [1000–1050]), Worcestershire (S1373; L1373.1.000), Elbridge, Kent (*be þæl brycge* 948; S535; L535.1.000); [perhaps meaning causeway]: Slimbridge, Gloucestershire (*Heslinbruge* 1086, *Slim*-, *Slymbrug(ia)*, *-brug(g)e* c.1153–1487; *PNGl* ii:247–48; Gelling and Cole 2000 [2003]:68; *VEPN* s.v. brycg), Ricebridge Hill, Surrey (*Risbrig* 1198; *PNSr*:306).

*OE bucca* ‘buck, male deer’ and sometimes ‘he-goat’ (and the rare strong form *bucc*)/*ON bukk* ‘he-goat’.

Denmark: Bukbjerg, Ringkøbing Amt (*Bukebierig* 1629; *DS* xvii:374),  
Bukdal, Hjerm herred (*Bukkædall* 1438; *DS* xvii:166) and Bukkehave,  
Lolland (Buckehaffue 1419 (1624); *DS* xi:100).

Norway: Bukkeli, Vestfold (*Buckelid* 1555; *NG* vi:253) and (perhaps as a  
byname) Boksrud, Akershus og Oslo (*Bougsrudt* 1617; *NG* ii:382).

England: Buckfast, Devon (*on Bukfæsten* 1046 (12th c.); *S*1474; *PND*:293),  
*onbuccanslæd* (11th c.) Withington, Gloucestershire (L1556.000;  
*S*1556), (Higher, Lower) Buckham, Dorset (*Bochenham* 1086; *PND*o  
iv:241–42).

*OE būr* *n.* ‘chamber, dwelling, cottage’/ *ON búr* *n.* ‘store-house, small house’.

Denmark: Bur, Ringkøbing Amt (*buræ* 1206; *DS* xvii:209), Burkal,  
Tønderområdet (*Burcal* 1401–50; *DS* v:612).

Norway: Burul (Østre og Vestre), Oppland (*a Burufi* 1321; *NG* iv:78), Burum,  
Oslo og Akershus (*i Bureimom* c.1400; *NG* ii:58), and ?Busnes (Østre  
og Vestre), Telemark (*a Bwssness, i Bwrssnæss* 1521; *NG* vii:291).

England: Bowerhayes, Devon (*Bureheghe* 1196; *PND*:614) and Bower,  
Worcestershire (*la Boure* 1236; *PNWo*:30).

*OE busc* ‘bush, thicket’/ *ON \*buskr* (?and *ODan buski*) ‘bush, thicket’

Denmark: Hjørbusk, Salling (*Hørbuske* 1546; *DS* ix:38) and (from *ODan*.  
*\*byski* ‘stand of bushes’) Buske, Præstøområdet (*Biske* 1485; *DS*  
xvi:145).

Norway: Buskebakke, Oppland (*Buske Backe* 1578; *NG* iv:59) and Busk,  
Hedmark (*Rødbusk* 1594; *NG* iii:281).

England: Buskin, Devon (*atte Busken* 1329; *PND*:140–41), *Welfarebushe*  
(1370) [unlocalised field-name] Wiltshire (*PNW*:425).

OE **camb** ‘comb, crest’/ON **kambr** ‘comb, crest’

Denmark: no examples found.

Norway: Kambo, Østfold (*Kamborn* 1277; *NG* i:356), Kamsvaag, Møre og Romsdal (*af Kambswage* 1430–40; *NG* xiii:366), Kamfjord, Vestfold (*i Kambafioll* c.1400; *NG* vi:276).

England: Combs, Suffolk (*Cambas* 1086; Watts 2004: s.v. Combs), *Kambesfeld* (1234), Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (*PNCa*:21), Cambo, Northumberland (*Camho* 1230; Watts 2004: s.v. Cambo).

OE **catt** ‘cat’/ON **køtt** ‘cat’<sup>336</sup>

Denmark: Katbjerg, Randersområdet (*Carreberg* 1170–80, *Katbiergh* 1440; Jørgensen 2008 s.v. ‘Katbjerg’), Katterød, Svendborgområdet (*Kathæreuthe* 1412 (1607); *DS* xiii:69), Kattinge, Roskildeområdet (*Kattinge* 1290; *DS* xxvi:101).

Norway: Kattestad, Oppland (*a Kattæstaðom* 1337; *NG* iv:46) and Katteland (*Karteland* 1610, *Katteland* 1616; *NG* x:130)

England: (weak forms) *Cattan ege* (966), Oxfordshire (*PNO*:50) and Catten Hall, Cheshire (*Catenhale*, 1129–48; *PNCh* iii:240); (strong forms) *in catteshlinc* (11th c.), Gloucestershire (*S1556*; *PNGL* i:171) and *?to catleage* (956) Berkshire (*S*:663; *PNBrk*:729).

OE (WSax.) **ceald**, (Angl.) **cald** ‘cold, exposed’/ON **kald**, ‘cold’

Denmark: Koldbro, Vendyssel (*Koldbro* 1532; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Koldbro) and Koldby, Tønderområdet (*Koldebuy* 1543; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Koldby<sup>2</sup>).

Norway: Kalvell, Aust-Agder (*Kaldueld*, *Kalffuildt* 1593; *NG* viii:148), and Kalleim, Rogaland (*Kallem* 1567; *NG* x:283).

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<sup>336</sup> In some names, both in England and Scandinavia, the element may be used as a byname.

. England: Chalfield, Wiltshire (*at Chaldfelde* 1001 (15th c.); S899; Kelly 1995:116) and Caudwell, Gloucestershire (*on cealdwillan lace, on ða, of ðere cealdanwyllan* 11th c.(c.1200); S1553; *PNGL* i:214).

*OE cealf* ‘calf’/*ON kalfr* ‘calf’

Denmark: Strynø Kalv, islands south of Fyn (*Str?n calf* 13th c., *strynkalf* 1480; *DS* xiii:62), Kalvslund, Tønderområdet (*kalfslwnd* 1330–48; *DS* iii:153; cf. also *calslundhæreth* 1291, *DS* iv:498; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Kalvslund) and Kalvehave, Præstøområdet (*Kalvehav* 1250–1300, *Kaluæhaghæ* 1304; *DS* xvi:220).

Norway: Hvaalekalven, Vestfold (*i Hwalakalf* c.1400; *NG* vi:325), Kalven, Hordaland (*i Eyiarkalfenum* 1324 [1379]; *NG* xi:34) Kalveland, Møre og Romsdal (*Kalffeland* 1520–21; *NG* xiii:436).

England: (perhaps as a derived personal name) Chalvington, Sussex (*Calvintone, Calvintone* 1086; Watts 2004: s.v. Chalvington; *PNSx* ii:398) and Challock, Kent (*ad cealfalocum* 824; S1434; L1434.2.000).

*OE clif* n. ‘clif, steep slope’/*ON klif* n. ‘a cliff’, in Norway ‘cliff with a path’

Denmark: no certain examples of *ON klif* due to difficulty of distinguishing from *ON kleif*; possibilities are: Kløv, Thy (*Klef* 1472 (c.1700); *DS* [online only] Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Kløv), *Kløvlund* [lost] Frederiksborg Amt (*Cløfflund* 1370; *DS* ii:99), (or *ON klauf*) Kløvested, Roskildeområdet (*Kløuæstæthæ* 1347; *DS* xvi:260).

Norway: Klever, Vestfold (*a Kliuum* 1330; *NG* vi:34), Ranklev, Oppland (*a Ramneklef* 1329; *NG* iv:150).

England: Clifton on Teme, Worcestershire (*Cliftun* 934 (11th c.); *PNWo*:43), Clevedon, Somerset (*Clivedone* 1086; Watts 2004: s.v. Clevedon), Cliffe, Kent (*Clieve* 833 (13th c.); Watts 2004: s.v. Cliffe).

OE *\*clacc* ‘a hill a peak’/ON *klakkr* ‘a mountain knoll, a clump, a peak’

Denmark: Klakring, Vejle Amt (*Clachrund* 1420; *DS* viii:25), Klakketsmølle, Lolland (*Klacheds Mølle* 1681; *DS* xi:90), Klaks Mølle, Skanderborg Amt (*Klagsmølle* 1610; *DS* xii:219).

Norway: Sundklak, Nordland (*Synderklack* 1567; *NG* xvi:316), Klaksvik, Møre og Romsdal (*Klagsuigh* 1590; *NG* xiii:430), ?Klekken, Buskerud (*a Klækkini* 1346; *NG* v:43).

England: Clacton, Essex (*Claccingtune* c.1000 (c.1125); OE derivative *\*claccing* ‘hill-like place’ or personal name *\*Clacc* and ‘connective’ -*ing-*; *PNEss*:334; Watts 2004: s.v. Great Clacton), and Jaywick, Essex (*Clakyngeywyk*, *Clakenjaywyk(k)e* 1438; OE *\*Claccinge* ‘hill-like place’ or ‘place-named after *\*Clacc*; *PNEss*:335; *VEPN* s.v. *\*clacc*; Watts 2004: s.v. Jaywick), Clack Mount, Wiltshire (*Clak*’ 1310; *PNW*:271), Clack Hill, Northamptonshire (*super Clak* [no date]; *PNEss*:lviii), [of] *clacces wadlande* (cf. *Clakkesle* 1387) Pyrton, Oxfordshire (late-tenth- or early-eleventh-century forgery; S104; *PNO*:86–89).

OE *cnotta* ‘a knot’/ON *knøttr* ‘a ball’ (ME *knot* ‘a hard mass, a rocky hill’)

Denmark: Stenknotte, Svendborgområdet (*den saakaldte Steenknotte* 1839; *DS* xv:113).

Norway: Knotten, Nord-Trøndelag (*Knottenn* 1590; *NG* xv:13), Knotten, Møre og Romsdal (*Knøtt* 1603; *NG* xiii:21), ?Knatterud, Oppland (*Knatterudh* 1578; *NG* iv:96).

England: Knotting, Bedfordshire (*Chenotinga* 1086; *PNBd*:15), ?Notting Hill, Middlesex (*Knottyng hull*’ 1356; *PNMx*:129–30), Knottenhill [lost], Worcestershire (*Knotes hull*, *Cnotes hull*, *Cnottes hull* 1240; *PNWo*:284).

OE *cot(t)*, *cotte* ‘cottage, hut’/ON *kot* ‘cottage, hut’

Denmark: no examples found in early-recorded names.<sup>337</sup>

Norway: Kaade, Vest-Agder (*i Kotum* 1378; *NG* ix:305), Kaapegot, Østfold (*Kapokot* c.1400; *NG* i:330), Kaater, Østfold (*Kotar* c.1400; *NG* i:362).

England: *on ða ðic bufan foxcotun* (951×59 (14th/15th c.) Old Swinford, Worcestershire (S579; L579), Smethcott, Shropshire (*Smerecote* 1086, *Smethecot* 1203–34; *PNSa* i:274), Beckett House and Park, Shrivenham, Berkshire (*Becote* 1086; *PNBrk*:376).

OE *\*crōc* ‘a crook’/ON *krókr* m. ‘a crook, a bend’.

Denmark: Bredekrog, Tønderområdet (*Brethæcrok* 1294; *DS* iii:140), Hovedskov krog, Randersområdet (*Hoffuettskoukrogh* 1496 [1583]; *DS* xviii i:96), Krogsbæk, Djursland (*Krogsbeck* 1453 [1584-1602]; *DS* (online only); Jørgensen 2008 s.v. ‘Krogsbæk’).

Norway: Krokedal, Østfold [by a river bend] (*i Krokadale* c.1400; *NG* i:24), Kroken, Vestfold (*i Krokenom* 1370; *NG* vi:280).

England: ?*Crockhurst* [lost], Horsham, Sussex (*preo Croc hyrsta* 947 (18th c.); *PNSx*:226; Kelly 2000–01:163–68), Crookham, Berkshire (*Crocheham* 1086; *PNBrk*:188–89), Cricklade, Wiltshire (*to Creccagelade* 1025×930, *CROCGLA* 979×85; *PNW*:42; Carroll and Parsons 2007:108), Cruckmeole, Shropshire (*Crok(e)mele* 1291–92; *PNSa* ii:32–34), Cruckton, Shropshire (*Crukton*’, *Crotton*’ (p), *Crokton* 1271–72; *PNSa*:ii:34).

OE *cū* f. ‘a cow’/ON *kýr* f. ‘a cow’.

Denmark: Korup, Tønderområdet [or a personal name] (*Quorup* 1369; *DS* v:568; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. ‘Korup<sup>3</sup>’), (lost) Korup, Assenområdet [or

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<sup>337</sup> Several names contain reflexes of ODan. *\*kaldækot* ‘cold hut or cottage’; however, this is thought to be a borrowing from OE (cf., for example, *DS* v:435, vii:295, ix:94, xiii: 69 and xii:20).

a byname] (*Koropes Stycher*, *Karupe Jord* 1682; *DS* xiv:no page),  
 Koed, Djursland (*Cowit* 1343; *DS* online; Jørgensen 2008: s.v.  
 ‘Koed’).

Norway: Kyset søndre og nordre, Oppland (*a Kyrsetre* 1360; *NG* iv:95).

England: Much Cowarne, Herefordshire (*Covene Majori* 1088, *Magne  
 Co(w)ern(e)* 1243–1373; Watts 2004 s.v. Much Cowarne), Cowden,  
 Kent (*Cudena* c.1100; Watts 2004 s.v. Cowden), Keyhaven,  
 Hampshire (*Ki-*, *Kyhavene* c.1170–1316; Watts 2004: s.v. Keyhaven).

*OE dæl* ‘a pit, hollow’ and probably also ‘a valley’/*ON dalr* ‘a valley’

Denmark: Dybdal, for instance in Mors (*Dybdall* 1469 (1752); *DS* [online  
 only]), Resdal, Viborgområdet (*Ryszdall* 1469 [1580]; *DS* ix:213),  
 Dal, Ringkøbing Amt (*Daal* 1498; *DS* xvii:11), Dalum Kloster,  
 Odenseområdet (*Monasterii Dalumensis* 1249, *Dalum* 1268; *DS* xiv  
 [no page]).

Norway: Dal Nordre, Nedre og Østre, Akershus og Oslo (*a Dali* 1380; *NG*  
 ii:288), Dalsegg Søndre og Nordre, Oppland (*a Dallseg* 1382; *NG*  
 iv:124), Holmedal (*i Holmudali* 1306 [later copy], *i Holmudal* 1334;  
*NG* xii:264).

England: *anlang þara ealdena dala* (904 (15th c.) Micheldever, Hampshire  
 (S374; L374.000), *dun in þæt dæll þ[æt] onðlong þæs dæles* [identified  
 with a valley] (969 (c.1000–50)), Perry, Worcestershire (S1327;  
 L1327.2.000; Hooke 1990:284–85), Doverdale, Worcestershire (*on  
 douer-dæle · 7lang douer-dæles ongeign stream*) c.1050–1100;  
*PNWo*:239; S1596; L1596.2.000), Dalwood, Devon (*Dalewude* 1195;  
*PND*:638–39), Debdale Farm, Cookley, Worcestershire (*Diepedale,  
 Depedale* 1187 (p), 1240; *PNWo*:258).

*OE \*demming*/*ON \*demming* ‘a dam’

Denmark: Dæmningager, Tønderområdet (*Demming Agger* 1683; *DS* v:286),  
 Sorte Dæmmings Holm islands south of Fyn (*Sorte Demmings Holm*  
 1682; *DS* xv:152)



Norway: no instances of ON \**demming* but cf. Damli, Sør-Trøndelag (*Damlidt* 1624; *NG*: xiv:131–32), Damman, Nordland (*Damboe* 1643; *NG* xvi:11).

England: Demmage Farm, Cheshire (*le Demmyng* 1357; *PNCh* iv:176).

OE *dēop*, adj. 'deep'/ON *djúpr*, adj 'deep'.

Denmark: (?)Dybe, Ringkøbing Amt (*dybek* c.1325; *DS* xvii:135), Dybsø, Præstøområdet (*Dyupsø* 1231 (1300); *DS* xvi:184), Dybvad, Vendsyssel (*Dyybwadh* 1408; Jørgensen 2008 s.v. Dybvad).

Norway: Djubo, Vest-Agder (*til Diwbw* 1490; *DS* ix:74), Dybing, Rogaland (*Diubing* 1563; *NG* x:43).

England: *of deopan forda* (961 (12th c.)) *Evesty*, Somerset (L692.000; S692), *on deopan dell* (988 (15th c.)) South Highton, Sussex (L869.000; S869), *on þa deopan ripe* (956) Annington, Sussex (L624.000; S624).

OE \**dūfe* 'pigeon, dove'/ON *dúfa* 'pigeon, dove'

Denmark: Durup, Salling (*Durup* 1453 (1961); *DS* x:39),<sup>338</sup> Duebjerg, Bornholm (*Duebierig* 1486 (in later transcript [for which no date is given]); Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Duebjerg), Dueholm, Mors (*Duholm* 1389 (in later transcript [for which no date is given]); Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Dueholm)

Norway: Duaasen, Hedmark (*Dufuoas* c.1400; *NG* iii:179), Duvold, Vest-Agder (*Duvold* 1594; *NG* ix:193),<sup>339</sup> Dueland, Rogaland (*Dueland* 1602; *NG* x:436).

England: *Le Douehouse* (1551) Faringdon, Berkshire (*PNBrk*:370), ?Dow Bridge, Newton, Warwickshire (*Duuebrigge* c.1150; *PNWa*:117),<sup>340</sup> ?Dow Bridge, Lilbourne, Northamptonshire (*pons de Douuebrigge* 1330; *PNNth*:73).

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<sup>338</sup> Or a derived byname.

<sup>339</sup> Or a derived byname.

<sup>340</sup> Or a personal name.

*OE ende* ‘end’/*ON endi* ‘end’

Denmark: Gravende, Århusområdet (*paa graweændhen* 1490; *DS* xii:8),  
 Nørresøende, Viborgområdet (*Søende* 1490; *DS* ix:9), Sjørring,  
 Viborgområdet (*Sørind* 1426; *DS* ix:144).

Norway: Ende, Østfold (*i Ænda* 1387; *NG* i:212), Settem, (*af Sættende*,  
*Settænde* c.1430–40; *NG* xiii:409; Møre og Romsdal), Ende, Vestfold  
*(i Ænda* c.1400; *NG* vi:71).

England: Mile End, Lambourn, Berkshire (*Mile ende* c.1220; *PNBrk*:336), *le*  
*Northmedehende* (1298) Aston Rowant, Oxfordshire (*PNO*:105), *on*  
*þæs hagan ende* (944 (13th c.)) Brimpton, Berkshire (*S500*; *L500*).

*?OE fealden* ‘folded’/*ON faldinn* ‘folded’

Denmark: no examples found.

Norway: no examples found.

England: no further examples found.

*OE* (WSax.) (*ge*)*feall*, (*Angl.*) (*ge*)*fall* ‘a fall’, in place-names ‘a felling of  
 trees’/*ON fall* ‘a fall’, in place-names ‘fallen trees, a felling of trees,  
 land-slip’

Denmark: [interpreted as meaning ‘slope’]: Falleskov, Viborgområdet  
*(Fallidtz skoff* 1410 (1540–49); *DS* ix:145), Foldsagre, Københavns  
 Amt (*Faldtzager* 1682; *DS* xx:89).

Norway: Melfald, Telemark (*i litla Mælfallæ* c.1400; *NG* vii:158), Fallan,  
 Sør-Trøndelag (*a Fallum* c.1200; *NG* xiv:319), Fallin, Sør-Trøndelag  
*(Ffalle* 1520–21; *NG* xiv:111).

Sweden: [meaning ‘slash-and-burn clearing’] Falla, Östergötland (*Falla* 1543;  
 Wahlberg 2003: s.v. Falla).

England: [referring to a water-fall]: ?Burnivale, Malmesbury, Wiltshire  
*(Burneval* 12th c.; *PNW*:49).

*OE flēot* ‘an estuary, inlet, arm of the sea’/ON *fljót* ‘a river’

Denmark: Blindflyd, Tønderområdet (*Flyden* 1771; *DS* v:125).

Norway: Fløter, Østfold (*i Fliotom* c.1400; *NG* i:375).

Iceland: Markarfljót, river-name (*Markarfljót* 1300–1325; *ONP* s.v. fljót, sb.).

England: *pest be mearc fleote* (948) Wickhambreux, Kent (*S535*; *L535.1.000*),  
*upp andlang þæs fleotes* (1044) Dawlish, Devon (*S1003*; *L1003.000*),  
*to snoddan fleote* (956 (13th c.)) Hanney, Berkshire (*S597*; *L597.000*).

*OE flōr, flōre* ‘floor’/ON *flórr* ‘cow-stall (floor)’

Denmark: ? Florekær, Samsø (*Flor Kier* 1794; *DS* i:55),<sup>341</sup> ?Nyråd Florkehuse  
 (cf. *Florcke Marcken* 1682; *DS* xvi:225).

Norway: no examples found.

England: *to fagan floran* (900–04 (11th c.)) Water Eaton, Oxfordshire (*L361*;  
*S361*), Floore, Northamptonshire (*Flora* 1086; *PNNth*:82), Flower  
 Farm, Godstone, Surrey (*Flore* 1274; *PNSr*:318), Fawler, Oxfordshire  
 (*Fauflor* 1205; *PNO*:421).

*OE fōt* ‘foot, the bottom’/ON *fótr* ‘foot’

Denmark: Lundfod, Vejleområdet (*Lundtfoed* 1632; *DS* viii:77), Vildfod,  
 Tønderområdet (*Wildfoed ager* 1683; *DS* v:141).

Norway: Aamelfot (indre-, ytre-), Møre og Romsdal (*Omffoodt, Amulffoe*  
 1520–21; *NG* xiii:81), ?Fostad (østre-, vestre-), Oppland (*Fodstedt*  
 1520; *NG* iv:79).<sup>342</sup>

England: *onbútan fótes eige* (969) Aspley Guise, Bedfordshire (*L772*; *S772*),  
 High Stoy, Minterne Magna, Dorset (cf. *Staweyesfote* 1270;  
*PNDo*:163), *Lullingesfote* (1240) Lydford, Devon (*PND*:195).

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<sup>341</sup> Alternatively, a German loanword.

<sup>342</sup> Perhaps a derived personal name.

*OE fūl 'foul'/ON fúll 'foul'*

Denmark: Fuglevad, Københavns Amt (*Ffulewadzmølle* 1492; *DS* xxv:239),  
 Fulhutterne, Svendborgområdet (*Fulhutterne* 1786; *DS* xv:159),  
 Følbæksmarken, Svendborgområdet (*Fulbegsmarck* 1554; *DS* xv:78).  
 Norway: Fugleviken, Vestfold (*Fulaviik* c.1400; *NG* vi:313), Fuglevik,  
 Østfold (*Fulawiik* c.1400; *NG* i:354).  
 England: *in fulbroc* (1017 (17th c.)) Bentley, Worcestershire (S1384;  
 L1384.000), *be norðan þam fulan landa* (1042 (12th c.)) Littleham,  
 Devon (S998; L998.000), *on þa fulan lake* (956 (13th c.)) Uddens in  
 Hold, Dorset (S609; L609.2.000).

*OE gærs, græs/ON gras, \*gres 'grass'*

Denmark: Græse, Frederiksborg Amt (*Greswiidh, Greswith* 1370; *DS* ii:113),  
 Græsted, Frederiksborg Amt (*Gresholte* 1299; *DS* ii:54), Grejs,  
 Vejleområdet (*Greese* 1330–48; considered a collective ODan \**græsæ*;  
*DS* viii:54).  
 Norway: Grastveid, Rogaland (*Gressthuedt* 1563; *NG* x:85) and perhaps  
 Grøsbrokken, Vest-Agder (*Greßbrock* 1601; *NG* ix:89).  
 England: Garsdon, Wiltshire (*Gersdune* 701 (14th c.), *Gardone* 1086;  
*PNW*:58–59); cf. *to þan grestune* (1015 (12th c.)) Chilton, Berkshire  
 (S934; L934.1.000).

*OE gealga/ON galgi 'a gallows'*

Denmark: Galgehøj, Københavns Amt (*Gallehøyen* 1682; *DS* xxv:96),  
 Gallehus, Tønderområdet (*Gallihusþ* 1537–38; *DS* v:244), Galsted,  
 Haderslevområdet (*Gallsted* 1510; *DS* iv:701).  
 Norway: (?lost) name indicated by text in Norwegian diploma from 1389:  
*herre Swale atte siogarhusin j Galghanom* (*ONP* s.v. *galgi*, sb.); no  
 further examples found.  
 England: Gallos Brook, Oxfordshire (*Gallesbrooke* 1422; *PNO*:7), Galley Hill,  
 Essex (*le Galwehill* 1414; *PNess*:33), *to þam galhtreope* (956 (12th c.))

Kettering, Northamptonshire (S592; L592.000), Gallows Field [lost],  
Cheshire (*le Galtreuehul* c.1300; *PNCh* i:118).

*OE geat* ‘a hole, opening, gap’/*ON gata* ‘way, path, road’

Denmark: Smedegade, Slagelse, Sorøområdet (*Smitiegadhe* 1382 (c.1440); *DS* xxiv:47), Bjørnebrogade, København (*Byørnebrogadæ* 1377; *DS* [Online]), Bredgade, Ribe, Tønderområdet (*Brethegatae* 1299; *DS* [Online only]).

Norway: Gutu, Vestfold (*i Gatu* 1330; *NG* vi:37), Nesgotu, Akershus og Oslo  
(*a Nesgotu* 1342; *NG* ii:289), Rensgata, Vestfold (*i Reidhulfsgatu*  
c.1400; *NG* vi:192).

England: *of þan fulan geate* (982 (15th c.)) *Meolocdun*, Isle of Wight (S842;  
L842.3.000), *ut æt þā pest geate* (956 (13th c.)) Didlington, Dorset  
(S609; L609.1.000), *on dices geat* (958) Staunton on Arrow,  
Herefordshire (S677; L677.000).

*OE grēne*/*ON grænn* ‘green, young, growing’ (cf. also *OE \*grēne* n. ‘a  
grassy spot, a village green’)

Denmark: Grønholt, Frederiksborg Amt (*Grønholt* 1157–82 (1688); *DS* ii:20),  
Grønsund [waters between Falster and Møn] (*in Grónesund* c.1186  
(1642), *in Gronesund* 1211; *DS* xi:224), Grønbæk, Viborgområdet  
(*Grønæbæc* 1231 (13th c.); *DS* ix:192).

Norway: Grønskei, Telemark (*Grenaskææd* c.1430; *NG* vii:272), Grønlund,  
Akershus og Oslo (*i Grønlundi* c.1400; *NG* ii:12), Grønnesby, Sogn og  
Fjordane (*af By a Grønese* 1430–40; *NG* xv:195).

England: *to þam grenan pege* (963 (11th c.)) Laughern, Worcestershire  
(S1297; L1297.2.000), *on þa grenan dic* (995 (13th c.)) Ardley,  
Oxfordshire (S883; L883.000), *on þone grenan peg* (1042 (12th c.))  
Littleham, Devon (S998; L998.000).

OE *grēot* 'gravel'/ON *grjót* 'stones'

Denmark: ?Grydsbæk, Ringkøbing Amt (*Griisbæk* 1506–15, *grøtysbeck* c.1525; *DS* xvii:128; Kousgård Sørensen 1968–96 ii:270),<sup>343</sup> Gribsvad, Assensområdet (*Grydz Veed* 1606; *DS* xiv [no page given]), ?Grydholt, Ringkøbing Amt (*Grydholt* 1547; *DS* xvii:258).<sup>344</sup>

Norway: Grøstøl, Hordaland (*Grødstadt* 1518; *NG* xi:40), Grøttvet nordre, mellom og søndre, Østfold (*Griotpuæit* 1357; *NG* i:41), Grjotland, Hordaland (*a Griotlandi* c.1360; *NG* xi:538).

England: *greotan edescas lond* (822 (9th c.)) *Mylentun* near Kemsing, Kent (S186; L186.2.000), Girtford, Bedfordshire (*Grutford* 1247; *PNBd*:108), Gourt, Devon (*la Grutte* 1270; *PND*:343).

OE *\*hæfera* 'oats'/ON *hafri* 'oats' and OE *hæfer* 'he-goat'/ON *hafr* 'he-goat'<sup>345</sup>

Denmark: Havrum, Skanderborghområdet (*Haffrom* 1424 (1606); *DS* xii:219; ON *hafri*), Hevring, Sjursland (*Heffringhby* 1466; *DS* xviii (2):44; (probably) derivative of either ON *hafri* or *hafr*), Havreholm, Frederiksborg Amt (*Hauerholm* 1178 [in a later copy]; Jørgensen 2008 s.v. Havreholm; ON *hafri*), Hovslund, Åbenråområdet (*Howerslund* 1474; ODan *\*hawær*, ON *hafr*; Jørgensen 2008 s.v. Hovslund; *DS* vi:96).

Norway: Hartveit, Hordaland (*Hafrapuæit* c.1360; *NG* xi:299; ON *hafri*), Havre, Hordaland (*Hafra* 1303; *NG* xi:305; ON *hafr* [and *á*]), Haveland, Sogn og Fjordane (*Haureland* 1519–20; *NG* xii:200; ON *hafri* or *hafr*).

England: *in occidente hefer fleot* (875 (9th c.)) *Hamm* (?near Faversham), Kent (S1203; L1203.2.000; OE *hæfer*), Haveland, Devon (*Haverlond* 1330; *PND*:646).

<sup>343</sup> Alternatively ODan. *\*grȳti* 'area with stones, collection of stones'.

<sup>344</sup> Alternatively ODan. *\*grȳti* 'area with stones, collection of stones' or ODan. *\*grȳta* 'saucepan' (used of depressions).

<sup>345</sup> Preferred element in cited source indicated.

OE *\*hær*/ON *\*har* ‘rocky ground’

Denmark: ?Harreskov, Ringkøbing Amt (*Hareshott* 1466; *NG* xvii:333), Hår, Århusområdet (*Hare* 1499; *DS* xii:32).

Norway: Haram, Møre og Romsdal (*i Haramre* 1363; *NG* xiii:206; Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997 s.v. Haram), Harnes, Møre og Romsdal (*Harnes* c.1430–40; *NG* xiii:312).

England: Herne, Bedfordshire (*Hare* 1183; *PNBd*:137).

OE *\*hamol* ‘maimed, mutilated’ and/or ‘flat-topped’<sup>346</sup>/ON *hamall* ‘wedge-shaped’ or ON *\*hǫmull* ‘layer of pebbles’

Denmark: ?Hammelsvang, Ringkøbing Amt (*Hammelsvang/Hammelßwanngh* 1489 (17th c.); *DS* xvii:510), Hammel, Århusområdet (Hamel 1479; *DS* xii:121).

Norway: [meaning ‘pebble’]: ?Homleid, Telemark (*Humble* 1585; *NG* vii:18), Hummelsund, Hordaland (*Hwmleswn* 1520; Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997: s.v. Hummelsund), Håmmåla, Hedmark (no early forms; Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997: s.v. Håmmåla).

England: *on hamelendun* (932 (15th c.)) Fontmell, Dorset (L419; S419), Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire (*Hamelamestede* 1086; *PNHrt*:40–41), Hambledon, Surrey (*Hameledune* 1086; *PNSr*:202).

OE (WSax.) *heall*, (Angl.) *hall* ‘hall’/ON *hǫll* ‘hall’

Denmark: no examples found.

Norway: no examples found.

England: ?*in locum qui dicitur halles meri* (765x85 (1150–1200)) Halling, Kent (S37; L37.000), East Hale, Sussex (*æt Easthealle* 963 (c.1200); *PNSx*:429), Wood Hall, Middlesex (*Wodehall(e)* 1271; *PNMx*:64).

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<sup>346</sup> Smith (1956: s.v. *\*hamol*) suggests the meaning ‘mutilated’, LangScape prefers ‘flat-topped’.)

*OE healf/ON halfa* ‘side, half’ *n.* and *OE healf/ON halfr* ‘half’ *adj.*

Denmark: Halvager, Djursland (*Half Ager* 1683; *DS* xviii(2):24), Halvrimmen, Vendsyssel (*Halv Remen* 1796; *DS* xxi:82).

Norway: ?Issal, Rogaland (*Eitzall* 1563; *NG* x:241; Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997 s.v. Idsa), Overhalla, Nord-Trøndelag (*j æfri halfa* 1309; Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997 s.v. Overhalla).

England: *Langehalve* (1275), Hampshire, *Hundhalve* (1301), *Ryghalve* (1341), *Thornhalve* (1353), *Langehalve* (1371), *Culputtehalve* (1375), *Brodehalven* (1383) and *Sherdhalve* (1393), all in Wiltshire (*PNWi*:434)

*OE \*healf-land/ON \*half-land* ‘half-selion’

Denmark: no examples found.

Norway: no examples found.

England: *Wllehalfflond* (1296) Shelton, Shropshire (reading not certain; *PNSa* iv:169), *Stonihalfflond* (1343) Westbury, Shropshire (*PNSa* ii:70), *Vladiggegreneshalfflond* (1343) Westbury, Shropshire (*PNSa* ii:70).

*OE heorot/ON hjǫrtr* ‘a hart, a stag’

Denmark: Hjertebjerg, Møn (*Hyerthebyergh* 1370–80; *DS* xvi:247), ?Hjordkær, Åbenråområdet (*Hiortteker* 1196 (1424); *DS* vi:279), Hjorte Vrå, Præstøområdet (2 *stycke jorder ... kaldis hiortæ wraa* 1497 (1528); *DS* xvi:229).

Norway: Hjorteland, Vest-Agder (*Hiortæland* 1428; *NG* ix:75), Hjartaaker, Hordaland (*a Hiartakre* 1336; *NG* xi:203), Hjertøen, Hordaland (*Hiertøy* 1430–40; *NG* xiv:67).

England: *pið heort solpe* (849 (1000–50)) Cofton Hackett, Worcestershire (S1272; L1272.000), *to heort pellan* (969 (1000–50)) Evenlode, Gloucestershire (S1325; L1325.000), *to heort hamme* (985 (1100–1150)) Wootton, Berkshire (S858; L858.000).



*OE hlið/ON hlíð* ‘a slope, hill-side’

Denmark: Lidemark, Præstøområdet (*Lithæmark* 1319; *DS* xvi:27), Vester Lidegårde, Himmerland (*Versterligaard* 1578; *DS* xvii:220).

Norway: Braadli, Rogaland (*i Bruarliidh* 1429; *NG* x:39), Lier, Østfold (*i mædal Lidom* 1399; *NG* i:36), Liland, Hordaland (*Lidarland* 1329; *NG* xi:243).

England: *an medwa beneoðan þæm hlipe* (969 (c.1000–50)) Battenhall, Worcestershire (S1327; L1327.1.000), *oð hlið* (880 (1100–1150) Cuxton, Kent (S321; L321.000), *be þæm hlipe* (987 (1050–1100)) Bredicot, Worcestershire (S1369; L1369.000).

*OE hōh* ‘a heel, a spur of land’/ON *haugr* ‘a hill, a heap, a mound’

Denmark: Salløv, Roskildeområdet (*salhauku* 8th c.; *DS* xxvi:215), Hjerpsted, Tønderområdet (*Hyarpzhøgh* 1330–48; *DS* v:314), Sønder Nærå, Odenseområdet (*Niærthøu* 1304; *DS* xiv [no page]), Ishøj, Københavns Amt (*Sihogh* 1279; Jørgensen 2008: s.v Ishøj).

Norway: Haug, Vestfold (*a Haugi* 1419; *NG* vi:72), Hauger, Østfold (*Haugher* 1334; *NG* ii:61), Vegu, Buskerud (*a Vighaugum* 1343; *NG* v:275).

England: *in gates hoh* (1050–1100) Tardebigge, Worcestershire (S1598; L1598.000), *to ættan ho* (947 (1400–1450)) Leckford, Hampshire (S526; L526.000), *on þone ho* (956 (13th c.)) Pyrford, Surrey (S621; L621.000).

*OE hol/ON hol* ‘a hole’

Denmark: Milestedhol, Åbenråområdet (*Mylstede-Holl* 1641; *DS* vi:285), Hol, Haderslevområdet (*in der Holle* 1716–18; *DS* ix:316); [or ON *hola*]: Hvolbæk, Skanderborgområdet (*Huolbeck* 1573; *DS* xii:99).

Norway: [or ON *holr*]: Høle, Oppland (*i Holene* 1385; *NG* xiv:312), ?Holum, Akershus og Oslo (*Holeimr* 1304; *NG* ii:285), Halangen (søndre-, nordre-), Akershus og Oslo (*i Vitholangghæ* 1375–79, *i Hollange* c.1400; *NG* ii:82).

England: Holworth, Dorset ((*at*) *Holewertþe* 843 for 934 (17th c.); *PND*o i:140), Ford, Temple Guiting, Gloucestershire (cf. *Holeforde* 1185; *PNGl* ii:14), Stair Hole, West Lulworth, Dorset (*Starhole* 1279; *PND*o i:133).

[see also OE/ON *hol/holr* below.]

**OE *hol*/ON *holr* ‘hollow’**

Denmark: [or ON *hola*]: ?Hullebæk, Falster (*Holæbæk* 13th c.; *DS* ii:196),  
?Hulager, Bornholm (*Hol Ageren* 1685; *DS* x:339).

Norway: [or ON *hol*]: ?Holem, Sør-Trøndelag (*af Holeime* 1430–40; *NG* xiv:282).

England: Hollow Court, Hollowfields Fm, Hanbury, Worcestershire (*Holewei*, *Haloede* 1086; *PNWo*:323), Hophills Rhine, Elberton, Gloucestershire (*on holan pyl* 929 (11th c.); *PNGl* iii:114), *to holan broce* (958 (12th c.) Ayshford and Boehill, Devon (L653; S653)

[see also OE/ON *hol/hol* above.]

**OE *holt*/ON *holt* ‘wood’**

Denmark: Boholt, Svendborgområdet (*Botholt* 1375 (1476); *DS* xiii:158),  
Lergravholt, Sorøområdet (*Leergrauæ holt* 1343; *DS* xxiii:141),  
Holte, Skanderborgområdet (*Holte* 1231 (c.1300); *DS* xii:97).

Norway: Holt, Akershus og Oslo (*i Holte* 1346; *NG* ii:222), Fagerholt,  
Buskerud (*i Faghræholte* c.1400; *NG* v:267), Søndre Holte, Buskerud  
(*i Holtum*; *NG* v:283).

England: Holt, Worcestershire (*Holte* 1086; *PNWo*:141), Chettisholt, Ottery St Mary, Devon [lost] (*cetesholt* 1061; *PND*:604), Sparsholt, Berkshire (*æt Speresholte* 963 (c.1240); *PNBrk*:489).

**OE *horn*/ON *horn* ‘horn’**

Denmark: Horne, Svendborgområdet (*Horn* 1231 (13th c.); *DS* xiii:137),  
Hornbæk, Randersområdet (*Hornbeck* 1347 (1584); *DS* ix:163),  
Hornborg, Skanderborgområdet (*de Hornburgh* 1323; *DS* xii:219).

Norway: Hodne, Sør-Trøndelag (*af Hornom* c.1175; *NG* ii:406), Horni, Akershus og Oslo (*i Honnini* c.1400, *Hornene* 1472; *NG* ii:138), Hornaas Akershus og Oslo (*Honnas* 1311, *Hornnaas* 1354; *NG* ii:193).  
 England: Horne, Surrey (*Horne* 12th c.; *PNSr*:322), Alchin [lost], Buxted, Sussex (*Alsihorne* 1086; *PNSx*:), Ashorne, Newbold Pacey, Warwickshire (*Hassorne* 1196; *PNWa*:257).

*OE hræfn/ON hrafn* 'raven'

Denmark: Ravndal, Skanderbogområdet (*Rauffndall* 1287 (1606); *DS* xii:104), Ravnebjerg, Odenseområdet (*Raffneberg* c.1510; *DS* 14 [no page]), Ravnholt, Viborgområdet (*Raffuennholt* 1511 (1552); *DS* ix:190).  
 Norway: Ranklev (øvre-, nedre-), Oppland (*a Ramneklef* 1329; *NG* iv:150), Remmen (søndre-, nordre-), Østfold (*Ræmniniss* 1344; *NG* i:222), Ravnefjeld, Sogn og Fjordane (*Raffnefeldt* 1608; *NG* xii:411).  
 England: Ramsbury [lost], (*to rammesburi* (yate), (*of rammesburi* (947 (14th c.)) Ashbury, Berkshire (*PNBrk*:346), *on hrefnes pytt* (11th c.) Crowle, Worcestershire (L1876.2; S1591).

*OE hrīs/ON hrís* 'brushwood'

Denmark: Risager, Samsø (*Wæstær risæ* 1291; *DS* viii:73), Rise, Åbenråområdet (*Risæhæreth* 1231 (13th c.); *DS* vi:245), Rejsby, Tønderområdet (*Risby* 1240–1440; *DS* v:142).  
 Norway: Ris, Telemark (*i Risii* c.1400; *NG* vii:120), Riser, Østfold (*a Risum* 1325; *NG* i:386), Risvold, Telemark (*i Riiswallæ* 1477; *NG* vii:300).  
 England: Riseley Fm, Swallowfield, Berkshire (*Rysle* 1300; *PNBrk*:109), *onhrispeg* (777 (11th c.)) Doughton in Tetbury, Gloucestershire (L145; S145), Risdon, Bratton Clovelly, Devon (*Reysdone*, *Rysdone*, *Ryssdone* 1408–37; *PND*:177).

OE *hrycg* ‘a ridge, a long, narrow hill’/ ON *hryggr* ‘a ridge’

Denmark [ON *haugr*]: Rykkerup, Lolland (*R?ggøthorp* 13th c., *Riggæthorp* 1315 (1476); *DS* xi:144), Røjdrup, Himmerland (*Rygdrop* 1485 (1751); *DS Online*; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Røjdrup).

Norway [ON *haugr*]: Rygg, Sogn og Fjordane (*i Rygg* 1303; *NG* xii:457), Rygge, Nordland (*af Sudryggia* AB; *NG* xvi:383), Rygland, Vestfold (*i Ryglange* c.1400; *NG* vi:144).

England [OE *hōh*]: *tocoddanhrycge* (963 (1000–1050)) Cotheridge, Worcestershire (S1303; L1303.000), *to holhrygc gete* (778)<sup>347</sup> Little Bedwyn, Wiltshire (S264; L264.000), *on ceauuan hrycges hagan* (942 (1150–1200) Winkfield, Berkshire (S482; L482.000).

OE *hūs*/ON *hús* ‘house’

Denmark: Huseby, Frederiksborg Amt (*Husæby* 1191–1214; *DS* ii:70), Husum, Københavns Amt (*Hwsumme* after 1400, *Husumæ* 1414; *DS* xxv:66), Bårse, Præstøområdet (*Burghusheret* 1231 (13th c.); *DS* xvi:198).

Norway: Husum (lille-, øvre-), Vestfold (*i Huseimum* 1386; *NG* vi:187), Aarhus, Telemark (*a Aarhusum* 1385; *NG* vii:105), Holdhus, Hordaland (*Holdhuusz* 1366; *NG* xi:192).

England: Stonehouse, Gloucestershire (*Stanhus(e)* 1086; *PNGL* ii:202), *be eastan þon desc hus* (963), Vange, Essex (L717; S717), Brook House, Monkhopton, Shropshire (*Brochous* 1322; *PNSa* iii:172).

OE *hwīt*/ON *hvítr* ‘white’

Denmark: Hviding, Tønderområdet (*Hwitynghæreth* 1231 (13th c.)); *DS* v:122), Hvidbjerg, Thy (*Huittbyerg* 1262; *DS Online*), Hvidkilde, Svendborgområdet (*Wydhekelde* 1374 (1447); *DS* xiii:30).

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<sup>347</sup> Opinion is divided as to whether this is a copy or original (S264).

Norway: Kvitingsø, Rogaland (*i Huitingsyium* 1299; *NG* x:270), Kvitestein, Hordaland (*a Huitastæini* 1324; *NG* xi:512), Hvitstein, Vestfold (*i Huitastæine* 1438; *NG* vi:175).

England: *on hpita ford* (1000–05) Ashburton Estates, Devon (S1547; L1547.000), *onða hpitan hola* (940) Pewsey, Wiltshire (S470; L470.000), *huitan stan* (770) Aston in Stoke Prior, Worcestershire (S59; L59.000).

*OE (WSax.) īeg, īg, (Angl.) ēg* ‘island’/*ON ey* ‘island’

Denmark: Eskilsø, Frederiksborg Amt (*Ekilsø* 1133–66; *DS* ii:139), Thurø, islands south of Fyn (*Thorhe, Thoruø*, c.1170; *DS* xiii:51), Veylø, Præstønrådet (*Wætlø* c.1200; *DS* xvi:168).

Norway: Kalføss, Akershus og Oslo (*Kalføysrud* c.1400; *NG* ii:3), Tyssøen, Hordaland (*Pyssisey* c.1306; *NG* xi:257), Ronnei, Nord-Trøndelag (*i Ryney* c.1300; *NG* xii:25).

England: Sheppey, Kent (*to scaerege* (sic) 850 (13th c.); S300; L300.000), *ofer berege* (956 (12th c.)) Kennington, Berkshire (S614; L614.000), *ymb holaneige* (958) Staunton on Arrow, Herefordshire (S677; L677.000).

*OE ingang* ‘entrance’/*ON innganga* ‘entrance, act of entering’

Denmark: no examples found.

Norway: no examples found.

England: no examples found.

*OE \*innām/ON \*innám* ‘piece of land taken in or enclosed’

Denmark: no examples found.

Norway: no examples found.

England: (North-, South-) Inham Field, Cambridgeshire (*Inneme* 1239; *PNCa*:278), *Eliotes Innome* (1309) Earley, Berkshire (*PNBrk* i:95),

Inholms Copse, Sussex (*Inholmes* in 1642, cf. *Innome* (p) 1327; *PNSx* i:29–30).

*OE lamb/ON lamb* ‘a lamb’

Denmark: ?Lamdrup, Svendborområdet (*Lammedorp* 1407; *DS* xiii:153),<sup>348</sup>  
Lammefjord, Holbækområdet (*Lamefioren* 1691; Jørgensen 2008: s.v.  
Lammefjord).

Norway: Lammøen, Vestfold (*Lambøen* 1625; *NG* vi:293), Lambedal,  
Hordaland (*Lamdall* 1610; *NG* xi:10).

England: Lambside, Holbeton, Devon (*Lammeseta* 1086; *PND*:276), *Lambeie*  
(c.1185) Oxford, Oxfordshire (*PNO*:25), *on lambbrok* (964 (14th c.))  
Steeple Ashton, Wiltshire (L727.1; S727).

*OE land/ON land* ‘land’

Denmark: Landsgraf, Sorøområdet (*Landzgraf* 1351; *DS* xxiv:62), Bredeland,  
Tønderområdet (*Brethæland* 1300–20; *DS* v:52), Nyland,  
Esbjergområdet (*Nyland* 1291; *DS* online only).

Norway: Svinland, Telemark (*i Swinalanðe*, *Swinaland* 1392; *NG* vii:70),  
Hærland, Sogn og Fjordane (*Hæroland* 1341; *NG* xii:256),  
Fløge-Seland, Vest-Agder (*i Siællande* 1414; *NG* ix:149).

England: Oldland, Gloucestershire (*Aldelande* 1086; *PNGL* iii:81), Studland,  
Dorset (*Stollant* 1086; *PND*o i:43), Wellhead Wood, Ewhurst, Sussex  
(probably) *Waliland* 1086; *PNSx*:521).

*OE lang/ON langr* ‘long’

Denmark: Landting, Ringkøbing Amt (*Langætiindmark* 1273–88 (1290–  
1518); *DS* xvii:228), Langeland (*Langaland* 9th c. (c.900); *DS*  
xiii:212), Langerød, Holbækområdet (*Langeruth* 1205 (c.1400); *DS*  
online only).

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<sup>348</sup> Or a personal name.

Norway: Langlo, Vestfold (*i Langaloo* c.1400; *NG* vi:191), Nordgaarden, Telemark (*a Langlem* 1476; *NG* vii:339), Langetveit, Aust-Agder (*i Longapæit* 1374; *NG* viii:44).

England: Langley (Hall), Shropshire (*Languelege* 1086; *PNSa* i:170), Langtree, Devon (*Langtrewa* 1086; *PND*:95), Longborough, Gloucestershire (*Langeberg* 1086; *PNGl* i:246–47).

*OE līm/ON līm* ‘lime’

Denmark: Limfjorden, North Jutland (*i Limaſirðe* ?9th c.(14th c.); Marold 2012:5–6 and 28; cf. Gade, Heslop and Whaley 2012:clxvii; *DS* xxi:58), Lime, Djursland (*Limæ* 1309; *DS Online*; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Lime).

Norway: ?Lima, Rogaland (*fra Liima* 1462; *NG* x:156; cf. Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997 s.v. Limavatnet), Limskjelvik, Nordland (*Limschieluigh* 1661; *NG* xvi:298).

England: *usque limeule* (12th c.) Brokenborough, Wiltshire (S1577; L1577.1.000), *on þane lim pyt* (968 (13th c.)) Watchingwell in Calbourne, Isle of Wight (S766; L766.4.000), *on cynceges lim fine* (824) Godmersham, Kent (S1434; L1434.1.000).

*OE līn/ON lín* ‘flax’

Denmark: Linhul, Bornholm (*Linhollet* 1713; *DS* x:51), Linstælene, Bornholm (Linstelene 1922; *DS* x:51).

Norway: Leineland, Vest-Agder (*Lynland* 1539; *NG* ix:103), Liland, Hordaland (*i Liinlande* c.1360; *NG* xi:557), Lintjøn, Rogaland (*Lindtorñ* 1519; *NG* x:95).

England: Lyford, Berkshire ((*to*) *Linforda* 944 (c.1200), *Linford* 1086; *PNBrk*:413–14), Lyneham, Oxfordshire (*Lineham* 1086; *PNO*:362), *Linfurlong* (1255) Long Marston, Gloucestershire (*PNGl* i:249).

*OE lýtēl/ON lítill* 'little'

- Denmark: Lillebrænde, Falster (*Brænnigý litlæ* 13th c.; *DS* xi:172), Lilleø,  
 Sorøområdet (*Litlæø* 1231 (c.1300); *DS* xxiv:08), Lille Avnede,  
 Lolland (*Agnæwith litlæ* 1284 (1298); *DS* xi:44).
- Norway: Lillehammer, Rogaland (*i lithlum Homrum* 1402 (1709); *NG* x:372),  
 Litland, Hordaland (*Litleland* 1519; *NG* xi:328).
- England: Littleton, Worcestershire (*Litletona* 709 (c.1200), *Liteltune* 1086;  
*PNWo* 265–66), *to þæm lytlan hylle* (?987 (11th c.)) Worcester,  
 Worcestershire (L1369; S1369), Frome St Quintin, Dorset  
 (*Litelfrome* 1086; *PNDō* i:75).

*OE micel/ON mikill* 'great'

- Denmark: Møgelenge, Tønderområdet (*Mykæl ængi* 1220–1440; *DS* v:37),  
 Møgeltorum, Salling (*Mykylthornum* 1359; *DS* ix:32), Møgelhøj,  
 Haderslevområdet (*Møgelhau* 1704; *DS* vi:48).
- Norway: Møkkerud, Akershus og Oslo (*a Mykkilurudi* 1375–79; *NG* ii:90),  
 Myklebø, Oppland (*i Myklæby* 1421; *NG* iv:206), Miklebostad, Troms  
 (*Michilbostad* 1567; *NG* xvii:59).
- England: *on ða miclan strete* (866 (1722 [from lost original])) Upper Arley,  
 Worcestershire (L212; S212), Mickleton, Gloucestershire (*Micclantun*,  
*to Mycclantune* 1005 (12th c.), *Muceltn[n]e* 1086; *PNGl* i:249–50),  
 Michen Hall, Godalming, Surrey (*Muchelehala* 1178; *PNSr*:198).

*OE mōr* 'a marsh, a moor, wasteland'/ON \**mór* '?marsh'

- Denmark: Morum, Himmerland (*Morum* 1442; Hald 1942:85–86),  
 Morsbundskifte, Svenborområdet (*Mors Bond schiffte* 1682; *DS*  
 xv:82).
- Norway: ?Morstad, Oppland (*a Morexstadum* 1333 and *af Morigstadom*  
 1430–40; *NG* iv:153), Mora [river-name], Morstu and Morskogen,  
 Hedmark (cf. *Maardstue*, *Morstue* 1616; *NG* iii:171; Sandnes and  
 Stemshaug 1997 s.v. Mora).



England [OE *mōr*]: *In ceolferðes mór* (849 (c.1000–50)) Cofton Hackett, Worcestershire (S1272; L1272.000; Hooke 1990:137), *on hassukesmor* (964 (14th c.)) Steeple Ashton, Wiltshire (S727, *ofær þone pegean mór* (1044 (12th c.)) Witney, Oxfordshire (S1001; L1001.000); L727.1.000); [dry heathland]: Southmoor and Draycott Moor, Berkshire ((*in*) *Mora* (*et in*) *Draicote*; c.1240; *PNBu*:404–05; Gelling and Cole 2000 [2003]:58,

*OE mos/ON mosi* ‘moss, bog’

Denmark: Musse, Lolland (*Mossæheret* 13th c.; *DS* xi:149), Mosebølle.

Præstøområdet (*Mwsæbølæ* 1403; *DS* xvi:109), Brandsmose, Lolland (*Bransmosze* 1451–1513 (1622); *DS* xi:116).

Norway: Musgjerd, Møre og Romsdal (*af Mosagerde* 1430–40; *NG* xiii:391), Mysen, Østfold (*a Mysini* 1336; *NG* i:138), Mosvold, Vest-Agder (*a Moswelle* 1422; *NG* ix:184).

England: *onhedenan mós* (...) *in þ[æ]t micle mós* (975 (10th/11th c.)) Madeley, Staffordshire (S801; L801.000), *on mosham* (1050–1150) Evesham, Worcestershire (S1591a; L1876.1.000), Moston, Shropshire (*Mostune* 1086; *PNSa* i:214).

*OE (ge)mōt/ON mót* ‘meeting’

Denmark: Holmans Herred, Vejleområdet (cf. *Holmbomot H* 1340; *DS* viii:131).

Norway: [referring to confluences]: Aamot, Sogn og Fjordane (*i Amote* c.1360; *DS* xii:301), Aamot (lille-, store-), Oppland (*i Amote* c.1400; *NG* i:16).

England: *ðonne onge motbiorh* (934) Durrington, Sussex (L425; S425), Modbury, Devon (*Motberia*, *-bilia* 1086; *PND*:279), Skirmett, Hambleden, Buckinghamshire (*la Skiremote* c.1307; *PNBu*:180).

*OE mūs/ON mús* ‘mouse’

Denmark: Musager, Haderslevområdet (*Muusager* 1788; *DS* iv:263), Musdal, Haderslevområdet (*Mussdal* 1564; *DS* iii:20), Musvang, Haderslevområdet (*Mussewang* 1509 (1578); *DS* iv:664).

Norway: Musland, Rogaland (*Musaland* 1349; *NG* v:295), Muserud, Buskerud (Musarud c.1400; *NG* v:348), Mushom, Vest-Agder (Musßeraae 1670; *NG* viii:82).

England: Mousewell Farm, Wapley and Codrington, Gloucestershire (*Mushull* 1248; *PNGl* iii:58), Moseley, King’s Norton, Worcestershire (*Museleie* 1086; *PNWo*:356).

*OE næss* (Anglian, West-Saxon) *ness* (Kentish, Mercian)/*ON nes* ‘a headland, promontory’

Denmark: Agernæs, Odenseområdet (*akærnæs* 1231 (13th c.); *DS* xiv [no page]), Annisse, Frederiksborg Amt (*Annessæ* 1157–88; *DS* ii:69), Næs, Assensområdet (*Sandakernæs* 1295; *DS* xiv [no page]).

Norway: Møkkenes, Vestfold (*Mykines* 1371; *NG* vi:197), Nes, Telemark (*Næisi* c.1360; *NG* vii:193), Nes, Akershus og Oslo (*i Nesi* 1321; *NG* ii:130).

England: *on scearpannesse* (956 (1150–1100) Tadmarton, Oxfordshire (S617; L617.000), *be norðan lydepicnæsse* (1042 (12th c.)) Sherborne, Devon (S998; L998.000), Claines, Worcestershire (*Cleinesse* 11th; *PNWo*:110).

*OE neodëra, niðëra/ON neðri* ‘lower’

Denmark: Neder Hjerck, Salling (*Neyræhierck* 1494, *neder-Hierk* 1610; *DS* ix:43), Nedergård, Langeland (*Nedhergard* 1416; *DS* xiii:234), Neder Jerstal, Haderslevområdet (*Nedderiastal* 1456; *DS* iv:680).

Norway: Nesttun, Hordaland (*i nedra Tuni* c.1360; *NG* xi:234), Nerland, Møre og Romsdal (*Nerland* 1520–21, *Nedrelandt* c.1550; *NG* xii:316), Nedrejorde, Buskerud (*Nedre Giorde* 1578; *NG* v:165).

England: *to þan nyþran tune* (1002 (13th c.)) Little Haseley, Oxfordshire (S902; L902.000), *innon neoðere hæma gemære* (1042 [lost]) Elmley Castle, Worcestershire (S1396; L1396.000), Lower Woodford, Wiltshire (*Netherwodeford* 1279; *PNW*:373).

*OE norð* ‘north’ (adv.)/*ON norðr* ‘north’ (n. and adv.)

Denmark: Nordrup, Sorøområdet (*Northorp* 1321–23 (1370–80); *DS* xxiii:102), Nortwig, Skanderborgområdet (*Nordtwig* 1406 (1584); *DS* xii:164), Nørup, Odenseområdet (*Northorp* 1383; *DS* xiv [no page]).

Norway: Kvaale (nordre-), Hordaland (*a Nordrhual* c.1360; *NG* xi:536), Nordtveit, Hordaland (*Nordthuedt* 1563; *NG* xi:203), Norddal (store-, lille-), Sogn og Fjordane (*i Norddal* c.1360; *NG* xii:203).

England: Norton, Gloucestershire (Nortvne, Nortune 1086; *PNGl* ii:150–51), Northwick Park, Blockley, Worcestershire (*Norðwica* 964 (12th c.); *PNWo*:99), Norton House, Newton St Cyres, Devon ( *(æt) norðtune* 1050–73; *PND*:410).

*OE pīl* ‘shaft, stake’/*ON pīll* ‘?willow’

Denmark: Pilemølle, Københavns Amt (*Pille Mølle* 1604; *DS* xix:166), Store Pilegård, Bornholm (*Pillegd* 1624; *DS* x:145), Pilegård, Roskildeområdet (*Pilegarth* 1371; *DS* xxvi:48).

Norway: Pile, Hordaland (*Piile* 1567; *NG* xi:29), Pilskog, Møre og Romsdal (*Piilschoug* 1603; *NG* xiii:60), Pilhaug, Østfold (*Piilsshowgenn* 1520; *NG* i:111).

England: *La Pilparc* (c.1270–80) Earley, Berkshire (*PNBrk*:95), *Pilehulle* (c.1180) Little Rissington, Gloucestershire (*PNGl* i:202), Pilemoor, Washfield, Devon (*Pylemor(e)* 1249; *PND*:240).

*OE pōl*/*ON pollr* ‘a pool, a pond’

Denmark: no examples found.

Norway: Nordpollen, Sogn og Fjordane (*Polenn* 1563; *NG* xii:396),

Vestpollen, Nordland (*Westpollenn* 1567; *NG* xvi:310), Pollen,

Rogaland (*Poldenn* 1668; *NG* x:67).

England: Bradpole, Dorset (*Bratepolle* 1086; *PND* iv:251), Pool Keynes,

Gloucestershire (*Pole* 931 (14th c.), *Pole* 1086; *PNWi*:64),<sup>349</sup> Polmere,

Shropshire (?*Pole* 1086, *Poulemere* 1255–56; *PNSa* i:237–38).

*OE potte* ‘a hole’/ON \**pottr*

Denmark: Potdam, Himmerland (no early forms; Kousgård Sørensen 1968–96

v:255), Pottesø, Djursland (no early forms; Kousgård Sørensen 1968–

96 v:256), ?Potsø, Sorøområdet,<sup>350</sup> Potte, Als (Pott [no date]; *DS*

vii:257).

Norway: no examples found.

England: ?on pott pyll (994 (13th c.)) Fovant, Wiltshire (L881.000; S881),

?Potsgrove, Bedfordshire (*Potesgrau* 1086; *PNBd*:131; Watts 2004:

s.v. Potsgrove), POTlock, Derbyshire (*Potlack(e)* -lac, -lak 1086;

*PND*b:464–65).

*OE pytt*/ON *pyttr* ‘pit’

Denmark: *Pyt* (=Pottesø?), Sorøområdet (*Pyth* 1370–80; Kousgård Sørensen

1968–96 v:286), Pøtmølle, Århusområdet (*Pøtte mølle* 1485 (1558);

*DS* xii:121), Muspyt, Haderslevområdet (*Musput* 1541; *DS* iv:703).

Norway: Pytten, Vestfold (*i Pyttenom* c.1400; *NG* vi:315), Kjære øvre med

Pyt, Vestfold (*Pyttin* c.1400; *NG* vi:258), Pyt, Østfold (*i Pytt* c.1400;

*NG* i:).145

England: *on dene pit* (943 (1150–1200) Leckhamstead, Berkshire (S491;

L491.000), *on anne pyt* (956 (10th/11th c.) Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire

(S587; L587.000), *tobulcan pytte* (778 (?10thc.))<sup>351</sup> Little Bedwyn,

Wiltshire (S264; L264.000).

<sup>349</sup> Transferred to Gloucestershire in the late nineteenth century (*PNWi*:64).

<sup>350</sup> This might earlier have been *Pyt* ‘pit, puddle’ (see *pytt/pyttr*).

<sup>351</sup> Opinion divided as to date of manuscript, with some seeing as an original.

*OE **rā** (eOE **rāha**) / ON **rá** ‘roe-deer’ and ON **rá** ‘a boundary’.*

Denmark: [either roe-deer or boundary]: Råby, Præstøområdet (*Raby* 1363 (1528; *DS* xvi:66), Rårise, Præstøområdet (*Rariis* 1351 (1476); *DS* xvi:44); [roe-deer]: Rågø, Lolland (*Raø* 13th c.; *DS* xi:70).

Norway: no examples found.<sup>352</sup>

Sweden: [either roe-deer or boundary]: Råby, (*Raby* ?1314; Wahlberg et al. 2003: s.v. Råby-Rönö).

England: *beþam rah hege* (963 (11th c.)) Oddingley, Worcestershire (L1297.1.000; S1297), Roel, Gloucestershire (*Rawell(e)* c. 1050; *PNGl* ii:21), *on þone rah hege* (956 (12th c.)) Kennington, Berkshire (L614.000; S614).

*OE (\*)**ræn** ‘?a furrow (either used for drainage or between ridges in a ploughed field)’ / ON **rein** ‘a strip of land, a boundary strip’*

Denmark: Stridsren, Bornholm (*hoss Striids reenn* 1569; *DS* x:258), Renstykkerne, Svendborgområdet (*Reen støkkerne* 1786; *DS* xv:175), Hasleren, Bornholm (*haßlereenen* 1689; *DS* x:94).

Norway: Reine, Vestfold (*i Ræinum* 1355; *NG* vi:136), Reine, Buskerud (*i Ræinum* 1458; *NG* v:374), Rein, Nord-Trøndelag (*af Reine* 1430–1440; *NG* xvI:147).

England: *?on þa bradan ræne . of þære bradan rære ræne* (963 (12th c.)) Church Aston, Shropshire (B 1119; S723), *Le Wytte Reyne* (1509–47) Shrewsbury, Shropshire (*PNSa* iv:90), (Big-, Little) Wet Reans, Shelton, Shropshire (*Le Wete Rene* 1355–56; *PNSa* iv:169).

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<sup>352</sup> The words are further homophonous with OWN *rá* ‘corner, nook’ (ON *vrá*, *rá*), which makes the identification of the element more problematic in Norway.

*OE \*ragge/ON røgg* ‘tuft, shagginess’

Denmark: ?Ragborg, Ringkøbing Amt (*Ragborg Bool* 1683; *DS* xvii:210),  
Raggetoft, islands south of Fyn (*tofft kaldis Ragge tofft* 1682; *DS*  
xv:254).

Norway: no examples found.

England: [?OE *ragu* or \**ragge*] Ragley Hall, Warwickshire (*Ragel*’ c.1086  
(1190), *Rageleia* 1097–1104, *Rageleia* c.1155; *PNWa*:196; S81).

*OE \*rān* ‘a boundary strip, a balk’, ?*ME rine, rune* ‘a running, a course’ /*ON*  
*runnr* ‘a brake, a thicket

Denmark: Rom, Ringkøbing Amt (*runnum* 1325; *DS* xvii:50), Gederun,  
Svendborgområdet (*Gerud* 1572, *Gederund* 1668; *DS* xv:3).

Norway: Runni, Akershus og Oslo (*a Runnini* 1341; *NG* ii:356), Runn,  
Buskerud (*Rund med Gutterud* 1668; *NG* v; 209), Randal, Sogn og  
Fjordane (*Rundal* 1519–20; *NG* xii:208).

England: see below (all examples from England given at the end of this  
appendix).

*OE rūn/ON rún* ‘runic letter’

Denmark: no examples found.

Norway: no examples found; formally possible in Runestad, Rogaland (*a*  
*Rwnastadhom* 1450; *NG* x:255) but the personal name *Rúni* is more  
likely.

England: no further examples found.

*OE sand/ON sandr* ‘sand’

Denmark: Såne, Frederiksborg Amt (*Sande* 1137–77 [in a later copy], *Sandæ*  
1378; *DS* ii:11), Gråsand, Ringkøbing Amt (*Groffsandt* 1492 (1545–  
54); *DS* xvii:247), Jordsand, Tønderområdet (*Hiortsand* 1231 (13th c.);  
*DS* v:316), .

Norway: Sandaa, Aust-Agder (*Sandaas* 1320; *NG* viii:100), Sandve, Rogaland (*i Sandwin* 1311; *NG* x:98), Sande, Rogaland (*a Sande* c.1270; *NG* x:191), Fløksand, (*a Fløkesande* c.1360; *NG* xi:363).

England: *on sondbroc* (840–52 (12th/13th c.)) Willersley, Gloucestershire (L203.000; S203), Sandford-on-Thames, Oxfordshire (*to Sandforda* 1050 (13th c.); L1022.000; S1022; *PNO* i:186), *on sand holcan* (1044) Dawlish, Devon (L1003.000; S1003).

*OE sǣ/ON sjór, sær, sjár* ‘sea’

Denmark: Sørup, Frederiksborg Amt (*Sedorph* 1157–82 (168); *DS* ii:22), Hjelmøslille, Præstøområdet (*Hyælmøslille* 1337; *DS* xvi:125), Alsø, Lolland (*Alsø* 1449 (18th c.); *DS* xi:94).

Norway: Sæ, Hordaland (*Sæ* 1443; *NG* xi:473), Sjøli, Hedmark (*Sioarliidh* 1306 (1397); *NG* iii:178), Sjøe (østre-, vestre), Vestfold (*i Seom* c.1400; *NG* vi:151).

England: Seaford, Sussex (*Saforda* 90 (12th c.); *PNSx*:363), Seasalter, Kent (*Seseltre* 1086; Watts 2004: s.v. Seasalter), Seaton, Devon (*Seton(e)* 1238; *PND*:629).

*OE smæl* ‘small, narrow’/ON \**smalr* ‘small’

Denmark: Smalagre, Københavns Amt (*Small-agre* 1682; *DS* xxii:58), Smalbæk, Ringkøbing Amt (*Smal bech* 1683; *DS* xvii:350), Smalholtsbjerg, Københavns Amt (*Smal holtesbiere* 1697; *DS* xix:66), Smalsø, Åbenråområdet (*bey der Schmalen Sehe* 1590; *DS* vii:61).

Norway: Smalfjorden, Finnmark (Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997: s.v. Smalfjorden), Smalaasen, Nord-Trøndelag (no early forms; *NG* xv:299).

England: *7 langbæs smalan peges* (940) Pewsey, Wiltshire (L470.000; S470), *innanþænesmalanæsc* (no date; 11th c. manuscript) Pyrton, Oxfordshire (L1568.000; S1568), *smæl rið* (976) ?Puddletown, Dorset (L830.000; S830).

*OE smið/ON smiðr* ‘smith’

Denmark: [interpreted as personal names in *DS*]: Smidstrup, Vendsyssel (*Smithstorp* 1330; *DS* viii:136); [interpreted as ON *smiðr*]: Nørre Smedeby, Åbenråområdet (*Smedeby* 1472; *DS* vi:564), Smederup, Århusområdet (*Smerop* 1544, *Smederup* 1584; *DS* xii:90).

Norway: [interpreted as personal names in *NG*]: Smedsrud, Akershus og Oslo (*Smidzrud* 1312; *NG* ii:251), Smedstad, Hedmark (*a Smædstadhum* 1416 (1773); *NG* iii:33); [interpreted as ON *smiðr*]: Smedby, Oppland (*Smædhaby*, *Smedhaby* 1477; *NG* iv:61).

England: Smethwick, Staffordshire (*Smedeuuich* 1086; Watts 2004: s.v. Smethwick), Smithcot Fms, Dauntsey, Wiltshire (*Smitecote* 1086; *PNW*:69), Smithwick [lost], Southover, Sussex (*Smithewike*, -y- 1091–1125; *PNSx*:322).

*OE stær* ‘starling’/ON *star(r)i* ‘starling’ or ON *størr* ‘bent-grass’

Denmark: [ON *størr*]: Starmosen, Frederiksborg Amt (Starmuossen 1588–89; *DS* ii:39), Stærmose, Odenseområdet (Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Stærmose); [ON *størr* or ON *star(r)i*]: Stærrede, Sorøområdet (*Stærwede* 1498; *DS* xxiv:148), Starreklinte, Holbækområdet (*Starklint* 1203 (1313–c.1350; *DS Online*; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Starreklint).

Norway: [ON *størr*]: Storrøvik, Oppland (*Storuikiæ rosten* c.1400, *Steruig* 1520, *Starwigh* 1574–77; *NG* iv:77), Sterri, Sogn og Fjordane (*i Sterrinn* c.1360; *NG* xii:42); [ON *star(r)i*]: Stareholtet, Aust-Agder (no early forms; *NG* viii:207).

England: *to starforda* (961 (1150–1200)) Weston near Bath, Somerset (L661.000; S661), ?Starmoor Plant, Dorset (*Starmor* 1564; *PND* i:291), ?Starraton, Devon (*Staryadon* 1270; *PND*:395).



*OE stearc* ‘stiff, hard’/ON *sterkr* ‘strong’

Denmark: Stærkende, Roskildeområdet (*Stærkinggæ* 1334; *DS* xxvi:211),<sup>353</sup>

Stærkendel, Randersområdet (*Stærkendel* 1683; *DS* xviii(i):144),

Norway: no examples found.

England: Startley, Wiltshire (*Stercanlei* 688 (c.1125); *PNW*:73), ?*Sterkele*

(13th c.) (detached bounds to) Brokenborough, Wiltshire

(L1577.1.000; S1577).<sup>354</sup>

*OE stīg*/ON *stígr* ‘path’

Denmark: Nagelsti, Lolland (*Nafflæstigh* 1315 (1476); *DS* xi:143), Koppersti,

Himmerland (*Koperstii* 1468 (1655.); *DS* online only), Nykådnersti,

Als (*Nye Codnersstie* 1575–1653 (1790); *DS* vii:368).

Norway: Sti, Telemark (*i Stighi* c.1400; *NG* vii:155), Ottersti, Vestfold (*i*

*Otræstiigh* c.1400; *NG* vi:258), Stien, Hordaland (*Stige* 1563; *NG*

xi:363).

England: *on ða ealdan styge* (956) Tadmarton, Oxfordshire (L618; S618),

Lubstree Pk, Lilleshall, Shropshire (*Lubersty* c.1220; *PNSa* iii:24),

Glas Fm, Ruardean, Gloucestershire (?cf. *Cnappestyseuse*,

*Knappestyesforde* 1282; *PNGl* iii:241).

*OE stīg-weg*/ON *stígr-vegr*

See OE/ON *stīg/stígr* and *weg/vegr*.

*OE stybb, stubb*/ON *stubbr, stubbi* ‘stub, stump’

Denmark: Stubbekøbing, Flaster (*de Stubbecopinge* 1282; *DS* xi:16), Stubbe,

Djursland (*Stubbe* 1268 (c.1600); *DS Online*; Jørgensen 2008: s.v.

Stubbe), Stubberup, Møn (*Stubbæthorp* 1267; *DS* xvi:253).

<sup>353</sup> In an *-inge* derivative ODan. *stærkinger* ‘the strong ones’.

<sup>354</sup> Not, as far as I can tell, identified with the other Startley given here, but the bounds do not seem to have been solved in detail (cf. Grundy 1920:43–44).

Norway: Stubberud, Akershus og Oslo (*Stubberudt* 1578; *NG* ii:110),  
 Stubberud, Akershus og Oslo (*Stumfnarud*, *Stuufnærud* 1345,  
*Stabberuth* c.1470, *Stubberudt* 1578. 1593; *NG* ii:78), Stubban, Sør-  
 Trøndelag (*Stubbe* 1559; *NG* xiv:345).

England: *on þone ellen stub* (962 (10th c.)) Sunbury, Middlesex (L702.000;  
 S702), *onhakedes stub of þæm stubbe* (980 (1000–1050)) Waresley in  
 Hartlebury, Worcestershire (L1342.000; S1342), *on þone hnottan stybb*  
 (1044) Abbots Wootton in Whitchurch Canoniconum, Dorset  
 (L1004.000; S1004).

*OE sūr* 'sour, damp, coarse' / *ON súrr* 'sour, acid'

Denmark: Surbæk, Haderslevområdet (*Sur Beeck* 1789; *DS* iv:452), Surmose,  
 Haderslevområdet (*Suhrmoos* 1788 (1798); *DS* iv:180).

Norway: Surdal, Rogaland (*Surdall* 1567; *NG* x:35).

England: ?Surrendell, Wiltshire (*Sorendene* 1211; *PNW*:71), *Suremed* (c.1250)  
 Abingdon, Berkshire (*PNBrk*:442), *Surrelond* (c.1280; *Surelond* '  
 c.1270 (c.1450)) Cassington, Oxfordshire (*PNO*:254).

*OE sūtere* / *ON sūtari* 'shoemaker'

Denmark: Sudergård, Ringkøbing Amt (*Sudergaardt* 1595; *DS* xvii:38),  
 Suderdal, Ringkøbing Amt (*Suderdall* 1503; *DS* xvii:214), Sudergade,  
 Sorøområdet (*Sudergadenn* 1423 (1607); *DS* xxiv:57).

Norway: Sutternes, Nordland (*Sutnes* 1567, *Suternes*  
 1610; *NG* xvi:156), Suterud, Hedmark (*Suterud* 1574–77; *NG* iii:92),  
 Sutestad, Oppland (*Sudestad* 1574–77; *NG* iv:219).

England: *Sutereswelle* (c.1210) Steeple Barton, Oxfordshire (*PNO*:17),  
*Souterestrete* (1371) Reading, Berkshire (*PNBrk*:173).

*OE sūð* 'south, southern' (adj. and adv.) / *ON suðr* (earlier *sunnr*) 'the south,  
 south' (n. and adv.)

Denmark: Sønder Rangstrup Herred, Haderslevområdet (*Sunder ranxtrup*  
*herret* 1348; *DS* vi:25), Sønderborg, Als (*Synderburg* 1256 (1578);

DSvii:1), Sønderup, (*Syndethorp* 1161–71 (c.1440); *DS* xxiv:69);  
[ODan. *syndri* Dan. *søndre* (comp. adj.)]: Sønderup, (*Syndrop* 1392  
(1541); *DS* ix:142).

Norway: Sørums, Akershus og Oslo (*a Sudreimi* 1364; *NG* ii:251), Sundby,  
Østfold (*i Sundbø* c.1400; *NG* i:58), Søreid, Hordaland (*Soderet* 1519–  
20; *NG* xi:162), Sunndalen),, Møre og Romsdal (*i Sundale* 1329;  
Sandnes and Stemshaug 2007: s.v. Sunndal(en)).

England: South Perrott, Dorset (*Pedret, Sudperet* 1086; *PND* iv:332–33),  
Southam, Gloucestershire (*Suth-ham* c.991 (11th c.); *PNGl* ii:89–90;  
S1308), *ðurh suð tun* (824) Godmersham, Kent (L1434.1.000; S1434).

*OE swīn/ON svín* ‘swine’

Denmark: Svinø, Præstøområdet (*Swino* 1231 (1300); *DS* xvi:176),  
Svinsbjerg, Lolland (*Suinnberg* 1444 (1552); *DS* xi:70), Svinsager,  
Skanderborgområdet (*Suinszagger marck* 1319 (1606); *DS* online only;  
Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Svinsager).

Norway: Svinland, Telemark (*i Swinalandē, Swinaland* 1392; *NG* vii:70),  
Svines, Vestfold (*Suinenes* 1553; *NG* vi:261), Svinholt, Telemark (*i*  
*Sviinholte* c.1400; *NG* vii:122).

England: Swinbrook, Oxfordshire (*Svinbroc* 1086; *PNO*:383–84), Swindon,  
Gloucestershire (*Svindone* 1086; *PNGl* ii:112), Swinford, Cumnor,  
Berkshire (*Swinford* 931 (c.1200); *PNBrk*:446).

*OE þæc/ON þak* ‘a roof, thatch’

Denmark: Taderød Møller, Roskildeområdet (1408 (*Tagerød mølle* 1408  
(c.1570), *Thagrede Mølle* 1463; *DS* xxvi:160), Tamosae, Sorøområdet  
(*Thagmose* 1254 (c.1440); *DS* xxiii:65).

Norway: Takle, Hordaland (*a Paklaam* 1331; *NG* xii:193), Tokkvam, Sogn og  
Fjordane (*Tockham* 1522; *NG* xii:113), Tagholt, Rogaland (*Thagholtt*  
1616; *NG* x:37), Tagemosegård, Assensområdet (*Tagemosegord* 1570  
(1576–78); *DS* xiv [no page]).

England: *to þæcforde* (11th c.) Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire (L1031.000; S1031), Thatcham, Berkshire (*Þæcham* c.954 (c.1400), *Taceham* 1086; *PNBrk*:188), *Thacham* (1261) Hampton Gay and Hampton Poyle (*PNO*:215).

OE *þēof*/ON *þjófr* ‘a thief, a robber’

Denmark:<sup>355</sup> ?Tiufkær, Vejleområdet (*Tyffuekier* 1470 (1537–43); *DS* viii:137; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Tiufkær), ?Tystofte, Sorøområdet (*Tyuffstoffte* (1314 (1528); *DS* xxix:158), Tystrup, Præstøområdet (*Thiwfstorp* 1282 (c.1440); *DS* xxiv:175).

Norway: Tjønes, Møre og Romsdal (*af Þiouanese* c.1200; *NG* xiii:143), Tyvskjær, Troms (*Thiffuis Schier* 1610; *NG* xvii:43).

England: *on þiofa cumb* (961) Abingdon, Hampshire (L690.000; S690), *toþam þeof denne* (961x75 (1050–1100)) Ullington and Bickmarsh, Worcestershire (L751.000; S751), *Thefstilo* (1139–48) Coberley, Gloucestershire (*PNGl* i:154).

OE *þing*/ON *þing* ‘assembly’

Denmark: Tingsted, Falster (*Thingstathæ* 13th c.; *DS* xi:186), Tingtved, Holbækområdet (*Thingthweth* 1415; *DS* online only; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Tingtved).

Norway: Tingestad, Sogn og Fjordane (*Tingestad* 1667; *NG* xii:129), Tingvoll, Møre og Romsdal (*a þingwelli* c.1430; Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997: s.v. Tingvoll).

England: Tingrith, Bedfordshire (*Tingrei* 1086; *PNBd*:134–35), Thinghill, Herefordshire (*Tingehele*, *Tingehalle* 1086; *OED* s.v. thing, n.1), ?Tinhale Barn, Bersted, Sussex (*Tynghale* 1514; *PNSx*:92).

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<sup>355</sup> ODan \**thiūf* ‘scrub, thicket’ has also been suggested for some of the Danish examples (Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Tiufkær; *DS* xxiv:158).

*OE þistel/ON þistill* ‘a thistle’

- Denmark: Tidselagre, Københavns Amt (*Tiisle Ager* 1682; *DS* xix:221),  
 Tiselholt, Svendborområdet (?*Tizelholth* 1473,<sup>356</sup> *Tidtzelholt* 1610; *DS*  
 xiii:164).
- Norway: Tistel, Sogn og Fjordane (*Tydtzsell* 1603, *Thistell* 1611; *NG* xii:157),  
 Tislevold, Hordaland (*Tislewol* 1519–20; *NG* xi:155).
- Iceland: ?Þistilsfjorður, north-east Iceland (*Þistils fliorð*] c.1302–10; *ONP*:  
 s.v. þistill; Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson 1892–96:427).<sup>357</sup>
- England: *Inthistelcroft* (1230–40) Abingdon, Berkshire (*PNBrk*:442), Thistley  
 Hill, Gloucestershire (*Thysteleye* 1287 (p); *PNGL* i:262),

*OE þorn/ON þorn* ‘thorn(bush)’

- Denmark: Tårnby, Københavns Amt (*Thornby* 1135; *DS* xxii:71), Tårnborg,  
 Sorøområdet (*Thornburgh* 1231 (13th c.); *DS* xxiv:104), Torning,  
 Viborgområdet (*Tornum* 1421 (1540–49); *DS* ix:199).
- Norway: Tansøen, Sogn og Fjordane (*Pornsæy* 1282; *NG* xii:360), Tanberg,  
 Buskerud (*Pornbærg* 1304; *NG* v:29), Tanberg, Vestfold (*Ponberg*  
 c.1400; *NG* vi:30).
- England: Mosterton, Dorset (*Mortestorne* 1086; *PND* i:111), Thornbury,  
 Gloucestershire (*to þornbyrig* 896 (11th c.); *PNGL* iii:14), Cropthorne,  
 Worcestershire (*Cropponþorn* 780 (11th c.); *PNWo*:119–20).

*OE þrop/ON þorp* ‘secondary settlement, ?settlement linked with arable-farming’

- Denmark: Abterp, Tønderområdet (*Apthorpmarck* 1298 (1578); *DS* v:408),  
 Svenstrup, Præstøområdet (*Swenstorp* c.1200 (1528); *DS* xvi:167),  
 Øverup, Sorøområdet (*Øpetorp* 12th c. (1528); *DS* xxiv:231).

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<sup>356</sup> This form given only by Jørgensen (2008: s.v. Tiselholt).

<sup>357</sup> Explained as a byname in *Landnámabók* (*Sigmundar sunar Ketils þistils er numit hadfi Þistils fíorð*), but this byname could feasibly be an inference made from the place-name.

Norway: Kratorp, Akershus og Oslo (*Krakaporp* 1356; *NG* ii:198), Torper, Østfold (*a Þorpom* 1385; *NG* i:160), Totorp, Østfold (*Tofuoporp* 1344; *NG* i:220).

England: *on Upprope* (869 (original or 10th c. copy)) Mercia [not yet identified] (Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011:83–84), *Uppþrop* (990 (1000–50)) near Bredon, Worcestershire (Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011:69), Adelstrop, Gloucestershire (*Tattlestrop(e)* 11th c. (c.1200)); *PNGl* i:211).

*OE þrȳ/ON þrír* ‘three’

Denmark: Trevad, Viborgområdet (*trywath* 1231 (13th c.); *DS* ix:91), Treå, Djursland (*Treamølle* 1461; *DS* online only; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Treå).

Norway: Triset, Telemark (*Trysett* 1585; *NG* vii:419).

England: *to þrym gemære* (1017 (17th c. from lost original)) Holt, Worcestershire (L1384; S1384), *innon þa ðreo beorgas* (1055) Upper Swell, Gloucestershire (*PNGl* i:228).

*OE þyrne* ‘a thorn-bush’/ON *þyrnir* ‘a thorn, thorn-bush’ and ON *þyrni* ‘place growing with thorns’

Denmark: [ON \**þyrni*]: Tjørneby, Lolland (*Tyrneby* 1379 (1433); *DS* xi:66), Tjørnede, Holbækområdet (*Thyrnethweth* 1370–80; Jørgenesen 2008: s.v. Tjørnede), Tjørnelunde, Holbækområdet (*Thyurlund* 1215–41 [in a later copy], *Thyrnelundæ* 1382; Jørgenesen 2008: s.v. Tjørnelunde).

Norway: [ON *þyrnir*]: Tynnevik, Hordaland (*Pyrneuiik* 1427; *NG* xi:261), ?Tønsaas, Troms (*Tønnesaas* 1610; *NG* xvii:134), ?Tønesland, Aust-Agder (*Thønniþlanndt* 1595; *NG* viii:188); [ON \**þyrni*]: Tønnerud, Østfold (*Pynnyrud* 1398; *NG* i:386), Tønsaaker, Akershus og Oslo (*Pyrnisakr* c.1400; *NG* ii:371).

England: *on þa þyrnan* (900x904 (1000–1050)) Water Eaton, Oxfordshire (L361.000; S361), *on þa brembel þyrnan* (961) Ringwood, Hampshire

(L690.000; S690), *Langethirn* (c.1240) Garsington, Oxfordshire (PNO:176).

*OE tūn/ON tún* ‘an enclosure, a farmstead, a village, an estate’

Denmark: Søften, Århusområdet (*Suten* 1386; *DS* xii:24), Sønder Galten, Århusområdet (*Galtenkyor* 1306 (1428–c.1450), *Galtenn* 1361 (1606); *DS* xii:48), Tune, Roskildeområdet (*Tunæ* 1184, cf. *Tuna herathi* 1085 (12th c.); *DS* xxvi:200 and 218).

Norway: Helton, Akershus og Oslo (*Hildertwn vider Løxo* c.1400; *NG* ii:137), Flattun, Sogn og Fjordane (*i Flatatuni* c.1360; *NG* xii:24), Jaatten, Rogaland (*i Jatun* 1318; *DS* x:197), Tannum, Akershus og Oslo (*i Tunæimi* 1339; *NG* ii:4).

England: Elmstone, Gloucestershire (*Al(c)hmunding tu(u)n* 889 (11th c.); *PNGl* ii:81–82), Pyrton, Oxfordshire ((*to*) *Pirigtune* 987 (11th c.); *PNO*:86), Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire (*Suthtun* c.870 (c.1240); *PNBrk*:424).

*OE tunge/ON tunga* ‘a tongue, a tongue of land’

Denmark: Eltang, Vejleområdet (*ælmtungæ* 1231 (13th c.); *DS* viii:146), Tungelund, Viborgområdet (*Tunggelund* 1407 (1558); *DS* ix:236), Tange, Viborgområdet (*Tunge* 1418 (1580); *DS* ix:190).

Norway: *Tunga* (now Præsterød), Vest-Agder (*Prestrud er heitir Tunga* c.1400; *NG* vi:202), Tungen, Sør-Trøndelag (*i Tungu* 14th c.; *NG* xiv:308), Tungland, Rogaland (*Togeland* 1519; *NG* x:240).

England: ?Tonge, Leicestershire (*Tunge* 1086; Watts 2004: s.v. Tonge),<sup>358</sup> *Tungeland* (1546) Devon (*PND*:690), *Longetunge* (14th c.) Warwickshire (*PNWa*:333).

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<sup>358</sup> Possibly ON *tunga*.

*OE ūt/ON út* 'outside, outer'

- Denmark: Udlejre, Frederiksborg Amt (*Vtlærthæ* 1329; *DS* ii:124), Udby, Djursland (*Wdby* 1400 (1600–50); *DS* xviii(ii):14), Udbølling, Tønderområdet (*Vtbølingh* 1233 (12920–1588); *DS* v:263).
- Norway: Utstand, Troms (*Wtstrond* 1430–40; *NG* xvii:10), Uteid, Nordland (*Vdoed* 1567; *NG* xvi:265), Utvik, Nord-Trøndelag (*Wduik* 1430; *NG* xv:242), Utaaker, Hordaland (*Vdhagher* 1463; *NG* xi:47).
- England: *Utfurlang* (c.1210) Steeple Barton, Oxfordshire (*PNO*:250), Outlands Plant, Gloucestershire (*Utlong(e)* 12th c.; *PNGL* i:204), Utcoate Grange, Bedfordshire (*Utcote* 1276 (p); *PNBD*:144).

*OE ūt-gang/ON ūtganga* 'exit, act of leaving'

- Denmark: Udgang, Als (Udgang 1923; *DS* vii:179).
- Norway: no examples found.
- England: Middle English records of names from areas where Scandinavian linguistic influence was strong only (see *MED*: s.v. *outgang*, n.).

*OE wang* 'meadow-land, an open field'/*ON vangr* 'a garden, an in-field'

- Denmark: Damsvang, Sorøområdet (*Dampswang* 1254; *DS* xxiii:61), Fjelstervang, Ringkøbing Amt (*fielsterwangh* c.1325; *DS* xvii:490), Byrvang, Vendsyssel (*Byerwang* 1465 (1536–43); *DS Online*).
- Norway: Vang Præstegaard, Hedmark (*a Vange* 1358; *NG* iii:83), Vangdal, Hordaland (*i Vangdale* c.1320; *NG* xi:493), Kvitvang, Nord-Trøndelag (*af Huitawange* 1430–40; *NG* xv:203).
- England: *Medilpong* [lost] Northumbria (699–705 (late 9th/early 10th c.); Colgrave 1940:17 and 118–19; Cox 1975–76:24–25), ?Wangfield, Hampshire (*Wangefeld* 1245; Gover [no date] i:46; Smith 1956: s.v. *wang*), *Ouerewang* (1348–49), Dorchester, Oxfordshire (Lincolnshire Record Office MF/2/49 60v [microfilm copy of Oxford, Queen's College MS 366]; cf. Fellows-Jensen 1974:49–50).



OE (WSax) *wearm*, (Nhb.) *warm*/ON *varmr* ‘varmr’

Denmark: Værmelandsgård, Bornholm (*Warmeland* 1690; *DS* x:498); [from a derived lake name] Varming, Tønderområdet (*Warmyngh* 1433; *DS* v:42).

Norway: [from derived river-names]: Vormnes (nordre-, søndre-), Akershus og Oslo (*Vermunes* c.1400; *NG* ii:345), Værslien, Oppland (*Værmslid* 1340; *NG* iv:97).

England: Warmwell, Dorset (*Warm(e)welle*, *Warmemoille* 1086; *PND* i:170), Warmhill, Hennock, Devon (*Wermehel(e)* 1086; *PND*:472), Warmleigh, Hartland, Devon (*Warmeleg* 1262; *PND*:79).

OE *weg*/ON *vegr* ‘a road’

Denmark: Dyringvejen, Djursland (*Dyrynghweyen* 1496; *DS Online*), Hargades Vej, Vendsyssel (*Haargades Vej* 1471; *DS* xxi:91), Himmelbovej, (*Himmerbro vey* 1484 (1595–99); *DS* ix:146).

Norway: Vegem, Telemark (*a Væghæimom* c.1400; *NG* vii:225), Veberg, Vestfold (*Veghaberg* 1436; *NG* vi:40), Veitvet, Akershus of Oslo (*Vegharþueit* c.1400; *NG* ii:106).

England: *on ðone aldan peg* (866 [lost]) Seckley in Upper Arley, Worcestershire (L212.000; S212), *on þone hlið peg* (956 (9th/10th c)) Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire (L587.000; S587), Farway, Devon (*Fareweia* 1086; *PND*:625).

OE *weðer*/ON *veðr* ‘a wether’

Denmark: Vejringe, Falster (*Wedringy* 13th c.; *DS* xi:222), ?Vejrø, Samsø (*Wætherø* 1231; *DS* i:30).

Norway: ?Veberg, Østfold (*Vedraberg* 1353; *NG* i:271), ?Værøen, Sogn og Fjordane (*Weyrø* 1516–17; *NG* xii:257).

England: *usque wether stocke* (11th c.) Pyrton, Oxfordshire (L1586.000; S1586), Witherdon, Devon (*Wetherdon* 1330 (p); *PND*:181),  
 (?)Witheridge, Devon (*Wiriga* 1086, *Wetherigge* 1249; *PND*:397).<sup>359</sup>

*OE wīðig/ON víðir* ‘willow’

Denmark: Viemose, Præstøområdet (*Withemosæ* 1231 (13th c.); *DS* xvi:223),  
 Videbæk, Ringkøbing Amt (*Vidibeck* 1506–15; *DS* xvii:492),  
 ?Videbæk, Frederiksborg Amt (*Withebec* 1158–77 (1688); *DS* ii:40).  
 Norway: ?Vieland, Vest-Agder (*Videland* 1594; *NG* ix:248), Viland, Rogaland  
 (*Videland* 1519; *NG* x:278).  
 England: *of piðibroce* (11th c.) Tardebigge, Worcestershire (L1598; S1598),  
*Wetheleye* (c.1275) Middleton Priors, Shropshire (*PNSa* iii:137),  
 Withleigh, Tiverton, Devon (*Witheleg(h)* 1219; *PND*:546).

*OE wilde/ON villr* ‘wild’

Denmark: ?Vildbjerg, Frederiksborg Amt (*Wildbieris Aaes* 1682; *DS* ii:122).  
 Norway: Villanger, Hordaland (*Villanger* 1519–20; *NG* xi:390)  
 England: Wilton, Dymock, Gloucestershire (*Wilton'* 1225–50; *PNGI* iii:171),  
 Willand, Devon (*Willelanda* 1086, *Wildelanda* 1155–58; *PND*:553)

*OE wind/ON vindr* ‘wind’

Denmark: Vindeholme, Lolland (*Windeholm* 1809; *DS* xi:54), Vindum,  
 Viborgsområdet (*Windum* 1348; *DS* ix:170).  
 Norway: Vinsvaal, Telemark (*Wiðwold*, *Windsuall* 1585; *NG* vii:338), Vindal,  
 Hordaland (*Vindall* 1603; *NG* xi:487), Vindeim, Sogn og Fjordane  
 (*Vindym* 1520–21; *NG* xii:266).  
 England: *on pindofer* (951–59 (14th/15th c.)) Old Swinford, Worcestershire  
 (L579; S579), *to pind geate* (961) Ringwood, Hampshire (L690;  
 S690).

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<sup>359</sup> Ekwall (1960: s.v. Witheridge) suggested OE *wīðig* ‘willow’.

OE *wrang* (adj.)/ON *rangr* (adj.) 'crooked or twisted'

Denmark: Vrangdrup, Vendsyssel (*Wrangæthorp* 1396; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Vrangdrup), Vrangebøge, Københavns Amt (*Vrange Bøgis led* 1627; *DS* xxv:349), Vrangbæk, Vendsyssel (*Vrangbech* 1484; *DS Online*), Vrangebæk, Frederiksborg Amt (*Wrangebec* 1158–77 (1688); *DS* ii:40).

Norway: Rangset, Nordland (*af Rangasætre* 1430–40; *NG* xvi:210),<sup>360</sup> Vrangesund, Vestfold (*Wrangesund* 1664; *NG* vi:319).

England: *on prangan hylle* (942/944 (early 13th c.)) Blewbury, Berkshire (L496.000; S496), Wrangaton, Devon (*Wrangeton* 1244; *PND*:286–87), Wrangworthy (*Wrangaworth* 1313; *PND*:134).

### *Distinguishable Elements*

ON *barn* 'child, offspring' (or pers.ns *Barn*, *Barni*) (not OE *bearn* 'child, offspring')

Denmark: Bannerup, Falster (*Barnethorp* 13<sup>th</sup> c.; *DS* xi:182), Barup, Præstøområdet (*Barnæthorp* 1256; *DS* xvi:69), Båndrup, Himmerland (*barndrop* 1524; *DS* ix:107).

Norway: Baannerud, Hedmark (*Barnarud* c.1400; *NG* iii:238), Baanerud, Hedmark (*Barnerudh* 1497; *NG* iii:310).

England: No secure non-Scandinavian examples.

ON *fé-hús* 'treasury' and 'byre', *fjós* 'byre, cattle-shed' and *fjár-hús* 'byre' (not OE *feoh-hūs* 'treasury' (?and 'cattle-shed'))

Denmark: no examples found.

Norway: Fjøs nordre og søndre, Østfold (*i Fiosom* 1463; *NG* i:25), Fjose, Hordaland (*Fioos* 1490; *NG* xi:541), Fjøser, Akershus og Oslo (*a Fiossom* 1341; *NG* ii:75), Fjõeiseid, Møre og Romsdal (*af Fjodzeide*

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<sup>360</sup> Perhaps as a byname.

1430–40, *Ffehuseidh* 1532–58; NG xiii:379), Fjøsviken, Buskerud (*a Fiosvikinum a nere Aadalene, Fiosvikum* 1406; NG v:65), Fjøre in Buskerud (*i Fiosom* c.1400; NG v:420).

England: Fusethwaite, Westmorland (*Pheswait, Feusthauith* 1210–46; *PNWe* i:52), , *Fues* (c.1270) Askham, Westmorland (*PNWe* ii:204), Feasegate, York (*Fesegayt* 1259; *PNYE*:286), *Feehous* (1420), Kirby Bellars, Leicestershire (*PNLei*:iii:89), Fusehill House, Cumberland (*Fewshill, Fewishill* 1608; *PNCu*:45), Fewsteads, Cumberland (*Fewsteades* 1631; *PNCu*:180), Yottenfews, Cumberland (*Yottenfews* 1738; *PNCu*:340), Fusethwaite Yeat, Westmorland (*Fusthwaite yeat* 1838; *PNWe* i:196).

*ON hegning* ‘enclosed land’ (not a derivative of OE *\*hægen* ‘an enclosure’)

Denmark: Hegningholt, Vendsyssel (*Hegningholtt* 1559 (1573); Eggert 2006:65), ?Hegningen, (*Heiningen* 786; *DS* xv:239).<sup>361</sup>

Norway: no examples found.

England: see ‘elements mapped’ below.

*ON holmr, holmi* ‘islet’ (not OE *holm* ‘sea, wave’)

Denmark: Bornholm (*ohulmi* 11th c.; in *Hulmo insula* c.1075; *DS* x:1), Holm, Als (*Holm* 1196 (1424); *DS* vii:412), Holmstrup, Holbækområdet (Holmstorp 1370–80; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Holmstrup).

Norway: Holmen, Akershus og Oslo, Norway (*a Holmin* 1315; NG ii:99), Borsholmen, Sogn og Fjordane (*i Burissholma* c.1360; NG xii:229), Holme, Østfold (*Holmæ* 1472; iNG i:308).

England: *to hilisbrok on þane holm þane endelanges thes brokes* (904 (14th c.)) Wrington, Somerset (B 606; S371), *Longeholme* (1393) Harnham, Wiltshire (*PNWi*:437), Holme, Warwickshire (*Holme* 1086; *PNWa*:118).

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<sup>361</sup> *DS* interprets this as ODan. *hæghnath* replaced by synonymous *hegning*, but the forms suggest only the latter.

OWN \**slakki* ‘pit, hollow’

Denmark: no examples found.

Norway: no examples found.

Iceland: *Slakki*, Árnessýsla, south-west Iceland;<sup>362</sup> minor names known from Rangárvallasýsla are: *grashvammur sem Grænislakki heitir* ‘a grass-hollow called *Grænislakki* [Green-hollow]’; ...*þar hefur tófa lagst á seinni árum og nefnist því stundum Grensslakki* ‘...there a fox has lain itself in recent years and it is sometimes called *Grensslaki*’, *milli Háfjalls (svo) heitir Slakki* ‘the middle of ?*Háfjell* is called *Slakki*’, ...*Slakkinn, oft fullur af krapí og vatni* ‘...*Slakkinn* [the *Slakki*], often full of slush and water’ (Orri Vésteinsson and Sædís Gunnarsdóttir 1999:41, 235, 244 and 429).

OE *stræt* ‘street’ (not ON *stréti* ‘street’)

Denmark: *Brasestræde*, Sorøområdet (*Brasestredtz* 1448 (1607); *DS* xxiv:57), *Brolæggerstræde*, København (*Pær Brolegger strædhe* 1496; *DS Online*), *Bysstræde*, Præstøområdet (*Bys Stræde* 1453; *DS* xvi:7), *Havestræde*, Sorøområdet (*Hauffuestrede* 1404 (1607); *DS* xxiv:45), *Højbrøndstræde*, Roskilde (*Høwæbrws strædæ* 1414; *DS* xxvi:65), *Kostræde*, Præstøområdet (*Kortestrede* 1339 (1528); *DS* xvi:174).

Norway: *Stræte*, Hedmark (*Strede* 1616; Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997: s.v. *Stræte*), *Stræte*, Nord-Trøndelag (*Strettenn* 1590; *NG* xv:40; Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997: s.v. *Stræte*).

England: *to stræte* (846) South Hams, Devon (L298.000; S298), Stratford on Avon, Warwickshire (*æt Stretforda* 781 (11th); *PNWa*:236), Stratton Audley, Oxfordshire (*Stratone* 1086; *PNOx*:239–40).

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<sup>362</sup> I have not been able to ascertain how old the name might be.

*ON svartr* 'dark, black' (not OE *sweart*)

Denmark: Sortebjerg, Ringkøbing Amt (*Sorteberig* 1449 (1552); *DS* xvii:280),  
Sorterøgle, Københavns Amt (*Sorterøggell* 1682; *DS* xix:124), Sortsø,  
Falster (*Sortzsø* 1411; *DS* xi:173).

Norway: Svarterud, Vestfold (*Suartarud* c.1400; *NG* vi:18); [from a derived  
river-name]: Svartebæk, Møre og Romsdal (*af Sortubekke* 1430–40;  
*NG* xiii:143).

England: ?*Suuortfurlong* (13th c.) Cambridgeshire (*PNCa*:325).

*ON tafl-borð* 'table-board, gaming-board' (not OE *\*tæfl-bord*)

Denmark: Tavlbord, Viborg Amt (*tawelbordh* 1467; *DS* ix:248), Tavlbord,  
Viborg Amt (*Tauelbord* 1315 (1580); *DS* ix:226), Tavlbord,  
Ringkøbing Amt (*Tauelbord* 1503; *DS* xvii:108), Tavlbordeng,  
Haderslevområdet (*taffelbor Eng* 1563 (17th c.); *DS* iv:301).

Faroes: Talvborð, Norðoyar (noted by *PNWe* ii:171, but no early forms given).

Norway: no examples found.

Sweden: Talbo, Bohuslän (*Talbor* c.1528; Lindroth 1932:270), Tavlebord,  
Bohuslän (*Taffwelbord* 1544; Lindroth 1932:270).

England: no further forms found.

*OE uferra* 'upper' (not ON *øfri*)

Use in English and Scandinavian place-names not disputed.

***Partially Distinguishable Elements****OE dīc* 'a ditch' / *ON dīk(i)* 'a ditch'

Denmark: Sløjaskærdige, Tønderområdet (*Sloysskiærdyge* 1288 (1578); *DS*  
v:428), Ugledige, Præstøområdet (*Vglædighæ* 1355 (1476); *DS*  
xvi:209), Blomedige, Sørømrådet (*Blomedighe* c.1440; *DS* xxiii:61).

Norway: no examples in *Norke Gaardnavne*.

England: *on ða dic ondlong dices* (866 [lost]) Seckley, Worcestershire (S212; L212.000), *þæt spaón longan dic* (963 [1000–05]), Oddingley, Worcestershire (S1297; L1297.1.000), *on ealdan dic of ealdan dic* (948 (13th c.)) Knoye, Wiltshire (S531; L531.000).

OE *sīc* ‘a small stream’/ ON *sík(i)* ‘a ditch, a trench’

Denmark: Fuglsig, Vendsyssel (*Fulesigh* 1338 (1624); *DS Online*; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Fuglsig), Gosmersig [lost], Ringkøbing Amt (*Gosmersig* 1424; *DS* xvii:362), Sig, Esbjergområdet (*Sich* 1461; *DS Online*; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Sig).

Norway: Mossige, Rogaland (*Mossik* 1519; *NG* x:152).

England: *inbradan mores sic* (983–85 (1000–1050)) Whittington, Worcestershire (L1361.000; S1361), *on þ[æt] sic* (969 (1000–1050)) Evenlode, Gloucestershire (L1325.000; S1325), *on þ[æt] eastre sic* (956) Tadmarton, Oxfordshire (L618.000; S618).

OE *wiella* (Ang., *Kt. wella*, *well(e)*, (West) Merc. *wælla*, *wælle*) ‘well, stream, spring’/ON *vella* ‘boiling heat, ebullition’

Denmark: Veldbæk, Esbjergområdet (*Welbeck* 1485; Jørgensen 2008: s.v. Veldbæk). Bleld, Skanderborgområdet (*blekwild* 1313–c.1350; *DS*:xii:199), Dønnevælde, Frederiksborg Amt (*Dunewælde* 1300; *DS*:ii:55), Rosilde, Svendborgområdet (*Roselde* 1425; *DS*:xiii:194), Saksild, Århusområdet (*saxwæl* 1203 (1313–c.1350); *DS*:xii:72), Tisvilde, Frederiksborg Amt (*Tiswillæ* 1286; *DS*:ii:67), Tryggevælde, Præstøområdet (*Thrygiwællæ* 1261; *DS*:xvi:89).

Norway: Ørvella, Telemark (*Erffuill* 1574–97; *NG*:vii:237), Kalvell, Aust-Agder (*Kaldueld*, *Kalffuilldt* 1593; *NG*:vii:148), ?Sævold, Hordaland (*Seuoldt* 1563; *NG*:xi:227).

England: *In hæð leage pællan* (849 (c.1000–50)) Cofton Hackett, Worcestershire (S1272; L1272.000), Dowdeswell, Gloucestershire (*Dogodeswellan*, *Dogedes wyllan*, 781–98 (11th c.); *PNGl* i:167–68), Pimperne, Dorset (cf. *of pimpernwelle* 935 (15th c.); *PNDō* ii:110–12).

*Elements Mapped in Chapter Two: Early Forms*

*ON hegning 'enclosed land'*

Cumberland: [13th c.]: ?Foxley Henning, Castle Sowerby

(*Forneschalehaylme* (sic) 1252, *Forescalhaylyng* 1276, *Foxleyhanyng* c.1479; *PNCu*:245); [14th c.]: Hinning House, Bootle (*Heyning in Bothill* 1357; *PNCu*:346); [16th c.]: Haining Bank, Askerton (*Heningbancke* 1589; *PNCu*:58), *Heyninge Bekk* (1578), Cockermouth (*PNCu*:363), *hennings* (1578), Above Derwent (*PNCu*:374), Hinning House, Muncaster (*Hennin myre, the hennins* 1578; *PNCu*:426), *Henynys* (1543), Workington (*PNCu*:456).

Derbyshire: [13th c.]: *le Heynynges* (1258–63), Wirksworth (*PNDb*:421).

Lancashire: [13th c.]: Hyning, Warton with Lindeth (*Del Heyning* 1299; Ekwall 1922:188).

Leicestershire: [13th c.]: *Heyning* (1282) Wycomb and Chadwell (*PNLei* ii:222); [16th c.]: Heaning Fd, Wymeswold (*heynyng* 1543; *PNLei* iii:279).

Northamptonshire: [14th c.]: *Heyninges* (c.1400), Castor (*PNNth*:264).

Northumberland: [14th c.]: Haining, Elsdon (*Hayning* 1304; Mawer 1920:98).

Nottinghamshire: [14th c.]: Henning Lane, Sutton in Ashfield (*Sutton Heyningges* 1335; *PNNt*:134).

Westmorland: [13th c.]: *le Heynynges* (1292), Hutton Roof (*PNWe* i:39);

[14th c.]: Haining Wood, Musgrave (*Musgraue heuenyng* 1345; *PNWe* ii:61).

Yorkshire, North Riding: [12th c.]: *Heynnyng* (12th c.), Westerdale,

(*PNYN*:327); [13th c.]: Heaning Gill, Aysgarth (*the Hyghnyng* ' 1298; *PNYN*:268).

Yorkshire, West Riding: [12th c.]: Heanings & Heaning Spring, Kirkby

Malzeard (cf. *Heghenyngthorn* 12th c.; *PNYW* v:201); [13th c.]: *Haenyng* (1217), Giggleswick, (*PNYW* vi:147); [15th c.]: Hyning Gill, Sedbergh (*Hynynge* 1451; *PNYW* vi:268).



OE \**rān* ‘a boundary strip, a balk’, ?ME *rine*, *rune* ‘a running, a course’ /ON *runnr* ‘a brake, a thicket

Cumberland: [12th c.]: Tymparon Hall, Dacre (*Tympauron* 1171–75;

*PNCu*:188–89); [13th c.]: *Stodfaldrunes* (1284), Little Clifton (*PNCu*:361), *Hagwrinrun*, *Hagwrinron* (c.1265), Tallentire (*PNCu*:325), *Brawron* (c.1260 [p. 1500]), Tallentire (*PNCu*:325), *Stellerun* (c.1270; cf. *Scel(e)run* c.1225), Gosforth (*PNCu*:396–97), Pattering Holes, Rottington (*Poteruns* 1258; *PNCu*:429); [16th c.]: *Eskeron*, *Eskorne* (1578), Egremont (*PNCu*:382).

Lancashire: [13th c.]: ?Bowerham, SE Lancaster (*Bolerund* 1201, *Bolerun*

1204; Ekwall 1922:174–75); [14th c.]: Roanhead, Dalton (*Ronheved* 1338; Ekwall 1922:206–07).

Westmorland: [13th c.]: Keldran, Crackenthorpe (*Geldrūsic* 1216–72,

*Kelderunesyc* 13th c.; *PNWe* ii:102), *Haverunes* (1241), Great Strickland (*PNWe* ii:152), *Ronesiche* (1286), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187), *Rongainer* (c.1240), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187), *le Scharruns* (1287–90), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187); [14th c.]: *le Halirone* (1365), Brougham (*PNWe* ii:135), Celleron. Sockbridge (*Selleron* 1348; *PNWe* ii:208).

Yorkshire, North Riding: ?Boldron, Startforth (*Bolrum* 1175–88, *Bulrun* 1280;

*PNYN*:303–04) [uncertain and not mapped].

Yorkshire, West Riding: [12th c.]: *Spil(e)manrun* (12th c.), North Stainley

(*PNYW* v:162),; [13th c.]: Tickering Hill, North Deighton (*Tykerun* 1267; *PNYW* v:26), *Bollerunflat* (13th c), Scotton (*PNYW* v:93), *Balrun* (1216–72), Bolton by Bowland (*PNYW* vi:191), *Rarun* (1220), Horton in Ribblesdale (*PNYW* vi:225). [16th c.]: Witherans, Great Ouseburn (*the Witheruns* 1630; *PNYW* v:79); [17th c.]: ?Boldron Hill, Kirkby Malzeard (*Bowtheronfeilde* 1618; *PNYW* v:211 [probably *runnr* rather than *rūm*, but forms late; not mapped]).



## Appendix to Chapter Three: Wirral

### *Element Case-Studies: Early Forms*

*ON bakki, OEN banke 'a bank'*

Berkshire: [16th c.]: *Le Banke* (1550), Swallowfield (*PNBrk*:111), *Mylbanke* (1550), Winterbourne (*PNBrk*:279).

Cambridgeshire: [14th c.]: *Lirlyngbankes* (1395) Isle of Ely (*PNCa*:312); [15th c.]: *le Banke* (1455), Ickleton and *Lynchebanke* (1483), Ickleton (*PNCa*:311); [16th c.]: *Barrebanke* (1558), Isle of Ely (*PNCa*:312).

Cheshire: [13th c.]: Bongs, Halton (cf. *le Litelbangfeld* 1288; *PNCh* ii:170), Woodbank (*Wodebonc* 1260; *PNCh* iv:208–09); [14th c.]: Beech Bridge & Lane, Macclesfield (*le Bachebank, -bonk* 1396; *PNCh* i:117), *Alysandrebanke* (c.1330), Macclesfield (*PNCh* i:124), Danes Tenement, Sutton Downes (*Dauenebonkes* c.1313; *PNCh* i:149), *del Wyndybonke* (1366), Bredbury (*PNCh* i:267), Hoviley, Hyde (cf. *le Ouerlybonk* 1341; *PNCh* i:279–80), Bangs Fd, Mottram in Longdendale (cf. *del Baunk* 1337; *PNCh* i:315), Bankhall, Hale (*le Bonk* 1396; *PNCh* ii:24), *Whateleighbonk* (1386), Congleton (*PNCh* ii:301), The Yeld (Fm), Yeld Croft, Eddisbury (*le heldebonk* 1357; *PNCh* iii:215), *le bonk* (1357) Puddington (*PNCh* iv:216), Redbank [lost], Thurstaston, (*Redebank(e)* 1320; *PNCh* iv:281), Bankquay Fm, Middlewich (*del Bonk* 1357; *PNCh* ii:245); [15th c.]: *Hunbank* (1467), Rainow (*PNCh* i:147), Underbank, Stockport (*under the Bonck* 1454; *PNCh* i:296), *Echen, Echynclyffebonke* (1466), Lyme Handley (*PNCh* v(1):xviii), *le Okenbonke* (1466), Lyme Handley (*PNCh* v(1):xix), Ashton on Mersey (*-super Mersebonk* 1439; *PNCh* ii:3), *Wortyorn' bonk* (15th c.), Monks Copenhall (*PNCh* iii:28), Burnt Ground Fd, Over (*the Bonke* 1475; *PNCh* iii:175), Bank Ho, Helsby (*be Banckhowse* 1495; *PNCh* iii:236), Booston Wood, Hooton (*le Bonk de Bulston'* 1402; *PNCh* iv:190), Bankfields, Hooton (*le Bonk* 1402; *PNCh* iv:190), Bank Fd, Bank, Bromborough (*(le) Bonkefeld* 1432; iv:243), The Banks, Long Bank Lane, Caldby (cf. *the Bonke* 1454; *PNCh* iv:285), *the Se Bonke* (1454) Caldby (*PNCh* iv:287), *Gorstye Hey & Bonke* (1470), Wigland (*PNCh* iv:52); [16th c.]: *The Tenter banke* (1549), Macclesfield (i:125), *Pryndok Bonke* (1503), Macclesfield Forest (*PNCh* i:130), Bank, Newton (cf. *the bonkes* 1505; i:206), Higher & Lower Banks, Lostock Gralam (*the banke* c.1550; ii:191), Purchase Lands, Nether Peover

(*Graveners Bankes alias the purchased lande* 1564; ii:220), *Yardleys banckes* (1572), *Middlewich* (*PNCh* ii:247), *Banks*, *Congleton* (cf. *the Bankes* 1593; *PNCh* ii:299), *The Bank*, *Bank Fm*, *Crewe* (*the banke* 1580; *PNCh* iii:10), *Cunnerin Town Fd*, *Norbury* (cf. *Conerie Banke* 1598; *PNCh* iii:110), *Banks*, *Great and Little Barrow* (cf. *le Lytill Banke* 1512; *PNCh* iii:265), *Dee Banks*, *Great Boughton* (*lez Dey Banck* 1550; *PNCh* iv:124), *The (Sand) See Bank(e) Feld* (1563 (17th c.)), *Little Saughall* (*PNCh* iv:206), *Banckfeild*, *lez Banck Feld*, *Bankefelde* (1550), *Chester* (*PNCh* v(1):84).

Cumberland: [13th c]: *Hall Beck*, *Ainstable* (cf. *Hallebanc* c.1230; *PNCu* i:171), *Ravelsaye Tarn*, ?*Egremont* (cf. *Ternebanck* 1294; *PNCu* i:35), *Banks*, *Burtholme* (*Bankys* 1256; *PNCu* i:70), *Skeabancke*, (c.1290), *Cumwhitton* (*PNCu* i: 81), *Hall Bank*, *Farlam* (*Hallebanke* c.1200; *PNCu* i:85), *Hullerbank*, *Hayton* (*Hulverbancke yate* c.1220; *PNCu* i:88), *Kerbanc* (c.1265), *Irthington* (*PNCu* i: 94), *del banck'* (c.1250), *Ainstable* (*PNCu* i:171), *Burbank Ho*, *Dacre* (*Burghbangk* 1292; *PNCu* i:186), *Armathwaite Mill*, *Hesket in the Forest* (*Ermethueytbankes* 1285; *PNCu* i:201), *Roebanks*, *Middlesceugh and Braithwaite* (*Rawbankis* 1272; *PNCu* i:225), *le Stanygatbanck* (c.1298), *Penrith* (*PNCu* i:233), *Aykebank* (1225), *Caldbeck* (*PNCu*:281), *Spitelbank'* (1270), *Papcastle* (*PNCu*:309), *Caldekeldebanc'* (1270), *Papcastle* (*PNCu*:309), *Weltebank* (1270), *Papcastle* (*PNCu*:309), *Stanbanckclosse* (c.1260 [pl. 1500]), *Tallentire* (*PNCu*:325), *Bankes* (c.1210), *Tallentire* (*PNCu*:325), *Brawron* (c.1210), *Tallentire* (*PNCu*:325), *Branthebank* (1285), *Brackenthwaite* (*PNCu*:354), *Rugby Banks*, *Cockermouth* (*Ruggebagbanks* 1300; *PNCu*:362), *Whinbank*, *Distington* (*Quinebank*, *Quenbank'* 1292; *PNCu*:376), *Ternebanck* (1294), *Egremont* (*PNCu*:382), *Bromebank* (1294), *Egremont* (*PNCu*:383), *Lonckebanck* (1294), *Egremont* (*PNCu*:383), *Le Redebanck* (1294), *Egremont* (*PNCu*:383), *Thornbank*, *Gosforth* (*Thornbanc*, *Thornbank* c.1230; *PNCu*:395), *Gillebanc*, *Gillibanc* (c.1225), *Gosforth* (*PNCu*:397), *Kylnebannch* (c.1225), *Gosforth* (*PNCu*:397), *Belhousbanckes* (c.1290), *Haile* (*PNCu*:399), *Ellerbeck*, *Muncaster* (*Ellerbank* c.1215; *PNCu*:424), *Calderbank* (c.1215), *Ponsonby* (*PNCu*:427), *Kirkbank*, *Whicham* (*Kirkebaunk* 1278; *PNCu*:444), *Bank*, *Whinfell* (*le Bank'* 1293; *PNCu*:447); [14th c.]: *Bankshead*, *Waterhead* (cf. *les Bankes iuxta Lanerton'* 1346; *PNCu* i:116), *Buckabank*, *Dalston* (*Bucothebank'* c.1345; *PNCu* i:131), *Bank'* (1348), *Waverton* (*PNCu* i:160), *Thornebank* (1399), *Torpenhow* (*PNCu*:327), *Brockholmbank* (1338), *Drigg*

and Carleton (*PNCu*:378), *Halforthbank* (1363), Egremont (*PNCu*:383), *Thornbanks* (1338), Egremont (*PNCu*:383), *Caldfordbank* (1338), Egremont (*PNCu*:383), *le Turfbanke* (1338), Egremont (*PNCu*:383), Kellbank, Gosforth (*Keldebank* 1376; *PNCu*:396), Haile Bank, Haile (*Halebank* 1359; *PNCu*:398); [15th c.]: Mirebank Wood, Wetheral (cf. *Myrbanke* 1490; *PNCu* i:164), *Smekergilbanke* (15th c.) Gt Salkeld (*PNCu* i:239); [16th c.]: Banks Burn, Irthing (*the bankes burne* 1589; *PNCu* i:4), Scaurbank, Arthuret (*the Skarbanke* 1528; *PNCu* i:55), Bushley Bank, Askerton (*Bowessolon Banck(e)* 1586; *PNCu* i:57), Collin Bank, Askerton (*Colin(e)banck(e)* 1589; *PNCu* i:35), Haining Bank, Askerton (*Heningbancke* 1589; *PNCu* i:58), *Bowthrelbancke* (1598), Askerton (*PNCu* i:58), Rowbank Wood, Brampton (*Rowbanke* 1589; *PNCu* i:68), *haubanke* (1589), Askerton (*PNCu* i:69), *Sprinkebanke* (1589), Askerton (*PNCu* i:69), Tombank, Cumwhitton (*Tombancke* 1589; *PNCu* i:80), Bankend, Kingmoor (*the Banke ende* (1589; *PNCu* i:95), Kaysbank, Stapleton (*Casbanck(e)* 1589; *PNCu* i:112), Harperhill, Stapleton (cf. also *Harper Banke* 1525; *PNCu* i:112), Bank-End, Beaumont (*Bankend* 1589; *PNCu* i:121), Buebank Lane, Dalston (*Bewbanke* 1533; *PNCu* i:136), Flat Bank, Dalston (*Flatbancke* 1578; *PNCu* i:136), Sacrebank Wood, Dalston (cf. *Sickerbanke* 1576; *PNCu* i:136), Aikbank, Waverton (*Aike-, Ackebanke* 1578; *PNCu* i:159), Crummockbank, Waverton (*Crommake banke* 1578; *PNCu* i:159), *Toddall Banke* (1578), Wigton (*PNCu* i:167), *the pesse banke* (1568), Ainstable (*PNCu* i:171), *Kyrkbanck* (1568), Glassonby (*PNCu* i:194), *Grysbanc* (1568), Glassonby (*PNCu* i:195), *Turtylbanck* (1568), Glassonby (*PNCu* i:195), Fair Bank, Greystoke (*Fayrebancke* 1589; *PNCu* i:198), Petteril Bank, Hesketh in the Forest (*Petrelbanck* 1580; *PNCu* i:206), Rowantree Bank, Hutton Roof (*Rowntreebank* 1563; *PNCu* i:212), Banks, Kirkoswald (*the Bankes* 1570; *PNCu* i:217), Bankend, Castle Sowerby (*Bankend* 1501; *PNCu* i:246), Gillbank, Holme St Cuthbert (*Gilbancke* 1581–91; *PNCu*:297), Lingeybank, Isel Oldpark (*Lingebanckh* 1569; *PNCu*:301), Bankend cottages, Oughterside and Allerby (*Oughterside banke* 1578; *PNCu*:307), Birkett Bank, St John's (*Birkeheadbancke* 1552; *PNCu*:316), *Manybanke* (1539), Westward (*PNCu*:332), Bridgebank, Woodside (*brigge banke* 1540; *PNCu*:334), Wellbank, Bootle (*Welbanke* 1570; *PNCu*:348), Kirkbank, Cockermouth (*Kirkbanck(e)* 1578; *PNCu*:362), Gill Bank, Above Derwent (*Gylbanke* 1564; *PNCu*:372), *little Slake banck* (1578), Drigg and Carleton (*PNCu*:378), How

Bank, Egremont (*Howe banke* 1578; *PNCu*:381), *Healde banke* (1578), Egremont (*PNCu*:382), *Lownabanke* (1578), Egremont (*PNCu*:382), Bank House, Ennerdale (*Banckhowse* 1578; *PNCu*:386), *Mowtkey banck* (1578), Ennerdale (*PNCu*: 388), Banklands, Eskdale (*Bankelandes* 1578; *PNCu*:390), Blake Bank, Eskdale (*Bleakbank* 1587; *PNCu*:391), Gill Bank, Eskdale (*Gilbank* 1570; *PNCu*:391), Lingbank, Gosforth (*Nethergwhynbanke*, *lyngbanke post* 1500; *PNCu*:396), Lowercray Bank, Gosforth (*Locraybanck* 1570; *PNCu*:396), Colin Grove, Greysouthen (*Collen banke* 1578; *PNCu*:398), Millbanks, Greysouthen (*Millne bancks* 1578; *PNCu*:398), Bankend, Lamplugh (*Bankend* 1591; *PNCu*:406), High Stowbank, Lamplugh (*Stawbank* 1583; *PNCu*:407), Hanging Bank, Lowside Quarter (*hanginge banck* 1578; *PNCu*:413), *Aslabanck* (1578), Lowside Quarter (Lowside Quarter 414), *Sleabanck* (1578), Lowside Quarter (*PNCu*:414), *Wandowbanck holme* (1578), Lowside Quarter (*PNCu*:414), *balesbancke* (1578, Nether Wasdale (*PNCu*:442), *Brokelbank*' (1540), Nether Wasdale (*PNCu*:443), Cross Banke, Whicham (*Crossabanck* 1585; *PNCu*:445), Keldbank, Whicham (*Kelbanke* 1585; *PNCu*:445), Sunny Brow, Workington (*Sunnybank* 1550; *PNCu*:456),

Derbyshire: [13th c.1]: *le Bank* (1296), Foolow (*PNDb*:102), [14th c.]: Bank Top House, Bakewell ((*del*) *Bonke* 1368; *PNDb*:35), [15th c.]: *Reddebonk* (1489), Baslow and Bubnell (*PNDb*:43), , Bank Head, New Mills (*Bonkehede* 1472; *PNDb*:153), *Redebanke* (1467), Drakelow (*PNDb*:633) [16th c.]: Bank, Bakewell (*the Bank* 1562; *PNDb*:35), John Bank, Bakewell (*John Banke* 1564; *PNDb*:36), Ding Bank, Derwent (*Dinge Bancke* 1598; *PNDb*:85), Elle Bank, Hayfield (*Elibanke* 1558–1603; *PNDb*:115), Kinder Bank, Hayfield (*Kynder Banke* 1558–1603; *PNDb*:116), *Dawebanke* (1558–1603), Hayfield (*PNDb*:117), *Raggesclyffe Banke* (1558–1603), Hayfield (*PNDb*:117), Whitle Bank, New Mills (*Wyttebanke* 1593; *PNDb*:154), Yelding Bank, Ashover (*Yelding Bank* 1584; *PNDb*:197), *Dogbanke* (1587), Barlow (*PNDb*:207), *the Long banke* (1568), Bolsover (*PNDb*:217), Birkin Bank, Bolsover (*Birken Banke* 1513; *PNDb*:217), Bank Green, Holmesfield (cf. *The Bankes* 1511; *PNDb*:265), Bank House, Hartington nether Quarter (*the Bancke* 1533; *PNDb*:369), Dunge Wood, Heage (*Dunge Bancke post* 1560; *PNDb*:566), *Foxholes bank* (1560), Shottle and Postern (*PNDb*:602).

Devon: [16th c.]: Bankland, Coldridge (*Bank(e)lond(e)* 1501; *PND* ii:365).

- Co. Durham: **[13th c.]**: *Grenlangbanc* (c.1300), Elwick Hall (*PNDu* i:77); **[14th c.]**: *le denbank* (1379), Elwick Hall (*PNDu* i:75), *fflakdenbank* (c.1375), Billingham (*PNDu* i:18), *le Redebank* (c.1375), Billingham (*PNDu* i:17).
- Essex: **[14th c.]**: *Langebanc* (14th c.) Radwinter (*PNEss*:574), *Wymabanke* (1312), Ongar (*PNEss*:574); **[16th c.]**: Banks Fm, Lambourne (*Bankes* 1558; *PNEss*:61).
- Huntingdonshire: **[12th c.]** Sword Point [lost] (*Sweordora* c.1000, *Swerord super Witlemærebanc* 1146; *PNBd*:190).
- Lancashire: **[13th c.]**: Bank Hall, Croston (*de banca* 1251, *Bankehall* 1577; Ekwall 1922:7 and 137); **[14th c.]**: Windy Bank, Rochdale (*de Wyndibonk* c.1300; Ekwall 1922:58); **[15th c.]**: Halebank, Childwall (*Halebonk* 1426; Ekwall 1922:110), Kent's Bank, Cartmel (*Kentsbanke* 1491; Ekwall 1922:196); **[16th c.]**: Roughbank, Rochdale (*Roughbank* 1596; Ekwall 1922:56), Yate Bank, Blackburn (*Yatebank* 1588; Ekwall 1922:76), Speel Bank, Cartmel (*Spilbanck* 1593; Ekwall 1922:198), Tottlebank, Colton (*Totyle banke* c.1535; Ekwall 1922:217), Pickup Bank, Blackburn (*de Pycoppe* 1296, *Pickope Bank* 1595; Ekwall 1922:76).
- Leicestershire: **[14th c.]**: *le bankende* (c.1306), Wigston Magna (*PNLei* v:226); **[15th c.]**: Frogmire [lost], Leicester (*Frogmerbanke* 1477; *PNLei* i:227); **[16th c.]**: *Coke Banke* (1561), Burton Lazars (*PNLei* ii:71), *the Millbanke, the millne banke* (1577), Branston (*PNLei* ii:115), *the red bankes* (1577), Branston (*PNLei* ii:116), *South thum banke* (1563), Cossington (*PNLei* iii:68), *Home banke* (1586), Halstead (*PNLei* iii:252),
- Lincolnshire: **[14th c.]**: the Bank, Thornton Curtis (*atte Bank'* 1327; *PNLi* ii:283); **[15th c.]**: *le Grenebank* (1455) City of Lincoln] (*PNL* ii:182), *Southaabanke* (1465) Fulstow (*PNLi* iv:96), *herdebanks* (1451–53) North Thoresby (*PNLi* iv:176); **[16th c.]**: Bank, South Kelsey (*les bankes* 1573; *PNLi* iii:40), *lyng banke* (1579) Thoresway (*PNLi* iii:155), *north meare bank* (16th c.) Burton by Lincoln (*PNLi* vii:22), *Thrawbankes* (1566) Normanby le Wold (*PNLi* iii:78), *tombanke* (1579) Thoresway (*PNLi* iii:156), *Sedickebincke* (16th c.) Habrough (*PNLi* ii:147).
- Middlesex: **[16th c.]**: Old Queen St, Westminster (earlier *Long More Banke* 1555; *PNMx*:182).
- Norfolk: ?*Hallbenk* (1292) Martham (*PNNf* ii:66).
- Nottinghamshire: **[16th c.]**: Sow Bank Cottages, Halam (*Sowre banke butt* 1585:168); *Sandybanckes* (1591), North and South Wheatley (*PNNt*:275).

Oxfordshire: Little Banky Ground, Great Banky Ground, Tetsworth (cf. *Bankeham* 1278–9; *PNO* i:145).

Shropshire: [**16th c.**]: Hodgebower, Madeley (*The Bowre upon the Severn Banks* 1544; *PNSa* iii:34), Lawley Bank, Wellington (?*Coalpit Bank* 1589; *PNSa* iii:65), The Bank, Stanton Long (?*The Banke* c.1575; *PNSa* iii:209), Blaze Coppice, Moreton Corbet (cf. *Blasbanke* 1599; *PNSa* v:175), *Owsiche Bank* (1588), Stanton upon Hine Heath (*PNSa*:218).

Staffordshire: [**16th c.**]: *Fernybanke* (1598) Great Wyrley (*PNSt*:73), *a scinder banke* (1595) Great Wyrley (*PNSt*:74), *Walkley Bank* (1569), Forton (*PNSt*:149).

Surrey: [**16th c.**]: Bankside, Southwark (*the Banke syde* 1554; *PNSr*:30), Maybanks, Ewhurst (*Mabankes* 1511; *PNSr*:242).

Warwickshire: [**14th c.**]: ?Bancroft Gardens, Stratford (*le Bancroft* 1350 [or OE *bēan*, ON *baun*]; *PNWa*:237); [**16th c.**]: Bankey Meadow, Dunchurch and Thurlaston (cf. *le Bank* 1542; *PNWa*:356).

Westmorland: [**12th c.**]: *Suinebancke* (c.1180), Crook (*PNWe* i:182), Brown bank & hills, Crosby Ravensworth (*Brunebanc(a)* 1142–86; *PNWe* ii:162), Elm bank, Shap (*Alinbalike* [sic for *Almbanke*] c.1200; *PNWe* ii:167); [**13th c.**]: Firbank (*Frebanc* 1215–1254; *PNWe* i:32), Oakbank, Firbank (*Brochaikebanke* 1245–68; *PNWe* i:34), *Brendebanc* (1186–1268), Firbank (*PNWe* i:35), Aikbank, Beetham (*yk(e)bank* 1292; *PNWe* i:68), *Brokesbanc* (1237), Hincaster (*PNWe* i:90), Priestmire [lost], Sedgwick (*Prest(e)mire(banke)* 1246–49; *PNWe* i:98), *Gillebank* (1292), Underbarrow (*PNWe* i:104), Fairbank, Nether Staveley (*Fauer-*, *Faverban(c)k(e)* 1297; *PNWe* i:173), *Sadgilebanc* (13th c.), Winton (*PNWe* ii:30), *Swithenbanc* (1278), Crosby Garrett (*PNWe* ii:41), *Buchebanke* (1216–72), Crackenthorpe (*PNWe* ii:102), *le Kyrkebank* (1293), Crackenthorpe (*PNWe* ii:102), *Langedalebank* (13th c.), Crackenthorpe (*PNWe* ii:102), *Dalebibanc* (13th c.), Warcop (*PNWe* ii:xiii), Stainbank Green, Kendal (*Staynbanck* 13th c.; *PNWe* i:121–22), *Appeltrebankes* (c.1270), Crosby Ravensworth (*PNWe* ii:163), *Beutrebanc* (a. 1286), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:184), *Melkeldebanck* (c.1294), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187), *Runcrosbanc* (1286), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187), Bower Bank, Barton (*Bovrbank* c.1290; *PNWe* ii:209); [**14th c.**]: Sykelands, Lupton (cf. *Sykbankes* 1356; *PNWe* i:48), Bank Hill, Mansergh (*le Bankes* 1343; *PNWe* i:51), *Hallebank* (1318), Mansergh (*PNWe* i:53), Long Bank, Middleton (*Langest ... banke* 1300; *PNWe* i:55), *Kent bankes* (1315), Levens (*PNWe* i:94), *le Waterbankes* (1312), Natland (*PNWe* i:114), The Bank [lost], Kendal



(*Ki-*, *Kyrkeby banck* 1310; *PNWe* i:119), *le Belletbank* (1391) Strickland Ketel (*PNWe* i:157), *Swet(e)bank* (1330), Warcop (*PNWe* ii:xiii), *Hallebanksik'* (e. 14) Murton (*PNWe* ii:xiii) *Staynbank* (1377), Dufton (*PNWe* ii:113), Windy-Bank, Cliburn (*le Wyndybank* 1366; *PNWe* ii:138), *Hervycrokbank* (1366), Cliburn (*PNWe* ii:138), *Staynebank* (1394), Shap Rural (*PNWe* ii:181), *Qualebanke* (1296–1301), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187), *Pyenestebank* (1314), Bampton (*PNWe* ii:199); [**15th c.**]: *le Potbank* (1407), Hincaster (*PNWe* i:90), *Crosbank* (1484), Sedgwick (*PNWe* i:98), *Hesilbanke* (1425), Kaber (*PNWe* ii:8), *Chapelbanke parke* (1485), Kirkby Thore (*PNWe* ii:119), *Swarthyebank* (1485), Kirkby Thore (*PNWe* ii:120), *Chapelbank* (1413–22), Brougham (*PNWe* ii:134), *le Halbanke* (1413–22), Brougham (*PNWe* ii:135), *Welbank* (1413–22), Brougham (*PNWe* ii:135), *le Crabbank* (1485), Bolton (*PNWe* ii:141), *Whetebank* (1433), Bampton (*PNWe* ii:199), *the Rodebanke* (1425), Askham (*PNWe* ii:204); [**16th c.**]: *le Banke* (1504–47) Casterton (*PNWe* i:130), *Lylebank* (1547) Mansergh (*PNWe* i:53), Church Bank, Burton (*Kirkebanke* 1574; i:58), Tarn Bank Spring, Underbarrow (*the Tarnebancke* 1589; i:106), *Merbank* (1567) Underbarrow (i:107), Far Cross Bank, Kendal ((*le*) *Crossebanke* 1530; i:116), far & near Moss, Kendal (*Mosse banke* 1576; i:125), Ewebank, Old Hutton (*Owbancke* 1597; i:128), Hallbank, New Hutton (*Hallbank* 1530; i:132), Meal Bank, Scaleshwaiteigg (*Meal(e)ban(c)k(e)* 1578; i:136), Moorbank, Whinfell (*Mowrebank* 1551; i:143), Tarnbank, Skelsmergh (*the ffell called Tarne of Banks* 1577; i:147–48), Wood banks, Skelsmergh (*Woodebanke* 1588; i:148), Swinklebank, Longsleddale (*Swin-*, *Swynkel(l)ban(c)k* 1579; i:162), Greenbank, Crook (*Grenebank* 1530; i:180), Oakbank, Crook (*the Oake banke* 1535; i:180), *Skerbank* (1549) Warcop (ii:xiii and 88), *Petemyre banke* (1551) Murton (ii:xiii), Cross Bank, Ravenstonedale (*Cros(s)bank(e)* 1597; ii:35), *Byrkebanke holme* (1581) Crosby Garrett (ii:41), *Grenebanck coppice or hagge* (1590) Hoff (ii:100), *the Lawebancke* (1588) Dufton (ii:113), Bank, Maulds Meaburn ((*the, ye*) *Banck(e)* 1564; ii:158), Dalebanks, Maulds Meaburn (*Dalebanck(e)* 1596; ii:159), Raise Bank (lost), Maulds Meaburn (*Rais(e)banck* 1585; ii:161), *Earthe wales banke* (1539) Shap Rural (ii:180),<sup>363</sup> *Netherbanke* (1539) Shap Rural (ii:181), *Overbanke* (1539) Shap Rural (ii:181), *le Paper banke(s)* (1539) Shap Rural (ii:181),

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<sup>363</sup> *Walesbanckes* (1539), Shap Rural (ii:181) not separately mapped.

*Heslebanck* (1576) Yanwath (ii:206), Kell banks, Yanwath (*Kel(l)bank(e)* 1533; ii:207), *Dillmire banke* (1560) Yanwath (ii:207), Hallinbank, Martindale (*Hellenbancke* 1588; ii:218–19).

Wiltshire: [13th c.]: *Northbanke* (1216–72), Lavington (*PNW*:422); [16th c.]: *Linch bank* (1591) (*PNW*:422).

Yorkshire, East Riding: [12th c.]: Hull Bank, Cottingham (*Hulban(c)k(e)* 1150–60; *PNYE*:206); [13th c.]: *Skirenbank* (13th c.), ?*Skerne* (*PNYE*:11); [14th c.]: Beck Bank, Cottingham (*Bekbanke* c.1325; *PNYE*:206), Beck Side, Beverley (*le Bekbank* 1371; *PNYE*:197).

Yorkshire, North Riding: [13th c.]: Hang Bank, Melsonby (*Hangandebank* 13th c.; *PNYN*:298), Gale Bank, Wensley (*Gailbanc* 1293; *PNYN*:258), *Scoredbanke* (1271) [not mapped as no location given] (*PNYN*:325); [16th c.]: Bowbank, Romalldkirk (*Bowbanck(e)* 1561, 1571; *PNYN*:308).

Yorkshire, West Riding: [12th c.]: *Chiritrebanc*, *Chyritrebanc*, *Chyritrebanke* (12th c., 13th c.), Middleton (*PNYW* v:67), *Brabanch* (1190–1200), Beamsley (*PNYW* v:73), Monk Wall, Lindrick (*Stanwal* 12th c.; *PNYW* v:192), (*Aikebanc* c.1170), Flasby (*PNYW* vi:52); [13th c.]: *Goselingbanc* (13th c.), Huntwick (*PNYW* ii:93), The Ring, Thorpe on the Hill (cf. *Ryngbank* 1292; *PNYW* ii:149), Bank Top, Upper Soot Hill (*Hetonbank* 1329; *PNYW* ii:196), *Bestonlay bonke* (13th c.) Stainland (*PNYW* iii:49), *Milneclifbanke* (1246), Southowram (*PNYW* iii:96), *Brunnum Banc* (1190–1220), Alwoodley (*PNYW* iv:180), *Wat'banke* (1269), Harewood (*PNYW* iv:184), *Langeriddingbancks* (1268), Pool (*PNYW* iv:210), *le Stanbancks* (1268), Pool (*PNYW* iv:210), *Stainbanc* (13th c.), Kearby (*PNYW* v:42), Stony Bank, Bewerley (*Staynbanc*, *Stanybanc* c.1215; *PNYW* v:144), *Aldelinbank* (c.1220), Markington (*PNYW* v:183), *Dalebanc* (13th c.), Markington (*PNYW* v:184), *Melehoubank* (1200–20), Flasby (*PNYW* vi:52), *Slaytbanc* (?12th c., 13th c), Rathmell (*PNYW* vi:150), *Brigkebank* (?12th c., 13th c), Horton (*PNYW* vi:171), *Rauenhilbanc* (1209), Bolton by Bowland (*PNYW* vi:192), Brunghill Moor, Slaidburn (*Brungilebonc* 1220–30; *PNYW* vi:206), *Kickeholmbonc* (c.1225), Newton in Bowland (*PNYW* vi:208); [14th c.]: *le Dalebancke* (14th c.), Hooton Levitt (*PNYW* i:137), *Willebankes* (1379), Bradfield (*PNYW* i:244), *Lobanks* (1342), Oxspring (*PNYW* i:336), Dick Bank, Whitwood (*Dicbankeeng* 14th c.; *PNYW* ii:125), Banks Ho (lost), Rothwell (*le Bankez* 1341; *PNYW* ii:144), *Dykbanks* (1325), Lupset (*PNYW* ii:156), *Horssegebank* (1307), Austonley (*PNYW* ii:265), *le Blakebanck* (1308),

Holme (*PNYW* ii:271), *Lynleybank* (1331), Lindley *PNYW* (ii:302), *Okynbank* (1307), Hipperholme (*PNYW* iii:83), Windy Bank, Queensbury (*Wyndybank*, *Windybank* 1331; *PNYW* iii:88), Howden Clough, Birstall (*Holeden' banke* 1338; *PNYW* iii:15), *Wykesbanke* (1307), Wyke (*PNYW* iii:34), Bank Top, Barkisland (cf. *Bank* 1379; *PNYW* iii:59), Windy Bank, Southowram (*Wyndebank* 1379; *PNYW* iii:95), Bank House Wood, Skircoat (*Bank(e)house* 1379; *PNYW* iii:111), *Redbanke* (1341), Bradford (*PNYW* iii:254), *Ruggebanke* (1341), Leeds (*PNYW* iv:135), *Ayrbancks* (1311), Rawdon (*PNYW* iv:154), *le Brokenbank* (1332), Plompton (*PNYW* v:31), Bank Hill, *Banckes* (1313), Kearsby (*PNYW* v:41), Bedern Bank, Ripon ((*le Bedernbank(e)* 1369; *PNYW* v:165), *le Walk Mylnbanke* (1349), Ripon (*PNYW* v:168), Mousegill (lost), Rimington (*Mousegilebanke* 1272–1307; *PNYW* vi:177); [15th c.]: Bank Side, Thorne (cf. *Thornebanke* 1483; *PNYW* i:4), *Lang(e)bank(e)* (1404), Stainforth (*PNYW* i:14), the Banks, Balby (*Banke* 1467; *PNYW* i:28), Slade Bank, Mexborough (*Slatebanke* 1479; *PNYW* i:79), *Byrkynbanke* (1441), Sheffield (*PNYW* i:219), Holdworth Bank, Bradfield (*Haldworth Bank(e)* 1412; *PNYW* i:235), *Hyngandbank* (1451), Cudworth (*PNYW* i:282), *Dalebanke* (1424), Pontefract (*PNYW* ii:82), *Le3 Banke3* (1461), Ackworth (*PNYW* ii:95), Pen Bank, Altofts (*Penbanke* 1422–61; *PNYW* ii:120), Snydale Bank, Methley (*Snitallbancke* 1411; *PNYW* ii:131), *Gamblebancke(s)* (1464), Methley (*PNYW* ii:131), *Sakelwellbanke* (1410), Stanley (*PNYW* ii:162), Barmby Fold, Ossett (?cf *Northbarnebank* 1461; *PNYW* ii:189), *Bromehilbanke* (1462), Cartworth (*PNYW* ii:239), *Netilbanke* (1462), Hepworth (*PNYW* ii:245), *Thorlowe banke* (1492), Kirkburton (*PNYW* ii:247), Lumbank, Austonley (*Lomebanke* 1485; *PNYW* ii:264), *Lyalbanke* (1495), South Crosland (*PNYW* ii:267), Turf Hill, Marsden (*Turuehilebank* 1487; *PNYW* ii:282), *Bankehous(e)* (1498), Longwood (*PNYW* ii:303), Turney Bank, Saddleworth (*Turnilbanke* 1426; *PNYW* ii:317), Cliffe Lane, Gomersal (cf. *Cleffoghbanke* 1401; *PNYW* iii:22), the Dodgehill, Brighouse (cf. *Doggebank* 1492; *PNYW* iii:78), Booth Town, Northowram (*Boethesbanke* 1499; *PNYW* iii:97), Haley Hill, Northowram (*Halybank(e)* 1461; *PNYW* iii:98), Booth Bank, Northowram (*Bothebanke* 1492; iii:100), Mill Bank, Sowerby (*Solandmylnebanke* 1492; *PNYW* iii:148), *Grenecllyfbanke* (15th c.), North Deighton (; *PNYW* v:26), *Stanibanc Keld* (15th c.), North Deighton (; *PNYW* v:27), Bank Side, Little Ribston (*le Bank* 1444; *PNYW* v:32), *le Canelbank* (1444), Spofforth (*PNYW* v:37), Kiln Hill,

Middleton (cf. *Kylnebanke* 1413; *PNYW* v:69), *Marstelbanke* (1413),  
 Middleton (*PNYW* v:68), *Housebank* (1468), *Roecliffe* (*PNYW* v:87), *Mill*  
*Wath*, *Bilton* (cf. *Milnebanke* 1498; *PNYW* v:105–06), *Tilbanke* (1462),  
*Bilton* (*PNYW* v:106), *le Reed Banck* (1481), *North Stainley* (*PNYW* v:162),  
*Aldefeldebanks*, *Aldfieldbank* (1479), *Aldfield* (*PNYW* v:194), *Kendale Wood*,  
*Winksley* (cf. *Kendalebanke* 1479; *PNYW* v:196); [16th c.]: *Sea Dike Bank*,  
*Hatfield* (*Sedykebank* 1546; *PNYW* i:10), *Wearebankes* (1540) *Doncaster*  
(*PNYW* i:34), *Don Banks*, *Wheatley* (*Dunne Bank* 1562, *PNYW* i:36), *Brode*  
*Banke* (1584) *Wheatley* (*PNYW* i:37), *Derne banke* (1516) *Wombwell*  
(*PNYW* i:105), *Bleisbye banck* (1571) *Rawmarsh* (*PNYW* i:177), *Steel Bank*,  
*Ecclesall* (*Steill Banke* 1550; *PNYW* i:201), *Vnwyne banke* (1585) *Ecclesall*  
(*PNYW* i:204), *Wincobank*, *Sheffield* (*Wi-*, *Wyncoban(c)k*) 1587; *PNYW*  
i:214), *Bank Ho*, *Bradfield* (*Bankhous* 1568; *PNYW* i:230), *Brooks Bank*,  
*Bradfield* (*Brockesbanke* 1573; *PNYW* i:232), *Stony Bank*, *Ecclesfield*  
(*Netherstonebanck* 1590; *PNYW* i:252), *Woolley Bank*, *Woolley* (*Wolley*  
*Banke* 1536; *PNYW* i:288), *Bell Bank Wood*, *Worsborough* (*Beubanke* 1562;  
*PNYW* i:294), *Banks Hall*, *Cawthorne* (*Bankes als. Mikelthwaite* 1580; *PNYW*  
i:324), *Hand Bank*, *Langsett* (*Overhumbanke* (sic) 1573; *PNYW* i:333),  
*Longdike Bank*, *Ousefleet* (*Long Dycke bancke* 1575; *PNYW* ii:8), *Burn*  
*Bank*, *West Bretton* (*Burnebanke* 1557; *PNYW* ii:100), *Pen Bank*, *Methley*  
(*Panbanke* 1592; *PNYW* ii:131), *Aierbanck* (1592) *Methley* (*PNYW* ii:132),  
*Okebanke* (1577), *Methley* (*PNYW* ii:134), *Sparlingbancke* (1539) *Methley*  
(*PNYW* ii:135), *Wesheforde banke* (1590) *Methley* (*PNYW* ii:136), *Sand Mary*  
*Banks Horbury* (*St Marye bancke* 1572; *PNYW* ii:153), *Hand Bank*, *Mirfield*  
(*Hanbanck(es)* 1598; *PNYW* ii:200), *Hartley Bank*, *S(h)itlington* (*Haklyff*  
*Banke* (sic) 1529; *PNYW* ii:208), *Burnebanke* (1557) *Emley* (*PNYW* ii:221),  
*Kylnehousebanke* (1557) *Cartworth* (*PNYW* ii:238), *Fairbanck Knowl*,  
*Hepworth* (*Furbanke Knowles* 1578; *PNYW* ii:244–45), *Prikmer banke*  
(1551) *Upperthong* (*PNYW* ii:291), *Nun BankWood*, *Clifton* (*Nunbanke*  
1539; *PNYW* iii:5), *Oak Hill Bank*, *Clifton* (*Oakenbank (Wood)* 1582, 1588;  
*PNYW* iii:5), *Wibsey Bank*, *Birstall* (*Wybsay Bank(e)* 1567; *PNYW* iii:12),  
*Tombanke* (1573) *Birstall* (*PNYW* iii:13), *Sim Banks*, *Liversedge* (*Simbanke*  
1579; *PNYW* iii:29), *Brockhoilbank* (1579), *Liversedge* (*PNYW* iii:30), *Banks*,  
*Elland* (cf. *Annotbank* 1543; *PNYW* iii:45), *Bank Ho*, *Norland* (*Norland Bank*  
1599; *PNYW* iii:55), *Bank Royd*, *Barkisland* (*Bankrode* 1538; *PNYW* iii:59),  
*Bank Top*, *Southowram* (*the Bancke* 1572; *PNYW* iii:93), *Grindlestone Bank*,

Ovenden (*Grindlestone banck* 1536; *PNYW* iii:118), Lee Bank, Ovenden (*Lee banke* 1581; *PNYW* iii:118), *Waddesworth bankes* (1546) Mytholmroyd (*PNYW* iii:168), Bank, Todmorden (*Banke in Stansfeld*; *PNYW* iii:179), Bank Foot, Hebden Bridge (cf. *The Bank* 1573; *PNYW* iii:189), *Colden Banck* (1575) Heptonstall (*PNYW* iii:191), Underbank, Blackshaw (*Underbancke* 1591; *PNYW* iii:199), Owlter Bank, Wadsworth (*Olderban(c)ke* 1582; *PNYW* iii:206), Henbank, Idle (*the Henbanck(e)* 1585; *PNYW* iii:234), Bankhouse, Pudsey (*Bank(e)house* 1592; *PNYW* iii:238), *Bradford Mill Banke* (1596) Bradford (*PNYW* iii:253), Oak Bank Fm, Shipley (*Ock Bank* 1585; *PNYW* iii:268), Stone Bank Top, Wilsden (*Stonebank (top)* 1571; *PNYW* iii:276), The Bank (lost), Leeds (*le Bank(e), the, y<sup>e</sup> Bank(e)* 1557; *PNYW* iv:130), Black Bank Fm, Leeds (*Blackbanck* 1596; *PNYW* iv:131), Hillhouse Bank (lost), Leeds (*Hilhous(e) ban(c)kes* 1539; *PNYW* iv:131), *the Colbanke* (1574) Leeds (*PNYW* iv:133), Banksfield, Yeadon (*Bankes* 1540; *PNYW* iv:156), Bank Ho, Bingley (*Bankhouse* 1588; *PNYW* iv:165), Marley Bank, Bingley (*Marley banckes* 1587; *PNYW* iv:168), *Mayster Bancke* (1593) Bingley (*PNYW* iv:171), Bank Top, East and West Morton (*Banke* 1596; *PNYW* iv:173), Morton Banks, East and West Morton (*Morton Banks* 1581; *PNYW* iv:173), *le Braconbankes* (1540) Hawksworth (iv:201), *Smawbankes* (1556) Otley (*PNYW* iv:208), *Polbank* (1543) Thorpe Underwood (*PNYW* v:6), *Busterdbanke* (1565) Denton (*PNYW* v:64), Dacre Banks, Dacre (*Dacre ban(c)kes* 1557; *PNYW* v:140), Leaper Bank, Beverley (*Leperbanke* 1533; *PNYW* v:144), *Greynbank* (1512) Ripon (*PNYW* v:173), Burnt Banks, Markington (*the Burnebank* 1540; *PNYW* v:182), *Skelbank* (1540) Markington (*PNYW* v:184), Laver Banks, Lindrick (*Lauer Bank* 1512; *PNYW* v:192), Rye Bank, Lindrick (*Rye Bank* 1513; *PNYW* v:192), Skell Bank, Aldfield (*Skell Bank* 1513; *PNYW* v:194), Bridge Banks, Winksley (*Bryggbankes* 1543; *PNYW* v:195), Winksley Banks, Winksley (cf. *Agnes-banckes* 1584; *PNYW* v:196), *Este bank* (150) Bouthwaite (*PNYW* v:206), Small Banks, Addingham (*Small Bankes* 1562; *PNYW* vi:58), . Lythe Bank, Halton East (*Lythe Bank* 1539; *PNYW* vi:71), *Banck(e)myers* (1574) Rylstone (*PNYW* vi:95), *Lykebank(e)wood(e)* (1567) Rylstone (*PNYW* vi:95), *Westren banke* (1567) Rylstone (*PNYW* vi:95), Bank Top Ho, Hebden (*the Bankes* 1589; *PNYW* vi:101), *Awght banke* (1589) Hebden (*PNYW* vi:103), *Hoppbanke* (1589) Hebden (*PNYW* vi:103), Brokenbank, Giggleswick (*Brakenbanke* 1580; *PNYW* vi:146), ., *Lady Banke* (1538) Wigglesworth

(*PNYW* vi:164), Bank Ho, Sawley (cf. *Sawley Banck(e)* 1598; *PNYW* vi:183), Bankend, Great Mitton (*le Banke* 1503; *PNYW* vi:199), Black Banks, Horton in Ribblesdale (*Blackbanke* 1584; *PNYW* vi:221), Kirk Bank Horton in Ribblesdale (*Kyrkeban(c)ke* 1576; *PNYW* vi:224), Lock Bank, Sedbergh (*Lokband* (sic) 1429, *Lokbanke* 1535; *PNYW* vi:264), Soolbank, Sedbergh (*Sulbank* 1574; *PNYW* vi:270).

*OEN* \***klint** ‘a rocky cliff’

Cambridgeshire: [**13th c.**]: Clintway [lost], Coton<sup>364</sup> (*le Clintewaye* 1272; *PNCa*:21), *Clinthaueden(e)* (c.1250), Maddingley (*PNCa*:22).

Cheshire: [**13th c.**]: Clinton Hill, Over Alderley (*Clinton* 1275; *PNCh* i:100); [**15th c.**]: *le Clyntes* (1432) Little Sutton (*PNCh* iv:196).

Lincolnshire: [**13th c.**]: *Clint* (a.1290), Middle Rasen (*PNL* iii:111).

Norfolk: [**13th c.**]: *Clint* (c.1225; (p)) Ludham (*PNNf* ii:117).

Northamptonshire: [**13th c.**]: *Steynklint* (1215) Teeton (*PNNth*:27), Gaultney Wood, Rushton (*Galklynt* (wood) 1216–72; *PNNth*:120), Clint Hill, Hanging Houghton (*Clintedene* c.1300; *PNNth* 126–27).

Warwickshire: [**12th c.**]: Clints Field, Long Lawford (*Clint* c.1150; *PNWa*:358).

Westmorland: [**13th c.**]: ?*Coletlincestaines* (1224) Waitby [uncertain and not mapped] (*PNWe* ii:26); [**16th c.**]: *the Clinte* (1588) Hoff (*PNWe* ii:100).

Yorkshire, East Riding: [**12th c.**]: *Galeclint* (1172) [Willerby]<sup>365</sup> (*PNYE*:326).

Yorkshire, North Riding: [**14th c.**]: *Crafclynt* (1376) Byland (*PNYN*:25 and 328).

Yorkshire, West Riding: [**13th c.**]: Clint (*Clint(e)*, *Clynt(e)* 13th c.; *PNYW* v:98); [**16th c.**]: Clints Rocks, Rylstone (*the Clynt* 1579; *PNYW* vi:94), *the Gray Clynt* (1592) Dent (*PNYW* vi:259).

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<sup>364</sup> Also referred to in Grantchester and Barton.

<sup>365</sup> Cf. Smith (1928–29:197).

[OWN *klettr*(?):?Cleator, Cumberland (*Cletertha* c.1185; *PNCu*:357); Cleatop, Settle, West Riding of Yorkshire (*Clithopriding* e. 13th c.; *PNYW* vi:151).]

ON *hella* ‘a flat stone, a flag-stone’

Cheshire: [13th c.]: Ellen’s Rocks, Lower Bebington (*Hellelond* 1250–1300; *PNCh* iv:248).

Yorkshire, North Riding: [12th c.]: *Hellawath* (1119) [lost], Glaisdale (*PNYN*:117), Helredale, Whitby (*Hellerdale* 1145–48; *PNYN*:123–24); [13th c.]: Helwath Beck, Fylingdales (*Helewath* 1231; *PNYN*:117), Hell Gill Beck, Aysgarth (*Helebec* 1201 [flat boulders on stream bed]; *PNYN*:259).

Yorkshire, West Riding: [16th c.]: *Helbrigge* (1594) Bolton by Bowland (*PNYW* vi:159).

ON *sker* ‘a rock, a scar, a reef, a skerry’

Cheshire: [13th c.]: Black Rock, Liscard (*le skere* 1274–81; *PNCh* iv:32); [15th c.]: *le skere* (1402), Hooton (*PNCh* iv:190), *le Skereyorde* (1412), Bromborough (*PNCh* iv:245).

Cumberland: [14th c.]: Barn Scar, Drigg and Carleton (*Barnesker* 1338; *PNCu*:377); [16th c.]: *Skarrs* (1578), St Bees (*PNCu*:432).

Derbyshire: [16th c.] *Brownskar* (1598), Nether Padley (*PNDb*:159).

Co. Durham:[13th c.]: *Scardales* (1260) Preston-on-Tees (*PNDu* i:209).

Lancashire: [11th c.]: Skerton, Lancaster (*Schertune* 1086 [opposite low, flat islet]; Ekwall 1922:177); [13th c.]: Seawood Scar, Aldingham (*le Whytescarre in Marina Silva* 1282; Ekwall 1922:208); [16th c.]: Stonestar, Kirkby Ireleth (*Stonescarre* 1584; Ekwall 1922:223).<sup>366</sup>

Lincolnshire: [16th c.]: *Scar hill* (1579) Walesby (*PNL* iii:179), *Skergatefurlond* (c.1577) Grainsby (*PNL* iv:104).

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<sup>366</sup> Early forms of Billigne Scar, Blackburn imply ON *kjarr* not ON *sker* (cf. Ekwall 1922:67).

Norfolk: [13th c.]: *Skerhanger* (l. 13th c.) Calthorpe (*PNNf* iii:70),

*Skerehung* (1213) Hunworth (*PNNf* iii:131).

Westmorland: [12th c.]: Great & Little Asby Scar, Asby (*Skerres* 1160–70;

*PNWe* ii:57) *siic de Skermund* (1154–89) Orton (*PNWe* ii:88),

Blasterfield, Crosby Ravensworth (*Blaskery*, *Blaschersit* (sic for -sic)

1142–86; *PNWe* ii:154), *Claterandsker* (1279) Shap Rural (*PNWe*

ii:180), *Wytescher*, *le Miklewytescher* (1279) Shap Rural (*PNWe*

ii:182); [13th c.]: *Skergarth* (1278), Crosby Garrett (*PNWe* ii:41), Orton

Beacon, Orton (*Sker* c.1270; *PNWe* ii:47), *Scarburganes* (1189–1216),

Asby (*PNWe* ii:60), Scarr foot, Great Strickland (cf. *Skertoftis* 1234–46;

*PNWe* ii:151), [14th c.]: Orton (*Sker- Ouerton*, *Overton* 1319; *PNWe*

ii:42).

Yorkshire, North Riding: [12th c.]: Green Scar Mire, Aysgarth (*Grenesker*

1153; *PNYN*:264), [13th c.]: Dove Scar, West Witton (*Duuesker* 1202;

*PNYN*; 255); [14th c.]: Killing Nab Scar, Pickering (*Killyngnebbesker*

1335; *PNYN*:87), Ravenscar, Scalby (*Rauenesere* 1312; *PNYN*:111),;

[16th c.]: Preston under Scar, Wensley (P. *undescar* 1568; *PNYN*:257).

[*le Sker* (1326) [no location, not mapped] (*PNYN*:330) and *Fallenskerre*

(1335) [no location, not mapped] (*PNYN*:330).

Yorkshire, West Riding: [12th c.]: Langscar, Malham (*Langester* (sic for

*Langesker*) c.1190; *PNYW* vi:136), Grey Scars, Clapham (*Greyskerres*

1165–77; *PNYW* vi:233), [13th c.]: Foolschap Hill, Burley in Wharfedale

(*Fowelskerridding* 13th c.; *PNYW* iv:198), *Gilberd Fuleskerriding*

(1250) Menston (*PNYW* iv:203), Scar Top, Kettlewell (*Uversker* 1268;

*PNYW* vi:110), *Cunyessker* (13th c.) Malham Moor (*PNYW* vi:142),

*Glumesker* (1298) Kirkby Malzeard [uncertain so not mapped] (*PNYW*

v:211; ?ON *kjarr*), Scar Gills, Draughton [uncertain so not mapped]

(*Skirgile* 1299; *PNYW* vi:67); [14th c.]: Oakscar, Scholes (*Haukesker*

1307; *PNYW* ii:248), *Frankleysker* (1323) Halifax (*PNYW* iii:109),

Scargill, Haverah Park (*Skergill* 1323; *PNYW* v:120), Bruntscar,

Ingleton (*Brind(i)sker* 1346; *PNYW* vi:243), Ivescar, Ingleton (*Inesker*

(sic) 1346; *PNYW* vi:243); [15th c.]: *Lavar Skarr* (1481) Grantley

(*PNYW* v:197), Rainscar Ho, Malham Moor (*Raynscarr* 1409; *PNYW*



vi:141), ?Scar Hall, Sowerby[uncertain so not mapped] (*Sc'well Clough* 1492; *PNYW* iii:154), ?Scarhouse, Golcar [uncertain so not mapped] (*Skyr* 1439; *PNYW* ii:292).

Wales:<sup>367</sup> [12th c.] Sker (House, Point), Pyle and Kenfig, Glamorgan (*Bla(c)kescerre* 1153–84, *Skerra* 1173–78; Owen and Morgan 2007: s.vv. Skerries, (The), Ynys(oedd) Y Moelrhoniaid and Tusker Rock); [15th c.]: The Skerries, off Carmel Head, Anglesey (*le Skerrys* 15th c.; Owen and Morgan 2007: s.v. Skerries, (The), Ynys(oedd) Y Moelrhoniaid); [16th c.]: Tusker Rock, nr Ogmores-by-Sea, Glamorgan (*groundes called Skuttskeir* 1596–1600; Owen and Morgan 2007: s.v. Tusker Rock).

*Goid. capall, ON kapall* ‘(draught-)horse’

Cheshire: [14th c.]: *le Caplesfeld* (1331) Storeton (*PNCh* iv:256), Caple Gate [lost], Chester (*porta equorum* 1320–21, *le Capelyate* 1367; *PNCh* v(1):25).

Westmorland: [12th c.]: Capple Barrow, Westmorland (*Caplesberg* 1170–84; *PNWe* i:179); [13th c.]: Capplethwaite Hall, Westmorland (*Capelthwait* 1214–20 (1294); *PNWe* i:40); [14th c.]: Cappleside Hall, Westmorland (*Capilheued* 1332; *PNWe* i:68),

Yorkshire, East Riding: [13th c.]: The Crofts, Hornsea (cf. *Capelcroft* 1235–49; *PNYE*:65).

*Goid. cros, ON kross* ‘cross’

Berkshire: [14th c.]: *Crosforlong* (1386–7), Steventon (*PNBrk*:422).

Cambridgeshire: [13th c.]: *Balescros* (1260) [no location] (*PNCa*:317); [14th c.]: Cross Green, Soham (cf. Symon *atte Cros* 1374; *PNCa*:197) *Cherchecros* (1329) [no location] (*PNCa*:317), *Spittle crosse* (1377–99)

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<sup>367</sup> Only names containing the element listed under the element index in Owen and Morgan (2007:lxvii), and other names mentioned under the indexed place-names, were included.

[no location] (*PNCa*:317), *Stoncrosse* (1376) [no location] (*PNCa*:317), *Charitie crosse* (1368) [no location] (*PNCa*:317), *Paykescrosse* (1395) [no location] (*PNCa*:317); [15th c.]: Cross Road Fm, Great Wilbraham (cf. John Hancock *atte Crosse* 1476; *PNCa*:139), Cloughs Cross, Parson Drove (*Clow(e)s crosse* 1438; *PNCa*:277), *Godlakescrosse* (1469) Thorney (*PNCa*:317), *le Hyecrosse* (1439) [no location] (*PNCa*:317), *le Treencrosse* (1455) [no location] (*PNCa*:317), *Whyzthcros* (1459) [no location] (*PNCa*:317).

Cheshire: [11th c.]: Broxton Hundred (*Atiscros Hund'* 1086; *PNCh* iv:1);

[13th c.]: Crossacres Green, Northern Etchells (*Crosacres* 1290; *PNCh* i:241), Crossford Bridge, Ashton on Mersey (*Crosford* 1295; *PNCh* ii:4), Crossley Hall, Buglawton (*Crossel(eg)*, *-le(gh)*, *-ley(e)* 13th c.; *PNCh* ii:290–91), *Bexcros* (1216–72) Willaston (*PNCh* iii:80), Erbach Cross [lost], Weaverham Lordship (*Harebachecros* 1276; *PNCh* iii:208), *le Crossitake* (c.1290) Cholmondeley (*PNCh* iv:26), Lowcross Hill & Fm, Tilston (*Loukescros* 1217–72; *PNCh* iv:59), *le Crosbuttes* (1296) Christleton (*PNCh* iv:110), Backford Cross, Backford (*Fairecrosse* 13th c.; *PNCh* iv:173), *le Stonencrosse* (1290) Chester (*PNCh* v(1):67); [14th c.]: *Edusecros* (c.1301) Macclesfield (*PNCh* i:124), Jenkin Chapel, Rainow (cf. *Jankynscros* 1364; *PNCh* i:140), *le Firr(e) Croslandes*, *-landes* (1315) Upton (*PNCh* i:217), *Elotescrosse* (1339) Tabley Superior (*PNCh* ii:63), Cross (lost), Witton cum Twambrook (*(le) Cros(se)* 1343; *PNCh* ii:196), *Stodleycross* (1363), Nantwich (*PNCh* iii:41), *Randelelescrosse* (1357) [lost], Eddisbury Hundred (*PNCh* iii:162), Crossfield Ho, Over (cf. *Crosfeld* 1334; *PNCh* iii:174), *le Crosfeld* (1300–20) Coddington (*PNCh* iv:87), Cross Hey, Puddington (cf. *Ledeshamcrosse* 1369; *PNCh* iv:216), *le Crosseveye* (1309) Willaston (*PNCh* iv:234), Crowsdale, Poulton cum Spital (*Crosdale* 1313; *PNCh* iv:253); [15th c.]: *Croshouses* (1459) Altrincham (*PNCh* ii:10), Cross Fd, Toft (cf. *Toftcrosse* 1430; *PNCh* ii:82), *le Crosse Pament* (1447) Nantwich (*PNCh* iii:34–35), Cross Ways, Great and Little Barrow (cf. *lez Cros Hallandes* 1497; *PNCh* iii:265), *Ermetescrosse* (1402) Netherpool (*PNCh* iv:193), *the Kyrke Crosse* (1454) Caldby (*PNCh*

iv:286), *Jordanlawecrosse, le Jordan Lawe Crosse* (1466) Lyme Handley (*PNCh* v(1):xix), *Margetes Crosse* (1466) Grappenhall (*PNCh* v(1):xxviii).

Cumberland: [**12th c.**]: Crosby-on-Eden (*Crossebi* c.1200; *PNCu*:76), Crosscanonby (*Crosseby* 1123–50; *PNCu*:282), (Great-, Little) Crosthwaite, Keswick (*Crostwayt* c.1150; *PNCu*:302), [**13th c.**]: Crossdale Beck, Ennerdale and Kinniside (*Crossdalebec* 1230; *PNCu*:10) *Crosflat* (c.1210) Brampton (*PNCu*:69), Crossgill, Low Crossgill, Alston (*Crossegil* 1285; *PNCu*:174), Mabil Cross, Greystoke (*Mabillecros* 1228; *PNCu*:198), Crossfield, Cleator (*Crossefeld* 1279; *PNCu*:358), Crossbarrow, Great Clifton (*Crossebergh* 1279; *PNCu*:360), Crossdale, Ennerdale and Kinnerdale (*Crossedale* 1279; *PNCu*:385); [**15th c.**]: Grith Cross (lost), Wetheral (*Wederhal Gyrthcrosse* 15th c.; *PNCu*:162), Crosslands, Alston (*Crosseland* 1479; *PNCu*:176), [many of these instances not glossed; index only used for *PNCu* ii].

Devon: [**13th c.**]: Marchant's Cross, Meavy (*Smalacumbacrosse* 1291[1408]; *PND*:231); [**14th c.**]: Cross, Little Torrington (cf. Robert de *la Crosse* 1327; *PND*:111), Cross, Broadwoodwidge (cf. Johanna *atte Crosse* 1330; *PND*:180), Torcross, Stokenham (cf. Adam de *la Cros* 1316; *PND*:332), Cross, Crediton (*la Crosse* 1333; 407), Cross Fm, Poughill (cf. William *atte Crosse* 1330; 416), Cross, Cheriton Bishop (cf. William *atte Crosse* 1330 ; 429), Cross Cottages, Bradininch (*atte Crosse* 1346; 557); [**15th c.**]: Cross, East Allington (*Crosse* 1455; *PND*:314), White Cross, Cheriton Fitzpaine (*Whytecrosse* 1468; 415).

Derbyshire: [**11th c.**]: Repton and Gresley Hundred (*Walecros Wap'* 1086; *PNDb*:622); [**12th c.**]: Shallcross Manor, Fernilee (*Sachalcros* 1101–08; *PNDb*:99); [**13th c.**]: Cross Low, Eyam (cf. *Attecrosse* 1300; *PNDb*:92), *Crosgrewe* (1216–72) Over Haddon (*PNDb*108), Crossdale Head Mine, Great Longstone (cf. *Crossuey* 13th c.; *PNDb*:139), Cross Piece, Elmtun (cf. *Belecrosse* c.1240; *PNDb*:257), Lady's Cross, Holmesfield (*Leuedicros* 1216–72; *PNDb*265), Cross Lane, Wessington (*Crosforlong* c.1250; *PNDb*:323), *Blakemoncros* (13th c.) South Wingfield

(*PNDb*:337), Alsop en le Dale (cf. *Croslouforlong* 1216–72; *PNDb*:362), *Cros* (1281) Wirksworth (*PNDb*:420), *Leuedicros* (1262) Alvaston and Boulton (*PNDb*:427), *Blakemancros* (1248–61) Crich (*PNDb*:441), *Palmer(e)cros* (1216–72), Derby (*PNDb*:455), Lady Cross, Sandiacre (*Lauedy Crosse* 13th; *PNDb*:498), Cross Low, Croxall (*Crosfurlange* 1209; *PNDb*:632); [14th c.]: *le Neyercros* (1363) Tideswell (*PNDb*:175), Clay Flatt, Wirksworth (cf. *le Clay Crosse* 1331; *PNDb*:418), Whitecross St, Derby (*le Wytecrossefeld* 1341; *PNDb*:451), *Cros de Derby* (1330) Derby (*PNDb*:454), *Heye Croyce* (1450) Derby (*PNDb*:455), *Crossefeld* (1343) Breadsall (*PNDb*:540), *le Merecross* (1314) Edlaston and Wyaston (*PNDb*:558), *Crosse de Hulton* (1397) Hilton (*PNDb*:569), *Crosseforthe* (1330) Netherseal (*PNDb*:647), *Crosflat* (14th) Newton Solney (*PNDb*:648), Robin's Cross, Repton (cf. *Robincros* 1325; *PNDb*:655), *Collecros* (1361) Repton (*PNDb*:656), [15th c.]: *Crossegrene* (1415) Brassington (*PNDb*:353), *Emme crosse* (1415) Hartington Upper Quarter (*PNDb*:374), *Stepul cross* (1420) Wirksworth (*PNDb*:421), Headless Cross, *Hedlecrosse* (1426) Derby (*PNDb*:449), *Crosflat* (1404) Sandiacre (*PNDb*:498), *Crossgrene* (1415) Idridgehay and Alton (*PNDb*:579).

Co. Durham: [13th c.]: *Kerlingescros* (1198–1204) Elwick Hall (*PNDu*:7); [14th c.]: White Cross (Lane) Field, Wolviston (*Whitcrosse* 1316; *PNDu*:31), *le crossyme[re]* (1316) Wolviston (*PNDu*:34).

Essex: [14th c.]: Moze Cross, Beaumont cum Moze (cf. Adam *atte Cros* 1327; *PNEss*:328), Cross House, Great Clacton (cf. Richard *atte Cros* 1327; *PNEss*:355), Teycross, Great Tey (cf. Richard *atte Crosse* 1332 and Sayer *ate Cros de Teye Magna* 1336; *PNEss*:401); [15th c.]: Goldencross, Rochford (*Goldhordescros* 1425; *PNEss*:197).

Gloucestershire: [14th c.]: *Ledenecros* (1306) Marshfield (*PNGL* iii:61), *White crosse* (c.1340) Westbury on Severn (iii:208), *Yongecrosse* (1398) Alvington (*PNGL* iii:250); [15th c.]: The Cross, Tewkesbury (cf. *Broken crosse* 1487; *PNGL* ii:63), The Cross, Gloucester (*ate Crouche* 1327 but *the high Crosse* 1497; *PNGL* ii:128), *High Cross*, Bristol (*the high crosse*

1456; *PNGL* iii:88), *Stallage crosse* (1456) Bristol (*PNGL* iii:92), *Maricros* (1457) Yanworth (*PNGL* i:191), Hard Grass, Boddington (*Hawecrosse* 1464; *PNGL* ii:77).

Hertfordshire: [14th c.]: *Ryngecross* (1327) [no location, not mapped] (*PNHrt*:252), Waltham Cross, Cheshunt (*Waltham Crouche* 1360 but *Walthamcross* 1365; *PNHrt*:222), Cross Mead, Broxbourne and Hoddesdon (*Crossemade* 1391; *PNHrt*:310); [15th c.]: High Cross, Standon (*Heyecrouch* 1360 but *Hyecrosse* 1418; *PNHrt*:199),

Huntingdonshire: [10th c.]: Normancross Hundred name (*Norðmannescros* 963 (12th c.), *Normannes cros* 963–84 (c.1200); *PNBd*:180).

Lancashire: [11th c.]: (Great and Little) Crosby (*Crosebi* 1086; Ekwall 1922:118), Croston (*Croston* 1094; Ekwall 1922:136); [12th c.]: Norcross, Poulton-le-Fylde (*Northcros* c.1200; Ekwall 1922:157), [13th c.]: Crossens, North Meols (*Crossenes* c. 1250; Ekwall 1922:126), *Crosseberg* (1202) [Lonsdale] (Ekwall 1922:8), *Askelescros* ([1267–68]) Thurnham (Ekwall 1922:171), Cross Copp, Heysham (*Crossecoppe* 1272–75; Ekwall 1922:179), *Colecros* ([1267–68]) Lancaster (Ekwall 1922:252), *Ingrithcros* (1262–63) Dalton (Ekwall 1922:255), *Croskelloc* (1260–76) Ulverston (Ekwall 1922:255); [index only used].

Leicestershire: [11th c.]: Twycross (*Tvicros* 1086; *PNLei* vi:307); [12th c.]: *Helot(e)cros* (1154–89) Loddington (*PNLei* iii:166); [13th c.]: *le Wite Cros* (13th c.(1404)) Burton Lazars (*PNLei* ii:76), (*le*) *Croshou* (p. 1250 (1404)) Kirby Bellars (*PNLei* iii:89), *Crossegate* (1290) Skeffington (*PNLei* iii:223), (*le*) *Crosgate* (13th c.) Nevill Holt (*PNLei* iv:206), *Crossegate* (1274 (16th c.)) Holyoaks (*PNLei* iv:253), *Gegecros* (13th c.) Oadby (*PNLei* vi:168), *le Hermite cros* (p. 1250 (15th c.); *PNLei* vi:219–20); [14th c.]: *inter Cross*' (et *Littelpitholm*) (1349), Leicester (*PNLei* i:210), *Wheytcross* (1352) Muston (*PNLei* ii:41), *le Cros* (14th c. (15th c.)) Eaton (*PNLei* ii:120), *Crosfurlong*' (14th c. (15th c.)) Eaton (*PNLei* ii:120), *Cros(s)gate* (14th c. (15th c.)) Eaton (*PNLei* ii:120), *atte Croyz* (1308, *atte Cros* 1319) Kettleby (*PNLei* ii:160), *atte Crosse* (1330) Melton Mowbray (*PNLei* ii:176), *Crossegate* (1410) and adjacent *Crosse hill*' (1410) Clungar (*PNLei* ii:206), *atte*

*Cros* (1381) Burrough on the Hill (*PNLei* ii:235), *Bernardes Crosse* (1319) Kirby Bellars (*PNLei* iii:88), *atte Cros* (1327) Halstead (*PNLei* iii:252), *atte Crosse* (1381) Great Easton (*PNLei* iv:77), *atte Cros* (1327) Cold Overton (*PNLei* iv:153), *Crosgate* (1349 [16]) Medbourne (*PNLei* iv:194), *atte Crosse* (1342 (16th c.)) Medbourne (*PNLei* iv:195), *atte Cros* (1381) Othorpe (*PNLei* iv:241), Cross Cl or Cross Hill and Cross Hill Mdw, North Kilworth (*atte Cros* 1322; *PNLei* v:158), *hastonecros* (1323) Sapcote (*PNLei* vi:228), *nicolascros* (1323) Sapcote (*PNLei* vi:229), *othe Cros* (1377) Shenton (*PNLei* vi:298), *Sheyngton cros* (1380) Market Bosworht (*PNLei* vi:173); [15th c.]: Cross Lane (lost), Leicester (*Croslane* 1433; *PNLei* i:60), Berehill Cross (lost), Leicester (*the Berehillcros* 1484; *PNLei* i:102), High Cross, The (lost), Leicester (*the Hi cros* 1476; *PNLei* i:102), *white cross* (1449) Knipton (*PNLei* ii:20), *Dannycrosse* (1462) Wymondham (*PNLei* ii:295), *Croswell* (1467–84) Barkby (*PNLei* iii:26), *Carleton crose* (1467–84) Burton Overy (*PNLei* iv:24), *Houghton cros* (1467–84) Houghton on the Hill (*PNLei* iv:115), *Hulcros(se)* (1467–84) Mowsley (*PNLei* iv:199), *Whitecross* (1467–84) Mowsley (iv:199), *atte Crosse* (1421) Nevill Holt (*PNLei* iv:206), *Vndurcrosse* (1467–84) Noseley (*PNLei* iv:213), Crosspit, Blaby (*Cros(e)pitt* 1467–84; *PNLei* v:34), ?*Crosfelde* (1467–84) Blaby (*PNLei* v:36), *le Cros* (1467–84) Cosby (*PNLei* v:71–72), *Thirneby Cros* (1467–84) Stoughton (*PNLei* iv:263); [may replace OE *rōd*, (cf. *PNLei* iv:24)].

Lincolnshire: [11th c.]: Walshcroft Wapentake (*Walescros* 1086; *PNL* iii:1); [12th c.]: *Croslangfurlanges* (c.1190) Habrough (*PNL* ii:144), *estlangcros* (1172–89) Killingholme (*PNL* ii:206), Crosby [uncertain and not mapped] (*Cropesbi* 1086; *PNL* vi:51); [13th c.]: *Croslandmere* (1240.) Bracebridge (*PNL* i:194), *croshberhille* (a.1244) West Rasen (*PNL* iii:120), *Crosseberg* (1230–53) Laceby (*PNL* v:134), *Crossewang* (1258–63) Laceby (*PNL* v:134), Crossholme House, Bishop Norton (*Crosholm*(') 1185; *PNL* vi:194), ?*Crossewaynge* (13th c. [1272–1307]) North Carlton (*PNL* vii:34), ?*le Crosdayl* (c.1300) Faldingworth (*PNL* vii:51), Cross Close, Stallingborough (cf. *Crosacris* 13th c.; *PNL*

ii:272); [**14th c.**]: *le Crossegate* (1309) Goxhill (*PNL* ii:131), *Crosdayl* (1343) Immingham (*PNL* ii:170), *crossholme* (c.1330) Immingham (*PNL* ii:170), *atte Crosse* (1327) Riby (*PNL* ii:253), *Hen. atte Crosse* (1327–77) Fiskerton (*PNL* vii:58); [**15th c.**]: ?*crosse gate*, *ye crosse way* (1471 [16th c.]) Thorpe in the Fallows (*PNL* vii:120), *Stubcross* (lost), Lincoln (*Stubcros* 1455; *PNL* i:42).

Middlesex: [**14th c.**]: *Tyledecros* (1383) [no location, not mapped] (*PNMx*:197), Charing Cross, Westminster (*The stone cross of Cherryngge* 1334; *PNMx*:167), [**15th c.**]: Tottenham High Cross, Tottenham (*le Hiecros* 1409; *PNMx*: 80), Cowcross St, Finsbury (cf. *Kowecrosse* 1437; *PNMx*:97), Stone Cross [lost], Westminster (*Brokyncros* c.1419, ?cf. *Stone Cross of la Straund* 1242; *PNMx*:173).

Norfolk: [**11th c.** not from *PNNf*]: *Brothercross Hundred* (*Brodercros* 1086; Brown 1984:1.17), *Guiltecross Hundred* (*Gildecros* 1086; Brown 1984:15.11); [**13th c.**]: *Crossdale Street*, North and South Repps (cf. Sym. de *Crosdal* 1250; *PNNf* iii:29), [**15th c.**]: *Southgate*, Cawston (cf. *Sygatecros* 1445; *PNNf* iii:72), *Cros* (1373) Holt (*PNNf* iii:129)

Northamptonshire: [**13th c.**]: *le Stopindecros* (1254) Hinton (*PNNth*:262), *Twicros* (1203) [no location, not mapped] (*PNNth*:262); [**14th c.**]: *le Stoupendecros* (1330) Chelveston (*PNNth*:262), *Borowcros*, (14th c.) Wellingborough (*PNNth*:262); [**15th c.**]: *Grass Hill*, Everdon (*le Croshil* 1490; *PNNth*:275–76).

Nottinghamshire: [**13th c.**]: *Farleghe cros* (c.1300), Hucknall Torkard (*PNNt*:119), *Aldecros* (1213; *PNNt*:278), *Scarletcros* (1280; *PNNt*:278), *Botildcrosse* (13th c.; *PNNt*:278); [**14th c.**]: *Spitelcros* (1330) (*PNNt*:278); [**15th c.**]: *Chapmannescros* (1456) (*PNNt*:278).

Oxfordshire: [**13th c.**]: *le Croswey* (1300) Wychwood (*PNO*:390); [**15th c.**]: *le Whytecross* (1485–86) Shifford (*PNO*:328); [*crouche*, *croys* (< *crois*)].

Rutland: [**13th c.**]: *le Crossegate* (c1295) Barrow (*PNRu*:9), *ate Crosse* (1295) Burley (*PNRu*:14), *Crossegate* (1274 (16th c.)) Stoke Dry (*PNRu*:302); [**14th c.**]: *atte Croos* (1369; *atte Cross(e)* 1388) Empingham (*PNRu*:145).

Shropshire: **[13th c.]**: *Crosforlong* [*sub cruce caducani*] (1216–72) Frankwell (named as *Kadoganescros* 1300; *PNSa* iv:68); **[14th c.]**: *Le Crosehull'* (1327–77) Cardington (*PNSa* iii:119), *Jiloticros* (1322) Much Wenlock (*PNSa* iii:263), *Spelcrosse* (?1356) Coleham (*PNSa* iv:52), *Le Heldingecrosse* (14th c.) Astley (*PNSa* iv:111), *Hawries Cross* (1343) Ellesmere (*PNSa* v:45), *Ithiel's Cross* (1343) Ellesmere (*PNSa* v:66); **[15th c.]**: *Kings Cross* (1409) Shipton (*PNSa* iii:209).

Staffordshire: **[14th c.]**: *le white-*, *Whytecros(se)* (1348, 1390) Essington (*PNSt*:49), *Crossiche* (1319) Great Wyrley (*PNSt*:73), *Crosacr'* (1346) Castle Church (*PNSt*:80); **[15th c.]**: *Crakefordcrosse* (1493) Brewood (*PNSt*:47), *Crossepytte, -piece* (1460) Bradley (*PNSt*:139).

Sussex: **[14th c.]**: Stone Cross, Mayfield (*Stonecrosse* 1333; *PNSx*:385), ; **[15th c.]**: Stone Cross, Lindfield (*Stonecross* 1475; *PNSx*:344), Ringles Cross, Uckfield (*Ryngylcros, Rynglescrosse* 1489; *PNSx*:397).

Warwickshire: **[13th c.]**: Barnetts Croft, Walsgrave on Sowe (*Bernardes cros* 13th c.; *PNWa*:365); **[14th c.]**: Cross Green, Bishops Itchington (cf. William *atte Cros* 1326; *PNWa*:171); **[15th c.]**: *Twycrosse* (1411) [no location, not mapped] (*PNWa*:323).

Westmorland: **[12th c.]**: Crosthwaite (*Crosthwait(e)* 1187–1200; *PNWe* i:80), Crosby Garrett (*Crossebi, Crosseby* 1200; *PNWe* ii:39), Rey Cross, Stainmore (*Rerercros* 1154–89 [1348]; *PNWe* ii:73), *Cros(s)erig* (1179) Kirkby Thore (*PNWe* ii:119), Crosby Ravensworth (*Crossebi, Crosseby* 12th c.; *PNWe* ii:154), *Crossethweit* (12th c.) Shap Rural (*PNWe* ii:180), Robs how mosses, Patterdale (*Robshow crose* l. 12th c.; *PNWe* ii:227); **[13th c.]**: *Crop-*, *Crosthwayt* (1231) Kirkby Lonsdale (*PNWe* i:46), Crosscrake, Sedgwick (*Croskrake, -crak(e)* 1275–79; *PNYN*:99), Crossrigg Hall, Bolton (*Crosrig* 13th c.; *PNWe* ii:140), *Crosflath* (c.1240) Crosby Ravensworth (*PNWe* ii:163), *Runcrosbanc* (1286) Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187), **[14th c.]**: *Dykecrosse* (1323) Dufton (*PNWe* ii:113), *le Croskeld* (1366) Cliburn (*PNWe* ii:138), *le Leuedy crosse* (1332) Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187); **[15th c.]**: *Crosbank* (1484) Sedgwick (*PNWe* i:98), *Crosseholmes* (1473) Yanwath (*PNWe* ii:207),



Wiltshire: [13th c.]: Cross Hayes, Malmesbury (*Croskayes* c.1300; *PNW*:49);  
 [15th c.]: White Cross Mead, Monkton Farleigh (*Wyttecrosse* 1453;  
*PNW*:474).

Worcestershire: [14th c.]: Cruise Hill, Acton Beauchamp (*atte Cros(e)* 1316;  
*PNWo* 26), Stony Cross, Knighton-on-Teme (*atte Cros* 1327;  
*PNWo*:55).

Yorkshire, East Riding: [11th c.]: *Sneculf(s)cros Hundret* (1086) [later  
 Harthill Wapentake] (*PNYE*:153); [12th c.]: Crossham Hill, Fraisthorpe  
 (*Crosholm* 1185–95; *PNYE*:88), Buckrose Wapentake (*Bucros*, -k- 1188;  
*PNYE*:120); [13th c.]: Foredyke Bridge, Sutton on Hull ('a bridge across  
*Forthdyk* at *Forthcrosse*' 1221–35; *PNYE*:43); [14th c.]: Stump Cross,  
 Bishop burton (cf. William *at Crosse* 1379; *PNYE*:192), (*le*) *Cros(s)*-,  
*Crossegarth(e)s* (1376) Beverley (*PNYE*:197).

Yorkshire, North Riding: [11th c.]: Crosby [uncertain and not mapped ]  
 (*Croxebi*, *Croxbi* 1086; *PNYN*:205–06); [12th c.]: Lilla Cross,  
 Fylingdales (*Lillacros(se)* 1108–14; *PNYN*:117), Swarthoe Cross,  
 Newholm (*Swarthouethcros* 1108–14; *PNYN*:125), Lowcross Farm,  
 Guisborough (*Loucros* 12th c.; *PNYN*:152), Crosby House, Exelby  
 (*Crosby* 1184; *PNYN*:226), *Spelcros* (c.1175) Guisborough  
 (*PNYN*:328); [13th c.]: Cross Sike, Scalby (*Crossik* 1244; *PNYN*:109),  
 Percy Cross, Guisborough (*Percycros* 1231; *PNYN*:151), Steeple Cross,  
 Arden (*Stepingecrosse* 1290; *PNYN*:202), *Crostweit* (1201) Dale  
 (*PNYN*:328), *Crosseker* (13th) Marton in Cleveland (*PNYN*:328),  
*Houthloscrosse* (13th) Great Brompton (*PNYN*:328); [14th c.]:  
 Crossdale, Lockton (*Crossedale* 1335; *PNYN*:91), Cross Cliff, Allerston  
 (*Crosseclif*, -clyff 1335; *PNYN*:94), Rere or Rey Cross, Bowes (*Rerecros*  
 1301; *PNYN*:305), Crossthwaite, Cotherstone (*Crosthwait(e)* 1201;  
*PNYN*:307), [15th c.]: *Crosflat* (1407) Upleatham (*PNYN*:328).

Yorkshire, West Riding: [11th c.]: South Crosland (*Croisland*, *Crosland*  
 1086; *PNYW* ii:265); [12th c.]: Row Cross Quarry, Conisbrough  
 (*Rauennis*-, *Rauenescros*wong 1166–99; *PNYW* i:129), *Daycros* (12th  
 c.) Selby (*PNYW* iv:35), *Emmesc(h)ros* (12th c., 13th c.) Kearby (*PNYW*  
 v:41), *Puddingstain-cros* (1181–90) Pannal (*PNYW* v:119), Thruscross

(*Thorescros(se)* c.1142; *PNYW* v:126), *Crossekelde* (1120–47) Bolton Abbey (*PNYW* vi:64), Cross gills, Bolton by Bowland (*Crosse-gile* 1189; *PNYW* vi:190); [13th c.]: *Crosflat* (1250) Marr (*PNYW* i:75), Stump Cross, Brampton Bierlow (?*Crosgreve* 13th c.; *PNYW* i:109), *Crossebut(te)* (13th c.) Swinton (*PNYW* i:117), *Betecros* (13th c.) Thorpe Salvin (*PNYW* i:153), *Dandecrosse*, *-keres* (13th c.) Cudworth (*PNYW* i:282), Lady Cross, Langsett (*Laudedicros* 1216–72; *PNYW* i:331–32), Crossley (-Hill), Mirfield (*Crosseley* 13th c.; *PNYW* ii:199), *le Crosclif* (13th c.) Lepton (*PNYW* ii:233), Lambert Ho (lost), Greetland (*Lambarcros* 13; *PNYW* iii:47), Crossley Hall, Bradford (*Crosley* 1240–46; *PNYW* iii:245), *Crosbuskes* (13th c.) Drax (*PNYW* iv:11), *Wytecrosse* (1246) Brayton (*PNYW* iv:26), *Wytecrosse* (1246) Selby (*PNYW* iv:35), *Stayncros* (1251) Kirby Hall (*PNYW* v:4), *Whitecrose* (13th c.) Whixley (*PNYW* v:11), *Crossetwaith* (13th c.) Plompton (*PNYW* v:31), *Merecros* (13th c.) Stainburn (*PNYW* v:50), *Crosflat(te)* (1200–16) Flasby (*PNYW* vi:52), *Ulfkilocros* (1239) Litton (*PNYW* vi:127), Pie Cross, Halton West (*Pykcross* 13th c.; *PNYW* vi:157), Croasdale, Bowland Forest (Higher Division) (*Crossedale* 1194–1211; *PNYW* vi:211), Crosdale Beck, Sedbergh (*Crosdalebec*, *Crosdalebroc* 1200–50; *PNYW* vi:267); [14th c.]: Stump Cross, Wadworth (?*le Stonecrosse* 1322; *PNYW* i:61), *Cros(se)well(e)* (1385) Little Houghton (*PNYW* i:100), Slack Close, Brampton Bierlow (*le Crosseslacke* 1342; *PNYW* i:110), *le Morecrosse* (1366) Woolley (*PNYW* i:289), White Cross Field, Methley (*Whitecrosse* 1373; *PNYW* ii:129), *Moldcrosse* (1373) Methley (*PNYW* ii:134), *Olton Cross(e)* (1342) Oulton (*PNYW* ii:143), *Crossefurlangs* East and West Ardsley (1348) (*PNYW* ii:178), Cross Lee, Todmorden (*Crosseleys* 1379; *PNYW* iii:174), Croysdale, Bradford (*Crosdoles* 1341; *PNYW* iii:252), *Stonecros* (1341) Bradford (*PNYW* iii:255), *Helmecrosse* (1352) Parlington (*PNYW* iv:100), *Solecros(se)* (1341) Barwick in Elmet (*PNYW* iv:113), Carlton Hill, *Carletoncross(e)* (1323) Leeds (*PNYW* iv:128), *Drayle Cros* (1305) Spofforth (*PNYW* v:37), Cross Fields & Cross Wood, Kettlewell (cf. *Ketelwelcrosse* 1377–99; *PNYW* vi:109), *Ulecross* (1377–99) Halton

Gill (*PNYW* vi:124), *Littoncrosse* (1377–99) Litton (*PNYW* vi:127); [15th c.]: *Seint Pulchre Cros* (1474) Doncaster (*PNYW* i:31), Tunstall Cross, Wombwell (*Tunstalcrosse* 1439; *PNYW* i:104), *Croserode* (15th c.) Wombwell (*PNYW* i:105), *Yrish-*, *Irish Cross* (1499) Sheffield (*PNYW* i:208), *Spetill crosse* (1444) Notton (*PNYW* i:284), *le Sylecrosse* (1421) Reedness (*PNYW* ii:10), *le Crosgate* (1403) Snaith (*PNYW* ii:29), Stump Cross, Ferry Fryston (*le Stub crosse* 1475; *PNYW* ii:67), *le Quenecrosse* (1437) Pontefract (*PNYW* ii:83), *Stanescrosse* (1486) Tanshelf (*PNYW* ii:84), *Hedalescrosse* (1485) Wakefield (ii:172), *Levencrosse* (1481) Kirkheaton (*PNYW* ii:229), *Crosseroide* (1497) Hipperholme (*PNYW* iii: 82), Cross Platts, Southowram (*Overcrosflatte* 1474; *PNYW* iii:93), *Shortcrosse* (1492) Sowerby (*PNYW* iii:158), *Hobcrosse* (1487) Barwick in Elmet (*PNYW* iv:112), *Bilburghcrosse* (1486) Bilbrough (*PNYW* iv:236), *the Whyte Crosse* (15th c.) Wighill (*PNYW* iv:244), *Hudecrosse* (1444) Spofforth (*PNYW* v:37).



## Appendix to Chapter Four: the West Ward of Westmorland Barony

### *Element Case-Studies: Early Forms*

*ON geil* ‘a narrow ravine, a way, esp. a narrow lane’

Cumberland: [13th c.]: Gale Hall, Melmerby (*del Gayl de Melmorby* 1295; *PNCu*:224), Gale How, Great Salkeld (*le Gayl in Veteri Salkyld* 1292; *PNCu*: 238), Skelgill, Above Derwent (*Scalegayl* 1260; *PNCu*:371), *Scortgayle* (c.1265, cf. *del gail* c.1230), Eaglesfield (*PNCu*:379), *Aldegail* (c.1215), Ponsonby (*PNCu*:428); [14th c.]: Scalegill Hall, Egremont (*Scalgaill* 1321 but *Scalegilen* 1338 (and later forms); *PNCu*:381).

Derbyshire: [12th c.]: *Geilberga* (c.1162), Ticknall (*PNDb*:667); [14th c.]: *Ynkelgeyl* (1328), Ticknall (*PNDb*:667).

Lancashire: [13th c.]: High Gale, Tatham (*Gale* a. 1225; Ekwall 1922:182); [14th c.]: Hasty Gill, Ulverston (*Hastigale* 1386, *Hastagale* 1412; ON *hástigi* ‘stallion’ or *hástígr* ‘high path’; Ekwall 1922:212); [15th c.]: High Gale, Tunstall (*Gale* 1465; Ekwall 1922:184).

Lincolnshire: *Langgeil* (no date) Dunholme [not mapped: interpreted by *PNL* as an error for *deill*; cf. *langedale* also in Dunholme] (*PNLi* vii:45).

Norfolk: [12th c.]: *Geilholm* (c.1150), Bacton (*PNNf* ii:141).

Westmorland: [13th c.]: *Scalegail* (1190–1220), Lupton (*PNWe* i:48), Hugill (*Hogail(l)*, -*gayl* 1256; *PNWe* i:169–70), *Langgayle* (a. 1300), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:186), *Scalegayl* (1286), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187); [14th c.]: Shoregill, Mallerstang (*Shorthegaille* 1324; *PNWe* ii:18); [15th c.]: Thorny Gale, Stainmore (*Thornehowgayle* 1402; *PNWe* ii:80) [further modern names].

Yorkshire, East Riding: [12th c.]: Spen Lane, York (*Ispingail* 12th c.; *PNYE*:298); [13th c.]: Footlessgale, York (*Fotlousgeyle* 13th c., -*gate* 1376; *PNYE*:287), Swinegate, York (*Swinegaile* 1275; *PNYE*:298–99), Thruslane, York (*Thurs(e)gayle* 1191–1210; *PNYE*:299); [14th c.]: Feasegate, York (*Fesegayt* 1259, *Fesegayle* 1370; *PNYE*:286), Felter Lane, York (*Feltergayl(e)* 13th c., *Feltergate* 1299; *PNYE*:286),

Glover Lane, York (*Glouerlane*, -v- 1329, 1333 -*gayle*, -i- 1333, 1360; *PNYE*:288).

Yorkshire, North Riding: [**12th c.**]: Ray Gill, Marrick (*Reylgaile* c.1170; *PNYN*:294); [**13th c.**]: Gale Bank, Wensley (*Gailbanc* 1293; *PNYN*:258), Gayle, Aysgarth (*Seldalegile* 1280, *Sleddalgayle*, *Sledalegayle* 1285; *PNYN*:267), Gayles, Kirky Ravensworth (*Austgail* 1258; *PNYN*:290), *Hirdegail* (13th), Croft (*PNYN*:326), *Westegayl* (13th c.), Hutton Lowcross (*PNYN*:326), *Austgail* (1204), Dalton upon Tees (*PNYN*:326); [**14th c.**]: Skell Gill, Aysgarth (*Skalgayl* 1301; *PNYN*:261).

Yorkshire, West Riding: [**12th c.**]: ?*Gailmers* (1147–54), Barnoldswick (*PNYW* vi:35), *Gayl* (12th c.), Rylstone (*PNYW* vi:95), Skirse Gill Bridge, Rylstone [incertian and not mapped] (*Shircegayre* (sic for *Shircegayle*) 12th c.; *PNYW* vi:95); [**13th c.**]: *Dowayngayl* (1295), Menston (*PNYW* iv:203), *Frodegayl* (13th c.), Tadcaster East (*PNYW* iv:240), *Alnegail*, *Alnegailhoue* (13th c.), Settle (*PNYW* vi:154)368, *Halvegayl* (13th c.), Settle (*PNYW* vi:154), *le Gayles* (13th c.), Stainforth (*PNYW* vi:156), ; [**14th c.**]: The Gale, Cawood (*Gaytegayll* 1304; *PNYW* iv:39), *Dousgayle* (a highway; 1387), Acaster Malbis (*PNYW* iv:219), *Lumbgayl* (a street; 1365), Acaster Malbis (*PNYW* iv:219), *Gaylegarthes* (13th/14th c.), Aldfield (*PNYW* v:194); [**15th c.**]: *Scalegail*, *Skalegayll* (1471), Thorpe (*PNYW* vi:97); [**16th c.**]: Gill Hey, Holme [Agbrigg] (*Geyllheywod* 1572; *PNYW* ii:269), Scalehaw Hill, Long Preston (*Skayle Gayle* 1578; *PNYW* vi:161).

*ON hreysi* ‘a cairn, a heap of stones’

Cumberland [**13th c.**]: *Wyterays* (1242), Ainstable (*PNCu*:171), *Whit(e)rais* (c.1230), Gosforth (*PNCu*:397), *Stainraisse* (c.1225), Gosforth (*PNCu*:397), *Raysethwaytbec* (c.1203), Mosser (*PNCu*:423), *le*

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<sup>368</sup> *Alinghale*, *Alinghaletun* (e. 13), also in Settle may be the same name despite *PNYW*’s treatment (vi:154) of the names as distinct.

*Stainraise* (1228–43), Whitbeck (*PNCu*:450); [15th c.]: *le Rayse* (1474), Rottington (*PNCu*:429).

Lancashire: [13th c.]: Roseacre, Treales, Roseacre and Wharles (*Rasak*’, *Raysak*’ 1249, *Raysacre* 1283; Ekwall 1922:152); [14th c.]: Raisthwaite, Kirkby Ireleth (*Reisthuathec* 1319, *Raisthwayt* 1538; Ekwall 1922:221).

Westmorland: [12th c.] *Stanirase* (sic for *Stainraise*; c.1200), Shap Rural (*PNWe* ii:181); [13th c.]: *Colbrainrayse* (sic) (1278), Barbon (*PNWe* i:27), *Raiseherling* (1220–46), Preston Patrick (*PNWe* i:64), *Stanrays* (1280), Witherslack (*PNWe* i:80), *le Staynraises* (1294), Kirkby Thore (*PNWe* ii:120), *Stanerayse* (1220–47), Martindale (*PNWe* ii:220); [14th c.]: Raisgill Hall, Orton (*Rasegill-hall* 1377–99; *PNWe* :44), [15th c.]: *Staynwallerays* (15th c.), Warcop (*PNWe* ii:xiii).

Yorkshire, North Riding: [14th c.]: Stone Raise, Aysgarth (*la Staynrayse* 1307; *PNYN*:265).

Yorkshire, West Riding: [12th c.]: *Stanrayse* (1120), Stonebeck Down (*PNYW* v:217); [13th c.]: Raisgill, *Reisegil*, Buckden (*Risegil* 1241; *PNYW* vi:117), *le Stainreis* (c.1225), Newton in Bowland (*PNYW* vi:209), *Raysesit* (1267), Horton in Ribblesdale (*PNYW* vi:225).

ON *skáli* ‘a (shieling-)hut’

Cheshire: [13th c.]: Scholar Green, Odd Rode (*Scolehalc*, *-haleth* 1272–1307; *PNCh* ii:308–09), *Scole* [lost, Bucklow Hundred] (c.1270–1300 (18); *PNCh* ii:2–3), *Elmerescholes* (c.1275), Clifton (*PNCh* ii:165), *Skalgreue* (1275), Clifton, (*PNCh* ii:166), Scows, Tiverton (*Scales* 13th c.(14th c.); *PNCh* iii:322); [14th c.]: (*del*) *Scole-*, *-Skoleclogh* (1337, 1347, 1350), [lost, Macclesfield hundred] *PNCh* i:54), *Scholes*, (Handforth cum) Bosden (*Aschuluescoles* 1322, *the Schoales* 1697; *PNCh* i:257); *Hunstablescalie* (14th c.), Nether Peover (*PNCh* ii:222), *?Skeylhornrudyng* (1315), Odd Rode (*PNCh* ii:316), Schools Hill [not mapped as only uncertainly recorded in 14th c.] (*Scowes Hill* 1591, cf. Henry *del Scoles* 1374; *PNCh* i:251).

Cumberland: [**12th c.**]: Scaleby (*villa de Scales* c.1180; *PNCu*:106),  
*Sessscales* (c.1180), Scaleby (*PNCu*:107), *Scalegile* (c.1174), Flimby  
(*PNCu*:287), Scawthwaite Close, High Ireby (*Scalethweit* 1171–75,  
*Scallethwayt* 1256; perhaps *Skalli* rather than *skáli*; *PNCu*:300),  
Portinscale, Above Derwent (*Porqueneschal* c.1160; *PNCu*:371),  
Seascale (*Sescales* c.1165; *PNCu*:432); [**13th c.**]: Scalebeck Gill,  
Derwent (?*Ketelscalerbech* c.1220; *PNCu*:26), Scale Gill, S. Esk  
(*Schalgil* 1292 *Ass* (p); *PNCu*:26), Winter Shields, Askerton  
(*Winterscale(s)* 1259; *PNCu*:56), *Brentscale* (c.1220), Castle Carrock  
(*PNCu*:75), *Thorinscal* (c.1280), Castle Carrock (*PNCu*:76),  
Scarrowhill, Cumwhitton (*Scalewra* 1267; *PNCu*:79–80), Priest's  
Hole, Hayton (*Presteschalegarth* c.1220; *PNCu*:90), *kingescales*  
(1292), Waterhead (*PNCu*:117), Gatesgill, Dalston (*Geytescall* 1278;  
*PNCu*:133), Scalescough, St Cuthbert Without (*Scalescogh* 1272;  
*PNCu*:149), Winskill, Hunsonby and Winskill (*Wyndscale*s 1292 (p);  
*PNCu*:208), Howscales, Kirkoswald (*Huscal(es)* 1278, 1279 *Ass* (p);  
*PNCu*:216), Borrowscale, Matterdale (*Borganscal'* 1285 (p);  
*PNCu*:221), Scalehouses, Renwick (*Rauenwykchales* 1278 (p);  
*PNCu*:236), Skelling, Skirwith (*Scaling' in Skyrwyt* 1292; *PNCu*:243),  
Foxley Henning, Castle Sowerby (*Forneschalehaylme* 1252;  
*PNCu*:245), Scarrowmanwick, Staffield (*Marisci Scalremanoch*  
c.1240; *PNCu*:250), *Birkerigscale* (1278), Threlkeld (*PNCu*:253),  
Skalmallock [lost], Boltons (*Sc(h)allermakek* 1292; *PNCu*:269), High  
and Low Scales, Bromfield, (*Scales* 1353; *PNCu*:273), *Windskalis*  
(1230), Caldbeck (*PNCu*:281), Hudscales, Caldbeck (*hudscaille* 1560,  
?*Hotonscal* 1285; *PNCu*:279), Sosgill, St John's (*Saurescalls* 1208;  
*PNCu*:315), Lonscale Fell, Underskiddaw (*Lonskell*, ?*the essart called*  
*Le Scales* 1256; *PNCu*:323), *Ketescalrig* (c.1220), Underskiddaw  
(*PNCu*:323), St John Beckermeth (*Windcales* 1294; *PNCu*:341),  
*Wynterscalethayth* (1292), Birker and Austhwaite (*PNCu*:344),  
Simonscales, Cockermouth (*Simondescales* 1279; *PNCu*:363),  
Seanscale, Dean (*Deneschall* 1278; *PNCu*:366), Gutherscale, Above  
Derwent (*Goderyscales* 1293; *PNCu*:370), Skelgill, Above Derwent



(*Scalegayl* 1260; *PNCu*:371), Stubsgill, Distington (*Stubsscales* c.1210; *PNCu*:376), *Stellerun* (c.1270; cf. *Scel(e)run* c.1225), Gosforth (*PNCu*:396–97), Sosgill, Loweswater (*Solrescales* c.1203 [n.d.]; *PNCu*:411), High and Low Rogerscale, Whinfell (*Rogerscales* 1260; *PNCu*:447), Winscales (*Wyndscale* 1227; *PNCu*:454), Scalelands, Arlecdon (*Sckalandfeild* 1578, ?*de Scale* 1289; *PNCu*:335–36); [14th c.]: *Bryndscale* (1349), Arthuret (*PNCu*:55), *Bysshoppeskale* (c.1333), Dalston (*PNCu*:139), Bowscale (*le Bouschale*, *le Bouscale* 1361; *PNCu*:181), *Graistokskales* (1332), Greystoke (*PNCu*:196), Scalefield Gill Plantation, Greystoke ( *le Scalefeld* 1359; *PNCu*:198), *Southescale* (1345), Greystoke (*PNCu*:199), Scales, Skelton (*Skales*, (*Le*) *Schales* 1316; *PNCu*:242), Scales, Threlkeld (*Skales* 1323; *PNCu*:253), *Scaleberg* (c.1330), Little Clifton (*PNCu*:361), *Loftskales* (1369), Above Derwent (*PNCu*:375), Scalegill Hall, Egremont (*Scalgaill* 1321; *PNCu*:381), Scale, Gosforth (*Scale* 1365; *PNCu*:396), Low Scales, Millom (*Loftcales* 1332, *Loscalez* 1570; *PNCu*:416); [15th c.; ]: (High-, Middle-, Low-) Skelgill, Alston (*Scalegill* 1473–76; *PNCu*:179), Scales Hall, Staffield (*Scales* 1479; *PNCu*:251), Millgill Bridge, Salter (*Millgille* 1410; *PNCu*:432), Barfield, Whitbeck (*Scalgarthbare* 1462; *PNCu*:448).

Lancashire: [12th c.] Scholes, Prescott (*Eschales* a. 1190; Ekwall 1922:108), Brinscall, Withnell (*Brendescoles* c.1200; Ekwall 1922:132), [13th c.]: Scowcroft, Oldham (?*de Schalecroft* 1246; Ekwall 1922:50), Scholefield, Rochdale (*de Scholfele* 1212; Ekwall 1922:56), Feniscowles, Blackburn (*de Feinycholes* 1276; Ekwall 1922:74), Scholes, Sefton (*Scoles* 13th c.; Ekwall 1922:118), Davyscoles, Mitton (*de Daniscole* 1246; Ekwall 1922:141), Scales, Preston (*Ribelton Scales* 1252; Ekwall 1922:146), Loudscale, Kirkham (*de Ludescal(e)* 1219; Ekwall 1922:149), Scaleber, Tunstall (*Scaleberg(e)* 1202; Ekwall 1922:183), Sandscale, Dalton (*Landschale* 1292, *Sandescale* 1336; Ekwall 1922:204), North Scale, Dalton (*Northscale* 1247; Ekwall 1922:205), Elliscales, Dalton (*Aylinescal* 1211–22; Ekwall 1922:206), Scales, Aldingham (*Scales* 1269 [on a hill]; Ekwall

- 1922:208), Cockenshell, Ulverston (*de Cockanscales* 1284; Ekwall 1922:214); [**14th c.**]: Scholefield, Colne (*de Scolefeld* 1324; Ekwall 1922:86), Scholes, Prescott (*del Scoles* 1332; Ekwall 1922:104), Landskill, Catterall (*Longstal* [for *-scal*] 1341; Ekwall 1922:163).
- Leicestershire: [**14th**]: *Schalhull* (1323), Sapcote (*PNLei* vi:230; OE *scēla*, ME *schele* influenced by ON *skáli*); [**15th**]: ?*Gasgell* meadow (1427) Bottesford [uncertain, not mapped] (*PNLei* ii:28–29).
- Lincolnshire: [**12th c.**]: *Scalehil* (c.1200) Riby (*PNLi* ii:254), *alde Scala deile* (1150–60) Redbourne (*PNLi* vi:92), *Gebbescales* (1154–89) Killingholme, (*PNLi* ii:206); [**13th c.**] *le Scalcroftesdik* (1216–72) Sudbrooke (*PNLi* vii:116), *Walgerscales* (c.1300) Immingham (*PNLi* ii:173), *foxwell' scales* (c.1263) City of Lincoln (*PNL* ii:181).
- Norfolk: ?*Stoleweyn* (13th c.) [for ?*scoleweynt*; uncertain, not mapped], Ludham (*PNNf* ii:118).
- Northamptonshire: [**12th**] *Scaleberg* (1199), Braybrooke (*PNNth*:260), [**13th**]: *Cattescalis* (1207–72), Brockhall (*PNNth*:269).
- Yorkshire, North Riding: [**12th c.**]: *Scalebec* (12th c.), Liverton (*PNYN*:330), *Burnolfscates*, Guisborough, *Raufscates* (12th), Kildale (*PNYN*:330), Scaling, Hinderwell (*Skalynge*, *Skalinge* 12th c.; *PNYN*:139), *Scalerig* (1198–1208), Hudswell (*PNYN*:330), *Skaleflat* (1274), Grinton (*PNYN*:330); [**13th c.**]: *Scalestedes* (1230–50), Tocketts (*PNYN*:330), *Stainschale* (13th c.), Upleatham (*PNYN*:330); [**14th c.**]: Scale Foot, Guisborough (*Schalingthawythe* 1301; *PNYN*:148), Gammersgill, Coverham (*Gamelscale* 1388; *PNYN*:254), Skell Gill, Aysgarth (*Skalgayl* 1301; *PNYN*:261),. [*Scaleflath* (no date; not mapped) Colburn (*PNYN*:28).]
- Yorkshire, West Riding: [**12th c.**]: *Scales* (12th c.), Thurnscoe (*PNYW* i:93), Scholes, Rotherham (*Scal'* 1160–80; *PNYW* i:187), Skellow (*Scalehale* 1180–95; *PNYW* ii:34 [*scēla* with influence from *skáli*]), *Schalecloh* (c.1190), Fixby (*PNYW* iii:37), *Wlvivescales* (1200), Ledston (*PNYW* iv:53), Scalewray (lost), Middleton [Ilkley] (*Scalewra* 12th c.; *PNYW* v:65), *Godwynescalez* (1198), Ripley (*PNYW* v:103), *Scalegile* (12th c.), Addingham (*PNYW* vi:60), *Grimescales* (c.1180), Clotherholme

(*PNYW* v:164), Axleber, Paythorne (?*Ackeschales*, *Acceschales* 12th c.; *PNYW* vi:175), (*le*) *Threfothersc(h)ales* (1165–), Clapham (*PNYW* vi:237); [13th c.]: Barnscholes (lost), Swinton (*Bernes(h)ales* 13th c.; *PNYW* i:115), Scholey's Bridge, Hemsworth (*Scoley*, -ay 13th c.; *PNYW* i:265), Upper Scholes, South Hiendley (*Huberdescoles*, *Hubberdescolderode* 13th c.; *PNYW* i:272), Schole Hill, Penistone (*Scalfeld* 1208–11; *PNYW* i:338), *Merescal* (c.1260), Rothwell (*PNYW* ii:148), Scholecroft, Morley (*Squalecroft* 1226, *Scalecroft* 1252; *PNYW* ii:183), Scullage, Flockton (*Schollegge* 13th c., *Schallegeker* 1295; *PNYW* ii:205), Scholes (*Scoles* 1274–1313; *PNYW* ii:247), Scholes, Cleckheaton (*Scales* 1229; iii:18), Scholes, Greetland (*Scoles* 13th c.; *PNYW* iii:48), Elland Scholes, Stainland (*Scoles* 13th c.; *PNYW* iii:50), *Hunlosscoles* (13th c.), Pudsey (*PNYW* iii:240), *Reefscaleclo* (13th c.), Oxenhope (*PNYW* iii:266), Alderscholes, Thornton (*Alderscholes* 1379 (p); *PNYW* iii:271), Scholes, Barwick in Elmet (*Skales*, *Scales* 1258; *PNYW* iv:109), Scalebor Gill & Scalebor Park, Burley in Wharfedale (*Scaleberche* 13th c.; *PNYW* iv:198), Scaliber, Plompton (*Scalberc* 1276; *PNYW* v:31), *Scalewra* (13th c.), Kearby (*PNYW* v:42), Scales Gill, Scales Ho, Askwith (*Scales* c.1296; *PNYW* v:61), *Scalebec* (13th c., *Skalgil* 1269–82), Middleton [Ilkley] (*PNYW* v:68), Summerscales, Hazlewood (*Sumerscales* 1203; *PNYW* v:74), *Aldgethscales* (1316), Aldborough (*PNYW* v:81), Longscales, Birstwith (*Lang(e)scales* 1230; *PNYW* v:131), *Scalestede* (1272), Eshton (*PNYW* vi:48), Oughtershaw. Buckden (*Uhtredescal(e)*, *Huctredescal(e)* 1241; *PNYW* vi:117), *Scalestodberg* (a. 1265), Litton (*PNYW* vi:127), *Quenildesksale* (1235–55), Sedbergh (*PNYW* vi:272), Barden Scale, The Scale, Barden (*Berdenscale* 1295; *PNYW* vi:60), *Stirkeschaleskou* (13th c.), Stainforth (*PNYW* vi:156), *Grimscalriding* (1280), Bolton by Bowland (*PNYW* vi:191), Scale, Horton in Ribblesdale (*Scales* 1251; *PNYW* vi:223), Souther Scales, Ingleton (*Suterscales* 1202–08; *PNYW* vi:244), ?*Le stateberh* (c.1250), Middleton [uncertain, not mapped] (*PNYW* v:68); [14th c.] Scholes Field Lane, Thorpe Audlin (*Scales* 1307; *PNYW* ii:98), Scholey (lost),

Rastrick (*le lytill Scholey, le Mikil Scholey* 1399; *PNYW* iii:40), Brian Scholes, Northowram (*Brynscoles* 1337 (p); *PNYW* iii:98), *Scoles kerre* (1374), Roundhay (*PNYW* iv:115), Winterscales, Ingleton (*Wynterscale* 1379 (p); *PNYW* vi:244), Scales, Ingleton (*(the) Scales, Skales* 1379 (p); *PNYW* vi:247), Scholes, Oakworth (*Scoles* 1325; *PNYW* vi:8), *Bobscale* (1383), Austwick (*PNYW* vi:232), *Potterskale* (1383), Austwick (*PNYW* vi:232), *Rob'skale* (1383), Austwick (*PNYW* vi:232), Waterscale, Bentham (1379 (p); *PNYW* vi:241), Winterscales, Garsdale (*Wynteres(s)kales* 1346; *PNYW* vi:263); [15th c.]: School Hill, Skelmanthorpe (*Scolehill* 1431; *PNYW* ii:223), *le holow Scoles* (1480), Pudsey (*PNYW* iii:240), *Scalcroft* (15th c.), Wighill (*PNYW* iv:244), Scarah (-Fm, -Mill, -Moor), Ripley (*Skal(l)wrey, Skal(l)wray* 1482; *PNYW* v:102), *Scalegail, Skalegayll* (1471), Thorpe [nr. Rylstone] (*PNYW* vi:97), East Scale Park & West Scale Park, Kettlewell (*Skalegille* 1405, *le Scaleparke* 1484; *PNYW* vi:110), Fountains Scale (lost), Horton in Ribblesdale (*Founteynstallis* (sic for *Founteynscallis*), *Fontanscale* 1457; *PNYW* vi:219), *Gateskaleflatt* (1481), Sharow (*PNYW* v:158), Winskill, Langcliffe (*Wyndescale* 1414; *PNYW* vi:147).

Westmorland: [12th c.]: Scalebarrow Knott & Tarn, Shap Rural (*Scalberghdik* 12th c.; *PNWe* ii:177); [13th c.]: Scale Beck, Asby/Hoff (*Skalebek* 1292; *PNWe* i:13), Scale Gill [lost], Lupton (*Scalegail* 1190–1220; *PNWe* i:48), *Gilbertes scale, scal(ing)am Gilberti* (1200–46), Mansergh (*PNWe* i:53), *Schoureschale* (1274), Kendal (*PNWe* i:126), Holmescales, Old Hutton (*Escales* 1201; *PNWe* i:127), Scalthwaiterigg (*Sc-, Skalt(h)waitrigg(e)*, 1247; *PNWe* i:135–36), Goodhamscales, Whitwell (*Skaillere-goodwine* 1241–46; *PNWe* i:149), High & Low Scales, Orton (*Scales* 1256; *PNWe* ii:44), Scalegill (1256), Orton (*PNWe* ii:48), *Scalesteds mire* (c.1200), Warcop (*PNWe* ii:88), *Scalesteds* (1279), Appleby (*PNWe* ii:96), *Skaluhoue* (1298), Crackenthorpe (*PNWe* ii:103), *Rogerskalbek* (1249), Shap Rural (*PNWe* ii:181), *Haynahtscales* (a. 1286), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:186), *Scalegale* (a. 1240), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187), *Potscales* (1241),

Bampton (*PNWe* ii:199); [**14th c.**] Heggerscale, Kaber (*Hegelstale* (sic) 1380, *Hegelscale(s)* 1402; *PNWe* ii:5), *Potschalemyre* (1384), Shap Rural (*PNWe* ii:181); [**15th c.**] Thorny Scale, Brough Sowerby (*Thornowscale* 1425; *PNWe* ii:70), Strice gill, Stainmore (*Stryscales* 1402; *PNWe* ii:74), Scalebarrs Hill, Clifton (*Ouerscalebergh* 1478; *PNWe* ii:188), *Bowskale* (1451), Yanwath (*PNWe* ii:205).

*ON slakki* 'a pit, a hollow'

Cheshire: [**13th c.**; ] Ollerton and House Slack, Marthall cum Warford (*le slacke qui est divisa inter villam de Ollreton et Werford c.1300*; *PNCh* ii:80 and 85), *Slaccum* (1265–91; Lat. acc.sg.), Cranage (*PNCh* ii:226); [**14th c.**; ] Slack Hall, Marple (*del Slakkes* 1361; *PNCh* i:286), *ad slaccum* (1310), Minshull Vernon (*PNCh* ii:250), *le Slacruding* (1317), Bridgemere (*PNCh* iii:55), *le Tunestudeslac* (1357) [lost, Eddisbury Hundred] (*PNCh* iii:162); [**16th c.**; ] Bob Slack, Congleton (*Babslack*, *Babbe's Slack* 1593; *PNCh* ii:299), *Misden Slak* (1503), [lost, Eddisbury Hundred] (*PNCh* iii:162), *Weram Slacke* (1582), Chester (*PNCh* v(1):84).

Cumberland: [**13th c.**] Castle Slack, Ousby (*Castlelslac c.1237*; *PNCu*:229), *le Frithslake* (c.1280), Birker and Austhwaite (*PNCu*:344), *Holeslac* (c.1225), Gosforth (*PNCu*:397), *Mikelslac* (1228–43), Whitbeck (*PNCu*:450); [**14th c.**] *Aykeslack* (c.1300), Ainstable (*PNCu*:171), [**16th c.**] *Lowdelslacke* (1590 [c.1683]), Stanwix (*PNCu*:111), *Bowslacke* (1589), Burgh by Sands (*PNCu*:129), Slack, Ainstable (*Le Slacke* 1568; *PNCu*:170), *Pykehooslack* (1568), Glassonby (*PNCu*:195), *Sheildslack* (1568), Glassonby (*PNCu*:195), Slack, Westward (*Slake* 1578; *PNCu*:331), *the Slake* (1578), St John Beckermert (*PNCu*:342), *little Slake banck* (1578), Drigg and Carleton (*PNCu*:378), *Lindslak* (1587, Eskdale (*PNCu*:393), *Wokam slake* (1578), Eskdale (*PNCu*:393).

Derbyshire: [**13th c.**] Slack Hall, Chapel en le Frith (*Slak* 1285; *PNDb*:66), Raven Slack, New Mills (*Raveneslak* 1285; *PNDb*:152), *Slak* (1285), New Mills (*PNDb*:155), *Gretegreueslake* (1207–72), Parwich

(*PNDb*:405); [14th c.] *Slack* (1319), *Abney* (*PNDb*:27), *Doggesedslacke* (1323), *Monyash* (*PNDb*:150), *Slackes* (1306), *Tideswell* (*PNDb*:175), *Padewalleslak* (1314), *Edlaston and Wyaston* (*PNDb*:558), *Wythenslackeheved* (1339), *Middleton and Smerrill* (*PNDb*:396), [15th c.] *Slack Ho*, *Slacke* (1491–1547), *Chinley*, *Buxworth and Brownside* (*PNDb*:78), *Litton Slack*, *Litton* (cf. *Botilsclac* 15th c.; *PNDb*:137), *le Evenslak* (1415) *Bonsall* (*PNDb*:348), *Kiln Slack*, *Hartington Middle Quarter* (*Kylnslak* 1415; *PNDb*:368), [16th c.] *Hethe low slak* (1544), *Monyash* (*PNDb*:150).

Lancashire: [13th c.] *Hay slacks*, *Altham* (*Haislackes* 1210–30; *Ekwall* 1922:89), *Ashlack Hall*, *Kirkby Ireleth* (*de eskeslac* 1270–80; *Ekwall* 1922:220), *Nettleslack*, *Ulverston* (*de Nettlisclak* 1264; *Ekwall* 1922:213); [14th c.] *Slack*, *Eccles* (*Westslak* 13th c; *Ekwall* 1922:40), [15th c.] *Ayneslack*, *Colne* (*Haynslak(e)* 1425; *Ekwall* 1922:87).

Lincolnshire: [13th c.] *Slachille* (13th c.) *Reepham* (*PNLi* vii:81), *Hungerdaleslac* (c.1240) *Hackthorn* (*PNLi* vi:171); [16th c.] *Riall Slake* (1577) *Nettleton* (*PNLi* ii:248), *Lurbur slacke* (1577–80) *Binbrook* (*PNLi* iii:13), *byhill slak* (c.1570) *Owersby* (*PNLi* iii:89), *cowslack* (1579) *Thoresway* (*PNLi* iii:154), , *Sowslacke* (1580) *Swallow* (*PNLi* v:151), *parson slackes* (1577) *Covenham St Bartholomew* (*PNLi* iv:13).

Shropshire: *Slacheberie* (1086), *Slachbur'* (1255) [lost, *Pimhill Hundred*] (*PNSa* v:1).

Westmorland: [12th c.]: *Witherslack* (*Wi-*, *Wytherslak(e)*, *-slack(e)* 1186–1200; *PNWe* i:77); [13th c.]: *Rauntreslak* (1278), *Barbon* (*PNWe* i:27), *Dove slack*, *Firbank* (*Duneslake* (sic for *Duue-*) 1201; *PNWe* i:35), *Grasslick* [lost], *Hutton Roof* (*Ki-*, *Kyrk(e)slak*, *-slac* 1256; *PNWe* i:36–37), *Laherseslac* (1292), *Hutton Roof* (*PNWe* i:39), *Lindeslac* (1190–1220), *Lupton* (*PNWe* i:49), *Wateslac*, *-sclat* (1200–46), *Mansergh* (*PNWe* i:53), *Hazelslack*, *Beetham* (*Hesleslac(k)* 1254; *PNWe* i:70), *Watslack* (1190–1210), *Kendal* (*PNWe* i:126), *Morkslaiks als*. *Morkslacks*, *Skelsmergh* (*Mirkeslack(e)* 1241–46; *PNWe* i:148), *Hyingeslac*, *Hingeslac* (13th c.), *Soulby* (*PNWe* ii:24), *Brackenslack*,

Crosby Ravensworth (*Brakans(c)lac* c.1270; *PNWe* ii:154),  
 Wickerslack, Crosby Ravensworth (*Wykeslak* 13th c.; *PNWe* ii:158),  
*Langesclac* (1235), Shap Rural (*PNWe* ii:181), *Berslak* (1286),  
 Lowther (*PNWe* ii:186), *Bredboruanslack* (a. 1300), Lowther (*PNWe*  
 ii:186), *Haverslac* (1200–30), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:186), *Langeslak* (a.  
 1286), Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187), *Waytslack* (a. 1300), Lowther (*PNWe*  
 ii:187), **[14th c.]**: *Medilhaweslak*, *-howe-* (1352), Levens (*PNWe* i:94),  
 Deepslack, Whinfell (*Dupslack* 1332; *PNWe* i:142–43),  
*Greneslakheved* (1359), Strickland Ketel (*PNWe* i:157), Slakes,  
 Bampton (*le Slackys* c.1316; *PNWe* ii:198), *Slachill* (c.1316), Bampton  
 (*PNWe* ii:199), **[15th c.]**: *Fowleslacke* (1443), Troutbeck (*PNWe*  
 i:192), *le Roghslake* (1425), Brough (*PNWe* ii:67); **[16th c.]**  
 Braeslacks, Casterton (*Brattelakes* 1560; *PNWe* i:29), ?Grisleymires,  
 Minthorpe [uncertain, not mapped] (*Grislake* 1574; *PNWe* i:95),  
*Bradeslak* (1525) Underbarow (*PNWe* i:107), *Withslacke* (1546)  
 Stainmore (*PNWe* ii:81), *Parke slake* (1567), Shap Rural (*PNWe*  
 ii:181), *Nether Slacke* (1588), Patterdale (*PNWe* ii:228).

Yorkshire, East Riding: **[12th c.]**: *Refholeslac* (c.1200) [no location, not  
 mapped] (*PNYE*:328); **[13th c.]**: Pain Slack, Huggate (*Paineslac* 1200–  
 20; *PNYE*:174), Hall Slack, Huggate (*Halleslac* 1200–20; *PNYE*:174),  
*Otereslach* (13th c.) [no location, not mapped] (*PNYE*:328), *Crakeslac*  
 (13th) [no location, not mapped] (*PNYE*:328), *Humfraislac* (13th) [no  
 location, not mapped] (*PNYE*:328), *Adestanslac* (13th) [no location,  
 not mapped] (*PNYE*:328).

Yorkshire, North Riding: **[13th c.]** *Waterslakgille* (c.1265–78), Hackness  
 (*PNYN*:330), **[14th c.]**: *Westslak* (1335), Kingthorpe (*PNYN*:330),  
*Hyndeslak* (1335), Thornton Dale (*PNYN*:330).

Yorkshire, West Riding: **[12th c.]** *Esseslach* (12th c.), Sutton Grange (*PNYW*  
 v:163), ; **[13th c.]** *Waterflakes*, *Watirssakis* (13th c.), Bolton upon  
 Dearne (*PNYW* i:85), Slack Fields, Bradfield (*le Slakes* (post 1290;  
*PNYW* i:238), *Watirslak* (1329), Hemsworth (*PNYW* i:267), Slack  
 Lane, South Hiendley (*le Slack* 13th c.; *PNYW* i:272), *Huntewicslac*  
 (13th c.), Huntwick (*PNYW* ii:93), Slack, Longwood (*del Slac* 1274;

PNYW ii:303), *Waterslacke* (13th c.), Middleton (PNYW v:68), *Smalesclackes* (13th c.), Bank Newton (PNYW vi:56), Slack, Easington (*la Slake* 1205–11; PNYW vi:203), *Linslac*, *Linnesclat* (1220–50), Sedbergh (PNYW vi:272), *le Slakes* (1266), Harewood (PNYW iv:184); [14th c.]; Cross Slack Close, Brampton Bierlow (*le Crosseslacke* 1342; PNYW i:110), *Berkslacheyd* (14th c.), Newton in Bowland (PNYW vi:208); [15th c.]; *Dowrslakdelf* (1499), Sowerby (PNYW iii:157–58), *Pesewroslak* (1438), Waddington (PNYW vi:200); [16th c.] *Slakrode* (1516), Wombwell (PNYW i:106), Grime Slack, Methley (*Grimslake* 1574; PNYW ii:130), *Dodmanslak* (1592), Methley (PNYW ii:133), *Slackheade* (1572), Holme (PNYW ii:271), Slack End, North Bierley (*Hateley Slacke* 1541; PNYW iii:13), *Slakes* (1567), North Bierley (PNYW iii:12), *Slacke* (1568), Norland (PNYW iii:57), *Coolay Slacke* (1530), Norwood Green (PNYW iii:84), Stone Slack, Heptonstall (*le Stoneslak(e)* 1548; PNYW iii:194), Slack Bank, Temple Newsam (*the Slakkes* 1507; PNYW iv:118), *Slackflatte(s)* (1593), Bingley (PNYW iv:171), Brackeney How, Sedbergh (*Brackennye sclack* 1592; PNYW vi:271). *Selsat*, *Selsclat* (1220–50), Sedbergh [uncertain, not mapped] (PNYW vi:272).

*ON tjørn* ‘a tarn’

Cumberland: [12th c.]: Tarns, Holme St Cuthbert (*Ternis* 1185; PNCu:296); [13th c.]: Tarn Beck, ?Irthington (*Tarnebeck* 1256; PNCu:28), Dock Tarn, Borrowdale (*Docketerne* c.1210–12; PNCu:33), Floutern Tarn, Loweswater (*Blutterne* 1230; PNCu:34), Ravelsaye Tarn, Egremont (cf. *Ternebanck* 1294; PNCu: 35), Bleatarn, Irthington (*Blaterne* c.1240; PNCu:92), Tarn Wadling, Hesketh in the Forest (*Terwathelan* 1285; PNCu:204), *Ternebanck* (1294), Egremont (PNCu:382), *Silmertern* (1294), Egremont (PNCu:383; [not glossed]); [14th c.]: *Ternesthwayt* (1399), Brampton (PNCu:69), *le terne* (1329), Whitehaven (PNCu:453); [15th c.]: *Fosseterne* (1422), Bootle (PNCu:348).



Lancashire: [**14th c.**]: Tarn Flat, Dalton (?*Terneflat* 1332; Ekwall 1922:207),  
 ?Tarnbrook, Lancaster [uncertain, not mapped] (*Tyrn(e)brok* 1323,  
 1324; no tarn nearby; Ekwall 1922:172).

Westmorland: [**12th c.**]: Towtron [lost], Nether Staveley (*Thoue tarne* 1170–  
 84; *PNWe* i:173), Bleatarn, Warcop (*Blatern(a)*, *Blaterne* 12th c.;  
*PNWe* ii:82), *Terne* (1179), Kirkby Thore (*PNWe* ii:120), *Slegileterne*  
 (12th c.), Sleagill (*PNWe* ii:149), *Wascedalterne* (12th c.), Shap Rural  
 (*PNWe* ii:172); [**13th c.**]: Dirton field, Hutton Roof (*Driterne* 1292;  
*PNWe* i:39), *Arkilterne* (1200–05), Dalton (*PNWe* i:60), *Saufholfterne*  
 (1200–05), Dalton (*PNWe* i:60), Helton Tarn, Witherslack (*-terne(e)*  
 1278; *PNWe* i:77–78), *Traneterne* (1241), Longsleddale (*PNWe* i:165),  
*Igheltern* (13th c.), Crackenthorpe (*PNWe* ii:102), Trantrams, Thrimby  
 (*Traneterne* 1241; *PNWe* ii:153); [**14th c.**]: Tarnside Ho, Whinfell (*le*  
*Terne* 1332; *PNWe* i:143), Tarn Lane, Kirkby Stephen (cf.  
*Kyrkebyterne* 1327; *PNWe* ii:10), Tarns, Sockbridge (*le Tarne* 1345;  
*PNWe* ii:209); [**15th c.**]: *Blakerflatt* (1415), Clifton (*PNWe* ii:188).

Yorkshire, East Riding: [**11th c.**]: Tansterne, Aldbrough (*Tanstern(e)* 1086;  
*PNYE*:60).

Yorkshire, West Riding: [**13th c.**]: *Tern* (13th c.), Gateforth (*PNYW* iv:28),  
*Therne* (13th c., cf. *le Tern* 1332), Plompton (*PNYW* v:31), Eshton  
 Tarn, Eshton (*Estuneternes* 1200–16; *PNYW* vi:47), *Amsterne* (1267),  
 Clapham (*PNYW* vi:237); [**15th c.**]: *le Bygh Terne* (1481), North  
 Stanley (*PNYW* v:162).

*ON trani* ‘a crane’

Cheshire: [**12th c.**]: Tranmere (*Tranemul* 12th c.; *PNCh* iv:257).

Cumberland: [**13th c.**]: *Tranemyre* (1260), Wetheral (*PNCu*:165).

Leicestershire: [**13th c.**]: *Tranemere* (13th c.) Leire (*PNLei* v:136).

Lincolnshire: [**13th c.**]: *Traneho* (1212) Waddingham (*PNLi* vi:118); [**14th**  
**c.**]: Tranmere Close, Fulstow (*Tranmar*’ 1384; *PNLi* iv:87),  
*Tramerscroft* (1393) Great Grimsby (*PNLi* v:102), *Traneholm* (1329)  
 Bradley (*PNLi* v:15).

Northamptonshire: [**14th c.**]: *Thranedale* (14th), [no location; not mapped] (*PNNth*:262); [**15th c.**]: *Tranwelle* (15th) [no location; not mapped] (*PNNth*:272).

Nottinghamshire: [**14th c.**]: Tranker Wood, Worksop (*Traneker* 1340; *PNNt*; 109).

Westmorland: [**12th c.**]: Tranthwaite Hall, Underbarrow (*Tranthwett* 1170–84; *PNWe* i:103), *de Traneby* (1179), Kirkby Thore (*PNWe* ii:120); [**13th c.**]: *Traneterne* (1241), Longsleddale (*PNWe* i:165), Trantrams, Thrimby (*Traneterne* 1241; *PNWe* ii:153), *Tranelandes* (c.1240) Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187), *Tranesic* (c.1240) Lowther (*PNWe* ii:187); [**14th c.**]: *Traynmyre* (1379) Brougham (*PNWE* ii:135), Trainford Brow, Lowther (*Tranthwayt* 1378; *PNWe* ii:185).

Yorkshire, East Riding: [**12th c.**]: Tranby, Hessle (*Tranebi*, -by 12th c.; *PNYE*:216), Trandy Lane, Laxton (*Tranedic*, -k 1199; *PNYE*:254).

Yorkshire, North Riding: [**12th c.**]: Cranberry Moss, Sheriff Hutton (*mora de Cranberimos* 1155–89, *Tranberimose* 1235; *PNYN*:32), Trenholme, Whorlton (*Traneholm* 1177; *PNYN*:178), *Transheued* [no location; not mapped] (1160; *PNYN*:333); [**13th c.**]: Trencar, Kilburn (*Traneker* 1231; *PNYN*; 196); *Tranemyre* [no location; not mapped] (1335; *PNYN*:329), *Traneberg* [no location; not mapped] (c.1230; *PNYN*:333).

Yorkshire, West Riding: [**12th c.**]: Tranmoor, Burn (*Tranamor* 1141–55; *PNYW* iv:26), *Traneber Mire* (1120) Hebden (*PNYW* vi:103); [**13th c.**]: *Tran(n)eker* (e. 13) Ilkley (*PNYW* iv:215), *Traneker* (13th c.) Long Marston (*PNYW* iv:256), *Traneker* (12th c.) Middleton [nr Ilkley] (*PNYW* v:68), Tranmire Goit, Grewelthorpe ( *Tranmir* e. 13; *PNYW* v:208); [**14th c.**]: *Tranelandhades* (1396) Bolton upon Dearne (*PNYW* i:84), Tranmore, Eggborough (*Tranemore* 1305; *PNYW* ii:58), Train Holme, Newby (*Tranholm* 1340; *PNYW* v:153), [**15th c.**]: *Tranmore* (1439) Appleton Roebuck (*PNYW* iv:221), Trenhouse, Malham Moor (*Tranehouse* c.1416; *PNYW* vi:139).