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CONTENTS

Abbreviations of counties and EPNS county surveys	4
The Cameron Lecture 2017	
Kenneth Cameron and the English Place-Name Society	5
John Insley	
Highways and byways to the English Place-Name Society	17
Gillian Fellows-Jensen	
<i>Wippedesfleot</i> in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle	41
Richard Coates	
Wenhaston	49
John Insley	
Divining medieval water: the field-names of Flintham, Nottinghamshire	57
Susan Kilby	
The meaning of <i>lēah</i>	95
Sarah Wager	
Reviews	
Review Article: Making sense of names. Carole Hough, ed., <i>The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming</i> . Peter McClure	129
Jillian Hawkins, <i>The Significance of the Place-Name Element *funta in the Early Middle Ages</i> . Rob Briggs	140
Hywel Wyn Owen and Ken Lloyd Gruffydd, <i>Place-Names of Flintshire</i> . Spencer Gavin Smith	153
George Redmonds, <i>A Vocabulary of Wood, Wood-Workers and Wood Management in Yorkshire</i> . Jessica Treacher	154
Recent publications on Northumberland place-names: Jonathan West, <i>The Place-Names of the Old County of Northumberland. The Cheviot Hills and Dales</i> . With a note on books by Poulton-Smith and Beckensall. Diana Whaley	156
Angus J. L. Winchester, <i>Lake District Field-Names: A guide for local historians</i> (Lancaster: Regional Heritage Centre, 2017). Chloé Colla	165
Bibliography 2016	171
Joshua Neal, Eleanor Rye and Jessica Treacher	
Alfred Oscroft Essay Prize 2017	177
Reports	
Hon. Director	179
Hon. Treasurer	181
Accounts	183

ABBREVIATIONS OF COUNTIES AND EPNS COUNTY SURVEYS

Co	Cornwall
Ha	Hampshire
He	Herefordshire
K	Kent
La	Lancashire
Nb	Northumberland
Sf	Suffolk
So	Somerset
Wt	Isle of Wight

CPNE	<i>Cornish Place-Name Elements</i>
EPNE	<i>English Place-Name Elements, Parts 1 and 2</i>
PN BdHu	<i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire</i>
PN Brk	<i>The Place-Names of Berkshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3</i>
PN Bu	<i>The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire</i>
PN Ca	<i>The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely</i>
PN Ch	<i>The Place-Names of Cheshire, Parts 1–5</i>
PN Cu	<i>The Place-Names of Cumberland, Parts 1, 2 and 3</i>
PN D	<i>The Place-Names of Devon, Parts 1 and 2</i>
PN Db	<i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3</i>
PN Do	<i>The Place-Names of Dorset, Parts 1–4</i>
PN Du	<i>The Place-Names of County Durham, Part 1</i>
PN Ess	<i>The Place-Names of Essex</i>
PN ERY	<i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York</i>
PN Gl	<i>The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, Parts 1–4</i>
PN Hrt	<i>The Place-Names of Hertfordshire</i>
PN Le	<i>The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Parts 1–7</i>
PN Li	<i>The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Parts 1–8</i>
PN Mx	<i>The Place-Names of Middlesex (apart from the City of London)</i>
PN Nf	<i>The Place-Names of Norfolk, Parts 1–3</i>
PN Nt	<i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire</i>
PN NRY	<i>The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire</i>
PN Nth	<i>The Place-Names of Northamptonshire</i>
PN O	<i>The Place-Names of Oxfordshire, Parts 1 and 2</i>
PN R	<i>The Place-Names of Rutland</i>
PN Sa	<i>The Place-Names of Shropshire, Parts 1–6</i>
PN Sr	<i>The Place-Names of Surrey</i>
PN St	<i>The Place-Names of Staffordshire, Part 1</i>
PN Sx	<i>The Place-Names of Sussex, Parts 1 and 2</i>
PN W	<i>The Place-Names of Wiltshire</i>
PN Wa	<i>The Place-Names of Warwickshire</i>
PN We	<i>The Place-Names of Westmorland, Parts 1 and 2</i>
PN Wo	<i>The Place-Names of Worcestershire</i>
PN WRY	<i>The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Parts 1–8</i>

The Cameron Lecture 2017: Celebrating 50 years of the English Place-Name Society in Nottingham

Institute for Name-Studies, University of Nottingham

The lecture (held on 1 December 2017) celebrated 50 years of the English Place-Name Society in Nottingham, and featured additional events around the main lecture. The event was chaired by Judith Jesch, Professor of Viking Studies at the University of Nottingham and President of the English Place-Name Society. The first speaker was Professor John Insley, of the University of Heidelberg, a former research student of Professor Kenneth Cameron, who paid tribute to Professor Cameron (1922–2001) and his work. This introduction was followed by the main lecture, given by Professor Gillian Fellows-Jensen of the University of Copenhagen. Both speakers' lectures are reproduced below, in a form very close to that presented at the Cameron Lecture.

Kenneth Cameron and English Place-Names

Introduction to the Cameron Lecture 2017

John Insley

First, I intend to say little about Ken's biography, because this has been fully covered in Margaret's Gelling's excellent memoir in the British Academy volume of obituaries (Gelling 2002). Instead, I want to talk today about his onomastic work, with a primary emphasis on the beginnings. I shall, therefore, say little about his later work on Lincolnshire, work with which I and the late John Field were also closely involved. Nor will I deal with his *English Place-Names* (1961), a book which introduced generations of students, local historians and archaeologists to the study of English place-names, and which, in conjunction with Margaret Gelling's *Signposts to the Past* (1978 and subsequent editions) is still the starting point for any serious study of place-names. I will, however, say something of my own connection with Ken and my road to onomastic studies.

My interest in Old English began already in the Sixth Form at Preston Grammar School in the period between September 1964 and June 1966 when I did A-level History and English. The History syllabus was devoted to medieval European history from the time of Charlemagne onwards and English history from the Conquest to Edward I. Sir Frank Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* (1947) and Peter Sawyer's *The Age of the Vikings* (1962) were the key texts which pointed the way my future academic interests would take and my interest in the language was aroused by C. L. Wrenn's edition of *Beowulf* (1953) and by the texts in A. J. Robertson's *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (1939). I first made an acquaintance with Scandinavian personal names through the medium of S. B. F. Jansson's *The Runes of Sweden* (1962), a copy of which was lent to me by my history master, the late H. N. B. Morgan. In October 1967, I went up to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, as an Exhibitioner to read History. I continued to be interested in Anglo-Saxon England and medieval Scandinavia. In particular, I deepened my knowledge of Scandinavian personal names in England through extensive use of Sir Frank Stenton's magnificent edition of Danelaw charters (Stenton 1920). In this context, it is no accident that Ken, in his account of Stenton's role in the study of English place-names, specifically mentioned Stenton's fascination with Scandinavian personal names (Cameron 1994: 44–45, cf. Stenton 1920: xciii–xciv, c–cii, cxi–cxviii). Here, Ken also mentioned that Lady Stenton had bequeathed him Sir Frank's collections of personal names extracted from cartularies and other medieval records. Around Easter 1973, I collected the three wooden boxes of slips from the University of Reading and they now reside in the Institute for Name-Studies in the School of English at the University of Nottingham. After completing Part I of the Historical Tripos in June 1969, I switched to the Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic Tripos, then a two-year course, for Part II of my degree. I came to Nottingham from Cambridge in October 1971 as a research student to work on the Scandinavian settlement of East Anglia. This eventually culminated in my University of Nottingham PhD thesis, 'Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk' (1980) and in its published and enlarged version of 1994. At the beginning, my interests were still primarily historical and I originally planned to produce a study combining a discussion of social structure with an examination of the onomastic context of Scandinavian settlement in East Anglia. In the course of examining O. K. Schram's collections for the place-names of Norfolk, which were then deposited with the English Place-Name Society in Nottingham, I became more and more preoccupied with language, in particular, with early personal names, though admittedly the seeds for this had already been planted when I was taught Old Norse in Cambridge by

Ray Page, another alumnus of the universities of Sheffield and Nottingham. I thus became an onomast and a philologist and my interests have tended in this direction ever since. As a result, my thesis became an onomastic rather than an historical study. Whilst in Nottingham, I formed a lasting friendship with the late Karl Inge Sandred of the University of Uppsala, who held a Leverhulme fellowship in Nottingham for the session 1971–1972. Dr Sandred went on to become the English Place-Name Society's editor for Norfolk and, along with Professors Thorsten Andersson and Lennart Elmevik, he was instrumental in getting the enlarged version of my PhD thesis accepted for publication by the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy in Uppsala in 1994. As a supervisor, Ken was much to my taste. He left me to get on with my research, but was always there to answer questions and read my work in progress, and this continued after I moved to Germany in 1973. Later I would read the Lincolnshire volumes and make many etymological suggestions.

Ken's first major work, the EPNS survey of Derbyshire, was an extended version of the Sheffield PhD thesis of 1951. The EPNS volumes are in many ways a complete revision of the PhD thesis, but it is worth looking at the latter as an indication of how much the interpretation of place-names has changed. The PhD thesis was very much in the tradition of the EPNS volumes of the 1930s. So, for example, *-ingtūn* is interpreted as a simple possessive and we can illustrate this by reference to the place names TADDINGTON and ROSTON. Of the former, the thesis (Cameron 1951: 99) remarks 'The first element is probably OE **Tāda*, for which v. Tadow (PN C 66). Hence "Tāda's farm," v. *ingtūn*.' The account given by PN Db 169 repeats the etymology, but gives a reference to *-ing*⁴, and in his list of elements (PN Db 687), Ken follows Hugh Smith (EPNE 1 291–96) in describing *-ing-* in *-ingtūn* as a 'connective particle'. Interestingly, his remarks reveal a slight unease about the personal name **Tāda*, for he says that the earliest spellings, which uniformly have <-d->, 'point to *Tāda* rather than *Tata*' (PN Db 169). My own view is that the early forms in *-in-*, *-yn-* point to a weakly inflected *n*-declension genitive in **-an-* rather than to *-ing*⁴, and that the personal name is indeed **Tāda*, a hypocoristic form of names in *Tāt-* with voicing of [t] > [d]. The rendering of genitival **-an* by *-in-*, *-yn-* in the compound results from the difficulties experienced by medieval scribes in rendering [ə]. The late medieval forms in <-dd-> imply a short vowel, no doubt the result of early Middle English shortening in the trisyllabic formation **Tādantūn*.

A clear case in which Ken changed his mind is provided by ROSTON (*Roschintun*, *-tone* 1086 DB, *Rocinton* 1221 Cur, 1252 Ch, etc.). In the thesis (Cameron 1951: 286), we read the following:

This is a difficult name for which I can only suggest that Ekwall may perhaps be right in tentatively proposing an unrecorded OE personal name **Hrōþsige* as first element (DEPN). If so it is more probably “*Hrōþsige*’s farm,” v. *ingtūn* than “the farm of *Hrōþsige*’s people.”

In the first edition of DEPN, published in 1936, Ekwall interpreted ROSTON as perhaps denoting the *tūn* of ‘**Hrōþsige*’s people’, and this interpretation is carried over unaltered into the fourth edition of 1960. Ken was obviously dissatisfied with this explanation, because in PN Db 592 he suggested that the first element of ROSTON was probably the ON personal name *Hrosskell* and that we are concerned with a form *Roschin*, *Roskin* showing Anglo-Norman sound-substitution of /n/ for /l/. Gillian Fellows-Jensen (1978: 379) goes a step further and suggests that we may be concerned with a diminutive of the Continental Germanic name *Rosce*, *Rozo* and cites Reaney’s *Ruskin* (1976, s.n.) by way of comparison. This interpretation turns on early spellings of the type *Roschinton*, *Roscinton* and it might be tentatively suggested that we are concerned here with Flemish *Rozekin* (Tavernier-Vereecken 1968: 120) used adjectivally in a *tūn* compound, and it was due to Ken’s dissatisfaction with Ekwall’s etymology that this interpretation could be eventually reached. When Ken wrote PN Db, the relevant literature about Flemish nomenclature was not readily accessible in England, but the fact that he demonstrated the problems inherent in the *-chin/-kin*-suffix pointed the way forward.

Ken had a sound instinct for personal names. This is clearly shown in his contribution to the Thoroton Society collection of documents relating to the soke of Newark, concerning the personal names in the Newark list of names dating from c.1177 which is contained in the manuscript Oxford, St. John’s College MS 39 (Cameron 1956). Ken rightly pointed out that the sources of the names in this record were Old English, Scandinavian and Anglo-Norman, and went on to note that practically nothing is known of the names of members of the lower echelons of society in the Old English period (1956: xi). This was largely true when Ken wrote, but more recently there has been examination of the list of Hatfield *zeburas* dating from c.1000 and the eleventh-century records about serfs at Wouldham in Kent in the *Textus Roffensis* (Pelteret 1986). Ken’s remarks were accompanied by a short onomasticon printed as ‘Glossary and Notes’ at the end of the text (1956: 5–15). Generally, these notes are still valid for the Old English and Scandinavian elements, but they show their age with regard to the Continental Germanic element. Ken was sensibly pragmatic about the semantics and morphology of personal names, pointing out that the dithematic names may have had semantic content in the early period, but

were often arbitrary formations in the Anglo-Saxon period (1956: xii). We could of course follow Gottfried Schramm (1957) and speak of ‘primary formations’: that is, semantically clear compounds with links to the Germanic poetic language of the type OE *Gūðhere* < Germanic **Gunþa-harjaz* ‘battle-army’, and ‘secondary formations’, which are arbitrary compounds of the type OE *Wulfstān* ‘wolf-stone’. Ken also emphasized the distinction between ‘true’ monothematic names of the type *Dod(d)a* and hypocoristic names of the type *Cuða* from OE *Cūðwulf* or the like. Nowadays, we would go further with the categorization of such names. From a morphological point of view, we can speak of simple monothematic names of the type *Dodd*, *Tūna* and *Odda* and ‘extended’ monothematic names of the type OE (Northumbrian) *Bæsil*, *Dūduc*, OE *Tottel*, etc., which are formed with the Indo-European *-k-* and *-l-* suffixes. Ken pointed out (1956: xii) that the Newark list contains few monothematic personal names, but that *Dode*, *Edus*, *Gode*, *Moche* and *Wulu* are examples, while ‘the more doubtful’ examples, *Ande*, *Honde*, *Pape* and *Swit* ‘are probably best considered as original bynames or nicknames, which have developed into ordinary use as personal names’. Ken was fully aware of the dynamic nature of anthroponymic systems and the fact that there are layers of personal nomenclature in the Old English period. He points out (1956: xii) that the Newark names *Frebern* (< OE **Frēobeorn* [or ContGerm *Fridebern* or ON *Freybiörn*, OSwed *Frøbiörn*]) and *Orderedus* (OE **Ordræd*), ‘which do not appear to have been recorded in pre-Conquest material, are of special interest’.

Nowadays, Ken’s Derbyshire volumes are, in my opinion, unjustly overlooked in comparison with his later work on the Danelaw and Lincolnshire, but they remain an invaluable tool for philologists and local historians alike. It is worthwhile examining them more closely. In the first place, PN Db is distinguished from earlier volumes of the EPNS survey by its wealth of field-name material. Ken was a tireless collector of field-name material, a characteristic which remained with him right to the end of his work on the Lincolnshire volumes. I remember him showing me how useful post-medieval terriers are for this kind of work. In his foreword to the Derbyshire volumes, he records his thanks to the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Portland and the Duke of Rutland for access to material. The introduction to the Derbyshire volumes opens characteristically with an account of topography and geology and the relation of the latter to early settlement sites. There is a concise account of the Roman roads of the county. This is followed by discussion of the Celtic, English and Scandinavian names of the county and by a detailed account of the dialect of the county as illustrated by place-names. The account of river-names in

the survey is, as is to be expected, strongly influenced by Ekwall's classic *English River-Names* of 1928.

This has been a characteristic of English onomastic research until fairly recently, and, though the Celtic element was successfully reworked thanks to the monumental contributions of Max Förster (1941) and Kenneth Jackson (1953), English research was noticeably tardy in its reception of Hans Krahe's *Alteuropäische Hydronomie* (see, for example, Krahe 1964), even though Wilhelm Nicolaisen's thesis applying these theories to the British Isles had appeared in published form in the *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* in 1957.

Ken incorporated Jackson's research into river-names into his account of the Derbyshire material and he was more open-minded and critical than many of his contemporaries and, indeed, many more recent writers. He returned to the Celtic element in English place-names in 1980 with his classic account of OE *w(e)alh* 'Briton, foreigner' in English place-names. Ken showed that names of the type WALTON (< OE **Walatūn* 'farmstead of the Britons') represented pockets of British speakers surviving into the Anglo-Saxon period. The meaning 'serf, slave' is secondary and has been shown by David Pelteret to be confined to West Saxon (Pelteret 1995: 320–22).

Ken's Derbyshire volumes were reviewed by Eilert Ekwall in *English Studies* in 1959. Ekwall praised the wealth of material, especially that from unpublished sources, and Ken's familiarity with the history and topography of the county, but he was critical of some of Ken's etymologies, and in some cases, as in those of ALFRETON and LITCHURCH, he preferred those of an earlier work, that of B. Walker, published in 1914–15 (Ekwall 1959a: 369). Ken thought that the first element of ALFRETON was the OE personal name *Ælfhere* (PN Db 188); Ekwall took it to be the OE personal name *Ælfræd*, but his interpretation rests on his identification of the form [æt] *Ælfredingtune* in Wulfric Spot's will of 1002x1004 (S 1536) with Alfreton (Ekwall 1959b: 6–7). However, this identification is by no means universally accepted; the latest edition of Wulfric Spot's will identifies [æt] *Ælfredingtune* with ARLINGTON Gl (Sawyer 1979: xxxiii–xxxiv). In the more recent *Cambridge Dictionary*, Victor Watts followed Ken's interpretation (CDEPN 8). Ekwall took issue with several of the personal names proposed by Ken, and, in some cases, his objections are valid. For example, Ken's interpretation of the first element of BRASSINGTON as an unrecorded OE personal name **Brandsige* (PN Db 351) is implausible, since the Germanic personal name element *Brand-* is primarily Langobardic (cf. such Langobardic forms as *Prando*, *Prandulo*, *Brandulfus*), and is not found in Old English. Ekwall's interpretation of the

name as OE **Brantstīg-dūn* ‘hill at a steep path’ (1959a: 370) would appear to be preferable. Again, Ken took the boundary mark [of] *siðriðe forda*, [on] *siðriðe ford* [bounds of Weston upon Trent Db] 1009 (original) S 922 MS 1 to contain OE *rið* (*sic* for *rīð*) ‘stream’ (PN Db 747), but Ekwall (1959a: 171) showed conclusively that it was a compound of the OE feminine personal name *Sigēprȳð* and OE *ford* ‘ford’. There are, however, cases in which Ekwall’s explanation appears forced and contrived. This is true of MONSAL, where Ekwall’s interpretation of its first element as OE *mōr-ærn* ‘moor house’ (1959a: 370) is less plausible than the personal name *Morwine* suggested in PN Db 141.

A major concern of Ken’s onomastic research was the Danish settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs in the East Midlands. The classic position on the Northern Danelaw – that is, the area between the Tees and the Welland – in the first half of the twentieth century, was that of Sir Frank Stenton, who maintained that the density of Scandinavian place-names, the frequency of Scandinavian personal names in medieval records and the appearance of Scandinavian legal terminology, all speak for an intensive settlement of Scandinavians after the invasions of the late ninth century. This prevailing orthodoxy was challenged by Peter Sawyer in an article of 1958 and in his *Age of the Vikings*, the first edition of which appeared in 1962. Sawyer’s grasp of onomastic material was somewhat shaky. He tried to minimize the significance of the elements *-bȳ* and *-þorp* as indicators of the intensity of Scandinavian settlement by pointing out that they remained productive for a considerable time after the ninth century. In three papers published in 1965, 1970 and 1971, Ken set up a model for the Scandinavian settlement of the East Midlands which is still largely valid and which showed up the unsoundness of Sawyer’s interpretation. Viewing the names in the context of drift geology, he was able to demonstrate that the names in *-bȳ* were the result of internal colonization behind the shield of the Danish armies of the Five Boroughs. This is indicated by the fact that they are not on the best settlement sites, but are frequent in areas like the Lincoln Wolds or along the Roman road running from Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh (see Cameron 1965: 16–19). More recently, Lesley Abrams and David Parsons (2004) have shown that these names belong to a Scandinavian milieu.

In this context, we should note the importance of microtoponymy as a marker of Scandinavian influence. This was already indicated in 1948 by Kristian Hald’s examination of the minor names of Benniworth in Lindsey, Lincolnshire (1948: 24–28), as part of his discussion of the age of Danish minor names, and Ken subsequently examined the minor names of Dunholme in Lawress wapentake (Lincolnshire) in a contribution to the

Festschrift for Olof von Feilitzen (Cameron 1973). Ken later followed this up with an essay on the field- and minor names of the Holland Division of Lincolnshire (Cameron 1978). He showed that the microtoponymy of Holland shows considerable Scandinavian influence, although there are relatively few Scandinavian parish names. The conclusion would seem to be that the minor names imply a denser Scandinavian settlement than is suggested by the names of villages.

The English names in *-bȳ* differ from those in Denmark in that a much greater proportion are compounded with personal names, and this would indicate a seignorial aspect, as was indeed noted by Stenton many years ago. The seignorial element was also stressed by Ken in the third of his papers on the Five Boroughs, his examination of the Grimston/Toton hybrids, which generally occur on good sites in areas such as the Trent valley, areas quite distinct from those in which names in *-bȳ* are frequent. Ken regarded the hybrids as English villages seized by the Danes in the wake of the invasion in the ninth century and we can do no better than to cite his remarks in his British Academy lecture of 1976 (154):

And so, though very tentatively indeed, I suggest that not only are Aslockton, Car Colston and Colston Basset, Gamston, Gonalston, and Toton, for instance, ‘manorial’ in type, but that they have also, for nearly 1,100 years, concealed the names of *Áslakr*, *Kolr*, *Gamall*, *Gunnulf* and *Tovi*, men of the *micel here*, the extent and density of whose settlements have exercised, and will, it seems, continue in the future to exercise, the academic mind.

Ken took the view that the Grimston/Toton hybrids were English villages taken over and partially renamed by the Danes and he pointed out (1971: 150) that ‘partially Anglicized forms of *Ásbjǫrn*, *Esbjorn* (*Osbern*) and of *Þorleifr* (*-lāf*) are the first elements of the pairs Osbaston Lei, Osberton Nt, and Thurlaston Lei, Tollerton Nt’, and:

In addition to the two examples quoted above, there are two further instances of Anglicized Scandinavian personal names: *Þorgeirr*, with *-gār* for *-geirr*, is the first element of Thurgarton Nt, and *Þorsteinn*, with *-stān* for *-steinn*, occurs in Thrussington Lei.

Already in 2001, David Parsons suggested that the names of the hybrid *tūn* villages had been formed by English-speakers (Parsons 2001: 308–9) and my own view is that they were originally designations for small *seigneuries* coined by the dependent Anglian peasantry, which only later acquired the

status of place-names. This in no way detracts from the validity of Ken's view that the Danes whose names are contained in these place-names were those of leading men of the *micel here*.

The second of Ken's three papers on the Scandinavian names of the East Midlands was devoted to those in ODan *-thorp*, which he showed to have been secondary and to have denoted new settlements. It is symptomatic that this element occurs as a simplex and is occasionally compounded with Continental personal names, e.g., OFr *Durand* in DONISTHORPE Db (now Lei), ContGerm *Gērmund* in GRAINTHORPE L, ContGerm *Hubald* (OFr *Hubaut*) < *Hugibald* in *Hubaldsthorpe* [now Upperthorpe] L, ContGerm *Malbert* < *Madalbert* in MABLETHORPE L (Cameron 1970: 39 and n. 14) and ContGerm *Ingulf* in INGOLDISTHORPE Nf (see Insley 1994: 233–34). We might add that there are names in *-thorp* compounded with Old English personal names, e.g., OE *Eardwulf* in ADDLETHORPE L and OE *Wulfstān* in WOOLSTHORPE BY BELVOIR L (Cameron 1998: 1, 143). In the second edition of *The Age of the Vikings* (1971: 159–63) Sawyer accepted Ken's relative chronology of the hybrid *-tūns* and the names in *-bȳ* and *-þorp*.

Ken's later work was concentrated on the preparation of the Lincolnshire survey. The completed volumes cover the North Riding and part of the West Riding of Lindsey and are an invaluable research tool which will provide a basis for philological and historical inquiry for many years to come.

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Highways and byways to the English Place-Name Society through more than fifty years

The Cameron Lecture 2017

Gillian Fellows-Jensen

When I left Manchester in 1955 to study English in London, I did not follow the straight and narrow path to the English Place-Name Society. This is not because I chose instead to tread the primrose path of dalliance nor to go the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire. I simply followed the options open to me as an undergraduate. One of my contemporaries in London, the distinguished English actor Sir Tom Courtenay (2000: 90), has incidentally described this disparagingly in his book *Dear Tom*, where he describes how at UCL in 1958, ‘The girls of the English Department were wrapped up in *Beowulf* and literary criticism. But the girls from the Slade [School of Art]! So bohemian. And no *Beowulf* to worry about, just art.’ There was certainly more than enough at the English department for me to get wrapped up in but I always made a point of preparing my *Beowulf* before going to the theatre or venturing too far down such alluring byways. It had, however, gradually become clear to me that it was not English literature but the historical development of the Germanic languages that really fascinated me and therefore I selected as my subsidiary subject Old Icelandic, which was taught at UCL by Peter Foote. This involved joining the Viking Society for Northern Research and at one of the first meetings I attended in December 1956 the speaker was John McNeal Dodgson, then not only Assistant Lecturer in English at UCL but also Research Assistant to the English Place-Name Society. He spoke about ‘The background of Brunanburh’.¹ I still remember this lecture with pleasure because John Dodgson was not only a fellow northerner but a welcoming and generous friend, and it was probably also the first time I took a serious look at a map showing symbols indicating place-names, a map that I have exploited so many times since then that in the List of Illustrations in the memorial

¹ The talk was published as Dodgson 1953–57, 303–16.

volume to John published in 1997 its compilation was erroneously ascribed to me! (Rumble and Mills 1997: viii)

The Icelandic texts for the English degree proved to be not only much easier to read than *Beowulf* but also far more exciting than that epic, so in the summer vacation of 1957 I enrolled in a holiday course in Danish in Copenhagen, where I was able to see for myself some of the famous Icelandic manuscripts. The prospect of spending a year in this clean and airy city led me to apply for a Danish Government scholarship to study some manuscripts more closely. After my year in Copenhagen I returned to UCL to do a PhD degree with the express aim of preparing an edition of an Icelandic text, *Hemings þáttur Áslákssonar*, the tale of a legendary Norwegian athlete. This edition was published in Copenhagen in 1962.

I had been officially registered as a PhD student at UCL under Professor A. H. Smith because he was then the Head of English Language and Scandinavian Studies. Hugh Smith (pictured in Fig. 1) was well known throughout Scandinavia as an extremely convivial scholar. He ensured that I received a good backing in various scholarly aspects of life at the college, including the unofficial Thursday seminars held at the Marlborough Arms. This is probably why I was fortunate enough to be awarded research fellowships by Copenhagen University for the academic years from 1962–67. This resulted in an academic career that some might call chequered. The more generously inclined would perhaps call it wide-ranging. I spent half my time in the Arnamagnæan Institute studying manuscripts of *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* and the other half at the Institute for Name Research compiling a dictionary of Scandinavian personal names occurring in English sources.

My two first academic publications were the PhD thesis (Fellows Jensen 1962), and a brief note in the journal *Saga-Book* on some Scandinavian personal names in English sources (Fellows Jensen 1962–65). This note reflected that I had originally been engaged in a menial capacity by the Institute for Name Research in Copenhagen to write name-slips for a prospective archive of such names. In 1963 I attended the congress of The International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS) in Amsterdam. I did not offer a paper on this occasion but managed to be photographed together with Hugh Smith and other renowned namescholars (Fig. 2).

More to the point today is a review I published in the Danish journal *Danske Studier* of the eight volumes of Hugh Smith's *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Fellows Jensen 1965; cf. PN WRY). I elected to give Danish readers just a few examples of the kind of material that had



Figure 1: Hugh Smith with Copenhagen colleague K. B. Jensen at Copenhagen University, 1962.



Figure 2: ICOS Congress 1963, Amsterdam. Anticlockwise from top right: Gillian Fellows Jensen, Bill Nicolaisen (Edinburgh), Hugh Smith (UCL), Olof von Feilitzen (Stockholm).

been treated by Hugh Smith, for example an element cited in standard Old Norse form as *býjar-lög*, which he explained as meaning ‘village community, township’. It survives as an affix in a name such as Brightside Bierlow. I doubt whether my review made much impression on the readers of the Danish journal in 1965. I was myself (2016) prompted to update my old comments on the element after half a century. Here at least I felt that I was a little wiser than I had been in 1962, when I actually wrote the review. In the years between its composition and its publication I had been in fairly close contact with Hugh Smith, meeting him both on my visits to London and his to Scandinavia. I certainly made some use of the EPNS archive in London and began to make my own collection of EPNS volumes. On a couple of occasions in Copenhagen Smith consulted me about Scandinavian personal names in Westmorland and I was flattered to be remembered by him in the Preface to the Westmorland volumes (PN We 1 xii). I think this acknowledgement was one of his ways of encouraging former students. In July 1966 at the ICOS congress in London I gave a brief paper on Scandinavian personal names, but the only reason I was promoted to the front row on the official ICOS photograph (Fig. 3) with the really important people was that I had brought my son William with me to meet Hugh Smith as president of the Congress; Henri Draye of Louvain, the Secretary-General of ICOS; and John Dodgson and David Mills, who were jointly responsible for most of the hard work of organization there. This was the last time I met Hugh, for he died in May 1967. He had always been generous to me when I had needed advice or encouragement, and I count it a privilege to have known him.

This brings me at last to the removal of the EPNS archive to Nottingham. In February 1966 the Viking Society had sent me a copy of Kenneth Cameron’s inaugural lecture held there eleven months earlier (Cameron 1965). I read the lecture with great interest and was fortunately able to incorporate some comments on it in the manuscript of my Danish thesis that had been a very long time a-printing. Cameron’s presentation of the material and in particular his explanation of the significance of the topographical and geological characteristics of the settlements with Danish names was masterly and I was attracted by his theory that although the Scandinavian settlement of the north-east Midlands may have been in origin a military one, some of the Danes must have come as colonists, developing virgin land and establishing new settlements, possibly under the protection of the Danish army. I had not been satisfied with my own attempt in the thesis (Fellows Jensen 1968: chapter 3) to establish a chronological stratification of the personal names occurring in the place-names, in which I had followed F. T. Wainwright’s idea (1962: 75–88) that



Figure 3: Extract from the official ICOS photograph, July 1966 (UCL). Front row, left-right: Hugh Smith, Henri Draye, Gillian Fellows Jensen (with baby William), John Dodgson, David Mills. Bill Nicolaisen is on next to back row, on the right.

the earliest Scandinavian names were probably those that were the first ones to become obsolete in England. It would have been wiser for me simply to have concentrated on the last pages of my introduction (cii–cviii), where I point to the name-forms that can be shown linguistically to be of greater age.

I was pleased to hear in August 1967 that Ken Cameron had been appointed as Honorary Director of the English Place-Name Society. This

was around the time when I was appointed to a more or less permanent post in Copenhagen. Checking the entries for place-names in the Domesday facsimile as part of my new project dealing with Scandinavian place-names, I realised that the EPNS volume for the North Riding of Yorkshire in particular was open to criticism, since I had discovered a large number of errors in the place-name forms, not surprisingly in the light of Hugh Smith's astonishingly hasty production of this work. All the significant errors discovered in all EPNS volumes that were submitted by society members were compiled in lists of addenda and corrigenda in early numbers of the society's *Journal* by the secretary John Dodgson and various assistants, and these were all eventually consolidated in 1995 by Carole Hough in her valuable *Finding List to Addenda and Corrigenda*. It was John Dodgson who had proposed the creation of the Survey's *Journal* and edited the first four volumes. He had seen the need to give members access to an up-to-date account of work in progress, as well as relevant articles of onomastic interest. I was delighted to be able to contribute an article on the Bruce fief in Domesday Book in volume 2 (Fellows Jensen 1969–70). This was my first detailed attempt to study names in England and also involved me in the specialised discipline of English palaeography, although I had been wrestling with the palaeography of Icelandic manuscripts since 1958. Dodgson's comments then as editor and on many later occasions were invaluable for me. I continued with this line of work in a study of the scribe of the early twelfth-century document known as *The Lindsey Survey* (Fellows Jensen 1969) and followed on with two articles on a text in a fourteenth-century hand in MS 366 in the library of The Queen's College, Oxford, containing a detailed survey of the lands and tenants of the see of Lincoln which I had taken to be dated to 1225, the one on forenames (Fellows Jensen 1973), the other on surnames (Fellows Jensen 1975). In her greater wisdom Cecily Clark (1978: 234, n. 56) later explained that the relevant date was in fact 1258. In 1974 I studied another document in the same manuscript which contained a survey of the arable lands, meadow and pasture belonging to the Bishop of Lincoln 1348–49 (Fellows Jensen 1974a). Here I examined the vocabulary involved in minor names in 743 settlements in the territory of the Five Boroughs and 490 from counties to the south and east of this. Not unexpectedly, it showed that Scandinavian evidence was most marked in the more northerly counties. Detailed textual work of this kind was not so very different from the work I had been doing on Icelandic manuscripts. Taking a more rounded look at place-names and settlement history was going to cause me more trouble.

Here coincidence came to my aid. My postgraduate years at UCL had been greatly enriched by my fellow student there, Christine Fell. She and I kept in contact to the end of her life and it so happened that Chris was teaching in Leeds at the time when I became interested in Yorkshire settlement history. On my visits to Yorkshire I was able to stay with her in her flat in Leeds or in her cottage at Slingsby. The very name Slingsby brings back to me the many happy times we spent together, when she drove me round Yorkshire to look at place-names, early churches and stone crosses, and of course, to taste the best local ales. She also introduced me to her colleagues in Leeds and ensured that her friends there were my friends, too. It is largely thanks to Chris (pictured, Fig. 4) that I was able to acknowledge in the preface to my works on Yorkshire assistance from Stanley Ellis, Gordon Forster, Glanville Jones, Peter Sawyer, and the geography department in Leeds. If Chris asked one of her friends to pick me up at the station, I could be sure to be welcomed with a big Yorkshire hug.

Figure 4: (From left to right) Gillian Fellows Jensen, Gerd Wellejus and Christine Fell in Denmark, 1965.



Viking studies were also going on apace in Nottingham. In April 1969 Ken and Kathleen Cameron travelled by train to Copenhagen. They spent five very busy days there meeting old friends and making new ones. Ken gave the second and third of his lectures on the Scandinavians in the Territory of the Five Boroughs, the ones dealing with the *thorps* as dependent secondary settlements and the more enigmatic Grimston hybrids. I presume that he had already presented this material in Nottingham but the printed versions, which did not appear until 1970 and 1971 respectively, both have a note to say that the substance of the paper had been read in the Institut for Navneforskning in Copenhagen and that Ken was grateful to Professor John Kousgård Sørensen and his colleagues for their encouragement, generous help and criticism). All three of Ken's lectures were reprinted by the EPNS in 1975 in a volume intended to make these and other articles more readily available to the general reader (Cameron 1975).

Ken and Kath had brought with them die-lines of several of their maps. In those summer days that were as long as twenty days are now, I spent hours in 1969 and 1970 crawling around on the floor plotting the course of Roman roads or rivers on tracing-paper placed over Ordnance Survey maps of Yorkshire and laboriously measuring the approximately correct position for the symbols to represent a *bý*, a *thorp* or a Grimston-hybrid. It was the generous encouragement of Kath and Ken that made it possible for my primitive sketch maps to be transformed for publication by members of the geography departments at Leeds and Nottingham. I was at this time organising a seminar in Copenhagen on Old English names in *-ing* and related forms, to which I had invited John Dodgson as keynote-speaker (cf. Dodgson 1966, 1967a, 1967b, 1968).

The year 1970 proved to be one spent with frequent travel across the North Sea. A meeting of the Council for Name Studies in March in Edinburgh was for me marked by two events, the first that I was made a member of that august council to join scholars like Margaret Gelling and Ian Fraser, the second that I was marooned at Edinburgh airport with a group of businessmen also waiting for a much-delayed flight to Manchester. I was the only one of the stranded passengers who recognised from a distance that an approaching plane was not the longed-for Viscount but a Vanguard arriving from London. On the strength of this demonstrated familiarity with types of aeroplane, derived I have to confess from *The Ladybird Book of Aircraft*, I was offered more strong whiskies than were good for me and more than any of my pronouncements about place-names have ever called forth. In June I attended a mini-conference in London on the Vikings, where I also had a meeting with Ken and John and David

Wilson in the place-name room. John Dodgson arrived in Copenhagen on September 20th and gave two lectures and a seminar on the *ing*-names. There was a good turnout of the local staff as well as Wolfgang Laur from Germany. It was altogether a pleasant, instructive and convivial few days. In November I took my son with me to stay with Kath and Ken in Nottingham. Barrie Cox was also there, as well as Chris Fell, who had come to the rescue of Ken by travelling backwards and forwards between Leeds and Nottingham to do some of the teaching of Old English and Norse after the tragic death of Peter Shaw.

Around this time, however, I was also beginning to think more about the EPNS. This was partly because I was realising that my own peripatetic life and that of my parents before me had weakened my links with my place of birth. As a first and only generation Mancunian, I spent my first 19 years in Northenden, a Cheshire village that had been transferred to Manchester as recently as in 1931 as part of an ambitious plan to develop a municipal garden city with space for an international airport. I have always had a great respect and affection for the city of Manchester and its good schools and visited it regularly until my father died in 1994 and even later to visit school friends and to attend seminars at the University because of the contacts I had with Alex Rumble and through him David Hill. It was only when John Dodgson promoted Northenden to being a town rather than a mere township and me to being considered ‘a native of that town’, worthy to be an informant, that I ventured to suggest a possible explanation of the element occurring in the local names Great and Gorsie Saxfield in Northenden and *Saxbroke*, an older name for Baguley Brook, that marked the boundary between the two townships. This was that the element **Sax* could be a name for the watercourse meaning ‘the bright, cutting stream’ (cf. PN Ch 5:1.i xx). More substantially I also suggested that the spellings in *u* of the Scandinavian element *holm* ‘small island’ in Cheshire and Lancashire is less likely to be a reflex of a not certainly existing Old Danish *hulm* than a Middle English dialect development of late OE *holm* (itself originally a loan from Scand) to *hulm* that is particularly observable in southern Lancashire and eastern Cheshire, an explanation that was later provisionally accepted by Dodgson (cf. PN Ch 5:1.i 232, 237–39, 5:2 194).

When my Yorkshire book eventually appeared in August 1972, I was convinced that most of the place-names that were hybrids or Scandinavianisations were borne by English settlements that had been taken over by the Danes. I was thinking not only of the Grimston-type names containing Scandinavian personal names but also of Carlton-type names whose specifics are common nouns or adjectives. A place-name such as Scakleton that can be shown to be a Scandinavianised version of

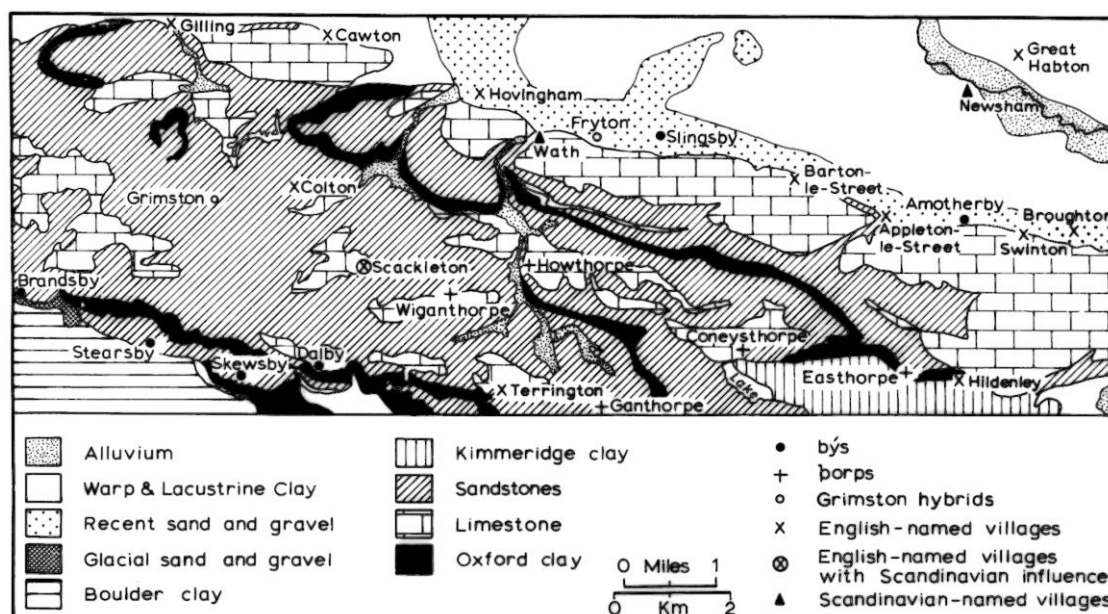


Figure 5: Sketch map showing geology and settlements in the Howardian Hills, North Yorkshire (cf. Fellows Jensen 1972: 311).

an earlier English name is also likely to be borne by an older English settlement. In addition it seemed to me that several of the *býs* were probably borne by earlier English habitations, first and foremost the forty-six Kir(k)bys (fifteen of them in Yorkshire) whose names suggest that a church must already have been standing there when the Vikings arrived, but also *býs* that may earlier have formed parts of multiple estates. Looking back at the Howardian Hills in Chris Fell country, I would argue that two of the *býs* on the belt of good arable sand and gravel – Chris’s Slingsby containing the by-name *Sleng* ‘idler’ and neighbouring Amotherby containing *Eymund* – bear names for units of habitation that had probably earlier formed part of a multiple estate, for example that based at Hovingham. It is noticeable that the church with the English name Hovingham contains not only a fine piece of decorative Anglo-Saxon stone carving dating from the late eighth to early ninth century but also a massive stone cross with a degenerate Scandinavian interlace pattern probably dating from the tenth century, while a similar cross-head with part of its shaft has been built into the south face of the tower (cf. Lang 1991: xx). Since there is sculpture from two different periods at Hovingham, there must have been a powerful and wealthy lord of the manor here both before and after the arrival of the Vikings (cf. Bailey 1980: 210–14). This evidence fits well with the varied nature of the surviving place-names. If we are looking for place-names likely to represent settlements built in a period of new colonisation, then I would point to the four *býs* lying on the southern slopes of the hills on

sandstones and shales that are not well suited for agriculture (Fig. 5).² The specifics of two of them, Brandsby and Stearsby, are the by-names *Brand* and *Styr*. The other two names, Skewsby and Dalby, contain the nouns *skóg* ‘wood’ and *dal* ‘valley’ and have exact parallels in Denmark. They are neighbouring places and may point to characteristic features of earlier units of a large estate. The five *þorps* in the central belt of woodland, where the steep banks of sandstone are broken by calcareous grit and clay, are undoubtedly secondary settlements, perhaps established after the clearing of woodland.

Another part of Yorkshire shows an area where the absence of English-named settlements must have left plenty of room for Danish colonisation, namely the flat-floored Derwent valley in the East Riding, where the warp and lacustrine clay has only been settled by a couple of younger *þorps*, Foggathorpe, where the specific is the Continental Germanic *Fulcard*, and Gribthorpe, where the specific is probably a Danish personal *Grīp*, while Laytham is a Danish dative plural form meaning ‘at the barns’ and the young hybrid name Willitoft, in which Danish *toft* meaning ‘curtilage’ is compounded with Old English *wilig* ‘willow’, pointing to a marshy area. It is notable that the only habitation with an English name in this immediate area is Spaldington, perched on a tiny plot of sand and gravel in the area known as Spalding Moor, which occupies the wettest section of the Vale of York (cf. Allison 1976: 121).

It was shortly after the appearance of the Yorkshire book that Ken Cameron and Barrie Cox suggested that I should subject the Scandinavian place-names in the East Midlands to a similar treatment. Ken and Barrie gave me access to their unpublished collections and together with earlier volumes of the EPNS and some unpublished theses my search for knowledge was greatly eased. It was probably this *embarras de richesses* that tempted me to propose several new interpretations for the place-names. Some of these are perhaps best forgotten. The first inspiration for casting a sceptical eye on the treatment of a group of English place-names had come when I was invited by Swedish colleagues to give a lecture in Lund on English place-names in *-ingtūn* (Fellows Jensen 1974b). Eilert Ekwall in DEPN had treated the majority of these names as though the medial *ing* was simply a reduced form of the genitive plural ending *inga*, while Hugh Smith and the editors of the EPNS volumes treated most of the *-ingtūn*

² The map reproduced as Fig. 5 was prepared for publication in Fellows Jensen 1972 by the Department of Geography at the University of Nottingham. It was based on the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, and on the Geological Survey Maps of the Institute of Geological Sciences. Crown Copyright is reserved.

names as though they contained a connective suffix *ing*⁴ and tended to assume that the specific involved is a personal name. All these older scholars were disinclined to accept the suggestion made by R. E. Zachrisson as early as 1933 and in several later papers that many of the singular names in *-ing* are more likely to contain a topographical term. I was probably unwise to go as far as I did along Zachrisson's primrose path. I found it particularly enticing with the names in which the specific is assumed to be a simplex common noun denoting a topographical feature such as **dod*, which is a Northern English dialect word for 'a rounded summit or eminence'. I found no fewer than nineteen possible instances containing this word in different parts of England, mostly in the present-day form Doddington.³ Margaret Gelling certainly did not accept all my interpretations (1988: 178–80; PN Sa 1 106–7). She was undoubtedly correct to say that my suggestions that formations involving a dithematic place-name base such as **Beorhtwald* in Brightwalton in Berkshire are less convincing than those for which a monothematic base such as **dod* was postulated. I still feel, however, that a name such as Doddington is more likely to denote a settlement characterised by its situation on or close to a rounded hill than its connection with a person called *Doda* or *Dodda*. Barrie Cox, however, prefers to explain the place-names Castle Donington and Donington le Heath in Leicestershire as denoting the estate called after Dunn or Dunna rather than the village or settlement at the hill (PN Le 7 48, 64) and has suggested that the recurrence of place-names of identical origin within comparatively restricted areas might point to a series of estates in the holding of one man. I could point out, however, that although a Domesday tenant called Dodo in Shropshire held four manors in the north of the county, none of the Dod(d)ington-type names in Shropshire are borne by settlements anywhere near his holdings.

In 1978 I treated the East Midlands in the same way as I had done Yorkshire but in many cases offering more numerous interpretations of individual place-names than I had done earlier. I was rather nervous earlier in 2017 when I first ventured seriously to compare my suggestions in 1978 with those found in the CDEPN and recent volumes of the EPNS and greatly surprised to find that most of my suggestions are mentioned in these works, occasionally even as the preferred solution. The place-name Goxhill treated in PN L 2 119–21, however, has a much fuller version of my own acceptance that this name and the homonymous Goxhill in Yorkshire can both be explained as Scandinavianised versions of an OE **gēac-lēah* 'the cuckoo's wood or glade'. Now, however, I am cautiously tempted to accept

³ For example: Fellows-Jensen 1995: 73; 1996a: 363; 1996b: 50.

Figure 6: Personal names in English place-names in *tūn* in the East Midlands (after Fellows Jensen 1978: 283)

	Total <i>tūns</i>	Containing personal names	% containing personal names
L	90	7	8
Db	93	30	32
Nt	71	17	24
Lei	76	14	19
R	11	2	18
Nth	91	20	22

Richard Coates' (1995) ingenious explanation of the Goxhill name proposed in JEPNS 27. Coates has the advantage of an intimate acquaintance with the Lincolnshire site and suggests that the true origin might be an unattested Scandinavian name **Gausli* 'at the gushing stream', although I wonder whether streams really do gush in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire in the same way as does Geysir 'the gusher' in Haukadalur in Iceland. Very often, of course, more than one interpretation of a name is philologically acceptable. It is good to keep an open mind but we should perhaps be cautious in the case of the Goxhills when proposing a word only familiar from areas where the geology is very different from that in England.

There are two significant facts I would like to stress in my comments on the East Midlands. One is related to the distribution of certain name-types. Two tables (Figs 6 and 7) show firstly the number of anthroponymical specifics occurring in purely English place-names in *-tūn* in the East Midlands as percentages of the total number of such *tūns* in the region, and secondly anthroponymical specifics in purely English place-names in *-tūn* in the rest of England as percentages of the total number of such names (after Fellows Jensen 1978: 283–84). The first table shows that there are only 8% place-names of the type personal name plus *tūn* in Lincolnshire, a county with many early Anglian place-names, while Derbyshire, where there is a complete absence of English habitative names, has 32% names consisting of a personal name plus *tūn*. The second table shows that in most English counties between 15% and 25% of the *tūn*-names contain personal names. The percentages are markedly lower only in Oxfordshire and Surrey (3%) and markedly higher in Essex and Middlesex (30%) and Devon (44%). In the East Midlands, Lincolnshire

Figure 7: Personal names in English place-names in *tūn* elsewhere in England
(after Fellows Jensen 1978: 284)

	Total <i>tūns</i>	Containing pers. ns	% containing pers. ns	Source of information
Cu	67	7	10	PN Cu 495–96
We	36	4	11	PN We 2 294
YN	179	31	17	PN YN 317–18
YE	99	26	26	PN YE 310
YW	250	29	12	PN YW 7 257–58
La	167	26	15	PN La 18–19
Wa	98	17	17	PN Wa 313
Wo	102	16	16	PN Wo 376
Gl	177	24	14	PN Gl 4 179
O	72	2	3	PN O 469
Bk	61	9	15	PN Bk 250
Bd	33	4	12	PN BdHu 280
Hrt	20	4	20	PN Hrt 241
Brk	49	9	22	PN Brk 3 911
Sr	34	1	3	PN Sr 348
W	155	34	22	PN W 413
D	520	230	44	PN D 671–72
Hu	28	3	10	PN BdHu 283–84
Ca	37	9	24	PN Ca 305
Ess	46	14	30	PN Ess 563
Mx	27	8	30	PN Mx 191
Sx	86	22	25	PN Sx 549

shows a low percentage of such names and Derbyshire a high one, while the percentages for the other counties fall within the average values for England as a whole. I would argue that these figures reflect that the English did not often change the form of an existing place-name simply to contain the name of a lord or tenant. The Vikings, however, began buying and

selling land in the tenth and eleventh centuries and Knút's land-grants to his Danish followers reflect the same practice in a number of southern place-names (Fellows-Jensen 1994).

The second significant fact is that I now find that the general distribution of major groups of names can sometimes be of great significance. I was well aware of this in 1978, when I noted the comparative absence of names in *-þorp* from the hilly areas of the East Midlands (254), an absence that became even more noticeable when I removed from the map the simplex names in *-þorp* and those that did not have a Scandinavian specific. I have since wondered whether some of the *þorps* might conceivably be Danish updatings of English names in *-þrop* which antedated the arrival of the Vikings, while rather more of the names might have been coined after the end of the Viking-period proper, when the English language had again become dominant and *þorp*-names were coined with English specifics (Fellows-Jensen 2009).⁴ Niels Lund had earlier been sceptical about my explanation that the great concentration of *þorp*-names in the Yorkshire Wolds reflects an area which the Danes were the first to exploit at a late date, pointing out that while *þorps* cluster on the Yorkshire Wolds, there is only one single *þorp*, Kettleby Thorpe in Bigby (TA 042079) at the scarp slope of the Lincolnshire Wolds (Lund 1976: 478). Archaeological investigations of the extensive surviving earthworks at this deserted settlement have pointed to a prosperous settlement and the entry in Domesday Book implies a population of more than twenty in 1086. Perhaps this is an example of a group of peasants resident in the early buildings and working on arable farming in the open field.

In their recent useful study of all the *thorps* in England, however, Paul Cullen, Richard Jones and David N. Parsons state that to the Vikings names in *-bý* and *-þorp* were not interchangeable as descriptive terms (2011: 90–92, 132, 141–42). They develop this hypothesis and its wider implications much better than I was able to do in my fumbling efforts in 1978. They suggest that these two elements were employed in contrasting locations with terminology defining different but ultimately complementary farming activities. While places with names in *-bý* would seem to have housed a peasant population cultivating standard holdings in the surrounding fields with facilities for dairy-farming and livestock holding, the *þorps* were concentrated on soils good for arable farming in the open-fields. Perhaps the *thorps* may have functioned with a kind of group tenancy, to some extent like the Carltons.

⁴ Cf. Thomason and Kaufmann on 'Norsified English' (1988: esp. 275–304 and maps, 332–41).

Since time prevents me from continuing my picaresque route to the EPNS year by year, I shall instead conclude by discussing just one of the fascinating byways that led me astray. That my third book on Scandinavian settlement names (Fellows-Jensen 1985) came to deal with north-west England and south-west Scotland was a result of my desire to investigate the movements north-westwards of people from the Danelaw seeking respite from the English kings who were gradually re-establishing control over England. One of the first significant features I noted in the north-west was the comparative absence of *þorp*-names. There were in fact only nine of these, all of which lie in areas open to influence from the Danelaw (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 291–93). It is now clear to me that this is not just because they are Danish names.

There is indeed some place-name evidence for Norwegian settlement in the north-west, but the more I looked at the Scandinavian place-names there, the more I became convinced that most of these reflect post-Conquest movement out of the Danelaw across the Pennines or along the Eden valley into the Carlisle plain, and from there north into Dumfriesshire and south along the coastal plain of Cumberland and across the sea to the Isle of Man and perhaps even back again to Wirral and south-west Lancashire early in the tenth century (Fellows-Jensen 1983a). My interest in Man had earlier been aroused both by heated discussions between Margaret Gelling and Basil Megaw, and especially by the attention drawn by Eleanor Megaw to the numerous parallels between the Manx names in *-bý* and the *býs* in north-west England and north Yorkshire and her extremely generous gift to me of the material she had collected.⁵ I eventually concluded that all the possible explanations for the names in *-bý* in Man involve some form of influence from the Danelaw (Fellows-Jensen 2001; 2001–3; 2015). Firstly the names may have been brought by settlers fleeing from the Danelaw early in the tenth century. Secondly, the large silver hoard deposited at Ballaquayle (Douglas) in about 975 with a preponderance of coins from mints in north-west England may point to a continuing influx of settlers from this area in the tenth century (cf. Graham-Campbell 1983: 70). Thirdly the names may be linked, as suggested by Marstrander (1932: 327), with Godred Crovan's partition of the island in 1079, when his followers, who may have been recruited in England, were granted land in the south of the island. Fourthly, there was a documented immigration to Man from England in the early fifteenth century, after the grant in 1405 of Man to Sir John Stanley.

⁵ Noted in Fellows-Jensen 1983b: 48.

While it had been reasonable to assume that most of the place-names in *-bý* in the Danelaw were coined before the compilation of Domesday Book, this is not necessarily true elsewhere. That the generic *bý* was still in use in some northern regions of England after the Norman Conquest is shown by the many Continental Germanic personal names occurring as specifics not only in Cumberland and Westmorland but also in County Durham, as noted by Victor Watts (1988–89: 22–24). My pursuit of routes taken out of England by Danish place-names suggested that some of the names may have been carried north in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by men from the Danelaw. It seemed likely that many of the twenty-three *bý*-names in Dumfriesshire owed their presence to settlers originating from the Danelaw who bestowed names by analogy with names with which they had earlier been familiar. Seven out of nine of the names with appellative specifics have identical or similar forms in England (Bombay, Bombie, Denbie, Esbie, *Lindbi*, *Millebie*, Sorbie). There are also nine *bý*-names in Dumfriesshire whose specifics are personal names of Norman or French origin, six of which are recorded by the twelfth century and these point to a northwards movement up Annandale after the Conquest (*Warmanbie*, *Willambi*, *Roberdesbi*, *Lockerbie*, *Pearsby* and *Sibbaldbie*).

I have been more uncertain about the straggle of seven names in *-bý* along the coast of Galloway (Fellows-Jensen 1991: 83–85), where Richard Oram (1995) argued for a linguistic divide between *Mabie* on the east, whose specific may be Scand *mey(ja)* ‘maid’ or related OE *mæge* ‘kinswoman’, compounded with Old Danish *bý*, while he would ascribe the other six names to Norse-influenced settlers who had arrived there by sea. Five of these six names (*Gretby* recorded in 1356 and surviving *Bombie*, *Bagbie*, *Appleby* and *Sorbie*) are exact parallels of Scandinavian names recorded in northern and western England, while *Bysbie*, which has admittedly later been interpreted as meaning ‘bishop’s *bý*’, is recorded in 1296 as *Buskeby* and may thus originally also have been a parallel of the *Busbies* and *Busbys* recorded in Scotland and Yorkshire. I earlier (1989–90) ascribed all six names to Danelaw influence. Other *bý*-names in Central Scotland that have been ascribed to Norwegian influence are the cluster of six names in Ayrshire (two *Crosbies*, two *Busbies*, *Sorbie* and *Magbie*). Alison Grant (2005) has argued that because of the affinities they show with Scandinavian names in the islands around the western seaboard they might perhaps have been formed by Gaelic-Scandinavian emigrants from the Scottish Isles who had settled temporarily in north-west England before ending near the Ayrshire coast. Here the fact that there are no records of any of these Ayrshire names before the thirteenth century makes it difficult to be certain about their origin, but I note that it is only perhaps

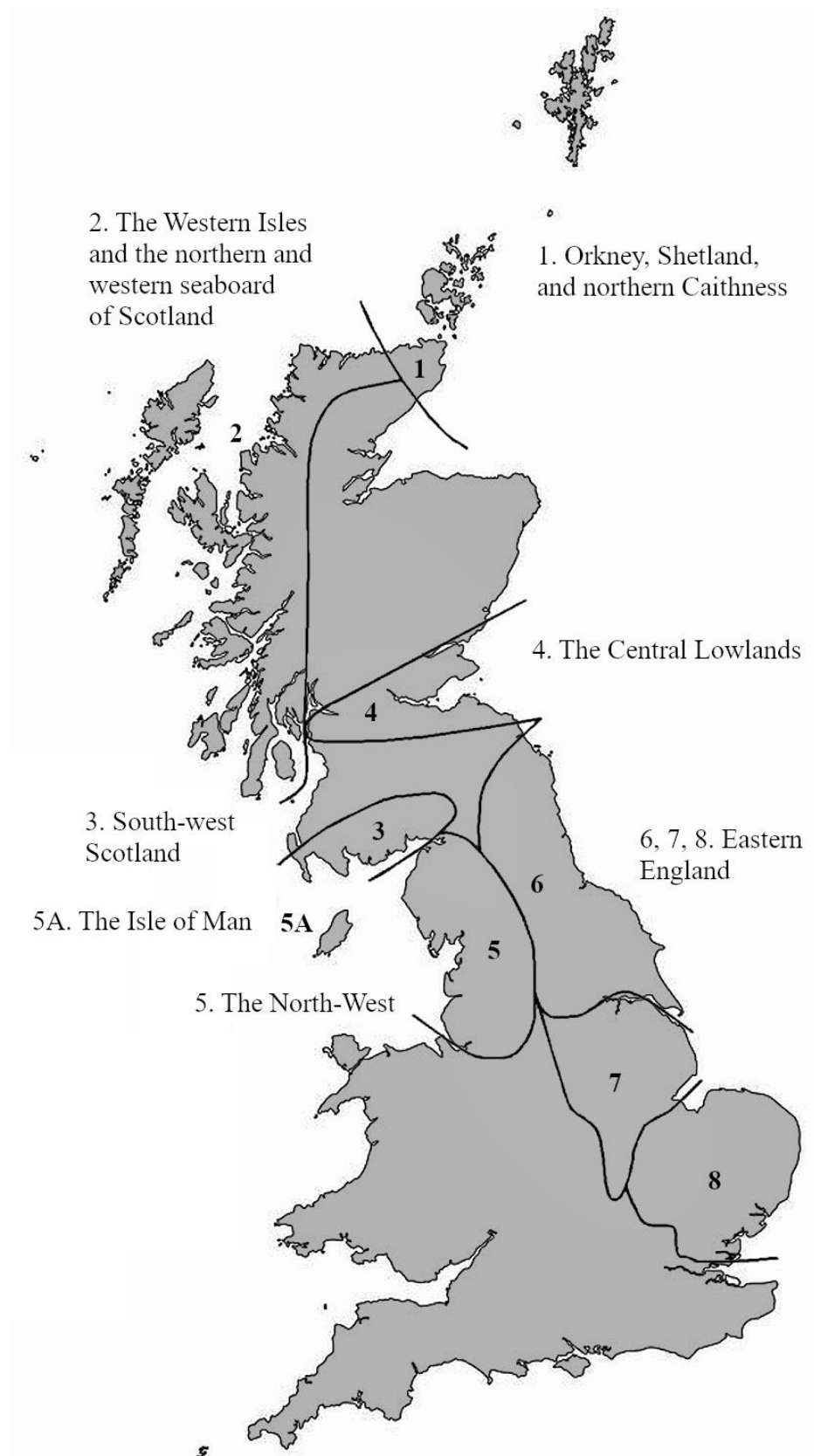


Figure 8: Map showing zones of Scandinavian influence in the British Isles, after Fellows-Jensen 2000: 136. See that article for fuller discussion.

Sorbie that shows Gælicisation, as do more clearly the names containing the element *saur* in the Hebridean islands, for example Soroby, Soriby, Soroba and Soropa. Now, however, I would not be entirely averse to grouping the names in Ayrshire together with the six or seven names in Galloway in a revised zone 3 (see Fig. 8) which may show Gaelic-Scandinavian influence.

This would place the *bý*-names in Dumfriesshire in an enlarged zone 4 (see Fig. 8) covering much of Central and Southern Scotland. Simon Taylor (1995: 155) has earlier pointed to six *bý*-names in Fife (Corbie, Gedsby, Humbie, Sorbie, Weathersbie and Weddersbie) that might conceivably point to a settlement in the tenth century from the Danelaw, for they all have parallels in the Danelaw and were isolated farmsteads on marginal land lying no more than four miles from the sea. He later (2004) looked at the *bý*-names in a Scotland-wide context including scattered names in other Central and Southern areas where Lowland Scots was spoken (cf. Taylor with Markús 2009: 228). He confirms that there was an influx of settlers into Lowland Scotland from Northern England and suggests that these men may have been brought there by the Scottish kings or other great landowners who had given them sanction to take over lands which had been occupied and worked at an earlier date. He has also, however, had to admit that the Harrays of the Sorbie in Galloway first acquired the lands where Sorbie in Fife is situated, in the late eighteenth century. Since the earliest record of the Fife Sorbie is from c.1860, it is clear that this is an extremely late instance of analogical naming.

Several of the proposed analogical *bý*-names seem to be based on names whose forms in England had developed from earlier forms in which their etymological significance had been more obvious. The Busbys referred to as *ii Buschebi* in Domesday Book (380va) are Great and Little Busby in Yorkshire, for example. All the Domesday references are spelt *Buschebi* and it is reasonable to interpret the name as meaning ‘scrub farm’ from the word *busk* or its *ia*-derivative *buski*. An analogical Busby in Menteith turns out to be a ‘ghost’-name arising from a misreading of Rusky or Ruskie.⁶ It is particularly difficult for those interested in settlement history in Scotland to avoid chasing red herrings and I can only conclude by admitting that in my wanderings to and with the English Place-Name Society I have chased not a few of these, most recently this one in Menteith.

The Humbys and Humbies all probably take their name from two places in Lincolnshire. Great Humby is recorded in Domesday Book

⁶ Cf. McNiven 2011: 38 and 509, where it is shown that the form Busby would seem to be a misreading of the name Rusky/Ruskie in a charter recorded in Sir William Fraser’s *The Red Book of Menteith* (1880: 2 227) (original not so far located).

(361ra) as *Humbi*. Ekwall proposed that the specific might be a Scandinavian personal name *Hundi*, and I accepted this suggestion in 1968, but there is no certain evidence for the existence of this personal name in the Danelaw and I therefore suggested in 1978 that the specific might be a topographical appellative *húnn* in a sense such as ‘block, clump’. Now, however, I am more inclined to treat it as a form developed from the genitive plural of the appellative *hundr* ‘dog’, on analogy with some of the forms considered as being of this origin in the name Hanby. This was borne by a hamlet on the edge of the marshes in the parish of Welton le Marsh in Candleshoe Wapentake. It is recorded in Domesday Book as *Hundebi* (351va), *Hunbia* (351vb) and *Hūnbi* (375rb) and in the Lindsey Survey as *Hunbi* (20). Later forms recorded by the EPNS are *Hambia* c.1150, *Hundeby* 1201, 1210. The name survives as that of Hunby Hall in the first edition of the one-inch Ordnance Survey Map in, I think, the form, Hunby Hall, but clearly as Hanby Hall on the 7th series map. The name is not treated in Cameron’s popular dictionary. I suggested in 1978 that the explanation of both Hanby and Humby may be that dogs were kept there. I became more certain about this when I looked at the entries for the Humbies in Scotland, where Humbie in West Lothian is recorded in 1290 as *Hundeby*, while the earliest form for Humbie in East Lothian is c.1250 *Hundeby* (Macdonald 1941: 42).

All of which seems to show that settlers looking for suitable names for new assarts in Scotland centuries after the end of the Viking Age seemed to be perfectly happy to choose a name in *-bý* without having any clear conception of the semantic significance of the name or of the site or sites bearing the name in England.

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