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For the first time, abbreviations for counties, languages, county place-name surveys, and other frequently-cited publications can be found in the back of this volume.

The Bibliography for 2017 will appear in *The Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 51 (2019).

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Overview

FaNBI is the product of a major research project based at the Bristol Centre for Linguistics of the University of the West of England in Bristol. It is a collective work with Patrick Hanks as editor-in-chief, Richard Coates as principal investigator and Peter McClure as principal etymologist. They and their collaborators are to be congratulated on a remarkable intellectual achievement which will remain a standard work of reference for philologists, historians and genealogists for many years to come.

The need for a modern successor to Reaney and Wilson's surname dictionary (DBS, DES) has long been felt. A major defect of Reaney and Wilson was that it contained a good many Middle English forms, but in a substantial number of cases lacked entries for the later Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. Consequently, it has a curiously disjointed appearance, often with no continuous run of forms to link the medieval spellings with the modern surnames to which they are supposed to belong. A further defect is that Reaney and Wilson give no information about the regional distribution of surnames. As the title of the third edition of Reaney's dictionary (DES) indicates, the work is primarily concerned with English surnames and does not deal with the new surnames resulting from twentieth-century immigration. It is true, as is indicated by FaNBI (**1** ix), that there are standard works on surnames in Scotland, Ireland and Wales, but FaNBI is the first comprehensive dictionary covering the whole of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. FaNBI has a substantial introduction by Hanks, Coates and McClure, with contributions by Harry Parkin (**1** ix–lxi), which is followed by an eminently useful glossary of linguistic and other terms (**1** lxiii–lxxiii), the list of sources (**1** lxxv–cxvii)

[1] with Paul Cullen, Simon Draper, Duncan Probert, Kate Hardcastle, Harry Parkin, Kay Muhr & Liam Ó hAisibéil.
[2] **1** Aaron–Cushing; **2** Cushion–Joynson; **3** Joynt–Radclyffe; **4** Raddie–Zwart.

and the list of abbreviations for counties and islands (**1** cxix–cxx). This preliminary matter is followed by the dictionary itself.

An irritating feature of the Reaney–Wilson dictionary is that several relatively frequent surnames are omitted, an example being **Insley**, which is quite well attested in the northern Midlands (St, Db). FaNBI seeks to rectify this by including entries for almost all family names with more than one hundred bearers in the UK census of 2011. The total number of entries exceeds 46,000, though more than half of these are variants. Using data supplied by Prof. Richard Webber of King's College, London, the FaNBI research group was able to compare the frequency and distribution of each long-established UK surname with those in the census of 1881. FaNBI also gives due attention to European and non-European family names introduced into the United Kingdom as a result of recent immigration. For Ireland, the comparable data is from the period 1847–64.

New evidence provided by FaNBI

FaNBI allows us to link the nineteenth-century material with that of earlier periods and we occasionally find evidence for a remarkable degree of regional continuity. For example, in 1881 the surname **Thirkettle** (**4** 2652a) has its main location in Nf, but is also noted in Sf, while its variant **Thurkettle** (**4** 2663c) is also concentrated in East Anglia, especially Sf. This surname is a reflex of the Anglo-Scandinavian pers.n. *Þurcetel, -ketel* < ON *Þorketill,* a name which is well attested in medieval East Anglia (see Insley 1994: 414–19). Similarly, in 1881 **Thurmott** (**4** 2664b) was chiefly found in Sf, where its etymon, the Scandinavian pers.n. *Þormóðr*, occurs in medieval records (Insley 1994: 421–22). Again **Orme** [var: **Orrom**, **Orum**, **Oram**, **Owram**, **Ormes**] (**3** 2006b), whose main areas in 1881 were La, Db and the North West Midlands, goes back to the Scandinavian pers.n. *Ormr* which was especially common in medieval Lancashire, cf. such forms as *Ormo filio Magni*, *Ormo filio Sueni* in the witness list of the earliest of the de Hoghton collection of deeds and papers now kept at the Lancashire Archives in Preston, a record of c.1160 (Lumby 1936: 1–3).

We also find regional correlations between locative surnames and the place-names from which they derive. For example, FaNBI (**1** 230a–b) records that the surname **Billington** was chiefly found in La, Ch, St and Bd in 1881. This fits well with the distribution of the place-name BILLINGTON, which is found in La, St and Bd.

The material in FaNBI is also useful for historical dialectology. For instance, OE [ɑ:] < Germanic [ai] is realized as [ɔ:] in the Southern and Midland dialects of Middle English and as [a:] in the Northern dialect

(Luick 1914–40: 358–60 [§ 369]). Illustrative of the process is the Middle English occupational term *rǭper(e)* [var: (Northern) *rāper*] 'a maker of ropes, cables, cord or string; a rope seller' (MED, q.v.) which has given rise to the family names **Raper** and **Roper**. The evidence from the 1881 census provided by FaNBI (**4** 2215c, 2280c) is what we would expect; namely, that the Northern variant **Raper** is largely confined to Y and Du, while **Roper** was much more widespread throughout England, occurring particularly in the WRY and La, areas which belong to the North-West Midland rather than the Northern dialect area.

According to FaNBI (**4** 2299a), the locative surname **Rudge** < OE *hrycg* 'ridge' was mainly found in Gl, Wo, St and Wa in 1881. The editors of FaNBI take the ME form of OE *hryċġ* with <u> spellings to be a West Midland variety. This would fit with the 1881 distribution of the surname. We should note that <u> here stands for ME [u]< OE [y] before [ʤ] (cf. Jordan 1968: 67 [§ 43.2]).

The Southern and South Midland voicing of initial [f] in ME (see Dietz 1989: 161–65) is reflected in **Voden** [var: **Vodden**, **Vowden**, **Voaden**] (**4** 2803b), a side-form of **Foden** (**2** 943a–b), a locative surname deriving from the lost *Fodon* in Peover Ch. The material in FaNBI shows a quite clear regional differentiation. In the 1881 census, the unvoiced **Foden**-type is found mainly in La and Ch and also in St, while the voiced variant occurs mainly in D with further examples in Co and Glamorgan.

Turning to earlier material, FaNBI has examples of the unvoiced type covering the period 1280–1814, while the voiced variant is represented by forms of the period 1579–1766. The voiced type is attested in Co, D and Ha and, as FaNBI (**4** 2803b) indicates, it must have been the result of the introduction of **Foden** in the South-West due to post-medieval immigration from the North-West. Such examples show the value of FaNBI as a tool for dialect research, possibly used in conjunction with the material and results provided by the *Survey of English Dialects*.

Conclusions

FaNBI has benefited from modern methods of electronic data storage and retrieval and from the insights of corpus linguistics about the management of large bodies of data. Inevitably, with a work of such magnitude, some errors of detail have crept in. For example, a little more attention could have been given to more recent work on Continental Germanic personal names. Forssner (1916) is still a standard work, but it could have been augmented by newer Continental literature, in particular, that concerned with the personal nomenclature of extensive texts, such as the confraternity books and *libri memoriales*, for example, the *Verbrüderungsbuch* of

Reichenau, or the Carolingian polyptyques, such as those of Saint-Germain des Prés and Saint-Remi of Rheims. More emphasis should have been given to the linguistic features of the material. Etymology is obviously of primary importance, but more discussion of historical dialectology and phonology would not have gone amiss.

Comments on some individual names can be found in the Appendix to this review. These observations about various entries do not in the least detract, however, from the value of this monumental work. On the contrary, they clearly illustrate its potential as a research tool. In particular, its wealth of material will make it invaluable for historical dialectologists, place-name scholars, local historians and family historians alike. We can be grateful to Patrick Hanks, Richard Coates and Peter McClure and their collaborators for providing us with a definitive work which will be an essential starting point for the linguistic and historical evaluation of surname material in the years to come.

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Appendix: Comments on individual entries in FaNBI

Caunce (**1** 458b–c)
FaNBI points out that the main location of this surname in 1881 was La and interprets it as a 'Norman English, Anglo-Norman French dialect variant of **Chance**'. The following early examples are given: [Rob.] *Cauns* 1366 (La), [Roger] *Caunce* 1440 (Db). The account of FaNBI needs to be clearer. In northern Normandy, Picardy and Artois, Vulgar Latin [c] is realized as [k], whereas in Central French, including the language of Paris and the Île-de-France, it develops to [tʃ] (eleventh–twelfth centuries) and then to [ʃ] (thirteenth century) (Fouché 1966: 555–57, esp. 555, 556 notes 1 and 3). <au> in *Cauns*, *Caunce* is an Anglo-French orthographic feature standing for nasalized [ã] (see Berndt 1960: 103).

Chettleburgh (**1** 488a)
The editors interpret this name as a locative surname from either CHITTLEBURN in Brixton D (*Chicheleburgh* 1302) or CHITTLEBIRCH FARM in Sedlescombe Sx (held by Wymark *de Chitelbuch'* c.1250). However, the surname's main GB location in 1881 was in Nf and the early forms of the period 1381–1778 are all from Nf and Sf. Perhaps significantly, the editors cite references to Suffolk place-names. In view of this, we can take

the base to be a locative surname derived from KETTLEBURGH Sf. The place-name is normally interpreted as a compound of OE *ċetel*, used topographically to denote a valley or a hollow, and OE *be(o)rg* 'hill'. The early forms of the surname of the period 1381–1778 all have initial <Ch> indicating a pronunciation [tʃ], whereas the early forms of the place-name indicate a pronunciation [k], probably the result of Scandinavian influence. Cf. the forms given by Dict Sf 83: *Ketelbiria*, *Ketlebere*, *Ketdesbirig* (sic) 1086, *Chetelbergia* (with Anglo-Norman <Ch> for [k]) c.1135, *Ketelberga* 1189, *Ketelberge* 1210, *Ketelberwe* 1235, *Kettleberg'* 1254, *Kettlesburgh* 1327, *Ketilbergh* 1335, *Ketylbergh or Ketylberowshill* 1486, *Ketylberghł* 1524, *Kittleborough* 1674, *Kettleborough* 1783. The surname forms make it clear that initial [tʃ] and initial [k] must have coexisted for some time in the Middle English period before a process of selection resulted in the former being retained in the surname and the latter being the accepted norm for the place-name. This process would have been facilitated by semantic dissociation.

Dietrich (**2** 722a)
This name is, as the editors point out, an import from Modern German. They derive it from 'the Germanic personal name *Tederich* (*Theudoricus*), composed of the elements *theud* "people", "race" + *rīc* "power(ful), rich"'. They go on to remark that the surname is common in central and eastern Europe, particularly in the western Slavic lands, while the forename 'occurs in a wide variety of local forms, especially in northern Germany'. The base is Germanic **Þeuđa-rīkaz* (Gothic **Þiuda-reiks*), a compound of Germanic **þeuđō* f. 'people, nation' and **rīkaz* m. 'ruler' or **rīkaz* adj. 'powerful' (see Feilitzen 1937: 348–49). The form *Tederich* is not acceptable. The correct historical forms are: Latino-Frankish *Theudericus*, OHG *Theotrîh*, MHG *Dietrich*, *Dieterich*, OSax *Thiadrîc*, late OSax *Thiedrîc*, MLG *Di(e)derik* (cf. Rooth 1949: 142–61; Seibicke 1996–2007: **1** 508–10). The name was exported from the Low German areas to Scandinavia (cf. Danish *Didrik*), but in Slavonic areas outside the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire, it was generally borne by German immigrants.

Drewer [var: **Drower**] (**2** 765b)
The editors' interpretation of ME (OFr) *Droart*, *Drouart*, etc., as a reflex of ContGerm **Drōghard* goes back to Kalbow (1913: 140), as reiterated by Forssner (1916: 61), and corresponds to that of Reaney (DES 142a). As is indicated by forms in *Druardus*, *Druwardus*, this is phonologically improbable. More to the point is Feilitzen's interpretation (1963: 49, s.v.

'Druwardus') that we are concerned with a reflex of either Old Low German **Thrūthward* or Old Low German **Drūtward*.

Duddle [var: **Duddell**] (**2** 773c, 773b)
This surname is explained as: (i) the OE pers.n. *Duddel*, a diminutive of *Dudda*; (ii) a hypocoristic form of a byname, ME **dod*, a word possibly denoting a lumpish or thickset person. OE *Dud(d)el* is represented by *Duddel* (witness in the settlement of dispute, Canterbury) 844 (17) S 1439 and by DVDEL (moneyer, Exeter, Æthelred II) (Smart 1981: 27). Note also the *i*-mutated variant *Dyddel* (witness to the will of Badanoð Beotting [Kentish]) 845 x 853 (m9) S 1510. Given the geographical and chronological proximity of the *Duddel* of S 1439 to the *Dyddel* of S 1510, it is tempting to assume that these two spellings refer to the same person. If so, the form from S 1510 is to be preferred, since this is a contemporary record. In the 1881 census, **Duddell** is mainly found in Sa and St, while **Duddle** is characteristic of La. In La south of the Ribble, Sa and St, the ME reflex of OE [y] is represented by <u>, so that where these surnames derive from the pers.n., we are ultimately concerned with *Dyddel* rather than *Duddel*. However, FaNBI plausibly suggests that (ME) examples of the byname *Dodel*, *Dudel* may be reflexes of an ancestor of seventeenth-century slang *doddle*, *doodle* 'foolish fellow' (cf. Colloquial German *Dödel* m. 'simpleton'). In the case of [Simon] *Dodul* 1275 (Wo), the byname may stand for a locative, ME (West Midland) [*atte* or *de*] **Dod(de)hull(e)*, with the sense '[one who dwells at] a round-topped hill', cf. EPNE **1** 133, s.v. 'dod'.

Inglett (**2** 1379b)
As the second of two etymologies, we have the following: 'English relationship name from the Middle English personal name *Ingelot*, a diminutive of *Ingel(d)* or of Anglo-Scandinavian names as *Ingelbald* and *Ingelbert*'. A Lincolnshire form *Willelmus filius Ingelot* is cited from the Pipe Roll of 1200. OE *Ingeld*, *Ingild* was extinct long before the Middle English period and Scandinavian *Ingialdr* gave rise to *Ingald*, *Ingold* in Middle English (cf. FaNBI **2** 1377b–c, s.n. **Ingall**). The names *Ingelbald* and *Ingelbert* are not Anglo-Scandinavian, but Continental Germanic (see Forssner 1916: 71–72). *Ingelot* is a hypocoristic form of *Ingelbald*, *Ingelbert*, etc., formed with the French diminutive suffix *-ot*.

Ingram [var: **Ingrem**, **Ingrams**, **Ingraham**] (**2** 1380b)
Reaney (DES 249a) gives the base as 'O[ld] G[erman] *Engel-*, *Ingelramnus*, *-rammus* "Angle-raven", O[ld] Fr[ench] *Enguerran*,

Engerran'. FaNBI takes the etymon to be 'the Anglo-Norman personal name *Ingeram* (Old French *Enguerran, Engerran*; Continental Germanic *Engelramnus, Ingelramnus, Engelrammus, Ingelrammus*).' The derivation of OFr *Enguerrant* from *Engel-, Ingelramnus* < *Angilramnus* goes back to a suggestion of Kalbow (1913: 84), but *Ingeram* is rather a reflex of [West] Frankish *Ingo-ramn* < Germanic **Inʒu-, *Inʒw(i)a-hraƀna-* (see Haubrichs 2014: 116). Cf. the following early forms: *Ingramno orfanolo, filio Chaldedramno, Ingramno, Ingoramno* 694 (original) *Placitum* concerning property at Bayencourt (dép. Oise, arr. Compiègne, cant. et comm. Ressons-sur-Matz) (Kölzer 2001: no. 141); *Ingramnus* (*servus* on the estate of Saint-Germain-de-Secqueval [formerly dép. Seine-et-Oise, now dép. Yvelines] belonging to the Abbey of Saint-Germain des Prés) 820x829 *Polyptychon Irminonis* (Longnon 1886–95: **2** 309; Hägermann 1993: 185); *Ingeravan* 11th Ghent (Tavernier-Vereecken 1968: 35). *Ingelramn* may be a variant of *Ingeram* with *-l*-extension (see Haubrichs 2014: 120), but it can equally be a variant of *Engelramn* < **Angil-ramn*. A convergence of *Ingeram* with *Engelramn*/*Ingelramn* is also conceivable.

Rudkin [var: **Rutkin**, **Rukin**, **Rootkin**, **Rodican**, **Rudkins**] (**4** 2299b)
FaNBI takes this name to be either a nickname formed from ME *rud(de)* 'red' + the diminutive suffix *-kin* or a ME pet form of the Scandinavian fem. pers.n. *Rudda*. The latter can be ruled out as a source of the first element of **Rudkin**. ON *Rudda* is extremely rare, being recorded only once as a fictional name in Lind's compendium of Old Norse personal names (Lind 1905–15: 858). The first alternative is the correct one and we can compare **Ruddock** (**4** 2298b–c), a nickname from ME *ruddok(e)* 'the European robin redbreast [*Erithacus rubecula*]' (cf. MED, s.v. 'ruddok(e)').

Snape [var: **Snap**, **Snapp**, **Snepp**, **Sneap**, **Snapes**] (**4** 2479a–b)
FaNBI divides this name-group into two categories. The first is a Northern variety derived by FaNBI from ME *snap* (Scand. **snap*) 'poor or winter pasture'. In 1881, **Snape** was mainly found in La, but also occurred in St, Wa, Ch, Db and WRY. Minor names giving rise to this locative surname include SNAPE in Ormskirk La, SNAPE in Well NRY and SNAPE in Sowerby WRY and earlier examples of [*de, del*] *Snape* in WRY and La span the period 1296–1609 (FaNBI **4** 2479b). *Snape* is the usual form, though FaNBI also cites [Willelmus] *Snaype* from the Poll Tax of 1379. The byname/surname *Snaype* in the form of 1379 would seem rather to belong to ME *snaip(e)* '? disgraceful, ignominious, ? bitter, severe'. The second category postulated by FaNBI (**4** 2479b) is based on ME *snap*, *snep* (OE

snæp*), a term possibly with the sense 'boggy piece of land'. FaNBI suggests that this term may be the base of SNAPE Sf and of the minor names called *Snap* and *Snape* in Ch, D, Nt, Sx and W, though, as FaNBI concedes, it is difficult to separate the two categories of the **Snape-group from each other.

Early forms of FaNBI's second category spanning the period 1240–1862 are known from Ch, Db, Hu, K, Lo, Nf, Sf, St, Sx, W and Wa. The following variants are listed: *Snappe*, *Snap(p)*, *Snape*, *Sneppe*, *Snepp*. *Sneap*. According to FaNBI, SNAPE (FARM) in Weston Ch is the likely source of the surname in St. The **Snape**-group was examined by Löfvenberg (1942: 192–93, 193–94, s.vv. 'Snape', 'Sneppe'). He took the base of **Snape** to be OE **snæp*, **snapa* (**snape* ?) which he suggested originally had the sense 'projecting point or piece of land', 'wedge-shaped strip of land' , but later possibly acquired the meaning 'strip of wood' or 'strip of boggy land' (Löfvenberg 1942: 193). The Northern sense 'poor or winter pasture' is a further specialization. The Modern English pronunciation of **Snape**, [sneip], implies ME **snāpe*, which would have developed either from OE **snapa* or from OE **snæpe*, early ME **snape*, the dative-locative of OE **snæp*, early ME **snap*, through the operation of open-syllable lengthening in early Middle English. The variant **Snap(p)** is a straight development of ME **snap* < OE **snæp*. Early forms in *Snappe*, *Sneppe* are more difficult. Löfvenberg (1942: 194) takes forms in *Sneppe* to belong to OE **sneppe*, a *-jōn*-derivative of **snæp* possibly with the sense 'projecting point or piece of land'. The issue is complicated by the appearance of forms in *Snappe*. These would appear to belong to OE **snæppe*. We might then suggest that both **sneppe* and **snæppe* were subject to early (i.e., prior to *i*-mutation) syncope of [j] and that **sneppe* was a Kentish variant in which OE [æ] had been raised to [e] (see Jordan 1968: 50–51 [§ 32]). The <e>-forms in FaNBI **4** 2479b are: *John atte Sneppe* (Wivelridge, in Peasmarsh Sx) 1327; *Johanne Sneppe* (Canterbury K) 1377; *Anna Snepp* (Burwash Sx) 1581. Peasmarsh and Burwash are both in East Sussex not far from the boundary with Kent. The variant **Sneap** is possibly derived from a Middle English byname linked to OE **snǣp* (West Saxon), **snēp* (Anglian, Kentish), a word cognate with ON *snápr* 'fool, dolt' (cf. MED, s.v. 'snēpe').

Tatlock (**4** 2631b)

Although this surname is mainly found in La in the 1881 census, the editors quite rightly reject an earlier suggestion (DES 440b) that the name derives from a Lancashire p.n. Tatlock, since no such p.n. is on record. Consequently, they prefer to leave it unexplained. It can, however, be

connected etymologically with Scots *tatelock* ‘a small lock of hair, wool, etc., matted together’ (SND, s.v. ‘tait’; cf. DOST, s.v. ‘tate, tait’).

Tidman [var: **Tydeman**, **Tiddeman**, **Tiddiman**, **Tidiman**, **Tidyman**, **Titman**, **Tedman**, **Tudman**] (**4** 2668a–b)
The editors give three etymologies for this surname group. The first is ‘the Middle English personal name *Tideman*, *Tedeman* (Old English *Tideman*)’. OE *Tīdmann* occurs as TIDEMAN, the name of a moneyer of Ecgberht (Smart 1981: 73). In the case of the early forms given by FaNBI s.n. (1), we are more likely to be concerned with Low German *Tiedemann* [var: *Tideman*, *Ti(e)man*], a hypocoristic form of names in *Diet-* (Seibicke 1996–2007: **4** 242). This is certainly true of *Tydemannus le Swarte* (MLG *swart* ‘black’) 1300 and *Tydeman de Lubyk* (the Hanseatic town of Lübeck) 1302. As the editors indicate, some early examples of the surname may rather belong to (a) ME *tīthing-man* (OE *tēoðung-mann*) ‘the chief administrative officer of a tithing’ or (b) ME *tīdī-man*, a byname whose first element is ME *tīdī* ‘brave, valiant, skilful, able, virtuous, diligent, upright’.

Winand [var: **Wynands**, **Winant**] (**4** 2917b)
FaNBI derives this name from ‘the Norman French personal name *Wynan(d)*, central Old French *Guinant*, Continental Germanic *Wignand*’ and cites Forssner (1916: 257). Though ultimately of Frankish origin, the personal name *Winand* was well attested in northern Germany in the later Middle Ages, for example, in the Hanseatic towns of Hamburg, Lübeck, Rostock and Stralsund (Insley 2005: 67), and the name might well have been an import from the areas dominated by the Hansa.

Winbolt [var: **Winbow**] (**4** 2917b–c)
FaNBI takes the etymon of this name to be OE *Winebeald*. OE *Wineb(e)ald* is of course quite possible, but perhaps more apposite is ContGerm *Winebald*, attested, *inter alia*, in the name of *Wynebald*, *Winebaldus de Ballon*, lord of Caerleon in Gwent under William II, whose family came from Ballon (dép. Sarthe) in Maine (Feilitzen 1963: 59 and n. 1; Davies 2000: 35).

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Mark McKerracher (2018), *Farming Transformed in Anglo-Saxon England: Agriculture in the long eighth century* (Oxford: Windgather Press). ISBN 978 1 91118 831 5. Paperback, 164 pp. £34.99.

This book is extremely welcome, both because, as the author points out, the farming of early medieval England has hitherto been a neglected area of scholarship, and also because he has himself been a major contributor to the subject in recent years. The book builds upon McKerracher's 2014 doctoral thesis, in which he examined plant remains from two regions of England, the middle and upper Thames valley and East Anglia and its fringes, from the fifth to the ninth century. In that study, he concluded that, although there was a diversification of cereal crops during that time, the changes did not add up to a 'revolution'. Now, however, he does see, if not a revolution, then certainly a transformation. What has happened to change his mind? He has expanded his scope, not geographically or chronologically, but to include a wider range of evidence. The extra data are mainly archaeological: animal bones, pollen, artefacts, landscape studies. A huge amount of information is now available from such sources, making it possible to add much greater detail and nuance to what could be said even a decade ago. McKerracher does refer to written sources, but toponymic and other linguistic evidence is only drawn upon indirectly, via the work, mainly, of landscape historians. Putting all this variety of evidence together, the author now believes that agricultural changes in the