recorded from a boring upon a nominally 'drift-free' area! In the Northumberland village of Edlingham field work by the author in the area between the ancient church (with possible pre-Conquest walling) and a small castle (of late 14th C. origin) has revealed every gradation of soil from light gravelly drift to quite ferocious boulder clay and from sandy loam to water-logged peat - all within a twenty acre field! This could well be the 'site' of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. Drift overlies the landscape in a variable and discontinuous film and even on the coalfield, where the quality of the data is excellent, drift maps have to be used with a cautious understanding of their nature. They represent one possible interpretation of discoverable drift conditions and the same may be said of soil and land-quality maps. Drift deposits do affect soils and settlement by providing varied parent materials, but any scholars seeking to understand settlement would do well to remember that for the Anglo-Saxons the husbanded soils of earlier centuries may have been of pre-eminent importance.[4]

In the present author's view we can only attempt regional appraisals of siting factors and site qualities when many more detailed local studies are available. The topographical interpretation of place-names is fraught with dangers, but because place-names are so intimately associated with settlement and with man's perception of his environment, both natural and cultural, they constitute a vital ingredient of those integrative cross-disciplinary studies which are emerging as particularly productive. In this way the 'common thoughts about common things' of the earlier inhabitants may become rethinkable. There is, however, no more difficult exercise.

Notes

* A shortened version of a paper given on April 16th, 1978, at the tenth conference of the Council for Name Studies.

1. V. Watts, 'Comment on "The Evidence of Place-Names"', by Margaret Gelling, in *Medieval Settlement* ed. P. Sawyer (1976), 218, 219. See also the paper by Margaret Gelling, 200-211.

2. B. K. Roberts, *Rural Settlement in Britain* (1977), 85-9, 117-158.

3. C. C. Taylor, 'Polyfocal Settlement and the English Village', *Medieval Archaeology*, XXI (1977), 189-193; P. Wade Martins, 'The Origins of Rural Settlement in East Anglia' in *Recent Work in Rural Archaeology*, ed. P. J. Fowler (1975), 137-157; B. K. Roberts, *The Green Villages of County Durham*, Durham County Library, Local History Publication, No. 12 (1977); B. K. Roberts, 'Rural Settlement in County Durham: Forms, Pattern and System' in *Social Organisation and Settlement (British Archaeological Reports*, forthcoming).

4. These points can be illustrated by reference to the following maps of the Geological Survey at a scale of 1 : 10,560 relating to Durham villages:

NZ 12 SW   Cockfield village (NZ 1224): note drift free sandstone site (see also 1 inch Drift sheet No. 32), but there are nevertheless 'patches of residual drift' which at 122243 is five feet in thickness. The original focus of the settlement may have been at 129241 (where sandy drift is visible) with a field area centering at 127240. Later expansion (12th or E13thC?) is represented by the row centering on 128243 and from this the present village has grown.

NZ 12 SW   Staindrop village (NZ 1220): nominally on 'boulder clay' (see also 1 inch Drift sheet no. 32) but with 'sandy boulder clays with thin impersistent sand and gravel lenses' beneath the village.

NZ 22 NW   Counden village (NZ 2329): nominally on a 'sandstone, medium grained and current bedded' but with a shaft showing 24 feet of drift at 242297.

NZ 23 SE   Kirk Merrington (NZ 3126): a village of two plan elements. The E-W street occupies an exposed site on the ridge top, the NW-SE street (the settlement of Shelom) occupies a slight valley, facing SW but sheltered from the N and NE winds. This may have been the 'best site', and the inhabitants rendered the ancient rent of cornage. The former ponds found in both villages hint that the sites may not lie upon Magnesian Limestone but on a thin drift veneer.

NZ 33 SW   Bishop Middleham (NZ 3331): this settlement of no great size sprawls across Magnesian Limestone overlain by 'glacial sand and gravel' and 'boulder clay with glacial drift - undifferentiated'!

NZ 36 SE   East Bolden (NZ 3661): the village site embraces 'thin drift, Upper (Pelaw) clay over Middle Magnesian Limestone, exposed Magnesian Limestone and boulder clay and drift, undifferentiated'.

B. K. ROBERTS

University of Durham.

THOUGHTS ON THE FRENCH CONNECTIONS OF MIDDLE-ENGLISH NICKNAMES

' ... car je ne sauroie tant escrire que on n'en trouveroit toudis plus
a escripre, qui paine y vorroit mettre; car li encres n'est mie kiers et li
pappiers est mout deboinares ...'

Le Livre des mestiers de Bruges, ed. J. Gessler, p.51.

I

Middle-English bynames, especially nicknames, often involve French
etymologies. Naturally, many of the Anglo-Norman feudal aristocracy took
as bynames, which early evolved into hereditary surnames, either continental
noms d'origine or French sobriquets; but these, in the present context, will
be disregarded. Less predictably, a French element also appears in the nick-
names of humbler people,[2] not only in the great cosmopolitan cities like
Winchester,[1] Canterbury,[2] and London,[3] but also, for instance, in the villages
of West Norfolk.[4]

At first sight, French elements among the nicknames of twelfth- and
thirteenth-century English townsfolk may seem unremarkable, given the general
French influence on the Middle-English language; necessarily, a gallicized
vocabulary would generate some gallicized nicknames. Yet the background may
be less simple. Often a French term occurs far earlier as a nickname than it
does as a loanword in the extant English literary and sub-literary records.
In itself such a situation is acceptable enough, for, on the one hand, nick-
names are widely acknowledged to provide antedatings of purely native terms[5]
and, on the other, thirteenth-century English records are far too sparse to
allow us to dogmatize about the chronology of loanwords. Beyond doubt some
nicknames do offer the earliest extant records of French loans into English.

There are, however, further discrepancies between nicknames and general
vocabulary. For one thing, early literary records – for instance, the Final
Continuation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (c. 1155)[6] and the Ormulum (late
twelfth century) – show French lexical influence as far less dominant and
pervasive than would be suggested by the frequent French nicknames recorded
at comparable dates among some groups of ordinary townsfolk; even the
vocabulary of the strongly gallicized Ancrene Wisse (c. 1225) shows a French
element amounting to little more than 10%,[7] as against the 40% or so which
might apparently be deduced from some nickname patterns. As a further twist,
some of the French nicknames commonest in medieval England involve terms
apparently not figuring at all as loanwords in the extant literary records
(and, although for colloquial Middle English we can barely speak, common sense
warns against conceiving of it as richer in French loanwords than the literary
language was[8]): thus, Basset 'short-legged', Blanchard 'whitish', Blund and
Blundel 'blond', Corbeil 'basket', Germoun 'moustache', Muissun 'sparrow',
Picot 'pick-axe', Pinel 'small pine-tree', Poulleyn 'colt', Roussel 'reddish';
others, like Cheverel 'kid(-leather)', Cokin 'rogue', Cordel 'rope', Garegate
'throat', Sorel 'reddish', involve terms rare in English, whose currency was
either limited or specialized. So, did some Middle-English nicknames of
French origin arise from something other than general lexical influence?

A few of the apparent 'nicknames', such as Picot and Roussel, were in
fact in use as independent, quasi-'baptismal' names so early, indeed well
before the time of the Domesday Inquest,[9] that they are best classed as such.
Their appearances as bynames may therefore be taken as patronymic rather than
characteristic. The ambiguity involved is not unlike that posed for toponymists
by elements potentially indentifiable either as appellatives or as personal
names.

More excitingly, most French nicknames recorded for townsfolk in England
find exact parallels among those current on the continent itself: thus, of
French nicknames found in late-twelfth-century urban rentrolls from Canterbury
cathedral priory, scarcely one fails to find an analogue among those collected
from the medieval records of northern and north-eastern France.[10] Much the
same proves true of other districts and other social milieux so far examined:
for instance, for the nicknames current in West-Norfolk villages during the
thirteenth century (as preserved in the bede-roll compiled c. 1300 for Gaywood
Hospital, near Lynn).[11]

Admittedly, speaking so categorically of 'northern and north-eastern'
France may seem rash, or unduly influenced by the geographical scope of the
studies readiest to the investigator's hand. For byname-patterns, far from
being circumscribed by geographical boundaries, followed a common West-
European tradition. This appears very clearly in all modern work. Patently,
the categories used by Reaney in his Origin of English Surnames (1967) corres-
pond closely to Dauzat's in Les noms de famille de France (1945). Moreover,
time after time comparison between independent and narrowly localized studies
reveals similarities of semantic range too great to be easily attributable
just to the investigative traditions shared by the workers. For 'Romania' we
may compare, for example, not only the studies of Michaëlsson and others on
the Parisian region, the series of papers by Carrez on names from the district
round Dijon, the work of Fr Vallet and Marguerite Gonon on the Forez and that
of Marie-Thérèse Morlet and others on Picardy and on various individual towns
of north-eastern France but also Aebischer's study of family-names in Fribourg
and even, in spite of some idiosyncratic features, the work of various
scholars on Italian materials:[12] all share a fundamental pattern of meanings,
which closely resembles that seen in medieval England in native forms as well[15]
as in borrowed ones.[13] Moreover, in the Low Countries[14] and in the Rhineland
hardly less than in England the recorded nicknames, whether native formations
or loans from French, likewise conform to these general semantic patterns – a
consensus almost tempting one to theorize about 'the West-European view of human
nature'.

Yet, even though forms collected in Burgundy or in the Massif Central
may furnish semantic analogues to the French nicknames current in England,
they quite clearly cannot represent their sources, for dialectal differences
are patent both in sound-systems and in vocabularies. In fact, and far from
unexpectedly, the dialectal features of most French nicknames found in England
point to derivation either from what later became 'standard' French, the
language of the Parisian region, or else specifically from Norman and Picard
forms. Luckily, secondary work on the personal names of these districts is
advanced enough to allow expeditious checking of continental parallels and
analogues for the nicknames recorded in England. Such checks as have so far
been made show high levels of coincidence;[16] and further work among the
materials preserved for both sides of the Channel may well reinforce this
impression.

Natural enough though it seems for French nicknames recorded in England
to find parallels in parts of France which were not only the handiest geogra-
phically but also had close commercial ties with England, the problems are not
solved. The question remains: how exactly did French nicknames become so very
common in England, far commoner, that is, than general lexical influence would
have suggested? Answering this question is hampered by our ignorance about
the 'English' bearers of French nicknames: how many of them were of French
birth, how many of descent at least partly French, and how many purely English.
Certainly French nicknames now and then qualify baptismal names which look
distinctively English;[17] but by the later twelfth century baptismal names of
continental types were in such regular use among all the inhabitants of England
as no longer to afford any basis for distinguishing the 'nations'. We are
thrown back on hypothesis.

The possibilities are various. Scribal translation might be alleged, and no doubt was responsible for some forms recorded; but the constant exact coincidences between the forms current in England and the continental ones tell against adducing this as a general explanation. Perhaps French/English bilingualism was so widespread, at least among the merchant class, that French nicknames were freely bandied about in English market-places; that might well account for the occasional combinations of French nicknames with English forenames. A bilingualism so widespread would, however, seem itself to be in need of some explanation. Now, ignorant though we are about indivi- dual townspeople, we do know, from Domesday Book and from other sources, that in the immediate post-Conquest period many English towns and cities contained fair proportions of continental immigrants. North-eastern France would have been a likely source for these immigrants, some of whom would have arrived already equipped with nicknames and all of whom would have been imbued with the well-established nicknaming traditions of their homeland. That movement of population would explain not only the Anglo-French nicknames exactly paralleled on the continent but also the probable tendencies to bilingualism just postulated.

To some extent the frequent French nicknames found in England may, then, afford evidence of immigration. How far quantitative interpretation of them may ever be possible needs deeper consideration. Certainly the introduction of the French tradition might imply a substantial French presence, with all that that would mean for language and for culture in general. Yet, owing to the prestige of all things French, such nicknames, once introduced, would have been likely enough to have been taken up by native English people, just as forenames and general vocabulary were - for, as we have already seen, the three categories cannot indeed be regarded as wholly distinct. That there was originally a strong French presence in town after town cannot, I think, be doubted, and it gives a more mercantile cast to the concept of 'coming over with the Conqueror'.

II

Perusing a whole corpus of byname - studies ought to produce more than just a card-index full of parallels and analogues; more even than hypotheses about migration-patterns. So, have French anthroponymical studies any wider lessons for us, about attitudes and techniques?

Speaking of 'French' studies is in a sense misleading, because work on French personal names, like that on English ones, has so largely been done by the great Swedish schools of anthroponymy, so that Michaëlsson's pioneering studies of names in medieval Paris correspond to Ekwall's on London. Nonetheless, the two bodies of work betray some differences in emphasis.

The collocation of Michaëlsson, whose first volume on Paris appeared in 1927, with Ekwall, whose Early London Personal Names came out twenty years later, suggests that students of French personal names were rather earlier than those of English ones to base their work on geographical or archive units rather than on topics; even more strikingly, Longnon's work on the Polyptyque d'Irminon antedates by over forty years von Feilitzen's on Domesday Book.[18] This may partly have been because with English personal names the complex interweaving of so many strands - Scandinavian, Continental-Germanic, and 'Christian', as well as the assorted native formations - demanded much unravelling before any regional corpus of names could be tackled as a whole; and partly, perhaps, because of the local patriotisms inspiring much native French work (both Revue internationale d'onomastique and the bibliographies in Onoma show some studies to be very narrowly localized indeed); and partly also, perhaps, because between the Channel and the Mediterranean dialectal differences are grosser than between the Channel and the Tweed. Now, although

this French precocity has no necessary implications[19] for general achievement, localized schemes of study carry marked advantages, as we too are seeing now that such work is beginning to appear on English names as well. A restricted corpus allows more nearly comprehensive study than could be dreamt of with a wider brief - as is well illustrated by Olof von Feilitzen's mono- graph on the Liber Wintoniensis, on a scale that would never be possible for a nationally-based project; it enables patterns of nomenclature to be seen whole. And, as students of French personal names grasped long since, an accumulation of detailed regional studies allows each new investigation to compare the name-patterns of the chosen district with those of the others previously studied, thus deepening perspective. For English the nature of pioneering work has so far not encouraged work on these lines; but how much comparison can achieve is already made clear by Veronica Smart's monograph on early moneyers' names.[20] Now that reports of work in progress show the regionalized study of English personal names to be at last well under way, we may hope that, soon, enough material will be available for us to follow the students of French names in making comparisons between district and district, town and town. Indeed, with our slower start and consequently fuller basic preparation we might in the end outstrip them; for, whereas the regional studies of French names have varied widely not only in scope and method but especially in systematization and scholarly reliability, we, being guided by the preliminary surveys of Forssner, of Redin, of Tengvik, and, most of all, of von Feilitzen, ought to achieve some consistent accuracy when we come to our own regional work.

In other ways too, French personal-name studies, those of the 'native' school especially, have differed in emphasis from English ones, and particularly from those of the austerely philological Anglo-Swedish school. Most of the early French work - the major studies like those of Dauzat no less than the minor ones such as Lebel's handbook in the 'Que sais-je?' series or the papers by Carrez on the personal names of Dijon - shared a preoccupation with the semantic values and the social implications of by- names, and especially of nicknames; and this preoccupation is echoed, if sometimes in a rather parrotty way, by their more recent followers. In itself, this is not necessarily a strength, being only too compatible with inexact and impressionistic, not to say slapdash, habits of work; but for the more austere practitioners of the Anglo-Swedish school it may nonethe- less offer a salutary reminder that nicknames bear witness to everyday life as well as to phonological development.

As for the recognition and organization of personal-name studies, as distinct from those of place-names, perhaps France may here be half a step ahead. So far England has no journal as comprehensive as the Revue internationale d'onomastique founded by Dauzat in 1947 (originally as Onomastica); for the Journal of the English Place-Name Society is what its title suggests and our own Nomina is in its infancy. Certainly, it scarcely matters that we have never had any official organization comparable with the unhappily short-lived Commission nationale de Toponymie et Anthroponymie set up in 1939; but it is a real lack to have no English centre comparable with the Centre d'Onomastique established in 1961 at the Archives de France, where both a bibliography and a working library are maintained for personal- name studies as well as for place-names (although computer storage is as yet restricted to the latter).[21] In French academic circles, that is to say, personal names usually figure alongside place-names, if not on terms of perfect equality (only a fifth or so of the papers presented to the Société française d'Onomastique concern anthroponymy), at least more prominently than they have usually done among us. At the Durham conference a colleague said to me, 'You're special: you're an anthroponymist!' Flattering as that may sound, it might be better to be less 'special'; and, in so far as French scholars come nearer than we do to treating both categories of name on equal footing, they may well have something to teach us.

Notes

1. See O. von Feilitzen, 'The Personal Names and Bynames of the Winton Domesday', in M. Biddle (ed.) et alii, Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: an Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday, Winchester Studies I (Oxford 1976), pp. 143-229, esp. 219; cf. Clark, in Archives, XIII/58 (Autumn 1977), 84-9, esp. 88.

2. See Clark, 'People and Languages in post-Conquest England', Journal of Medieval History, II (1976), 1-33, esp. 15-21, and 'Quelques exemples de l'influence normanno-picarde sur l'anthroponymie cantorbérienne du XIIe siècle', Revue internationale d'onomastique (to appear in 1979).

3. See E. Ekwall, Two Early London Subsidy Rolls, Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis XLVIII (1951), pp. 26-8, 31-3, also 38-42; but among the twelfth-century London bynames collected by Ekwall the English element predominated overwhelmingly, see Early London Personal Names, Acta XLIII (1947), pp. 134-78, esp. 173.

4. See Clark and Owen, 'Lexicographical Notes from Lynn', Norfolk Archaeology (forthcoming).

5. For references concerning English lexicography, see Clark, 'Some Early Canterbury Surnames', English Studies, LVII (1976), 294-309, esp.294 n.1; also Clark and Owen, 'Lexicographical Notes', passim, and von Feilitzen, 'Winton Domesday', p.229.

   For similar observations concerning other languages, see, for instance: P. Aebischer, Sur l'origine et la formation des noms de famille dans le canton de Fribourg, Onomastica: Biblioteca dell' Archivum Romanicum VI (Geneva 1923), pp. 1-112, esp. p.77; P. Lebel, Les noms de personnes en France (Paris 1946), pp. 125-8; R. Berger, Les anciens noms de famille d'Arras: anthroponymie et lexicologie (Courtrai 1955: offprinted from Annales de la Fédération historique et archéologique de Belgique: 35e Congrès 1953, 107-21), 115 et seq.; A. Castellani, Antroponimia medievale e lingua italiana', VII Congresso internazionale de scienze onomastiche, 3 vols. (Florence 1963), III, 145-51, esp. 147-51 and references there given: D. Kremer, 'Übernamen und Wortgeschichte', Beiträge zur Namenforschung, XII (1977), 125-44 (Romance languages); W. Beele, 'Middelieperse persoonsnamen en de lexicografie van het Middelnederlands', Naamkunde, VII (1975), 82-126.

6. Cf. Clark, 'Studies in the Vocabulary of the Peterborough Chronicle, 1070 - 1154', English and Germanic Studies, V (1952-53), 67-89, esp. 82-4.

7. See Clark, 'Ancrene Wisse and Katherine Group: a Lexical Divergence', Neophilologus, L (1966), 117-24, esp. 118; the figure is confirmed by E. J. Dobson, The Origins of 'Ancrene Wisse' (Oxford 1976), p. 157 and n.2.

8. See further Clark, 'Wið Scharpe Sneateres: Some Aspects of Colloquialism in Ancrene Wisse', Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, LXXIX (1978) (in proof).

9. See P. H. Reaney (rev. R. M. Wilson), A Dictionary of British Surnames, 2nd edn. (London 1976), s.nn. Pickett, Russel; also von Feilitzen, 'Winton Domesday', p. 168 s.n. Picot and p. 215 s.n. Rosellus.

10. See 'Quelques exemples'.

11. See 'Lexicographical Notes'.

12. See, for instance: K. Michaëlsson, Etudes sur les noms de personne français d'après les rôles de taille parisiens, &c., I, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift 1927/4, passim, as there is no chapter devoted to sobriquets; also J. Blottière, 'Surnoms et patronymes du XIe au XIIIe siècle dans le Vexin français, le Pinserais et le Mantois', RIO XXV (1973), 31-44 (? à suivre); H. Carrez, 'Particularités physiques et noms de personne dans la région dijonnaise du XIIe au XVe siècle', Annales de Bourgogne, IX (1937), 97-131, 'Particularités du domicile...', and 'Le vocabulaire de l'alimentation ...', ibid. X (1938), 7-46 and 173-88, 'Les noms d'animaux ...', in Actes et mémoires du Ier Congrès de toponymie et d'anthroponymie (Paris 1939), pp. 116-24, and 'Surnoms évoquant des infirmités ...', Onomastica, I (1947), 41-51; also F. Maillard, 'Les noms de personnes à Cluny en 1309', RIO XXII (1970), 195-212, esp. 209-10; A. Vallet, Les noms de personnes du Forez et confins ... aux XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles (Paris 1961), pp. 174 (cf. 175), 199-200, and M. Gonon, 'Les surnoms en Forez au XVe siècle, d'après les testaments', Bulletin philologique et historique 1970, pp. 27-44, esp. 35-8, 41-3 (for the dialect, see also P. Gardette, 'Le Forez linguistique: terre de contrastes', in Forez et Velay: questions d'histoire et de philologie = Actes du 98e Congrès national des sociétés savantes 1973 (Paris 1975), 7-13); Marie-Thérèse Morlet, Etude d'anthroponymie picarde: les noms de personne en Haute Picardie aux XIIIe, XIVe, XVe siècles (Amiens 1967), also 'Les noms de personne à Amiens au XIVe siècle', Bulletin 1960, pp. 527-52, 'Les noms de personne à Beauvais au XIVe siècle', Bulletin 1955 et 1956, pp. 295-309, 'Les noms de personne dans une communauté rurale au XIVe siècle: Berteaucourt-les-Dames (Somme)', Linguistique picarde, VI (fasc. 19/20) (1966), 2-21, 'Les noms de personne à Corbie au XIVe siecle', Bulletin 1967, pp. 739-78, and 'Les noms de personne à Eu du XIIIe au XVe siècle', RIO XI and XII (1959-1960), esp. XII, 205-19; M.-A. Arnould, 'Les plus anciens rôles d'impôt de la ville de Mons (Hainaut), 1281 - 1299', in Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à M. Karl Michaëlsson (Göteborg 1952), 11 - 30; R. Berger (ed.), Le nécrologe de la Confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras (1194 - 1361), 2 vols. (Arras 1963-1970); P. Bougard and M. Gysseling, L'Impôt royal en Artois (1295 - 1302), Onomastica Neerlandica: Anthroponymica XVIII (Louvain and Brussels 1970); R. Debrie, 'Noms de personne de la région d'Amiens au XIVe siècle: essai d'identification', RIO XXVI (1974), 51-72, esp. 65-8, and 'Noms de personne d'Eterpigny (Somme) au début du XVe siecle', RIO XX (1968), 9-24, esp. 19-23 (in these articles the etymologies may not be wholly reliable); G. Quantin, 'Les noms de personne de la paroisse Saint-Hilaire de Reims au XIVe siècle', RIO VI (1954), 121-35; Aebischer, Fribourg, esp. pp. 77-86; D. Olivieri, I Cognomi della Venezia Euganea, Biblioteca dell' Archivum Romanicum VI, pp. 113-272; also, although Tuscan usage has marked peculiarities, especially in its fondness for nomi augurativi, O. Brattö, Studi di antroponimia fiorentina: il libro di Montaperti (An.MCCLX) (Göteborg 1953), pp. 20-4, 37-43 (the Italian references in particular represent happy finds rather than any attempt at systematic documentation).

13. Cf., however, 'I concetti dei quali ci si serve per denominare il prossimo, sia in bonam partem sia in malam partem, sono in genere gli stessi in tutte le epoche ed in tutte le nazioni': Brattö, Studi, pp. 23-4.

14. See, for instance: J. Lindemans, Brabantse Persoonsnamen in de XIIIe en de XIVe eeuw, Anthroponymica I (Louvain and Brussels 1947); M. Gysseling, Overzicht over de Noordnederlandse Persoonsnamen tot 1225, Anthroponymica

XVI (Louvain and Brussels 1966); C. Tavernier-Vereecken, Gentse Naamkunde van ca. 1000 tot 1253: een bijdrage tot de kennis van het oudste middelnederlands, Bouwstoffen en Studien voor de Geschiedenis en de Lexicografie van het Nederlands XI (Tongres 1968); W. Beele, Studie van de Ieperse Persoonsnamen uit de Stads- en Baljuwsrekeningen 1250 - 1400, 2 vols. (Handzame 1975).

The bilingual nicknaming of the Flemish/French borderlands offers a parallel of some potential interest for Middle English usage, see, for instance; Bougard and Gysseling, L'Impôt royal en Artois; M. Gysseling and P. Bougard, L'Onomastique calaisienne à la fin du XIIIe siècle, Anthroponymica XIII (Louvain and Brussels 1963); and the work of F. Debrabandere on Courtrai, especially Persoonsnamen in het Kortrijkse (1300 - 1350), Anthroponymica XIX (Louvain and Brussels 1971).

15. S. Hagström, Kölner Beinamen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, Nomina Germanica 8 (Uppsala 1949).

16. See Clark and Owen, 'Lexicographical Notes', and Clark, 'Quelques exemples'.

17. See 'People and Languages', p. 21, and cf. Archives, XIII, p. 88.

18. As well as Etudes I (see n.12 above), Michaëlsson's publications on names in Paris include Etudes II, Lexique raisonné des noms de baptême, A - B, Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1936/1, and the editions of Rôles de taille published in Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis in 1951, 1958 and 1962.

See also A. Longnon (ed.), Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés rédigé au temps de l'abbé Irminon, 2 vols. (Paris 1895).

19. See, for instance, K. Michaëlsson,'Questions de méthode anthroponymique', Onomastica, I (1947), 199-204, esp. 199.

20. V. J. Smart, 'Moneyers of the late Anglo-Saxon Coinage 773 - 1016', in Commentationes de nummis saeculorum ix - xi in Suecia repertis II = Kungl. vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademiens handlingar: antikvariska serien XIX (Stockholm 1968), 191-276.

21. I am grateful to Madame Marianne Mulon, of the Archives de France for sending me offprints of her two articles, 'La Société française d'Onomastique, Onoma, XVIII (1974), 554-8, and 'Le Centre d'Onomastique des Archives nationales', Revue historique, CCLV (1976), 237-43, as well as for the reference to the article by D. Kremer cited in n.5.

CECILY CLARK

Cambridge

PROLEGOMENA TO THE STUDY OF IRISH PLACENAMES

The notes which follow are intended mainly for the information of persons outside Ireland for whom the subject of Irish placenames is unfamiliar but they may be of some use to Irish people who have grown up among the names and who take them for granted without knowing much about how they originated or what they represent. The subject will be discussed under eight heads:

1. Languages of origin and transmission

2. Territorial units named

3. New territorial divisions and minor placenames

4. Documentation of placenames

5. The spelling and pronunciation of Irish words

6. Anglicized spelling of Irish placenames

7. The shape of Irish townland names

8. The shape of population names and of Irish barony names.

1. LANGUAGE: Placenames are part of language. To a large degree they are a fossilized part of language, to which they are related in two ways: the language of origin in which the name first arose and the language of transmission through which the name has come down to us in its now familiar form.

1.1 Languages or origin: There are four known languages of origin: Irish, Latin, Norse and English.

1.11 Irish: The vast majority of Irish placenames, over 90 per cent, arose in the Irish language, which we know from six periods:
    (a) Proto-Irish, 4th to 6th centuries, known from inscriptions in the *ogham* script and names in early Latin documents;

    (b) Archaic Irish, 6th/7th centuries, known from early glosses on Latin texts and the earliest portions of the ancient Irish laws;

    (c) Old Irish, 8th/9th centuries, known from a considerable corpus of literature, some of it altered in later transmission;

    (d) Middle Irish, 10th to 12th centuries, known from an expanding corpus of literature contained in the earliest surviving codices and later manuscripts;

    (e) Classical or Early Modern Irish, 13th to 17th centuries, the language of the bardic schools and later literature down to the eclipse of traditional Irish society by the Tudor and Stuart conquests: it was current also in Scotland;

    (f) Recent Modern Irish, since the 18th century, the language of the surviving spoken dialects and modern literature; in this period Scottish Gaelic and Manx have gone their own way as separate languages.

Placenames can have arisen during any of these periods, and some that arose during the earlier periods have since died out and are known only from literary sources.

1.12 Latin: The source of a tiny proportion of ecclesiastical names, e.g. *Sanctus Boscus,* now known in English translation as Holywood (Co. Down).

1.13 Norse: The source of a tiny proportion of mainly coastal names dating from the Viking settlements of the 10th/11th centuries and now surviving in