

in 1660), and they may show no more than vestigial understanding of the local names, rather than true use of the language. The arbitrary addition or loss of Tre- is an especially East-Cornish feature, though it is found elsewhere, including Devon (compare J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, eds. Place-names of Devon, I, [Cambridge, 1931] xxxvi); the folk-etymologies may also be commoner in the east, though that is only an impression: there are also folk-etymologies within Cornish, of course, mainly in the west.

## NOTE

\* This is a shortened version of the paper given on March 27th, 1982, at the XIVth Annual Conference of the Council for Name Studies held at the University College of North Wales, Bangor.

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## THE SCOTTISH BORDER - AN ONOMASTIC ASSESSMENT\*

The purpose of this paper is to examine briefly the various factors involved in the place-names of the Scottish Border, and to survey the work that has taken place in the field over the past few decades. The very nature of the term 'Border' is itself difficult. Normally, we in Scotland expect to regard this as involving the four Scottish counties which border on England - Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Dumfries, these being pre-regionalisation names, of course. But as we will see, the distribution of critical place-name elements necessitates the study of much of southern Scotland, including Galloway, Lothian, and Strathclyde, if we are to assess the entire onomastic situation. The early Anglian settlements, for example, provide place-name evidence well into the region known now as Lothian, as well as in Ayrshire and Galloway, so it is as well to bear this in mind when we are dealing with names in a purely Border context. The fact that boundaries moved constantly in this part of Britain is also important. After the establishment of the present boundary between the two nations, cultural contact continued. The three marches on each side of the Border Line established in the sixteenth century, or earlier, emphasised the natural inclination of the Border population to regard the line on the map as of little consequence when it came to reiving, murder, extortion, and other similar pastimes.

The source material for place-names in this whole area is perhaps less well organised and more obscure than the equivalent data for England. But as Bill Nicolaisen has said in Chapter 2 of his Scottish Place-Names, '. . . it has always been silently understood that, compared with England, Scotland is indeed much poorer as far as early spellings are concerned and that the proportion of names which will at the end of the day remain unexplained or at least difficult to interpret will therefore be higher than in England. The question arises whether this tacit assumption has a basis in fact or whether one is allowed to be more optimistic . . .'. Nicolaisen goes on to point out that although Scotland has nothing to compare with Domesday Book or the Anglo-Saxon Charters, yet she is not without reliable sources which have proved remarkably adequate for the onomastician despite being several centuries younger than the earliest English material. This is especially true of South-East Scotland, as one might expect. Few state documents or registers begin before the thirteenth century, and many of the earliest spelling forms date from the period 1300-1500. The earliest surviving royal charter is one issued by Duncan II in 1094, although there are land-grants and other charters in such sources as the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews (1040-1107). Indeed, the chartularies of the abbeys and the priories yield the main body of early spellings. The monastic foundations of Kelso, Dryburgh, Soutra, and Coldstream, for example, contain invaluable material for onomastic research, as do the collections pertaining to the Priory of Coldingham, the Abbey of Holyrood, and the Regality of Melrose.

In addition, such sources as Bagimond's Roll, a set of Papal accounts relating to a tithe raised in Scotland in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, provides us with many of the earliest spellings of Scottish names. (See Nicolaisen, 1981, and Annie I. Dunlop, 1939.) This has been described as 'the most extensive surviving set of thirteenth-century names attached to places of ecclesiastical significance in Scotland'. Nicolaisen comments that it 'affords us a glimpse not only of the kinds

of names which had been utilized in the naming of church benefices but also of the manner in which names in a particular onomastic field behave and relate to each other, in a datable historical context'.

The prime source for the majority of Scottish settlement names, however, is the *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, known as RMS. This covers the period 1306-1668 in thirteen volumes, and despite some erratic editing in the earlier volumes, provides us with the most useful array of place-name spellings. Other registers like those of the Privy Council (1545-1689) and the Privy Seal (1488-1548) supplement the RMS.

Of course, an English colleague faced with these sources might well regard them as late by English standards. But for the Border and Lothian at least, there is normally sufficient in the way of source material to conduct useful onomastic research. The fact that the earliest spellings of some key names (such as those in Berwickshire in *-hām*, *-ingatūn* and others) are twelfth century or later should in no way discourage us from placing them in their required category in the seventh or eighth century. I should mention here that for Northern Scotland, the sources are on the whole much less comprehensive, and for the Norse areas, sometimes lacking altogether. But even so, it is still possible to make valid judgements on their derivations, even although some so-called 'early' forms date from the seventeenth century. And there is useful comparative material from Norway and Iceland. (The factor of isolation is an important one in Northern Scotland, many dark-age and Mediaeval names having remained largely unchanged as regards pronunciation.)

What have place-name scholars produced for the Border area from this material? Besides Bill Nicolaisen's work on various aspects of nomenclature, which is well known and much respected, several earlier works deserve mention. Firstly, there are the printed works, such as Angus MacDonald's *The Place-Names of West Lothian*, a Ph.D. thesis produced in Edinburgh University in 1937 (published in 1941); Sir Edward Johnson-Ferguson's *The Place-Names of Dumfriesshire* published in 1935, and Sir Herbert Maxwell's *Place-Names of Galloway* (1930). A slim pamphlet by James B. Johnston on the *Place-Names of Berwickshire* was published by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society in 1940. MacDonald's thesis follows a fairly standard format, with names arranged topographically according to parish, much in the same style as early EPNS volumes. It is an authoritative treatment of the material, and although somewhat dated, is a most valuable work. This is also true of Johnson-Ferguson's Dumfries book, which, despite a less methodical format, is still valuable for the number of early forms which it gives. Maxwell's *Galloway* is less accurate and has some shortcomings as far as derivations are concerned, and J. B. Johnston's survey of Berwickshire is limited in scope and usefulness. He, of course, was the author of the *Place-Names of Scotland*, a book which although reprinted several times by public demand, has never been anything but a highly defective piece of amateur onomastics - 'basically' as Nicolaisen puts it, 'a book which in contents and attitude reflects the date of its first publication - 1892'.

To these must be added two unpublished Edinburgh University Ph.D. theses, both of much interest to the area in question - May Williamson's *The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties* (1943) and Norman Dixon's *The Place-Names of Midlothian* (1947). Both of these, like MacDonald's *West Lothian*, use a format and approach very similar to the EPNS, and they provide an excellent

rejoinder to the complaint about the paucity of early sources, so-called, which I mentioned earlier. The Williamson thesis arranges the material by elements, thus adopting a different approach. Its treatment of Scandinavian material naturally requires some up-dating in the light of more recent research by scholars such as Gillian Fellows Jensen. May Williamson has written a short article based on her thesis as recently as 1978, in the *Scottish Literary Journal*, Supplement No. 6.

As far as Celtic Names are concerned, they are adequately dealt with in W. J. Watson's *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (1926) which, although dated, remains the most reliable guide to names of Celtic origin. However, valuable work by John MacQueen on Galloway names and Aidan MacDonald on ecclesiastical names has gone far to supplement Watson's work, and we await the publication on these studies with interest.

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At this point, I want to conduct a brief survey of the basic elements involved in the place-names of the Border area. My Scottish colleagues will be familiar with these, so I apologise to them in advance. However, I hope that our non-Scottish friends will find something of interest in the material. So far as the Anglian names are concerned, they have already been tackled by Bill Nicolaisen in various articles in *Scottish Studies*, and in his book *Scottish Place-Names*. But it is possible in a paper such as this to examine the distributions of the key elements in an attempt to achieve an overall view of the Border situation.

If we look at the Cumbric names first, we can see the relative scarcity of habitational names in the four border counties, although Lothian has a number of names in *-tref*, such as *Niddrie*, *Traprain*, *Tranent*, and *Trabroun*, and there are examples like *Troqueer* in Dumfries, and two examples in Cumberland, *Triermain* and *Troughend*. Names involving *cair* 'fort', 'farm', or 'manor-house' are found in some numbers near the head of the Solway Firth, with a few examples in the upper Tweed valley. Significantly, few of these appear to be near the east coast, or the lower reaches of the Tweed. They are nearly all in upland areas east of the watershed, or in the upper Solway. So far as Cumbric topographic generics are concerned, the most common element found in the Border area is undoubtedly *pren*, 'tree', as in *Prinside* ROX, *Pirnie* ROX, and *Pirn* PEB. We have a couple of *aber* names in Dumfries, *Aberlosk* and *Abermilk*.

When we come to examine the Gaelic names, we find that the generics *cill*, *baile*, and *achadh*, the normal indicators of Gaelic settlement, are virtually absent in the four Border counties, again with the exception of Dumfries. *Bellenden* SLK, is the sole representative, in the central area, well up the Tweed. Similarly, *cill* is absent from the Lothians and the South-East, and *achadh* 'field' shows a similar distribution. Indeed, most of the names of Gaelic origin which do occur in the Border counties contain mostly topographic elements; Watson, using the 1" O.S. as a basis, supplemented by some record names, gives the following numbers: Berwick, 29; Roxburgh, 16; Selkirk, 21 and Peebles, 99. Common topographic terms like *craig*, 'rock' (*Craigover* ROX), *bun*, 'river-mouth' (*Bonjedward* ROX), *ruighe*, 'hill-slope' (*Altrive* SLK), *allt*, 'stream' and *eileirig* 'deer-trap' (*Eildrig* ROX), and *cnoc* 'hillock' (*Knock in Duns* BWK). As is to be expected, the most

southerly and easterly of the four counties mentioned above have the fewest Gaelic names, and Peebles, hilly and more remote, the highest. These are simple observations on the distributions. They clearly reveal the spread of Gaelic influence into the more northerly and westerly fringes of the South-East during the period 900-1100, when Gaelic power was at its height, and before the period when Anglicisation and Normanisation accomplished a dramatic reversal of the spread of Gaelic speech and culture. The fact that these Gaelic names do exist so deep in this strongly Anglian heartland, however, is testimony to Gaelic being in a position of some considerable power during this period.

The Anglian elements reveal a fascinating picture. The lack of spelling forms for most of the names prior to 1100 need not distract us from observing them in their correct historical setting. The only examples in -ingas, Crailing ROX and Simprim BWK are both generally agreed to be of doubtful provenance, although Nicolaisen regards the latter as a more convincing candidate (early forms include Simprinc 1153-65 and Simprig 1159). The earliest Anglo-Saxon element seems to be the -ingahām group, with three examples - Coldingham BWK, Tynningham and Whittingham ELO. These three are well-documented (we have a spelling Coludesburh, apparently a reference to the nearby fortress at St. Abb's Head, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle dated 679); Tynningham is spelt in Tininhami in the Lindisfarne Annals of 756; and Whittingham, although having its earliest documentary form much later than the others (1254), fits in well with parallels in Northumberland and Cumberland.

Names in hām occur some fifteen times in S. E. Scotland, mostly in ROX and BWK. Again, the earliest forms for these appear no earlier than 1050. Examples like Leitholm BWK, Yetholm ROX and Smailholm ROX exhibit the Scots final form -holm, but the local pronunciation in all of these cases comes out as hām, and this is well supported in the early spellings. All of these are situated in the lower Tweed valley, and in East Lothian, with Smallholm DMF and Twynholm KCB, which Bagimond's Roll gives as Tuinham.

The distribution of names in -ingtūn shows a roughly similar pattern to that of hām and -ingahām. There are no other combinations with -ing- to be found in Scotland, apart from tūn and hām. As with the -hām names, the earliest forms tend to be 11th century or later. Edington, Edrington, Mersington, and Renton (1095 Regnington) are examples in BWK, as are Upsettlington and Thirlington. A handful of Lothian examples, like Haddington, Carrington, and Shearington DMF are also possible candidates for this group, but it is perhaps significant that there is a dearth of definite examples outwith Berwickshire.

We may now move on to examine the additional elements, which will be familiar in the extreme, I suspect, to most of our English friends, but some of which have a rarity value in Scotland which renders them of incalculable value. These include word, of which we have only three positive examples - Polwarth BWK, Cessford ROX (Cessworth 1296), and Jedburgh (Gedwearde c.1050), which is still pronounced 'Jeddart' by the locals. This element enjoyed only a brief span of life in Scotland, since the last two names have had the element replaced by more popular terms.

All the names containing the element wīc lie on or near large streams or on

Kirkstead SLK); hall (Temple Hall BWK); feld (Sorrowlessfield ROX - 1208 Sorulesfeld; Amisfield DMF); hyrst (Fernihirst ROX, Brocklehirst DMF); pyrne (Nenthorn BWK - c.1150 Nathanthorn; Hawthorn SLK); denu (Bowden ROX, Hadden ROX, Butterdean BWK, Cowdens DMF, Lindean SLK); slæd (Whitslaid BWK, SLK); and many others.

So far as the Scandinavian element in the Border area is concerned, it provides us with some of the most valuable material, yet at the same time some of the most intransigent onomastically. It is particularly relevant, when dealing with Scandinavian names in Southern Scotland, to avoid the temptation to limit one's examination of the material to the Scottish side of the Border. As Nicolaisen has so aptly said of the Border, 'such anachronistic boundaries have no place in this kind of study, apart from their convenience as topographic markers for modern readers' (Nicolaisen, 1976, p. 99).

As far as the east is concerned, there is a significant absence of Scandinavian habitative names, or those indicating primary settlement. Berwickshire, for example, lacks names in -þorp or þveit, and has only one name in ODan bý, Corsbie (Crossebie 1309). Several personal names appear in the county, however: Kolbrandr, Ulfkell, Ketill, and \*Li(g)ulfr or Hlífólfr, for discussion of which see Gillian Fellows Jensen's Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (1968). The place-names concerned are Cockburnspath (Colbrandespade c.1130, Colbrandspeth c.1300, Cowbrandispeth 1443), Oxton (Ullfkeliston 1206, Hulfkeliston 1206, Ulkilstoun c.1220), Kettleshiel (Ketelschel c.1269, Ketilscheles 1367-8), and Lyleston (Liolfoun c.1222, Lyalstoun c.1230). 'It is most probable that these names do not belong to the period of Danish settlement at all, but to the late 11th and early 12th Centuries . . . Men called Ufkill, Ulfchillo and Ligulf, Lyulf sign charters in the first part of the 12th Century . . .' (Williamson, 1943, lii). It is clear from charter sources that Scandinavian personal names survived in S. E. Scotland well into the 13th Century.

The picture in Dumfries and the west is different, and, as an examination of elements in ON býr and fjall, and þveit, bekkr, and kirkja, indicate, the penetration of Scandinavian settlers into Galloway in the 10th Century and after is a strong feature of the entire onomastic situation.

I do not want to elaborate on the Scandinavian material, other than to note the presence of the notorious 'inversion compounds', especially those containing Norse kirkja, like Kirkbride KCB, WIG, and Kirkoswald AYR, both of which have parallels in Cumberland. These are limited largely to the South-West, where they occur in coastal or valley locations, and point to a Norse-speaking community using Gaelic name-formations, which in turn suggests a deal of bilingualism in the period 900-1200. Despite the presence of a strong Gaelic influence, however, one aspect of the Scandinavian names stands out clearly. Most of them reveal little linguistic interference by Gaelic, such as one finds in the North-West. Names like Applegarth DMF, Borgue KCB, Denby DMF and others suggest a population movement which stems from Cumberland rather than from anywhere else. The two distribution maps (Nicolaisen 1976, pp. 102, 106) support the theory that Galloway and Dumfries were subjected to immigration by Scandinavian speakers from across Solway, while at different stages accepting settlers direct from Ireland.

low ground. Borthwick BWK, ROX, Darnick ROX, Fenwick ROX (pron. 'Finnick'), Hawick ROX, Fishwick BWK, and the lost Hatherwick in Lauder, are examples of these. The group in Ayrshire comprises Prestwick, Fenwick, and a lost Previck (1429). The well-known Berwick, and North Berwick, are of course prime sites, and have become sizeable settlements.

Bodl, which in Scotland becomes -battle in the late mediaeval period, occurs in a few instances. Newbattle in MLO is named for the Cistercian foundation established about 1140 by David I. Morebattle ROX is 'dwelling on the mere', and Bolton ELO (Botheltun c.1200 et al.). The earliest example in Ayrshire is Maybole, which has the early forms Maybothel 1189-1250 and the intriguing Meibothelbeg and Meibothelmore 1185-96, 'small' and 'large' respectively in Gaelic. Buittle KCB is Bothel in Bagimond's Roll, making it a very strong candidate for membership of this group.

OE ceaster occurs seventeen times, according to Williamson, in the four Border counties; she suggests that 'as a rule it occurs in the names of farms and hamlets near pre-English earthworks'. Again, the earliest spellings for names in -chester do not occur before the 12th century. Bonchester ROX, Rowchester ROX, Chesters ROX, Belchester BWK, Blackchester BWK, and Whitchester BWK are typical examples.

Names in -lee from OE lēah are grouped in certain definite districts where a tradition of ancient woodland exists. The South-East of Scotland has as its core an area which until the late mediaeval period was forest, and pretty dense forest at that. Jedforest and above all the great Forest of Ettrick remained well-nigh impenetrable to the English for most of the Wars of Independence in the early fourteenth century, but there were others which covered large areas of upland country. The precise nature of the ending -lee has always been vague, and in Scotland, especially in the areas away from the forested core of the Border, the names, according to Williamson, are later and of less reliable provenance. A few examples will serve to illustrate. In ROX - Braidley (Braidleis 1572); Broadlee (Bradeleye 1296), Fodderlee (-lie 1566); Hardlee (Hardley 1288); Lintalee, which has the curious c.1375 form Lyntoun-le. BWK - Chotcelee (Chowislie 1518); Horsley (-e 1296); Wedderlee (Wederlie c.1250). DMF - Hollee (1654); Brandleys (1583). SLK - Huntly (Hunteleghe 1296); Singlee (Senglee 1368), etc.

A substantial number of names in tūn exist in the Border area, some of which have early spelling forms dating from the twelfth century, such as Heiton ROX, Linton ROX, Makerstoun ROX, Maxton ROX, and Sprouston ROX, Addinston BWK, Ayton BWK, Hilton BWK, Paxton BWK, Hutton DMF, and others. This element, of course, continued to be used in names coined well into the mediaeval period, and later in Northern Scotland, so where documentary forms are lacking for Galloway, say, it is often very difficult to date these names with any accuracy. It is a feature of -tūn names in S. E. Scotland that many contain Norman and late ME personal names, e.g. Allanton, Roberton, Rowlestane.

Many of the elements which are commonly found in Northern England in the ME period occur with varying frequency in our Border area also: OE burh (Roxburgh, Scraesburgh); cirice, later influenced by ON kirkja (Hobkirk ROX, Channelkirk BWK, Ashkirk SLK); cot (Hoscote ROX, Butchercoat BWK); stede (Newstead ROX,

In any event, the value of studying Scandinavian elements like býr and þveit in a cross-border context has been irresistibly made, and no study of the onomastic situation should in future ignore the English material.

Clearly much remains to be done in the way of research in the area under study here. The fact that we have a sound basis for further studies in the work of Williamson, Nicolaisen, and others does not mean that in-depth surveys of the Borders should be left for much longer. There is a real need for analytical work on the Scandinavian names, for example, and at the county level also.

In presenting this paper, from a Scottish point of view, I have felt somewhat like Uriah the Hittite, in the forefront of the battle, although I have been encouraged by the words of William Wallace, spoken to his troops on the eve of the Battle of Falkirk - 'I haf brocht you to the ring, hop if you can'.

#### NOTE

\* This is a revised version of the paper given on March 27th at the XIVth Annual Conference of the Council for Name Studies held at the University College of North Wales, Bangor.

Abbreviations of 'county' names are those used in Nicolaisen (1976) p. xxvii.

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THE -INGHOPE NAMES OF THE WELSH MARCHES\*

Study of place-names containing the element hop for a forthcoming book, Place-Names in the Landscape, has brought to light the existence of an area of the west midlands where there are seven names for which the characteristic Middle English spelling is -inghope or -ingehope. The area extends from the old Worcestershire/Herefordshire border to the western limit of ancient English place-names in the former Welsh county of Radnorshire, and the presence of two of these names in Radnorshire has attracted the attention of historians. One of the two was accorded mention in Sir Frank Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England. In the 1946 edition of this work, pp. 212-13 and n.1, Stenton says: 'Villages bearing names which are very unlikely to have arisen after the eighth century occur in this quarter far to the west of the dyke. The name Burlingjobb, borne by a hamlet within the Radnorshire border, is as ancient in type as any place-name in the western midlands. It appears in Domesday Book in the form Berchelincope. A name of this type is very unlikely to have arisen as late as the ninth century.' Nearly every statement in that passage is open to question, and the name BURLINGJOBBO probably does not deserve the fame thus conferred upon it; but the group of seven names of which it is a member does present intriguing problems.

There are other names containing hop, besides BURLINGJOBBO and EVENJOBBO, in the fringe of territory to the west of Offa's Dyke. These are CASCOB and HEYOP Radnorshire, HOPTON and HOPE Montgomeryshire, HOPE and NORTHOP Flintshire. East of the dyke, hop is a very common element in Shropshire and Herefordshire, so there is a large body of material in the southern March which is relevant to the understanding of the term; but only the seven -inghope names are to be considered in this paper. The seven names are listed below, with their Ordnance Survey grid references (preceded by the 1" map number), historical spellings in chronological order, and textual sources identified in the standard EPNS abbreviations. EASINGHOPE is not on the 1967 1" map, but its position has been noted from the David and Charles reprint (Newton Abbot, 1970) of the 19th-century 1" map.

1. BULLINGHAM, Herefordshire. GR 142 51/37. Boninhope, Boniniope DB, Bolingehop 1236 Ipm, Bullingehope 1242 Fees, Bulengehope 1275 Episcopal Register, Bulneshope 1302 QW, Bullinghop 1303 FA, Bullyngeshop 1341 NonInq, Bolynghope 1396 Episcopal Register, Bullingham 1831 OS
2. BURLINGJOBBO, Radnorshire. GR 128 253/584. Berchelincope DB, Bertlinghop(e), -yng- 1304, 1360 Ipm, 1426 Cl, Bertelynghope 1423 Cl
3. DINCHOPE, Shropshire. GR 129 456/834. Doddinghop' t. Hen. 2 (1261-2) ForProc, 1255 RH, Dodinghop' c.1250 AD (p), Dudinghope 1255-6 Ass, Dodinghope 1271-2 Ass, Dodingehope 1271-2 Ass, ForProc, Dodynghope 1493, 1504 Ipm, Dynchop 1503 Ipm, Dinchop 1668, Dintch-Hope 1733, Dinshup 1782 Parish Registers
4. EASINGHOPE FM, Worcestershire. GR 130 744/572. Esighope 1275 SR (p) Esynghope 1327 SR (p), 1535 VE, Hesinghope, Esincote, Esincote 14th AlmBk (p)