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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)

5. EVENJOB, Radnorshire. GR 128 264/623. Emynghop(e), -ing- 1303 Ipm et freq to 1424 AD, Emyghope 1386, 1391 AD, Emyngehope 1426 Cl, Evynshepe 1549 Pat, Evengeobbe 1612 Coleman Deeds (Calendar of Deeds and Documents I, Nat. Lib. Wales)
6. MILLICHOPE, Shropshire. GR 129 522/891. Melicope DB, Myllincheope c.1175 (1348) Pat (p), Millinghope 1199 P, 1255-6 Ass, 1316 FA, 1346 Cl, Millinghop', Millingehop' 1221-2 Ass (p), Milinchope 1249 Ipm, Millingehop, Milinghop' 1255 RH, Milingehop' 1255-6 Ass, Millinghop 1268 Cl, 1294 InqMisc, Millingehope 1271-2 Ass, 1331 Pat, Millynghop' 1271-2 Ass, Milinghop 1294 Ipm, Myllynchehope 1301 Ipm, Millynghope 1322 Pat, Mileshope 1332 Cl, Myllyngehope 1402 Cl, Millyngehop 1416 AD, 1418 Fine, Millichope 1551 Pat
7. RATLINGHOPE, Shropshire. GR 129 403/970. Rotelingehope DB, Rodelingehope 1208-9 ForProc, Rothinchop', Rotchop 1255 RH, Rotelingehope 1255-6 Ass, 1267 Cl, 1271-2 Ass, Rotelingehope 1255-6 Ass, 1261-2, 1271-2 ForProc, 1267 Cl, Rothelinghop' 1267 Cl, Roderhope 1272 Ipm, Rothinthorp 1316 FA, Rotlynghope 1551 Pat, Ratlenhope 1693, Ratlinghope 1666, 1756, Ratchop 1737 Parish Registers

Neither the ultimate etymology nor the place-name senses of hop can be regarded as established. These will be discussed in Place-Names in the Landscape, but detailed consideration of them must be left aside in the present paper. The most prolific of its meanings is 'remote, enclosed valley', and this is the relevant one in all the names under discussion here except BULLINGHAM. BULLINGHAM is south of Hereford, and the village occupies the tip of a low promontory between two streams which unite to flow into the R. Wye. Each of these streams has a little valley, but these are quite different from the valleys of the nearby Hope names round the feature known to geographers as the Woolhope Dome, and it seems preferable to regard BULLINGHAM as containing hop in another of its senses, 'enclosure in marsh', or perhaps 'promontory jutting out into marsh', since a large part of the parish consists of flat ground across the river from Hereford. In all the other -inghope names the meaning is almost certainly 'valley', though the nature of the valleys varies from the claustrophobic site of RATLINGHOPE to the relatively slight feature overlooked by EASINGHOPE FM.

Although no attempt is made here to outline the distribution and meanings of hop in English place-names, it should be noted that A. H. Smith's discussion in EPNS XXV, 259-60, contains a seriously misleading statement. He says that the meaning 'small enclosed valley . . .' is not evidenced before ME and may originate in fact in ON hóp 'a small inlet or bay'. This sense is, however, found in many major settlement-names in an area of the west midlands which stretches from the Gloucestershire/Herefordshire border to the R. Severn in Shropshire, and this is well outside the sphere of Old Norse influence. The sense 'valley' must have belonged to OE hop at least as early as the eighth century.

By referring to BURLINGJOB as 'a name of this type' Stenton avoided a definite statement as to what he considered the type to be, but there can be little doubt that he believed it to contain -inga-, the genitive of the plural suffix -ingas, and that he would have translated it 'valley of the followers of Berhtel'. Using the conventional test of proportion of -inge- to -ing- spellings, however, the forms for

BURLINGJOB do not support such an etymology, nor do those for EASINGHOPE. For EVENJOB there is a single late Emyngehope, and for DINCHOPE and MILLICHOPE there are some fairly early -inge- spellings, but only for BULLINGHAM and RATLINGHOPE could the available material be held clearly to support an original -inga-.

There is, of course, no compulsion to interpret all seven names in the same way, but this is an area where -ing-, whatever its source, is only common in names ending in tūn. In an area where none of the formations which give rise to -ing- or -inge- spellings was commonly used except with tūn it is surprising to have seven examples with hop, and it would be preferable to find a single explanation which fitted the whole group.

An outstanding characteristic of all the names except EASINGHOPE is the development of palatalisation (which has produced the -j- of BURLINGJOB and EVENJOB and is seen in the modern pronunciation of BULLINGHAM) and of assibilation (which has produced the -CH- of DINCHOPE and MILLICHOPE and the old pronunciation '-Ratchop'- of RATLINGHOPE). Any explanation of this group of names must take this factor into account.

English place-name studies offer three possible explanations for names which have -ing- or -inge- in their ME spellings, and it is an instructive exercise to consider these three explanations in relation to the -inghope, -ingehope names of the Welsh Marches, bearing in mind the need to account for palatalisation and assibilation.

First, these names could (as Stenton assumed for BURLINGJOB) be formed by the addition of hop to the genitive of group-names which meant 'the followers of x'. The absence of -inge- spellings in some of the examples would not tell against this if the views of E. Ekwall were preferred to those traditionally held by EPNS editors. Ekwall believed that ME -ing- was usually a shortened version of -inge- from OE -inga-. His explanation of assibilation and palatalisation in -ing- names is based on his assumption that the first part of the name is a genitive plural. Conventional thinking holds these developments to be due to an -i- which at some stage of the name's development followed the -g- of -ing-, and palatalisation would be expected if the form were -ingia-. In English Place-Names in -ing, 2nd edn (1962), pp. 172-3, Ekwall put forward the following theory. OE folk-names could be formed by other suffixes besides -ingas, and some other suffixes used for this purpose, such as -hæme, -sæte, -ware, are i- stems, which would, in the earliest OE period, have had -ia in the genitive plural. Ekwall suggested that although the correct genitive of -ingas is -inga, group-names (like Rötelingas and Doddingas, which he assumed to lie behind RATLINGHOPE and DINCHOPE) were sometimes given an incorrect genitive -ingia to make them conform with group-names from -hæme, -sæte and -ware. He says on page 170 that palatalisation must also have taken place in some names containing -ingatūn, but that when -ingatūn was shortened (as he believed happened) to ME -ington, the -g- would revert to being a hard sound because it was then influenced by the following -t-. In this way he seeks to account for the fact that tangible evidence of -indge- or -inch- pronunciations is only to be found in names where -ing- is followed by h, w, or a vowel. On page 173 he says: 'It is a corollary of this that the first element in the names discussed is in the gen. pl. form. The so-called connective -ing-, which plays such a prominent part in the

volumes of the English Place-Name Society, could not have had palatalized g.'

This explanation, besides being very forced, is open to some specific objections. The -ingas suffix is only very loosely comparable in meaning to -hāeme, -sæte and -ware, and I feel it improbable that early OE speakers would have given it an analogous genitive. The usual way of forming group-names in the Welsh Marches is with -sæte, and the genitive of -sæte in place-names in this area is -sætēna, not the \*-sætia which Ekwall's theory requires. It is improbable that the memory of an archaic genitive plural would be so strong at the date when English settlements were first established in Radnorshire that it would influence the forms of BURLINGJOB and EVENJOB. The -ingas, -inga- formula is rare in place-names this far west, and it is unlikely that it would give rise to seven names ending in -hop.

From Ekwall one turns to John Dodgson, and his valiant attempt to bring order out of chaos in the three articles of 1967-8 in *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*. He offers a completely different explanation of the -indge-, -inch- in names like these. His view is that these are not plural names, nor do they contain a connective -ing-. They are names in which an earlier formation of the type exemplified by WANTAGE and LOCKINGE in Berkshire, in which -ing was added as a place-name forming suffix to a stem, has fossilized in the locative form -ingi before being completed by the addition of a final element like hām or hop. The original place-name in RATLINGHOPE (which he discusses in some detail) would be Rōtelinge 'at the place of a man named Rōtel'. He thinks this may have alternated with a plural folk-name Rōtelingas, but that the old pronunciation 'Ratchop' must indicate that Rōteling 'place of Rōtel' was established in a locative form, so that the locative ending could cause palatalization and assibilation, before hop was added.

This explanation is scarcely less forced than Ekwall's, and it is open to objection on similar chronological grounds. The -ing suffix found in numerous names in eastern and southern England seems likely (despite its absence from the list of names recorded by c.730, assembled by Barrie Cox in *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 8 (1975-6), 12-66) to be among the earliest place-name elements in use among the Anglo-Saxons. It is doubtful whether it was still in use when the English names of the Welsh Marches were being coined, but if it had been in common use then it should have survived in some names to which final elements like hop and hām or ham had not been added (Dodgson's argument embraces names like ALTRINCHAM Cheshire and ATCHAM Shropshire). Also it seems unlikely that any archaic grammatical ending, like that in the locative -ingi, should play a part in six names ending in -hop in this geographically limited area.

The only chronologically acceptable explanation of the -inghope names of the Welsh Marches seems to me to be that they contain the connective -ing- about which Ekwall spoke so dismissively. Despite Ekwall's scepticism, this connective -ing- is firmly documented in Kent and London in the mid-ninth century, and it is arguably documented in Worcestershire, in the name TREDINGTON, in the mid-eighth century. I believe it to be widespread in English place-names, well-represented with a great variety of final elements, and the usual source of the -ing- in names like BUTTINGTON and HYSSINGTON in Montgomeryshire. It is a reasonable hypothesis that a fashion for place-name formations in which the connection between a place and a landowner or tenant was expressed by using the particle -ing- coincided with a

fashion for using the word hop in the naming of settlements in enclosed valleys. I suggest that BULLINGHAM, BURLINGJOB, DINCHOPE, EASINGHOPE, EVENJOB and RATLINGHOPE are 'enclosed settlement associated with Bulla/Berhtel/Dodda/Ēsi/Emma/Rōtel'. There is no personal name on record which offers a suitable base for MILLICHOPE, but that place-name is likely to have been a similar formation.

As regards palatalisation and assibilation in most of these, and in many other names with other final elements beginning with h- or w-, it may be worth considering whether this is caused by the proximity of these consonants, rather than merely being preserved by them after it had been caused by some ancient grammatical inflexion of the plural suffix -ingas (as considered by Ekwall) or of the place-name-forming suffix -ing (as considered by Dodgson). Whatever its cause, the development had probably taken place by 1086, though the dates at which it manifests itself unequivocally in spellings vary from the early manifestations in MILLICHOPE (Myllincheope c.1175) and RATLINGHOPE (Rotchop 1255) to much later ones in DINCHOPE (Dynchop 1503) and EVENJOB (Evynshepe 1549). It is the modern pronunciation of BULLINGHAM, and the modern pronunciation and spelling of BURLINGJOB, which certainly reveal it, but it is possible that the Domesday spellings Boniniope and Berchelincope are attempts to represent palatalised and/or assibilated pronunciations of these two names. It is possible too that the -inge- spellings for some of the names are scribal representations of an -indge- pronunciation rather than indications of derivation from OE names which contained -inga-.

It is time to return to Stenton's statement about BURLINGJOB and to enquire whether that name and EVENJOB have any special significance for the history of English settlement west of Offa's Dyke. Stenton should have not said 'far to the west of the dyke' if it was these names he had in mind, since BURLINGJOB is only two miles west of the earthwork and EVENJOB is almost touched by it. Stenton's discussion assumes that land to the west of the dyke was abandoned to the Welsh by King Offa, but a recent study of the earthwork by Frank Noble (forthcoming in *British Archaeological Reports*) postulates that it was sited some distance back from the true frontier, and was a patrol line rather than the actual boundary; and on this assumption all the hop names in Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire could lie in territory which was not, in fact, ceded to the Welsh at the end of the eighth century. BURLINGJOB and EVENJOB are not likely to contain -inga-, so they do not have to be early formations on the grounds that the -ingas formula would have died out before the building of the dyke. The question of their likely date of origin could best be approached by a much wider consideration of the likely significance of the connective -ing-. If it be conceded that this particle is in fact contained in the names, and in many others distributed throughout the country, it is necessary to consider whether -ing- was a straightforward alternative to the device of putting a personal name in the genitive, or whether it indicates a significant difference in the relationship of the person to the estate, such as, for instance, a life tenure rather than one which could be bequeathed. It is possible that the use of -ing- in place-names corresponded to a stage in the evolution of lay land-ownership, and that the whole body of names can be assigned to a fairly definite period which is likely to be earlier than the widespread use of personal names in the genitive as the first elements of place-names. If the two -inghop names in Radnorshire, and the two -ingtūn names, BUTTINGTON and HYSSINGTON, in Montgomeryshire, do belong to

an early stage in the evolution of lay landownership in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms which lie mainly to the east of the earthwork, then they probably were formed before the building of Offa's Dyke. But this is not at all the same picture as that adumbrated by Stenton, who probably saw Berhtel and Emma as pioneering English settlers accompanied by bands of followers, not as thegns who were given a life tenure of border estates by a king of the Magonsæte.

## NOTE

- \* This is a revised version of the paper given on March 28th, 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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## 'OLD EUROPEAN NAMES' IN BRITAIN\*

When I read a paper under this title at the annual meeting of the Council for Name Studies in Bangor (North Wales) in March 1982, I was gently encouraged by a number of members of the audience to summarise my presentation for publication in NOMINA in order to provide a forum for a renewed and informed discussion of an issue which has, in the last twenty-five years or so, had only sporadic attention but deserves a better fate. What follows is my response to that request, a kind of brief 1982 version of a firmly held scholarly opinion which I first offered in 1957;<sup>1</sup> it is not, however, a mere reiteration of facts and findings already expressed in earlier publications<sup>2</sup> but rather a reaffirmation of my earlier ideas modified by a thorough rethinking of the principles involved, in the light of onomastic research into similar situations at other times and in other places.<sup>3</sup> In addition, this response has greatly benefited from Antonio Tovar's fairly recent survey of the subject,<sup>4</sup> mostly in continental terms, with special emphasis on the relationship between 'Old European' and Indo-European.

The question addressed here is the vexing one of potential toponymic, especially hydronymic, evidence for the linguistic affiliation of pre-Celtic people in the British Isles, particularly in England, Scotland and Wales, or, put somewhat differently: "What language or languages did the people speak whom the Celts encountered when they reached Britain in the first millennium B.C.?" That the answer to this question is not an easy one is indicated by the fact that, apart from the onomastic material, there is no direct linguistic evidence of any kind which might be utilised, while conclusions based on indirect linguistic sources have, on the whole, not been particularly convincing.<sup>5</sup> As a consequence, points of reference are not easy to find. There can, on the other hand, be no doubt that the pre-Celtic language(s) concerned cannot be thought of as indigenous but must, like the various Celtic and Germanic languages which were to follow, have originated outside Britain and crossed the water from elsewhere. In fact, one can assume as a working hypothesis that, like Celtic and Germanic, it, or they, must have come from the European continent.

In more specific linguistic terms, there are obviously two main possibilities, i.e. the language(s) spoken in Britain before the Celts may have been Indo-European or non-Indo-European. With regard to the latter alternative, it can be said straightaway that, while there are certain place-names in Britain which appear to belong to this category - some of the island names in the Northern and Western Isles, for example - no reasonable suggestion as to their linguistic affiliation has ever been made. All we can say at this point is that there were speakers of non-Indo-European languages in Britain before the Celts but that we do not know what these languages were. There is at present no discernible pattern to the onomastic evidence for them, nor is it possible to provide etymologies. Their systematic examination is therefore still out of the question.

In contrast, there is, I would argue, plenty of onomastic evidence which suggests that, when the first Celts reached Britain, they not only encountered speakers of, to them, unintelligible non-Indo-European, but also speakers of a language which might well have been fairly intelligible to them because it was a development of the same linguistic ancestor which had also produced the Celtic tongues, a kind of western Indo-European not yet itself differentiated into separate languages but containing the