



PLACE-NAMES AND SETTLEMENTS: SOME PROBLEMS OF DATING  
AS EXEMPLIFIED BY PLACE-NAMES IN *-bý\**

Within the last few thousand years southern Scandinavia has escaped lasting occupation by people speaking a foreign tongue. This means that there has been an uninterrupted development of settlement by people speaking the same language as far back as linguistic science can penetrate (Kousgård Sørensen 1979, 3). It is therefore impossible in this region to date place-names by referring them to various chronologically stratified immigrations by foreign peoples and in the first half of this century several more or less fantastic estimates of the age of southern Scandinavian place-names were proposed, all based on the assumption that correlation between the distribution of types of place-name and that of datable archaeological finds is an indication of contemporaneity. An early and extreme example is the Norwegian Andreas M. Hansen's conclusion that settlements in Denmark with names in *-lev*, *-løse* and *-inge* must date from the same period as the graves of the younger Stone Age (Hansen 1904, 102, 105). More recently the methodological flaws in Hansen's arguments have been pointed out by both archaeologists and philologists and Scandinavian place-name scholars are now very concerned to distinguish between evidence, such as datable archaeological finds, that can help to date settlements and evidence that can contribute to the dating of the formation of the names of the settlements (Kousgård Sørensen 1979, 16-17).

For the English toponymist the dating of place-names does not offer the same temptation to a gross exaggeration of their antiquity, since the arrivals of the Celts, the Romans, the English, the Vikings and the Normans provide reliable *termini post quem* for the formation of the various strata of names. Nevertheless there are innumerable pitfalls for the unwary, some of which I should like to demonstrate by reference to place-names in *-bý*.

I must begin by confessing that, under the influence of earlier research, I have myself been guilty of assuming that place-names are contemporary with the settlements bearing the names and hence that concentrations of names in *-bý* marked areas in which the Danes had taken over hitherto unexploited land and cleared it for settlement. I never, however, denied that names in *-bý* could be borne by settlements originally founded by the British or the English long before the Viking invasions. Eilert Ekwall, the pioneer of scientifically based place-name research in England, had already emphasised in his two early surveys of the Scandinavian element in English place-names that the Scandinavian names must often have replaced English names for established settlements. He pointed not only to the examples of Derby, which is known to have replaced the English name *Norðworþig*, and Whitby, which must certainly have had an earlier name, but also to the numerous Kirbys, Kirkbys and Crosbys, which he considered were unlikely all to date from the period after the conversion of the Vikings to Christianity (Ekwall 1924, 75; 1936, 162).

In a study published in 1935 of Scandinavian place-names in the light of local topography and surface geology in South-West Kesteven, however, L. W. H. Payling interpreted the very striking distribution pattern of the various types of place-name as an indication of the planting by the Danes of new settlements, often with names in *-bý*, on heavily wooded land that had had to be cleared before it could be exploited (Payling 1935).

In his discussion of Scandinavian place-names in England Sir Frank Stenton did

acknowledge that in some cases the relationship between the village with a name in *-bý* and the man whose forename was contained in the village-name 'may possibly have anticipated the relationship between a medieval manor and its lord', that is that the village had been granted to the man and not founded by him. Stenton cited as an example of such a relationship Granby Nt, for which Domesday Book records a population of forty-four villeins and nine bordars (Stenton 1942, 307). On the whole, however, Stenton's view was that 'names in which *by* or *thorp* is united in a strict grammatical compound with a Danish personal name suggest the foundation of new settlements rather than the establishment of Danish conquerors as lords of old ones. . . . There is much to suggest that the Dane who left his name to a *by* or a *thorp* had normally been, not the lord, but the leader of the men whose settlement had brought the village or hamlet into being' (Stenton 1943, 517).

Hugh Smith disagreed. He explained the much greater frequency of occurrence of anthroponymical specifics in place-names in *-bý* in England than in place-names in *-bý* in the Scandinavian homelands as a reflection of the fact that in Scandinavia 'a *bý* arose because of a slow and peaceful exploitation of new land by a parent village, whereas in England the Danes found and speedily acquired by force of arms as their individual personal estates a large number of ready-made settlements and villages' (EPN 1. 68). Smith supported his argument by reference to the complete replacement of older names by the names Derby and Whitby, the replacement in some names of English elements such as *byrig* and *tūn* by the Scandinavian generic *bý*, and the existence of many names in *-bý* whose specific is of Old English origin. He considered that the giving of names in *-bý* to villages acquired by personal conquest would have tended to eliminate the notion of 'new cultivation' from the concept of *bý*, although he admitted that there may be some *býs* that are secondary settlements, notably those on less desirable sites, such as the fen margins in south-eastern Kesteven, and those whose specific is an older place-name, e.g. Blackfordby Lei, Stokesby Nf (EPN 1. 69).

In 1958 Peter Sawyer opened his attack on the assumption that there must have been many Scandinavian settlers in England. He pointed out that names such as Ashby and Willoughby, with English specifics, were more likely to be Scandinavianisations of English names than hybrid names coined by Danes, but even he considered that 'a large number [of the *býs*] represent settlements formed . . . by people whose speech was predominantly Scandinavian' (Sawyer 1958, 12).

Kenneth Cameron, following Payling's lead, studied the *býs* in the East Midlands in the light of their topographical and geological background (Cameron 1965). Since the *býs* tend to lie in the valleys of tributary streams, on the edge of stretches of favourable land or on smaller patches of such land than do the vills with English names, and very often on ground that is comparatively infertile or badly drained, Cameron looked upon them as settlements newly established by the Danes on the best available vacant land. My own study of the *býs* in Yorkshire led me to much the same conclusion as Cameron (SSNY).

The historical geographer Glanville Jones took a different view of the Scandinavian settlement, interpreting it as an adaptation of a pre-existing and in large measure surviving territorial organisation, with the names in *-bý* being borne by pre-existing dependent hamlets rather than by new settlements planted on land left vacant by the English (Jones 1965).

By the time of the appearance of the second edition of *The Age of the Vikings* in

1971, Peter Sawyer had apparently been convinced by Cameron's argument that the names in *-bý*, which are generally not on such good land as the hybrid names, represent a later stage of conquest and colonisation than these (Sawyer 1971, 163). Only one year later, however, Sawyer retracted this view in his inaugural lecture at Leeds, in which he accepted Glanville Jones's view that many of the Scandinavian place-names mark not so much an extension of settlement as its reorganisation under new lords (Sawyer 1973). This rejection of the earlier expansionist theory of English settlement was further elaborated by Sawyer in 1978 (Sawyer 1978, 161-63).

In my own study of the names in the East Midlands, which appeared in that year, I too joined the anti-expansionist party and argued that the place-names in *-bý* reflected the breaking up of old estates and the transfer for the first time of individual units into small-scale private ownership (SSNEM).

Subsequently, Peter Sawyer has drawn attention to the way in which in Scandinavian England it is not only the sokes and their centres that tend to have English names but also the berewicks over which the lord retained control, while both the sokelands, which had a more independent status than the berewicks, and separate manors tend to have Scandinavian names, very often names in *-bý* (Sawyer 1981, 128; 1982, 106).

I am now convinced that most of the settlements with names in *-bý* were taken over by the Vikings as going concerns rather than that they represent the exploitation of vacant land. If this assumption is correct, then it has to be acknowledged that the names of the *býs* cannot contribute very much to the dating of the foundation of the settlements bearing the names. I shall therefore turn my attention now to the question of the dating of the formation of the names in *-bý*. As *termini post quem* for their formation we have the recorded partitions of territory between Viking settlers. The first of these took place in 876, in which year the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that Halfdan 'portioned out the land of the Northumbrians and [the Danes] tilled it and made their livelihood by it'. There were further partitions, of eastern Mercia in 877 and East Anglia in 880, both recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; of the Wirral by fugitives from Dublin at some time between 902 and 907, noted in Irish and Welsh sources (Wainwright 1948); and of the coastal district of Durham early in the tenth century, noted in the late tenth- or eleventh-century work, the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (Morris 1981, 223-26). For the majority of the *bý*-names in eastern England the *terminus ante quem* is provided by Domesday Book of 1086, in which the names are recorded as being borne by settlements. The absence of a name from Domesday Book must not of course be taken as an indication that the name or the settlement was not in existence in 1086. Only estates that were separately assessed for taxation in the parts of England that were subject to King William are named in Domesday Book and its coverage of the north-western counties is very uneven. Dumfriesshire, northern Westmorland, and most of Cumberland, which still formed part of the kingdom of Strathclyde in 1086 and thus lay outside William's control, are ignored in the Domesday Survey. For most of the *býs* in north-west England the *terminus ante quem* provided by documentary sources is therefore generally in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries and for the *býs* in Dumfriesshire even later. For all of the names in *-bý*, then, there is a period of at least two centuries within which they can have been coined, while for most of the names in the North-West, this period is even longer.

As far as the use of the Scandinavian word *-bý* in England is concerned, the literary evidence is sparse but the appearance in Domesday Book of a name-form such

as Denegebi (Denaby YW), in which the Scandinavian generic is combined with the English term for 'the Danes' in a characteristically OE genitive plural inflexion, indicates that English speakers were employing the generic -bý to form place-names before the Norman Conquest. The occurrence of names in -bý whose specifics are of Norman origin, on the other hand, has been taken as evidence for the survival in use of the generic even after the Conquest.

There have, in fact, been various arguments in the course of time both for the antiquity of some of the names in -bý and for the youth of others. These arguments have not all proved to be equally valid. It is certainly true that names in which a typically Scandinavian inflexional ending survives in fossilised form to the present day must have been coined at a period when the Viking settlers still spoke their own language and had not yet adopted English as the language of daily life. There is, of course, a slight possibility that the names with the fossilised inflexions had been transferred at a later date from another locality but there seems to be little reason to reckon with the presence in England of Scandinavian names transferred as such from other localities in England or brought over from the Scandinavian homelands, except for two Upsalls, Upsland and Roseberry in the North Riding of Yorkshire and Danmark in Lincolnshire, which seem to be eponymised forms of Uppsala, Onsbjerg and the Danish form of the name Denmark respectively (Fellows Jensen 1981, 133-35). It has therefore seemed reasonable to accept the names in -bý whose recorded forms betray typical Scandinavian genitive inflexions as coinages dating from the early period of settlement. There are six surviving genitives in -ar in bý-names in the North Riding of Yorkshire, one in the West Riding, one in Lindsey and one in Nottinghamshire (SSNY 192; SSNEM 272), while some forms of the name Dolphenby Cu show the substitution of a secondary Scandinavian genitive in -ar. Surviving Scandinavian genitive inflexions in -s are found in fourteen býs in the North Riding, three in the West Riding, three in the East Riding, nine in Lindsey and four in Kesteven (SSNY 240; SSNEM 272). These figures suggest that the North Riding of Yorkshire and Lindsey were areas in which names in -bý were coined at an early date, but the comparative lack of surviving inflexions in, for example, Kesteven and Nottinghamshire, may simply reflect the fact that the dialects in areas to the south of the swamps along the rivers Trent and Witham were less resistant than those to the north to the spread of English linguistic influence (cf. Kristensson 1977, 7-8).

Probably the best argument in favour of assuming that the names in eastern England were coined at an early date is the one based on the national origin of the specifics. In both Yorkshire and the East Midlands 83% of the anthroponymical specifics of bý-names are of Scandinavian origin. If any considerable number of the place-names had simply been coined by men of mixed English-Scandinavian descent at a late period when the element bý had been adopted into the local dialect, then the percentages of OE personal names occurring as specifics would surely have been higher than 6% in Yorkshire and 12% in the East Midlands. The Old English personal nomenclature was far from moribund in eastern England in the eleventh century, as can be seen from the names of the pre-Conquest tenants recorded in Domesday Book.

It has been argued by F. T. Wainwright (1962, 78) that many of the Scandinavian personal names contained in place-names in -bý are archaic, since they are not recorded in independent use in England, and hence that the place-names in question must have been coined within at most a generation or two of the initial settlement. This argument is not satisfactory. The written sources from Northern England in the pre-Conquest period are not very numerous and a name may well have been in current

use and yet have escaped being written down in a record that has survived.

Stenton has also argued that the large concentrations of býs are in themselves an indication of antiquity, since they 'suggest the conditions of an age when the Danish settlers in England still felt themselves strangers in a hostile land' (Stenton 1942, 305). I would argue on the contrary that the býs represent the spreading out over the countryside of Danes who felt that their position was secure. It might rather be argued that the absence of býs from an area where Scandinavians are known to have settled is more likely to reflect conditions under which the Danes feared for their safety. There is a striking lack of býs around Derby, for instance, in spite of the fact that the Danes had renamed this borough with a name in -bý. Perhaps the Vikings kept together in the fortified borough because they were in a minority in this county or maybe the absence of býs merely reflects the comparatively swift reconquest of Derbyshire by the English.

Since the high proportion of anthroponymic specifics which are Scandinavian has been taken as an indication of an early date for the coining of the names, it might be thought by implication that specifics of English origin point to the coining of the names at a period when there was no longer a distinct Scandinavian-speaking community in the area in question. The highest percentages of English specifics occur in Northamptonshire (65%) and Leicestershire (43%) and I consider that OE appellative specifics are more likely to betray that the bý-names in question are in fact partial reshapings of older English names. There is some evidence for the reshaping of English names in -byrig into names in -bý. This process has taken place particularly frequently in Leicestershire but instances have also been noted in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire (SSNEM 13-14) and in Cheshire and southern Lancashire. The substitution may simply reflect the phonetic similarity between the two elements. It is noticeable that place-names in -byrig are of comparatively rare occurrence in areas where names in -bý are common and English names in -byrig may well lie behind many of the names in -bý. Bý, however, can also be seen to have replaced other English generics. There is at least one instance, Coniston YE, in which an English place-name in -tūn was temporarily reshaped as a name in -bý (SSNY 24). The name Willoughby is of frequent occurrence in the East Midlands (SSNEM 78) and is also found twice in the West Riding of Yorkshire (SSNY 7), while Wilby in Norfolk has been thought to be of the same origin. Ekwall has suggested that in most cases Willoughby is a Scandinavianised form of an English \*wilig-tūn (DEPN) but David Mills has noted that some of the spellings recorded for Willoughby Wa and Wilby Nf might indicate that the names had originated as an OE \*wilig-bēag 'circle of willows', the etymology proposed by Ekwall in DEPN for Wilby in Suffolk (PNDo 1. 33). The reshaping of \*wilig-bēag to \*wilig-bý could well have been prompted by the fact that bý seemed to the local population a more suitable generic for a settlement name than did the topographical term bēag. One other common bý-name, Ashby, seems also more likely to be a partial reshaping of an earlier English name. Not only does the form taken by the specific in several names show that this was OE æsc rather than Scandinavian askr but place-names containing æsc are much commoner in England than are place-names containing askr in Scandinavia. This is presumably because the ash-tree did not play a very significant role in the woodlands of southern Scandinavia in the Viking period.

Although it cannot be proved in the majority of cases that hybrid names in -bý represent partial reshaping by the Vikings of earlier English names, the fact that substitution can sometimes be proved to have taken place supports the correctness of



this explanation. The replacement of an OE generic by bý can hardly ever be dated at all closely. Many of the place-names are only recorded with bý-spellings and for most of the names in eastern England this means that if there has been substitution, this must have taken place before the compilation of Domesday Book. In the name Badby Nth, bý would seem to have been in the process of driving out byrig as early as 944 (SSNEM 34). In several other names in the East Midlands and in Greasby in Cheshire, on the other hand, the substitution would not seem to have taken place until the twelfth century (SSNEM 14; PNCh 4. 291). There are a number of instances in which byrig has replaced an original bý in some early sources (Irby and Whitby Ch, West Derby La, Kirby in Gretton Nth, Monks Kirby Wa and six býs in Leicestershire). These can probably best be explained as inverted substitutions and they point to a degree of confusion between the two generics.

While the bý-names with specifics of English origin seem likely to have been coined at an early date, there are two groups of names in -bý whose recorded forms must post-date the Norman Conquest. These are the names whose specifics are personal names known to have been borne by eleventh- or twelfth-century tenants of the vill in question and those whose specifics are personal names or appellatives that must have been introduced by the Normans. The occurrence of such names has been exploited by Peter Sawyer as an argument in favour of a comparatively late date for the coining of the majority of the names in -bý (Sawyer 1962, 155). If such names were being created in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, then he considered that there was no reason why the Scandinavian place-names recorded in Domesday Book should not be the 'result of a long and continuous process of settlement and name-giving'. The nature of the place-names in -bý with demonstrably young specifics is, however, more complex than might appear at first sight.

To begin with, it is rarely if ever possible to prove that a post-Conquest tenant of a bý is identical with the man whose name forms the specific of its name. The example of Ormesby in the North Riding of Yorkshire, quoted by Sawyer (1962, 155), is of little value. Orm was a very common name in Yorkshire and it is far from certain that the Orm who was the tenant in 1086 was also the eponym. In the case of another North Riding bý, Halnaby, the Halnath who is recorded as living there c. 1218 is rather unlikely to have been the eponym, for the place-name is already recorded as Halnathebi 1170 x 1188. Neighbouring Jolby, however, first recorded 1193 x 1199, may well contain the name of the Joel who lived there c. 1170 (PNYN 282-83) and Baggaby in the East Riding, first recorded in the twelfth century, that of the Bagot who gave his name to the Bagot family resident here at the end of the twelfth century (PNYE 169). It is in Cumberland that documentary evidence for the association of names in -bý with eleventh- or twelfth-century tenants is particularly abundant. A writ of Henry I records the granting to a Norman of lands that had belonged to the king's drengs Gamel filius Bern and Glassam filius Brictrici and these lands can be shown to be identical with Gamblesby and Glassonby, while an entry in the Pipe Roll of 1130 records a payment for the grant of land that had been Gamel's (PNCu 192-94). Gamel and Glassam would seem to have been of Scandinavian and mixed Celtic/English origin respectively. A Willelmus filius Astini made a grant of land in Alstonby (Astinebi) c. 1210 and it may well be his father who had given his name to the vill (PNCu 102). Astin is an Anglo-Norman form of the Scandinavian name Ásketil, in which the original ending has been replaced by a Norman diminutive in -in. The other five post-Conquest tenants whose names may form the specific of Cumberland bý-names all bear names that were introduced into England by the Normans: Agyllun in Aglionby, Etard in Etterby, Isaac in Isaacby, Puncun in Ponsonby and Ricard in

Rickerby (PNCu xxxiii).

For the other personal names of Norman origin that are contained in bý-names, it is only possible to suggest an approximate dating for the bearer by reference to the historical record of Norman settlement in the area in question. It seems likely that the Normans whose names are contained in Serlby Nt, Fockerby and Huby YW, and Baggaby, Barlby and Garrowby YE received their lands when William I was trying to strengthen his position in the north after driving the Danes out of York and the Isle of Axholme in 1069, or perhaps around 1080, when he was establishing the three great lordships of Tickhill, Pontefract and Richmond. Grimoldby in Lindsey is probably to be associated with a cluster of thorps which are found along the coast and which also contain Norman personal names, Grainthorpe, Theddlethorpe, Mablethorpe and Trusthorpe. The suggestion was once made that this area could not have been fully developed for settlement until the construction of protective sea-banks, perhaps in the early eleventh century (Owen 1974-75), but it now seems likely that the settlements pre-date the sea-banks and thus that they can hardly have been founded by men of Norman origin but must have been taken over by the Normans from earlier owners (Owen 1975).

While only 1% of the býs in Lincolnshire and the North Riding of Yorkshire have specifics of Norman origin, such specifics are found in no less than 43% of the býs in Dumfriesshire and 26% of those in Cumberland. Explanations for these high percentages are offered by the history of these counties. After his capture of Carlisle in 1092, William Rufus is known to have established southern peasants in the neighbourhood of the city and some of the bý-names containing Norman personal names are probably to be associated with this plantation. The distribution patterns in the North-West of the býs containing Scandinavian personal names and those containing Norman personal names certainly show a negative correlation that can best be explained as the result of an outwards movement from Carlisle of settlers with Norman names (Fellows-Jensen 1983, Fig. 2). Some of the Norman names, however, may be associated with the establishment of Normans and Flemings in the border region by Henry I at the beginning of the twelfth century.

There are, then, two groups of names in -bý whose present forms cannot be older than from the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, those containing the names of post-Conquest tenants and those with specifics of Norman origin. It seems to me highly unlikely that the Normans themselves or the local Anglo-Scandinavian population would have coined all these names in -bý from scratch at this late period and I would argue that the names are rather to be compared with the Grimston-hybrids in that they reflect a partial adaptation of an existing name to incorporate the name of a new lord, in other words that they are manorial names.

In conclusion I should like to present a working hypothesis as to the progress in England and Dumfriesshire of Scandinavian settlement in general and of the býs in particular. There has been a tendency to assume that the majority of the names in -bý in eastern England were coined in the last quarter of the ninth century but Peter Sawyer has recently drawn attention to the fact that Scandinavian place-names are surprisingly rare in the areas that are known to have been settled in by the Danes but which were recovered by the English soon after 900, notably Cambridgeshire and the Derbyshire Peak District (Sawyer 1982, 103-4). This fact suggests that most of the Scandinavian place-names date from the period after 900 and reflect fragmentation of estates rather than colonisation.

Besides the marked variation as to the number of Scandinavian place-names in

areas settled by Vikings, there are marked regional variations in the percentages of the place-names in -bý which have personal names as specifics. I would argue that in eastern England most of the place-names in -bý with appellative specifics were coined early in the tenth century and bestowed upon English settlements that had been taken over by the Danes. That this process did sometimes take place is proved by the instances of Derby and Whitby and rendered probable by the numerous Kir(k)bys and býs with English specifics. Bý-names with appellative specifics are found not only in eastern England, where they are common in Suffolk, Derbyshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, but also on the other side of the Pennines, where they are exceptionally common in Westmorland, Lancashire and Cheshire, and I would suggest that this distribution pattern reflects the influence of Danish settlers who had made their way westwards along the river valleys across the Pennines from the Danelaw.

At some later date the Danish settlers in eastern England began to break up the old English estates into small independent agricultural units, many of which had probably begun life as dependent secondary settlements. In most of the area this fragmentation resulted mainly in place-names consisting of a Scandinavian personal name plus bý but in the Yorkshire Wolds the corresponding units tended to receive names in -thorp. Across the Pennines, in Lancashire, Cheshire and Westmorland, there are no certain examples of Scandinavian personal names compounded with bý. Cheshire and Lancashire south of the Wyre were only ever partially under Scandinavian control and that for a comparatively short period of time, while English rule had been re-established in Westmorland by 927. This means that there was little opportunity for fragmentation of the old estates by the Viking settlers in the area represented by these three counties.

In Cumberland, on the other hand, there are thirteen names in -bý whose specific is a Scandinavian personal name and there is a single instance in Dumfriesshire, a lost Ouseby, while in the immediate vicinity of Carlisle, in the coastal plain of Cumberland and in eastern Dumfriesshire there are no less than twenty-eight býs whose specific is a Norman personal name. These hybrid names must reflect the taking over of the býs by Normans and Flemings whose personal names then replaced the original specifics of the names. There is no record of such a substitution having taken place in a place-name in -bý but the present form of the Lincolnshire place-name Buslingthorpe contains as its specific the Norman personal name Buselin, that of the tenant of the vill in 1115. At that date the vill itself was still known as Esatorp and the specific of this older name is the Danish personal name Ēsi, presumably the name of an earlier tenant. That the substitution of one personal name for another in place-names in -thorp in Denmark was still taking place in the thirteenth century has been demonstrated by Christian Lisse, who has argued that a high percentage of young specifics in a name-type in a region does not necessarily mean that the name-type itself is young there (Lisse 1974).

Pursued to its bitter end, Lisse's argument can lead to a conclusion such as that proposed by Niels Lund to the effect that partial reshaping of names was of much more frequent occurrence than hitherto assumed and hence that 'on the whole[ of] the settlements [in England] now having thorp-names the great majority were there before the Danes arrived' (Lund 1975, 478). It is, of course, likely enough that most of the thorp-settlements were in existence before the Viking invasions and it is even possible that many of them had English names in -throp but there are not such strong reasons for accepting a partial reshaping of names in the case of the purely Scandinavian

thorp-names as in the case of the Grimston-hybrids and the býs containing Norman personal names. It is probably significant that in the single demonstrable instance in which an anthroponymical specific of a thorp-name has been replaced, it is a Norman personal name that has displaced a Scandinavian one and that there are several instances of the prefixing of Norman personal names to originally simplex Thorps, for example Pain in Painsthorpe YE, Pinçon in Pinchinthorpe YN, Basewin in Bassingthorpe L (Kesteven) and Peveler in Perlethorpe Nt (DEPN).

Most of the Dumfriesshire býs whose specific is a Norman personal name are found in Annandale. Further up the valley the Normans would seem to have come upon a settlement with an English name in -tūn. After its take-over by a Norman called John, at any rate, it was referred to as Johnstone and not \*Johnbie (Barrow 1980, 40, 47). Names consisting of a Norman personal name plus tūn are of fairly frequent occurrence in southern Scotland, where names consisting of English or Scandinavian personal names plus tūn are also to be found (Barrow 1980, 39). Names in -tūn with anthroponymical specifics are exceptionally rare in Cumberland (PNCu 496) and this is probably the reason for the absence of names of the Johnstone type from that county.

Geoffrey Barrow has argued that in southern Scotland the settlement names formed in the twelfth century and consisting of a personal name plus bý or tūn do not imply wholly new units of settlement (Barrow 1980, 40 n.37) and the same must surely apply to the situation in Cumberland. I would argue that there is no certain evidence for the use of the generic bý to coin new place-names in England after the Norman Conquest and that the vast majority of the bý-names had been coined as such by the middle of the tenth century, although several of the names were later partially reshaped to incorporate the names of eleventh- or twelfth-century tenants.

If any of the names in -bý are to be assumed to have been coined from scratch in the post-Conquest period, then the most likely candidates are the Newbys, which expressly denoted new settlements and whose specific is the English and not the Scandinavian form of the adjective 'new'. It is also possible that some of the other bý-names with adjectival specifics are young, since this type of formation is extremely rare among the bý-names recorded in Domesday Book.

UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN

#### ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

County abbreviations are those employed by the English Place-Name Society.

Barrow, G.W.S., 1980: The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History. Oxford.

Cameron, K., 1965: Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: The place-name evidence. Nottingham.

DEPN: E. Ekwall, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names, 4th ed. Oxford. 1960.

Ekwall, E., 1924: 'The Scandinavian Element', Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names. EPNS I, 1. 55-62.

Ekwall, E., 1936: 'The Scandinavian Settlement', An Historical Geography of England before A.D. 1800, ed. H. C. Darby. Cambridge. 133-64.

- EPN: English Place-Name Elements by A. H. Smith. EPNS XXV-XXVI. 1956.
- EPNS: English Place-Name Society.
- Fellows Jensen, G., 1981: 'Scandinavian settlement in the Danelaw in the light of the place-names of Denmark', Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress. Odense. 133-45.
- Fellows-Jensen, G., 1983: 'Anthroponymical specifics in place-names in -by in the British Isles', Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica 1. 45-60.
- Hansen, A. M., 1904: Landnám i Norge. Kristiania.
- Jones, G. R. J., 1965: 'Early Territorial Organization in Northern England and its Bearing on the Scandinavian Settlement', The Fourth Viking Congress, ed. A. Small. Edinburgh. 67-84.
- Kousgård Sørensen, John, 1979: 'Place-Names and Settlement History', Names, Words, and Graves: Early Medieval Settlement, ed. P. H. Sawyer. Leeds. 1-33.
- Kristensson, G., 1977: Studies on the Early 14th-Century Population of Lindsey (Lincolnshire). Lund.
- Lisse, C., 1974: "'Gøkstorp qvod nunc Knutstorp dicitur". Landsby-navneskifter i middelalderen', Festskrift til Kristian Hald. Navnestudier 13. Copenhagen. 117-27.
- Lund, N., 1975: 'Personal Names and Place-Names: the Persons and the Places', Onoma XIX. 468-85.
- Morris, C. D., 1981: 'Viking and native in northern England. A case-study', Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress. Odense. 223-44.
- Owen, A. E. B., 1974-75: 'Hafdic: A Lindsey Name and its Implications', Journal of the EPNS 7. 45-56.
- Owen, A. E. B., 1975: 'Medieval Salting and the Coastline in Cambridgeshire and North-West Norfolk', Salt. The Study of an Ancient Industry, ed. K.W. de Brisay and K. A. Evans. Colchester. 42-44.
- Payling, L. W. H., 1935: 'Geology and Place-Names in Kesteven (S.W. Lincolnshire)', Leeds Studies in English IV. 1-13.
- PN + county abbreviation: publication of the EPNS.
- Sawyer, P. H., 1958: 'The Density of the Danish Settlement in England', University of Birmingham Historical Journal 6. 1-17.
- Sawyer, P. H., 1962 and 1971: The Age of the Vikings. 1st and 2nd eds. London.
- Sawyer, P. H., 1973: 'Baldersby, Borup and Bruges: The Rise of Northern Europe', University of Leeds Review 16. 75-96.
- Sawyer, P.H., 1978: From Roman Britain to Norman England. London.
- Sawyer, P.H., 1981: 'Conquest and colonization: Scandinavians in the Danelaw and in Normandy', Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress. Odense. 123-31.
- Sawyer, P.H., 1982: Kings and Vikings. Scandinavia and Europe AD 700-1100. London.

- SSNEM: G. Fellows Jensen, Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands. Navnestudier 16. Copenhagen. 1978.
- SSNY: G. Fellows Jensen, Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire. Navnestudier 11. Copenhagen. 1972.
- Stenton, F. M., 1942: 'The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: The Danish Settlement of Eastern England', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. 4th series. XXIV. 1-24. Reprinted in Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England. Oxford. 1970. 298-313.
- Stenton, F. M., 1943: Anglo-Saxon England. Oxford.
- Wainwright, F. T., 1948: 'Ingemund's Invasion', English Historical Review LXIII. 145-69.
- Wainwright, F. T., 1962: Archaeology and Place-Names and History. London.

## NOTE

- \* This is a revised version of the paper given at the XVIth Annual Conference of the Council for Name Studies on April 1st, 1984, at the University of Aberdeen.