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NOTE

SOME DOMESDAY PERSONAL-NAMES, MAINLY POST-CONQUEST*

Since the death of John Morris in 1977 I have been concerned with the
literary executor's duty, the completion of his projected county-by-county
edition and translation of Domesday Book.[1] I have been much helped and
supported in this pious obligation to a dead friend by a number of diligent
and sympathetic scholars, some of them members of the Council and its
conferences; and I have no doubt that they and many others might recognize in
this present paper some hobby-horses they have seen me ride, and which they
would have hoped to have seen put down ere this.

Domesday Book is a national monument; it is also a memorial to that
magnificent achievement of administration, the great inquest which it reports.
The whole operation - inquest, record, and report - was done at high speed
between Christmas 1085 and September 1087. Perhaps partly as a result of
this, it is not easy to recognize some of the names of people and of places
in DB, or to etymologize them when recognized, i.e. to discern their form,
language, origin, meaning and significance.

The available apparatus helps us with many of the personal-names in
DB;[2] but it does not cover all the material. There are gaps where
elucidation and improvisation and invention are required of the editor.

The chief problems are familiar to us. They arise from the fact that
between 1066 and 1086 an indigenous landholding population which was Anglo-
Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian and, occasionally, Welsh (speaking Old English or
Old Norse or Old Danish or Old Welsh; bearing personal-names belonging to the
Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian stock, or to the Welsh, Cornish or Irish; their
clerks used to reading and writing in Insular Minuscule script as well as in
the [relatively]recently imported Carolingian Minuscule) met a new land-
holding aristocracy which was Norman or French or Breton or Flemish or
whatever other breed the Norman Duke's enterprise had enlisted - presumably
speaking all sorts of languages as well as the lingua franca in either the
Norman or the Frankish varieties; bearing names which were Franco-Danish, or
French, or Continental Germanic, or Breton; whose clerks used the Carolingian
Minuscule familiar in continental practice.

There is a minefield of garbled names in the DB text. Its negotiation
requires recognition of the orthographic and phonetic transpositions which
could arise at the linguistic interfaces between the languages current in
eleventh-century England - especially where speakers of the varieties of
French dictated or took down names which belonged to OE or ON; and it
requires recognition of the mistakes likely to occur in reading and tran-
scribing, when interchanging between the two varieties of script.

As Galbraith makes plain,[3] Great Domesday Book (GDB) is an edited
compilation, the result of abstracting and copying from written returns
submitted first to regional offices, and then to a central office, by
circuit commissioners who collected the particulars from both live and
documentary sources in their localities. Such returns to regional and
central offices are recognized in Little Domesday Book (LDB, for Essex and
E.Anglia), the Exeter Domesday (Exon DB, for the SW counties), the
Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis (ICC, for Cambridgeshire) and the
Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury (for Kent). So we have to
allow for spellings which represent the mishearing, mispronunciation or mis-
reading which could have occurred at each stage in the process of
transmission; to allow, that is, for French-speaking clerks taking down,
dictating or reading aloud to themselves Anglo-Saxon names, and for
continental-script readers reading insular script.

My current study of the proper names of Domesday Book, which follows from Peter Sawyer's pioneer article 'The place-names of the Domesday manuscripts',[4] shows that there are more than thirty kinds of error which arise from confusion of letter-forms by the scribes compiling DB.[5] Scribal conventions, literal error, and phonetic modification lead to various kinds of problem. The most obvious problem concerns ambiguous name-forms:[6]

(a) GDB Airardus (fo.83r; Dorset 49.7) might be various things, such as a variant of the name Ailardus recorded in Devon (fo.114v; 34.53) or the Ælard in Sussex (fo.23r; 11.8) - representing either OE Æðelheard > Æilard (PNDB 184) or OG Adelhard > OFr Alard (Förstemann 170-1; Morlet 16b-17a) or else OG Agirard (Förstemann 42; cf. Morlet 21b s.n. Agradus).

(b) LDB Algoti (gen.; fo.93v; Essex 61) could represent ODan Algot or OG Adalgot (Morlet 16a), Alfgot (Morlet 29ab), or Altgot (see PNDB 146).

(c) GDB Alueradus, Alueredus (fos.152v, 198r; Bucks. 51.3, Cambs. 26.20;22) could represent either OG Alverat, Alueredus (Morlet 29b) or OE Ælfræd (PNDB 175-6).

(d) DB Aluied, Aluiet could represent OE Ælfgyð fem. or OE Ælfgeat or OE Æðelgyð fem. or OE Æðelgeat (PNDB 146,173-4). Likewise, as von Feilitzen shows, it is difficult to be sure of the distinction between OE Ælfrīc and OG Alberic (= Aubrey; Morlet 29b), especially in the SW counties where Exon DB and GDB both show forms Alebric(us), Albric(us), Alberic as alternatives to Aluric, Alfric (PNDB 176-80).

(e) GDB Auesgot (fo.202r; Cambs. 38.5) may represent ON Ásgautr (PNDB 165); but, if the MS. here has u for n, we might read Anesgot, for OG Ansgaud (Morlet 38b). In LDB Norfolk, ON Asgeirr, ODan Esger is reflected in the spellings As-, Es-, -ger, -gar, and OG Ansger in spellings with Ans-, but one cannot be sure how far practice was consistent (cf. PNDB 166-7).

(f) DB Ed(d)eua, properly corresponding to OE Ēadgifu, could also represent OE Ēadgȳð: where GDB fo.97r (Somerset 32.2-3) has Eddid(a) regina, Exon DB (fo.463r) has Edeua regina. This sort of confusion, which indicates approximate pronunciations between [ε:dif] and [ε:diθ], or [ε:div] and [ε:dið], makes it hard to separate the names of Edeva (Ēadgifu) the Fair, Harold Godwinsson's mistress, and of Edith (Ēadgȳð) Godwinsdaughter, queen to Edward the Confessor (PNDB 229-32).

(g) DB Gunfrid could represent OG Gundefrid (Morlet 117a) or ON Gunnfrøðr (SPLY 114).

(h) GDB Hunulfus (fo.117v; Worcs. 26.6) could represent OE Hūnwulf, OG Hunulf (Morlet 141a), or ON Hundulfr (PNDB 295; cf. SPLY 145).

(i) DB Lemar could represent OE Lēodmǣr or the more frequent Lēofmǣr (PNDB 309).

(j) GDB Liuol (fo.53v; Hants (Wight) IOW 8.4) could be a typical Norman-French representation of either *Liuolf or *Liuold. The former would represent OE *Lēofwulf, if such a name were known other than in the doubtful late-twelfth-century Suffolk form Lefof (Seltén, Anglo-Saxon Heritage II, 119, citing the OG cognate Leubolf; cf. Morlet 158b). Liuold would represent the better-recorded OE Lēofwald (PNDB 316; von Feilitzen, Winton Domesday 64; Seltén, Heritage II, 117).

(k) DB Oda, Ode, Odo could represent OG Odo, Oddo (Morlet 45b), or ON Oddi (SPLY 202), or OE Odda (PNDB 333, cf. 334).

(l) DB Osbern could represent ON Ásbjǫrn or OG Osbern (PNDB 165, 338-9; cf. SPLY 18-19).

(m) GDB Reynold, Raynold, Rainald and Renald could, it seems, indiscriminately, represent OG Ragin-/Reginald, Rainald (Morlet 185b-196a) or ON Ragnaldr (cf. PNDB 346-7 and SPLY 213).

(n) GDB Seibertus (fo.125r; Cornwall 5.24;20) could represent OE Sæbeorht (Seltén, Heritage II, 131) or OE Sigebeorht (ibidem, 143; cf. PNDB 352, 360) or, alternatively, OG Sigibert (Morlet 197ab). DB Seifridus could similarly represent OE *Sæfrið (Seltén, Heritage II, 132, cf. 143) OE Sigefrið (PNDB 360), ON Sigfrøðr (SPLY 231), or else OG Sigifridus (Morlet 197b-198a); and DB Siuert could stand either for OE Sigefrið/-ferð or for ON Sigfrøðr. DB Sigar could represent OE Sigegār, ON Sigarr, or OG Siger (PNDB 359-60; SPLY 230-1; Morlet 198a); on GDB fo.190r a sokeman's name Sagar represents OE Sægār (Cambs. 1.16; PNDB 352-3). DB Segrim, Sagrim could represent ON Sægrímr (SPLY 284; cf. PNDB 353), an OE *Sigegrim, or the rare OG Sigigrim (W.Schlaug, Die altsächsischen Personennnamen vor dem Jahre 1000 [Lund, 1962], 152). DB Seuuardus, Seiuuardus could likewise represent OE Sæward or OE Sigeward (PNDB 354 and 261-3; Seltén, Heritage II, 138, 137), ON Sigvarðr (SPLY 236-9), or OG Sigiward (Förstemann 1333; Morlet 199a).

(o) LDB Tate (fo.105r; Essex B.3a) could represent OE Tat(a) masc. or Tate fem. (Redin 54-5, 114).

(p) The DB spellings Warin and Waring can both represent OG Warin (Morlet 219b; Marynissen, I, 350-1).

(q) DB Wigar could represent OE Wihtgār, or ON Vígarr, or OG Wigger, Wiger (PNDB 413, 414; SPLY 335; Förstemann 1582 and Morlet 223a).

Confusion of weak-stressed second elements, as with -gifu and -gȳð in the case of Edeva and Edith, raises several problems. In GDB Lincs., the ODan name Ketelbjǫrn is recorded now as Chetelbertus, now as Chetelbernus (PNDB 302-4; SPLY 171); this also occurs in GDB Warks. (fo.241v; 17.56) and Worcs. (fo.174v; 8.10a;10c). In LDB Norfolk (fos.109r, 263v; 45) we find an interchange of Colebernus with Colebertus (cf. PNDB 218), and in LDB Essex an interchange of Hagebernus (spelt Hgheb[er]ni gen. at fo.96r; 70) with Hagebertus (cf. Morlet 120a: Hagibertus). In various counties there is persistent alternation of Osbert and Osbern (cf. PNDB 338-9). The latter interchange is especially notable in Kent, for the name of Osbern Paisforiere, whom on several occasions GDB calls Osbert whereas the Domesday Monachorum calls him Osbern. Also in Kent, GDB's Osbern son of Ledhard is the same as GDB's Osbert son of Ledhard, whom the Domesday Monachorum calls Osbern. In GDB Beds. (fos.213rv; 23.27; 31) Osbert of Breuil is also called Osbern of Breuil. These -bern/-bert variations could perhaps be explained as reflecting an Anglo-Norman loss of [n] or [t] after [r]. On the other hand, alternations like these may sometimes be the result of scribal uncertainty over an ambiguous abbreviation (cf. Turb' for Turbertus in LDB Essex fo.56v; 28.18) rather than over pronunciation.

A comparable palaeographical confusion may lie behind Esmund GDB Sussex (fo.24v; 11.63) by error for the by-name Esmelt (a Norman-French version, with prosthetic e-, of an OE nickname Smelt 'a small, salmon-like fish; figuratively, a fool', that is found both as by-name and as personal-name: OEB 365; Redin 23; PNDB 367). A scribe could have seen an abbreviated form, Esm', and expanded it incorrectly.

The difficulty which might arise from miscopying or wrong expansion of abbreviated forms can likewise be seen in LDB Norfolk (fo.181b; 9.100), where antec' Rad blang' might be expanded as antec[essor] Rad[ulfi] b[er]lang[eri]. This surname is difficult to explain and could be made the text of a long exegesis; but the original which lies behind what the LDB scribe mistakenly wrote was probably a badly written representation of Radb lang', for which

one should read <u>Radbod lang</u>, that is, the OG masc. personal-name <u>Radbod</u> (Morlet 181a; Forssner 203; cf. <u>PNDB</u> 344) with the OE by-name <u>lang(a)</u> 'tall' (<u>OEB</u> 320).

Another group of second elements persistently confused consists of OE and OG -wig and OE -wine/OG -win, especially when Latinized as -wius and -winus (cf. <u>PNDB</u> 125). The names <u>Alwig</u> and <u>Alwine</u> are much confused (cf. <u>PNDB</u> 157-60). One might suppose that a nominative form <u>Aluui</u>, Latinized <u>Aluuius</u>, could be the result of misreading or miscopying an abbreviated form of <u>Alwine</u>, Latinized <u>Alwinus</u>, in which a nunnation had been omitted or overlooked (e.g., <u>Aluuius</u> = <u>Aluuinus</u>). In GDB Herefords. (fo.187r; 29.1) <u>Vluui cilt</u> (<u>Wulfwig</u>) is also referred to, in the same entry, by the form <u>Vluuino</u> (ablative), and in GDB Hunts. (fo.203v; 2.7) we find <u>Vluuino episcopo</u> as dative of the name of Bishop <u>Wulfwig</u> of Dorchester (cf. <u>PNDB</u> 426-8). The -wi/-wius/-wine/-winus alternation also appears in comparable pairs such as OE Æðelwig/-wine, Earnwig/-wine, Godwig/-wine, and also OG <u>Fulcoius/-oinus</u> (<u>PNDB</u> 189-91, 243-4, 269-73; Förstemann 558; Morlet 95b-96a). Although von Feilitzen believed that a general onomastic convention of alternation explained all the examples, it is possible that some of them were the result of abbreviations being expanded according to various, perhaps incorrect, options. By analogy with the -wius/-winus series, there is an alternative form in GDB Berks. (fo.60v; 21.20), <u>Bundino</u> (dative) for ON <u>Bondi</u> (<u>PNDB</u> 206, cf. 125, 128). The personal-name <u>Spirwic</u>, which Tengvik explained as OG but von Feilitzen as Breton (<u>OEB</u> 198; <u>NoB</u> XXVII, 126, with which Oliver Padel <u>in litteris</u> disagrees), appears as <u>Spiruwin</u> in Norfolk (LDB fo.245v; 29), doubtless because the scribe, looking at a form <u>Spiruuic</u>, took as an abbreviation-mark over <u>i</u> what was really the lid of a horned <u>c</u>.

In Somerset we find Exon DB (fo.163r) naming one <u>Osward</u> where GDB (fo. 90r; 8.8) has <u>Oswald</u> (<u>PNDB</u> 340-1): this represents a familiar [l]/[r] interchange, probably facilitated by weak stress. But which is the basic name here? Was the man called OE <u>Oswald</u> or OE <u>Osward</u>?

In GDB Dorset (fo.80r; 27.1-4;6;8-11), Somerset (fos.91v,98r; 18.1; 3-4 and 39.1) and Cornwall (fo.124v; 5.17-19) the same man is named as <u>Alnoth</u> and as <u>Ednoth</u>. Presumably these are variant developments of OE <u>Ealdnoð</u> (cf. <u>PNDB</u> 241); but it is not easy to determine whether they represent vernacular variations in treatment of the 'short diphthong' and of the consonant-group, or Norman-French modifications.

Another type of difficulty is caused by appearance of alternative names, rather than alternative forms of name, for the one person. Here, particularly, is the man <u>Hascoit</u> or <u>Hasculf</u> Musard who turns up in Bucks., Berks., Glos., Oxon. and Warks. According to J.R.Morris, one of his names, <u>Hascoit</u>, is Breton (Oliver Padel denies this; Morris probably relied on Dauzat, <u>Dictionnaire</u>, 321, where the twelfth-century form cited is <u>Harnscoed</u>). The other, <u>Hasculf</u>, represents OG <u>A(n)sculf</u> (Morlet 42b; cf. <u>PNDB</u> 161).

A further case concerns <u>Walter</u> or <u>Walscin</u> of Douai, who is recorded in DB now by his full first-name, now by the diminutive variant of it. He is referred to under his full name <u>Walter</u> (OG <u>Walt(h)er</u>: Forssner 243; Morlet 213ab) in GDB Surrey and some entries for Devon and for Somerset; but elsewhere, in GDB Dorset, Wilts. and other entries for Devon and for Somerset, by the hypocoristic <u>Walscin</u> (not discussed in <u>PNDB</u> or <u>OEB</u>).[7] <u>Walscin</u> is a French spelling of an OG diminutive *<u>Walzin</u> (cf. <u>ANI</u> 37-8; and Forssner 39, s.n. <u>Azelin</u>, and 278-9); this form is a double-diminutive based on the prototheme <u>Wald-/Walt-</u>, being an -<u>in</u> derivative of the -<u>z</u>-suffixed form <u>Walzo</u> (see Bach I, part 1, § 97.1, § 100.2; Förstemann 1501, Forssner 278-9 and Marynissen, I, 348, 349)[8] The GDB clerk apparently knew that Walter and Walscin were the same man, and often used the simple abbreviation <u>W</u>. for both names, there being no need to specify more closely. The clerk or clerks of

Exon DB may have been recording the use of the alternative name-forms as and when they cropped up in the various returns coming to hand.

Some further problems and some provisional solutions have emerged in the identification and explanation of DB personal-names during the preparation of the Phillimore volumes:

(i) GDB <u>Elfain</u> (fo.371r; Lincs.) may represent OE <u>Elfwine</u> (Ælfwine) as a variant of a French spelling *<u>Elfoin</u>.

(ii) GDB <u>Radulfus Framen</u> (fo.236v; Leics. 42.9) involves a by-name not listed by Tengvik; presumably it represents a patronymic use of the OHG personal-name <u>Frammin</u> (Förstemann 519; cf. Morlet 91b).

(iii) There is a question whether GDB <u>Gernio</u> (? [dʒernio]) and <u>Jernio</u> (fos. 160r, 154r; Oxon. 58.16 and B.9), which are nominative-case forms in their contexts, should be taken to represent the apparently rare OG fem. personal-name <u>Gerniu</u>, <u>Gerniuui</u> (Förstemann 583) or whether we should seek a simpler solution by suggesting that they represent mistakes for an OFr J-/Geroin for OG <u>Gerwin</u> (Morlet 100b; cf. thirteenth- and fourteenth-century English records of it in Forssner 112).

(iv) GDB <u>Luith monialis</u> (fo.238r; Warks. B.2) is rendered in the Phillimore volume as 'the nun Leofeva', as though her name were <u>Leofgifu</u>; <u>Luith</u> is in fact more likely to represent OE <u>Leofgyð</u> (cf. <u>PNDB</u> 312).

(v) GDB <u>Maldred</u> (fo.331r; Yorks.) seems not to be in the reference books, although almost touched upon by Forssner under <u>Mahtild</u> (182); it probably represents the OG fem. personal-name <u>Mahaltrudis</u> < <u>Madal-</u> (Förstemann 1113; Morlet 164a).

(vi) GDB <u>Oirant</u> (fo.53v; Hants (Wight) IOW 9.7) is clumsily tackled by Forssner (200), who desperately conjures a putative OFr form *<u>Oïrant</u> from the putative OG names *<u>Audaramnus</u> or *<u>Odilramnus</u>. If we suppose that <u>Oi</u> is a French representation of [wi], that <u>n</u> represents simplification of [mn] and <u>t</u> an unvoiced epenthetic dental generated after the nasal - all these being decent and well-attested operations described by Zachrisson and von Feilitzen - then GDB <u>Oirant</u> would represent NFr <u>Wirant</u> < OG <u>Wigramn</u> (Förstemann 1585; Morlet 223b; cf. the French surname <u>Guirand</u>).

(vii) One is still at a loss for the significance of the by-name of Alric <u>Wintremelc</u> 'Wintermilk' (GDB fo.218v; Beds. 57.8; <u>OEB</u> 383).

(viii) LDB <u>Ascolf unglicus</u> (fo.117r; Norfolk 1.61) was a Norwich citizen with the OG personal-name <u>Ansculf</u> in a rather Scandinavianized form (cf. Morlet 42b). His by-name has been regarded as <u>anglicus</u> mistaken (<u>OEB</u> 130, following Ellis, II, 290; Tengvik adds an exclamation-mark to draw attention to the 'corrupt' spelling). The MS. has <u>unglicus</u>: rather than amend the text, we might read this as an Anglicized form of the ON adjective <u>úglikr</u> 'unlike, different' - so in the Phillimore edition he is called 'Ansculf Unlike'.

(ix) The surname of Robert <u>de Barbes</u> (GDB fo.11r; Kent 5.193) is not in <u>OEB</u>, and has not been traced to its place of origin.[9]

(x) GDB <u>Clodoan</u> (fo.249v; Staffs. 11.60) should probably be taken together with <u>Glodoen</u> (fo.249r; Staffs. 11.46) to represent OG <u>Hlodwin</u> (Förstemann 858; Morlet 133b). The -<u>oan</u>/-<u>oen</u> spellings remain, however, a difficulty.

(xi) GDB <u>Conded</u> (fo.357r; Lincs.) could represent OG <u>Gundhad</u> (Morlet 117a).

(xii) LDB <u>Pesserara</u> (fo.408v; Suffolk 31.42) remains unsolved.

(xiii) GDB <u>Pleines</u> (fo.204v; Hants 6.7), hitherto unexplained, would yield to manipulation. If <u>p</u> were read as a mistake for <u>f</u> in Insular Minuscule and

the -s as an unhistorical OFr nominative ending, we could then find the ON personal-name Fleinn (SPLY 82; Adigard des Gautries 203-4).

(xiv) The same f/p substitution would transform the opaque GDB Polcehard (fos.60v, 63v; Berks. 21.12 and 65.18) into OG Folcehard, Fulchard (Morlet 95a; Forssner 98; PNDB 256).

(xv) Confusion of f and p might also be the clue to the by-name of Wulfwin Hapra (LDB fo.64r; Essex 62.3). Tengvik suggested a by-name derived from OE (ge)hæp 'fit, seemly', with an -re suffix (OEB 347). A putative OE personal-name *Hæpp(a) might be devised; it would be cognate with OG Heppo, etc. (Förstemann 748; see Reaney, DBS, s.n. Happe). But an attractive alternative is to consider Hapra to be a misreading of *Hafra, an Anglicized form of OScand Hafri, a by-name derived from ON hafr 'he-goat' (SPLY 121; for the by-name currency of OE Bucca 'he-goat', see OEB 359-60).

(xvi) About GDB Papaldus (fo.48r; Hants 43.3), Forssner evinces desperation, if not defeat (203). However, substitution of f for the first p and of r for the second (Insular Minuscule p and r can be similar if not well executed) would produce Farald(us), an acceptable representation of the OG masc. personal-name Faruald, Faroald (Förstemann 498; Morlet 88a).

(xvii) The GDB personal-name forms strami and stremius (fos.74v, 69v; Wilts. 68.22 and 24.19), unexplained by von Feilitzen as 'presumably Scandinavian' (PNDB 376), would yield sense if we supposed a confusion of minuscule c and t. The forms *scrami and *scremi(us) invite identification with ON Skræmir (SPLY 253).

(xviii) The same palaeographical operation may be involved in solving the puzzle of GDB Chemarhuec (fo.61v; Berks. 35.1), wrongly printed -HNEC by Ellis (II, 302). The Phillimore edition 'translates' this name as Kenmarchuc without explanation. The problem, precisely, is whether to suppose that GDB Chemarhuec represents the OBreton personal-name Kenmarhoc (recorded 1062x 1070; Oliver Padel in litteris cites Loth, Chrestomathie, 116, 150, 197, with additional forms OBret Kenmarcoc 866, MBret Kenmaroc 1240, Kenvaroc 1311), in which equation the vowel of the final syllable would be anomalous; or to suppose GDB Chemarhuec a mistake for Chemarhuet, which can be interpreted, again postulating assimilation of the nasal consonants, as a spelling for OE Cynemǣr hwet. The by-name would be the OE adjective hwæt, hwet 'bold, brisk' (cf. the name Edricus Chuet, Winchester 1066: OEB 125; also von Feilitzen, Winton Domesday, 209, but there regarded as inexplicable).

(xix) A rather peculiar literal substitution is B for M in Rustic Capitals; necessary if we are to explain the GDB form Molebec (fo.56rv; Berks. B.2, B.5) for the surname of Hugo de Bolebec (fo.56v; B.9; see OEB 73 and 127).

(xx) Substitution of L and I in Rustic Capitals would explain the GDB form Lorz (fo.236v; Leics. 42.5) for the surname Iorz (cf. OEB 94). The same applies to the GDB forms LVRI, Luri, for the surname of Hugo and Roger de Ivri (fos.83r, 224v; Dorset 54.1 and Northants. 24.1; see OEB 93). Supposing the same mistake and also confusion of n/u in minuscule, GDB Junen and Lunen (fos.204v, 205r; Hunts. 6.21 and 9.4) could represent *Luuen for the OE fem. personal-name Lēofwynn.

(xxi) Similarity of Insular Minuscule n and r offers opportunity for substitutions. The LDB personal-name Dynechaie (fo.320r; Suffolk 6.191) is left unsolved in PNDB (229). But, taken as a misreading of *Dyrechaie, it could be interpreted as ODan *Dyri kai; the by-name being the elusive ancestor of ME and ModE dialect kai 'left-handed', which is probably a loan from Scandinavian into English (see Reaney, DBS, s.n. Kay; OED, EDD, and MED s.v. cai; all of which might benefit from a reference to the LDB personal-name thus reconstructed).

(xxii) Palaeographical manoeuvres can also be fairly intensive at the lower level of ingenuity, the minim count, i.e., at the interchange and confusion of the minuscule letters i, n, m, u, uu and l, li, h. LDB Gingomus (fo.147r; Norfolk 4.30) could thus represent an OFr spelling Guigoinus for OG Wigwin (Förstemann 1588; not in Morlet). Similarly the plausible-looking GDB name-form Remirus (fo.20r; Sussex 9.109) may really be an erroneous reading by the GDB scribe of a spelling Reinirus for the OG personal-name Reiner (Morlet 184b-185a). Minim-confusions produce the LDB scribal form Goscelm for Goscelin (Morlet 106b-107a) in Essex (fos.1r, 2r; L64 and 1.2) and the GDB form Benthelmus for Benthelinus (OG Benzelin: Morlet 51b) in Somerset (fo.89v; 6.14); and also Farley's own erroneous Schelm for GDB Schelin (OG Azelin: Morlet 19b) in Dorset (fo.84r; 56.19).

(xxiii) The very odd LDB form DuHel (fo.105r; Essex B.3a, in the Colchester section and written by a rather idiosyncratic hand) can be explained as a palaeographical mistake for Dublel, with an imperfect bow of a minuscule b having been masked by the following l so as to look like a Rustic Capital H. Dublel is an OFr by-name of uncertain connotation (see OEB 375, corrected by von Feilitzen, Winton Domesday, 210).

(xxiv) GDB Ocsen (fo.486r; Hants 46.1) is unexplained in PNDB (333); but by supposing confusion of t and c, of f and s, and of r and n, we could find a form *Otfer, which could perhaps represent OG Odfrid (cf. Morlet 43b; PNDB 334).

(xxv) Phonetic processes plus French orthography might explain GDB Unfac (fo.286r; Notts. 9.84), listed in PNDB under OSwedish Ofegh (339). But, with minim confusion and given the tendency to vocalize 'dark' [ł], it might also represent a miscopying of *Uufac for Vlfac for OE Wulfhēah (cf. PNDB 420-1).

(xxvi) GDB Sussex (fo.18r; 9.1) offers the spelling Werelc, which, if representing a form Werenc for OG Waring (cf. Förstemann 1534), shows interchange of [l]/[n] as well as of final [k]/[g].

(xxvii) A less straightforward reconstruction of a personal-name on phonetic and orthographical lines is effected in that classic assault upon the credulity of scholar and layman alike, my elucidation of the GDB by-name of Willelmus Goizenboded (fo.167v; Glos. 34); unexplained in OEB (390). The second element I take to be OE -boded, past participle of bodian 'to announce, to threaten, to foretell in a boding fashion'. Goizen- needs a sympathetic phonetician: goi could represent an OFr pronunciation [gwi] for initial [wi] and z (= [ts]) could be used to render OE [tʃ]: orthography well attested by Zachrisson and von Feilitzen. So we could see Goizenboded as representing an OE by-name *wiccan-boded 'warned by a witch', or perhaps 'witch-cursed' - wiccan being the dative singular of OE wicce fem. 'a witch'.

(xxviii) The same OFr substitution of [g] or [gw] for initial [w] as is invoked for Goizenboded and in explaining the mistake Gingomus for Guigoinus (see xxii) can be adduced in explanation of the LDB by-name of Goduinus Cudhen, also spelt Gudhen (fos.17v, 99r; Essex 9.5 and 90.1) - a by-name, unexplained in OEB (390), which again extends our lexicography. It is possible to take the form with initial C (= [k]) as a variant of the one with initial G (= [g]), and to read the G-form as an OFr rendering of one with initial [w]. This reveals a by-name Wudhen, which supposes the currency of an unrecorded OE *wudu-henn 'a wood-hen', analogous with OE wudu-hana, wudu-cocc. This invention would antedate the OED's first instance of wood-hen, dated 1281.

(xxix) Another interesting by-name which is called to mind by *wudu-henn is LDB Vudebil (fo.105v; Essex B.3a), from OE wudu-bill 'hatchet, chopper' (proposed by Kökeritz in his review of PNDB in NoB XXVI, 36, and subsequently adopted by von Feilitzen in NoB XXXIII s.n.).

(xxx) There is both a phonological and an editorial aspect to the inter-pretation of the GDB name Aluuinus ´ret´ (fo.50r; Hants 69.16). J.H.Round suggested that ret might have been interlined here to alter Aluuinus to Aluretus, i.e., OE Ælfwine to OE Ælfræd (VCH Hants I, 505); but Julian Munby (as editor of the Hampshire Phillimore volume) observed that -uin- was not marked for deletion, and that the interlineation could well represent an added by-name, not noted in OEB. Formally, ret is quite acceptable as a by-name, being a possible OE dialect form of rætt 'a rat'; there is one Osbert Rat in the Darlington section of Boldon Book (ed. D.Austin, Chichester 1982, n.383).

(xxxi) There is phonetic speculation in the solution of the GDB name Aluiladese (fo.61v; Berks. 31.3). Von Feilitzen explains the form as a Latinized nominative of the OE fem. personal-name Ælfhild, with a by-name suffixed (PNDB 175); the name is omitted from Ellis's Index to DB and is not in OEB. Loss of post-consonantal final [d] is common in DB name-forms (see PNDB 99), and in the present composite might have been accelerated by dissimilation. The most obvious OE word ending in -dese is the poetic idese, -an, the weak-declension variant of ides 'a lady', the initial vowel of which might be elided after the Latinized -a of Alfhilda or after OE vocalic inflexions. Development supposed is Ælfhilda idese > Alfilda-dese > Alfila-dese, but the precise order of the process is not ascertainable. 'Ælfhild the lady' may have been aristocratic, romantic or fanciful.

(xxxii) One can find further lexicographical interest in DB personal-names: the GDB form Friendai (fo.230v; Leics. 2.7) looks like the Old Frisian variant - with weak inflexion of the goddess-name - of Friday used as a personal by-name (OEB 218 does not deal with this variant).

(xxxiii) Similar to 'wood-hen' (see xxviii, above) in extending the record of a word are the LDB names Mascerel and Grapinel. Mascerel, Mascherell(us) (fos.39v, 102r; Essex 23.14 and 90.58) appears to be a by-name use of a noun derivative of the OFr verb mascher 'to mix, chew up, mash'; the meaning would be 'little masher, little mixer'. The word mascerel would offer us a clue to the unidentified origin of the ModE word mash-rule or mash-roll (first recorded by OED 1388x1440), the name of a brewer's tool, 'a paddle used by a brewer for stirring and mixing his mash'. Another implement-name is involved in the LDB by-name Grapinel (fo.44r; Essex 24.22); this represents by-name use of a diminutive of OFr grapon 'a grapnel, a grappling-hook'. According to OED, OFr graponel, grapenel does not appear in English use until the fourteenth century; here it is in 1086, as a by-name in Essex.

(xxxiv) It is by now painfully obvious that I am inclined to the thorough reconstruction of the unintelligible form, keeping in mind the bounds of phonetic and orthographic feasibility; so long as the resulting inventions make sense. The process is fraught with danger, as may be seen upon comparison of the GDB forms Gollan and Gollam (fo.194v; Cambs. 14.34) with the ICC form Godlamb, for OE Godlamb (cf. B.Seltén, English Studies XLVI, s.n.) or upon comparison of the GDB form Gogan at the same entry and the ICC form gomanus, for OE Godmann (see PNDB 265-6). Without the ICC, would one have been able to reconstruct the correct forms from what the GDB scribe wrote? Here the GDB scribe uses more 'advanced' forms than the ICC; but elsewhere in the same county he uses a more traditional one: on f.194v (Cambs. 14.45) he wrote Leueue to represent Lefeva < OE Lēofgifu, whereas the ICC has Leshusa, a bad copy for *Lefhufa, representing either OE Lēofgyfu or (by a confusion analogous to that between Eadgifu and Eadgȳð) OE Lēofgȳð: a range of variant spellings representing sound-substitution and misreading which would indicate that this passage of the ICC is based on a dictated transcript.

(xxxv) We must always reckon with the possibility of mere lapsus calami. The GDB form Alflet, for OE Ælflæd fem. (fo.198r; Cambs. 26.21) corresponds to an ICC form Lefleda, which would seem to represent OE Lēofflæd, did we not recognize it as a metathesized form for Elfled, a variant of Ælflæd.

(xxxvi) The GDB form Unlof (fo.287v; Notts. 10.24; entered under Ólaf by von Feilitzen, PNDB 335) refers to the same man as isdem Ulnod in the same entry. The scribe has obviously written Unlof for Ulnof for Ulnoð (note the phonetic substitution of [f] for [þ]). The same kind of metathesis appears at GDB fo.10v (Kent 5.158; 167), where Unlot alternates with Ulnot.

(xxxvii) So, the reconstruction of name-forms can be dangerous: see a disastrous instance in notes to the Phillimore Norfolk volume, sections 4.2 and 4.16. My reconstruction of the LDB forms Phanceon and Fæicon (taken to represent *Faencion) into the ON personal-name Farþegn, an exercise in fanciful futility, has subsequently been illuminated by von Feilitzen's observation of by-name use of OFr fançon 'a small child' (Winton Domesday, 147, n.5). Nevertheless, in order to make omelettes . . . In order to construct useful possible interpretations of the unintelligible, some absurdities may be risked. Of course, all these proposed solutions are provisional and conditional, all immediately to be cancelled by better documentation, exactly like the attempt on Phanceon.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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1. Published by Phillimore (Chichester, 1975 - in progress, to be completed in 1986). In the present paper, the term 'Domesday Book' (DB) is used to refer to Great and Little Domesday Books when thought of as the two-volume final record of the Domesday Inquest. The particular volumes have been distinguished, however, when specific spellings occur only in one of them (as GDB, LDB respectively).

2. See, for instance:

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3. V.H.Galbraith, The Making of Domesday Book (Oxford, 1961).

4. See Bibliography in n.2 above.

5. A detailed discussion of these scribal errors will probably be included in my contribution to the Royal Historical Society's conference at Winchester in 1986.

6. Source references are to the folio of GDB, LDB and Exon DB, and to the chapter, or chapter and section, numbers of the currently available Phillimore county volumes (see n.1 above).

7. Cf. also the partial parallel in the form Valselinus (M.Fauroux, ed., Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie (911-1066) [Caen, 1961], no.48, 1022x1026, Lisieux).

8. See, further, note to L24 in C. and F.Thorn, eds, Domesday Book - 8: Somerset (Chichester, 1980).

9. Cecily Clark notes that in 1197 the name of Barbey, dép. Seine-et-Marne, canton Montereau-fault-Yonne, was spelt Barbes, Barbez (H.Stein and J.Hubert, Dictionnaire topographique du département de Seine-et-Marne [Paris, 1954], s.n.). Thanks are due to the staff of the Map Room at Cambridge University Library for their courteous assistance with the problem.