

2. T. Toon, The Politics of Early Old English Sound-Changes (New York, 1983); R. Hogg, 'On the impossibility of Old English dialectology', Proceedings of the Luick Symposium: Vienna, September 1985 (forthcoming).
3. F. Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon pennies and Old English phonology', Folia Linguistica Historica V (1984), 91-143.
4. F. Colman, 'What is in a name?', Proceedings of the International Conference on Historical Dialectology: Posnan, May 1986 (forthcoming).
5. Ibidem.
6. Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon pennies', 116, and see further G. Fellows-Jensen, Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (Copenhagen, 1968), p.xxix.
7. Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon pennies', 134; see also A. Noreen, Altschwedische Grammatik (Halle, 1904), § 156, Anm.2.
8. V. Smart, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, XXVIII: Cumulative Index to Volumes I-XX (Oxford and London, 1981), 14.
9. A. Campbell, Old English Grammar (Oxford, 1959), § 329.
10. Ibidem, § 283.
11. F. Colman, 'A Philological Study of the Moneyers' Names on Coins of Edward the Confessor', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford 1981, 193, and references therein.
12. Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon pennies', 130.
13. Colman, 'What is in a name?'.
14. Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon pennies', 118-19.

TOPONYMY AND SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTH-WEST

A review of GILLIAN FELLOWS-JENSEN, Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West, Navnestudier udgivet af Institut for Navneforskning XXV, C. A. Reitzels Forlag: Copenhagen, 1985, xxii + 455 pp., 33 maps.

Gillian Fellows-Jensen's study of Scandinavian settlement-names in the North-West treats the pre-1974 English counties of Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland, together with Dumfriesshire in south-west Scotland. It is organized in a similar way to the author's earlier studies of Scandinavian settlement-names in Yorkshire (1972) and in the East Midlands (1978). After the bibliography and the list of abbreviations comes an introductory chapter dealing with the historical background and the onomastic material; this concludes with an explanation of the plan upon which the work is based. Just under two-thirds of the book (chaps II-VI) consists of an examination of the relevant place-name types, together with a corpus of material. The last third is largely taken up by two chapters (VII-VIII) dealing with the distribution of the names and with the various types of evidence which can be used for assessing the Scandinavian colonization of the North-West and its rôle in the toponymy of this region; this is accompanied by a series of short regional sketches which are particularly useful. The final section consists of an appendix of place-names previously thought to be of Scandinavian origin but for which the author prefers other interpretations, followed by a Danish summary and a comprehensive index to the place-names treated.

At present, any analysis of the Scandinavian settlement-names of the North-West, even one of this size, must still remain somewhat provisional, owing to the uneven nature of the material available. For Cheshire we have, in John Dodgson's EPNS volumes (1970-81), a definitive body of material backed up by mostly sound etymologies; and for Cumberland and Westmorland the EPNS surveys (1950-2 and 1967, respectively) provide excellent corpora of material supported by etymologies which are in the main correct. However, Dodgson's introduction to his Cheshire volumes has not yet appeared and those to the Cumberland and Westmorland surveys already look somewhat dated, especially when considered in the light of recent work on settlement patterns. For Lancashire, the situation is, on the whole, less satisfactory. Eilert Ekwall's The Place-Names of Lancashire appeared as long ago as 1922 and, although it was in its own time a model for future surveys and contains a still-valuable body of material, its age is often apparent. In particular,

the corpus of forms is relatively small and Ekwall made no systematic attempt to include field- and other minor names. Nevertheless, his sound etymological judgment and his superb grasp of essentials mean that the book remains an invaluable tool for modern research. A supplementary corpus of forms for the major names has recently been published by Denise Kenyon, in *JEPNS* XVII (1984-5), 20-106; these generally serve to confirm Ekwall's etymologies. For Dumfriesshire we have only Edward Johnson-Ferguson's *The Place-Names of Dumfriesshire* (1935), supplemented by the unpublished Edinburgh PhD thesis of May Gordon Williamson, *The Non-Celtic Place-names of the Scottish Border Counties* (1942) and, more recently, by W. F. H. Nicolaisen's *Scottish Place-Names* (1976).

Viewed in this light, Gillian Fellows-Jensen's new synthesis is most welcome. It is also full of new insights. The author shows that the Gaelicized Scandinavian element - manifested in such 'inversion-compounds' as the Cumberland *Brotherilkeld* < ON *búðir* (nom. pl. of ON *búð* f. 'booth') + the Scand. personal-name *Úlfkell*, where the generic in Celtic fashion precedes the specific, and in such Gaelic-Scandinavian hybrids as Lancs. *Beaconsall* < the Gaelic personal-name *Beccán* + ON *haugr* m. 'mound' - probably came from Galloway or from the Western Isles, areas where Norwegian Vikings had long been in close contact with Gaels, rather than, as previously thought, from the Norse settlements in Ireland. She also demonstrates that settlers of Danish or Anglo-Danish origin played a rôle greater than hitherto supposed in the Scandinavian settlement of the North-West. Thus, the names in *kirkja-*, mostly found in Cumberland and Dumfriesshire, appear to reflect the influence of Celticized Vikings from Galloway or the Hebrides, whereas those in *-yorp* seem likely to have been coined by settlers from eastern England (pp.291-3, maps 10a-b). A particularly useful feature of the book is its constant citing of onomastic parallels from within Scandinavia itself (e.g., pp.95-6).

The major settlement-names do not, however, tell the whole story of the Scandinavian impact on the North-West. The findings arrived at through examination of these need to be supplemented by using the evidence provided both by field- and other minor names and also by the personal nomenclature found in medieval records. Likewise, social and economic history needs to be brought into play. Thus, J. E. A. Jolliffe and, more recently, G. W. S. Barrow have demonstrated that the archaic structure of Northumbrian society, based on the extensive *manerium cum appendiciis* or 'multiple estate' and an associated class of ministerial freemen, persisted well beyond the Norman Conquest (*English Historical Review* XLI [1926], 1-42; Barrow, *The Kingdom of*

*the Scots* [London, 1973], 7-68). The Scandinavian contribution lay merely in the application of Scandinavian terminology to pre-existing institutions. So, for example, ministerial tenants in the South Lancashire 'hundreds' of Newton and Warrington appear in Domesday Book under the designation *dreng* and in the first half of the twelfth century the free population of Scottish Northumbria was still being addressed collectively as 'thegns and drengs' (Barrow, *Kingdom*, 28). Thanage and drengage tenures are recorded in Northumberland and Durham until well into the thirteenth century. The term *dreng* represents ON *drengr* m. 'young man, bold fellow', but the institution it describes is English, a point emphasized by its semantic near-identity with OE *þeg(e)n* in post-Conquest Northumbrian legal terminology.

Similar implications stem from the use, in twelfth- and thirteenth-century records from the northernmost English counties and from southern Scotland, of the ME term *bond(e)* (borrowed from Scand *bóndi* m. 'farmer, peasant proprietor') for denoting a customary tenant. In the light of this, place-names like the Dumfriesshire *Bombay* (*Bondby* 1500) and *Bombie* (*Bundeby* 1291, 1296) and the Westmorland *Bomby* (*Bondby* 1292, 1473) and *Bongate Hall* (*Bondegate* 1279, 1292, 1351), all of which are included by Fellows-Jensen among the Scandinavian settlement-names of the North-West (pp.26-7, 107), must be treated with some reserve. Etymologically, they are indeed Scandinavian, but, in all likelihood, the reflex of Scand *bóndi* is here used in its Middle English sense, so that these forms are best described as ME settlement-names containing Scandinavian lexemes. A remark of Hugh Smith's is relevant here: 'King John gave Robert de Veteripont *Vetus Appilby ubi villani* [presumably the *bondi*] *manent*' (PN Westm., II, 94). This observation is quoted in the work under review (p.107), but without the drawing from it of the necessary conclusion that the formations concerned are probably Middle English ones. A comparable case is that of the Cumberland name *Flimby*. This the author correctly takes as denoting an enclave of Flemings who probably settled there in the time of William II or of Henry I (p.7), but she then anachronistically gives its specific as 'the gen. pl. of the folk-name, Scand *Flæmingr*, ME *Flæming*, *Fleming* "native of Flanders"' (p.30): ME *Fleming* is, however, a post-Conquest loan from an Old Frisian term corresponding to Middle Dutch *Vlāming* (MED, s.v.), and the spellings *Flemyngeby* 1171-5 (1333) and *Flemingeby* 1201, 1279 show, not a Scandinavian genitive plural, but a svara-bhakti vowel developed between the first and second elements.

In the area under survey, the Scandinavian element *-bý* occurs in several further late formations. Thus, a plea of 1201 cites a writ by which Henry I had granted to Hildred of Carlisle and his son Odard *terram que fuit Gamel filii Bern et terram illam que fuit Glassam filii Brictrici drengorum meorum*, and the editors of *PN Cumb.* (192-3) saw no reason to doubt that the Cumberland place-names *Gamblesby* and *Glassonby* allude respectively to the drengs *Gamel* (ON *Gamall*) and *Glassam* (Gaelic *Glás(s)án*). In Cumberland and Dumfriesshire no less than 28 place-names in *-bý* are, besides, compounded with Continental personal-names: these, representing the names of tenants from the period following William II's capture of Carlisle in 1092, might, as Fellows-Jensen tentatively suggests, have replaced previous specifics, perhaps Scandinavian personal-names (pp.20-4, esp. 22, 24). On the other hand, as she herself shows, four compounds of *-bý* with OE *nīwe* (two in Cumberland, one apiece in Westmorland and in Dumfriesshire [p.371]) must be of relatively late formation (p.24). Since there is no documentary evidence for renaming, it might be better to suppose that, as names of the *Newby* type certainly imply, the element *-bý* remained in use for a long time in this region.

In other ways too, the North remained onomastically conservative during the early Middle English period. This is evidenced in the survival, until at least the latter part of the thirteenth century, of such personal-names as ON *Arnkell*, ON *Úlfkell* and the 'Northumbrian comital names' including Cumbric *\*Gwaspatric*, OE *Ēadwulf*, OE *Ōswulf*, OE *Ūthraēd* and Anglo-Scand *Walyēof* < ON *Valþjófr*. It was also an area in which some families of native Anglo-Scandinavian gentry survived the Norman Conquest. For example, in 1199 Adam son of Orm of Kellet was granted three ploughlands in Nether Kellet, and thenceforth for over a century the office of bailiff of the Lancashire hundred of Lonsdale remained in his family; another native family was that of *de Singleton*, bailiffs of Amounderness hundred in Lancashire, whose earliest representative was one Uctred Hucklesone, recorded as holding Little Singleton in Amounderness by serjeantry c.1153x1160 (for both these families, see A. Cantle, *The Pleas of Quo Warranto for the County of Lancaster*, Chetham Society n.s. XCVIII [1937], 28-9, 131, 135). This all makes it questionable how far such formations as Lancs. *Ormskirk* and Cumb. *Oughterside* ought to be classed as 'Scandinavian', simply because of being compounded from the Scand terms *kirkja* f. 'church' and *sáetr* n. 'shieling', plus the personal-names ON *Ormr* and OE *Ūthraēd* respectively. The frequency of these personal-names during the Middle English period suggests that we are here again concerned with ME

settlement-names formed from Scandinavian lexical items that had entered the local dialect. The place-name *Ormskirk* is indeed first recorded in 1196 and a man called *Orm de Ormskierk* appears in 1203: as Fellows-Jensen says (p.55), this could be coincidental, but the chronological proximity between the two records suggests that this is not so.

It must not be thought that the author makes no attempt to set up chronological criteria for the dating of the names and the settlements: on the contrary, she devotes almost a hundred pages to this. This discussion is mostly, however, devoted to non-linguistic factors, and the linguistic evidence is treated - apart from some valuable analysis of the Goidelic element - primarily from the point of view of the Scandinavian languages. What is lacking is adequate analysis of the evidence in terms of early Middle English anthroponymy and lexis. Such an analysis would help to unravel the various chronological layers of Scandinavian or Scandinavianized nomenclature in the region. The author herself is well aware of such chronological distinctions within her material, pointing out, for example, that the place-name *Newbigging(s)* must date from a period considerably later than that of the initial Scandinavian settlements, because its first element is an English adjective, OE *nēowe*, *nīowe*, *nīwe* > ME *neue* 'new', and its second the ME common noun *bigginge* 'dwelling, homestead, building', formed from the ME verb *biggen* 'to dwell; to build' derived from ON *byggja* 'to build' (p.333). Equally, she shows that hybrid place-names containing Scandinavian inflexions must belong to an early period of linguistic contact when Norse was still a living language in the North-West (pp.325-7), an example of this being the Lancs. name *Osmotherley* (*Asemunderlawe* 1246, *Asmundrelau* 1341) < Anglo-Scand *\*Ásmundarhlāw*, a compound of the Scand personal-name *Ásmundr* (gen. *Ásmundar*) with OE *hlāw* m. 'mound, tumulus'. She likewise demonstrates that a similarly early date should be assigned to purely Scandinavian formations of this type, such as the Cumb. *Ennerdale* (*Anenderdale* c.1135 [12], *Ananderdale* 1189x1199 [1308]) < ON *\*Anundardalr*, a compound of the Scand personal-name *Anundr* (ON *Qnundr*, gen. *Qnundar*) with the ON common noun *dalr* m. 'valley'. Admittedly, the lateness of the source-material for this region hampers any attempt at establishing a relative chronology, but it no less remains true that any such attempt must primarily be made within an English rather than a Scandinavian context.

Concerning the individual place-names, there are various additions and corrections to be noted:



- p.24: 'It seems likely that Alstonby contains the name of a late eleventh-century Astin.' To judge from the form Willelmus f. Astini, given by the author in her discussion of Alstonby as the name of a man who c.1210 granted land in Astinebi to Lanercost Priory (p.25), the tenant Astin, whose name furnishes the first element of this Cumberland place-name, seemingly lived in the late twelfth century rather than a hundred years earlier.
- p.55: Aynesome Lancs. Cf. OIcel einsamall, einsamann, adj. 'alone, lonely'; also German einsam 'lonely'.
- p.61: Ayside Lancs. The form Aykeshead 1279 suggests that the first element is the ONorw byname Eykr < ON eykr m. 'beast of burden, draught-horse'.
- p.65: Kellamergh Lancs. The first element is an ON personal-name \*Kjal-Grímr, formed from the ON common noun kjǫlr 'keel', here used as a prefixed byname, and the frequent Scand personal-name Grímr.
- p.66: Oddisherhe (lost) Lancs. The first element may be ON Oddi rather than the strong variant Oddr suggested by the author.
- p.122: Fairsnape Lancs. The early forms show the first element to be OE fæger rather than ON fagr.
- pp.122-3: Feather Knoll Cumb. The first element need not, as suggested here, be the characteristically Danish personal-name Fróði (ODan Fróthi), because the etymologically identical byname Fróði 'the learned, the knowledgeable', which is attested in OWScand, is equally possible.
- p.125: Garstang Lancs. This name might denote the site of a legal assembly, cf. Langobardic gairethinx in the Edictus Rothari of 643.
- p.128: Gubberford Lancs. The first element is not ON Guðbiörg or Guðbiörn, but OFr Gobert < Frankish Godebert.
- p.139: Kilgrimol (lost) Lancs. The first element is probably an Anglo-Scand \*Cyll-Grímr, showing OE cyll f. 'skin, flagon, censer' used as a prefixed byname with the frequent Scand personal-name Grímr.
- p.146: Maureholme (lost) Lancs. The first element is unlikely to be the gen. pl. of ON maurr m. 'ant', and may more plausibly be explained as representing the OFr personal-name Maur.
- p.150: Nettleslack Lancs. There is no call to suppose the first element to be Scandinavian, because OE netel(e) fits the early forms adequately.
- pp.150-1: North Meols Lancs. The author interprets the corresponding GDB forms Otegrimele, Otringemele, as probably containing as first element a Scand personal-name \*Oddgrímr, but adds that the second form suggests that it might alternatively represent an OE -ing<sup>2</sup> formation based upon the OE common noun oter m. 'otter'. There is, however, no need for this alternative: quite apart from the chronological difficulties inherent in postulating an OE -ing<sup>2</sup> compound qualifying ON melr, the spelling Otringemele might be no more than a scribal error for \*Otegrimele, a form showing Romance -grin- substituted for Scand -grím-. The first element would thus represent either ON \*Oddgrímr or ON Auðgrímr.
- p.151: Ormathwaite Cumb. The OE personal-name Norðmann should also be considered as a possible etymon for the first element.
- p.171: Torrisholme Lancs. If the GDB form Toredholme is to be relied upon, then this name originally contained the ON personal-name Þorrþór, subsequently replaced by the frequent ON Þóraldr as seen in the forms Toroldesham 1201, Tuoldesholm 1204, 1210, Thoraldesholm 1206.

- p.187: Gayton Cheshire. OE \*Gæga can be excluded as a possible etymon for the first element here.
- p.208: Ellinscales Lancs. The first element is probably a ME reflex of the West Frankish fem. personal-name Adelina (cf. Forssner, 8-9, s.n. Adelina, Alina).
- p.223: Cleahall Cumb. The first element is ME clēte 'burdock, especially the common or great burdock (Arctium lappa)'.
- p.231: Halligill Westm. ME Heiloc, Heilok, Heylok represents, not an unrecorded OE \*Hægluc, but a ME (original) byname formed from reflexes of OE (Angl) hæg 'hay' and OE locc m. 'lock (of hair), curl'.
- p.233: Holtridge Cheshire. The forms are too late to allow more than speculation. Although in the North-West the normal ME reflex of the ODan personal-name Auti was Auti, Outi, <l> might have appeared for <u> as an inverted spelling formed by analogy with AN vocalization of pre-consonantal [t]; as John Dodgson points out, Alti appears for ODan Auti in GDB (PN Chesh., III, p.xvi).
- p.237: Littledale Lancs. - 'The specific was originally the OE adj. lýtēl "little", replaced in later forms by the OE side-form lītel or Scand lītili.' This explanation is needlessly involved, because the first element is OE lýtēl and the ME variation <u>~<i> represented in the forms Luteldale 1226 and Liteldale 1251 merely reflects overlap in North Lancs. between West-Midland and Northern reflexes of OE /y:/.  
 It would be unfair to end on a critical note. Gillian Fellows-Jensen's survey of the North-West provides an admirable synthesis of the place-name evidence for Scandinavian settlement there and contains a wealth of valuable insights which greatly advance the study of the nomenclature of this intractable region. She provides many improved etymologies, among them those of Brunskaithe (lost) Cumb., Brunstock Cumb. and Burntscarth Dumfriess. (p.111); Burn Lancs. (p.112); Hesket Cumb. and Hesketh Lancs. (p.133); Hugill Westm. (p.137); Roundthwaite Westm. (pp.154-5); Scalderscew Cumb. (pp.156-7); Selbet Lancs. (p.159); Wragmire Cumb. (p.178); Crackenthorpe Westm. (two examples, one lost) and Cracanethorp (lost) Lancs. (p.202); and Rainford (p.245). In dealing with a work of this magnitude and importance, a reviewer inevitably disagrees at times with the author's methods of approach and his/her interpretations. Nevertheless, this is a work which no student of the North-West of England in the early Middle Ages can afford to neglect. It has fundamentally widened our knowledge of the Scandinavian settlements and nomenclature of this region, so that all future research will have to start from its findings. The North-West is in many ways the most enigmatic of the areas of England that were settled by Scandinavians, and the present work clarifies many points and indicates future directions of research. It is thus important not only for place-name scholars but also for historians. All who are interested in the

early history of this region must be grateful to Gillian Fellows-Jensen for having provided a standard point of reference which will remain valid for many years to come.

JOHN INSLEY

DELLA HOOKE, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon Staffordshire: The Charter Evidence*, Studies in Local Archaeology 1, University of Keele Department of Adult Education: Keele, 1983, 124 pp., 32 maps, £7.90.

The vernacular boundary-clauses which, by the ninth century, normally delimited the estates granted or leased in Anglo-Saxon charters provide some of the earliest surviving written evidence for the history of the English landscape. As Dr Hooke observes (p.7), 'Although a great deal of pioneer work has been done by historians in the past upon the solution of individual charter bounds, the more geographical aspects of their content have until recently been largely neglected'. In her continuing programme of research, Dr Hooke is making a significant contribution to regional studies of the Anglo-Saxon landscape, mainly by collating for particular counties or groups of counties the topographical data contained in the boundary-descriptions of individual estates. There is much useful information and commentary packed into this slim volume on the Staffordshire charter-bounds, although it must be said that there are both general and more specific aspects of the editing and presentation of its contents which require improvement.

The book is divided into four sections of general synthesis and three appendices descriptive of the documentary sources. The general synthesis (pp.7-58) comprises: (I), a brief account of some of the geographical and political factors that governed the internal organization of the kingdom of Mercia; (II), a discussion of patterns of early settlement in south Staffordshire; (III), a summary of the historical background to the surviving Anglo-Saxon charter-bounds for the county; and (IV), a discussion of the terms used in the said charter-bounds. Appendix I (pp.59-62) lists in tabular form 25 surviving Anglo-Saxon charters (with or without bounds) relevant to Staffs. (although on p.25 the number of charters is given as 23). Appendix II (pp.63-109), a substantial piece of work, includes commentaries and maps to elucidate the text of the seventeen surviving Staffs. charter-bounds. Appendix III (pp.110-23) groups the individual stretches of boundary by type of feature, e.g. 'Watercourses and marshy land', 'Archaeological features', or 'Boundaries and boundary features'. While the overall plan of the book is a sensible one, the last Appendix would have been less repetitively and more usefully arranged as a list of individual elements, either grouped by type or in a single alphabetical series (as in *PN Berks.*, III, 769-92), cross-referred to the discussion in Appendix II.

The several maps provided both in the general section and in Appendix II are an attractive and worthwhile feature of the book. Taken together, the two maps of pre-Conquest estates in south-west and south-east Staffs. (Figs. 7 and 9, respectively) illustrate very clearly how many of the estates here delimited seem to have been associated with the same Mercian family at some point in the tenth century. Several of them had been granted by 994 to the church of Wolverhampton by the eponymous noblewoman Wulfrun, while others had formed part of a bloc of territory held in 942 by Wulfsige the Black (Maur') who was very probably an ancestor of Wulfrun and thus also of her son Wulfric Spot, the founder of Burton Abbey. Nearly all of the Staffs. charters which contain bounds seem to relate in some way to either the benefactors or the endowment of one or other of the churches of Wolverhampton and Burton, and this is the division adopted by Dr Hooke in her discussion of the charters (pp.27-32) and in Appendix II. An important exception is the diploma recording the grant of Madeley by King Edgar in 975 to Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (Sawyer 801), which deserved to be more clearly separated in the Appendix from the other texts.

Appendix II is the corpus of documentary material around which the whole book revolves. It is therefore a serious criticism that the texts of all the