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1. A prize of £50 will be awarded annually for the best essay on any topic relating to the place-names and/or personal names of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Man and the Channel Islands.
2. Submissions are invited from all students and young researchers. The prize will normally be awarded to those who have not hitherto had work in onomastics published.
3. Entries should be about 5,000 words in length.
4. Entries should in some way make an original contribution to the subject.
5. One copy of the essay should be submitted to the Secretary of the Council in clear typescript, double-spaced, and should include a bibliography of sources of material used and of books and authors cited.
6. Entries will be judged by a panel appointed by the Chairman of the Council, and may be considered for publication in *Nomina*, the Journal of Name Studies relating to Great Britain and Ireland.
7. Entries must be submitted by December 31st and, provided an essay of sufficient merit is forthcoming, the winner will be announced at the Annual Name Study Conference in the spring of the following year.

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To Divide the Danes from the Norwegians: On Scandinavian Settlement in the British Isles

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It is a commonplace of history that colonization in the Viking period was a kind of Nordic cooperative pirate project in which the Norwegians sailed westwards across the North Sea to Orkney, Shetland, north-east Scotland and the Hebrides and moved on from there north-westwards to the Faroes and Iceland and southwards along the west coast of Scotland to Man and north-west England; the Danes sailed south along the North-Sea coast of Europe until they reached their settling grounds in eastern England and Normandy; and the Gauts and Swedes sailed to the east coast of the Baltic and from there made their way along the great waterfall-ridden rivers of Russia to the Black Sea and the Caspian. Documentary evidence for the Viking raids and settlements is, however, sketchy. As far as England is concerned, for example, there are records in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of the movements of the Danish army year by year and of three partitions of land carried out by the Danes between 876 and 880, while a comparatively expansive entry for 876 states that the Danes settled down in Yorkshire to cultivate the land and make a living for themselves there. The Chronicle makes no other mention of Scandinavian settlement in England, but the anonymous *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* refers to a partition of the coastal district of Durham in the second decade of the tenth century, and an Irish chronicle records a settlement in Wirral by a band of Vikings who had been expelled from Dublin in 902.¹

If this bare outline is to be fleshed out with details as to the extent and density of the settlement and the nationality of the settlers, then resort must be had to the evidence that can be drawn from place-names. Eilert Ekwall's two masterly general surveys have formed the basis for all subsequent discussions of the question.² The later of these surveys included a map on which indication was made both of the main areas of Norwegian settlement (Man, most of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire, and north-west Cheshire and the westerly extremities of the West Riding of Yorkshire) and of an area of mixed Norse

and Danish settlement (eastern Westmorland, the most westerly tip of the North Riding of Yorkshire, a north-south belt running through the West Riding, together with south-east Lancashire and north-east Cheshire). No attempt was made on this map to indicate the main areas of Danish settlement or to distinguish between areas of varying density of settlement. These deficiencies were made good on a map published by the Danish professor Peter Skautrup in 1944.³ He showed Danish areas by vertical hatching, Norwegian areas by horizontal hatching and the closeness of the hatching was supposed to reflect the density of settlement. Scotland and Man were ignored and Cheshire was innocent of a Scandinavian presence, simply because John Dodgson's Cheshire volumes were still only a glint in their author's youthful eye. A more reliable picture of the density of the Scandinavian settlement appeared twelve years later in the form of Hugh Smith's map of parish-names of Scandinavian origin.⁴ As long as we remember that some areas lack Scandinavian names simply because they are inhospitable and have few settlements of any kind — for example the marshy area around the Wash and the high-ground in the Pennines — Smith's map can be taken as a good indication of the areas in which Scandinavians settled permanently after about 900. It is important to note, however, that the postulated Norwegian settlement of the Lake District and Lancashire 900–950 does not have any basis in documentary evidence.

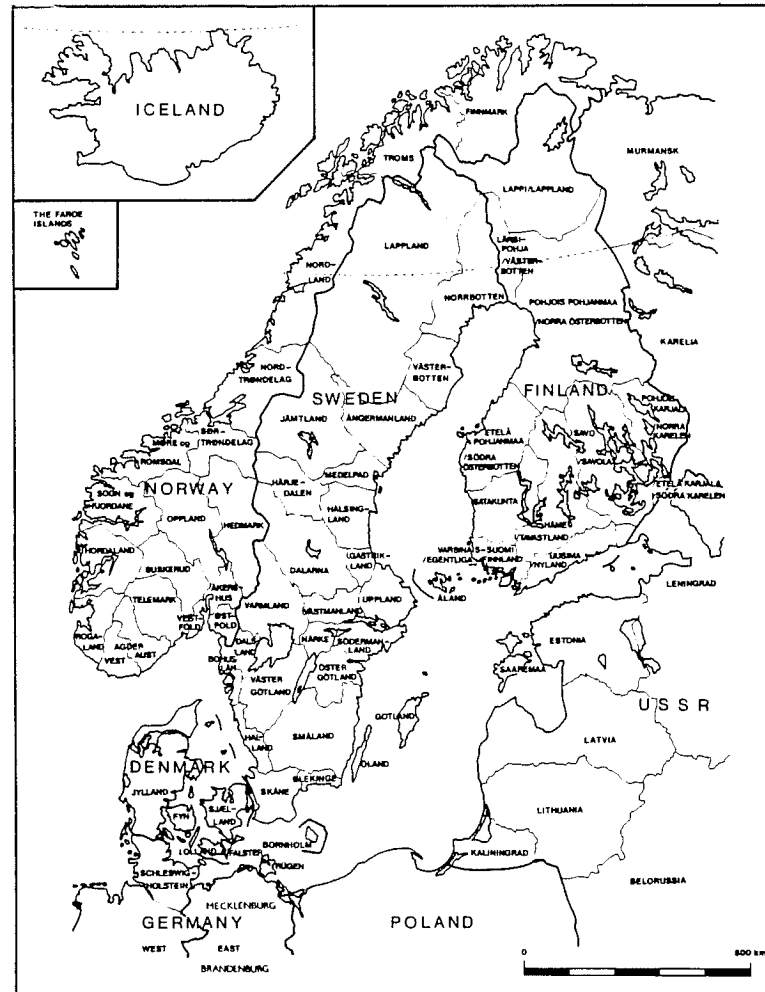
When, twenty-five years ago, I first began my research into place-names as evidence for Scandinavian settlement in England, I took for granted the clear lines of demarcation that had been drawn between Danish and Norwegian settlement. As time wore on, however, and I became more familiar not only with the English material but also with the place-names of the Scandinavian homelands and other Viking colonies, I realised that the evidence was not by any means as clear-cut as had been assumed. A great deal had been built, for example, on the assumption that the Norwegian language was morphologically and phonologically at a more archaic state of development than Danish at the time of the Viking settlements in England, so that the place-names in which genitival inflexions in *-ar* or the diphthongs *au* and *ei* survived could be taken to have been coined by Norwegians rather than by Danes.⁵ Closer examination of the evidence, however, revealed that both the genitival inflexion *-ar* and the diphthongs *au* and *ei* survived in Danish, too, into the Viking period.⁶ In a recent critical assessment of the value of phonological evidence for distinguishing between names of Norwegian and Danish origin, I concluded that whereas names containing the East Scandinavian

form *bōth* of the word for 'booth' can probably be assumed to have been coined by Danes, and names containing the assimilated forms *brekka* and *slakki* of the two topographical generics **brink-* and **slank-* to have been coined by Norwegians, all other phonological variations are almost certainly to be explained otherwise than as reflecting the nationality of the coiners of the names.⁷

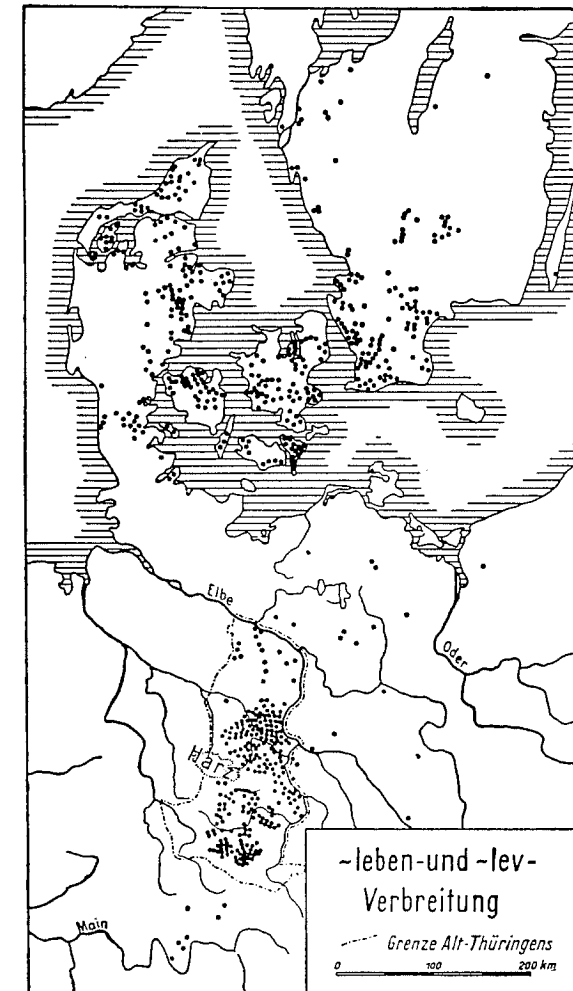
It seems, therefore, that the lexical evidence for the presence of the various Scandinavian nationalities is the best basis on which to compile a map showing their distribution in the British Isles. With the exception of four names which may just possibly point to the presence of Gauts (two Goadbys in Leicestershire; Gautby in Lincolnshire; and a field-name *Gauthscou* in the North Riding of Yorkshire, *PNYorks.(NR)*, 332), the national terms in the place-names refer, as would be expected, either to the Norwegians (*Norðmenn*) and their Celtic associates (*Írar*) or to the Danes (Scandinavian *Danir*, English *Dene*). This direct evidence is comparatively meagre, but it must be remembered that the absence of one of these national terms from the nomenclature of an area does not necessarily mean that there were no settlers of that nationality there. Danes, for example, were probably so numerous in Lincolnshire that settlements in that county could not be distinguished satisfactorily simply by employing the specific *Danir/Dene* in their names.

This means that help in the determination of the pattern of settlement must be sought elsewhere, namely in the distribution patterns of place-name generics which can be shown to be either exclusively or typically of Danish or Norwegian origin. There is almost always, however, more than one possible explanation as to why a particular place-name generic is of greater or lesser frequency in any specified area and disagreement can arise as to the interpretation of the evidence. I have therefore decided to subject to reassessment the place-name generics of Scandinavian origin in the Viking colonies in the light of what is known about the nomenclature of the Scandinavian homelands in the Viking period.

In the central and southern parts of Scandinavia, from where the Vikings who settled in the colonies across the North Sea and the Atlantic can be assumed to have set out (see Map 1), there is no stratum of place-names which can be proved to have been coined by people speaking a non-Germanic language. This means that the erection of a place-name chronology for the region is largely dependent on comparative material from neighbouring countries, where names containing cognate elements can sometimes be



Map 1. Scandinavia, showing the divisions referred to in the present article. Adapted from *Nordic Archaeological Abstracts*, with the permission of the publishers.



Map 2. The distribution of placenames in *-leben* and *-lev*. Reproduced from A. Bach, *Deutsche Namenkunde* (Heidelberg, 1953-4), II, i, with the permission of the publishers.
 - - - - - Boundary of the old territory of Thüringen

placed between more or less datable strata of names of different linguistic origin. Other significant contributions towards the dating of the names in Scandinavia can be made by their lexical content and by the state of development of the language reflected in their phonology and morphology.

The oldest surviving place-names in Scandinavia would seem to be those borne by a number of islands, lakes and rivers. These are names which were formed by the addition of a derivative suffix to a root-form. Such names are found in Denmark, Norway and Sweden and there are parallel formations in Germany and England.⁸ Formally it is possible to explain some of the names in England as being of Scandinavian origin, but in fact it seems highly unlikely that any of the English names were coined by Viking settlers. A Scandinavian origin has been proposed for the name Skerne (Yorks.(ER)), which could be an *n*-derivative of the adjective *skírr* 'bright' and thus an exact parallel to the Norwegian name Skirna and a close parallel to the twice-occurring Danish name Skjern, an *n*-derivative of *skær*.⁹ Since he did not consider that place-names were still being formed with the *-n* suffix in the Viking period, Kristian Hald suggested instead that the Yorkshire Skerne might simply have been called after the Norwegian river.¹⁰ Eilert Ekwall, however, had drawn attention to the village of Skerningham (Durham), which is on another stream called Skerne, and whose name is an *-ingahām* formation, a type quite unknown in Scandinavia and certainly not still in use for forming names in England at the time of the Viking settlements. Ekwall therefore suggested that the names Skerne and Skerningham were scandinavianized versions of OE p.nn. **Scīranēa* and **Scīreningahām* respectively.¹¹ This explanation of these names is certainly the most convincing one and there seems to me to be no reason to explain any names in England as *n*-derivatives coined by either Danish or Norwegian settlers.

The determination of the language spoken by the coiners of place-names in England is greatly complicated by the fact that there are several types of name in Scandinavia which are closely related to names in England, and indeed in Germany, Holland and northern France, since place-name generics were disseminated throughout the north-west of Europe in the Migration Period. Examples are on the one hand the various *ing*-formations and on the other hand compound formations with generics such as *heimr*, *sted* and *tūn*. For some of the names in England, the possibilities exist that they were coined by Danes or Norwegians. A closer look, therefore, needs to be taken at these names to see whether, in fact, their formation antedates the Viking invasions.

Place-names in *-ing* form a heterogeneous group both in Scandinavia and in Germany and England, although in Scandinavia the late date at which most of the names are first recorded in writing often makes it particularly difficult to ascribe the individual names to one or other of the *ing*-suffix formations. There is one striking difference between the *ing*-names as a class in England and those in Scandinavia, however, and this is the rare occurrence in Scandinavia of *ing*-names derived from personal names, while names such as Hastings (Sussex), which is assumed to have originated as a tribal name 'the followers of *Hæsta*' and then to have been transferred to the territory occupied by the tribe, are quite common in England. Tribal names in *-ingar* based on appellative themes are, however, of frequent occurrence in Denmark and southern and eastern Sweden as far north as Uppland, where they would seem to have functioned as district names. Singular *ing*-names formed on appellative or verbal themes, many of which were originally appellatives in *-ing*, have a more general distribution over southern Scandinavia, also occurring in Norway. Formally, it would certainly be possible to explain *ing*-names such as Horning and Breydon in Norfolk as Viking coinages.¹² All the *ing*-names in England whose themes are apparently Scandinavian, however, can be explained satisfactorily as the result of adaptation of English names by Scandinavian speakers.

The Scandinavian generic *heimr* occurs particularly frequently in names in Norway but there are also many instances in southern Sweden and Jutland, while in the Danish islands it is of comparatively rare occurrence. That this generic was already current in the Migration Period is shown by its use to form place-names in *-heim* in Germany, some of which are recorded in classical sources, and place-names in *-hām* in England. There is a little evidence which might point to the survival of the Scandinavian generic into the Viking period in the form of a number of names in *-heimr* in Shetland and Iceland. All the Icelandic names and many of the Shetland ones, however, are stereotype names such as **Sól-heimr* 'sunny settlement' and **Vind-heimr* 'windy settlement' and there do not seem to be any names in *-heimr* in Orkney, Man or the Faroes.¹³ It has been thought that there is evidence for the use of the generic in England, where the divergent development of Primitive Germanic *ai* to *ā* in English makes it easy to distinguish between Scandinavian *heimr* and English *hām*. The recorded spellings in *-heim* of names in England, however, are unlikely to reflect the survival of the generic as a living element among the Danish

settlers in England. They are simply the result of adaptation by Scandinavian-speaking settlers of pre-existing English names in *-hām*.

In order to isolate names of Norwegian and Danish coinage, it would seem more promising to look at some of the Scandinavian name-types whose distribution in the homelands is less general than that of *heimr*. There are three major groups of names with characteristic distribution patterns which have been ascribed on various grounds to an early period. There are the names in *-lev*, *-løse* and *-vin*. Names in *-lev*, a habitative generic whose significance would seem to have been 'something left behind' and which is frequently combined with anthroponymical specifics, point to private ownership of land at an early date. In Scandinavia they are only found in Denmark and southern Sweden, while in the rest of the Germanic area, the generic is only to be found, in the form *-leben*, in a comparatively restricted area of Germany, mainly within the old territory of Thüringen (see Map 2).¹⁴ There must surely have been some connection between the two concentrations of names. There could hardly have been a direct connection between the two areas across the broad *lev*-less belt formed by Schleswig-Holstein, but a movement from Thüringen over Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Lolland and Falster is a possibility to be reckoned with.¹⁵ If there were any evidence for the presence of *lev*-names in England, it would be most likely that these were to be explained as being introduced by Danish settlers in the Viking period. The absence of such evidence, however, tends to confirm other evidence pointing to an early and short period of currency for *lev* as a place-name-forming element in Scandinavia. It cannot be used to indicate an absence of Danes from any particular area in the Viking period.

The two other old generics with limited distributions, *løse* and *vin*, would both seem originally to have denoted 'pasture-land', although they survive in the names of settlements, many of which are of high status. Their distribution patterns are more or less complementary. As far as the *løse*-names are concerned, it can sometimes be difficult to distinguish the old names from a younger stratum of derogatory names in which the *løse*-element is the suffix '-less', indicating a lack of whatever is denoted by the theme, e.g. Brødløse 'lacking bread'. When these names have been filtered away, the remaining *løse*-names can be seen to be very common in the Danish islands, particularly Sjælland, to have spread from there to southern Sweden, but not to have reached Norway. The generic does not occur in Migration-period names in the West Germanic area but if Lennart Elmevik's reasonable explanation of

its etymology as a derivative from a Primitive Germanic adjectival stem **lauhs-* 'light, shining' can be accepted, then it is related to the Old English generic *lēah*.¹⁶ The Viking settlers did not make use of the generic *løse* to coin new names in England or the Atlantic colonies, nor did they bestow second-hand *løse*-names on English localities.

Whereas the core area for the *løse*-names would seem to have been the island of Sjælland in Denmark, the *vin*-names are most numerous in Norway and fairly common in western Sweden, while there are no certain instances of *vin* as a generic in Denmark. The suggestion has been made, however, that the generic may have had a much wider distribution than indicated by the surviving names.¹⁷ It does not seem to have been used as a place-name generic in the West Germanic area in the Migration period, although Old English *winn(e)* apparently occurs as a specific in a number of English place-names.¹⁸ Both the Scandinavian word and its English cognate would seem to have dropped out of use at a fairly early date. It is true that the word occurs as a specific in a number of minor names in the Orkneys and Shetlands but the only names in these islands which seem reasonably certain to contain *vin* as a generic are Levna in Shetland, and Lyking, which occurs three times in Orkney. The names Levna and Lyking both reflect an original **Leik-vin* and they would seem to be examples of an appellative or a stereotype place-name denoting a 'playground, sports-field'.¹⁹ There are no names in *-vin* in Iceland, the Faroes or England.

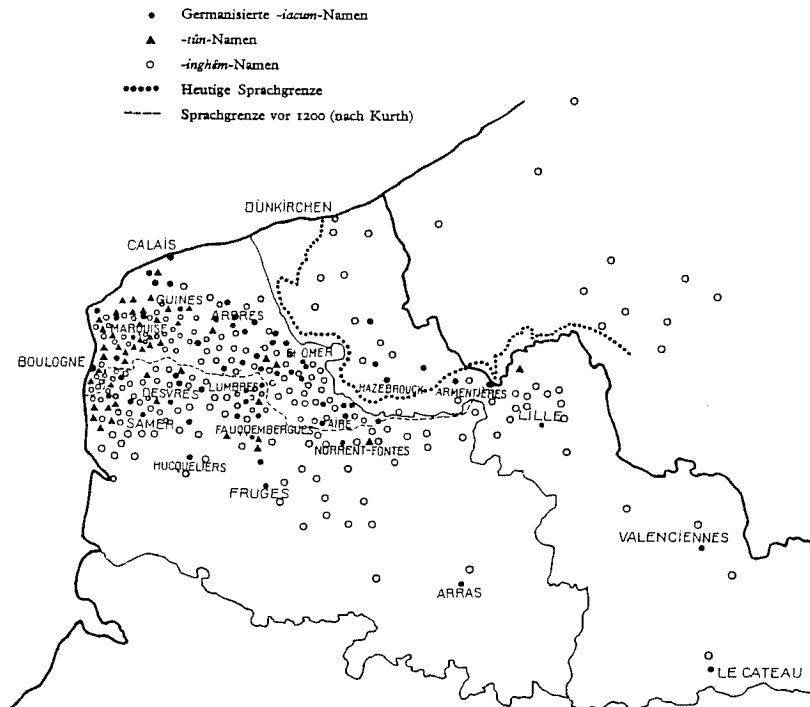
Thus, of the three old generics with restricted distribution in the Scandinavian homelands, the two elements from the Danish/South Swedish zone, *lev* and *løse*, have left no trace on the nomenclature of the colonies in the west, while the typically Norwegian/West Swedish *vin* may have been taken in fossilized form to the Northern Isles.

The next two generics to be discussed are habitative generics which were current in Scandinavia in the Migration period but which, unlike for example *heimr* and *lev*, remained current, in parts of the region at least, well into the Viking period, namely *staðir* and *tūn*. Names in *-staðir* (Danish *sted*, Norwegian *stad*, Swedish *sta*) are found over most of Scandinavia, although they are particularly common in the parts of Norway in which names in *-heimr* and *-vin* are rare.²⁰ It was earlier thought that the *staðir*-names spread to Scandinavia from Germany in the Migration period, but John Kousgård Sørensen has argued that the Danish names in *-sted* developed independently of the names in *-stedt* in the old Saxon territories in Germany, from where the

generic must have been brought to England, and also, incidentally, of the names in *-sta* in Sweden.²¹ There has been much discussion as to the exact meaning of the generic but it seems most likely that it originally had a general significance such as 'place, site for' and later acquired the secondary sense 'farm'. Many of the names in Scandinavia would seem to have been coined in the Migration period and others in the immediately succeeding centuries, but in Denmark the element can be seen to have remained productive into the Viking period in such marginal areas as North Jutland and North Schleswig. There are no demonstrably Scandinavian names in *-staðir* in eastern England, although there is some evidence for the replacement of the specific of English place-names in *-stead* by Scandinavian words.²² It has been tentatively suggested that the absence of Danish names in *-staðir* from the Danelaw indicates that the settlers there must have come from parts of Denmark where the generic had already dropped out of use in the Viking period.²³ Other explanations are, however, possible. In the Northern and Western Isles, place-names in *-staðir* are fairly numerous but their distribution there is less general than that of other Scandinavian elements such as *setr* and *bólstaðr*. W. F. H. Nicolaisen has suggested that this was because the names in *-staðir* belonged to the very earliest period of settlement.²⁴ The Viking settlers carried the generic with them to Iceland late in the ninth century, however, and it became extremely common there, so the chronological explanation is hardly tenable. It seems more likely that the absence of names in *-staðir* from an area reflects either the absence of the kind of settlement to which the generic was appropriate, or the use of a different generic for the kind of settlement denoted by *staðir* in Norway. Magnus Olsen argued long ago that the farms with names in *-staðir* in Norway were probably often small settlements detached from an old estate centre,²⁵ and *staðir*-farms in Iceland would also seem to have been dependent farms of comparatively low status.²⁶ There are no *staðir*-farms in the Faroes, and Lindsay Macgregor, who has made a detailed study of the settlement-pattern in the Faroe islands, has kindly pointed out to me that once all the primary settlement sites there had been occupied, there was no room for the kind of expansion on outfields that might have resulted in the coining of names in *-staðir* or even for establishing the humbler farms that in Shetland, for example, were given names in *-bólstaðr*. In Caithness, where the evidence for names in *-staðir* is minimal, secondary settlements of the Viking period were generally given names in *-bólstaðr*.²⁷ In Man, on the other hand, while there are a

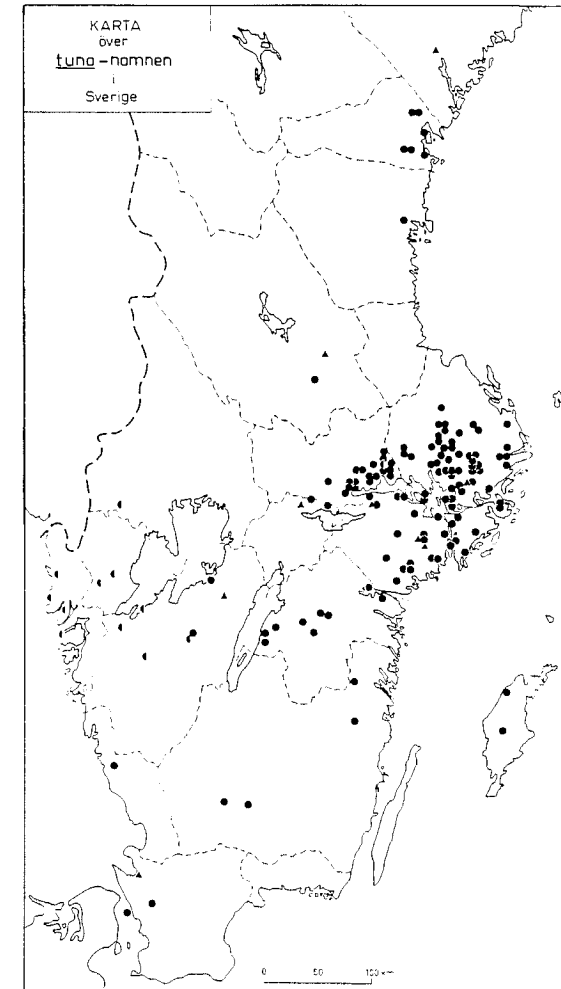
fair number of names in *-staðir*, there is only one doubtful instance of a name in *-bólstaðr*, possibly because the Scandinavians in Man would have had little cause to refer to such humble farms.²⁸ There are no names in *-staðir* in southern Scotland or Cumbria and only two possible occurrences in Lancashire (Croxteth and Toxteth). These two isolated names may perhaps have been coined by settlers from Man, for the role played by *staðir* in the Northern and Western Isles is played in south-west Scotland and north-west England by a different Scandinavian generic, *bý*, to which I shall return later.

The second Scandinavian generic which was certainly in use in both the Migration period and the Viking period is *tún* (Swedish *tuna*). Names containing it are common in Sweden, but they are comparatively rare in Norway and there are only a few instances in Denmark. In the West Germanic area, names in *-tūn* are only found in England and northern France (see Map 3). In England, *tūn* is by far the commonest habitative generic, having been used to coin place-names there from the Migration period until after the Norman Conquest, and it seems likely that the names in the northern coastal region of France reflect a movement from England back to the Continent, perhaps as late as in the ninth century.²⁹ The original significance of the element *tūn* was 'enclosure', but there is early evidence from England for its use to denote a 'royal vill' and it seems that the generic came to be used of some kind of administrative centre in Scandinavia, too.³⁰ The suggestion has been made that *tuna*-names in Sweden (see Map 4) are to be associated with an administrative reorganization in the tenth or eleventh centuries, perhaps under the influence of contact with England in the later Viking period.³¹ The settlements bearing *tūn*-names in Denmark certainly seem to be old and I should like to suggest that the Danish simplex name *Tune* may have replaced an earlier name at a period of administrative reorganization. The frequency of occurrence in Sweden of *Tuna* as a simplex name supports the theory of its quasi-appellative use in replacement of older names. Although the numerous hybrid *tūn*-names in England with Scandinavian specifics show that the Viking settlers were not averse to using the element, it seems most likely that the Grimston- and Carlton-type names are simply scandinavianized versions of earlier English place-names in *-tūn*. If the generic was, in fact, in process of migration in the Viking period, then it is not inconceivable that it was England which was influencing Scandinavia, in much the same way as *tūn* would also seem to have spread from England to France. There is no evidence for the use of



Map 3. The distribution of Germanic place-names in southern Belgium and northern France. Reproduced from E. Gamillscheg, *Germanische Siedlung in Belgien und Nordfrankreich* (Berlin, 1938), I, with the permission of the publishers.

- Germanicized name in *-iacum*
- ▲ Name in *-tun*
- Name in *-inghēm*
- Modern linguistic frontier
- - - Linguistic frontier before 1200 (according to Kurth)



Map 4. The distribution of *tuna*-names in Sweden. Adapted from K. A. Holmberg, *De Svenska Tuna-Namnen* (Uppsala, 1969), with the permission of the author and of the Royal Gustav Adolph Academy.

- Tuna, *-tuna*
- ▲ Transferred or non-genuine *tuna*- name
- ◐ Tun-, *-Tun* etc., *-tun* (*-ton*)

tūn to form place-names in the Northern or Western Isles and the names containing the generic in Iceland would all seem to be later than the Viking period.³²

The final generic current in the Migration period to be discussed here is *þorp*, which would seem to have been used of a 'dependent secondary settlement'. In Scandinavia, this generic is extremely common in both Denmark and Sweden but in Norway it is of rare occurrence outside of Østfold.³³ There are numerous names in Germany which contain the cognate *-dorf* and in the Migration period the generic also spread to England, where it appears in the metathesized form *þrop*. The generic remained current in Scandinavia throughout the Viking period and the numerous Scandinavian compounds in *-þorp* in eastern England were most probably coined by the Danish settlers there. In the other Viking colonies *þorp* is of rare occurrence. There are a few *þorps* in the Shetlands and a single one in Iceland and the generic appears in seven names in north-west England. It seems most likely that these seven names were coined by settlers from the Danelaw, since they all lie close to the routes across the Pennines from Yorkshire, but it is noticeable that *þorp* did not spread across Cumbria into Dumfriesshire or southwards along the Lancashire coast. It is therefore necessary to consider whether an absence of *þorp*-names from north-west England might reflect an absence of *þrop*-names which could be adopted and adapted by the incoming Vikings.³⁴

Some of the generics occurring in place-names in Scandinavia seem not to have come into use until after the Migration period, and where a place-name in England contains one of these generics it is reasonable to assume that the name was coined by the Viking settlers or their descendants. The specifically Scandinavian generic which achieved a dominant position in the areas of Viking settlement in England is the one which appears in place-names in Denmark, Sweden, eastern Norway and Trøndelag as *bý*, in south-western Norway as *bø*, in the Faroes as *bour* and in Iceland as *bær*. This generic has been the subject of much discussion and both the original significance of the appellative and its significance in place-names in Scandinavia are disputed. In Denmark, Sweden, and eastern Norway it was used of settlements of many types, ranging from single farmsteads and dependent secondary settlements to prosperous villages and areas of dispersed settlement. In southern and western Norway, on the other hand, there is rather more evidence for the use of the generic in a sense such as 'cultivated area, home-field' but here, too, it was used of areas of dispersed settlement and of single farms. In both Sweden and

Norway, but not in Denmark, the simplex name *Bø* or *By* occurs as a secondary name for settlements of high status. The generic would not seem to have been much used in the Atlantic colonies. In the Faroes, *bour* occurs in a fair number of place-names with the sense 'home-field' but the only instances of *bour* used with a habitative sense would seem to be *i Bø*, the secondary name by which the inhabitants refer to the old farms which were absorbed into the town of Klakksvík; and two names in Streymøy, the farm and episcopal see known by the quasi-appellative name *i Kirkjubø*, and a farm known as *á Signabø*.³⁵

In the Orkneys and Shetlands there are a number of instances of the simplex name **Bær*, and in Shetland a couple of instances of another quasi-appellative name **Kirkjubý*. In both island-groups there are occurrences of the generic in the sense 'area of dispersed settlement', for example *Evrabi* in Shetland and *Everby* in Orkney. There are comparatively few instances there of the use of *bær* in combination with an appellative as a primary place-name, but *Eksnabø* and *Topteby* in Shetland and *Erraby* and *Sebay* in Orkney are possible examples.³⁶ It has also been suggested that two *bær*-names in Orkney might have anthroponymical specifics, namely *Trenaby* and *Cattaby*, and personal names have been proposed as the specifics of *Eoropie* in Lewis; of the only two names in *-bær* in Caithness (*Duncansby* and *Canisbay*); possibly of four names in *-bý* in Man (two *Colbys*, *Elby* and *Trollaby*); and of the only name in *-bær* in Iceland which is recorded in an early source, namely *Sumarliðabær*, said to have been named after a third-generation Icelander whose mother, it has been suggested, may have come from the Danelaw.³⁷ This latter suggestion was probably made partly because a parallel place-name, *Somerby*, occurs five times in the Danelaw and partly because the personal name *Sumarliði* is thought to have arisen in the British Isles, but partly also because place-names in *-bý* with anthroponymical specifics are characteristic of areas of the Danelaw which remained under Danish ownership well into the tenth century. Personal names do not occur particularly frequently as the specifics of *bý*-names in Scandinavia, and in Denmark in particular they have a very restricted distribution. It has been suggested that the custom of forming this kind of name may have come to Denmark from Sweden or from England, and it has also been argued that the name-type arose spontaneously in Denmark as a consequence of a specific situation in settlement history rather than as a result of any foreign influence.³⁸ It is to be noted that in Sweden place-names in *-bý* with anthroponymical specifics are particularly frequent in Uppland, while there are no certain instances in Skåne, Halland or

Blekinge,³⁹ and that the personal names contained in the Swedish names, as also in *býs* in Norway, include many names that post-date the conversion to Christianity. Similarly, the place-names in *-bý* in South Schleswig include many whose specifics are personal names of Low German origin, and Wolfgang Laur has argued that many of the *bý*-names here must post-date the Viking period.⁴⁰ It seems most likely that it was the need to coin a large number of new names for small independent agricultural settlement-units that led to the development of the 'personal name plus *-bý*' type of place-name both in the Scandinavian homelands and in the Danelaw. The scattered examples of the type which occur in Caithness, the Northern and Western Isles, Man and Iceland, where small settlement-units otherwise tended to be given names in *-stadir*, may reflect contact with the Danelaw in the Viking period, so it is possible that Hald was right to see the names in Denmark, too, as the result of dissemination along trade routes. The comparative absence from north-west England of *bý*-names with anthroponymical specifics can be explained as reflecting the fact that the Viking settlers here did not have the opportunity to effect a thorough reorganization of the pattern of landholding before English rule was re-established early in the tenth century.⁴¹

The absence of another group of *bý*-names, the *húsabýs*, from England, is probably also a reflection of the early restoration of English rule. In Scandinavia the *húsabýs* have a characteristic distribution. There are nine in Denmark, forty-six in Norway and about seventy in Sweden. The occurrence of the name in Denmark has been seen as reflecting the presence of a Swedish dynasty in southern Jutland early in the tenth century, although Tore Nyberg has recently argued that the Danish *húsabýs* may have been created to play a role in the territorial organization emanating from the Jelling dynasty later in that century.⁴² Lars Hellberg has suggested that in Sweden the name **Húsabý* replaced older names in plural *Husa*, *Husum* about the year 1000 as a term for an administrative centre embracing more than one farm and that the *húsabýs* in eastern Norway would seem to have spread there from Sweden.⁴³ It is noticeable that the Norwegian names have forms in *-bý* even in areas where *bø* is the normal form of the element. Around the Oslo fjord there are Huseby-names which would seem to have replaced older names for heathen cult-centres.⁴⁴ Asgaut Steinnes has suggested that the distribution of the four Orkney *húsabýs* on four separate islands might reflect an administrative division of Orkney into six regions, with centres in the four

húsabýs and also at Orphir and at some location in Sanday. It certainly seems likely that the *húsabý*-names both in the Scandinavian homelands and in Orkney have replaced older names and that they indicate some kind of administrative centre that came into operation at a later date than the period of Scandinavian settlement in the Danelaw. It is rather strange, however, that the name-type should be quite absent from Shetland and from Man, even though, as pointed out by Steinnes, there is a close similarity between the postulated six *húsabý*-districts of Orkney and the six sheadings in Man.⁴⁵

Another typically-Scandinavian habitative generic with a wide distribution both in the homelands and in the Viking colonies is *toft* (Eastern Swedish *tomt*). In Scandinavia the generic has normally been taken to denote a 'building-plot', although it has been argued that it might also have the sense 'site of deserted settlement' and that in the colonies it might reflect the destruction and desertion of settlements that took place in the course of the Viking invasions and subsequent occupation of the deserted sites by Viking settlers.⁴⁶ It may be significant that as a place-name generic in Iceland, and as the Scandinavian loan-word *tobhta* in Gaelic, *toft* has the sense 'ruin with walls standing and roof fallen in'.⁴⁷ The greater frequency of occurrence of names in *-toft* in Normandy than in the Danelaw may reflect a greater degree of destruction and desertion in Normandy in the course of the Viking raids and settlement there. On the other hand, it should be noted that, in the Danelaw, names in *-toft* are of particularly frequent occurrence in the low-lying marshy Holland division of Lincolnshire, where other names of Scandinavian origin are not very common, and it does not seem likely that all these names represent settlements first destroyed and then reoccupied by the Danes. Many of the names in Holland are not recorded until a comparatively late date and they may well have been coined by Englishmen at some time after the word *toft* had been adopted into the English language to denote a building-plot.⁴⁸

Whatever the exact significance of this generic may have been in the Viking period, it was certainly taken by the Vikings in the form *toft*, plural *toftir*, to all their western colonies. It is undoubtedly in Normandy that its popularity was greatest but, in addition to the frequent occurrences in the Danelaw, it is also found in names in Iceland, the Faroes, Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides and Man. This generic can therefore reveal nothing about the national origin of the Viking settlers, except in so far as absence of *tomt*-spellings can confirm the absence of any considerable number of settlers from eastern Sweden.

Generics associated with the exploitation of outfields for pasture occur, as would be expected, much more frequently in the mountainous areas of Norway and Sweden than in low-lying and fertile Denmark. The closely related generics *setr* and *sætr* would both seem originally to have been associated with a pastoral economy. It has been argued that in some central areas of Norway shielings with names in *-setr* developed into permanent settlements and that in these areas *sætr* took over the role of *setr* in the formation of shieling-names, whereas in areas where there had been little development from shieling to farm, *setr* continued to be used to form shieling-names.⁴⁹ In Sweden, farm-names in *-säter*, corresponding to Norwegian *setr*, are extremely common in central parts, particularly Östergötland and Södermanland, while shieling-names in *-säter*, corresponding to *sætr*, have a different distribution pattern, most of them being found in Värmland and in the western parts of Dalarna and Jämtland.⁵⁰ There would not seem to be any *säter*-names in the old Danish territories in southern Sweden, but both in Skåne and in present-day Denmark there are a number of names in related **sæta*, corresponding to a West Scandinavian *seta*, and it seems likely that Sædder in Sjælland is an isolated instance of a **sætær*, corresponding to *setr*.⁵¹ There is no evidence for the use of these generics in West Germanic areas in the Migration period but it can, of course, be difficult to distinguish them from related generics such as Low German *sete* and Old English *sæte* or (*ge*)*set*.

It is often impossible to distinguish between the generics *setr* and *sætr* in the Viking colonies and they will therefore be discussed together here. Names containing one or other of them are of extremely common occurrence in Shetland. They are also common in Orkney, Caithness, Lewis and north-east Skye but they are not found in the rest of the Inner Hebrides or Man and there are no settlement names containing them in Iceland. There are a fair number of names in *-sætr* in the high land in Cumbria and a few in Yorkshire. It seems reasonable to assume that the generics were originally brought to the British Isles by Vikings from Norway. The uneven distribution pattern has been explained as reflecting both a late wave of immigration from the Møre region of Norway, where such names are common, and a medial position chronologically between what were considered to be older names in *-staðir* and younger names in *-bólstaðr*.⁵² The absence of names from the Inner Hebrides and Man may, however, reflect the survival in these areas of the Gaelic generic *áirge*, which was adopted by the Vikings as *ærgi* and used to denote shielings; while in Iceland the terms *setr* and *sætr* may simply not have been

applicable to the forms of agricultural exploitation employed there.

Another element associated with a shieling economy has a more general, though numerically inferior, distribution in Scandinavia. This is the generic which appears as Norwegian and Old North Jutlandic *búð*, Danish *bøth*, Swedish *bodha*. In Denmark, place-names containing this generic occur most frequently in the large islands and in north-eastern Jutland. Many of the localities with such names are situated close to the sea, and the generic may well have referred originally to temporary shelters used by fishermen as well as to shelters for animals.⁵³ The generic occurs in farm-names over most of Norway but in shieling-names it is of particularly common occurrence in Telemark and Buskerud, while in Sweden names in *-bodha* occur most frequently in wooded regions such as Småland and Väster- and Östergötland and the wooded areas of Uppland, Västmanland and Dalarna. There are a number of place-names in *-búð* in Iceland but most of these probably post-date the Viking period.⁵⁴ There are also a few instances of such names in the Faroes, but the element does not seem to have been used to coin place-names in the Northern and Western Isles or Man, although the word *bod*, corresponding in form most closely to East Scandinavian *bøth*, is recorded in Norn, the Norse language of Shetland, for a fishing-booth.⁵⁵ The West Scandinavian form *búð* occurs as a generic in a number of place-names in Cumbria and a few in Yorkshire, while the East Scandinavian form occurs as a generic in many names in southern Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire and as a specific in some names in *-bý* in Lincolnshire. The distribution pattern, with *búð* in Cumbria and *bøth* in the rest of England, fits well enough with the old assumption that there was Norwegian settlement in Cumbria, so it is not necessary to reckon with postulated settlers from northern Jutland. It should be noted, however, that it is the East Scandinavian form that is found in the more southern parts of north-west England; that *búð* does not seem to have been much used at all to coin place-names in the Northern and Western Isles; and that the Shetland Norn form *bod* seems to reflect both the East Scandinavian form of the word and a typically Danish denotation 'fishing-booth'.

If it is true that *borp*-names are often borne by dependent settlements of great age, *bý*-names by settlement-units detached from old estates, *toft*-names by settlements established on deserted sites and *setr/sætr*- or *búð/bøth*-names by settlements originally associated with a pastoral economy, then it is necessary to look elsewhere for place-names indicating colonization in the strict

sense, that is the occupation and exploitation of virgin land. The frequency of occurrence in Iceland, the Faroes, the Northern and Western Isles, Man, Cumbria and the North Riding of Yorkshire of Scandinavian settlement names which originally denoted topographical features reveals that such names were used by Norwegians and Danes alike for settlements which they established not only in virgin territory but also in areas that must have been fairly densely settled before the arrival of the Vikings. The impossibility of dating the coining of such names, however, combines with the fact that they were coined by both Danes and Norwegians to make them of little use for the purposes of the present study.

I would therefore argue that in countries which were not devoid of settlement before the arrival of the Vikings it is the generics denoting clearings in woodland that are the best indicators of areas that were first occupied by Viking settlers. In the Scandinavian homelands there were two generics which were much used in the Viking period and in the immediately succeeding centuries to denote clearings in woodland and these two generics have distribution patterns which are broadly speaking complementary. The one generic, *þveit*, occurs in Denmark as *tved*, in Norway as *tveit* and in Sweden as *twet*. It is particularly common in a broad belt that runs roughly north-west/south-east through Scandinavia from Hordaland in Norway, through Telemark, across Skagerrak to Vendsyssel in North Jutland, through Djursland and across Kattegat to north-western, central and southern Sjælland.⁵⁶ There are names containing *þveit* in other parts of Norway and Denmark but they are nowhere near as common as in the *þveit*-belt, while *twet*-names are comparatively rare in Skåne and Sweden. In marked contrast to north-western Sjælland, north-eastern Sjælland has not a single name in *-tved*. Here the generic used to denote clearings in woodland is *rød*, developed from Old Scandinavian *ruð*. There is a marked concentration of names in *-rød* here and these names seem to spill across the Sound to Skåne and the rest of southern and central Sweden, where the generic appears in such varying forms as *rød*, *rud*, *ryd* and *red*. From central Sweden the generic has penetrated into eastern Norway and there are many names in *-rud* in Østfold, Buskerud and the area around the Oslo fjord.⁵⁷

Of these two generics, *þveit* is the one better represented in the Viking colonies. In Iceland and the Faroes, where the Norwegians settled in hitherto unoccupied territory with little or no woodland, there would not seem to have been any call for a generic denoting a settlement in a clearing. There are no instances of *þveit* or *ruð* in

the Faroes and the only occurrence of *þveit* in Iceland is as a simplex name for a small lake, while *ruð* does not seem to occur here at all.⁵⁸ There is a single instance of the use of *þveit* as a simplex township-name, Twatt, in Shetland and there are two farms called Twatt in Orkney.⁵⁹ With the exception of an isolated instance in Midlothian, Moorfoot, the only county on the Scottish mainland to have names containing *þveit* is Dumfriesshire, where there are no less than nineteen instances.⁶⁰ These names would seem to represent a spill-over from the concentration of names in Cumberland, Westmorland, northern Lancashire and the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire. In other parts of the Danelaw, names containing *þveit* are not very common but they occur as far south as Norfolk and there is a scatter of *þveit*-names in Normandy. As far as England and Dumfriesshire are concerned, I would argue that *þveit*-names reflect secondary settlements founded by Vikings later than the initial colonization and after the clearing of woodland, often in remote and inaccessible areas such as the Cumbrian dome and the Yorkshire Moors.⁶¹ The absence of *þveit*-names from southern Lancashire and Cheshire probably reflects the comparatively short duration of Viking rule in these areas, while in the rest of the Danelaw there may not have been as much scope for clearing of woodland. The work of clearing for settlement there had taken place before the arrival of the Vikings and is marked onomastically by the English names in *-lēah*. In the North-West, for example, the distribution patterns of names in *-lēah* and names in *-þveit* are complementary.

There are no instances of *ruð* as a generic in English place-names, but Routh in the East Riding of Yorkshire may be an instance of a side-form *rūð* as a simplex name, and *ruð* may well occur as a specific in Rudby in the North Riding of Yorkshire and in Ruffhams and a lost *Rudetorp* in the East Riding.⁶² These names show that the Vikings were familiar with the word *ruð* for a clearing but the fact that it was not employed by them as a generic in their colonies must be significant. It is possible that the generic had not yet become current in the homelands in the Viking period, but it is perhaps more likely, as suggested by Kristian Hald, that the Viking settlers in the colonized areas came from those parts of Scandinavia where the generic favoured for names of clearings was *þveit* not *ruð*, and this would mean from the belt running from Hordaland in the north-west to southern Sjælland in the south-east.⁶³

This survey of the distribution of some of the commonest Scandinavian habitative generics in the homelands and in the

Viking-period colonies has revealed the need for caution in basing assessments of the age of the settlements or the nationality of the settlers on the place-name evidence. When a generic is absent from all the Viking-period colonies, however, as is the case with *lev*, it seems reasonable to assume that it was no longer current as a place-name-forming element in the homelands at the time when the Viking settlements took place. The same probably also applies to generics which are only found in a few stereotype names in the colonies, for example *vin* and *heimr*, although the *heimr*-names in Shetland may conceivably reflect a currency surviving until about 800.

Where a generic is found in one or more of the colonies but not in all of them, several explanations are possible. The absence of the quasi-appellative name **Húsabý* from the Danelaw, for example, is probably to be explained by the late date at which the *húsabý*-institution developed in the homelands, while the comparative rarity of names in *-setr* and *-sætr* in the Danelaw and in Denmark is probably a reflection of an agricultural economy in which the exploitation of hill- and mountain-pastures of necessity played a limited role, and the absence of names in *-staðir* and *-bólstaðr* from the Faroes reflects the lack of land on which secondary settlements could develop.

There is one Scandinavian generic whose uneven distribution in the colonies suggests that its employment in England may reflect the pre-existing distribution pattern of its English cognate. There is an isolated instance of *þorp* in Iceland and a few scattered occurrences in Shetland and Normandy, but it is only in England that names in *-þorp* are common and the instances in the North-West seem likely to represent an overflow from the Danelaw. Alternatively, the *þorps* here may be an indicator of Danish colonization and point to a limited Danish presence west of the Pennines.

Most significant for the determination of the national origin of the settlers, however, are the generics *staðir* and *bý*, which would both seem to have been used, in the colonies, of settlements detached from or dependent upon an estate centre, although the generic *bý* could also be used in the Danelaw of almost any other kind of settlement. The distribution patterns of the two elements in the colonies are largely complementary and to me it seems most likely that the *staðir*-names are characteristic of areas of mainly Norwegian settlement, while the *bý*-names are to be taken as indicators of Danish settlement. The isolated occurrences of the two generics, *staðir* in Toxteth and Croxteth in Lancashire and *bý* in *Sumarliðabær* in Iceland, probably betray contact between

Lancashire and the Isle of Man and between Iceland and the Danelaw respectively, while the scattered occurrences of names in *-ærgi* in Yorkshire show that the influence of the Gaelic-speaking colonies was felt to the east of the Pennines in the northern Danelaw. There would, indeed, seem to have been lively contact between the various colonies in the Viking period. Finally, it seems possible that the names in the homelands in which the generics *staðir* and *bær* are compounded with anthroponymical specifics reflect the influence of the colonies on the nomenclature of the motherlands in much the same way as the coining of place-names in *-ing* with an anthroponymical theme, and of place-names in *-heim* with an anthroponymical specific, would seem to have spread in the Migration period from the new territories to the homelands of the Saxons and Franks.⁶⁴

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NOTES

- This is a revised version of the paper given on 29 March 1987 at the XIXth Conference of the Council for Name Studies held at the University of Nottingham.
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 3. P. Skautrup, *Det Danske Sprogs Historie* I (Copenhagen, 1944), 97.
 4. A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* [EPN] i-ii, EPNS XXV-XXVI (Cambridge, 1956), map 10.
 5. Ekwall, 'Scandinavian Element', 61; and O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), 67.
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 8. E. Ekwall, *English River-Names* [ERN], (Oxford, 1928), xlvii-xlviii.
 9. A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York*, EPNS XIV (Cambridge, 1937), 155; and *Danmarks Stednavne*, IX. 178 and XVII. 16.

10. K. Hald, *Vore Stednavne [VS]*, (Copenhagen, 2nd ed. 1965), 223.
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18. Smith, *EPN*, ii, 269.
19. F. T. Wainwright, *The Northern Isles* (Edinburgh, 1962), 135.
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23. Kousgård Sørensen, *Danske bebygg. på -sted*, 287.
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35. C. Matras, 'Stednavne paa de færøske Norðuroyar', *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie XXII* (1932), 1-322, esp. 86; and *idem*, 'Færøerne', in M. Olsen, ed., *Stedsnavn*, 53-9, esp. 57.
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37. Marwick, *Orkney Farm-Names*, 43, 81; M. Oftedal, 'The village names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap XVII* (1954), 363-408, esp. 371; D. J. Waugh, *The Place-Names of Six Parishes in Caithness, Scotland*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis for the University of Edinburgh (1985), 290-4; C. J. S. Marstrander, 'Det norske landnám på Man', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap VI* (1932), 40-386, esp. 92, 122, 158, 186; H. Kuhn, 'Die Anfänge der isländischen Ortsnamengebung', *Kleine Schriften III* (Berlin, New York, 1972), 385-96, esp. 392.
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The Scandinavian Element *Stadir* in Caithness, Orkney and Shetland

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The Scandinavian element *stadir* is generally translated as 'farm', but it is plural in form and may well refer to a farm-group.¹ An additional surmise could be that in many cases the farm-group could have been under the overall supervision of one person, a theory which the preponderance of personal-name specifics occurring with *stadir* would tend to support.

The presence of *stadir* as a generic in the place-names of Orkney and Shetland is well-attested, but it is apparently absent from the place-names of Caithness. This apparent absence has been used to suggest that the settlement of Caithness might have occurred at a slightly later date than the settlement of neighbouring Orkney.² I should like, in this paper, to propose that there are, in fact, reasonable grounds for assuming a minimal presence of the generic *stadir* in Caithness place-names.

