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GILLIAN FELLOWS JENSEN



*Scandinavian  
Personal Names  
in Lincolnshire  
and Yorkshire*

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COPENHAGEN 1968

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Gillian Fellows Jensen

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in Lincolnshire  
and Yorkshire

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*Franz From*

h. a. dec.

FR. BAGGES KGL. HOFBOGTRYKKERI  
KØBENHAVN

## PREFACE

*»Don't stand chattering to yourself like that,« Humpty Dumpty said, looking at her for the first time, »but tell me your name and your business.«*

*»My name is Alice, but —«*

*»It's a stupid name enough!« Humpty Dumpty interrupted impatiently. »What does it mean?«*

*»Must a name mean something?« Alice asked doubtfully.*

*»Of course it must,« Humpty Dumpty said with a short laugh: »my name means the shape I am — and a good handsome shape it is, too. With a name like yours, you might be any shape, almost.«*

LEWIS CARROLL: THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS.

The study of personal names can, indeed, tell us a great deal about the men and women who bore them and I am grateful to the University of Copenhagen for awarding me first a kandidatstipendium and then an universitetsadjunktur and thus enabling me to spend part of my time between August 1962 and July 1967 working on this subject at the Institute for Name Research.

Limitations of time and space have necessitated the restriction of the present survey almost entirely to published documents which are available in Copenhagen. Through the courtesy of the Universities of Leeds, London and Nottingham, however, I have been enabled to make use of three unpublished theses. A grant from the Rask-Ørsted foundation made it possible for the Institute to buy several important books, and the Royal Library, Copenhagen kindly arranged to purchase some works whose price put them beyond the reach of the Institute's modest budget. I am indebted to the library for this service and in particular to one of the librarians, cand. mag. Svend Gissel, who gave me valuable assistance in my search for relevant works. Professor Kristian Hald has kindly and uncomplainingly transported the volumes of the Lincoln Record Society to and fro between his private library and the Institute and on various occasions given me the benefit of his knowledge of the Lincolnshire place-names.

## VI

Chapter III of the Introduction is a greatly revised and expanded version of a paper given at the IXth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences at University College London in July 1966. I owe a debt of gratitude to numerous scholars whose comments, criticisms and suggestions on that and other occasions have been of great value. Dr Olof von Feilitzen has been particularly helpful and throughout the book my debt to his published works will be obvious. The 1966 congress was the last occasion on which I was to meet the late Professor A. H. Smith, who died so suddenly last year. I should like this book to be my tribute to his memory. Both the years I spent as a post-graduate student at University College and my subsequent visits to London were constantly enlivened and enriched by conversations with Hugh Smith. His experience in the field of onomastic studies was at my disposal whenever I sought advice, and generous encouragement was never lacking. I count it a privilege to have known him.

My thanks must also be extended to all my colleagues at the Institute in Copenhagen, with whom I have had many stimulating and fruitful discussions. Mag. art. K. B. Jensen put forward some interesting theories and posed many searching questions that suggested new paths for me to follow. Dr John Kousgård Sørensen has helped me frequently with problems of Scandinavian philology and always been willing to devote valuable time to the unravelling of particularly intricate problems. Above all, however, I am indebted to the director of the Institute, Professor Anders Bjerrum, who was instrumental in making it possible for me to work at the Institute, who gave me unstinting advice and encouragement in the early and difficult stages of the work and who arranged for the book to appear as one of the Institute's publications.

Finally, I must thank my husband, cand. polyt. Verner Jensen, for the help which he has given me on many occasions and for the understanding with which he has met the problems arising from my work on this book.

*Copenhagen, July 1968*

Gillian Fellows Jensen.

## CONTENTS

Abbreviations and bibliography .....	VII
Chapter I Introductory .....	XVII
Chapter II Danes and Norwegians in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire	XX
(i) Historical background .....	XX
(ii) The distribution of Scandinavian place-names	XXV
(iii) The distribution of Scandinavian personal names	XXVI
Chapter III The frequency of occurrence and chronological stratification of the personal names .....	XXIX
Appendix .....	LXIV
Chapter IV The representation of Scandinavian names in the English sources .....	LXVII
(i) The scribes .....	LXVII
(ii) Scandinavian monophthongs in stressed syllables	LXVIII
(iii) Diphthongs .....	LXXVIII
(iv) Vowels in unstressed positions .....	LXXXI
(v) Inorganic vowels .....	LXXXII
(vi) Consonants .....	LXXXIII
(vii) Inflection, anglicisation and latinisation .....	XCIX
(viii) The addition of foreign suffixes .....	CI
(ix) Summary .....	CII
The name list .....	I
List of first elements in the personal names .....	342
List of second elements in the personal names .....	348
Addenda .....	353
Dansk resumé .....	357
Index of place-names .....	361



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- Thureson = Bertil Thureson *Middle English Occupational Terms*, *Lund Studies in English* XIX, Lund 1950.
- Wainwright = F. T. Wainwright *Early Scandinavian Settlement in Derbyshire*, *Derbyshire Archaeological Society Journal*, 1947, 96-119.
- Wainwright = F. T. Wainwright *Danes and Norwegians in England*, *Quatrième Congrès International de Sciences Onomastiques*, Uppsala 1952, 530-40.
- Wainwright = F. T. Wainwright *Archaeology and Place-Names and History*, London 1962.
- Wright = J. Wright and E. M. Wright *Old English Grammar*, 3rd ed., Oxford 1925.
- Wyld = H. C. Wyld *A Short History of English*, 3rd ed., London 1927.
- XenLid = E. Hellquist *Fornsvenska tillnamn*, in *Xenia Lideniana. Festschrift Tillägnad Professor Evald Lidén*, Stockholm 1912.
- Zachrisson ANI = R. E. Zachrisson *A contribution to the study of Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names*, *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift* 1909.
- Zachrisson IPN = R. E. Zachrisson *The French Element*, *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, *EPNS Vol. I Part I*, 1924, 93-144.
- Ödeen = Nils Ödeen *Studier i Smålands Bebyggelseshistoria*, Lund 1927-30.

iii. *Other abbreviations*

- Ab. = abstracts  
 abl. = ablative  
 acc. = accusative  
 adj. = adjective  
 adv. = adverb  
 AN = Anglo-Norman  
 Anglo-Scand = Anglo-Scandinavian  
     (used of the population in L and Y  
     and of Scand names that have been  
     assumed to have been formed on  
     English soil)  
 by.n. = by-name  
 c = circa  
 cent = century  
 cf. = confer  
 Ch = Cheshire  
 cons. = consonant(s)  
 ContGerm = Continental-Germanic  
 Dan = Danish  
 dat. = dative  
 Do = Dorset  
 e. = early  
 E = East  
 E<sub>1</sub>, E<sub>2</sub>, E<sub>3</sub>, E<sub>4</sub> = Edward I (1272-1307),  
     II (1307-27), III (1327-77)  
 Ed., ed. = edition or edited by  
 el. = element  
 Ess = Essex  
 f. = filius etc. or feminine  
 fem. = feminine  
 f.n. = field-name  
 gen. = genitive  
 H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, H<sub>8</sub> = Henry I (1100-35),  
     II (1154-89), III (1216-72), VIII  
     (1509-47)  
 ib. = ibid  
 Icel = Iceland(ic)  
 J = John (1199-1216)  
 l. = late  
 L = Lincolnshire or Lower  
 La = Lancashire  
 Lat = Latin  
 Lei = Leicestershire  
 m. = middle or mid- or masculine  
 masc. = masculine  
 ME = Middle English  
 MedLat = Medieval Latin  
 ModIcel = Modern Icelandic  
 MS(S) = manuscript(s)  
 myth. = mythological  
 N = North  
 n. = neuter or note  
 Nf = Norfolk  
 nom. = nominative  
 Norw = Norwegian or Norway  
 nr = near or number  
 ODan = Old Danish  
 OE = Old English  
 OEScand = Old East Scandinavian  
     (Old Danish and Old Swedish)  
 OFr = Old French  
 OHG = Old High German  
 OIcel = Old Icelandic  
 OIr = Old Irish  
 ONorw = Old Norwegian  
 op.cit. = opere citato  
 orig = original(ly)  
 OSwed = Old Swedish  
 OWScand = Old West Scandinavian  
     (Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian)  
 pers.n. = personal name  
 pl. = plural  
 p.n. = place-name  
 PrimGerm = Primitive Germanic  
 PrimScand = Primitive Scandinavian  
 q.v. = quod vide  
 R<sub>1</sub> = Richard I (1189-99)  
 r.n. = river-name  
 S = South  
 s.a. = sub anno  
 Sa = Shropshire  
 Scand = Scandinavian  
 Sf = Suffolk  
 sg. = singular  
 s.n. = sub nomine  
 So = Somerset  
 st.n. = street-name  
 s.v. = sub voce  
 Swed = Swedish or Sweden  
 Tr. = translation  
 TRE = Tempus regis Edwardi (i.e.  
     1065)



## XVI

TRW = Tempus regis Willelmi I

U = Upper

vb. = verb

W = Wapentake or West

W<sub>1</sub> = William I (1066–87)

We = Westmoreland

WSax = West-Saxon

WScand = West Scandinavian

YE, YN, YW = Yorkshire, East, North  
and West Ridings

\* = a postulated form

† = died

< = developed from

> = developed to

[ ] i. letters within square brackets have been supplied where they have been omitted by the scribe in error or worn away from the MS. ii. dates within square brackets are those of a lost original. iii. square brackets are also used to enclose phonetic symbols.

## CHAPTER I

### Introductory.

The aim of the present survey has been to give an impression of the nature and extent of Scandinavian nomenclature in a section of Eastern England from the time of the first Scandinavian settlements until the end of the 13th century. There are, in fact, few documents from the period before the Norman Conquest that can definitely be ascribed to Lincolnshire or Yorkshire. Consequently, apart from a few isolated forms from Old English wills and charters, our information about the pre-Conquest Scandinavian names must be gleaned from place-names, whose forms often point to a considerable age, and to the Domesday survey of the tenants *Tempore regis Edwardi* (i.e. 1065). From the 12th and early 13th centuries, however, there are numerous documents and these reveal an abundance of Scandinavian names. The frequency of occurrence of these names diminishes rapidly after the first quarter of the 13th century. Select documents from the period after 1250 have been examined and excerpted but the harvest from these has been meagre. By that time Norman names had practically ousted the native English and Scandinavian ones.

The necessity of using published texts has restricted the amount of material available but the excellent volumes of the Lincoln Record Society, the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, the Surtees Society and the Selden Society, supplemented by books published by other learned societies and individual scholars, have provided sufficient evidence to justify the compiling of this work. The compiler would be the first, however, to acknowledge its incompleteness and offers it merely as a preliminary study to demonstrate the nature of the evidence that early English documents can provide about Scandinavian nomenclature. One word of caution must be added about the names culled from the volumes published at the end of the last century and in the early years of this one. Several of these are not, strictly speaking, editions but translations

## XVIII

and/or abstracts and, where comparison with the later, more scientific editions could be made, this has revealed that the forms of personal names printed in the earlier editions are not necessarily the same as those found in the MSS. This is particularly so with Massingberd's "Final Concords", some of whose documents have since been published in the Pipe Rolls Society's edition. In spite of the possibility of inaccuracy, however, names from documents only published by Massingberd have been included, although no significance has been attached to their spelling in the treatment of the forms taken by Scandinavian names in English sources. Massingberd's translations naturally ignore the Latin case-endings and he often prints names in an arbitrarily anglicised form. Canon Foster's "Lincolnshire Domesday", though a translation, is a much more accurate work and completely reliable. It should be noted, however, that most of the personal names in it are printed without their case-endings (if any), and some peculiarities of spelling, such as *uu* for *w* and distinctions between *v* and *u*, are ignored. In cases where there has seemed to be some doubt as to the forms of the personal names printed by Canon Foster, these have been checked against the facsimile of the Lincolnshire DB. Place-names are reproduced by Foster in the forms in which they appear in the MS. Indication is made in the bibliography as to whether the publication is a critical edition, a translation or an abstract.

Every effort has been made to ensure that the forms printed in the sources are accurately reproduced here. The overwhelming majority of the references have been checked in manuscript against these sources so that the margin of error has been reduced as far as is humanly possible. The only references which have not been re-checked in manuscript are those to works which are not readily available in Copenhagen and which in some cases had been obtained in the first place by the Royal Library on loan from Sweden or England and in others had been excerpted by me in London. For the convenience of the reader a list of these works is given here: – AssC, Bower, FFB, FFP, Payling, Selby, YCh 6.

The personal names have been treated in alphabetical order (*ð* follows *d*, *þ* follows *t* and *æ*, *ρ*, *ø* come at the end of the alphabet). The spelling employed for the headwords and in the introduction is normalised classical OIcel, except that initial *H-* before *l* and *r* has been omitted, *ks* appears instead of *x*, *ts* for *z*, *-mann* instead of *-maðr*, WScand secondary lengthening of vowels before *l* + a consonant has not been indicated, e. g. *Kalfr* appears and not *Kálfr*, and unmutated

## XIX

*a* has been retained in a number of names such as *Almóðr*, *Anundr*, *Saksulfr*, *Sparhaukr*.

The entries under each individual name have been divided into four groups: – L. a) instances where the name appears as an element in a place-name in Lincolnshire, L. b) independent instances in Lincolnshire, Y. a) instances as an element in Yorkshire place-names, and Y. b) independent instances in Yorkshire. To these entries are appended (i) a brief discussion of the etymology of the name and its distribution and frequency in Scandinavia, (ii) alternative interpretations (if any) of the forms in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, (iii) references to the relevant paragraphs in the chapter dealing with sound-developments and orthography, and any other remarks on difficult or obscure forms which might appear necessary.

## CHAPTER II

### Danes and Norwegians in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

#### *i. Historical background*

It seems certain that the first Scandinavian raiders to come to England were Norwegians but the majority of these vikings passed round the north coast of Scotland to Ireland, establishing colonies in the Shetlands and Orkneys, Caithness and Sutherland, and the Hebrides. The invasions which had the greatest significance for the development of English history and the English language were the Danish ones (1).

The first Danish raid known to have been made was directed at Sheppey in 835 and, in the course of the next thirty years there were at least twelve separate Danish attacks, and almost certainly more, on different parts of the country. In 841 great destruction was done in Lindsey. In 865 there was a significant change in the character of the attacks. This year marked the arrival in England of the great *here* "marauding army", led by the sons of Ragnar Lothbrok. This army was prepared to spend many years campaigning in England. It remained in East Anglia for the first twelve months but in the autumn of 866 it crossed the Humber estuary to Yorkshire and captured the city of York on November 1st (2). The Danes had held the city for four months before the Northumbrians made a counter-attack, for Northumbria was at the time in a state of civil war. When it finally came, the Northumbrian attack was unsuccessful and the Danes established a tributary king in York, before moving their camp for the winter to Nottingham in Mercia. In the autumn of 868 they took up winter quarters in York once again. The following years, however, were mainly spent in the south of England but in 872 the Danish rule in York was threatened by revolt and the Danes marched north in the autumn. They settled for the winter at Torksey in

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(1) For a full account of the Danish raids on England see Stenton *Anglo-Saxon England* 241-66, 315-58, 367-400.

(2) ASC (A) s.a. 867; cf. also PNYW 7. 45 n.1.

Lincolnshire, probably after withdrawing from Northumbria (3). It seems likely that they did not consider it worth fighting to reduce a land that had already been plundered of its wealth. The Danes occupied Torksey for twelve months but then the men of Mercia bought peace for the province of Lindsey and late in 873 the army moved to Repton.

After acting as a single unit for nine years, the Danish army divided itself into two sections in the autumn of 874. One part under Guthrum went to Cambridge and the other section moved north to fight the Picts and Britons of Strathclyde. By this time the constant raids had reduced England to such a state of poverty that it was no longer profitable for the Danes to continue the old-style raids. In 876, therefore, they carried out the first of the great partitions of territory which led to the settlement of Danish armies in more than a third of eastern England. According to the ASC (4), Halfdan, the son of Ragnar Lothbrok, "portioned out the land of the Northumbrians and they [the Danes] tilled it and made their livelihood by it". This is the first recorded settlement of Scandinavians in England and the previous year's raids on the Picts may have been at least in part to secure a peaceful settlement here. The area in which Halfdan established his men corresponds roughly with modern Yorkshire but the distribution of Scandinavian place-names there indicates that the settlement was confined to the most fertile parts of the county, the eastern parts of the West Riding, the central and southern parts of the North Riding, and the East Riding (5). Halfdan appears to have left England soon after the settlement and he may be identical with the Danish king called Albann who was killed near Strangford Lough in Ireland in 877.

In 877 Mercia was divided between King Ceolwulf II (a puppet-king established there by the Danes in 873) and the Danish army under Guthrum. The area assigned to the Danes, which certainly included the medieval shires of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby and Leicester and may also have included the southern part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, if this had not already been colonised by Halfdan's men (6), was portioned out between those members of the army who wished for a share in it.

Professor K. Cameron has pointed out (7) that the ASC only tells us that the land was partitioned between the Danes and the Mercians

(3) ASC s.a. 873.

(4) ASC (A) s.a. 876.

(5) cf. PNYN xxxi.

(6) cf. PNYW 7. 62.

(7) in *Scandinavian Settlement* 3.

and that its unsupported evidence does not enable us to say what sort of settlements they made there and whether the Danes took over existing settlements or developed new ones. Whereas some scholars (8), considering that the rank and file of the army kept their military organisation long after they had given up fighting and established themselves as farmers, assume that it is this grouping of the Danes under their leaders which accounts for the division of the land into sokes characteristic of the Danelaw, there are others who consider that the extent of the Danish influence has been overestimated. Glanville R. B. Jones, for example, sees the Scandinavian settlement "not as a widespread occupation of virgin or depopulated land, but rather as an adaptation of a pre-existing, and in large measure surviving, territorial organisation" (9). He assumes that Scandinavian place-names "need mean little more than a monopoly by Scandinavians of positions of authority in [the] district" (10).

The great number of Scandinavian place-names found in the Danelaw, however, makes it difficult to assume that they can all represent settlements established by such a military aristocracy and would seem to indicate that the number of Scandinavian settlers who eventually found their way to England must have been large. There has recently been a good deal of discussion on the size of the invading armies and the age, extent and nature of the Scandinavian settlements in Yorkshire and the Five Boroughs (including Lincolnshire) (11). With the notable exceptions of P. H. Sawyer and G. R. B. Jones, there seems to be general agreement that although the armies themselves may well have been comparatively small, the number of actual immigrants must have been considerable.

There is no direct evidence for any large scale Scandinavian immigration into Lincolnshire or the East Midlands in general later than 877 but it has been suggested by Professor Cameron (12) that since the

(8) notably Stenton in *Anglo-Saxon England* 506, 512.

(9) *Early Territorial Organization in Northern England and its Bearing on the Scandinavian Settlement*, The Fourth Viking Congress, Edinburgh 1965, 71.

(10) *ib.* 81.

(11) Cf. particularly Fritz Askeberg *Norden och Kontinenten i Gammal Tid*, Uppsala 1944, 1-7; F. M. Stenton *The Scandinavian Colonies in England and Normandy*, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. XXVII, 1945, 2; P. H. Sawyer *The Density of the Danish Settlement in England*, *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, vol. VI, 1958, 1-17; P. H. Sawyer *The Age of the Vikings*, London 1962, 120 ff; H. Loyn *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, London 1962, 54-56; S. U. Palme *Vikingatågen i vest, deras förutsättningar och samhälleliga följder*, *Nordisk Tidsskrift* 1963, 223-39; Glanville R. B. Jones *op.cit.* 67-84; K. Cameron *op.cit.* 1-11, 18-20.

(12) *op.cit.* 18-20.

number of settlements is so great, it is unlikely that all the places bearing Scandinavian names were founded by men of the original viking army. Many of the Scandinavian immigrants probably entered Lincolnshire and the North-East Midlands in the course of the next two generations along the Humber and the Wash, under the protection of the armies already established in the Five Boroughs, who held Watling Street as the boundary between Danish and English England.

Place- and personal names provide much evidence to support the assumption that the number of the settlers was large. Not only did these settlers give Scandinavian names to villages, a feat which might possibly have been achieved by a comparatively small but select military aristocracy, but they also left behind them a vast number of field and other minor names. The abundance of Scandinavian field names is particularly marked in Lincolnshire but little of the place-name material for this county has yet been published. Some idea of the extent of the Scandinavian influence can be gained from figures quoted by Kristian Hald for the village of Benniworth (an English name) c1200, showing a marked predominance of Scandinavian names (13). Further support for the assumption is provided by the number of independent instances of Scandinavian personal names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. These can hardly be explained by the presence of some few high-ranking Scandinavians in the early years after the invasions but rather suggest a considerable settlement that retained its Scandinavian character for many years, perhaps even right up to the Norman Conquest. The fact that some of the bearers of Scandinavian names can be shown to have been of English descent in no way invalidates this assumption, for it is unlikely that Scandinavian names would have been so popular for such a long time among the English unless they had been firmly established in use by the colonising Vikings.

During the seventy years or so between 877 and 950 West-Saxon rule was gradually imposed on the Danish settlers of the Five Boroughs but the West-Saxons never seem to have been able to exert the same influence over Yorkshire and the rest of the land north of the Humber. The history of the Scandinavian kingdom of York is rather obscure (14). It was a violent realm with unruly settlers. Of the eleven known kings of York, only five ruled until their death and of these, three were killed in battle. Whereas every Danish colony south of the Humber had been

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(13) in Vore Marknavnes Alder, NoB 1948, 24-28.

(14) Cf. E. V. Gordon *Scandinavian Influence* 6 ff.



annexed to Wessex by the end of the reign of Edward the Elder (924), York remained more or less in the control of Danes or Irish-Norwegian vikings until 954. In the period between 919, when Rognvaldr or Rægnald came from Ireland and captured York, until 954, there was a constant stream of Scandinavian settlers of Norwegian origin from Ireland into the north-western part of Yorkshire. By the middle of the 10th century, however, the native rulers of Wessex were strong enough to prevent the conquest of the country by Scandinavians, even by a combined force of Danes and Irish-Norwegian vikings. This was in part due to the fact that the inhabitants of the Danelaw had already begun to look upon themselves as English subjects. The predominantly Danish character of the area was, however, preserved. There is evidence of this as late as the reign of Æthelred II (978-1013, 1014-16) in the language and content of the king's Wantage code, which confirmed to the Danes the right to make their own laws (15).

Early in the 11th century the Danes reconquered England and there was a period of Danish overlordship under Knut and his sons, Harthaknut and Harald (1016-42). During their reigns a new connection was established with Scandinavia, and when the Danish army, which included large numbers of Norwegians and Swedes (16), was disbanded in 1018, many of the men settled in England. Immigration continued throughout the Danish reigns. Many of the landowners with Scandinavian names who appear in DB may have inherited their lands from ancestors who had been in the service of Knut or his sons (17).

Account should also be taken of the fact that a number of Scandinavian names were introduced by the Normans who settled in England after the Conquest. Where a Scandinavian name is recorded in Normandy this has been noted in the name-list (18).

Finally, it should not be forgotten that contact between England and Scandinavia did not cease with the advent of the Normans. Trade with Scandinavia flourished in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and it is possible that some few Scandinavians may have settled in Lin-

(15) Cf. Stenton *op.cit.* 252 and A. J. Robertson *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, 33-37, 397.

(16) Although the Swedes played no great part in the attacks on England, there are known to have been a number of Swedes in the viking armies which sailed to England at the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century. For a convenient summary of the evidence provided by Swedish runic inscriptions see Sven B. F. Jansson *Swedish Vikings in England The Evidence of the Rune Stones*, London 1966.

(17) Cf. Stenton *op.cit.* 407 and Feilitzen 18-19.

(18) Cf. Adigard des Gautries *op.cit.* and Fabricius *Danske Minder i Normandiet* 216-36.

colnshire and Yorkshire at this period. Their numbers must have been comparatively insignificant, however, and it is unlikely that any personal names owe their introduction to England to these late traders (19).

*ii. The distribution of Scandinavian place-names.*

From the outline history of the Scandinavian settlements given above it can be seen that the areas colonised by Danes and Norwegians are not likely to be evenly spread throughout the two counties. It is interesting to see whether a study of the Scandinavian place-names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire can confirm, or add to, the rather scanty information that can be derived from historical sources.

A good deal of attention has already been paid to the dialectal (i. e. W or EScand) provenance of the place-names (20) and it will be sufficient here to give a summary of the conclusions that have been reached. The bulk of the Scandinavian place-names in Lincolnshire and possibly in the south of the West Riding of Yorkshire were probably given by the Danes who settled there between 877 and c925 and their descendants. There is a broad area dominated by Scandinavian names which extends from the coast between Grimsby and Saltfleet inland to the neighbourhood of Leicester, only broken by the fens along the Witham, and to the north of this there is a significant group of Danish names in Lindsey in the angle between the Trent and the Humber. The sequence of Danish names comes to an abrupt end on the edge of the parts of Holland and thins out in south Kesteven. There seems to have been no extensive settlement of Norwegians in Lincolnshire, although isolated place-names do indicate the presence of at least some Irish-Norwegian vikings there. Professor K. Cameron (21) argues convincingly that many of the settlement groups in Lincolnshire, particularly those on the Wolds, must be due to immigrants entering the county by way of the Humber and the Wash rather than to the original army based on Lincoln. It should be noted that whereas it is certain that the Danes did occupy some villages and settlements already developed by the Angles, studies of the distribution of Scandinavian names in the

(19) For a summary of the evidence for trade between England and Scandinavia after the Norman Conquest see A. L. Poole *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1955, 88–89.

(20) Cf. particularly A. H. Smith *Danes and Norwegians in Yorkshire 188–215*; PNYN *xxi–xxix*; PNYE *xxii–xxv*; PNYW 7. 52–62; Stenton *op.cit.* 513–16; F. T. Wainwright *Danes and Norwegians in England 530–40*; *Ekwall Scandinavian Settlement 133–64*.

(21) in *Scandinavian Settlement 13–19*.

Five Boroughs compared with Geological Drift maps would seem to indicate that the Danes tended rather to develop virgin land, frequently in the valleys of tributary rivers and small streams, while English settlements are more generally to be found along major rivers (22).

The situation in Yorkshire is more involved (23). Most of the Scandinavian place-names in the East Riding and the more southerly parts of the West Riding must have been given by Halfdan's Danish settlers in 876 and their descendants and other Danes who may have arrived in succeeding generations. In the North Riding, too, the earliest and most extensive settlements in the fertile southern valleys and the Vale of York were probably due to Halfdan's partition of the land, whilst the high proportion of Scandinavian names in the north of the North and West Ridings is probably due to Norwegian immigration in the 10th century. It is noticeable that whereas both Danes and Norwegians indifferently occupied districts already settled by Angles, the Norwegian settlers would seem to have tended to avoid areas of Danish settlement. The majority of the Norwegian settlers in Yorkshire must have come over the Pennines from Lancashire, Westmoreland and Cumberland, although there is some evidence for Norwegian raids from the North Sea and it is probably these which account for the coastal settlements in Pickering Lythe and Whitby Strand wapentakes. The Scandinavian influence in the East Riding is markedly Danish but there is much evidence of Norwegian influence in the city of York itself, the centre of the Irish-Norwegian kingdom. In the West Riding there are two major areas of Danish settlement, one in the lower Don valley and the other near York, and Danish influence spreads westward from them. The Norwegian settlements become more frequent towards the Lancashire and Westmoreland borders.

### *iii. The distribution of the Scandinavian personal names.*

Very little can be added to this information from a study of the Scandinavian personal names in the two counties. Any attempt to assess their provenance and distribution is complicated by two factors. Firstly, it is not always possible to determine from what village or even from which wapentake or hundred a man originated. Where there is any indication in the source of a man's place of origin or abode (e. g. tenants of land),

(22) *ib.* 11-20.

(23) For a concise account of the settlements in Yorkshire see Ekwall *Scandinavian Settlement* 140-42, 158.

this is cited in the name list, but the homes and birth-places of the majority of the people named cannot be established. This is particularly unfortunate in the large county of Yorkshire, with its mixture of Danish and Norwegian settlements. Secondly, whereas the stock of OWScandinavian names is fairly well documented, our knowledge of OEScandinavian and particularly Danish names is much more limited. Early material from Denmark is scarce. This makes it impossible to say with certainty that a name only recorded in OWScandinavian sources did not occur in OEScandinavian. On the other hand, a name which is recorded in ODanish and/or OSwedish but not in OWScandinavian is probably peculiar to OEScandinavian.

Names and forms of names found in Lincolnshire and/or Yorkshire which are only recorded in OEScandinavian (ODan and usually also OSwed) are: – *Afi* L, *Aggi* LY, *Alfketill* Y, *Alfvarðr* Y, *Esbiorn* LY, *Ásfríðr* LY (?), *Esgar* Y, *Esi* LY, *Eskil* Y, *Babi* Y, *Brúnketill* L, *Bundi* LY, *Bösi* LY, *Dragmáll* Y, *Dúsi* L, *Feggi* L, *Félagi* Y, *Friðgestr* LY, *Friði* Y, *Grúmr* Y, *Gunnkil* L, *Harðaknútr* L, *Hugger* Y, *Húsbondi* Y, *Imer* L, *Ingifríðr* LY, *Ingimann* Y, *Jól(i)* LY, *Justen* L, *Ká* Y, *Keti* L, *Knaggr* Y, *Kotti* Y (?), *Malti* LY, *Man(ni)* LY, *Mjúkr* Y, *Mukki* Y, *Plógmann* Y, *Randr* L, *Ringulfr* LY, *Sibbi* L, *Sile* Y, *Sindi* Y, *Sjúndi* L, *Skakli* Y, *Skammel* LY, *Steinbíttr* L, *Stigamann* Y, *Sváfi* LY, *Sylfa* Y (?), *Tibbi* Y, *Tóla* L, *Tóli* LY, *Tóllir* Y, *Tonna* L, *Tonni* LY, *Tópi* L, *Tulli* L, *Tunni* LY, *Túpi* L, *Pingi* L, *Þorn* Y, *Þyrnir* Y (?), *Ulfbjörn* LY, *Ulfsteinn* Y, *Veggi* LY, *Vígautr* LY, *Vragi* LY, *Øpi* Y.

Names and forms of names found in Lincolnshire and/or Yorkshire and only recorded in OSwed are: – *Dúði* Y, *Farulfr* LY, *Gimp* L, *Hús-karl* LY, *Kolsteinn* LY, *Ormketill* L, *Sigketill* L, *Pingulfr* Y, *Þorfríðr* LY.

There are also a number of names which, while they do appear in WScandinavian sources, are either originally or typically EScandinavian. Names and forms of names of this category which are found in Lincolnshire and/or Yorkshire are: – *Abbi* LY, *Agi* LY, *Ásgautr* LY, *Ásviðr* L (?), *Auðketill* Y, *Auti* LY, *Bróðir* LY, *Faðir* L, *Fastulfr* L, *Fróði* LY, *Gauti* LY, *Halfdan* LY, *Hemingr* LY, *Hildiger(ör)* LY (?), *Inga* L, *Ingi* LY, *Ingimarr* Y, *Jóarr* L (?), *Jøfurr* Y (?), *Knútr* LY, *Nafni* L, *Náttfari* Y, *Óðinkarl* L, *Óðinkárr* L, *Otti* LY, *Reiðulfr* L, *Rikulfr* Y, *Saksi* LY, *Sigarr* LY, *Sigfróðr* LY, *Sigsteinn* Y, *Sigvarðr* LY, *Skurfa* Y, *Stúgr* L, *Súni* LY, *Tófi* LY *Tóki* LY *Tósti* LY, *Tóti* L, *Tum(m)i* LY, *Þólfr* Y, *Þormundr* LY, *Þyri* LY.

It will be seen that the typically EScandinavian names are fairly evenly distributed between Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Some of them

are, as would be expected, more common in Lincolnshire than in Yorkshire, namely *Auti*, *Tófi*, *Tóli* and *Vígautr* but *Tóki* is equally common in the two counties and *Tósti* commoner in Yorkshire than in Lincolnshire. It must not be forgotten that there were a considerable number of purely Danish settlements in Yorkshire, particularly in the East Riding. Other facts which should be borne in mind when assessing the frequency of occurrence of EScandinavian names in the two counties are that Yorkshire is considerably larger than Lincolnshire and that a more complete published record exists of Yorkshire place-names than of Lincolnshire ones.

There is a larger group of names which are only recorded in WScandinavian sources. As has been mentioned above, however, the fact that names are not found in published surviving EScandinavian sources does not necessarily mean that they were not known and used in Denmark and/or Sweden in the Viking period. It has not been considered profitable, therefore, to quote this list in its entirety but it is of interest to see that many of the names are only recorded in Yorkshire. This is natural enough, for there were considerable settlements of Norwegians in the north and west of the county, while there were only scattered incursions of Norwegians into Lincolnshire. Some Irish-Scandinavian names such as *\*Glunairnn*, *Kori* and *\*Melmor* are confined to Yorkshire, as would be expected, whereas *Gilli* appears equally frequently in both Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Two typically WScandinavian names that are much commoner in Yorkshire than in Lincolnshire are *Þorfinnr* and *Valþjófr*.

The dialectal provenance of the personal names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, then, in so far as this can be determined with any degree of probability, supports the evidence already available as to the distribution of Danish and Norwegian settlements in the two counties but is not able to give any additional information about them.

## CHAPTER III

### The frequency of occurrence and chronological stratification of the personal names.

Even a cursory examination of the name list will reveal that there is no regular pattern of distribution in time for the individual names. Some occur only once or very rarely, while others are exceptionally common throughout the whole period covered. Some are found only in p.ns. of an old type, while a few others are not recorded at all until well after the Norman Conquest. It will be my aim in the present chapter to demonstrate the frequency of occurrence and, in so far as is possible, the chronological stratification of the various types of Scandinavian pers.ns. that are found in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The exact details for any one individual name are contained in the name list. At this point attention will only be paid to classified groups of names and to some few individual names that are of particular interest. As it has not been an easy task to assign the pers.ns. to classified groups, it will be expedient to explain here the principles that have been followed.

Class A consists of compound names such as *Asbjörn*, *Borketill*. This type of name is found from the earliest times both in the Scandinavian homelands and in the other Germanic lands. It was, then, familiar to the inhabitants of England even before the introduction of Scandinavian compounds by the viking invaders. The majority of the names in this class can be placed there without question but there are a few names such as *\*Brúnkarl* and *\*Járnulfr* which have been included here but which may rather be by.ns. of the type *\*Brot-Ulfr* (see below).

Class B is considerably less homogeneous than Class A for it consists of names that can be assumed to be original by.ns. By the term by.n. is understood a characterising name which was given to a man by his contemporaries and borne by him in addition to his pers.n. The characterising element of the by.n. was often forgotten in later years and the name could be handed down as a family name, where it would follow a pers.n., or it could itself be used as a pers.n. and stand alone. The

fact that a name does not appear demonstrably as a by.n. in England is of little significance, for by.ns. are only found in use as such in a very few instances in sources from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. In p.ns., of course, it is impossible to see whether the name in question was borne as a pers.n. or a by.n. There is a single instance where the English source actually tells us that a name is a true by.n., namely *Henricus dictus Gouk'* 1299, but there are a number of instances where a characterising Scandinavian name follows a pers.n. and is in all probability a true by. n., e.g. *Boli* in *Haldan Bola rusticus* c1140, \**Klári* in *Osgod Clapa* 1033, *Krákr* in *Grimbold Crac* TRE, *Lági* in *Purgodes lagen* gen. c1055, \**Sveinbróðir* in *Vlchil suabrodre* TRE. In some cases a characterising name which follows a pers.n. can be shown to be not a by.n. but the name of the father of the bearer of the pers.n. *Aldene Tope* TRE, for example, is the brother of *Vlf Tope sune*, and *Robertum Toke* 1202 is also referred to as *Robertum filium Toke*. In numerous instances where Scandinavian by.ns. are found in combination with a pers.n. after the Norman Conquest, the by.n. is in fact an inherited family name. Sure instances of family names are *Grimr* in *Willelmus Grim* 1166 and *Húskarl* in *Roger Huscarl* 1218 (1).

The decision as to whether or not a name should be placed in Class B has not always been straightforward. Several of the names are simplex formations such as *Björn*, *Dúfa*, *Heggr*, *Ketill*, *Hjalp*. Many of these names are identical with the individual elements of the compound names in Class A and it was earlier thought that they represented secondary formations – short forms of the compound names. While the possibility that these names are occasionally short forms cannot be excluded, it has been shown that the simplex names are quite as old as the compound ones. It is possible that the simplex names were generally borne by men of lower rank and that this is the reason for their comparative scarcity in the earliest Scandinavian sources. They were, however, also borne by noblemen and members of royal families so it is not possible to conclude anything about a man's rank or station from his name (2).

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1) Hereditary surnames were introduced by the Normans and appear frequently among the upper classes from the time of the Conquest onwards but they do not seem to have become popular with the lower classes until the fifteenth century. There is some evidence for the use of surnames by these classes in the fourteenth century but these surnames were not hereditary. Cf. A. H. Smith *Early Northern Nick-Names and Surnames* 38–39, 47.

(2) Cf. A. Janzén in *Nord. Kult.* VII 240–41, citing E. Wessén *Nordiska Namnstudier*, Uppsala 1927.

There is a smaller group of names which indicate the bearer's occupation or station in life, e.g. *Farmann*, *Lagmann*, *\*Rómþari*, *\*Tóki-mann*. If these names were found following a pers.n., it would probably be assumed that they were not strictly speaking by.ns. but rather occupational terms. In the sources from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, however, they regularly occur alone and must, therefore, have been used as by.ns. or pers.ns. proper.

Another group of names which perhaps ought not to have been placed in Class B is that containing secondary names made up of an appellative+ the suffix *i*. These names have been retained in Class B for two reasons. The first of these is that in p.ns. such as *Hundebi* it is impossible to see whether the pers.n. in question is *Hundr* (in stem-form joined to *-bý* by a linking *e*) or *Hundi* (with the *e* representing the weakening of gen. *-a*). The second reason is that forms such as *Carle* may represent either *Karl* (with addition of an AN inorganic *e*) or *Karli* (with weakening of the final vowel).

Other names can with greater certainty be placed in Class B, namely adjectival formations such as *Helgi* and *Gamall*, verbal formations such as *Slengr* and *Skúma*, and descriptive compounds such as *Bróklauß* and *Dragmáll*. Further, this class has been made to accommodate a number of instances where a defining prefix is attached to an existing name, e.g. *Brotulfr*, *Skóga-Reinn*, and a group of names of the type *Sigvarðbarn*, *Sveinbróðir*.

Class C consists of secondary formations. These are: – (i) Short forms of names in Class A formed by the addition of the suffixes *-i* (masc.) or *-a* (fem.) to one or other of the elements, e.g. *Ulfi*, *Inga*. Note that in short forms of names in *Þór-*, *Þ-* is replaced by *T-* and the *-r-* is lost, e.g. *Tófi*, *Tóla*. (ii) Short forms of names in Class A made up of one of the elements without the addition of any suffix, e.g. *Geirr*, *Leifr*. (iii) Contracted forms of names in Class A, e.g. *Trútr* (probably from *Þorgautr*). (iv) *-ing* derivatives, e.g. *Brýningr*.

The remaining pers.ns. are either names which can be assumed ultimately to be of non-Scandinavian origin, mainly Irish or ContGerm, e.g. *Melmor*, *Malti*, or Anglo-Scand and ContGerm-Scand hybrids, e.g. *Goldsteinn*, *Gunngrifu*, *Þorbirt*.

A table will be given for each of the various periods between the first viking invasions and 1250, showing the number of instances recorded of names from each of the three main classes (with percentages) and the number of individual names represented in each class at the time. The table will also show the relevant figures for names making their



first recorded appearance in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the period in question. The principles that have been followed in the establishment of the periods will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

The Scandinavian invasions in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire began in the middle of the ninth century but immigration probably continued for some generations. From the period up to the Norman Conquest there are very few surviving records containing independent instances of Scandinavian pers.ns. in the two counties. That it is at all possible to form any conclusions about Scandinavian nomenclature in this period is due to the fact that many of the p.ns. recorded in DB have Scandinavian pers.ns. as their first elements. These pers.ns. are presumably those borne by the original tenants of the villages in question. Some caution must be shown here, however, as it is known that the names of some villages were adapted to mark a change of tenant. *Dr(e)uistorp* DB (? = *Drjúg's þorp*), for example, appears as *Struttorp* in 1196 (= *Strút's þorp*). Similar substitution may also have taken place in some names before the compilation of DB. Some of the DB p.ns. containing Scandinavian pers.ns. had probably been given by the viking invaders to already existing Anglian villages, others must indicate villages established at the time of the division of the land between the Scandinavian armies (876-77), while still others probably denote villages or settlements that were not founded until considerably later, possibly even in the eleventh century. It is not, of course, possible to determine the exact or even approximate age of each individual village but a good deal of attention has been paid by various scholars to certain classes of p.ns. It is thus generally possible to establish a period in the course of which the main body of names in any one class can be presumed to have arisen.

Among the earliest names are probably those that consist of a Scandinavian pers.n. + *bý*. The use of *bý* as a p.n. element in Scandinavia and the Danelaw has been the subject of much discussion (3). In Denmark and parts of Sweden the element would seem to have been used of both single farmhouses and villages but the sense "village" is much more frequent. In Norway and other parts of Sweden, however, the term seems to have been used of an isolated farmhouse. It has been argued (4) that the development of the meaning "village" is secondary and younger but this does not appear to be the case in Denmark. At all events the element must have acquired this sense before the period of

(3) Cf. PNEI i 66-71; Hald Vore Stednavne 102-13; B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by.

(4) PNEI i 67-68.

the Scandinavian settlements in England. It is this sense which is the dominant one in the Danelaw and Yorkshire, where p.ns. in *-bý* represent villages that were well established by the time of the compilation of DB. In areas of predominantly Norwegian settlement, however, the sense "isolated farmhouse" is also found.

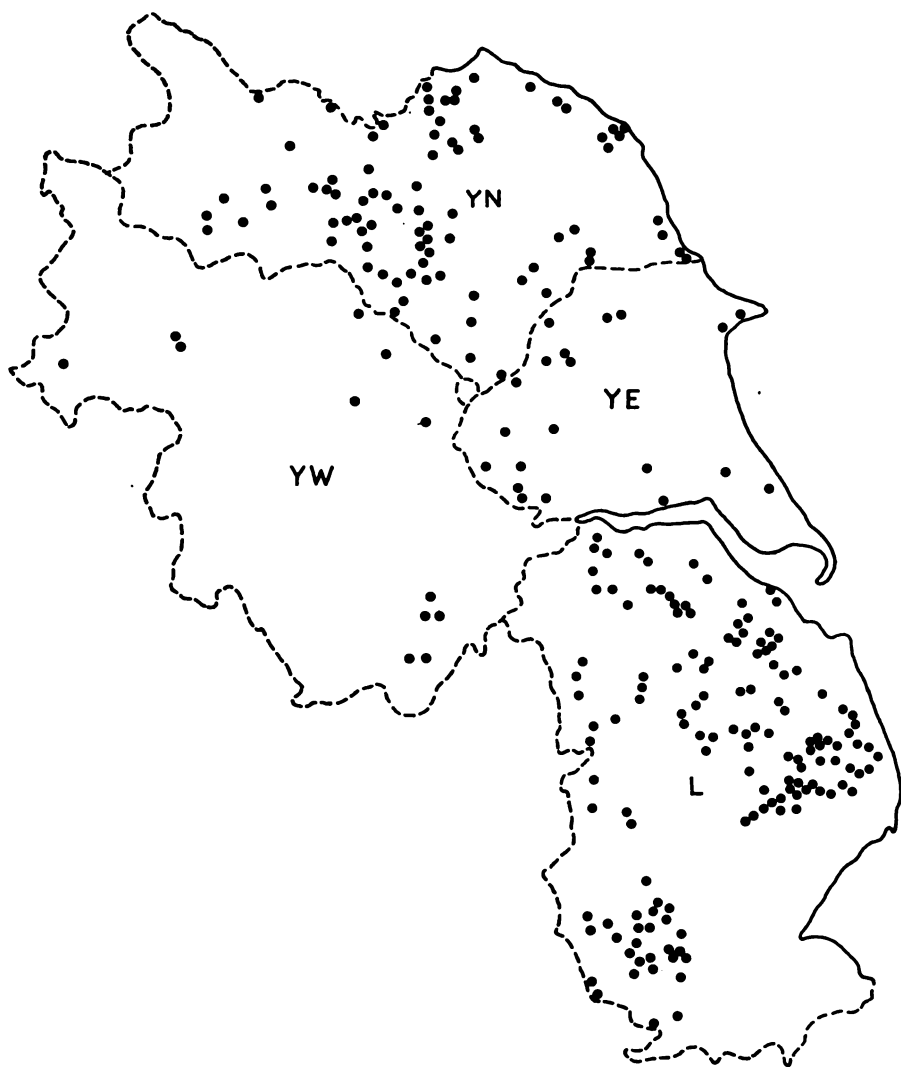
The large group of English p.ns. with the final element *bý* was investigated some years ago by F. T. Wainwright. The results of his investigation are contained in an unpublished Ph.D. thesis but a summary of the conclusions he reached can be found in a posthumously published essay (5). He states that "with important qualifications place-names which have ODan *by* as their final element may be used as a class to indicate areas of heavy Danish settlement in England during the last quarter of the ninth century and the first quarter of the tenth". The assumption that the majority of the *bý*-names are old is supported by the facts that very few of them are found in the less attractive low-lying marsh areas of Lincolnshire, where the later *þorp*-names are dominant, and that they cluster thickly round the Roman roads that offered the best possibilities for speedy communications to the earliest Danish settlers (6). It should not be unreasonable, then, to assume that those DB p.ns. in *-bý* which have Scandinavian pers.ns. as their first element contain for the most part the names of Danish colonists who settled in England between c875 and c925. Many of these men must have been members of Halfdan and Guthrum's armies, for while some of the Danes, particularly the commanders of the various divisions of the armies, may well have occupied already existing Anglian villages, it seems likely that the majority of the vikings established new village-settlements (*bý*) in hitherto unoccupied areas (7). There is such a large number of settlements with names in *-bý*, however, that it seems improbable that all of these can have been established by members of the invading armies and their descendants. Good grounds have been given for believing that many of the settlements must have been established in the two generations succeeding the original colonisation, by Danish immigrants entering England along the Humber and the Wash under the protection

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(5) F. T. Wainwright *Archaeology* 78–83. Wainwright seems to have based his argument mainly on the percentages of pers.ns. of an older type (i.e. names that became obsolete in England at an early date) found in the various groups of p.ns. The figures deduced from the p.ns. in L and Y are of limited value but it should be noted that the percentages of p.ns. containing such "older" names in the three groups of p.ns. in *-bý*, *tūn* and *-þorp* are 21.3, 29 and 25 respectively.

(6) Cf. Ekwall *IPN* i 58, 83.

(7) Cf. K. Cameron *Scandinavian Settlement* 12–20.



Sketch-map to show the distribution of place-names consisting of a Scandinavian personal name + *by*.

of the viking armies (8). It should be noted that one scholar, P. H. Sawyer (9), even argues that very few of the Scandinavian names in *bý* were formed in the ninth century and that the rest resulted from expansion and extension of the original settlement in the period up to the middle of the eleventh century. His views have not, however, won general acceptance (10) and while it must be admitted that some of the villages with names of the type Scandinavian pers.n. + *bý* may have arisen at any time between 925 and 1065, taken as a whole this group of p.ns. must contain the best available evidence of Scandinavian nomenclature during the early years of the settlements in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

There are in all 252 p.ns. in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire consisting of a Scandinavian pers.n. + *bý* whose interpretation seems certain enough for them to be included in this survey. The distribution of the relevant pers.ns. between the classes referred to above is as follows: —

A	B	C	OTHERS
73 or 29 %	148 or 59 %	23 or 9 %	8 or 3 %
43 names	109 names	13 names	5 names

The names represented in Class A are: — *Alfvaldr*, *Ásbjörn*, *Ásgautr* (6), *Ásgeirr*, *Ásketill* (2), *Áslákr* (2), *Ásmundr*, *Ásulfr*, *Ásvarðr*, *Auðunn* (4), *Bergulfr*, *Björnulfr*, *Bøðvarr* (2), *Eindriði* (7), *Eymundr*, *Eysteinn*, *Geirvarðr*, *Gunnarr*, *Gunnfrøðr*, *Gunnhildr*, *Gunnvarðr*, *Hákon*, *Hávarðr*, *Hergeirr*, *Hundulfr*, *\*Húnketill* or *\*Unnketill*, *Ingjaldr*, *\*Ketilfriðr*, *\*Ketilfrøðr*, *Óláfr*, *Róðmundr*, *Saksulfr*, *Salmundr*, *Sigvarðr* (2), *Þjóðulfr*, *Þóraldr* (5), *Þorgisl* (2), *Þorgrímr*, *Þórir* (4), *Þorketill* (2), *Þormóðr* (2), *Þórulfr* (3), *Vígleikr*. The names in Class B are: — *Áki*, *Baggi*, *Bak*, *Balli*, *\*Bekki*, *Belgr*, *Beli* (2), *\*Belli* or *\*Bjalla*, *Bildr*, *Blanda*, *Blesi*, *Boli* or *Bolli* (2), *Boltr*, *Bóndi*, *Bragi*, *Brandr* (2), *Breiðr*, *\*Bróklauss*, *\*Brotulfr*, *Brúni*, *\*Buski*, *Bøsi* (2), *Dragmáll*, *Dúsi*, *Farmann*, *Feitr*, *Flatr* (2), *Foli* or *\*Fóli*, *Fótr*, *\*Greiði* (2), *Grein*, *Grímr* (3), *Gríss* (2), *Haddr*, *Hákr*, *Halmi*, *Hári*, *Helgi*, *Hemingr*, *Hjalp*, *Hjarni*, *Holti* (2), *Hornboði*, *Horni* (2), *Hundi* (2), *Hvíttr* (2), *Høggvandi*, *\*Kafni*, *Kalfr*, *Karl(i)* (it is, of course, possible that

(8) Cf. above p. XXIII and K. Cameron *Scandinavian Settlement* 18–19.

(9) in *The Density of the Danish Settlement in England*, University of Birmingham Historical Journal, vol. VI, 1958, 1–17, and *The Age of the Vikings*, 1962, 120 ff.

(10) Cf. K. Cameron *Scandinavian Settlement* 22 n. 24.

the p.n. *Carlebi* contains the gen.pl. of the appellative *karl* but the fact that the TRE tenant is called *Carle* (= *Karl* or *Karli*) seems to indicate that this p.n. is a late formation containing the name of the tenant in 1065), *Káti* (3), *Kausi*, *Keþtr*, *Ketill* (2), *Kisi*, *Klakkr* (3), *Klepþr*, *Klyþþr*, *\*Kolkr*, *Krókr* (4), *Kærir* (2), *Leggr*, *\*Leysingi* (2), *Ljótr*, *Lútr*, *Manni* (2), *Mildi*, *Moldr*, *Mþrðr*, *Nafni*, *Ormr* (3), *Raði*, *Rauðr* (3), *Refr*, *Rókr* (2), *Ryggr*, *Rytr*, *Saksi* (2), *Sali*, *Skalkr*, *Skalli* (2), *Skammel*, *Skorn(ir)* or *Skorri*, *\*Skrifli*, *Skræmir*, *\*Slengr*, *Slóði*, *Sóti*, *\*Spillir*, *Staki*, *Steinn*, *Stigamann*, *Stígandi*, *Strútr* (2), *Sumarliði* (4), *Sútari*, *Sváfi*, *Svarri*, *Sveinn*, *Sæfari*, *\*Pymill* (2), *\*Uglubarðr*, *Ulfr* (3), *Valr*, *Vestliði*, *Vífill*, *Vikíng*, *Vindr*, *Vragi* (2). The names in Class C are: – *Ási* (5), *Baldi*, *\*Basing*, *Friði* (3), *Gunni* (2), *Koli* (4), *Leifr*, *Magni*, *Mundi*, *Randi*, *Reiði*, *Tólr*, *Tum(m)i*. The other names represented are the Irish names *Kori* and *\*Melmor*, and the ContGerm names *Hagni*, *Malti* (4), and *Otti*.

A surprisingly large number of the 170 pers.ns. contained in the p.ns. in *-bý* do not appear at all again in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and must have dropped out of use there and only survived in fossilised forms in the p.ns., where their original significance as pers.ns. may well have been forgotten long before the compilation of DB. These names are: – from Class A, *Eymundr*, *Geirvarðr*, *Gunnfrøðr*, *Hergeirr*, *Salmundr*, from Class B, *\*Belli* or *\*Bjalla*, *Blanda*, *Blesi*, *Boltr*, *Bragi*, *\*Brotulfr*, *\*Buski*, *Feitr*, *Flatr*, *\*Greði*, *Halmi*, *Hári*, *Hjarni*, *Holti*, *Hornboði*, *Horni*, *\*Kafni*, *Kausi*, *Kisi*, *Klepþr*, *Klyþþr*, *\*Kolkr*, *Kærir*, *Lútr*, *Mildi*, *Moldr*, *Mþrðr*, *Nafni*, *Raði*, *Refr*, *Rytr*, *Sali*, *Skorn(ir)* or *Skorri*, *\*Skrifli*, *Slóði*, *Staki*, *Stigamann*, *Svarri*, *Vestliði*, from Class C, *Magni*, *Mundi*, *Randi*, *Tólr*, and the Irish names *Kori* and *\*Melmor*. In addition there are two names, *Dragmáll* and *Ljótr* from Class B, whose only other appearances in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are in 959 and 958 respectively and which can therefore also be assumed to have dropped out of use at an early date, and one, *Høggvandi* from Class B, whose only other appearance is in the p.n. *Hagandehou* 12th, a lost place in the village of *Hagendebi*, possibly the actual or legendary burial mound of the original tenant, *Høggvandi*, and under all circumstances connected with the first element of the village name and thus not valid evidence for the survival of the pers.n.

It must not, however, be forgotten that the material assembled from sources from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire is by no means exhaustive and that some of the names in the group above may well reappear in other later sources there. The very size of the group, though, is sufficient in-

dication that a large proportion of the names which can be assumed to have been borne by the original Danish settlers did not survive for long in England. To compensate in some degree for the incompleteness of the printed material from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, it has been thought advisable to see whether the names in question appear at a later date elsewhere in England. The material available is again not exhaustive but the information provided by p.ns. in other counties in England, the list of the pre-Conquest tenants in DB and some few other printed sources does provide a form of control. From these sources evidence can be produced to demonstrate that the following names may have survived longer or been more widespread than the material from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire might suggest. *Blesi* is probably found in the La p.n. Bleasdale (*Blesedale* 1228; PNL<sub>a</sub> 165). *Boltr* appears in the We p.n. Bowston (*Bolteston* c1190; PNWe 1. 152) and the Du p.n. Bolts Law (*Boltislawe* 13th; PNNbDu 28). *Eymundr* is found in Amerston Du (*Aymundeston* 1243; PNNbDu 5) and *Feitr* in *Fetestorp* 1208, a lost place in Nf (Björkman ZEN 33). *Gunnfrøðr* appears as *Gunford* in Db 1185 (Templ 98) and *Gunfriðr* as *Gunuer(t)*, *Gonuerd* in DB for Hereford and So (Feilitzen 277). *Horni* is perhaps found in the Db st.n. Hornthorpe Road (*Hornethorpe* 1570) (PNDb 250). *Klyppr* is found in several f.ns., e.g. *Clippeshull* 1228, *Clippescroft* c1280 (PNCa 198), *Clipescroft* 1261-75 (PNDb 762). *Kærir* is probably found in *Kerby* 1316, *Kereby* 1341 (Kirby Grounds Nth) (PNNth 46) and *Nafni* replaces OE *Hnæf* in some later forms of Naseby Nth (PNNth 73). *Raði* may appear in DB as *Rada* Sf, Nf (Feilitzen 344) and *Refr* is found in *Reuesath* c1270 (Roshead La) (PNLa 212). *Vestliði* is also found in the DB p.n. *Westledestuna* (Westleton Sf; DEPN). Even when these 12 names are extracted from the list on the preceding page, there still remains a large group of names which apparently dropped right out of use in England soon after the settlement. It is very likely that they were borne by original settlers but not passed on to their descendants who were born in the Danelaw. It is noticeable that the majority of these isolated instances are by.ns. and their speedy disappearance is natural enough if it is assumed that they were given to a man because of some prominent physical or mental characteristic and then died with him.

A considerable group of the names represented in the p.ns. with *-bj* make only one or two later appearances. It is impossible to tell whether these names remained current from the first settlements until their second appearance or whether the latter instances represent a reintroduction direct from Scandinavia or possibly from Normandy. The rareness

of these names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire rather suggests that they soon dropped out of use after their first introduction into England and that the later instances are new importations. The names in question are: – (dates for subsequent appearance are given in brackets) *Baldi* (c1150), *Balli* (1224 p.n.), *\*Bekki* (c1205), *Bøðvarr* (E<sub>1</sub>, 1343 p.n.s.), *Dúsi* (1331 p.n.), *Eysteinn* (12th p.n.), *Grein* (c1200), *Gunnvarðr* (14th p.n.), *Haddi* (c1130), *Ryggr* (13th p.n.), *Saksulfr* (DB), *Skalkr* (1218), *Skræmir* (1212 p.n.), *\*Slengr* (12th p. n.), *Spillir* (DB), *Sæfari* (1202), *Tummi* (DB), *\*Þymill* (1480 p.n.), *\*Uglubarðr* (DB), *Vindr* (12th–14th p.n.).

The remaining pers.n.s. found in p.n.s. in *-bý* all appear in other types of p.n.s. and/or independently and most of them remain in more or less frequent use throughout the period. Some few of them are among the names which are particularly common in post-Conquest sources. These are: – in Class A, *Asgautr*, *Ásgeirr*, *Ásketill*, *Hákon*, *Sigvarðr*, *Þóraldr*, *Þórir*, *Porketill*, in Class B, *Áki*, *Bóndi*, *Brandr*, *Grimr*, *Ketill*, *Ormr*, *Sveinn*, *Ulfr*, and in Class C, *\*Basing*, *Gunni*.

There is a smaller but not inconsiderable group of p.n.s. in DB that is made up of a Scandinavian pers.n + OE *tūn*. The element *tūn* is also found in p.n.s. in Scandinavia so that it is theoretically possible for some of the *tūn*-names to be pure Scandinavian compounds and not hybrids. In Denmark, however, the element *tūn*, though very old, is extremely rare (11) and this fact, coupled with the fact that most of the p.n.s. that consist of a Scandinavian pers.n. + *tūn* are found in parts of the land that must already have been well covered with Anglian settlements before the Danish invasions and occupation (12), suggests the possibility of such names' denoting an existing Anglian village that was occupied by a Dane whose name replaced that of the former tenant. Alternatively, it has been suggested that the question as to whether a village occupied by a Dane should be known as his *bý* or his *tūn* was decided by local circumstances and in particular by the relative number of Danes and Englishmen in the village itself and the immediate surroundings. Where Englishmen were in the majority, the old element *tūn* would be kept in the case of existing villages and new villages would be given a *tūn*-name. It is noticeable that the *tūn*-names are rare in areas where there are large concentrations of *bý*-names but common on the fringes of these

(11) Cf. Hald Vore Stednavne 72–73.

(12) Cf. PNNt xviii–xix; PNDb i xxxi–xxxii. Professor K. Cameron is at the moment engaged in the preparation of a study of such names, see his Scandinavian Settlement 5, 21 n. 8.



Sketch-map to show the distribution of place-names consisting of a Scandinavian personal name + OE *tūn*.



areas. F. T. Wainwright (13) sees the concentrations of *bý*-names as evidence that the area in question was dominated by Danes and the surrounding *tūn*-names as indicating "an area where Angles were numerous enough to withstand Danish influence of the kind that produces great concentrations of *bys*". The Danes in these areas were strong enough to influence the nomenclature but not strong enough to dominate it entirely. There does not seem to be any difference in significance between the two elements *bý* and *tūn*, and in some few p.ns. in England *bý* and *tūn* alternate with each other.

The OE element *tūn* remained productive until well after the Conquest (14) and it should be noted that there are 14 instances where the first element of DB names in *-tūn* is the name of the tenant TRE (15). This fact further complicates the treatment of names in *-tūn* for, while many of them probably denote old Anglian villages that were seized at an early date by the occupying Vikings, others may well have been given to new settlements made either by Danes or by men of English descent bearing Scandinavian names at any time from 875 to 1065. Geographical distribution, however, seems to confirm that the majority of them denote old Anglian villages.

There are in all in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire 55 p.ns. consisting of a Scandinavian pers.n. + *tūn* whose interpretation is certain enough for them to be included in this survey. The distribution of the 44 relevant pers.ns. between the classes is as follows: –

A	B	C	OTHERS
8 or 15 %	38 or 69 %	9 or 16 %	–
6 names	30 names	8 names	–

16 of the pers.ns. are also found in p.ns. in *-bý*. These are: – in Class A, *Pórułfr*, in Class B, *Bak*, *Brandr*, *Breiðr*, *Fótr* (3), *Grímr* (6), *Helgi*, *Káti*, *Krókr*, *Saksi*, *Skammel*, *Sváfi*, *Ułfr*, *Víkingr*, in Class C, *Friði*. In addition to these 16 names the following pers.ns. also appear in compounds with *-tūn*. In Class A, *Ásfriðr*, *Hermóðr*, *Hildulfr*, *Róarr* (2), *Róðulfr* (2), in Class B, *Barkr* (2), *Björn*, *Blágr*, *Flak*, *Flák* or *Flikkr*, *Flóki*, *Fugl*, *Galmr*, *Músi*, *Nagli*, *Náttfari*, *Skammi*, *Skurfa*, *Snær*,

(13) in Early Scandinavian Settlement in Derbyshire, Derbyshire Archaeological Society Journal 1947, 106–08.

(14) Cf. PNEI ii 191–92.

(15) Cf. Feilitzen 32–33.

*Stakkr, Stúfr, \*Toglauss*, in Class C, *Brýningr* (2), *Folki, Gerðr, Hundingr, Jóli, Siggr, Tófi*.

14 of these names appear to have dropped out of use in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire at an early date for they are not found independently there nor in p.ns. of a younger type. These are: – in Class A, *Róarr*, in Class B, *Bak, Flak, Flóki, Nagli, Náttfari, Skammi, Skurfa, Snær, Stakkr, Stúfr, \*Toglauss*, in Class C, *Brýningr, Gerðr*.

A similar control has been made of these names as of the names only found in compounds with *-bý* and this has revealed that two of them may have survived longer elsewhere: – *Brýningr* is found in the p.n. *Birstaf brinn[ing]* 1201 (Bryning La; PNLa 151) and *Flóki* possibly in *Flokeburgh* 1246 (Flookborough La; PNLa 197). There still remain, then, 12 names, mainly by.ns., that had a very short span of life. In addition, two of the names in this group make only one or two later appearances and it seems possible that they may have dropped out of use at an early date, only to be reintroduced later, soon to die out again. These are: – In Class A, *Hildulfr*, which possibly appears again in 1175, and in Class C, *Hundingr*, which is found in DB. It is again noticeable that the majority of the names which seem to have had a very short lifetime in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are by.ns. This preponderance of by.ns. was also marked among the rare names in compounds with *-bý*.

The remaining pers.ns. found in compounds with *-tūn* all appear in younger p.ns. and/or independently in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. None of the names found in *tūn*-compounds but not in *bý*-compounds belong to the commonest of the Scandinavian names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire but *Asfriðr* and *Róðulfr* in Class A and *Tóli* in Class C make fairly frequent appearances.

There are several p.ns. in DB which consist of a Scandinavian pers.n. + an OE element other than *tūn*. It is not possible to determine the age of these names with any degree of exactitude but it seems likely that several of them are younger formations than the names in *-bý* or *-tūn*, while others may well be as old as these. Some of the elements indicate natural features or isolated dwellings and only a very few of them (e.g. *hām*) belong to the oldest strata of English names. As with the names in *-tūn*, it is impossible to determine whether the whole name is a new formation given by Englishmen to a village established or held by a Scandinavian. The OE elements which are combined with Scandinavian personal names in DB p.ns. in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are: – *beorg, brycg, burh* (or possibly in some cases Scand *borg*) (8), *burh-*

*tūn, burna, cot, denu, dīc, feld* (4), *ford* (2), *halh* (4), *hām* (2), *hyll, land* (2), *lēah* (4), *merisc* (3), *mōr* (or possibly Scand *mór*) (3), *næss* (or possibly Scand *nes*), *scelf* (or possibly the rare Scand *skjálǫf*) (3), *\*sterne, stow, þorntūn, wald, weg, wella* (5), *wīc* (6), *worð* (2), *wudu*.

The figures for the distribution between the classes of the 54 pers.n.s. which appear in the 62 hybrid p.n.s. (16) are as follows: –

A	B	C	OTHERS
12 or 20 %	46 or 74 %	3 or 5 %	1 or 1 %
10 names	40 names	3 names	1 name

Some of the pers.n.s. found in hybrid p.n.s. are also to be found combined with *-bý*. These are: – in Class A, *Ásketill* (*merisc*), *Ásmundr* (*lēah*), *Björnulf* (2 *wīc*), *Ketilfríðr* (*merisc*), *Þórir* (*beorg, weg*), in Class B, *Bíldr* or *Bílli* (*feld*), *Gríss* (*þorntūn*), *Helgi* (*feld, wīc*), *Hemíng* (*burh*), *Karl(i)* (*mōr*), *Keþtr* (*burh*), *Ketill* (*mōr*), *Rókr* (*hām*), *Sótr/Sóti* (*cot*), *Vífill* (*ford, halh*).

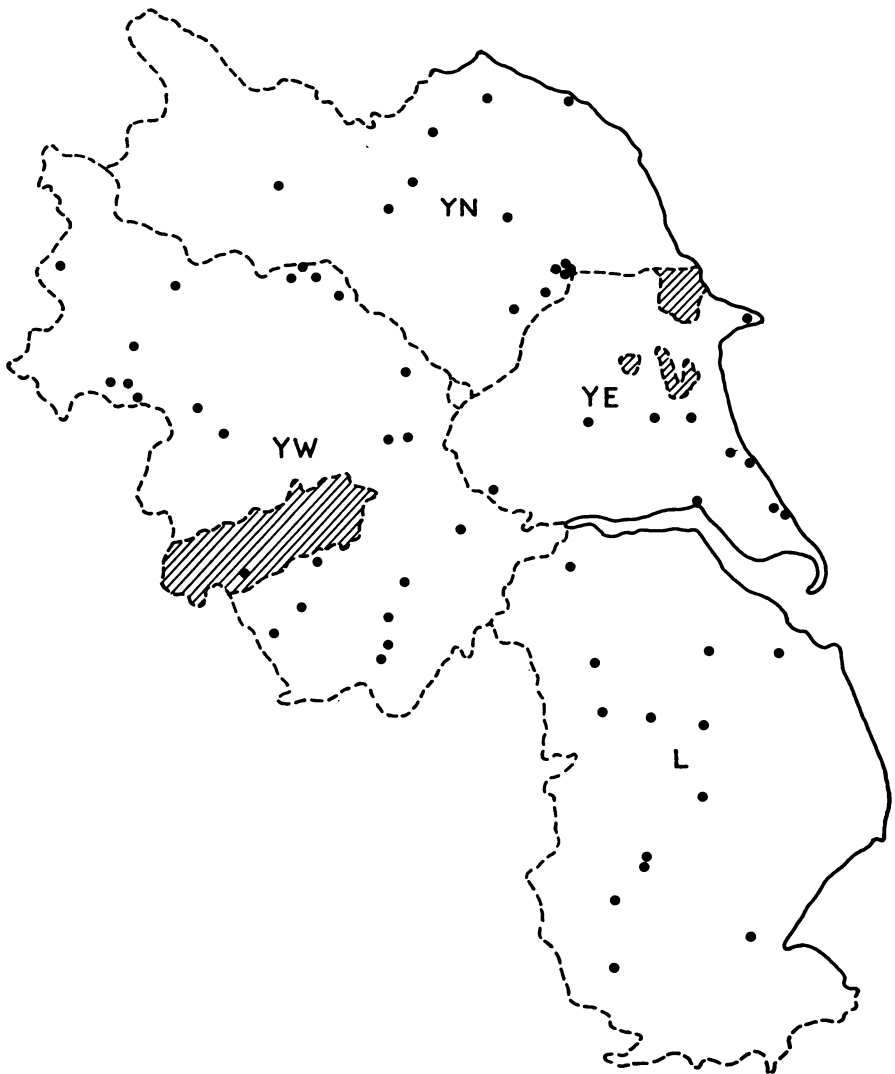
A few names in this group are also combined with both *-bý* and *-tūn*. These are: – in Class B, *Brandr* (*burhtūn, wella*), *Breiðr* (*wella*), *Saksi* (*halh*), *Ulfr* (*scelf*).

Thirdly there are a few names which are also combined with *-tūn*. These are: – in Class B, *Barkr* (*worð*), *Blígr* (*burh*), *Flík* or *Flíkk* (*burh*), *Fugl* (*stow*).

Finally there is the larger group of names where the hybrid p.n.s. probably represent the earliest occurrence of the Scandinavian pers.n.s. in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. These are: – in Class A, *Auðulf* (*merisc*), *Sígulfr* (*denu*), *Þorgeirr* (*land*), *Þorsteinn* (*land*), *Víkarr* (*lēah*), in Class B, *Atsurr* (*lēah*), *Bersi* or *Bessi* (*wīc*), *Broddr* (*worð*), *Dúfa* (*dīc*), *Faddi* (*mōr*), *Fleinn* (*burh*), *Gígr* (*burh*), *Gísli* (*burna*), *Haukr* (*wella, wīc*), *Híldr* (*scelf, wella*), *Kaða* (*halh*), *Loðinn* (*burh*), *Mákr* (*wudu*), *Mjúkr* (*burh*), *Rafn* (*feld*), *Rímr* (*wella*), *Skvaðra* (*scelf*), *Snorþr* (*ford*), *Stígr* (*wald*), *Tannr* (*\*sterne*), *Uggi* (*hyll*), *\*Víðforni* (*næss, wīc*), in Class C, *Aggi* (*brycg*), *Híldingr* (*lēah*), *Ingi* (*hām*), and the ContGerm loan *Heðinn* (*halh*).

Most of the names found in the hybrid p.n.s. seem to have survived in England for some time but a few must have become obsolete very soon, for they are not found in p.n.s. of a younger type or independently in

(16) The L DB form *Branzuic* (16/48) has not been identified and may simply be an error for *\*Branztune*, prompted by the appearance of *Canevvic* (Canwick) in the preceding entry. It has, therefore, been omitted from the present survey.



Sketch-map to show the distribution of place-names consisting of a Scandinavian personal name + an OE element other than *tūn*.

The shaded areas are *Torbar hundred YE*  
and *Agbrigg Wapentake YW*.

Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. These are: – in Class B, *Broddr*, *Faddi*, *Flik* or *Flikkr*, *Gígr*, *Híldr*, *Kaða*, *Keþtr*, *Mjúkr*, *Rímr*, *Skvaðra*, *Snoþtr*, *Tannr*, *\*Viðforni*, and in Class C, *Hildingr*. The usual control of these names reveals that the following survive longer elsewhere. A weak form *Broddi* is borne by DB tenants in Nf and Bd (Feilitzen 208) and a *Híldr* is named in the twelfth century (LVD 42 ii). *Flik* (or *Flikkr*) occurs in a number of p.ns. in La and Nt (PNLa 37; PNNt 74). This leaves 11 names which would seem to have dropped out of use fairly soon after their introduction into Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. 10 of these are by.ns. from Class B so the tendency noted in names in *-bý* and *-tūn* for by.ns. to have the highest proportion of short-lived names is continued here.

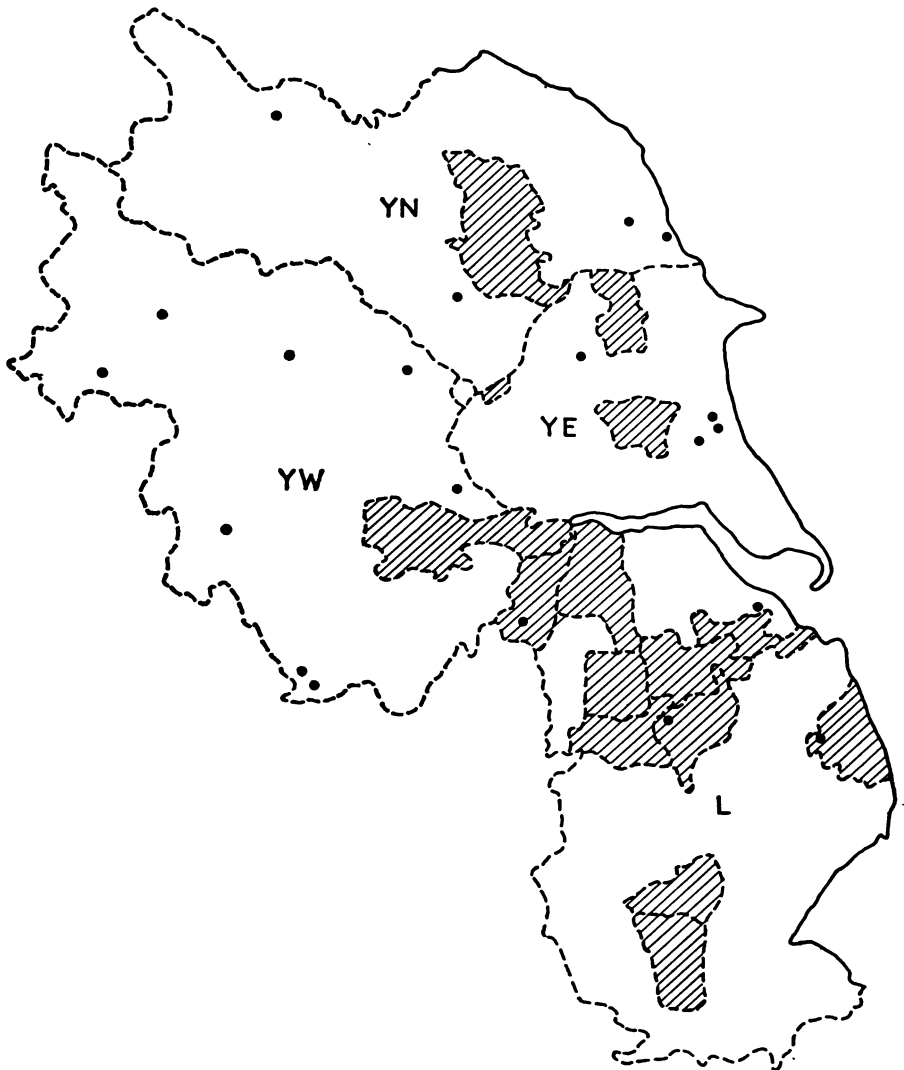
A few of the names which make their first appearance in the hybrid p.ns. are among the commonest Scandinavian pers.ns. in England. These are: – in Class A, *Þorsteinn*, in Class B, *Rafn*, and in Class C, *Atsurr*.

There is a smaller group of p.ns. made up of a Scandinavian pers.n. + a Scandinavian element other than *bý* or *þorp*. The majority of these names would seem to be comparatively young but 14 of them probably belong to the older strata of Scandinavian p.ns. in England. These are the 14 names of wapentakes and hundreds. Since the division of the land into administrative wapentakes is assumed to have been carried out by the Danes soon after their colonisation of Eastern England and the hundredal system is mentioned as early as the laws of Edmund 940–46), it is not unlikely that the names of the assembly places are comparatively old (17). Note, too, that several wapentakes, the first element of whose name is a Scandinavian pers.n., contain a village name made up of the same pers.n. + *bý*. It is likely that both p.ns. take their first element from the same man, e.g. Aswardhurn – Aswarby, Calceworth or -wath – Calceby, Haverstoe – Hawerby, Walshcroft – Walesby, Wraggoe – Wragby. These wapentake names could well, however, be later formations on the model of the old settlement names in *-bý*. Some of the p.ns. in *-haugr* may actually indicate the traditional burial-place of the man in question and may be evidence that the Danes were still heathen at the time of the burial but the *haugr*-names could alternatively be young formations given to already existing mounds.

The elements combined with Scandinavian pers.ns. in the wapentake and hundred names are: – *haugr* (5), *holmr*, Irish-Scand *kross* (3),

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(17) Cf. Anderson i xvi–xxiii.



Sketch-map to show the distribution of place-names consisting of a Scandinavian personal name + a Scandinavian element other than *by* or *þorp*  
 The shaded areas are wapentakes or hundreds bearing such names.

(*h*)*líð* (possibly 1), *lundr* (1 or 2), (*h*)*rís* (or OE *hrīs*), *þyrnir* (or OE *þyrne*), *vað*. Note that the element *kross* can hardly have been introduced into Lincolnshire and Yorkshire before the time of the conversion of the Danelaw to Christianity in the course of the tenth century.

The 14 pers.ns. can be distributed between the classes as follows: –

A	B	C	OTHERS
6 or 43 %	8 or 57 %	–	–

The majority of the names are also found combined with *-bý*, namely, in Class A, *Asgautr* (*kross*), *Áslákr* (*haugr*), *Ásvarðr* (*þyrnir*), *Hávarðr* (*haugr*), *Þórir* (*haugr*), in Class B, *Hákr* (*holmr*), *Kalfr* (*vað*), *Man* (*haugr*), *Manni* ((*h*)*líð* or *lundr*), *Valr* (*kross*), *Vragi* (*haugr*). This fact tends to confirm that these p.ns. are comparatively old. The only pers.ns. found in the group which do not appear in p.ns. in *-bý* are: – in Class A, *Snækolfr* (*kross*), and in Class B, *Afi* (*lundr*) and *\*Lagulfr* ((*h*)*rís*). These three names appear to have dropped out of use in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire at an early date. *\*Lagulfr* is not found in other p.ns. or independently. *Snækolfr* makes only one other appearance – independently at the beginning of the eleventh century – and *Afi* is only otherwise found in the counties in a p.n. in *-þorp* (cf. below), although it also appears in a p.n. in Cu (PNCu 288).

There are 20 other p.ns. that are made up of a Scandinavian pers.n. + a Scandinavian element other than *bý* or *þorp*. Several of these denote smaller settlements, some of which have disappeared since the compilation of DB. The Scandinavian elements in these names are: – *akr*, *dalr* (2), *erg* (Norw, 2), *ey*, *foss* (Norw), *gryfja*, *haugr* (2), *holmr*, *hús* (or OE *hūs*), *klif* (or OE *clif*), (*h*)*líð*, *ló*, *lundr*, *þorn* (or OE), *þveit*, *vað*, *viðr*. The typically Norwegian elements can scarcely have been introduced into Lincolnshire and Yorkshire before the period of the secondary settlements from Ireland in the tenth century.

The 20 pers.ns. contained in this second group of p.ns. with Scandinavian final elements can be distributed between the pers.n. classes as follows: –

A	B	C	OTHERS
7 or 35 %	10 or 50 %	2 or 10 %	1 or 5 %

Five of the names are also found combined with *-bý*. These are: – in Class A, *\*Húnketill* or *\*Unnketill* (*hús*), in Class B, *Grímr* (*haugr*), *Hákr* (*ey*), *Helgi* (*ló*), and the ContGerm loan *Hagni* ((*h*)*líð*). A

single name is also combined with both *-bý* and *-tūn*, *Káti* (*foss*) in Class B. *Sigulfr* (*þorn*) in Class A and *Rafn* (*vað*) in Class B are found in hybrid p.ns. The other names, which make their first appearance in this type of p.n., are: – in Class A, *Ann* (*akr*), *Guðlaugr* or *Guðleikr* (*erg*), *Ingulfr* (*þveit*), *Sigsteinn* (*dalr*), *\*Starkulfr* (*erg*), in Class B, *Félagi* (*klif*), *Hvalr* (*gryfja*), *Knútr* (*holmr*), *Skarði* (*haugr*), *Snjallr* (*lundr*), and in Class C, *Tóki* (*viðr*), *Trútr* (*dalr*).

A number of these names do not appear independently in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire nor in younger p.ns. there and may be considered to have dropped out of use at an early date. These are: – in Class A, *Guðlaugr*, *-leikr*, *Sigsteinn*, *\*Starkulfr*, in Class B, *Félagi*. All these names, however, make later appearances elsewhere in England. *Gotlac* (<*Guðlaugr* or *-leikr*) is found in Ch DB (Feilitzen 278), *Sigsteinn* in Sa DB (ib. 364), *\*Starkulfr* in Nf DB (ib. 373) and *Félagi* in Ess DB (ib. 250).

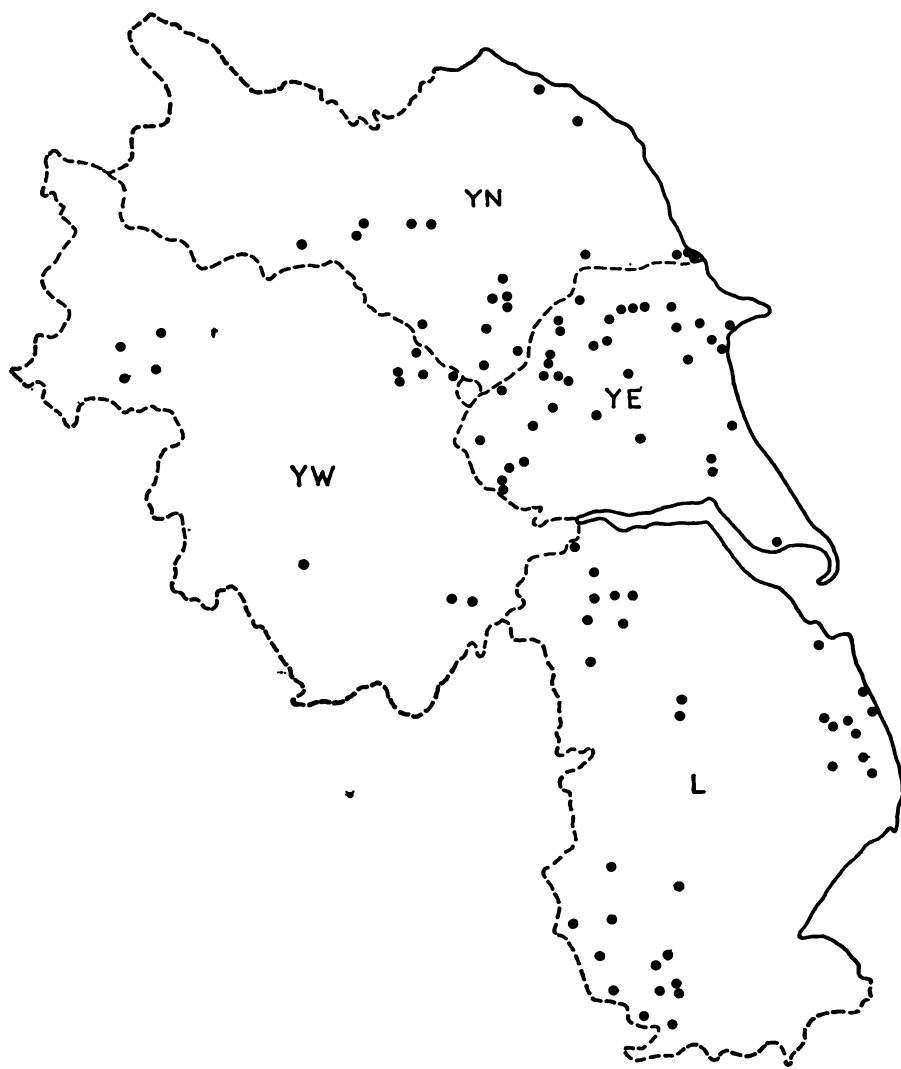
Of the names which first appear in this group of p.ns., *Tóki* belongs to the commonest of Scandinavian pers.ns. in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and both *Ingulfr* and *Knútr* occur very frequently there.

There is a large group of Scandinavian pers.ns. which are combined with the Scandinavian element *þorp* in DB p.ns. from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. This element has been much discussed by British and Scandinavian scholars and the conclusions they have reached are summarised by A. H. Smith in PNEI ii 205–12. The p.n. element *þorp* was very productive in Denmark generally during the Viking period and it is to this fact that we owe its extensive use in the Danelaw. In both Denmark itself and the Danelaw the meaning of the element would seem to be “secondary settlement”. As a class, the p.ns. in *-þorp* probably represent later formations than the names in *-bý* and *-tūn* discussed above. Some of the *þorp*-names, however, may well be as old as the oldest *bý*-names, although the element *þorp* survives much more frequently in minor p.ns. than in the names of parishes and townships and many of the *þorp*-names in Lincolnshire are found in low-lying coastal areas which were colonised by the Danes at a later period than the original settlements (18). A number of the places bearing *þorp*-names have disappeared since the compilation of DB and were probably, therefore, only very minor ones. This is another feature which tends to confirm the secondary and young nature of the element *þorp* (19). One further

(18) Cf. Hald Vore Stednavne 138.

(19) Professor K. Cameron is at present engaged in the preparation of a study of p.ns. in *-þorp* in the Five Boroughs, cf. Scandinavian Settlement 5, 21 n. 8.





Sketch-map to show the distribution of place-names consisting of a Scandinavian personal name + *þorp*.

point of interest about *þorp* is that in England it is of Danish rather than of Norwegian origin. *þorp* as a p.n. element had barely reached Norway at the time of the viking settlements in England.

There are in all 100 p.n.s. in *-þorp* whose interpretation has been considered certain enough for them to be included in this survey. Represented in this group of p.n.s. are altogether 83 pers.n.s. They are divided between the classes as follows: –

A	B	C	OTHERS
27 or 27 %	58 or 58 %	11 or 11 %	4 or 4 %
23 names	47 names	9 names	4 names

A number of the names are also found combined with *-bý*. These are: – in Class A, *Ásketill*, *Eindriði*, *Hávarðr*, *Hundulfr*, *\*Húnketill* or *\*Unnketill*, *Reiðarr*, *Sigvarðr*, *Póraldr* (2), *Þorgrímr*, *Þórir*, in Class B, *Belgr*, *Bóli*, *Brúnn*, *Gríss*, *Hjalp*, *Ketill* (3), *Klakk* (2), *Skalli*, *Vífill* (3), in Class C, *Ási*, *Koli*, and the ContGerm loan-name *Malti*. A few of the names are also found combined with both *-bý* and *-tūn*. These are: – in Class A, *Þórufr*, in Class B, *Breiðr*, *Grímr*, *Káti*, *Sváfi*, *Víkingr*. A few names are also found combined with *-tūn*. These are: – in Class A, *Hermóðr*, in Class B, *Barkr*, *Galmr*, in Class C, *Jól(i)*, *Tófi* (3). A few names are also found with other OE elements, namely, in Class B, *Dúfa*, *Rafn*, *Uggi*, and in Class C, *Ag(g)i*, and one is found with a Scandinavian element other than *-bý* or *-þorp*, namely *Afi* in Class B.

Finally there is a large group of names which make their first appearance in *þorp*-names. These are: – in Class A, *Alfvarðr*, *Eyjulfr*, *Geirmundr* (3), *Geirulfr*, *Haraldr*, *Herleifr* or *Hjorleifr*, *Hildiger* or *Hildigerðr*, *Ragnhildr* (2), *Rosketill*, *Skjaldmárr*, *Ulfketill*, in Class B, *Björg*, *Buggi*, *Drjúgr* (2), *Eitri*, *Forni* (2), *Gamall*, *Gripr*, *Haki*, *Heggr*, *Kali*, *Kári* (3), *\*Karski*, *Keikr*, *Lági* or *Logi*, *Lambi*, *\*Laupingi*, *Leiðulfr*, *Múli* (2), *Páti*, *Skagi*, *Skakari*, *Skakull* (2), *Skinnr*, *Skotr*, *Skúma*, *Súni*, *Víðfari*, in Class C, *Arn*, *Leikr*, *Tibbi*, *Tóli*, the ContGerm name *Babi* and the scandinavianised English names *\*Jádufr* and *\*Jánulfr*.

Some of the pers.n.s. combined with *þorp* seem to have dropped out of use at an early period in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire as they are not found there independently. These are: – in Class A, *Geirulfr*, *Hermóðr*, *Hjorleifr*, *Skjaldmárr*, in Class B, *Belgr*, *Björg*, *\*Drjúgr*, *Eitri*, *Galmr*, *Grípr*, *Hjalp*, *Heggr*, *\*Laupingi*, *Leiðulfr*, *Skagi*, *Skakull*, *Skotr*, *Skúma*, *Uggi*, in Class C, *Leikr*, *Tibbi*, and the ContGerm *Babi* and scandinavianised *\*Jádufr* and *\*Jánulfr*. Some of these names, however,

appear to survive longer elsewhere in England. *Gripr* is found in Do 1078–84 (Writs 130) and Nth 1199 (NthCh 46). \**Jádulfr* appears in DB for So and D (Feilitzen 240) and *Leiðulfr* in Du in the early thirteenth century (LVD 42 iib). *Leikr* is found in a young La p.n. *Leike-thaites* c1200 (PNLa 252) and *Skjaldmárr* in the La DB p.n. *Schellmeresdele* and the We p.n. *Skelmeres(h)ergh* 1278 (PNLa 122, PNWe 1. 146).

Three of the pers.ns. which first appear in *þorþ*-names are among the commonest Scandinavian pers.ns. in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. These are: – in Class A, *Haraldr*, in Class B, *Gamall*, and in Class C, *Tóli*. *Ragnhildr* in Class A and *Forni* and *Haki* in Class B also make very frequent appearances in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

The present survey has included 503 p.ns. in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The distribution of the various pers.ns. contained in these p.ns. between the classes can be summarised in tabular form as follows: –

	A	B	C	OTHERS
252 <i>bý</i>	29 % 43 names	59 % 109 names	9 % 13 names	3 % 5 names
55 <i>tūn</i>	15 % 6 names	69 % 30 names	16 % 8 names	– –
62 hybrid	20 % 10 names	74 % 40 names	5 % 3 names	1 % 1 name
14 old Scand	43 % 6 names	57 % 8 names	– –	– –
20 young Scand	35 % 7 names	50 % 10 names	10 % 2 names	5 % 1 name
100 <i>þorþ</i>	27 % 23 names	58 % 47 names	11 % 9 names	4 % 4 names

It would be unwise to attach too much significance to the individual figures in the above table for there is a wide margin of doubt connected with all of them. Not all of the p.ns. which belong to the various groups have been included, in some cases because the identity of the first element has not been able to be established with any degree of certainty and in some cases because, even when the first element has been identified as a particular Scandinavian pers.n., it has not always been possible to assign it to one of the pers.n. classes treated above. In addition,

the interpretation of several of the names that have been included is open to doubt and the placing of the various pers.ns. in the classes has sometimes been arbitrary. Taken by and large, however, the figures reveal a surprising degree of stability and there does not seem to have been much difference in type between the Scandinavian nomenclature that was dominant in the earliest period of settlement and that of the later period, in so far as the pers.ns. found in p.ns. can be taken to be representative of those borne by the settlers. The most striking feature is undoubtedly the predominance of by.ns. It might have been expected that the compound names favoured by the upper classes in the Scandinavian homelands would be in the majority.

In a discussion of pers.ns. found in Swedish p.ns. in *-sta*, Assar Janzén (20), notes a similar predominance of by.ns. and offers two explanations for this fact. The first is that short by.ns. and hypocoristic names were preferred as the first element of p.ns. rather than compound names which would tend to give clumsy formations. The second is that in districts where there were many p.ns. with the same second element, it would be very likely that two or more settlements would receive identical names if the more common pers.ns. were adopted as first elements and that this may have prompted the use of a man's more unusual by.n. rather than his common pers.n. in the p.ns. Neither of these two explanations is entirely satisfactory. While the possibility that short forms were preferred to long ones as the first elements of p.ns. cannot be denied, there is little evidence to support it. In Lincolnshire and Yorkshire many compound names do appear as the first elements of p.ns. and many of the by.ns. that are found in this position are themselves compound names or tri-syllabic names. It is also remarkable that there are comparatively few instances of the short names of Class C in the p.ns. If brevity had been the chief concern of the men who formed the p.ns., they would surely have been inclined to use the current short forms of compound names rather than to have replaced the latter with by.ns. that were often no less clumsy than these. The second argument, namely that by.ns. were employed in preference to common pers.ns. in order to avoid confusion between p.ns. with the same second element, cannot explain the marked predominance of by.ns. either. At the time of the settlement confusion would only arise if two identical names came to be given to settlements that lay very near to each other, for at this period names arose spontaneously and were not given delibe-

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(20) Nord. Kult. VII 244, 249-50.

rately. It was not until the compilation of surveys such as DB that the problem of confusion between p.ns. began to be troublesome. Although the desire to avoid clumsy formations and confusion may have caused some by.ns. to be used instead of pers.ns., then, these wishes cannot be the only factors that determined the preponderance of by.ns. in p.ns.

The p.ns. were the creation of the people living in the immediate neighbourhood and it would not be unnatural for them to make use of the tenant's by.n., perhaps the name by which they customarily referred to him, rather than his pers.n., which may have been reserved for more ceremonial occasions. Alternatively, the tenant's by.n. may have been preferred to his pers.n., if the latter was a very common name, in order to avoid any doubt as to whom reference was intended in the p.n. Evidence to support this theory is provided by Magnus Olsen in a study of p.ns. and pers.ns. in Iceland (21). He examined the stock of pers.ns. in *Landnámabók* and compared these with those found in p.ns. in *-staðir*. Certain reservations must be made, as many of the p.ns. may be considerably younger than the time of the settlement, but it is nevertheless significant that the comparison reveals that the frequency of occurrence of any one pers.n. in the p.ns. is inversely proportional to its frequency of occurrence independently. Common pers.ns. appear comparatively seldom in p.ns., whereas these contain numerous instances of rare pers.ns., in particular by.ns.

If it is correct that by.ns. were used in p.ns. in order to leave no doubt as to the identity of the tenant, it must be assumed that the by.ns. found in the p.ns. were, in fact, actual by.ns. and not names which had long since lost their significance as characterising names and which had come to be accepted by the bearers and their contemporaries as pers.ns. There is, unfortunately, no means of determining whether or not this is so. It is necessary, however, to bear the possibility in mind when assessing the frequency of occurrence of pers.ns. during the early years of the settlements in England. If the vikings avoided the commoner pers.ns. when naming their villages and settlements, it may be that the p.n. evidence provides us with a distorted picture of Scandinavian nomenclature at the time.

Before anything further can be said about the comparative frequency of appearance of original pers.ns. and original by.ns., it will be necessary to see how the figures for independent occurrences of the various names compare with those for names found in p.ns. Unfortunately there

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(21) Litt om navnefrekvens, *Maal og minne* 1934, 83-91.

are extremely few independent instances of pers.ns. recorded before the middle of the eleventh century so there is no surviving record of Scandinavian nomenclature in England at the time of the colonisation other than that provided by the p.ns. The scarcity of material from this period, however, is at least partly compensated for by the abundance of material from the eleventh, twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Since there does not seem to have been any large-scale immigration into Lincolnshire and Yorkshire after the middle of the tenth century, the Scandinavian nomenclature of the later centuries must for the most part have been inherited from the original settlers. Some few names, however, may have been brought over by followers of King Knut and his sons in the first half of the eleventh century and others may have been introduced at second-hand by the Normans.

The names which flourish independently in the period up to c1065 are probably on the whole identical with those that were brought over by the original colonists. Apart from some few isolated instances from wills and charters of the tenth century, the earliest recorded independent instances of Scandinavian pers.ns. in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are the lists of the festermen for an archbishop of York (c1050) and of the Domesday tenants TRE (1065). In published sources from the two counties for the period c950–1065, when doubtful instances have been excluded, there are to be found 561 instances, representing 264 different names. The distribution of these names between the classes is as follows: –

A	B	C	OTHERS
304 or 54 %	209 or 37 %	33 or 6 %	15 or 3 %
131 names	102 names	20 names	11 names

It is noticeable that here the compound names predominate and not the original by.ns., as was the case for the pers.ns. found in DB p.ns. Another interesting feature is that the individual names in Class A tend to occur more frequently than those in the other classes. Many of the names appearing in this period are also found in the DB p.ns. but if these names are excluded from the survey, there remain 311 instances, representing 175 names. The distribution of these instances between the classes is as follows: –

A	B	C	OTHERS
200 or 64 %	77 or 25 %	21 or 7 %	13 or 4 %
94 names	56 names	15 names	10 names

Here the preponderance of names from Class A and the sharp fall in the percentage of names in Class B are even more marked. These facts would be satisfactorily explained if the assumption that p.ns. often contain a man's by.n. is accepted. In solemn documents such as the list of festermen and the Domesday survey use would normally be made of a man's pers.n. Where a man is referred to by an original by.n. in such a document, it is likely that this is a name which had lost its character as a by.n. and been accepted as a pers.n.

Among the names appearing in this period which do not appear in the DB p.ns. are 45 new formations, 13 in Class A, *Alfgrímr*, *Arnbrandr*, *Fargrímr*, *Garðulfr*, *Grímbjörn*, *Hundigrímr*, *Jólvarðr*, *Ligulfr*, *Skemundr*, *Skjaldfríðr*, *Svartbrandr*, *Sægrímr*, *Ulfgrímr*, and 26 in Class B, *Arnketilbarn*, *Asketilbarn*, *Bretakollr*, *Feigr*, *Fráni*, *Gamalbarn*, *Gamalkarli*, *Hábeinn*, *Harðgrípr*, *Klápi*, *Lambakarli*, *Múlagrímr*, *Mylnugrímr*, *Morjari*, *Selakollr*, *Sigvarðbarn*, *Skelfr*, *Snarri*, *Sótakollr*, *Sprottr*, *Sterri*, *Sumarflugl*, *Sveinbróðir*, *Sæflugl*, *Úbeinn*, *Veikr*. There are also a number of hybrids, *Lēofketill*, *Lēofkollr*, *Merlesveinn*, *Úhtbrandr*, and two translation names, *Gluníairnn* and probably *Dolgfínnr*. Note the popularity of the element *Grím-*, *-grímr* in Classes A and B. 29 of the new formations are isolated instances, namely 5 in Class A, *Fargrímr*, *Grímbjörn*, *Hundigrímr*, *Jólvarðr*, *Skemundr*, 20 in Class B, *Arnketilbarn*, *Asketilbarn*, *Bretakollr*, *Gamalbarn*, *Gamalkarli*, *Hábeinn*, *Harðgrípr*, *Lambakarli*, *Múlagrímr*, *Mylnugrímr*, *Selakollr*, *Sigvarðbarn*, *Skelfr*, *Sótakollr*, *Sprottr*, *Sterri*, *Sumarflugl*, *Sveinbróðir*, *Sæflugl*, *Veikr*, the hybrids *Lēofkollr*, *Merlesveinn*, *Úhtbrandr*, and the translation name *Gluníairnn*. It is noticeable that the new-formation by.ns. generally have a very short span of life. It is probable that they were only borne by the man for whom they were originally coined and not handed on to his descendants or adopted by other families.

Several of the names which appear in this period but not in the DB p.ns. are among the commonest of the Scandinavian names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. These are :- 12 in Class A, *Agmundr*, *Alfgeirr*, *Arnketill*, *Auti*, *Barðr*, *Grímketill*, *Gunnvǫr*, *Róaldr*, *Sighvatr/-hvati*, *Sigríðr*, *Porfínnr*, *Valbjófr*, 1 in Class B, *Halfdan*, and two foreign loans, *Gilli* and *Magnús*.

For the next period, c1066-1150, there are recorded altogether 470 reasonably certain instances of Scandinavian pers.ns., mostly independently but some in p.ns., mainly f.ns. The names which occur in f.ns. present a problem which will be touched on briefly here. It is certain that a number of the f.ns. recorded in the English sources contain the

name of the man who actually held the field at the time or had held it until recently, e.g. *Gamellus f. Liulfi de Batheleia* grants land known as *Gamelrode* in Batley in the twelfth century; *terra Sacsi quam idem Sacsi habet* in Shitlington 1118–30; *toftum quod fuit Ketelli* in Bag Enderby, possibly identical with *Kettelsdale* c1200; *Walthefrode quas ipse Walthef tenuit* in Kirkheaton c1210. In several cases a name such as *toft Hameri* 13th, *essartum Ketelli* 1198, *sartum quod fuit Westmundi* 12th, is probably a description of the field in question rather than a f.n. proper. Several of the f.n.s., however, must be considerably older than their first recorded appearance. This is certainly the case for many of the f.n.s. which are first recorded after 1200, at a period when Scandinavian pers.n.s. had practically dropped out of use. Some of the younger f.n.s. may, though, contain one of the Scandinavian names which survived as hereditary surnames, e.g. *Gamble* (*Gamall*), *Grim*. It would be of interest to inquire further into the age of the f.n.s. containing pers.n.s. but such an examination lies outside the scope of the present work. It has therefore seemed reasonable to place the f.n.s. in the period within which they make their first (and normally last) recorded appearance.

The distribution of the names recorded in this second period between the classes is as follows: –

A	B	C	OTHERS
257 or 55 %	176 or 37 %	28 or 6 %	9 or 2 %
76 names	59 names	17 names	5 names

Here the tendency towards the preponderance of compound names continues – the percentage is almost the same as that for the earlier period. If the names which have already been recorded in DB p.n.s. or the earlier period are excluded from the survey, there remain 73 instances, representing 44 different names. These are distributed between the classes as follows: –

A	B	C	OTHERS
41 or 56 %	25 or 34 %	5 or 7 %	2 or 3 %
16 names	22 names	4 names	2 names

These figures confirm the tendency noted in the earlier period for the predominance of compound names, although there is a marked recovery in the percentage of original by.n.s. – perhaps in part due to



the number of names taken from p.ns. and f.ns. but possibly also reflecting the less homogeneous nature of the documents from which the names are culled. Many twelfth-century charters include the names of peasants and free-men on the land of the grantors.

Six new formations appear in this period for the first time, 2 in Class A, *Leikulfr*, *Liulfr*, 2 in Class B, *Hundiþótr*, *Skeiðmann*, 1 in Class C, *Langus*, and the scandinavianised English name *Jádríkr*. 2 of these new formations are isolated instances, namely *Leikulfr* in Class A and *Jádríkr*. There are other names, too, which are first recorded in this period and do not appear again later. These are, 2 in Class A, *Almóðr*, *Sandulfr*, 11 in Class B, *Auði*, *Auðmann*, *Brúðr*, *Drómundr*, *Eykr*, *Grái*, *Hoggvari*, *Sili*, *Skjöldr*, *Ugla*, *Viðr*, and the foreign loan *Ríkulfr*. Again the tendency for by.ns. to be short-lived is marked.

Four of the names in Class A become common in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in subsequent years, *Hámundr*, \**Liulfr*, *Vígautr* and *Víg-mundr*.

For the period c1151-1200 there are altogether 1,885 reliable instances of Scandinavian pers.ns., representing 365 different names. These can be distributed between the classes as follows :-

A	B	C	OTHERS
916 or 48 %	786 or 41 %	128 or 8 %	55 or 3 %
141 names	182 names	32 names	10 names

The compound names continue to preponderate but their percentage is falling. The high percentage enjoyed by original by.ns. of Class B is largely due to the exceptional popularity of some few names, *Ketill* (36 instances), *Ormr* (38), *Sveinn* (93) and *Ulfr* (39). If names which appear in DB p.ns. or in the two earlier periods are excluded from the survey, there remain 182 instances representing 121 different names. These are distributed between the classes as follows :-

A	B	C	OTHERS
45 or 25 %	104 or 57 %	29 or 16 %	4 or 2 %
35 names	68 names	14 names	4 names

Here it is noticeable that the by.n. Class B has made a remarkable recovery and it is clear that the preponderance of compound names in

the period is due to the continued popularity of old-established names. The comparatively large number of by.ns. is probably due to the number of instances derived from f.ns. and from twelfth-century charters including the names of peasants and free-men.

There are 35 new formations which are recorded for the first time in this period. These are :- 12 in Class A, *Frosthildr*, *Hundigeirr*, *Húnhildr*, *Ingileifr*, *Ketildagr*, *Liðulfr*, *Líkulfr*, *Lundvarr* or *Lundvǫr*, *Riulfr*, *Stafnhildr*, *Steinlitr*, *Vestmundr*, 13 in Class B, *Ákimann*, *Beltr*, *Grentir*, *Gufubeinn*, *Kosti*, *Rómfari*, *Skjaldr*, *Skóga-Reinn*, *Skraggr*, *Snígill*, *Sprækr*, *Tókimann*, *Vildfari*, 5 in Class C, *Aubi*, *Auki*, *Boði*, *Gufi*, *Leifus*, *Skjaldingr*, and a scandinavianised name, *Játsteinn*, and three hybrids, *Goldsteinn*, *Þorbert*, *Þorwið*. Of these names only 9 re-appear in the final period, namely, from Class A, *Liðulfr*, *Líkulfr*, *Vestmundr*, from Class B, *Ákimann*, *Grentir*, *Kosti*, *Rómfari*, from Class C, *Auki*, and the hybrid *Þorbert*.

Only two of the names that make their first recorded appearance in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in this period achieve any degree of popularity there. They are *Auki* and *Rómfari*. It is strange that the latter name, which becomes exceedingly common in Lincolnshire, only makes a few appearances in Yorkshire.

For the final period under consideration, c1200-50 for independent instances and c1200 onwards for names found in p.ns., there are in all 1,939 reliable instances, representing 398 different names. These are distributed between the classes as follows :-

A	B	C	OTHERS
835 or 43 %	908 or 47 %	141 or 7 %	55 or 3 %
147 names	209 names	31 names	11 names

The compound names still make up a large class but they are fewer in number than the original by.ns. The decline in the percentage of compound names is even more marked when attention is confined to names which have not been recorded in DB p.ns. or the earlier periods. There are 130 instances in all, representing 113 names, and these are distributed as follows :-

A	B	C	OTHERS
29 or 22 %	86 or 66 %	10 or 8 %	5 or 4 %
26 names	74 names	9 names	4 names

LVIII

34 new formations make their first recorded appearance in sources from this period. There are 11 in Class A, *Grímvarðr*, *Járnulfr*, *Jórhildr*, *Ketilgrímr*, *Línhildr*, *Ráðhildr*, *Svartmundr*, *Svínhildr*, *Þornoddr*, *Þornulfr*, *Úrketill*, 17 in Class B, *Bleyði*, *Hakikarl*, *Haukreyði*, *Herkingr*, *Krókbeinn*, *Launn*, *Plógsveinn*, *Rábeinn*, *Skáld-Finnr*, *Skel*, *Sker*, *Skóg-Ketill*, *Slögr*, *Spikfótr*, *Spýtr*, *Stígbeinn*, *Tólimann*, 2 in Class C, *Gufa*, *Tumbi*, and 4 hybrids, *Cranebeinn*, *Godsveinn*, *Gunngifu*, *Þórhefed*. None of these names nor, in fact, any of the names first recorded in this late period achieve any degree of popularity in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

The rise and fall in popularity of the respective classes of names can best be demonstrated in tabular fashion by gathering together here the percentages which have already been quoted. For all instances these are :-

Period	A	B	C	OTHERS
950-1065	54 %	37 %	6 %	3 %
1066-1150	55 %	37 %	6 %	2 %
1151-1200	48 %	41 %	8 %	3 %
1201 →	43 %	47 %	7 %	3 %

And the figures for names making their first recorded appearance in the periods in question are :-

Period	A	B	C	OTHERS
950-1065	64 %	25 %	7 %	4 %
1066-1150	56 %	34 %	7 %	3 %
1151-1200	25 %	57 %	16 %	2 %
1201 →	22 %	66 %	8 %	4 %

These two tables reveal the relative stability of the distribution of the individual recorded names between the classes. Whereas the continued popularity of Class A is due to the endurance of several of the commoner names, however, there would seem to have been only a minority of names in Class B which were firmly established in use, while the majority of the names in this class make isolated or scattered appearances.

The majority of the new formations which are found both in p.ns. and independently belong either to Class A or to Class B. The various elements of the compound names would seem to have continued to be fertile even after the connection with the homelands had been severed. The creation of so many new names of the type was probably also encouraged by the fact that similar compound names were common in OE. That the inhabitants of the Danelaw recognised the essential identity of the Scandinavian and OE compounds can be seen from the hybrid names they created such as *Gunnǫfu*, *Þorwif*, *Goldsteinn*. The largest group of new formations is made up of original by.ns., however. Only two of these names achieved any degree of popularity and these are names which originally indicated something about the bearer that must have been common to many men and could almost be called occupational names, namely *Leysingr* and *Rómǫari*.

There does not seem to be any marked difference between the type of names found in the DB p.ns. and those whose first recorded appearance is made independently in one of the four periods. Since there was no large-scale Scandinavian immigration into England after the tenth century and none at all of any significance after the Norman Conquest, it must be assumed that the majority of the pers.ns. were introduced into Lincolnshire and Yorkshire at the time of the original settlements and that mere chance decided which of the names would not be recorded in writing until a later date.

Some pers.ns. may have been introduced into England by Knut and his sons and their followers but the only instance where this can be assumed with any degree of certainty is the name of the lageman in Lincoln TRE – *Hardecnut*. It is possible for a name to have been introduced from the Scandinavian homelands at any period up to the Norman Conquest, since contact between these lands and the colonies in England would seem to have been preserved for some length of time (22) but there are no available means of determining whether in fact a name was introduced in the period between the original settlements and the Conquest.

The Normans brought a number of Scandinavian names over to England with them but in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire their influence is probably mainly to be seen in the increasing popularity of some names after the Conquest. These are almost exclusively compound names and for the most part compounds in *As-* and *Þór-*. Names which

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(22) Cf. PNYW 7. 62–63.

almost certainly owe their post-Conquest popularity to Norman influence are :- *Ásfríðr*, *Ásgautr*, *Ásketill*, *Gunnvǫr*, *Þóraldr*, *Þorgísl*, *Þorkeðill*, *Þorsteinn*, *Þórulfr*. There are also a couple of names which do not appear in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire until after the Conquest and which may have been introduced by the Normans, namely *Vígautr* and *Vígmundr*. There is concrete evidence for Norman influence on the forms of the Scandinavian names. Several of these appear in post-Conquest sources in normanised forms such as *Ansfrid*, *Ansgot*, *Anschitil*, *Tuold*, *Turgisius*, *Turstinus* and others have been given AN suffixes, e.g. *Dringhel* (*Drengr*), *Ragenot* (*Ragni*), *Turot* (*Þórr*).

In summary it can be said that apart from the predominance of by.ns. in DB p.ns., a feature which it is possible to explain, the nature of the Scandinavian nomenclature in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire is fairly stable. Compound names are popular from the earliest times and remain so as long as Scandinavian names are employed in England. The popularity of a number of these names was greatly increased after the Conquest by the fact that they were borne by several members of the dominant Norman class.

By.ns. occur particularly frequently in p.ns. but remain popular throughout the period. Some few of these achieve great popularity in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and these are names which were also extremely popular in Scandinavia. The majority of the by.ns., however, seem to have had a short span of life and there are many isolated instances. The comparatively high percentages achieved by by.ns. in the later periods are due to the numerous names which make their first recorded appearances then. It would seem that by.ns. continued to be formed from Scandinavian elements and words for some considerable time after the cessation of the migrations to England.

The percentages of secondary formations in Class C are also fairly stable in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire but there are comparatively few of these names and they are proportionately fewer in the two counties than in Danish p.ns. of the Viking period (23).

Little can be concluded about the relevant part played by Norwegians and Danes in the establishment of Scandinavian pers.ns. in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, nor is it possible to say at which period the various

(23) Cf. J. Kousgård Sørensen *Bebygg. på -sted* 223; Hald *Vore Stednavne* 130-31. Note, however, that the apparent infrequency of secondary formations in English p.ns. may in part be explained by the facts that it has not always been possible to determine whether a p.n. contained a by.n. in its original form or a secondary formation and that doubtful instances have been counted as by.ns. Cf. above p. XXXI.

names were introduced. The Normans do not seem to have brought many new names to Lincolnshire and Yorkshire but their influence on both the form and the popularity of names already found there is marked. They may even be said to have reintroduced some names, since the varying development undergone by the names in Normandy on the one hand and in Scandinavia and England on the other had often obscured the ultimate identity of the names, cf., for example, *Osfyrð* and *Ansfrid*, *Askil* and *Anschitil*. Generally, both forms of the names survive in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but the Norman forms are always predominant.

In conclusion an attempt will be made to assess the significance of the evidence which the name list provides as to the extent to which the Scandinavian settlers in the Danelaw preferred to use the pers.ns. familiar to them from the homelands rather than to adopt native OE names or, after the Conquest, Norman and ContGerm ones. As has been mentioned above, there is little direct evidence as to the system of nomenclature in use before the middle of the eleventh century but the large number of Scandinavian pers.ns. recorded in DB and later sources confirm that the Anglo-Scandinavian population must have continued to use the names that were brought over by the first Scandinavian settlers. Occasionally it is possible to trace Scandinavian names through three generations. A *Porbrandr* referred to in DB, for example, is known to have been the son of *Karli* son of *Porbrandr*, and a *Svartbrandr* named in DB and LiS is the son of *Ulfr* son of *Svartbrandr*. That there are not more instances of Scandinavian names in three generations of a family is almost certainly due to the sparseness of pre-Conquest material and the fact that after the Conquest, Norman and ContGerm names soon began to displace the OE and Anglo-Scandinavian names from favour among the upper classes of society. The Scandinavian and native OE names would still seem to have predominated among the lower classes in the twelfth century but it is rare for the charters to give the lineage or even paternity of the peasants dwelling on the land of the grantors. This transference of favour to names borne by the ruling class can be demonstrated by reference to the names of three generations of some Danelaw families of Scandinavian origin. About the year 1150 appear *Hugo* and *Godefridus*, the sons of *Tófi* the son of *Sighvatr*; c1185 *Robertus*, *Ricardus* and *Henricus*, the sons of *Sveinn* the son of *Bjornulfr*; c1190 *Thomas* and *Robertus*, the sons of *Tóli* the son of *Sumarliði*; c1200 *Rannulfus*, the son of *Ulfr* the son of *Rosketill*; and

at the beginning of the thirteenth century, *Willelmus*, the son of *Gamall* the son of *Sigríðr*. In one instance the Scandinavian names are forsaken for an OE name, when *Valþjófr* the son of *Arnketill* has a son *Ūhtræd* (c1140), a name which seems to have retained its popularity after the Norman Conquest.

A close examination of the names found in the section of the name list from *Ormr* to *Róðulfr* inclusive reveals that whereas eleven men bearing non-Scandinavian names have children bearing Scandinavian names (*Ormr* 4, *Ragnhildr* 2, *Róaldr* 5), there are no less than fifty-eight men or women with Scandinavian names who have sons or daughters bearing non-Scandinavian names. These 58 instances can be placed in the historical periods as follows: – 950–1065 none; 1066–1150 10; 1151–1200 22; thirteenth century 26. This is a clear indication of the effect of the Norman Conquest and the growing domination exercised by Norman culture over the nomenclature of the Danelaw. Of the 58 names, all but three are Norman, ContGerm or biblical. The three exceptions are OE *Lēodwine* in 1086, OE *Ūhtræd* (cf. above) in 1180 and *Gospatric* (< Welsh \**Guaspatric*) c1150. Some few of the Norman names are particularly common, namely *Willelmus*, *Alanus*, *Ricardus* and *Rodbertus*, and these names appear again and again in the name list, borne by the sons of men with Scandinavian names.

The impression gained from a close study of the instances provided by the names from *Ormr* to *Róðulfr* is confirmed by a general consideration of all the names in the list. The number of fathers with Scandinavian names who give non-Scandinavian (generally Norman) names to their children is greatly in excess of the number of conservative fathers who prefer to retain Scandinavian names. In all, there are approximately 146 fathers or mothers with Scandinavian names whose children are known to bear Scandinavian names. There are 25 in the first period (out of 561 instances), 25 in the second (out of 470), 57 in the third (out of 1,885) and 39 in the fourth (out of 1,939). As might be expected, the percentage of children bearing Scandinavian names decreases with the passage of time. The Scandinavian names chosen represent a wide selection of those found in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, although some are noticeably more popular than others. A list is given here of the names which are borne by three or more sons of fathers with Scandinavian names: – *Gamall* 17, *Sveinn* 11, *Valþjófr* 6, *Aki*, *Rómfari*, *Sigvarðr*, *Ulfr* 5 each, *Sighvatr*, *Tóli*, *Póraldr*, *Þorsteinn* 4 each, *Ásgeirr*, *Ásketill*, *Auti*, *Basing*, *Haket* (< *Haki*), *Ketill*, *Ormr*, *Þorfinnr* 3 each.

There are almost the same number of instances (152) of Scandinavian names borne by sons of fathers with non-Scandinavian names as of those borne by sons of fathers who themselves have Scandinavian names. Of the 152 instances in question, 93 of the fathers bear names that are Norman, ContGerm or biblical, 49 have OE names, 4 Celtic names and 2 names of doubtful origin. There are six instances in the first period (out of 561), 17 in the second (out of 470), 51 in the third (out of 1,885), and 78 in the fourth (out of 1,939). The early instances, where the father frequently bears an OE name, probably indicate that there was free interchange of OE and Scandinavian names. The later instances, however, particularly those where the father's name is of Norman origin, may well indicate that the names in question had been in use in Normandy before the Conquest. The Scandinavian names most frequently found in the 152 instances are: – *Gamall* 14, *Póraldr* 11, *Þorsteinn* 10, *Sveinn* 9, *Rómfari* 7, *Ásketill*, *Haraldr*, *Sigvarðr* 6 each, *Róaldr*, *Sigríðr* 5 each, *Gunnhildr*, *Ketill*, *Ormr* 4 each, *Atsurr*, *Hákon*, *Magnús*, *Sighvatr*, *Þorketill* 3 each. Most significant are the numerous occurrences of *Gamall* and *Rómfari*, two names which are not recorded in Normandy before 1066 but which achieved considerable popularity with all classes in England after the Norman Conquest.

Another point of interest is that it is occasionally possible to mark a return to Scandinavian nomenclature after a break of one generation. In the thirteenth century, for example, there appears a *Gunnhildr* daughter of *Gilbertus* son of *Auðmundr*. There are also a few instances where two generations of Scandinavian names follow one of a non-Scandinavian name, e.g. in the thirteenth century a *Sigríðr* is the daughter of *Gunnvǫr* daughter of *Ricardus*. An explanation for such instances may possibly have been forthcoming if the names of both parents had been recorded. *Inga* daughter of *Gilebertus* (1202), for example, is revealed in another entry in the Assize Rolls to be the daughter of *Þóra* as well, so that her Scandinavian name finds a natural explanation. A particularly interesting example is provided by the children of the famous Earl Godwine Wulfnoð's son of Wessex. Of his eight children, five have Scandinavian names, *Sveinn*, *Haraldr*, *Tósti*, *Gyrðr* and *Gunnhildr*, and three OE ones, *Lēofwine*, *Eādgyð* and *Ælfgifu*. The Scandinavian names are naturally explained by the fact that their mother was Gyða, sister of Jarl Ulfr and aunt of Sveinn Ulfsson of Denmark.

The names of the children of Earl Godwine present another interesting feature, the lack of consistency in the origin of the names chosen.



In this case the inconsistency can be explained by the fact that the parents were of differing nationalities but this cannot always have been the case where names of varying origins are borne by brothers and sisters. There are a few early instances where full consistency is shown, namely in DB the brothers *Aki* and *Vigleikr*, the sons of *Sigvarðr*, and the brothers *Halfdan* and *Ulfr*, the sons of *Tópi*. Earl Godwine is not the only father, however, whom DB reveals to have been inconsistent in his choice of names. Another Godwine has four sons called *Asketill*, *Sighvati*, *Ælnod* (an OE name) and *Fenchel* (probably ContGerm). In the twelfth century we find *Þorsteinn* and *Robertus*, the sons of *Langus* (C1150); *Gamall* and *Willelmus*, the sons of *Tóki* (C1155); *Sigvarðr*, *Alanus*, *Willelmus* and *Rogerus*, the sons of *Þóraldr* (C1180); *Þorsteinn*, *Robertus* and *Hugo*, the sons of *Alanus* (H<sub>2</sub>); *Þóraldr*, *Gamall*, *Gilbertus*, *Johannes* and *Radulfus*, the sons of *Dued* (C1190). In the early thirteenth century are found *Ulþketill* and *Thomas*, the sons of *Þorfríðr*, and *Rómþari*, *Robertus* and *Willelmus*, the sons of *Auki*. There would seem to be a tendency for fathers or mothers bearing Scandinavian names to give Scandinavian names to some, if not all, of their children, while brothers and sisters may well bear names of varying national origin. It is noticeable, however, that Norman names and the Scandinavian names which had found favour with the Normans predominate in the later periods, naturally enough when the fact that Norman names are known to have displaced OE and Anglo-Scandinavian ones in the course of the twelfth century is kept in mind.

### *Appendix*

Frequent reference has been made in Chapter III to the so-called Anglo-Scandinavian new formations. These are names which are obviously of Scandinavian origin and yet are not recorded in any surviving Scandinavian sources or do not make their appearance in Scandinavia until a very late date. The large number of such formations found in the two counties testifies to the vitality of the Scandinavian system of nomenclature in the English colonies. While many of the new formations, particularly those found in p.ns. of an early type, may well have been coined in Scandinavia itself, even though they are not recorded there, several of the names must have been formed on English soil. While it is possible, and even probable, that the majority of these names were coined during the first decades of the Danish settlements in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, some may well have arisen at a later period.

A list is given here of all such names found in the published sources from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Indication is made as to whether the names appear in Lincolnshire and/or Yorkshire, whether or not in p.n.s. and, where there is more than one instance, the number of times the name is found in each county and category. Unfortunately many of the names occur only once, frequently in rather doubtful forms in p.n.s., where the passage of time between the coining of the name and its recording in writing is such that corruption can easily have taken place.

The new formations fall into several distinct groups: – a) dithematic pers.n.s. of Class A, *Alfgrímr* Y p.n., Y, *Arnbrandr* Y p.n., Y<sub>4</sub>, *Auðviðr* Y, *Auðvindr* (?) Y p.n., *Brúnkarl* Y, *Fargrímr* Y, *Frosthíldr* Y p.n., *Frostulfr* L p.n., *Garðulfr* L, possibly *Geirvarðr* Y p.n., *Grímbjörn* L, *Grimvarðr* L, *Hundigeirr* L, *Hundigrímr* Y, *Húnhíldr* L p.n., *Húnketill* or *Unnketill* L<sub>2</sub>, Y 4p.n., Y<sub>3</sub> *Ingileifr* L, *Járnulfr* Y p.n., *Jólvarðr* Y, *Jórhíldr* L, *Ketildagr* Y p.n., *Ketilfríðr*, -*frøðr* L, Y 2p.n., Y<sub>2</sub>, *Ketilgrímr* Y p.n., *Leikulfr* Y, *Liðulfr* Y 3p.n., Y, *Ligulfr* L, Y many, *Líkulfr* Y p.n., Y, *Línhíldr* Y, *Liulfr* L<sub>4</sub>, Y 4p.n., Y many, *Lundvarr* or *Lundvør* Y<sub>2</sub>, *Ráðhíldr* L p.n., *Riulfr* L<sub>2</sub>, Y, *Skemundr* L, *Skjaldfríðr* Y, *Skjaldmárr* Y p.n., *Stafnhíldr* L, *Starkulfr* (?) Y p.n., *Steinlíttr* L, *Svartbrandr* L many, Y<sub>2</sub>, *Svartmundr* Y p.n., *Svínhíldr* L, *Sægrímr* L<sub>2</sub>, *Þornoddr* L, *Þornulfr* Y, *Ulfgrímr* L<sub>3</sub>, Y p.n., Y, *Úrketill* Y, *Vestmundr* Y 2p.n., Y<sub>2</sub>, *Ögvindr* (?) Y p.n.; b) original by.n.s. of various origins (Class B): – *Akimann* Y<sub>4</sub>, *Arnketilbarn* L, *Ásketilbarn* L, *Belli* (?) Y p.n., *Bjalla* (?), Y p.n., *Bleyði* Y p.n., *Bretakollr* Y, *Bróklauss* L 2p.n., L<sub>3</sub>, *Brotulfr* L p.n., *Drjúgr* L 2p.n., *Feigr* Y p.n., Y, *Fóli* (?) Y 2p.n., *Fráni* L p.n., L<sub>2</sub>, Y<sub>5</sub>, *Freistingr* (?) Y p.n., *Gamalbarn* Y, *Gamalkarli* Y, *Gillimann* Y p.n., *Gjöfull* (?) L p.n., *Greiði* L p.n., *Grentir* Y p.n., Y, *Gufubeinn* L, *Hábeinn* L, *Hakikarl* Y, *Harðgrípr* L, *Haukreiði* Y p.n., *Herkingr* Y p.n., *Hundiþótr* L<sub>2</sub>, *Járnkolfr* Y p.n., *Kafni* L p.n., *Karski* L p.n., Y, *Keyrandi* (?) Y p.n., *Klápi* Y, *Kléss* (?) Y p.n., *Kolkr* (?) L p.n., *Kosti* L<sub>10</sub>, *Krókbeinn* Y, *Kærandi* (?) Y p.n., *Lagulfr* L p.n., *Lakkandi* (?) Y p.n., *Lambakarl(i)* L, *Launn* Y p.n., *Laupingi* L p.n., *Laysingr* L p.n., L, Y 8p.n., Y many, *Menning* Y p.n., Y (this name may rather belong to group c) below), *Merlesveinn* L, Y, *Múlagrímr* Y, *Mylnugrímr* Y, *Morþari* Y<sub>3</sub>, *Plógsveinn* L, Y<sub>2</sub>p.n., *Rábeinn* Y p.n., *Reyðr* Y p.n., *Rómþari* L p.n., L many, Y<sub>2</sub>, *Selakollr* Y, *Sigvarðbarn* L, Y, *Skáld-Finnr* L, *Skeiðmann* L<sub>3</sub>, *Skel* Y, *Skelfr* Y, *Skær* Y, *Skóga-Reinn* Y p.n., *Skóg-Ketill* Y, *Skraggr* Y, *Skrifli* L p.n., *Slengr* L p.n., Y p.n., *Sløgr* L, *Snarri* L, Y *Snigill* Y p.n., *Sótakollr* Y, *Spíkþótr* Y, *Spillir* L p.n., L, *Sprottr* Y<sub>2</sub>,

*Sprækr* Y, *Spýtr* Y p.n., *Sterri* Y, *Stígbeinn* Y, *Sumarflugl* Y, *Sveinbróðir* Y, *Sæflugl* Y, *Toglauss* Y p.n., *Tókimann* Y<sub>3</sub>, *Tólimann* L, *Úbeinn* L p.n., Y, *Uglubarðr* Y p.n., Y, *Úkyrri* (?) Y p.n., *Útkári* (?) Y p.n., *Veikr* Y, *Viðforni* or *Viðforni* Y 2p.n., *Vildfari* Y; c) secondary formations (Class C and short forms that have not been registered in the name list as independent names) :— *Actin* Y, *Anketis* Y, *Ankil* Y, *Asti* L<sub>2</sub>, *Astil* L, *Astin* L<sub>24</sub>, Y 4p.n., Y<sub>17</sub>, *Estin* Y, *Hankin* L (all from *Ásketill*), *Aubi* L (*Auðbjörn*), *Auki* L many (*Auðketill*), *Basing* L p.n., L many, Y 6p.n., Y many (*Bassi* or *Bessi*), *Boði* L (*Boðvarr*), *Gufa* L (*Guð-*), *Hab(b)i* L, Y p.n. (e.g. *Hábjörn*, *Hábeinn*, *Hagbarðr*), *Ingus* (?) Y p.n. (*Ingi-*), *Langus* Y p.n., Y<sub>3</sub> (*Lang-*), *Leifus* Y<sub>2</sub> (*Leif-*), *Menning* Y p.n., Y (this name may rather belong to group b)), *Skjaldingr* L p.n., *Sunna* L (*Sunnigifa*), *Tumbi* Y p.n. (*Þorm-*), *Þórr* L<sub>2</sub>, Y many (*Þór-*), *Þrylli* Y p.n. (*Þrýð-*); d) hybrids, *Cranebeinn* Y, *Godsveinn* Y, *Goldsteinn* Y p.n., *Gunngeifu* L<sub>2</sub>, *Lēoſketill* L, Y, *Lēoſkollr* Y, *Þorbirt* L<sub>4</sub>, Y<sub>2</sub>, *Þórhefud* L<sub>3</sub>, *Þorwif* Y; e) translation names, *Dolgfinnr* Y 3p.n., Y many (? *Dolphin*), *Glúniáirnn* Y (Ir form of *Járkné*), *Jádríkr* L (OE *Eādríc*), *Jádulfr* L p.n. (OE *Eād-wulf*), *Jánulfr* Y p.n. (OE *Eānwulf*), *Játsteinn* Y p.n. (OE *Eādstān*), *Melmor* Y p.n. (OIr *Maelmuire*); f) strong forms of names only recorded in weak forms in Scandinavian sources and weak forms of names only recorded in strong forms in Scandinavian (the new forms are often the result of addition or subtraction of a suffix) :— *Bekki* (beside *Bekkr*) L p.n., L, *Beltr* (beside *Belti*) L 3p.n., *Buski* (beside *Buskr*) Y p.n., *Gippi* (? beside *Gípr*) L p.n., L<sub>2</sub>, Y, *Grípi* (beside *Grípr*) Y p.n., *Gunnhvati* (beside *-hvatr*) L p.n., L<sub>4</sub>, *Kiki* (beside *Kíkr*) Y p.n., *Ljóti* (beside *Ljótr*) Y p.n., *Moldr* (beside *Moldi*) Y p.n., *Reiði* (beside *Reiðr*) Y, *Sighvati* (beside *-hvatr*) L<sub>3</sub>, *Sjónr* (beside *Sjóni*) Y p.n., *Skakull* (beside *Skakli*) Y 3p.n., *Skræma* (beside *Skræmir*) L 2p.n., *Sótr* (beside *Sóti*) Y 2p.n., *Stjúpi* (beside *Stjúpr*) L many, *Svarthöfuð* (beside *-höfði* L<sub>2</sub>, Y 3p.n., Y<sub>2</sub>, and cf. also the mutated *Þymill* (beside *Þumall*) L p.n., Y<sub>2</sub> p.n.

## CHAPTER IV

### The representation of Scandinavian names in the English sources.

#### *i. The scribes.*

In no case can the scribe of a MS be identified with any certainty and it is not always possible even to be sure of his nationality. A few general remarks can, however, be made.

MSS from the period before the Norman Conquest were probably written by native English or Anglo-Scandinavian scribes. It must not be forgotten, however, that Edward the Confessor (1042–66) patronised a number of French knights and clergy and that some Normans held office in his household (1).

The compilation of DB has been discussed by Feilitzen (2). His conclusions may be summarised as follows: – information was mainly oral, given to royal commissioners by local juries, half of whose members were Norman, half English or Anglo-Scandinavian. The Normans presumably pronounced OE and Scandinavian names after their own fashion. That some written OE sources were also employed, however, can be seen from the occasional conservative OE spellings. The original returns were then sent to the Treasury at Winchester, where the material was treated and edited by royal clerks. The majority of the clerks to the commissioners and to the Treasury were Norman, although an occasional English scribe may have been employed.

English remained the language of the royal Chancery in the early years of the Conqueror's reign and many of his later official documents also appeared in English but at the end of the 11th century English documents cease to appear (3). The only exceptions are a charter issued

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(1) Cf. Stenton *Anglo-Saxon England* 419.

(2) *op.cit.* 6–8; cf. also R. Wheldon Finn *The Domesday Inquest and the making of Domesday Book*, London 1961, 88–91, 179.

(3) Cf. R. W. Chambers *On the Continuity of English Prose*, Early English Text Society 1932, lxxx–lxxxii.

in 1155 by Henry II and a proclamation issued in 1258 by Henry III (4).

The Lindsey Survey was compiled in 1115–18 and it is preserved in a contemporary text. The scribe is very conservative in his spelling and found much less difficulty than the DB scribes in accurately representing the sounds and spellings of the Scandinavian names in Lindsey. Many names are thus revealed to be of Scandinavian origin, whose corrupt forms in DB would defy interpretation if this additional evidence were not available. It seems likely that the scribe, who was writing in Latin, was of native descent and not entirely Norman in outlook and background.

In the 12th century Latin was firmly established as the language of the church, government and law but it was only a very small section of the community who had any knowledge of the Latin tongue, namely scholars, government officials and some of the clergy. The majority of these men must have been of Norman descent but, particularly in the church, the English tradition was never completely extinguished and it is not impossible that some of the scribes whose work is represented in the 12th- and 13th-century sources were English or Anglo-Scandinavian.

Later, Anglo-French came to be used beside Latin as a language for official documents but it was not until the very end of the 13th century that such documents began to appear in English again. It seems probable, then, that at any rate the vast majority of the scribes of the 12th- and 13th-century documents were Norman or Anglo-Norman.

Since the majority of the documents from which names have been taken seem to have been written by AN scribes, it is not strange that many of the orthographical characteristics discussed below are neither English nor Scandinavian but French or AN.

#### *ii. Scandinavian monophthongs in stressed syllables.*

The OScand vowels *ǣ*, *ā*, *ě*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ō*, *ǔ*, *ū*, *ý*, *ȳ* and *ǣ* (< *ā* by *i*-mutation) were very similar in sound to those of OE and in Scandinavian loan-words in English they underwent the same sound-developments as their English counterparts and were represented in the same way. In addition there are the following vowels which are found in OScand but not in OE or ME :— *ǫ* (< *ǣ* by *u*-mutation), *ø* (< *ě* by *u*-mutation) and *θ* (< *ō* by *i*-mutation).

(4) Cf. B. Dickens and R. M. Wilson *Early Middle English Texts*, Cambridge 1951, 7.

§ 1. ǣ normally remains, e.g. *Gamel*, *Haldan*. This is in accordance with ME practice.

§ 2. ǣ is occasionally represented by *e*. (i) AN interchange of *a* and *e* accounts for forms such as *Sendi* DB (*Sandi*), *Welrauen* DB (*Val(h)rafn*), *Gemel* 12th (*Gamall*). The same interchange may account for the form *Herold* DB beside *Harold* (same man) but the *e* in this name may rather be due to association with OFr *Héro(u)ld*. (ii) Forms such as *Erneberne* DB (*Arnbjörn*), *Suerte-* (*Svart-*) generally represent anglicised *Earn-*, *Sweart-* with *e* for *ea*.

[Feilitzen § 1]

§ 3. ǣ is occasionally replaced by *o*, e.g. *Couene-* DB beside *Cafna-LiS* (*\*Kafna-*), *Stouenes-* 12th beside *Staphnes-* H<sub>2</sub> (*\*Stafns-*), *Turorne* DB (possibly *Pórarna*). It is difficult to account for the preceding instances but *Galmon-* c1170 (*Galmann*) shows l.OE (Anglian) *o* for *a* before a nasal.

[Mossé § 25]

§ 4. *vǣ* before *l* + consonant in the el. *-valdr* is occasionally represented by *o* or *wo*, e.g. *Harold* DB (*Haraldr*), *Tuold* DB (*Póraldr*), *Aluuold* DB (*Alfvaldr*). (i) Loss of *v* from this el. in positions of secondary stress may be either O or ME or Scand. It could also show Romance influence (see (ii)). (ii) Spellings in *o* probably reflect Romance influence, for Frankish names in *-wald* developed to *-oald* and then *-old* in Fr. Alternatively they may be the result of the ME development (S of the Humber) *-ald* > *-āld* > *-öld*.

[(i) Feilitzen § 57; Mossé § 49.1; Nord. Kult. VII 113;

(ii) Feilitzen §§ 2.55-57]

§ 5. *vǣ* in other els. is occasionally represented by *o* or *wo*, e.g. *Sortebrand* DB, *Svortebrand* 1206 (*Svartbrandr*), *Gunneward-* DB (*\*Gunnvarð-*), *Gutteworth-* 12th-14th (*\*Guðvarð-*). These forms are probably to be explained as the result of an ODan development before *-rth*, *-rt*. *wa* > *wō* > *ō* (by loss of *w* after a consonant). Alternatively, *u*-mutation may have played a role so that the Dan development would be *wa* > *wǫ* > *wō* > *ō*.

[Feilitzen p.379; BrNGG §§ 156, 384.1]

§ 6. Before *nd* ǣ is sometimes replaced by *o* in documents from the 1.13th century, e.g. *Brond* 1263 (*Brandr*). In l.OE short vowels were

lengthened before the consonant group *nd*. In ME in the Midlands and South  $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$  (cf. below § 13) beginning before the middle of the 12th century but only becoming apparent in the orthography after the first quarter of the 13th century.

[Wyld § 173.1; Mossé §§ 27.2, 33]

§ 7.  $\bar{a}n$  is occasionally represented by *aun*, e.g. *Braund* c1210, *Braunce-1276* (*Brandr*). *aun* is an AN spelling for *an*. It begins to appear in the 13th century and occurs frequently in 14th- and 15th-century records.

[Zachrisson IPN 105]

§ 8.  $\bar{a}$  under secondary stress in the second els. of compound names in *-arr* is often represented by *e*, e.g. *Gunner* DB, *Westre* DB, *Eineri* 1202. This *e* is probably the result of l.OE levelling of unstressed *a* to *e* (cf. below § 58) but may alternatively represent the substitution of the OE cl. *-here*. The same levelling of *a* to *e* is apparently evidenced in forms such as *Halden(e)* DB (*Halfdan*), although these may represent the substitution of the OE cl. *-dene*.

§ 9.  $\bar{a}$  under secondary stress appears as *ai*, *ei*, *ay*, *ey* in forms of the name *Halfdan*, e.g. *Haltain* c1170, *Haldein* 1200, *Haldayn* 1260, *Halteyn* c1220. These are perhaps AN inverted spellings. Scand *ei* sometimes appears in English sources as *a* (cf. below § 52). They may alternatively represent the substitution of the OFr suffix *-ain* < *-anus* (cf. below § 153ii).

### $\bar{a}$

§ 10.  $\bar{a}$  normally remains in DB, e.g. *Hacun* (*Hákon*), but when *a* is found in later sources from L, e.g. *Hamundus* 13th, *Fran'* 13th (*Fráni*), this may suggest a late borrowing of the Scandinavian name, for  $\bar{a}$  remains longer in the Scandinavian languages than in S English (see below § 13). The rounding of  $\bar{a}$  in ODan did not take place until c1250. The survival of  $\bar{a}$  may alternatively be due to Scandinavian conservatism in the Danelaw, although it is unlikely that the Scandinavian language remained in use there as late as the 13th century. Note also that the ME development did not take place in YN, YE and part of YW so that in spite of the fact that the quoted forms derive from sources from L, Northern ME influence may also have contributed to the conservative spellings.

[Feilitzen § 3; BrNGG § 138; Björkman Loanwords 83]

§ 11.  $\bar{a}$  in the cl. *As-* < *\*ansu* needs special consideration. This cl. appears with various spellings in the sources examined: – (i) as *As-*, e.g.

*Asgot, Aslac, Asger.* (ii) with EScand *i*-mutation, e.g. *Esbern, Esi.* (iii) as *Os-*, which represents either the substitution of the OE el. *Ōs-* or a Scand development from *\*ansu* by *u*-mutation to *Ōs-* and later development to *Os-* by nasalisation or possibly in some cases rounding under the influence of a following labial consonant (*b, f, m*), e.g. *Osbern, Osfyrð, Osmund.* (iv) with Norman *Ans-*. At the time of the founding of Normandy the *ā* in *As-* was nasalised and this may have been indicated by the spelling *Ans-*. This spelling may rather, however, have been influenced by the corresponding form in Frankish names. Instances of this Norman spelling include *Ansgot, Anschitil.* (v) with Norman *An-*. In OFr *s* was lost before a voiced consonant in the 11th century and, although the loss of *s* did not become general before an unvoiced consonant until the 13th century, there is evidence that the process had begun earlier. Instances of this spelling include *Angot H<sub>2</sub>, Anger H<sub>2</sub>, Anchitil* also called *Anschitil* DB. Note that there is a theoretical possibility that some of the forms in *An-* may derive not from *As-* but from *Arn-*. Loss of *r* from the latter el. is evidenced in EScand (cf. Modéer Kalmar Tänkebok 98–100). The numerous forms in *An-* in the English sources, however, are almost certainly Norman forms of names in *As-*. This assumption is supported by several instances where a man is referred to by two forms of his name, e.g. *Asketin / Anketin.* There are no parallel instances where the same man bears forms of a name in both *Arn-* and *An-*.

[ (ii) BrNGG § 80; (iii) BrNGG §§ 85 n.3, 154.2; Jacobsen-Moltke 115–17, 695n; (iv) Adigard des Gautries 244–45; (v) Feilitzen § 112 ]

§ 12. *ā* is occasionally written *aa*, e.g. *Baard* 1150, *Báárd* ante 1183 (*Bárðr*), *Aace* 13th (*Áki*), *Aasger* 13th (*Ásgeirr*).

§ 13. From the second half of the 12th century onwards *ā* can appear as *o*, e.g. *Oki* 1202 (*Áki*), *Ones-* 13th (*\*Ans-*), and under secondary stress *Asloc* 1163 (*Áslákr*). *ā* was rounded to *ō* in ME and the *o* spelling becomes frequent from the 12th century in the southern half of England (including L and part of YW).

[Luick § 369; Mossé § 27.2]

ě, ē

§ 14. There is no attempt to distinguish between *ě* (= PrimGerm *ě*) and *ē* (< PrimGerm *a* by *i*-mutation). Some form of distinction might have been expected, as Danish runic inscriptions from c800–900 regularly



distinguish between *ě* and *æ*. OScaNd *ě* and *æ* are both normally represented by *e*, e.g. *Berg-* (\**bergō*), *Gerðr* (\**garðiōR*).

[BrNGG § 161]

§ 15. *ě* and *ē* are frequently represented by *a*, e.g. *ě Blase-* DB (\**Blesa-*), *Haminc* DB (*Hemingr*), *Chetelbar* DB (\**Ketilber* < *Ketilbjörn*), *ē Arich* DB (*Erik*). These forms are due to AN interchange of *a* and *e* (cf. above § 2), although *Chetelbar* may represent anglicised *-bearn* with *a* for *ea*. For interchange of svarabhakti *e* and *a* see below § 64.

[Feilitzen § 9]

§ 16. The simplex name *Ketill* and the first and second els. *Ketil-* and *-ketill* need special comment. (i) The spelling with *e* in the first syllable is preserved regularly in the simplex name and frequently in both first and second els. of compound names, e.g. *Chetel* DB, *Arcetel* 11th (*Arnketill*), *Chetelbern* DB (*Ketilbjörn*). (ii) Where *-ketill* appears as the second el. of a compound name, *e* is very occasionally replaced by *y* e.g. *Askytelo* 11th, *Oscytel* [968] 12th (*Asketill*). These early forms show substitution of cognate OE *cytel* (WSax), *cetel* (Anglian). (iii) In the simplex name once, and in *-ketill* as a second el. very frequently, *e* is replaced by *i*, e.g. *Citello* [c1160] 14th, *Anschitil* DB. Some of these forms are probably due to the substitution of the OE el. and subsequent unrounding of *y* to *i* (cf. below § 38) but note, too, the frequent replacement of *e* by *i* in *-ketill* compounds in Normandy, particularly after 1035. (iv) *e* is replaced by *a* once in the simplex name in *Katils-croft* 12th and a number of times in the name *Asketill*, e.g. *Ascatinus* [c1120] 13th (also called *Aschethilus*), *Aschatillus* [c1155] 14th, *Aschatillus* [c1155] 14th-15th and *Ascatino* [m. 12th] 14th-15th (these two references are to one and the same man), *Haschatinus* [c1160] c1400 (also called *Ansketillum*). It was suggested by A. Kock that forms in *Katil-* may be the result of an early contraction that prevented *i*-mutation from taking place but I. Modéer pointed out that *Katil-* spellings appear in latinised forms of the names and are probably deliberate latinisations (cf. Lat *catillus* “small bowl”), for in several cases in Swed there is documentary proof that the corresponding Swed forms had mutated *æ*. Deliberate latinisation may well account for the *-katil* spellings in *Asketill* but the *a* in the f.n. is probably the result of AN interchange of *a* and *e* (cf. above §§ 2.15) and this interchange may also lie behind some of the relevant forms of *Asketill*. (v) As a second el. *-ketill* developed a side-form *-kell* under secondary stress in both W and EScand. There are several instances of this form in sources from L and

Y, e.g. *Archel* DB (*Arnketill*), *Vlchel* DB (*Ulfketill*). (vi) From the time of DB onwards, however, instances of the side-form showing Scand raising of *e* to *i* are more numerous, e.g. *Archil* DB, *Aschil* DB, *Vlchil* DB. (vii) The three names *Ketilbjörn*, *Ketilfriðr* and *Ketilgrímr* are apparently found in L and Y with side-forms *Kel-*, *Kil-* beside *Ketil-*. Feilitzen makes three attempts to explain the forms. Firstly, analogical substitution of the short variant *-kel*, supported by the interchange in the second els. of compounds of *-ketill* and *-kell* (cf. above). Secondly, a phonetic development in l.OE *ketel*, *kitel* > *kettl*, *kill*, > *kel*, *kil*. He explains the preponderance of unreduced forms (*Ketil-*) in DB and later records as due to association with the simplex name but in view of the fact that the reduced forms of the first el. are only found in late Scand sources (*Kelldórr* in Norw c1500, *Kelber* in Dan 1610, *Kelder* in Dan 1465, *Kælof* in Dan 1459, *Kældor* in Swed 1289), it is perhaps preferable to adopt Feilitzen's third suggestion, namely that *Kel-*, *Kil-* represent an entirely different el. This cannot, unfortunately, be identified by means of the material at present available.

[(ii) Feilitzen § 22; (iii) Adigard des Gautries 245; (iv) A. Kock Svensk Ljudhistoria III 43; DgP 745; Modéer Kalmar Tänkebok 131–35; (v) BrNGG § 146 n.3; (vi) Hald Sprogstof 151; (vii) Feilitzen 303–04]

§ 17. *e* once appears as *ei*, *Dreing* c1200. In l.OE *ě* was raised to *i* before *n* + consonant. *Dreing* is probably the result of confusion between forms of the name in *e* and *i* for WScand diphthongisation of *e* before *ng* is not evidenced until c1300. OE raising of *ě* to *i* before *n* + consonant is probably also to be seen in *Inkeles-* H<sub>2</sub> (*\*Enkils-*; s.n. *Eckill*).

[Feilitzen § 10; Bandle § 27a]

### ĩ, ĩ

§ 18. *ĩ* and *ĩ* generally remain, e.g. *Inga* 1160, *Sigrída* 1202 (*Sigríðr*).

§ 19. *i* is occasionally represented by *e*, e.g. *Segerus* H<sub>2</sub> (*Sigarr*), *Selke*-13th (*\*Silka-*), *Segrída* DB (*Sigríðr*). There was an AN tendency to substitute *e* for *ĩ* and this has influenced the instances above. In unstressed positions *ĩ* > *ĩ* and this resulting *ĩ* was also occasionally represented by *e*, e.g. *Sigreda* DB (*Sigríðr*) *Torgrem-* DB (*\*Þorgrím-*). The AN tendency was probably reinforced by the acoustic similarity between l.OE *ĩ* and AN *ě*.

[Feilitzen § 12]

§ 20. The AN tendency cannot, however, account for the substitution of *e* for *ī* in the el. *-liði*, e.g. *Westlede*- DB (*\*Vestliða-*), *Summerlede* DB (*Sumarliði*), since this el. shows *e* beside *i* in pre-Conquest sources.

[Feilitzen § 13]

§ 21. In the el. *-friðr* *ī* > *e* at an early date, presumably owing to reduction of stress, or possibly by *a*-mutation of *i* in oblique cases of PrimGerm *\*friþuz*. Depending on the time when metathesis took place (cf. below § 75), the development would be *frið* > *firð* > *ferð* or *frið* > *freð* > *ferð*. Forms in *frid* are probably due to Frankish influence. Names containing this el. include *Godeuert* DB (*Guðfriðr*), *Toruert* DB (*Þorfriðr*), *Asferth* 1142 (*Asfriðr*). For the possibility of derivation from *-frøðr* cf. below § 43.

[Feilitzen § 14]

§ 22. *ī* and *ī* are often represented by *y*, e.g. *Grymes*- DB (*\*Gríms-*), *Syward* c1200 (*Sigvarðr*), *Gonyld*- E<sub>1</sub> (*\*Gunnhild-*), *Hemmyng* l.13th (*Hemmyng*). This substitution of *y* for *i* in order to avoid minim confusion is a common feature of l.OE and MedLat orthography and appears in some pers.ns. in DB but does not become common until the 13th century. No difference in pronunciation is implied.

[Feilitzen § 11; Mossé § 11]

### ö

§ 23. *ö* is normally represented by *o*, e.g. *Scotecol* DB (*Skotakollr*).

§ 24. *ö* is occasionally represented by *u*, e.g. *Vrmes*- c1067 (*Ormr*), *Ruschil* DB (*Rosketill*), *Urri* c1200 (*Orri*), *Scult* 1202 (*Skoltr*), *Bulle*- 1314 (*Bolli*), and also in a few names where the original *ö* < *u* has undergone secondary lengthening in WScand, e.g. *Sneculfs*- DB (*Snækólfr*). The PrimScand development of *o* < *u* is generally considered to be the result of *a*-mutation but some scholars consider that the rounding took place independently of the influence of a following *a*. The development is recorded as early as c400 on the Gallehus gold horn but a number of unmutated forms are found in Dan, particularly EDan, right up to the period when MSS began to be written in Dan. The forms with *u* in L and Y are probably of Dan origin, although forms in *-ulf* most likely show the influence of the common el. *-ulfr*, for *-olfr* is a Scand variant spelling of this (cf. below § 32).

[BrNGG § 76; H. Andersen *Opedalstenen in Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* XIX (1960) 406 and *Guldhornsindskriften in Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1961) 95–103]

## ō

§ 25. *ō* is normally represented by *o*, e.g. *Botild* DB (*Bóthíldr*), *Croches-* DB (*Krókr*).

§ 26. *ō* is occasionally represented by *oo*, e.g. *Roolfes-* DB, *Roolf* LiS (*Rólfr* < *Róðulfr*).

§ 27. *ō* (PrimScand *ō*) is occasionally represented by *u*, e.g. *Cruc* l.12th (*Krókr*), *Rualdus* c1130 (*Róaldr*). Cf. also the forms such as *Rum-* *farus* H<sub>2</sub> (*Rómfari*), where the first el. of the name is a loan from Lat *Rōma*. This alternation of *Róm-* and *Rúm-* is known from Icel but is not recorded in EScand.

[Bandle § 38]

§ 28. *ō* (< PrimScand *un*) is fairly frequently represented by *u* in names containing the el. *Þór-* (< PrimScand *\*Þunrar*), e.g. *Tuold*, *Turgot*, *Turger*, *Thurstan* all DB, and the originally EScand short forms of names in *Þór-*, *Tuue-* DB (*Tófi*), *Tuli* 1196 (*Tóli*). In Scand sources the forms in *u* are practically confined to the EScand area. They may derive from forms in which the *a* in *\*þunrar* was lost before the period of younger *a*-mutation. Alternatively, the two forms may represent different dialectal development in Dan. There does not seem to be any particular pattern in the alternation of the two forms in L and Y, although the *u* forms dominate in all names except *Þórr*, *Þóra*, *Þóraldr*, *Þórðr*, *Þorfinnr*, *Þórir*, *Þormundr*. It is possible that some forms in *Thor-* may represent AN substitution of *o* for *u* (cf. below §§ 32.34). There are a number of instances of one man's name being spelt both ways, e.g. *Thorold*/*Tuold*, *Torgot*/*Turgot*, *Torger*/*Turger*.

[BrNGG § 76 n.2]

§ 29. *ō* is once represented by *au* (*Audenker* ante 1172 (*Óðinkárr*)) and once by *ou* (*Routmer-* 13th (*\*Róðmar-*)). *Au*, *ou* may be inverted spellings for *o*, as *au* is frequently represented in ME sources by both *o* and *ou* (cf. below § 47). *Au-* may alternatively be due to association with names in *Auð-*, which are often spelt *Od-* in ME sources.

[Feilitzen p.342; Hald Om Personnavnene 185]

## ǔ

§ 30. *ǔ* usually remains, e.g. *Ulfr* DB, *Gunni* 1142.

§ 31. *ǔ* in initial position is often represented by *v* and occasionally by *w*, e.g. *Vlfr* DB, *Wlgrim* 1210. This is according to Lat tradition.

[Mossé § 13]

§ 32.  $\ddot{u}$  is sometimes represented by  $o$ , e.g. *Sonneue* DB (*Sunnifa*), *Olgrim* DB (*Ulfgrímr*), *Londi* 1202 (*Lundi*), *Gonyld-* E<sub>1</sub> (*\*Gunnhild-*). This is generally an AN spelling. It occurs occasionally in DB, particularly before  $n$ , and becomes more frequent later. From c1250  $o$  is regularly used for  $u$  in the neighbourhood of  $m$ ,  $n$ ,  $u$ ,  $v$  and  $w$  in order to avoid minim confusion. The pronunciation remained unchanged. Forms in *-olf* < *-ulfr* may alternatively reflect the Scand variant *-olfr*, e.g. *Beregolf* 1143 (*Bergulfr*), *Turolf* DB (*Þórufr*).

[Feilitzen § 17; Mossé § 11; Noreen Aisl.Gr. § 61.1; BrNGG § 76]

### $\ddot{u}$

§ 33.  $\ddot{u}$  usually remains, e.g. *Brunkil* 1194 (*Brúnketill*).

§ 34.  $\ddot{u}$  is occasionally represented by  $o$ , e.g. *Sone-* DB beside *Sune-* LiS (*\*Súna-*), *Knot* 1202 (*Knútr*), *Scole-* l.12th (*\*Skúla-*). It is possible that orig  $\ddot{u}$  had previously been shortened (cf. above § 32).

[Feilitzen § 18]

§ 35.  $\ddot{u}$  is occasionally represented by *ou*, *ow*, e.g. *Douse-* 1331 (*\*Dúsa-*), *Mouse-* 1307 beside *Muse-* 1253 (*\*Músa-*). This is an AN scribal practice. It began later than the use of  $o$  for  $u$  and first became common in the 14th century.

[Mossé § 11]

### $\ddot{y}$ , $\bar{y}$

§ 36.  $\ddot{y}$  and  $\bar{y}$  only rarely remain in the sources examined, e.g. *Styr* [1002–16] (*Styrr*). Feilitzen suggests that their rare occurrence may indicate that there was a marked phonetic difference between OE and OScand  $\ddot{y}$  and  $\bar{y}$  and the corresponding AN sounds.

[Feilitzen § 19]

§ 37.  $\ddot{y}$  and  $\bar{y}$  are often represented by  $u$ , e.g. *Stur* DB (*Styrr*), *Sturmi* l.12th (*Styrmir*), *Brunilde-* 1220–50 (*\*Brynhild-*) This is an AN scribal practice. No difference in pronunciation is implied. There are a number of instances of  $u$  for  $y$  in DB but only a few in later sources.

[Feilitzen § 19; Mossé § 11]

§ 38.  $\ddot{y}$  and  $\bar{y}$  are often represented by  $i$ , e.g. *Gida* DB (*Gyða*), *Riges-* DB (*(H)rygg-*), *Stillag* e.H<sub>2</sub> (*Styrlaugr*), *Girz* c1170 (*Gyrðr*), *Sictric* l.H<sub>2</sub> (*Sigtryggr*), *Trig* 1202 (*Tryggr*).  $y$  was unrounded to  $i$  in the 10th or 11th centuries in the N and the EMidlands and the forms with  $i$  may represent this sound-development. Alternatively, they may simply

represent AN substitution of *i* for *y*, since OFr *i* and OE, OScand *y* were phonetically similar.

[Feilitzen § 20; Mossé § 29.2; Brunner Outline § 11.5]

§ 39. *y* is occasionally represented by *e*, e.g. *Guede* DB (*Gyða*), *Gued* DB (*Gyrðr*), *Ster* DB (*Styrr*), *Stercher* c1150 (*Styrkarr*). *ý*, *ÿ* had become *ě*, *ē* in Kent about 900 and the change seems also to have taken place in ME in parts of Suffolk and Hertfordshire, in Sussex and probably Middlesex and S Cambridgeshire. It is unlikely, however, that SE dialect forms would occur in L or Y so the forms where *y* is represented by *e* probably show the development *y* > *i* or substitution of *i* for *y* and AN substitution of *e* for *i* (cf. above § 19).

[Feilitzen § 21; Mossé § 29.3; Brunner Outline § 11.5]

*ā*

§ 40. *ā* (by *i*-mutation of *ā*) survives once in *Sæfugala*- 11th but is normally represented by *e*, e.g. *Seure-* DB (*\*Sæfara-*), *Scren-* DB (*Skræmir-*), *Segrím* c1155 (*Sægrím*). This is in accordance with 1.OE and ME scribal practice.

§ 41. *ā* (by *i*-mutation of *ā*) is occasionally represented by *a*, e.g. *Sagrím* DB (*Sægrím*), *Safre-* LiS, *Sauari* 1202 (*Sæfari*). These forms are difficult to explain. In the 13th century there was a dialectal development in the SEMidlands (not including L or Y) of *ā* to *ā* but this cannot account for the forms above. They probably represent AN substitution of *a* for *e* (cf. above § 15).

[Feilitzen § 7; Mossé § 28 n. IV; Brunner ES 272]

*ø*

§ 42. (i) *ø* (<*a* by older *u*-mutation) is usually represented by *a* in syllables of primary and secondary stress, e.g. *Wande-* 12th–13th (*Vøndr*), *Sceldeuuar* DB (*Skjaldvø*), *Steinwar'* 1202 (*Steinvø*). This *u*-mutation is PrimScand but there are a number of unmutated exceptions in ODan. The forms in *a* in L and Y may thus represent Dan unmutated forms but it should be noted that Scand forms in *ø*, when adopted into English, would be almost certain to appear with *a* (cf. the Scand loanword in OE *fatu* (*fpt*) and the pers.n. in *Bēowulf* *Hæpcyn* (*\*Hapu-*)). There are a few instances in L and Y where this *ø* is represented by *o*, e.g. *Morfare* DB (*\*Mørfari*), *Oluir* c1155 (*Ølvir*), *Azor* DB (*\*Antswarur*). In syllables of primary stress this *o* is probably the result of orthographic substitution but under secondary stress in *Azor* the *o* may well be a further Dan development. (ii) *ø* (<*a* by younger *u*-mutation)

is represented by *o*, e.g. *Sorthoued* DB (*\*Svarthofuð*). This *o* is probably an orthographical substitution.

[Feilitzen § 36; Brunner ES 275–76; Hofman § 209; BrNGG §§ 85, 86.89]

*ø* (< *e* by *u*-mutation)

§ 43. *ø* is regularly represented by *o*, e.g. *Asford* DB (*Asfrøðr*), *Gunforde-* DB (*\*Gunnfrøð-*). There are a few instances where *ø* is apparently represented by *e* but there are other more satisfactory explanations for these forms. Forms in *-uerd* should almost certainly be derived from *-friðr* and not from *frøðr* (cf. above § 21) and *Snerte-* DB (*\*Snørt-*) probably represents AN substitution of *e* for the *a* of the gen. *Snartar-* (cf. above § 2).

[Feilitzen § 14]

*ē* (< *ō* by *i*-mutation)

§ 44. *ē* appears as *e* in *Ep-* 1496 (*\*Epa-* < *\*Øpa-*), *Slegh* 1219 (*Slógr*). It is normal for *ø* of this origin to be replaced by *e* in ME sources.

[Feilitzen § 36; Brunner ES 275]

### iii. Diphthongs.

#### *au*

§ 45. The Common Scand falling diphthong *au* was monophthongised in EScand from the 10th century onwards. It would seem that many of the pers.ns. containing this diphthong in a stressed syllable must have been adopted into English before this development had taken place in Dan and Swed. The diphthong is regularly preserved in the English sources and it is extremely unlikely that all the names in question are loans from the more conservative WScand. The diphthong generally appears in the pers.ns. as *au*, e.g. *Auden* c1200 (*Auðunn*), *Augrim* l.12th (*Auðgrímr*), *Auca* 1150–60 (*Auki*), *Caupman-* 1457 (*Kaupmann*). It is not unusual for *au* to survive in ME sources.

[Feilitzen § 37; Brunner ES 276; BrNGG § 172]

§ 46. *au* is frequently represented by *ou*, e.g. *Outgrim* DB (*Auðgrímr*), *Ouke* l.12th (*Auki*), *Goute-* l.12th (*\*Gauta-*). *ou* is a common spelling for *au* in ME sources.

[Feilitzen § 37; Brunner ES 276]

§ 47. (i) There are a number of instances where the diphthong *au* is represented by *o* in stressed syllables, e.g. *Copmmannus* 1206 (*Kaupmann*), *Othman* [c1150] 14th–15th (*Auðmann*), *Odil* DB (probably

*Auðhildr* but possibly ContGerm *Odil*), *Hoches-* DB beside *Haukes-* 1176 (*Haukr*), *Ros-* DB beside *Rauce-* 1202 (*Rauðr*). *au* is replaced by *o*, to which it has no etymological correspondence, in some of the oldest Scand loan-words in OE, e.g. *ōran* (*aurar*), *brýðlōp* (*brúðhlaup*) and it is most likely this replacement which is evidenced in the pers.n.s. quoted above, although some of the forms may just possibly indicate EScand monophthongisation (cf. above § 45). (ii) *au* is almost always replaced by *o* in the second els. of compound names, e.g. *Osgod* ante 1046 (*Asgautr*), *Turgot* DB (*Porgautr*), *Broclos* DB (*\*Bróklauss*). *o* in this position probably represents the Common Scand development of unstressed *au* to *o*, although English substitution of *o* may have taken place in some of the cases. There are hardly any exceptions in weakly stressed syllables. The form *Arlaugh-* 1301 (*Arnlaugr*) is both late and doubtful. The two instances of *Broclaus* (*\*Bróklauss*) probably indicate that there was equal stress on the two els. of the by.n.

[(i) Hofmann §§ 215.237; Brunner ES 276; (ii) BrNGG § 108]

### *ei*

§ 48. *ei* often appears as *ei* (possibly in some cases derived from Anglo-Scand *æi*, which is found once in *Æiric* DB (*Eiríkr*)) and in later sources as *ey* (with *y* for *i*, cf. above § 22), e.g. *Eiric* DB, *Steinware* 1202 (*Steinvör*), *Suein* c1180 (*Sveinn*), *Einer* 1202 (*Einarr*), *Fleynes-* 12th (*\*Fleins-*).

[Feilitzen § 38]

§ 49. *ei* is often represented by *ai* and in later sources by *ay* (with *y* for *i*, cf. above § 22), e.g. *Ailof* DB (*Eiláfr*), *Ainar* DB (*Einarr*), *Airic* H<sub>2</sub> (*Eiríkr*), *Colbain* 1202 (*Kolbeinn*), *Colswayn* 1227 (*Kolsveinn*). The forms in *ai* may either represent Anglo-Scand *æi* or be the result of AN interchange in orthography of *ai* / *ei*.

[Feilitzen § 38; Pope § 1223]

§ 50. *ei* is frequently represented by *e*, e.g. *Brez-* DB (*\*Breiðs-*), *Elaf* DB (*Eiláfr*), *Colsuen* DB (*Kolsveinn*), *Alger* ante 1150 (*Alfgeirr*). These forms are probably due to EScand monophthongisation of *ei* to *e*. This process began in ODan c900. They may alternatively, however, represent AN monophthongisation of *ai*, *ei* to *e* and in some cases the mainly WSax change of *æg*, *eg* to *ǣ*, *ē* before *n*, *d*. *ð*. The strong Dan influence in L and Y suggests that the phenomenon revealed here is most likely to be EScand in origin.

[Feilitzen § 39; Pope § 1223]



§ 51. In the second cl. *-steinn*, *ei* is occasionally represented by *i*, e.g. *Turstin* DB, *Torstinus* 1160–80 (*Þorsteinn*). These forms may reflect an EScand development of weakly stressed *ei* > *e* > *i*, which is recorded from c1000. The spelling probably came to England from Normandy, however, and may alternatively have arisen by association with the Lat ending *-inus*.

[Feilitzen § 40; H. Andersen NoB 24. 86; BrNGG § 145.2]

§ 52. *ei* is occasionally represented by *a*, e.g. *Algar* DB (*Alfgeirr*), *Stanchil* DB (*Steinketill*), *Colsuan* DB (*Kolsveinn*). These forms are usually due to the substitution of a cognate OE cl., e.g. *-gār*, *-stān*, *-swān*. Occasionally, however, *a* may represent Scand *ā* < PrimScand *ai* in unstressed positions, e.g. *Elaf* DB (*Eiláfr* beside *Eileifr*).

[Feilitzen §§ 41.150; BrNGG § 104.2]

#### *ey*

§ 53. *ey* (< *au* by *i*-mutation) coalesced in ME with *ai*, *ei* and is represented in several of the same ways as the Scand diphthong *ei*. (i) as *ei* and (with *y* for *i*) *ey*, e.g. *Leising* DB, *Leysinge-* DB (*Leysingr*), *Eimundre-* c.13.th (*\*Eymundar-*). (ii) as *ai* and (with *y* for *i*) *ay*, e.g. *Aiulf-* DB (*Eyjulfr*), *Aimundre-* DB (*\*Eymundar-*), *Laising* 12th, *Laysing-* c1180 (*Leysingr*). (iii) as *e*, e.g. *Lesing* DB. This form may be due to the AN monophthongisation of *ei* to *e* but more probably represents an anglicised *\*Lēsing* (WSax *Liesing*).

[Feilitzen § 43; Mossé § 32; (iii) Hofman § 203]

#### *ja, jø*

§ 54. WScand *ja*, *jø*, EScand *ia*, *io* (< *e* by diphthongisation) are represented by *e* except initially, e.g. (*ja*) *Sceldeuware* DB (*Skjaldvǫr*), *Sneles-* DB (*\*Snjals-*); (*jø*) *Erneber* DB (*Arnbjǫrn*), *Bernulf* DB (*Bjǫrnulfr*), *Chetelbern* DB (*Ketilbjǫrn*). This fact would seem to indicate that at the time of the borrowing of the names the original Scand diphthongs were still falling. The only apparent exception is *Theoke-* 1189 (*Þjokka*) and in this name *eo* probably represents an inverted spelling for *e*. Forms in *-bern-* may alternatively represent ME *bern* < OE *bēorn*. Note also that forms in *-bern* are found in Scandinavia.

[Feilitzen §§ 33.44; Brunner ES 277; A. S. Ross APHS 14. 1–10; BrNGG § 96; Nord. Kult. VII 102]

§ 55. WScand initial *ja*, *jø*, EScand initial *ia*, *io* (< *e* by diphthongisation) are almost always represented by *Ja-*, *Jo-* (or in later sources *Ya-*,

*Hja-* etc. for [ja]), e.g. *Jarpes-* 1201 (*Jarþr*), *Hjarles-* 13th, *Yiarls-* 14th (*Jarl*). Initial *Ja-* in the el. *járn* is treated in the same way, e.g. *Yarnolf-* 14th (*Járnulfr*). Hardly any exceptions to this rule have been discovered in the whole corpus of ME records but a possible instance is *Eure-* DB (? *Jofurr*). It would be unwise to form conclusions on the basis of such sparse and doubtful evidence and it is probably best to treat this form as an unexplained exception. B. Sandahl, however, suggests that the exception may represent a very old loan that was adopted into English at a period when the original Scand diphthong was still falling. This suggestion had previously been opposed by A. S. C. Ross.

[A. S. C. Ross APhS 14. 1–10; B. Sandahl *Studia Neophilologica* 36 ii 266–76]

### *jó, jú*

§ 56. WScand *jó, jú*, EScand *iū* (from PrimGerm *eu* and from *e* by diphthongisation and lengthening in compensation for a lost consonant) were identified with the OE diphthong *ēo* and in medial positions they share the native diphthong's development > *ē*, e.g. (*eu*) *Tedulf-* DB (*Þjóðulfr*; note, however, *Theodolf-* 1150 with survival of *eo* or *eo* as an inverted spelling for *ē* and *Tiedolf-* 1150 with AN *ie* for *ē* (cf. Pope § 1223), *Stepi* DB (*Stjúpi*), *Dreis-* DB (*Drjúgr*; with AN *ei* for *ē*), (orig *e*) *Waltef* DB (*Valþjófr*; but note *Walteif* DB, *Wallief* 1139–40 with AN *ei* and *ie* for *ē*), *Sendi* DB (*Sjúndi*).

[Feilitzen §§ 33.42; Brunner ES 276; B. Sandahl *Studia Neophilologica* 36 ii 266–76]

§ 57. WScand initial *jó*, EScand initial *iō, iū* (< *e* (i) by diphthongisation and compensatory lengthening and (ii) by *w*-mutation in the el. *Jó-* (*\*ehwar* > *\*ewr* > *\*eur* > *jór*)) usually remains (with *Y-* for *J-* in some later sources) e.g. (i) *Ioles-* DB, *Yol-* 13th (*Jólr*), *Ioluarð* 111th (*Jólvarðr*), *Joril* 1202 (*\*Jórhildir*), (ii) *Ioce* 1.H<sub>2</sub>, *Juc-* 13th (*Jóki*), *Justen* DB (*Jósteinn*). A possible exception is *Ires-* DB (*Jóarr*). For this exception cf. above § 55.

[Brunner ES 276; A. Kock *Svensk Ljudhistoria* II 310]

### *iv. Vowels in unstressed positions.*

§ 58. *ǎ, ǒ, ǔ* finally and in unstressed syllables are replaced by *e*, e.g. *Guede* DB (*Gyða*), *Fodre-* DB (*\*Fótar-*), *Gamel* DB (*Gamall*), *Lambecarl* DB (*\*Lambakarl*), *Saxle-* LiS (*\*Saksulf-*), *Azer* DB (*Atsurr*), *Hundel-* DB (*\*Hundulf-*). In the course of the 10th and 11th centuries

in England *ǣ*, *ǫ*, *ǔ* in these positions became a sound that was at first spelt variously and then *e*.

[Feilitzen §§ 2.45; Mossé § 35; Brunner Outline § 24]

§ 59. *e* before a consonant in final syllables is sometimes replaced by *i* or *y* from the 13th century onwards, e.g. *Gamil* 1202 (*Gamel* < *Gamall*), *Clachis*- c1240 (*\*Claches*- < *\*Klaks*-), *Gamillis*- 13th, *Goukis*- 1331. This change first took place in Northern dialects of ME but later became general.

[Mossé § 35n; Brunner Outline § 24 n.3]

§ 60. Final *e* is lost in trisyllabic names, e.g. *Alden* DB (Anglo-Scand *Healfdene* < *Halfdan*), *Morfar* DB (*\*Morfare* < *\*Morfari*). This loss begins to be effective in the e.ME period.

[Feilitzen § 48]

§ 61. Final *e* is also occasionally lost in disyllabic names. This loss cannot be due to phonetic development until the 13th century, when apocope took place in disyllabic words. For apparent instances in DB cf. below § 150. Later instances may possibly be due to apocope, however, e.g. *Bond* 1298 (*Bóndi*), *Bol* 13th (*Boli*).

[Feilitzen § 49]

§ 62. There is syncope of unstressed *e* in trisyllabic names and forms, e.g. *Hancthin* c1230–40 (also called *Anchetillus*), *Chetlebi* LiS (*\*Ketele-*), *Saxlebi* LiS (*\*Saxele-*), *Gunris* 1155 (*\*Gunne-*). In OE there was only syncope of *e* before liquids but in ME this process was extended to *e* before other consonants.

[Mossé § 39]

#### v. Inorganic vowels.

§ 63. Svarabhakti *e* was inserted medially between consonants by the Normans to avoid consonant combinations that were unfamiliar to them or particularly clumsy, e.g. (i) in groups of four consonants, *Arnebrand* DB, *Arnegrim* c1225, *Arengrimus* l.12th. (ii) in groups of three consonants, *Erneber* DB, *Hauwegrim* 1202 (*Hafgrímr*), *Colebrand* DB, *Thurestan* 13th–14th. (iii) in groups of two consonants, *Agemund* DB, *Sigherith* c1200, *Thoregot* 1202. (iv) Svarabhakti *e* also appears between a consonant and a liquid or nasal in a final syllable, *Fugell'* 1218–19 (*Fugl*), *Rauen* DB (*Rafn*). This is a normal ME development and is also found in e.Odan. (v) Svarabhakti *e* is occasionally found in initial consonant groups, *Chenut* DB (*Knútr*), *Selunges*- beside *Eslinges*- DB (*\*Slings-*), and probably *Seuen* DB (*Sveinn*). This is prob-

ably an AN device but note that a svarabhakti vowel appears occasionally between an initial consonant and *r* in Dan runic inscriptions.

[(i)–(iii) Feilitzen § 52; (iv) Mossé § 40; Brunner Outline § 26; BrNGG § 221; (v) Feilitzen § 51; BrNGG § 222.1]

§ 64. AN interchange of *e* and *a* accounts for the occasional use of *a* as a svarabhakti vowel, e.g. *Agamund* 13th, *Warage-* DB (*\*Vraga-*). [Feilitzen § 53]

§ 65. AN prosthetic *e* sometimes appears before initial *S* + consonant as an aid to pronunciation, e.g. *Escule* DB (*Skúli*), *Escume-* DB (*\*Skúma-*), *Esnelemt* beside *Sneleslunt* DB (*Snjallr*), *Estori* DB (*Stóri*), *Esturmi* l.12th (*Styrmir*). Conversely, *S-* is found for etymological *Es-* in *Sbern* DB (*Esbiorn*).

[Feilitzen § 51]

§ 66. Occasionally a final *e* is added as an AN supporting vowel after certain consonant groups, chiefly a consonant + liquid or nasal, e.g. *Turgisle* DB, *Gerneberne* DB (*Arnbjörn*), *Sberne* DB, *Rauene* DB.

[Feilitzen § 54]

#### vi. Consonants.

##### *v, w*

§ 67. *v* or *w* was still a bilabial in Scandinavia at the time of the adoption of Scand names and words into OE. In OE records it is always represented by *w* or the letter *wyn* and it shares the later fate of the OE sound. (i) Initially it is almost always found as *w*, e.g. *Waltef* DB (*Valþjófr*), *Westre* DB (*Vestarr*), *Widefare* 12th (*Viðfari*). Initial *w* is replaced by *Gu-* in some 15th-century transcripts, e.g. *Guimundi* beside *Wimundi* (*Vigmundr*). This is a Central Fr characteristic. (ii) Initially in the second els. of the names it regularly appears as *w*, e.g. *Herward-* 12th–14th (*\*Hervarð-*), *Steinwar'* 1202 (*Steinvor*), but in DB *u*, *uu* appear in this position, e.g. *Aluuold* (*Alfvaldr*), *Gunneuar* (*Gunnvor*). There is a single instance of *wyn* in *Alfwold* [963] 14th (*Alfvaldr*). For *wa* > *ō* see above § 5. (iii) *v* after a consonant (*u* in ODan) is represented by *u*, *uu* in DB, e.g. *Suaue* (*Sváfi*), *Suuarger* (*Svartgeirr*), *Suen*, *Suuen* (*Sveinn*), and generally by *w* or *u* but occasionally by *v* and twice by *wyn* in other sources, e.g. *Swaue* H<sub>2</sub>, *Swarger-* 1303, *Suanus* 1185, *Swein* 1202, *Svortebrand* 1206, and (*wyn*) *Merleswain* [c1050]? l.11th, *Swafa* [c1030] 14th. In this position *v*, *w*, *u* are occasionally replaced by *o*, e.g. *Soenus* [12th] 14th–15th (*Sveinn*). This is a Fr characteristic.

[Feilitzen § 55]

## l

§ 68. *l* usually remains, e.g. *Lambe* DB, *Ale* 1208, *Gamal* 11th.

§ 69. Ante-consonantal *l* is occasionally vocalised to *u*, e.g. *Haudein* beside *Haldan* 1202 (*Halfdan*), *Toroudo* C1140 (*Þóraldr*). This is an AN development.

[Feilitzen § 61]

§ 70. Ante-consonantal *l* is occasionally lost, e.g. *Roues-* DB (*\*Rólfs-*), *Torodes-* beside *Toroldes-* DB (*\*Þóralds-*), *Uues-* beside *Ulues-* DB (*\*Ulfs-*) *Rothof* beside *Rodulfi* 12th (*Róðulfr*). This development is probably due to AN influence. In the el. *Ulf-*, *-ulfr*, *l* was probably first vocalised to *u* (cf. above § 69) and then merged in the preceding *u*. Loss of *l* in *Turgis* DB (*-gisl*, *-gils*) is due to association with the Norman form *Turgis*, which had been influenced by the ContGerm el. *-gis*.

[Feilitzen § 64; Pope § 386]

§ 71. Final *l* is occasionally lost, e.g. *Turche* C1150 (*Þorkell*), *Stainke* H<sub>2</sub> (*Steinkell*), *Game* DB (*Gamel*) and *Scames-* DB beside *Skamelis-* 1202 (*\*Skammels-*), *Wiues-* DB (*\*Wiueles-* < *\*Vifils-*) This loss of *l* is presumably due to AN influence but there was also a ME tendency to drop final *l* in weakly stressed positions. The forms without *l* may alternatively be due to the scribes' mistakenly assuming that *-el* was a diminutive ending that could be dropped at will (cf. below § 153 iii).

[Feilitzen § 65]

§ 72. An inorganic final *l* appears in *Achil* H<sub>2</sub> (*Aki*). This form is almost certainly due to association with names in *-kil*, < *-ketill* but may possibly be connected with the Fr tendency to drop final *l* after *i*, although this is not safely evidenced until the 13th century.

[Feilitzen § 66]

§ 73. There is loss of medial *le*, *li* in *Sumerde-*, *Summerde*, *Summerdi* gen. DB (*Sumarliði*).

[Feilitzen p. 378]

## r

§ 74. *r* usually appears as *r*, e.g. *Ragenot* DB (*Ragni*), *Hermodes-* DB (*\*Hermóðs-*).

§ 75. (i) There are numerous instances of metathesis of *r*. This occurred more frequently in ME than in OE, partly as the result of the spread of instances which were confined to certain dialect areas in OE. Metathesis accounts for the forms such as *Osfyrð-* 1060 (*\*Ásfríð-*), *Asford*

DB (*Asfrøðr*), *Burne-* LiS beside *Brune-* DB (*\*Brúna-*), *Sigertha* 1208 (*Sigríðr*). (ii) There is also a group of names where the combination consonant + *er* becomes consonant + *re*, presumably as a result of the substitution by Norman scribes of a more familiar spelling. In OFr the combination consonant + *er* always became consonant + *re*. Instances recorded here include *Fodre-* DB (*\*Foter-* < *\*Fótar-*), *Gunres-* DB (*\*Guners-* < *\*Gunnars-*), *Ainre-* 12th (*\*Einer-* < *\*Einar-*), *Martre-* DB (*\*Marðar-*).

[Feilitzen § 67; Mossé § 48.1; Brunner Outline § 33n; ES 367]

§ 76. *rs* is occasionally reduced to *s*, e.g. *Kaschinge-*, *Chaschin-* DB (*\*Karska-*), *Tosteno* beside *Turstano* 1.12th (*Þorsteinn*). This change may be Scand, AN or ME.

[Feilitzen § 69; BrNGG § 335]

§ 77. There is dissimilatory loss of *r* in *Turued*, *Turuet* DB (*Þorfríðr*). This is probably due to AN influence, although there is some evidence for such a loss in ME.

[Feilitzen § 70]

§ 78. There are some instances of the addition of an inorganic *r*, *re*, e.g. *Scacher-* beside *Scache-* DB (*\*Skakka-*), *Tormord* DB (*Þormóðr*), and possibly *Berguluer* DB (*Bergulfr*), *Blacre* DB (*Blakkr*). The addition of inorganic *r*, *re* is probably due to AN influence, although in the last two instances *-er*, *-re* may represent the Scand nom. sg. masc. ending *-r* (cf. below § 144).

[Feilitzen § 71]

§ 79. *rl* is occasionally represented by *ll*. This may be the result of a development which took place in some dialects of ODan, particularly in Skåne. It may be due to assimilation or alternatively to the loss of *r* before a consonant, e.g. *Stillag' e.H<sub>2</sub>* (? *Styrlaugr*).

[BrNGG § 335.3]

### *m*

§ 80. *m* usually remains, e.g. *Mulo* DB (*Múli*), *Hundegrim* DB.

§ 81. *m* is sometimes replaced by *n* (i) finally after a vowel, e.g. *Ulgrin* DB (*Ulfgrimr*). This is an 11th-century Fr development. (ii) before *b*, e.g. *Lanbecarle* DB (*\*Lambakarli*), *Tunbi* beside *Tumbi* DB (*\*Tuma-*), *Stinble-* beside *Stimble-* DB (*\*Pymil-*). This is an AN orthographic feature. (iii) before *k*, e.g. *Grinchel* DB (*Grímketill*), *Scanchel* DB (*Skammketill*). This substitution may be due to the AN scribes, as ante-consonantal *m* was not found in OFr except in the combination *m* + labial. It may alternatively represent the OScand development *m* >

[ŋ] (written *n*) before a velar consonant. For the form *Gringkel* [c1200] 1330 (*Grímketill*) cf. below § 87.

[Feilitzen § 72; (iii) Noreen Aisl. Gr. § 258.1; BrNGG § 320.2]

§ 82. There is loss of *m* in *Holchetel* DB (*Holmketill*). This is due either to AN reduction of the consonant combination *lmk* to *lk*, or to the occasional OScand loss of interconsonantal *m*, particularly in the cl. *Holm-*.

[Feilitzen § 73; BrNGG § 371; Modéer Kalmar Tänkebok 96–97]

§ 83. Between *m* and *l* an inorganic *b* is inserted in *Stimble-* DB (*\*Timle-* < *\*Pymil-*). This development is regular in ME and OEScand.

[Brunner Outline § 35; Mossé § 50.3; BrNGG § 349]

*n*

§ 84. *n* usually remains, e.g. *Navene-* DB (*\*Nafna-*), *Ragenot* DB (*Ragni*).

§ 85. Occasionally the inverted spelling *m* for *n* occurs, presumably on account of the Fr change of final post-vocalic *m* to *n* (cf. above § 81 i), e.g. *Acum* DB (*Hákon*). The DB spelling *Humbi* (*\*Hundabý*) may also be an inverted spelling.

[Feilitzen § 74]

§ 86. There is loss of *n* (i) occasionally from *-ing*, e.g. *Hundic* DB (*Hundingr*), *Menig-* e.13th (*\*Menning-*). This is due to OE dissimilatory loss of *n* from the suffix *-ing*, when the preceding syllable contains *n*. (ii) frequently in interconsonantal positions, e.g. *Artor* DB (*Arnþórr*), *Argrim* H<sub>2</sub> (*Arngrímr*), *Archel* DB (*Arnketill*), *Arbern* l.12th (*Arnbjörn*), *Rauechil* DB (*Rafnketill*). Forms without *n* probably reflect the OScand loss of interconsonantal *n*, although a similar loss is found in OE and there was also an AN tendency to reduce clumsy consonant groups. (iii) occasionally finally after *r*, e.g. *Erneber* DB (*Arnbjörn*), *Grimber* DB (*Grímbjörn*), *Glunier* DB (Ir-Scand *Glúniairnn*). This loss is due to Romance loss of final *n* after *r* and results in confusion in DB between the els. *-bern* and ContGerm *-bert* (cf. § 104). (iv) occasionally in other positions, e.g. *Adrede-* beside *Andre-* DB (*\*Eindriða-*), *Ghermud-* LiS (*\*Geirmund-*), *Edes-* DB (*\*Heðins-*), *Stairgrim* DB (*Steingrímr*), *Hemmig* e.13th (*Hemingr*), *Leysig* [12th] 14th (*Leysingr*). In these cases loss of *n* cannot be explained on phonological grounds and is probably due to scribal omission of a nasal stroke.

[Feilitzen §§ 76.77.78]

§ 87. *n* is occasionally replaced by *ng*, e.g. *Gringkel* [c1200] c1330 (*Grimketill*) (with previous substitution of *n* for *m*, cf. above § 81). Before *g* and *k* in ME a guttural nasal was probably substituted for *n*. The spelling is almost always *n* but very occasionally the scribes attempt to indicate the guttural pronunciation by writing *ng*. Cf. also the Scand development referred to above § 81. For the form *Haldeng'* (*Halfdan*) see below § 90 ii.

[Brunner Outline § 34 n.1]

§ 88. An inorganic *n* appears in *Arnenger* DB (*Arngeirr*). This is probably the result of dittography.

[Feilitzen § 79]

§ 89. Between *n* and *r* an inorganic *d* is inserted in *Hundredes-* DB (*\*Hunrøðs-*). This development regularly takes place in ME.

[Mossé § 50.1]

#### *ng*

§ 90. (i) In the combination *ng* [ŋg] *g* is frequently unvoiced finally, e.g. *Haminc* DB (*Hemingr*), *Lesinc* DB (*Leysingr*), *Suartinc* DB (*Svertingr*). This is due to an OE development but the tendency was reinforced by AN practice. (ii) There are a few instances of AN sound-substitution of *-in* for *-ing*, e.g. *Basin* DB (*Basing*), *Hundin-* DB (*\*Hunding-*), *Suartin* DB (*Svertingr*). *Haldeng'* beside *Haldan* 1202 probably shows an inverted spelling *ng* for *n*.

[(i) Feilitzen § 80; (ii) Feilitzen § 81]

#### *p*

§ 91. *p* usually remains, e.g. *Pa* 13th (*Pái*), *Plochswain* e.13th (*Plóg-sveinn*).

§ 92. *pt* is represented by *ft* in *Cheftes-* DB (*\*Kepts-*). A similar development is recorded in Scand sources.

[Bandle § 100b; BrNGG § 300]

§ 93. *p* is lost (i) before *ts* in *Chez-* LiS (*\*Chets-* < *\*Kepts*). (ii) before *s* in *Clis-* DB (*\*Clips-* < *\*Klypps-*), *Cles-* DB (*\*Cleps-* < *\*Klepps-*). Cf. the loss of *p* before *s* in a 1.14th-century Dan source *Glostorp* beside *Glopstorp*, and *Iersyæ* (whose first el. is the gen. of the pers.n. *Iarp*).

[J. Kousgård Sørensen RJ 244-45]

#### *b*

§ 94. *b* usually remains, e.g. *Bleik* 13th-14th, *Erneber* DB (*Arnbjörn*).



## f

§ 95. *f* remains (i) always initially, e.g. *Fargrim* DB, *Fegge* 1142, *Fin* DB, *Fliches-* DB (\**Fliks-* or \**Flikks-*). (ii) generally medially between consonants, e.g. *Torulfbi* DB (\**Þóruulf-*). (iii) generally in final position, e.g. *Turulf* DB, *Waltef* DB (*Valþjófr*). (iv) regularly initially in second els. other than metathesised forms of *-friðr*, *-frøðr*, e.g. *Sæfugalasuna* 111th, *Turfin* DB, *Dolfin* DB, *Blafote-* 1163 (\**Bláfót-*), *Ingefrid* DB, *Scelfride* DB (*Skjaldfriðr*), *Romfar* c1150 (*Rómfari*). (v) initially in metathesised forms of *-friðr*, *-frøðr* after voiceless consonants, e.g. *Osfyrð-* 1060, *Asferth* 1142 (*Ásfríðr*), *Asfort* DB (*Ásfrøðr*), *Gunford-* DB (\**Gunnfrøð-*). (vi) irregularly initially in metathesised forms of *-friðr*, *-frøðr* after a vowel or a voiced consonant in *Siford* 1185 (*Sigfrøðr*), *Þorferth* 1215 (*Þorfríðr*) (cf. below § 96i and ii). (vii) irregularly between a vowel and a voiced consonant in *Wifle-* DB (\**Vífla-*). This is probably an instance of retention of a traditional Scand spelling.

[Feilitzen § 84]

§ 96. *f* is represented by *v*, *u* (i) medially between vowels, e.g. *Hauegrim* 1202 (*Hafgrímr*), *Sauari* 1202 (*Sáfari*) (but cf. above § 95iv), *Sonneue* DB (*Sunnifa*), *Godeuert* DB (*Guðfriðr*), *Siuert* DB (*Sigfríðr*), *Guua* 1202 (*Gufa*), *Stauenilde* [c1200] c1330 (*Stafnhíldr*). (ii) medially between a vowel and a voiced consonant, e.g. *Turolvebi* DB (\**Þóruulf-*), *Chiluert* DB (*Ketilfríðr*), *Toruert* DB (*Þorfríðr*). The voicing of *f* in these positions took place in both O and ME but it could not be indicated in the spelling in OE. In ME sources the resulting voiced spirant is generally written *u* or *v*. (iii) irregularly medially between a vowel and voiceless consonant once in *Asuert* DB (apparently *Ásfrøðr*). (iv) finally in *Walteu* DB (*Valþjófr*). This irregular form is probably due to analogy with the oblique cases of anglicised *Wælpēof*, which are apparently also responsible for the latinised forms of this name in *-eus*, *-eui*, *-euo* etc.

[(i)-(ii) Feilitzen §§ 85.87; Mossé § 44.2; Brunner Outline § 36; (iv) Feilitzen § 89]

§ 97. *f* is occasionally represented by *ph*, e.g. *Riolphus* l.12th (\**Riulfr*), *Rumpharus* l.12th (\**Rómfari*), *Staphnes-* H<sub>2</sub> (\**Stafns-*), *Vlphus* c1150 (*Ulfr*). This characteristic is derived from MedLat orthography.

§ 98. *fs* develops regularly to *ps* in *Copsi* DB and later, beside *Cofsi* (once) DB (*Kofsi*). This change may be either Scand or OE.

[Feilitzen § 90]

§ 99. There are some instances of assimilation of *fn* [bn] > *mn* > *m(m)*, e.g. *Ram* DB (*Rafn*), *Ramechil* DB and *Ranchil* DB (with *n* for *m*, cf. above § 81) (*Rafnketill*). This is an OE development.

[Feilitzen § 91]

§ 100. *f* is lost (i) regularly medially between consonants, e.g. *Healþene* c1066, *Aldene* DB, *Haldan* 12th (*Halfdan*), *Algar* DB (*Alfgeirr*), *Calsuad* DB (*\*Kalfs-*), *Frostolcroft* 13th (*\*Frostulf-*). This loss generally took place in OE and the tendency was encouraged in DB and ME sources by the AN dislike of heavy consonant combinations. Note, however, that the instances in question may alternatively represent OScand loss of interconsonantal *f* after *l*. (ii) occasionally finally after *l*, e.g. *Asul* DB (*Asulfr*), *Torul* DB (*Þórulfr*). This is a Romance development. Note also the inverted spellings *lf* for *l* in *Unchelfs-* DB (*\*Unnkels-*), *Selecolf* DB (*\*Selakollr*), *Sortcolf* DB (*Svartkollr*). These spellings may alternatively have been prompted by association with the common name el. *-ulfr*. (iii) medially in *Stutun(e)* DB beside *Stouetun* DB (*\*Stúf-*), *Suabi* DB (*\*Sváfa-*).

[Feilitzen §§ 92.94.95; BrNGG § 377]

*t*

§ 101. *t* normally remains (i) initially, e.g. *Toui* DB (*Tófi*), *Tosti* DB, *Trig* 1202 (*Tryggr*). (ii) medially, e.g. *Chetel* DB (*Ketill*), *Fotes-* 1183 (*\*Fóts-*). (iii) finally, e.g. *Ansgot* DB (*Ásgautr*), *Siuat* H<sub>2</sub> (*Sighvatr*).

§ 102. *t* is occasionally replaced by *th* (i) initially, e.g. *Thocche* 12th (*Tóki*), *Thole* DB (*Tóli*). (ii) medially, e.g. *Holmchethel* DB (*Holmketill*), *Siwathe* 1201 (*\*Sighvati*). (iii) finally, e.g. *Cnuth* [12th] 14th-15th (*Knútr*), *Wigoth* 12th (*Vígautr*). Substitution of *th* for *t* is the result of AN orthographical interchange between the symbols *th* and *t* for etymological *t*.

[Feilitzen § 96]

§ 103. *t* is replaced by *d* (i) often finally, e.g. *Cnud* DB (*Knútr*), *Osgod* 111th (*Ásgautr*), *Wigod* DB (*Vígautr*), *Rauensuard* DB (*Rafnsvatr*), *Fod* c1300 (*Fótr*), and occasionally at the end of the first el., e.g. *Suardcol* DB (*Svartkollr*). This is an AN inverted spelling reflecting OFr unvoicing of final *d* (cf. below § 107). Forms in *-god* < *-got* < *-gautr*, however, may alternatively be due to association with the common OE name el. *-god*. (ii) occasionally medially, e.g. *Fodre-* DB (*\*Fótar-*), *Cade-* DB (*\*Kata-*), *Snardes-* DB (*Snqrtr*). In these instances *d* for *t* is probably merely the result of AN orthographic confusion.

[Feilitzen § 97]

§ 104. *t* is lost (i) occasionally medially between consonants, e.g. *Suuar-ger* DB (*Svartgeirr*), *Swarhoved-* 12th (*\*Svarthǫfða-*). This loss may be OE, AN or Scand. (ii) medially between vowels in *Strubi* DB beside *Strutebi* LiS (*\*Strút-*). (iii) occasionally finally after *r*, e.g. *Rauensuar* DB (*Rafnsvartr*), and possibly *Turber* DB (hybrid *\*Porbert*), *Chetelber* DB (hybrid *\*Ketilbert*), although the latter instances may derive from *-bern* < *-bjǫrn* (cf. above § 86). Loss of final *t* after a consonant is due to AN influence. Note, also, the occasional addition of an excrescent final *t*, e.g. *Rolft* DB (*Róðulfr*), *Siuargert* DB (*Svartgeirr*).

[(i) Feilitzen § 99; (iii) Feilitzen §§ 100.101]

§ 105. *ts* (i) very occasionally appears as *ts*, e.g. *Fots-* 1248 (*\*Fóts-*). (ii) is regularly represented by *z*, e.g. *Azor* DB (*Atsurr*), *Asgoz-* DB (*\*Asgauts-*), *Foz-* DB (*\*Fóts-*), *Chez-* DB (*\*Kepts-*), *Wiz-* DB (*\*Hvíts-*), *Luz-* DB (*\*Lúts-*). Cf. also *Truzs-* DB (*\*Trúts-*). This representation of *ts* by *z* is in accordance with MedLat orthography. (iii) is occasionally represented by *c*, e.g. *Acer* 13th (*Atsurr*), *Rauce-* 1145–48 (*\*Rauts-* < *\*Rauðs-*) (cf. below § 117), *Wince-* LiS (*\*Wints-* < *\*Vinds*) (cf. below § 107). AN scribes used the letter *c* before *e* and *i* not only to represent [k] but also with the value [ts]. Note, also, the Lat form *Acerus* of *Atsurr* (*\*Antswarur*) in Dan sources, where *c* must originally have represented [ts]. (iv) is occasionally represented by *sc(e)*, e.g. *Aschur* H<sub>2</sub> (*Atsurr*), *Kesce-* 12th (*\*Kepts-*), *Fosce-* 1280 (*\*Fóts-*). *sce* is a regular spelling for [ts] in ME but note that in Dan sources a spelling *Ascerus* for *Atsurr* is found from the 11th century onwards and later becomes the dominant form. This spelling is probably due to Dan assimilation of *ts* to *ss* (cf. below). (v) is occasionally represented by *s*, e.g. *Aser-* DB (*\*Atsur-*), *Fos-* DB (*\*Fóts-*), *Knous-* 1327 (*\*Knúts-*). These spellings may be due to AN reduction of *ts* to *s* (a development which was in process at the time of the compilation of DB) or they may represent ME or ODan assimilation of *ts* to *ss*.

[(i)-(ii) Feilitzen § 98; (iii) Mossé § 12; (iii)-(iv) DgP 90; (v) Feilitzen § 98; BrNGG § 338.3]

### *d*

§ 106. *d* remains (i) regularly initially, e.g. *Dolfin* DB, *Dragmal-* DB. (ii) medially, e.g. *Sindi* DB, *Brandulf* DB. (iii) finally, e.g. *Brand* DB, *Turold* DB.

§ 107. *d* is sometimes replaced by *t* (i) finally a) after *n*, e.g. *Gudmunt* DB, *Sortebrant* DB (*Svartbrandr*); b) after *l*, e.g. *Gunnilt* H<sub>2</sub> (*Gunn-*

*hildr*). These instances of *d* for *t* are probably due to AN influence but there was a tendency in OE for *d* to become *t* in unstressed positions, especially after *n*, *r*, *l*. There was also unvoicing of *d* after these consonants in stressed syllables, at least in the WM dialects of ME and possibly at an earlier period and over a more widespread area than this, so the development may well be English. (ii) medially a) after *r* in *Summerte-* beside *Sumerde-* DB (*Sumarliði*); b) after *l* in *Haltein* 1202 (*\*Halden* < *Halfdan*). Cf. the ME development referred to above. (iii) when followed by a voiceless consonant, e.g. *Haze-* DB (*\*Hats-* < *\*Hadds-*) (cf. above § 105), *Winze-* DB (*\*Wints-* < *\*Vinds-*). This is an OE and EScand development.

[(i) Feilitzen § 102.2; Brunner Outline § 35; Mossé § 45.3; (iii) Wright § 300; BrNGG § 288.2]

§ 108. *d* is sometimes lost (i) finally a) after *n*, e.g. *Salmon-* LiS (*\*Salmund-*); b) after *r*, this loss is not instanced in the material examined but cf. the inverted spellings *Yward* 1200 (*Ivarr*), *Rumfard* 1202 beside *Rumfar*; c) after *l*, e.g. *Raghenil-* LiS (*\*Ragnhild-*), *Gunell'* 1202 (*Gunnhildr*), *Joril* 1202 (*\*Jórhildr*) (cf. also the inverted spelling *Alkild* [12th] 14th-15th (*Alfkell*)). The loss of *d* in these positions is probably to be ascribed to AN influence (with assimilation of *ld* to *ll* in Lat forms of *-hildr*). (ii) interconsonantly a) after *n*, e.g. *Germuntorp* DB (*\*Geirmund-*), *Hunbia* beside *Hundebi* DB, *Monbi* LiS beside *Munde-bi* DB; b) after *l* in *Scelfride* DB (*Skjaldfríðr*). This loss is probably to be ascribed to AN influence but may occasionally be due to OE assimilation and reduction.

[Feilitzen § 103]

### *þ*

§ 109. *þ* occasionally survives in the pre-Conquest sources (i) initially, e.g. *Þored*, *Þureð* 10th, *Þurulfes-* [972] 11th, *Þór* 11th, *Þorcel* 11th, *Þurgod* [c1055] l.12th. (ii) initially in the second el. in *Arþor* 11th (*Arnþórr*). Cf. also the etymologically incorrect use of *þ* for *d* in *Healþene* c1066 (Anglo-Scand *Healþdene* < *Halfdan*).

§ 110. *þ* is occasionally replaced by *Ð*, *ð* (i) initially, e.g. *Ðoroldus* 1051, *Ðurstan* 1119. (ii) initially in the second el., e.g. *Farðain* 11th (*Farþegn*), *Berhðor* 11th (*Berghórr*). In initial position *Ð* probably represents l.OE (Southern) voicing of initial *þ*, while initially in the second el., *ð* may represent Scand voicing of the initial *þ* of weakly stressed second els. of compounds after a vowel or voiced consonant, or OE voicing of *þ* medially between a vowel and a voiced consonant. It

may alternatively, however, simply be a ME orthographic variant and not indicate a voiced pronunciation.

[Feilitzen §§ 105.106; Mossé § 44; Noreen Aisl.Gr. § 221.1; BrNGG § 236 n.1; Brunner Outline § 36]

§ 111. *þ* is sometimes replaced by *th* (i) initially, e.g. *Thorald* DB, *Thorbrand* 1142–43, *Thurkil* 12th, (ii) initially in the second el., e.g. *Farthain* 1.12th, *Waltheſ* H<sub>2</sub>, *Berthor'* 1202. *th* occurs sporadically throughout the OE period as a spelling for *þ*, but when it is employed by AN scribes, it is probably as a spelling for [t] (cf. above § 102).

[Feilitzen § 105]

§ 112. *þ* is regularly replaced by *t* (i) initially, e.g. *Torald* DB, *Turchil* DB, *Turstan* DB. (ii) initially in the second el., e.g. *Walteſ* DB, *Artor* DB, *Bertor* DB. For the unfamiliar initial *þ* the Normans substituted the pronunciation [t] and this sound is generally rendered *t* in post-Conquest sources.

[Feilitzen § 105]

§ 113. *þ* is occasionally replaced by *d* (i) initially, e.g. *Durilde-* c1205, *Durkel-* 1220–60. (ii) at the beginning of the second el., e.g. *Fardan* DB (*Farþegn*), *Waldef* 12th. *D*, *d* in these spellings probably represents an AN substitution of *d* for *ð*. In initial position this may be either simply the result of orthographic confusion or else due to southern OE voicing but initially in the second el. *d* may be due to Scand voicing of initial *þ* in the weakly stressed second el. of compounds after a vowel or voiced consonant, or to OE voicing of *þ* between a vowel and a voiced consonant.

[Feilitzen §§ 105.106; Mossé § 44; Noreen Aisl.Gr § 221.1; BrNGG §§ 236 n.1, 287.1; Brunner Outline § 36]

§ 114. *lþ* > *lð* (represented by *ld*) in some forms of *Valþjófr* (cf. above § 113). *lð* is assimilated to *ll* in e.g. *Walleſ* DB. This assimilation is probably to be ascribed to Romance influence.

[Feilitzen § 109]

### ð

§ 115. *ð* survives occasionally, mainly in the oldest documents (i) medially, e.g. *Auðcetel* 11th, *Scarðe-* c1200 (*\*Skarða-*), *Scuðer-* 1176 (*\*Skuaðra-*). (ii) finally in *Barað* 11th (*Bárðr*).

§ 116. *ð* is represented by *d* (i) generally medially between vowels, e.g. *Guede* DB (*Gyða*), *Oudon* DB (*Auðunn*), *Godeuert* DB (*Guðfriðr*),

*Godrida* DB (*Guðríðr*), *Fader* [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 (*Faðir*). (ii) generally medially after a consonant, e.g. *Bardi* DB. (iii) regularly medially before a consonant, e.g. *Godrida* DB (*Guðríðr*), *Auidid* DB, *Rodmund* DB. (iv) generally finally, e.g. *Bared* DB (*Bárðr*), *Guerd* DB (*Gyrðr*), *Turuerd* DB (*Þorfríðr*). The pronunciation [ð] between vowels and before liquids, although it was beginning to die out, was still familiar to the Normans at the end of the 11th century but it is possible that a plosive [d] was sometimes substituted for this [ð]. Before a consonant other than *r* or *l*, and later before them, too, the pronunciation was probably [d] or [t] by AN sound-substitution or possibly in some cases by a ME development of [ð] to [d] before non-syllabic *m*, *n*, *r*, *l*. In final position the AN pronunciation of *ð* was, probably in most cases and certainly after consonants, [t] so that *d* in this position most probably represents an inverted spelling for *t* (cf. above § 103).

[Feilitzen §§ 107.108; Brunner ES 379; Outline § 36; Mossé § 51]

§ 117. *ð* is represented by *t* (i) occasionally medially between vowels, e.g. *Gutteworth-* 12th-14th (for *tt* for *t* cf. below § 142) (*\*Guðvarð-*), *Autolf* [12th] 15th (*Auðulfr*). (ii) frequently medially before a consonant, e.g. *Autbert* DB (*Auðbjörn*), *Outgrim* DB (*Auðgrímr*), *Gutred* H<sub>2</sub> (*Guðríðr*), *Autchil* [12th] 15th (*Auðketill*). (iii) frequently finally, e.g. *Guert* DB (*Gyrðr*), *Baret* DB (*Bárðr*), *Asfort* DB (*Ásfrøðr*). In all these positions *t* probably represents the AN pronunciation [t] (cf. above § 116).

[Feilitzen §§ 107.108]

§ 118. *ð* is represented by *th* (i) occasionally medially between vowels, e.g. *Rothof* c1155-66 (*Róðulfr*), *Authulues-* c1160, *Outhen* 1204-09 (*Auðun*), *Githe* e.13th (*Gyða*), *Godrithe* [12th] 13th-14th (*Guðríðr*). (ii) medially after a consonant in *Girthe* 12th-14th (*Gyrðr*). (iii) medially before a consonant, e.g. *Authgrim* [12th] 14th, *Othman* [12th] 14th-15th (*Auðmann*). (iv) finally in *Asferth* 1142 (*Ásfríðr*), *Bareth* 12th (*Bárðr*), *Thorferth* 1215 (*Þorfríðr*). Instances of *th* medially between vowels and before liquids in DB may represent a pronunciation [ð] (cf. above § 116) but in other positions and later sources *th* must represent an inverted spelling for *t* (cf. above § 102).

§ 119. *ð* is very occasionally represented by *dh* (i) medially, e.g. *Audhild'* 1208, *Reythes-* 1246 (*\*Reiðs-*), *Lodhen-* 13th (*\*Lodin-*). (ii) finally, e.g. *Widh* 12th (*Viðr*). *dh* is probably a compromise spelling.

[Zachrisson ANI 115-16]

§ 120. *ð* is sometimes lost (i) intervocalically, e.g. *Oune* DB (*Auðunn*), *Greibi* DB (*\*Greiða-*), *Reresbi* DB (*\*Reiðars-*), *Endrebi* DB (*\*Eindriða-*). This loss probably reflects an OFr sound development but *Oun-* may show a Scand development. (ii) a) before *r*, e.g. *Guret* DB (*Guðriðr*). This loss is due to an OFr sound development; b) before other consonants, e.g. *Wifre-* DB (*\*Viðfara-*), *Friguist* DB (*Friðgestr*), *Ougrim* c1150 (*Auðgrímr*), *Sceiman* 12th (*Skeiðmann*), *Aumundus* 1185 (*Auðmundr*), *Augero* [12th] c1400 (*Auðgeirr*). This loss is also probably due to Romance influence. (iii) finally after *r*, e.g. *Turuer* DB (*Þorfríðr*), *Siwar* 12th (*Sigvarðr*). This is an AN feature.

[(i) Feilitzen § 109; Pope §§ 347.1176; Björkman NoB 1. 94;

(ii) Pope § 372; Feilitzen § 109; (iii) Feilitzen § 110]

§ 121. *ð* before *s* is unvoiced to *t*, or *ð* is simply replaced by *t* (cf. above § 117). The subsequent [ts] can be represented by *z*, *c*, *sce*, *s* (cf. above § 105), e.g. *Roze-* DB, *Rauce-* 1202, *Rosce-* DB, *Ros-* DB (all *\*Rauðs-*).

## s

§ 122. *s* generally remains, e.g. *Siuuard* DB, *Asger* DB, *Blese-* DB.

§ 123. *s* is perhaps once represented by *z* in *Azgr'* 1195 (? = *Asgeirr*). *s* > *z* in both OE and ME medially between two voiced sounds but this development is not usually indicated in the orthography and *z* here is probably simply an inverted spelling (*ts* is occasionally represented by *s*, cf. above § 105v).

[Mossé § 44.2; Brunner Outline § 37.A]

§ 124. Initial *s* is occasionally lost before (i) *c* < *k*, e.g. *Codre-* DB beside *Scuðer-* 1176 (*\*Skvaðra-*); (ii) *t*. No instance is recorded in the material examined but there is an inverted spelling with inorganic *S-* before *t* in *Stimble-* DB (*Pymill*). This loss of initial *S-* is AN.

[Feilitzen § 112; Zachrisson ANI 67–68]

## k

§ 125. *k*, which was not completely strange to OE and OFr, remains (i) often before front vowels, e.g. *Ketel* DB, *Kille* 1185, *Skeitheman* 1202, *Skythe-* 12th (*\*Skiða-*), *Turkellus*, *Turkil* H<sub>2</sub>. (ii) occasionally before back vowels, e.g. *Kal-* 1150 (*\*Kala-*), *Kare* [H<sub>2</sub>] 1407 (*Kári*), *Kole-* DB (*\*Kol(l)a-*), *Hakun* [H<sub>2</sub>] 1407, *Skalle* 1218–19, *Skoketin* 1218–19 (*\*Skógketill*), *Skurue-* DB (*\*Skurfu-*). (iii) very rarely be-

fore consonants, e.g. *Knag* 1185, *Knot* 1202 (*Knútr*). (iv) very rarely finally, e.g. *Clak* [H<sub>2</sub>] 1411.

[Feilitzen § 118]

§ 126. *k* is represented by *ch* (i) regularly before front vowels, e.g. *Chetel* DB (*Ketill*), *Chise-* DB (*\*Kisa-*), *Schege-* 12th (*\*Skegga-*) *Archel*, *Archil* DB (*Arnketill*), *Wichinge-* DB (*\*Viking-*). (ii) occasionally before back-vowels, e.g. *Chaschin-* DB (*\*Karska-*). (iii) regularly finally after *i*, e.g. *Arich* DB (*Eiríkr*). The spelling *ch* normally represents a pronunciation [tʃ] but Scand loan-words generally retained the pronunciation [k].

[Feilitzen §§ 113.115.116.125; Brunner Outline § 38]

§ 127. *k* is represented by *c* (i) regularly before back-vowels, e.g. *Carle* DB (*Karli*), *Colgrim* DB (*Kolgrímr*), *Hacun* DB (*Hákon*), *Scalle-* DB (*\*Skalla-*), *Scameles-* DB (*\*Skammels-*), *Scule* DB (*Skúli*), *Escume-* DB (*\*Skúmu-*). (ii) regularly before a consonant, e.g. *Broclos* DB (*\*Bróklauss*), *Hardecnut* DB (*Harðaknútr*), *Croc* 12th (*Krókr*). (iii) regularly finally except after *i*, e.g. *Aslac* DB, *Croc* 12th. (iv) exceptionally before front vowels, e.g. *Anscetil* LiS, *Auce* 1202, and fairly frequently in the combination *sc* before front vowels, e.g. *Scegge-* 12th, *Sceldeuware* DB (*Skjaldvǫr*), *Asce* 1202. It is possible that these spellings in *sc* reflect anglicisation of *sk* to [ʃ]. (v) exceptionally finally after *i*, e.g. *Eiric* DB.

[Feilitzen §§ 114.115.116.125; Brunner Outline § 38]

§ 128. *k* is also occasionally represented by (i) *cch*, e.g. *Acche* e.H<sub>2</sub> (*Aki*), *Hacche* 12th (*Aki* or *Haki*), *Thocche* 12th (*Tóki*). *cch* is an AN orthographic variant of *ch*. (ii) *cc*, e.g. *Acca* H<sub>2</sub>, *Tocca* H<sub>2</sub>. The spelling *cc* probably indicates English influence. (iii) *ck*, e.g. *Hancketillo* 13th (*Asketill*), *Acke* 1219. (iv) *qu*, e.g. *Anquetillo* 1163. *qu* for *k* is an AN inverted spelling due to the OFr reduction of *qu* [kw] to *k*.

[Feilitzen §§ 117.118]

§ 129. The voiceless plosive *k* is occasionally replaced by the voiced plosive *g*, e.g. *Wighinges-* DB (*\*Vikings-*), *Getelli* e.13th (*Ketill*). The first instance is probably due to AN interchange of *k* and *g* but initial *G-* for *C-* (< *K-*) may rather be a scribal error, as the two capital letters resembled each other.

[Feilitzen § 119]

§ 130. *ks* (i) is regularly represented by *x*, e.g. *Roxe-* DB (*\*Róks-*), *Haxe-* LiS (*\*Háks-*), *Kex-* 12th (*\*Keiks-*) and once by *xs* in *Saxse-*



LiS (\**Saksa*-). (ii) is metathesised to *sk* in *Rosce*- DB (\**Róks*-). This is a ME development. (iii) is reduced to *s*(*s*) in *Sasse*- DB (\**Saksa*-), *Cheis*- LiS (\**Keiks*-). This substitution of *s* for *ks* is AN.

[Mossé § 48.2; Zachrisson ANI 10]

§ 131. *Sk*- is replaced by *S*- in *Seldwar'*, *Seldwar* [c1200] 13th and 14th (*Skjaldvgr*), *Ase*- beside *Asche*- LiS (\**Aska*-). At the time of the Conquest the Normans had no sound corresponding to OE *sc* [ʃ] and they substituted for this [s], represented by *s*, *ss*, *sc*. Occasionally, as here, one of these AN spellings seems to represent orig Scand [sk] which must previously have undergone anglicisation to [ʃ].

[Feilitzen § 125]

*g*

§ 132. *g* remains (i) generally initially, e.g. *Gamel* DB, *Gille* H<sub>2</sub>, *Grimchil* DB. (ii) generally medially between vowels, e.g. *Scage*- DB, *Stiges*-DB. (iii) generally between a back-vowel and a consonant, e.g. *Agmundus* c1150. (iv) occasionally after *i* in the els. *Sig*-, *Víg*-, e.g. *Sigreth* 12th (*Sigrðr*), *Wiglac* DB (*Vigleikr*).

§ 133. *g* is sometimes represented by *gh* (to indicate the pronunciation [g]) before front vowels, e.g. *Aghemundi* c1150, *Asgher* 13th, *Helghe*- 1212, *Ghermud*- LiS (\**Geirmund*-), and occasionally in other positions, e.g. *Ligholf* 13th (*Ligulfr*). This is in accordance with Northern Fr usage.

[Feilitzen § 126; Pope § 701]

§ 134. *g* is sometimes represented by *gu* (to indicate the pronunciation [g]) before front vowels, e.g. *Friguist* DB (*Friðgestr*), *Guede* DB (*Gyða*), *Guert* DB (*Gyrðr*). *gu* is a Fr spelling for *g*. It came into use after the reduction of OFr *gu* to *g* in the 11th century.

[Feilitzen § 127; Pope § 701]

§ 135. *g* is occasionally replaced by *c*, *ch*, *h*, *x*, (i) initially in *Cheueles*-DB (\**Gjofuls*- or \**Gjafvalds*-). This substitution is probably due to scribal error, since capital *C* and *G* resembled each other in DB MSS, but may alternatively reflect AN interchange of *g* and *k*. (ii) medially between vowels, e.g. *Rahenilda* 13th–14th (*Ragnhildr*). (iii) finally, e.g. *Sictric* l.H<sub>2</sub> (*Sigtryggr*), *Blíh* 11th (*Blígr*). (iv) before consonants, e.g. *Acmundi* c1160, *Hacberd*- DB (\**Hagbarð*-), *Sictric* l.H<sub>2</sub>, *Berhðor* 11th (*Bergþórr*), *Ploxman* 1407 (*Plógmann*), *Plochswain* e.13th (*Plógsveinn*). The various spellings in these instances may indicate OE

unvoicing of *g* [ɣ] to [χ] but some of the spellings in *c(h)* may simply represent AN interchange of *k* and *g*.

[Feilitzen §§ 128.129.133]

§ 136. *g* is lost (i) sometimes between consonants, e.g. *Bertor* DB (*Bergþórr*), *Dolfin* DB (*Dólgfinnr*), *Heluic* beside *Helguic* DB (*\*Helga-*). This loss is probably OScand but may reflect the OE development *g* > [χ] and is subsequently lost. (ii) from the el. *Fugl-*, *-fugl*, e.g. *Sumerful* DB (*Sumarfulgl*), *Ful-* beside *Fugeles-* DB, *Fuls-* 13th beside *Fugheles-* 14th. Loss of *g* in this el. may either be due to AN reduction of the consonant group *gl* or reflect the sporadic OE change of *g* > *w* after *u*, which may have taken place in anglicised *-fugel* > *-fuwel* > *fūl*. (iii) regularly from the combination *ig*, which is reduced to *ī* and subsequently shortened to *ī* in weakly stressed positions, e.g. *Bli-* DB (*\*Blíg-*), *Siuert* DB (*Sigfriðr*), *Simund* 12th (*Sigmundr*), *Wimund* DB (*Vigmundr*). This is probably an OE development but may alternatively be Scand.

[(i) Noreen Aisl. Gr. § 291.5; Feilitzen § 130; (ii) Feilitzen § 130; (iii) Feilitzen § 133; BrNGG §§ 263, 392.1]

§ 137. *g* is occasionally vocalised (i) medially after a back-vowel to *u* to form a diphthong with the preceding vowel or, in the case of *ug*, to become *ū*, e.g. *Wrauby* 1344 (*\*Vraga-*), *Aumundi* beside *Agmundi* 13th (*\*Agemundi* < *Agmundr*), and cf. the discussion in § 136 of the development *-fūl* < *-fugl*. Vocalisation of *g* after a back vowel may be either Scand or l.OE or ME. (ii) after a front vowel to *i* to form a diphthong with the preceding vowel in three names which would seem to have been anglicised before undergoing this sound-change, namely *Farðain* 11th (probably anglicised *\*Farþegen* from *Farþegn*), *Keteldais-* c1200 (probably anglicised *\*Keteldæg* from *\*Ketildagr*), *Slei* 1219 (probably anglicised *Sleg* from *Sløgr*, cf. above § 44). *Farðain* may be compared with *Farthein* found on Dan coins. This form is taken by Brøndum-Nielsen to be an early instance of the Dan development *gh* > *i* after a front vowel but Hald prefers to interpret it as deriving from the Danelaw and showing the ME development.

[(i) BrNGG § 309.2, 392.2; Mossé §§ 31.3, 46.3; (ii) Feilitzen § 132; Mossé § 31.1; Brunner ES 258; BrNGG § 309.1; Hald Om Personnavnene 186]

§ 138. *gs* is represented by *x* in *Sixten-* DB (*\*Sigsteinn*).

## h

§ 139. *h* normally remains initially before vowels, e.g. *Harold* DB, *Hamundo* H<sub>2</sub>.

§ 140. *h* is lost (i) occasionally in initial position before vowels, e.g. *Altene* DB (*Halfdan*), *Ardegrip* DB (*Harðgrípr*), *Elge-* DB (*\*Helga-*), *Emming* 13th (*Hemingr*). This incorrect omission of *H-* must be the work of AN scribes, as in OE and ME initial *H-* normally remains before vowels. The AN scribes sometimes added an inorganic initial *H-*, e.g. *Hanke* l.12th (*Anki*), *Harchel-* 12th (*\*Arnketil-*), *Hyn golf* c1150 (*Ingulfr*), *Hulftketel* 1197. (ii) always in initial position before *l*, *r*, except in *Hrowald* [958] 14th, e.g. *Lopin-* DB (*\*(H)lauping-*), *Redulfr* DB (*(H)reiðulfr*), *Ringolf* l.12th (*(H)ringulfr*), *Roald* H<sub>2</sub> (*(H)róaldr*). There are three possible explanations for the loss of *H-* in these positions, a) it may be an EScand feature. In ODan *h* began to disappear before *l*, *r* as early as the 9th cent, while it was usually retained in WScand until c1100. b) initial *h* was lost before *l*, *r* in l.OE except in Kent. c) there was an AN tendency to simplify unfamiliar consonant groups. (iii) always in initial position before *v*, *w*, e.g. *Wiz-* DB (*\*Hvits-*), *Walles-* DB (*\*Hvals-*), and in the second el., *Gunnewate* DB (*\*Gunn(h)vati*), *Siuuate* DB (*\*Sig(h)vati*). This loss is probably due to the AN tendency to reduce unfamiliar consonant groups. The loss of *h* from the second el. *-(h)vati* may alternatively be due to ODan reduction in a group of three consonants. (iv) regularly in initial ante-vocalic position in the weakly stressed second els. of compounds. There is consistent loss of *h* from *-hildr*, e.g. *Botild* DB, *Gunnilt* H<sub>2</sub>, *Ragenild* DB. The form *Audhild'* 1208 (*Auðhildr*) probably shows *dh* for *ð* (cf. above § 119). Other elements preserve *h* either regularly or occasionally, probably according to stress, e.g. *Sparauc* [12th] 15th but *Sparhauec* 1185 (*Sparhaukr*), *Sorthoued* DB, *Swartheuid* 1202 (*\*Svarthofuð*). Initial ante-vocalic *h* frequently disappeared from the weakly stressed second el. of compounds in OE and this process was encouraged after the Conquest by AN influence.

[Feilitzen §§ 138.139.140; Brunner ES 378; Outline §§ 32, 38.3; Mossé §§ 13n, 52.3; BrNGG § 382]

§ 141. There are a few instances of the insertion of an inorganic hiatus-filling *h*, e.g. *Ruhal'* [12th] 14th (*Róaldr*), *Liholfus* 1212 beside *Liulf* 1196 (both referring to the same man, *Liulfr*). This is an AN feature.

[Feilitzen § 145]

*Doubling and simplification of consonants.*

§ 142. There is frequent doubling of single consonants, e.g. *Aggemund* 1202, *Akke* 1202, *Gunilla* 1202, *Summerlede* DB. This is a characteristic feature of AN orthography but some of these spellings may alternatively reflect the doubling of single consonants which occurs in l.OE MSS or Scand doubling of single consonants in certain positions.

[Feilitzen § 146]

§ 143. Conversely there is graphical simplification of double consonants, e.g. *Sybi* DB (*Sibbi*), *Ode* c1160 (*Oddi*), *Trig* 13th (*Tryggr*), *Beche*-DB (*\*Bekka-*), *Tona* DB (*Tonni*), *Ote* DB (*Otti*). These spellings are due to the uncertainty felt by the AN scribes as to the quantity of OE and OScand consonants.

[Feilitzen § 147]

*vii. Inflection, anglicisation and latinisation.*

With very few exceptions it is only in the p.n. material that any traces of the OScand declensions are preserved. Here an occasional gen. in *-s* or *-ar* remains (cf. below § 145), although it is more common for the OE gen. *-es* to have been substituted or for the pers.n. to be linked to the second el. without any change of form or with a linking *e*, which may or may not represent a weak gen., e.g. *Arkelcroft*, *Esbernebi*. The majority of the sources from which the independent pers.n.s. have been culled are in Latin and the names are either latinised or allowed to stand in their root-forms in all cases.

[PNEI i xxi]

§ 144. The nom. ending *-r* has been dropped in almost every name, e.g. *Eiric* DB, *Tori* DB (*Þórir*). Final *-ll*, *-nn*, *-rr* are simplified to *-l*, *-n*, *-r*, e.g. *Gamel* DB. Note the possible preservation of the Scand nom. ending in *Berguluer* DB (*Bergulfr*), *Blacre* DB (*Blakkr*), *Haukerin* 12th (cf., however, § 78), *Vluer* DB (*Ulfr*; although this form may derive from *Ulþarr*).

[BrNGG § 501]

§ 145. OScand gen. endings which have survived include (i) *-ar*, *Romundre*-DB, *Fodre*-DB. (ii) *-s* after *d* (cf. above § 107) *Branz*-DB, *Haz*-DB (*Haddr*). (iii) *-s* after *ð* (cf. above § 121) *Breiz*-DB (*Breiðr*), *Ros-*, *Roz-*, *Rosce-* all DB (*Rauðr*). (iv) *-s* after *t* (cf. above § 105) *Asgoz*-DB (*Ásgautr*), *Wiz*-DB (*Hvítr*), *Luz*-DB (*Lútr*). (v) *-s* after *k*, *Bacs*-DB (*Bak*), *Bux*- 12th–14th (*Bukkr*), *Flax*-DB (*Flak*),

*Crocs-* DB (*Krókr*). (vi) *-s* after *f*, *Leyse-* LiS (*\*Leifs-*) beside *Leves-* DB.

[PNEI ii 92; Hald Vore Stednavne 149; B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 43–44]

§146. There are a few instances of substitution of gen. *-s* for orig gen. *-ar* in the first els. of p.n.s. These are *Foz-* DB (orig *Fótar*), *Germunds-* DB (orig *Germundar*). Note that the older gen. of *Fótr* is found in a p.n. in *-bý* (cf. above § 145), whereas the secondary gen. is found in three p.n.s. in *-tūn*, a possible indication of the younger nature of the hybrid p.n.s. The three instances referred to above are the only certain ones but some of the gen. forms in *-es* may represent substitution of *-es* for secondary *-s* replacing *-ar* rather than for *-ar* directly, e.g. *Asbeornnas suna* 11th. The substitution of the OE gen. *-es* could have taken place at any period from the time of the invasions onwards.

[BrNGG § 503]

§ 147. (i) OScand final *i* is often anglicised to *a*, the normal nom. ending of the OE weak declension, e.g. *Acca* H<sub>2</sub> (*Aki*), *Bunda* [12th] 13th (*Bóndi*), *Sota* DB (*Sóti*). These forms normally remained undeclined in the Lat sources. A gen. *Gillæ* [R<sub>1</sub>] seems to show confusion with the Lat fem. first declension in *a*. (ii) OScand final *i* is more frequently represented by *e*. In OE *i* was levelled to *e* c750–800 so that remaining final *i* can normally be taken as a criterion of Scand origin, e.g. *Ake*, *Bonde*, *Sote*, *Toue* beside *Toui*. (iii) OScand final *i* is very occasionally anglicised to *-ig*, e.g. *Tostig* (*Tósti*). *Menni-* DB may be an inverted spelling for *Mennig-* (*Menning*).

[Feilitzen § 49]

Very frequently the Scand names are latinised so that they adopt all the endings of the appropriate Lat declension and are declined correctly in the English sources.

§ 148. Strong masc.names are latinised according to the second declension in *-us*, *-i* etc., e.g. *Haccus* (*Hákr*), *Ulfus*, *Torgari* gen., *Turoldo* abl. Occasionally the ending *-ius* appears instead of *-us*, e.g. *Turgisius*, *Sigerius*. A final *-l*, simplified from orig Scand *-ll*, is generally doubled before the addition of the Lat endings, e.g. *Ansketillo* abl., *Gamelli* gen., *Turkellum* acc.

[Feilitzen § 153]

§ 149. OScand weak masc. names, when latinised, regularly receive the endings *-o*, *-onis* etc. of the Lat third declension, e.g. *Bundo*, *Forno*.

Occasionally in the name *Hákon* the *-on* has been mistaken for part of the case-ending of this Lat declension and hence we have *Haco*, *Haconis* beside *Haconus*. Sometimes weak names are latinised by the addition of *-us* to the stem and declined as strong names, e.g. *Forno* abl., *Gunno* abl., *Romfarus*, *Swauro* abl.

[Feilitzen § 154]

§ 150 There is occasional loss of the final vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, e.g. *Fran* DB (*Fráni*), *Ghil* DB (*Gilli*), *Escul* DB (*Skúli*), *Toc* DB (*Tóki*). Similar forms from the 13th century and later may be due to apocope in dissyllabic words (cf. above § 61) but the DB instances are probably the result of the scribes' mistakenly assuming that a form such as *Franus* represents orig *Fran*.

[Feilitzen § 49]

§ 151. Names in Scand nom. *-ir* drop the *-r* (cf. above § 144) and usually remain unchanged throughout the declension in *-i*, e.g. *Thori*, *Sturmi*. The correct origin of these names seems to have been forgotten in the 13th century, however, and second declension forms such as *Thorius*, *Thorus* 1263 and *Sturmeo* abl. [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 begin to appear.

§ 152. Fem. names, when latinised, always adopt the endings *-a*, *-æ* (usually written *e*) etc. of the Lat first declension. These endings are added after consonants and substituted for weak vocalic endings, e.g. *Botilda*, *Gunnilde* gen. and dat., *Ragenilda*, *Sigrída*, *Steinware* gen. Note, however, the form *Tole* nom. beside *Tola* nom., *Tolam* acc. All three forms refer to the same woman but the first is in a different, though contemporary (1209), document from the other two.

### viii. The addition of foreign suffixes.

§ 153. (i) Occasionally the Lat and OFr suffix *-in(us)* is added to a Scand name, e.g. *Gamillinus*, *Thoraldyn*. It appears that the AN scribes misunderstood the *-ill(us)* ending of names in *-ketill* and, assuming it to be a diminutive ending, substituted for it the OFr suffix *-inus*, e.g. *Asketinus*, *Turketin*. (ii) The form *Haldein* (*Halfdan*) would seem to show the OFr suffix *-ain* < *-ānus* but cf. above § 9. (iii) The AN suffix *-el* has been added to *Dringhel* DB (*Drengr*). Conversely, the ending *-el* in some Scand names has been mistaken for this diminutive ending by the AN scribes and dropped, e.g. *Gam* DB (*\*Gamel* < *Gamall*), *Sichet* DB (*Sigketill*), *Scames-* DB (*\*Skammels-*), *Wiues* DB (*\*Vífils-*). (iv) The AN suffix *-et* has been added to *Haket* H<sub>2</sub> (*Haki*). (v) The

AN suffix *-ot* has been added to *Ragenot* DB (*Ragni*), *Turot* DB (*Þórr*). (vi) The form *Saxelin* e.H<sub>2</sub> may show the addition of the Cont-Germ diminutive suffix *-lin* to *Saksi*. It is more likely, however, that the name to which this suffix was added was ContGerm *Saxo*.

[Feilitzen §§ 148.149; Forssner 279]

#### ix. Summary.

Attention has now been paid to the various sound developments that have taken place in the pers.ns. and the orthographical adaptations and sound substitutions that have been made by the scribes of the sources. The majority of the features noted have been either ME or AN but there are a number of Scandinavian developments and these may well be able to reveal something about the period at which a name was borrowed and thus supplement the information that has been gleaned from other fields. Some names would seem to have come to England before certain sound developments had taken place in Scandinavia, while others were probably not borrowed until these developments were complete there. The possibility that the developments took place in England before the Scandinavian language dropped out of use, however, cannot be ruled out entirely, although the fact that some names appear in archaic forms tends to suggest that these are fossilised remains and that the Scandinavian language was soon superseded by English. A summary will be given here of the various features which may be able to help in dating the borrowings.

There are two possible instances of forms not showing *u*-diphthongisation, namely *Ires-* DB (*Jóarr*, with AN *i* for *e*) and *Eure-* DB (*Jøfurr*) (5). There is a considerable element of doubt attached to both these forms. The first form in particular is not to be relied on, for diphthongisation before a *u* that is not retained took place in Scandinavia c700 (6). Diphthongisation caused by a surviving *u* (as in *Jøfurr*), however, is dated to the ninth century and it is not impossible that the p.n. may have been formed before it took place. It would be unwise, though, to attach too much significance to a single form.

There is one instance of preservation of initial *H-* before *r*, namely *Hrowald* [958] 14th (7). *H-* in this position had begun to disappear in ODan in the ninth century but was usually retained until c1100 in

(5) Cf. above §§ 55-57.

(6) Cf. BrNGG § 93.

(7) Cf. above § 140 ii.

WScand (8). The spelling may, then, rather indicate that the loan is from WScand than that it is early.

Monophthongisation of *au* to *ø* would not seem to have taken place in Dan before the period at which the pers.ns. were borrowed. In stressed syllables the diphthong normally remains (spelt *au* or *ou*) and the few instances where it is replaced by *o* are probably the result of an OE unetymological substitution (9). Since the EScand development cannot be dated precisely, however, and the forms with preserved diphthongs may be due to conservative WScand influence, little can be concluded about the date for the borrowing of the pers.ns. containing the diphthong in stressed syllables.

The name *Aleifr*, *Óláfr* (*\*Anu-laiðar*) presents an interesting problem. It only occurs a few times in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and is also rare elsewhere in England. Several of the Danish and Norwegian kings who led the viking invasions to England bore this name, however, and a study of the various forms in which the name appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is illuminating. First comes *Anlaf* the Black (911), then *Anlaf* Guthfrith's son (937-42), *Anlaf* Sitric's son, also called *Onlaf* (937-52), *Anlaf* Tryggvason, also called *Anelaf* or *Unlaf* (993-94), *Olaf* the Saint (1028-55), *Olaf* the Peaceful (1066). The various spellings of this name seem to indicate that in the period up to c1000 the first vowel of the Scandinavian name must have been so markedly nasalised that the English heard it as *An-* or *On-*, whereas by the time of the arrival of *Olaf* the Saint the vowel was no longer nasalised and the English may not even have recognised the ultimate identity of the name-forms *Anlaf* and *Olaf*. Some of the spellings in the ASC in *An-* may well have been archaisms, however, so it is not absolutely necessary to assume that the vowel had a marked nasal quality as late as the end of the tenth century. In OWScand *n* was lost before *l* after a strongly stressed vowel soon after 900 (10) and in ODan, forms without *n* are found in runic inscriptions from the Viking Period (11). Even after *n* had been lost, the preceding vowel retained a nasalised pronunciation but that this nasal quality must have diminished in the course of the tenth century can be seen from the fact that the runic characters for ordinary *a* and nasalised *a* begin to be interchangeable in inscriptions from this period. Although it is not possible to establish a precise date

(8) Cf. BrNGG § 382.

(9) Cf. above §§ 45.46.47.

(10) Cf. Noreen Aisl. Gr. §299.2.

(11) Cf. Jacobsen-Moltke 342, 362, 694.



for loss of *n* and reduction of the nasalisation of the preceding vowel, an examination of the forms taken by the name \**Anu-laiðar* in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire can give some indication of the date of its introduction to these counties. The DB tenant *Allef* bears the name in a young form and he may possibly have been a first generation viking in England. The forms of the Yorkshire p.n. in *Anlaue-* (1203 etc.) seem to indicate that the original tenant of this *bý* arrived in England while either the *n* or at least the nasal quality of the first vowel of his name was retained. There are, however, other instances of the name in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire which are more difficult to interpret. The DB forms of the Yorkshire p.n. are *Un-*, *Umlouebi*, and Lincolnshire tenants in DB TRE are *Unlof*, *Vnlof*. A. H. Smith (12) sees the spellings in *Un-* etc. as the result of the scribes' mistakenly identifying the *Ó* of *Óláfr* with the Scandinavian negative prefix *Ó-*, *Û-* and subsequently substituting the cognate OE prefix *Un-*. Feilitzen (13), on the other hand, considers that *Un-*, *Vn-* are substitutes for OS cand *Ǫn-* (\**anu*) or nasalised *Ǫ-*, *O-*. There are two facts which make it preferable to accept Feilitzen's explanation. Firstly, the scribes of DB, in which all but one of the forms in *Un-*, *Vn-* in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire occur, were almost certainly Norman and would be more likely to mistake *Ǫn-* for *Un-* than to substitute an English prefix for a Scandinavian one. Secondly, the substitution of one negative prefix for another requires that the first syllable of the name had lost its nasal quality at the time when this substitution took place. The later, dominant and persistent forms of the Y p.n., however, all have the pers.n. in the older form *Anlaf* and it seems likely that this is the form of the name borne by the original tenant.

All that can be said with certainty about the name \**Anu-laiðar* is that it made its first appearance in Yorkshire before the nasal quality of its first vowel had been forgotten. In relation to this fact it is of interest that there is no trace of nasalised *A-* in pre-Conquest instances of names in *As-* (\**ansu*) in the two counties. The nasalised pronunciation would seem to have survived at the time of the viking colonisation of Normandy (14) and is, in fact, indicated in spellings of names in *As-* which were reintroduced into England at second-hand by the Normans (15).

One of the most noticeable features recorded in the pers.n.s. in Eng-

(12) Cf. PNYE 216-17.

(13) *op.cit.* 335.

(14) Cf. Adigard des Gautries 244.

(15) Cf. above § 11.

land is the appearance of uncontracted forms of compound names in *-ketill* (16). For the most part these names appear in the Scandinavian homelands in contracted forms such as *-kell*, *-kill*, whereas in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, although the contracted forms are, in fact, predominant in pre-Conquest sources, there are numerous instances of forms in *-ketill*. Where forms in *-ketill* appear in post-Conquest sources, however, these are probably due to Norman influence. In Normandy the compounds appear almost exclusively in forms with *-ketill*, indicating that at the time of the Viking colonisation of Normandy in the early tenth century uncontracted forms were predominant in Scandinavia. That the contracted and uncontracted forms appear side by side in England suggests that the flow of immigrants from Scandinavia continued for some time. The original settlers may be assumed to have borne uncontracted forms, whereas later arrivals may have borne contracted ones. Both forms survived side by side until the Conquest. It is remarkable that, contrary to expectation, none of the *-ketill* compounds are found in the older uncontracted forms in early p.n.s. in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Uncontracted forms are, in fact, very rare in DB p.n.s. in the whole country. They do, however, occur in *Ilcheteleshala* DB (Ilkeshall Sf; \**Ylfketill*) and *Turchitelestone* beside *Turchilestone* DB (Thurcaston Lei; *Þorketill*). It is possible that it was a wish to avoid clumsy formations that prompted the use of contracted forms in some p.n.s. (17) but, unless it is to be assumed that all the DB p.n.s. containing contracted forms are comparatively late formations, it is necessary to accept that contracted forms must have existed side by side with the uncontracted ones as early as the period of the first settlements c875. The *-ketill* compounds which are recorded in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in uncontracted forms are:— *Alfcetel* [c1050] 11th (also *Alchil* DB), *Arkitel* [958] 14th (also *Archil* DB), *Oskytel* [968] 12th (also *Aschil* DB), *Auðcetel* [c1050] 11th (also *Audkil* [12th] 15th), *Grimcetel* [c1050] 11th (also *Grimchil* DB), *Gonchetel* DB (also *Gonchel* DB), *Holmchetel* DB, *Ormchetel* DB, *Roscetel* [c1050] 11th, *Ulfketel* [958] 14th (also *Vlchil* DB). All these names can be assumed to be comparatively early loans.

The names discussed in the preceding paragraphs are the only instances of forms of pers.n.s. in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire which would appear to have been borrowed before the relevant sound developments had taken place in Scandinavia. The evidence is far from certain, how-

(16) Cf. above § 16.

(17) Cf. above p. LI.

ever, and there is need for caution. The matter is further complicated by the fact that WScand is in several features more conservative than EScand. There is at least some indication, however, that the following names were borrowed at an early date :— *Jǫfurr*, (*H*)*róaldr*, \**Anulaiðar* in the form *Anlaf*, *Alfketill*, *Arnketill*, *Ásketill*, *Auðketill*, *Grimketill*, *Gunnketill*, *Holmketill*, *Ormketill*, *Rossketill*, *Ulfketill*.

There is rather more evidence pointing to a later date for the borrowing of some other names. Several Scandinavian sound developments would seem to have taken place before the arrival of some names in England. It is possible, however, that some of these developments took place after the name came to England, if it is assumed that the Scandinavian language continued in use there after the period of the settlements.

Some names show the Dan development of *wa* to *ō* (18), namely *Sortebrand* DB (*Svartrbrandr*), *Sorthoued* DB (\**Svarthǫfuð*), *Sortcolf* DB (*Svartkollr*), *Codre-* DB (*Skvaðra*). All the names in *Sort-* for *Svart-*, however, also appear with the older spelling. This would seem to indicate that the names were introduced into Lincolnshire and Yorkshire at two different periods – as *Svart-* before the sound development had taken place in Denmark and as *Sort-* afterwards –, or that the development took place in England after the name had been borrowed but while the Scandinavian language was still spoken there, or that the conservative forms in *Svart-* are of Norwegian origin.

There are some forms of the name *Bóndi* which would seem to indicate that the ODan development of *ō* before *nd* to *ũ* had taken place (19), e.g. *Bundo* DB beside *Bonde* DB. There is thus again indication that the loans were made at two different periods, or that the ODan development took place on English soil, too, or that all the loans are young but that some are from EScand, where the development had taken place, and others from WScand, where it had not.

A number of forms may show the development of *au* to *o* in second elements of compound names (20), e.g. *Osgod* 11th (*Asgautr*), *Turloga* DB (*Þorlaug*). This EScand substitution of *o* for *au* in unstressed position is regular from c1000. In Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, however, *o* for *au* may simply be an English substitution and is not necessarily a criterion for judging the date at which a name was borrowed.

A number of names appear in forms showing EScand monophthong-

(18) Cf. above § 5.

(19) Cf. BrNGG § 151.

(20) Cf. above § 47.

isation of *ei* to *e*, a process which began in Dan c900 (21), e.g. *Brez-DB* (*Breiðr*), *Elað DB* (*Eiláfr*), *Colsuen DB* (*Kolsveinn*). This monophthongisation, however, may rather be AN or WSax so the forms do not necessarily indicate that the borrowings are late. Forms without monophthongisation may be early borrowings but could equally well be younger and of WScand origin.

A further EScand development of weakly stressed *ei* to *e* to *i*, which is evidenced from c1000 (22) may be seen in *Turstin DB* (*Þorsteinn*). This spelling, however, may alternatively show Norman influence or it may simply have arisen by association with the Latin diminutive ending *-inus*.

In the DB form *Allef* from *\*Anu-laiðar* the nasalised quality of the vowel would seem to have been lost before the period of borrowing. In all the other instances of this name the nasalisation of the vowel is indicated by spellings such as *An-* or *Un-* (23).

The development of *rl* to *ll*, which took place in some dialects of ODan, particularly in Skåne, is apparently to be seen in *Stillag' e.H<sub>2</sub>* (*Styrklaugr*) (24). This is the only recorded instance of the name in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and it may well be a late borrowing.

A single form shows Scand development of *pt* to *ft*, namely *Cheftes-DB* (*Keþtr*) (25). This development is evidenced in the earliest Dan MSS but would seem to have taken place after the period of the earliest settlements in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

There are a number of instances of the substitution of gen. *-s* for original gen. *-ar* or weak gen. *-a* in the first elements of p.ns. (26). It is possible that such substitution indicates a late date for the formation of the p.n. The instances which definitely show the secondary gen. are *Foz-DB* (instead of *Fótar*) and *Germunds-DB* (instead of *Germundar*). It is interesting to see that the younger gen. of *Fótr* appears in three p.ns. in *-tún*, whereas the original gen. in *-ar* is found in a p.n. in *-bý*, a possible indication of the older nature of the latter element in Danelaw p.ns. containing Scandinavian pers.ns.

Finally, there are a few instances of names which appear in forms that may not have been borrowed until after a ME sound development had taken place. It is normal for *ā* (OE or Scand) to remain in DB

(21) Cf. above § 50.

(22) Cf. above § 51.

(23) Cf. above p. CIV.

(24) Cf. above § 79.

(25) Cf. above § 92.

(26) Cf. above § 146.

but where it appears in later sources from Lincolnshire, e.g. *Hamundus* 13th, *Fran'* [12th] 13th (*Fráni*), it may suggest either a late borrowing or Scandinavian conservatism in the Danelaw (27). *ā* remains longer in the Scandinavian language than in English, where it is rounded from the twelfth century. Note, however, that rounding in ME did not take place in YE, YN and part of YW so that the *a* spellings in Lincolnshire may be due to Northern ME influence.

In summary, then, it can be said that there is very little evidence which can definitely point to the late borrowing of a name or to the survival of the Scandinavian language in England. The majority of the forms which seem to provide evidence of OScand sound developments can equally well be explained as being due to AN or OE or ME influence. There remain, however, some few forms which are probably to be explained as late borrowings or as the result of subsequent development after their arrival in England, namely *Sortebrand*, *Sorthoued*, *Sortcolf*, *Codre-* (*Skvaðra*), *Bundi*, *\*Anu-laibar* in the form *Allef Stillag* and *Keftes-*. Note that all these names, with the exception of *Skvaðra* and *Styrlaugr*, are also found with their older spellings in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

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(27) Cf. above § 10.

# THE NAME LIST

# A

## Abbi

L. b) **Abbe** (Reuesbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – **Arengrimus f. Osbertus f. Habb'**, **Abbe** (Grainthorpe) 1.12th, [ante 1224] c1330 RA IV 1400, 1412.

Y. a) in **Habbholme** 12th, **Albeholme** 1228 (Habbholme Dike, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. xi and 42.

Perhaps a short form of *Abjorn* (DgP 1; Nord.Kult.VII 210). There are a number of instances in ODan, including the Lat *Abbo*, but the runic forms *abi* nom. and *aba* acc. (Jacobsen–Moltke 631) and the forms found in some Dan p.ns. may alternatively represent *Api* q.v. or *Appi* (DgP 1). The name is possibly found in a Swed p.n. and appears in Kalmar Tänkebok but the instances in OWScand are doubtful (Lundgren–Brate 7; Modéer Kalmar Tänkebok 20; Lind 1; NG II 58, V 352).

The Y p.n. might alternatively contain an OE *Abba* or *Aba* (Redin 80) or ContGerm *Abbo* (Forssner 3) or Scand *Hallbjorn* q.v. or *Qlbjorn* q.v.

The spelling in *Albe-* may be due to anticipation of the *l* in *-holm* or *lb* may be a palaeographical device for *-bb-*. For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i.

## Afi

L. a) in **Ave-**; **Auelunt wap.** DB (Aveland W) pp. 34, 67; 230. – in **Ave-**; **Auetorp** DB (Avethorpe, Aslackby, Aveland W) 18/20, 27/56; 42/10, 57/42.

An orig by.n. “grand-father”. Some few instances found in Dan, including *Awi* on an 11th-cent coin and Lat *Awo*. After 1300 it is difficult to distinguish from forms of *Ag(h)i* q.v. (DgP 84). Possibly found in Swed (Lundgren–Brate 20) but not recorded in WScand.

## Aggi, Agi

L. a) in **Agetorp** DB 55/2, **Haghetorp** LiS 18/3 (Authorpe, Louthesk W). – in **Aghetorp** LiS (Authorpe, Calcewath W) 15/11.

b) **Baldowino Aggo** abl., witness, c1170–80 RA VII 2052. – **Agge Bighe** (Surfleet) [1189–1203] 13th RA VII 1963. – **Simon f. Agge** 1195 P 172. – **Aggi prepositus**, **Aggi gen.**, **Aki preposito** 1202 Ass 853, 1058. – **Siuuardus frater Agge** 1200 Cur 278. – **Ailricum f. Agge** 1200 Cur 187. – **Henricum f. Aghi** 1202 Ass 837. – **Radulfum f. Aggi et Ricardum fratrem suum** 1202 Ass 922 and Crown Pleas 40. – **Simonem f. Agg'** 1202 Ass 916. –

**Agge filium Oki, Aki, Agge** abl. (Biker) 6/7 1202 FF 110, 124. – **Willelmus f. Agge de Skyrebec** [c1210] 14th FP 232. – **Robertus nepos Agge de Nauenby** c1210–20 RA VII 2029, FP 195, **Osbertus f. Agge** (Navenby) 25/11 1218 AssSel 121, **Roberto f. Agge; Agk** (Navenby) c1219; c1245–55 RA VII 2034; 2037, 2040. – **Agge f. Siolfe de Pincebec** [c1215] c1300 FP 215. – **Walterus f. Agge de Boby** [c1260] 14th FP 194.

Y. a) in **Agebrvge, Hagebrige wapentac** DB (Agbrigg W, probably taking its name from Agbrigg q.v., W) PNYW 2. 99. – perhaps in **Aggacroft** 1185 (f.n. in Maltby, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 139. – in **Aggedenebancs** 12th (Hagdens, f.n. in Threshfield, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 107. – in **Aggebrigge** 1277 (Agbrigg, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 117.

b) **Aggo** abl., witness, [1145–52] l.12th YCh 9. 143.

It is not possible to determine whether the pers.ns. in L and Y derive from *Aggi* or *Agi* so all forms have been assembled under one heading. *Aggi* is probably a short form of some name in *Ag-* (DgP 11; Nord.Kult.VII 210) and *Agi* is either a short form or derived from orig \**Agæirr* (DgP 15; Nord.Kult.VII 208). *Aggi* (Lat *Aggo*) occurs fairly frequently and *Aghi* (Lat *Agho, Awo*) very frequently in ODan (particularly in WDan) but the two names cannot always be distinguished from one another (DgP 10–15). There are a few instances of *Agi* in OWScand but these all probably refer to Danes (Lind 6). The Norw p.n. *Agharudhi* c1400 may contain the name *Agi* (NG VI 239) and this name is also found in a p.n. in Normandy (Adigard 71).

For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i and for the spelling *-gh-* see § 133.

### Agmundr

L. b) **Agemund**, brother of Sichet, TRE DB 28/3.11.14-17.25.29.32.36.42. – **Agemund** TRE DB 3/33, 33/1, 67/26, 68/45, 69/3, abl. and gen. 71/3.12. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Agemund**, the priest, TRE and 1086 DB 68/47. – **Agemund**, lageman in Lincoln loco **Walrauen patris sui**, 1086 DB p.2.2. – **Aghemundi Buueri** gen. 1142–53 Dane 512. – **Agmundus**, witness, c1150 RA II 495. – **Hagemundo** abl., witness, c1150 Dane 309. – **Hagmundo, Hagmund** abl., brother of Gippe son of Ailliu, witness, c1150–60 Dane 256, 305, **Hagemundo de Nehus** abl. witness together with Gippe de N., c1155 Dane 253. – **Robert f. Agemundi de Cotes** [c1160] 13th FP 181. – frater **Hugo f. Acmundi** (Stixwoud) c1160 Dane 385. – **Roberto f. Agemundi** H<sub>2</sub> GH 35 p.55. – **Robertus f. Aghemundi** (Newhouse) c1160 Dane 245. – **Romfar f. Hagaman, Agamani** (Stixwoud) 2/10 1172 Dane 379, 380. – Norman



nepos Agaman (Stixwoud) 2/10 1172 Dane 379, 380. – Thomas f. Augmundi de Dunham, Agmundi, Acmundi, Aumundi [c1180–90] 13th FP 6, p.170. – Agemundus (Bullington) 1.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 100. – Roberto f. Agmundi (Kirkstead) 1.12th Dane 212, Robert f. Agemundi de Scamtun e.13th FP 13. – salinam Agmundi de Gutario 1.12th Dane 530. – Agamundus, Aghemundus Bennoc [c1200] 13th, c1190 RA IV 1116, 1124. – Gilbertus f. Aggemund 1202 Ass 564. – Tuoldus f. Hagemund' (Keal Cotes) 7/6 1209 FF 301. – Ricardo Agemund abl. [? e.13th] 13th–14th YCh 10. 35. – Agmundus f. Ade 25/6 1219 AssSel 777. – terram Roberti f. Hagemundi (Stallingborough) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 1076. – Hagemundus Stallingborough) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 994. Y. b) Agemund (Tinsley) TRE DB 319r. – ex molendino Agemundi (W Melton) [ante 1148] 14th–15th YCh 7. 127. – Agmundo Ferthig abl., witness, 1156–84 YCh 2. 1216. – Alanus f. Agmundi (Aldwark in Alne) [1175–1203] 15th YCh 2. 797. – Agmundo diacono, witness, [1180–1200] 14th–15th YCh 1. 58. – Richard son of Agemund 1226 FFP 77.

First el. \**A3a*-. Second el. *-mundr*. This name is frequent in Norw from c900 in the forms *Amundr* (with loss of *g*) and *Qgmundr* (with *u*-mutation) (Lind 1231–39). No forms with preserved *g* are found in Dan but some of the forms quoted in DgP under *Amundi* from \**Ana-mundæ* may in fact represent orig *Agmundr* with loss of *g* (op.cit. 38). The name is also found in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRSö nr 144).

For svarabhakti *e* and *a* see §§ 63.64. For inorganic initial *H*- see § 140i. For *-gh-* see § 133. For *c* for *g* see § 135iii. For *gg* see § 142. For vocalisation of *g* to *u* see § 137. Spellings in *-man* probably represent substitution of the el. *-man* for *-mundr*.

### Aki

L. a) in Akewra E<sub>3</sub> (lost) Lindkvist 199.

b) Achi, son of Siward and brother of Wilac, TRE DB p.13. – Achi TRE DB 38/1.13, 69/34. – Symon et Robertus filii Aki [1140–47] 13th FP 55. – Achi, brother of Anche (Scithesbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – Rogero f. Achi 1142–53 Dane 512. – Hugone f. Achi 1146–53 Dane 515. – Achi, witness, [1123–47, 1152–55] both c1225 RA I 131, 133. – Outi f. Acche e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 474. – Acke f. Grimkel [c1160] 13th FP 49. – Acca (Saltfleetby) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 544. – Ace de Seinliz abl. H<sub>2</sub> Dane 445, Ace de Saintlix [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 4 p.41, Ace de Sancto Luzo [1166] 13th RBE 388. – Hugo, Walter sons of Robert son of Aki (Bullington) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 60. – Robertus, Hugo sons of Symon son of Aki H<sub>2</sub> Dane 60. – Rogerus f. Achil (Mavis Enderby) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 519. – Hernisius f. Hacche (Owersby) ante 1168 RA IV 1297. – Hernisius f.

**Haac, Acche Cnocting, Cnotting de Schitebroc** c1200, endorsement 13th RA V 1716 and FP 136. – **Acca famulo Alberti Grelle**, witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 14 p. 6. **Acce homine Gilonis** (Newhouse) 1.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 268. – **bosci Aki** (Kirkstead) c1180 Dane 189,190. – **Acki** (Hareby) 1185 Templ 110. – [domos] **Hacke f. Lelle** (Somercotes) [c1190–1200] c1225 RA V 1656. – **Aace clerici gen.** (Skidbrook) [l.12th] c1225 RA V 1718. – **Robertus f. Acce** l.12th Dane 551. – **culturam Acche** (Creesh) l.12th Dane 467. – **Geoffrey f. Acche** (Snelland) [l.12th] l.13th FP 183. – **Rogeri f. Achi** (Wrangle) [c1200] c1300 RA VII 1955. – **Alanus f. Aki** [c1200] 13th RA VI 1761–62. – **Arnaldo f. Hacke**, witness, [c1200] c1225 RA V 1684, **Arnaldus f. Ache de Sumercotes** [c1200] c1225 RA V 1659, **Willelmo f. Acche; Acce** [c1200] c1225 RA V 1663,1676;1670, **Basing et Willelmus filii Ache de Sumercotes** [c1200] c1225 RA V 1678. – **terram Ache f. Saxe, Acche f. Sax** (Saltfleetby c1200, e.13th RA V 1639; 1641–42. – **Arnewy f. Acche** (Owersby) e.13th RA IV 1302. – **Acche Roten gen.** (Heckington) e.13th RA VII 2081. – **Redwar' filiam Ake** 1202 Ass 395. – **Nicholaus f. Aki** 1202 Ass 729b, 1044. – **Hugonem f. Akke** 1202 Ass 977. – **Ack' f. Roberti Joie, Ake gen.** 1202 Ass 833. – **Petro Akke abl.** 1202 Ass 1094. – **Agge filium Oki, Aki** (Biker) 6/7 1202 FF 110, 124. – **Willelmi f. Oke** (Snelland) 27/1 1203 FF 168. – **Siward' f. Oke** (Counthorpe) 20/10 1208 FF 253. – **Waltero f. Hacc**, witness, e.13th RA V 1710. – **Leuium filiam Hacke** (Swineshead) 25/11 1218 AssSel 52. – **Acce** (Blyborough) 1218 FFM 143. – **Tholi f. Acce** 7/1 1219 AssSel 365. – **Alano Aki abl., witness, e.H<sub>3</sub>** RA IV 1390. – **terram Radulfi f. Ace, Ache** (Thurlby) c1224–31 RA VII 2159–60. – **Willelmus f. Gilberti f. Aki, Aky** c1225–40, endorsement 13th RA V 1653,1652. – **Hawise daughter of Aki** (Dunholm) 1231 FFM 243. – **William son of Ace** (Yarborough) 1234 FFM 283. – **Henrico Hacke, Hake**, witness, 1233–45 RA VIII 2248,2255. – **terram Johannis Aki, Aky** (Fillingham) 1235–48 RA IV 1225,1230. – **Willelmo f. Ace**, witness, c1241–45 RA VI 1756. – **Robert Aky** (Billingborough) 6/10 1256 FFF 115. – **Willelmum Aky de [Tukesford in Marton']** 1298 AssTh 120.

Y. a) in **Achebi DB** (now lost, near Well or Masham, Hang E W, N) Lindkvist 168. – in **Acceschaes** 12th, **Akescales** 1271 (f.n. in Paythorne, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 175. – probably in **Acchewath** 1154–91 (Wath, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 150. – in **Akeshall** 1575 (Ayxa, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 193.

b) **Acus**, witness, 1109–14 YCh 2. 729. – **Acca f. Thor** abl., witness, [1135–53] 15th YCh 1. 64. – **Thor f. Acce de Snegintona** [1157–58] l.12th YCh 1. 402. – **Acca de Rimington'**, witness, [1162] 14th YCh 11. 204. – **Hugo f. Acce** (Arncliffe) [c1160–70] l.12th, [1178–81] l.12th YCh 2. 710, 716. –

**Ace de Flixton** abl. witness, [1162–75] 17th YCh 2. 1246. – **Acca de Thor-elbi** abl., witness, 1166–75 YCh 7. 26. – **Roberto f. Aki** c1166–1202 YCh 6. 144. – **Acio abbatte de Valle Dei**, witness [c1170–84] 1.12th YCh 2. 1232. – **Achi Nodger** gen. (Handsworth) [1171–81] 13th YCh 3. 1273. – **Aky rusticus** (Warter) [1175–78] e.14th YCh 10. 71. – **Acius de Lokintona**, witness, [1175–95] 17th YCh 2. 1121, **Ace de Lokton**, witness, [c1180–90] c1400 YCh 2. 845, **Ace de Lochintun f. Wymundi de L.**, **Ace** abl. et **Toma f. ejus** [1180–c1200] 14th YCh 1. 165. – **Aki de Balne** gen. [1180–90] 17th YCh 1. 495. – **Willelmo Ace**, witness, [1193–98] 17th YCh 1. 636. – **Thoma f. Ace**, witness, [1195–1210] 14th YCh 1. 289. – **Ada f. Aki de Brett[ona]**, witness, 1.12th or e.13th YCh 7. 133. – **Robert son of Akus** (Edlington) 1203–04 AssC 4. – **Thomam f. Acke** (Fimber) 1208 FFBb 129–30. – **Thoma f. Roberti f. Ace** [1209–20] 14th–15th YCh 1. 292. – **Richard son of Ace** 1218–19 FFP 27–28. – **Simon f. Aki de Hetele** 1218–19 AssSel 522. – **de Hac' f. Hac'** (Nova Haya) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 685.

Probably a diminutive of \**ani* (cf. OIcel *ái*) “great-grandfather” (Nord. Kult. VII 133, 230). The name is frequent in Dan (runic *ǰaki* (Jacobsen-Moltke 628), Lat *Aco* (DgP 18)) both independently and in p.n.s. (B.Hjorth Pedersen, *Bebygg. på -by* 17) and probably originated in the Dan islands (Hald *Vore Stednavne* 134). It is also frequent in Swed (e.g. SRSö nr 238) but it does not make its appearance in Norw until about 1300 (Lind 8–9). It is found in one p.n. in Normandy (Adigard 72).

Some of the forms in *Ace* in L and Y may alternatively represent OE *Acca* (Redin 81) or ContGerm *Azo* (Forssner 39–40). Anglo-Norman scribes sometimes used *c* before *e*, *i* with the sound-value [ts] (cf. Mossé § 12). Two men are indiscriminately referred to as *Accha* and *Asce* or *Aschel* and this suggests that *Accha* could be used as a short form of *Asketill* (cf. Feilitzen Notes 64–65). The names of these two men have been included under *Aski* and *Asketill* respectively below. Other forms in *Accha* etc. may also, however, represent short forms of *Asketill*. Forms in *Ha-* may alternatively represent *Hákr* q.v. or *Haki* q.v.

For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For *O-* and *Aa-* for *A-* see §§ 12.13. For the representation of *-k-* by *c, cc, ck, ch, cch* see §§ 126.127.128.142. For the endings *-a, -us, -ius* see §§ 147.148. For inorganic final *-l* see § 72.

### \***Ákimann**

Y. b) **Ackeman** (Follifoot) [c1190–1212] 15th YCh 10. 54. – **Alani f. Akemanni** (Preston-under-Scar) 1203–04 FFBb 80, Alan son of Ackemann

c1208 AssC 38. – Alexander f. Okeman 1218–19 AssSel 281. – Thomas f. Akkeman' 1218–19 AssSel 1050.

An Anglo-Scand formation “*Aki's man*”.

For *O-* for *A-* see § 13. For representation of *-k-* by *ck, kk* see §§ 128.142.

### Aleifr

L. b) **Allef** TRE DB 13/33.

\**Anu-laibar*. Cf. also the side-form *Óláfr* below. First el. \**anu-*. Second el. *-leifr*. The name appears occasionally in WScand, where the form *Óleifr*, however, is much more common (Lind 814). *Skjoldunga saga* refers to *Aleifus*, a legendary Dan king, and the development of some Dan p.ns. suggests that the forms *Alēf*, *Ālāf* were also current in Dan, although the dominant forms in EScand are *Olaḡ*, *Oleḡ* (DgP 1022–43; DS IX 105, XI 37, XII 88).

For *ll* see § 142. For *e* see § 50.

### Alfr

Y. a) just possibly in **Alurestan**, *-stain* DB, **Alvestain** 1154–74 (Allerston, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 93. – in **Alfhou** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332.

Perhaps from \**Apa-wulḡar*. First el \**apa-*. Second el. *-ulfr* (cf. Nord.Kult. VII 40 and the works quoted 161 n.245). Frequent in OWScand from the earliest period onwards (Lind 14–16) and occasionally found in Dan (including a few p.ns., mainly in Jutland) (DgP 28; DS VI 279, XI 176, 211, XII 27; Hald Vore Stednavne 134) and Swed (Lundgren-Brate 10).

The el. in Allerston is probably OE *Ælfhere* but the form *Alvestain* indicates a possible substitution of *Alfr* (cf. PNYN 93).

### Alfgeirr

L. a) in **Alfgare** DB (Algarkirk, Kirton W) 11/7, 12/73; DEPN suggests that the place was possibly named from the **Algar** comes who is mentioned BCS 409. – in **Algerhage** 1189 (probably near Edenham) Lindkvist 21. – in **Algaretoft** 1226 (f.n. in Gosberton, Kirton W) Kirkman 95. – in **Algarlowe** 1483 (f.n. in Swineshead, Kirton W) Kirkman 115.

b) **Algar** TRE DB 4/36, 26/27, 57/24, gen. 72/60. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Algar** the thane TRE and 1086 DB

68/20. – Alger, Count Alan's man, 1086 DB 73/2. – **Algero fabro** (Greenfield) ante 1150 Dane 149a. – **Algarum** 1146–53 Dane 515. – **Algerus de Cunigesbi et Walterus f. eius** (Kirkstead) 1163 Dane 186. – **Hugo f. Algeri**, witness, [c1150] c1330 Stenton Danes 22, **Hugo f. Algeri** [1166] 13th RBE 385. – **William f. Algeri** [R<sub>1</sub>] ? FP 188. – **Walterum f. Algari** (Hogsthorpe) 6/7 1202 FF 123. – **Nicolao filio Algari** (Ancaster) 6/7 1202 FF 119, **N. f. Algar** 1202 Ass 148. – **Alger de Londinio** 1202 Ass 972. – **Henricus f. Algar'**, **Algar** 1202 Ass 399, 1088. – **Algar' Wroth**, **Algarus** 1202 Ass 384,496. – **Walterum f. Algar** (Spalding) 1202 Ass 372. – **Johannes f., Ricardus f., Normannus f. Algari** (Swineshead) 7/1 1219 AssSel 365. – **Robert Alger** (Faldingworth) 18/6 1245 FFF 29. – **Alger Burgeys** 25/6 1248 FFF 48. – **Iohannes Alger de Welleby** 1298 AssTh 415.

Y. a) in **Alfgerriding** c1170 (f.n. in Camblesforth, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 8.

b) **Algarus** presbiter (churches of St. Oswald and St. Aidan in Bamburgh Nb) [1121–27] 13th YCh 3. 1428. – **Algar et Johannes f. ejus, rustici**, (Warter) [1175–78] e.14th YCh 10. 71. – **Adam f. Elgeri** (Preston-under-Scar) 1203–04 FFb 80.

First el. *Alf-*. Second el. *-geirr*. The name appears early in Norw but is not very frequent there (Lind 12–13). A Swed runic inscription contains the form *alfkir* (SRU nr 515) so the name was known in EScand. It is not certain whether it is recorded in Dan but some forms quoted in DgP 30 under *Alger* (Lat *Algerus*) may belong here. *f* was lost after *l* in groups of three consonants in ODan (see § 100 and BrNGG § 377). Note, however, that *f* also tended to disappear between cons in OE so the absence of *f* in forms of this name does not necessarily point to an EScand origin.

It is also possible that the forms in L and Y are derived from an OE name such as *Ælfgār*, *Æðelgār* or *Ealdgār* (cf. Feilitzen 146). The form *-gar*, frequently found for the second el., may either indicate OE origin or represent anglicisation of the Scand *-geirr*.

For spellings in *-ger* see § 50. For *E-* for *A-* see § 2.

### \*Alfgrímr

Y. a) in **Algrimhou** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332.

b) **Algrim** gen. (York) TRE DB 298r.

First el. *Alf-*. Second el. *-grímr*. ? An Anglo-Scand formation.

The forms in Y may alternatively represent ContGerm *Alfgrim*, *Altgrim* or *Adalgrim* (Feilitzen 144).

For loss of *f* see § 100.

## Alfketill

Y. a) in Alkeltoft' 1348 (f.n. in Ardsley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 178.

b) Alfcetel festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9, Alchil (Barmston) TRE DB 324r. – Alfcetel in Há[meltun] festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9, Alchel (Hambleton) TRE DB 315v. – Alchetel (Little Langton) TRE DB 309v. – Ricardo f. Alkild, Alkilde, witness, [1183–86] 14th–15th, [12th] 14th–15th YCh 1. 238, 244. – Willelmi f. Alfkil patris mei [Willelmus Burhman] [1189–1214] 14th–15th YCh 1. 259, Willelmus Burman f. Willelmi f. Alfkil [1189–1214] 14th–15th YCh 1. 227.

First el. *Alf-*. Second el. *-ketill*. The name is not found in OWScand but there are a few instances in Dan (runic *alfkil* (Jacobsen-Moltke 628), Lat *Alkillus* (DgP 28) and in Swed (runic *alfki*:[I] (SRSö nr 257)).

For loss of *f* see § 100. For *c* and *ch* see §§ 126.127. For spellings in *-cetel* see § 16. For inorganic final *d* see § 108ic.

## Alfrún fem.

L. b) Hugo et Oggrimus filii Aluerun [1176] c1225 RA V 1648.

First el. *Alf-*. Second el. *-rún*. Recorded in WScand as a mythological name (Lind 16).

The form in L may alternatively represent the OE fem. name *Ælfrún* (Feilitzen 180).

For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

## Alfvaldr

L. a) in Alwoldesbi; Alwoldebi; Aldulvebi; Aduluesbi DB 25/12; 4/24.42; 27/16; 44/6.14, Aluoldebi, Aluoldabi LiS 8/1.3 (Autby in N Thoresby, Haverstoe W).

b) Aluold lageman TRE and 1086 DB p.2.1.2.

Y. a) in Alwald(e)tofts 1292 (lost f.n. in Easingwold, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 25.

b) Alfwald; Alfuold; Alfwold minister, witness, [930] 14th, [958] 14th; [959] 12th; [963] 14th YCh 1. 1, 2; 4; 5, 6.

First el. *Alf-*. Second el. *-valdr*. A coin from Lund bears the name *Alf-vold* but this name may be OE *Ælfweald* and it is quite likely to be the OE name that appears in L and Y (DgP 29). Another possible etymon is the OWScand pers.n. *Alvaldr*, *Olvaldr*, whose first el. is *\*ala-* “all-” (Nord. Kult.VII 63–64).

For loss of *f* see § 100. For *w* see § 67. For *-wold* see § 4. Two forms of the L p.n. contain the OE pers.n. *Ealdwulf*, probably owing to confusion with Audleby (DB *Aldulvebi*).

### \*Alfvarðr

Y. a) in Aluarestorp DB, Alwardtorp 1235 (Allerthorpe, Harthill W, E) PNYE 184. – in Alwarding 13th (f.n. in Collingham, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 176. – in Alwardethuait 13th (Alderthwaite, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 112.

First el. *Alf-*. Second el. *-varðr*. This name is not recorded in OWScand, and ODan *Alfward* on coins would appear to be a loan from OE *Ælfweard* (see DgP 29; Hald Om Personnavnene 183). If the name in the Y p.ns. had been *Ælfweard*, however, the form expected in the ME dialect for this area would have been *Elf-*, so either the pers.n. is Scand or else the first el. has been influenced by the Scand els. *Alf-* or *Al-* (PNYE 184). Note the Dan runic *aluarþ* acc. which may represent either *Alfvarðr* or *Alvarðr* (Jacobsen-Moltke 630).

For loss of *f* see § 100. For *uu,w* for *v* see § 67. For *d* for *ð* see § 116 and for loss of *ð* see § 120iii.

### Ali, Alli

L. a) in Aletorp DB (Althorpe, Axholme W) 63/14. – in Halebi DB (Ailby, Calcewath W) 2/20. – in Alesbi DB (Aylesby, Bradley W) 3/39, 12/14, 27/4, LiS 9/7.17, Alesbi LiS 9/3. – in Aletoftegate 13th (f.n. in Langton-by-Wragby, Louthesk W) Bower 538.

b) Godwinus f. Ale (Edlington) 3/12 1208 FF 296. – Gilberti Alli, Ally (Catley) [c1270] 1407 GH 8 pp. 78–79.

It is not possible to determine whether the names in L derive from *Ali* or *Alli* so all instances have been assembled under one heading. *Ali* is a diminutive name (<\**Analæ*), cf. OHG *Analo*, OE *Onela* (Nord.Kult.VII 210). *Alli* is probably a short form of a compound-name in *Alf-* or *Al-* (Nord.Kult.VII 210). *Ali* occurs in OWScand but is not very frequent, although it appears as the first el. of several p.ns. in Norw (Lind 17–20). There are no certain instances in ODan except for the Lat form *Anulo* in some old chronicles (DgP 31) but the name may be found in some Dan p.ns. (DS VIII 93, XII 83). *Alli* does not occur independently in OWScand but is found in a few Norw p.ns. (Lind 20). There are several instances in ODan including Lat *Allo* and runic *ala* acc. and gen. and a number in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 11).

Possible alternative etymons of the names in L are OE *Ala* and *Alla* (Redin 59).

For inorganic initial *H*- see § 140i.

### Almóðr

L. b) **Almod**, the bishop of Durham's man 1086 DB 3/35.

First el. *Al-* < \**alu*. Second el. *-móðr*. This name does not occur in EScand but is found occasionally in Norw and Icel in the *u*-mutated form *Ǫlmóðr* (Nord.Kult.VII 63,109).

### Ambi

L. b) **Hambe** TRE DB 16/39.

Short form of *Arnbjörn* q.v. (Nord.Kult.VII 60). The name occurs fairly frequently in Norw from c1300, being also used as a by.n. and appearing in some p.ns. (Lind 22; NG V 155,351). Not found in OEScand.

For inorganic initial *H*- see § 140i.

### Amundr

L. b) **Roberto f. Amund de Cotes** H<sub>2</sub> Dane 30. – **Godardo f. Amundi** 1206 Ass 1530.

There are two possible interpretations of this name :- \**Ana-mundur* or \**Aza-mundur* (cf. *Agmundr* above) (Nord.Kult.VII 62; BrNGG § 268.3). It is difficult to distinguish the forms of this name from those of *Agmundr*, *Amundi* etc. in both W and EScand (Lind 23–24; DgP 37–38; Lundgren-Brate 12). The form *Amundus* is recorded in Normandy (Adigard 273).

### Anki

L. b) **Anche frater eius** (Achi; Scithesbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – **Rannulfo f. Anke** e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 474. – **Anca de Sancto Botulfo**, witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 157. – **frater Anca**, witness, 1165 Dane 101. – **Anke** H<sub>2</sub> (Raithby) Dane 513. – **Hanke** (Roughton) l.12th Dane 197. – **Hugh f. Anke de Cokerintona** [e.13th] l.13th FP 70.

Y. b) **Anca** 1185 Templ 125.

A short form of names in *Arng-*, *Arnk-*. *Anke* is recorded once in Swed in 1489 (Feilitzen Notes 65) and is possibly found in some Norw p.ns. (NG I 490; XVI 286).

For inorganic initial *H*- see § 140i.



**Ann**

Y. a) in **Anesacre DB** (Onesacre, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 225. – in **Onesmor 13th** (Onesmoor, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 226.

Perhaps from \**Aðwin*, first el. *Að-*, second el. *-vinr* (Nord.Kult.VII 63). The strong form only occurs in OWScand (Lind 24–26) but a weak side-form *ani* is found on a Dan rune-stone (Jacobsen-Moltke 630) and there are some few other instances of this form in ODan, including some possible ones in p.ns. (DgP 44; DS XII 78) and a number in WScand (Lind 29–30).

For *O-* for *A-* see § 13.

**Anundr**

Y. b) **Anandus**, witness, [1160–80] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1608.

Of obscure origin (for some interpretations see Nord.Kult.VII 64,162 n.257). The name appears in OWScand as *Qnundr* (Lind 1251–55) and is frequent in Skåne and Halland (Lat *Anundus*) (DgP 49) and may be found in some Dan p.ns. (DS IX 57; XII 203). Also found in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 62).

The second *a* is probably the result of substitution of *e* for unstressed *u* and then AN interchange of unstressed *e* and *a* (cf. § 15).

**Api**

Y. a) in **Apedale c1175** (Apedale, Hang W W, N) PNYN 257. – in **Ape-thorpe 1379** (Ape Thorp, Ecclesfield, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 253.

An orig. by.n. meaning “fool”. Possibly found in the Norw. p.n. *Apnes* (NG XVI 338) and there are a few instances in ODan, including, perhaps, the runic *abi* nom., *aba* acc., although these forms may derive from *Abbi* or *Æbbi* (Jacobsen-Moltke 631; DgP 50). An \**Appi* is deduced from a Dan p.n. (DS V 408).

**Arn, Arni**

L. b) **Willelmi f. Arn** (Lincoln) e.13th RA VIII 2277.

Y. a) in **Arnestorp DB 323v** (lost place, ? in Goxhill, Holderness W, E). – in **Arnesrode 13th** (f.n. in Calverley, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 227. – perhaps in **Arngillhead 1719** (f.n. in Barden, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 62.

b) ? **Arn’ festerman** [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Arne Grimsune**, witness, [1087–1109] 14th YCh 1. 384.

*Arn* is either a strong side-form to *Arni* (DgP 53) or the bird-name, cf. OIcel *ørn* "eagle", although the latter most frequently shows mutation to *ǫrn*. *Arni* (Lat *Arno*) is a short form of some name beginning with the el. *Arn-* (Nord.Kult.VII 60,65). The two names are difficult to distinguish from each other in both Scand and English sources (Lind 47-48; DgP 52-53, 59-60; Lundgren-Brate 14-15).

The 1719 p.n. may alternatively contain the OE common noun *earn* "eagle". The form *Arn'* of the festerman's name may in reality be an abbreviation for some compound name in *Arn-*.

### Arnbjörn

L. b) **Erneberne** gen., Vluiet's sororius TRE DB 72/1. – **Erneber** TRE DB 18/11.12.17-20, 27/34, 51/2, 52/2, **Gerneber** 72/9, **Erneberni** gen. 72/47. It is not certain whether all these references are to one and the same man. – **Arnebertus** (Irnham) 1166-91 YCh 6. 76. – **Hernebern** (Rauceby) 1185 Templ 93. – **crofti Arberni** (Thurlby-by-Bourne) c1190-95 Dane 449. – **Ernebern'** gen. (Goxhill) 7/6 1190, **Arenibern** 20/9 1194 FFF 341-42. – **Robertus Arnbern** [c1295] c1315 Terr 163,167.

Y. b) **Erneber**, **Gerneberne** TRE DB 301r. – **Gerneber** TRE DB 317r (bis), 317v (3 times), 318 r (3 times), TRE and 1086 316 v (bis), 317v.

First el. *Arn-*. Second el. *-björn*. One of the most common names in Norw throughout the whole medieval period (Lind 37-39). Fairly frequent in Dan (Lat *Arnbernus*) (DgP 56). Found in a Dan runic inscription as *arnbiornar* gen. (Jacobsen-Moltke 632). Also frequent in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 14-15).

For forms in *Ern-* see § 2. Forms in *Gern-* probably show substitution of the cognate OE el. *Earn-*, OE shifting of stress to the first el. of the diphthong and probably *G-* as an inverted spelling for *I-* (cf. Feilitzen §§ 132. 136). For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For loss of interconsonantal *n* see § 86ii. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For forms in *-bern*, *-ber*, *-bert* see §§ 54.86iii.

### \*Arnbrandr

Y. a) in **Arbrandwyth** 1335 (f.n.) PNYN 332.

b) **Ernebrand**, **Arnebrand** TRE DB 332r. – ? **Arnebraunk de Lund** 1251 AssC 49. – **Arnebrandus** (Osgodby) [? 13th] 13th-14th Selby 671. – **Waltero f. Arnebrandi de le Nesse** (Rawcliffe) [? 13th] 13th-14th Selby 890-31.

First el. *Arn-*. Second el. *-brandr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For the form in *Ern-* see § 2. For loss of interconsonantal *n* see § 86ii. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *-aun-* see § 7. Final *k* for *d* or *t* is probably a scribal error.

### Arngeirr

Y. b) **Arnenger** TRE DB 300v. – **Arngar** (Allerthorpe) 1185 Templ 124.

First el. *Arn-*. Second el. *-geirr*. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel and found frequently there and occasionally in Norw (Lind 43–44). There are a couple of instances in Dan (Lat *Arngerus*) (DgP 59) and a few in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 720).

For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. The second *n* in the DB form is due to ditto-graphy (cf. Feilitzen 162). For *-ger* and *-gar* see §§ 50.52.

### Arngrím

L. b) **Argrim** gen., his lands in the possession of his grand-daughter Asceria filia Ioslani, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 447. – **Arengrimus f. Habb'**, Abbe (Grainthorpe) l.12th, [ante 1224] c1330 RA IV 1400, 1412. – **Arnegrim de Sumercotes** [c1180] l.13th FP 155. – toftum **Arnegrim** patru sui (Baldricus father of Richard; Grainthorpe) [c1200] c1225 RA V 1611. – **Arngrim f. Godrici** abl., witness, [c1200] c1225 RA V 1663,1676. – **Coffol son of Arengrim** (Covenham) 1219 FFM 151. – **Roberto f. Arngrim**, witness, [c1220–30] c1330 RA V 1697. – **terram Willelmi f. Roberti f. Arngrim, Argrim** [c1230–40] c1330 RA V 1693–94. – **Willelmus f. Arnegrim** (Ormsby) [1250] 1409 GH 21 p.49. – **Ricardus Arnegrun, Ricardum Argrym de Wargholm'** (probably Wragholme in Grainthorpe), juror of Ludborough W, 1298 AssTh 204, 475.

Y. b) **Arnegrin, Haregrin; Aregrin** TRE DB 300v, 331r; TRE and 1086 DB 331r, **Hernegrimus monachus; Hernegrinus, Hernegrimus** [1088–93] 14th; [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 350; 354. A. became a monk after 1089 and gave most of his estates to St. Mary's, York. – **Haregrimo caperario comitis** abl., witness, c1166–89 YCh 8. 124. – **Arengrimo** abl., witness, [1175–77] 17th YCh 3. 1628.

First el. *Arn-*. Second el. *-grím*. The name occurs fairly frequently in Icel and, although it is rare in Norw, the Icel forms indicate that it must have been common there in the Viking period (Lind 45–46). It is not certain whether the name was known in EScand as the only instances recorded in DgP 59 are of the names of moneyers, who may have come from the Danelaw.

For forms in *Ern-* see § 2. For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For loss of interconsonantal *n* see § 86ii. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For final *n* instead of *m* see § 81i. The form *grun* has probably resulted from a minimisreading, although it may represent AN scribal *u* for *y* with *y* for *i* (see §§ 22.37).

### Arketill

L. a) in **Arkelcroft** 1163 (f.n. in Saltfleetby, Louthesk W) Bower 527. – in **Archelcrof** 12th (f.n. in Rigsby-with-Ailby, Calcewath W) Bower 466. – in **Harchelcroft** 12th (f.n. in Addlethorpe, Candleshoe W) Bower 474. – in **Arkelhowe** c1220 (f.n. in Newton-by-Toft, Ludborough W) Bower 427. – in **Arkelrighes** E<sub>1</sub> (f.n. in Ingham, Aslaoe W) Bower 547. – in **Arke-tesneuland** 1360 (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – in **Arthelrow** 1611 (f.n. in Ulceby-with-Fordington, Calcewath W) Bower 470.

b) **Archil** TRE DB 3/20.35, 4/4, 7/57, 30/19, 31/9, 56/19, gen. 72/12.13, **Archel** 7/53, 12/7, 18/28, gen. 72/33. Not certain whether all these references are to one and the same man. – **Archil** tegnus TRE DB 68/26.32.34, TRE and 1086 67/5. – **Archil de Widerne** 1086 DB 69/39. – **Arkilli** gen. (Boston) [l.12th] 1409 GH 13 p.109, 14 p.110. – **Deuleward f. Arketil, Arkel de Scaup'** [c1225] 14th FP 201–02. – **Andrew Arketel** (Stanford) 9/12 1256; 19/5 1262 FFF 130,151; 185.

Y. a) perhaps in **Archesei(a)** DB (Arksey, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 24. – in **Arkelmire** 12th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Arkilmireflat** 12th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Arkillesgarth** 1199 (Arkengarthdale, Gilling W W, N) PNYN 295. – in **Arkilker** c1200 (f.n. in Flasby, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 52. – in **Arkelbek** 1226 (r.n., probably a back-formation from Arkengarthdale above) PNYN 295. – in **Arkelsit** 1240 (Arkleside, Hang W W, N) PNYN 253. – in **Archil-, Arkilcroft** 13th (f.n. in Stainforth, W Staincliffe W, W, probably named from an Arkillus referred to in 1226) PNYW 6. 156. – in **Arkilhou** 1244 (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Arkilland** 1342 (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Arkilton** 1476 (Arkle Town, Gilling W W, N, probably a back-formation from Arkengarthdale above) PNYN 295. – in **Arkylcroft** 1476 (probably identical with Addle Croft, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 231. – in **Arkell Nook** e.18th (f.n. in Clint, L Claro W, W, possibly named from Archil, the tenant TRE) PNYW 5. 99.

b) **Arkitel** minister, witness, [958] 14th YCh 1. 3. – **Arcetel** festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Archil** TRE DB 298v, 379r. – **Archil** (Kepwick) TRE DB 301r, **Kille f. Escheli** (Kepwick) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931. The *s* in the 12th-cent MS, corrected in the ed. to *r*, is probably a

scribal error. – Archil TRE DB 310v (4 times), 311r (3 times), 312r, 312v (8 times), 313r, 330r (3 times). Son of Ecgrid, father of Gospatric, husband of Siegrith daughter of Kilvert son of Ligulf. Archil forfeited his lands in 1068. – Archil TRE DB 315v, 317v. – Archil TRE DB 321v, 322r, terra Archel f. Vlf TRE DB 374r, Archil 1086 DB 322r. – The next two references may also be to A. son of Ulf, Archil TRE DB and 1086 331r, 331v (4 times). – Archil TRE DB 329r (bis), 321v, terra Archel f. Vlstan TRE DB 373v. – It is not known how many individuals are represented by the following instances in DB. Some references may be to one or other of the above-mentioned men. Archel TRE DB 300r (bis), Archil gen., terra Archil et fratris eius TRE DB 298r, 373v, Archil TRE DB 300r (4 times), 300v, 301r (bis), 301v (bis), 306r, 307r, 308r, 315v, 316r, 318r (4 times), 319r, 320r, 320v (bis), 323r, 327r, 328v, 331v, 332r (8 times). – Arkil f. Thurkilli [1100–1115] 12th YCh 2. 931. – Archil presbiter de Lithum [c1125–35] 13th YCh 2. 762. – Copsi f. Arkilli, witness, [1136–45] 15th YCh 4. 19. – Wallef f. Archilli (Herlshow) 1139–40 YCh 1. 62. – Archel nom., acc. and gen. (Brayton) [1141–47] 13th–14th, Archil, rusticus, [1145–55] 13th–14th YCh 3. 143–44, Thomam f. Archilli (Brayton) [1170–85] 13th–14th YCh 3. 1738. – Archill[o] de Rauenestorp, witness, [1142–45] 1.12th YCh 9. 89. – Arkillo decano, witness, 1147–53 YCh 11. 151. – Gamelus f. Arkili, Archilli [c1160–80]?, [1148–56] 14th–15th YCh 11. 214–15. – Archillo abl., witness, [1150–57] ? YCh 2. 1111. – Archel de Botercrame [c1150–60] c1400 YCh 2. 828. – Ricardus f. Archilli, witness, [1149–53] 15th YCh 1. 67, Ricardus f. Arch[illi] [1154–62] 15th YCh 11. 270, Ricardus f. Arkil et Adam filius ejus [c1154–72] 15th YCh 11. 160. – Archillo abl., witness, [1157–66] c1640 BS 517. – Hermerius f. Archilli [c1160–81] 14th YCh 5. 187. – Archillus de Steinl[ei] [c1165–75] 15th YCh 1. 507. – Archillo abl., witness, [c1170–85] 17th YCh 11. 181. – Arkillo abl., witness, [c1170–90] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1870. – Willelmo f. Arkilli de Em-melaie 1175–86 YCh 3. 1809. – Gilibertus f. Arkil (Cold Kirby) 1185 Templ. 129. – Gamel f. Arkil (Cold Kirby) 1185 Templ. 129. – Thome f. Arkil (Wauldby) 1185 Templ. 131. – terram Arkilli Connanni (Malthum) [1184–1204] 14th YCh 11. 65. – Robertus f. Arkilli (Copmanthorpe) [c1190–1210] 17th YCh 1. 554. – Willelmo f. Arkil, Arkel, witness, [e.13th] 15th, [1201–20] 15th YCh 11. 149, 154. – Arkillus (Thornton) 1202 FFb 69. – Thomam f. Arkilli (Hetun') 1202 FFb 15. – Willelmo f. Arkilli 1202 FFb 63. – Radulphus f. Arkilli (Fangfoss) 1203 FFb 79. – Suan' f. Arkill' 1218–19 AssSel 433. – Robertus f. Arkell' 1218–19 AssSel 652. – Paueya uxor Arkell' de Breddal' 1218–19 AssSel 945. – Willelmo f. Archil, Arkil, witness, [1233–43] 17th; 1219–32 YCh 7. 76–77; 103, Willelmo Arkyl,

witness, [1227-43] 17th YCh 7. 80, Thoma f. Willelmi f. Archili, Archel de Malghum, witness, [1247] 17th, [1256-73] 17th YCh 7. 78, 99. – Robert Arkel (Warter) 1260 AssC 105. – Godwynus alias Hugo Arkil [? 13th] 13th –14th Selby 223.

First el. *Arn-*. Second el. *-ketill*. There is one early instance in Icel and some few later ones in Norw (Lind 49-50). The name is found in runic inscriptions from Denmark, *arkil* (coin) and Swed, *arnkil*, *arkil* (Jacobsen-Moltke 632) and there are a number of other instances in Dan (DgP 60). Found in Normandy both independently and in p.ns. (Adigard 77-78).

For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For loss of interconsonantal *n* see § 86ii. For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For spellings in *-cetel*, *-kitel* see § 16. In the L p.n. *Arthelrow* it is possible that *th* has been substituted by the scribe in error for *ch*. For the Y p.n. *Archeseia* comparison should be made with a p.n. in Essex which appears in DB as *Archedanam* but has a later form *Härkelesheldane* 1387 (PNEss 516). This single late form suggests that the Essex p.n. may in fact contain the pers.n. *Arnketill* and if this assumption is correct, a similar reduction may have taken place in the Y p.n., although there is no evidence to support this.

#### \*Arnketilbarn

L. b) Archilbar TRE DB 16/49.

The pers.n. *Arnketill* plus *barn* “child, young man”. An Anglo-Scand formation.

#### Arnlaugr

Y. a) perhaps in (H)erleuestorp DB, Arleythorpe 1184, Arlaugthorpe 1301 (Allerthorpe, Halikeld W, N) DEPN and PNYN 225.

First el. *Arn-*. Second el. *-laugr*. A rare name. Borne by a settler in Greenland but not otherwise recorded independently in WScand, although it is probably to be found in two p.ns. in Norw (Nord.Kult.VII 162, n.264). Some few instances in the form *Arløgh* are recorded in Dan (DgP 52).

The DB form of the Y p.n. suggests that the first el. is rather *Herleifr* q.v. or *Hjorleifr* q.v.

For loss of interconsonantal *n* see § 86ii.

#### Arnoddr

Y. a) perhaps in Arnorthchirst 1239 (f.n. in Ledston, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 52.

First el. *Arn-*. Second el. *-oddr*. Borne by one of the original settlers in Icel and found fairly frequently there later but not in Norw (Lind 52) and only once in ODan (DgP 61).

Difficult to explain the spelling in the p.n. See the next name.

### Arnroðr

Y. a) perhaps in *Arnortheirst* 1239 (f.n. in Ledston, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 52.

First el. *Arn-*. Second el. *-(f)røðr*. This name appears occasionally in Norw after 1341, generally spelt *Androder* (Lind 53).

For metathesis of *rø* see § 75i. For representation of *ø* by *o* see § 43.

### Arnþórr

L. b) *Artor* TRE DB 3/27.

Y. a) in *Amthorhegge* 1189 (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 191. – in *le Arther(h)eng(es)* 1285–1315 (f.n. in Bolton Percy, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 223.

b) *Arþor festerman* [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9, *Artor* TRE DB 308r, 316r, 329v. – *Artor* presbyter TRE and 1086 DB 330v. – *Artor* TRE and 1086 330v.

First el. *Arn-*. Second el. *-þórr*. The earliest WScand instances appear as *Arnþorr*, *Arndorr* but later forms are generally *Anðor*, *Andor* (Lind 57–58). *Andor* is the only form found in Dan (DgP 39) and Swed (Lundgren-Brate 12).

For loss of interconsonantal *n* see § 86ii. For *m* for *n* see § 81iii. For assimilation of *rn* to *n* see BrNGG § 335.4. For *t* for *þ* see § 111ii.

### Arnulfr

L. b) *Ernulfus* presbiter de Petteworthe [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 15 p. 7. – *Arnulfi* gen. (Habrough) c1190 Dane 272. – *Arnolf de Framton* 1202 Ass 150.

Y. a) ? in *Ernulfes-*, *Einulvestorp* DB, *Hernoldest(h)orp* 1147 etc. (Arnthorpe, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 37.

Y. b) *Arnolfo de Upsale* abl., witness, [1182–c1210] 17th YCh 11. 232.

First el. *Arn-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Appears early and frequently in OWScand, mainly in the mutated form *Ǫrnólfr*. Found as an el. in several Norw p.n.s. (Lind 1258–63). One uncertain instance in ODan (DgP 61). Found in Swed runic inscriptions (SRSö nr 359, SRU nr 703).

Alternative etymons for the L and Y forms are OE *Earnwulf* and the common ContGerm *Arnulf* (Forssner 35–36).

For *E-* for *A-* see § 2.

#### *Asa* fem.

Y. b) *Asa* TRE DB 322v (3 times). – terra *Asæ*, wife of *Bernulf*, TRE DB 373r (bis). – *Asa*, terram *Asæ* TRE DB 331r, 373v.

Short form of names in *As-* (Nord.Kult.VII 61). Cf. *Asi*. Common in both W and EScand (Lind 60–62; DgP 64; SRU nr 170).

#### *Asbjørn*, *Esbjørn*

L. a) in *Esbernebi*; *Osbernedebi*; *Osbernebi* DB (Osbourneby, Aveland W) 24/90; 57/15–17.21; 72/53. – in *Osbernthorpe* 14th (f.n. in Newton-by-Toft, Ludborough W) Bower 427.

b) *Esbern*; *Sbern*; *Sberne* TRE DB 3/16, 14/3.83; 12/17.19, 26/9, 48/2, 57/5; 22/33, 26/3, 47/1. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – *Randulphus f. Hosber*, witness, [e.H<sub>2</sub>] 1411 GH 9 p. 94. – *Hoseber f. Clak*, witness, [e.H<sub>2</sub>] 1411 GH 9 p. 94.

Y. a) in *Osbernescahebec* 1181–90 (f.n. in Pannal, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 119. – in *Osebne-*, *Hosbernerode* c1190, c1200 (f.n. in Darrington, Os-goldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 65. – in *Osebarnerode* 13th (f.n. in Armley, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 216. – in *Osbernridding* 1320 (f.n. in Hambleton, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 30. – in *Osberode* 1402, *Osburne Riding* 1587 (f.n. in Rastrick, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 42.

b) *Gamel Asbearn*, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8n. – *Raganald Asbeornnas suna festerman* [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – *Esbern* TRE DB 300v.

First el. *As-*. Second el. *-bjørn*. The name was very common in Norw from the time of the settlement of Icel onwards. A few forms in *Æs-* appear there later but are probably loans from EScand (Lind 63–65; Nord.Kult.VII 65). Forms in *Æs-* are very common in Dan and a few runic forms have *as-* or *as-* spellings but these probably also represent *Æs-* (Jacobsen-Moltke 632, 746). The Dan runic forms *usbiaur* . . . nom. and *usbiarnar* gen. may perhaps be side forms to *As-* showing *u*-mutation. There are numerous instances of *Osbern* in Normandy, possibly loans from England (Adigard 275–87).

Several of the p.ns. in L and Y may include the LowGerm pers.n. *Osbern* (Feilitzen 338), although the name is more likely to be an anglicised form of Scand *Asbjørn*.



For spellings in *Es-*, *Os-*, *S-* see §§ 11.65. For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *-bern*, *-barn* see §§ 54.15. *-beorn* represents substitution of the cognate OE el.

### Asfriðr

L. a) in *Osfyrdtuna in Hoylandia* 1060, *Asferton*, *-tun*, *Asfortonia* 1316 (*Asperton*, *Wigtoft*, *Kirton W*) Payling 108.

b) *Offerd* (sic for *Osf-* ?) TRE DB 27/59. – *Ansfrid* priest 1086 DB 62/2. – *Ansfrid* 1086 DB 8/6. – *Anfrid de Canceio*; *Canci* LiS 2/14, 7/21; 8/12. – *Anfrid* (Swinhope) LiS 8/1. – *Asferth* (Toresbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – *Anfrido de Chandun* abl. c1150 Stenton Feudalism 6. – *Anfrido de Claskesbi* abl. c1150–60 Dane 257. – *Anfrido* abl. c1158 Stenton Feudalism 31. – *Anfrido de Hulesbi* abl., witness, c1160 Dane 301. – *Anfrido de Sottebi* abl., witness, 31/1 1160 Dane 219. – *Anfredi f. Iuonis* gen. c1170–80 RA VII 2075. – *Anfrido f. Ricardi* abl., witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 475. – *Anfredi f. Starkeri* gen. (Ulceby) [1187–93] e.14th YCh 10. 41.

Y. b) *Ansfrid'* 1086 DB 315r. – *Ansfridus* presbiter, witness, [c1121–38] 12th YCh 6. 9. – *Simon nepos Ansfridi* [c1142–54] 15th–16th YCh 1. 450. – *Roberto f. Anfridi*, witness, [1150–60] 17th YCh 2. 1097. – *Alanus f. Anfridi* [1154–56] 15th YCh 11. 268. – *Anfridi de Fleineburg* gen. 1155–57 YCh 2. 1148. – *Anfredus de Canci* [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354, *Anfridi de Chanci* gen., *Anfridus* [1166] 13th RBE 426, *Anfridus*; *Amfridus*; *Anfridi* gen.; *Amfrido* abl. de *Canci* [1160–70] 13th and c1400; [1160–c1175] 13th, [c1160–67] 13th, 1175–86, [1188–94] 17th; [1166] 13th, [1160–c1175] 13th; [c1165–80] 14th YCh 2. 832, 836; 834, 837–38, 842; 833, 834; 683. A. died c1128. His grandson appears as *Anfridus f. ejus* [*Walter f. Anfridi*]; *Amfridus de Canci*; *Anfridi* gen., *Anfrido* abl. [1179–80] 13th; [1180–90] c1400 and 14th; [1165–80] c1400 YCh 2. 835; 845–46; 851. – *Willelmo fratre Andfridi* witness, [1160–70] 13th YCh 2. 832. – *Anfrido clerico f. Arnaldi* dat. and abl. [1160–75], [1165–80] both c1400 YCh 2. 836, 851. – *Anfridus* [sacerdos], witness, [? c1170–90] 17th YCh 8. 145. – *Anfrido presbitero* abl., witness, 4/8 1174 YCh 6. 147. – *Anfridus* presbiter, witness, 1174–c95 17th YCh 2. 678. – *Anfridus f. Ricardi* (Lead) 1208 FFBb 149.

First el. *As-*. Second el. *-friðr*. The name is not very common in Scand. There are several instances in Dan of *Osfrid*, however, (DgP 65–66) and some Dan coins bear the moneyer's name *Asferth*, *Asferd* and in runes *asfarþ*. These forms may be Anglo-Scand, showing contamination by OE *Ōsferð*, *Ōsfrīð* (Hald Om personnavnene 187). Cf. also *Asfrøðr* below.

It is uncertain whether the majority of the L and Y forms in *-frid* do in fact represent Scand *Asfriðr*, but since the possibility cannot be excluded, they have been included here. It is perhaps more likely that they derive from ContGerm *Ansfred*, *Ansfrid* or OE *Eanfrid* (Forssner 28), although the *An(s)*- spellings could represent adaptation of the Scand name by AN scribes to forms to which they were more accustomed.

For spellings in *An(s)*- see above and § 11. For *d* for final *ð* see § 116iv. Inorganic *d* in *And-* may be an inverted spelling, as interconsonantal *d* often disappeared after *n* in the work of AN scribes (see § 108ii).

### Asfrøðr

L. a) in Ashforhebi 12th, Alfordebi H<sub>2</sub>, Hasfordebi 1200, Esfordebi 1202 (Asserby, Calcewath W) Bower 141. – in Asfordcroft 1200 (f.n. in Saxilby, Lawress W) Bower 568. – in Hasfordhirn 1316 (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

b) Asfort; Asford; Asford gen. TRE DB 4/3, 71/9; 27/7, 49/2; 72/4. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – Asuert, Asford, Asfort, Abbot Thorald's man, 1086 DB 8/34–35.37. – Afford (sic for Asford) pistore, witness, c1140 Dane 468. – Asford' f. Ucce, abl., witness, c1150 Dane 289. – Asford (Killingholme) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 290, Robertus gener Asford [l.12th] l.13th Dane p.xxi n. – Willelmo f. Asforth (Lincoln) 1195–96 RA VIII 2316. – Rumfaro f. Asford' (Lincoln) c1200 RA VIII 2185.

Y. b) Asford TRE DB 327v, 357v, 366r, gen. 376v.

First el. *As-*. Second el. *-frøðr*. Rare in Scand. One of the orig settlers in Icel bore the name *Asroðr*, *Asraudr* and a Manx runic inscription contains the form *asruþr* (Lind 85).

For forms in *Os-*, *Es-* see § 11. For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For *d*, *t* and *th* for final *ð* see §§ 116.117.118. For spellings *-ford* etc., see §§ 21.43. The forms in *-fer*, *-uerd* probably show confusion with *Asfriðr* q.v.

### Asgautr

L. a) in Osgotebi DB (Osgodby, Walshcroft W) 4/22. – in Osgotebi DB (Osgodby in Lavington, Beltisloe W) 8/8. – in Osgotebi DB 24/18, LiS 16/7, Ansgotebi LiS 16/9 (Osgodby in Bardney, Wraggoe W). – in Osgoteholm 12th (f.n. in W Torrington, Louthesk W) Bower 542. – in Osgotacre H<sub>3</sub> (f.n. in Holton-le-Clay, Bradley W) Bower 409. – in Osgotebarnewude 1249 (f.n. in Coningsby, Horncastle Soke) Bower 512. – in Osgottoftes 13th (f.n. in Stallingborough, Yarborough W) Bower 445. – in

Osgoteneuland 13th (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – in Osgotfeld 1331 (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

b) Ansgot (Burwell) 1086 DB p. 14.55, 55/1.3.4, Ansgot de Burewella; Borewella LiS 16/21; 17/6, 18/3.15. – Hosgoto f. Burghardi dat. (Alvingham) [c1150] 1409 GH 4 p. 104. – Osbertus f. Ansgoti, Asgoti (Alvingham) [c1150], [R<sub>1</sub>] both 1409 GH 4. p. 104, 8. p. 106. – Angot de Thateucia, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 476. – Gunterus f. Angoti de Alebi H<sub>2</sub> Dane 124–25. – Osegot gen. (Scopwick) [H<sub>2</sub>] 1407 GH 9 p. 79. – Angotus de Apelbi, witness, ante August 1175 YCh 6. 105. – Angot abl., witness, l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 427. – Osgotus de Cunighesbi, witness, c1200 Dane 201. – Basind sic, Basing f. Hosgoti, Osgoti (Somercotes) [c1200] c1225 RA V 1664; 1665–66, 1676. – Osgot de Wispinton', Osegot gen. de W. 1202 Ass 595, 1029. – Willelmus f. Angod' (Gelston) 27/10 1208 FF 260.

Y. a) in Ansgotebi DB (Osgoodby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 190. – in Asgozbi DB, Angotby c1160, Osgotby c1160 (Osgodby, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 104. – in Ansgote(s)bi DB, Angotebi 12th, Osegotebi 1200 (Osgodby, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 261. – in Osgotcros wapentac DB (Osgoldcross W, W, takes its name from Osgold Cross q.v.) PNYW 2. 1. – perhaps in Osgottorp 12th, Hosgerthorp 1260 (Osgathorpe Ho, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 211. – in Asegothenge 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in Osgoteland 1260 (Oxgoddes, Holderness W, E) PNYE 38. – in Osgodflat(t)e 1409 (f.n. in Ferrensby, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 92. – in Osgate layne 1421 (st.n. in Pontefract, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 78. – in Osgodley(e) 1539 (Horse Godly, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 58. – in Osgodcross 1652 (Osgold Cross (lost), Pontefract, Osgoldcross W. W) PNYW 2. 79.

b) Os(e)god clapa, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8,8n, Osgod Clapa, Osgot Clapa, Osgod stallere [1044–53] 11th ASC, Osgote dat. [1044–47] l.13th–e.14th, Osgod [1033–35] lost MS ASWrits 14, 53, Osgod Clapa, ante 1046 ASCarters 85. O. was outlawed in 1046 and died in 1054. – Ansgot (Hampole) 1086 DB 316r, Ansgotus Ruffus (Hampole) [1137–39] 17th YCh 3. 1492. – Angoto vice-archidiacono, witness, [1122–c37] 14th YCh 2. 1073. – Ang[oto] persona de Settingingtona [1122–c37] 14th YCh 2. 1073. – Willelmo fratre Ansgotis, witness, [c1150–70] 15th YCh 3. 1650. – Ricardus f. Angoti; Angodi; Angoti de Angotby [1157–58] l.12th, [l.12th] c1400; [1166] 13th; [c1160–81] e.15th YCh 1. 402, YCh 11. 185; RBE 425, YCh 11. 88; YCh 11. 195, Willelmus f. Agnoti; Hosegot; Ansgoti [l.12th] c1400; [1160–70] m.13th; [1180–90] 17th, [1175–91] m.13th YCh 11. 185; YCh 3. 1633; YCh 2. 1070, YCh 3. 1539, Angoti gen., Angoto abl. de Angot(e)by [c1160–66] e.15th, [1204–10] 17th YCh 11. 22, 87. – magistro

**Angoto de Beverli**; magistro **Angoto**; **Ansgoto** witness, [1154–80] 17th, [1177–c90] 14th; 1164–c1172, [1164–75] 14th; c1170–77, [1173] 14th YCh 3. 1397, 1408; YCh 2. 978, YCh 6. 82, YCh 11. 264; YCh 1. 584, 123. – **Simon f. Angod'** 1218–19 AssSel 96. – magister **Angotus**, rector ecclesiae **de Elueley**, **Warinus nepos magistri Angoti** [c1200] 13th–14th Selby 760, 763.

First el. *As-*. Second el. *-gautr*. The name becomes frequent in Norw after 1300 and there are a few earlier instances. It is also found in several Norw p.ns. (Lind 66–68). Dan runic inscriptions contain the forms *askautr*, *asgutr*, *askutr*, *askauss* gen. (Jacobsen-Moltke 632) and spellings in *-got* and *-gut* are frequent elsewhere in Dan (DgP 66–68; DS XI 181) and in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 18).

The form *Ansgot* may either be an adaptation of the Scand name by AN scribes, or, more probably ContGerm *Ansgaud* (Adigard 356–58). Osgathorpe Ho more probably contains *Asgeirr* q.v.

For forms in *Os-*, *An(s)-* see § 11. For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For spellings in *-god*, *-got* see § 47ii. For *d*, *th* for final *t* see §§ 102.103. For *z* for *ts* see § 105ii.

### **Asgeirr, Esger**

L. a) in **Asgerebi** DB (Asgarby, nr Spilsby, Bolingbroke W) 14/68. – in **Asgerecroft** 12th–e.13th (f.n. in Firsby, Candleshoe W) Bower 478. – in **Asegarby** 1201, **Asgarbi** 1202 (Asgarby, Aswardhurn W) DEPN. – in **Asgarcroft** 13th (f.n. in Gt Steeping, Candleshoe W) Bower 485. – in **Asgarsdyk** 1245 (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – in **Asgerewel** c1260 (fishery in Bolingbroke W) Bower 458. – in **Asgarmare** 1601 (f.n. in N Thoresby, Haverstoe W) Bower 418. – in **Little Asgarrs, Asgars Dreane** 1601–11 (f.n.s. in Withum-cum-Stain, Calcewath W) Bower 473.

b) **Ansgerus de Schitebroc** 1086 DB 69/39. – **Angerii** gen. monk of Vaudey Abbey e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 438n. – **Asger f. Gunne de Sumercotes** [c1160] l.13th, **William f. Asgeri de Sumercotes** [c1200] l.13th FP 163–64. – **Ricardus and Willelmus sons of Angeri** (Sixle) [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 6 p.3, 24 p.13, 27 p.16, 45 p.25. – **Angero f. Wlmari** abl., witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 539. – **Angeri coci** gen (Hainton) [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 20 p. 10. – **Angerus gardiner**, witness, [L.H<sub>2</sub> ante 1186] c1640 BS 198. – **Wigotus f. Asgeri; Aasgeri** (Skidbrook) L.H<sub>2</sub>, [l.12th] c1330, [c1200] c1225; [l.12th] c1225 Dane 537, RA V 1706, 1719; RA V 1706, **Hugh f. Wigoti f. Asgeri de Scitebroc** [c1210] 13th FP 137, **Ricardus f. Asghari; Asgari; Asgeri** (Skidbrook) c1180; endorsement 13th; c1220 RA V 1707; RA V 1707; FP 153. – **Asgero** abl., witness, c1170–80 RA VII 2052. – **Angerus de Aisterbi** 1185 Templ 108. – **Reginaldus f. Asgeri de**

Saltfletb' [l.H<sub>2</sub>] c1225 RA V 1632. – Angeri gen. f. Aldebruc, Aldeburgh (Grainthorpe) [R<sub>1</sub>] 1409, [m.H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 8 p. 106, 9 p. 107. – Angerus de Ludena [R<sub>1</sub>] 1409 GH 8 p. 106. – Angeri gen. f. Stan' (Grainthorpe) [R<sub>1</sub>] 1409 GH 8 p. 106. – terre Azg' son of Morant (Grainthorpe) 15/10 1195 FFF 301. – Sigwardi f. Angeri (Hainton) [ante 1198] c1225 RA V 1503a. – Angero abl. de Rednesse [l.12th] [c1200] [H<sub>3</sub>] 1409, GH 16 p. 111, 17 p.111, 19 p.113, Roberto f. Angeri gen. [l.12th] [e.13th] 1409 GH 16 p.111, 20 p.113, Angeri gen. [H<sub>3</sub>] 1409 19 p.112, Anger et Robertus f. eius, witness [l.12th] 1409, Roberto f. Anger, witness, Roberto f. Roberti f. Angeri [e.H<sub>3</sub>, ante 1258] 1409 GH 63 p. 69, 58 p. 67, 60 p. 68, 59 p. 67. – Alani f. Asgeri (Skidbrook) [l.12th] c1225 RA V 1718. – Angerum nigrum (Saltfleetby) c1200 RA V 1639. – terram Willelmi f. Asgher, Asgheri (Somercotes) [c1200] c1225 RA V 1674, 1676. – terram Asgeri in Cudeiles (Grainthorpe) [c1200] c1225 RA V 1616. – Angerum f. Bunde (Beesby) 6/7 1202 FF 96. – Roberti f. Esgari (Saltfleetby) 1/12 1203 FF 178. – Radulfo f. Asgeri, witness, [c1200] c1225 RA V 1669. – Radulfi f. Asger (Grimoldby) ante 25/9 1205 RA V 1595–96. – mansionem Angeri (Skidbrook) c1210–20 RA V 1705. – Angerus, Angerum acc. f. Hugonis 1218 AssSel 174, 176. – quod toftum Angerus f. Brihtie tenet (Yarborough) 7/1 1219 AssSel 270. – Willelmo f. Asgeri, witness, [c1220–30] c1330 RA V 1697. – terram Asgeri (Somercotes) [c1220–30] c1330 RA V 1697. – Angerus de Thorp, capellanus (Kyme Priory) 1236 RotRob 8. – Angeri gen. (Newport) [June 1253] 13th RA II 395.

Y. a) perhaps in Osgottorp 12th, Hosgerthorp 1260 (Osgathorpe Ho, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 211. – in Esegerbrige 1343 (f.n. in Ripon, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 168.

b) terra Asger (Oglethorpe) TRE DB 373v. – Ansgero abl. de Canci [1151–54] 14th YCh 9. 63. – magistro Ansger, Ansgaro abl. witness, [1164–75] 14th–15th YCh 1. 282–85. – Asgere seruianti meo [Matildis committessa de Warewic], Asgare dat. (Spofforth) 1175–94 YCh 11. 66 – toftum qui fuit Asgeri (Pontefract) [1180–90] m.13th YCh 3. 1532. – plegium Anger de Menetorp' 1218–19 AssSel 823. – Rogerum f. Asger' de Breddal' 1218–19 AssSel 944. – Willelmi f. Asgar 1218–19 AssSel 906. – Ricardum f. Willelmi f. Anger 1218–19 AssSel 979.

First el. *As-*. Second el. *-geirr*. This name was common in Norw in the 9th cent but occurs less frequently later (Lind 68–69). Dan runic inscriptions contain the forms *askair* nom. or acc., *eskir* acc., *aski* acc., *askis* gen. (Jacobsen-Moltke 746) and the name is very common in Dan in the forms *Esger*, *Esgir* (DgP 265–70). A number of instances are recorded in Swed runic inscriptions (cf. SRU nr 350).

Forms in *An(s)*- may be Norman adaptations of the Scand name or, more likely, ContGerm *Ansger* (Adigard 359). Some of the p.ns. may rather contain the cognate OE *Ōsgār*.

For forms in *Os*-, *Es*-, *An(s)*- see § 11. For *Aa*- see § 12. For inorganic initial *H*- see § 140i. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *z* for *s* see § 123. For *gh* see § 133. For *-ger* and *-gar* see §§ 50.52.

### **Asgerða fem.**

Y. a) in *Asgarthcroft* 1523 (f.n. in Aberford, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 99.

First el. *As*-. Second el. *-gerða*, weak side-form of *-gerðr*. A WScand name (Lind 69) but there are a couple of instances of the form *Asgerðr* (one doubtful) in Swed runic inscriptions (cf. SRU nrs 318, 606).

### **Asi, Esi**

L. a) in *Asebi* DB (Aisby in Corringham, Corringham W) 1/39. – in *Asebi* DB (Aisby in Haydour, Threo W) 26/47. – in *Esetorp* DB 18/3, *Esatorp* LiS 3/8 (Buslingthorpe, Lawress W). – in *Asecroft* 1200 (f.n. in Saltfleetby, Louthesk W) Bower 527. – in *Asewellelane* 1263 (st.n. in Louth) Bower 237.

b) *Ricardus f. Ase*, witness, 1.12th Dane 75, *Richard son of Ase*, fined in Lincoln 1191, Hill 397, *Ricardo f. Ase* c1190–1200 RA VIII 2321.

Y. a) in *Esebi* DB, *Esby* 1307 (Easby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 167. – in *Asebi* DB, *Esseby* 1157, *Esebi* 1190 (Easby (lost), Birdforth W, N) PNYN 185. – in *Asebi* DB, *Esebi* 1151 (Easby, Gilling W W, N) PNYN 287. – in *Asadale* 1119 (Aysdale Gate, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 147. – in *Estdik* 12th, *Esdic* 13th, *Esedik* c1250 (Easedike, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 242. – in *Eslundes* c1240 (lost place in Easby, Gilling W W, N) PNYN 287. – in *Esgilecote* 13th (Easgill Cote, Gilling W W, N) PNYN 291. – in *Esekelda* 13th (f.n. in Stainburn, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 50. – in *Esebrygg* 1389 (f.n.) PNYN 332.

b) *Æse* inscription ? 10th, St Mary's Church, York, Ekwall Selected Papers 57. – *Asi* TRE DB 308r.

Short form of names in *As*-. Rare in WScand but borne by the father of one of the orig settlers in Icel (Lind 72–73). Some few forms in both *Asi* and *Esi* are found in Dan, including some p.ns. (DgP 68, 271; Jacobsen-Moltke 746; DS IV 181; VIII 144; IX 55, 119; XI 103) and in Swed runic inscriptions (cf. SRU nrs 17, 846).

The early spellings of Easedike have probably been influenced by OE *east* but the first el. may be *east* and the later forms would then show assimilation of *id* to *d* (PNYW 4. 242). For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Asketill, Eskil

L. a) in **Asketelhage** 1189 (f.n. nr Edenham ?) Lindkvist 173.  
 b) **Askytelo** dat. 1060–66 KCD 819, **Aschil** TRE DB 8/15.17.23.27–28, 71/15; brother of Siric, Siworth and Abbot Brand, son of Toki; died in 1066, possibly at one of the battles. – **Aschil**, brother of Siuuate, Ælnoð and Fenchel, son of Godwin, TRE DB 3/22, 69/38, 70/30. – **Aschil** TRE DB 4/11.13–14.53.57.59.72–73, 12/7, 16/45, 26/22.24.30.49, 29/29, 38/14, 51/4, gen. 69/28. – **Aschil** the thane TRE DB 72/11. – **Anschitill** the abbot's man, (St Peter of Burgh) 1086 DB 8/8. – **Anschitil**, Roger of Poutou's man, 1086 DB 16/43.45. – **Anschitill**, Gilbert Tison's man, 1086 DB 23/1. – **Anschitil**, **Anchitil**, Colsuain's man, 1086 DB 26/10.30. – **Anschitil**, Gocelin's man, 1086 DB 28/2.7. – **Anschitil**, the late (quondam) cook, TRW DB 22/26. – **Aschil** tainum regis 1086 DB 67/8. – **Aschil** the priest 1086 DB 57/34. – **Anscetil de Scuris** LiS 2/4. – **Anschetil** (Huttoft) LiS 15/15. **Anschetil Egheling** LiS 18/7. – **Willelmus f. Anschetil** LiS 3/4, 15/10. – terra **Anschetilli** seruiensis (Waddington) 1142–53 Dane 496. – **Aschel** (Toresbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – **Anschetillo de Kela** abl., witness, 1146–53 Dane 515. – **Ansketillo de Ruchtona** abl., witness, c1150–60 Dane 176, **Asketini** fratris eius (Robert Calf of Roughton) 1163 Dane 186. – **Aschetinus** (Lincoln) [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Willelmus Asketilli filius** (Binbrook) [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Aschatillus Siwata** (Lincoln) [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Hanchetino f. Hugonis** abl., witness. e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 505. – **Asketinus f. Od** (Kirkstead) 1163 Dane 186. – **Aschetinus**, witness, (Lincoln) c1160–70 RA VIII 2192. – **Anquetillo Mallore** abl., witness, 1163 Dane 471. – **Asketinus Dun**, witness, c1170–80 RA VIII 2242. – **Hanchetin de paruo Stepinge** abl., witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 506. – **Waltero f. Aschetilli de Luda** H<sub>2</sub>, **Askilli de Luda** contemporary endorsement, **Hancetin de Lud** [l.12th] ? Dane 544–45. – **magistro Anketino de Horne-cástra**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 200. – **Anketino de Cestria** abl., witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 483. – **cultura Askel** (N Elkington) [H<sub>2</sub>] ? YCh 1. 544. – **Astino de Glentworth** abl., witness, [1171–72] 1407 GH 19 p. 86. – **Robertus f. Aschetini de Hallestede**, witness, c1172–80 Dane 381. – **Willelmus f. Askel** (Halton Hologate) 1185 Templ 109. – **Johanni f. Astun** (Swineshead) 1185 Rot Dom 4. – **Aschelus** (Burton Pedwardine), **Radulfo f. Ascheli** (Burton Pedwardine) [1188–97] c11640 BS 324. – **Gilebert f. Aschel**, witness, l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 537, 542. – **Astino f. Ricardi de Scamtona** abl., witness, l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 215. – **Accha Muding libero homine meo** (Geoffrey de Keddington) l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 541, **terre Acche**; **Acke Mudding** (Saltfleetby) e.13th; [1239–45] c1330 RA V 1641–42; 1654, **Aschel Mudding** l.12th, **Gunnilda filia Acche**

Mudding, Ac e.13th FP 95–96. – Willelmi f. Aschel (Skidbrook) [l.12th] c1225 RA V 1718, Askel f. Basing de Skitebroc [l.12th] c1225 RA V 1712. – Gileberto f. Aschelli, witness, l.12th Dane 548. – Johannes and Galfridus sons of Hasti de Bolebi l.12th, Asketini de Bolebi l.12th, Astini l.12th seal, Asti, Anketini e.15th endorsements Dane 434–36. – magistro Asketino, witness, l.12th Dane 524. – Demilda uxor Askel (Horkstow) [1180–1204] l.13th YCh II. 286. – Aschello de cimiterio abl., witness, c1200 RA V 1645. – Ascherino (sic for Aschetino) paldela abl. l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 214, Aschetillo Pelldelu abl. [c1200] 1407 GH 17 p. 84, Anketil Piaudelu acc. and gen.; Anketill' gen.; Anketillo Peudelupo abl. 1202 Ass 453, 604; 614a, 618; 1035, Anketil[lum] acc.; Anketillus 1206 Ass 1361, 1407; 1407, Anketino Peal de Lou, Peaudelu, Peudelov abl., witness, c1215, 1220, 1230 RA II 584, 587–88, 626, Anketillo Pell de Lupo abl., witness, 1230–39 RA II 639, Anketill Peau de Louth sic? 1234 FFM 291. – Radulfus f. Askel, Askell' (Withcall) [c1200–05] c1225, e.13th RA V 1581–82. – Astin Renhewai abl., witness, c1200–10 RA VIII 2236. – Conano et Willelmo filiis Anketilli; Alano f. Astini; Hanketill'; Willelmum f. Hanketilli, Hanketill' 1202 Ass 510; 509, 194; 194; 195. – Ernild' filiam Asketini 1202 Ass 393. – Astinus de Wispinton', Astini gen., Astino abl. 1202 Ass 595, 1029, CrownPleas 24. – Anketinum percatores Hugonis Bardulf, Anketinus messor H. B., Anketillo messero de Lutha 1202 Ass 624, 627, 1032; the meaning of percator is not known. – Willelmus f. Askel 1202 Ass 793, 1050. – Simon f. Astini 1202 Ass 903. – Hamonem f. Askel 1202 Ass 946. – Odone f. Anketil 1202 Ass 1060. – Asti f. Osberni de Hofleet, Astillo f. Osberti dat. 1202 Ass 935, 1068. – Robertum f. Anketil 1206 Ass 1358. – Philippus f. Rogeri f. Astini de Kime 1206 Ass 1451. – Astini f. Reginaldi gen. (Fishtoft) [e.13th] 13th RA VII 1965. – Rannulfo f. Aschil e.13th RA V 1710. – Anketino de Stretona abl., witness, c1210, c1215 RA IV 1237–39, Hugone, Bartholomeo, Johanne filiis Anketini, Anketilli, witnesses, c1215, c1230–40 RA IV 1239, 1246 Anketill' de Stretton' abl., witness, 1218 AssSel 530. – Anketillum de Quarelton' acc., Anketillus (Carlton) 1218 AssSel 81. – Robert son of Anketin (Barton) 1219 FFM 152. – Petrus f. Asketill' 1219 AssSel 274. – Hugo de Astin (sic for f. Astin) 1219 AssSel 306. – Anketill' de Duuedich (Dowdyke) 1219 AssSel 886. – Henrico f. Askel de Normanby, witness, c1220 RA IV 1134. – Walterum f. Anketilli de Stueton' 1220 CrownPleas 197. – William son of Astin (Wrangle) 1221 FFM 158–59. – Astino clerico, witness, 1223–30 RA VII 2033. – John son of Anketill (Harpeswell and Helmeswell) 1226 FFM 190. – Ivo son of Astin 1226 FFM 199. – William son of Askell (Heckington) 1226 FFM 213. – Anketino de Stowa, witness, 16/4 1229 RA II 618. – Robert f. Ascheli, Robert f. Willelmi f.



Askel de Saltfleby c1230, c1250 FP 97–98. – Astino abl., witness, ? c1230 RA III 1040. – Astinus (Withcall) c1230–40 RA V 1591. – Hancthin, Anchetillo f. **Johannis** abl., witness, c1230–40 RA IV 1142–43. – Hankino de pistrino dat. 1/6 1233 RA II 372. – Anketill de Branceby 1234 FFM 286. – Anketill prior of Boxegrave 1235 FFM 290. – Ancketino Sigerick' abl. c1235–40 RA IV 1243. – Henrico f. **Astini de Ballio Lincoln'** 1238–45 RA II 539,541,550–51; 1246–63 ib. 542; c1250–60 ib. 543–44. – **Ada f. Astini** (Lincoln) [1244–45] ? RA VIII 2298. – **Ade f. Roberti f. Astini de Lincolnia** c1240–50 RA VIII 2271,2293. – **Simone f. Astini**, witness, c1250–60 RA II 544. – **William Askel'** 1263 FFF 192. – **Nicholas son of Anketin de Spalding** 1271 FFF 268. – **Astin le Freman** (Normanby) 1271 FFF 276. – **Willelmi f. Astini** (Warter) 1285 RA II 578. – **Walteri f. Astini sutoris** (Lincoln) 22/1 1293 RA VIII 2353. – **Thome Astyn** abl. 1298 AssTh 282. – **Astini Gimni gen., Austino Guncy** abl., **Austinus Gumy** 1298 AssTh 258, 256, 288.

Y. a) in **Aschilesmars, Aschelesmersc** DB (part of Marishes, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 84. – in **Aschilebi** DB, **Aschelebi** 1161–70, **Eskelby** 12th (Exelby, Halikeld W, N) PNYN 226. – perhaps in **Aschel-, Aschiltorp** DB, **Hascheltorp** 1190 (Haisthorpe, Dickering W, E) PNYE 89. – in **Aschilebi** DB, **Eskilby** 1199 (Asselby, Howdenshire W, E) PNYE 248. – in **Eskeldic** 1143 (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Eschelrode** 12th (f.n. in Headingley, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 143. – in **Aschilrawa** 1200 (f.n. in Parlington, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 100. – in **Eskilberg** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Askeldic** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Eskilscahe** 13th (f.n. in Stainburn, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 50. – in **Esckelriding** 1298 (f.n. in Spofforth, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 37.

b) **Oscetel antistes** [955] 12th, **Oscytel archiepiscopus** [968] 12th, **Oscytel yrcebiscep** [c972] 11th ASCharters 30, 45, 54, **episcopo Oscytello, Oscytel** dat.; (archi)episcopus **Oscytel** [958] 14th, [963] 14th YCh 1. 2,3; 2,3,5, **Osytel arcebiscep** [971] c1000 ASC, bishop of Dorchester from c951, Archbishop of York from 956 until his death in 971; the references to him in Y documents are too numerous for all to be included here. – **Oskytel dux** witness, [959] 12th YCh 1. 4. – **Ascetel festerman** [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Ascetel festerman** (another) [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Aschil** TRE DB 301r, 311v, 313r, (3 times), 320v (8 times), not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Anschitil** (Ainderby Steeple) 1086 DB 310r, **Aschetillus de Furneis** [ante 1130] 14th YCh 5. 282. – **Ansch[itellus] de Bulemer** [1115–29] 14th YCh 1. 500 **Anschetillus** [1129–33] 13th, [1147–53] 13th YCh 2. 1016–17, **Ansketillus** [c1126–29] 13th YCh 2. 1012, **Aschetillus** [c1129–33] 13th YCh 2. 1016,

**Anschetilli; Ansketilli, Aschetilli** gen. [1126–29] 13th, [1129–33] 13th; [1154–63] 14th [1129–35] 14th YCh 2. 1013, 1016; 1053, 1056, **Anschitello; Ansch[etillo]; Anschetillo; Aschetillo** dat. [1114–16] ?; [1124–29] 13th, [1114–23] ?, [c1119–29] 14th, [1119–23] 14th, [1115–23] 14th [1115–29] 17th; [1120–29] 13th, [1120–22] 13th; 1109–14 YCh 2. 976; YCh 2. 1163, 1236, 1. 429–30, 3. 1822, 1. 130, 206; 3. 1426, 1430; 2. 865, **Anschetillo; Anscet[illo]; Aschetillo** abl. [1121–27] 13th; [1153–66] 17th; [c1100–15] 14th, [spurious] 15th YCh 3. 1428; YCh 2. 971; YCh 2. 1001, 854; his grandson, the son of Bertram de B, **Anketin de Bulmer** [1174–91] 17th YCh 6. 155, **Aschetilli** gen. [1154–57] 1.12th YCh 2. 1049, **Aschetillo, Anscet'** abl., witness, [1147–63] 1.12th, [1154–63] c1640 YCh 2. 782, BS 304. – **Askil** (Irby) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931. – **Askil f. Thurkil** (Ellerbeck) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931. – **Aschetinus de Haukesgarth; Ascheutinus; Aschethilus; Ascatinus** [c1109–14] 13th, [c1115–35] 13th, [1140–50] 13th; [c1120–35] 13th; [c1130–48] 13th, [c1120–28] 13th YCh 11. 4, YCh 2. 859, 884; YCh 2. 1072; YCh 1. 313; YCh 2. 883, **Ascantino** dat. [c1120–28] 13th YCh 2. 883, **As[ke]ttillo; Anschetino; Astino** abl. [1150–65] 13th; [c1120–35] 13th; [1135–55] 14th YCh 2. 885; 1071; 1. 376–77. – **Asketinus**, witness, [c1125–39] c1400 YCh 11. 223. – **Iuo f. W[illelmi] Aschetilli** [1131–40] 17th YCh 7. 5. – **Anschetillo capellano de Scardeburg, Aschetino de Scartheburg** abl., witness, [c1134–38] 14th, [1114–50] m.14th YCh 3. 1366, 1379. – **Aschetill** acc., **Aschetillo** dat. [c1137–55] 14th YCh 1. 628; otherwise referred to as **Ascantinus** son of **Ascantinus de Finnmar**. – **Radulfus f. Aschil**, rusticus, (Warter) [1141–42] e.14th YCh 10. 66. – **Asketino** abl., witness, [1142–43] e.15th YCh 3. 1833. – **Anchetillum de Wirecestre** (et filium ejus **Radulfum**) [1143–52] 1.12th YCh 2. 957. – **Aschatillo** dat. (Catterton) [1140–48] 14th–15th YCh 1. 539. – **Asketillus de Hormesheued, Haschetinus** [c1145–56] 17th, 1150–c70 YCh 5. 134, 3. 1895, **Aschetino** abl., witness, [c1145–61] 14th YCh 3. 1377. – **Aschetillus** (Thornton-le-Clay) [c1145–61] 14th YCh 2. 1050. – **Eschillo Brun; Aschill** abl.; **Aschillo; Ascillo** [c1145–61] 14th; c1150–54; [m.12th] 14th; [m.12th] 14th YCh 2. 1050; YCh 1. 348; YCh 5. 328; YCh 5. 329, possibly identical with **Astino f. Willelmi Brun** abl., witness, [1161–84] 14th YCh 2. 848. – **Anschetillus de Malnuer', Ansketillus**, witness, [1147–53] 13th, [1154–77] 13th YCh 2. 1018, 3. 1673, **Aschetino** abl., witness, [1165–75] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1567. – **Rainaldus f. Anketilli de Dardingtona** [1147–55] m.13th YCh 3. 1494. – **Willelmus f. Aschilli, Aschetilli; Askelli** [1150–53] 17th; [1156] m.14th YCh 3. 1381; 1388, his son **Simone f. Willelmi f. Aschilli de Hedon** [1165–75] 14th YCh 3. 1371. – **Aschetino presbitero de Witham** abl., witness, [ante 1153] 1.12th YCh 9. 19. – **Aschetillus f. Gospatric; Aschetinus; Ansketillus; Anschet-**

ill[us] [1154-57] l.12th, [1147-63] l.12th; [1166] 13th; [1166-76] l.12th; c1170 YCh 2. 1049, 782; YCh 2. 777 and RBE 428; YCh 2. 780; YCh 2. 779, **Ansketilli**, **Askilli** gen. [1166-76] l.12th, c1163-85 YCh 2. 780-81, **Aschetillo**, **Anskitillo** dat [1147-63] l.12th, 1165 YCh 2. 782, 778, **Aschetillo** abl., witness, [1154-57] l.12th YCh 2. 1049; A. was known indifferently as de Ridale, de Habton, de Bragebi; the following references may be to his second son, **Anketino de Esingwald** abl., witness, [1204-14] 14th-15th, [1199-1214] 17th YCh 6. 53, 136-37. - **Aschet[ino] f. Aldredi** abl., witness, [1154-67] l.12th YCh 2. 958. - **Anschetillo ostrar[io]** [ante 1155] l.12th YCh 9. 114. - **Aschatillus hostiarius** [1155-65] 14th-15th YCh 1. 332, **Ascatino** abl., witness, [m.12th] 14th-15th YCh 5. 385. - **Aschitillus f. Serlonis**, witness, c1155-65 YCh 11. 202. - **Asketillus Malecaca** [1157-58] l.12th YCh 1. 402. - **Aschetino de Torn[i]** abl., witness, [c1157-66] 13th YCh 2. 1074. - **Aschetillo de Lunda** abl., witness, [1159-70] m.13th YCh 3. 1527. - **Asketino fratre ejus** (Alano forestario) abl., witness, [1160] l.12th [1154-74] l.12th YCh 1. 386-87. - **Ascetillo de Hardewic**, **Aschetillo** abl., witness, [1160-70], [c1160-77] both m.13th YCh 3. 1505, 1773. - **Actinus de Heselertona** [c1160-70] 13th YCh 2. 803; A is probably identical with a man elsewhere referred to as **Anschetil de Heselerton**. - **Asketino de Sproxtuna** abl., witness, [1160-70] l.12th YCh 1. 409. - **Asketinus de Thornatuna** [1160-70] l.12th YCh 1. 409. - **Haschetillus de Huch**, **Anketinus**, **Anketillus** c1190-1207, c1189-1207, 1198 YCh 1. 492, 493, P 106, **Anketillum** acc. 1198 P 106, **Asketini** [1190] c1300 YCh 3. 1312, **Aschetillo**; **Aschetino** abl., witness [c1160-75] 14th [c1180-94] 14th; [1182-84] 17th, YCh 5. 354, 2.796; YCh 6. 25, his sons **Rogerum f. Anketil** 1208 FFBB 132, **Aschetillo** abl. c1190-1207 YCh 1. 492, **Asctin** gen. seal c1190-1207 YCh 1. 492. - **Walterus f. Asketin**; **Asketil** [1166] 13th RBE 419; 433, YCh 6. 52. - **Asketillus miles**, **Asketinus f. Umfridi** [1175-78] e.14th, [ante 1160] e.14th YCh 10. 71, 80, **Asketinus**, **Asketini** gen. [1199] e.14th YCh 10. 81; A. was succeeded in 1160 by his son **Willelmus f. Anketil** [1166] 13th, [1167-68] 13th RBE 433, 41, **W. f. Astini** (Warter) [25/4 1178] e.14th, [1199] e.14th YCh 10. 72, 81, **W. f. Anketelli**, **Asketelli**, **Anschetilli**, **Achetilli** sic [L.H<sub>2</sub>] 14th-15th, [1177-82] e.14th, [1177-82] m.14th, [1210-26] 14th-15th YCh 10. 89, 90, 91, 92, **Ivetam quæ fuit uxor Willelmi f. Anketini** 1206-07 FFBB 101, 106, W. died between 1199 and 1206. - **Ansketillus avus meus** (**Willelmus de Scures**) [1160-75] 17th YCh 2. 826. - **Willelmo aurifabro f. Eskilli** [1160-75] 14th-15th YCh 1. 334. - **Aschetinus de Malamicano**, witness, [c1160-77] m.13th YCh 3. 1772. - **Haschatinus prior sancti Oswaldi** [1161-c70] c1400 YCh 11. 104, **Ansketillum** acc. [1186-87] 13th YCh 2. 1036, **Anketilli** gen. 1177-93 YCh 3. 1643, **Ansketillo** abl., witness, [1185-96] 17th

YCh 6. 118. – **Walterus f. Asketilli de Grimestona**, Ask[et]elli [1162–c76] 1.12th, [1178–81] 1.12th YCh 9. 162, 2. 716. – **Rogero f. Ankilli** [1163–75] 15th YCh 11. 242. – **Asketillo** (et Raulfo fratre suo) abl., witnesses, [1165–80] m.13th YCh 3. 1719. – **Roberto f. Astin** (Pontefract) [1166–94] 17th, [c1180–94] 14th YCh 6. 140, 2. 796. – **Willelmo f. Aschilli palm[er]ii** [1170–76] 14th YCh 2. 677. – **Robertus f. Asketilli de Baddewrd** [1170–80] 13th YCh 3. 1582. – **Asketillo clerico de Wetewang**, witness, [1170–80] 14th YCh 2. 1234. – **Aschetino pincerna**, witness, [c1170–81] 17th YCh 11. 100. – **Robertus f. Asketini** (Austhorpe) [c1170–90] e.13th YCh 3. 1619. – **Anchetino de Fagerman** abl., witness, [1173] 14th YCh 1. 123. – **Asketillus**, rusticus, (Warter) [1175–78] e.14th YCh 10. 71. – **Galfrido f. Anketil', Astini de Burtona** [1175–85] 14th, [1170–75] 14th YCh 2. 1167, 1172. – **Anketino fratre hospitalis St. Petri; Anketin; Hanketino; Anketillo** [c1175–88] 14th–15th, [1190–1210] 14th–15th, [1190–1210] 14th–15th, [1203–12] 14th–15th, 1208–c25; [1190–1212] 14th–15th, [1190–1215] 14th–15th; [1201–18] 14th–15th; [c1185–1211] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1127, 850, 761, 1. 257, 308, 10. 45; 1. 290, 465; 5. 346; 2. 1009. – **Aschet[ino]** fratre ejus (Robertus de Sutton) [1175–90] 14th YCh 2. 685. – **Asketilli de Wygorn[ia]** (Worcester) [1176–86] 1.12th YCh 2. 673. – **Willelmo f. Anketini** [1180–1200] 17th YCh 2. 1129. – **Anketinus Norrais** (Wykeham) [1185–1211] 17th YCh 1. 382. – **Asketillo de Richemunth** abl., witness, 1187 YCh 4. 97. – **Hancketinus de Atlawe** [post 1187] 15th YCh 5. 310. – **Astino** abl., witness, [1187–1207] 14th–15th YCh 1. 50. – **Thomas f. Anketini** (Thorpe Audlin) [1190] 17th YCh 3. 1641. – **Willelmus f. Astini de Hotun** [1190–1210] 17th YCh 1. 600. – ? **Estino Bacun** abl., witness, [1190–1220] 15th YCh 3. 1764. – **Anketino f. Durandi** abl., witness, 1192–1205 YCh 9. 54. – **Anketillum monachum** (Jervaulx) 21/10 1195, 1196 YCh 5. 135 and FFB IV. – **Aschetino Barn et Garino fratre ejus**, witness, [12th] ? 1.12th YCh 2. 713n. – **Asketillus homo meus** (Ricardus f. Roberti de Eston') [1.12th] 13th YCh 6. 109. – **Robertus f. Astun** [1195–1205] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1749. – **Anketillum f. Willelmi** acc. 1201 Pleas 3343. – **Gaufridum f. Askel** (Yokefleet) 1201 FFBb 12. – **Astini de Hippleswell** post 1201 YCh 5. 250. – **Astinus f. Thomæ**, **Astinum** acc., **Astino** dat. (Trumfleet) 1202 FFBb 24. – **Astin de Lende Bodihurst** acc., **Astinus**, **Astini** gen., **Astino** dat. 1202 FFBb 47. – **Radulfum f. Anketini** (Walkington) 1202 FFBb 43. – **Milisant quæ fuit uxor Asketini de Hundeplice** 1202 FFBb 64. – **Anketis the reeve** (Edlington) 1203–04 AssC 4. – **Anketinus de Routhecliue**, **Anketinum** acc., **Anketino** dat. 1208 FFBb 139–40. – **Willelmo Eschill** abl., witness, [12th–13th] 14th–15th YCh 1. 322. – **Anketil of Oteringham** 1218–19 FFP 17. – **Anketin' hominem Petri de Goudinton'** 1218–19 AssSel 486. – **Robertus f.**

**Astin** 1218–19 AssSel 582. – **Alexandrum fratrem Astin'** 1218–19 AssSel 592. – **Astinus le berker** 1218–19 AssSel 885. – **Astinus Stubbing'** 1218–19 AssSel 926. – **Ricardum f. Eskill'** 1218–19 AssSel 1005. – **Anketin' f. Wulmer** 1218–19 AssSel 1032. – **Hancketillo Pendelu** 1226–28 Fees 357. – **Anketil Malore (Dalton)** 1231 FFP 137, **Anketino** abl. (Sutton-super-Derwent) [1284–85] l.15th KI 82. – **Osbert son of Astin (Loversall)** 1231 FFP 160. – **Anketil(l) de Thorenton** 1251 AssC 49, 80. – **Anketinus de Maulay** [1284–85] l.15th KI 82. – **Anketino** abl., witness, [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 597. – **Ricardus f. Astini (Balne)** [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 953. – **Hugo f. Oschel (Pollington)** [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 937.

First el. *As-*. Second el. *-ketill*. With the second el. developed to *-kell* under secondary stress, the name appears frequently in Norw both independently and in p.ns. (Lind 73–75). Dan runic inscriptions contain the forms *askil*, *askl*, *iskil*, *eskil*, *æskil* nom., *askl* acc. (Jacobsen-Moltke 746) and the name appears frequently in other Dan sources as *Es-*, *Æskil* (Lat *Eskillus*, *Eschillus*, *Esquillus*) (DgP 272–76; DS XIII 206). Found fairly frequently in Swed sources as *Æskil* (Lundgren-Brate 312–13).

This name is one of the commonest Scand names in Normandy, generally in the forms *A(n)(s)chitil(lus)*, *A(n)(s)chetil(lus)* (Adigard 287–94) and this fact probably accounts for the dominance of such forms in post-Conquest English sources. Several of the men named in L and Y must be Normans or of Norman descent.

The name takes several different forms in English. First and foremost there are the dominant Norman forms. Then there are forms derived from these by the substitution of the romance diminutive ending *-inus* for *-illus*, giving *Asketinus* etc., also implying Norman influence, in spite of the fact that such forms are apparently not recorded in Normandy (see § 153i). Not all forms in *-ketill* etc. are to be taken as of Norman origin, however. Several early instances in L and Y preserve the unweakened form of the second el., indicating that such forms still survived in the Scand languages at the time of the settlement in England. Note the occasional substitution of cognate OE *-cýtel*. Other early forms are the regular WScand *Askel* and EScand *Eskil*. The comparative rarity of the mutated EScand forms, however, is strange. None are recorded in L, the area of strongest Dan influence, while there are only scattered instances in Y, for the most part in p.ns. A number of short forms of the name are recorded, most of which would seem to have arisen in England. *Astin* appears fairly frequently and would seem to have been a generally recognised diminutive of *Asketill* (see Ekwall Etymological Notes 10–12; G. Fellows Jensen Some Observations 68). It is possible, however, that a few of the forms in *Astin* are

scribal errors for *Austin*, cf., for example, *Astini Gimni*, elsewhere referred to as *Austinus*, although the scribe may well have latinised *Astin* as *Austinus*. Other short forms of the name recorded in L and Y are *Hankin* (< *Hanketin*), *Ankil* (< *Anketil*), possibly *Estin* (by analogy with *Astin*), *Asti*, *Astil*, *Anketis*, *Actin* and, apparently, *Acha* (see Feilitzen Notes 64–65). Note also the form *Aski*, which is treated below as an independent name but which may well be a short form of *Asketill*. It is significant that several of the men in L and Y who bear the name *Asketill* are referred to by varying, often widely differing, forms of it, e.g. in L, *Ansketillus*, *Asketinus de Ruchtona*; *Aschetillus*, *Askillus*, *Hancetin de Luda*; *Accha*, *Aschel Mudding*; *Hasti*, *Asketinus*, *Astinus*, *Asti*, *Anketinus de Bolebi*; *Aschetillus Anketill(us)*, *Anketinus Peaudelu*; *Anketillus*, *Astin*, *Hanketillus*, father of Conanus, Willelmus, Alanus; *Asti*, *Astillus f. Osberti*; *Anketinus*, *Anketillus*, father of Hugo, Bartholomeus, Johannes; *Hancthin*, *Anchetillus f. Johannis*; in Y, *Anschitil*, *Aschetillus de Furneis*; *Anschetillus*, *Aschetillus de Bulmer*, grandfather of *Anketin*, *Aschetillus*, *Anscet de Bulmer*; *Aschetinus*, *Aschethilus*, *Ascatinus*, *Anschetinus*, *Astin de Haukesgarth*; *Anschetillus*, *Aschetinus de Scartheburg*; *Asketillus*, *Haschetinus*, *Aschetinus de Hormesheued*; *Aschill(us)*, *Eschillus Brun*; *Willelmus f. Aschilli*, *Aschetilli*, *Askelli*; *A(n)schetillus*, *Aschetinus*, *Askil(lus) f. Gospatric*; *Haschetillus*, *Anketinus*, *Anketillus*, *Asketinus de Huch*; *Asketillus*, *Asketinus*, *Anketil*, *Astin f. Umfridi*; *Galfridus f. Anketil'*, *Astini de Burtona*. This variation would seem to indicate that the ultimate identity of the various forms was generally recognised by the English and AN scribes so that none of the forms could have been mere fossilised remains.

For forms in *Os-*, *Es-*, *An(s)-* see § 11. For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For *ch*, *cch*, *ck*, *qu* for *k* see §§ 126.127.128. For *-ketel*, *-cytel*, *-kitel*, *-katil* see §§ 16.19.

### \*Asketilbarn

L. b) *Aschilbar* TRE DB 12/8.

The pers.n. *Asketill* plus *barn* “child, young man”. An Anglo-Scand formation.

### Aski

L. a) in *Aschebi* DB 1/39.54.59, 8/26, LiS 1/6, *Asebi* LiS 1/17 (Ashby, Bottesford, Manley W). – in *Aschebi* DB 1/105, 24/72, 66/1, 68/7, LiS 19/6, *Ascbi* LiS 19/4 (W Ashby, Horncastle W). – in *Aschebi* DB 4/67.68, 12/23, *Achesbi* DB 57/1, *Aschebi* LiS 8/1.13, *Ascbi* LiS 8/14 (Ashby-cum-Fenby, Haverstoe W). – in *Aschebi* DB 3/44, 13/6, 69/35, LiS 14/7

(Ashby-by-Partney, Candleshoe W). – in *Aschebi* DB 4/65.66, 28/39, *Ascbi* LiS 17/9.10 (Ashby Puerorum, Hill W). – in *Aschebi* DB 26/49, 35/15, *Haschebi* hundred p. 34 (Ashby-de-la-Laund, Flaxwell W).

b) *Willelmus f. Asce* (Swarby) 1202 Ass 366. – *Ricardum f. Asce* 1202 Ass 621. – *Ernaldus f. Acke, Asce, Akke, Ace* 1202 Ass 220, 412a, 1084, 1089.

Y. b) ? *magistro Ascia*, witness, [1133–53] 13th YCh 3. 1672.

Short form of *Asketill*, *-gautr*, *-geirr* (Nord.Kult.VII 60). There are some few instances in Norw p.ns. (Lind 75–76) and one or two uncertain ones in Dan (interpreted as a weak form of *Ask* DgP 68).

Ashby and Asby are common p.ns. in England and they usually signify “a *bý* where ash-trees grew” from OE *æsc*, influenced by OIceI *askr* (cf. PNNth xxiii). In some cases, however, a possible alternative explanation is “Ask’s *bý*” (cf. DEPN s.v. Ashby). Where the latter explanation is conceivable, the p.n. has been given here. Some of the forms in England may represent *Askil* with loss of final *l* (see § 71).

For *ch*, *c* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For *s* for *sk* see § 131. For syncope of unstressed *e* see § 62.

### Aslákr, Asleikr

L. a) in *Aslacheshou wap* DB (Aslaco W) pp. 65, 138. – in *Aslachebi* DB (Aslackby, Aveland W) 18/19.22, 24/97, 42/10, 72/9. – in *de ponte Aslaci* 1231 (Holland Bridge, Donington, Kirton W, possibly named after the same man as Aslackby) Payling 79. – in *Aslacrich* 1234 (f.n. in Swaby, Calcewath W) Bower 468. – in *Aslactoft* 13th (f.n. in Haxey, Isle of Axholme) Bower 553. – in *Aslakemeer* 1601 (f.n. in Waltham, Haverstoe W) Bower 418.

b) *Aslac* TRE DB 3/35, 18/15, 26/47, 28/5.7.8, 57/1. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – *Aslac* 1086 DB 8/39. – *Rogero f. Asloc*, witness, 1163–66 Dane 466. – *Aslac* (Willoughton) 1185 Templ 100. – *Ailric f. Aslac* [c1200] c1300 FP 218. – *Willelmus f. Aslac* (Aylesby in Lindsey) 1212 FFBb 167 and FFF 305. – *Gilbert son of Aslacus* (Covenham) 1246 FFF 34.

Y. a) in *Aslache(s)bi* DB, *Aselacbi* c1160 (Aislaby, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 77. – in *Aslacker* 12th (f.n.) PNYE 326.

b) *Aslac* dat. (Sherburn-in-Elmet) [963] 14th YCh 1. 6. – *Stephanum f. Aslach*, *Aslac* 1202 FFBb 39.44. – *Alanum fratrem Anelac’ de Torp* (Claro W) 1218–19 AssSel 769. – *Hanlacus de Hanlathby*, *Hanlaco* abl. [1286–87] e. 15th KI 169, 173, 178–79.

First el. *As-*. Second el. - *leikr*. The name is both old and very frequent in Norw but less frequent as a p.n. el. than might be expected (Lind 76–79). A Dan runic inscription contains the form *aslakr* (Jacobsen-Moltke 633) and there are some few instances elsewhere in Dan (Lat *Aslacus*) (DgP 69). Not very common in Swed but a number of instances of *aslakr* and *aslæikr* are recorded in runic inscriptions (cf. SRU nr 774). Occurs in Normandy as *Anslek* (Adigard 294–95).

For *An-* see § 11. For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *ch* and *c* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For *o* for *á* see § 13.

### Asli

L. b) *Asli* TRE DB 7/36.

The name occurs in Dan, where it is probably a short form of some name in *Asl-*, although it might possibly be a diminutive in *-li* (Nord.Kult. VII 210; DgP 70). Similarly in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 18). In Norw *Asli* is very frequent as a side-form of *Atli* (Lind 94–95; Noreen Aisl.Gr. § 309.2).

### Asmundr

L. a) in *Osmundescroft* 1220 (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – in *Osmundale* 12th–14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – in *Osmundthorne* 1577–79 (f.n. in Wragby, Louthesk W) Bower 543.

b) *Osmund* TRE DB 30/18, 59/3.12.15.20. – *Osmund* 1086 DB 7/48.50. – *Osmundus episcopus* (Salisbury) 1086 DB p. 14.5, 5/1, 72/62.

Y. a) in *Asmundrelac* DB, *Osmunderle* 1088 etc. (Osmotherley, Allerton W, N) PNYN 213. – in *Asmundre-*, *Hashundebe* DB, *Asmundeby* 1163, *Asmunderby* c1175 (Aismunderby Close, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 168. – in *Osmundthorpe* 1155 etc. (Osmondthorpe, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 120. – in *Osemundegar* 12th (f.n.) PNYN 332.

b) *Asmund festerman* [c1050] ? l.111th YCh 1. 9. – *Asmund ros festerman* [c1050] ? l.111th YCh 1. 9, possibly identical with *Osmund* (Little Fenton) TRE and 1086 DB 315v.

First el. *As-*. Second el. -*mundr*. Frequent from the time of the settlement of Icel onwards in both Norw and Icel. Some forms in *Os-* found there after 1290. An el. in several Norw p.ns. (Lind 82–84). Also common in Dan (Lat *Asmundus*), where it appears in runic inscriptions as *asmund*, *asmunr* nom., *asmut* acc. and occurs as an el. in several p.ns. (DgP 71–72; Jacobsen-Moltke 633; Hald Vore Stednavne 145). Found in several Swed runic inscriptions. A famous Swed rune engraver was called *Asmundr* (see e.g. SRU nrs 824, 847). The name appears frequently in Normandy as



*Osmundus* (Adigard 295–302).

Several of the forms in L and Y may rather represent OE *Ōsmund*, although the *Os-* spelling no doubt frequently represents an anglicisation of the Scand name. It certainly does in some of the Y p.n.s., where early forms preserve both initial *A-* and the Scand gen. in *-ar*. The problem is further complicated by the possibility that the initial *Os-* represents a native Scand development from \**Ansu-* by *u*-mutation to *Ōs-* and later development to *Os-* due to nasalisation or possibly labialisation under the influence of a following *m* (cf. BrNGG § 85 n. 3, § 154.2, Jacobsen-Moltke 115–17, 695n).

For *Os-* see above and § 11. For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

### Asulfr

L. a) in *Osoluabi*, *Osoluebi* LiS (Usselby, Walshcroft W) 7/9.13. – in *Osuluedale* 1331 (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

b) *Osulf* TRE DB 32/33, 49/1. – *Osulfus pater Yngerram* 1202 Ass 417.

Y. a) in *Asulue(s)bi* DB (Aislaby, Whitby Strand W, N) PNYN 119.

b) ? *Osulf*, bishop of Worcester 961, archbishop of York 972, died 992, c966 ASCharters 46. – *Osulf festerman* [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9, *Osulf* TRE DB 316r, 317r. – *Asulf* TRE DB 307r. – *Asul* TRE DB 312v (bis). – *Osul* TRE DB 319r, 319v (bis), *Osulf* TRE DB 319v, 320r, 321v. – *Osulf* TRE DB 321v. – *Osulf* TRE and 1086 DB 316v.

First el. *As-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. There are a few early instances of this name in Icel and many late ones in Norw (Lind 89–93). The Dan runic *aslf* may represent either *Asulfr* or *Asleifr* and the form *asulb* is probably the work of a Norw or Swed engraver (Jacobsen-Moltke 389, 633). A few instances recorded in Swed (cf. SRU nr 889).

The majority of the forms in *Os-* in L and Y probably represent OE *Ōswulf*, although the Scand name also appears in Normandy as *Osulf(us)* (Adigard 302–03), possibly due to English influence. It has been pointed out by Adigard des Gautries (op.cit. 89) that in some cases it is practically certain that a man named in English sources as *Osulf* is, in fact, a Scandinavian, e.g. *Osulf* father of *Ulfcytel* BCS 1256.

For alternation of *u/o* see § 32. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96ii. For loss of final *f* see § 100ii.

### Asvarðr

L. a) in *Aswardetierne* wap DB (Aswardhurn W) pp. 15, 144. – in *Asuardebi* DB 57/32, 24/103; *Wardebi* DB 24/79 (Aswarby, Aswardhurn W). – in *Asuardebi* 1196, *Asewrdeby* 1147–66 (Aswardby, Hill W) Bower 200.

Y. b) Ade f. Aswardi, witness, [1170–90] 17th YCh 3. 1713. – Aswardo f. Jordani abl., witness, [1170–90] 17th YCh 3. 1713. – Waltero f. Aswardi de Grellinton [1177–93] ? YCh 3. 1520.

First el. *As-*. Second el. *-varðr*. Not much evidence for the existence of this name in OS cand sources. An *Asvarðr* in Norw in the 10th cent is named in *Njáls saga* (Lind 93) and the name is found as an el. in the Dan p.n. Asserbo (DS II 66; G. Fellows Jensen Some Observations 70–71).

### Ásviðr

L. a) possibly in Asedebi DB (Oseby-in-Haydour, Threo W) 24/85.

First el. *As-*. Second el. *-viðr*. This name seems to be practically confined to the NES cand area. In Norw it is only found in Jämtland (Nord. Kult. VII 126; Lind 93). It also appears in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 19) and a single Dan runic inscription contains the form *asuiþar* gen. (Jacobsen-Moltke 633). A form *Ansuit* in Normandy may represent either the Scand name or ContGerm *Ansuid* (Adigard 360).

The form in the L p.n. corresponds exactly with a form recorded in Dan in 1408 and tentatively ascribed to *Aswith* (DgP 76–77).

For loss of *v* after a long syllable see BrNGG § 264.5. Lack of *i*-mutation is probably due to analogy.

### Atsur

L. b) Azor TRE DB p. 10.7, 4/34.40, 7/34, 24/83, 26/35, 51/1.12, 52/1, 72/63, gen. 72/3, acc. 72/35, Azor corr. from Ascer 51/11. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – Azer son of Sualeua TRE DB p. 13. – Outi son of Azer TRE DB p. 13. – Azer son of Burg TRE DB p. 13. – Aschéri gen., witness, 1143–47 Dane 247. – *hominem meum Aschur nomine* (Ridel of Keisby), *Aszur* abl. H<sub>2</sub>, endorsement 12th Dane 439. – Roberto f. Aceri, Asceri [l.12th] c1225 and c1330, Asceri [c1200] c1225 RA V 1668–69. – Asceri de Sacsedale gen. (Withcall) [l.12th] c1225 RA V and Toraldus sons of Asceri, witnesses, l.12th Dane 555. – Ascerus f. Ovgrimi (Skidbrook) c1180 RA V 1707. – Azer (Laythorpe) 1185 Templ 88. – Azur (Belton, Threo W) 1185 Templ 91. – Azuro abl. (Brauncegate) [c1185] c1330 RA VIII 2259. – terras Gileberti f. Ascer, Asceri (Somercotes) [c1190–1200] c1225, [c1200] c1225 RA V 1656, 1665. – Ascer de Cuningesholm (Somercotes) 1196 FFM 6. – Acero [layco], witness, [1196–1203] c1300 RA III 1094. – Robert f. Asceri de Sumercotes [c1200] l.13th 1589. – Acerus f. Laude (Haugham) l.12th Dane 482. – Gilebertus, Ricardus FP 158–59. – terram Alani f. Asceri (Somercotes) [c1200] c1225 RA V

1665. – in clauso Acer (Quadring) [c1200] c1225 RA VII 1951. – terram **Asceri f. Lefwin'** (Scarnell) 6/7 1202 FF 122. – **Ascerus Be, Ascero** abl. 1202 Ass 108, 1078. – **Ascerus, Ascerus de Bercham** 1202 Ass 672, 689. – **Willelmus f. Ascur; Acur** 1202 Ass 943, 963; 1069. – **Alano f. Aceri**, witness, ante 25/9 1205 RA V 1595. – **Wýdie f. Asceri** (Heckington) e. 13th RA VII 2081–82. – **Robertum f. Asceri** (Somercotes) 1219 AssSel 256. – **Ascer** (Brandon) 1219 FFM 136. – terram **Asceri Plochswain** (Heckington) e. 13th RA VII 2081. – **Walterus f. Asceri** (Wainfleet) [c1225] 14th FP 28. – **Acero** abl., witness, c1230–39 RA VII 2024. – **Ascer clericus** 1226, 1229 FFM 186,223. – **Iohannes Ascer de Stikforth'**, juror of Bolingbroke W, 1298 AssTh 488.

Y. a) in **Aserla**, **-lei**, **Asserle(ia)**, **-ley**, **-lay** DB (Azerley L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 199.

b) **Azor** TRE DB 324r. – **Azor** abl., witness, [1119–30] 14th YCh 2. 1155. – **Elswaldo f. Acer**, witness, [1142–45] 1.12th YCh 9. 89. – **Radulfus f. Ascer** c1155–86 YCh 7. 125. – **Azero fratre ejus** (Hormo de Steincroft), witness, [c1160–70] 1.12th YCh 2. 713. – **Ilgerus f. Ascur, Asceri de Ponte Belli** [1170–81] 14th–15th YCh 2. 911–12. – **assarto Asceri** (Preston-under-Scar) 1203–04 FFBb 80. – **Adam son of Acer** (Hang W) c1208 AssC 38. – **Petro Azer** abl. (Rawcliffe) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 766.

Orig by.n \**Antswarur* “he who answers” (DgP 90; BrNGG § 86). The name is fairly common in Norw in the form *Qzurr* and is borne by two of the orig settlers in Icel (Lind 1264–70). It also appears in Swed (e.g. SRU nrs 768, 617) and is common in Dan. Dan runic inscriptions contain the following forms *asur*, *asur*, *atsor*, *atsur*, *atsir* nom., *asur* acc. (Jacobsen-Moltke 635) and the name is latinised as *Acerus*, *Ascerus*. *Ascer* is the most usual spelling in Dan (DgP 84–90). In Normandy appear the forms *Aszor*, *Adsor*, *Azor* (Adigard 303–04).

It is possible that some of the forms in *Ascer-* represent the fem. ContGerm name *Asceria*.

For the various spellings of *ts* see § 105. For *e* for unstressed *u* see § 58.

### \*Aubi

L. b) **Aubo** nom., **Oube** abl., witness c1150–60 Dane 261, 263.

An Anglo-Scand short form of *Auðbjörn* q.v. (Feilitzen Notes 65).

### Auða fem.

L. b) **Auda Gubinn** (Normanby) 18/6 1245 FFF 25.

A short form of names in *Auð-* (Modéer 42). A single instance of *Auða*

is recorded in WScand, the name of a fictional character (Lind 95). Unknown in Dan but a few instances of *Auða* are recorded in Swed runic inscriptions (cf. SRSö nr 242, SRU nr 821).

For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116.

### Auðbjörn

L. b) **Outbert** TRE DB 4/61.

Y. b) **Autbert** TRE DB and 1086 330v.

First el. *Auð*-. Second el. *-björn*. Fairly frequent in WScand, including *Audbiarnar* gen. in the 9th cent (Lind 96). Found in Dan runic inscriptions as *ouþbirn*, *ou(p)bern* nom., *aupþiarn* acc., *aupþiarnar* gen. (Jacobsen-Moltke 748) and elsewhere in Dan as *Othbern*, *Ødber* etc. (DgP 1617–18) and in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRSö nr 344).

The pers.n. may rather be ContGerm *Odbert* with the first el. influenced by Scand *Auð*- (Feilitzen 333).

For *Ou*- see § 46. For *t* for *ð* see § 117ii. For *-bert* see § 86.

### Auðgeirr

L. b) ? **Aug'** (? = **Auger**) (Fleet) 1185 Templ 96.

Y. b) **Augero** abl., witness, [1150–60] c1400 YCh 2. 830.

First el. *Auð*-. Second el. *-geirr*. Some instances in Norw after 1322 as *Odgeir* (Lind 800–01). Found in a Dan runic inscription as *aupþkir* (Jacobsen-Moltke 748) and in a number of Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 17). Elsewhere in Dan as *Øthger* (DgP 1619).

For loss of *ð* see § 120. For *e* for *ei* see § 50.

### Auðgrím

L. b) **Outgrim** TRE DB 4/72. – **Ougrim** abl., witness, c1150 Dane 307. – **Ougrimo** (et filio eiusdem Willelmo), witness, c1170–80 RA VII 2052. – **Oggrimus** f. **Aluerun** [1176] c1225 RA V 1648. – **Ascerus** f. **Ovgrimi** c1180 RA V 1707. – toftum **Roberti** f. **Augrim** (Saltfleetby) 1.12th RA V 1631, 1633. – **Augrimi** f. **Mole** gen., **Augrimmo**, **Augrim** abl. c1200, 1.12th, 1183 Dane 546, 550, 536. – **Willelmus** f. **Ogrim** (Lincoln) 1185 Templ 82. – **William** son of **Ougrim**, fined in Lincoln, 1191 Hill 397. – **Rogerus** f. **Ogrim** 1202 Ass 402. – **Audgrimus** de **Karleton**, **Audergrim** acc., **Audegrim** abl. 1202 Ass 635, 635a, 1033, **Gilbertum** fratrem **Audegrim** 1202 Ass 635a. – **William** and **Roger** sons of **Ogrim'** (Welbourn) 6/7 1202 FF 125.

Y. b) **Authgrim** de **Frisamersc**, nom. and acc., **Authgrimo** dat. [1122–c37] 14th YCh 1. 310, **Augrum** de **Frismarisco** gen. [1155–57] 1312 YCh 2. 1148. – **Augrim** son of **Gocelin** (Hedon) 1226 FFP 92.

First el. *Auð-*. Second el. *-grímr*. A few instances are found in Norw after 1224 (Lind 98). Appears in Dan as *Øgrim* in the 12th cent but is rare there (Nord.Kult.VII 198).

Forms in *Og(g)rim* may alternatively represent a hitherto unrecorded \**Oddgrímr* q.v. (Stenton Danes 25).

For *Ou-*, *O-* see §§ 46.47. For *d*, *t*, *th* for *ð* see §§ 116.117.118. For loss of *ð* see § 120. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *gg* see § 142. The form *Augrum* is probably a scribal error.

### Auðhildr fem.

Y. a) in Odelgateland 13th (f.n. in Stainburn, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 50.

b) Odil TRE DB 309v. – Othild uxore Godwini Givenout [1166–76] l.12th YCh 2. 780. – Thomas f. Audhild' (Normanby) 1208 FFBB 123. – Johannem f. Authild' 1219 AssSel 695.

First el. *Auð-*. Second el. *-hildr*. A single instance of *Auðhildr* is recorded in the Orkneys in the e.12th cent (Lind 98).

Some of the forms may rather represent ContGerm *Odil* (Forssner 198).

For *O-* see § 47. For *d*, *th*, *dh* for *ð* see §§ 116.118.119. For loss of *h* see § 140iv. For loss of final *d* see § 108ic.

### Auði

Y. b) Auda rusticus (Warter) [1141–42] e. 14th YCh 10. 66.

A short form of names in *Auð-* (DgP 1620). Fairly frequent in Norw after 1300 (Lind 98–99). Found as *auþi* nom. and *auþa* acc. in Dan runic inscriptions (Jacobsen-Moltke 748) and occasionally later in Dan (DgP 1620).

For *d* for *ð* see § 116.

### Auðketill

Y. a) possibly in Okalkerr 1385, Okelcar 1394 (f.n. in Methley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 134.

b) Auðcetel pres[byter], festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9. – Audkillo preposito (et Rogero f. eius) [1135–53] 15th YCh 1. 64. N.B. elsewhere referred to as Hulchill. – Ricardus f. Autchil, witness, [1149–53] 15th YCh 1. 67. – Antkil (Broughton) [1152–54] m. 13th YCh 7. 16.

First el. *Auð-*. Second el. *-ketill*. This name is not found in Norw records until the 16th cent (Lind 99) but may be contained in a p.n. *Øckelsrudt* 1593 (NG III 22). It is found in some Dan runic inscriptions as *eykil*, *aukil*

acc. (Jacobsen-Moltke 747) and in Swed ones as *uþkitil*, *aupkil* (DgP 1620) but is not very common in EScand sources. Dan forms show early loss of *-ð*.

For *O*- see § 47. For *d*, *th*, *t* for *ð* see §§ 116.117.118. For loss of *ð* see § 120. For *c*, *ch* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For *cetel* see § 16. *Ant-* is probably a scribal error.

### Auðmann

Y. b) **Petrus Othman**, witness, [c1140–56] 14th–15th YCh 1. 215.

Orig by.n. “wealthy man”. The name *Auðmaðr* is borne by an Icelander in the 13th cent (Lind BN 9).

For *O*- see § 47. For *th* for *ð* see § 118.

### Auðmundr

L. b) **Robert son of Aumund**, fined in Lincoln, 1191 Hill 397. – **Gunnilda filia Gilberti f. Aumundi de Haltun** c1210 FP 19. – **Aumundo de Stratton** abl. 1202 Ass 1035. – **Ricardus f. Aumundi** (Bullington) 1220–34 RotHug III 83.

Y. b) **Aumundus f. suus** (Ricardus Crouer) 1185 Templ 130.

First el. *Auð*-. Second el. *-mundr*. An *Auðmundr sækonungr* is named in the *Edda* but the name is very rare in WScand (Lind 99–100). Not certain whether the Dan forms in *Ømund* belong here or to some name in *Ey-* or *Aun-* (DgP 1611–12). A few instances recorded in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 598).

For loss of *ð* see § 120.

### Auðulfr

Y. a) in **Otholburgh** 1153, **Authelburi**, **-burgh** 1283 (Addlebrough, Hang W W, N) PNYN 262. – in **Authulesmire** c1160 (Attermire Scar, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 151. – in **Odulfesmare**, **Ouduluesmersc** DB (part of Marishes, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 84. – in **Hautholfhenges** 12th–13th (f.n. in Winkley, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 196.

b) **Odulfi** gen. (York) TRE DB 298v. – **Oudulf** TRE DB 300v. – **Audulf** TRE DB 301r, 311v. – **Audolfo f. Petri** dat. (Skeby) [1155–71] 1.13th YCh 5. 267, **Conanus f. Hodulfi de Rich[emundia]** [l.12th] 1.13th YCh 5. 268. – **Robertus f. Hautolf** (Cold Kirby) 1185 Templ 129. – **Autolf de Scortun**, **Audulfus f. Rancilli**, **Oudulfus f. Rauenkil de Scorton** [c1180–88] 15th, [ante 1204] 15th [? l.12th] 1.13th YCh 5. 309, 382–83.

First el. *Auð*-. Second el. *-ulfr*. One of the orig settlers in Icel is called

*Auðólfr á Auðólfsstöðum* and the name is quite common in Norw, where it also appears in some p.ns. (Lind 101–02). A number of Swed runic inscriptions contain the form *aupulfr* (e.g. SRU nrs 546, 871) and there are a few doubtful instances in Dan (DgP 1621).

Forms in *O-* may alternatively represent ContGerm *Odulf* (Forssner 200).

For *Ou-*, *O-* see §§ 46.47. For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For *d*, *th*, *t* for *ð* see §§ 116.117.118. For loss of final *f* see § 100ii.

### Auðunn

L. a) in **Odenebi** DB 1/75, 12/12, 22/31, **Ounebi** LiS 11/6 (Owmbly-in-Searby, Yarborough W). – in **Ounebi** DB 4/81, 7/6, 14/20, 71/12, **Ounesbi** 28/3, **Ounebi** LiS 2/2.9.13, **Ounabi(a)** LiS 2/6.11.19 (Owmbly-by-Spital, Aslaoe W). – in **Ounesbi** DB (Aunsby, Aswardhurn W) 39/2. – in **Ounebi** 1219 (Aunby, Beltisloe W) DEPN.

b) **Oudon**, **Houden** TRE DB 16/12, 72/17. – **Oune** TRE DB 12/29. – **Oden frater Guarini** (Toresbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – **Waltero f. Oudhen**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 297. – **humagium Oudhen** (Killingholme) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 297. – **Oupein** (Faldingworth) 1.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 20. – **Willelmo f. Auden**, witness, [C1200] C1225 RA VII 1955. – **Alanum f. Audeni** 1202 Ass 816. – **Osbertum Oin** 1202 Ass 366. – **Odino de Buggeden'** dat. 1/6 1233 RA II 372.

Y. a) in **Ounesbi** DB 313r, 381r (lost place, ? in Gatenby, Halikeld W, N). – in **Othenesberg**, **Ohensberg**, **Outhensbergh** 1119, 1129, 1239 (Roseberry Topping, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 164. – in **Parvi Othenesberg** 12th (Little Roseberry, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 164. – in **Ownebarr** 1576 (Ownber bottom, f.n. in Horton-in-Ribblesdale, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 224.

b) **Audanus**, **Outhani** gen., **Outhen** abl. (Walmgate) [1136] 1312, [1145–48] 13th, [C1120–29] 15th YCh 2. 868, 872, 874. – **Outhen**, witness, [1150–60] 13th–15th YCh 1. 249. – **Hugone f. Audioeni**; **Outhen**; **Audani** [C1150–60] C1400; [1160–70] 13th; [C1160–65] 14th, [C1160–78] 14th, [1170–76] 14th, YCh 2. 828; 832; 749, 1. 234, 3. 1879, **Thoma f. Hugonis f. Outhen** 1204–09 YCh 1. 246.

First el. *Auð-*. Second el. *-vinr* (Nord.Kult.VII 122). Common in both Norw and Icel from the earliest period onwards and found as an el. in many WScand p.ns. (Lind 102–06). Some few instances in Dan and Swed (DgP 1618; Lundgren-Brate 316). A short form *Øn* is recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 319) and in Dan p.ns. (DS VI 282; V 123) and *Aun*, *Auni* are recorded in WScand (Nord.Kult.VII 66; Lind 106).

The two Roseberrys may just possibly contain the name of the god *Oðinn*

and indicate a place where he was worshipped. The form *Odin* in L 1233 may rather be the ContGerm name *Odo* + the Romance suffix *-in* (Tengvik 192). The form *Audoenus* in English sources regularly represents ContGerm *Audowin* so the fact that *Outhen* father of Hugo is once referred to as *Audoen* may indicate that his name is ContGerm rather than Scand and, in fact, that all the independent instances in Y and some of those in L do not represent the name *Auðunn*.

For *O-*, *Ou-* for *Au-* see §§ 46.47. For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For *d*, *dh*, *th* for *ð* see §§ 116.118.119. For *e*, *a*, *o* for *u* see §§ 58.15.32. The form *Oupein* is irregular. Forms such as *Ounes-*, *Oin* may show either Scand or AN loss of medial *ð* (cf. § 120).

### \*Auðviðr

Y. b) *Auidid* TRE DB 312r, 331r.

First el. *Auð-*. Second el. *-viðr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *d* for *ð* see § 116.

### \*Auðvindr

Y. a) in *Auundeleia* 12th, *Auundeley* 1349, *Aghenlay* 1198 (Ainleys, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 43.

First el. *Auð-*. Second el. *-vindr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

This p.n. is discussed in some detail by A.H. Smith (PNYW 3. 43-44) who notes that the pers.n. in question must have been one in which the diphthong *Au-* survived at any rate into e.ME. If *\*Auðvindr* is the correct etymon, early and persistent loss of *ð* may be due to AN influence (see § 120). It is strange that no forms in *Ou-* survive and the form in *Aghen-* is left unexplained. An alternative etymon is *\*Ogvindr* q.v.

### \*Auki

L. b) *Bertram* f. *Auca*, witness, 1150-60 Dane 304. - *Auca* (Lincoln) [1156-57] 14th YCh 1. 354. - *Guillelmum* f. *Ouchi de Salebi* H<sub>2</sub> Dane 535. - *Alani* f. *Auch*, *Houc* (Havedich) c1192-1201 RA VI 1794-95. - *Ouke* f. *Luuer'* gen. (Friskney) 1.12th Dane 498. - toftum *Oucke*, *Ouke* (Edlington) 1.12th, [1.12th] 13th RA VI 1930. - *Ricardo* f. *Houkes de Wrangel* [1.12th] c1330 RA VII 1957, *Richard* son of *Oukes* 1221 FFM 158, *Richard* f. *Houk'*; *Ouk'*; *Oukes de Wrengl'* [c1180] 13th, [c1200] 13th; [c1180] 13th; [c1200] 13th FP 239, 239n; 239n; 240, *Richard* *Hauk* [c1260] 13th FP 250, *Jordanum* f. *Oukes* (Wrangle) 1218-19 AssSel 513, 659, 873, *Jordan* son of *Oukes* 1221 FFM 157, *John* f. *Oukes*, *Ouky de Wrengl'* [c1230] 13th FP 248-49, *Oukes* f. *Roberti* acc., dat. (Wrangle) 1218-19



AssSel 513, 659, 870, **Houkes f. Roberti** [c1240] 13th FP 245. – **Johannes de Germuntorp f. Hauke, Auke de Germethorp** [c1200] c1225, [c1200] c1330 RA V 1606, 1619. – **Auko de Sumercotes** abl., witness, c1200 RA V 1636, **Auke** [c1200] c1225 RA V 1675, **Rumpharus f. Auke de S., Willelmus f. Auke** [c1230–40] c1330 RA V 1693–95, **Roberto f. Auke de S.,** witness, c1200 RA V 1636, **terram Willelmi f. Roberti f. Auke (Somercotes)** [c1230–40] c1330 RA V 1693–94. – **Auke pater Alicie** 1202 Ass 401, 502, **Aliciam filiam Acke** sic, **Anke** sic 1203 Ass 1252, 1290. – **Johannes f. Auki** 1202 Ass 827, 1056. – **Ma(n)gnus f. Oukes** 1202 Ass 955, 1070. – **Thomam f. Auce** 1202 Ass 993. – **Rogero f. Auke** 1202 Ass 1044. – **Reginaldus frater Rogeri f. Ouke** (Haydor) [1205–06] c1225 RA VII 2066. – **Radulfus f. Auke** c1210–19 RA VII 2067. – **Oukes de Gosholm** 1219 AssSel 804. – **Oukes son of Osbert** 1221 FFM 158. – **Alice daughter of Ouci (Norton)** 1234 FFM 284.

Y. b) **Robertus f. Ouca** (Cold Kirby) 1185 Templ 130.

A short form of *Auðketill* q.v. An Anglo-Scand formation? (Feilitzen Notes 65). Difficult to explain the forms with -s.

Some forms show confusion with *Aki* q.v. and *Anki* q.v.

For *Ou-* see § 46. For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For *c, ch, ck* for *k* see §§ 126.127.128.

### Auti

L. a) possibly in **Outisti** 13th (st.n. in Lincoln) Bower 46.

b) **Tochi f. Outi** TRE DB p. 2.3, p. 13, **Outi** p. 4.13. – **Outi f. Azer** TRE DB p. 13. – **Auti** TRE DB 2/17, 7/23.26; 26/44, **Outi** 7/28.58, 26/31.49–50.53, gen. 72/3.54. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **terram Outi hominis archiepiscopi Thome** TRE and 1086 DB 72/16. – **Outi the thane** 1086 DB 68/33. – **Ricardo f. Auti de Lincolnia**, witness, [c1134–38] 14th YCh 3. 1366. – **Auti**, witness, c1150–60 Dane 261. – **Outi (Stixwoud)**, witness, 2/10 1172 Dane 379–80, **Outi [frater] de Stikeswald**, witness, c1160 Dane 385. – **Outi f. Acche e. H<sub>2</sub>** Dane 474. – **Auti clerico de Lincoia**, witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 282. – **Auti mercenario**, witness, c1170 Dane 264–65. – **Auti Wegh** abl., witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 556. – **Auti (Leasingham, Flaxwell)** 1185 Templ 88. – **Outichuokehorn** (Lincoln) 1185 Templ 82. – **Outi** gen. [1190]?, [1194]? FFF 341–42. – **Outi f. Leppe** (Bishop Norton) 1.12th RA II 625. – **Aliz vxor Ovti Cappelippe** (Lincoln) [1.12th] c1225 RA VIII 2189. – **Outi quondam uiri sui (Matillis vidua, Lincoln)** 1202 Ass 254. – **Andream f. Auti** 1202 Ass 829. – **Willelmo f. Outi**, witness, c1200 RA VIII 2339. – **Hubertum et Josce filios Outi** (Fishmere) 1202, 1207 FF 131, 231. – **Alani f. Outi** (Donington) 27/1 1204 FF 184. –

**Ricardi f. Outi** 1212 Fees 177. – **Roberto clerico f. Houti**, witness, e. 13th RA VII 2083. – **terram Willelmi f. Outi** (Heckington) e. 13th RA VII 2081. – **Hugo f. Outy** c1210–23 RA VII 2062–63. – **Outy f. Ogeri** abl., witness, c1215–19 RA VII 2017. – **Alani f. Outy**, **Andree f. Outi**, **Outy** [ante 1226] c1330 RA IV 1270, **Andreas f. Auty** 1226–28 Fees 361.  
 Y. a) ? in **Awty lond** (f.n. in Doncaster, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 33.  
 Y. b) **Auti**, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8. – **Waltero f. Auti**, witness, [1162–75] 14th YCh 2. 1253. – **Outi** (S Cave) 1185 Templ 125. – **Auty plumbarium de Ledes** 1219 AssSel 718. – **Auty le Paumer** 1219 AssSel 707. – **Petrum f. Auty** 1218–19 AssSel 882.

This name is perhaps the most difficult to explain of all the Scand names that appear in English sources. Several explanations have been given in the course of this century but in a recent paper (De nordjyske Dialekters Stilling i den ældre Middelalder, in Danske Folkemaal 1965, tillægshæfte I, 215–17) Kr. Hald has demonstrated that these are untenable. Jörn Sahlgren's derivation (in NoB XXVI 196) from an *\*Auðguti*, for example, cannot be accepted since it would imply that the diphthong found in the medieval forms had been preserved unchanged from the PrimScand period. Hald's own explanation is ingenious. He assumes a PrimScand *\*Aqguti* with early development of the spirant to a half-vowel > *\*Auguti* (cf. *Augute* in the Reichenau list and runic Swed *akuti* e.g. SRU nr 768) > either *Auti* with development of *g* to a spirant and subsequent loss or *\*Aukti* with syncope of the *u* in *-guti* giving *-gt-* > *-kt-*. This form *\*Aukti* is assumed by Hald to lie behind some 15th-cent Jutlandic forms *Øyti*. Hald notes that EScand monophthongisation is not usually recorded in Dan words and names in the Danelaw so that the form *Auti* in L and Y would be perfectly regular.

The st.n. may alternatively be interpreted as “out in the sty”.

For *Ou-* see § 46.

# B

## Babi

Y. a) in **Babetorp** DB (Babthorpe, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 258.

This name is not evidenced independently in early times in Scand but is possibly to be found as an el. in two Dan p.n.s. *Babæthorp* c1300 and *Baberup* 1596 (DgP 89; DS XI 172). Cf. also, however, ContGerm *Babo* which may be contained in the Dan p.n.s.

## Baggi

L. a) in **Baggeholm** 1186 (Baggholme Road, st.n. in Lincoln) Bower 21.

Y. a) in **Baghebi**, **Bagebi** DB (Bagby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 189. – in **Baggeflet(e)** 12th (Bagletts, Harthill W, E) PNYE 223. – in **Baggethwait** 1210 (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Bacwath** 1267, **Baggewath** 1364 (Bagwiths (lost), U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 23. – in **Baggewythe** 1298 (Bagwith Ho, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 209. – in **Bagdalesclose** 1407 (Bag Dale, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 145.

b) ? **Thomas Bagge** (Scarborough) 1260 AssC 115.

An orig by.n. “bundle”. Found as both pers.n. and by.n. in Norw, Swed and Denmark and appears as el. in several p.n.s. (Lind 108; BN 12; Lundgren-Brate 21; DgP 90; DS XII 68).

Alternative explanations of the p.n. el. are the OE common noun *\*bagga* “a small, wild animal”, whose existence is assumed from its appearance in so many English p.n.s. (PNEI 17–18) or the OE pers.n. *Bacga* (Redin 83).

For *gh*, *g* for *gg* see §§ 133.143.

## Bak

L. a) in **Bastune**, **Bacstune** DB (Baston, Ness W) 11/4, 24/27.

Y. a) in **Basche(s)bi**, **Bachesbi** DB, **Baxeby** 1169–92 (Baxby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 191.

An orig by.n. “back”. Rare but some few instances in Norw (Lind BN 13).

For *x* and *s* for *ks* see § 130. For *ch* for *k* see § 126.

## Baldi

L. b) **Balde** abl., witness, c1150 Dane 307.

Y. a) in **Baldebi** DB (Baldby Fields, Whitby Strand W, N) PNYN 127.

Short form of some name in *Bald-*. Appears in Swed as a by.n., where it is probably a loan from ContGerm (XenLid 102). Possibly found in some Norw p.ns. (NG II 131). The forms in L and Y may alternatively represent an OE pers.n. *\*Bealda* (Feilitzen Notes 54).

### Balki

Y. a) in *Balc-*, *Balkholme* 1199 (Balkholme, Howdenshire W, E) PNYE 249.

b) *Willelmo Balki*; *Balchi*; *Balke* (fratre), witness, [c1175–88] 14th–15th, 1189–95, [1189–95] 14th–15th, [1190–1210] 14th–15th; [1185–1200] 14th–15th; [? 12th] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1127, 1. 252–53, 2. 761; 2. 1258; 3. 1820. – *Ernisius Balki* (York) [1203–14] 14th–15th YCh 1. 263. – *Gillibertus Balky*, *Gaufridus Balky*, *Thomas Balky* 1218–19 AssSel 79, 417.

An orig by.n., a weak side-form of *Balkr*, perhaps related to ModNorw *balk* m. “confusion”. *Bálki* appears once as a by.n. in WScand, is borne as a pers.n. by one of the orig settlers in Icel and occurs as a p.n. el. in both Icel and Norw (Lind 109; BN 13). Not recorded in EScand.

The el. in the Y p.n. may alternatively be the OE common noun *balca* “balk”.

For *c*, *ch* for *k* see §§ 126.127.

### Balli

Y. a) in *Ballebi* DB (Balby, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 27. – in *Ballebrom* 1224 (Bow Broom, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 115.

Some few instances are recorded in Norw, where, however, forms are often confused with *Baldi* (Lind 108). It is found in a Swed p.n. and in some Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 647) and in the Dan p.n. *Ballerup*. One or two independent instances in Dan (DgP 93).

The forms in the Y p.ns. may rather represent *Baldi* q.v. or a ME pers.n. *Balle* derived either from OFr *balle* “ball” or an OE *\*bealla* corresponding to OHG *ballo* “ball” (Ekwall Early London Personal Names 136–37).

### Bárðr

L. b) *Baret* TRE DB 34/24. – *Rogero baarde* abl., witness, c1150–60 Dane 92. – *Radulfus Bard*, *Radulfo Bard* abl., witness, c1155, c1150–60 Dane 248, 257. – *Gaufridus Báárd*, witness, ante 1183 Dane 425. – *Bart* brother of Robert Hopescott [c1190] l.13th FP 77. – *Emma uxor Gaufridi Baard'* 1202 Ass 92, 300. – *Walterus Barat* (Surfleet) 1219 AssSel 409. – *culturam Willelmi Bard'* c1220–30, ? 1240 RA IV 1210, 1229.

Y. b) **Barað** festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9, **Bared** TRE DB 317v., **Baret** 299v, 301r, 315v (bis), 316r (6 times), 329v, 331v, TRE and 1086 316v (bis), his son **Gamellus Barret** (et filius meus Ricardus) [1110–30] 13th–14th YCh 3. 1622. – **Rogerus Baarth** f. uxoris mee (Durandus de Butrewic), witness, [c1120–35] 13th YCh 2. 1071. – **Bard** f. **Rogeri**, witness, [c1145–56] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1239. – **Ricardo Baard**, witness, [1150–c60] 17th YCh 3. 1352. – **Bareth** f. **Karli** (Seamer) [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. K. held Seamer TRE. – sartum **Bareth** (Ardsley-upon-Dearne) c1155–86 YCh 7. 125. – **Swanus** f. **Bareth**, witness, c1155–86 YCh 7. 125. – **Ricardi Baard** gen., **Ricardo Baart** abl., witness, [1160–75] l.13th, [c1130–39] 14th YCh 2. 656, 1222. – **Galfridus Baard**; **Bard**; **Baart** [1170–90] l.13th, [1170–80] l.13th, [1180–95] l.13th, [1156–74] 14th–15th; [c1170–78] l.13th, [1170–95] 17th; [1180–96] 17th, [c1180–95] 17th YCh 2. 659, 662, 694, 1186; 661, 663; 666, 759. – **Robertus Baret**, witness, [c1176–90] 17th YCh 11. 198. – **Roberti et Ricardi filiorum Baret** (Sharlston) [1180–85] 13th YCh 3. 1542. – **Willelmo Baart**, **Bard** abl., witness, [c1180–95] 17th, 1188 YCh 2. 759, 763. – **Godricum** f. **Bareth** (Balne) [1185–1205] 13th–14th YCh 1. 496. – **Henrico Baret** abl., witness, c1190–1210 YCh 9. 78. – ? **Radulfum Bard'** (of Hoton' Bardulfi, so the name may be ContGerm Bardolf) 1202 FFBb 34. – **Ricardum Barat** acc. 1218–19 AssSel 942. – **Henry Baret** (Cawton) 1226 FFP 86. – **Johannes Bard**, **Barde** [1284–85] 15th KI 139, 145–46. – **Alicia Bar(r)et** (Skidby) [c1260] 13th–14th Selby 764.

First el. *Boð-*. Second el. either *-frøðr* (Nord.Kult.VII 67) or less probably *-varðr* (ib. 164 n.291). An alternative explanation of some Scand. forms in *Bárðr* is that they are short forms of names such as *Hagbarth* (DgP 98). The name is very old and common in both Norw and Icel (Lind 111–13) and fairly frequent in Dan (Lat *Barderus*, *Borderus*) (DgP 97). Also recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 22).

For *aa* for *á* see § 12. For *d*, *t* for final *ð* see §§ 116.117. For svarabhakti: *e*, *a* see §§ 63.64. For *rr* for *r* see § 142.

### Bardi

L. b) **Bardi** TRE DB p. 13, 7/38.39.43.48.

Y. a) in **Barthwait**, **Barthtwayt** 13th (Barfit Close, f.n. in Rawcliffe, Os-goldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 24.

An orig by.n., a type of ship. Found in Icel and possibly also in Norw (Lind 110–11). Some instances recorded in Dan (Lat *Bartho*) (DgP 98) and Swed (Lundgren-Brate 22).

Difficult to distinguish in English sources from forms of *Bárðr* q.v.

For *d*, *th* for *ð* see §§ 116.118.

**Barkr, Børkr, Barki**

L. a) in **Barchestone** DB 1/15.23, 14/89, 67/15, **Barchestune** 54/2, **Barcheston** 72/64 (Barkston, Threo W). – in **Barcuurde; Bacwrde; Barcourde; Barcuorde** DB 2/2.4, 16/17; 4/49; 34/17; 40/7, **Barcworda** LiS 16/4.6.14. 16 (Barkwith, Wraggoe W). – in **Barkestona** 1238–45 (Middle Carlton (lost), Axholme W) Bower 318. – possibly in **Barthorpe** 1334 (Baythorpe, Swineshead, Kirton W; the forms are not early enough to give conclusive evidence but this name may be identical in origin with Barthorpe Bottoms q.v. (PNYE 148) and mean “Bark’s village”) Payling 106.

Y. a) in on **Barcestune** c1030, **Barchestun** DB (Barkston, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 53. – in **Barche(r)torp(e)** DB (Barthorpe Bottoms, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 148. – in **Barkesland(e)** 1246 etc. (Barkisland, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 57. – in **Barkissay** 13th (Barsey, Morley W, W; probably named after the same man who gave his name to Barkisland) PNYW 3. 58. – possibly in **Barkedale** 13th, **Berkildale** 1285, **Barkendale** 1332 (Bartindale, Dickering W, E) Lindkvist 4. – in **wappentake of Barkston Ash(e)** 1598 (Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 1 and 53.

b) **Barch** TRE DB 301r, 327v.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *børkr* (gen. *barkar*) m. “bark”. A settler in Icel bore the name *Børkr* and the name appears as an el. in a few WScand p.ns. (Lind 186–187). *Bark* is found as a by.n. in Swed (XenLid 98). *Barki* is either a side-form to *Barkr* or possibly *barki* “throat” – also a by.n. There is one doubtful instance in WScand (Lind BN 15) and a few instances in Dan (Lat *Barcho*) (DgP 96).

Bartindale may rather contain the pers.n. *Bjornkarl* q.v.

**Barn, Barni**

L. a) in **Barnetorp, -tone, -torpi** DB (Banthorpe, Ness W) 59/5, 18/14, 24/30. – in **Barnhou, -hougathe** 1200 (f.n. in Holton-by-Beckerig, Louthesk W) Bower 538.

b) **Barne** TRE DB 7/52.

Y. a) in **Bærnabi, Barnabi** c1050, **Barnebi** DB (Barnby-on-the-Marsh, Howdenshire W, E) PNYE 249. – in **Barnebi** DB (Barnby, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 36. – in **Barnebi** DB (Barnby, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 135. – in **Bernebi, Barnebi** DB (Barnby-on-the-Moor, Harthill W, E) PNYE 184. – in **Barnebi** DB (Barnby Dun, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 17. – in **Barnebi** DB (Barnby Hall, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 323. – in **Bernebi** DB 320v (lost place, ? in Barf, Birdforth W, N). – in **Berneborc, -burg, Barneburg, -burc** DB (Barnburgh, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 80. – in **Barnebye** c1180 (f.n. in Ingerthorpe, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 179. –

in **Barnesburc** 1185–93, **Barnebu** 1191 (Barnbow, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 106. – in **Barnhou** 1193–99 (f.n. in N Cowton, Gilling W W, N) PNYN 332; YCh 5. 300, 302. – in **Barnehaye** 13th (f.n. in Markington, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 183. – in **Northbarnebank** 1461 (possibly Barmby Fold, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 189.

b) **Bar** gen. TRE DB 373r. – **Aschetino Barn et Garino fratre ejus abl.**, witnesses, [12th] ? 1.12th YCh 2. 713n. – **Suano barn abl.**, witness [1175–90] 14th YCh 2. 685. – **Alano Barn et Adam filio ejus abl.**, witnesses [c1180–88] 1.12th, **Adam Barn abl.** [1180–1200] 14th YCh 1. 580, 579. – **Adam Barn nom.**, **Johannem Barn acc.** 1218 AssSel 17.

*Barn* is probably an orig by.n. “child”. Rare in both W and EScand but possibly found in a number of Dan p.ns. (Lind 114; DgP 96; DS XII 25, 68). *Barni* is probably a weak side-form. Not certainly evidenced in Scand but possibly found in some Dan p.ns. (DgP 96–97; DS XI 182; XII 59). Runic Dan *barni* is probably simply a spelling for *Bjarni* (cf. Sahlgren, Saga och Sed 1945, 29ff). *Barni* is not found in WScand but appears in Normandy as *Barno* (Adigard 304). For *Barn* as a by.n. cf. \**Arnketilbarn*, \**Asketilbarn*, \**Gamalbarn*, \**Sigvarðbarn*.

Ekwall considers that *Barne* in English sources is a regularly developed Anglo-Scand variant of *Berne* (< *Bjarni*), with its development reinforced by the common interchange of *a* and *e* in AN. If Ekwall’s assumption is correct, the majority of the forms recorded here as representing *Barni* ought perhaps to stand under *Bjarni* q.v. It is, however, noticeable that in all the names forms in *a* are either supreme or the dominant and persistent ones. This may in part be accounted for by the fact that ME *er* regularly becomes *ar* in the Y dialect (PNYE xxix, PNYW 7. 83). One or two of the later forms may alternatively contain the OE common noun *bere-ærn* “barn”. The appellative *barn* may also be considered.

For interchange of *a* and *e* see § 2. For syncope of *e* see § 62. For loss of final *n* after *r* see § 86iii.

### \*Basing, \*Besing

L. a) in **Basingham** 1246 (Bassingham Farm, Candlehoe W; a Thomas f. Basing q.v. had a salt-pan at Friskney and it is possible that this was the B. who gave his name to the lost hamlet whose name survives in that of the farm) Bower 173.

b) **Besing**, witness, c1150–60 Dane 261. – **Thomas f. Basing** (salinam, Friskney) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 531. – **Besing**, witness, [l.H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 4 p. 2. – **Willelmus f. Basing** (Toynton) c1182–90 RA VI 186o. – **Basing prepositus** [1197–98] 13th FFF 334. – terre **Basing** (Skidbrook) c1200 RA V 1716, his children:

terram **Ranulfi f. Basing** l.12th Dane 555, **Randulfo f. Basing, Basing'** witness, [ante 1198] c1225, 1198–1205 RA V 1671–72, **Askel f. Basing de Skitebroc, Basing'** [l.12th], [ante 1198] c1225 RA V 1712, 1671, **Robertus f. Basing de S.** [1196–98] c1225, 1/7 1202, 1202 RA V 1673, FF 53, Ass 124, **Boniua filia Blasing sic de Fleichemare (recte Bleichemare), Basing' de Bleichemer'**; de **Blaikemare de Sckitebroc** l.12th, [l.12th] c1330, c1200 RA V 1700, 1735; Dane 554. – **Rogerum f. Basing'** [ante 1224] c1330, l.12th, l.12th RA IV 1439–40, Dane 530. – **Basind (sic) f. Hosgoti; Basing f. Osgoti (Somercotes)** [c1200] c1225 RA V 1664; 1665–66, 1676. – **Basing f. Ache de Sumercotes** [c1200] c1225 RA V 1678. – **Roberto Basing**, witness, [e. 13th] 13th RA V 1710. – **Besing' gen.** [c1220–30] 13th, [1239–45] c1330 RA IV 1262, 1264. – **Willelmo f. Besing**, witness, c1239–45 RA IV 1248. – **terram Petri f. Basing'** (Somercotes) [c1240] c1330 RA V 1691. – **Osberti Besing** c1239–45 RA IV 1248.

Y. a) in **Basinghebi, Basingebi DB, Besingbi** 1114–24 (Bessingby, Dickering W, E) PNYE 100. – **Besignab** 12th, **Besingnab** l.12th (lost place in Wawne, Holderness W, E) PNYE 100. – in **Besynggate** 13th (st.n. in York) PNYE 282. – in **Bassynghorp(e)** 1379 etc. (Bassingthorpe Farm, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 182. – in **Bassynicroft** 1483 (f.n. in Stainforth, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 14.

b) **Bas(s)ing**, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8, 8n. – **Basin (Belby) TRE DB** 301r, 373r (bis gen.). – **Basinc TRE DB** 325r (bis). – **Basin TRE DB** 304v, 306r, 320v (bis), 331r, 331v, gen. 373r. Uncertain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Hernisio f. Besing (Wold Newton)** [1142–54] 13th YCh 2. 1201. – **Basino, Basingo f. Suani abl.**, witness, [1150–70] ?, [c1150–76] ? YCh 3. 1395, 1399. – **Gamello f. Bosingi sic, Basinc** [1159–60] 13th–14th YCh 1. 484–85. – **Besing' abl.**, witness, [1160–70] 17th YCh 3. 1531. – **Besing abl.**, witness, brother of Walter, [c1180–90] c1400 YCh 2. 845. – **Gualtero Besing abl.**, witness, [c1180–1206] 15th YCh 11. 246. – **Turstanum f. Besing' de Hudeswell'** 1202 FFb 67. – **Willelmus f. Besing de Triberg'** 1218–19 AssSel 470. – **Hubertus f. Besinge', Besing, Beising' de Baune** [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 959, 964–65.

Probably an AngloScand formation. The name is an *-ing* derivative from Scand *Bassi* or *Bessi* or possibly OE *Bassa* or *basu* “purple”, or cf. OE *basing* “cloak” (PNYW 1. 182). It is difficult to explain the rarity of forms in *-ss-* if *Basing* is derived from one of the three pers.n.s. in question. The variation of spellings in *a/e* is probably due to AN interchange of these letters (see § 2). Note also the ME surname *de Basing, de Basinges* from the p.n. *Basing* in Hampshire (Ekwall Early London Personal Names 120),



which may lie behind some of the later instances where *B.* appears as a surname.

For *-in*, *-inc* for *-ing* see § 90.

### \*Bekki

L. a) in **Bechebi** DB 7/18, 13/18, 25/14, LiS 11/5.9.17 (Bigby, Yarborough W).

b) **Walerandus Becke** (Wilsthorpe) c1205 NthCh 104.

An Anglo-Scand formation? Possibly a weak side-form to the WScand by.n. *Bekkr* “brook” (Lind BN 18). But cf. also Frisian *Becke*, ContGerm *Becco*. Another possible derivation is from OE *becca* “mattock” (Ekwall Early London Personal Names 138).

For *ch*, *ck* for *kk* see §§ 143.126.128.

### Belgr

Y. a) in **Belgebi** DB, **Belgerby** 12th (Bellerby, Hang W W, N) PNYN 252: – in **Torp**, **Balchetorp** DB, **Belkert(h)orp** 1205, **Belgerthorpe** 1242 (Belthorpe Ho, Harthill W, E) PNYE 175.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *belgr*, gen. *belgjar* “skin, skin-bag, bellows”, hence “dry, withered old man”. Found in WScand (Lind BN 19).

The DB form of the second p.n. might contain the rare OS cand literary name *Bjalki* but this would not normally have a gen. giving *Belker-* in ME so it is probably best to adhere to A.H.Smith’s opinion that the spelling in *Belger-* is original.

For *ch*, *k* for *g* see § 135.

### Beli

L. a) in **Belesbi**; **Bilesbi** DB 12/36, 47/7, 68/45; 48/10, **Belesbi** LiS 8/1.11. 19 (Beelsby, Haverstoe W). – in **Beledale** 13th (f.n. in Croxby, Ludborough W) Bower 423.

b) **Alexander f. Bele** 1199 Pleas i 408, 1202–03 RA VII 2076, (Scopwick) 3/2 1207 FF 223, 1212 Fees 178. – **Wido f. Bele** 1206 Ass 1356. – **Walter f. Bele de Wrengl’** [c1220] 13th FP 246. – **Ricardi f. Bele** (Langton-by-Partney) [c1240] c1330 RA VI 1896.

Y. a) perhaps in **Bellebi**, **-by** [959] c1200, DB, 1199, **Ballebi** DB (Belby, Howdenshire W, E) PNYE 249. – in **Belebi** DB (Bielby, Harthill W, E) PNYE 232.

Probably an orig. by.n derived from the vb. *belja* “to bellow, roar”. No certain instance recorded in Scand except for a fictional character in

WScand *Beli* (Lind 118). Possibly found in Swed (Modéer Kalmar Tänkebok 21).

*Beledale* may alternatively contain the OE (non-WSax) *bēl* “funeral-pyre” and it is perhaps more likely that Belby contains the Scand names *Belli* q.v. or *Bjalla* q.v. as it is otherwise difficult to explain the constant *ll*.

### \*Belli

Y. a) possibly in **Bellebi**, -by [959] c1200, DB, 1199, **Ballebi** DB (Belby, Howdenshire W, E) PNYE 249.

An Anglo-Scand formation? An orig. by.n. from *bellinn* “bold” or Norw dialect *bell* “bell-clapper” (Smith PNYE 249).

May alternatively contain the pers.ns. *Beli* q.v. or *Bjalla* q.v.

### \*Beltr

L. a) ? in **Beltesford** DB (Belchford, Gartree W) 11/9, 14/45. – ? in **Belteslawe** DB (Beltisloe wapentake) DEPN. – ? in **Beltesholm** [H<sub>2</sub>] 1200 (f.n. in Kirkby-upon-Bain, Gartree W) Bower 493.

Not recorded in Scand but probably related to the WScand by.n. *Belti*, derived from *belti* “belt” (Lind BN 19).

The p.ns. may alternatively contain an OE pers.n. *\*Belt* (Anderson 61).

### Bergþórr

L. b) **Bertor** TRE DB 14/59.91, 25/8, gen. 69/15.

Y. b) **Berhðor** festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Petrus f. Berthor** (Skipwith) 1202 FFBb 51.

First el. *Berg-*. Second el. *-þórr*. This name is frequent in both Norw and Icel and found in several Norw p.ns. (Lind 131–32). Also recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 42).

For loss of interconsonantal fricative *g* see § 136. For unvoicing of this velar fricative at the end of the first el. see § 135.

For *t*, *ð* for *p* see §§ 112.110.

### Bergulfr

L. b) **Uuegeth f. Beregolfi**, witness, 1143–47 Dane 247.

Y. a) in **Bergulues-**, **Bergolbi** DB (lost manor in Seamer, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN xlv.

b) **Berguluer** TRE DB 315r.

First el. *Berg-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Rare in the early period in Norw but frequent after 1300, also in a few p.ns. (Lind 128–30). One or two late

instances in Dan (DgP 112): Also recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 42).

For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For voicing of *f* to *v* see § 96ii. For loss of *f* after *l* see § 100ii. For interchange of *u/o* see § 32. For final *-er* see §§ 78.144.

### Bersi, Bessi

L. a) in **Berisholm drove**, -landes 1331 (possibly identical with Bear Lane, Pinchbeck, Elloe W) Payling 44.

Y. a) possibly in **Baseuic**, -wic DB, **Besewic** 12th etc. (Beswick, Harthill W, E) PNYE 159. – in **Bersicroft** ante 1153 (f.n. in Thurnscoe, L Straforth W, W) PNYW 1. 93. – in **Bersewyk** (e) 1287 (Baswick, Holderness W, E) PNYE 72. – in **Bessewallesike** 1287 (f.n. in Fixby, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 37.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *bersi* “he-bear” (Nord.Kult.VII 59). Very frequent in Icel, frequent in Norw from the 9th cent onwards – also in p.ns. (Lind 132–33). A few instances in Dan (DgP 116; DS II 16), and Swed (Lundgren-Brate 43).

Alternative explanations for some of the p.ns. are the Scand pers.n. *Bəsi* q.v., the OE pers.n. *Besi*, the ME fem. pers.n. *Besse* or the OE appellative *bærs* “perch”.

For *s* for *rs* see § 76.

### Bildr, Billi

L. a) in **Billesfelt**, **Billefelt** DB (Bitchfield, Beltisloe W) 7/40, 26/48; 59/11). – in **Billesbi** DB (Bilsby, Calcewath W) 13/8.

Y. a) in **Bilrod** 1145–48, **Bilroche** 1155–65 (Biller Howe, Fytingdales, Whitby Strand W, N) PNYN 116. – in **Bi**-, **Byldesdale** 1153–59 etc. (Bilsdale, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 67.

*Bildr* is an orig. by.n. “blade”. Found once as the name of a fictional character in WScand and frequently as a by.n. there (Lind 138–39; BN 23–24). A *Bildus* is mentioned in Saxo and the name appears as a by.n. in Dan and may be found in some Dan p.ns. (DgP 124; II 70–71). *Billi* is found in one Norw p.n. (Lind 139) and there are some instances in Swed and Dan (DgP 124; II 71–75).

For loss of final *d* after *l* and assimilation of *ld* to *ll* see § 108.

### \*Bjalla

Y. a) perhaps in **Bellebi**, -by [959] c1200, DB, 1199, **Ballebi** DB (Belby, Howdenshire W, E) PNYE 249.

An Anglo-Scand formation? An orig by.n. cf. OIcel *bjalla* “bell”. (PNYE 249).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n.s. *Beli* q.v. or *Belli* q.v.

For *e*, *a* for *ja* see §§ 54.15.

### Bjarni

L. b) **Johannes Berne** custos [c1243] 13th RBE 1075.

Y. a) in **Bernesc(h)ales** 13th (Barnscholes (lost), U Strafforth W, W) PNYW I. 115.

b) **Berne** TRE DB 301v.

Side-form to *Bjorn* q.v. and *Arinbjorn* (Nord.Kult.VII 60). Found in both W and EScand (Lat *Biarno*, *Bierno*) (Lind 136–37; DgP 122–23). Possibly to be found in a p.n. in Normandy (Adigard 192–94).

Some of the forms recorded under *Barni* may alternatively belong here, as the *a* could be an AN substitution for *e* (cf. § 15).

For *e* for *ja* see § 54.

### Bjórr

Y. b) **Ber** TRE DB 322r.

An orig. by.n. “beaver”. Recorded in a Norw runic inscription as the name of a man who took part in Knut’s expedition to England and died there (c1015) (Feilitzen 200; L. Jacobsen Evjestenen og Alstad-stenen, Norske Oldfunn 6, Oslo 1933, 14). *Biur* is recorded in Swed as a by.n. (XenLid 97).

The DB form may alternatively represent *Bjorn* q.v.

For *e* for *jó* see § 56.

### Bjørg fem.

Y. a) in **Bergue-**, **Bergetorp** DB, **Bergert(h)orp** 1180–90 (Burythorpe, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 142.

An orig. by.n. cf. OIcel *björg*, gen. *bjargar* “protection, help”. Found in WScand but rare (Lind 143).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the el. *berg* “hill” but *þorp* is more often combined with a pers.n. and the spellings in *-er*, representing Scand gen. *-ar*, also point to this derivation. The forms without *r* may be due to OEScand loss of *r* before a dental consonant (see BrNGG § 335).

For *e* for *jø* see § 54.

### Bjorn

L. a) in **Beorneshag** 12th (f.n. in Kirkby-upon-Bain, Gartree W) Bower

493. – in **Beornesbrik** 13th (f.n. in Wainfleet-All-Saints, Candleshoe W) Bower 486.

b) **Godrico genero Biern; Bern; Beorn** 1163–66; post 1160; ante 1187 Dane 466; 146; 223, 229. – **Adelsi f. Bern, Bern'** (et Asketinus f. Od nepos eius) (Kirkstead) 1163, H<sub>2</sub>, c1180 Dane 186–90. – **Johanne Bern** abl., witness, [June 1253] 13th RA.II 395.

Y. a) in **Berneston(a)**, -tune ante 1080, **Benestone**, -tun DB, **Bærnest'** 1166 (Barmston, Holderness W, E) PNYE 83. – in **Bernestoft** 13th (f.n. in Winterset, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 263. – in **Biornhilles** 1316 (f.n. in Adlingfleet, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 3.

b) **Ber** TRE DB 322r.

A very common name in Norw and Icel from the earliest period, an orig. by.n. with the meaning “bear” (Lind 143–47). Also appears frequently in Swed and Dan. Dan runic inscriptions contain the forms *biorn*, *biurn* nom., *biarnar* gen. (Jacobsen-Moltke 636) and the name appears in other Dan sources in the following forms *Bero*, *Berno*, *Biorno*, *Biornus* (DgP 124–28).

The forms in L and Y may alternatively represent OE *Beorn* and *Ber* could also stand for Scand *Bjórr* q.v.

For *e* for *jǫ* see § 54. *eo* for *jǫ* may be due to anglicisation. For loss of final *n* after *r* see § 86iii.

### Björnkarl or Bjørnketill

Y. a) possibly in **Barkedale** 13th, **Berkildale** 1285, **Barkendale** 1332 (Bartindale, Dickering W, E) PNYE 109.

Either an Anglo-Scand short form *\*Berkil* of an orig by.n. *Björnkarl* “bear-hunter” (PNYE 109) or a compound name, first el. *Björn-*, second el. *-ketill*. *Björnkarl* is recorded in Jämtland (Lind 147; Nord.Kult.VII 66). *Berkel* <*\*Biarnkil*, *\*Björnketill* probably appears as the first el. of a Dan p.n. (B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 18).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Barki* q.v.

For *e*, *a* for *jǫ* see §§ 54.15.

### Bjørnulf

L. a) in **Bernulfbi** DB 12/24, **Bernetebi** LiS 8/1 (Barnoldby-le-Beck, Haverstoe W).

Y. a) in **Bernulfesuuic** DB (probably Barnoldswick, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 249. – in **Bernulfesuuic** DB, **Bernolueswich** ante 1153 (Barnoldswick, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 34. – in **Bernolftorp** ante 1158, **Bernethorp** 1260 (Barnthorpe (lost), L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 81. – in **Bernolfcroft** 1187, **Bernolues-** 13th, (f.n(s.)) PNYW 7. 298. – in **Bernoffecroft**

1235 (f.n. in Cawood, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 39.

b) **Bernulf**; **Bernulfus**; **Bernulfi** gen., husband of Asa, TRE DB 322r, 322v (3 times), 323r; 322v, 323r; 298r, 322r, 373r. – **Bernulf** gen. TRE DB 298r. – **Bernulfus** TRE; **Bernulf** TRE and 1086; **Bernulfus** 1086 DB 310v; 311r (bis), 311v, 312r; 312r. – **Bernulfus** 1086 DB 322r (bis), probably the father of Gamello f. **Bernolf**, **Bernulfi**, **Bern[ulfi]**, **Bernolfi** 1115–47, [c1148] 14th–15th, [ante 1150] 15th, [ante 1148] 17th YCh 6. 131, 5. 156, 11. 17, 182. – **Bernulfo** forestario, witness, [1130–38] 17th YCh 2. 970. – **Bernulfo** abl., witness, [? 1147–57] 13th YCh 9. 124. – **Bernulfo** fratre suo (Helya f. Marc’), witness, [? 1150] 17th YCh 5. 308. – **Bernulphus** f. **Morcheri** miles, witness, [1154–60] 14th YCh 3. 1825. – terram **Bernulphi** **Peda**, **Peddi de Winteworda** (et terram **Ormi** f. ejus) [c1152–55] 17th YCh 7. 129–30, **Bernolfus** **Pedder** [c1180–99] 14th–15th YCh 5. 130. – **Bernulfo** fratre ejus (**Willelmo** **Laising**), witness, [1160–70] 14th YCh 2. 901. – **Bernulfus** de **Helhgefeld** f. **Gamelli** c1160–75 YCh 11. 126. – **Ricardo** f. **Bernulfi** (**Louis** fratre eius), witnesses, c1160–75 YCh 11. 126. – **Bernulfo** presbitero de **Sitleswrdia**, witness, [c1180–1200] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1006. – **Suano**, **Suein** f. **Bernolf**, witness, father of **Henricus**, **Ricardus**, **Walterus**, [c1185–96] 15th YCh 8. 140–41. – **Robertus** f. **Bernolf** [c1180–96] m. 13th YCh 2. 1010. – **Rogero** f. **Bernulphi**, witness, [21/7 1187] 14th YCh 5. 190. – toftum **Bernulfi** (**Coatham**) [1180–1200] l. 13th YCh 2. 726. – **Bernulfus** (**Stainley**) 1196 FFB V. – **Willelmus** f. **Bernolf** de **Karleton** 1218–19 AssSel 531. – **Bernardus** f. **Bernolfi** 1218–19 AssSel 746. – **Nicholaus** f. **Bernolf** 1218–19 AssSel 1024.

First el. *Björn*-. Second el. *-ulfr*. Appears early in Icel but, apart from in p.n.s., not until late in Norw (Lind 147–48). Found in Swed as *Biærnulv* (Nord.Kult.VII 261). Possibly to be found in a p.n. in Normandy (Adigard 196–97).

Many of the forms in L and Y may rather represent OE *Beornwulf*.

For *e* for *jō* see § 54. For interchange of *u/o* see § 32. For *ph* for *f* see § 97. For voicing of *f* to *v* see § 96ii.

### Bláfótr

L. a) in **Blafotewang** 1163 (f.n. in Swinhope, Haverstoe W) Bower 417.

An orig by.n. “blue-foot”. Recorded once in WScand – *Tosten blafotr* (Lind BN 28).

### Blakkr, Blakki

Y. a) in **Blaketoft** (e) 1153–90 (Blacktoft, Howdenshire W, E) PNYE 244.

b) **Blacre** TRE DB 323r (3 times). – **Richerus** f. **Blacher**, witness [1154–

66] ? YCh 11. 11. – Bal[de]winus f. Blacher [1161–c70] c1400 YCh 11. 104..

An orig. by.n “black, dun-coloured”, with both strong and weak forms.. Found in both W and EScand (Lind 148; BN 28; DgP 132; Nord.Kult.VII 245).

An OE *Blæchere* may possibly lie behind the two later forms but the OE. name would not have shown syncope of the first *e* in DB (Feilitzen 203).. The p.n. may rather contain the OE adj. *blæc* “black, dark”.

For *re*, *er* see §§ 78.144.

### Blanda

Y. a) in *Blandebi* DB (Blansby, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 85.

*Blanda*, gen. *Blōndu* is an orig by.n. meaning “one who mixes his drinks”.. Recorded in WScand (Lind BN 28–29). For an alternative interpretation. of this p.n. see A.Janzen in Names V pp.203ff.

### Blár

L. b) *Randulfus Bla de Scitebroc*, *Rannulfo Bla* abl. 1202 Ass 646, 1033.

An orig by.n. “black, livid”. Recorded in late WScand (Lind BN 29) and also in Swed (XenLid 102).

### Blási

L. a) possibly in *Blassegate E<sub>1</sub>*, *Blasegatte* 1562 (Blaze Gate, Gedney, Elloe-W) Payling 23.

An orig by.n probably formed from the vb *blása* “to blow”. Recorded in WScand (Lind BN 29).

### Bleikr, Bleiki

Y. a) in *Blaicastret* 1108–14, *Blaikestret(a)* 1189–95 (Blake Street, York) PNYE 283. – in *Blaykesdal* 12th (Blakes Dale, Harthill W, E) PNYE 169. – in *Blaikeswath* 12th (f.n.) PNYN 332.

b) *Alanus Bleik* (Thorp), his children, *Matilda filia Alani Bleik*, *Robertus Bleik de Thorp* [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 426–28.

An orig by.n. “the pale one” with both strong and weak forms. Both forms are recorded as by.ns. in WScand (Lind BN 29–30). The strong form is found in at least one Swed runic inscription (cf. SRSö nr 309, SRU nr 651) and possibly in some Swed p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 28).

The st.n. may alternatively be interpreted as “white street” or “street. where bleaching is carried on” (PNYE 283).

For *ai* for *ei* see § 49.

**Blesi**

L. a) in **Blasebi**; **Blesebi** DB 16/15, 48/11; 28/29, **Blesebi** LiS 7/14, 16/11.17 (Bleasby, Wraggoe W).

An orig by.n. “white spot (on horse’s forehead), blaze”. Borne as a by.n. by one of the orig settlers in Icel and a few other men (Lind BN 30). Found in a Swed runic inscription as *blisi* (SRU nr 644) and possibly in some Swed p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 28–29; Ödeen 23).

For *a* for *e* see § 15.

**\*Bleyði**

Y. a) in **Bladeroides** 1409, **Blaithroide** 1533 etc., **Blaytheroyde** 1536 (Blaithroyd, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 90.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *bleyði* “cowardice”. An Anglo-Scand formation? Cf., however, the WScand by.n. *Blaudði* (Lind BN 29).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the ME surname *Blade* (Reaney 35).

For *a*, *ai*, *ay* for *ey* see § 53. For *d*, *th* for *ð* see §§ 116.118.

**Blígr**

L. a) in **Blittone**; **Blitone** DB 1/51; 1/39, 16/31, 57/8, **Blituna** LiS 4/7.8 (Blyton, Corringham W). – in **Bliburg** DB 3/4, 14/16, 28/1, 63/1, **Bliburc** LiS 2/2.5.7.9 (Blyborough, Aslacoë W).

Y. b) **Blíh** festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9.

An orig by.n. “the gazing or staring one” OIcel *blígja* “to gaze” (Nord. Kult.VII 51). Found in WScand as both pers.n. and by.n. and as an el. in a few p.ns. (Lind 149; BN 30).

For unvoicing of *g* to *h* see § 135. For loss of *g* see § 136iii.

**Blæingr**

Y. b) **Andreas Bleyn de Eboraco** 1219 AssSel 719.

An orig by.n. “the blue or dark one” < adj. *blár* “blue, dark”. Found as a pers.n. in Icel, where it is borne by the father of one of the orig settlers and some few other men (Lind 149–50). Possibly found in a Norw p.n. (NG XV 309). Cf. also the form *\*Bláungr* deduced from a Dan p.n. (Hald Vore Stednavne 171).

For *a*, *e* for *á* see §§ 40.41. For *y* for *i* see § 22. For *n* for *ng* see § 90.



**\*Boði**

L. b) **Tomas f. Boþe**, witness, c1160 Dane 385.

An Anglo-Scand formation? Perhaps a short form of *Bøðvarr* q.v. (Feilitzen Notes 65).

**Bófi**

L. b) **Walterus Boue** (Goulceby) 1185 Templ 108.

An orig by.n. "clumsy person". Found occasionally in WScand (Lind 150–51; BN 34), in Dan runic inscriptions as *bufi*, *bofi* (Jacobsen-Moltke 636), occasionally in other Dan sources (DgP II 114; DS II 6) and fairly frequently in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 34–35).

For *v* for *f* see § 96.

**Boli, Bóli, Bolli**

L. a) in **Bolebi** DB (Bulby, Beltisloe W) 27/41, 57/57.

b) **Bole** TRE DB 14/92. – **Randulfi f. Bol**; **Randulfi Bol**; **Ranulfus f. Bole** (Glentham) [c1190] 13th; [c1190] 13th; [1196–1203] 13th, c1220, [1223–24] 13th RA IV 1114; 1115; 1118, 1132, 1135. – **Huberti Bolle** gen. [c1190] 13th RA IV 1114. – **Willelmi Bolle** gen. (Saxby) 14/5 1209 FF 300. – **Thomas Bolle** (Swineshead) 7/1 1219 AssSel 237, 365. – **Godefridus Bolle de Swinesheued** (Kirton W) 1298 AssTh 466.

Y. a) in **Bollebi**, **Bolebi** DB (Boulby, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 140. – in **Boletorp** DB, **Buletorp** 1200, **Bollethorpe** 1311 (Bowthorpe, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 261. – in **Bullehoumore** 1314 (Bullamoor, Allerton W, N) PNYN 210.

b) **Haldan Bola**, rusticus (Warter) [1141–42] e. 14th YCh 10. 66. – **Robertus Bolle** 1218–19 AssSel 592.

*Boli* is an orig by.n., cf. OIcel *boli* "bull". A single instance is recorded in WScand in 1399 (Lind BN 34). *Bóli* is an orig by.n. "country dweller". A couple of instances are recorded in WScand in the 14th cent (Lind BN 34). *Bolli* is an orig by.n., cf. OIcel *bolli* "bowl", hence "fat man". Fairly frequent in WScand (Lind 151–52; BN 35; Nord.Kult.VII 51). Dan forms in *Bole* are probably loans from ContGerm *Bolo* but forms in *Bulle* and *Bolle* in Dan p.ns. probably represent Scand *Bolli*. *Bolli* is found in four p.ns. in Normandy, once as *Bulle-* (Adigard 92–93).

These three names cannot be distinguished from each other in English sources and have therefore been gathered under one heading. Some of the forms in L and Y may alternatively represent the OE pers.n. *\*Bula*.

For interchange of *o/u* see § 24. For interchange of *l* and *ll* see §§ 142.143.

**Boltr**

Y. a) in **Boltebi** DB (Boltby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 198.

An orig by.n. "bolt", cf. the Mod Icel meaning "bundle" and the Shetland dialect word meaning "fat, lumpy figure". A number of instances are recorded in WScand (Lind BN 35–36).

**Bóndi**

L. a) in **Bunde** DB 25/1, 36/3, **Bonde** LiS 11/10.23 (Bonby, Yarborough W). – in **Bondholm** 1322 (f.n. in S Ormsby, Hill W) Bower 506.

b) **Bundo** 1086 DB 3/47. – **Bunda** [1166] 13th RBE 382. – **Waltero f. Bonde** c1150 Stenton Feudalism 6. – **Angerum f. Bunde** 6/7 1202 FF 96. – terram **Willelmi Bonde** (Claxby Pluckacre) [c1200] 13th, c1200, [e. 13th] 13th RA VI 1871, 1879, 1882. – **Willelmus Bonde** (Haceby) 13/7 1202 FF 129. – **Rogerum Bonde de Wellingoure nativum, Rogero Bonde** dat. 1206–16, 1206–23 RA VII 2056–57. – **Hugo Bonde** 1213–23 RA II 638. – **Willelmum Bonde**, paternal uncle of Adam of Stainwith, 25/11 1218 AssSel 137. – **Alexander Bonde** (Inlegton) 1219 FFM 139. – **Roberto Bonde** abl., witness, c1219 RA VII 2034. – **Alan Bonde** 1226 FFM 219. – **Henerici Bonde** c1240 RA IV 1189. – ? terram **Roberti Bonding** c1245–55 RA VII 2042. – terram **Walteri Bonde** (Bishop Norton) 1254–58 RA II 630. – **William Bond** of Staunford 1263 FFF 221. – **Iohannem Bonde de [Luda]** 1298 AssTh 217. – **Ricardo Bonde** abl. (Winnibriggs W) 1298 AssTh 431. – **Thomas Bond; Bonde de veteri Lafford** 1298 AssTh 197; 442, 490. – **Willelmum Bonde** 1298 AssTh 175. – **Willelmum Bonde de Graham** 1298 AssTh 8, 79.

Y. a) in **Bondeflatmire** 1194–98 (f.n. in N. Cowton, Gilling W W, N) YCh 5. 302.

b) **Bundi** gen. TRE DB 298r. – **Bonde** TRE DB 324r. – terram **Bunde** TRE DB 373v. – **Bonda Lippa**, witness, [c1140–56] 14th–15th YCh 1. 215. – **Bonda, Bondo de Whasingeton** [? 1150–56] 17th, [1154–58] ?, [1174–84] ?, [1154–69] ? YCh 5. 373, 377, 378, 384, his son is probably **Willelmus f. Bonde**, witness, [1154–69] ? YCh 5. 384, 1208 FFb 133. – **Robertus Bundin** [1166] 13th RBE 427. – **W. f. Bonde** [1167–80] 14th YCh 1. 415. – **Rogerus f. Bonde** (Colsuainhaghe) [1175–85] 14th YCh 1. 447. – **Hugonis f. Bondi** (Pontefract) [1180–90] m. 13th YCh 3. 1532. – **Bondus** (Fenwick) 1185 Templ 134. – **Alanus Bonde** c1190–1210 YCh 9. 78. – **Roberto Bundi**, witness, [1.12th] 17th YCh 8. 149. – **Bondo fabro** (Warter) [1199] e. 14th YCh 10. 81. – **Walterus Bonde** (Cadeby) 1202 FFb 24. – **Willelmo f. Bond** [ante 1204] ? YCh 5. 127. – **Thomas Bonde** (Cottingwith, Acton) 1225 FFP 62. – **Walterus Bonde** [1286–87] e. 15th KI 175. – **Adæ Bond** dat. (Rawcliffe) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 827.

An orig occupational name "farmer" (Nord.Kult.VII 53). Some few instances are recorded in WScand as both pers.n. and by.n. (Lind 152; BN 36). Very common in Dan as both pers.n. and by.n. and in p.ns. (DgP 142–46; Hald Vore Stednavne 134). In Swed a single certain instance is found in a runic inscription (SRU nr 37). Found in two p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 93–95).

The Scand occupational term was borrowed into OE (Hofmann § 271) and some of the names in L and Y may represent ME occupational surnames (Thuresson 50–51). The p.ns. may rather contain the occupational term.

The forms with *-un-* are of Dan origin and probably show the ODan development of  $\bar{o} > u$  in connection with the shortening of the vowel before the consonant group *nd* (cf. BrNGG § 151).

#### Bóthildr, -hilda fem.

L. b) **Botild** TRE DB 48/14. – **Rumfaro f. Botild**, witness, l.12th RA IV 1152. – **Botilda uxor . . . ard**, 25/11 1207 FF 233. – **Peter Botild juror** 13th Hill 399.

Y. a) in **Botildewellewong** c1200 (f.n. in Anston, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 149. – in **Botildehau** l.13th (f.n.) PNYE 324. – possibly in **Botilgarth** 1483 (f.n. in Fishlake, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 15.

b) **Willelmo f. Botilde de Gillinga** [c1170–81] 14th YCh 3. 1880. – **Botilda uidua** (Kellington) 1185 Templ 133. – **Ric[ardo] Botild**, witness, [1188–1200] 15th YCh 8. 117. – toftum **Johannis f. Botilde** (Leppington) c1230–49 YCh 10. 109.

First el. *Bót-*. Second el. *-hildr*. Both forms fairly frequent in Norw after c1300, also in p.ns. Rare in Icel (Lind 157–59). Common in Dan and also found in Swed (DgP 150–53; Lundgren-Brate 33).

For loss of *h* see § 140iv.

#### Bóti

Y. b) **Willelmo Bote**, witness, [e. 13th] 17th YCh 9. 79.

Found once as a by.n. in WScand, probably indicating a man from Bute (Lind BN 37). The few late instances as a pers.n. are probably to be interpreted as a short form of *Bótulfr* (Lind 159). Possibly found in some Dan p.ns. (DS XI 183).

#### Bragi

Y. a) in **Bragebi** DB, **Brahebi** 1165 (Brawby, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 57.

The name of a poet living in the first half of the 9th cent. The only other instances in WScand are a few fictional characters and a possible occurrence in a p.n. (Lind 161–62). One instance of *Braghæ* is found in Dan (DgP 157).

For *h* for *g* see § 135ii.

### Brandr

L. a) in **Branzbi** DB 18/4.5, LiS 6/5 (Bransby, Well W). – in **Branzuic** DB 16/48 (lost). – in **Branzewelle** DB (Brauncewell, Flaxwell W) 27/45; 64/6. – in **Branztune**; -tone; -tun DB (Branston, Langoe W) 31/11.16; 31/18; 72/14. – in **Branzthoft** c1150 (f.n. ? in Killingholme, Yarborough W) Lindkvist 213. – in **Brantegate** 1226–28, 1257, **Brancegate** [c1185] c1330, 1258, **Brauncegate** [c1200] c1330, 1341 (district in Lincoln) Hill 34, 360. b) þe abb' **Brand**, þam abbot **Brand** dat. [1066–68] 12th ASWills xxxix, **Brand** abl., Abbot of Peterborough, son of Tóki and brother of Áskell, TRE DB 71/15. – **Brand** 1086 DB p. 8.3. – **Brand** presbiteri de **Coringeham** [1100–15] l.12th, [1155–58] c1225 RA I 35, 164. – **Brand** ultra aquam abl., witness, e. H<sub>2</sub> RA VIII 2258. – **Thoma** f. **Brand**, witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] c1225 RA IV 1360. – **Thomæ** f. **Brandi** [c1154] 13th RBE 796. – **Brand** de **Castre** abl., witness, l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 315, **Thomas** f. **Brand' de Castre** [1210–20] c1330 RA IV 1275. – **Brand** (Blyborough) 1185 Templ 101. – **Roberto** **Brand** abl., witness, ante 1191 Dane 84. – **Yuo** son of **Brand**, fined in Lincoln, 1191 Hill 397. – **Alan** son of **Brand**, fined in Lincoln, 1191 Hill 397. – **Brand'** son of **Hawis** (Glentham) 1197 FFF 299. – **Rogero** f. **Brand**, witness, [c1180–90] c1330 RA VIII 2193. – **Rogerus** f. **Brand'** 1202 Ass 172. – **Brand** de **Scarthoi** 1202 Ass 876. – **Radulfus** f. **Brand'** 1206 Ass 1407, 1518. – **Alanus** f. **Brand'** (Lincoln) 1206 Ass 1448. – **Jacobus** f. **Brand'** (Lincoln) 1206 Ass 1448, **Jacobo** f. **Brand** tunc [preposito] Lincoln' c1212 RA VIII 2302, **Jacobo** **Brand**, **Braund** (two texts) c1208–13 RA VI 1850, terram que fuit **Jacobi** **Brand'**; terram **Jacobi** f. **Brand** [c1224–39] 13th, c1224–39, c1233–39; c1200–10, RA VIII 2233–35, 2237; 2236. – **Rogero** f. **Braund'** [1210–20] c1330 RA IV 1275–76. – **Willelmus** **Brand'**, witness, 1219 AssSel 657. – **Robertus** f. **Brand'** (Mablethorpe) 7/1 1219 AssSel 278. – terre **Margarete** filie **Roberti** f. **Brand'** (Burringham) 12/3 1223 RA II 513. – magistro **Johanne** **Brand'**, **Brant'**, witness, c1220–30, 1228 RA VIII 2247, 2384. – pratum **Walteri** **Brand'** (Holton-by-Beckerling) c1220–30 RA V 1463, terram **Walteri** **Brand'**, warden of the fabric of Lincoln cathedral, domino **Waltero** **Brand'** abl. c1240, 1254–58 RA IV 1189, 1218, **Waltero** **Brand**, **Braund**; **Brand** abl., witness, [June 1253] 13th, c1260–70, 1264–65, c1265, 1253–58; [7/4 1263] c1300; c1248–49 RA II 395, VII 2004, VIII

2209, 2213, 2256; III 963; VIII 2271, mayor of Lincoln c1259 Hill 382, **Walter Braund** 1265 Hill 399. – **Willelmus Brand**, moneyer, [c1243] 13th RBE 1075. – **William Brand**, **Willelmo Brande** bailiff of Lincoln, c1245–50 Hill 381, RA VIII 2271, **William Braund**; **Brund** of Lincoln 19/6 1250, 28/5 1263, 9/12 1271; 20/1 1257 FFF 57, 204, 249; 143, **Willelmo Brand'** abl., witness, 1267–74 RA VII 1980, VIII 2243, **William Braund** 1265 Hill 399, **Willelmo Brand** abl., witness, 1274–76, 1271 RA VIII 2330, 2371. – **Albreda** daughter of **John Braund** (Lincoln) 9/12 1271 FFF 252. – **Johannes Brand** (Faldingworth) c1300 RA III 1055. – **Ricardus Brond**, juror of Stamford borough, 1298 AssTh 469.

Y. a) in **Branzbi** DB (Brandsby, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 28. – in **Bur-, Bortun, Brantisburtune, -tone, Branzbortune** DB (Brandesburton, Holderness W, E) PNYE 74. – in **Brannedale** c1150, **Brauncedale** 1276, **Brandesdal'** 1279–81 (Brandsdale, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 65. – in **Brauncheholm (e)** 1150–60 etc., **Branzceholm** 1236 (Bransholme, Holderness W, E) PNYE 42. – in **Brancedale** 13th (Brans Dale, Dickering W, E) PNYE 118.

b) **Brand** pres[biter] c1055–65 Kirkdale Sundial, Hofmann § 326. – **Walteri Brand** gen. [1155–57] 1312, YCh 2. 1148, **Waltero Brand** abl., witness [1190–1200] 14th–15th YCh 1. 297. – **Normanno f. Brand**, witness 1190–1210 YCh 2. 1102.

An orig. by.n. meaning either “sword” or “fire”. Common in Icel from the 10th cent onwards. Not found in Norw in the early period but may appear as a p.n. el. there (Lind 163–64; Supplement 180–82). Also common in Dan, including p.ns. Appears in a Dan runic inscription as *brant(r)* (Jacobsen-Moltke 638; DgP 158–59). Found in three p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 95–96).

A few early instances in OE may represent a short form of *Ingibrand* (Redin 4).

For *ond*, *aund* for *and* see §§ 6.7. For final *t* for *d* see § 107i. For *z*, *c* for *ds* see §§ 105.107iii.

### Brandulfr

Y. a) in **Brandolfsike** 13th–14th (f.n. in Aldfield, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 194.

b) **Brandulf** gen. TRE DB 374r.

First el. *Brand-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. A settler in Icel bore the name *Brøndulfr* and there are a couple of instances from Norw in the 15th cent plus two instances as a p.n. el. (Lind 179–80).

Alternatively the Y name may represent ContGerm *Brandulf* (Forsner 282).

**Breiðr, Breiði**

L. a) in **Bredestorp** DB (probably Careby or Holywell, Beltisloe W) 30/28. – in **Breizbi; Brezbi** DB (Braceby, Threo W) 1/15; 1/17, 3/34, 14/87.

Y. a) in **Breiðetun** c1030, **Braipatun** c1050, **Bretone, Brettan** DB, **Brai-, Brayton** (a) c1070 (Brayton, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 24. – **Braisuelle** DB, **Brai-, Braycewell** (e) 1147–50, **Braythwelle** 1260 (Bracewell, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 38. – in **Hillebraith** 12th (Hillbraith (lost), Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 158. – in **Braycefordmilneholme** c1340 (Bracey Bridge, Dickering W, E) PNYE 90.

b) **Symone f. Rob[erti] Breth** [l.H<sub>2</sub>] l.12th YCh 9. 148.

*Breiðr* is an orig by.n. “the broad one” (Nord.Kult.VII 51). Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel and found in a Norw p.n. Found also as a by.n. in WScand (Lind 165–66; BN 40–41). Appears as a pers.n. and by.n. in Dan and Swed (DgP 161; DS VIII 126; XII 143). The weak form is not recorded in Scand.

In Brayton the el. may rather be the adj. *breiðr* replacing OE *brād*.

For *ai, e* for *ei* see §§ 49.50. For *d, th* for *ð* see §§ 116.118. For *z, c* for *ðs* see § 105.

**\*Bretakollr**

Y. b) **Bretecol festerman** [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9.

An Anglo-Scand formation. First el. *Breta-* gen.pl. of *Bretar* “the Welsh”. Second el. *-kollr* “head” perhaps “man” (Björkman NPE 30), cf. *Skotakollr, Bretakappi*. Also found in Normandy (Adigard 96–97).

For *c* for *k* see § 127.

**Broddr**

Y. a) ? in **Brochesuorde, Brodesuorde, -worde** DB, **Broddeswrde, -worde** 1156 etc. (Brodsforth, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 71.

An orig by.n. “spike”. A single instance is recorded from the time of the settlement of Icel and the name is frequent in Norw from the 15th cent onwards. Found in several Norw p.ns. (Lind 170–71). A few instances in Dan, including p.ns. (DS IV 597; DgP 162). Cf. also the weak Icel *Broddi*, Dan *Broddi*.

A. H. Smith notes (loc.cit.) that since OE *worð* is very rarely combined with a Scand name or el., it would be preferable to accept Ekwall’s suggestion in DEPN of an OE pers.n. *\*Brord* or *\*Brodd*.

**Bróðir**

L. a) in **Brotherhous** 1316 (Brotherhouse Bar, Elloe W) Payling 13. – in **Brothertoft** 1532 (Brothertoft, Kirton W) Payling 77.

b) **Willelmo f. Brother** 1202 Ass 1060. – **Brod'** gen. (Fornwath) 4/3 1212 FF 327.

Y. a) in **Broðertun** c1030, **Broðortun** c1050, **Broertone, -tonam** 1164–66 (Brotherton, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 45. – in **Brotherhill** 1611 (f.n. in Ferrensby, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 92.

Derived from the common noun “brother”. There are some few instances in WScand but in the main they are late (Lind 171). The name is common in Swed and Dan and found in several Dan p.ns. (J. Kousgård Sørensen *Bebygg. på -sted* 255).

Some of the p.ns. in L and Y may rather contain the OE common noun *brōþor* “brother, monk”.

For *d, th* for *ð* see §§ 116.118.

**\*Bróklaus**

L. a) in **Brachelesbi; Brochelesbi** DB 3/5; 14/37, 27/64, 32/2, 34/9, 70/8, **Broclesbi; Brochesbi; Broclosbi** LiS 11/2.8.26; 11/2; 11/15.19 (Brocklesby, Yarborough W). – in **Brokelhau** 1254 (f.n. in Broughton, Manley W) Bower 571.

b) **Broclos, Brocles** TRE DB 4/39, 12/86. – **Broclus** gen. (Alvingham) [R<sub>1</sub>] 1409, [m. H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 8 p. 106, 9 p. 107. – **Rogeri Broclus** (Alvingham) gen. [m. H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 9 p. 107.

An Anglo-Scand formation. An orig by.n. First el. *Brók-* “breeches”. Second el. *-laus* “less”.

For *ch, c* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *o* for *au* see § 47. *les* represents OE *lēas*, which has been substituted for *laus*.

**Brosa**

Y. a) in **Brosehou** 1333 (f.n.) PNYN 332.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *brosa* “to smile”, *brosa* f. “smile” or alternatively Mod Norw *brosa* “blast of wind”. A few instances recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 44).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Brúsi* q.v.

**\*Brotulfr**

L. a) in **Brotulbi** DB 3/1, 24/6, 26/1, **Brotolbi, Brotulebi** LiS 3/4.19 (Bratt-leby, Lawress W).

An Anglo-Scand formation. *Brot-* “breaking” (cf. by.n. *Brotamaðr*) prefixed to *Ulf* (Ekwall in DEPN).

For loss of *f* see § 100ii.

### Brúðr

Y. a) in *Bruthewrthe scire* 1088, *wap’ de Brud(d)eford’* 1166, the village *Brudeford* 1199 (Birdforth and Birdforth W, N) PNYN 179, 190.

An orig by.n. perhaps “bride” or *bruðr* < *brunnr* “stream”. Some few instances found in WScand (Lind BN 45). Cf. also *Brud* in Swed (Mod-*éer* Kalmar Tånkebok 27).

An alternative etymon is OE \**Brudda*.

*ð* may have become *d* in later forms by analogy with OE *brȳd*, cf. ME *kid* and Scand *kið* (PNYN 190).

For *th*, *d* for *ð* see §§ 116.118.

### Brúnn, Brúni

L. a) in *Brunetorp* DB 3/51, *Burnetorp* LiS 15/10 (Bonthorpe-in-Willoughby, Calcewath W). – in *Brunebi* DB (Bromby, Manley W) 1/39.58.

Y. a) ? in *Brunhou*, *Brunhousike* e. 13th (f.n. in Hazlewood, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 74.

b) *Brun presbyteri* TRE DB 298r. – *Brune* TRE DB 300v, 301r, gen. 373v.

An orig by.n. “brown”. *Brúnn* is recorded in some Norw p.ns. but the independent instances may be loans from ContGerm (Lind 172). *Brúni* was the name of one of the orig settlers in Icel but this name soon dropped out of use in Norw (Lind 171–72). Both strong and weak forms also occur as by.ns. in WScand (BN 45). There are several instances of *Brúnn* in Dan and a runic inscription contains the form *brune* nom. (Jacobsen-Moltke 639; DgP 165–66). The weak form *bruni* appears in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nrs 438, 939) and occasionally in Dan (DgP 166).

Cf. also ContGerm *Brun* (Förssner 52–53), OE *Brūn*, *Brūna* (Redin 11, 45). Bonthorpe may rather contain *brunnr* “spring” and the f.n. the OE adj. “brown” (PNYW 5. 74).

For metathesis of *r* see § 75.

### \*Brúncarl

Y. b) *Rogerus Bruncarl* (Normanby) 1208 FFBB 124.

An Anglo-Scand formation? First el. *Brún-*. Second el. *-karl*.

For *c* for *k* see § 127.



**Brúnketill**

L. b) **Robertus f. Brunkil** 1194 P 113.

First el. *Brún-*. Second el. *-ketill*. A few late instances recorded in Dan, where it is also found in a p.n. (DgP 167). Found in Swed runic inscriptions as *brunkitil*, *brunkil* (SRU nrs 371, 494).

**Brúsi**

Y. a) in **Brusegarth** 12th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – ? in **Brosehou** 1333 (f.n.) PNYN 332.

An orig by.n. “buck”. Found in Norw as both pers.n. and by.n. from the 11th cent onwards (Lind 173–74; BN 45). Also recorded in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nrs 333, 1094) and possibly in Swed p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 39) and in a Dan p.n. (DS XI 202).

*Brosehou* may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Brosa* q.v.

For *o* for *ú* see § 34.

**Brynhildir, -hilda fem.**

L. a) in **Brunildesford** 1360 (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

Y. a) in **Brunildeberge** 1220–50 (f.n. in Clapham, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 237.

First el. *Bryn-*. Second el. *-hildir*. This name probably came to Scand with the story of the valkyrie Brunhild. The name is fairly common in Norw from the end of the 12th cent onwards but less so in Icel (Lind 175–77). There are one or two instances in Dan (Lat *Brunildis*) (DgP 168).

For *u* for *y* see § 37. For loss of *h* see § 140iv.

**Bryningr**

Y. a) in **Brenningston** DB (Burneston, Halikeld W, N) PNYN 226. – in **Brinctun**, **Brinniston**, **-tun** DB, **Brinigstun** 1091–95 (Burniston, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 107.

Perhaps a family name formed by adding the suffix *-ing* to a by.n. \**Bryni* “stubborn” or *Brúnn* q.v. One instance recorded in 1335 in Norw (Lind BN 46).

The pers.n. may alternatively be an OE *-ing* derivative from *Brún*.

For *i*, *e* for *ý* see §§ 38.39. For *ig*, *i* for *ing* see §§ 90.136.

**Brynjulfr**

Y. a) in **Burnolfscalles** 12th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – ? in **Brumalfrode H<sub>3</sub>** (f.n. in Ardsley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 178.

First el. *Bryn-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. This name occurs very frequently in Norw from the time of the settlement of Icel onwards (Lind 177–79). It is also recorded in Swed (e.g. SRU nr 905) and probably spread from there to Dan, where there are a number of instances in the later period (DgP 168).

For *u* for *y* see § 37. For metathesis see § 75. For alternation of *u/o* see § 32. The spelling of the second f.n. must be corrupt.

### Buggi

L. b) **Fegga Bucca; Bugga** 1165–66; 1166–67, 1167–68 P 3; 41, 62.

Y. a) in **Buchetorp, Bughetorp, Bugetorp** DB (Bugthorpe, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 149. – in **Buggerude** 1180–1203 (Bogridge Farm, Stainburn, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 49. – in **Bughriding** 13th (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 191.

b) **Willelmus f. Bugga, Bugge de Ballebi** [c1180–1200] 14th–15th, [c1180–1200] ? YCh 2. 1006–07. – terræ **Reginaldi f. Bugge** (Cusworth) 1208 FFb 119.

An orig by.n. “fat man”. Some few late instances are recorded in Norw (Lind BN 47) and some possible ones in Dan (DgP 171) and Swed (SRSö nr 91).

For *gh*, *g* for *gg* see §§ 143.133. The spelling with *ch* shows assimilation of *g* to the following voiceless consonant *th*. The name in L may alternatively represent *Bukki* q.v. (for *cc* for *gg* see § 135).

### Búi

Y. a) ? in **Buitorp** DB (Boythorpe, Dickering W, E) PNYE 115.

Y. b) **Bu** TRE DB 332r.

An orig by.n. “inhabitant” from *búa* “to dwell” (cf. Dan *Bo* < \**Boi*). Found in Norw and Icel as a pers.n. and by.n. but is rare there (Lind 180–81; BN 47). *Bo* is very common in Dan, where it appears in a couple of runic inscriptions and is found in Lat form as *Boecius, Boetius* (DgP 134–39; DS XII 68,103,191). Possibly to be found in three p.ns. in Normandy

### Bukkr, Bukki

L. a) in **Buxcroft** 12th–14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

b) **Fegga Bucca; Bugga** 1165–66; 1166–67, 1167–68 P 3; 41, 62.

Y. a) in **Buckedale** 12th (Bug Dale, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 124. – in **wapenatac’ de Buccros, -kc-** 1180–1201 (Buckrose W, E) PNYE 119. – in **Bukeshou** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Bowcros** 1641, **Buckros** 1656 (Bucker Ho, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 94.

b) **Radulfus Buc** (Easton) [c1125–30] 14th, [1155–57] 1312 YCh 2. 1135, 1148, his son **Gocelino Buc** abl., witness, [1130–39] 14th YCh 2. 1208, 1222. – **Radulfus Buche**, witness, [1175–91] m. 13th YCh 3. 1539.

*Bukkr* is fairly common in WScand, mainly as a by.n. “buck” but it is also found as a pers.n. (Lind 181; BN 47–48). Also recorded as a by.n. in Swed and Dan (XenLid 90,97; DgP II 158–59). *Bukki* appears as a pers.n. in Dan but is probably a loan from ContGerm *Bucco* (DgP 171; cf., however, Hald Vore Stednavne 132).

The p.ns. may alternatively contain the OE pers.n. *Bucca* or the OE common noun *bucc* “buck”. The pers.n. in L may alternatively represent the OE name or Scand *Buggi* q.v. (for *gg* for *kk* see § 129).

For *c*, *ck*, *ch* for *kk* see §§ 126.127.128. For *x* for *ks* see § 130.

### \*Buski

Y. a) in **Buschebi** DB (Great and Little Busby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 169.

An orig by.n., cf. perhaps Mod Norw *busk* “tuft” or the Shetland dialect word meaning “lump” or perhaps a farm name. Two late instances of *Buskr* are recorded in Norw (Lind BN 50). N.B. A few late Dan forms in *Buske* are not related to this name but are derived from ContGerm, originally Wendish, *Busecke* (DgP 173).

For *ch* for *k* see § 126.

### Bøðvarr

Y. a) in **Badresbi** DB, **Bath(e)resby** l.12th (Battersby Farm, Slaidburn, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 204. – in **Badresbi** DB, **Batersby** 1214–22, **Baderesby** 1236, **Batherby** 1285 (Battersby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 167. – in **Batwauriding** E<sub>1</sub> (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 191. – in **Batherarghes** 1343, **Batharar** (s) 1367 (Beatrix, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 211.

First el. *Bøð-*. Second el. probably *\*harjar*. > *\*harir*. *\*Bapu-harjar* “he who has a battle-array” (Nord.Kult.VII 100). Very frequent and old in WScand (Lind 183–85). An unmutated form *Bader* is probably to be found in the Dan p.n. Barslev (*Badersløff* 1408) (DgP 139–40).

The Y p.ns. all contain forms of the name without *u*-mutation. The loss of *v* from the second el. is probably due to a Dan sound-change (see § 5). It is possible that the f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland contains a WScand form of the name, as this village lies in an area of predominantly Norw settlement. For *e* in the second syllable see § 58.

**Bøsi**

L. a) in **Bizebi**; **Besebi** DB 12/85; 24/63, 28/32 (Beesby-in-the-Marsh, Calcewath W). – in **Besebi**, **Basebi** DB 12/28.29, **Besabi** LiS 8/1 (Beesby nr Hawerby, Haverstoe W). – in **Besthorp** 1317–27 (Beasthorpe, Bradley W) Bower 91.

b) **Besy** TRE DB 56/18. – **Ralf f. Alani f. Besi de Ulesbi** [e. 13th] 13th FP 24.

Y. a) in **Baseuic**, **-wic** DB, **Besewic** R<sub>1</sub> etc. (Beswick, Harthill W, E) PNYE 159.

b) **Jordanus Bese**, witness, [l.12th or e.13th] e.14th YCh 10. 62.

This name is not recorded in WScand but is found in some Swed and Dan sources. Two Dan runic inscriptions contain the forms *bausa* and *busa* acc. but the latter form may represent *Bosi* (Jacobsen-Moltke 640). The name may also be found in some Dan p.ns. (DgP 176; DS IX 76, XI 95, XIII 231).

Other possible derivations for the p.ns. are the pers.n. *Bersi* q.v. and the OE common noun *bēos* “bent-grass”.

For *a*, *e* for *ø* see §§ 44.15.

**C****\*Cranebeinn**

Y. b) **Nicholaum Cranebayn** 1218–19 AssSel 746.

A hybrid by.n., OE *crān* “crane” plus OIcel *beinn* “leg”. Cf. the Norw by.n. *Kábeinn* “jackdaw-leg” (Finnur Jónsson Tilnavne 221).

For *ay* for *ei* see § 49.

# D

## Dolfinnr

Y. a) in **Dolfin(e)riddyng** 12th, -wellsich H<sub>3</sub>, **Dolfynscorht** 1286 (f.ns.) PNYW 7. 300.

Y. b) **Dolfin** TRE DB 301v. – **Delfin** TRE DB 317v. – **Dolfin** 1086 DB 331v (3 times). – **Dolfin de Wiflay**, **Aluelai**, brother of **Siwardus**, father of **Willelmus** and **Henricus**, [1120–30] m. 13th, [1154–59] 16th YCh 3. 1663, 1665. – **Dolfino de Chinesleche** abl., witness, [1133–53] 13th YCh 3. 1672. – **Dolfinus de Dudelant**, witness, [1140–46] 17th YCh 11. 13. – **Ricardus de Stubeleia** f. **Dolfini de Birstale** [12th] 17th YCh 3. 1636. – **Dolfinus de Clutherum** [1155–95] 15th, **Dolfin** [1154–62] 15th YCh 1. 83, 11. 270, **Dolfin**; **Dolphino**; **Dolfino** abl. [1156] 15th, [1154–59] c1500; [1162] 15th, c1158–63, [1154–59] c1500; [1163–75] 15th, [c1170–95] 15th, [l.12th] 15th YCh 1. 80, MemFount II 77; YCh 1. 81, 118, MemFount II 80; YCh 11. 242, 274, 5. 315, **Reginaldi** f. **Dolfini de Clutherum** [c1200] 15th YCh 5. 141; D. was the son of **Godwine** and had another son **Robert**. – **Willelmo** f. **Dolfini** [c1150–57] l.12th YCh 6. 158. – **Henrico** f. **Dolfini** [c1150–57] l.12th YCh 6. 158. – **Dolfinus** f. **Leuenadi** [post 1153] 13th YCh 6. 117. – **Uctredo** f. **Dolphin** (**Coniston**), **U. f. Dolphyn**, **Sim[on]** f. **Uctredi** f. **Dolfini** [1155–78] ?, [1179–1202] ?, 24/2 1175–76 YCh 7. 25, 92, 83. – **Henricus** f. **Dolfini**; **Dolfin**, witness [1155–70] 17th, [1159–71] 16th, c1170–90; [1170–80] m.13th YCh 3. 1753, 1678, 8. 145; 3. 1638, **Roberto** f. **Dolfini**, witness, [1185–1205] 17th, [1199] 17th, 1191–94, [c1196–1207] 1637, [c1190–1210] 17th YCh 3. 1715, 1755, 1807, 8. 152, 7. 135, **Dolfin** (et **Robertus** filius ejus et **Ricardus** frater ejus [c1165–77] 15th YCh 3. 1762. – **Adam** f. **Dolfini**, witness, [1162–67] l.12th YCh 2. 1250–51. – **Dolfino** clerico, witness, [1165–75] m. 13th YCh. 3. 1598. – **Dolfin** converso [ante 1172] 17th YCh 6. 112. – fratre **Dolfino**; **Dolphino** (**St. Mary's**) 1168–85, [1184–91] 14th–15th; [c1170–89] 14th YCh 11. 147, 1. 221; 11. 199. – **Dolfinus de Bodeltun** [1173–74] l.12th, [1174–81] l.12th YCh 4. 91, 96, **Willelmo** f. **Dolfini** [1173–74] l.12th YCh 4. 92. – **Dolfino** decano (et **Radulfo** f. suo), witness, [c1180–85] 15th YCh 8. 127. – **Dolfino de Wilberfosse**, witness, [c1180–93] 14th–15th YCh 2. 913. – **Dolfino albo**, witness, [1182–1212] 17th YCh 11. 254. – **Dolfinus** (**Skelton**) 1185 Templ 119. – **Dolfino** abl., witness, 1189–95, [1189–95] 14th–15th YCh 1. 252, 253. – **Marioth** f. **Dolfini** [c1190–1210] 17th YCh 7. 62. – **Dolfin** (**Tanfield**) 1203–04 AssC 1. – **Adam** son of **Dolfin** de **Nor-**

tun c1208 AssC 36. – Ricardum f. Dolfin de Elmesh' 1218–19 AssSel 464. – Ricardus f. Dolfin (Earby) 1218–19 AssSel 675. – Adam f. Radulfi f. Dolfin 1218–19 AssSel 581. – Willelmus f. Dolfin', brother of Sirith, 1218–19 AssSel 638. – Robertum f. Dolfin 1218–19 AssSel 882. – Willelmus f. Dolfin de Spanton' 1218–19 AssSel 1042. – Godefridus f. Roberti Dolfin (Holme) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 738.

An orig by.n. ? A *Dolfinn Finntors son* is named in 1054 (Lind Supplement 197) and the bishop of the Orkneys between 1286 and 1309 was also called *Dólgfinnr* (Lind 201). Otherwise this name is not recorded in Scand and may be an Anglo-Scand formation. The form *Dólgfinnr* is possibly a folk-etymology of a foreign name *Dolphin* (cf. Björkman ZEN 28–29; Lind Supplement 197).

The spelling *Delfin* in DB is due to association with the OFr word (Feilitzen 226). For loss of interconsonantal *g* see § 136i. For *ph* for *f* see § 97.

### Dragnáll

Y. a) in *Dragnalebi* DB (Dromonby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 168.

b) *Dragnmel*, witness, [959] 12th YCh 1. 4.

Not recorded in OWScand but it is found in some Dan p.n.s. (DS XII 67) and a Swed runic inscription contains the form *trakmal* (Feilitzen Notes 54; SRU nr 472). Cf. also *The Dream of the Rood*, ed. B. Dickins and A. S. C. Ross, 4th ed. London 1954, 16. The editors of this OE poem suggest that the pers.n. may alternatively be of ContGerm origin.

### Drengr

L. b) *Willelmo Dreing* abl., witness, c1200 Dane 400.

Y. a) in *Dringolme* DB, *Drenghou* 12th (Dringhoe; Holderness W, E) PNYE 81. – in *Drengeshireses* sic 1109–40, *Drengehuses* 13th (Dringhouses, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 229.

b) *Dringlel*, *Dringhel* TRE DB 329v. – *Johannes Dreng de Rouclif*, *Laurencius f. Johannis Dreng'*, *Beatricia relicta J. Dreng'* [1254–80] 13th–14th Selby 809, 822, 824, 833–36.

From the appellative *drengr* “warrior”. Common in WScand from the 14th cent onwards (Lind 202–03). Also found as a by.n. there (BN 64). One or two instances in Dan, where a weak side form *Drengi* would also seem to have been found (DgP 202; J. Kousgård Sørensen *Bebygg. på sted* 250).

For the spellings *Dring*, *Dreing* see § 17. For *gh* for *g* see § 133. The DB forms show addition of the AN suffix *-el* (see § 153).

**\*Drjúgr**

L. a) in **Dris-**, **Dreistorp** DB (Dexthorpe, Candleshoe W) 13/5, 29/27. – in **Dr(e)uistorp** DB, **Struttorp** 1196 (Trusthorpe, Calcewath W) 2/19, 13/8 and DEPN.

An Anglo-Scand formation? An orig by.n. “substantial, lasting”, cf. the Scand loan-word in ME *dryge*, *drege* < *drjúgr*.

An alternative derivation is the ContGerm pers.n. *Drugo*, *Drogo*.

For *ei* for *jú* see § 56. \**Drjúgr* is replaced by *Strútr* q.v. in the later form of Trusthorpe.

**Drómundr**

Y. a) in **Dragmalebi** DB, **Tromundesbi** c1150, **Dromundby** c1190 (Dromonby, Langbargh W, N) PNYN 168.

An orig by.n., a kind of ship. A single instance is recorded in WScand (Lind BN 65).

The Y p.n. originally contained the pers.n. *Dragmáll* q.v. but this was later replaced by *Drómundr*. The absence of any trace of the Scand gen. *-ar* may be due to EScand loss of *r* before a cons (PNYN 168).

**Dúði**

Y. a) in **Doutheburgh**e 1243–48 (Dowber Lane, Thirsk, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 188.

A pers.n. *Dudo* dat. is recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 46).

For *ou* for *ú* see § 35. For *th* for *ð* see § 118.

**Dúfa**

L. a) in **Donnedik** [810] 13th, **Donnesdick** [948] 14th, **Duuedic** DB (Dowdyke, Sutterton, Kirton W) Payling 101, DB 11/5. 8.

Y. a) in **Duuetorp** DB (Dowthorpe Hall, Holderness W, E) PNYE 47. – in **Doubiging** 1321 (Dowbiggin, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 264. – in **Douthorþ** 1329 (Dowthorpe (lost), L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 16.

b) **Robertum f. Duue** (Fimmar) 1208 FFBb 130.

An orig by.n. “dove”. Some few instances are recorded in WScand, possibly also in some p.ns. (Lind BN 66). Also found as a fem. mythological pers.n. in WScand (Lind 204). Very common as a by.n. in Dan (DgP II 233–35) and possibly found in p.ns. there (DS IX 39).

The p.ns. may alternatively contain the OE bird name *dūfe*.

For *ou* for *ú* see § 35. For *u* for *f* see § 96. The forms in *Donne-* probably represent an earlier el. that was replaced by *Dúfa*.

**Dunkr**

L. a) in **Dunchcroft** 12th–14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

An orig. by.n. < adj. \**dunkr*, cf. Norw dialect *dunk* m. “noisy blow”, OIcel *dynkr* “crashing noise, din” (E. Lidén in NoB (1916) 93). Found once in WScand in 1342 (Lind BN 67).

For *ch* for *k* see § 126.

**Dúsi**

L. a) in **Dusebi** DB (Dowsby, Aveland W) 2/29, 57/12, 67/23, 72/49. – in **Dousedale** 1331 (Dowsdale Bank, Elloe W) Payling 14.

Probably an orig by.n. “the calm”. Cf. Dan *Olaus dict. Dusæ* 1353. Possibly also found in a couple of Dan p.ns. (DgP 205; DS V 386).

For *ou* for *ú* see § 35.

**E****Egill**

L. a) possibly in **Eylscroft** 1200–20 (f.n. in Swineshead, Kirton W) Kirkman 115.

Y. a) possibly in **Elsho** 1266, **Neleshou** 1276, **Eyleshou** 1278 (Elsey, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 72.

From PrimScand \**azilar*, probably from the stem in OIcel *agi* “awe, terror, uproar”. Found at the time of the settlement of Icel and frequent throughout the whole period in both Norw and Icel (Lind 209–11). Some few instances recorded in Dan, including some p.ns. (DgP 219; DS II 57).

The Y p.n. may alternatively contain either *Nel* or OE *El(l)i*.

For vocalisation of *g* see § 137.

**Eileifr, Eiláfr**

L. b) **Elaf** TRE DB 2/6.8, 47/4.7, 70/9.11. – **Ailof** TRE DB 47/5. – **Eilaf** TRE DB 47/6. – **Walterus f. Hailofi**, witness, c1150–60 Dane 261. – **Rogero f. Ailof** (Brantztoft) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 290–91.

Y. b) **Ailaf** in **Braipatun festerman** [c1050] l.111th YCh 1. 9. – **hospitium Elaf** (York) TRE DB 298r. – **Eilaf** TRE DB 300v, 324v. – **Elaf** TRE DB



301r. – **filium Willelmi f. Ailef de Burtona** [1173–84] 13th YCh 2. 1192. – **Ailof mercenarius** (Burton-Fleming) [1190–c1200] 13th YCh 2. 1170.

First el. *Ein-* or *Ei-*. Second el. *-leifr*. \**Aina-laibar* or \**Aiwa-laibar*. Not always to be distinguished from *Eillfr* < \**Aiwa-libar* (Nord.Kult.VII 120). Fairly common in Norw after 1270 (Lind 212–13). Found in a Dan runic inscription as *ailaif* acc. (Jacobsen-Moltke 645) and frequently in other Dan sources (Lat *Elevus*, *Elauus*), including some p.ns. (DgP 224–26; DS VII 314). Also found in some Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 233).

Forms in *E-* show EScand monophthongisation (§ 50). For the spelling *Ai-* see § 49. For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For spellings in *-laf*, *-lof* see §§ 52.3.

### Einarr

L. a) in **Ainreker** 12th (f.n. in Rigsby-with-Ailby, Calcewath W) Bower 466.

b) **Ainar** TRE DB 48/4. – **Willelmum f. Eineri** (Middle Rasen) 25/6 1202 FF 40.

First el. *Ein-*. Second el. \**harir* < \**harjar*. \**Aina-harjar* (Nord.Kult.VII 68). One of the commonest names in Norw and Icel from the earliest times (Lind 216–18). Less common in EScand but Dan runic inscriptions contain the forms *æinar*, *ennar* nom. (Jacobsen-Moltke 645) and the name is Latinised in Dan sources as *Enarus* (DgP 239).

For *Ai-* for *Ei-* see § 49. For *e* for *a* see § 58. For metathesis see § 75.

### Eindriði, Eindriðr

L. a) in **Andrebi**; **Adredebi** DB 4/66, 28/38; 28/33, **Endrebi** LiS 17/10 (Bag Enderby, Hill W). – in **Endrebi** DB 3/21, 14/69, 29/30, LiS 12/5 (Mavis Enderby, Bolingbroke W). – in **Endrebi** DB 1/103, 38/7 (Wood Enderby, Horncastle W). – in **Endretorp** DB 25/21 (Woodthorpe, Calcewath W). – in **Andrebi**, **Handerbi** 12th (Anderby, Calcewath W) Bower 139.

Y. a) in **Aiendrebi**, **Andrebi** DB, **Endreby**, **Enderby** 1207 (Ainderby Quernhow, Halikeld W, N) PNYN 223. – in **Endrebi** DB, **Andrebi** 1198 (Ainderby Mires, Hang E W, N) PNYN 239. – in **Eindre-**, **Andrebi** DB, **Enderdeby** 1280 (Ainderby Steeple, Gilling E W, N) PNYN 275 and xlv. – in **Andrebi** DB 323v, 382r (lost place, ? in Roos, Holderness W, E).

The strong form is a secondary formation from the weak one (Nord.Kult. VII 69). First el. doubtful. Second el. *-riði* (cf. A. Noreen Arkiv for nordisk filologi VI 380; Nord.Kult.VII 68–69, 110). There are a few early instances

in Icel and the name is very frequent in Norw from the 10th cent onwards. The strong form first makes its appearance there c1300 (Lind 218–22). A couple of late and doubtful instances are found in Dan (DgP 240). Note also *ainriþi* in a Swed runic inscription (SRSö nr 166).

For forms in *E-* see § 50. The forms in *A-* have been explained by Lindkvist (39) as being due to the influence of a side-form *\*Andriði* but may simply represent AN interchange of *a/e* (see § 15). For loss of intervocalic *ð* see § 120.

### Eirikr

L. a) in *Eyrichtoftis* 1316 (f.n. in Wigtoft, Kirton W) Kirkman 118.

b) *Arich* TRE DB 4/69. – *Eriz* gen. TRE DB 14/7. – *Eiric* TRE DB 47/3. – *Erich* TRE DB 56/12. – *Æiric* gen TRE DB 70/13. – *Eiric* gen. TRE DB 70/18. – *Siuatē* f. *Airic* (Raithby) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 513. – *Errichi* (sic) *de Gustona*, witness, [c1150] c1330 Stenton Danes 22. – *Radulfus* f. *Eirici* (Cotes) 9/2 1204, 7/6 1209 FF 185, 301.

Y. a) in *Ayrykedene* 1277–1331, *Heyrikdene* 1314 (Erringden, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 171.

The interpretation of this name is uncertain. Many views are discussed in Nord.Kult.VII 68–69. First el. either *\*Aiwa-* (but if so development to *\*Ey-* would have been expected) or *Ein-* < *\*Aina-* (but if so why loss of *n*?). Second el. *-rikr*. Extremely common in the whole of Scand from the earliest times onwards (runic Swed *airikis* gen. 8th cent; runic Dan *qiriks* gen. 9th cent) (Nord.Kult.VII 68–69; Lind 223–27; DgP 247–53; Lundgren-Brate 49–50).

For forms in *E-*, *Ai-*, *Æi-* *A-* see §§ 48.49.50.15. For inorganic *H-* see § 140i. For *c*, *ch* for *k* see §§ 126.127. The spelling *Eriz* gen. may have arisen from scribal confusion between *cs* and *ts* (usually represented by *z*).

### Eitri

Y. a) in *Eterstorp* DB (lost village in Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 104.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *eitr* n. “poison”. Borne by a dwarf in the Edda (Lind 228).

For *E-* for *Ei-* see § 50.

### Eckill

Y. a) ? in *Inchelemor(e)*, *Inkelesmor(e)* H<sub>2</sub> (Inkle Moors, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 3. – ? in *Eckelholes* 13th (Ecklands, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 339. – in *Ecklesgarth* 1320 (f.n. in Ilkley, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 215. – *Inkell land* 1438 (f.n. in Guiseley, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 148.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *ekkill* “widower” < \**enkill* < PrimGerm \**ainikila*-. This name is borne by a sea-king in the Edda and is also found in the island name *Ekilsøy* (Lind 228).

Inkle Moors and *Inkell land* may alternatively contain an OE pers.n. \**Incel*, \**Incla* and the first el. in *Ecklands* may rather be the rare OIcel common noun *ekla* “want”, denoting poor, unproductive land.

For *I-* for *E-* before *n* + cons see § 17. For *ch* for *k* see § 126. The unassimilated forms in *Inch-*, *Ink-* may indicate EScand origin. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Elli fem.

Y. a) ? in *Eleslac* DB, *Ellesclac* 1219 (Elslack, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 44. – ? in *Eltofts* 1285 (Eltofts, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 104.

A mythological name, cf. OIcel *elli* f. “old age” (Lind 232).

The forms in Y more probably represent OE *Ælla* or *Ælli* (Redin 65, 125).

For *l* for *ll* see § 143. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Eyjulfr

Y. a) in *Aiul(f) torp* DB (Youlthorpe, Harthill W, E) PNYE 175.

b) *Aiulfus*, witness, 1150–63 YCh 3. 1884. – magister *Aiulfus*, *Aiulfo* abl., witness, [1157–83] 14th–15th YCh 5. 387–88. – *Aiulf* [1166] 13th RBE 428.

First el. *Ey-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. The name is frequent in Icel from the 10th cent onwards but less common in Norw (Lind 247–49).

The forms in *Aiulf* in Y may derive from OE *Æðelwulf* rather than *Eyjulfr* (Tengvik 169; Feilitzen 191). Note that in the p.n. some other name has been substituted for *Aiulf* after the time of DB.

For *Ai-* for *Ey-* see § 53.

### Eykr

Y. b) *Ricardo* f. *Aichus*, witness, [c1145–66] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1346.

An orig by.n. “beast of burden, horse”. Recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 74).

For *Ai-* for *Ey-* see § 53. The *-us* must be the nom. ending in error.

### Eymundr

Y. a) in *Aimundrebi*, *Edmundrebia* DB, *Eimundrebi* e. 13th (Amotherby, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 45.

First el. *Ey-*. Second el. *-mundr*. Fairly frequent in Norw from the 10th

cent onwards but less common in Icel (Lind 250–51). Several instances are recorded in Dan as *Ømund*. Cf. also runic Swed *aimuntir* gen.? (DgP 1611–12).

For *Ai-*, *Ei-* for *Ey-* see § 53. For metathesis see § 75. The form *Edmundrebia* in DB must be due to scribal error.

### Eysteinn

Y. a) in *Æstanesbi* DB, *Aistanesbi* 12th, *Aystaneby* 1157, *Aystenby* 1198 etc. (Asenby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 182. – in *Aistangarthes* 12th (f.n.) PNYN 333.

First el. *Ey-*. Second el. *-steinn*. Found in Norw as early as the 8th cent and common there throughout the whole period. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel but gradually drops out of use there (Lind 252–55). A form *Øysteinn* occurs fairly frequently in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nrs 1039, 1083).

For *Ai-* for *Ey-* see § 53. Forms in *-stan* are due to the influence of the corresponding OE name-theme. The DB form is probably corrupt.

## F

### Faddi

Y. a) perhaps in *Fademor(a)* DB, *Faddemor* c1150 (Fadmoor, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 62.

An orig by.n., a pet-form of “father”. Found in Norw in the 14th cent (Lind BN 75) and possibly in a Dan p.n. (DS XII 35).

This by.n. may be of common Germanic origin (cf. ContGerm *Fato*) and if this is so, it is likely that the el. in the Y p.n. is in fact an OE *\*Fad(d)a* (PNYN 62).

For *d* for *dd* see § 143.

**Faðir**

L. b) **Radulfo Fader** abl., witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 51 p. 63, 54 p. 65.

An orig by.n. “father”. The name appears in WScand as that of a mythological character and once as a by.n. (Lind 263; BN 75). It is found in Dan runic inscriptions as *faðir* nom., *faður* acc. (Jacobsen-Moltke 648). Common as a pers.n. in Dan (DgP 290–92).

For *d* for *ð* see § 116.

**Faksi**

Y. a) in **Flaxflet(e)** 1185, **Faxflet(e)** 1190 (Faxfleet, Harthill W, E) PNYE. 224.

An orig by.n. from *fax* “man”. There are a few early instances as a pers.n. in Norw and one or two late ones as a by.n. *Faksi* may be found as a WScand p.n. el., although it is not unlikely that the p.ns. contain the horse-name (Lind 266; BN 78). The name also occurs in Dan (Nord. Kult.VII 201) and is found in some Dan p.ns. (DS IV 272, VI 351).

An alternative interpretation of the el. in the Y p.n. is that it represents the OE common noun *feax* “hair, coarse grass” (PNYE 224).

For syncope of *e* see § 62.

**Faraldr**

L. a) in **Farlestorp** 1190 (Farlesthorne, Calcewath W) Bower 143.

Y. a) in **Faroldfeld** 1567 (f.n. in Ecclesfield, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 255.

First el. *Far-*. Second el. *-valdr*. Cf., alternatively, OIcel *farald* n. “mode of travelling”. Found once independently and once in a p.n. in WScand (Lind 264).

The form in L shows weakening of the second el. and subsequent syncope. For *-old* for *-ald* see § 4.

**\*Fargrím**

Y. b) **Fargrim** TRE DB 322v.

An Anglo-Scand formation? First el. *Far-*. Second el. *-grímr*.

**Farman**

Y. a) in **Farmanesbi** DB, **Farmanebi** 1155–65 (Farmanby, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 89. – in **Faremancrof** 1257 (f.n. probably identical with Farmer Crook, Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 190.

b) **Roger Farman** (Scarborough) 1260 AssC 118, 137.

An orig by.n. “merchant”. There are some few late instances in Norw (Lind 264) and the name is also recorded in Swed and Dan (DgP 289) and in Normandy, where, however, it is possible that the correct etymon is ContGerm *Far(a)man* (Adigard 361).

A Dublin moneyer c1000 bears the name *Farman* (Michael Dolley Viking Coins of the Danelaw and of Dublin, London 1965, Plate XIV nr 45).

The ContGerm name may also lie behind the Y instances.

For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

### Farþegn

L. b.) *Lecie filie Willelmi f. Fardein* (Wigford) l.12th, *Willelmi Farthain* gen l.12th, *Willelmus f. Fardain* 1163–66 Dane 78, 80, 466. – *Warnerus f. Fardein* 1206 Ass 1448.

Y. b) *Faryem* (sic for *Farþein*), *Farhengu*, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8, 8n. *Farþain greua festerman* [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9, *Fardan* (Appleton Roebuck) TRE DB 329r. – *Ric[ardus] Ferthing*, witness, [1140–46] 17th YCh 11. 13. – *Agmundo Ferthig* abl., witness, 1156–84 YCh 2. 1216.

First el. *Far-*. Second el. *-þegn*. The name is found a few times in late WScand (Lind 265), probably in some Norw p.ns. (NG X 384, XIII 420, XVI 335), and in Dan and Swed (DgP 289; SRÖg nr 222) but is most frequent in the Danelaw and may be an Anglo-Scand formation.

For *e* for *a* see § 2. For *d, th* for *ð* (< *þ*) see §§ 111.113. For vocalisation of palatal *g* after *e* see § 137. For *ai* for *ei* (< *eg*) see § 49. The forms *Ferthing*, *Ferthig*, if they belong here, must show substitution of *þing* for *þegn*. *Farhengu* is corrupt.

### Farulfr

L. b) *Rogero Farolf* abl. witness c1140 Dane 468.

Y. b) *Roberto f. Farolf*, witness [1170–80] 14th YCh 2. 1171.

First el. *Far-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. This name would appear to have been fairly common in Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 248; SRSö nr 238) but is not recorded in WScand or Dan.

For interchange of *u/o* see § 32.

### Fastulfr

L. b) *Fastolf* TRE DB p.10.12.

First el. *Fast-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. There are a few instances of this name in WScand but the individuals in question were probably Swedes (Lind 266).

The name is common in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 756) and also occurs in Dan runic inscriptions (Jacobsen-Moltke 648) and possibly in two p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 203). A Dublin moneyer c995 bears the name *Fastol(f)* (Michael Dolley Viking Coins of the Danelaw and of Dublin, London 1965, Plate XIII nr 42).

The L form may alternatively represent ContGerm *Fastulf*.

For interchange of *u/o* see § 32.

### Feggi

L. b) **Fegge** frater suus (Turuerdus) 1142 NthCh 3. – **Lefuuius f. Fegge de Bestorp** [1147] CI225 RA III 921. – **Fegga Bucca; Bugga** 1165–66; 1166–67, 1167–68 P 3; 41, 62. – **Fegge** 1189–99 FP 212. – **Thomas Fegge, Thomas f. Ricardi Fegge** 1202 Ass 654,1034.

An orig by.n., perhaps meaning “old man” (Nord.Kult.VII 201). Found in Dan legendary history and possibly also in Dan 15th-cent sources (DgP 295).

### \*Feigr

Y. a) ? in **Fechesbi** DB (Fixby, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 35. – in **Fegesargh, Fehhesherge** 12th (Feizor, Ewecross W, W) PNYW 6. 226.

b) **Fech, Feg** TRE DB 332r.

An orig by.n. “death-bound, fated to die” (Ekwall Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England 83). An Anglo-Scand formation?

Alternatively the Y forms may represent a ME *Fech* from OIr *Fiacc*.

For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For unvoicing of *g* to *h* see § 135.

### Feitr

Y. a) in **Feiz-, Fez-, Foitesbi** DB (Faceby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 176.

An orig by.n. “fat”. A weak form *Feiti* is recorded in WScand (Lind BN 78). *Fet* is found as a by.n. in Swed (Modéer 101).

For *e* for *ei* see § 50. The form *Foites-* has been explained by Lindkvist (43 n.1) as due to a Central Fr scribe, whose language would contain OFr *oi* instead of Northern Fr and AN *ei*. For *z* for *ts* see § 105.

### Félagi, Félagr

Y. a) in **Felgesclif** DB (Felliscliffe, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 132.

An orig by.n. “fellow, partner”. Not recorded in WScand but the weak form is found in Swed (Modéer 105) and the strong form may be found as a patronymic in Dan (DgP 295).

The p.n. would seem to have contained the strong form of the name, whose second el. has been weakened and subjected to syncope (see § 62).

### Finnr

L. b) **Fin** (Barnetby-le-Wold) TRE DB 34/4. – **Finni sacerdotis** (Halton) c1155 Dane 284. – **Hucche f. Fin** (Barnetby-le-Wold) c1160 Dane 245. – **Radulfo f. Fin de Haltun**, witness, 1143–47 Dane 281. – **Fin clerico**, witness, c1160 Dane 300–01. – **Normannus f. Fin**, Norman **Fin** 1202 Ass 93, 842. Y. b) **Ricardus f. Fyn** [1155–65] 14th YCh 1. 248, his son **Radulphi parsones f. Ricardi Fyn** [1163–85] 14th YCh 1. 251, **Radulfo Fin**; **Fyn abl.**, witness, [1177–81] 14th, [c1180–93] 14th–15th; [c1185–1215] 15th YCh 1. 160, 2. 913; 1. 557.

An orig national name “Laplander”. This name is very common in WScand from the earliest times (Lind 272–74) and also in Swed and Dan. Possibly to be found as *fin* nom. in a Dan runic inscription (Jacobsen-Moltke 649). Also found as p.n. el. in Dan (DgP 301–03, DS XIII 68). Cf. the weak side-form *Finni* (Nord.Kult.VII 56; Lind 271).

For *y* for *i* see § 22.

### Flak

Y. a) in **Flaxtune**, -tona, **Flastun**, -tona DB, **Flacstune** 1147–63 (Flaxton, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 37.

An orig by.n., cf. Mod Norw *flak* “improvident or rash person”. A single instance recorded in WScand (Lind BN 82).

For *x*, *s* for *ks* see § 130. For *c* for *k* see § 127.

### Flatr

Y. a) in **Flatesbi** DB, **Flasceby** 1158–81 (Flaxby, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 15. – in **Flatebi** DB, **Flatesby** 1156–66, **Flasceby** 1155–1248 (Flasby, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 48.

An orig by.n. “flat”. Found once independently and in two p.n.s. in WScand (Lind BN 83). *Flade* is found as a by.n. in Dan (DgP II 274) and there may have been a Dan pers. n. *Flat*, which survives in p.n.s. (B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 21).

For *sce* for *ts* see § 105.

### Fleinn

L. b) **Henricum, Hugonem et Robertum Flain** [e.13th] 1409 GH 15 p.45.

Y. a) in **Flaneburc**, -burg DB, **Fleynesburg(h)** (-ai-, -ei-) 12th (Flamborough, Dickering W, E) PNYE 105.



An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *fleinn* “pike, shaft” or Mod Norw *flein* “the grinning one” or the adj. *flein* “ashamed” or the sense “sharp-tongued person” (Nord.Kult.VII 51; PNYE 105). Some few early instances are recorded in WScand as both pers.n. and by.n. (Lind 276; BN 83). The name also occurs in Swed and may be found in a p.n. in Normandy (Adigard 203–04).

The p.n. may possibly be connected with *Flayn* brother of *Skarði* q.v. (of Scarborough) (cf. APHS i 320–23). It may alternatively contain the Scand common noun in the sense “hook”.

For *ai* for *ei* see § 49. The DB form *Flan-* is probably due to anglicisation.

### Flik, Flikkr

L. a) in Flichesburg DB 32/17, Flichesburc LiS 1/14 (Flixborough, Manley W).

Y. a) in Fleustone DB, Flixton(a) 12th (Flixton, Dickering W, E) PNYE 116.

Orig by.n.s., perhaps cf. OIcel *flik* f. “tatter” hence “gaping wound” or the name of a farm (NG IX 317; Lind BN 85). With the first name cf. the Dan pers.n. *Flik* (DgP 305) and by.n. *Fligh* (DgP II 278).

For *e* for *i* see § 19. For *ch*, *c*, for *k* see §§ 126.127. For *x* for *ks* see § 130.

### Flóki

Y. a) in Flocheton(e) DB, Flok(e)tun 12th etc. (Flockton, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 203.

An orig by.n., cf. ModNorw *floke* “outspoken and enterprising man”. Found in WScand as a pers.n. from the 9th cent but soon dropped out of use in Norw. A few instances as a by.n. in Norw from the 10th cent (Lind 276–77; BN 86). Possibly found in a Dan p.n. (DS IX 33).

A number of early forms of the p.n. without medial *e* suggest that the first el. may rather be OE *flocc* “company or troop of folk”.

For *ch* for *k* see § 126.

### Flæmingr

Y. a) in Flemengsty 1338 (f.n. in Horton-in-Ribblesdale, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 225.

An orig national name “Fleming”. Fairly frequent as a by.n. in Norw (Lind BN 87).

For *e* for *æ* see § 40. For *e* for *i* see § 19.

**Foli, \*Fóli**

L. a) in **Folesbi DB** (Fulsby, Horncastle W) 1/98.

Y. a) in **Foletorp, -thorp(e)** 12th (Fowthorpe, Dickering W, E) PNYE 110. – in **Folebi, -by** 1166–93 (Foulby, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 91.

*Foli* is an orig by.n. “foal”. A couple of instances are recorded in WScand (Lind BN 88) and it is also found in Dan as a pers.n. and by.n. (DgP 307; II 283; DS VIII 148). *\*Fóli* is not recorded as a name in Scand but could be an orig by.n. “fool”.

**Folki**

Y. a) in **Fulcheton DB, Folchetun** 12th (Folkton, Dickering W, E) PNYE 115. – in **Fuchebruge** 1178, **Fulkebrig(g)e** 1182, 1184 (Foulbridge, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 98. – in **Fulkeholm** 1208 (f.n. in Thornton-le-Beans, Allerton W, N) PNYN 98. – in **Folkerode** 13th (f.n. in U Whitley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 236.

A short form of names in *Folk-* (DgP 308). Fairly frequent in Norw from 1385 (Lind 278–79). Also found in Swed and Dan (DgP 307–08).

An alternative etymon may be ContGerm *Fulco*.

For alternation of *o/u* see § 27 but forms in *u* may be due to the influence of the ContGerm name, which was found in Normandy as *Fulk*. For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For loss of *l* see § 70.

**Forni**

L. b) **Forno presbitero**, witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 1 p.39.

Y. a) in **Fornetorp DB** (Fornthorpe (lost), Bulmer W, N) PNYN 30. – in **Fornetorp DB** 301r (lost place in Octon, Dickering W, E). – in **Forn(h)us** 12th, 13th (f.n. in Weeton, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 52. – in **Fornflath** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **ffornagilhouis** 1457 (Fornah Gill, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 138.

b) **Forno minister**, witness, [958] 14th YCh 1. 3. – **Forna**, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8. – **Forna festerman** [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9, **Forne** gen. TRE DB 298r, **Forne** TRE DB 329v (7 times), 315v, 325r, his son **Ulf Fornessuna** [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Forne** TRE DB 301r. – **Forne** TRE DB 322v. – **Forne** TRE DB 301r, 1086 DB 330v, **Forno** [1115–29] 14th YCh 1. 500, **Forno** [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354, **Fornoni f. Sigulfi** dat. [1114–23] 17th YCh 2. 1236, **Fornone f. Siwlfi, Sigulfi** abl., witness, [1123–27] 13th, c1120–29 YCh 3. 1435, 1. 449, his son **Ivo, Yvo f. Fornonis** [1129–33] 17th, [1141–42] e.14th YCh 2. 1237, 10. 66, his daughter **Edit filia Forne** [1164–78] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1254. – **Helrandus f. Forni** (Worsall)

[1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931. – **Forno** diaconus [1109–12] 13th–14th YCh 1. 43. – **Forno** avus ejus (Radulfus f. Ulvieti) [1115–29] 17th YCh 1. 206. – **Forno** (Bessingby) [c1125–30] 14th YCh 2. 1135. – **Fornone** presbitero de **Rudestan** (et Godrico f. suo) [c1130–39] 14th YCh 2. 1222. – **Benedictus** f. **Forni** (et Johannes frater ejus), witness [1160–70] m.13th YCh 3. 1633. – **Adam** f. **Forni**, witness [1165–75] m.13th YCh 3. 1598. – **Hugo** f. **Forni** (Aldwark-in-Alne) [1175–1203] 15th YCh 2. 797. – **Fornone** canonico [c1180–87] 14th YCh 1. 550. – **Ricardum** f. **Forn'** (Nafferton) 1202 FFBb 42. – **Walter** son of **Forn** c1208 AssC 38.

An orig by.n. “the old one” or perhaps “the old-fashioned one” (Nord. Kult.VII 52). Found in Icel from the end of the 10th cent onwards but only late and rarely in Norw (Lind 281). Found in a Swed p.n. (Feilitzen 252) and possibly in some Dan ones (DS II 95; XII 97; Hald Vore Stednavne 78).

The later p.ns. may rather contain the Scand adj. *forn* “old” but for syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Fótr

L. a) in **Fdrebi**; **Fodrebi** DB 3/20; 18/9, 22/33, 70/29, **Fotrebi** LiS 10/1.5.7 (Fotherby, Ludborough W). – in **Foztune**, **-tun** DB 12/50.51 (Foston, Loveden W). – in **Fotesdic** 1183 (Fosdyke, Kirton W) DEPN. b) **Richard** son of **Grimketil Fod** [c1225] c1300 FP 220.

Y. a) in **Fodstone** DB, **Fotston** 1248 (Foston-on-the-Wolds, Dickering W, E) PNYE 91. – in **Fostun(e)**, **-ton(e)** DB, **Foteston** 13th, **Foscetone(e)** 1280 (Fewston, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 122.

An orig by.n. “foot”. A number of instances are recorded in WScand (Lind BN 89). The name is also borne by a Swed rune-engraver (e.g. SRU nr 945).

The p.ns. might alternatively contain the OE pers.n. *Fōt* but the fact that the Scand gens. *-ar* and *-s* survive in most of them tells against this assumption.

For *d* for final and medial *t* see § 103. For *z*, *see* for *ts* see § 105. For metathesis see § 75.

### \*Fráni

L. a) in **Franewang** 1200 (f.n. in Hainton, Louthesk W) Bower 537.

b) **Frane** TRE DB 16/22, 26/10.13.24. – **Fran'** gen. [c1150–60] c1225 RA II 331.

Y. b) **Fran**; **Frane** gen. f. **Tor** TRE DB 324v (bis); 374r. – alter **Frane**

TRE DB 325r. – **Frane**, **Frane** et fratris eius TRE DB 325r, 374r. – **Hamelin f. Frane** [c1154–72] 15th YCh 11. 158–59. – **Guillelmus f. Frane de Greneburg** [c1180–88], [post 1187] both 15th YCh 5. 309–10.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *fránn* “gleaming, flashing”. An Anglo-Scand formation (Feilitzen 252)?

### \*Freistingr

Y. a) ? in **Frestintorp** DB, **Fraistingt(h)orp**, (-ay-, -ei-, -ey-) 12th (Frais-thorpe, Dickering W, E) PNYE 87.

An orig by.n from the vb *freista* “tempt, make trial” hence “the venture-some one”. An Anglo-Scand formation (Lindkvist 45)?

The p.n. may alternatively contain *Freysteinn* q.v.

For *ai*, *e* for *ei* see §§ 49.50. For *-in* for *-ing* see § 89ii.

### Freysteinn

Y. a) ? in **Frestintorp** DB, **Fraistingt(h)orp**, (-ay-, -ei-, -ey-) 12th (Frais-thorpe, Dickering W, E) DEPN.

First el. *Frey-*. Second el. *-steinn*. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel and there are a few later instances in WScand (Lind 285). Found in a Dan runic inscription as *fraystain* nom. (Jacobsen-Moltke 651) and in Swed runic inscriptions as *foraystain*, *fredpen* (SRU nrs 953,1161) and in later Dan and Swed as *Frøsten* (DgP 332).

The p.n. may alternatively contain *Freistingr* q.v.

For *ai*, *e* for *ey* see BrNGG § 175 n. 2. For *-stin*, *-sting* for *-steinn* see §§ 51. 89ii.

### \*Friðgestr

L. a) in **Fredegestdayle** 13th (f.n. in Grimoldby, Louthesk W) Bower 522.

b) **Friguist** TRE DB 2/37. – **Fredgist** TRE DB 51/2, nom. and abl. 59/9.

Y. b) **Fre’ festerman** [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Fredgist** TRE DB 300v (3 times), 301r (bis). – **Frithegist magnus** (Kelvintune) [1100–c115] 12th YCh 2. 931.

First el. *Frið-*. Second el. *-gestr*. This name is not recorded in WScand but a *Fredegæst* is named in a Dan source from 1419 (DgP 316).

ContGerm *Frithugis*, *Fredegis* may lie behind some of the forms in L and Y (Forssner 93–94).

*Fred-* for *Frið-* is probably due to association with the ContGerm name. For *d*, *th* for *ð* see §§ 116.118. For loss of antecorsonantal *ð* see § 120ii. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *gu* for plosive *g* see § 134. Forms in *-gist* are probably due to analogy with OE (WSax) *gi(e)st* (see Feilitzen § 22).

**Friði**

Y. a) in **Frideton, Fritun, Fri-, Fryton(a)** DB (Fryton, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 50. – in **Fridebi** DB (probably identical with **Felixkirk, Birdforth** W, N) PNYN 199. – in **Fredebi** DB, **Fritheby** 1184 (Firby, Hang E W, N) PNYN 237. – in **Friebia** DB, **Fri-, Frythebi** 1170–80 (Firby, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 144. – in **Friededic** ante 1160 (f.n. in Cantley, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 43. – in **Friebec** 1171–79, **Fritebec, Fridebech** 1190 (Firbeck, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 140.

A short form of names in *Frið-*. A Swed runic inscription contains the form *friþi* (SRU nr 128) and the same name may be represented in the Dan runic inscriptions *frabi* nom., *fraba* acc. and the younger Dan form *Frede* (DgP 321–22). Possibly also to be found in Normandy but here cf. ContGerm *Fredo* (Adigard 204–06). A strong form *\*Frith* is found in some Dan p.ns. (DS V 591).

*Friededic* may alternatively contain OE *frið* “refuge” and Firbeck OE *fyrhðe* “woodland”.

For *d* for *ð* see § 116. For loss of intervocalic *ð* see § 120ii.

**Fróði**

L. b) **Walter Frode** 12/11 1249 FFF 282.

Y. a) in **Frodesbeki** 1.12th (f.n. in Gt Ribston, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 21. – in **Frodegayl** 13th (f.n. in Tadcaster E, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 240. – in **Westfrodusme** 13th (Fluddersome Lane, Follifoot, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 28.

An orig by.n. “the wise one”. Probably orig a Dan name, as it is rare in Norw in the early period and very rare in Icel (Lind 289–91; BN 91–92). Very common in Dan (DgP 328–31) and also recorded in Swed (SRÖg nr 153).

Possible etymons for the p.ns. are also OE *Frōda* (Redin 48) and Cont Germ *Frodo*, which is a hypocoristic form of compounds in *Frod-* (Forssner 96). *Westfrodusme* may alternatively contain OE *flōde* “gutter”.

**\*Frosthildr fem.**

Y. a) in **Frostildehau** 1175 (Throstle Hill, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 204. First el. *Frost-*. Second el. *-hildr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For loss of *h* see § 140iv.

**Frosti**

L. b) **Roberti Froste, Frost'** gen. (Saltfleetby) c1230–40, [1239–45] c1330 RA V 1651, 1654.

Y. a) in *Frostriding* 13th (f.n. in Brayton, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 26. – in *Frostwray* 1535, *Frosteray* 1603 (*Frostrow*, *Ewccross* W, W) PNYW 6. 267.

b) *Willelmi Frost gen., Agildæ filia W. F., Edusa relicta W. Forst* [c1246] 13th–14th Selby 353, 375–76.

An orig by.n. “the frosty one”. Occurs in WScand as the name of a fictional character and also in a few Norw p.ns. (Lind 292). Found as runic Swed *frosti* (e.g. SRSö nr 219) and in Dan, including p.ns. (DgP 328; DS XI 141).

For weakening of inflexional *a* to *e* and subsequent loss of this by syncope see §§ 58.62. For metathesis see § 75.

### \*Frostulfr

L. a) in *Frostolcroft* 13th (f.n. in Theddlethorpe All Saints, Calcewath W) Bower 469.

First el. *Frost-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For alternation of *u/o* see § 32. For loss of final *f* see § 100ii.

### Frændi

L. b) *Ricardo Frende; Frend de Haintona* [H<sub>3</sub>] 1409; [1232–35] 1409 GH 36 p.21, 44 p.25, 48 p.27.

An orig by.n. “kinsman”. Three instances recorded in WScand (one as a pers.n.) (Lind 292; BN 93). Common in Dan (Lat *Frendo*) and also found in Swed (DgP 316–19; Lundgren-Brate 57).

For *e* for *æ* see § 40.

### Fugl

L. a) in *Fugelestou* DB 3/6, 12/19, 13/21, 38/14, 70/21, *Fuglestowa; -toua* LiS 8/2; 8/4.17 (*Fulstow*, *Haverstoe* W). – in *Fulsthorpe* 13th, *Fughelesthorp* 14th (*Thorpe*, *Calcewath* W) LRS 19 lv, lxxvii.

Y. a) in *Fugelestun* DB (*Fulstone*, *Agbrigg* W, W) PNYW 2. 239.

b) *Suuanum f. Fughel* [1180–90] 17th YCh 1. 495. – *Thomas f. Willelmi Fugell'* 1218–19 AssSel 919.

An orig by.n. “bird”. In WScand only borne as a pers.n. by a man from the Orkneys c1150 but there are a few instances as a by.n. (Lind 292; BN 93–94). Also found in Dan and Swed (DgP 333; Hald Vore Stednavne 78).

It is possible that the forms in L and Y represent the OE pers.n. *Fugol* (Redin 6) or that the p.n. el. is rather the appellative OE *fugol*, Scand *fugl*.

For *gh* for *g* see § 133 and for loss of *g* § 136. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

# G

## Galmr

Y. a) in **Galmeton(a)** DB (Ganton, Dickering W, E) PNYE 118. – in **Gamelstorp** DB, **Galmestorp** 1169, **Galmethorp** 1202 (Ganthorpe, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 34. – **Galmeswad'** c1180 (f.n. in Scotton, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 93.

An orig by.n., cf. Swed dialect vb *galma* “to shriek”. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel and found as an el. in two Norw p.ns. (Lind 294).

The DB form of Ganthorpe shows substitution of the commoner name *Gamall* q.v.

## Galmann

Y. a) in æt **Galmanhó**, æt **Galmahó** c1055, **Galmou** 1088–93 (Galmanhowe (lost), York) PNYE 288. – in **Galmonelid** c1170–84, **Galmanl'**, -lithe 13th. (Galmanlythe (lost), York) PNYE 288.

An orig by.n. “mad-man”. One or two instances are recorded in WScand (Lind 294) and a few in Dan (DgP 335).

The name in Y has also been interpreted as a Scand adaptation of OIr *Colmán* (PNYE 288). The p.ns. may alternatively contain an OE pers.n. *Galma*.

For *o* for *a* see § 3.

## Gamall

L. a) in **Gamelstorp** DB 14/26, **Gamelstorp** LiS 1/18 (Gainsthorpe, Manley W). – in **Gamaliscroft** 12th–14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

b) **Gamel** TRE DB 4/5.23.74, 11/9, 14/16.22–25.40.62, 16/32, 17/2, 25/7. 32/31, 34/7, 45/1. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Gamelin**, Norman de Arci's man, 1086 DB 32/7.27. – **Gamelus** (et Willelmus f. ejus) de **Mannebi**, witness, ante August 1175 YCh 6. 103. – terram **Roberti f. Gamel** (Saltfleetby), **Roberto f. Gamel**, witness, [l.H<sub>2</sub>] c1225; c1190 RA V 1632, 1644. – **Willelmus f. Gamel** (Cabourn) 1185. Templ 106. – **Gamel** (S Stoke) 1185 Templ 114. – **Gamel** (Temple Bruer) 1185 Templ 95. – **Gamel** [canonico] (Bullington) [c1184–90] c1225 RA VI 1827. – **Gamel canum**, fined in Lincoln, 1191 Hill 397. – **Robert son of Gamel**, fined in Lincoln, 1191 Hill 397. – **Hugone f. Gemel**, witness, [l.12th] 12th RA VII 1953. – terram **Osberti f. Gamelli** (Friesthorpe)

1.12th RA IV 1233. – Gamelus, witness, 1.12th Dane 75. – Henricus f. Gameli, witness, 1.12th Dane 75. – Gamel Hot abl., witness, c1200–10 RA VIII 2306. – Gamel 1202 Ass 9, 574. – Robertus f. Gamel' 1202 Ass 162, 250. – Gamel f. Grim 1202 Ass 433. – Yuo f. Gamel 1202 Ass 471. – Gamel hominem Gileberti, Gamel' homine Gilleberti [Skaualer] 1202 Ass 533, 1018. – Simon Gamel 1202, 1206 Ass 905, 1368. – Rogero f. Willelmi f. Gamil 1202 Ass 1140. – Gamell' de Hak 13/7 1202 FF 133. – Roberto f. Gamel 6/7 1202 FF 123. – Gamel priorem de Aluingeham 13/7 1202 FF 127. – Gaufridus f. Gamel (Rasen) 27/4 1203 FF 172. – Willelmus f. Gamell' (Aswarby) 11/2 1206 FF 206. – Willelmo f. Gamell' 1206 Ass 1515. – Gamello tunc priore de Bulinton' 4/7 1209 FF 304. – Wiganus f. Gamel' (Aylesby in Lindsey) 1212 FFF 304–05 and FFBb 167–68. – Johanne f. Gamel, Gameli, witness, 1233–39, c1210–20 RA VIII 2237–38. – Willelmo f. Gamel [J] 1409 GH 13 p.44. – Willelmum f. Gamelini, Gamel (Risby) 25/11 1218 AssSel 136. – Alanus f. Gamell' 25/6 1219 AssSel 753. – Gamel, Gamell acc. f. Cniht (et Aldith uxorem suam) 7/1 1219 AssSel 601. – Ricardo de Fristorp' f. Gameli c1220 RA V 1560–62. – Petrus f. Gameli de Cumbreworth [c1220] 14th FP 20. – Ade f. Gamellini 12/3 1223 RA II 513. – Willelmus f. Gamelli de Hufingtona m.13th FP 208. – heredibus Gamel pelliparii (Lincoln) [June 1253] 13th RA II 395. – Gamelli fabri (Stallingborough) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 1044. – Robertus f. Gamelli de Cothes [m.13th] 14th FP 1–2. – Richard f. Gamel de Bolebi m.13th FP 189. – Thomam Gamel' acc., merchant of Lincoln, 1298 AssTh 58. – Gamelus de Byry, draper or vintner of Boston, 1298 AssTh 459.

Y. a) in Gameltorp DB, Galmestorp 1169 (Ganthorpe, Bulmer W, N) DEPN. – in Samleseng sic 1120 (Game Ing Flat, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 101. – in Gamelrode 12th (f.n. in Batley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 182. – in Gamelgrene 12th (f.n. in Sharlston, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 116. – in Gamelewad' c1180 (f.n. in Scotton, Farnham, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 93. – in Gamelridyng 12th–13th (f.n. in Azerley, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 202. – in Gamellesarges in Bochland c1220 (f.n. in Bowland Forest, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 215. – in Gamillisbrig 1232 (f.n. in Ledston, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 52. – in Gamelriding 13th (section of present Ruddings, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 191. – in Gamelssicke 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in Gamelrodes 13th (f.n. in Stainburn, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 50. – in Gamelthwaytleghes 13th (f.n. in Wothersome, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 179. – in Gamelriding 1259 (f.n. in Selby, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 35. – in Cameleswah' 1266, Gamelswath lodge 1612 (Gamsworth, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 61. – in Gamelrode 1275 (the Gamble Royd, f.n. in Brighouse, Morley W, W)



PNYW 3. 78. – in **Gamelriding** 1293 (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Gamelheng** 1294 (f.n. in Shitlington, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 210. – in **Gamelesker** 13th–14th (f.n. in Aldfield, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 194. – in **Gamylyrod** 1342 (Gamble Royd, f.n. in Oulton, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 142. – in **Gamelscale** 1388 (Gammersgill, Hang W W, N) PNYN 254. – in **Gamilbrigge** 1426 (f.n. in Methley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 133. – in **Gamilwelrodhede** 1444 (f.n. in Mk Bretton, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 275. – in **Gamelkeldes** 1444 (f.n. in Spofforth, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 37. – in **Gamlebancke** 1447 (f.n. in Methley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 133. – in **Gamilhow**, **Gamyhawe** 15th (f.n. in Wighill, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 244. – in **Gamelcarr** 1473 (Gamskar, f.n. in Methley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 130. – **Gamell Close** 1599 (f.n. in Ecclesfield, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 255.

b) **Gamel**, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8n. – **Gamel Asbearn**, **Gamal**, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8n, 8. – **Orm Gamalsuna** c1055–65 Kirkdale Sundial, Hofmann § 326. – **Gamal** pres[byter], festerman, [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. **Gamel** TRE DB 315v, 316r (3 times), 317r, 317v (3 times), 318r (5 times), 321v (3 times), terra **Gamel f. Osmundi** TRE DB 373v, **Gamel** 1086 DB 315v, 316v (3 times), 317r, 317v (bis). This series refers to Gamel son of Osmund and another Gamel. – **Gamel f. Osberti** TRE DB 298v, **Gamel** TRE DB 309v, 310v, 311r (bis), 311v (bis), 312r, **Game** TRE DB 311v, 329v (3 times), **Gam** TRE DB 328r (5 times), **Gamello f. Osberni** dat. [1066–69] ? YCh 1. 88. G. was possibly the brother of Forne de Skirpenbek. – **Gamel** TRE DB 314r (9 times), 314v (4 times), 322r, 332r, **Game** TRE DB 301r, 328r (7 times). Possibly the Gamel son of Orm who was slain at York by the order of Earl Tosti. – **Gamel**, terram **Gamel** TRE DB 301r, 373v. – **Gamel** TRE DB 331r, 331v, **Game** TRE DB and 1086 330v, 1086 DB 331r (bis), **Gamellus Barret** (et filius meus Ricardus) [1110–30] 13th–14th YCh 3. 1622. Baret held land TRE. This is G his son. – **Gamel** TRE DB 298r, 300r (3 times), 300v (8 times), 301r, 301v (3 times), 303r, 306r (3 times), 306v (4 times), 320v, 321r, 322r, 323r, 324v, 325r, 327r (bis), 327v (3 times), 329v (bis), 332r (3 times), **Game** TRE DB 300r, 307r (3 times), 320v, 331r (bis), **Game** TRE DB 301r, 373v, **Gamel** TRE and 1086 DB 328v. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Rodbertus f. Gamelli** 1101–08 Stenton Feudalism 147. – **Gamelus cocus**, witness, [c1109–14] 13th, [c1115–35] 13th YCh 11. 4, 2. 859. – **Gamello f. Bernolf**, **Gamillino f. Bernolfi** dat. 1115–47, [ante 1148] 17th YCh 6. 131, 11. 182, **Gamello f. Bernulfi** abl., witness, [c1148] 14th–15th, [ante 1150] 15th YCh 5. 156, 11. 17, his son **Bernulfus de Helhgefild f. Gamelli** c1160–75 YCh 11. 126. – **Gamelus** pr[esbiter] [1120–

35] 14th YCh 2. 647. – **Gamel**, witness, [1122–c30] 14th YCh 1. 637. – **Gamel**, witness (another), [1122–c30] 14th YCh 1. 637. – **Gamello** sacerdote de Burton [1122–c37] 14th YCh 2. 1073. – **Gamel** f. **Chetelli**, witness, [c1130–40] 14th YCh 1. 102. – **Gamello** abl., witness, [c1134–38] 14th YCh 3. 1366. – **Gamello** f. **Suani** abl., witness, [1135–53] 15th YCh 1. 64. – **Gamel** dapifer, **Gamellus** [c1137–61] 14th, [1140–47] 15th YCh 4. 118, 1. 534. – **Gamello** de Alwaldelay abl., witness, [1138–50] 17th YCh 3. 1862. – **Hugo** f. **Gamelli**, witness, [1140–47] 15th YCh 1. 534. – **Uctredo** f. **Gamelli** [1140–53] ? YCh 1. 535. – **Gamellus** Stute, **Gamelli** gen. (Clementhorpe) [c1140–56] 14th–15th, [1175–89] 17th YCh 1. 215–16. – **Gamellus** rusticus (Warter) [1141–42] e.14th YCh 10. 66. – **Gamell’** f. **Vlfbern’**, witness, [1140–46] 17th YCh 11. 13. – **Gamellus** de Cordis (et f. ejus Serlo) [c1142–54] 15th–16th YCh 1. 450, Serlo f. **Gamelli** [1155–65] m.13th YCh 3. 1776. – **Aeliz** uxor **Gamelli** (Bewholme) [1144–54] 16th, [c1175–85] 16th YCh 3. 1331, 1337. – **Gammello** f. **Douenaldi** abl., witness, 1145–54 YCh 2. 650. – **Gamellus** frater ejus (Robertus f. Arnaldi), witness, [c1145–56] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1238–39. – **Robertus** f. **Gamelli** [c1145–56] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1238–39. – **Alicia** filia **Gamelli** [c1145–56] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1239. – **Gamellus** de Ridala, witness, [1146–71] 15th YCh 5. 295. – domino **Gamillino** de Hasteuic, witness, [ante 1148] 17th YCh 11. 182. – **Bernardus** f. **Gamelli**; **Gamel** [1147–50] ?, [1149–53] 15th, [8/4 1174] 15th, [l.12th] 14th–15th; c1170–80 YCh 3. 1471, 1. 67, 7. 120, 161; 1. 124. – **Willelmus** f. **Gamelli**, witness, [1147–50] ? YCh 3. 1471. – **Gamello** presbitero, witness, 1147–53 YCh 6. 86. – **Gamello** fratre suo (Ketel f. Ulberti), witness, [1147–54] e.13th YCh 1. 641. – **Soenus** f. **Gameli** [ante 1148] 14th–15th YCh 7. 127. – **Gamelus**, **Gamellus**, **Gamel** f. **Arkil** (l) (i) [c1160–80] ?, [1148–56] 14th–15th, 1185 YCh 11. 214–15, Templ. 129. – **Gamello** f. **Gospatricii** abl., witness, [m.12th] 15th YCh 11. 136. – **Willelmus** f. **Gamelli** de Rip[un], **Bernardo** f. **Gamel** de Rip[un] 1150–53, [1156–62] 15th YCh 1. 71, 11. 249. – **Gamellus**, **Gamello** Jort dat. [c1150–61] 14th YCh 1. 307. – **Gamello** de Dunneford abl., witness, c1150–57 YCh 2. 1110. – **Gamello** de Ungtorp abl., witness, [c1150–c75] 14th YCh 1. 85. – **Gamellus**, **Gamello** de Fymare dat., father of Hugh and William, [1154–61] 14th YCh 1. 629–30. – **Gamel** (lus) f. **Tocch’** (et Willelmus frater ejus), witness; **Gamello** f. **Toke** abl., witness, [c1154–72] 15th; [c1185–1211] 14th–15th YCh 11. 160–61; 2. 1009. – **Gamel** (et Orm fratre ejus), witness, [c1154–72] 15th YCh 11. 158. – **Gamellus** de Bugatorp, witness, [1155–65] 14th–15th YCh 2. 981. – **Gamel** Grimessuna (Kircabi) [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Gamel** de Roaldesbi (Cospatricus frater ejus) [1157–58] l.12th YCh 1. 402. – **Gamel** de Rodestuna [1157–58] l.12th YCh 1. 402. –

**Stephanus f. Gamel de Pikaringa** [1157-58] l.12th YCh 1. 402. – **Gamello** mercatore, witness, 1156-84, [1163-66] 17th YCh 2. 1216, 1. 333. – **Gamello f. Bosingi, Basinc** dat. [1159-60] 13th-14th YCh 1. 484-85. – **Gamellus f. Liulfi de Batheleia**, grants land known as **Gamelrode** in **Batley** (cf. above), [12th] 14th-15th YCh 3. 1820. – **Gamello** abl., witness, [12th] 14th-15th YCh 3. 1820. – **Gamello** fabro, witness, [ante c1160] 14th-15th YCh 6. 28. – **Gamello** clerico de **Pokelington** abl., witness, [c1160-65] 14th YCh 2. 749. – **Gamello** heremita abl., witness, [c1160-65] 14th YCh 2. 749. – **Gamello** presbitero **Serlonis**, witness, [1160-70] 13th YCh 2. 832. – **Sampson** aurifabro f. **Gamelli** [1160-75] 14th-15th YCh 1. 334. – **Suano f. Gamelli**, witness, c1160-75 YCh 11. 126. – **Alexander f. Gam[el]** [1160-80] 14th-15th YCh 3. 1608. – **Landrico f. Gamel, Gamelli**, witness, [c1160-81] 14th YCh 5. 187-88. – **domino Gamello** episcopo de **Man**, witness, [1161-c75] 14th YCh 2. 681. – **Roberto f. Gamelli de Miton** (**Willelmus** fratre ejus), witness, [1161-84] 14th YCh 4. 119, **Roberto f. Gamelli**, witness, [1175-86] 14th-15th YCh 3. 1563, **Willelmo f. Gamelli; Gamel**, witness, 1168-85, [1170-85] 15th, c1174-89, c1174-89, 1184-89, [1174-81] l.12th, 1192, [c1180-91] 15th; 1168-85 YCh 11. 147, 3. 1692, 5. 216-17, 335, 4. 93, 98, 3. 1621; 5. 368. – **Waltheus f. Gamel** [1166] 13th YCh 7. 47 and **RBE** 431, **Waldef f. Gamelli**, witness, [c1164-75] ? YCh 11. 253. – **Gamello de Blaikestreta** abl., witness, [1164-78] 14th-15th YCh 2. 1254. – **Gamelli f. Golle** gen. (**S Stainley** [c1165-75] 15th YCh 1. 507. – **tenuerant de Gamello** venatore (**S Stainley**) [c1165-75] 15th YCh 1. 507. – **Gamello** preposito, witness, [1166-81] e.15th YCh 6. 58. – **Gamellus** (**Hotone**) [1166-94], [1166-1202] both 17th YCh 6. 139, 142. – **Gamellum f. Arthuri** [c1166-1202] 17th YCh 6. 143. – **homo ecclesie, Gamellus** nomine [1172-85] 13th YCh 2. 903. – **avunculi mei Gamelli** (**Willelmus f. Unfridi de Bodeltun'**) [1174-81] l.12th YCh 4. 94-95. – **Gamel** (**Linton in Craven**) [April 1175] 14th YCh 11. 89. – **Gamel de Litton'** [April 1175] 14th YCh 11. 89, **Thome f. Gamelli de Litton'** [ante 1204] 15th YCh 11. 241. – **Rogero f. Gamelli** (**Middle Haddlesey**) [c1175-83] m.13th YCh 3. 1718. – **Gamello** fratre (**St Peter's**), witness, [c1175-88] 14th-15th, [12th] 14th-15th YCh 2. 1127, 3. 1820. – **Thoma f. Gamelli**, witness, [1175-90] 17th YCh. 2. 815. – **Adam f. Gamelli**, witness, [c1178-85] 17th YCh 11. 163. – **Gameli** gen. (**Easthorpe**) [ante 1181] 13th YCh 6. 81. – **Gamel** janitore, witness, [1180-1200] 14th-15th YCh 1. 209. – **Gaufridum f. Gamelli** [1180-1200] 16th YCh 3. 1546. – **Gamellus f. Pycot** (**Spofforth**) [? 1184-99] 14th YCh 11. 63. – **Gamellus Neubond, Gamelli** gen. (**Spofforth**) [? 1184-99] 14th YCh 11. 63. – **Ricardus f. Gamelli** (**Skelton**) 1185 **Templ** 118. – **Radulfus f. Gamel** (**Allerthorpe**) 1185 **Templ** 124. – **Willelmus f. Gamel** (**Allerthorpe**)

1185 Templ 123. – **Gamel tenet molendinum** (Drewton-with-Everthorpe) 1185 Templ 131. – **Gamellus** (Thimbleby) 1185 Templ 128. – **Gamellus** (Langthorpe) 1185 Templ 122. – **Gamel Fullo** (Little Leeming or Lemingford) 1185 Templ 122. – **Gamel f. Higmund** (Cold Kirby) 1185 Templ 129. – **Gamel f. Hucca** (Cold Kirby) 1185 Templ 129. – **Gamel f. Gille** (Cold Kirby) 1185 Templ 130. – **Gamelo de Fekesbi** (Thoma f. suo), abl., witness, c1185–1202 YCh 8. 139. – **Hugoni f. Gamelli**, pater suus **Gamel** (Notton) [1185–1205] 17th YCh 3. 1715. – **Gamello f. Ulchel** abl. (Fixby) [c1188–1202] 14th–15th YCh 8. 143. – **Gamellus** (Arnford) [c1190–1207] 15th YCh 11. 134. – **Gamellus de Nes** [1190–c1210] 17th YCh 10. 99. – **Gamellus de Stode**, **Gamelli** gen. [c1190–1200] 17th YCh 7. 63. – **Gamel** (et f. ejus Hugone), witness, [1190–1200] 17th YCh 2. 721. – **Willelmus f. Gamelli de Midelton**, **Gemelli** 1190–1210 YCh 2. 1101, 1104, **William son of Gamall de Middeltun** c1208 AssC 29, **Willelmi f. Gamell' de Middeton'** 1218–19 AssSel 850. – **Adam f. Gamelli de Malchum**, **Gamellus pater meus** [c1190–c1210] 15th YCh 11. 247. – **Gamelli de Grena** gen. [1190–1214] 17th YCh 2. 1128. – **Galfrido f. Gamelli**, witness, [c1190–1220] 17th YCh 1. 626. – **Nicholao f. Gamelli** [c1190–1220] 17th YCh 3. 1594. – **Nigello f. Gamelli**, witness, [c1190–1220] 17th YCh 3. 1594. – **Radulfi f. Gamelli** (Wrangbrook) [1190–1220] 1.13th YCh 3. 1750. – **Gamello f. Ulf** abl., witness, [c1195–1207] 15th YCh 11. 243. – **Gamel' f. Elwini** dat. (Plumpton) [c1195–1212] 17th YCh 11. 212. – **Gamellus** (Holdsworth) [l.12th] 17th YCh 8. 146. – **Gamello f. Ailine de Kereby** abl., witness, [l.12th] 14th YCh 11. 206. – **Gameli f. Wlmeri** gen. (Bentley) [l.12th or e.13th] e.14th YCh 10. 60. – **Reinerum f. Gamel** 1201 Pleas 3394. – **Adam f.**, **Willelmum f. Gamel** 1201 Pleas 3343, 3388. – **Gaufridus f. Gamelli** 1202 FFBB 30. – **Tristranum f. Gamelli** 1202 FFBB 38. – **Helo f. Gamelli**, witness, [1204–09] 17th YCh 3. 1784. – **Agnetam filiam Gameli** (Upton) 1208 FFBB 129. – **Rogerus f. Gameli** (Darrington) 1208 FFBB 136. – **Robert son of Gamell** c1208 AssC 39. – **Richard son of Gamell** c1208 AssC 38. – **Hawise daughter of Gamell de Houeden** c1208 AssC 30. – **Gamel de Wirkesleye** c1208 AssC 32. – **Hernaldus f. Gamel'** 1212 Crown Pleas 110. – **Gamell' Fremantel** 1212 Crown Pleas 111. – **Gamel f. Matildis** (E Marton) [e.13th] 17th YCh 7. 156. – **Gamell' f. Gamell'** (Milford) 1218–19 AssSel 234. – **Walterus f. Gamell' de Farnl'**, **Gamell' pater suus** 1218–19 AssSel 629. – **Robertum f. Gamell' de Wusseburc'** 1218–19 AssSel 528. – **Rogerus f. Gamell'** 1218–19 AssSel 640. – **Gamell' King** 1218–19 AssSel 592. – **Gamell' acc.**, serving boy of Hugh brother of Simon, 1218–19 AssSel 447. – **Gamell' frater eius** (Gaufridus Norman de Skelton') 1218–19 AssSel 899. – **Gamellum Gosenoll'** 1218–19

AssSel 911. – quidem *Gamell'* 1218–19 AssSel 1079. – *Gamel de Warhill'* [homo] magistri Haraldī canonici 1218–19 AssSel 1141. – *William son of Gamel* (Bainton) 1221–22 FFP 43. – *William son of Gamel* (Skeffling) 1226–27 FFP 114. – *Adam Gamel* 1260 AssC 138. – *Gamel de Corneto* 1260 AssC 115. – *William son of Gamelin de Middilton* 1260 AssC 110. – *Gamellus Seminator* (Gowthorpe) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 276. – *Johanni f. Gamelli Cere de Seleby* [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 307. – *Gamellus f. Sigerid' de Snaith, Willelmus f. Gamelli de Snayth'* [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 802, 804. – *Gamellus* (Rawcliffe) [c1250] 13th–14th Selby 822. – *Johannes et Thomas filii Gamelli f. Ylberti de Cowyck'* [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 928. – toftum *Gamelli f. Ricardi* (Cowick) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 929. – *Simonem f. Gamelli de Puckenhale* [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 948. – *Hugone f. Gamelli*, witness, [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 957–58.

An orig by.n. “the old one”. Fairly frequent in Norw from the 11th cent onwards, including some p.ns. (Lind 296–98). Also found in Swed (e.g. SRU nr 56) and Dan (runic *kamal* acc.) (Jacobsen-Moltke 653; DgP 336–37; II 321–23).

In the p.n. Ganthorpe, *Gamel* has been substituted for *Galmr* q.v. in DB, probably because *Gamel* was the tenant TRE. The f.ns. in Methley Y were probably named after the family of *Gamble*, *Gamill*, who were responsible for repairing the banks of the River Calder there (PNYW loc.cit.).

For *e* for the first *a* see § 2. For *e*, *i* for the second *a* see §§ 58.59. For loss of final *l* see § 71 and of *el* § 153. For addition of the suffix *-in(us)* see § 153. For *l*, *ll* see § 144. For *mm* see § 142.

#### \*Gamalbarn

Y. b) *Gamelbar* TRE DB 298r, 301v (8 times), 321v (bis), 322r (5 times), 326v (6 times), 327r (5 times), 332r (bis), *Gamelber* 301v, *Gamebar* 301v, 322r.

*G* was probably identical with *Gamalbearn* mentioned by Florence of Worcester as one of the leaders of the Northumbrian insurrection in 1065.

The pers.n. *Gamall* q.v. + *barn* “child, young man”. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *e* for the second *a* see § 58. For loss of final *n* see § 86iii. *ber* may show either AN interchange of *a/e* or anglicisation to *bearn* > *bern* (see § 2).

#### \*Gamalkarl(i)

Y. b) *Gamelcarle* gen. TRE DB 298r.

The pers.n. *Gamall* q.v. + the pers.n. *Karl(i)* q.v. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *c* for *k* see § 127.

### Garðr

Y. a) in *Garcedale* c1240, *Garthdale* 1272 (*Garsdale*, *Ewcross W*, *W*) PNYW 6. 261.

An orig by.n., cf. Old Icel *garðr* “yard” but here in an older sense “protection”. Quite common in Norw in the later period but not found in Icel (Nord.Kult.VII 41; Lind 300–01). Also recorded in Dan, including some p.n.s. (DgP 338; DS IV 569, VIII 139).

Cf. also the Frisian names *Gard*, *Gart* and the ContGerm name els. *Gard-*, *-gart* (Nord.Kult.VII 41).

For *ce* for [ts] < *ðs* see § 105.

### \*Garðulfr

L. b) *Gardulf* TRE DB 32/24. – *Garpolf* gen. (*Cabourne*) c1150–66 Dane 256, 240.

First el. *Garð-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

The forms in L may alternatively represent the ContGerm name *Gardulf*, with the later spelling being an attempt at scandinavianisation (Feilitzen 258).

For *d* for *ð* see § 116.

### Gási

Y. a) in *Gasou* c1200 (f.n. in *Flasby*, *E Staincliffe W*, *W*) PNYW 6. 52.

An orig by.n. “goose-herd”. Rare in WScand but found as a pers.n. on a runic stone from 1000–50 *kasa* (Lind 301–02) and also as a by.n. (Lind BN 104). Also recorded in Dan and Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 207,245).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the bird name *gás* “goose”.

### Gaukr

L. a) in *Goggislo(u)nd* [716] 14th, *Coukeslaund* 1300 (*Crowland Common*, *Elloe W*) Payling 14. – in *Golse* DB 7/23; 27/1, 30/2, 34/6, 68/40, *Golsa* LiS 11/1.9.15.26 (*Goxhill*, *Yarborough W*). – in *Gaukewelle*, *Gouckwelle* 1163, 1197 (*Gokewell*, *Broughton*, *Manley W*) Lindkvist 140. – in *Goukistoft* 1331 (f.n. in *Holland*) Payling.

b) tofta *Radulfi Gouc*, *Gouk'* (*Owersby*) [ante 1168] c1225, [c1200] c1330 RA IV 1297, 1300, *Radulphum Gouk'*, *Gouke* [c1200] c1330, e.13th RA

IV 1299, 1301. – **Radulfus, Walerannus Goki** 25/11 1218 AssSel 27. – **Alanus Gok** (Burgh-le-Marsh) 7/1 1219 AssSel 271. – **Robertus Gaugi** (Fulstowe) [e.H<sub>3</sub>] 1409 GH 20 p.49. – terram **Hugonis Gouke** (Laceby) [ante 1260] c1330 RA IV 1449. – curiam **Radulfi Gouk'** (Laceby) [1258–63] c1330 RA IV 1451. – **Henricus dictus Gouk' de Hareby** 3/10 1299 RA II 501. – **Ricardus Gouk'** 1298 AssTh 231.

Y. a) in **Golse DB, Gousla** 1179–89, **Gouxhill** 1375 (Goxhill, Holderness W, E) PNYE 66. – in **Geu-, Gheuetorp DB, Gugetorp** 1166, **Goukthorp** 1235 (Gowthorpe, Harthill W, E) PNYE 176. – in **Goukebuskes** 1142–53 (Gowbusk, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 187. – in **strata de Goukethorp** 12th (Gowthorpe, st.n. in Selby, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 33. – in **Gaukethorp** 12th, **Goukethorp** 1266 (Gawthorpe Hall (lost), Harewood, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 181. – in **Guketorp** sic 1252 (Gawthorpe Hall, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 102. – in **Goukethorp(e)** 1274–1307 (Gawthorpe, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 188. – in **Gou-, Gowthorpe** 1295 (Gowthorpe Lane, Blacktoft, Howdenshire W, E) PNYE 244. – in **Gouthorp** (sic for **Gouc-**) 1297, **Goukthorp** 1311 (Gawthorpe, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 230. – in **Gokeching** 1334 (f.n. in Calverley, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 228. – in **Gawkeholme** 1521 (Gauxholme, Todmorden, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 181. – in **Gawkethorpe** 1540 (Gawthorpe Hall, Bingley, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 166. – in **Gawthorpe** 1592 (Gawthrop, Dent, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 256. – in **Gawthroppe house** 1613 (Gawthorpe Ho, Carleton, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 30.

b) **Ricardus Gouc**, brother of **Radulfus** and **Matillis**, 1218–19 AssSel 874. – **Thomas Gouk'** 1218–19 AssSel 872. – **Thomas Gouk** 1225 FFP 62. – essartum **Roberti Gouk** (Brayton) [c1246] 13th–14th Selby 371–72, 375–76. – **Johannis Gouk'** gen. (Gowthorpe) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 270. – **Gilbertus Goky** (Osgodby) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 678.

An orig by.n. “cuckoo”, cf. the ModNorw sense of the word “simple person, fool”. Found as a pers.n. in Icel from the second half of the 10th cent and possibly in some Norw p.ns. (Lind 302–03). Two instances recorded in Norw as a by.n. (Lind BN 104). A few instances found as a by.n. in Dan (DgP II 386).

The comparative frequency of the el. in p.ns. seems to indicate that not all instances represent the pers.n. but probably rather the bird name, or perhaps *gaukr* in the sense “fool”. On the other hand, Gowthorpe in Selby may well have taken its name from a *Johannes Gouk'* (cf. above) who formerly owned a toft near there (PNYW 4. 33) and other p.ns. may have similar origins. The form *Goggislo(u)nd* may contain the word \**gogge* “swamp” (Kirkman 23; cf. PNEl i 205).

For *ou*, *o* for *au* see §§ 46.47. For *ck*, *g* for *k* see §§ 128.129. For *x* for *ks* see § 130. For loss of *k* in the forms of the two Goxhills no satisfactory explanation has as yet been offered (see PNYE 66–67).

### Gauti, Gaur

L. a) in *Goutebi* 1195–96, *Gautebi* 1212 (Gautby, Gartree W) Bower 184. Y. a) in *Gauthscou* 1204 (f.n.) PNYN 332.

Short forms of names in *Gaut-* or an orig by.n. meaning “man from Gautland” (Nord.Kult.VII 56; J. Kousgård Sørensen *Bebygg. på -sted* 256). Both forms found in Norw (Lind 304–09). Frequent in EScand, including Dan p.n.s. (DgP 446–48; SRU nr 516).

For *ou* for *au* see § 46. For *th* for *t* see § 102.

### Geilir

Y. a) in *Gailisthorp* e.13th, *Gelesthorp* 1276 (Gelsthorpe, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 10. – perhaps in *Gilset Close* 1851, probably representing an older *Geleswath*, as the bridge carries Cattal St across Gelsthorpe Gutter (Gilstwaite Bridge, Hunsingore, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 17.

An orig by.n. “the hot-tempered or fiery one”, cf. ModNorw *geil* “vehemence” <\* *geilask*. A single instance is recorded in Norw in 1357 (Lind BN 105–06).

For *e* for *ei* see § 50. There would have been subsequent shortening of *ē* to *ĕ* in the p.n.s. in ME.

### Geiri

L. b) *Geri f. Gunni*, witness, (Newhouse) c1150–60 Dane 304. – *Radulfus Geri de Neuport* 1226–28 Fees 364.

Y. b) *Gerio f. Stephani* abl., witness, [1170–75] 14th YCh 3. 1878. – *Johanne f. Geri*, witness, [1180–90] m.13th YCh 3. 1637. – *Geri de Gilling'* abl., witness, [1190–1210] 17th YCh 3. 1883. – *Thomam Geri* acc. (Whenby) 1202 FFBb 68.

Partly a short form of names in *Geir-*, *-geir* and partly a side-form to *Geirr* “spear” (Nord.Kult.VII 60). Both *Geiri* and *Geirr* are fairly frequent in Icel but rare in Norw (Lind 313, 317–19). The names are also recorded in Swed and Dan. Cf. *kir* nom. in a Dan runic inscription (Jacobsen-Moltke 653) and some p.n.s. in Dan (B. Hjorth Pedersen *Bebygg. på -by* 21). Also to be found in p.n.s. in Normandy (Adigard 207).

For *e* for *ei* see § 50.



**Geirmundr**

L. a) in Germuntorp DB (Ganthorpe, Winnibriggs W) 56/8. – in Germundstorp; Germundtorp DB 1/85; 3/18, 22/27, Ghermudtorp LiS 18/1 (Grainthorpe, Louthesk W).

b) Odonem f. Germud' (Hallington and Grainthorpe) 15/11 1208 FF 273.

Y. a) in Germunds-, Gemunstorp DB (Ingmanthorpe, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 24.

First el. *Geir-*. Second el. *-mundr*. This name was borne by the grandfather of one of the orig settlers in Icel but it only appears spasmodically after this until 1300, when it becomes fairly frequent. Found in several Norw p.ns. (Lind 315–17). Also found in EScand. Dan runic inscriptions contain the forms *ki.mutr* nom., *germuntar* gen. (Jacobsen-Moltke 653) and the name appears in later Dan sources (DgP 358–59; DS IX 162).

The forms in L and Y may alternatively represent the ContGerm name *Germund* (Forssner 108) and it is probably the ContGerm name rather than the Scand one that is found in Normandy (Adigard 207–09). In the Y p.n. the name *Ingman* was later substituted for *Geirmundr*.

For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For loss of *d* after *n* see § 108i and for *s* for [ts] < *ds* see §§ 105.107. For loss of *n* see § 86iv.

**Geirsteinn**

L. b) Garstinus de Baston' 1202 Ass 1140.

First el. *Geir-*. Second el. *-steinn*. Borne by two of the orig settlers in Icel but does not appear there later. A few instances are recorded in Norw from the middle of the 11th cent onwards (Lind 320–21).

*Gar-* represents the substitution of the cognate English el. (see § 52). For *-stin* for *-steinn* see § 51.

**Geirulfr**

L. a) in Gerulftorp DB (Garthorpe, Axholme W) 63/18.19.23.

First el. *Geir-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Fairly frequent in WScand from the time of the settlement of Icel onwards (Lind 321). Found in a Swed runic inscription as *kairulfr* (SRSö nr 176) and once in Dan (DgP 364).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the ContGerm name *Gairulfr* (Forssner 110).

For *e* for *ei* see § 50.

**Geirvarðr**

Y. a) in Gheruenz-, Geruezbi DB, Gerwardeby 1297 (Garrowby, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 130.

First el. *Geir-*. Second el. *-varðr*. An Anglo-Scand formation? Note, however, doubtful instances from Swed and Dan (DgP 365; Lundgren-Brate 64).

Cf. also ContGerm *Gerward*.

For *e* for *ei* see § 50. *e* for *a* in the second syllable probably represents weakening (see § 58). *n* for *r* is an AN spelling (PNYE 130). For *z* for *ðs* see § 105.

### Gerðr fem.

Y. a) in Gerdeston(e) DB, Gertheston 1184 (Garriston, Hang W W, N) PNYN 269. – in Gertheston 13th (f.n. in Monk Bretton, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 275.

From PrimScand *garðiðr*. Perhaps the fem. equivalent of *Garðr* q.v., or a short form of names in *-gerðr* (Nord.Kult.VII 46–47). Found in Icel in the 10th cent but in Norw only possibly in p.ns. (Lind 327). Also found in a Dan p.n. (DS II 133). Appears occasionally as a masc. name < *Giarðarr* (Lind 333). Cf., however, OIcel *gerðistún* “garden”.

For *d*, *th* for *ð* see §§ 116.118.

### Gígr

Y. a) in Ghiges-, Gighes-, Chigesburg, -burc, -borc, Giseborne DB (Guisborough, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 149.

An orig by.n., cf. ModNorw *giga* “stagger”. Found once in WScand in 1324 (Lind BN 109).

The second *g* was lost early from the combination *gsb* (PNYN 149). For *C-* for *G-* see § 135i.

### Gilli

L. a) in Gillebi 1138–39 (Gilby, Corringham W) Bower 310. – in Gillecroft 13th (f.n. in Stallingborough, Yarborough W) Bower 445.

b) Gille (Cadwell) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 478. – Osbert f. Gille de Grimolby [c1180] l.13th FP 156. – Osberto f., Willemo f. Gill' de Rasa, witnesses, 1180–1205 YCh 6. 81a. – Hernisio f. Gille, witness, c1190–1200 RA V 1656, terram filiorum Ernisi f. Gille [c1230–40] c1330 RA V 1730, Ralf f. Ernisi f. Gille de Schitebroc (Skidbrook) c1230 FP 146. – Alano f. Gille, witness, c1190–1200 RA V 1711. – Hugh f. Gillæ R<sub>1</sub> FP 192. – Gill' son of Gikell 1195 FFF 301. – Henrico f. Gilli c1200 Dane 493. – Gille f. Adelsi gen. (Withcall) l.12th, c1210–20 RA V 1586, 1590. – Radulfus Gille (Graffoe W) 1202 Ass 807, 811 and Crown Pleas 38. – Gillebertum f. Gille 1202 Ass 1018. – Ricardo f. Gille 1202 Ass 1026. – Gille carpentarius (Withcall)

c1210–20 RA V 1590. – **Gileberti Gille** gen. (Louth) 1245 RA V 1740. – **William son of Andrew son of Gille** 1245 FFF 16.

Y. a) in **Gillethueit** 1164–81 (Guilthwaite, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 168. – in **Gillerude** 13th (probably Gillcroft Farm, Stainburn, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 49.

b) **Ghil** TRE DB 301r. – **Ghile** TRE DB 309v. – **Ghille** TRE DB 312r, 312v (bis). – **Ricardi f. Gil** (Allerston) [1160–75] l.12th YCh 1. 388. – **Waltero f. Gille de Ampelforda**, witness, [1169–93] 17th YCh 2. 790. – **Gile** nom.; **Gile** gen. (Pontefract) [1180–1200] 13th YCh 3. 1576, 1579; 1575. – **Gamel f. Gille** (Cold Kirby) 1185 Templ 130. – **Gille** (Faxfleet, S Cave) 1185 Templ 131. – **Gille** (Cold Kirby) 1185 Templ 130. – **Gille** c1208 AssC 38. – **Henricus f. Gill'** 1212 Crown Pleas 109. – **Robert Gille** (Rudston) 1226–27 FFP 105. – **Johannes Gille** (Brompton-on-Swale) [1286–87] e.15th KI 174, 179.

Short form of Ir names in *Gilli-*. The Ir el. *Ghil-* meaning “servant” is not used independently as a pers.n. in Ireland and *Gilli* would seem to be a Scand formation (Forssner 114–15; Feilitzen 261). Found in Icel at the time of the settlement. There are also some few later instances. It is probable that the majority of the bearers were of Celtic descent. Cf. *Haraldr gilli*, whose Ir name was *Gillikristr* “servant of Christ” (Lind 333–34; BN 110).

The p.n. Guilthwaite may alternatively contain the Scand common noun *gil* “ravine”.

For *Gh-* for *G-* see § 133. For *l* for *ll* see § 143. For loss of final *e* < *i* see § 150.

### Gimp

L. b) **Quenilda uxor Gimpi**, witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 378. – **Godric f. Gympe** (Roughton) [12th] 13th FP 54.

An orig by.n., cf. Norw and Swed dialect *gimpa* vb “to swing one’s buttocks”. Recorded as a by.n. in Swed (XenLid 108; Feilitzen Notes 55).

For *y* for *i* see § 22.

### Gípr, \*Gippi

L. a) in **Gippetoft** c1242, (f.n. in Stainton-by-Langworth, Louthesk W) Bower 541.

b) **Osberti f. Gippe** (Navenby) l.12th RA VII 2018. – **Willelmo f. Gip**, witness, l.12th RA V 1583. – **Iuonis f. Gippe** (Croxby) e.H<sub>3</sub>, 1231–40 RA IV 1390, 1395.

Y. b) **Ghippe f. Rolfi, Higgaldus frater Ghippe** (Holme-on-the-Wolds) [1130–38] 17th YCh 2. 970.

*Gípr* is an orig by.n., cf. ModNorw *gip* “jaw”. A few instances are recorded in Norw (Lind BN 110). *Gíppi* is not recorded in Scand.

*Gippe* may alternatively represent a short form of *Gilbert* (Holmberg 225) or an OE \**Gyp(p)a* (PNYW 4. 136).

For *Gh-* for *G-* see § 133. For *pp* for *p* see § 142.

### Gísl, Gísl

L. b) **Gisle de Gousle** abl., witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 85. – **Willelmo f. Gisle** l.12th Dane 530. – **Hugonem f. Gisle, Gisel**, servant of Maud de Caux, 1202–23, 1219–23 RA VII 2076–77.

Y. a) possibly in **Ghiseburne** DB, **Gi-**, **Gyselburn(e)** 12th etc., (Gisburn, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 164. – in **Gisleclif** c1142 (Guise Cliff, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 143. – in **Gyselecroft** 1228 (f.n.) PNYN 332.

b) **Ralph son of Gisla, Gysel** 1231 FFP 135, 152.

Partly short forms of names in *-gísl*, *-gíls* q.v., partly an orig by.n. *Gísl* and weak side form to this. The by.n. is probably related to OIcel *geisli* “sun-beam” and means either “beam” or some kind of weapon (Nord.Kult. VII 41, 60). The weak form is very common in Icel in the 10th cent and again after 1300 but in Norw it is not recorded until the 15th cent and even then is less common than in Icel. *Gísl*, *Gíls* is also common in Icel but comparatively rare in Norw (Lind 335–37; Nord.Kult.VII 41). *Gísl* may appear in a Dan runic inscription and there are some few other Dan and Swed instances (DgP 372; SRU nrs 611, 669). The strong form is also occasionally found in Dan and Swed (DgP 371–72; Lundgren-Brate 66).

Some of the forms in L and Y may rather represent ContGerm *Gisilo*, *Gisal* or OE *Gísla*, a short form of names such as *Gíslhere*. Gisburn may alternatively contain the OE common noun *gysel* “gushing”.

For *y* for *i* see § 22. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For loss of final *l* see § 71.

### Gjafvaldr

L. a) ? in **Cheuelestune** DB (Gelston, Loveden W) 12/44.

First el. *Gjaf-*. Second el. *-valdr*. A few instances are found in Icel from the 11th cent onwards. More common in Norw from the end of the 12th cent (Lind 331–32).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. \**Gjofull* q.v.

For *C-* for *G-* see § 135i. For *e* for *ja* see § 54. For *e* for *a* see § 58. For loss of final *d* see § 108iii.

**\*Gjøfull**

L. a)? in **Cheuelestune DB** (Gelston, Loveden W) 12/44.

An orig by.n. “munificent” (DEPN). Not recorded in Scand.

For C- for G- see § 135i. For *e* for *jō* see § 54. For *e* for *u* see § 58.

**Glúmr**

Y. a) in **Glumesker** 1298 (f.n. in Kirkby Malzeard, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 211.

An orig by.n., cf. Mod Norw adj. *glum* used of a person with a glowering expression (Nord.Kult.VII 51). Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel and appears fairly frequently there. Also found in Norw in the early period (Lind 342–43). A few instances as a pers.n. are also found in Dan and Swed (DgP 374).

**\*Gluníairnn**

Y. b) **Glunier** gen.; **Glunier** TRE DB 298r; 301r (3 times), 301v, 311r, 315r (bis), 315v (bis), 320r, 332r. Probably the *Glunieorn f. Heardulfi* who took part in the rebel gemot at York in 1065.

An Irish adaptation of the Scand by.n. *Járnkné* “iron knee” (Feilitzen 262).

For loss of final *n* see § 86iii.

**\*Godsveinn**

Y. b) **Robertus Godswain** 1218–19 AssSel 572.

An Anglo-Scand hybrid. First el. OE *God-*. Second el. *-sveinn*. It may be preferable to explain the Y form as a scandinavianisation of OE *Godswān*.

**\*Goldsteinn**

Y. a) in **Golstaindale** 1160 (f.n.) PNYN 332.

An Anglo-Scand hybrid. First el. OE *Gold-*. Second el. *-steinn*. The name may alternatively be a scandinavianisation of OE *Goldstān* or a corrupt form of *Kolsteinn* q.v.

For loss of *d* see § 108.

**Grái**

Y. b) **Grai** abl., witness, 1133–40 YCh 2. 998.

An orig by.n. < *grályndr* “evil-tempered”. Borne by the son of one of the orig settlers in Icel and fairly frequent later in WScand (Lind BN 116–17).

Cf. also the Dan pers.n. *Graa*. This is only found late and in S Jutland, however, and may represent ContGerm *Grawo* (Nord.Kult.VII 200; DgP 385).

### \*Greidi

L. a) in **Greibi** DB (Graby, Aveland W) 2/31. – in **Greibi** DB (W Graby, Aslackby, Aveland W) 18/17.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *greiðr* “clear, ready to serve”. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For loss of intervocalic *ð* see § 120i.

### Greifi

L. b) **Greve** TRE DB 12/56.58.

An orig by.n., cf. either the ContGerm loan-word in Scand *greifi* “count” or ModNorw *greive* used of a ram with characteristic horn-formation. Appears once as a by.n. in Icel and is apparently to be found in some p.ns. in Norw (Lind BN 118). *Greve* is common as a by.n. in Dan after 1200 (DgP II 358).

For *e* for *ei* see § 50.

### Grein

L. a) in **Grenesbi** DB 12/20, **Greinesbi** LiS 8/1 (Grainsby, Haverstoe W).

Y. b) **Willelmo Grain de Orge** [1201–c20] 15th YCh 11. 154.

An orig by.n. Interpretation not certain, cf. OIcel *grein* f. “branch” or “reason” or “distinction” or “discernment”. Some few late instances are recorded in WScand (Lind BN 118).

For *ai*, *e* for *ei* see §§ 49.50.

### \*Grentir

Y. a) in **Grentwith** c1230 (f.n. in Spofforth, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 37.

b) **Petrus f. Grente, Grent** [1166] 13th RBE 425–26.

Possibly an early unassimilated form of *Grettir*, a by.n. meaning “he who shows his teeth or grins”, cf. *gretta sik* “to make a wry face” < \**grinta*.

The forms in Y may alternatively be AN spellings for the pers.n. *Grante*.

For the dropping of nom. -r see § 144.

### Greppi

L. b) **Josceus f. Greppe** (Frieston) 25/11 1218 AssSel 78.

Possibly a weak side-form to the WScand by.n. *Greppr* (cf. OIcel *greppr*

“poet, scald, doughty man”) (Lind BN 119), and the EScand pers.n. and by.n. *Grep* (DgP 392). The side-form may be recorded in some Norw p.n.s. (Lind BN loc.cit.).

### Grimr

L. a) in **Grimesbi** DB 4/70.71, 30/14, 36/1, 70/13.14, LiS 9/2.5 (Grimsby, Bradley W). – in **Grimesbi** DB 3/19, 14/84, 22/25, **Parva Grimesbia**, **Grimesbi** LiS 10/4.7 (Little Grimsby, Ludborough W). – in **Grimestoft** 12th (f.n. in Habrough, Yarborough W) Bower 438. – in **Grimesthoren** 1200 (f.n. in Hameringham, Hill W) Bower 504. – in **Grimestorp** 1212 (Grimsthorpe, Edenham, Beltisloe W) DEP.N. – in **Grimescroft** 1245 (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – in **Grimescroft** 1250 (f.n. in Swaby, Calcewath W) Bower 469. – in **Grimesacre** 13th (f.n. in Barton-on-Humber, Yarborough W) Bower 433. – in **Grimstoft** 12th–14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – in **Grymland** 1524 (f.n. in Burgh-le-Marsh, Candleshoe W) Bower 475. – in **Grymsholme** c1600 (f.n. in Somersby, Hill W) Bower 510. – in **Grimestone** c1600 (f.n. in Somersby, Hill W) Bower 510. – in **Grimsdalle** 1601 (f.n. in Croxby, Ludborough W) Bower 423. – in **Grimwell** 1601–12 (f.n. in S Willingham, Louthesk W) Bower 542.

b) **Grim** TRE DB 34/2.4.5.6. – **Radulfo f. Grim**, witness, c1140 Dane 473. – **Willelmo f. Grim**, witness, c1150–55 Dane 308. – **Grim** gen. (Irford) c1155–60 Dane 238–40. – **Willelmus Grim** [1166] 13th RBE 382. – **Willelmi Grim de Asgerbi** 1185 Templ 88. – **Galtero Grim** abl., witness, [c1189–98] c1225, c1189–98 RA VI 1851–52. – **Waltero Grim** abl., witness, [1196–98] c1225 RA V 1503. – **Georgio Grim**, witness, 1.12th Dane 170. – **Alani Grim** gen. (Boston) c1200 RA VII 1981. – **Simonem Grim** (Asgarby) 1202 Ass 283. – **Radulfus, Gamel filii Grim** 1202 Ass 433, 1090. – **Grim’ f. Godric** (Grainthorpe) 1202 Ass 447. – **Æliot Grim** 1202 Ass 894. – **Grim de Turleby** gen. 1202 Ass 1180, **Grim** (Thurlby) 2/9 1207 FF 228. – **Henricum Grim, Grim’, fratrem Militie Templi**, 1202–03 Ass 1222, 1245–46, 1283, **Henricum Grim** 27/4 1203, 20/1 1204 FF 171, 179. – **terram Grim Hoog** (Hoffleet) [c1202–15] c1225 RA VII 1964. – **Alani Grim** 1206 Ass 1433, 1520. – **Alexandro Grim** (et Henrico f. eius), witness, [e.13th] 1411 GH 22 p.99. – **Henrico Grym** abl. (Kesteven) 1298 AssTh 443.

Y. a) in **Grimesbi** DB (Grimsby (lost), Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 136. – in **Gri-**, **Grymeston(a)** DB (Grimston, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 54. – in **Grimestun**, **-tone** DB (Grimston Garth, Holderness W, E) PNYE 58. – in **Grimeston** DB (Hanging Grimston, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 130. – in **Grimeston(e)** DB (N Grimston, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 141. – in **Grimestone** DB (Grimston, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 273. – in **Gri-**,

**Grymestun, -ton(a)** DB (Grimston, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 68. – in **Grimeshou** DB (lost manor in Sheffield, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 210. – in **Grim-, Grintorp** DB, **Gri-, Grymesthorp'** 1138 etc. (Grimthorpe, Harthill W, E) PNYE 178. – in **Grymesgrave** 12th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Grimescales** c1180 (f.n. in Clotherholme, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 164. – in **Grimestorp** 1.12th (Grimethorpe, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 268. – in **Grimesgile** 1200–30 (Grimes Gill, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 92. – in **Grimescroft** 1235 (f.n. in Cawood, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 39. – in **Myregrim** 13th (Miregrim (lost), Hang E W, N) PNYN 241. – in **Grimescroft** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Grimeshou** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Grymeshou** 13th (f.n.) PNYE 324. – in **super Hillegrime, Illegrim** 13th (Hillgrim (lost), W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 151. – in **Grymisdyk** 1257–85 (Grimes Dike, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 107. – in **Grimscauldriding** 1280 (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 191. – in **Grimestorp** 1297 (in Sheffield, U Strafforth W, W; cf. **Grimeshou** above) PNYW 1. 210. – in **Grymston** 1307 (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Grymesdalebek** 1314 (Grimes Dale, Hang E W, N) PNYN 234. – in **Grymesmere** 14th (f.n. in Whitwood, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 125. – in **Grimyerd** 1369 (f.n. in Todwick, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 158. – in **Grimrode** 1369 (Grime Royd Close, f.n. in Methley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 130. – in **Grymehyng** 1386 (f.n. in Worsborough, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 297. – in **Grymewell** 1413 (f.n. in Worsborough, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 297. – in **Grymdolez** 1480 (f.n. in Cridling Stubbs, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 63. – in **Grymescroft** 1538 (f.n. in Shitlington, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 209. – in **Grimslake** 1574 (f.n. in Methley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 130. – in **Grymthorpe** 1609 (f.n. in Snaith, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 29. – in **Grimescroft** 1633 (f.n. in Mexborough, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 78. – in **Grime Ing** 1712 (f.n. in Ackworth, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 95. – in **Grimlands** 1727 (f.n. in Arncliffe, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 115. – in **Grimes Gill** 1843 (f.n. in Sedbergh, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 268.

b) **Grim** inscription ? 10th, St Mary's Church York, Ekwall Selected Papers 57. – **Grim** festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Grim** in **Cir'** (? for **Circebi**) festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Grim** TRE DB 300v (3 times), 301r (3 times), 308r, 309v (bis), 322r (bis), 328v (3 times), gen. 298r (bis), 309v, 373v. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Arne Grimsune**, witness, [1087–1109] 14th YCh 1. 384. – **Grim Grafard**, witness, [c1140–48] 14th–15th YCh 1. 539. – **Grim Chelyng** (Ousegate) [c1150–61] 14th YCh 1. 224. – **Grim** abl., witness, 1154–58 YCh 5. 343. – **Gamel Grimessuna** (Kircabi) [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. –



fratre Srim sic, Guyum sic [1164-75] 14th YCh 1. 283-84. – Robertum f. Grim 1202 FFBB 49. – Willelmo Grim, Grym de Seleby abl., dat., Angnete relicta W. Grim [? 13th] 13th-14th Selby 165-66, 284. – terræ Henrici Grime (Osgodby) [? 13th] 13th-14th Selby 686.

An orig by.n. that is often used of Óðinn in disguise, cf. OIcel *gríma* f. “mask” (Nord.Kult.VII 41-42). The name is common in both Norw and Icel throughout the whole medieval period (Lind 359-60) and also fairly frequent in Dan and Swed (DgP 395). A weak form *Grimi* is found in p.ns. in Dan and Swed and occasionally independently in Dan (DgP 396-97).

*Grim*, however, is also used in OE as a by.n. for Wōden and it is probable that many of the p.ns. in L and Y contain the OE mythological name. Names compounded with *-bý* and *-þorp*, however, most likely contain the Scand pers.n. It is also possible that a few of the p.ns. contain either the Scand common noun *gríma* “mark or blaze on tree to denote a boundary” or OE *gríma* “spectre, goblin” (PNEI i 210).

For *y* for *i* see § 22. For *n* for *m* see § 81.

### \*Grímbjörn

L. b) Grimber, Grimbert TRE DB 56/6.8.

First el. *Grim-*. Second el. *-björn*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

The forms in L may alternatively represent the ContGerm pers.n. *Grimbert* (Forssner 131-32).

For loss of final *n* after *r* and confusion between the els. *-bern* and *-bert* see § 86iii.

### Grímketill

L. a) in Grimchiltorp LiS (Grimblethorpe, Louthesk W) 18/8.

b) Grinchel TRE DB 3/7.40, 4/43, 14/6, 22/31-32, 29/22, 35/2.16, 71/11, Grinchil 22/8, 27/14, 32/7, gen. (interlined) 7/26, Grimchil 16/35.44, Grimchel 27/7 (*m* indicated by nasal stroke, *Grin-* in ed.), 32/4 47/1, gen. 70/25. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – Grinchel, a thane, TRE DB 25/1-2.9.11. – William f. Grimchelli kinsman of Simon and Robert f. Aki, [1140-47] 13th FP 55. – Grimcetel (Reuesbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – Willelmum de Stret[una] f. Grimkel [1145-48] 13th YCh 6. 51. – Johannes f. Grimkilli (et Boidin frater eius) e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 157. – Grimketel Rari abl., witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> RA VIII 2258. – Acke f. Grimkel [c1160] 13th FP 49. – Reginaldi f. Grimkelli (Saltfleetby) 1183, 1.12th Dane 536,547. – Robertus f. Grimkil (Threckingham) 1185 Temp

89. – **Grimkelli** gen. (Wood Enderby) c1200 NthCh 41. – **Hugh f. Grimketil** [c1200] 15th FP 226. – **Ingelramus f. Grimkel, Grinkel; Gringkel** c1200; [c1200] c1330 RA VI 1769, 1778; 1778. – **Richard f. Grimketil Fod** [c1225] c1300 FP 220. – **Willelmum f. Grinkel; Grimkel; Grunkel; Grimkell** e.13th; [e.13th] 13th; e.13th; e.13th RA VI 1767, 1776, 1767–68; 1850; 1850. – **Rophar f. Grimchel de Burg** [e.13th] 17th FP 26.

Y. b) **Grimcetel** festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Grimcetel in Barnabi** festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Grimcetel Háw'** (possibly for **Háværð** < **Hávarðr**) festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Gr[im]cetel** his mah (Morfara) festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9, **Grimchil** TRE DB 315r. – **Grimchetel** gen. TRE DB 298r, **Grinchel** 301r, 324r, 324v, gen. 374r. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Grunkell** (sic for **Grime-**) f. **Thorin**, ballivus, (Gunby) [1066–69] 13th–14th Selby 706. – **Grimchelli** gen. (Kettlewell) [m.12th] 15th YCh 11. 136. – **Utredo f. Grimki**, witness, [1185–91] 14th YCh 5. 395. – **Grinkel** gen. (N Dalton) [1190–1200] 17th YCh 1. 592. – **Gaufridus f. Grimkell'** 1218–19 AssSel 882.

First el. *Grim-*. Second el. *-ketill*. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel and continues fairly frequent in WScand (Lind 358–59). Found in Dan runic inscriptions (DgP 397).

For *n*, *ng* for *m* see §§ 81.87. For *c*, *ch* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For loss of final *l* see § 71. The spelling *un* is probably a scribal error.

### \*Grimvarðr

L. b) **Grimward** son of **Andrew** 1245 FFF 9, **Grimwardo** f. **Andree** f. **Ketelbern'** (Lincoln) c1220–30 RA VIII 2247, 2346.

First el. *Grim-*. Second el. *-varðr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

The forms in L may alternatively represent the ContGerm pers.n. *Grimward* (Forssner 132).

For *w* for *v* see § 67. For *d* for *ð* see § 116.

### Grípr, \*Grípi

Y. a) in **Gripetorp** DB (Gribthorpe, Harthill W, E) PNYE 240.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *grípa* “grasp”. In Icel sources *Hrómundr Grípsson* is also called *Greiþsson* and his brother *Þórir Greþsson* (Lind 363). There are several instances of *Grip* in Dan but many of these are probably short forms of *Wilgrip* (DgP 398–99). *Grip* is found in a Dan p.n. (DS XII 166). A weak form is not recorded in Scand.

**Gríss**

L. a) in **Grisebi** DB 2/5, 34/22, LiS 16/4 (Girsby, Wraggoe W).

Y. a) in **Grisebi** DB (Girsby, Gilling E W, N) PNYN 280. – in **Gri(s)torentun** DB, **Grisethorntune** 1088 (Thornton-le-Beans, Allerton W, N) PNYN 208. – in **Gristetorp** DB (Gristhorpe, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 104. – in **Grisethwayth** 1285 (Grithwaite, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 186.

An orig by.n. “pig”. Rare as a pers.n. in Icel but fairly frequent as a by.n. in both Norw and Icel (Lind 364; BN 120). There are a few instances as a pers.n. in Jutland (DgP 399) and the by.n. is common in Dan (DgP II 362–64).

The p.n. Grithwaite may alternatively contain the appellative Scand *gríss*, ME *grise* “young pig” (PNEI i 210).

**Grómr**

Y. a) in **Grumeshenges** 1322 (f.n. in Allerton, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. xi and 14.

An orig by.n., cf. Mod Icel *gróm* “dirt”. A single instance is recorded in WScand (Lind BN 120).

The p.n. may alternatively contain a strong form of *Grummi* q.v.

For *u* for *ó* see § 27.

**Grubbi**

Y. a) in **Grubbhale** 1177–93 (f.n. in Barwick-in-Elmet, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 112.

An orig by.n. “the man with the rough, wrinkled face”. Possibly found in a p.n. in Norw (Lind BN 121). Common as a by.n. and found as a pers.n. in Dan (Lat *Grubo*) (DgP 400–01; II 368–71).

**Grum(m)i, \*Grúmr**

Y. a) in **Grumeshenges** 1322 (f.n. in Allerton, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 14.

An orig by.n. “the cruel one”. A pers.n. *Grúmi* (Lat *Grummo*) occurs fairly frequently in Dan, particularly in W Jutland. It is assumed to have arisen from the by.n. *Grummi*. Forms of *Grúmi* and *Grummi* are often confused. A strong form *\*Grúmr* would also seem to have existed as it appears in the p.n. *Grumstrup* (DgP 401–02; II 371; DS XII 190; B. Hjorth Pedersen *Bebygg. på -by* 22).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Grómr* q.v.

**Guðfriðr**

L. b) **Godeuert** nom. and gen., brother of Ælfric (Aluric) and Haraldr (Herold), TRE DB 47/8, 69/21–22.

First el. *Guð-*. Second el. *-friðr*. Some few instances of the related *Guðfræðr* are recorded as legendary names in WScand, and one of *Guðfriðr* but this refers to a German (Lind 372). The name is very common in Dan in the form *Godefrid* but it is likely that many of these instances represent ContGerm *Godafrid* (Forssner 118–19; DgP 422–23).

The spelling *God-* represents the substitution of the cognate English el. For *-uert* for *-friðr* see § 21.

**Guðlaugr**

Y. a) in **Gudlagesarc**, -argo DB (Golcar, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 291.

First el. *Guð-*. Second el. *-laugr*. Very common in Icel from the time of the settlement onwards and fairly frequent in Norw (Lind 375–77). A few instances recorded in Swed as *Gudhløgh* (Lundgren-Brate 74).

It is perhaps more likely that the p.n. contains the pers.n. *Guðleikr* q.v.

If the pers.n. is *Guðlaugr*, *a* is probably a substitution for *o* (cf. §§ 3.47). For *d* for *ð* see § 116.

**Guðleikr**

Y. a) in **Gudlagesarc**, -argo DB (Golcar, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 291.

First el. *Guð-*. Second el. *-leikr*. Frequent in Norw after 1017, including a few p.ns. (Lind 379–81). Also found occasionally in Swed and Dan (Lundgren-Brate 74; DgP 425).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Guðlaugr* q.v.

For *d* for *ð* see § 116. For *a* for *ei* see § 52. For *g* for *k* see § 129.

**Guðmundr**

L. b) **Gudmunt** TRE DB 4/56. – Nigell son of Guthmund (Skinnand) 1240 FFM 332.

Y. b) **Gudmundo** abl., witness, [c1148] 14th–15th YCh 5. 156.

First el. *Guð-*. Second el. *-mundr*. One of the commonest names in Icel from the 10th cent onwards. Does not appear in Norw until c1300 but then becomes quite frequent there (Lind 381–85). A number of instances recorded in Swed and Dan runic inscriptions (e.g. SRSö nr 217; SRU nr 692; Jacobsen-Moltke 658) and the name is very common in other Dan sources, including p.ns. (DgP 426–29). Also recorded in Normandy (Adigard 362–63).

Cf. also the OE name *Godmund*.

For *d*, *th* for *ð* see §§ 116.118. For *t* for final *d* see § 107.

### Guðriðr fem.

Y. b) **Godrida** TRE DB 331r. – **Godrithe** gen., mother of Ingulf, (Clementhorpe) [1109–12] 13th–14th YCh 1. 43. – **Godreda filia Hermeri, Guderide, Gorreia** [1138–45] 13th–14th YCh 5. 162–63, Selby 601.

First el. *Guð*-. Second el. *-(f)riðr*. Common in Icel from the time of the settlement onwards and also frequent in Norw (Lind 387–89). Found in a Dan runic inscription as *kuþfriþi* dat. but this probably refers to a Norw woman (Jacobsen-Moltke 657). Possibly appears in some Swed p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 76).

The spelling *God*- represents the substitution of the cognate OE el. For *d*, *th* for *ð* see §§ 116.118. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *e* for *i* < *i* see § 19. For the ending *-a* see § 152.

### Guðrøðr, \*Guðriðr

L. b) **Guret; Godredus**, lageman in Lincoln, TRE DB p.2.1–2; p.6. 20, **Gudret** [burgensis] Lincolie 71/3. – **Gurred frater Hugonis [nepotis Romphari]** (Lincoln) [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Gurreti monetarii** [1155–75] c1330 RA I 190, **Guthredi cognati sui** (Siwardus canonicus) [1155–75] c1330 RA I 191. – **Siwat f. Gutred** (Raithby) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 513. – [frater] **Gudredus** (Stixwould) 1172–80 Dane 379–81. – **Willelmus cognatus God'ed** (Lincoln) 1185 Templ 82. – **Gudredo Sergante, Gurredo le Seriaunt** abl., witness, c1180–90, [c1200] c1330 RA VIII 2257, 2260. – **Gudredo** [canonico], witness, [c1184–90] c1225 RA VI 1827. – **Guthredo cordwanerio**, witness, [c1185] c1330 RA VIII 2259. – **Gudredo suppiore** (Bullington) [1.12th] 1411 GH 11 p.95. – **Guthredo precone**, witness, [c1185] c1330 RA VIII 2259. – **Girardo et Ragamero filii Guthredi** c1200 RA VII 1976. – **Godred, Willelmus f. Godred** (Billinghay) 13/10 1200 FF 13. – **Walterus f. Guthred** 6/7 1202 FF 91. – **Johannem f. Gudred'**, **Gunred** sic (Lincoln) 1206 Ass 1508, 1533. – **terram Rogeri f. Gutheredi, Guthredi** (Lincoln) 1219–27, [1219–27] c1330 RA VIII 2194, **Rogero de fraxino f. Guderedi de Newport'** 1244–56 RA VIII 2195, **Rogero f. Guthredi** c1244–55; c1240–50 RA VIII 2196; 2203, 2226, **Roberto f. Guthredi** c1244–55 RA VIII 2196, **Roberto et Rogero filii Guthredi** c1240–50 RA VIII 2208. – **Guthredo, Godredo** [capellano] 1235–48, 1239–45 RA IV 1231, 1409. – **Guthredo** abl., witness, vicar choral of Lincoln, [12/2 1248] 14th–15th RA II 364.

– Guthredo de Magdalena abl., witness, 1247–53; 1248–54 RA II 622–23, 628; VI 1803. – Godredo abl., witness, 1265–74 RA VIII 2216.

Y. b) Godred TRE DB 306r.

First el. *Guð*-. Second el. *-(f)røðr*, *-friðr*. The name in the form *Guðrøðr* is borne by many members of the Norw Royal House in the Viking period and some viking leaders (Lind 391–93). Cf. also *Guðfrøðr*.

*God*- for *Guð*- represents the substitution of the cognate OE el. For *d*, *th*, *t* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.117.118. For *d*, *t* for final *ð* see §§ 116.117. For *r*, *rr* for *ðr* see § 120ii. For *e* in the second el. see § 21.

### Guðþormr

L. a) ? in Godramstoft, Gotheramtoft 1331 (Guthram Tofts Farm, Pinchbeck, Elloe W) Payling 44. – ? in Goderamescote 1368, Goderamcote 1383 (Guthram Gowt, Elloe W) Payling 17.

b) ? Godran gen., terra Adestan Godramesune TRE DB p.13, 73/2. – ? Gutheramus f. Wlnath?, Wolnath 1202 Ass 403, 1088. – ? Alanus f. Gudram 1202 Ass 496. – ? Brictiua f. Guderam 1202 Ass 937. – ? Guram acc. 1203 Ass 1285.

Y. a) ? in Gutherungata, -gate 1154–86, Guth(e)rumgate 12th (Goodramgate, st.n. in York) PNYE 289.

First el. *Guð*-. Second el. either *-þormr* or *-ormr*. Common in Norw from the earliest times. Less frequent in Icel (Lind 395–400). Also found in Swed and Dan (Lat *Guthormus*) (DgP 431; Lundgren-Brate 82–83). Familiar in England in the anglicised form *Godrum* as the name of the first Dan King of E Anglia (Stenton Danes 21).

The forms in L and Y may alternatively represent the ContGerm pers.n. *Godram(n)* (Forssner 127).

*God*- for *Guð*- probably represents the substitution of the cognate OE el. For *d*, *th* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.118. For *r* for *ðr* see § 120ii. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *n* for final *m* see § 81. The spelling *-ram* cannot be explained on phonological grounds but for *-rum* see §§ 24.75.

### Guðvarðr

L. a) in Gutteworthescroft 12th–14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

First el. *Guð*-. Second el. *-varðr*. A few instances are recorded in Icel (Lind 395).

For *t*, *th* for medial *ð* see §§ 117.118. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *w* for *v* see § 67. The spelling *-worth* probably represents an anglicisation.

**\*Gufa fem.**

L. b) **Guua** gen., daughter of Gilbert and Thora, (Horsington) 1202 Ass 28.

A short form of names in *Guð-* (Feilitzen Notes 56). An Anglo-Scand formation? A side-form to *Gufi* q.v.

For *u* for *f* see § 96.

**Gufi**

L. b) uxor **Guue** gen. (Barton-on-Humber) 1185 Templ 104. – terram **Guue** (Wilksby) c1200 NthCh 40. – **Guue** gen. fil' **Rogeri** (Yarborough, Grainthorpe) 1195 FFF 301.

Y. b) **Willelmus f. Goue** (Marr) 1218–19 AssSel 40. – **Guue** (del Holme) [c1147–61] 14th YCh 1. 607n.

A short form of names in *Guð-*. Recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 83; Feilitzen Notes 56).

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *u* for *f* see § 96.

**\*Gufubeinn**

L. b) **Guuebein** gen. ? 1175 Dane 120.

An orig by.n., cf. either OIcel *gufa* “smoke, haze” or Norw *guva* “to cower, squat” and OIcel *beinn* “leg” (Feilitzen Notes 56 n.13). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *u* for *f* see § 96.

**Gulla fem.**

Y. b) **Ulf de Westerne pater Golle** (Matillidis, Emme, Beatricie, Isolde et Agnetis) 1218–19 AssSel 80.

A short form of names in *Guðl-*. Recorded in Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 241; Modéer 42) and possibly found in a WScand p.n. (Lind 400). A masc. side-form is recorded in WScand and Swed (Lind 400–01; Modéer 40; Lundgren-Brate 78) and may appear in Dan as a by.n. (DgP II 378).

For *o* for *u* see § 32.

**Gunnarr**

L. a) in **Gunresbi** DB 12/34, LiS 8/1 (Gunnerby, Hatcliffe, Haverstoe W).  
b) **Gunerus f. Arnaldi** (Swineshead) 7/1 1219 AssSel 365.

Y. a) in **Gunregate** 1135 (Gunnergate Lane, st.n. in Newton, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 164. – in **Gunnersart** 12th (f.n. in Markingfield, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 177. – in **Gunremiresic** 12th–13th (f.n. in Winksley, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 196. – in **Gunnermersk(e)** 1150–53 (Gunneymarsh, Holderness W, E) PNYE 31. – in **Gun'nesse** 1210–18 (f.n. in Drax, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 11. – in **Gunerstan** 13th (f.n. in Whixley, U

Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 11. – in **Gunerfeld** 13th (f.n.) PNYE 326. – in **Gunnerset** 1301 (Gunnerville, Hang W W, N) PNYN 271. – in **Gunerwallenase** 1450 (f.n. in Mytholmroyd, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 170. – in **Gunner Fleet** 1704 (f.n. in Ingleton, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 246. – possibly in **Gunner Thorpe** 1850 (Gannerthorpe Wood, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 11.

b) **Gunnere, Gunner; Gunar dux** [958] 14th; [963] 14th YCh 1. 2, 3, 6, **Gunnere** dat. ealdorman (Newbald) [963] 14th YCh 1. 5. – **Gunner festerman** [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9, **Gunner TRE DB** 315r. – **Gunre TRE DB** 301v (bis), 311v (bis).

First el. *Gunn-*. Second el. *\*-haria-*. Common in both Norw and Icel from the time of the settlement onwards (Lind 403–05). Found in Dan runic inscriptions and common in other Dan sources, including p.ns. (Jacobsen-Moltke 657; DgP 410–13; J. Kousgård Sørensen *Bebygg. på -sted* 242–43). Also well evidenced in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 80).

For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For *e* for *a* see § 8. For metathesis see § 75.

#### **Gunnfrøðr, \*Gunnfriðr**

L. a) in **Gunfordebi; Gouerdebi** DB (Gt Gonerby, Winnibriggs W) 1/10, 3/31, 5/3, 31/2, 57/26; 72/21.

First el. *Gunn-*. Second el. *-frøðr, -friðr*. A fair number of instances of *Gunnrøðr* are recorded in WScand from the time of the settlement of Icel onwards (Lind 417–18).

For spellings in *-ford, -uerd* see §§ 21.43.75.96.116. For *n* for *nn* see § 143. Loss of *n* in the second form is probably due to scribal omission of a nasal stroke.

#### **\*Gunngifu fem.**

L. b) **Hugonem f. Gunnue** 1202 Ass 734a. – **Ricardum f. Guniue** 1219 Cur 163.

An Anglo-Scand hybrid formation. First el. *Gunn-* or possibly ContGerm *Gund-*. Second el. OE *-gifu* (Feilitzen Notes 64).

For the loss of *g* from *-gifu* see Feilitzen § 135. For *n* for *nn* see § 143.

#### **Gunnhildr fem.**

L. a) in **Gunnildrdale** 13th (f.n. in Barton-on-Humber, Yarborough W) Bower 433. – in **Gonyldtoft E<sub>1</sub>** (Goldentoft Lane, Swineshead, Kirton W) Payling 106.

b) **Robertus Gunnilt**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 37. – **Gunnild**, sister of Ivetta and Agnes, [1163] 13th FP 46. – **Gunnild uxor Hugonis cheb** c1172–80 Dane



381. – **Nicholaus f. Gunnild'**, fined in Lincoln, 1191 Hill 397, 1206 Ass 1448, bailiff of Lincoln 1214 Hill 380. – **Roberti f. Gunnild; Gunnilde** (Skidbrook) [1198–1205] c1225, [1198–1205] c1225, [ante 1224] c1330; [c1200] c1225 RA V 1680, 1699, 1734; 1698, 1724. – **Robertus f. Guenild'** (Billinghay) 13/10 1200 FF 13. – **Gunnild'** nom., acc. and abl. wife of Lambert macellarius in Fulsby, 24/11 1200 FF 16. – **Quenild filia Gunell', Gunnild'** (Candlesby) 6/6 1202, 1202 FF 111, Ass 569. – **Gunilda, Gunildam** acc., **Gunilde** dat., wife of Peter de Yreford, 13/7 1202 FF 127. – **Gunild'** que fuit uxor **Willelmi de Cestrefeld'** 1202 Ass 104. – **Thomas auunculus Gunnilde uxoris Roberti** 1202 Ass 204. – **Aldith filia Gunnild'** 1202 Ass 405. – **Gunnild'** sic de **Tedletorp** 1202 Ass 560. – **Gunnild'** filia **Gileberti de Wium** 1202 Ass 636. – **Matillis filia Gunnild'** 1202 Ass 727. – **Gunnild'** de **Belesbi** 1202 Ass 834. – **Gunnilda filia Gilberti f. Aumundi de Haltun** c1210 FP 19. – **Gunnilda, Gvnnild filia Acke Mudding de Salfletby** e.13th FP 96. – **Matillidem filiam Gunild'** (Butterwick) 25/11 1218 AssSel 53. – **Gunild'** uxor **Ade de Upford'** 7/1 1219 AssSel 605. – **Hamelinus de Hauteberg'** pater **Gunild'**, **Edusa sororis Gunild'**, **Gunnild** wife of **Walterus de Campis**, 7/1 1219 AssSel 241, 330. – **Gunnilda** wife of **Robert Nuthehued** 1226 FFM 198. – **Radulfi f. Gunnilde** (Somercotes) [c1230–40] c1330 RA V 1696. – **Gunnilda, Gonilda filia Radulfi, de Sancto Paulo de Laysceby** [c1240–53] c1330, [1258–63] c1330, [1306] c1330, [1306] c1330, [1306] c1330; [ante 1260] c1330 RA IV 1443, 1451, 1454, 1452–53; 1449. **Gunnilde** gen. [1263–72] c1330, [1258–63] c1330 RA IV 1450–51. – **Gunnilde vxori sue** (**Hugo f. Sibille de Nettleham**), **Gunnilda** abl. 1247–53 RA II 621. – **Gunnilda uxor eius** (**Walter Fraunceys**) 1263 FFF 221. – **Thomas f. Gun(n)ildæ de Stalingburg'** [1254–80] 13th–14th Selby 1039, 1049.

Y. a) in **Gunelby** 1066–69, **Gundeby** 1070–83, **Bonnebi** sic DB, **Gunneby** 1154 etc. (**Gunby**, **Harthill W**, **E**) PNYE 239. – in **Gunultwayt** 12th, **Gunnild(e)thwayt** 13th (**Gunthwaite**, **Staincross W**, **W**) PNYW 1. 328. – in **Gunuldeland** 1190–1200 (f.n. in **Beamsley**, **U Claro W**, **W**) PNYW 5. 73. – in **Gunnildecroft** e.13th (f.n. in **Pudsey**, **Morley W**, **W**) PNYW 3. 240. – in **Gunnildescroft** 1231 (f.n. in **Winksley**, **L Claro W**, **W**) PNYW 5. 196. – in **Gunildekelde** 1243 (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Gunnildridding** 1320 (f.n. in **Hambleton**, **Barkston Ash W**, **W**) PNYW 4. 30. – in **Gunnylcroft** 1442 (f.n. in **Hebden Bridge**, **Morley W**, **W**) PNYW 3. 190.

b) **Ricardo f. Gunnild** parmentario (**Tunstall**) [l.12th] l.13th YCh 5. 322. – **Gunnilde** gen., daughter of **Willelmus de Tresfeld**, [l.12th] 15th YCh 11. 262. – **Alano f. Gunnild[e]** [c1200–18] 14th YCh 5. 341. – **Gaufridum f. Gunnildæ** (**Ellerker**) 1202 FFBB 49. – **Nicholao f. Gunildi** [c1203–04] 17th

YCh 2. 1262. – **Gunnilda, Gunnild matrem Aliciæ** (Osgodby) 1206 FFBb 102–03. – **Gunild of Tykehill** (and Susan her sister) 1226 FFP 72. – **Johanne Gunnild abl.** (Rawcliffe) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 854.

First el. *Gunn-*. Second el. *-hildir, -hilda*. This name is frequent in Icel and common in Norw throughout the whole medieval period (Lind 409–11). It is found in Dan runic inscriptions and is common in other Dan sources (Jacobsen-Moltke 657; DgP 406–08; DS XI 198). Recorded in a number of Swed runic inscriptions and fairly common in later Swed sources (e.g. SRU nr 288; Lundgren-Brate 79).

Cf. also ContGerm *Gundihild*. The form *Guenild* may rather be an error for ME *Quenild* (OE *Cwæn-*).

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For loss of *h* see § 140iv. For *y, e* for *i* see §§ 19.22. For *u* for *y < i* see § 37. For *ll* for *l* see § 142. For *t* for final *d* see § 107. For loss of final *d* see § 108. The 13th-cent spelling *Gunnildir-* in the L f.n. must be due to scribal error. It can hardly represent the old gen. form *-ar*. The DB form of Gunby must be corrupt.

### Gunnhvatr, \*Gunnhvati

L. a) in **Gunewate toft, le toft Gunewate** c1160 (f.n. in Kirmington, Yarborough W) Dane 240, 300.

b) **Gunnewate** TRE DB 3/42, 12/3, 22/30, **Gonnewate** 12/1, 68/2, **Gonewate** 29/1.4.8.9.28, **Gonneuuate** gen. 71/10. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Hugone f. Gunwat**, witness, l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 112. – **Gunwate** gen. (W Ashby) [l.12th] 13th RA VI 1922. – **Alan f. Gunwad** (Leake) 6/7 1202 FF 98. – **Gunwat son of Herlewin** 1221 FFM 159, **Gunwat f. Herlewin'** (Wrangle) [c1220] 13th FP 241. – **Gunnewat, Gunewat f. Jordani de Wrengl'**, **Alan f. Gunewati f. Jordani** [c1220] 13th; **Richard f. Gunewati de W.** [c1225] 13th FP 242, 243, 243n; 244 – **Geue filia Gunewat; Gvne** c1225; seal FP 165.

First el. *Gunn-*. Second el. *-hvatr*. A single instance is recorded in Icel in 1218 and a few in Norw after 1431 (Lind 411). A Dan source from the m.12th cent contains a form of the name with nom. *-r* preserved, *Gunuuatr* (Nord.Kult.VII 194). The name is also recorded in Swed (DgP 408) and the existence of a weak form can be deduced from the Swed p.n. *Gunwatabothum* 13th (Feilitzen 277).

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *w, uu* for *hv* see §§ 140iii.67. For *d* for final *t* see § 107.

### Gunni

L. a) in **Gunnebi** DB (Gunby St. Nicholas, Beltisloe W) 62/1. – in **Gunnebi**

DB (Gunby, Candlehoe W) 29/26. – in *Gunnris* 1155 (f.n. in Marehamle-Fen, Horncastle W) Bower 514. – in *Gunnis* H<sub>2</sub> (f.n. in Kirkby-upon-Bain, Gartree W) Bower 494. – in *Gunetorp* 12th (Gunthorpe, Axholme W) Bower 297. – in *Gunnesse* 1199–1216 (Gunness, Manley W) Bower 335. – in *Gunecroft* 1268 (f.n. in Sturton, Well W) Bower 581. – in *Gunnetoft* 12th–14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – in *Gunfleth* 1316 (probably Gauntlet, Bicker, Kirton W) Payling 76.

b) *Gunne frater eius* (Roolf; Schithesbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – *Geri f. Gunni*, witness, c1150–60 Dane 304. – *Asger f. Gunne de Sumercotes* [c1160] l.13th FP 163, *Derwen filia Gunne de Sumercotes* [c1180] l.13th FP 156, *Ernisius f. Gune de Sumerecotes*; *Guue*; *Gune* [c1200] c1225; [1196–98] c1225; [1196–98] c1330 RA V 1666; 1667, 1679; 1667. – *Gunno Coco* abl. [1160–62] 13th RBE 696. – *Gun*, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 37. – *Radulfus f. Gunne* (Goulceby) 1185 Templ. 108. – *Gunni Blantkorn* c1182–90 RA VI 1860. – *Gune, Alanus f. Gune*; *Gunne, Alanus f. Gunne* (Grainthorpe) l.12th; [ante 1224] c1330 RA IV 1400; 1412. – *Roberto f. Gunni*, witness, [l.12th] c1330 RA VII 1957. – *Gunni f. Mille* abl., witness, [c1200] c1225 RA V 1663, 1676. – *Gunny* (Croxby) [c1200] 1409 GH 32–33 p.54. – *Ranulfo f. Gunni*, witness, l.12th Dane 530. – *Rannulfus f. Gunni*, [custos] mensurarum uini, 1202 Ass 550, 1020. – *Willelmum f. Gunne, Gunni* 1202 Ass 576, 828. – *Simonem f. Gune* 1202 Ass 1026. – *Gunno vitrico Pagani* 26/6 1202 FF 44. – *Warinus f., Adam f. Gunni*; *Warinus Gun'* 25/11 1218 AssSel 51,53; 171. – *Sibilla et Juliana filie Walteri f. Gunne de Manneby* [c1225] l.13th FP 90. – *toftum Johannis Gunni* (Walesby) [J] c1225 RA IV 1368–69. – *Gunny f. Walteri de Waltham* [H<sub>3</sub>] 1411 GH 8 p.94. – *Peter Gunny* 1272 FFF 273.

Y. a) in *Gundale* 1335 (Gundale, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 86. – in *Gunnessonenge* 1367 (f.n. in Methley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 133. – in *Gun(n)ecroft* 12th etc. (f.n. in Bramham, W) PNYW 4. 86.

b) *Gunne* (Pocklington) [1185–1205] 13th–14th YCh 1. 496, *Robertus gener Gunne* [l.12th] 13th–14th Selby 939. – *Reginaldum f. Gunne de [Thorenour]* 1219 AssSel 704.

A short form of names in *Gunn-* (Nord.Kult.VII 39). Found in Norw from the e.12th cent onwards, including many p.ns. A few instances are recorded in Icel (Lind 411–13). Appears in Dan runic inscriptions and frequently in other Dan sources, including p.ns. (Jacobsen-Moltke 657; DgP 413–17). Also recorded in a number of Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRSö nr 62). Found in three p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 99–100).

For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For syncope of *e* see § 62. For *y* for *i* see § 22.

## Gunnketill

L. b) **Gonchel, Gunchil, Gonchetel** TRE DB 26/43, 48/8, 48/15.

First el. *Gunn-*. Second el. *-ketill*. Not recorded in WScand but there are a few instances in Dan sources (Lat *Gunkildus*), all with the shortened form *-kil* of the second el. (DgP 408).

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For the second *e* in *-chetel* see § 19.

## Gunnvarðr

L. a) in **Gunnwordebi** DB (Little Gonerby, Winnibriggs W) 67/24. – in **Gonwordegne** 14th (f.n. in Skidbrooke, Louthesk W) Bower 528.

First el. *Gunn-*. Second el. *-varðr*. WScand sources refer only to a foreign priest called *Gunnfardr* and a doubtful *Gunvardher* 1448 (Lind 424). The single instance of *Gunwerd* in Dan is probably derived from ContGerm *Gundoard* (DgP 420).

The ContGerm name may also lie behind the forms in L.

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *-word* for *-varðr* see §§ 67.5.116.

## Gunnvǫr fem.

L. b) **Gunware**, mother of Adam, witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 378. – **Gonnora, Gunnora** (Aubourne, Binbrook etc.) 1197 FFM 112. – **Gunewar** gen. (Somercotes) [c1200] c1225 RA V 1660. – **Gunnora de Gant** 1202, 1206 Ass 101, 1321, **Gunnora uxor eius** (Nicholaus de Stuteuill) 1202, 1206 Ass 146, 1321, **Gunnoram** acc. 1202 Ass 419. – **Gunwar' amita Gode, Gunware** 1202 Ass 400, 1179. – **Robertus f. Gunwar' de Fiskemar'** 1202 Ass 776. – **Gunwar' filium sic Herlewin', Gunwar filia Herlewin** abl. 1206 Ass 1413, 1518. – **Rogerus f. Gunewar'** (Friskney) 7/1 1219 AssSel 276. – **Gunnora uxor eius** (Adam de Ypeford) 6/7 1219 AssSel 863. – **Gunnora, Gunora**, wife of Ralph de Sicca Villa, 1226, 1239 FFM 182, 300, **Gunnora de Sechevill** 1245, 1252, 1256 FFF 1, 98, 154. – **Gunnora**, wife of Gaufridus de Kirkham, 1234 FFM 271. – **Gunnewar, Gunwar** (Toft) c1235–40, [1239–45] c1330 RA IV 1319–20. – **terram Radulfi Gunewar'** (Bishop Norton) 1254–58 RA II 630.

Y. b) for *Gvnware* savla ante 1066, Aldborough inscription, Hofmann §327. – **Gunneuare** TRE DB 305v, **Guneuare** 307r (bis). – **Ucthredus f. Gunware** [c1109–14] 13th YCh 11. 4, **Radulfus et Ucthredus filii Gunware** [c1115–35] 13th YCh 2. 859. – **Gonnora** wife of Nicholaus de Stoteuille, c1197 FFB XIV. – **Rogeri f. Gunewar'** 1218–19 AssSel 922. –

**Johannem f. Gunewar'** 1218–19 AssSel 929. – **Gunner filia Richardi**, mother of Sigeritha, **Gunner gen.** [?13th] 14th–15th YCh 1. 322.

First el. *Gunn-*. Second el. *-vgr*. Borne by a daughter of one of the orig settlers in Icel. Very frequent in Norw, where it is also found in a few p.ns. (Lind 424–26). Frequent, too, in Dan as *Gunnur* (Lat *Gunwara*). Possibly found in a few Dan p.ns. (DgP 418–20). In Norman sources the second wife of Richard I is referred to as *Gonnor*, *Gunnor*, *Gunwera* and there are several other bearers of the name there. It also appears in one Norman p.n. (Adigard 101–03).

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For loss of *v* see § 5. For *w* for *v* see § 67. For *a* for *o* see § 42.

### Gusi, Gussi

L. b) **Guse de Buttirwic** abl., witness, 1150–60 GH 10 p.5, **Gusa de Butrewick**, witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 157. – **Rob(ertus) f. Guse** 1167–68 P 70. – **Ricardo f. Guse**, witness, **Widone f. Johannis f. Guse**, witness, c1180–90 NthCh 38. – **Hervicus f. Gusse** 1189–99 Cur 5. – **Gusse**, brother of Siuorth f. Noth', 1200 Cur 229.

*Gusi* may be an orig by.n., cf. OIcel *gusa* “to splash water about” or *gusa* “short snow-storm” or Dan dialect *guse* “shiver” or Swed dialect *guse* “fool”. *Gussi* is probably a short form of names such as *Gudhsten* (Swed), *Gudhsærk* (Dan, Swed) or *Gunnsteinn*. There is a fictional name *Gusir* in WScand and that it may also have been used as a pers.n. in Norw is suggested by its appearance in p.ns. there (Lind 426; NG V 223) and *Gusi* is recorded in Norw as a by.n. (Finnur Jónsson Tilnavne 328). *Guse* is also recorded in Swed as a pers.n. and a by.n. (Lundgren-Brate 82; XenLid 94) and as a by.n. in Dan (DgP II 381). Cf. also runic Swed *kusi* (SRU nr 946). The pers.n. *Gussi* is only recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 82; Feilitzen Notes 56) but there is a single instance as a by.n. in Dan (DgP II 381).

### Gyða fem.

L. b) **Guede** TRE DB 63/6. – **Thomas f., Willelmus f. Githe; Gide** (Lincoln) c1210–19, [c1210–19] c1330; c1220 RA VIII 2266, 2268–69; 2270. – **Ghithe** (Stallingborough) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 1077. – **Galfrido f. Githe**, witness, c1219 RA VII 2034.

Y. b) **Gida** TRE DB 306v (bis).

A pet-form of *Gyriðr* < *Gudriðr* q.v. (Nord.Kult.VII 61). Appears early in Norw and is frequent there but less so in Icel. Possibly borrowed from England (Lind 427–29). Found in two Dan runic inscriptions and common in other Dan sources (Jacobsen-Moltke 658; DgP 437–40; B. Hjorth Pe-

dersen Bebygg. på -by 24). Recorded in a few Swed runic inscriptions and also found in some later Swed sources (e.g. SRU nr 744; Lundgren-Brate 83-84).

For *Gu- Gh-* for *G-* see §§ 133.134. For *i, e* for *y* see §§ 38.39. For *d, th* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.118.

### Gylfi

Y. a) ? in *Gulnetwayt* 1389, *Gilthwait(es)* 1771, 1817, *Gilfit* 1843 (*Gilthwaites*, *Agbrigg W, W*) PNYW 2. 222.

Perhaps from \**Gjalfvér*. First el. *Gjalǫf*-. Second el. *-vér*. (Finnur Jónsson APHS 9. 294). A mainly mythological name but it does occur in some Norw p.ns. (Lind 430).

The first el. of the p.n. is obscure but if the *n* in the first form is a scribal error for *u* < *f*, it could be the pers.n. *Gylfi*.

For *u* for *y* see § 37.

### Gyrðr

L. a) in *Girthetoft*, *Girdestoft* 1316 (f.n. in Swineshead, Kirton W) *Kirkman* 115.

b) *Guert*, *Guerd* homo Alani comitis 1086 DB 12/90, 73/5. – *Robert f. Girz de Bicra* c1170, *Gerdus R<sub>1</sub>* FP 222-23.

Of doubtful origin but perhaps < \**Guðfriðr* (Nord.Kult.VII 42). Frequent in Norw after 1300 (Lind 431-32). Found in Dan runic inscriptions and other Dan sources, often as *Giurd*. Possibly to be found in some Dan p.ns. (DgP 435-37). Also found in Swed (e.g. SRU nr 618).

For *Gu-* for *G-* see § 134. For *i, e* for *y* see §§ 38.39. For *th* for medial *ð* see § 118. For *t, d* for final *ð* see §§ 116.117. The spelling *Girz* may represent the addition to the stem of the AN nom. ending *-s* and subsequent replacement of [ts] < *ðs* by *z* (cf. § 105 and Feilitzen § 158).

# H

## \*Hábeinn

L. b) **Aben** TRE DB 3/39.

An orig by.n. “high-legged”, cf. *Háleggr* and numerous by.ns. in *-beinn* (Feilitzen 281).

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *e* for *ei* see § 50.

## \*Habi, \*Habbi

L. b) **uxor Habbe** (Schithesbia) 1142 NthCh 3.

Y. a) in **Habetun, Ab(b)etune** DB (Habton, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 74.

Short form of names such as *\*Hábjörn*, *\*Hábeinn*, *Hagbarðr*. An Anglo-Scand formation (cf. Feilitzen Notes 65)?

The forms in L and Y may rather represent an OE *\*Hab(b)a* from such OE names as *Hēahbeorht* or *Heardbeorht* (PNYN 74).

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i.

## Haddr, Haddi

L. a) in **Hazebi Hundred** DB (Haceby, Aveland W) p.34, 24/88, 26/45, 46/1.2, 48/8, 57/18.35.

Y. b) **terram Hadde** [c1130–39] 1311 YCh 6. 13.

An orig by.n. “the man with abundant hair” (Nord.Kult.VII 51). A few instances are recorded in Norw (Lind 437) and *Hadde* is also found in Dan and Swed (DgP II 389–90; Nord.Kult.VII 51; DS XI 198–99).

The Y form may alternatively represent an OE *Hadda*, probably a short form of names in *Heaðu-* (Redin 66).

For *z* for *ts* < *ds* see § 105.

## Hafr

Y. a) in **Hauergate** 1170–84 (Haver Lane, st.n. in York) PNYE 290.

An orig by.n. “he-goat”. Common in WScand both as pers.n. and by.n. (Nord.Kult.VII 44–45; Lind 439–42). Probably found in some Dan p.ns. (DS VIII 62; XII 196). There is also a late and rare Dan by.n. *Haf* “sea” (DgP II 390).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the common noun OE *hæfer*, Old Norse *hafr* “he-goat”.

For *u* for *f* see § 96.

**Hafgrímr**

L. b) **Eustacius f. Hauegrím** 1202 Ass 948,1070.

First el. *Haf*-. Second el. *-grímr*. Borne by a few men from the Faroe islands, a settler in Greenland and some few Icelanders (Lind 437–38).

For *u* for *f* see § 96. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

**Hagbarðr**

L. a) ? in **Hacberdingham; -incham; Haberdingham; Hacberdingeham; -ingam** DB 12/82.85.96, 30/33; 13/9; 24/42–44.53; 28/34; 30/37, **Hagwordingheheim; Agwordingheheim** LiS 17/1.7.10; 17/4 (Hagworthingham, Hill W).

A scandinavianised form of ContGerm *Hagabarth* (Nord.Kult.VII 134). A number of instances recorded in Norw (Lind 446). Also found in Swed and Dan (DgP 452).

Hagworthingham probably originally contained some OE p.n. that was scandinavianised in DB. All other sources than DB have forms in *-worth* (Bower 204–05).

For *c* for *g* see § 135. For *e* in the second syllable see § 58. For *d* for *ð* see § 116. Loss of *g* is difficult to explain.

**Hagni, Høgni**

L. a) in **Hagenebi** DB (Hagnaby, Bolingbroke W) 14/81, 29/12. – in **Haghnebi** 12th (Hagnaby, Calcewath W) Bower 145. – in **Hagenegate** 1205 (f.n. in Nettleton, Yarborough W) Bower 442.

b) **Hagne** abl. witness H<sub>2</sub> Dane 187–88. – toftum **Hagane** (Swallow) 1196–1203, [1196–1203] c1330 RA IV 1455–56.

Y. a) in **Hangelif** DB, **Haghnelit** 12th (Hanlith, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 130. – in **Hangeneweit** 1190, **Hagenetueit** 1192 (Hangthwaite, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 69.

b) **Hagen f. Rauen'** (Stamfordbridge) 1218–19 AssSel 220.

A scandinavianised form of a ContGerm name. *Hagni* is probably from *Hagano*, *Høgni* from *Haguno* (Nord.Kult.VII 136; Forssner 139). *Høgni* is fairly frequent in both Norw and Icel, especially in early times (Lind 606–07). Dan sources contain both forms *Haghni* and *Hoghni* (DgP 453, 569–70). In Swed, too, the forms *Haghne* and *Høghne* are recorded (Nord. Kult.VII 136). It should be noted that not only the form *Hagni* but also the form with *u*-mutation would normally be spelt with *a* in English sources (cf. § 42).

For *gh* for *g* see § 133; For svarabhakti *e*, *a* see §§ 63.64. The metathesised form *Hang-* of Hangthwaite may perhaps have been influenced by the neighbouring Langthwaite (PNYW 1. 69).



**Hákr**

L. a) in *Achescia* DB 63/7, 71/16, *Haxaie* 1200 (Haxey, Axholme W) Bower 294. – in *Haxeholm wapentake* LiS (Axholme W) p.243.

b) *Osberti Hac* gen. (Alvingham) [R<sub>1</sub>] 1409 GH 8 p.106.

Y. a) in *Haxebi* DB (Haxby, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 14.

b) ? *Hac'* abl. f. *Hac'* (Nova Haya) [?13th] 13th–14th Selby 685.

An orig by.n., a kind of fish. Occurs occasionally as a fictional name and as a by.n. in WScand (Lind 451; BN 131).

The L wapentake may have taken its name from the township. *Hac'* may alternatively represent *Áki* q.v. or *Haki* q.v.

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *c, ch* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For *x* for *ks* see § 130.

**Haki**

L. a) in *Aggetorp, Actorp* [H<sub>2</sub>] 1200, *Achatorp* H<sub>2</sub>, *Haketorp* 1210 (Acthorpe, Louthesk W) Bower 228.

b) *domina Amica matre Haketi*, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 177. – *Haket; Hachet de Ridefort* H<sub>2</sub> Dane 240, 245–46, 260, 274; 268, *Haket, Haketto* abl. de *Rideford* [c1154] 13th RBE 795. – *Haket* son of *Clac* (Winceby) 1193 FFM 3, *Haket de Wincebi*, witness, [c1200] 13th RA VI 1845. – *terram Willelmi f. Godrici Haket, Godricii Hacat* (Somercotes) [1196–98] c1225, [c1195] c1225 RA V 1679, 1682. – *Hachet f. Thoraldi de Chorintun* [c1200] l.13th FP 69. – *toftum, terram Hacet; Hacheti, Acheti* (Claxby Pluckacre) c1200; e.13th RA VI 1880–81. – *Rollando Haket* dat. 1212 Fees 174. – *Willelmo Haket*, witness, [ante 1213] c1330 RA IV 1290, *Willelmus Haket* (Lissington) 25/11 1218 AssSel 38. – *Haket(t')*; *Haket(o) de Vtterb', Utterby* abl. e.13th; e.13th, [H<sub>3</sub>] 1409 RA II 582, IV 1405; 1415–16, GH 19 p.48, 21 p.49. – *Robert Haket* (Cockerington) 1219 FFM 121. – *Haket f. Ricardi* abl., witness e.H<sub>3</sub> RA IV 1428. – *Rogero Haket* (Rauceby) [1245–50] c1330 RA VII 2130.

Y. a) in *Achetorp* DB, *Hakethorp* 1251 (Hagthorpe, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 258.

b) *Bertramnus Haget*, witness, [c1147] 14th YCh 11. 12,14. – *Rollandi Hacet* gen. [1150–54] 14th–15th YCh 1. 185. – *Willelmus Haket, Hakget* [1166] 13th RBE 419, 429. – *Hachet de Rideford'* abl., witness, [c1175–84] 13th YCh 11. 178. – *Galfridi Haget* gen., *Galfrido Haget* abl. [1175] 14th, [1198–99] 14th YCh 1. 359, 11. 79. – *Willelmi Haket* gen. 1218–19 AssSel 33. – *Gundred Haket*, aunt of Bartholomew and Alice and of Alan father of Brian, 1221–22 FFP 43. – *Radulfo Hachet* abl., witness, ante 1227 YCh 7. 117.

An orig by.n., probably identical with OSwed, ModIcel *haki* "chin", possibly with some other meaning developed from this (Nord.Kult.VII 42). Some few instances as a pers.n. and one or two as a by.n. are recorded in Norw (Lind 446–48; BN 130). Appears frequently in legendary history. In Dan sources it is mainly found in S Jutland from the end of the 15th cent (DgP 455–57) but would also seem to appear in a couple of Dan p.ns. in early sources (DS II 115; Hald Vore Stednavne 145). In Swed only recorded as a pers.n. in runic inscriptions (e.g. SRSö nr 211). Some forms may in fact represent short forms of *Hákon* q.v. (B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 25). The forms in L and Y in *Haket* are probably AN diminutives of *Haki* (Tengvik 212).

The forms in the p.ns. may rather represent the pers.n. *Aki* q.v. with inorganic initial *H-* (see § 140i). Some early forms of the L p.n. have been influenced by the pers.n. *Aghi* q.v. Some forms recorded under *Aki* may rather belong here.

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *c*, *ch*, *cc*, *ck*, *g* for *k* see §§ 126.127. 128.129. For *a* for *e* see § 15.

#### \*Hakikarl

Y. b) Richard Hacekarl (Flawith, Alne) 1260 AssC 90.

An orig by.n. made up of the two els. *Haki* q.v. and *-karl* "man". An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *c* for *k* see § 127.

#### Hákon

L. a) in *Hacunesbi*; *Haconesbi*; *Haconebi* DB (Haconby, Aveland W) 7/31, 42/6, 72/41; 42/14.17.18, 59/17, 61/1, 72/44; 72/42.

b) *Acun* TRE DB 7/14.15. – *Hacun*, Ralf Paganell's man, 1086 DB 35/11. – *Acun*, Roger de Poitou's man, 1086 DB 16/12, his sons *Willelmus f. Hacon* LiS 8/15, 9/4, 16/15, *Willelmo f. Haconis* vicecomite [1130–33] c1225 RA I 49, *W. f. Haconis*, witness, 1142 NthCh 3, *Willelmo f. Haconis*; *Hacun*; *Hauconis* c1141–54, c1160, [c1150] 1409, [1140–47] 13th, 12/2 1206; c1150, 1150–60; 1185 RA VI 1869, Dane 246, GH I p.1, 25 p.15, FP p.177, FF 207; Stenton Feudalism 6, GH 10 p.5; Templ 82; *Radulfus f. Haconis*; *Hacun*; *Hacunis* c1146, [1135–47] c1225, [1156–62] 1409, [c1155] 1409; [c1150] 1409; c1150; RA I 77–78, GH 5 p.3, 11 p.5; GH I p.1; GH 25 p.15. *W.*, the founder of Sixle Priory, is not found alive after 29/7 1155, his son *Thomas f. Guillelmi Hacun* [H<sub>2</sub>] 15th Dane 535,

**Thomas f. Willelmi f. Haconis de Salebi** [ante 1198] c1225 RA V 1503a. – **Hacon son of Eluric** LiS 6/6. – **Haco** [decanus], witness, [1123–47] c1225, [1152–55] c1225 RA I 130, 133, **Hacone** [decano] [1123–47] c1225, [1140–47] c1225, c1148–51, H<sub>2</sub> RA I 131–32, VI 1853, Dane 522, **Hacun decano** H<sub>2</sub> Dane 521. – **Willelmo Wiccama' f. Haconis** (N Kelsey) [1123–47] c1330 RA IV 1271. – **Hacone f. presbiteri de Hundelbia**, witness, c1141–54 RA VI 1869. – terra **Haconis** (Cuxwold) [1146] c1225 RA I 252. – **Goce f. Hacun'** c1150 Stenton Feudalism 6. – **Hacon de Crokestun** abl., witness, c1160 Dane 301. – **Radulfi f. Haconis** (Grimblethorpe) c1162 Dane 165. – **Hacone de eadem uilla** (Potter Hanworth) abl. c1160–70 RA VII 2065, **Hacun** (Potter Hanworth) 1185 Templ 84, **Rogerus f. Haconis** (Potter Hanworth) [e.13th] 14th FP 200. – **Benedictus f. Radulfi f. Haconis** H<sub>2</sub> Dane 148. – **Hakun** [de Torkesey] abl. [H<sub>2</sub>] 1407 GH 22 p.87. – **Hacun de Malmertorp**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 544. – **Hacone presbitero**, witness, c1190–95 RA VIII 2274. – **Henrico f. Haconis**, witness, [1196–1203] c1330 RA IV 1456, **Henry f. Haconis de Swaluc** [l.12th] 14th FP 14. – **Gode uxor Haconis** 1202 Ass 620. – **Hacun f. Ede** 1202 Ass 622. – **Haconem f. Simonis** 1202 Ass 647a. – **Haconem de Haleworth'** 1202 Ass 803. – **Hacun; Haco, Haconem** acc, **Haconis** gen., **Haconi** abl. de Stein 1202 Ass 47 and Civil Pleas 217; FF 106, **Willelmo f. Hacun de Stayne** c1214–54 RA VI 1780, 1783–84, **Willelmo f. Haconis**, witness, c1214–20 RA VI 1847, 1849, these two references may be to another W f. H. – **Hacun** (Newton-on-Trent) c1210 RA IV 1237–39. – **Haconi de Heinton** dat. 1212 Fees 171. – **Haconus pater Johannis Toht** 12/6 1218 RA II 586. – **Robertus f. Haconis** (Andreas f. eius) (Branston) 25/11 1218 AssSel 42. – **Alicia f. Rogeri f. Hacun** c1220 RA II 587–88. – **Haco clericus** (Wyberton) 1221 RotHug III 110. – **Haco, Haconem** acc., **Haconis** gen. de Maubertorp, **Thomas f. Haconis de M., Radulfus f. Haconis de M.** 1220–34, 1241, e.13th RotHug III 217, RotRob 60, FP 22. – **Roger son of Hacon** (Welburn) 1234 FFM 287. – **Hakun, Hacun** gen. (et Rogeri f. sui) (Cadney) [c1240–45] c1330 RA IV 1267–68. – **Willelmo Hakun** abl., witness, [1259–78] c1330 RA IV 1269. – **Robert son of Hacon** (Potter Hanworth; cf. above) 1250 FFF 86. – **Hacon son of Eudo** 1250 FFF 89. – **Petri f. Haconis** 1298 AssTh p.188.

Y. a) in **Hacuneng** 13th (f.n. in Thorpe Salvin, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 153.

b) **Acun** TRE DB 307v. – **Haconus sacerdos**, witness, [1155–66] 17th YCh 2. 813. – **Hugone f. Hacun** 1175–90 YCh 2. 815. – terram **Haconis** (Scarborough) [c1170–c90] 13th, 1226–28 YCh 1. 366, Fees 356. – **Hacun** (Crakehall) 1185 Templ 123.

Of obscure origin. Several theories have been put forward but the one generally accepted is that the first el. is a *Há-* < \**hanha* “horse”, related to OIcel *hestr* < PrimScand \**hanhista* and the second el. probably *konr* “descendant” (Nord.Kult.VII 75–76, 261; cf. also Kr. Hald in APHS 21 p. 114 n3, who argues that the Lat form *Haquinus* may represent a Scand \**Häkyn* (*ui* as symbol for *y*) with *-kyn* showing the influence of the common noun *kyn*). The name is rare in Icel but very common in Norw after 1000 (Lind 448–51). It is found in a Dan runic inscription as *hakun* acc. (Jacobsen-Moltke 661) and is common in other Dan sources (DgP 457–65, B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 25–26). Frequent, too, in Swed (Nord. Kult.VII 248, 261).

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *c* for *k* see § 127. For *cc* for *k* see § 142. For *m* for final *n* see § 85. For loss of final *n* in the nom. *Haco* see § 149.

### Halfdan

L. b) **Aldene** presbyter, **Aldene** gen., lageman in Lincoln, TRE DB p.2.1.2. – **Healþene** dat. [c1066] 12th ASWills 39, **Aldene**; **Alden**; **Aldene Tope** TRE DB 2/18.29, 7/16.27.30.32, gen. 72/45; 7/20.22; 7/18, son of Tópi, brother of Ulf, kinsman of Abbot Brand. – **Aldene**; **Alden** TRE DB 3/6.50, 12/89, 14/41, 27/41.45.59, 31/17, 59/7, 61/6, 73/3; 27/44. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Aldene** the thane TRE and 1086 DB 25/1, 68/32.34. – **Alden** the priest 1086 DB 68/28. – **Haldan de Kelebi** abl. witness, 1143–47, ante 1147 Dane 299,313. – **Haldano** abl. c1150 Dane 307. – **Haldanus** (Kelfield) e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 393. – **Haldanus** (et Geram f. eius), witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 37. – **Dauid** sacerdote de Totintona f. **Haldani** medici H<sub>2</sub> Dane 491. – **Haldan de Nettleton** abl., **Yvo** f. **Aldani** (Nettleton) [H<sub>2</sub>] [c1187] both 1409 GH 35 p.20, 64 p.35. – frater **Haldanus** (Bullington) 1165 Dane 101. – **Aldanus** teinturer, witness, c1170–80 RA VIII 2242. – **Haldanus** (Boothby) 1185 Templ 111. – **Haldan** (Newton) 1185 Templ 89. – **Rogerus** f. **Haldan(i)** (Temple Bruer, Rauceby) 1185 Templ 95,93. – **Roberto** f. **Haldani** ante 1187 Dane 224–25. – **Aldano** cordwanerio, witness, [c1185] c1330 RA VIII 2259. – **Jordani** f. **Aldean** (Wyberton) l.12th RA VII 1962. – **Haldan** (Glentham) 1197 FFF 299. – **Walterus** f. **Haldani de Wegland** 1196–1203, e.13th RA VI 1829,1837 and FP 30. – **Rogeri** f. **Haldani** (Owersby) 1196–1203 RA IV 1298. – **Aldano** clerico, witness, c1200 RA VII 1975. – **Gerardo** f. **Aldan**, witness, [c1200] c1225 RA V 1722–23. – **Willelmus** f. **Haldan** (Billinghay) 13/10 1200 FF 13. – **Nicolaum** f. **Haldein**, **Aldan** 1200 Pleas 2821. – **Haldanus** clericus 1202 Ass 103. – **Willelmus** f. **Haldein**, **Haldan'**, **Hauðein**, **Haldani de Wellingour'**, 1202 Ass 345,362,870,1061. – **Aldanus** prepositus 1202 Ass 356. – **Robertus**

f. **Haldein**, **Haldani**, **Hald' de Cleipol** 1202 Ass 744, 1046, 481. – **Ricardus f. Haldeng'**, **Haldan'**, **Haldengi** 1202 Ass 561, 1023, Crown Pleas 23. – **Haldeng' de Wutorp** dat., **Haldano de Wileietorp** abl. 1202 Ass 544, 1020. – **Haldan' Gotte** 1202 Ass 678. – **Hubertus nepos Haudan** 1202 Ass 915. – **Haldano de Holebech'** abl. 1202 Ass 1064. – **Alani f. Haldan'** 1202 Ass 1073. – **Thedbaldus Haltein** 1202 Ass 930, **Th. Hautein** 1202 Civil Pleas 232, Crown Pleas 36, 1218–19 AssSel 161,218,365,435,534,748,852, his sons **Theobaldus Hautayn**; **Hauteyn**, **Halteyn** c1220 RA VII 2101; 2102–03, 2079, domine **Thome Hauteyn** abl., witness, [c1220] c1330 RA VII 2102; grandson of **Theobald I**, **Robertus Hauteyn** c1226, c1240–50 RA VII 2103–04; belonging to same family? **Willelmo Hauteyn** [c1220] c1330, c1226 RA VII 2102–03. The connexion of the family of Hauteyn, which held land of the fee of **Humphrey de Bohun** in **Helledon** and **Oxnead** in **Norfolk** in 1185, with the DB tenant **Haldein** has been traced by **Round** in the introduction to the **Rotuli de Dominabus** lxxvi. – **Haldan(us)** (**Oseby** in **Haydor**) c1200–11 RA VII 2070, 2072–73. – **Haldein** 1203 Ass 1285. – **Haldein**, juror, 1203 Civil Pleas 150. – **Alani f. Haldani** (**Fotherby**) c1210–15 RA IV 1405. – **Ricardus f. Haldani** (**Marston**) c1210–20 RA VII 2062–63. – **Roberti f. Althein** 4/3 1212 FF 327. – **Robertus Autein** (**Shillingthorpe**) 1212 Fees 182. – toftum **Aldani**, **Haldani** (**Suthorp'**, **W Ashby**) [c1212–15] 13th RA VI 1920–21. – **Robert f. Haldani** (**Swaby**) post 1217 FP 23. – **Willelmus f. Haldani** (**Hackthorn**) c1215–20 RA IV 1158. – **Walterus f. Aldan**; **Aldein**; **Haldein**; **Haudein** (**Skegness**, **Ingoldmells**) 1218–19 AssSel 41; 269; 271, 274, 886; 770. – terram **Galfridi f. Haldani** (**Timberland**) c1215–20 RA VII 1995. – **Alanus f. Haldein de Repingchal'** 7/1 1219 AssSel 249. – **Haldan f. Wluieti de Askeby** [c1220] 13th FP 37. – **William Haldan** (**Hackthorn**) 1243 FFM 344. – **Haldani Soth** gen. (**Cawthorpe**) [H<sub>3</sub>] 1409 GH 19 p.48. – **filius Petri Haldan** (**Louth**) H<sub>3</sub> RA V 1744. – **Roger f. Haldani** (**Wrangle**) c1260 FP 250.

Y. a) in **Haldanebi**, -by 1100–08, **Aldanebi** 1157 (**Haldenby**, **Osgoldcross W, W**) PNYW 2. 6. – in **Aldanstubbing'** 13th (f.n. in **Thorpe Salvin**, **U Strafforth W, W**) PNYW 1. 153.

b) **Halfden dux**, witness, [958] 14th YCh 1. 3. – **Halfden**, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8. – **Aldene** TRE DB 319r, 319v (bis). – **Aldene** TRE DB 321v, gen. 374r. – **Alden** TRE DB 322v (bis), gen 373r. – **Halden** gen. TRE DB 298r. – **Haldene** TRE DB 317r, 318r, 327r. – **Alden** TRE DB 301r. – **Aldene** TRE DB 317r (bis), 317v (bis), 324v (bis). Not certain to how many individuals the DB instances refer. – **Haldan rusticus** (**Warter**) [1141–42] e.14th YCh 10. 66. – **Haldan Bola rusticus** (**Warter**) [1141–42] e.14th YCh 10. 66. – **Halfdene Longi** gen., father of **Sapientia**,

[1150–60] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1315. – **Haldanus Wala**, witness, [1155–65] 14th–15th YCh 2. 981. – **Walef f. Alden'** [1154–c60] 14th YCh. 1. 37. – **Willelmo f. Haldini e.H<sub>2</sub>** YCh 9. 101. – **Haldanus sacerdos** [1155–65] m.13th YCh 3. 1776. – **Willelmo Haltain**, witness, [1154–68] 1312 YCh 3. 1341. – **Everardo Hauthain; Halthain, Althain** 1160–65; [1173–74] 1.12th YCh 1. 164; 4. 91–92. – **Henricus Altain**, witness, [c1168–75] e.14th YCh 11. 31. – **Nigello f. Aldani** [1169–75] m.13th YCh 3. 1777. – **Haldanus de Scarzeburg** [c1170–90] 13th YCh 1. 366, **Rogeri f. Haldani, Haldeini** [1202–29] 13th, 1202 YCh 1. 367, **FFBb 65**, **Adam f. Haldani de Scardeburg, Aldani de Scarbur** [c1170–79] 14th, [1205–25] 13th YCh 2. 1233, 1. 230. – **Theobaldus Haltain** (Rookwith, Thornton Watlass) [c1170–81] YCh 5. 326. **Th. H.** died in 1185. – **Roberto f. Haldani** [1170–85] 1.12th YCh 3. 1722. – **Haldano de Berlaia** abl., witness, 4/8 1174 YCh. 6. 147. – **Haldan** (Barton) 1185 **Templ 121**. – **Haldan** (Yarnwick) 1185 **Templ 122**. – **Rogero f. Hald[ani]** [1180–90] 17th YCh 1. 616. – **Haldanus diaconus** (Brantingham), **Haldeini diaconi** (Kirkedale) [1180–95] 13th, 1202 YCh 2. 972, **FFBb 49**. – **Johannes f. Haldani** (N Cowton) [1194–98] 1.13th, [1201] 1.13th YCh 5. 302–03. – **Johannem f. Haldani de Brantingeham** 1202 **FFBb 75**. – **Haldane son of William** c1208 **AssC 32**. – **Stephanum f. Aldain de Boletorp'** 1218–19 **AssSel 914**. – **John Halden** (Scarborough) 1260 **AssC 117**. – **John Haldayn** (Falsgrave) 1260 **AssC 135**. – **Thomas Haldan, Roger Haldan** (Scarborough) 1260 **AssC 119, 139**. – **Haldanum** acc. (Barlby) [? 13th] 13th–14th **Selby 670b**.

Orig a Dan name meaning “half Danish” (Nord.Kult.VII 56, 131; Lind Supplement 381). Common in Dan, where it appears in several p.ns. (with both gen. forms *-ar* and *-s*) (DS II 8, 44) and latinised as *Haldanus* (*f* was lost early, cf. BrNGG § 377). The name spread from Dan to Swed (e.g. SRU nr 650), and thence to Norw, where it was borne by several members of the royal house in early times but became rare later (Lind 451–52).

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. The spelling *Heal-* represents the substitution of the cognate OE el. For vocalisation of *l* to *u* see § 69. For loss of *f* see above and § 100. *þ, th* for *d* are difficult to explain but are probably due to interchange of *þ, th* and *d* in some other positions. For unvoicing of *d* to *t* see § 107ii. Spellings in *-den(e)* represent the substitution of the cognate OE el., although forms in *-den* may simply show weakening of the vowel in an unstressed syllable (see § 8) Spellings in *ei, ai* possibly represent inverted spellings, since Scand *ei* sometimes appears as *a* in English sources (see § 9), although they may alternatively represent substitution

of the OFr suffix *-ain* (cf. § 153). Spellings in *-deng* probably show the inverted spelling *ng* for *n* (see § 90).

### Hallbjörn

L. a) in **Halbtoft** 1166, **Habirtoft** 1259, **Halbertoft** 1317–27 (**Habertoft**, **Calcewath W**) **Bower** 160.

Y. a) in **Habbeholme** 12th, **Albeholm(e)** 1228 etc. (**Habholme Dike**, **Barkston Ash W, W**) **PNYW** 4. 42.

First el. *Hall-*. Second el. *-björn*. Frequent in Norw in early times and again in the 14th cent. Common in Icel in the viking period. Appears in some Norw p.ns. (Lind 457–59). Not recorded in Dan but found in Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 261, 264; SRSö nr 195).

The Y p.n. might alternatively contain an OE *Abba* or *Aba* (Redin 80) or ContGerm *Abbo* (Forssner 3) or Scand *Abbi* q.v. and both p.ns. could contain *Ǫlbjörn* q.v.

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For loss of anteconsonantal *l* see § 70. The form of the pers.n. contained in the p.ns. must be assumed to be a short form *\*Habbe* or *\*Halbe*.

### Halldórr

Y. b) **Haltor** TRE DB 306r. – **Altor** TRE DB 300v (bis), 331r. – **Heltor** TRE DB 329v. – **Eltor** TRE DB 309v (bis). Not certain to how many individuals the DB instances refer. – **Althor le Dancis**, **Halthor** (Thimbleby, Cowesby) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931.

First el. *Hall-*. Second el. *-þórr*. One of the commoner names in WScand (Lind 460–61). Also found in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 92–93) but rare in Dan (DgP 465).

Feilitzen (284) considered that the forms in Y derived from *\*Hallþórr*. It seems, however, that they represent the Celtic name *Arthur* with AN dissimilation of *r-r* to *l-r* (cf. YCh 4. 92, 96–98; Zachrisson ANI p. 120).

### Hallvarðr

Y. a) possibly in **Alwariding** 13th (f.n. in **Collingham**, **Skyrack W, W**) **PNYW** 4. 176.

b) **Hálwærð** **Sæfugalasuna** festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9, **Aluuard** TRE DB 315r, 315v, 316r, 317r. – **Aluuard** TRE DB 307v (5 times).

First el. *Hall-*. Second el. *-varðr*. Very common in Norw but less so in Icel (Lind 472–79). Also frequent in part of Sweden (Halland) (Lundgren-Brate 94–95). Possibly found in a Dan runic inscription as *aluarþ*

acc. (Jacobsen-Moltke 630). A number of instances in other Dan sources (DgP 468–69).

Many of the forms in Y may rather represent OE *Alweard* from *Ælfweard* or *Æðelweard* (Feilitzen 157). See also s.v. *Alfvarðr*.

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *uu* for *v* see § 67. For *d* for *ð* see § 116. For loss of *ð* after *r* see § 120iii. The appearance of *æ* in *Hálwærð* is probably to be ascribed to the fact that this symbol is regularly used in OE sources to represent the OE development of PrimGerm *a* (OScand *a*).

### Halmi

Y. a) in **Halm(e)bi** DB (Hawnby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 203.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *hálmr* “straw”. Borne by the father of one of the orig settlers in Icel, and a few other men (Lind BN 133).

### Halti

L. b) **Normanni f. Halte** (Hoffleet) [c1202–15] c1225 (Malte in a 14th-cent copy) RA VII 1964.

Y. a) ? in **Haltecroftes** 1208 (f.n. in Stirton, E. Staincliffe W, W) YCh 7. 157 and PNYW 6. 78.

An orig by.n. “the lame”. Fairly frequent in Icel and some few instances in Norw (Lind BN 133).

### Hamr

Y. a) ? in **Hamethwayt** 12th, **Hameleswaith'** 1208, **Hamesthecieth** e.13th (Hampsthwaite, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 133–34.

A fictional name assumed by Helgi Hálfðanarson in *Hrólfs saga kraka* (Lind 480).

It is perhaps more likely that the form *Ham* in the p.n. is an Anglo-Scand reduction of *Hamall* q.v. (cf. *Gam* < *Gamall*) (PNYW 5. 134).

### Hamall

Y. a) ? in **Hamethwayt** 12th, **Hameleswaith'** 1208, **Hamesthecieth** e.13th (Hampsthwaite, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 133–34.

A few instances are recorded in WScand in the e.11th cent (Lind 480).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the name *Hamr* q.v.

For loss of *l* see § 71.

### Hamarr

Y. a) ? in **Toft hameri** 13th (f.n. in Bramham, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 86.



An orig by.n., cf. OIceI *hamarr* used both of a “hammer” and in p.ns. of “a hammer-shaped crag, steep rock” (NG Forord og Indledning 53). The by.n. is probably derived from p.ns. (Lind BN 134), although derivation from the tool or weapon is not entirely out of the question (Nord. Kult. VII 199). There are a couple of instances as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 134) and a number of late occurrences independently in Dan (DgP 469). That the name was found earlier in Dan, however, is indicated by its appearance as the first el. of a p.n. in *-þorþ*, the now lost Hammerstrup, near Copenhagen (Trap: Danmark 5th ed. StorKøbenhavn III 829). The name is also found in Swed (DgP 469).

For *e* for *a* in unstressed syllable see § 58.

### Hámundr

L. a) in Hamondebek 1316, Hamundbek 1331 (river in Holland) Payling 3.

b) Simone f. Hamundi, witness, 1142 NthCh 3. – Hamundo elemosinario, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 521. – Hamundo de Danetorp abl., witness, c1160 Dane 246. – Hamundus, witness, [c1160] 1409 GH 24 p.13. – Hamundo abl., witness, 1.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 193. – Hamundi gen. (Barkston) 1185 Templ 91. – Hamundus de Hudeg, witness, c1195–1205 RA VII 1994. – Hamundo abl. c1200 Dane 81. – Radulfo f. Hamundi de Wyflyngham, witness, [c1200] 1409 GH 34 p.19. – Hamundum de Horsinton’ 1202 Ass 586a, 1028. – Hamundo de Skilinton’ abl. 1202 Ass 1093. – Hamundus, Hamundus f. Heruei de Normanby c1215–20 RA IV 1109–10. – Hamundo f. Lamberti abl., witness, e.13th RA VIII 2317. This man is elsewhere always called Haimo. – Hamundus (N Kelsey) [e.H<sub>3</sub>] 1409 GH 47 p.60. – Hamundo fratre suo (Thoma de Engleter), witness [1232–35] 1409 GH 48 p.27. – Radulfum f. Hamundi (Middle Rasen) [H<sub>3</sub>] 1409 GH 40–41 p.23. – Hamundo de Claxebi abl., witness, e.13th RA VI 1881. – dominum Hamund Petche 1235 RotRob 3. – Willelmus f. Willelmi f. Hamund de Velltona c1250 FP 179. – Amicia f. Hammundi [?] 13th] 13th–14th Selby 1047. – Hammundus Suylard (Stallingborough) [?] 13th] 13th–14th Selby 1011.

Y. a) in Hamundelandes c1200 (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in Hamund croft 1277–91 (f.n. in Hessle, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 90. – in Hamondeswode 1307 (f.n. in N Bierley, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 13. – in Hamundthorp 1341 (Hamble Thorp, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 11. – possibly in Handrehous 1461 (f.n. in Hipperholme, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 82.

b) Hamundus Beler, witness, [m.12th] 14th–15th YCh 5. 160, Hamundo Beler abl., witness, [1154–57], [1163–69], [1154] all l.12th YCh 9. 125–26, 151.

– **Hamondus de Bradley et Hamundus f. ejus**, witness, [1155–87] 17th YCh 7. 23. – **Hamundo capellano**, witness, [c1156–70] 15th, [1170–80] 14th YCh 11. 208, 2. 1234. – **Hamundo canonico**, witness, [1161–67] l.12th YCh 1. 562. – **Radulfo vicario Hamundi** [1161–67] l.12th YCh 1. 562. – **Hamundo de Valeines, Hamundo Walannes abl.**, witness, brother of Radulfus, [1162–c75] l.12th, [1163–84] 17th YCh 2. 1249, 5. 349. – **Philippo f. Hamundi** [1165–c85] 17th YCh 2. 988. – **domum Hamundi** (Catton) [c1170–81] m.13th YCh 11. 227. – **Hamundo presbitero**, witness, [c1170–81] m.13th YCh 11. 227. – **Hamundo diacono** [1180–1200] 14th–15th YCh 1. 59. – **Hugonis f. Hamundi** [?] 13th] 13th–14th Selby 701.

First el. *Há-* < \**hauha* or *Há-* < \**hanha*. Second el. *-mundr*. Appears in WScand as early as the time of the settlement of Icel and remains fairly frequent in Icel but becomes rare in Norw (Lind 480–82). Found in Swed runic inscriptions as *hamunr*, *hamuntr* (e.g. SRSö nr 367). Fairly frequent in Dan, where it may also be found in some p.ns. (DgP 470–71).

For *o* for *u* see § 32.

### Handi

L. a) in **Handebek** 1242 (Hanbeck, Flaxwell W) DEPN. – in **Handtoftgate** 12th–14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – in **Handebec** 1212 (Hanby, Bel-tisloe W) DEPN.

An orig. by.n. “with deformed hand(s)”. Found once in Icel in 1222 and possibly in some WScand p.ns. (Lind BN 134).

For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Haraldr

L. a) in **Haroldestorp** DB (Hasthorpe, Calcewath W) 24/57. – in **Haraldeshaga** 12th (f.n. in Roughton, Horncastle W) Bower 515. – in **Haraldstygh, Haraldesti** 13th (st.n. in Lincoln) Bower 45.

b) **Harold(us) comes; Heroldus comes; Heroldi comitis** (son of Godwine) TRE DB p.13 (337r), 13/1.10.17.28.34.38–39 (349r (3 times), 349 v (4 times)), 15/1 (351v); 72/3 (377r); p.27 (336r). – **Harold stalre** TRE DB p.13 (337r). – **Harold(us)** TRE DB 3/13.27 (340v, 341r), 14/42 (350v). – **Herold** (brother of Godeuert and Aluric) TRE DB 69/21 (375r bis). – **Haraldo f. eius** (Humfrido f. Walteri), witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 30. – **Haraldo fratre eius** (Gilberto), witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 39 p.57. – **Haraldi f. Roberti, Haraldus, domina Matildis mater Haraldi; Haraldo fratre suo** (Willelmo f. Roberti); **Haraldus frater eius** (Maud de Hambi, daughter of Robert) H<sub>2</sub>; 1183; l.12th Dane 478; 536; 484–85, **Haroldus pater Gilleberti; Ha-**

raldus (Theddlethorpe) 1202–09 Ass 143–44, 500, 1139; 218, 1549–50, Gillebertus f. Haroldi; Haroldi 1202–09 Ass 1123, 1320, 1401; 219, 424, 1079, 1084, 1511, 1516, G. f. Harald' 3/12 1208 FF 297, G. f. Haroldi e.13th RA VI 1766–67, 1776, 1850, G. f. Haroldi (Conisholme) 25/11 1218 AssSel 174, 1220–34 RotHug III 103, 107, (Saltfleetby) 14/6 1209 FF 302. – Willelmum f. Harald' 1200 Pleas 2767. – Haraldum, Haroldum fratrem suum (Matillis) 1202 Ass 40, 80. – Willelmus f. Haroldi, Harold 1202 Ass 408, 1088. – Willelmus Harald 1202 Ass 576. – Haraldus constabularius, Haroldi, Haroldi gen. 1202 Ass 635, 1033, 1084. – Haraldus Sie, Haroldi gen. 1202 Ass 392, 1088. – Haraldus 1203 Ass 1285. – Haraldo atornato Alicie Constabl' dat., Haraldus 1203 Ass 1259, Haroldus f. Alicie [Constable] 1203 Ass 1308. – Haroldus, Haraldus f. Umfridi 1206 Ass 1337, 1502, Haroldi gen. Ass 1457, 1511, 1522, Haroldi gen. Ass 1320, Haraldo f. Hunfridi c1215, [c1218] c1225 RA II 583, 379, Haraldus, Haraldum acc., Haroldi gen., Haraldo dat., abl. 1218–19 AssSel 177,220,533,562, 567,630,640,679,798,865, Haradus 1219 AssSel 762, Haraldum (Saltfleetby) 1220–34 RotHug III 181, Haraldo, witness, 1227 RA I 233, Harold 1230 FFM 225, Haraldo, domino Haraldo, witness, 1223–40 RA V 1626, 1651–52, Haraldo de Saltfeteby, witness, c1218 RA II 585, Haraldum de Saltfletheby 1220–34 RotHug III 156. – Alicia que fuit uxor Haroldi 1211 Crown Pleas 105. – Haraldus (Golceby) 1212 Fees 170. – Richard son of Harold (and Andrew his brother) (Wrangle) 1219, 1226 FFM 150, 191. – Robertus Harald' subdiaconus (Theddlethorpe) 1226 RotHug III 147. – Arnisius Harald f. Walteri Harald [1224–42] 13th RA V 1531. – Alan son of William Harold 1250 FFF 68. – Lucas Harald (Skirbeck) 1298 AssTh 460. – Thomas Harald de Depinge [1295] c1316 Terr 163, 167.

Y. a) in Haraldsic 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in Haraldhou 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in Haraldcroft 1341 (f.n. in Thorpe Salvin, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 153.

b) Harald, witness [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8. – Harold' comes TRE DB 298v, 321r, Harold comes 305r (bis), Haroldi comitis 298r, Harold' 323v. The son of Godwine. – Harold TRE DB 317v, 325r. – Haraldus de Scyth[ebi]; Araldus nepos Ricardi; Araldus f. Aldredi de Rich[emundia]; Erraldo dat. [1162–81] l.13th; [1172–81] l.13th [post 1181] l.13th; [1162–65] l.13th YCh 5. 197; 239; 265; 264. – Roberto f. Araldi, witness, [1165–75] m.13th YCh 3. 1598, Robertus f. Haroldi, witness [1175–91] m.13th YCh 3. 1539. – Haraldo abl., witness, [1180–1201] 14th YCh 1. 269. – Stephanum Harald 1185–95 YCh 2. 1218. – Radulphum Haroud', Harold (Lutton) 1196 FFB VII. – Haroldus, witness, [l.12th or e.13th]

e.14th YCh 10. 62. – magister **Haraldus** canonicus, **Haraldi** gen. 1218–19 AssSel 1141.

First el. *Her-* < \**harja*. Second el. *-valdr*. The explanation of the survival of unmutated *a* in the first el. in this alone of the Scand names derived < \**harja* must be that the name was borrowed into Scand from the ContGerm area after the period of *i*-mutation (Nord.Kult.VII 78; J. Kousgård Sørensen Bebygg. på -sted 246). The name probably first appeared in Dan and was borrowed from there by the Norw royal house. It became common in Norw in the 13th cent (Lind 485–87). It is also common in Swed and in Dan, where it appears in several p.ns. (DgP 472–76; J. Kousgård Sørensen loc.cit.). Note also the Dan runic inscriptions *haraltr*, *harals* gen. (Jacobsen-Moltke 662) and the Swed inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 769). A single early instance of *Haralt* occurs in Normandy (Adigard 308).

An OE *Hereweald* is also recorded (Feilitzen 59).

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *e* for *a* see § 2. For spellings in *-old* see § 4. For vocalisation of *l* see § 69.

### Harðaknútr

L. b) **Hardecnut** lageman in Lincoln TRE DB p.2.1, **Suardinc** loco **Hardecnut** patris sui, lageman in Lincoln 1086 DB p.2.2.

Only recorded in Dan as the name of a king or kings (DgP 480).

For *d* for *ð* see § 116. For *c* for *k* see § 127. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58.

### Harðgrípr

L. b) **Ardegrip** TRE DB 4/15.

An orig by.n. “firm grasp”. Possibly an Anglo-Scand formation but cf. the WScand mythological name *Harðgreiþr* (Lind 488) and the by.n. *Harðgreipi* (Lind BN 135).

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *d* for *ð* see § 116. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

### Hári

L. a) in **Harebi** DB (Hareby, Bolingbroke W) 14/66.

Y. a) ? in **Harehou** 12th (f.n. in Threshfield, E Staincliffe W, W) YCh 11. 259n and PNYW 6. 107. – in **Haretoft** 1316 (Hartoft, Pickering Lythe W, N) DEPN.

An orig by.n., cf. *hárr* “grey-haired”. A couple of early instances are found in WScand (Lind BN 136). It is possible that the ODan animal

name *hare* "hare" appears as a by.n. in a p.n. (DS XII 83) and the animal name is found as a by.n. in Swed (Modéer 102).

The p.ns. may alternatively contain OE *\*hær* "heap of stones" (PNYW 6. 107).

### Hásteinn

Y. a) in *Hestynschate* 1345 (f.n. in Whiston, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 170.

First el. probably *Há-* < *\*hauha*. Second el. *-steinn*. Recorded in Norw and Icel in the viking period (Lind 491). Frequent later in Dan (DgP 487–88). Also found in Swed (e.g. SRSö nr 56). Found as *Hastenchus* in Normandy and in p.ns. there (Adigard 105–06).

For *e* for *a* see § 2. For *-styn* see §§ 51.22.

### Hattr

Y. a) in *Hatterberga* 1167 (Hatterboard Hill, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 109. – in *Haterwic* 12th (Atterwith, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 255.

An orig by.n. "hat, hood", cf. OIcel *hōtr* gen. *hattar* "hood". Some fictional instances are recorded in WScand, mainly in the form *Hōtr* (Lind 612) and there are a number of instances in Norw of *Hattr* as a by.n. (Lind BN 137). Recorded, too, in Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 252) and Dan (DgP II 423–24).

The form of the pers.n. behind the Y p.ns. could be either *Hōtr* or *Hattr* (cf. § 42). For *-er* for gen. *-ar* see § 58. For *t* for *tt* see § 143.

### Haukr

L. a) in *Houcbyg* 1066 (lost) Lindkvist 144. – in *Hokeswra* 13th (f.n. in Belton, Axholme W) Bower 551.

b) *Heruico Hoc* abl., witness, 1218–19 AssSel 530.

Y. a) in *Hauoc(he)swelle* DB, *Houcheswell* 1166 (Hauxwell, Hang W W, N) PNYN 269. – in *Hochesuic* DB, *Houkeswic* 12th, *Haukeswic* 1176 (Hawkswick, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 124. – in *Houkesgart(h)* CI1100–25, *Haukesgard* CI1115–35 (Hawsker, Whitby Stand W, N) PNYN 121. – in *Haukescou* 12th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in *Houkesbec* 12th (f.n. in Beamsley, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 73. – in *Houkeshill* 1226–29 (Hawk-hills, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 25. – in *Haukscrode* 13th (f.n. in Brighouse, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 78.

b) *Haukerin de Thornetona* abl., witness, 1160–80 YCh 2. 969.

An orig by.n. "hawk". Common as a pers.n. in WScand, particularly in

Icel (Lind 492–93). Also found as a by.n. there (Nord-Kult. VII 45). Recorded in Swed and Dan as *Høk* (DgP 587; DS IX 71).

It is perhaps more likely that the p.ns. in L and Y contain the bird name *haukr* or OE *hafoc* > ME *hauc*. The OE pers.n. *Hafoc* is another possible etymon.

For *ou*, *o* for *au* see §§ 46.47. For *c*, *ch* for *k* see §§ 126.127. Can the pers.n. in Y be an instance where the nom. *-r* has been preserved and the AN suffix *-in* added behind this (see §§ 144.153)?

### \*Haukreiði

Y. a) in *Haukeraytheke* 13th (f.n. in Stainburn, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 50.

An orig by.n. “ready as a hawk”. An Anglo-Scand formation (PNYW 5. 50)?

For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *ay* for *ei* see § 49.

### Háulfr

Y. a) ? in *Holfdale* 13th (Houndale, Dickering W, E) PNYE 94.

b) **Roberto f. Haulf**, witness, [1165–75] m.13th YCh 3. 1598.

First el. either *Há-* < *\*hanha* or *Há-* < *\*hauha*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Cf. the WScand fictitious name *Hálfr* (Lind 452–53) and runic Swed *Haulf* (Nord. Kult.VII 76; SRSö nr 270).

### Hávarðr

L. a) in *Awartorp* DB (Hawthorpe, Beltisloe W) 27/41. – in *Hawardeshou wapentac* DB pp.35,64,84, LiS p.246 (Haverstoe W). – in *Hawardebi* DB 12/32, *Hawardabi* LiS 8/1 (Hawerby, Haverstoe W). – in *Houwardmar* 13th (f.n. in Stallingborough, Yarborough W) Lindkvist 182.

b) **Gillebertum f. Howard** 6/7 1202 FF 118. – **Willelmus f. Hawardi** (Honington) 1220–34 RotHug III 62.

Y. a) in *Hawardedale* 12th (f.n. in Swaledale, Hang W W, N) YCh 5. 391, 392 and PNYN 332. – in *Awardcroft* E<sub>1</sub> (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 191.

b) **Háw** sic festerma [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Hawarð** c1055–65 Kirkdale Sundial inscription, Hofmann §326. – **Hauuard** TRE DB 300r (3 times), gen. 373r, **Hauuart** 331r. – **Hauuard** TRE DB 300v (bis), **Hauuart** 300v (bis). – **Hawardo** constabulario, witness, [1171–72] 14th YCh 1. 511.

First el. *Há* < either *\*hauha* or *\*hǫpu*. Second el. *-varðr*. Found in

WScand at the time of the settlement of Icel and very common in Norw from the 13th cent onwards (Lind 493–98). Also recorded in Dan and Swed (DgP 488–89; Lundgren-Brate 98).

Some of the instances in L and Y may rather represent ContGerm *Howard*, Frankish *Haward*, just as does the single early instance of *Hawardus* in Normandy (Adigard 363).

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *o* for *á* see § 13. For *uu*, *w* for *v* see § 67. For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116. For *d*, *t* for final *ð* see §§ 116.117. For loss of *ð* after *r* see § 120iii.

### Heðinn

Y. a) in Edeshale DB, Hepensale 12th (Hensall, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 19. – in Hednesleya H<sub>2</sub> (f.n. in Dewsbury, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 3. – in Hedinslaie 13th (f.n. in Kirkheaton, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 229.

Possibly an orig by.n., cf. OIcel *heðinn* “fur jacket” but more probably a loan from ContGerm in connection with the Hjaðninga saga, cf. Cont Germ *Hetan* (Nord.Kult.VII 136, 183; J. Kousgård Sørensen Bebygg. på -sted 256–57). Common in Norw, particularly in the viking period, and fairly frequent in Icel (Lind 499–502). Less frequent in Swed and Dan but found in some p.n.s. there (J. Kousgård Sørensen loc.cit; DgP 568–69; Lundgren-Brate 99–100).

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116. For *e* for *i* see § 19. For loss of *n* see § 86iv.

### Heggr

Y. a) in Estorp, Hestorp DB, Hext(h)orp(e) 1246 (Hexthorpe, L Straf-forth W, W) PNYW 1. 27.

An orig by.n. “bird-cherry tree”. A few instances are recorded in WScand as a pers.n. from the time of the settlement of Icel and it is also found as a by.n. and possibly in some p.n.s. (Nord.Kult.VII 46; Lind 502; BN 139).

The p.n. might alternatively contain an otherwise unrecorded Scand pers.n. \**Hek(k)r* (PNYW 1. 27).

For loss of *H-* see § 140i. For *s*, *x* for *gs* (or *ks*) see §§ 130.138.

### \*Hek(k)r

See s.v. *Heggr*.

## Helgi

L. a) in **Elgelo** DB (Belleau, Calcewath W) 13/3. – in **Helghetorp** 1212, **Ellethorp** 1242, **Elgthorp** 1281 (Helethorpe (lost), Wraggoe W) Bower 266.

Y. a) in **Elgendon** DB, **Elgedon** 1185, **Helgeton** 1200 (Elloughton, Harthill W, E) PNYE 220. – in **Helge-**, **Elgebi** DB (Hellaby, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 135. – in **Helguic**, **Heluic** DB (Eldwick, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 162. – in **Hælgfeld**, **Helgefled**, **-felt**, **-flet** DB (Hellifield, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 158.

An orig by.n., cf. the weak form of the adj. “holy”. Common in the whole of Scand throughout the medieval period (J. Kousgård Sørensen *Bebygg. på -sted* 258–59). Several instances recorded in Normandy (Adigard 309–10).

Some of the p.ns. may rather contain Scand *elgr* “heathen temple” or OE (Northumbrian) *hælig* “holy”.

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *gh* for *g* see § 133.

## Hem(m)ingr

L. a) in **Hamingebi** DB 13/22, 14/47, 25/15, **Heninghebi** LiS 13/3 (Hemingby, Gartree W). – in **Heminghouwang**, **Emming-** 1220 (f.n. in Alford, Calcewath W) Bower 459. – in **Hemmingcroft** 1250 (f.n. in Wainfleet St. Mary, Candlehoe W) Bower 487. – in **Hemmingdaile** H<sub>8</sub> (f.n. in Grimoldby, Louthesk W) Bower 522. – in **Hemgingcroft** 1601 (f.n. in Grimoldby, Louthesk W) Bower 522.

b) **Haminc** TRE DB p.13, 31/11.16. – **Gilberto f. Hemmyng** [l.12th] c1330 RA V 1735. – **Alano f. Hemming** [l.12th] c1225 RA V 1706, 1718. – **Odone f. Heming** l.12th RA V 1700. – **Hem(m)ing Sprenting de Salfletebi** H<sub>2</sub>, l.12th Dane 538–40, his grandson, **Hemming**, **Heming f. Willelmi Stawelaus** l.12th and seal Dane 540. – **Gaufridus f. Hemming** (Martin) l.12th Dane 184. – **Alani f. Hemming; Hemr’; Emming; Heming** (Somercotes) [c1190–1200] c1225 RA V 1656, 1668–69, 1698; 1659; 1663, 1676; 1677. – **Godricus f. Hemmig de Sumercot’, Hemming, Alneth f. Hemmig** [c1195] c1225, [c1195] c1330, [1196–1200] c1225 RA V 1682–83 and FP 168. – **Ythonus f. Hemming** (pater Rannulfi f. Ythonis) (Wainfleet) 25/11 1218, 7/1 1219 AssSel 183, 280, 352. – **Ranulphus Hemmyng’ de Fryskeny** (Candlehoe W) 1298 AssTh 489.

Y. a) in **Hemingburg** (h) 1080–86, **Hamiburg** DB, **Hemmingburch** 12th (Hemingbrough, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 260. – in **Hemming stubbing’** 1240–46 (f.n. in Middleton, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 68. – in **Hemyngflatt** 1341 (f.n. in Roundhay, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4.



114. – in **Hemminggridding** 14th (f.n. in Burley-in-Wharfedale, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 199. – in **Hemyng Riddyng** 1540 (f.n. in Halton E, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 71. – in **Hemings Syke** 1842 (Hemming Syke Wood, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 98.

Probably an orig by.n. “skin of the shanks of a four-footed animal” (Nord.Kult.VII 206). This name is both old and common in Dan (DgP 502–08) and probably spread from there, or from Swed, where it appears on a number of rune-stones (e.g. SRU nr 101), to WScand, where it first becomes frequent after 1300 (Lind 510–13). It is possible that the source of some of the forms in Scand may be ContGerm *Haming*.

This ContGerm name may also lie behind some of the forms in L and Y (Forssner 140). Hemingbrough in Y may have been named after the Jónsborg viking Jarl Hemingr but the p.n. may alternatively be an OE *\*Hem(m)ingaburh* “stronghold of Hemma and his people”.

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *a* for *e* see § 15. For *n* for *m* see § 81. For unvoicing of final *g* see § 90. For loss of *n* see § 86i.

### Hergeirr

L. a) in **Herigerbi** DB (Harrowby, Threo W) 1/15.20, 12/57, 57/23.

First el. *Her-*. Second el. *-geirr*. Some few instances are recorded in Norw and Icel (Lind 518–19). Also found in Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 264, 266).

For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For the svarabhakti vowel see § 63.

### \*Herkingr

Y. a) in **Hergyn-, Harging-, Harkincrofte** 1341 (f.n. in Campsall, Osgold-cross W, W) PNYW 2. 47.

An orig by.n. < vb *herkja* “to drag oneself along”, cf. OIcel *herki* “lazy person”. Cf. also the DB pers.n. *Herch* < *\*Herkr* (Feilitzen 289–90). An Anglo-Scand formation (PNYW 2. 47)?

For *a* for *e* see § 15. For *g* for *k* see § 129. For *-in* for *-ing* see § 90.

### Herleifr

Y. a) in **(H)erleuestorp** DB (Allerthorpe, Halikeld W, N) PNYN 225. – in **Herlethorp(ia)** 1150–60, **Herlethorp(e)** 1199–1211 (Harlthorpe, Hart-hill W, E) PNYE 241.

First el. *Her-*. Second el. *-leifr*. Fairly frequent in Norw from c1300 (Lind 524–25). Also recorded in Dan (Lat *Herlauus*, *Herleifus*), although many of the forms in Dan may rather represent *Herlugh* (DgP 542–43). Also found in Swed, including runic Swed *harlaif* (ib).

Allerthorpe could alternatively contain Scand *Hjǫrleifr* q.v. and the short form *Herle* in Harlthorpe may alternatively derive from *Herlaugr*.

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96 and for loss of postvocalic *f* before *st* cf. Feilitzen § 93.

### Hermóðr

L. a) in **Hermodestune, -tone, Hermestune** DB (Harmston, Boothby W) 13/37, 36/4, 32/36. – in **Hermodestorp** DB (Hanthorpe, Aveland W) 24/77, 42/15, 61/4, 72/42.

First el. *Her-*. Second el. *-móðr*. A number of instances are recorded in Norw but the name is not found in Icel (Lind 528–29). Also recorded in Swed and Dan and possibly found in a Dan p.n. (SRSö nr 39; DgP 553–54).

For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116.

### Hervarðr

L. a) in **Herwardtoft** 12th–14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

First el. *Her-*. Second el. *-varðr*. Found frequently as a mythological name in WScand and is borne by a real person in 1483 (Lind 532–33). Found in a Swed runic inscription as *harvarþr* and possibly in Dan in the Lat form *Herewardus* (DgP 556).

The f.n. may alternatively contain OE *\*Hereward* or ContGerm *Hariward*.

For *w* for *v* see § 67. For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116.

### Hildir, Hilda fem.

Y. a) in **Hildreschelf, Ilderschelf** DB (Hinderskelfe, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 40. – in **Hildre-, Ildrewelle** DB, **Hilderwelle** 1139–48 etc. (Hinderwell, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 138.

Cf. OIcel *hildir* f. < *\*heldiör* “battle”. May in some cases be a short form of compounds in *Hild-*, *hildir*. The name of one of the valkyries. Very common in Norw and Icel during the viking period (Nord.Kult.VII 47; Lind 545–47, 541–42). Also recorded in Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 260) and Dan (DgP 561).

Hinderwell may originally have contained the name of the English St. Hild of Streanæshalch but the preserved forms of the p.n. show the Scand gen. in *-ar*.

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For metathesis see § 75. For *e* for *a* in the inflexional ending see § 58.

**Hildigerðr fem. or Hildiger masc.**

L. a) in **Hildegarescroft** 1202 (f.n. in Sutton, Elloe W) Kirkman 56.

Y. a) in **Hilger-, Hilgretorp DB, Hildertorp H<sub>1</sub>** (Hilderthorpe, Dickering W, E) PNYE 102.

The fem. name: first el. *Hild-*. Second el. *-gerðr*. Only one fictional instance recorded in WScand (Lind 543) but the name is found as a pers.n. in Swed as *Hildegårdh* (Nord.Kult.VII 260; Lundgren-Brate 102) and Dan, where, however, the second el. has the ContGerm form *-gard* (DgP 564). The masc. name: first el. *Hild-*. Second el. *-geirr*. A few instances recorded in Dan, where it may, however, represent the ContGerm *Hildigar* (DgP 564).

The p.ns. in L and Y may alternatively contain the ContGerm names *Hildigard, Hildigar*.

For *a* for *e* cf. the ContGerm names but also § 15. For loss of *d* after *l* see § 108. For metathesis see § 75. For loss of final *ð* after *r* see § 120iii.

**Hildingr**

Y. a) ? in **(H)ildingeslei DB** (Hildenley, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 47.

A formation with *-ing* denoting a descendant of *Hildir*. It is recorded in WScand only as the pl. *Hildingar* (Nord.Kult.VII 55).

A. H. Smith points out (PNYN 47) that in view of the fact that the second el. of the p.n. is English, it is more likely that the pers.n., too, is an English formation.

**Hildulfr**

Y. a) in **Heldouestun, Heldeueeston DB, Hildolueston(a)** 12th (Hilston, Holderness W, E) PNYE 57.

b) ? **Simone f. Hiedolf**, witness, [c1175–95] 17th YCh 7. 171.

First el. *Hild-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Recorded in WScand (Lind 545), Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 78) and Dan (DgP 565–66). Cf. also the Dan runic inscription *hīlpulf* nom. (Jacobsen-Moltke 666).

For *e* for *i* see § 19. For alternation of *u/o* see § 32. For loss of *l* see § 71. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. If the form *Hiedolf* belongs here, *e* must be a scribal error for *l*.

**Hjalp, Hjǫlp fem.**

Y. a) in **Helperby, æt Heolperbi** [972] 11th, **(H)ilprebi, Helprebi DB** (Helperby, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 23. – in **Elpetorp DB, Helprethorp'** 1109–19, **Helperthorpe** 1160–70 (Helperthorpe, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 123.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *hjólþ* “help”. Recorded in WScand at the time of the settlement of Icel and in a p.n. in Bohuslän (Nord.Kult.VII 47; Lind 536–37).

For loss of *H-* see § 140i. For *e* for *ja*, *jç* see § 54. The form *Heolþer* shows the corresponding OE diphthongised form. For *e* for inflexional *a* see § 58. For metathesis see § 75.

### Hjalti

Y. b) **Guillelmus f. Helte** [1180–95] 15th YCh 3. 1707.

An orig by.n. indicating a man from Hjaltland, i.e. Shetland. Recorded in WScand as both pers.n. and by.n. (Nord.Kult.VII 56; Lind 537–39; BN 145).

The form in Y may rather represent ContGerm *Helto* (Forssner 146).

For *e* for *ja* see § 54.

### Hjarni

Y. a) in **Hernebi** DB (Harmby, Hang W W, N) PNYN 252.

An orig by.n., explained by Lind (BN 148) as a compressed form of *Hiarrandi* “the man with the grating voice”. Lundgren deduces from the evidence of p.ns. that a pers.n. *Hjærne* also existed in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 104) and there is a late independent instance as a by.n. in Swed (Modéer 101). Cf. also the Dan pers.n. *Hiarni*, which also appears in some p.ns. (DgP 558; DS II 44; III 117; IV 303).

For *e* for *ja* see § 54.

### Hjørleifr

Y. a) in **(H)erleuestorp** DB (Allerthorpe, Halikeld W, N) PNYN 225.

First el. *Hjør-*. Second el. *-leifr*. Recorded in WScand (Nord.Kult.VII 35, 59, 107; Lind 548).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Herleifr* q.v.

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *e* for *jç* see § 54. For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96.

### Hjørtr

Y. a) in **Herteregate** 1175 (Hartergate, st.n. in York) PNYE 289.

An orig. by.n. “hart”, cf. OIcel *hjørtr*, gen. *hjartar*. Not recorded with certainty in Norw but well evidenced in Icel (Nord.Kult.VII 44). Also found in Dan, probably as both pers.n. and by.n. (DgP 568).

For *e* for *ja* see § 54. For *e* for inflexional *a* see § 58.

For names in *Hl-* see under *L-*.

**Holmketill**

L. b) **Holmchethel, Holchetel** TRE DB 12/96, 12/85.

First el. *Holm-*. Second el. *-ketill*. This name was borne by an Icelander at the time of the settlement (Lind 559). Most names in *Holm-* do not appear until late in WScand and can be assumed to be loans from Swed but the early instance of *Holmkell* in Icel is probably a spontaneous formation on the basis of *Holmsteinn* (Nord.Kult.VII 132). The name is not recorded in Swed or Dan.

For loss of *m* see § 82. For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For *th* for *t* see § 102.

**Holti**

Y. a) in **Boltebi** sic, **Holtebi** DB (Holtby, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 9. – in (H)eltebi DB (Holtby, Hang E W, N) PNYN 239.

An orig by.n. < a farm name *Holt*, *Holtar* or *Holtir*. Found both as pers. n. and as by.n. in WScand (Nord.Kult.VII 56; Lind 562–63; BN 154).

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. Forms in *B-* and *Helt-* must be scribal errors.

**\*Hornboði**

Y. a) in **Hore(n)bodebi** DB (lost place in Birdforth W, N).

Possibly on record in WScand, cf. Lind 558 s.v. *Holdboði*.

For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116.

**\*Horni**

Y. a) in **Hornebi** DB (Hornby, Hang E W, N) PNYN 240. – in **Hornebia** DB 332v (Hornby, Gilling E W, N).

An orig by.n. “horn”. A strong form *Horn* was borne by the grand-father of one of the orig settlers in Icel and a few others (Lind BN 154). The strong form is probably also found in some Dan p.ns. (DS VIII 51, 104).

For names in *Hr-* see under *R-*.

**Hugi**

L. b) **Hughi** acc. (Sibsey) 1151–53 Dane 516.

A short form of names in *Hug-*, *-hugi* (Feilitzen Notes 57). Recorded in both Norw and Icel (Nord.Kult.VII 135) and also found in Swed (e.g. SRSö nr 287) and possibly in some Dan p.ns. (DS XIII 89). The name in Scand may alternatively be a loan from ContGerm *Hugo* (Nord.Kult.VII loc.cit.).

The L form may also represent the ContGerm name.

For *gh* for *g* see § 133.

## Humli

Y. a) in **Humeltone, Umelton DB, Humbleton** 1154–80 (Humbleton, Holderness W, E) PNYE 54.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *humli* “hop-plant”. Recorded in WScand as a pers.n. and a by.n. and possibly in p.ns. (Lind 597; BN 160). Several instances are recorded in Dan (Lat *Humblus*) (DgP 579–80) and the existence of a Swed \**Humble* is indicated by p.n. evidence (Lundgren-Brate 113; NoB (1927) 64).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the common nouns OE *humele*, OIcel *humli* “hop plant” or OE \**humol*, OIcel *humul* “rounded hillock” PNEI i 268).

For loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For the insertion of *b* between *m* and *l* see § 83.

## Hundi, Hundr

L. a) in **Hundeby, Hunbia DB** (Hanby-in-Welton, Calcewath W) 14/85. 100. – in **Humbi DB** (Gt Humby, Threo W) 31/4. – in **Hundemar** 12th (f.n. in Brocklesby, Yarborough W) Bower 436.

Y. a) in **Hund(e)landes** 1282 (f.n. in Spofforth, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 37. – in **Burton, -tone DB, Hundesburton** 1224–30 (Humburton, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 180.

b) **Ricardus Hund de Seleby** [1255] 13th–14th Selby 224, 284, 345, 403.

An orig by.n. “dog”. A few instances of the weak form are recorded in WScand, where it may be a translation of a Celtic name meaning “dog” (Lind 598). A weak form may appear in a Dan p.n. (DS IV 558). A strong form is found as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 160–61). The strong form is also found as both pers.n. and by.n. in Dan and as a p.n. el. in Swed (B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 26).

The p.ns. may alternatively contain the OE or Scand animal name.

For loss of interconsonantal *d* see § 108ii. For *m* for *n* see § 85.

## \*Hundifótr

L. b) **Hundefot Robert LiS** 3/18. – **Gilberto Hundfote de Duneham** c1290 RA VIII 2218.

An orig by.n. “dog-foot”. An Anglo-Scand formation?

The pers.n. might alternatively be a native English formation.

## \*Hundigeirrr

L. b) **Ricardus f. Hundger** (Goulceby) 1185 Templ 108.

First el. *Hund(i)-*. Second el. *-geirrr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

**\*Hundigrím**

Y. b) **Hundegrim** TRE DB 300r, 309v.

An orig by.n. “dog-mask” or a compound, first el. *Hund(i)-*, second el. *-grím*? An Anglo-Scand formation?

**Hundingr**

L. a) in **Hundintone**, -tune, -ton; **Hondintone** DB (Honington, Threo W) 14/88–90, 72/63; 24/84.

Y. b) **Hundic** TRE DB 301r. – **Hundinc** (gen.) TRE DB 308r.

The name of a saga-king, “descendant of a dog”? Apart from the mythological instances, the name also appears in a few WScand p.ns. (Lind 598–99). Also recorded in Dan and Swed (DgP 581–82).

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *nc*, *n* for *ng* see § 90. For loss of *n* see § 86.

**\*Hundrað**

See s.v. *Húnraðr*.

**Hundulfr**

L. a) in **Hundelbi** DB (Hundleby, Bolingbroke W) 3/24, 14/71.

Y. a) in **Hvndulfr**-, **Hundulftorp** DB 306r, 381r (Hundulftorpe Farm, Birdforth W, N). – in **Cherchebi** DB, distinguished by the addition of **in Hundoluesdale**, -dala H<sub>2</sub> (Kirkby Underdale and Hundle Dale, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 129, 131. – in **Hundolftweith** 1194–1214 (Underwit Wood, Carlton, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 4 – in **Hundolfgot** 1201 (f.n.) PNYE 324.

First el. *Hund(i)-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Appears at the time of the settlement of Icel and sporadically later in Norw, including a p.n. (Lind 599). The name *Hundulfr* also occurs in Normandy but may here represent ContGerm *Hundulf* (Adigard 364).

The p.ns. in L and Y may rather contain the ContGerm name, or alternatively Scand *Húnulfr* (Lind 601) with intrusive *d*.

For interchange of *u/o* see § 32. For *e* for unstressed *u* see § 58. For loss of *f* after *l* see § 100.

**\*Húnhildr fem.**

L. a) in **Hunildehus** [H<sub>2</sub>] 1200 (f.n. in Wildmore, Bolingbroke W) Bower 458.

First el. *Hún-*. Second el. *-hildr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

**Húni**

Y. b) **Hune** TRE DB 324v.

A short form of names in *Hún-* (Nord.Kult.VII 80). Found in Norw

from c1400 (Lind 599–600). The name occurs fairly frequently in Dan from the end of the 14th cent, mostly in S Jutland, where it is likely that it is a loan from Frisian (DgP 582–83). Also recorded in Swed (Nord.Kult. VII 268), where it may represent the name of the Huns.

The Y name may alternatively be OE *Hūna* (Feilitzen 295).

### \*Húnketill

See s.v. *Unnketill*.

### \*Hunni

See s.v. *Unni*.

### Húnrøðr

Y. a) in **Hundredestoit(h)** DB, **Hundresthuait** 1184 (Hunderthwaite, Gilling W W, N) PNYN 307.

First el. *Hún-*. Second el. *-(f)røðr*. Some few instances are recorded in Icel (Lind 601).

A. H. Smith (loc.cit.) suggests that the pers.n. may alternatively be *Hun(d)rað*. Since this name is not recorded in Scand, however, it seems more satisfactory to accept *Hunrøðr* as the first el. of the p.n.

For intrusive unetymological *d* see § 89. For *e* for *ø* see § 43. For *d* for *ð* see § 116. For loss of intervocalic *ð* see § 120.

### Húnulfr

See s.v. *Hundulfr*.

### Húsbondi

Y. b) **Ernaldo Husbonde** abl., witness, J BS 523, **Arnaldus Husebond'**, **Husebonde** 1218–19 AssSel 123, 249, 1208–19 YCh 12. 60.

An orig by.n. "house-holder". A single instance is recorded as a by.n. in Dan (DgP II 482). Also found as a by.n. in Swed (Xen Lid 104).

May alternatively represent the ME occupational surname (Thuresson 32).

For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

### Húskarl

L. b) **Huscallus**, witness, [c1150] c1330 Stenton Danes 22. – **Rogero Huscard'**, **Huscarl'** abl. 1210–14 FF 310–11, 313; 312, 314–22, 324–25, 328–37, 341.

Y. b) **Roger Huscarl**, **Huscharl**, justice in eyre, 1218–19 FFP 4, 32. The same man as in L.



An orig by.n. “retainer, housecarle”. This name is recorded in several runic inscriptions from the Swed Uppland (SRU nrs 184,240,241,281,1139).

For *ch*, *c* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For the representation of *rl* by *ll* see § 79.

### Hvalr

Y. a) in **Wal(l)esgrif**, **Walesgrip DB**, **Walesgraua 1169** (Falsgrave, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 107.

b) **Robertus Wal**, witness, [1160–80] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1608.

An orig by.n. “whale”. Borne by a mythological giant in WScand and recorded there in the 14th cent as a by.n.. May also be found in a few Norw p.ns. (Lind 602; BN 161). A number of instances are recorded as a by.n. in Dan as *Hwal* (DgP II 483).

The pers.n. *Wal* may alternatively represent *Valr* q.v.

For loss of initial *H-* before *w* see § 140iii.

### Hvelpr

Y. a) in **Quelpesete 1283** (f.n.) PNYN 332.

An orig by.n. “whelp”. Borne as a pers.n. by the son of an Orkney jarl (Lind 602). A single instance is recorded c1000 as a by.n. and a weak form *Hvelpi* may occur in a WScand p.n. (Lind BN 163). *Hwalþ* is recorded once as a by.n. in Dan (DgP II 483).

For the northern ME representation of *Hw-* by *Qu-* see Mossé § 13.

### Hvítr, Hvíti

L. a) in **Wizebi DB** (Whisby, Graffoe W) 65/2, 72/27.

Y. a) in **Wite**, **Wytegift c1070** (Whitgift, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 11. – in **Witebi DB**, **Wytebi 12th**, **Whitby 1138** (cf. the form **Hvítabýr** in **Heimskringla** (Whitby, Whitby Strand W, N) PNYN 126. – in **Whitethwayt 1539** (Whyett Beck, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 135.

An orig by.n. “the white”. The weak form is very common as a by.n. in both Norw and Icel (Lind BN 165–67). Also recorded in Swed. The strong form is found as a by.n. in Dan and both strong and weak forms in Swed (DgP II 486–91; XenLid 103).

For the Y p.ns. the first el. may rather be the OE adj. *hwit* “white” or an OE pers.n. *Hwita* or *Hwite* (Redin 50, 123).

For loss of initial *H-* before *v* see § 140iii. For *z* for *ts* see § 105.

### Hæringr

Y. a) in **Henrithorp 1194–99**, **Heringthorp(e) E<sub>2</sub>** (Herringthorpe, U Strafforth W, W) held by Henry de Hareng from whom it was no doubt

originally called **Henrithorp**) PNYW 1. 185. – **Heryngrodeyng** 1457 (f.n. in Southowram, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 96.

An orig by.n. “hoary old man”. One or two instances are recorded in WScand and the name may be found in a few p.ns. there (Lind 604–05).

For *e* for *ǣ* see § 40.

### Høggvandi

Y. a) in **Hagede-**, **Hagedene-**, **Hagendeby** DB, **Hagandeby** 12th (Haggenby (lost), Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 239. – in **Hagandehou** 12th (lost place in Haggenby, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 239.

An orig by.n. < PrimScand \**haggwan*, cf. OIcel *høggvandi* “hewer, executioner”. Several instances are recorded as a by.n. in WScand sources. It is borne by the father of one of the orig settlers in Iceland and also by a Dane (Lind BN 170).

For *a* for *ǫ* see § 42. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58. For loss of *v* see BrNGG § 92.

### Høggvari

Y. a) in **Huggesside** c1110 (Hugset Wood, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 306.

An orig by.n., nomen agentis from the verb *høggva*. There is a rare and late Dan by.n. *Hugger*, cf. ODan *huggeræ* “wood-cutter” (DgP 577, II 476). A form \**Hugge* may be found in a Swed p.n. *Huggenæs* (Lundgren-Brate 112).

For the spelling in *Hugg-* cf. above and BrNGG § 152.1. For reduction of *rs* to *s* see § 76.

### Høskuldr

Y. a) in **Aschel-**, **Aschilthorp**, **Haschetorp** DB, **Haschelthorp** 1190 (Hais-thorpe, Dickering W, E) PNYE 89.

An orig by.n. whose meaning is uncertain. The name was earlier considered to be a compound of *høss* “grey” and *-kuldr*, related to *-kollr*, “skull, head”, hence “grey-pate” (e.g. Lind 611) but this is not feasible. Perhaps < PrimScand *Hazu-sta[l]dar* (on a runic stone c500) > \**Høgstaldr* > \**Høkstaldr* and then *Høskuldr* by substitution of *sk* for *kst* (Brate, cited in Nord.Kult.VII 50, 153 n.111). The name appears early in Icel and remains common there but soon falls out of use in Norw (Lind 608–11).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Asketill* q.v. but it should be noted that forms with initial *H-* are persistent.

For loss of initial *H*- see § 140i. For *a* for *o* see § 42. For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For *e* for unstressed *u* see § 58. For loss of *d* see § 108

## I

### Imer

L. b) **Walterus f. Ymeri**, Imer 1202 Ass 55, 1077.

Possibly a short form of *Ingimarr* q.v. A number of late instances are recorded in Dan and this short form would also seem to be found in p.n.s. there (DgP 613-14).

### Inga fem.

L. b) **Inga uxor eius** (Galfridus f. fabri), witness, c1160 Dane 385. – **Inga filia sua** (Durandus ?), witness c1160 Dane 385. – **Inga, Ingam, Yngam acc., Inge gen.**, daughter of Gilebertus and Thora, 1202 Ass 28, 50.

A short form of fem. names in *Ingi-* (Nord.Kult.VII 82). The name is very common in Dan and Swed (DgP 614-17; Nord.Kult.VII 133) and probably spread from these two lands to Norw in the 13th cent. Fairly frequent in Norw from then on. It is possible, however, that the short form developed independently in Norw (Lind 624-25).

### Ingi

L. a) in **Ingeham** DB 4/5, 7/14, 16/41-42, 26/10.23, 28/7.9, 40/2, 68/30, LiS 2/9.22, **Ingheham** LiS 2/6.11.13.21 (Ingham, Aslaoe W).

b) **Thomas f. Inghe** (Axholme) 1185 Templ 111. – **Waltero f. Inge** 1202 Ass 1019. – **William son of Ingus** 1219 FFM 151. – **Costhe f. Inge** (Grainthorpe) [1250] 1409 GH 21 p.49.

Y. b) **Turnolfi f. Ing'** (Branton Green) 1202 FFBB 74.

A short form of masc. names in *Ingi-* (Nord.Kult.VII 82). This name is old and very common in Dan (Lat *Ingo*) and Swed (DgP 618-21; Nord. Kult.VII 133) and probably spread from these two lands to Norw, where it first appears borne by members of the Norw royal house. A few in-

stances occur in Icel (Lind 625–26). Possibly a spontaneous formation in WScand.

For *gh* for *g* see § 133.

#### Ingifríðr fem.

L. b) **Ingefrit** (Temple Bruer) 1185 Templ 94.

Y. b) **Ingefrid** TRE DB 3011.

First el. *Ingi-*. Second el. *-fríðr*. Fairly frequent in Dan (Lat *Ingifridis*) and Swed (DgP 627–28; Lundgren-Brate 128–29; SRU nrs 618, 842). Cf. also *Ingiriðr* q.v.

For *d*, *t* for *ð* see §§ 116.117.

#### Ingileif fem.

Y. b) *uxor mea Ingolieva* (Harsquidus de Heton), daughter of Herbert de Arches I and widow of Robert de Thornton, [c1180–1200] 1412 YCh 7. 114.

First el. *Ingi-*. Second el. *-leif*. A few instances are recorded in Icel and the name is common in Norw from the 10th cent onwards (Lind 635–36). In EScand it is only recorded in Swed (SRU nrs 699, 1053, 1097; Modéer Kalmar Tänkebok 29).

The spelling of the name is very irregular.

#### \*Ingileifr

L. b) *uxor Ingolef* (Raithby) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 513.

First el. *Ingi-*. Second el. *-leifr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

The form may alternatively represent *Ingulfr* q.v.

For *e* for *ei* see § 50.

#### Ingimann

Y. a) in **Germunds-**, **Gemunstorp** DB, **Indegkemanethorp** 1204–09, **Yngmanthorp** (e) 1285 (Ingmanthorpe, U Claro W, W; Ingimann was presumably the name of a later tenant) PNYW 5. 24.

First el. *Ingi-*. Second el. possibly a substitution for *-mundr*. Not recorded in WScand but fairly frequent in Dan (E of the Sound) (DgP 633–34; Lundgren-Brate 129).

The 1204 spelling is irregular. For *gh* for *g* see § 133.

#### Ingimarr

Y. a) in **Ingemerestanes** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332

First el. *Ingi-*. Second el. *-márr*. This name is common in Swed and Dan

(DgP 634–38; Jacobsen-Moltke 672) and probably spread westwards from there to Norw, where it does not appear at all until the 12th cent and does not become frequent until the 14th. Not found in Icel (Lind 636–37; Nord. Kult.VII 133).

For *e* for *a* see § 2.

### Ingimundr

L. b) **Ingemund, Ingemunde** dat. [1066–68] 12th ASWills XXXIX, **Ingemund** TRE DB 32/6. – **Ingemund** TRE DB 16/9. – **Ingemund** TRE DB 12/29,31, 70/26. – **Ingemundus** frater eius (Lundi litherwine; Schithesbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – **Alani f. Yngemund** (Bolingbroke) [c.H<sub>3</sub>] 1409 GH 14 p.45.

First el. *Ingi-*. Second el. *-mundr*. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel and otherwise common in both Norw and Icel from 1150 onwards (Lind 637–38). Also recorded in Swed (e.g. SRU nrs 72, 922) and Dan (DgP 638).

### Ingiríðr fem.

L. b) **Ingeride** matris eorum (Roberti Calf et Asketini f. Od) 1163 Dane 186. – terram domine **Ingerithe** sororis mee (Willelmus Berner de Haburc) l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 270. – **Ingerith** que fuit uxor **Roberti Spirewhit** (Stamford) 9/12 1218 AssSel 509.

Y. a) in **Ingeringthorpe** 1154–81, **Ingeridtorp** 1162 (Ingerthorpe, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 178.

b) **Ingrede** TRE DB 301r, 330v. – **Ingretham**, quæ fuit uxor **Roberti Goher**, **Ingrithæ** gen., **Ingrethæ** dat., **Ingretha** abl., (Wold Newton) 1214 FFBB 173–74. – **Ingrith' mater Willelmi** (Anston) 1218–19 AssSel 61.

First el. *Ingi-*. Second el. *-friðr*. This name is very common in Norw but less so in Icel (Lind 638–40). Also recorded in Dan (DgP 638–39) and Swed (Lundgren-Brate 133–34). Cf. also the EScand *Ingifríðr*.

For *d*, *th* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.118. For syncope of *e* < *i* see § 62 but note that syncope of medial *i* also took place in EScand (Feilitzen 298). For *e* for *i* see § 19. The medial *-ing-* in the first form of Ingerthorpe may be an AN substitution for *-i-* (PNYW 5. 178).

### Ingjaldr

L. a) in **Goldesbi**; **Ingoldesbi** DB (Ingoldsby, Aswardhurn W) 24/99, 31/10, 67/7; 58/3, 72/35. – in in **Guldelsmere** DB (? Ingoldmells, Candleshoe W) 38/9.

Y. a) in **Ingaldmire** 12th–14th (f.n. in Malham Moor, W Staincliffe W,

W) PNYW 6. 142. – ? in **Ingolspole** 1326 (Inglepool, Holderness W, E) PNYE 57.

b) **Willelmi f. Ingaldi** (Little Habton) [c1163–85] 1201 YCh 2. 781. – **Ingeholdo milite.** witness, [1165–74] 14th YCh 1. 39.

The origin of this name has been much discussed. It was formerly thought to represent a PrimScand \**Ingwia-waldur* with loss of *w* and irregular development to *Ingjaldr* due to a mistaken identification of the name with WGerm \**In-geldar* (Nord.Kult.VII 82–83). O. v. Friesen, however, demonstrated that the Scand name is in fact an early borrowing of WGerm \**In-geldar* that has subsequently undergone diphthongisation under the influence of *a* (\*-*geldar* > -*gjald*). Scand forms without the diphthong must either be the result of weakening under secondary stress or later loans (O. v. Friesen Rökstenen, Stockholm 1920, 135; J. Kousgård Sørensen Bebygg. på -sted 241–42). The name is fairly frequent in WScand (Lind 626–28) and also recorded in Swed and Dan (SRU nr 700; DgP 619–21; Jacobsen-Moltke 672).

Loss of *In-* is probably due to confusion with the preposition *in*. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. Forms in -*gald*, -*gold* are probably Anglo-Scand developments. For loss of final *d* see § 108 but note that the p.n. Inglepool may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Ingulfr* q.v. with loss of final *f*.

### Ingulfr

L. b) **Ingulf** TRE DB 67/8. – **Hýngolf** homo meus (Robertus f. Turketin, Norton Disney), **Hingolf de Nortun** abl., witness, c1150 Dane 307. – **Ingolf** abl., witness, c1150–55 Dane 308. – uxor **Ingolef** H<sub>2</sub> Dane 513. – **Ysaac f. Ingolf**, witness, [1.12th] 1409 GH 18 p.112. – **Ignolfo Ingholfo** mercerio, witness, ante 1187 Dane 223, 229. – **Ingolf** gen. (Haburgh) c1190 Dane 272.

Y. a) in **Inguluestuet** DB, **Ingolthweyt** 1236 (Inglethwaite (lost), Bulmer W, N) PNYN 25. – in **Yngolfridding** 1320 (f.n. in Hambleton, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 30. – ? in **Ingolspole** 1326 (Inglepool, Holderness W, E) PNYE 57.

b) **Ingulfi** (et matris ejus Godrithe, Clementhorpe) [1109–12] 13th–14th YCh 1. 43. – **Ingulfo de Matona** abl. (Beal) [1121–27] 13th YCh 3. 1428. – **Ingolf** abl., witness, [12th] 14th–15th YCh 1. 270. – **Ysaac f. Ingolfi** 1158–67 YCh 6. 133, [1175–90] 14th–15th YCh 1. 315. – **Ingolfo** [serviente] (St. Peter's), witness, [12th] 14th–15th, [1190–1210] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1820, 2. 850. – **Ysaac et Alexandro filiis Ingulphi** [c1160–65] 14th YCh 2. 749. – **fratre Ingenufo** (St. Peter's), witness, 1168–85 YCh 11. 147. – **Gaufrido f. Ingolfi**, witness, 1188–1200 YCh 3. 1795. – **Ingenufo**

capellano, witness, [1190–1200] 17th YCh 1. 618. – **Ingulfo**, witness, [1195–1210] 14th–15th YCh 1. 242. – **Robert Ingol** (Millington) 1226–27 FFP 104.

First el. *Ingi-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Frequent in both Icel and Norw and also found in Norw p.ns. (Lind 640–42). Also recorded in Swed and Dan (Nord. Kult.VII 80; DgP 639). Several instances are recorded in Normandy but these may rather represent ContGerm *Ingulf* (Adigard 364–66).

Some of the forms in L and Y may also derive from the ContGerm name.. The form *Ingolef* may rather represent *Ingileifr* q.v. and the p.n. Inglepool may rather contain *Ingjaldr* q.v.

For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For interchange of *u/o* see § 32. For loss of final *f* see § 100. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

### \*Ingus fem.

Y. a) in **Ingusbec** 12th (Ings Beck, Hang W W, N) PNYN 261.

Possibly a short form of *Ingiriðr* q.v., cf. *Edus* from *Eädgifu* (PNYN 261). An Anglo-Scand formation?

### Ivarr

L. a) in **Geresbi**; **Ieresbi** DB 7/45; 24/38, 67/1 (Ewerby, Aswardhurn W)..  
b) **Yward** (Billinghay) 13/10 1200 FF 13.

Y. a) in **Iuer-**, **Iver-**, **Ywerker** 1166, 1198, 1.12th (f.n. in Weardley, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 186.

The origin of this name is disputed. Probably first el. *Ingi-*. Second el. \* *-harir*, with the development \**Inhu-harjaz* (with stress on first el.) > Prim Scand \**Ihu-harjar* > \**Ihu-harr* > *Ivarr*. Cf. the side-form \**Inzu-harjaz* (with stress on second el.) > *Yngvarr* (with *i* > *y* due to *w*-mutation). These two forms had already distinguished themselves from each other before the PrimScand period. This derivation is supported by the fact that the name appears in Ir sources with nasalised *i* as *Inwar*, *Imhair*. Alternative suggestions are that the second el. may be \**-gairar* > *-geirr* (cf. e.g. BrNGG §§ 111.122 n.3) and that the first el. may be PrimScand: \**iwa* “yewtree, bow of yew-wood”, cf. OIcel *ýr* pl *ifar* (Nord.Kult.VII 81). The name is common in Norw throughout the whole period but less so in Icel (Lind 660–63). Common, too, in Swed and Dan (Nord.Kult.VII 263; DgP 709–16).

For initial *G-*, possibly an inverted spelling, cf. perhaps Feilitzen § 132. For *u, w* for *v* see § 67. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58. For inorganic final *d'* see § 108.

# J

## Jádríkr

L. b) **Jadricus f. Frewini**, witness, [c1150] 1409 GH 4 p.104.

A scandinavianised form of OE *Eādrīc*. Possibly recorded in Dan (DgP 599).

## \*Jádulfr

L. a) in **Iadulfestorp**; **Iadulfstorp** DB 1/39; 1/61, 68/37, **Edoluestorp** LiS 1/16 (Yaddlethorpe, Manley W).

A scandinavianised form of OE *Eādwluf*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

The form in LiS probably reflects the orig English name. For interchange of *u/o* see § 32.

## \*Jánulfr

Y. a) in **Ianulfestorp** DB 322v, 373r (lost place, ? in Dunnington, W of Ouse and Derwent, E).

A scandinavianised form of OE *Eānwulf*. An Anglo-Scand formation? A.H.Smith's identification of this place with Ousethorpe, Harthill W (PNYE 181) seems unlikely.

## Jarðarr

Y. a) perhaps in **Yethersgill** 1615, **Ethersgill** 1839 (minor name in Rylstone, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. xi, 95.

A name formed by the addition of the neutral suffix *-arr* to *jarð-*, the stem of OIcel *jarð*, gen. *jarðar* "earth" (Nord.Kult. VII 101-02). A few late instances are recorded in Norw (Lind 614).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the OE pers.n. *Eādrēd*.

The recorded forms are so late that it is difficult to make any definite statement about their origin or development.

## Jarl

Y. a) in **Hyarlesholm** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Yerleshow** 13th (f.n.) PNYE 324. – in **Yiarlscroft** 1323 (Else Croft, f.n. in Long Preston, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 161.

An orig by.n. "earl". Recorded in WScand in p.ns. and as a by.n. there



(Lind 614–15; BN 174). Possibly found in a Dan p.n. (DS VII 184). The p.n. may alternatively contain the Scand common noun *jarl*.

For *Y-*, *Hj-* for *J-* see § 55. For *e* for *a* see § 2.

### \*Járnkolfr

Y. a) in *Yarcolfsike* e.13th (f.n.) PNYE 327.

An orig by.n., either “iron-bolt”, cf. the WScand by.n. *Járnskjöldr* (Lind BN 176) and the Dan.by.n. *Iarnhat* (DgP II 506), or *járn* “iron” prefixed to the WScand by.n. *Kólfr* (Lind BN 209), cf. the WScand pers.n. *Járn-Skeggi* (Lind 616). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *Y-* for *J-* see § 55. For loss of *n* see § 86ii.

### \*Járnulfr

Y. a) in *Yarnolfbek* 1324 (Yarna Beck, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 95.

First el. *Járn-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *Y-* for *J-* see § 55.

### Jarpr, Jarpi

Y. a) in *Estorp* DB, *Jarpesthorp* 1201, *Yarpestorp'* 1243 (Easthorpe, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 46.

An orig by.n. “the chestnut-coloured one” (Nord.Kult. VII 50). A fair number of instances are recorded in Norw from the 14th cent onwards, including some p.ns. (Lind 616–17). The weak form *Jarpi* may be found in some Swed p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 143; SOV 7. 6) and appears as *iarbi* in a Swed runic inscription (SRU nr 373).

The first el. of the p.n. was orig *east* “east” (PNYN 46).

For *Y-* for *J-* see § 55.

### \*Játsteinn

Y. a) in *Jatstaineswad* 12th (f.n.) PNYN 332.

A scandinavianised form of OE *Eādstān*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

### \*Jaulfr

L. b) *Jalf* TRE DB 40/1–2.4–6.10.12.15.17.20.26, *Iaulf* Maltesune minister 1051–60 *Iaulf* Maltes sune 1060, *Iaulfus* 1060–66 KCD 806, 808, 819. – *Jalf* gen. (Welton-le-Wold) 1190–93 Dane 168. – *Roberto f. Jalf* 7/1 1219 AssSel 270. – terram *Yaelf*; *Yalf* (Saltfleetby) e.13th; [1239–45] c1330 RA V 1641–42; 1654.

The initial *Ja-* seems to indicate that this is a Scand name, presumably a compound with the common second el. *-ulfr*. It has not, however, been possible to identify the first el. It was previously thought that *\*Jaulfr* was identical with the name recorded in WScand as *Jólfr* (Lind 650; Supplement 526). Cf., for example, Noreen Aisl.Gr. § 106 n.1; Björkman NPE 71; Feilitzen 300. This identification would require, however, that the initial diphthong was the result of diphthongisation, whereas it is now considered that the development of PrimScand *\*ehwar* to WScand *jór* is due to *w*-mutation after loss of *h*, *\*ehwar* > *\*ewr* > *\*eur* > *jór* (cf. A. Kock Svensk Ljudhistoria 2. 310).

### Jóarr

L. a) ? in Iresbi DB 3/22 (Eresby, Bolingbroke W) Bower 133.

First el. *Jó-*. Second el. *-arr*. Common in Swed (Nord.Kult. VII 248) and also recorded in Dan (Lat *Ioarus*, *Ioharus*) (DgP 649). Spread from EScand to Norw, where it becomes common from the end of the 13th cent. Not found in Icel (Lind 644–45).

It is more likely that the p.n. contains Scand *Iri* “Irishman”, especially since it is normal for Scand initial *Jó-* to remain in English sources (see § 57 but note also § 55).

### Jókell

Y. a) in Iugu-, Iucufled DB, Jukeflet 1153–85, Jokesflied 1199, Icleflet 1200 (Yokefleet, Howdenshire W, E) PNYE 255. – in Jukeleholm 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332.

First el. *Jó-*. Second el. *-ketill*. A number of instances are recorded in Norw, including a few p.ns. (Lind 649–50).

Yokefleet may alternatively contain OE *geoc* “cuckoo” or *gēoc* “help, safety”, although *Jókell* with early reduction to *Jóke* best accounts for the spellings with gen *-es* and for *Icle-* (cf. Ekwall Etymological Notes 100–02). *Jukele-* may rather derive from the biblical name *Judichael* (a *Judichel de Cotona* is also called *Gichel* YCh 2. 650; 5. 294,364n).

For *g* for *k* see § 129. For interchange of *Jó-*, *Jú-* see § 57.

### Jóki

L. b) *Ioce* abl., witness, l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 91.

Y. a) in wap' de Juccross 1219 (Ewccross W, W) PNYW 6. 217. – in *crucem de Yuccrosse* 1305 (Ewccross (lost), Ewccross W, W) PNYW 6. 219.

An orig by.n., a diminutive of *jór* "horse" (Lind BN 180). A single instance is recorded in Norw 1301. Or possibly a short form of *Jókel* q.v. For interchange of *Jó-*, *Jú-* see § 57. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Jól, Jóli

L. a) in *Iolestorp*; *Iole-* DB 8/14; 16/26, 63/4, *Iolt(h)orp* LiS 4/1.8.9 (Yawthorpe, Corringham W). – in *Jol-*, *Yoldale* 13th (f.n. in Croxby, Ludborough W) Bower 424.

b) *Jol*, *Yol* *pelliparius* [1154–72] 1407, [l.12th] 1407 GH 18 p.84, 20 p.86.

Y. a) in *Iole-*, *Loletun* DB (Youlton, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 22. – in *Aiul(f)torp* DB, *Hioltorp* 12th, *Joletorp* 1166 (Youlthorpe, Harthill W, E) PNYE 175. – in *Yowl croft* 1555 (f.n. in Eastoft, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 5.

b) *Lole* (sic for *Iole*) TRE DB 299v. – *Roberto Joli* f. (emended in ed. to *Toli*) 1145–54 YCh 2. 650. – *Johanne* f. *Jhol*, *Yool* [1185–1205] 14th–15th, [1186–1203] 14th–15th YCh 1. 239, 241. – *Thoma* f. *Jol*, witness, c1190–1210 YCh 1. 245. – *Noel* f. *Yol*, witness, [1193–1208] 17th YCh 2. 786.

Probably a short form of some name in *Jól-*. Swed *Iuli* is a short form of names in *Iul-* < *Ighul-*, cf. OIcel *ígull* "sea-urchin". This name is found in Swed in runic inscriptions and p.ns. (SRSö nr 362; Lundgren-Brate 139; K.J.Ljunggren *Ortnamn i Frosta Härad* 32) and also recorded in Dan (DgP 700), where there is evidence of a strong form *Iul*, perhaps an orig by.n. It is possible that *Jóli* is found in a p.n. in Bohuslän (Lind Supplement 526).

For *Y-* for *J-* see § 55. For interchange of *Jó-*, *Jú-* see § 57. For *ow* for *ú* see § 35. Youlthorpe shows a change of tenant after DB.

### \*Jólvarðr

Y. b) *Ioluarð* in *Burhtun* (Burton Salmon) *festerman* [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9.

First el. *Jól-*. Second el. *-varðr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

### Jórekr

Y. a) in *Yorcfa* 1335 (Yorfalls, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 93.

First el. *Jó-*. Second el. *-rekr*. The name of a mythological sea-king in the Edda but also found as a p.n. el. in Norw (Lind 651–52).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the name of the city of York.  
For *Y-* for *J-* see § 55. For syncope of *e* see § 62. For *c* for *k* see § 127.

### \*Jórhildr fem.

L. b) **Willelmus f. Joril** (corr. from **Jorun**), **Jorild** 1202 Ass 732, 732n.  
First el. *Jór-*. Second el. *-hildr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?  
For loss of *h* see § 140iv. For loss of final *d* see § 108.

### Jósteinn

L. b) **Justen tegnus regis TRE** and 1086 DB 68/41.  
First el. *Jó-*. Second el. *-steinn*. Fairly frequent in Norw but soon drops out of use in Icel (Lind 655–56). Recorded in a Swed runic inscription (Feilitzen 301).  
For interchange of *Jó-*, *Jú-* see § 57. For *-stin* see § 51.

### Jofurr

Y. a) in **Eurebi** DB, **Eu-**, **Everby** 1260 (Earby, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 33.

An orig by.n. “wild boar” and hence by transference “prince”. Probably orig a Swed name *Iuvar* (runic *iafur*) (Nord.Kult.VII 261, 263; SRU nrs 901, 1015 etc.). In WScand the name is borne only once by a real man but there are also some fictional instances (Lind 666–67).

It is perhaps more likely that the first el. of the p.n. is Scand *øfri* “upper” (PNYW 6. 33).

For *E-* for *Jø-* see § 55. For *e* for unstressed *u* see § 58.

# K

## Ká

Y. b) **Agnes uxor Ricardi Ka** 1218–19 AssSel 900.

An orig by.n., cf. ODan *koo* “jackdaw”. Several instances are recorded in Dan from 1360 onwards, including a number of p.ns. (DgP II 523–24; DS II 41, VIII 28, IX 206, XI 152).

## Kaða

Y. a) perhaps in **Catale**, -ala DB, **K-**, **Cahal(a)** 1150–1200 (Cattal, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 17.

An orig by.n. probably meaning “hen”, cf. *Jón kaða* in Heimskringla. The name may alternatively be of Celtic origin.

The p.n. has usually been interpreted as “nook of land haunted by the wild-cat” but A.H.Smith points out that spellings such as *Cahala* would normally arise through AN influence from \**Caðale* or \**Caðhale*.

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *t* for *ð* see § 117. For loss of *ð* see § 120.

## \*Kafni

L. a) in **Couenebi** DB 7/3, **Cafnabi** (not **Casna-** as in ed.) LiS 2/6 (Caenby, Aslacoce W) Bower 275.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *kafna* “to be suffocated, choked” (for this type of formation cf. *Rakni*). An Anglo-Scand formation?

The p.n. may alternatively contain an OE \**Cafna*.

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *o* for *a* see § 3. For *u* for *f* see § 96. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

## Kalfr

L. a) in **Calsvad**; **Calsuad** DB p.36; pp.71–72, **Calswat** LiS p.254 (Calcewath W). – in **Calesbi** DB 3/50., 13/4.7, **Calesbi**, **Chalchesbi** LiS 15/1.17 (Calceby, Calcewath W).

b) **Robertus Calf**, brother of Asketinus f. Od (Roughton) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 186–94. – **Robertus Kalf** (Lincoln) 6/7 1219 AssSel 816.

Probably an orig by.n. “calf”, although the suggestion has been made that the name was originally a compound in *-ulfr* (Nord.Kult.VII 44; DgP 719). Common as a pers.n. in Icel throughout the whole period but less so in Norw (Lind 672–73; Supplement 540–42). A number of instances

as a by.n. are recorded in Norw (Lind BN 184). Fairly frequent in Dan and Swed, including some p.ns. (DgP 719–20; SRU nr 875).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *Ch-* for *K-* see § 126. For loss of *f* see § 100. The second form of Calceby in LiS must be corrupt.

### Kali

L. a) in Caletorp DB (Cawthorpe, Aveland W) 42/4.5. – in Caletorp LiS (Cawthorpe-in-Covenham, Ludborough W) 10/7. – in Calthorp, Kalthorpe 1150, Calethorp 1147–66 (Little Cawthorpe, Calcewath W) Bower 142.

An orig. by.n. probably < vb *kala* impersonal “to freeze” (Nord.Kult. VII 245; B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 28). There are a few instances as a pers.n. in Norw and Icel from the 11th cent onwards (Lind 673–74). Common in Dan, where it is often confused with *Kalli*, and is found in several p.ns. (B. Hjorth Pedersen loc.cit.; DgP 720–23). Appears in at least five runic inscriptions in Swed (e.g. SRU nr 660). Found in two p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 115).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127.

### Kalmann

Y. b) Claman TRE DB 301v.

Perhaps a scandinavianised form of OIr *Cólman*. First recorded in Landnámabók.

Alternatively, if the DB form is not a scribal error, it may be derived from Ir *clam* “having the mange, wretched” (A.H.Smith Revue Celtique 44. 41, quoted in Feilitzén 216).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127.

### Kani

Y. a) in Kanehou 1202 (Cana Barn, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 185.

An orig. by.n. “boat”. A number of instances are recorded in Norw after 1280 (Lind BN 186–87).

### Kappi, Kappr

L. b) Alanus Cappe (Leadenham) 1185 Templ 91. – Toruard Cappe 1203 FFM 58.

Y. a) in Capuic, Chipuic DB, Chepewic 1166, Kepwic 1202 (Kepwick, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 201. – in Skeppstern 1559, Kepstarne 1572, Cappesthorne 1581 (Kepstorn, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 141.

*Kappi* is an orig. by.n. “champion”. It is borne by one of the orig. settlers in Icel (Lind BN 187–88). Also recorded in Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 246)

and possibly to be found in two p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 218). *Kappr* in Kepstorn is probably a late assimilated form of the WScand by.n. *Kampr* “moustache” (Lind BN 186). Kepwick probably contains a mutated derivative of *Kappi*, \**Keppi*, which is not recorded in Scand and may be an Anglo-Scand formation.

Kepstorn may alternatively contain a Scand by.n. *Keppr* (Lind BN 195) and the L surname may rather be ME < OE *cæppe* “cap” (Reaney 60).

For *C-*, *Ch-* for *K-* see §§ 126.127. For interchange of *a/e* see above and § 2.

### Kári

L. a) in *Caredick* [H<sub>2</sub>] 1200 (f.n. in Linwood, Ludborough W) Bower 426. – in *Carebec* [H<sub>2</sub>] 1200 (lost river name) Bower 5. – in *Careby* [1199] 1332, *Karbi* 1202, *Kareby* 1219 (Careby, Beltisloe W) DEPN. – in *Karewellhill* 12th–13th (f.n. in Langton-by-Partney, Hill W) Bower 506.

b) *Kare* (Scopwick) [H<sub>2</sub>] 1407 GH 7 p.77.

Y. a) in *Caretorp* DB (Carthorpe, Halikeld W, N) PNYN 226. – in *Caretorp* DB (Caythorpe, Dickering W, E) PNYE 99. – in *Carebi* DB (? lost) Lindkvist 185. – in *Caretorp* DB (f.n. in Wigglesworth, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 164.

An orig by.n. probably meaning “the vehement one”. A weak form of an adj. \**kárr* as found in e.g. *Styrkarr* q.v. and as the second el. of compound adjs. meaning “vehement” or “curly”, both meanings probably developed from an orig. “crooked, curved” (cf. the works cited by J. Kousgård Sørensen in *Bebygg. på -sted* 259). The name is common in the whole of Scand in the viking period but more particularly in WScand (Lind 675–76; BN 188; DgP 724–25). Found in several p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 116–17).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Karli, Karl

L. a) in *Carlebi* DB (Carlby, Ness W; Carle was a tenant here TRE) 7/38, 24/33, 59/4. – in *Carltorp*, *Catorp* DB (Caythorpe, Loveden W) 37/2, 72/36.

b) *Carle* the thane TRE and 1086 DB 68/23. – *Carle* TRE DB 12/52.55, 59/4.5, gen. 72/23.51, *Karle* 59/6. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – terram *Roberti Karl* [1196–1203] c1330 RA IV 1257. – ? *Robertus le Karl* 1202 Ass 679, 1038. – *Rogerus Karl* (Searby) [e.13th] c1330 RA IV 1252.

Y. a) in **Carlesmor(e)** DB (Carlesmoor, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 207. – in **Karlhou** 1.12th (f.n. in Long Preston, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 162. – in **Karleslund** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Carlescrot** 13th (f.n. in Threshfield, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 107. – in **Carlecotes** 13th (Carlecotes, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 339. – in **Carlethwayt** 1275 (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 191.  
 b) **Carle** TRE DB 300r, 301r (11 times), 307r (bis), 324r, 332r, **Carle** 331r. – **Carle**, son of Thurbrand, TRE DB 326r. – **Carle** TRE DB 322v (bis), 323r (4 times), **Bareth f. Karli** [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Carle** the thane TRE and 1086 DB 330v. Not certain to how many individuals the DB instances refer. – **Walterus f. Carl** (Sutton under Whitestone Cliffe) [ante 1227] 17th YCh 9. 87.

An orig by.n. “free-man”. The strong form is old and fairly common in Norw but less so in Icel (Lind 676–77). The weak derivative is rare in Icel, where it drops out of use early, but more common in Norw (Lind 677–78). *Karl* is common in later Dan (Lat *Karolus*, *Karulus*) and there are a few instances of *Karli* (DgP 725–30). The names are older in Swed, being found there in runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 885). Possibly to be found in some p.ns. in Normandy, although these may rather contain OFr *Carle* < ContGerm *Karl* (Adigard 218–19).

The p.ns. in L and Y may alternatively contain the plural of the common noun *karl* “free-man” and in some cases this *karl* may be replacing OE *ceorl*. Caythorpe may rather contain the pers.n. *Káti* q.v.

There are numerous instances of the names Carlton and Carleton in both L and Y and it is conceivable that some of these names contain the pers.n. *Karli*. The very frequency of occurrence of the names, however, indicates that they are rather orig *karla-tūn* “village of the karls”.

For C- for K- see § 127. For G- for K- see § 129. For syncope of *e* see § 62. *Carle* in DB may equally well represent the strong and weak forms of the Scand pers.n. for the final *e* may merely be an AN supporting vowel (see § 66).

### \*Karski

L. a) in **K-, Ch-, Caschingetorp, Chaschintorp** DB (Casthorpe, Winnibriggs W) 4/78; 57/47, 72/20; 58/4; 59/2.

Y. b) **Herveii f. Kaskini** (Pontefract) [1180–1200] 13th YCh 3. 1576, 1579.



An orig by.n., cf. Oícel *karskr* “brisk, bold” (Feilitzen 302, Tengvik 177). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *Ch-*, *C-* for *K-* see § 126.127. For reduction of *rs* to *s* see § 76. For *-ing*, *-in* for *-i* see §§ 153.90.

### Káti, Kátr

L. a) in *Catebi* DB 3/48, 27/27–29.32, 16/36.37, 49/5.6, *Catebi*, *-by* LiS 18/7–9 (S Cadeby, Louthesk W). – in *Katehou* (mound in S Cadeby, Louthesk W) PNEI i 235. – in *Cadebi* DB 12/27, LiS 8/1 (N Cadeby, Haverstoe W). – ? in *Catorp*, *Carltop* DB, *Catetorp*, *Cattorp* 1203 (Caythorpe, Loveden W) DEPN. – in *Katedale* c1200 (f.n. in Grimblethorpe, Louthesk W) Bower 521. – in *Catebrig* 1245 (Kate’s Bridge, north of Baston, Ness W) Payling 2. – in *Catesdrove* 1398 (Cade Drove, Gedney, Elloe W) Payling 23.

Y. a) in *Catune* DB, *C-*, *Katton* 1199 (Catton, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 183. – in *Catefos* DB, *C-*, *Katfosse* 12th (Catfoss, Holderness W, E) PNYE 67. – in *Catebi* DB (Cadeby, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 63. – in *Cateflat* 12th (Cat Flats, Langbargh E W, N). PNYN 154. – in *Kattewich* 1214–22 (Catwick, Whitby Strand W, N) PNYN 118. – in *Kateriding* 1273 (Kateridden, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 147.

b) *Torfino* f. *Catus* [c1160–80] 15th YCh 11. 217. – *Robertus Cadi* (Allerthorpe) 1185 Templ 124. – *Thomas* f. *Kade* (Burton Agnes) 1218–19 AssSel 114.

Probably an orig. by.n. from the adj. *kátr* “glad” or from the noun *kati* “boy”. There is one instance of *Káti* in Norw as a pers.n. and several as a by.n. in Norw and Icel (Lind 681; BN 191). There are a few instances of *Kátr* as a by.n. in Norw (BN 191). *Káti* or *Kati* appears in Dan and Swed (DgP 737–38; SRÖg nr 88). Cf. also the Dan by.n. *Kat* “cat”, and the name *\*Katti*, which is possibly found in p.ns. (DS II 15; XII 55, 191). The name *Kati* appears in eight p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 117–18).

Some of the p.ns. in L and Y, particularly those where *-tt-* appears, may rather contain an OE pers.n. *\*Catta*. Caythorpe may rather contain the pers.n. *Karli* q.v.

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *d* for medial *t* see § 103.

### Kaupmann

L. b) f. *Coupman* (Wellingore) 1185 Templ 86, *Copmmannus* (Wellingore) 26/8 1206 FF 216. – *Robertus* f. *Kopman* 1202 Ass 356.

Y. a) in *Coup(e)man(e)sta(y)nes* 12th (f.n. in Brompton, Gilling W W, N) YCh 5. 235, 239. – in *Coupmanstan* l.12th (f.n. in Scorton, Gilling E

W, N) YCh 5. 383. – in **Caupmanhow** 1457 (Capon Hall, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 138.

b) **Lewyno Caupman** dat. (Heslerton) [c1160–70] 13th YCh 2. 803.

An orig by.n. “merchant”. A few instances are recorded in WScand as both pers.n. and by.n. (Lind 682; BN 192). Also found as *Køpman* in Swed from 1298 (Lundgren-Brate 163) and in Dan from 1407 (DgP II 644).

The p.ns. may rather contain the common noun “merchant”.

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *ou*, *o* for *au* see §§ 46.47.

### Kausi

Y. a) in **Cahosbi** DB, **Cousebi**, -by 1199 (Covesby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 201.

An orig by.n. perhaps meaning “cat” or cf. the ModNorw meanings “lump” or “person who is difficult to get on with”. Fairly frequent in Norw as a by.n. after 1030 and in p.ns. (Lind BN 192–93).

The DB form must be corrupt. For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *ou* for *au* see § 46.

### Keikr

L. a) in **Castorp** DB 44/4, **Cheistorp** LiS 1/4.19 (Castlethorpe, Manley W). – in **Kexgate** 1256 (Caygate Lodge, Long Sutton, Elloe W) Payling 52.

Y. a) in **Kexebi**, -by 1170–80 (Kexby, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 272.

b) **William Kech** 1251 AssC 49.

An orig. by.n. “bent backwards”. Some few instances are recorded in Norw after 1223 (Lind BN 193).

The p.ns. with forms in *Kex-* may rather contain ME *kex* “dry, hollow stalk”.

The DB form of Castlethorpe may be corrupt. For *Ch-* for *K-* see § 126. For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For *x*, *s* for *ks* see § 130.

### Keipi

L. b) **Nobbe Caipe** 1202 Ass 622.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *keipr* “rowlock” or Swed dialect *kep* “left-handed”. A single instance is recorded as a by.n. in WScand and the name may also be found in some p.ns. there (Lind BN 193). Cf. also the Swed by.n. *Keper* (XenLid 98, 113; cf. Feilitzen Notes 66).

For *ai* for *ei* see § 49. For *C-* for *K-* see § 127.

**Kekkja**

Y. a) in **Kekemar(r)ays** 1206 (Kekmarish (lost), Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 84.

An orig by.n. perhaps related to ModNorw *kakk* "beak, nose" (Lind BN 194). A single instance is recorded in WScand.

For *k* for *kk* see § 143.

**Kempi**

L. b) **Willelmus Kempe** (Wellingore) 26/8 1206 FF 216.

Y. a) in **Kempclive** 13th (Kemplah, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 151.

An orig. by.n., a loan from OE *cempa* "warrior, champion", cf. *Kappi* above. A few instances are recorded as a by.n. in WScand from the end of the 14th cent (Lind BN 194).

The names in L and Y may alternatively be of OE origin.

For syncope of *e* see § 62.

**Keppr, \*Keppi**

See s.v. *Kappi*.

**Keptr**

L. a) in **Chestesbi, Cheftesbi** DB 7/7, 68/29; 26/22, **Chezbi, Chetlesbi** corr. from **Chetesbi** LiS 6/1.4 (Kexby, Well W).

Y. a) in **Ceze-, Chizeburg** DB, **Kesceburg(h)** 1159–81 (Kexbrough, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 318.

An orig by.n. "jaw". A few instances are recorded in WScand from c1130 (Lind BN 195).

For *C-*, *Ch-* for *K-* see §§ 126.127. *s* for *f* is presumably a scribal error. For loss of *p* see § 93. For *ft* for *pt* see § 92. For *z*, *sce* for [ts] < *pts* see § 105.

**Kerling, Kelling**

Y. a) ? in **Calgestorp** DB, **Kelingtonp** 1180–90 (Kelleythorpe, Harthill W, E) PNYE 155. – in **Kerlinghou** 12th (Carling Howe, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 151. – in **Kerlingkelde** 12th (lost place in Carling Howe, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 151. – in **Kerlingile** 1220–60 (Carling Gill, Ewecross W, W) PNYW 6. 266. – in **Kerlinghow(e)** 1303 (Carlinghow, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 180.

b) **Grim Chelyng** [c1150–61] 14th YCh 1. 224.

An orig by.n. "old woman". A few instances as both pers.n. and by.n.

and in p.ns. are recorded in WScand (Lind 683; BN 195). Also recorded as a by.n. in Dan (once) and Swed (DgP II 641).

The p.ns. may alternatively contain the common noun *kerling* “old woman”.

### Keti

L. a) in **Keteby** 1184 (Keadby, Axholme W) Bower 288.

Possibly a short form of names in *-ketill*, *-kell* (Nord.Kult.VII 210) but more probably an orig by.n., cf. ODan *kæti* “joy” < *kāt* “glad” (B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 31). Fairly frequent in Dan, where it is found in several p.ns. (B. Hjorth Pedersen loc.cit.). Possibly also found in p.ns. in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 158).

### Ketill

L. a) in **Chetelbi** DB 30/6, 34/8, 64/19, **Chetlebi** LiS 11/1 (Kettleby, Yarborough W). – in **Chetelesbi** DB 13/42, **Chetlesbi** LiS 17/1, (Ketsby, Hill W). – in **Ketelestorp** H<sub>2</sub>, **Ketel(s)torp** 1200, **Ketilstorp** 1270 (Kettlethorpe, Manley W) Bower 347. – in **Kettelsdale** c1200 (f.n. in Hameringham, Hill W; cf. RA VI 1915 *toftum in eadem uilla* (Bag Enderby) *quod fuit Ketelli*) Bower 504. – in **Kettelsey** [H<sub>3</sub>] l.13th (f.n. in Bardney, Louthesk W) Bower 532. – in **Ketelholme** 13th (f.n. in Stallingborough, Yarborough W) Bower 445. – in **Ketilcroft** 1391 (f.n. in Ingoldmells, Candleshoe W) Bower 480. – in **Ketlesties** 1577 (f.n. in Roxby, Manley W) Bower 576. – in **Ketlegait** c1600 (f.n. in Thornton, Gartree W) Bower 499.

b) **Chetel** TRE DB 4/2, 22/26 (4 times, last time gen.), 26/1, 32/8.11, 57/5, 68/37. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Ketel de Sudtone** 1086 DB 73/6. – **Chetel de Ormesby**, witness, [1147–66] 1409 GH 2 p.40. – **Ketelli** gen. (Brocklesby) c1155 Dane 248–49. – **Rothof, Rodulfi f. Ketelli** (Croxby) c1155–66 Dane 238, 240. – **Willelmus f. Ketelli** [c1160] 13th FP 33. – **Ketellus Dumping, Ketelli Dumping de Saltfletbi** gen. 1176, [1176] ? 12th RA V 1630, **Rannulf f. Getelli** sic e.13th FP 114. – **Radulfo f. Ketelli**, witness, [l.H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 2 p.1. – **F. Willelmi f. Chetelli ostriciarii Domini Regis, W. f. Chetelli** (Horncastle) 1185 RotDom 9. – **Ketelli** gen. (Grainthorpe) [R<sub>1</sub>] 1409 GH 8 p.106. – **Ketello procuratore de Bolyngtona**, witness, [l.12th] 1411 GH 11 p.95. – **Odonis f. Ketel** (N Willingham) [1196–1202] c1225 RA IV 1375. – **Hugo f. Ketel** (Gonerby) 1202 Ass 333. – **Ketel de Dunham, Ketel** gen. 1202 Ass 726, 1043. – **Willelmus Ketel** (Normanby-le-Wold) c1210 RA IV 1341. – **Hosbertus f. Ketelli; Ketel** 1210–18; 1210–18, c1250 RA II 568; 570, 574.

– **Ketel de Alesby** 1212 FFF 305 and FFBB 167, **Robertus, Willelmus filii Ketelli, Ketel** (Aylesby) 1212 FFF 304–05 and FFBB 167. – **Ketelli** gen. (Bag Enderby) e.13th RA VI 1915; cf. above. – **Ketell' King pater Alani** (Theddlethorpe) 7/1 1219, 25/6 1219 AssSel 403,754. – **Ketell' f. Alicie** (Theddlethorpe) 7/1 1219, 25/6 1219 AssSel 403, 754. – **Willelmus de Muleton' f., Thomas f. Ketel** 7/1 1219 AssSel 392. – **Ketell Cholle** 1245 FFF 20. – **Ketel Wyther** (Elkington) 1248–58 [1254–58] c1330 RA V 1736–37. – **Thomas Ketel** 1248 FFF 48. – **Benedict son of Ketel** (Leake) 1250 FFF 72. – **Ketellus de Poynton** 1256 FFF 122. – **William Ketil** 1257 FFF 284–85.

Y. a) in **Chetelestorp** DB (Kettlethorpe (lost), Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 89. – in **Chetelstorp** DB 313r, 381v (lost place, ? in Escrick, W of Ouse and Derwent, E). – in **Chetelestorp** DB 325r (lost place, ? near Melbourne, Harthill W, E). – in **Torp, Ketelestorp** 1227 (Kettlethorpe, Hart-hill W, E; **Chetel** had two carucates of land here TRE) DEPN. – in **Chetes-, Cotesmor** DB, **Kettismore, -ys-** c1180 etc., **Ketelmora** 1243, **Ketel(e)smor(e)** 1297 etc. (Kex Moor, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 209. – in **Katilscroft** 12th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Ketilcroft** 12th (f.n. in Bramham, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 86. – in **Ketelridingh** 12th, **Ketelesriding** l.12th, **essartum Ketelli** 1198 (f.n. in Weardley, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 186. – in **Ketelescroft** 12th (f.n. in Arthington, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 195. – in **Ketelesgile** 12th (f.n. in Thorpe, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 97. – in **Keteleshounab** 12th–13th (f.n. in Azerley, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 202. – in **Ketelisriding** 1219 (f.n.) PNYE 325. – in **Ketelesthorp** 1242, **Ketilthorp(e)** 1297 (Kettlethorpe Hall, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 103. – in **assart' Ketelli** H<sub>3</sub> (Kellriding, Rimington, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 179. – in **Ketelleruding** 1245–68, **Ketelridding** 1250–68 (Kellriding, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 238: – in **Ketelpittes** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Ketespole** 13th (f.n. in Arthington, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 195. – in **Ketillisk** 13th (f.n. in Arthington, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 195. – in **Ketelscaye** 13th (f.n. in Leathley, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 56. – in **Ketelrode** c1260 (f.n. in Rothwell, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 148. – in **Ketelesgat** 1313 (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Ketelesker** 1316 (Kettle Carr, f.n. in Gomersal, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 23. – in **Ketylsyng'** 1379, **Ketelesyng** 1533 (Kettlesing Head, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 132. – in **Ketelsang** sic 1379, **Ketellstang** Head 1481 (Kettlestang Cross and Hill, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 203. – in **Ketilflat(e), Ketel-** 1388, 1409 (f.n. in Ferrensby, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 92. – in **Ketelcrofte** 1424 (f.n. in Barwick-in-Elmet, Syrack W, W) PNYW 4. 112. – in **Keteldike** 1424 (f.n. in Pontefract, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 82. – in **Kettelflatt**

1466 (f.n. in Middleton, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 68. – in the **Kettledge** 1525 (f.n. in Dewsbury, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 187. – in **Ketiloxgange** 1554 (f.n. in Birstall, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 16. – in **Ket(t)lesbeck** 1596 (Kettlesbeck, Lawkland, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 227. – in **Kettle Rydings** 1608 (f.n. in Wickersley, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 172. – in **Ketteridinge** 1617 (Kettle ridding, f.n. in Sedbergh, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 271. – in **Kettleroyd** 1619 (f.n. in Cawthorne, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 325. – in **Keddle-, Kettleroid(e)** 1634 (Kittle Royd, f.n. in Thornhill, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 215.

b) **Ketel**, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8. – **Cetel** pres[byter], festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9, **Ketel** presbyteri TRE DB 298r. – **Chetel** TRE DB 301r, 301v (3 times), 309v, 315v, 317v, 320v (bis), 326v (4 times), 328r, 331v (3 times), 332r, gen. 373v (3 times). Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Chetel** tegnus regis (Hopperton) TRE and 1086 DB 330v, **Ketellus de Hopertuna**, witness, [1109–14] ? YCh 2. 729. – **Chetel** 1086 DB 304r, 317v, 331v. – **Gamel f. Chetelli**, witness, [c1130–40] ? 14th YCh 1. 102. – **Ketello f. Siward** abl., witness, [1135–53] 15th YCh 1. 64. – **Ketellus, Chetello de Acastra** dat. [c1137–61] 14th YCh 4. 87, **Chetell** acc. (Acaster) [c1150] 13th–14th Selby 557, **Hugoni f. Ketelli** [1161–84] 14th YCh 4. 88. – **Ketellus f. Vctredi de Duddelant**, witness, [1140–46] 17th YCh 11. 13, **Ketello de Dudeland** abl., witness, [c1160–75] 14th YCh 11. 231, **Ketel f. Uchtreddi**, witness, [c1176–90] 17th YCh 11. 198, **Ketello f. Uchtreddi (et Willelmo f. suo)**, witness, [c1160–80] 17th YCh 11. 197, **Alexander f. Ketelli (et Willelmus et Adam fratres ejus)** [c1176–90] 17th YCh 11. 198, **Ketello de Westbigg, Westby (et Alexandro et Willelmo filiis suis et Guarino nepote suo)** abl., witness, [1175–84] 14th, [c1170–89] 14th YCh 11. 116, 199, **Willelmo et Ada fratribus ejus (Alexandro de Westbi) filiis Ketelli** [c1190–1210] 17th YCh 11. 184. – **Godric' f. Ketell'** (et Adam ejus f.) [c1140–50] 13th YCh 7. 126. – **Radulfus f. Ketel rusticus (Warter)** [1141–42] e.14th YCh 10. 66. – **Ketel f. Ulberti (Gamello fratre suo)** abl., witness, [1147–54] e.13th YCh 1. 641. – **Alano f. Ketelli (Kettlewell)** [m.12th] 15th YCh 11. 136. – **Hugoni f. Ketelli de Hertlingtonia** [m.12th] 15th YCh 11. 133. – **Willelmus f. Ketel'** [c1152–55] 17th YCh 7. 130, **W. f. Ketelli** [1157–58] 1.12th YCh 1. 402, **W. f. Chetelli** [1162–75] 15th YCh 11. 271, **W. f. Ketalli** [1175–89] 17th YCh 1. 216. – **Ketello f. Torfin** abl., witness, [1152–55] 17th YCh 7. 17. – **Ketel presbiter (St. Peter's York)**, witness, [1154–57] 1.12th YCh 9. 153. – **Ke[te]llo clerico**, witness, [c1154–72] 15th YCh 11. 158. – **Ketel de Herleshou**, witness, **Willelmus f. Ketel**, witness, [c1154–72] 15th YCh 11. 161. – **Ketello Godefere** abl., witness, 1154–76 YCh 10. 51–52. – **Chetellus**

f. **Altredi** [1158–66] c1295 YCh 1. 175, **Ketelli f. Eltred'** (Newby) [1156] 14th–15th, [1173] 14th–15th, 1182–85 YCh 1. 186, 197, 199. – **Citello monetario**, witness, [c1160–65] 14th YCh 2. 749. – **Hugone f. Ketel** [de] **Ebor.** [1160–75] c1400 YCh 2. 836. – **Ketellus sacerdos**, **Ketello abl.**, witness, [1160–80] 14th, [1183–86] 14th–15th YCh 1. 233, 238. – **Serlone f. Ketelli** (et Johanne fratre ejus), witness, [c1160–85] m.13th; [1170–90] m.13th YCh 11. 109; 3. 1780–81. – **Ketellus presbiter Sancti Martini**; **Ketello abl.**, witness, [1162–67] l.12th; [1162–67] l.12th, [1163–66] e.17th YCh 2. 1251; 1250, 1. 333. – **Hugone f. Ketel**, witness, [c1170–89] 17th YCh 3. 1856. – **Roberto f. Ketel**, **Ketell'**, witness, [c1170–89] 17th, [l.12th] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1856, 7. 161. – **Ketello Westmering abl.**, witness, [ante 1175] 14th–15th YCh 4. 120. – **Ketel** [April 1175] 14th YCh 11. 89. – **Waltheus f. Ketelli** (Arncliffe) [1182–c1200] 15th YCh 11. 131. – **Ketello preposito**, witness, [1182–1212] 17th YCh 11. 254. – **Ketellum acc.** 1199 Pleas 2062. – **Alexandrum f. Ketelli** (Gisburn) 1202 FFBb 16. – **Johannis f. Ketel** (Kirkedale) 1202 FFBb 49. – **Ketellus f. Romkilli de Catton'**, **Ketellum acc.**, **Ketelli gen.** 1202 FFBb 59–60. – **Ketellus de Scardeburg'**, **Ketellum acc.**, **Ketello dat.** 1202 FFBb 65. – **Ketel** father of William de Scotton 1203–04 AssC 10. – **Walter** son of Robert son of Ketel de Skipse c1208 AssC 26. – **Ricardus f. Ketel** (Normanby) 1208 FFBb 124, (Hetton) [post 1209] 1412 YCh 7. 119. – **Willelmus Ketel** (Dunsforth) 1212 FFBb 166. – **Petrum f. Ketell'** (Kettlewell) 1218–19 AssSel 25. – **Gaufridus f. Ketell'** 1218–19 AssSel 116. – **Ketell'**, **Ketellum de Saghe acc.** 1218–19 AssSel 522. – **Ketel** (Horton) 1226 FFP 81. – **Adam** son of Ketel (Erneby) 1231 FFP 143. – **Ricardus f. Ketelli de Snayth** [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 888. – **Willelmus Ketel de Acastr'** [l.13th] 13th–14th (cf. above **Ketellus de Acastra** 12th) Selby 563–64, 566.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *ketill* m. “cauldron, cauldron-shaped helmet” or perhaps with transferred meaning “chieftain bearing such a helmet” (Nord. Kult.VII 43). The name is common in both Norw and Icel throughout the whole period (Lind 684–87). It is also common in Dan (Lat *Ketillus*, *Katillus*) and is found in a few Dan runic inscriptions as *ketil*, *kitil* (Jacobsen-Moltke 678). A short form *Kiel*, *Kield* is also found in Dan and both the full and the short forms of the names occur in Dan p.ns. (DgP 739–45; DS XI 92,216 etc., etc.). The name is also recorded in Swed, where it appears frequently in runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 946). It is found in Normandy both independently and in p.ns. (Adigard 118–20). The name was adopted into English and anglicised as *Cytel*. The earliest occurrence of this form is on an Eādwiġ coin 955–59 (cf. Feilitzén 305). Some p.ns. seem to contain the name in an abbreviated form, *Kete-*, *Chete-*.

No such short form is recorded with certainty in English or Scand sources but it should be noted that the ending *-ketill*, *-kell* in *Porkell* etc is sometimes represented in DB by forms such as *-chete*, *-chet* or *-cate* (cf. Feilitzen 305) and that from the 12th cent both the simplex name *Ketill* and the compound names in *-kell* are often found in p.ns. in Normandy without the final *-l(l)*, e.g. *Quettetot*, *Ketevilla* (cf. Adigard 119).

Some of the p.ns., particularly the non-genitival compounds, may rather contain the common noun OE *cietel* "kettle". Others may contain the ModEnglish surname *Kettle*.

For *Ch-*, *C-* for *K-* see §§ 126.127. For *G-* for *K-* see § 129. The form in *Ci-* is probably derived from the anclitised *Cytel*. For *Katil-* see § 16iv. For *e,a* for *i* see §§ 19.15.

### Ketilbjørn

L. b) **Chetelbern**; **-ber**; **-bar** TRE DB 4/16, 68/15; 4/23, p.158; 53/2. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Chetelbern**; **Ketelber** acc. and nom.; **-bern**; **Chetelber**; **Chetelbertus** 1086 DB p.14, 68/5–8.10–15; 69/17.20; 69/34; 69/37; p.6, all or most of these instances probably refer to K. de Keal, **Ketelbern** (Keal) LiS 12/6, 14/8, 15/7. – **Odone f. Chetelberti** c1150, witness, Dane 501. – **Ketelbern fratre eius** (Willelmo Ha) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 290. – **Roberto f. Ketelbern de Wierne, Wieurn'**, witness, c1200, [c1200] c1225 RA IV 1401–02. – **Ketelbern, Ketelburne de Keles** 1212 Fees 164, **Ketelbern de Keles** nom., acc., dat. 1218–19 AssSel 89,369,459,807,848, **Ketelbert de Westkel, Keles** 1218, 1219 FFM 137, 139, **Ketelebern' militem** (Trusthorpe) 1220–34 RotHug III 191, **Ketelbern de Keles, Kaleys** 1226,1234 FFM 189,255, **Ketelbertum de Keles militem** 1237 RotRob 17,18, **domino Ketelberto de Kal'**, witness, 1240–57 RA VI 1858, **Sarah widow of Ketelbert de Kel'** 1257 FFF 148. – **Grimwardo f. Andree f. Ketelbern'** (Lincoln) c1220–30 RA VIII 2247. – **Ketelbern Le Tayllur** 1234 FFM 269. – **Ketelbert son of William de Sutton** 1271 FFF 238.

Y. a) in **Ketelberne croft** 12th (f.n. in Crigglestone, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 107. – in **Ketilbarnbrigg** 1432 (Kettleman Bridge, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 78. – possibly in **Kettle Burr Lands** 1773 (Kettle Burn, Azerley, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 201.

b) **Cytelbearn minister, dux, witness**, [958] 14th, [963] 14th YCh 1. 3, 5. – **Chilbert** TRE DB 301r (5 times), 307r (6 times), 307v, 326r, 331r, **Cheteber** 319v, **Chetelber** 319v, 330v, **Chetelbert** 319v. – **Chilbert** 1086 DB 331r, **Chetelber** 317r. Not certain to how many individuals the DB



instances refer. – Godrico f. *Ketelberti* [C1147–59] 1444 YCh 8. 110. – terram *Ketilbern* (Hesti) 1202 FFBB 37.

First el. *Ketil-*. Second el. *-bjorn*. Appears early in Norw and Icel but is not found very often there (Lind 683–84). Found in a Dan runic inscription as *ketilbarn* nom. (Jacobsen-Moltke 678) and in a few other Dan sources (Lat *Ketilbernus*) (DgP 745–46). Also recorded in a number of Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nrs 961, 977, 1023).

For *Ch-* for *K-* see § 126. For *e* for *i* see § 19. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For loss of final *n* and substitution of *t* see § 86iii but note that forms in *-bert* may alternatively represent a hybrid compound of *Ketil-* and Cont Germ *-bert*. For forms in *Chil-*, *Kil-* see § 16vii.

#### \*Ketildágr

Y. a) in *Keteldaisbec* C1200 (f.n. in Gisburn Forest, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 170.

First el. *Ketil-*. Second el. *-dagr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

#### \*Ketilfrøðr, \*Ketilfriðr

L. b) *Chiluert* TRE DB 4/65.

Y. a) in *Chilvertebi*, *Chilwertesbi* DB, *Kilverdebi* 1155–65, *Kilvardeby* 1247 (Killerby, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 103. – in *Chilurdebi* DB (Killerby, Hang E W, N) PNYN 245. – in *Chiluesmares*, *-mersc* DB 299r, 380v (part of Marishes, Pickering Lythe W, N).

b) *Chiluert* TRE DB 300r, 324v (3 times), duo *Chiluert* 324v.

First el. *Ketil-*. Second el. *-(f)røðr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *Ch-* for *K-* see § 126. For forms in *Chil-* see § 16vii. For *v,u* for *f* see § 96. The forms in *-vard* probably show confusion with *-varðr* or OE *-weard*. The el. *-frøðr* normally develops to *-forð* in ME sources (see § 43). Forms in *-uert* must derive from *-friðr* (see § 21). For *d,t* for final and medial *ð* see §§ 116.117

#### \*Ketilgrímr

Y. a) in *Kelgrimhou* 1228 (Kilgram Grange, Hang W W, N) PNYN 251.

First el. *Ketil-*. Second el. *-grímr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For the form *Kel-* see § 16vii.

#### Kíkr, \*Kíki

Y. a) in *Kickeholmbonc* C1225 (f.n. in Newton, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 208.

An orig by.n. of doubtful meaning. A few instances of the strong form

are recorded in WScand from 1220 onwards (Lind BN 199). The weak form is not recorded in Scand.

For *ck* for *k* see § 128.

### Killa, Killi

L. b) Robertus Kille 1185 Templ 109.

Y. a) in Ki-, Kyllingbec 12th–13th (Killingbeck Hall, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 121. – in Killyngnebbesker 1335 (Killing Nab Scar, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 87.

b) Cille TRE DB 322v. – Kille f. Escheli (sic for Archeli, cf. s.v. Arnkell) (Kepwick) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931.

*Killa* is an orig by.n., cf. ModNorw *kidla* < *kid* “kid”. Two late instances are recorded in Norw, where it is also found in p.ns. (Lind BN 199). *Kille* may be a short form of names in *-kill* < *-ketill* (Feilitzen 216). The name is found in Dan and possibly in Dan p.ns. (DgP 747; DS IX 136; XI 135).

The forms may alternatively represent an OE *Cylla*, *Cille* and the p.ns. may contain Scand *kiðlingr* “young goat”.

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127.

### Kisi

L. a) in Chisebi DB (Keisby, Beltisloe W) 57/41, 68/22.

An orig by.n. “cat”. A single instance is found as a by.n. in Norw (Lind BN 200–01) and the name is also borne by a fictional character (Lind 690). Probably found in some Dan p.ns. (DS IX 139, 189).

For *Ch-* for *K-* see § 126.

### Kjallakr

Y. a) ? in Calgestorp DB, Kel(l)ingtorp 1180–90 (Kelleythorpe, Harthill W, E) DEPN.

A loan from Ir *Cellach*, *Ceallach*. Several instances are recorded in Icel (Lind 687–88).

Later forms of the p.n. show substitution of the pers.n. *Kerlingr* q.v.

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. If *Calges-* really does represent the pers.n. *Kjallakr*, it must be in a greatly compressed and/or corrupt form.

### Klakk

L. a) in Clachesbi DB 14/8.11, 28/23, 30/36, 32/8, 44/15, 70/19, LiS

7/1-4 (Claxby-on-the-Wolds, Walshcroft W). – in Clachesbi DB 13/9, 28/42, Clasbi 28/43 (Claxby Pluckacre, Hill W). – in Clachesbi DB 12/94, 14/85, 24/61.62, 25/19 (Claxby St. Andrew, Calcewath W). – in Clactorp DB (Claythorpe, Calcewath W) 13/3; 69/12. – in Clakeberg c1210 (f.n. in W Rasen, Ludborough W) Bower 429. – in Clackesdale c1210 (f.n. in Snelland, Louthesk W) Bower 541. – in Clachislide c1240, Claskygate 1527 (Clasketgate, st.n. in Lincoln) Hill 33, 361.

b) Clac TRE DB 16/14, 25/13, 27/21, 29/22, 47/10, gen. 69/25. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – Clak, Hoseber f. Clak [e.H<sub>2</sub>] 1411 GH 9 p.94. – Haket son of Clac 1193 FFM 3. – Clac (Sauthorpe) [e.13th] 13th, e.13th RA VI 1900-01. – Clac, Clacke (Hagworthingham) e.13th, ante 1206 RA VI 1899,1898

Y. a) in Claxtorp DB, Claxton(a) 1282 (Claxton, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 37. – in Clackeshou 13th (f.n. in Loversall, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 36.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *klakkr* “peg on saddle on which baggage is hung”? A few instances are recorded in WScand (Lind 690-91). Cf. also the related by.n. *Klakka*, which appears early and often in WScand (Lind BN 201-02). *Klak* is also recorded in Swed and found in some Dan p.ns. (DgP 748-49; Hald Vore Stednavne 147).

For C- for K- see § 127. For *c, ch, ck* for *k* see §§ 126.127.128. For *x, s* for *ks* see § 130.

### Klápr, \*Klápi

Y. b) Os(e)god clapa [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8, 8n, Osgod Clapa, Clapan acc. 1044-53 ASC, Osgod Clapa [ante 1046] 11th ASCharters 85, Osgod Clapa acc. [1044-46] c1200 ASWrits 77.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *klápr* “goggle-eyed, staring” (Finnur Jónsson Tilnavne 334) or possibly \**klápi* “coarse, clumsy” (Björkman NPE 82; A.H.Smith Early Northern Nick-Names 54).

For C- for K- see § 127.

### Kleggi

Y. a) possibly in Clegclyve 1274, Clegeclif 1285 (Cleggecliffe (lost), Morley W, W) PNYW 3. xii and 91. – possibly in Cleybroke 1488, Clegbroke 1492 (Clay Brook (lost), Morley W, W) PNYW 3. xii and 91.

An orig. by.n. perhaps related to OIcel *kleggi* “gad-fly”. Cf. the WScand mythological name and by.n. *Kleggi* (Lind 692; BN 203).

The p.ns. may rather contain OE *clæg* “clay” or OIcel *kleggi* “hay-stack”.

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For vocalisation of *g* see § 137.

### Kleppr

Y. a) in *Clesbi* DB, *Clesebi* 1184 etc. (Cleasby, Gilling E W, N) DEPN and PNYN 284.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *kleppr* m. “lump”. There are a few instances in Icel and the name may be found in some Norw p.n.s. (Lind 695; BN 203).

The first el. may alternatively be a by.n. *Kléss* “inarticulate in one’s speech” (PNYN).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For loss of *p* see § 93.

### Klyppr

L. a) perhaps in *Clisbi* DB (Clixby, Yarborough W) 1/70.

An orig by.n., probably a mutated form related to *klumpr*. A number of instances are recorded in WScand from the 11th cent onwards (Lind BN 205). Cf. also Dan \**Klippi* in *Klyppælef* 1231 (DS VI 369).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *i* for *y* see § 38. For loss of *p* see § 93.

### Knaggr

Y. b) *Henricus Knag* (Faxfleet) 1185 Templ 132.

An orig by.n., cf. ODan *knag*, Swed *knagg*, “projecting twig, knot in wood, wooden peg” (Feilitzen Notes 66). Recorded in Swed (XenLid 101) and Dan (DgP II 580).

### Knútr

L. b) *Cnut*, *Chenut* TRE DB 12/42; 26/9.15. – *Cnut*, *Cnhut*, *Chunt* all gen. (Langton-by-Partney) [1192–1205] c1225, e.13th, [e.13th] c1330 RA VI 1893–95. – *Knot pater Alani*, *Knod*, *Knod* gen.; *Alano f. Cnot* 1202 Ass 54; 1076.

Y. a) in *Chenuthesholm* DB 374r (lost place ? in Riston; held by *Cnut*). – in *Knuttasbutthes* c1200 (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 191. – in *Knustankelde* 13th (f.n. in Bramhope, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 196. – in *Knoutesthorp*’ 1323, *Knousthorp(e)* 1327 (Knowsthorpe, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 128.

b) *Cnut* TRE DB 298v, 300r (bis), 300v (4 times), 301r, 307r, 310v, 311r, 312r, 317r, 323r, 326v (bis), gen. 374r (3 times), *Cnud* 306v, 324v, 326v, *Chenut* 301r. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – *Cnut*, possibly son of Carle son of Thorbrand, TRE DB 324v. – *Cnut* TRE DB 300v (3 times), 327v. – *Chut* sic, rusticus, (Warter) [1141–42] e.14th YCh 10. 66. – *Arnaldus f. Cneuti*, *Cneut*, *Cneuth*, *Cnut*

[C1145-56] 14th-15th, [C1145-56] 14th-15th, [1164-78] 14th-15th, [1178-90] 14th-15th YCh 2. 1238-39, 1254-55. – Willelmo f. Chnut [1148-56] 14th-15th YCh 2. 1124. – Heliseo f. Cnut [1180-1203] 15th, Elias f. Cnuth de Steinbrun [C1170-90] 14th-15th YCh 3. 1869-70. – Cnuth abl. [1190-1210] 14th-15th YCh 1. 84. – toftum Galfridi f. Knut (Thorlby) [ante 1208] 17th YCh 7. 157.

Probably an orig by.n. “knot”, although some scholars believe the name to be of ContGerm origin, related to MHG *knuz* “rash, brave” (DgP 774; Nord.Kult.VII 131). A Dan name that was borne by members of the royal house in the legendary period and historic times. Two kings called *Knut* were acclaimed saints and this fact made the name very popular in Dan. (Lat *Kanutus*; runic *knus* gen.) (Nord.Kult.VII 202; DgP 767-75; B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 29-30). From Dan the name spread to Swed at the time of Knut the Great but did not become common in Norw until comparatively late (DgP loc.cit.; Lundgren-Brate 151; Lind 697-99).

For *C-,Ch-* for *K-* see §§ 126.127. For the spelling *Chen-* for *Kn-* see § 63iv. For *o,ou* for *ú* see §§ 34.35. For *th,d* for final *t* see §§ 102.103. For *s* for *ts* see § 105. Forms in *Cneut-* must be corrupt.

### Knørr

Y. a) in Guaresmire 1339, Knaresmyr(e) 1374 (Knavesmire, York) PNYE. 292.

An orig by.n. “ship”. A few instances are recorded in Norw and a few in Icel, where it may also be found in some p.ns. (Lind 699). *Knar* is probably found in a Dan p.n. (DS II 128), and appears in Swed p.ns. (SOÅ XVII 21; XVI 109).

The first form shows scribal confusion of initial *C-* and *G-* (see § 129) and of *n* and *u*. For *a* for *ø* see § 42.

### Koddi

L. b) Code TRE DB 14/18.20, 27/10, 40/7.9, gen. 69/29. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer.

Y. b) Hugo Coddī (Hedon) [1187-1207] 14th YCh 3. 1404.

An orig by.n. “pillow, cushion”. A few instances are recorded in WScand (Lind BN 223).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *d* for *dd* see § 143.

### Kofsi

L. b) Copsi; Cofsi TRE DB 36/3.4; acc. 72/28.

Y. b) Copsi, Copsius [1042-66] ?, [1104-14] ? YCh 2. 925, 932, Copsi

TRE DB 298v, 327r, Copsi 310r. The first two instances definitely and the DB entries probably refer to the man who was appointed Earl of Northumberland by W<sub>1</sub>. – Copsi f. Arkilli abl., witness, [1136–45] 15th YCh 4. 19. – Copsi abl., witness, [1136–45] lost cartulary YCh 4. 20. – Robertus f. Copesi; Copsi [c1148] 14th–15th; [m.12th] 14th–15th YCh 5. 156–58; 160, Turfino f. Roberti f. Copsi [1155–68] 14th–15th YCh 5. 159. – Copsi de Ridemera abl., witness, c1154 YCh 5. 367, Copsi de Redmer [1156] 15th YCh 1. 80, Copsi, Osbertus f. ejus, Osbertum Copsi [c1155–70] 15th YCh 7. 123. – Lefwine f. Copse, witness, [1159–71] 15th YCh 4. 56. – Copsi de Wandess[eia] abl., witness, [c1173–74] l.12th, [1174–81] l.12th YCh 4. 92,94. – Adam f. Copsi (Litton) [1175–c84] 15th YCh 11. 64,240. – Robert son of and Hugh son of Copsi c1208 AssC 39. – Copsy of Kateric 1231 FFP 148.

An orig. by.n., cf. the ModNorw vb. *kufsa* “bustle, fuss”. A single instance of *Kupsi* is recorded in Norw in the 15th cent (Lind 722–23). *Kofse* is found in a Swed p.n. (Sahlgren NoB 15. 67).

For C- for K- see § 127. For interchange of *fs/ps* see § 98. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

### Kolr, Koli; Kollr, Kolti

L. a) in Colebi, -by DB (Coleby, Boothby W) 1/7.8, 32/35, 56/19. – in Colebi DB (Coleby in W Halton, Manley W) 13/13, 34/24.

b) Col TRE DB 26/7. – terra Cole nepotis sui (Colsuen) 1086 DB p.6. – terram Ricardi Cole (Heckington) e.13th RA VII 2081–82. – Thomam Cole acc. (Tealby) 7/1 1219 AssSel 348.

Y. a) in Colebi DB, Colleby ante 1135 (Coulby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 170. – in Cole(s)bi DB 299r, 381r (lost place nr Sigston, Allerton W, N). – in Coletorp DB (Cowthorpe, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 22. – in Parva Colland, Colleland, Miclekolland 1200–26 (f.ns. in Flasby, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 52. – in Collewelle(sik’) e.13th (Cold Well, Oxenhope, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 264. – probably in Colewathmyre 1305 (? now Cow Bridge, Long Preston, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 160. – in Colescroftwell 14th (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 190. – in Colgilcote 1457 (Cow Gill Cote, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 81.

b) Cola TRE DB 317v. – Randulfus f. Cole [1161–c70] 14th YCh 11. 104. – Willelmus Coli (Temple Newsham) 1185 Templ. 118. – Waltero Cole, Cola abl., witness [1200–18] 13th YCh 3. 1281–82. – Widonem f. Col’e 1208 FFBb 130. – John Coli (Barlby) c1208 AssC 42.

Since it is not always possible to determine which of these four names

lies behind the forms in L and Y, all instances have been assembled under one heading in spite of the different etymologies of the two pairs of names. *Kolr* is either an orig by.n. "dark-skinned" or a short form of names in *Kol-* (Lidén NoB 4. 117; Nord.Kult.VII 50). *Koli* is a weak side-form. *Kolr* appears frequently in Norw and Icel (Lind 710–12) and there are also a few instances of the weak form (Lind 705). Both forms are also found in EScand (DgP 776; Lundgren-Brate 153). The weak form may appear in some p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 123). *Kollr* is an orig by.n. "the bald-headed one" or "the man whose hair lies close to his head" (Nord. Kult. VII 51). *Kolli* is a weak side-form. *Kollr* appears at an early date and remains common in Norw and Icel both as a pers.n. and a by.n. (Lind 707–09; BN 210). The weak form is common in Icel as a pers.n. but rare in Norw (Lind 706–07). A very few instances of the weak form occur in EScand (DgP 776; Lundgren-Brate 153, 156).

The forms in L and Y may alternatively represent an OE *Cola* (but see Redin 46). Some of the p.ns. may rather contain the OE common noun *col* "coal".

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For interchange of *l/ll* see §§ 142.143. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Kolbeinn

L. b) **Radulfum Colbain de Seggebroc 1202 Ass 734a.** – Richard Colbain 1208 FFM 80.

Y. b) **Henricus Colbain (Hetton) ante April 1221 YCh 7. 116.**

First el. *Kol-*. Second el. *-beinn*. Common in both Norw and Icel from the time of the settlement of Icel onwards (Lind 701–02). A few instances in EScand (Dan *Kulben*) but in Dan these forms may rather represent the commoner by.n. (DgP 805–06). Appears as *kulben* in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRSö nr 362).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *ai* for *ei* see § 49.

### Kolbrandr

L. b) **Iohannes Colbund (Temple Bruer) 1185 Templ 94.** – Colebrandi gen. (Coningsby) c1200 Dane 201.

Y. a) in **Colbrandsic 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332.** – in **Colebrandcrot sic 13th (f.n. in Farnley, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 59.**

b) **Colbrand ce' festerman [c1050] ? l.111th YCh 1. 9, Colebrand TRE DB 300v.** – **Colbrand TRE DB 331v.** – **Colbrand (Otterington) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931.**

First el. *Kol-*. Second el. *-brandr*. Two instances are recorded in Icel, one c1170, the other c1235. Found in a p.n. in Norw (Lind 704). Also recorded in Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 254).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. The form in *-bund* must be corrupt.

### Kolbrúnn

Y. b) **Collebrun** [1210–12] 13th RBE 588.

First el. *Kol-*. Second el. *-brúnn*. Found as a by.n. in WScand in the fem. form *Kolbrún* (Lind BN 209).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *ll* see § 142. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

### Kolgrímr

L. a) in **Colgrimcroft** 1331 (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

b) **Colegrim** the thane TRE and 1086 DB 67/1.7.20.24, 1086 p.14, 1/9, 3/35, 11/5.7, 67/13–14.17.21.25, 68/19, 72/60–61. – **Colegrim**, Count Alan's man, 1086 DB 12/48.52.55.91–92. – **Colegrim** 1086 DB 8/12. – **Colegrim**, Drew de Buerere's man, 1086 DB 30/25.26.32, **Colgrimi** gen. [12th] c1225 RA II 332. – **Colegrim**, Odo the Arblaster's man, 1086 DB 48/13. – **Colegrim**, Robert of Stafford's man, 1086 DB 59/18. – terra **Colegrimi** (Belton) [1146] c1225 RA I 252, **Colegrim** [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354, **Colgrime** gen. [c1300] 13th RA III 1053. – **Colegrimo** sacerdote c1150, c1158 Dane 244, Stenton Feudalism 31. – **Agnes filia Colgrim de Weleburn** 1185 RotDom 12. – **Osbertus f. Colgrimi** (Bulby) c1180–90 FP 190. – **Robertus f. Colgrimi**, thofti **Colgrimi** (Honington) 1.12th Dane 384, **Robertus f. Colgrim de Huntinton'**, **Hundinton'** 1202 Ass 732, 1044. – **Colegrim**, **Collegrim** acc. 1202 Ass 807d, 811 and Crown Pleas 38. – **Ralph son of Colegrim** (Honington) 1240 FFM 321. – **Willelmum Colgryme de [Hunigton']** 1298 AssTh 415.

Y. a) in **Colegrimewelle** 12th (f.n. in Swinton, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 117. – in **Collegrimewellerodes** c1200 (f.n. in Barnsley, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 304. – in **Colgrimdale** c1200 (f.n.) PNYE 321.

b) **Colgrim** TRE DB 306v (3 times), 307r.

First el. *Kol-*. Second el. *-grímr*. A few instances are recorded in Icel from the time of the settlement onwards (Lind 705).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *ll* see § 142. For *y* for *i* see § 22.

### \*Kolkr

L. a) in **Colchesbi** DB (Goulceby, Gartree W) 14/46.



An orig by.n. possibly related to the by.n. *Kolka* in Landnámabók meaning “dabble, bungle” (Lind BN 209–10). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *ch* for *k* see § 126.

### Kollungr, Kollingr

Y. b) Gerardo f. Colling [c1160–65] 14th YCh 2. 749, Gerardo f. Lewyni f. Colling [1161–84] 14th YCh 1. 299. Gerardo f. Lefwini Colig' [1181–84] 14th YCh 1. 423.

Probably a patronymic, “son of Kolli, Kollr” but possibly a derivative from *kollr* “head” (Nord.Kult.VII 55, 157 n.181). Recorded in WScand (Lind 709–10).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. Forms in *-ing* may show substitution of the English suffix. For *-ig* for *-ing* see § 86i.

### Kolsteinn

L. a) in Colstandic 1202 (f.n. in Stainfield, Louthesk W) Bower 541.

Y. a) in Golstaindale 1160 (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in Colestainthorpe 1249 (lost, ? nr Wressell, Harthill W, E) Lindkvist 68.

First el. *Kol-*. Second el. *-steinn*. A couple of instances are recorded in the 13th and 14th cents in Swed in the latinised form *Colstanus* (Lundgren-Brate 153).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *G-* for *K-* see § 129. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *-stan* see § 52. For *ai* for *ei* see § 49.

### Kolsveinn

L. b) Colsuen 1086 DB p.6, acc. and gen. 72/31.54, Colsuain nr 26, Colsuan nom. and gen. 26/1.2–4.6–10.15–16.19.21.22.24–27.30–31.33.35–37.40.43–50.53, p.14, acc. 69/7, 70/26, 71/8, 72/34, gen. Colsuani 71/2, Colsuin 72/64. Not certain whether all these instances refer to the tenant in chief. – Colswen; Colsuan, the bishop of Durham's man, 1086 DB 3/1; 3/2–3.36. – Colsuan the bishop of Bayeux' man, 1086 DB 4/2. – Colsuan, Abbot Thorald of Peterborough's man, 1086 DB 8/13. – Colsuan, Earl Hugh's man, 1086 DB 13/26. – Colsuan, Gilbert de Gand's man, 1086 DB 24/2. – Colsuan, Gocelin son of Lambert's man, 1086 DB 28/3. – Colsuan, Drew de Beurere's man, 1086 DB 30/36. – Colsuan, Rainer de Brimou's man, 1086 DB 40/2. – Picoto f. Colsueni; Colsuen [c1101], [1101–15], [1101–14] all 13th, 1101 RA I 15,21,28;73, Picotus f. Colsuani Lincolnie [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – terram Iuonis et Colsueni auunculorum predicti Roberti nepotis comitisse, Colsuani (Miningsby, E Kirkby) c1135, H<sub>2</sub>; l.H<sub>2</sub>, l.12th Dane 507–08; 509–10. – Colsuein f. Alrici (Reuesbia)

1142 NthCh 3. – uinea **Colsueni** [1146] c1225 RA I 252. – **Colsuain** (Martin) l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 492. – **Colsuain opilio** (sic for ovilio) (Rauceby) 1185 Templ 93. – **Colswainus** (Hundleby) [e.13th] c1225 and c1330 RA VI 1867–68.

Y. a) in **Colswainerode** 12th (f.n. in Headingley, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 143. – in **Colsuainhaghe** 12th (f.n.) PNYE 324; YCh 1. 447. – **Hotun DB**, distinguished by addition of **Colsuain, -sweyn, -swayn** 1227 etc. (Low Hutton, Bulmer W, N; C. is the name of the first tenant of this manor of whom there is any record) PNYN 41.

b) **Colsuain gen.** (York) [1160–80] 14th YCh 1. 233.

First el. *Kol-*. Second el. *-sveinn*. Alternatively, this may be an orig by.n. and should perhaps be spelt *Kollsveinn*. The latter form is recorded in Icel (Nord.Kult.VII 111).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *u,uu* for *v* see § 67. For *ai, e, i, a* for *ei* see §§ 49.50.51.52.

### Kori

L. a) in **Corbi**; *-by* DB 7/39.41; 68/18, **Corebi** 1157 DEPN (Corby, Beltisloe W).

Probably an Ir name as it is only recorded in Scand as being borne by *Kori þræll irskr* in the Landnámabók (Lind 714). A \**Kori* is, however, deduced from Swed p.n.s. (Lundgren-Brate 154).

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### \*Kosti

L. b) **Cost'**, **Coste de Aluingham** abl., witness, l.12th, e.13th RA V 1599, 1713. – **Rannulfi f. Coste** (Withcall) 1185 Templ 107, [terram] **Coste**, **Costi f. Godricii** (Withcall) l.12th RA V 1583, 1588, **Coste gen. and dat.** (Withcall) 1212 Fees 176–77. – **Coste** abl., witness, [R<sub>1</sub>] 1409 GH 8 p.106. – **Cost f. Siward** abl., witness, [c1200] c1225 RA V 1606–07. – **Radulfi f. Costi**; **Coste** (Grainthorpe) [c1210–24] c1225 and c1330 RA V 1603; 1604, 1613, 1617. – **Osbertus Coste pater Gaufridi** (Navenby) 25/11 1218 AssSel 156. – **Hamelini f. Cost'** (Yarborough) c1240 RA V 1626. – **Alan son of Coste** 1256 FFF 122.

An orig by.n., perhaps from OIcel *kostr* m. “choice, match, expence, good quality etc”. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127.

### Kotti

Y. a) in **Cotesbec** 13th, **Cottebec** or **Coccebec** 1279, **Coddebek** c1540 (Cod Beck, N) Ekwall English River-Names 85.

An orig by.n., cf. perhaps e.ModDan *kotte* “an article of clothing”, a name probably derived from Lat *cotta* “mantle worn by a cleric”. A number of late instances are recorded in Dan as both pers.n. and by.n. (DgP 784; II 603).

The p.n. may rather contain an OE pers. n. *Cotta* < \**kutt-* “round, plump”.

There was often scribal confusion of *t* and *c*. *t* became voiced to *d* before the following *b* (Ekwall loc.cit.).

### Krákr

L. b) **Grimbold Crac** TRE DB 12/9.13.

An orig by.n. “crow, raven” (Nord.Kult.VII 45). It is rare in Norw but may be found in some p.ns. there. More frequent in Icel after c1200 (Lind 716–17). Also found as a by.n. in Icel, where it is borne by a grandson of one of the orig settlers (Lind BN 218). A few late instances are recorded in Dan (DgP 784).

For *C-*, *-c* for *K-*, *-k* see § 127.

### Krókr

L. a) in **Crochestune**; **-tone**; **Crocestone** DB 1/72; 7/26; 16/45, 25/6.11, **Crosthethuna**, **Crochestuna** LiS 11/13.22 (Croxtton, Yarborough W). – in **Cropesbi** DB 13/16, 32/30, C[r]oc[h]es[b]i LiS 1/14 partly illegible (Crosby, Manley W). – in **Crosbi**, **Crocsbi** DB 14/15, 18/10, 70/20; 32/9.10, 49/2.3, **Crochesbi** LiS 7/3–5.7 (Croxby, Walshcroft W).

b) **terram Reginaldi f. Croc** (Somercotes) [c1190–1200] c1225 RA V 1656. – **Ricardus Croc** (Hanby-in-Lavington) 25/11 1218 AssSel 115.

Y. a) in **Croxebi**, **Croxbi** DB, **Crossebi** 1153–57 (Crosby, Allerton W, N) PNYN 205. – in **Croc(he)sbi** DB, **Crokesby** c1280 (Crooksby, Hang W W, N) PNYN 268.

b) **Radulfo Cruc** (et Hugone fratre suo), witness, c1180–1200 YCh 2. 1007. – **Willelmus Crock** [1284–85] l.15th KI 72.

An orig by.n. “crook-backed”, cf. OIcel *krókr* m. “hook” (Nord.Kult. VII 51), or possibly “crooked-dealer” (Lind). Rare and late as a pers.n. in WScand but much earlier and commoner as a by.n. (Lind 721; BN 220–21). Also recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 155; SRU nr 604) and Dan (DgP 804; II 616–18). Found in a Dan runic inscription (Jacobsen-Moltke 676) and in several Dan p.ns. In one of these occurs the spelling *Cruks-* (DS II 142; IV 546; IX 169; XII 82). Probably also found in Normandy (Adigard 221–23).

Crosby in Allerton W may alternatively contain the common noun *cros*. “cross”.

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For *c, ch* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For *x, s* for *ks* see § 130. For *u* for *ó* see § 27.

### \*Krókbeinn

Y. b) **Henricus Crokebayn** (Thorganby) [1284–85] l.15th KI 64.

An orig by.n. “crooked-legged”, cf. the WScand by.n. *Krókfótr* (Lind BN 220) and Swed *Krokfot* (Modéer 101). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *C-* for *K-* see § 127. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *ay* for *ei* see § 49.

### Kærir

Y. a) in Carebi DB, **Kerebi**, -by 1170, **Kareby**, **Kairebi** 1209 (Cold Kirby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 197. – in Cherebi DB, **Kerebi** 1193 etc. (Kearby, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 40.

An orig. by.n. < vb *kæra* “accuse, make a charge”, probably indicating a man with a fondness for taking cases to court (Lind BN 232). A couple of independent instances are recorded in Norw and the name may be found in some p.ns. there. *Kærer* is also recorded independently and in p.ns. in Swed and in Dan (Lundgren-Brate 158; SOÅ XVI 84; DgP 809; DS IX 168; XI 95). Lundgren, however, considered that the Swed forms derive from the adj. *kær* “dear” (Uppsalastudier tillegn. Bugge 17).

For *C-*, *Ch-* for *K-* see §§ 126.127. For *a, e* for *æ* see §§ 40.41.

## L

### \*Lágr, Lági, Lagi

L. b) **Purgodes lagen** gen. [1053–55] l.12th ASCharters 115, **Turgot lag'** TRE DB 18/1.7.13.29, **Turgot laga** gen. 59/6.

Y. a) in Lange-, Loghc-, Logetorp DB, Loutorp 12th (Lowthorpe, Dicker-ing W, E) PNYE 93.

b) **Turgod lag** TRE DB 298v.

*Lágr*, *Lági* are orig by.ns. “the short” (Tengvik 320). The weak form is borne as a by.n. by some of the orig settlers in Icel and a few other men (Lind BN 234). *Lagi* is an orig by.n. “partner, companion” (Nord.Kult. VII 202). Very common in Dan after c1140 (DgP 813–20) and found in

p.ns. there (DS V 387; IX 117, XI 156). Spread via Swed to Norw (Nord. Kult.VII 131), where a few instances are recorded in the 15th cent (Lind 727-28).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Logi* q.v.

The variations in spelling of the first el. of the p.n. may be best explained by vocalisation in e.ME of intervocalic *g* (see § 137). For *o* for *a* see § 3.

### Lagmann

Y. b) **Lagman** TRE DB 301r (bis). – **Lageman** acc. 1218–19 AssSel 670.

An orig occupational name “lawman”. Recorded in Swed as a patronymic and in p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 164) and in Dan as a patronymic, probably a loan from Swed or Norw (DgP 820). In Norw there is a pers.n. *Loğmaðr* and a by.n. *Lagamaðr* “skilled in law” (Lind 751; BN 234).

The Y forms may possibly represent the Scand occupational term used as a surname (Thuresson 143).

For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

### \*Lagulfr

L. a) in **Lagvlris wapentac** DB 71/1, **Lagolfris W LiS** p.240 (Lawress W).

First el. *Lag-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. An Anglo-Scand formation (cf. K. Cameron Scandinavian Settlement 6)?

For interchange of *u/o* see § 32. For loss of *f* see § 100.

### \*Lambakarl, \*Lambakarli

L. b) **Lanbecarle; Lambecarl** TRE DB 2/11; 13/22.26.31.

Perhaps an orig by.n. “man who tends or deals with lambs” or maybe a compound “*K. son of Lambi*” q.v. or “*K. the sheep-owner*” or it may possibly derive from the pers.n. recorded in OIcel as *Lambkarr*, with analogical modification of the second el., cf. *Othenkar, -karl* (Feilitzen 308).

For *n* for *m* see § 81. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58. Final *e* may either belong to the form *-karli* or else be an AN supporting vowel (see § 66).

### Lambi

L. b) **Lambe** TRE DB 14/57.

Y. a) in **Lambe-, La'be, Lanbetorp** DB (Langthorpe Hall, Holderness W, E) PNYE 48.

An orig by.n. < *lamb* “lamb”. A number of instances are recorded in Icel from the time of the settlement onwards but the name is rare in Norw

(Lind 728). Also recorded as a by.n. (Lind BN 234). Possibly found in some Dan p.ns. (DS XIII 153, 193).

For *n* for *m* see § 81.

#### Langlif fem.

Y. a) in Torp DB, Langliuторp 12th (Langthorpe, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 180.

An orig by.n. "long-life". A few instances are recorded as a pers.n. in Norw after c1200 (Lind 729). Found in Dan as *Langliua* from the middle of the 12th cent (Nord.Kult.VII 205).

For *u* for medial *f* see § 96.

#### \*Langus fem.

Y. a) in Langusboskes e.13th (f.n. in Middleton, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 68.

Y. b) ? Gilberto f. Langus [c1145-70] e.15th YCh 11. 193. – Roberto et Turstino filiis Langus [1148-56] 14th-15th YCh 2. 1124. – Herebertum f. Langus 1218-19 AssSel 368. – Walterus f. Langus' (Kelfield) 1218-19 AssSel 148. – Langusam uxorem ejus (Simon f. Randulphi; Elslack) [1248-49] 17th YCh 7. 145, Langus uxore Symonis, witness, [13th] 17th YCh 7. 141n.

Possibly a fem. name related to the by.ns. *Langr*, *Langi* (Lind 729; BN 237-38; DgP 824-25; II 652-56). Cf. *Ingus* < *Ingiriðr*. An Anglo-Scand formation? See also PNYW 5. 45.

#### \*Launn

Y. a) in Louneserges, Launeserges 1256 (f.n. in Threshfield, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 107.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *laun* f. "secrecy". An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *ou* for *au* see § 46.

#### \*Laupingi

L. a) in Lopintorp DB (Lobthorpe, Beltisloe W) 7/44, 68/20.

An orig by.n. cf. OIcel *hlaupingi* "land-loper, fugitive". An Anglo-Scand formation?

For loss of *H-* before *l* see § 140ii. For *o* for *au* see § 47. For *-in* for *-ing* see § 90ii.

#### Leggr

L. a) in Lagesbi DB (Legsby, Wraggoe W) 22/35,36, 69/26. – in Leggeshowe H<sub>2</sub> (f.n. in Linwood, Walshcroft W; Linwood and Legsby

are neighbouring townships) Bower 426. – in **Leggeshaghe** 1189 (f.n. in E Kirby, Bolingbroke W) Bower 451.

b) ? **Ricardo legges** abl. c1150–60 Dane 257.

An orig by.n. “leg-bone, leg”. Appears first in Norw as a by.n. and is borne as such by one of the orig settlers in Icel but is also found as a pers.n. in WScand (Lind 731; BN 241).

For *a* for *e* see § 15.

### Leiðulfr

L. a) in **Leduluetorp, Ledulvetorp** DB (Laythorpe, Aswardhurn W) 7/49, 26/30.

First el. *Leið-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel and found in some p.ns. there. Frequent in Norw after c1300 (Lind 731–32).

For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116. For *u,v* for medial *f* see § 96.

### Leifr, Leifi, \*Leifus

L. a) in **Levesbi, Lenesbi, Leuesbi** DB 4/69, 22/2, 30/15, **Leyseby** LiS: 9/1 (Laceby, Bradley W).

Y. a) in **Lefehowe** 1335 (Leaf Howe, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 79.

b) **Lef** festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Erinaldo** f. **Levus** [c1180–93] 14th–15th YCh 2. 913. – **Arnulfo** f. **Leu[us]**, **Leuus** 1189–95, [1189–95] 14th–15th YCh 1. 252–53.

*Leifr* is a short form of names in *-leifr* and *Leifi* a weak side-form (Nord. Kult.VII 59–60). The strong form appears as early as the 9th cent and becomes common in Icel but less so in Norw (Lind 734–35). There is one instance as a by.n., borne by the son of one of the orig settlers, and this name may mean “the survivor” or “the by-passed one” (Lind BN 241). The weak form is only recorded as the name of a sea-king in the Edda but since it is found in several p.ns., it was probably also borne by real people (Lind 733). The weak form (*Leve*) is also found in p.ns. in Dan and Swed (DgP 845; DS VII 185).

For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For *v,u* for *f* see § 96. *n* for *u* is a scribal error. For loss of post-vocalic *f* see § 100. For *Leifus* cf. *Langus*.

### Leikr

Y. a) in **Lechestorp** DB, **Leisthorp** 1170–83, **Lai-**, **Laystorp** 1219 (Laysthorpe, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 54.

A short form of names in *-leikr*. A number of late instances are recorded in Norw after c1351. Also found in p.ns. there (Lind BN 241). Recorded!

in Swed (Modéer 37) and possibly found in a Dan p.n. (DS I 19). A weak form *Leke* is recorded in Swed p.ns. and both independently and in p.ns. in Dan (DgP 840; DS XI 130; XIII 233).

For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For *s* for *ks* see § 130.

#### \*Leikulfr

Y. b) *Hosti Lecholf canonicus*, witness, [1130–36] c1295 YCh 2. 783.

First el. *Leik-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For interchange of *o/u* see § 32.

#### \*Lēofketill

L. b) *Siwat' f. Luuechil* 1202 Ass 459.

Y. b) *Lefchil* TRE DB 308r.

A hybrid. First el. OE *Lēof-*. Second el. *-ketill*. An Anglo-Scand formation.

The OE diphthong *ēo* was monophthongised in the course of the 11th cent to [ø] and it is probably this sound, with the AN spelling *u* for [ø] or possibly for *y*, that is represented by the form *Luu-*. *ēo* normally appears in ME sources as *e* (cf. Feilitzen § 34). For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *ch* for *k* see § 126.

#### \*Lēofkollr

Y. b) *Leuecol* TRE DB 315v.

A hybrid. First el. OE *Lēof-*. Second el. *-kollr*. An Anglo-Scand formation.

For *e* for *ēo* see above s.v. *Lēofketill*. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *c* for *k* see § 127.

#### Leppi

Y. a) in *Lepenges* 13th (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in *Lepsettynges* 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333.

An orig by.n., a side-form to *Leppr*, cf. OIcel *leppr* “lock of hair” or “rag, tatter”. The weak form may be found in some p.ns. in WScand (Lind BN 242).

For *þ* for *þþ* see § 143.

#### \*Leysingr, \*Leysingi

L. a) in *Laisingtorp* 1208 (lost place near Partney, Candlehoe W) Lindkvist 133.

b) *Lesinc* TRE DB 28/33.

Y. a) in *Lesingebi*, *Laisinbia*, *Lesighebi*, *Lei-*, *Leisingebi* DB (Lazenby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 160. – in *Leisenchi*, *Leisinghi* sic DB (Lazenby, Allerton W, N) PNYN 210. – in *Laysingcroft* c1180 (f.n. in Redcar, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 160. – in *Leasingsto(c)king* 1200,



1206 (f.n. in Ledston, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 52. – in **Laisingrode** 13th (f.n. in Stainburn, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 50. – in **Lesingthorpe**, **Lesingcroft(e)** 1304 (Lazencroft, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 107. – in **Laysingbothem** 1308 (Laying Clough, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 279.

b) **Leising** TRE DB 300r, **Lesing** 300r (7 times), 301v, **Leisinc** 320v, **Lesinc** 320v. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Leising** (Romanby) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931. – **Leising'** acc. (Acaster) [c1150] 13th–14th Selby 557. – **Laising nepos Gillemichel**, witness, [c1140–48] 14th–15th YCh 1. 539. – **Ricardo f. Laising; Leising de Ledestona** [c1160–75] m.13th, [1169–75] m.13th, [1184] m.13th; [1144–59] m.13th, [1170–90] m.13th, [1170–90] m.13th YCh 3. 1730, 1777, 1779; 1771, 1780–81. – **Uctredo f. Leisingi** c1158–63 YCh 1. 118. – **Adam f. Leising** [1160–70] m.13th YCh 3. 1633. – **Willelmo Laising** (et Bernulfo fratre ejus) witness, [1160–70] 14th YCh 2. 901. – **Henricus f. Leising, Lesingi de Eland** (possibly a lineal descendant of a DB tenant Gamel) 1164–c85, [c1188–1202] 17th YCh 8. 67, 135. – **Laising de Bradeleia**, witness, [c1165–77] 15th YCh 3. 1762. – **Leising, Willelmus Painel's man**, [c1166–94] 17th YCh 6. 141. – **Reginaldus f. Leisig'** [1167–80] 14th YCh 1. 415. – **Laising'** preposito, witness, 4/8 1174 YCh 6. 147. – **Lesingo de Harie** abl., witness, [1181–84] 14th YCh 1. 423. – **Roberti f. Laising** (Carlton) [c1185–1211] 17th YCh 3. 1819. – **Leisingus f. Herberti, Leisingum** acc. (Rastrick) [c1188–1202] 17th YCh 8. 166–67. – **Johannes f. Laising** 1212 Crown Pleas 109. – **Landric son of Leysin** (Tickhill) 1226 FFP 88. – **Laysing** gen. (Gateforth) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 394. – **Osbertus f. Willelmi Laising' de Pollington', Osberto Leising' abl., Willelmi Leysing' gen., Willelmus f. Osberti Laising** [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 962, 964–65, 969, 972.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *leysingi* “freedman”. An Anglo-Scand formation?

Some of the p.ns. may alternatively contain the common noun “freedman”, which had been adopted into OE (Hofmann § 203).

For *ai*, *e* for *ey* see § 53. For unvoicing of *g* and for *-in*, *-ig* for *ing* see §§ 86.90.

#### \*Liðulfr

Y. a) in **Lithoulandez** 13th (f.n. in Walton, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 247. – possibly in **Lichoulandes** (? sic for Lith-) 13th (f.n. in Kearby, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 42. – in **Lithholfeld** 1492 (f.n. in Sowerby, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 158.

b) **Lidulfo** sacerdote de Breirwell, witness, [c1160–75] ? YCh 11. 237.

First el. *Lið*-. Second el. *-ulfr*. An Anglo-Scand formation? Note, however, that a form *Lidulf*, *Lithulf* occurs once or twice in Dan sources but is considered to derive from a name corresponding to WScand *Ljóðólfr* and ContGerm *Leudulf* (DgP 850).

The second f.n. may rather contain the pers.n. *Likulfr* q.v.

For *th*, *d* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.118. For interchange of *o/u* see § 32. For *u* for *f* see § 96. For loss of *l* see § 70.

#### Líf fem.

Y. a) in *Lifacre*, *Lyfacra* 12th (f.n. in N Stainley, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 162.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *hlíf* f. "protection" or OIcel *líf* n. "life". Borne by the mother of three of the orig settlers in Icel and some other women (Lind 551). Cf. also the myth. name *Líf*, which occurs twice in WScand literature (Lind 738).

For loss of *H*- before *l* see § 140ii.

#### \*Ligulfr

L. b) terram **Ligholf** (Grainthorpe) [c1215–20] c1225 RA V 1612.

Y. b) **Ligolf** festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Ligulf** TRE DB 300r (bis), 300v (6 times), 301r (bis), 306r (5 times), 307r (3 times), 307v, 308r, 308v, 309v, 316r, 317r, 317v, 321v (bis), 323r, 324r, 327r, 330r, 331r (bis), gen. 373v (bis), 374r, **Ligulfi** 298r, **Ligulf** 301r, 307v, duo **Ligulfi** 300v, **Ligul** 301r (bis), 309v, 315v, 327v, **Ligulf** TRE and 1086 315v, 330v, **Ligulf** 1086 317v. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. A **Ligulf** was one of the largest land owners in the W Riding and he is probably identical with the festerman. – pontem **Ligulfi** (Woodkirk) [1138–47] ? YCh 8. 31. – **Ragnilda filia Ligulfi**; **Ligulphi** [1149–53] 15th, 1150–53; [1154–64] 15th YCh 1. 67,71; 72. – **Ligulfum de Winteword** acc. [c1152–55] 17th YCh 7. 130.

First el. *Lig-* ? Second el. *-ulfr*. An Anglo-Scand formation? No such el. as *Lig-* is recorded in Scand.

It is just possible that *-ig-* represents *-i-* and that the name in question is *Liulfr* q.v. (Feilitzen 319–20).

For *ph* for *f* see § 97. For loss of final *f* see § 100. For interchange of *o/u* see § 32. For *gh* for *g* see § 133.

#### \*Líkulfr

Y. a) possibly in *Lichoulandes* 13th (f.n. in Kearby, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 42.

b) **Theobaldum f. Licolfi** (Willerby) [1165–75] 14th YCh 2. 1225.

First el. *Lik-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. An Anglo-Scand formation? Cf. the Swed names *Likbiorn* (e.g. SRU nrs 1074, 1095) and *Likviðr* (SRU nr 38).

The p.n. may rather contain the pers. n. *Liðulfr* q.v. The forms may in fact represent *Ligulfr* q.v. (see § 135).

For *c, ch* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For interchange of *u/o* see § 32. For *u* for *f* see § 96. For loss of *l* see § 70.

\***Línhildr fem.**

Y. b) **Ricardum f. Linild'** (Pickburn) 1202 FFBB 41.

First el. *Lin-*. Second el. *-hildr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

\***Liulfr**

L. b) **Liulf del Espaunne** (Aswardby) 1196 FFF 298, **Liholfus de la Spanna** 1212 Fees 167. – **Liulfum de Hekinton'** 1202 Ass 349. – **Ralph and Walter sons of Lyolf** 1226 FFM 199. – **Ralf f. Liolf de Germethorp** [c1250] 1.13th FP 76.

Y. a) in **Lyolfesenge** 1258 (f.n.) PNYN 332. – in **Ly-, Liolfhanne** 1276, **-stighel** 1281, **Lyolshawe** c1280 (f.ns.) PNYW 7. 301.

b) **Liolfo parmentario** [1142–45] 1.12th YCh 9. 89. – **Gamellus f. Liulfi de Batheleia** [12th] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1820. – **Liolfus**, witness, [m.12th] 17th YCh 5. 333. – **Ricardo f. Liolf**, witness, [1154–67] 1.12th YCh 2. 958. – **Liulfus de Kintorne** [1157–58] 1.12th YCh 1. 402, **Liolf de Chintorp abl.**, witness, [1181] 1.12th YCh 1. 617. – **Adam f. Liulphi**, witness, [1175–90] 14th YCh 2. 685. – **Roberto f. Liolf**, witness, [1180–1200] 14th–15th YCh 1. 317. – **Liulfo de Pinzunthorp abl.**, witness, [c1195–1210] 17th YCh 2. 753. – **Thomam f. Liolf** 1199 Pleas 3527. – **Liulf'** acc. 1201 Pleas 3379. – **Robertus f. Liolfi** (Stillingfleet) [1202–03] 13th–14th, [1204–09] 13th–14th YCh 10. 47–48. – **Roberto f. Leolfi** (Smartorp') 1208 FFBB 134. – **Robertus, Walterus, Germanus filii Liolfi** (Dunsforth) 1212 FFBB 166. – **Gordano f. Liolf**, witness, 1200–20 YCh 3. 1816. – **Leolfum** acc. 1218–19 AssSel 692. – **Hugonem f. Leolf'** (Bentley) 1218–19 AssSel 37. – **Liolfo f. suo** (Hawisa) (Sharlston) 1218–19 AssSel 299.

Of doubtful origin. Possibly (*H*)*lifulfr* (Lind 554) with loss of medial *f(v)* or \**Ligulfr* with reduction of *ig > i* (Feilitzen 319–20). The suggestion that *Liulfr* is a form of *Ligulfr* gains some support from the fact that both forms are recorded in the village of Grainthorpe (*Ligholf* [c1215–20], *Liolf* [c1250]). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For the insertion of hiatus-filling *h* see § 141.

**Ljótr, \*Ljóti**

Y. a) in **Ledeby DB, Letteby, Lecceby** 1301 (Leckby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 181.

b) **Leot; Leod dux** [958] 14th, [959] 12th; [958] 14th YCh 1. 2,4; 3.

An orig. by.n. "ugly". This name is fairly common in Norw, where it is also found in p.n.s., and one of the commonest names in Icel from the earliest period onwards (Lind 741-42). In the form *Liutr* it appears in a couple of Swed runic inscriptions (SRU nrs 1016, 1132) and a \**Liut* is probably found in some Dan p.n.s. (DS VIII 41; XI 213-14; XII 139). A weak form, which would better explain the early forms of the p.n. (Ekwall DEPN), is not recorded in Scand.

For *e, eo* for *jó* see § 56. For *d* for medial and final *t* see § 103. *cc* is either a scribal error for *tt* or else represents *c* for *z* for *ts* (see § 105).

**Loðinn**

L. b) ? **Radulfus Lodein** 1202 Ass 1016.

Y. a) in **Lodenesburg DB, Lonesburgh** 1136-39 (Londesborough, Harthill W, E) PNYE 231. – in **Lothenrig** 1251 (f.n. in Litton, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 127. – in **Lothenhaucs, Lodhenhawes** 13th (f.n. in Londesborough, Harthill W, E) PNYE 231. – in **Lonesdale** 1263 (Lonsdale, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 165. – in **Lodhenaikelandes** 1300 (f.n. in Kearby, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 42.

An orig. by.n. "the hairy one". Common in Norw and fairly frequent in Icel from the time of the settlement onwards (Lind 743-45). There are several instances in Swed as *Ludhin, Lodhin* (Lundgren-Brate 171-72) and some in Dan, including *lopæns* gen. in a runic inscription (Jacobsen-Moltke 684) and several p.n.s. (DgP 856; DS IX 177).

For *d, dh, th* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.118.119. For loss of intervocalic *ð* see § 120. For *e* for unstressed *i* see § 19. The L form is probably corrupt, and may not belong here.

**Logi**

Y. a) in **Lange-, Loghe-, Logetorp DB Loutorp** 12th etc. (Lowthorpe, Dickering W, E) DEPN. – in **Loucross** 12th (Lowcross Farm, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 152.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *logi* "flame, blaze". There are a few instances of this name in Icel after c1380 and a few fictional bearers (Lind 746). *Loghi* may be recorded a few times in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 171) and is also found in Dan but the Dan forms are considered to be S Slesvig side-forms of *Lag(h)i* (DgP 854) and not to represent an independent name.

Lowthorpe may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Lagi* q.v.

For vocalisation of intervocalic *g* see § 137. For *gh* for *g* see § 133.

### Lundr, Lundi

L. b) **Lundi** (Reuesbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – **Lundi** litherwine (brother of Ingemundus, Schithesbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – **Lund'** (Dorrington) 1185 Templ 87. – **Lundi** gen. (Martin-by-Timberland) [1.12th] 13th Dane 184. – **Reginaldi f. Londi** (Claxby) 6/7 1202 FF 80. – **Simon cappellanus f. Willelmi f. Lundi de Scaupewic** [c1250] 14th FP 206.

*Lundi* is an orig by.n., either “puffin” or from a farm-name *Lundr*, or possibly a short form of names in *Lund-* (Modéer 39). A few instances are recorded in WScand after 1200 (Lind BN 248). It is also found as a pers.n. in Swed in the 15th cent (Lundgren-Brate 172) and Dan (DgP 863). There is also a strong form *Lund*, which is recorded as a by.n. in Dan in the 14th cent (DgP II 692–94).

For *o* for *u* see § 32.

### \*Lundvarr or possibly \*Lundvǫr fem.

Y. b) **Thoma Lundvar**, **Lundware** abl., witness, [1180–1200] 14th–15th, [1185–1205] 14th–15th YCh 1. 317–18. – **Radulfus f. Lundwari** 1190, 1191 P 69.

First el. *Lund-*. Second el. *-varr* or *vǫr*. An Anglo-Scand formation (Feilitzen Notes 58)?

For *w* for *v* see § 67. For *a* for *ǫ* see § 42.

### Lúsi

Y. a) in **Lushov**, **-hou** c1200 (Loose Howe, tumulus in Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 80.

An orig by.n. cf. OIceI *lús* f. “louse”. A single instance is recorded in WScand in 1188 (Lind BN 249).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the OE common noun *lūs* “louse”.

For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Lútr

L. a) in **Luzebi** DB (Lusby, Bolingbroke W) 24/24.43.44.

An orig by.n. “the stooping one”. Only recorded as a mythological name in WScand (Lind 749). Two Swed p.ns. contain the strong form and a weak side-form *Lute* respectively (Lundgren-Brate 172; B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 32–33). There are a few uncertain instances of a by.n. *Lut* in Dan (DgP II 698).

For *z* for *ts* see § 105. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

# M

## Magi

Y. a) in **Mawemose** 1335 (May Moss, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 95.

An orig by.n. "having a prominent stomach" (Nord.Kult.VII 280). A few instances as a by.n. are recorded in WScand (Lind BN 250-51). It is also found as a p.n. el. in Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 246). Cf. also the Dan by.n. *Maghe* "seagull" or "stomach" (DgP II 712) and the Swed by.n. *Maghe* (XenLid 100).

For vocalisation of *g* see § 137.

## Magni

Y. a) in **Mannebi, Mannesbi** DB, **Magnebi**, -by 1157, **Maghen** (e)by 1198 (Maunby, Gilling E W, N) PNYN 274.

A short form of names in *Magn-* or a side-form of *Magnús* q.v. A number of instances are recorded in Norw and a few in Icel (Lind 754). It is also found in Swed p.ns. (Nord.Kult.VII 252).

The DB forms show substitution of the pers.n. *Manni* q.v. *Magne-* may alternatively represent an OFr pers.n. *Magne* (Tengvik 190).

For *gh* for *g* see § 133. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

## Magnús

L. a) in **Macusecroft** 13th (f.n. in Theddlethorpe All Saints, Calcewath W) Bower 470.

b) **Macus; Machus** TRE DB 27/25.27; 27/33. – **Magnus de Burgh; Radulfus f. Magni de Burc, Burg** [H<sub>2</sub>] 1411; [H<sub>2</sub>] 1411, l.H<sub>2</sub> GH 17 p.97; GH 17 p.98, Dane 112. – **Swan f. Magni** (Cockerington) [C1160] l.13th, **Swan Magnussuna** confirmation E<sub>2</sub> FP 72, 72n. – **Magnus** (Raithby) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 513. – **Magnus de Weitecroft** H<sub>2</sub> Dane 113, **Magnus, Magnum** acc., **Magni** gen., **Magno** dat. de Weitecroft [C1206] C1225 RA VI 1831-33, 1836, 1843, **Magnus de Watercroft, Magni** gen. 22/8 1206 FF 211, **Mangni Watercroft** gen., **Magno de W.** abl. 1202, 1206 Ass 541, 1513, **Robertum f. Mangnus, Mangno patri Roberti, Roberto f. Magnus** 1202 Ass 541, 1019. – **Magnus peregrinus** H<sub>2</sub> Dane 113. – **Willelmus Magnus de Yngham** ante 1183 Dane 425. – **Petrus Magnus de Ingham, Petro Magno** abl. l.12th Dane 65-66. – **terram Magnus, [C1200]** C1225 RA V 1666, **Gilebertus f. Magnus sic de Sumercotes, Magni de S.** l.12th,

[H<sub>2</sub>] c1225 Dane 555, RA V 1681. – Henricum Mangnum 1202 Ass 46, Henricum Magnum (Bytham) 1/7 1202 FF 58. – Mangnus f. . . . . 1202 Ass 413. – Matillis filia Magnus 1202 Ass 621. – Mangnus, Magnus f. Oukes 1202 Ass 955, 1070. – Ade Mangni, Magni gen. 1206 Ass 1322, 1511. – Magnus f. Torgot (Wolmersty) 1206 Ass 1377, Magnus f. Thurgot, Magnum acc. 25/6 1219 AssSel 812, Magnus son of Turgot, Turgod de Wlmaresti 1221 FFM 157–58. – Willelmus Magnus 1206 Ass 1384. – Magnus forestarius (Friskney) 7/1 1219 AssSel 276. – Magnus f. Roberti 25/6 1219 AssSel 812. – Magnus Le Parkur 1221 FFM 157. – Magnus son of William 1226 FFM 191. – Magnus f. Ywini [c1225] 13th FP 247. Y. a) in Magnusdayle c1230 (f.n.) PNYE 321. – in Macushau 13th (f.n. in Threshfield, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 107. – in Maccus Butts Close 1598 (f.n. in Horsforth, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 152. b) Macus TRE DB 325r, 330v. – Villelmo f. Magn[i], witness, 1135–55 YCh 1. 373. – Orm f. Magnus, witness, [1146–53] 15th YCh 7. 14.

An orig by.n. formed from the Lat adj. *magnus* “great”. The name became very common in Norw and Icel after the reign of Magnús the good († 1047), who was named after the Frankish emperor Charlemagne (Lind 754–56). It spread to the Dan and Swed royal houses and became very popular in EScand (DgP 877–87). Note a Dan form *Mangnus* (BrNGG § 290.3).

Stenton (Dane cxvii) notes that the introduction by Scandinavians to the Danelaw of this young name argues for the preservation of contact between the settlers and the Scand homelands at least up to the 11th century.

Some of the forms in L and Y may represent Lat *magnus* as a by.n.

*Macus* is the form which *Magnús* took in OIr sources. For the spellings *Mangnus* etc. see above.

### Mákr, Máki

Y. a) in *Maxudesmares*, -mersc DB (part of Marishes, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 84. – in *Macwra* E<sub>3</sub> (lost place ? near Walkington, Harthill W, E) Lindkvist 201.

Orig by.ns. WScand side-forms to *Már* “sea-mew”. A few independent instances of *Mákr* are recorded and it may also be found in a p.n. (Lind 757). *Máki* is recorded as a by.n. and may also be found in some p.ns. (Lind 757; BN 251). A *Make* is recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 175) and in Dan, but the Dan pers.n. is assumed to be of ContGerm origin, a short form of *Markwarth* (DgP 890; II 713).

For *c* for *k* see § 127. For *x* for *ks* see § 130. *Maxudes-* may represent *Máks-* plus *wudu* (Lindkvist).

## Malti

L. a) in **Maltebi** DB 13/29, LiS 18/2 (Maltby-by-Raithby, Louthesk W). – in **Maltebi**; **-by** DB 12/86, 28/32; 25/22 (Maltby-le-Marsh, Calcewath W). – in **Maltetorp**; **Malbertorp**; **Maltorp** DB 24/71, 40/21; 13/7; 69/15, **Maltorp** LiS 15/13 (Mablethorpe, Calcewath W).

b) **Iaulf Maltesune**, **Maltes sune minister** [c1051–60] 12th, [1060] 12th KCD 806, 808.

Y. a) in **Maltebi** DB, **Mauteby** 1222 (Maltby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 171. – in **Maltebi** DB, **Mauteby** 1221 (Maltby, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 137.

b) **Willelmus f. Maldi** [c1150–72] 17th YCh 2. 711.

A Dan name, perhaps a loan from ContGerm as it occurs mainly in Jutland. It would in this case represent ContGerm *Molte*, *Malte*, perhaps short forms of *Helmold* (DgP 893–94; Nord.Kult.VII 225). It is common in Dan, where it appears as both pers.n. and by.n. and also in p.ns. (DgP 891–93; II 715; DS IV 196) but is not found in Swed or WScand. It appears in two p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 124–25).

Some forms of Mablethorpe contain ContGerm *Malbert* (Forssner 184).

For vocalisation of *l* see § 69. For *d* for *t* see § 103.

## Man, Manni

L. a) in **Mannebi** DB (Manby, Manley W) 44/4. – in **Mannebi** DB 1/83, LiS 18/1 (Manby, Louthesk W). – in **Mannetor(p)** DB (Manthorpe, Bel-tisloe W) 8/6. – in **Manelinde W** DB p.81, **Maneli** LiS p.237 (Manley W). – in **Mannegate e.H<sub>3</sub>** (f.n. in Coningsby, Horncastle W) Bower 512.

b) **Man** [frater] **de Torneholm** ante August 1175 YCh 6. 105. – **f. Manne** (Manthorpe) 1185 Templ 114. – **Hugone f. Nicholas f. Manne** [c1185] c1330 RA VIII 2259. – **Alwinus f. Man** (Barton) 3/12 1208 FF 296.

Y. a) in **Maneshou wapentac** DB (Ryedale W, N) PNYN 42.

b) **Man** TRE DB 324v. – **Man portarius**, witness, [1122–c30] 14th YCh 1. 637, [c1137–61] 14th YCh 4. 118. – **Willelmus Man** (Norton Pontefract) 1185 Templ 134.

Orig by.ns. Forms in *Man* may represent the EScand by.n. and pers.n. (DgP II 716–17; XenLid 104) but these EScand names are probably loans from ContGerm (Nord.Kult.VII 225). *Man* also appears in the p.n. *Mantot*, a Scand-type compound, in Normandy (Adigard 223–24). *Manni* is recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 175–76; SRU nr 1007) and Dan (DgP 896–97; DS II 111, 141) but not in WScand. It may also be found in p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 225–26).

Forms in *Man* in L and Y may rather represent the OE pers.n. *Man*



(Redin 8) and some of the p.n.s. in *Manne-* should perhaps be interpreted with the first el. as the gen. pl. *manna* “of the men”.

### Maurr

Y. a) in *Mourethwait* l.12th (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 191. – in *Morthwait* 1235–55, *Marethwait(e)* 1547 etc. (Marthwaite, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 264.

An orig by.n. “ant”. Possibly found in a Norw p.n. (Lind BN 254).

The Y p.n.s. may alternatively contain the Scand common noun “ant”. The earliest spelling of Marthwaite seems to have as its first el. OE *mōr* “moor” but, as A.H.Smith points out, in view of the later development to *Mar-*, *Mor-* probably stands for ME *Moure-*, *Maure-*, since *Mar-* would be a regular local development of the latter spellings but not of *Mōr-* (PNYW 6. 264).

For *ou* for *au* see § 46.

### \*Melmor

Y. a) in *Melmerbi* DB, *Melmor(e)* by 1184 (Melmerby, Hang W W, N) PNYN 255.

A scandinavianised form of OIr *Maelmuire* (Revue Celtique XLIV 49).

For *e* for unstressed *o* see § 58.

### Menni

Y. a) in *Menethorp* 12th (Menthorpe, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 261.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *menni* in compounds such as *góð-menni*, *ill-menni* “a good (bad) man”. A single instance is recorded in Icel as a by.n. in the 10th cent (Lind BN 255; Finnur Jónsson *Tilnavne* 340) and there is a possible instance in Dan in 1510 (DgP II 729).

For *n* for *nn* see § 143.

### \*Menning

Y. a) in *Mennistorp* DB, *Menigt(h)orp* e.13th, *Meningt(h)orp* 1219 (Menethorpe, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 145.

b) *Menning festerman* [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9.

An orig by.n., perhaps cf. OIcel *menning* f. “character, ability” or a patronymic < *Menni* q.v. or < *Manni* q.v. (PNYE 145). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For *-i*, *-ig* for *-ing* see §§ 86.147.

**\*Merlesveinn**

L. b) **Merlesuen; Merlosuen; Merlosuen uicecomiti**, sheriff of Lincoln, TRE DB p.13, 35/3, 72/5.11.31; 35/1.4.6.9.11.12.14.15; 71/11.

Y. b) **Merleswuain festerman** [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9, **Merlesuain** TRE DB 298r, 313r, **Merlesuen** 298v, 325v (3 times), gen. 374r, **Merlesuan** 325v (6 times), 326r (bis), **Merlesuain** (Barlby) [1100–08] 17th YCh 6. 2. All these instances refer to the sheriff of Lincoln.

A hybrid name. First el. obscure but it may be the OE pers.n. *\*Mǣrla*, a short form of names such as *Mǣrheard* (Ekwall DEPN s.v. Marlborough). Second el. *-sveinn*.

For *e* for *ǣ* see § 40. For *ai, e, a* for *ei* see §§ 49.50.52. For *u,w* for *v* see § 67.

**Miðjungr**

L. a) ? in **Melingesbi** DB 14/67, **Mithingsbia, Minigesbia** 1142 DEPN (Miningsby, Bolingbroke W).

A mythological name of a giant in the Edda (Lind 770).

If the first el. is *Miðjungr*, then the DB form and the second form from 1142 must be corrupt. The spelling in *-ing* probably represents an anglicisation of Scand *-jungr*. For *th* for medial *ð* see § 118.

**Mildi**

Y. a) in **Mildebi** DB (Milby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 181.

An orig by.n. “the gentle or generous one”. A number of instances as a by.n. are recorded in WScand from the latter part of the 10th cent onwards (Lind BN 257). There are also a couple of late instances of a strong form *Mildr* as a pers.n. (Lind 773).

The p.n. may alternatively contain an OE fem. pers.n. *\*Milde* (cf. Redin 114; Feilitzen 328).

**Milla**

L. b) **Gunni f. Mille**, witness, [c1200] c1225 RA V 1663, 1676.

Y. a) in **Milehowe** 1290 (Miley Pike, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 204.

An orig by.n., cf. the Swed plant name *mella, milla* “Filipendula”. A single instance is recorded in 1332 and the name may also be found in a p.n. (Lind BN 257).

For *l* for *ll* see § 143.

**Mjúkr**

Y. a) in **Mechesburg** DB (Mexborough, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 77.

An orig by.n. “soft, gentle”. Recorded as a by.n. in a Dan runic inscription (Jacobsen-Moltke 687).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the OE cognate pers.n. *Mēoc* (PNYW 1. 77).

For *e* for *jú* see § 56. For *ch* for *k* see § 126.

### Móði

Y. b) **Johanne Modi** abl., witness, [1190–1200] 13th YCh 3. 1286.

An orig by.n. “the angry one” or perhaps a short form of names in *-móðr*. Found as a mythological name in WScand and it may also have been borne by real people, as it is apparently found in some p.ns. (Lind 774). It is also possibly found in a p.n. in Skåne (Lundgren-Brate 177).

For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116.

### Móðulfr

Y. a) in **Modoluessik** ? 13th (f.n.) PNYE 327.

First el. *Móð-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. A typically Icel name. A number of instances are recorded in Icel (Lind 774–75) and the name may appear in a Swed p.n. (Nord.Kult.VII 245).

For *d* for *ð* see § 116. For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *u* for *f* see § 96ii.

### \*Moldr, Moldi

Y. a) in **Molzbi, Molscebi** DB, **Molesby, -bi** 1158 (Moxby, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 29.

*Moldi* is an orig by.n., perhaps cf. OIcel *mold* f. “mould, earth”. Recorded once as being borne by a fictional character but it may also have been borne by real people, as it appears in some Norw p.ns. (Lind 775–76). Also recorded as a by.n. (Lind BN 260) and in a WScand source referring to a Swede (Lundgren-Brate 344) and once independently and possibly in a p.n. in Dan (DgP 966). The DB forms would suggest that the first el. of the p.n. is a strong form *\*Moldr* but such a form is not recorded in Scand.

The p.n. may alternatively contain an OE pers.n. *Mold*.

For *z, sce* for *ts < ds* see §§ 105.107.

### Moli

L. b) **Robertus f. Mole**, witness, [c1170] 1409 GH 42 p.58. – **Robertus, Augrimus filii Mole** 1190–93, c1200, 1.12th Dane 168, 546, 550, **Roberto f. Mole** (Saltfleetby) 1.12th; e.13th; c1200, [c1200] c1225; [1239–45] c1330; [c1200] c1330 RA V 1633; 1641–42; 1646–47; 1654, 1692. – **Johanne f. Roberti f. Mole** e.13th RA VI 1766.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *moli* m. “small piece, crumb”. The name may be found in a WScand p.n. (Lind BN 260).

### Mukki

Y. a) in Mukescroft 1277–91 (f.n. in Hesse, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 90.

An orig by.n., cf. Dan *mukke* “to grumble”. A few late instances are recorded in Dan (Lat *Mucko*) (DgP 971).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the OE pers.n. *Muc(c)a*, which may be of Celtic origin (Redin 100–01) or perhaps the ME appellative *muk* “dung, muck”.

For *k* for *kk* see § 143.

### Múli

Y. a) in Muletorp DB (Mowthorpe, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 35. – in Meletorp, Muletorp DB (Mowthorpe, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 125. – in Mulewath 1170–80, Mulwaith 1205–09 (Mulwith, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 153. – in Mulecros 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in Mulfosse 1335 (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in Moulegrayne 1575 (Mould Grain, in Heptonstall, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 194. – in Mouleroid 1615 (f.n. in Hemsworth, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 267.

b) Mulo TRE DB 304v, Mule gen. 373r. – Mule TRE DB 307r, 320v.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *múli* m. “muzzle, snout”, indicating a large nose. There are a few instances as a by.n. in WScand from the 10th cent onwards and the name may also be found in some p.ns. (Lind BN 261). Also recorded in Swed as a pers.n. and by.n. (SRU nr. 932) and in Dan runic inscriptions as pers.n. and by.n. (Jacobsen-Moltke 688). It is also found once or twice in other Dan sources as a pers.n., frequently as a by.n. after 1165 and in some Dan p.ns. (DgP 971–72; II 743–45). Appears in three p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 125–26).

The forms in L and Y may alternatively represent the OE pers.n. *Mūla*.

### \*Múlagrím

Y. b) Milegrim TRE DB 306r (bis), Mulegrim gen. 373r.

Either “G. son of *Múli*” or “G. with the big mouth or nose”, cf. *Múla-Biarni* (Lind BN 261; Feilitzen 330). An Anglo-Scand formation?

### Mundi

L. a) in Mundebe, Mundbi hundred DB 12/93.95.96, 24/55, 29/32; 69/18, Mumbi, Monbi LiS 15/6, 12/7 (Mumby, Calcewath W).

A short form of names in *-mundr*. It is possible that this name appears in a p.n. in Norw (Lind 777) and one in Dan (DS XIII 83). Cf. also *Munder* in Swed and Dan (DgP 972).

For loss of interconsonantal *d* see § 108ii. For *m* for *n* see § 85. For *o* for *u* see § 32.

### Músi

L. b) **Gilibertus f. Muse** (Waddington) 1185 Templ 84.

Y. a) in **Muston(e)** DB, **Museton'** 12th (Muston, Dickering W, E) PNYE 111. – in **Musekelda** 12th (f.n. in Grewelthorpe, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 208. – in **Musebec** 12th (f.n. in Grewelthorpe, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 208. – in **Musecote(s)** 1154–63 (Muscoates, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 65. – in **Mussepile** 1189–1215 (Mousegill (lost), Rimington, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 177. – in **Muset(h)wayt(h)** 1253, **Mousethwayt** 1307 (Mouthwaite, Hang W W, N) PNYN 258. – in **Musecliue, -clyve** 13th (Musley Bank, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 41. – in **Mousskogh** 1307 (Mouscar, in Grewelthorpe, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 208. – in **Mowsecroft** 1455 (Mouse Croft, f.n. in Barnsley, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 305. – in **Musgill** 1709 (f.n. in Salterforth, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 37.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *mús* “mouse”. A few instances are recorded as a by.n. in WScand after 1240. The name is also found in p.ns. (Lind BN 263). Cf. Dan *Mus*, which is found as both pers.n. and by.n. (DgP 972; II 750–52).

Some of the p.ns. may alternatively contain the OE common noun *mūs* “mouse”.

For *ou, ow* for *ú* see § 35. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Mustarðr

Y. a) ? in **Mustardhouses** 1370 (f.n. in Barnsley, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 305.

A loan in Scand from MedLat *mustardum* “mustard”. Recorded once as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 263).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the ME common noun *mostard* of the same origin, perhaps used as a pers.n. or by.n.

For *d* for *ð* see § 116.

### \*Mylnugrím

Y. b) **Milnegrim** TRE DB 301r, 307v, gen. 373r.

“G. from the mill”, cf. OIcel *mylna* f. “mill” (Feilitzen 331). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *i* for *y* see § 38. For *e* for unstressed *u* see § 58.

### Mǫrðr

Y. a) in Martrebi DB, Marther(e) by 12th etc. (Marderby Grange, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 199.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *mǫrðr* gen. *marðar* “marten”. Fairly frequent in Icel but rare in Norw, where, however, it probably appears in p.ns. (Lind 779–80; NG XIV 384). Possibly found in Swed p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 176). A number of instances are recorded in Dan as both pers.n. and by.n. (DgP 923–24; II 722–23).

For *t* for *ð* see § 117. For metathesis see § 75.

### \*Mǫrfari

Y. b) [M]orfara festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9, Morfare TRE DB 315r (bis), 318r, Morfar 317v. – Radulfus Morfar (Westcroft de Thorp’) [1243] 13th–14th Selby 445. – Thomas Morfar de Thorp [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 420–21.

An orig by.n., perhaps “traveller to Iceland”, cf. OIcel *mǫrlandi* a nickname given to Icelanders < *mǫrr* m. “suet” (Feilitzen 331; Lindkvist Anglia Beiblatt 33. 136).

For *o* for *ø* see § 42.

## N

### Nafarr

Y. a) perhaps in Torp DB, Naurethorp 12th (Grewelthorpe, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 206.

An orig by.n. “gimlet”. Found in a 9th-cent runic inscription, once in Norw in the 10th cent and several times later (Lind 780–81). Probably found in Swed p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 180–81; G. Franzén Vikbolandets By- och Gårdnamn (1937) 88–89).

The form *Naure-* is of uncertain origin but may possibly represent *Nafar-* with *u* for *f* (see § 96), *e* for unstressed *a* (see § 58) and metathesis (see § 75).

### Nafni

L. a) in **Navenebi; Nauenebi** DB (Navenby, Boothby W) 44/16; 44/18, 72/15.

An orig by.n. “namesake”. Possibly found in Norw p.ns. (Lind 781). Appears on a Dan rune-stone and as the name of Danes in WScand and Swed sources (Jacobsen-Moltke 689; Lundgren-Brate 179). It is very common in Dan (Lat *Nafno*) as a pers.n. (DgP 975–77) and is also recorded as a by.n. (DgP II 761) and in p.ns. (DS IX 44, 117).

For *v* for *f* see § 96. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *e* for inflexional *a* see § 58.

### Nagli

Y. a) in **Naghelton, Nageltone, -tune, Nagletune** DB (Nawton, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 65.

An orig by.n. “nail, spike”. A single instance is recorded in Icel, a man. *skozkr at kyni* c980, and the name is also found in a Norw p.n. (Lind 781). The name is recorded once independently in Swed and possibly in some p.ns. there (Lundgren-Brate 179).

For *gh* for *g* see § 133. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For syncope of *e* see § 62. For *e* for inflexional *a* see § 58.

### Nari

L. b) **Alfred son of Nari** (Glentham) 1197 FFF 299.

A mythological name borne by a giant in the Edda (Lind 783).

### Náttfari

Y. a) in **Nafretune, -ton** [ante 1080] 15th, **Nadfartone** DB, **Natferton** 1180–90 (Nafferton, Dickering W, E) PNYE 94.

An orig by.n. “traveller by night”. Found in a Swed runic inscription (SRSö nr 54) and a Swed p.n. and recorded in Landnámabók as being borne by a Swede (Lundgren-Brate 180).

For *d* for *t* see § 103. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Nebbi

Y. a) in **Nebberode** 1309 (f.n. in Hemsworth, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 267.

An orig by.n. “nose, beak”. A single instance is recorded as a by.n. in

Norw in 1302 (Lind BN 266). It is also found as a by.n. in Dan from the 12th cent onwards (DgP II 766). A strong form *Neb* is very common as a by.n. in Dan after c1300 (DgP II 765–66).

### Nibbr, \*Nibbi

Y. a) perhaps in Nibbehous 1370, Nibbells end, Niblone H<sub>6</sub> (f.n.(s). in Methley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 134.

*Nibbr* is an orig by.n., cf. ModNorw *nibb* “jutting point, sharp edge, nose”. A few instances are recorded in Norw after 1315 (Lind BN 268). *Nibbi* would be a weak derivative.

## O

### Oddr, Oddi

L. b) Asketinus f. Od 1163 Dane 186. – Radulfi f. Ode (Barnetby-le-Wold) c1160 Dane 245.

Y. a) in Odescroft c1300 (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in Od(d)eslund 1320 (f.n. in Monk Fryston, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 43. – in Odesthorp 1324 (f.n. in Wadworth, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 61. – in Odsstorth 1473 (Hodster Lane, Gt Houghton, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 98. – in Oddeland 1514 (f.n. in Laverton, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 214. – in Oddysall more 1542 (Odsal, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 9. – perhaps in Oddacres 1847 (Oddacre Ho, Embsay, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 69.  
b) Ode diaconus TRE DB 329r, Ode diaconi 374r. – Ode TRE DB 315r (3 times), 324r (bis), gen. 374r. – Ode presbyteri TRE DB 374r.

*Oddr* is an orig by.n., cf. OIcel *oddr* “point of weapon”. *Oddi* is a short form of names in *Odd-*. *Oddr* is common in both Norw and Icel throughout the whole period. (Lind 804–06). Also found in Swed as *Udd* (Lundgren-Brate 286–87) and in Dan as *Odd|Udd* (DgP 1014). *Oddi* is common in Icel from the 10th cent onwards but does not appear until later in Norw and then only rarely (Lind 801–02). It is found in Swed as *Odde|Udde* (Lundgren-Brate 287) and in Dan as *Oddi*. Here it is often confused with *Otti* q.v. (DgP 1015–16).

Several of the forms in L and Y may rather represent ContGerm *Odo* (Forssner 198) or OE *Od(d)a*, a short form of names in *Ord-* (Ekwall NoB 6. 175).

For *d* for *dd* see § 143.



## Oddgeirr

L. b) *Oger Breton* gen.; *Ogerus* 1086 DB p.14; 72/40.41.43.44.46.48. – *Oger*, Ralf Paganel's man, 1086 DB 35/13. – *Vger*, witness, [ante 19/11 1160] c1330 RA VII 2123. – *Outy* f. *Ogeri* c1215–19 RA VII 2017.

Y. b) *Ogerus de Mortult*, witness, [c1109–14] 13th YCh 11. 4, [c1115–35] 13th YCh 2. 859. – *Oggerus*, *Oggirus*, *Oggerum* acc. *le Dancis* (Allerwash) 1202 FFBb 58. – *Adam* f. *Ogeri* 1218–19 AssSel 439.

First el. *Odd-*. Second el. *-geirr*. Found in English sources in the form it takes in the *Chansons de Geste*, *Ogier*, *Ugier le Danois*. (DgP 1014–15).

The forms in L and Y are more probably borrowed from the French romances or from ContGerm.

## \*Oddgrímr

L. b) *Oggrimus* f. *Aluerun* (Saltfleetby) [1176] c1225 RA V 1648. – *Willemus* f. *Ogrim* (Lincoln) 1185 Templ 82. – *Rogerus* f. *Ogrim* 1202 Ass 402, *William and Roger sons of Ogrim*' (Welbourn) 6/7 1202 FF 125.

First el. *Odd-*. Second el. *-grímr*. An Anglo-Scand formation? (Stenton Danes 25).

These forms may alternatively represent *Auðgrímr* q.v.

The assimilation of *dg* to *gg* may be compared with that in ME *Og(g)er* < ContGerm *Odger*, Dan *Oger* < *Oddger* (PNYW 4. 84).

## Oddketill

Y. a) in *Oglestun*, *Ogles-*, *Ocelestorp* DB, *Occlestorp* 1160–75, *Okelestorp* 13th (Oglethorpe Hall, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 83. – in *Okeles oxegange* 1276 (f.n. in *Ledsham*, *Barkston Ash W, W*) PNYW 4. 50.

First el. *Odd-*. Second el. *-ketill*. A fair number of instances are recorded in Icel in the form *Oddkell* (Lind 803). The name is not found in Norw or EScand.

The assimilation of *dk* to *kk* may be compared with that in ME *Og(g)er* < ContGerm *Odger*, Dan *Oger* < *Oddger* (PNYW 4. 84).

## Óðinkarl, Óðinkárr

L. b) *Odincar* TRE DB 48/1. – *Odincarle*, *Odincarl* TRE DB 4/65, 24/74. – *Audenker* (Keal) ante 1172 Dane 518.

First el. apparently *Óðin-* the god's name. Second el. orig *-kárr* but showing substitution of *-karl* (Feilitzen 342). *Óðinkárr* occurs in a single WScand runic inscription, probably referring to a Dane (Lind 806). *Odhenkar* is found once in Swed. The name is quite common in Dan, being found in a number of runic inscriptions and on several coins. Most

of the Dan forms are in *-kárr* but there are a few instances of *-karl* (DgP 1055–56; Hald Om Personnavnene 185; NoB 32 (1944) 101 ff.).

For *Au-* for *Ó-* see Hald loc.cit. and § 29. For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116. For *c* for *k* see § 127. For *e* for *a* see § 58. For inorganic final *e* see § 66.

### Óláfr, Óleifr

L. a) in Hunlouetoft 1316 (f.n. in Swineshead, Kirton W) Kirkman 115.

L. b) Unlof TRE DB 14/38. – Vnlof presbyter TRE DB p.4.13.

Y. a) in Um-, Unlouebi DB, Anlachbi 12th, Anlauebi 1203 (Anlaby, Harthill W, E) PNYE 216.

< \**Anu-laibar*. First el. \**anu-*. Second el. *-leifr*. Cf. the side-form *Aleifr* above. *Óláfr* is common in Norw and Icel throughout the whole period and *Óleifr* is fairly frequent in earlier times (Lind 810–16). The name is also very common in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 185–86; SRU nr 685) and Dan (DgP 1022–43). A single instance of *Hunlof* is recorded in Normandy (Adigard 313).

For a detailed discussion of the varying spellings of this name see the Introduction Chapter IV section ix (summary). For *o* for *á* see § 13. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For suggestions as to the reasons for the spelling in *-lach* see PNYE 216–17.

### Ormr

L. a) in Vrmesbyg c1067 ASWills p.96, Ormesbi DB 7/25, 14/64, 30/20, 70/27, LiS 10/2–4 (N Ormsby, Ludborough W). – in Ormesbi DB 2/22, 13/41, 32/31, LiS 17/2.3, Ormeresbi LiS 17/1 (S Ormsby, Hill W). – in Ormesbek, Ormesbekfurlang 1238( Hornsbeck, Lindsey) Bower 10. – perhaps in Orme Hall modern (in Kirton, Kirton W; a Willielmus Orme had a manor in Kirton parish in 1461) Payling 94.

b) Orm TRE DB 12/14. – Johannem f. Orm (Normanby-le-Wold) c1200 RA IV 1348. – Eborard' f. Orm (Owersby) 27/11 1203 FF 177. – Willelmum f. Willelmi f. Orm (Fulstow) 27/4 1214 FF 334.

Y. a) in Ormesbi DB (Ormesby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 157. – in terram Horm 1130–39 (Ormerley Carr, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 12. – in Hormesgrif 12th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in Ormesbricge 12th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in Ormryg 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in Ormescrosse 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in Ormerode 13th (f.n. in Leathley, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 56. – in Hormerydding 1316 (f.n. in Burley-in-Wharfedale, Skyrack W, W, PNYW 4. 199. – in Ormesovenes 1333 (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in Ormesrake 1468 (f.n. in Saddleworth, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 318. – in Orm-

roydfield 1660 (f.n. in Heptonstall, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 193. – in Orms Ing 1752 (f.n. in Norton, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 50.

b) **Urm dux, Urin** (sic for **Urm**), witness, [958] 14th YCh 1. 2, 3. – **Orm**, witness, (two men) [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8. – **Orm Gamalsuna** 1055–65 Kirkdale Sundial, Hofmann § 326. – **Orm TRE DB** 301r, gen. 373r, **Orme** gen. 373r. – **Orm TRE DB** 327r, 327v (6 times), 328r (5 times). – **Orm TRE DB** 298r, 300v (3 times), 301r, 301v (4 times), 305v, 306r, 306v (3 times), 307r (5 times), 312v, 315 v, 317r, 320v, 325v (bis), 329r 329v (3 times), 332r (bis), gen. 373v, **Orme** gen. 298r, **Orme** 301v. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Orm TRE** and 1086 DB 311v. – **Orm tegnus regis TRE** and 1086 DB 330v (bis). – **Orme** 1086 DB 331r (bis), 331v (bis). – **Horm frater presbiteri de Grymeston**, witness, [1122–c30] 14th YCh 1. 637. – **Randulfo f. Orm**, witness, [1130–36] m.13th YCh 3. 1489. – terram **Horm** (Drax) [c1130–39] 1311 YCh 6. 13. – **Ormus f. Thor, Ormi** gen. (Crofton) [1133–53] 13th YCh 3. 1672. – **Orm f. Her(e)mer(i)** nom. and abl., witness, [1135–53] 15th; [ante 1150] 15th; [c1154–72] 15th YCh 1. 64; 11. 17; 158, 160, 162. – **Orm decanus de Wallei**, witness, [1140–46] 17th YCh 11. 13. – **Orm f. Magnus**, witness, [1146–53] 15th YCh 7. 14. – **Hormo de Ripun** abl., witness, [1147–53] 17th YCh 6. 48. – **Adam f. Orm; Ormi; Homi** (sic); **Orme; Horm**, witness, [c1147–54] 17th, [c1150–57] l.12th, [1170–80] m.13th, [1170–85] l.12th, [c1190–1211] 16th, 1184–91, 1172–81, 1175–85, [1178] l.12th; [1184] m.13th, [c1185–1211] 17th, [1170–80] m.13th, [1180–1200] 17th, [c1170–90] 17th; [c1175–85] ?; [c1170–84] 17th; 1192 YCh 11. 183, 6. 158, 3. 1720, 1722, 1736, 1813, 1680, 1. 201, 9. 92; 3. 1779, 1819, 1638, 1714, 8. 145; 3. 1745; 7. 87; 4.98, **Petro f. Ade f. Orm, Ormi**, witness, [c1180–84] 17th, [1160–c80] 17th YCh 6. 67, 3. 1732, **Petrus de Birkethwait f. Ade f. Ormi** [1200–14] 16th YCh 3. 1793. – **Rodberto f. Horin** (sic for **Horm**), witness, [c1147–59] 1444 YCh 8. 110. – **Hormus de Littunia** (et Vlfus frater suus), witness, [m.12th] 15th YCh 11. 133. – **Ormo f. Gospatricii** abl., witness, [m.12th] 15th YCh 11. 136. – terram **Ormi filii ejus** (Bernulphus Pedde) (Wentworth) [c1152–55] 17th YCh 7. 130. – **Gospatricio f. Orm** [c1155–59] 16th YCh 3. 1668. – **Orm fratre ejus** (Gamel) [c1154–72] 15th YCh 11. 158. – **Horm** (et Siwardus frater ejus) [c1154–72] 15th YCh 11. 160. – **Orm de Timbel**, witness, [c1155–70] 15th YCh 7. 123. – **Orm f. Carnwat**, witness, [1162] 14th YCh 11. 204. – **Hormo de Steincroft** (et Azero fratre ejus), witness, [c1160–70] l.12th YCh. 2. 713. – **Willelmo f. Ormi**, witness, [c1160–80] 17th, [c1176–90] 17th YCh 11. 197–98. – domum **Orm fratris Willelmi de Pontefracto** [1161–75] 14th YCh 1. 273. – **Horm Gernetario**, witness, [1161–84] 14th–15th YCh 1. 316. – **Alexandro f. Orm**, witness, [1162–67] l.12th;

[1183–86] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1250–51; 1. 238. – **Orm f. Godefridi**, brother of William, nom. and abl., witness and donor, [1164–75] 15th; [1164–75] l.13th; [c1168–75] e.14th; [1175] 14th; [1175–1204] 17th; [1175–84] 15th YCh 11. 23–24; 26; 32; 89; 118; 240. – **Orm de Malmerbi**, witness, [c1165–75] 15th YCh 1. 507. – **Horm abl.**, witness, [c1170–82] 17th YCh 2. 814. – **Horn abl.**, witness, [1174–c95] 17th YCh 2. 678. – **Thoma f. Ormi** [1175–90] 17th YCh 2. 815. – **Ormmi Anglici gen.** (Heselhill) [1175–95] 14th–15th YCh 1. 57. – **Orm de Coleuill'** [April 1175] 14th YCh 11. 89. – Cantor **Orm' de Hafrint[ona]**, witness, c1175–84 YCh 7. 88. – **Orm de Valetun abl.**, witness, [1180–c90] c1310 YCh 1. 538. – **Orm f. Symeonis**, witness, [c1180–90] c1400 YCh 2. 845. – **Horm de Scortuna** (et Mahald uxor ejus) [ante 1184] 15th YCh 5. 380. – **Horm fratre suo** (Aldredus) (Brotton) [1185–96] l.12th YCh 2. 667. – **Thoma f. Horm de Bateleia**, witness, [1185–1200] m.13th YCh 3. 1868, **Emma filia Hugonis f. Orm de Bateleia** [c1188–1202] 17th YCh 8. 166. – **Orm** (Storiths, in Beamsley) [c1190–1200] 17th YCh 7. 63. – **Normannus de Hortona f. Orm Ruffi** [c1190–1210] 17th YCh 11. 184. – **Alano f. Orm**, witness, [1190–1210] 14th–15th YCh 1. 278. – **Orm gen.** (Follifoot) [c1190–1212] 15th YCh 10. 53. – **Petrus f. Horm de Brettona** [1190–1220] e.15th YCh 3. 1792. – **Orm de Aykescarth nepotem Sunniue**, **Orm** nom. and gen. [8/11 1194] l.13th YCh 5. 361A. – **Orm fratre ejus** (Adam serviente) [c1195–1207] 15th YCh 11. 243. – **Willelmo f. Orm** [c1198–1212] 14th–15th YCh 1. 258. – **Agnes filia Orm**, **Ormi de Haldewrtha** [l.12th] 17th, [c1190–1210] 17th, [l.12th] 17th YCh 8. 146–47, 149. – **Gospatric f. Ormi** (Branton Green) 1202 FFBb 74. – **Ormun de Yrebi** 1202 FFBb 27. – **Robert son of Orm** (Edlington) 1203–04 AssC 4, c1208 AssC 35. – **Horm father of Richard de Torp** 1203–04 AssC 10. – **Gilebertus, Andreas filii Horin** (sic for **Horm**) 1212 Crown Pleas 109. – **Orm bercarius** (Dunsforth) 1212 FFBb 166. – **Henricum f. Ormi** 1218–19 AssSel 624. – **Radulfus f. Orm'** 1218–19 AssSel 639. – **Willelmum f. Orm' de Horbir'** 1218–19 AssSel 433. – **Orm** [hominem] abbatis de Bello capite 1218–19 AssSel 492. – **Orm de [Grinlinton]** 1218–19 AssSel 670.

An orig by.n. “snake, serpent”. Fairly common in both Icel and Norw from the earliest times. Borne by several of the orig settlers in Icel (Lind 819–20). Also common in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 189; SRU nr 628) and Dan (Lat *Ormus*, *Vurmo*), where it appears as both pers.n. and by.n. (DgP 1048–50; II 785–86).

For inorganic initial *H*- see § 140i. For *V*- for *O*- see § 24. For *n* for final *m* see § 81. For inorganic final *e* see § 66. The isolated form *Ormeres*- of the L p.n. shows substitution of the Scand. pers.n. *Ormarr*.

## Ormketill

L. b) Ormchetel TRE DB 12/96.

First el. *Orm-*. Second el. *-ketill*. May possibly be found in a Swed p.n. (Lundgren-Brate 190).

For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For *e* for *i* see § 19.

## Orri

L. a) perhaps in Heresbi DB, Orrebi 12th (Orby, Candleshoe W) Bower 171. – in Orredale 1163 (f.n. in Cabourne, Haverstoe W) Bower 412.

b) Willelmo f. Urri c1200 Dane 398. – Alano Vrry de Kadeneye abl., witness, [1259–78] c1330 RA IV 1269.

Y. b) Johanni f. Gamelli Orre (Brayton) [c1246] 13th–14th Selby 378, Agnes quondam uxor Johannis Orre de Braiton' [c1250] 13th–14th Selby 345. – Richard Orre 1251 AssC 79. – terram Roberti Orre (Brayton) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 377. – toftum Willelmi Orre (Selby) [? 13th], 13th–14th Selby 199–200. – Alanus Orre (Stapleton) [1286–87] e.15th. KI 178.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *orri* m. “black grouse”. Fairly frequent from the 10th cent onwards as a by.n. in WScand, where it is also found in p.n.s. (Lind BN 273). Appears in Swed runic inscriptions as *ure* (SRSö nrs 36, 350).

The DB form of Orby must be corrupt. For *U-* for *O-* see § 24.

## Óttarr

Y. a) in Oter(e)scroft l.12th, 1300 (f.n. in Rimington, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 181. – perhaps in Otter Lee 1709 (in Sowerby, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 153.

b) Otre TRE DB 301r (3 times). – Oter de Staingata [1160–75] l.13th. YCh 1. 300. – Ricardus Oter 1218–19 AssSel 812.

Of uncertain interpretation. Several explanations are discussed by A. Janzén in Nord.Kult.VII 86. The most satisfactory is probably that proposed by Marstrander, namely that the first el. is related to OIcel *ótti* “terror, fear” and the second el. is either *-\*harjar* or *-geirr*. The name is common in Norw throughout the period but rare in Icel. Cf. the form *Øththere* in King Alfred's Orosius (Lind 824–25). Also recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 191) and Dan (DgP 1057–58; DS XI 65–66).

The pers.n. in L and Y may rather derive from the OE common noun *oter* “otter” and the p.n.s. may alternatively contain this animal name.

For *t* for *tt* see § 143. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58. For metathesis see § 75.

### Otti

L. a) in **Otesbi**, **Otebi** DB 14/13, 16/11, **Ottebi** LiS 7/11 (Otby, Walshcroft W).

b) **Oti presbiteri** (Welton) e.H<sub>2</sub> Writs 94.

Y. b) **Tochi f. Otta** TRE DB 298v. – **Ote** TRE DB 325r.

Either an orig. by.n., cf. OIcel *ótti* “terror”, or a short form of *Óttarr* q.v. or, most probably, a loan from ContGerm *Otto* (Forssner 198). That the first suggestion is unlikely to be correct is indicated by the fact that the noun *ótti* is not recorded in ODan, where the pers.n. first makes its appearance (J. Kousgård Sørensen *Bebygg. på -sted* 253 n.1). The name appears in Dan comparatively early but not until later in Swed and Norw. It is not found at all in Icel (DgP 1058–63; Lundgren-Brate 191).

The combination of these circumstances suggests that the name in L and Y may be a loan from ContGerm rather than from Scand.

For *t* for *tt* see § 143.

## P

### Pái

L. b) **Walteri Pa** gen. (Alvingham) [R<sub>1</sub>] 1409 GH 8 p.106. – **Johannis Pa** gen. 1235–36 Fees 547.

Y. a) in **Pathorme**, **-thorp** DB (Paythorne, W. Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 174.

b) **Robert Pa** (Scarborough) 1260 AssC 100, 119. – **Roberti Pa** gen. (Thorp Eleys) [1284–85] l.15th. KI 72.

An orig by.n. “peacock”. Recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 274) and found as a by.n. on Dan coins (Jacobsen-Moltke 695). Also found in Dan p.n.s. (B. Hjorth Pedersen *Bebygg. på -by* 33).

### Plógmann

Y. a) in **Ploxmanflat** 1407 (f.n.) PNYN 333.

An orig by.n. “ploughman”. Several instances of *Ploghman* are recorded as a by.n. in Dan, where they may be loans from LowGerm (DgP II 823).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the Scand occupational term.  
*x* probably represents the unvoicing of fricative velar *g* (see § 135).

### \*Plógsveinn

L. b) terram Asceri Plochswain e.13th RA VII 2081.

Y. a) ? in **Plaxomgate** 1228, **Ploxmay(n)gate** 1347, 1360 (Blossomgate, st.n in Ripon, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 166. – in **Ploxhsuaingate** 13th, **Ploxwangate** 1241 (st.n. in York, now Blossom St.) PNYE 283. – in **Plusweynlondes** 1283 (f.n.) PNYN 333.

An orig by.n. “ploughman”, cf. *Plógmann* above. An Anglo-Scand formation?

The forms in L and Y may alternatively represent the Scand occupational term. The forms of the Ripon st.n. are obscure.

For the unvoicing of fricative velar *g*, represented here by *ch*, *xh*, *x*, see § 135. For *ai*, *ey*, *a* for *ei* see §§ 49.52.

### Pósi

Y. a) in **Poseford** 12th (Posforth Gill, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 73.

An orig by.n. “bag, small fat object”. A single instance is recorded in WScand in 1240 (Lind BN 280). A number of instances appear in Dan after 1350 as a by.n. in the form *Puse* (DgP II 844). Also recorded in Swed (*Modéer* 103).

## R

### \*Rábeinn

Y. a) in **Rabainholmes** 12th–13th (f.n. in Winksley, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 196.

An orig by.n. “roe-leg”, cf. *Kábeinn*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *ai* for *ei* see § 49.

### \*Ráðhildr fem.

L. a) in **Rathildayle** 12th–13th (lost f.n.) Lindkvist LVIII.

First el. *Ráð*-. Second el. *-hildr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *ih* for medial *ð* see § 118. For loss of *h* see § 140iv.

**Raði**

L. a) in **Radebi DB** (Raithby-by-Spilsby, Bolingbroke W) 3/21, 14/70, 29/31.

An orig by.n. "the swift one". In the WScand form *Hraði* it is borne by the father of one of the orig settlers in Icel and may possibly be found in some Norw p.ns. (Lind 564). There are a few possible instances in Dan, including runic *raþa* acc. (Jacobsen-Moltke 697) and a p.n. in *-sted* (J. Kousgård Sørensen Bebygg. på -sted 260).

For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116.

**Rafn**

L. a) in **Ravenedal, Ravendal DB** 3/40, 57/2; 4/68, 47/6, **Ravendala LiS** 8/11.13.14 (Ravendale, Haverstoe W). – in **Rauenesthwait** 12th (f.n. in Gate Burton, Well W) Bower 579. – in **Ravestoft** 1164, **Raucinstoft, Reuenestoft** 13th (f.n. in Faldingworth, Lawress W) Bower 567. – in **Rauenriding** c1220 (f.n. in Alford, Calcewath W) Bower 459. – in **Reveneshaudale** 13th (f.n. in Barton-on-Humber, Yarborough W) Bower 434. – in **Rawenesmere** 1274 (f.n. in Stickney, Bolingbroke W) Bower 457. – in **Ravens drove E<sub>1</sub>** (Raven's Drove, Gedney, Elloe W) Payling 26. – in **Raventoft** 1310 (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – in **Rauenesbrygge** 1313, **Ravennysbrigge** 1474 (Raven's Gate, Elloe W) Payling 19. – in **Rauenker** 1344 (f.n. in Grimsby, Bradley W) Bower 408. – in **Ravysdyke** c1520, **Ravensdike** 1699 (Raven's Bank, Whaplode, Elloe W) Payling 68.

b) **Leduunus f. Rauene**, lageman in Lincoln, 1086 DB p.2.2. – **Achard Rauen** (Stainby) c1170–80 RA VII 2074. – **Godefridi f. Rauen** (Hoffleet) [c1202–15] c1225 RA VII 1964. – **Gilbertus Rauen de Helmeswell'** 1298 AssTh 494.

Y. a) in **Rauenestorp, Rauenetorp DB** (Ravensthorpe Manor, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 198. – in **Ravenesu(u)et DB, Rafneswad** 1154–66 (Ravensworth, Gilling W W, N) PNYN 292. – in **Rau-, Ravenesfeld DB** (Ravenfield, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW I. 172. – in **Ravenesclou** 1090 (f.n. in Dodworth, Staincross W, W) PNYW I. 307. – in **Rauennis-, Rauenescrossong** 1166–69 (Row Cross Quarry, Conisbrough, U Strafforth W, W; perhaps connected with Raven, father of William sheriff of Wakefield, cf. below) PNYW I. 129. – in **Ramescliua** 1170–80, **Ravenesclif(f)e** 13th (Raincliffe, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 102. – in **Ravenesacre** c1190 (f.n. in Notton, Staincross W, W) PNYW I. 284. – in **Rau-, Ravenser(e) J, (af) Hrafnseyri** 13th Heimskringla (Ravenser (lost), Holderness W, E) PNYE 19. – in **Ramesgile** 1198 (Ramsgill, L Claro W, W)



PNYW 5. 215. – in **Revenwich** 1201 (Ravenswyke, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 64. – ? in **Rammesthwait** post 1201 (f.n. in Thorpe-under-Stone, Hang E W, N) YCh 5. 252. – ? in **Ramesholm(e)** 13th (Ramsholme (lost), Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 22. – ? in **Raveneshed** 1276 (f.n.) PNYE 324. – in **Ravenbrok** 1296 (Ravensbrook (lost), Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 193. – in **Raven(s)brigg(e)** 1300, 1316 (f.n. in Spofforth, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 37. – in **Rauescere** 1312 (Ravenscar, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 111. – in **Rauesbogh'** 1323 (f.n. in Snaith, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 29. – in **Ravenshow** 1329 (f.n. in Wakefield, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 173. – in **Raventoftes** 1368 (Raventofts Ho, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 185. – in **Ravennesacre** 1425 (f.n. in Sandal Magna, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 111. – in **Rawynskeldis** 15th (f.n. in Wighill, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 244. – in **Ravon roydes** 1525 (f.n. in Ossett, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 192. – in **Ravinsall** 1544 (f.n. in Ravensthorpe, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 192. – in **Ravenroide** 1592 (f.n. in Methley, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 135. – in **Ravensbridge** 1603 (f.n. in Mirfield, Agbrigg W, W; possibly connected with Ravensbrook above) PNYW 2. 203. – in **Ravenstall** 1744 (f.n. in Leeds, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 133. – in **Ravens Lodge** 1817 (in Ravensthorpe, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 192. – in **Ravens Wharfe** 1843 (in Dewsbury, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 187.

b) **Rafen**, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8, 8n. – **Rauan** or **Rauæn** (indistinct) festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9, **Rauen** TRE DB 309v. – **Ram** TRE DB 301v. – **Raven de Cattun(a)** abl., witness, [c1130–35] 14th–15th YCh. 2. 908–09, **Rauen de C.**, witness, [c1130–35] 17th YCh 11. 6. – **Willelmo f. Raven vicecomiti de Wachefeld**; **Rauen** [1138–47] ?; 1164–c85, [c1140–50] 13th YCh 8. 31; 67, 7. 126. – **Raven du Hihtun, Halcton** [c1145–59] l.13th, [c1145–59] 16th YCh 3. 1666, **Robertus f. Ravanni** [c1145–59] l.13th YCh 3. 1666. – **Ravan de Engelby** abl., witness, [c1170–80] ? YCh 2. 719. – **Norman son of Raun** c1208 AssC 35. – **Hagen f. Rauen'** (Stamford-bridge) 1218–19 AssSel 220.

An orig by.n. “raven”. As *Hrafn* the name is very common in Icel throughout the medieval period but less so in Norw (Lind 564–65). It is occasionally found as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 155). It occurs in Swed as *Ramþn* and Dan as *Rafn*, including several p.ns. (DgP 1130) and numerous instances as a by.n (DgP II 857–58).

Many of the p.ns. probably rather contain the common noun OE *hræfn* or Scand *hrafn* “raven” or possibly the OE pers.n. \**Hraefn*, and forms in *Ram-* may rather contain the OE animal name *ramm* “ram” or even in some cases OE *hramsa* “wild garlic”.

For *e* for *a* see § 2. For *v,u* for medial *f* see § 96. For svarabhakti *e,a*

see §§ 63.64. For assimilation of *fn* > *mn* > *m(m)* see § 99. For inorganic final *e* see § 66.

### Rafnhildir fem.

Y. a) in **Rauenhilbanc** 1209 (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 192. – in **Rauenylriding** 1320 (f.n. in Hambleton, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 30.

First el. (*H*)*rafn*-. Second el. *-hildir*. A few instances are recorded in WScand. (Lind 565–66).

For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For loss of *h* see § 140iv. For loss of final *d* see § 108.

### Rafnketill

Y. b) **Rauechil** TRE DB 322r, gen. 298r, **Ranchil** 301v, 328r, **Rauenchel** gen. 298r, **Rauenchil** 301v, 318r (bis), 324r, 324v (bis), 325r, gen. 374r (bis). – **Rauenchil** *tegnus regis* TRE and 1086 DB 330v, 331v, **Ramechil** *tegnus regis* 330v, 331v. Not certain to how many individuals the DB instances refer. – **Rauenkillus**, witness, [1122–c30] 14th YCh 1. 637. – **Rauenkillus**, another witness, [1122–c30] 14th YCh 1. 637. – **Rainkillo** f. **Stainbern** abl., witness, [1135–53] 15th YCh 1. 64. – **Rogerus** f. **Rauenkilli**, witness, [1146–53] 15th YCh 7. 14. – **Ramchil** abl., witness, [1150–60] 13th YCh 1. 249. – **Robertus Ravenkil** (et Willelmus f. ejus, Moresdale) [c1160–70] 13th YCh 2. 708. – **Rankil**, witness, [c1165–77] 15th YCh 3. 1762. – **Rainkill** abl., witness, [1170–77] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1570, **Rainkillus**, witness [1170–77] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1572. – **Hugo** f. **Rankilli** de Mirefeld, **Ravenchil**, **Ramkeli** (Cold Kirby) [1175–85] 15th, [1185–1210] 15th, 1185 YCh 3. 1698, 1704, *Templ* 129, **Auu’** f. **Ravankil** de Myrfeld [1180–89] 15th YCh 3. 1699, **Uctredus** f. **Rankilli** de Mirefeld [1180–90] 15th YCh 3. 1703, **Ricardus** f. **Ravench[il]**, witness, [1185–1210] 15th YCh 3. 1704. – **Thoma** f. **Rankil**, witness, [1180–1200] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1173, **Thoma** f. **Ramkill** (York) [c1190] 14th YCh 1. 208n, son of **Ranchil** de Cuningestrete abl., witness, [1183–86] 14th YCh 1. 238. – **Audulfus** f. **Rancilli**, **Oudulfus** f. **Rauenkil** de Scorton’ [ante 1204] 15th, [1.12th] 1.13th YCh 5 382–83. – **Ketellum** f. **Romkilli** de Catton’ 1202 FFb 59. – **Willelmus Rainkill** 1202 Civil Pleas 179, **William Ramkil**, **Ralph** son of **William Ranchil** (York) 1203–04 AssC 19–20. – **Walterus** f. **Ramkell’** de Burton’ 1218–19 AssSel 1084.

First el. (*H*)*rafn*-. Second el. *-ketill*. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel and several other men there but not recorded in Norw (Lind 566). A Swed form *Ramkel* is probably found in a p.n. (Lundgren-Brate 201).

For *o* for *a* see § 3. For *u,v* for medial *f* see § 96. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For loss of *n* see § 86ii. For *fn* > *mn* > *m(m)* (sometimes replaced by *n*) see §§ 99.81. *Rain-* probably represents a scribal error for *Ram-*. For *ch*, *c* for *k* see §§ 126.127.

### Rafnsvartr

Y. a) in **Rauensuarterode** l.12th (f.n. in Rawdon, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 154. – in **Ravenswartriding** E<sub>1</sub> (f.n. in Treeton, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 163.

b) **Rauensuar**, **Rauensuard** TRE DB 301v.

First el. (*H*)*rafn-*. Second el. *-svartr*. A single instance is recorded in Icel c1390 (Lind 566).

For *u,v* for medial *f* see § 96. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *u,w* for *v* see § 67. For loss of final *t* see § 104.

### Ragnaldr

L. b) **Ragenald** TRE DB 48/13. – **Ragenald** TRE DB 68/4, TRE and 1086 68/17.

Y. a) in **Raynaldesthorp**, **Raynaltorp** 13th (Renathorpe Hall (lost), Sheffield, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 212.

b) **Ragenald Asbeornnas suna festerman** [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9, **Ragenald** TRE DB 308r, **Rainald** 308r (bis), **Ragenal** 319r. – **Ragenald tegnus regis** TRE DB 330v. – **Ragenaldas** nom. sic [1100–08] 17th YCh 6. 2. – **Raghanaldus** (Middleton) [c1155–68] 13th YCh 2. 1099–1100.

First el. *Ragn-*. Second el. *-valdr*. Common in Norw from the earliest times but not so in Icel until the 14th cent. Appears in WScand as *Rognvaldr*, *Ragn(v)aldr* (Lind 861–64). Found frequently in Swed as *Ragn(v)ald* (Lundgren-Brate 196,199–200) and also appears in Dan but the majority of the Dan instances probably represent ContGerm *Raginald*, LowGerm *Reynold* (DgP 1146–47).

Several of the forms in L and Y probably also represent the ContGerm name, although isolated forms in *Rain-* may simply show the influence of this name on an orig Scand form.

For *gh* for *g* see § 133. For svarabhakti *e,a* see §§ 63.64. For loss of final *d* see § 108.

### Ragnhildr, -hilda fem.

L. a) in **Ragenel-**, **Ragenaltorp** DB 8/23, 71/15, **Raincelestorp**, **Raghenil-LiS** 1/5.6 (Raventhorpe, Manley W). – in **Renildtoft** 12th–14th (f.n. in

Holland) Payling. – ? in Rannyrhowe Hill 1565, Ranielhowe 1616 (Rannelow, Corringham W) Bower 312.

b) Ragenilda uxor Ailmeri e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 378. – Ragenilda uxor Joseph (Horkstow) [1180–1204] l.13th YCh 11. 286. – Raenild (Silkby) 1185 Templ. 92. – Regenild' que fuit uxor Alardi 1202 Ass 253. – Raginalda, Ragenilda uxor Radulfi Ruffi 1202 Ass 678. – Raghenilde matri meē (Radulfus f. Jordani f. Teodbaldi) c1220 RA VIII 2307. – Hausia filia Ragenil de Saltfletby c1230 FP 101.

Y. a) in Rag(h)eneltorp DB, Ragnildtorp 1190–1211 (Raventhorpe (depopulated), Cherry Burton, Harthill W, E) PNYE 191. – in Ragenildcroft 13th (Rainey Croft, f.n. in Menston, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 203.

b) Ragenild TRE DB 315r. – Ragnilda filia Ligulfi, Raganild, Raganildis nom., Ragnilde, Ragnaldis, Raghen[ilde], Ragan[ildis], Raganildis gen., wife of Rodbertus de Sarz, [1149–53] 15th; [1150–53] 15th; 1150–53, [1154–64] 15th; [1135–53] 15th; [c1135–40] 15th, [1175–85] 15th; [1155] 15th; [1156] 15th; [1162] 15th YCh 1. 67; 68; 71–72; 64; 66,70; 76; 80; 81. – Thomas f. Raghenild, witness, [1177–81] 14th YCh 1. 280. – Raganilda filia mea abl. (Alanus de Arneford) [c1190–1207] 15th YCh 11. 134. – Raghenilda, Raghenild' acc., Raghenildæ, Rahgenildæ dat., wife of Johannes Hod, 1202 FFBB 23. – Agnes daughter of Raghenild c1208 AssC 41. – Willelmum f. Ragenild' de Turgeland' 1218–19 AssSel 543. – Ragenild' de Acastr' 1218–19 AssSel 166, Rahenilda, wife of Robertus Tuiel de Acastr', [13th] 13th–14th Selby 559, 561, Ragenild' filia Willelmi Murdak (Acaster) 1218–19 AssSel 270, Raginalda [c1220] 13th–14th Selby 570. – Ragenild' mater Mathei, daughter of Waldef, (Howden) 1218–19 AssSel 263. – Reynild widow of John of Grimeston 1218–19 FFP 19. – Toke viri Ragignild', Ragenild' 1218–19 AssSel 832. – Ragnild', Ragenild uxoris sue (Rannulfus or Reginaldus f. Ricardi de Neuton') 1218–19 AssSel 876.

First el. *Ragn-*. Second el. *-hildir*. *Ragnhildir* is common in Norw from the 9th cent onwards but less so in Icel. The form *Ragnhilda* is common in Norw in the 14th and 15th cents (Lind 842–43). The name occurs frequently in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 198). The majority of the forms recorded in Dan show spellings in *Rægn-* and, while this *i*-mutation may be a Scand development, it is more likely that the forms in Dan represent loans from ContGerm *Reinildis* (DgP 1145–46).

It is possible that the Germ name also lies behind some of the forms in L and Y, particularly those in *Ren-*, *Regn-*, *Rain-*, *Reyn-*, although these spellings may simply show the influence of the Germ name on the Scand forms.

For *e* for *a* see § 2. For *gh, h*, for *g* see §§ 133, 135. For svarabhakti *e, a*

see §§ 63.64. For loss of *h* see § 140iv. For loss of final *d* see § 108. Some forms seem to show confusion with the masc. name *Ragnaldr* q.v.

### Ragni

Y. b) **Ragenot** TRE DB 329r.

A short form of names in *Ragn-* (Nord.Kult.VII 60, 241). A few late instances are recorded in WScand (Lind 844). Fairly common in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 196-97).

For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For the AN diminutive ending *-ot* see § 153.

### Rakni

Y. a) in **Rackenthwaite** 1660 (in Garsdale, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. xii and 262.

An orig by.n., cf. OIceI *rakna* “unwind oneself”. A few instances as a pers.n. are recorded in OWScand literature and the appearance of the name as an el. in some p.ns. suggests that it may also have been borne by living people (Lind 845). Cf. also the by.n. *Rakna* recorded in 1359 (Lind BN 285).

The p.n. may rather contain Scand *raukn* “beasts of burden” with the common local change of Scand *au* to *a* or OE *racente* “chain” (PNYW 6. xii and 262).

### Randr, Randi

L. a) in **Randebi** DB 4/44, 43/1, LiS 13/5.6 (Ranby, Gartree W).

Short forms of names in *Rand-*? *Randr* may be an orig by.n. “shield”. The strong form is found in Dan as the name of a legendary sea-king and in a runic inscription as *rantr* (DgP 1132; Jacobsen-Moltke 697). The weak form is found in Swed runic inscriptions (SRU nrs 998, 1092) and possibly in Swed p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 202). A few late instances are recorded in Dan (DgP 1133) and this name is probably found in a Dan p.n. (DS VIII 101).

### Raski

Y. b) **Rascius del Buc** 1200 Pleas 3145.

Either an orig. by.n. “the quick one” or a short form of a name such as *Raskulf* (SRU nr 1155). A few late instances are recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 202). A strong form *Rask* occurs several times in Dan but these instances are mostly late and may well represent short forms of the pers.n. *Rasmus* or surname *Rasmussen* (DgP 1135-36).

For *c* for *k* see § 127. For the ending *-ius* see §§ 148.149.

**Rauðr Rauði**

L. a) in **Rosbi** DB 3/37, 37/4, 59/12, 64/8.9, 72/12.13, **Roscebi** 59/14, **Roucebi** 1146, **Raucebi** 1202 (N and S Rauceby, Flaxwell W) DEPN.

b) **Hugonis f. Raude** (Thorpe) 1200–34 Rot Hug I 212.

Y. a) in **Rozebi** DB, **Roucesby** 1250 etc. (Roxby, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 90. – in **Roscebi**, **Rozebi** DB, **Raucebi** 1145–48 (Roxby, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 139. – in **Routhegathe** c1200 (f.n. in Risedale, Hang E W, N) YCh 5. 145; PNYN 333. – in **Rothtwayte** 1407 (f.n.) PNYN 333.

An orig by.n. “the red”. *Rauðr* appears very early as a pers.n. in Norw, being borne by the father of one of the orig settlers in Icel and by several of the settlers themselves. There are also a number of later instances and the name is found in some p.ns. (Lind 849–50). As a by.n. it is common in Norw from the time of the settlement of Icel onwards and there are a few early instances in Icel (Lind BN 289–90). There are a number of instances of *Rødh* in Swed from the 14th cent onwards (Lundgren-Brate 211) and the form *rauþr* appears in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 245). In Dan *Røth* is fairly frequent as a pers.n. from early times and very common as a by.n. from c1200 (DgP 1190; II 917–19). The weak form *Rauði* is common as a by.n. in WScand from the 9th cent onwards (Lind BN 287–89) and \**Røthæ* is probably found in a Dan p.n. (DS III 30).

For *o,ou* for *au* see §§ 46.47. For *d,th* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.118. For *z, c, sce, s* for [ts] < *ðs* see §§ 105.117.

**Refr**

L. a) in **Resvesbi** DB 14/82, **Reuesbia** 1142 (Revesby, Bolingbroke W) DEPN.

An orig by.n. “the fox”. Found as a pers.n. in Icel from the time of the settlement but not very frequent. A few possible instances in Norw (Lind 851–52). One or two instances as a by.n., including the grandfather of one of the orig settlers in Icel (Lind BN 292). *Ræf* is possibly found in some p.ns. in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 210) and the name is occasionally found as a pers.n., frequently as a by.n. and possibly in some p.ns. in Dan (DgP 1187–88; II 913–14; DS VIII 95).

For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. The DB form must be corrupt.

**Reiðarr**

L. a) ? in **Reresbi** DB (Reasby, Wraggoe W) 13/25, 22/13.15, 28/26.

Y. a) in **Redrestorp DB, Redestorp 1121–37** (Raisthorpe, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 132.

b) **Reider, Reder** TRE DB 319v.

First el. (*H*)*reið-* or possibly a contracted form of *Hreiðgotar* (A. Johannson APhS 7. 142 ff.). Second el. perhaps *-\*harir*. (Nord.Kult.VII 197), although other etymons are possible (ib. 102). Common in Norw from the earliest times but only a few instances in Icel (Lind 569–72). Fairly common in Swed from the 14th cent onwards (Lundgren-Brate 203). A number of instances recorded as a pers.n. in Dan from 1180 onwards and a few as a by.n. from the end of the 14th cent (DgP 1155; II 878). It appears in several Dan p.ns. (DS II 10; VIII 122; IX 110,159,176).

For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116. For loss of intervocalic *ð* see § 120. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58. For metathesis see § 75. For reduction of *rs* to *s* see § 76.

### \*Reiðr, \*Reiði

L. a) in **Radresbi DB 13/29, Reithebi 12th** (Raithby-by-Louth, Louthesk. W) Bower 240.

Y. a) ? in **Riedesdal' 1204, Reydhedalle 1246, Raythesdale 1268** (Raisdale, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 69.

b) **Rede** TRE DB 324v.

Possibly short forms of names in (*H*)*reið-*. A form *\*Redh* may be found in Swed p.ns. (Feilitzen 293) and the weak form may be found in a Dan. p.n. (DS IX 27) and some Swed p.ns. (Ingvar Fredriksson Svenska Personnamnsstudier, Uppsala 1961, 194–98). An Anglo-Scand formation?

The Y p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Reyðr* q.v.

For *ay, ey, e* for *ei* see §§ 49.50. For *d, dh, th* for medial *ð* see §§ 116. 118.119. The isolated DB form of the L p.n. must be corrupt.

### Reiðulfr

L. b) **Redulf** TRE DB 3/4.

First el. (*H*)*reið-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. A Swed name recorded on the Rök stone and other rune-stones and in later sources (Nord.Kult.VII 79; Lundgren-Brate 203). Spread from Swed to Norw, where it becomes frequent after 1300 (Lind 572–74).

For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116.

### Reinn

Y. a) ? in **Reine-, Rainincton DB** (Rainton, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 184..

— in **Reneswike**, -wyk 1273, 1348 (Runswick Bay, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 139. — in **Raineslounde** 1338 (f.n.) PNYN 332.

An orig by.n. “reindeer”. A number of instances are recorded in Icel, many of them borne by members of the same family. Not recorded in Norw (Lind 574–75; Nord.Kult.VII 44). \**Ren* may be found in a p.n. in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 204).

Rainton (more probably) and Runswick (possibly) may contain the OE pers.n. *Rægen* (PNYN 185).

For *ai*, *e* for *ei* see §§ 49.50.

### \*Reyðr

Y. a) ? in **Riedesdal** 1204, **Reyðhesdalle** 1246, **Raythesdale** 1268 (Raisdale, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 69.

Possibly an *i*-mutated form related to *Rauðr* q.v. An Anglo-Scand formation?

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. (*H*)*reiðr* q.v.

For *ay* for *ey* see § 53. For *d, dh, th* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.118.119.

### Ríkuláta fem.

Y. b) **Rikelot** quæ fuit **uxor Alani** (Skipwith) 1202 FFBb 30.

An orig by.n. “the proud one”. A single instance is recorded as a by.n. in WScand in the 9th cent (Lind BN 295). Cf. also the form *Ríkilát* in Jarlmanns Saga ok Hermanns (Editiones Arnamagnæanæ B. 22 (1963) 7 ff.).

For *e* for unstressed *u* (or *i*) see §§ 58.19. For *o* for *á* see § 13.

### Ríkulfr

Y. b) **Ricolfo de Galmeton** abl., witness, [c1130–39] 14th YCh 2. 1222.

Probably a loan in Scand from ContGerm *Ricvulf*, *Ricolf* (B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 34). Fairly frequent in Dan, less so in Swed and only late in Norw (ib.).

The Y form may alternatively represent the ContGerm name.

For *c* for *k* see § 127. For interchange of *u/o* see § 32.

### Rímr

Y. a) in **Rimeswelle**, -uelle DB (Rimswell, Holderness W, E) PNYE 28.

An orig. by.n., cf. OIcel *hrím* n. “rime, hoar-frost” perhaps “soot”. A single instance of *Hrímr* is recorded in WScand as a patronymic and the name may also be found in a Norw p.n. (Lind BN 156).



**Ringulfr**

L. b) **Alberti f. Ringolf** (Wyberton) 1.12th RA VII 1960. – **Johannem f. Ringulf** (Wrangle) 1218 AssSel 214, FFM 141. – **Richard and Thomas sons of Ringolf** (Northfen) 1226 FFM 191.

Y. b) **Lamberto f. Ringulphi, Ringolfi** [c1160–65] 14th, [1165–75] 14th–15th YCh. 2. 749, 3. 1566.

First el. (*H*)*ring-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Not recorded in WScand. Borne by a Dan moneyer c1080 and possibly found in a Dan p.n. (DgP 1170; DS V 246). Found in a p.n. in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 205; Ödeen 201).

The forms in L and Y may alternatively represent OE *Hringwulf*.

For interchange of *u/o* see § 32. For *ph* for *f* see § 97.

**Rísi**

Y. a) in **Risedalebec** c1200, **Ri-**, **Rysedale** 1262 etc. (Risedale Beck and Risedale, Hang E W, N) PNYN 244.

An orig by.n., cf. OIceI *hrísungr* “bastard”. A number of instances are recorded in WScand (Lind BN 157–58). Cf. also the Swed name *Rise* (Lundgren-Brate 205).

The Y p.n. may alternatively, and perhaps more probably, contain the OScand common noun *hrís* “brushwood” (PNYN 244).

**\*Ríulfr**

L. b) **Riulfo clerico** H<sub>2</sub> Dane 521–22. – **Riolphus** (Toynton) c1182–98 RA VI 1860.

Y. b) **Riulfo Pipard** abl., witness, c1175–84 YCh 7. 88.

Of doubtful origin but possibly derived from *Rikulfr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For interchange of *u/o* see § 32. For *ph* for *f* see § 97.

**Róaldr**

L. b) **Tori son of Rold** TRE DB p.13. – **Rold** TRE DB 67/13. – **Rualdo** constabulario abl., witness, [c1144–46] c1225 RA II 314. – **Roaldo** (et Briano filiis Alani militibus), witness, c1150–60 RA IV 1247. – **Roald de Nauesbi** abl., H<sub>2</sub> Dane 534. – **Roaldus f. Alani** ante 1223 RA II 311. – **Alan son of Roald** (Mere) 1261 FFF 180.

Y. a) in **Rowaldecroft** 1208 (f.n. in Reedness, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 10. – in **Roaldeshou** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Roaldemyre** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Roweldesyke** 1407 (f.n.) PNYN 333.

Y. b) **Hrowald, Rold** minister, witness, [958] 14th, [959] 12th YCh 1. 3,4. – **Rold**, witness [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8. – **Rualdus constabularius f. Harscodi, Roaldus de Richemundie, Roaldi gen., Roaudo dat., Rualdo, Roaldo, Rotaldo** sic abl. c1130–58 and later copies YCh 4. 9,12,15,17,18,21,28, 2. 968, 5. 157,178,210,232,292,398,399. R. was dead before September 1158. His children :- **Theophania filia Roaldi** [1158–81] l.13th YCh 5. 227,228, 239, **Ysmena filia Roaldi** [1166–89] l.13th YCh 5. 256, **Willelmus f. Roaldi** [1156–58] 14th. YCh 4. 33, **Alanus constabularius f. Roaldi, Rualdi** c1150–1200 and later copies YCh 5. 179,211,223,237–39,258,259,269,373, 4. 30,47, 1. 610,262, avi mei **Roaldi constab.** [Thomas de Burgh, son of Ysmena] [1166–89] l.13th YCh 5. 257, Alan was succeeded as constable by his son **Roald** before 1201, **Roaldus f. Alani, Ruald, Ruhalt, Roald, Rowald, Roaldum acc., Roaldi gen., Roaldo abl.**, c1168–1227 and later copies RBE 163, Civil Pleas 131, Pleas 2708, AssC 1, RA III 958–61, FFb 121, YCh 1. 269, 5. 125, 184B, 212,214,249–52, 274, 313, 338A, 342,346,350,369,370, 11. 147, AssSel 28,29, Fees 247, FFP 105, his son :- **Rowald son of Rowald; Roald son of Roald, Roaldus f. Roaldi** 1226–87 FFP 105; AssC 78; KI 150, 154, 156, 160, 162, 166, 166–83. – **Rualdo nepote constabularii**, witness, [c1148] 14th–15th YCh 5. 157. – **Roaldus**, witness, [c1145–66] 17th YCh 3. 1345. – **Ricardo f. Roaldi** [1160] l.13th YCh 2. 754, **Nicholaus f. Ricardi f. Roaldi** [1189] l.13th YCh 2. 701. – **Roaldo coco**, witness, [1163–66] 17th YCh 1. 333. – **Roald** [1166] 13th RBE 427. – **Rualdo de Gyseburna abl.**, witness, 1160–70, [c1154–65] l.13th YCh 2. 653, 747, **Rualdus** (et **Robertus f. ejus et Eustachius gener ejus**), **Rualdo abl.**, witness, [1160–80] l.13th, [1175–85] l.13th YCh 2. 755, 769, **Roberto f. Rualdi**, witness, 1160–70, e.H<sub>2</sub> YCh 2. 653, 9. 101. – **Ruald de Ormesheved**, witness, [c1170–76] l.12th YCh 1. 611. – **Willelmo f. Roaldi**, witness, [c1170–85] 17th YCh 11. 181. – **Roaldus**, witness, [1170–85] l.13th YCh 2. 1055. – **Ruhal' fratre ejus** (**Radulfo forestario**), witness, [1173–85] 14th YCh 1. 513. – **Roaldum priorem de Giseburna; Roaldo abl.** [c1190–1203] l.13th; [c1195–1210] 17th, 1199–1209, [1189–1204] 17th, [c1190–1204] 17th YCh 9. 21; 2. 753, 1. 488, 564–65. – **Roald** his brother (**Geoffrey son of Alan, Aldeburgh**) 1203–04 AssC 1. – **Roaldo abl.**, witness, [c1208–25] 14th–15th YCh 10. 57. – **Roald' f. Hamonis** 1218–19 AssSel 373. – **Alanus Roald** [capellanus] (**Grimston**) [1284–85] l.15th KI 63. – **Roaldus f. Adæ** [1284–85] 15th KI 143.

First el. *(H)ró(ð)*-. Second el. *-valdr*. The oldest instance recorded in Scand is *rhoaltr* on a Norw rune-stone from the 8th cent and the name continues as one of the commonest in Norw. It is frequent in Icel in the 10th cent but then drops out of use there (Lind 578–80). In Dan, where it appears in a runic inscription as *ruhalts* gen. (Jacobsen-Moltke 700), it

also drops out of use at an early date but some later forms may have been confused with the commoner name *Rólfr* q.v. (J. Kousgård Sørensen *Bebygg. på -sted* 247). There are a few instances of the name in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 206; SRSö nr 31).

Some of the forms in L and Y may represent the ContGerm name *Hrodowald*, although spellings with *w* may simply show the influence of the Germ name on the Scand forms.

For *u* for *ó* see § 27. For the insertion of *h* see § 141. For vocalisation of *l* see § 69. For *t* for final *d* see § 107.

### Róarr

Y. a) in **Roreston DB, Ruston 1167** (Ruston Parva, Dickering W, E) PNYE 93. – in **Roreston(e), -tun(e) DB** (Royston, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 284.

First el. (*H*)*ró(ð)*-. Second el. *-geirr*, or *-\*harir* or *-varr*. Thus probably < PrimScand *\*Hrōþi-gairar* > *\*Hrōð-garr* > *\*Hrōwarr* > *Hróarr*, cf. OE *Hrōðgār* (found in *Beowulf*), but possible alternatives are *\*Hrōþi-warjar* and *\*Hrōþi-harjar* (Nord.Kult.VII 79–80). The name appears fairly early in Icel but is not common there. Several instances are recorded in Norw after 1100 (Lind 580–82). A few instances are found in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 206) and a number of late ones in Dan (DgP 1172).

The p.ns. may alternatively contain OE *Hrōr* < *hrōr* “active, strong” (PNYW 1. 284).

The spelling in *o* shows l.OE simplification of a diphthong (cf. *Rold* < *Róald*).

### Róðmarr

Y. a) in **Routmerker 13th** (f.n. in Gateforth, Barkston Ash W. W) PNYW 4. 28.

First el. (*H*)*ró(ð)*-. Second el. *-marr*. Borne by a single historical figure in the 9th cent and found as an el. in a Norw p.n. A few fictional instances (Lind 584). Found in a Swed runic inscription as *rupmar* (SRÖI nr 18). Some late instances are recorded in Dan (DgP 1184–85).

*ou* may be an inverted spelling for *o* (see § 29). For *t* for medial *ð* see § 117. For *e* for *a* see § 58.

### Róðmundr

Y. a) in **Romundrebi DB, Romundabi 1088** (Romanby, Allerton W, N) PNYN 210.

b) **Rodmund** 1086 DB 331r. – **Romundo** abl., witness, [c1121–37] 14th YCh 4. 105. – **Romundus** frater prioris (St. Mary's), **Romundo** abl., witness, [c1137–61] 14th YCh 4. 118. – **Gaufrido et Gervasio filiis Romundi** [1146–58] 14th–15th, [c1158–84] 14th, [1153–57] l.12th, [1170–76] 14th, [1163–69] l.12th, 1175–86 YCh 5. 129, 222, 2. 952, 3. 1879, 9. 129, 3. 1808, **Gervasio Romund**; **Romundi**; **Romendi** [burgense] [1175–86] 14th–15th YCh 6. 29; 1. 509; 510. – **Alano f. Romundi, Rom[und]** (Ousegate, York) [c1150–61] 14th, [c1165] 14th–15th YCh 1. 223, 328, **Alano f. Romundi**, witness, [1180–95] 14th YCh 1. 208. – **Romundus** (Bootham, York) [c1150–61] 14th YCh 1. 275. – **Gosfrido f. Romundi**, witness, [1161–84] 14th [1170–80] 14th YCh 2. 848, 961. – **Romundo** abl., witness, [1183–86] 14th YCh 1. 238. – **Romund Tirel** (Goodmanham, Latham) 1222, 1226 FFP 44, 75, **Herbert son of Romund** 1228 FFP 118.

First el. (*H*)ró(ð). Second el. *-mundr*. A fair number of early instances are recorded in Norw and Icel but the name only occurs very rarely later (Lind 590–91). Some few independent instances are found in Swed, where it also occurs in p.n.s. (Lundgren-Brate 208; SRU nr 692). Cf. the form *Hrōðmund* in *Beowulf*.

For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116. For loss of medial *ð* see § 120.

### \*Róðulfr

L. a) in **Rouestone** DB (Rowston, Flaxwell W) 64/5. – in **Rolleshaye** 1230 (f.n. in Swaby, Calcewath W) Bower 469. – in **Rowlescrofte** 13th (f.n. in Thornton, Hill W) Bower 500.

b) **Rolf son of Sceldeware** TRE DB p.13. – **Rolf** TRE DB 4/38.41.46.81, 7/17.24, 12/19, 27/10.20.30.33, 30/9.12.17, 44/5.7.11.16. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Rolft** TRE DB 8/14.20.22. – **Richard son of Roof** LiS 8/16. – **Roolf**, brother of Gunne, (Scithesbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – **Rolf de Ormesby**, witness, [1147–66] 1409 GH 2 p.40. – terram **Rothof f. Ketelli, Rodulfi f. Ketelli** (Croxby) c1155–66 Dane 238, 240. – **Gileberto f. Rolf** H<sub>2</sub> Dane 290. – **Rolf** gen. (N Cadeby) [c1200] c1330, c1200 RA IV 1435–36. – **Alanum f. Rulf, Rolf** (Croxby) 1202 Ass 145, FF 148. – **Willelmus f. Rolf, Raulphi** 1202 Ass 867, 1059. – **Willelmo Roulf de Barton** abl., witness, [e.13th] 1409 GH 34 p.55. – **Willelmi f. Rolfi** (Covenham) [H<sub>3</sub>] 1409 GH 19 p.48.

Y. a) in **Roolestone, Roluestun** DB, **Rolleston** 1203 (Rolston, Holderness W, E) PNYE 63. – in **Rothelay** (e) H<sub>3</sub>, **Rotholf-**, **Ro3olflay** c1260 (Rodley, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 212. – in **Rooleshedenabe** 1487 (Royles Head, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 125.

b) **Rolfus** (Holme-on-the-Wolds), **Ghippe f. Rolfi** [1130–38] 17th YCh 2. 970.

First el. (*H*)*róð*-. Second el. *-ulfr*. < PrimScand \**Hrōþi-wulfar* > \**Hrōð-wulfr*. In the contracted form *Hrólfr* the name is common in both Icel and Norw in early times and remains so in Norw (Lind 587–88). In Swed there are a few instances of *Rodhulf* and several of *Rolf* (Lundgren-Brate 207, 208; SRU nr 793). The name is common in Dan legendary history (Lat *Rolpho*, *Rolvo*, *Roluerus*) and several later instances are found there (DgP 1178–80). Cf. also the Dan runic forms *rhuulfr*, *ruulfr*, *rulfr* and *rolfr* (with *uu* indicating *ou*) (Jacobsen-Moltke 700) and the form *Hrōðulf* in *Beowulf*.

Some of the uncontracted forms in L and Y may rather represent OE *Hrōðwulf* or ContGerm *Rodulf* and other forms may alternatively represent the OFr pers.n. *Roul*.

For loss of medial *ð* see above and § 120. For *d*, *th* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.118. Spellings in *oo*, *ow* reflect the earlier Scand forms. The spelling in *au* probably shows confusion with the name *Radulfus* > *Raulfus*. For loss of *l* see § 70. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For the excrescent *t* in *Rolft* see § 104.

### Rókr, Róki

L. a) in **Roxe**-, **Roscebi** DB 24/11, 35/4; 32/14, **Rochesbi** LiS 1/4.14. (Roxby, Manley W). – in **Rochesham** DB (Roxham, Flaxwell W) 27/44, 64/11. – in **Roxton** 1212 (Roxton, Yarborough W) DEPN.

Y. a) in **Rochebi** DB (Rokeby, Gilling W W, N) PNYN 301. – in **Roches-berc**-, **-berg(e)** c1140 (Rook Barugh, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 58. – in **Rokeby** 1198, **Rokesbi** 1210 (Roxby House, Halikeld W, N) PNYN 225.

b) **Róc** (or possibly **Rót**) in **Hillum** festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Hugo Roc** (York) [1155–65] 14th–15th YCh 1. 327. – **Robertus Roc** (Cayton) [c1170–90] c1400 YCh 11. 188.

An orig bird-name “rook”. A few fictional instances are recorded in WScand (Lind 586). Two possible instances occur in Dan as a pers.n. and by.n. (DgP 1176; II 892) and the form *Rog* is found in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 208; SRU nr 756). A weak side-form \**Róki* is deduced from p.n.s. in Dan and Swed (DS XI 20).

The forms in L and Y may alternatively represent the OE pers.n. *Hrōc(a)* and the el. in the p.n.s. may rather be the bird-name *hrókr* or OE *hrōc* (PNEL i 265–66).

For *ch*, *c* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For *x* for *ks* see § 130. *scē* normally represents [ts] (see § 105).

## Rómfari

L. a) in **Rumfar Croft** 1291, **Romfarhadick** 1391 (f.n. in Ingoldmells, Candleshoe W; cf. **Alan Romfar** named there 1291) Bower 481.  
 b) **Romfar** abl., witness, c1150–55 Dane 308. – **Alano f. Romfari**, witness, c1150–55 Dane 308. – **Rompharus in Lincolnia**, **Romfarus** [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354, **Hugo nepos Romphari** (Lincolnia) [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Rumfaro** presbitero, witness, [e.H<sub>2</sub>] c1225 RA V 1688. – **Rompharus de Wyflyngham** [c1160] 1409 GH 24 p.13. – **Romfarus clericus de Ludforda** [c1160] 1409 GH 24 p.13. – **Rumfaro longo** (et Jacobo f. eius), witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 146. – **Romfar f. Hagaman, Agamani**, witness, 2/10 1172 Dane 379–80. – **Amabile uxore Romfare, Rompharo de Nettilton** abl. (et Radulfo fratre suo), witnesses, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 35 p.20. – **Romphar fratre eius** (Gilberto Blanchard), witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 32 p.19. – **Rompharus clericus**, witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 6 p.3. – **Rumfarus de Lincolnia frater Thori canonici** H<sub>2</sub> Dane 122. – **Alan son of Romphar, Rumfar**, bailiff of Lincoln, 1177–79 Hill 379, **Alano f. Romfari**, witness, ante 1187 Dane 223, 229, **A. f. Romfari** c1190–1200 RA VIII 2314. – **Robert son of Rumfare**, fined in Lincoln 1191, Hill 397. – **Rumfaro f. Botild**, witness, l.12th RA IV 1152. – **Romfar Poer** [l.12th] 1409 abl., witness, GH 52 p.30. – **Rumpharo** abl., witness, l.12th Dane 74. – **Rumfaro f. Asford'** abl., witness, c1200 RA VIII 2185. – **Rumfaro f. Roberti** abl., witness; **Rumfarus de Germuntorp f. Roberti palmeri**, terram **Rumfari** [c1200] c1225; [c1215–20] c1225 RA V 1606–07; 1611–12. – **Runfar f. Lamberti** 1202 Ass 251 and Civil Pleas 227, **Rumfaro f. Lamberti** [c1210–20] c1330 RA VIII 2238. – **Rumfar' f. Roberti** acc. 1202 Ass 628. – **Augustinus f. Rumfard'**, **Rumfar'**, **Willelmus f. Rumfer**, **Rumfar'** 1202 Ass 807, 807a, 811 and Crown Pleas 38. – **Toli f. Bunfare** sic 1202 Ass 998. – **Rumfaro** [sacerdote], witness, [c1210–15] c1225 RA V 1483. – **Rumfaro capellano**, witness, c1210–15, [c1210–20] c1225 and c1330 RA IV 1306, 1341, 1347, 1377–78, V 1527, 1537–38, 1590, 1615, 1703–04, 1708–09, VI 1750–52, VII 2019, 2062. – **Rophar f. Grimchel de Burg** [e.13th] 17th FP 26. – **Rogerus f., Gaufridus f. Rumfar'** (Newton-le-Wold) 27/4 1214 FF 334. – **Rumfar' f. Roberti** (Friskney, Skegness, Huttoft) 25/11 1218 AssSel 131. – **Rumfarus serviens** (Friskney) 7/1 1219 AssSel 276. – **Emma que fuit uxor Rumfar'** (Mablethorpe) 7/1 1219 AssSel 278. – terram **Rumfari f. Radulfi** (Heckington) e.13th RA VII 2081. – **Rumfarus**, son of Hugo Caduorn, brother of Alanus, (Burgh-le-Marsh) 25/6 1219 AssSel 721. – **Thoma f. Rumphari**, witness, c1220–30 RA VIII 2247. – **Rumfarus f. Hucdredi** e.13th RA IV 1303. – **Philippo f. Runfari, Rumphari** e.13th, [e.13th] c1330 RA VIII 2317. – terram **Rumfari fabri** (Heckington) e.13th RA VII 2081–82. – **Rumpharus f. Auke de Somer-**

cotes, **Rumpharus frater meus** (Willelmus f. Auke) [c1230-40] c1330 RA V 1693-94. – **terram Rumphari de Scampton'** [c1230-40] c1330 RA V 1694. – **Alexandro f. Rumphari** [H<sub>3</sub>] 1409 GH 19 p.48. – **Runfarus mercenarius** 1245 FFF 4. – **Alan f. Willelmi f. Rumphari de Germetorp (et Galfridus frater eius)** [c1260] l.13th FP 80. – **Iohannes Rumfar de Geynesburgh'** 1298 AssTh 496.

Y. b) **Rompharus** (? Winterton) [1156-57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Rompharus (Osgodby)** [1156-57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Romfar de Houed[ena] abl.**, witness, l.12th YCh 6. 38, **Rumfaro fratre ejus (Johanne de Houenden')**, witness, 1186-94 YCh 2. 1000.

An orig by.n. "traveller to Rome, pilgrim". A couple of instances are recorded in Norw in the 14th cent (Lind 858) but the name may well have originated in the Danelaw.

For *u* for *ó* see § 27. For *n* for *m* see § 81. For *ph* for *f* see § 97.

### Rossi

Y. a) in **Russedal(e)** [1130-c58] 1201, **Rossedal(e)** 1186-95 etc. (Rosedale, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 80. – in **Roseberg(h) (a)** 13th (Rose Hill, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 196.

Probably an orig by.n., cf. OIcel *hross* "horse" or ODan *rysse* "a Russian" or ModNorw *russe* "a big, strong fellow". A single instance of *Hrossi* is recorded in WScand (Lind BN 158). There are a number of late instances of *Russe*, *Rosse*, *Rysse* in Dan (DgP 1186). A form \**Rosse* is deduced in Swed from a p.n. but this is very doubtful (Lundgren-Brate 208).

A. H. Smith notes that Rose Hill, which is pronounced in the local dialect as [ro:zil], probably had a short vowel in ME and thus may well contain the pers.n. *Rossi* (PNYN 196).

For *s* for *ss* see § 143.

### Rosketill

Y. a) in **Roscheltorp** DB (Roskelthorpe (lost), N) PNYN 141. – perhaps in **Tore(n)tun** DB, **Thornton Ruske** 1153 (Thornton Rust, Hang W W, N) PNYN 268. – in **Roskylmyre** 13th (f.n. in Horton-in-Ribblesdale, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 225. – in **Roskilgate** 13th (f.n. in Stainburn, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 50. – in **Roskilleber** c1260 (Roselber Wood, Litton, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 126. – in **Roskilleswangewath** l.13th (f.n. in Hawkswick, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 125. – in **Roskelholm(kerr)** 1351, 1363 (Rosselholme, f.n. in Glusburn, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 17-18.

b) **Roscetel** festerman [c1050] ? L11th YCh 1. 9, **Roschel** TRE DB 301r (bis), **Roschil** 301r, 315v. – **Roschil** TRE DB 312v (bis), **Ruschil** 322r. – domum **Roskilli** (York) [c1150–61] 14th YCh 1. 271. – **Rosker** abl., witness, [1160–70] 13th YCh 2. 832. – **Vlf f. Roschilli de Malhom**; **Roskil** 1164–75, [1163–75] 15th, [1175] 15th; [28/12 1175] 15th YCh 11. 25, 242, 1. 78; 11. 38, **Rannulfus f. Ulf f. Roskilli** [c1195–1207] 15th YCh 11. 243. – homagium **Suani f. Roskel** (Notton, Appleday) [1170–90] 14th, 1190–1210 YCh 3. 1713, 1717, terram **Suani f. Roskel** [1195–1217] 17th YCh 3. 1649. – **Godericus Ruskel** (Spofforth) [? 1184–99] 14th YCh 11. 63.

First el. (*H*)ross-. Second el. -*ketill*. A few instances are recorded in WScand (Lind 592) and the existence of the name in Swed is deduced from p.n. evidence (D. Palm NoB 15. 145–46).

For forms in *u* see § 24. For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For *y* for *i* see § 22. For *e* for unstressed *i* see § 19. The form *Rosker* is probably a scribal error. For loss of final *l* see § 71.

### Ruði

Y. a) in **Torp(i)**, **Rud(e)torp** DB (Thorpe-le-Street, Harthill W, E) PNYE 229. – in **Rodebi** DB, **Rudebi**, -by c1150 etc. (Rudby, Langbargh W, N) PNYN 174.

Probably an orig by.n. from the farm-names *Ruð* or *Ruðir*. A single instance is recorded in Norw (Lind 858).

The p.ns. may alternatively contain the Scand common noun *ruð* n. “clearing” (PNEL ii 91).

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116.

### Rútr

Y. a) perhaps in **Rocchholm** 13th, **Rossholm** c1360 (Rusholme, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 14.

An orig by.n. “ram”. A number of instances are recorded as a pers.n. in WScand (Lind 593) and one or two as a by.n. (Lind BN 159).

For *o* for *ú* see § 34. For *c* for *ts* see § 105.

### Ryggr

L. a) in **Rigesbi**; **Righes-**; **Riches-** DB 2/18, 4/61–64; 2/20; 69/13, **Rigesbi** LiS 14/2, 15/5.6 (Rigsby, Calcewath W). – in **Riggest(h)orp**, **Ryggistorp** 13th (lost place in Barkston, Threo W) Fees 1036.



An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *hryggr* m. “spine, ridge” or the adj. *hryggr* “sad”. A few instances are recorded in WScand (Lind BN 159).

For *i* for *y* see § 38. For *g* for *gg* see § 143. For *ch* for *g* see § 135.

### Rytr

Y. a) in Risbi DB, Re(s)ceby 12th–13th, (Risby, Harthill W, E) PNYE 204.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *hrytr* m. “snoring” or ModNorw *ryt* “noise, uproar”. A single instance is recorded in Norw in 1330 (Lind BN 300).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the EScand common noun *ryð* n. “clearing” (PNEI ii 91).

For *s*, *c*, *sce* for *ts* see § 105.

## S

### Saksi

L. a) in Sassebi DB 1/39.44, 29/29, Saxsebi, Saxsabi LiS 2/13.17 (Saxby, Aslaoe W). – in Saxebi DB (Saxby, Yarborough W) 14/29. – in Saxedale 13th (lost place in Withcall, Louthesk W) PNNt 241.

b) Saxelino de Hesla abl., witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 24. – Saxe f. Kin abl., witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 24. – Sax de Nettleton abl., witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 35 p.20. – Godewin f. Saxi [H<sub>2</sub>] E<sub>1</sub> FP 17. – Daud f. Saxe [l.12th] 15th Dane 555. – uxor Hugonis f. Saxe (Horkstow) [1180–1204] l.13th YCh 11. 286. – terram Ache f. Saxe, Sax (Saltfleetby) c1200, e.13th RA V 1639; 1641–42. – Augnes filia Saxi 1200 Crown Pleas 82. – Saxe f. Benedicti (et Aciliam sororem suam) [c1210] c1330 RA IV 1265. – Galfrido f. Saxelin, witness, c1210 RA VI 1891. – Reginald Sax (Heckington) 1226 FFM 191.

Y. a) in Saxtun(a), -ton(a) DB (Saxton, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 70. – in Sax(e)hale, Saxhalla DB (unidentified manor between Hazlewood and Stutton, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 76. – in terra Sacsi quam idem Sacsi habet 1118–30 (f.n. in Shitlington, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 210. – in Saxicroft 13th (f.n. in Ripon, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 173.

b) terra Sacsi quam idem Sacsi habet (Shitlington, cf. above) [1118–30] m.13th YCh 8. 11. – Saxi de Horbiri, witness, [1120–30] m.13th YCh 3. 1663, Saxy, witness, [c1140–50] 13th YCh 7. 126, Matheo f. Saxi (et Philippo fratre ejus) [c1150–57] l.12th YCh 6. 158, Philippo f. Saxi [1155–70] 17th YCh 3. 1753, Matheus f. Saxci; Saxi [1170–85] l.12th; [1155–70] 17th,

[1199] 17th, [1199] 17th YCh 3. 1722; 1753, 1754–55. – **Saxi**, witness, ? c1155–65 YCh 11. 202. – **Saxelino de Hesel** abl., witness, 1156–84 YCh 2. 1216. – **Ricardus f. Saxi Erht**, witness, [1160–80] 17th YCh 2. 1035. – **Hugone f. Saxi** [1185–1202] 17th YCh 6. 145. – **Ricardus f. Saxe** (Kirkecroft in Frismareis) [1187–1207] 14th–15th YCh 1. 51. – **Gaufridum f. Saxelini** (York) 1206 FFBB 106. – **Willelmum f. Saxi** 1218–19 AssSel 733.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *sax* n. “short, one-edged sword” but possibly in some instances derived from the name of the Saxons. An orig EScand name. Fairly common in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 215; SRU nr 894) and very common in Dan (Lat *Saxo*, runic *saksi* (DgP 1198–1203; II 931; Jacobsen-Moltke 709). Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel but otherwise rare there. Common in ENorw (Lind 870–71). A single instance of the by.n. *Sax* is recorded in WScand in the 10th cent (Lind BN 304). *Saxi* is found in several p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 130–31).

Some of the instances in L and Y may rather represent the ContGerm pers.n. *Saxo* and some of the p.ns. may rather contain the OE folk-name *Seaxe* “Saxons”.

For *c* for *k* see § 127. For *x*, *ss* for *ks* see § 130. For the addition of the ContGerm suffix *-lin* see § 153.

### Saksulfr

L. a) in **Saxeby** DB p.lxxxix, **Saxlaby**, **-ebi** LiS 3/3.17 (Saxilby, Lawress W). Y. b) **Saxulf** TRE DB 315v, **Saxulf** 330r.

First el. *Saks-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. In the mutated form *Soxulfr* it appears early in WScand but is not very common. Found in one Norw p.n. (Lind 1024–25). Its existence in Swed is deduced from a couple of p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 215; Sv. Uppsl. 28. 846) and it is also found in a number of p.ns. in Dan (DgP 1203; DS II 45).

A less likely source for the forms in L and Y is the rare OE *Seaxwulf* (Feilitzen 352).

For *x* for *ks* see § 130. For loss of *f* see § 100. For the form *Saxle-* showing reduction of unstressed *u* to *e* and subsequent syncope see §§ 58.62.

### Sali

L. a) in **Saleby**, **-by** DB (Saleby, Calcewath W) 24/65, 25/23.

An orig by.n. cf. either OIcel *sólfr* “yellow, pale”, ModIcel “dirty” or the p.n. el. *-salir*. A single instance is recorded in WScand in 1299 (Lind BN 302). A few late instances are found in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 212) and a number in the 15th cent in Dan (DgP II 924).

**Salmundr**

L. a) in *Salmundebi* DB 13/9, *Salmonebi* LiS 17/1 (*Salmonby*, Hill W).

First el. *Sal-*. Second el. *-mundr*. Very common in both Norw and Icel in the mutated form *Sølmundr* and also recorded in Norw as *Sal-* (Lind 1012–16; Nord.Kult.VII 88). A number of instances are found in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 213; SRU nr 39) and the name is fairly common in Dan, with substitution of the el. *-man(d)* for *-mundr* in the younger instances (DgP 1192–93).

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For loss of *d* see § 108.

**Sandi**

L. b) ? *Sendi* TRE DB 16/14.

Y. b) *Sandi* TRE DB 301r.

A short form of names in *Sand-* or an orig by.n. < OIcel *sandr* “sand”. A single instance is recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 303). *Sandi* is also recorded in Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 245).

The L form may alternatively represent *Sjúndi* q.v.

For *e* for *a* see § 2.

**Sandulfr**

Y. b) *Sandolf* le uenat[or], witness, [1140–46] 17th YCh 11. 13.

First el. *Sand-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. A fair number of instances are recorded in Norw, mostly in the mutated form *Søndulfr* (Lind 1021).

For interchange of *u/o* see § 32.

**Sauðr**

L. a) in *Saustorp* 1167, *Saltorp* 12th (an isolated form) (*Sausthorpe*, Hill W) Bower 210.

Y. a) possibly in *Sotesac*, *Sosacra*, *-acre* DB, *Southacr(e)* 1283 (*Susacres*, *L Claro W, W*) PNYW 5. 107.

An orig by.n. “sheep”. Two late instances as a pers.n. are recorded in Norw (Lind 870). Fairly frequent as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 304).

The Y p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n.s. *Soddr* q.v. or *Sótr* q.v.

For *ou,o* for *au* see §§ 46.47. For *s* for *ðs* see § 105. The spelling in *ts* may possibly have arisen because both *ts* and *ðs* could be represented by *s* in ME sources.

**Sekkr**

Y. a) in **Sex(h)ou** c1160–80 (Sexhow, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 175.

An orig by.n. “sack”. Four instances are recorded in Norw from the 14th cent onwards (Lind BN 305).

For *x* for *ks* see § 130.

**\*Selakollr**

Y. b) **Selecolf** gen. TRE DB 298r.

An Anglo-Scand formation, “K. of the seals”? Cf. *Kollr* q.v. and such names as *Selagnúpr*, *Selakálfr* (Lind BN 305; Feilitzen 357).

For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58. For *c* for *k* see § 127. For inorganic final *f* see § 100.

**Sibbi**

L. b) terra **Sybi** TRE DB p.6.22.

A short form of *Sigbjörn* (Nord.Kult.VII 158, 210). An EScand name common in Swed (e.g. SRU nr 1122; Lundgren-Brate 215) and fairly frequent in Dan, where it occurs in several p.ns. (DgP 1215–16; DS II 46).

For *y* for *i* see § 22. For *b* for *bb* see § 143.

**Sigarr**

L. b) **Sigar** TRE DB 4/28.31. – **Sigerus de Croft**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 113. – **Levinia** daughter of **Sigarus** (Burgh) 1196 FFM 6. – **Johanne f. Sigari**, witness, 1209 RA VIII 2288–89. – **Eudo son of Sigar'** (Skirbeck) 1224 FFM 172. – **Osebert son of Sigerius** 1227 FFF 297. – **Robertus f. Sigeri** (Stallingborough) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 1009.

Y. a) in **Sigercrofte** 14th (f.n. in Barkisland, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 62.

b) **Segarus de Sutton'** 1201 Pleas 3346, **Sigero de Swton** abl., witness, [1195–c1210] 13th YCh 3. 1376.

First el. *Sig-*. Second el. either *-\*harir* (Nord.Kult.VII 266) or *-geirr* (ib. 101). Common in Dan (Lat *Sigerus*, *Segerus*), where it is found in a number of p.ns. (DgP 1218–20; J. Kousgård Sørensen Bebygg. på -sted 243). A single independent instance is found in Swed, where the name also appears in a couple of p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 216; Sv. Uppsl. 25. 752). It does not become frequent in Norw until later but is found in a number of p.ns. there (Lind 874–75).

Since the OE name el. *Sige-* was reduced to *Si-* (see Feilitzen § 133), it is possible that the forms in L and Y might also represent OE *Sigegār*

and some of the later instances may rather represent ContGerm *Sig(g)er* (Feilitzen 360).

For *e* for *i* see § 19. For *e* for *a* see § 8.

### Sigfrøðr, \*Sigfriðr

L. b) Siuert TRE DB 12/96, perhaps identical with Sigferðes gen. [1052] ? KCD 956. – Siggeuert (Toresbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – Siford textor (Temple Bruer) 1185 Templ 95. – Siford (Burton Pedwardine) 1185 Templ 89. – Siuerdo Snatel abl., Siuere (Quadring) ante 1200 RA VII 1952.

Y. b) Siuerð festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9.

First el. *Sig-*. Second el. *-frøðr*. Possibly a reconstruction with Scand els. of the ContGerm name *Sigifrið* (Nord.Kult.VII 104). Probably originated in Denmark (DgP 1122–23). Several Danes in the viking period bear this name in WScand sources but only one Norwegian (Lind 877). Possibly to be found in three p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 229).

Forms in *uert*, *-uerð*, *-uerd* may alternatively represent OE *Sigefrið* (Feilitzen 360).

For loss of *g* see § 136. For *gg* for *g* see § 142. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For *-ford* see § 43. For forms in *uerð* etc. see § 21.

### Sigga fem.

L. b) *Sigga uxor Osberti*, witness, 1162 Dane 172. – *Sigga*, *Siggam* acc. *Sigge* abl., sister of Alice, 13/7 1202 FF 151.

Y. b) *Sige*, *Sigga uxor mea* (Robertus Warin, N Cowton) ante 1195, [c1180–90] 15th YCh 5. 299, 307, *Pigge* acc. sic, *Sigge* dat. [c1180–90] 15th YCh 5. 305.

A short form of names in *Sig-*. A few instances are recorded in Norw (Lind 878).

For *g* for *gg* see § 143.

### Siggautr

Y. a) in *Sighedesbrigga* c1300 (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in *Sigotehous* 1442 (f.n. in Sheffield, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 221.

b) *Sisotes* (sic) land (Sherwood) [958] 14th YCh 1. 3.

First el. *Sig-*. Second el. *-gautr*. Only recorded in WScand as a name of Óðinn (Lind 879). Found in England as the name of a moneyer (YCh 1. 3.n).

For *gh* for *g* see § 133. *s* for *g* is probably a scribal error. For *o* for *au* see § 47. *e* probably replaces such an unstressed *o* (see § 58). For *d* for medial *t* see § 103.

### \*Siggr, Siggi

L. b) **Radulfus f. Sigge** (Fulstow) 1185 Templ 105. – domo, tofti **Ricardi Sigge** (W Keal) [c1200] c1225, c1200 RA VI 1855, 1857.

Y. a) in **Sighro(y)de** 1467 (f.n. in Monk Bretton, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 275. – in **Sig(h)estun** DB, **Siggestune**, -ton 1088 (Kirby Sigston, Allerton W, N) PNYN 211–12.

b) **Robertus f. Sigge rusticus** (Warter) [1175–78] e.14th YCh 10. 71. – **Segge** gen. (Warter) [1199] e.14th YCh 10. 81.

Short forms of names in *Sig-*. *Siggi* is recorded once in the Edda and there are a number of instances in Norw from the 14th cent onwards (Lind 879). A few instances are found in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 217) and a number in Dan from the 14th cent onwards (DgP 1218; DS II 46). The strong form *\*Siggr* is not recorded in Scand and may be an Anglo-Scand formation.

The gen. forms in *Sigge* could equally well derive from the fem. name *Sigga* q.v. Some of the forms may alternatively represent the OE masc. names *Si(c)ga*, *Sigga* (Redin 54).

For *gh* for *gg* see §§ 143.133. For *e* for *i* see § 19.

### Sighvatr, \*Sighvati

L. b) **Siuuate**, son of Godwine, brother of Fenchel, Aschil, Alnod, TRE DB 69/38 (4 times), 70/30. – **Siuuate**, **Siuuat** TRE DB 24/81, 29/10. – **Siuuate** 1086 DB 57/55. – **Thowi f. Siwati** (Spalding) [c1150] c1330 Stenton Danes 21. – **Siwata de Fulney**, witness, [c1150] c1330 Stenton Danes 22. – **Aschatillus Siwata** (Lincoln) [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Thomas f. Siuat**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 142. – **Siwat f. Gutred** (Raithby) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 513. – **Siuat f. Airic** (Raithby) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 513. – **Siwato de Beningworthe** abl., witness, [l.12th] 1409 GH 31 p.54. – **Walter, Thomas [filii] Siwat**, **Sywat de Luda** [l.12th] l.13th FP 87–88. – **Thoma f. Siwati**, **Siwate**, witness, [l.12th] 1409, [ante 1184] 1409 GH 24, 25 p.51. – **Walterus f. Sywat** (Withcall) l.12th Dane 115. – **Siwattus Horre**, **Siwardus** (Boston) c1200; 13th endorsement RA VII 1976, 1981; 1981. – terram **Siwathe** (Stratton) 1201 FFF 302. – **Siwat' f. Ailmeri** (Whaplode) 1202 Ass 387. – **Godwinum f. Siwat'** (Leake) 1202 Ass 406. – **Siwat' f. Luuechil** (Swinefleet) 1202 Ass 459. – **Leuiua filia Siwat** 1202 Ass 916. – **Siwat'** Preconem acc. 1202 Ass

919. – Siwat, Siwate de Freston' abl. 1202 Ass 946. 1070. – Helewisa filia: Siwat' 1202 Ass 953. – Siwat gen. (Thorganby) 1202 FF 161. – Siwat f. Hugonis de Halingtun; sigill Siwati f. H.; Sywad de Halinctun, sigill' Sivadi f. H. c1210; c1220; c1230 FP 102–04. – Radulfus f. Siwat' (Syston) 25/11 1207 FF 233. – Siwat f. Eudonis de Spalding [c1215] c1300 FP 215. – Sywat Luuetot (Boston) 1226 FFM 213. – Swan f. Siwatt' de Scyrebec [c1220] 14th FP 233. – Siwatus (Withcall) c1230–40 RA V 1591. – Siwath carpentarius 1231 FFM 236. – Siwat de Edenharn 1234 FFM 275. Y. b) Siwait, brother of St. Mary's, abl., witness, [1184–91] 14th–15th YCh. 1. 221. – Siwad abl., witness, 1189–95, [1189–95] 14th–15th YCh 1. 252–53. – Robertum f. Siwat (Barton') 1208 FFBb 141.

First el. *Sig-*. Second el. *-hvatr*. *Sighvatr* is very common in Norw and Icel throughout the medieval period (Lind 879–80) and there are a number of instances in Swed (SRU nr 1080; Lundgren-Brate 218) but it is not recorded in Dan. The weak form is not recorded in Scand and may be an Anglo-Scand formation.

For *y* for *i* see § 22. For loss of *g* see § 136. For loss of *h* before *v* see § 140iii. For *w*, *uu*, *u* for *v* see § 67. For *th*, *d* for *t* see §§ 102.103. The spelling *Siwait* must be corrupt.

### Sigketill

L. b) Sichert, Sighet TRE DB 28/11.12.

First el. *Sig-*. Second el. *-ketill*. This name is found in a Swed runic inscription as *sikiil* (SRSö nr 70).

For loss of *g* see § 136. For *gh* for *k* see §§ 129.133. For AN loss of final *-el* see § 153.

### Sigmundr

L. b) Simundo f. Witing abl., witness, ante 1150 Dane 149a. – Simund, Simundo clerico de Abi, Habí witness, H<sub>2</sub>, ante 1150 Dane 123, 149a.

Y. b) Simundo de Horseforthe abl., witness, [c1166–1202] 17th YCh 6. 143. – Simundo sacerdote, witness, [c1166–1202] 17th YCh 6. 143.

First el. *Sig-*. Second el. *-mundr*. Very old and common in WScand, particularly Icel (Lind 881–83). Fairly common in Swed (SRU nr 777; Lundgren-Brate 219–20) but rare in Dan, where it appears in two runic inscriptions as *si(k)mtr* nom., *sikmut* acc. (Jacobsen-Moltke 710) and a few p.ns. (J. Kousgård Sørensen Bebygg på -sted 245; DgP 1224).

Several of the forms in L and Y may rather represent OE *Sigemund'* or ContGerm *Sigimund*.

For loss of *g* see § 136.

## Sigríðr fem.

L. b) **Sigreth** sponsa eius (Gilebertus f. Nigelli) (Brocklesby) 1143-47 Dane 247. – **Sirid** uidua (Cabourn) 1185 Templ 105. – **Ricardo f. Sigherit de Newport** (Lincoln), **Sigherith** [c1200] c1225, 1219-22 RA VIII 2191, 2205, **Johannes f. Ricardi f. Sigerith de Neu** [c.13th] 13th RA II 380. – **Sigerid matris Denis** 1202 Ass 662 and Crown Pleas 28. – **Sigrida filia Rannulfi** 1202 Ass 920. – **Sigertha, Sigertham** [filiam] **Willelmi Nobilis, Sigerethe** dat. (Hanworth) 20/10 1208 FF 249. – **Waltero f. Sigerithe**, witness, [c.13th] 1409 GH 40 p.57. – **Sigerith filiam Alani** (N Kelsey) 25/11 1218 AssSel 158. – **Syrith de Dunigton** 1245 FFF 28. – terram **Willelmi f. Sigrithe** (Whisby) 1245-54 RA VII 2133. – **Siritha uxor eius** (Gilbert son of Robert) (Weston) 1263 FFF 192.

Y. a) in **Syerithcroft** 1252 (f.n. in Chapel Allerton, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 140. – in **Syrithscore** 13th (f.n.) PNYE 328.

b) **Sigreda, Segrida** TRE DB 312r, 322v. – **Robertus f. Sigherige, Sigheride**, witness, [c1145-56] 14th-15th YCh 2. 1238, 1239. – **Sigerith**, daughter of Lambert and Sunnifa, [c1160-74] 1.12th YCh 9. 131. – **Sigerit uxor mea** (Ricardus f. Gleu) (Kirby Wiske) [c1170-90] 15th YCh 5. 288, **Johanne f. Sygeride** [1170-80] m.13th YCh 3. 1589, **Johanne f. Sigerit**, witness, [c1170-90] 15th YCh 5. 288. – **Willelmo f. Sirithe; Sytherithie; Sigherith**, witness, [1175-86] 14th, 1204-09; [1175-86] 14th; [1182-c85] 14th-15th YCh 1. 509, 246; 510; 231. – **Sigerida soror mea** (Peter son of Gilo de Bolton) 1187 YCh 4. 97. – sarta **Sicerid** (Downholme) ante 1204 YCh 5. 127. – **Emma** daughter of **Sigurith** c1208 AssC 26. – **Sigrida, Sigridam de Ainderby** acc., **Sigridæ** dat. 1208 FFbB 151. – **William** son of **Sirit** (Ousefleet) 1218 FFP 7. – **Sirith** his wife (Richard son of Ace; W. Marton) 1218-19 FFP 27,28. – **Sirith**, widow of Adam de Faxflet, 1218-19 FFP 29. – **Syerith'** que fuit uxor **Simonis de Bouinton'** 1218-19 AssSel 86. – de morte **Sirithie** sororis sue (Willelmus f. Dolfin') 1218-19 AssSel 638. – **Sirida filia Willelmi Findang'** 1218-19 AssSel 763. – **Sierida filia Willelmi de Aton'** 1218-19 AssSel 779. – **Sigherith de Herletorp** 1225 FFP 62,63. – **Sigerith** daughter of Maud (Acton or Goodmanham or Latham) 1225 FFP 61. – **Sigeritha filia Gunner**, heredes **Sigerithe** [? 13th] 14th-15th YCh 1. 322. – **Gamellus f. Sigerid' de Snaith'** [? 13th] 13th-14th Selby 902.

First el. *Sig-*. Second el. *-(f)riðr*, perhaps showing the influence of names in orig *-riðr* (BrNGG § 263). Very common in Norw and Icel throughout the whole medieval period (Lind 885-87). Also common in Swed (SRU nr 884; Lundgren-Brate 220) and fairly frequent in Dan (DgP 1226-27).

For *y*, *e* for *i* see §§ 22.19. For loss of *g* see § 136. For *gh*, *c* for *g* see §§ 133.135. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *th*, *t,d* for *ð* see §§ 116.117.118.



The form *Sigherige* is probably corrupt but may indicate OE *Sigeric*. Forms such as *Sigertha* show either metathesis (see § 75) or else insertion of svarabhakti *e* and subsequent syncope of the *i* of the last syllable (see §§ 62.63).

### Sigsteinn

Y. a) in *Sixte(n)-, Xistendale DB, Sextenesdala* 1123–28, *Si-, Syxtendale* ante 1139 (Thixendale, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 133.

First el. *Sig-*. Second el. *-steinn*. A Swed name that is recorded in a number of runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 885) and is common in Swed from the 13th cent onwards (Lundgren-Brate 221–22). The few late instances appearing in Norw from the end of the 14th cent are loans from Swed (Lind 888; Nord.Kult.VII 111).

For *y* for *i* see § 22. For unvoicing of *g* before *s* and the representation of the resulting *ks* by *x,s* see §§ 135.130. For *e* for *ei* see § 50.

### Sigtryggr

L. b) *Sictric de Leset* abl. l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 427. – *Adc f. Sigþerich'* (Bottesford) 1223 RA II 513.

Y. b) *Sichtrico de Lesset'* abl., witness, [1127–c35] 14th YCh 3. 1328.

First el. *Sig-*. Second el. *-tryggr*. Quite common in Norw (Lind 888) and a few instances found in Swed (SRU nr 735; Lundgren-Brate 222) and Dan (DgP 1227–28), where it appears in a couple of runic inscriptions as *siktriku* and *siktriuk* (Jacobsen-Moltke 710–11 with comments on the forms, cf. also BrNGG § 264).

For the unvoicing of *g* to [χ] see § 135, although final *c* may show the influence of the OE el. *-ric* (Feilitzen 364). For *i* for *y* see § 38. The form *Sigþerich* is corrupt and may alternatively represent OE *Sigeric*.

### Sigulfr

Y. a) in *Siglestone, -torne* DB (Sigglesthorne, Holderness W, E) PNYE 68–69. – in *Siglesden(e)* DB, *Sighelesden* 1131–40 (Silsden, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 19.

b) *Sigulf minister* [959] 12th YCh 1. 4. – *Fornone f. Sigulfi; Siwulfi*, witness, [1114–23] 17th, c1120–29; [1123–27] 13th YCh 2. 1236, 1. 449; 3. 1435.

First el. *Sig-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Possibly found in a Norw p.n. (Lind Supplement 709) and appears once in Jämtland in 1347 (Feilitzen Notes 59). Recorded in Swed as runic *sikulf* and *Sighulf*, *Sigell* (e.g. SRU nr 479;

Lundgren-Brate 222) and possibly in the much contracted form *Siel* in Dan (DgP 1228).

It is possible that some of the Y forms may represent OE *Sigewulf* but it should be noted that the OE name developed to *Siulf* at an early date (Feilitzen § 133).

For *gh* for *g* see § 133. For loss of *g* see § 136. For *e* for unstressed *u* see § 58 and for syncope of this *e* see § 62. For loss of *f* see § 100.

### Sigvarðr

L. a) in Sigwordcroft ante 1206 (f.n. in Hagworthingham, Hill W) RA VI 1898 – in Sigwarth Harth c1215–20 (f.n. in Somersby, Hill W) RA VI 1907. – in Sigwardayle [1239–45] c1330 (f.n. in Saltfleetby, Louthesk W) RA V 1654.

b) Siuuard presbyter; Siuuard presbyteri TRE DB p.2.1, p.4.13; p.2.2.6, Siuuardi presbyteri, Siuuardum acc. p.4.13, Siuuard; Seuard; Seward presbyter 1086 68/42.46; 68/38; 68/43.44, Siuuardi presbiteri 1086 70/16, Norman f. Siuuard presbyteri 1086 p.4.13. S. was lageman in Lincoln. – Siuuardus Rufus TRE DB 71/13. – Achi and Wilac sons of Siward TRE DB p.13. – Siward, Seward, Siuuardi and Siuuard gen.; Siuuard; Siuuardum acc. TRE DB 1/7, 2/38, 3/2.53, 4/81, 12/37.92, 14/9.15.29.30.58, 16/36, 22/16.22, 24/72–73, 25/3.6.7., 27/1.19.42.43.47.48.61, 30/5, 31/2.10, 34/2, 38/3.7.12, 44/1, 49/4, 51/12, 59/12, 68/14; 14/33; 69/15.27; 69/27; 72/29. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – Siuuard Buss 1086 DB 69/9. – Siward abl., witness, c1150 Dane 307. – Siwardo canonico, Siwardus [canonicus], witness, c1150–60, [c1150–60] c1225 RA VII 2001, II 331, Siwardus, terris Siwardi in Linc' [1155–75] c1330 RA I 190–91, Siwar canonicus (d possibly lost at edge of parchment), witness, 1154–62 YCh 10. 34. – Siwardus, witness, c1150–60 Dane 383. – Sigwardus peregrinus, witness, c1155 Dane 248–49. – Siuardus litel, witness, c1155 Dane 248–49. – Siwardo fistulatore, witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> RA VIII 2258. – Syword, witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> GH 9 p.94. – Gaufridus f. Siwardi, witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 157. – magister Siwardus, witness, ante 1162 Dane 375. – Siwardo abl., witness, 1162–63 RA IV 1292. – Siward abl. [H<sub>2</sub>] 1407 GH 5 p.76. – Seward preposito, witness, abl. H<sub>2</sub> GH 64 p.70. – Roberto f. Siuard, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 290. – Siwardus f. Thuraldi de Aisterby [c1180] ? GH p.xxiv. – Siuardi Benne (Fotherby) [c1180–1200] 1409 GH 23 p.50. – Roberto fratre Willelmi seruiantis Siward [c1180–90] c1330 RA VIII 2193. – Humfrido f. Sigwardi de Luda [c1180–1200] 1409, [l.12th] 1409 GH 22 p.50, 24 p.51. – Willelmo f. Siward' de Rasa 1180–1205 YCh 6. 81A,

**W. f. Siward'** (W Rasen) 1185 RotDom 6, **W. f. Siward'** (W Rasen) 18/11 1208 FF 287. – **Walterus f. Siuardi** (Bracebridge) 1185 Templ 83. – **Ricardus f. Siward'** (Bloxholm) 1185 RotDom 14. – **Siwardus** (Goulceby) 1185 Templ. 108. – **Siwardo templario** [1188–97] c1640 BS 324. – **Siward de Neweport**, fined in Lincoln 1191, Hill 397. – **Seward son of Edric** (Yarborough, Grainthorpe) 1195 FFF 301, **Siward f. Edrici**, **Siwardo abl.**, witness [c1200] c1225 and c1330 RA V 1607, 1619. – **toftum Sigwardi f. Angeri** (Hainton) [ante 1198] c1225 RA V 1503A, **Robertum f. Ranulfi f. Sewardi de Heintona** [1196–98] c1225 RA V 1503, **Ricardi f. Siwardi de Haintona** [e.H<sub>3</sub>] 1409 GH 47 p.26, **Ricardo f. Sewardi**, **Seward' de H.** ante 1219, [c1226] 13th RA V 1498–99, **terre Sewardi f. Alani** (Hainton) ante 1219 RA V 1498. – **Kungwine f. Siward**, witness l.12th RA V 1633. – **Richard f. Sigwardi de Cunighesbi** [l.12th] 13th FP 45. – **Alanus f. Siward de Maubetorp**, **Sywardi** [l.12th] c1225, [e.13th] c1225 RA VI 1839–40. – **Seuardi le potter**, **Sewardi le porter gen.** (Glentworth) [1171–72] 1407, [l.12th] 1407 GH 19 p.85, 20 p.86. – **Siwardus f. Godwini**, **Siwardo abl.** [l.12th] 1409 GH 31 p.54. – **Siwardi de Coldune gen.** (Fotherby) [l.12th] 1409 GH 24 p.51. – **Siwardus** [l.12th] c1640 BS 443. – **Sigwardi gen.** (N Willingham) [1196–1202] c1225 RA IV 1375. – [magistro] **Sywardo**, witness, canon of Lincoln, [1195–1208] c1320 RA III 687. – **Seward de Ludeburc**, **Maria sponsa Sewardi** [c1200] 13th FP 78. – **magistro Siwardo capellano**, witness, c1200 RA III 691. – **terram que fuit magistri Siwardi** (Lincoln) c1200 RA VIII 2272. – **Sicwardi f. Hawini**, **Sigwarth** (Cabourn) [c1200] c1330, [ante 1224] c1330 RA IV 1437–38. – **Willelmo et Cost et Johanne et Radulfo filiis Siward**, **Thoraldi f. Seward** (Grainthorpe) [c1200] c1225; [c1215–20] c1225 RA V 1606–07, 1611; 1612. – **Roger Vavasur**, **Robert sons of Siwardi**, **Sigwardi de Cokerintona** [c1190] 13th FP 66–68, **Robertum fabrum f. Sigwardi de Cokerington** 6/7 1202 FF 87. – **Walterus f. Siward'** 1202 Ass 440. – **Gilebertus f. Siworth'**, **Siuord'** 1202 Ass 565, 1024. – **Nicolaum f. Siwat sic**, **Siward'** 1202 Ass 584, 1028. – **Umfrido f. Siwardi** 1202 Ass 656. – **Sigward'** prepositus 1202 Ass 842, **Sigwar'** preposito de Ulesby 1202 Ass 1057. – **Thoma f. Siward'** de Burton 1202 Ass 1071. – **Alberto f. Siward'** 1202 Ass 1074. – **Willelmo f. Sigward'** 1202 Ass 1081. – **Robertum f. Siward'** (Yarborough) 17/11 1208 FF 275. – **Siward' f. Oke** (Counthorpe) 20/10 1208 FF 253. – **Robertus f. Sigward de Saltfleteby**, **Sigwarth'** [c1210] c1225 and c1330 RA V 1701. – **terre que fuit Sigwardi** (Fotherby) c1210–15 RA IV 1405. – **Radulfus f. Sewardi** (Wyham) e.13th RA II 582. – **terram Sigwardi**, **Sigward'** (Saltfleetby) e.13th; [1239–45] c1330 RA V 1641–42; 1654. – **Alanum f. Siward'** (Winterton) 6/7 1219 AssSel 860. – **Siward' Noting**, **Siwardus** (Sutton) 7/1 1219 AssSel 351. –

**Adam son of Siward** (Swinestead) 1220 FFM 156. – **Joce son of Siward** (Kirton) 1220 FFM 155. – **Siwardus f. Ricardi** (Honington) 1220–34 RotHug III 62. – **Richard son of Siuorth** 1231 FFM 236. – **Nigell, William, Lambert sons of Siuard** 1231 FFM 238. – **Thorald f. Sewardi de Germethorp** [c1240] l.13th FP 79. – **Walter Syward** 1257 FFF 132.

Y. a) in **Siuarbi, Siuardbi** DB (Sewerby, Dickering W, E) PNYE 104. – in **Siuarbi** DB 326v (lost place, ? in Loftsome, Harthill W, E). – in **Siuar-, Siwartorp** DB (Swarthorpe (lost), Hang E W, N) PNYN 231. – perhaps in **Se-, Sowerthorp(e)** 1555 (f.n. in Wickersley, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 172.

b) **Siward dux**, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8. – **Siuard** TRE DB 301r (bis), 316v, **Siuard'** 316v. – **Siuard** TRE DB 300r, 300v (bis), 305r, 306r (bis), 306v (bis), 309v, 310r, 324r, 331r, 331v, terra **Siuardi** 373v (bis). – **Seuard** TRE DB 319r (3 times), **Siuardi** gen. 373v. – **Siuard** TRE DB 324r, gen. 374r. Not certain to how many individuals the DB instances refer. – **Siuard'** comes TRE DB 305r (3 times), comes **Siwardus** [1080–86] ? YCh 2. 974, [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931. S. died in 1055. – **Siuard** tegnus regis TRE and 1086 DB 331r. – signum **Siwardi Bran** gen., witness, 1091 YCh 2. 928. – **Aldred f. Siuardi** (Crosby) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931. – **Siwart de Fulford**, witness, [1122–c30] 14th YCh 1. 637, **Siwardo de F. abl.**, witness, [c1121–37] 14th, [c1145–61] 14th YCh 4. 105, 1. 540, **Ricardo de F. f. Siwardi** [1160–75] 14th–15th YCh 1. 334. – **Siwart**, witness, [1122–c30] 14th YCh 1. 637. – **Siwardo de Carethorp** dat. [1122–c37] 14th YCh 2. 1063, **Syuaaredo de Karthorp'** [1130–39] 14th YCh 2. 1208. – **Ketello f. Siward**, witness, [1135–53] 15th YCh 1. 64. – **Siwardo de Boltebi** abl., witness, [1142–45] l.12th YCh 9. 89. – **Siwardo** abl. (Appleton) 1144–50 YCh 1. 541. – **Siwardo de Rochesberc** abl., witness, [1145–52] l.12th YCh 9. 143. – **Siwardo coco**, witness, 1147–53 YCh 6. 86. – **Siward** abl., witness, 1154–c60 YCh 9. 105. – **Siwardus**, witness, [m.12th] 17th YCh 5. 333. – **Siwardo de Cunigestum**, **Siuard de Cuninggeston** abl., witness, [m.12th] 15th, [l.12th] 14th–15th YCh 11. 136, 7. 161. – **Siwardus frater ejus** (Dolfín de Aluelai) [1154–59] 16th YCh 3. 1665. – **Siwardus frater ejus** (Horm), witness, [c1154–72] 15th YCh 11. 160. – **Adam f. Sywardi**, witness, [1155–58] m.13th YCh 3. 1752. – **Siwardus de Stayngate, Stangata; Siwardo** dat. [1155–64] 14th, [c1160–71] 14th–15th; [1155–64] 14th YCh 1. 286, 2. 1243; 1. 286. – **Ricardus f. Siwardi de Kilwardby**, pater meus **Sywardus** [1158–81] e.15th YCh 11. 194. – **Rannulfus, Randulfus f. Siward; Sywardi, Syuardi, Siwardi** [1159–70] m.13th, [c1160–85] m.13th, [1165–75] m.13th, [1175–91] m.13th YCh 3. 1528, 11. 109, 3. 1598, 1539. – terram que fuit **Sywardi portatoris** (? York) [1163–85] 14th YCh 1. 251. – **Rainn[ero] f.**

**Siwardi**, witness, [1170–80] m.13th YCh 3. 1589. – **Ernaldo f. Suwardi**, witness, [c1175–85] 17th YCh 11. 203. – **Godefrido f. Sewardi**, witness, [1175–86] 17th YCh 1. 216. – **Radulfus f. Siward, Siwardi de Branceham**, **Siwardbi** sic c1175–1203, [1160–80] 13th, [c1148–54] 17th YCh 2. 1031, 1033, 1037, **Siward f. Ukke tenuit (Bramham)** c1175–1203 YCh 2. 1031. – **Sywardi fabri (Ellerker)** [1180–95] 13th YCh 2. 972. – **Willelmus f. Siuardi (Allerthorpe)** 1185 Templ 124 (bis). – **Siwardus (Allerthorpe)** 1185 Templ 123. – **Ricardo Siward**, witness, 1189–90 YCh 3. 1748. – **Radulfo f. Siward' de Kirkeby Useburnum** [c1190–1203] 15th YCh 1. 516, **Willelmi f. Siward in Kyrkeby Vsebrunn'** [c1200–03] 15th YCh 9. 32. – **Adam f. Siwardi (Bretton)** 1202 FFBb 33. – **Siwardum f. Toki** acc. (et *Ceciliam uxorem ejus*), **Siwardus, Siwardo** dat. (Farnelai) 1202 FFBb 28. – **Siward de Lindele** 1203–04 AssC 17. – **Sywardus f. Wulrici (Ellerton-on-Swale)** [post. 1203] l.13th YCh 5. 131. – **Siward son of Thomas** c1208 AssC 42. – **Johannes f. Siward'** 1218–19 AssSel 467. – **Matheus f. Siward' de Smalawe** 1218–19 AssSel 543. – **Ricardum f. Siward'** 1218–19 AssSel 758. – **Thomam f. Siward' (Pickering)** 1218–19 AssSel 962. – **Martinus Siward de Seleby** [l.13th] 13th–14th Selby 204–05. – **Henricus Siward, Syward de Seleby** [l.13th] 13th–14th Selby 205, 215 et passim.

First el. *Sig-*. Second el. *-varðr*. With the weakened form *-urðr* of the second el. the name is very common in Norw and Icel throughout the medieval period. Later the form *Sigvarðr* appears there, perhaps under the influence of Dan or Germ (Lind 889–99). In Swed, too, *Sighurdh* is the more common form but there are one or two instances of *Sighvarth* (Lundgren-Brate 222–23, 224). The form *Sighwarth* is very common in Dan, although the weakened form also appears here (DgP 1229–36; J. Kousgård Sørensen *Bebygg. på -sted* 248).

Some of the forms in L and Y may rather represent the OE name *Sigeward*.

For *y, e* for *i* see §§ 22.19. For *u* for *y < i* see § 37. For loss of *g* see § 136. For *wo* for *va* see § 5. For loss of final *ð* see § 120.

### \*Sigvarðbarn

L. b) **Siward Barn, Seubar, Siuuardbar in Amecotes** gen. TRE DB p.13., 63/7; 21/1; 71/16c.

Y. b) **Siuuardbar** TRE DB 326r.

The preceding name with the addition of the el. *-barn* “child, man”.. Cf. *Gamalbarn* above. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For loss of *g* see § 136. For *uu* for *v* see § 67. For *d* for *ð* see § 116.

For loss of final *n* see § 86. The form *Seubar* has suffered violent and arbitrary curtailment (Feilitzen 363).

### Sikr

Y. a) in *Six-*, *Syxford* 1184 (Sigsworth Grange, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5.203.

An orig by.n., the name of a kind of salmon. A single instance is recorded in WScand in 1240 (Lind BN 308).

For *y* for *i* see § 22. For *x* for *ks* see § 130.

### Sili

Y. a) in *Si-*, *Sylehou* 1108–14 (Sil Howe, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 83.

An orig by.n., cf. ODan *silæ* “rein”. A single instance is recorded independently in Dan in 1328 (DgP II 953) and the name may appear in a Dan p.n. (DS IV 230).

For *y* for *i* see § 22.

### Silki

L. a) in *Silkebi* 1212, *Selkeby* 13th (Silkby, a lost chapelry merged in Silk Willoughby, Aswardhurn W) DEPN.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *silki* n. “silk”. A single instance is recorded in WScand in the e.13th cent (Lind BN 308).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the OE word *\*siluc* which is deduced from p.n. evidence and means something like “gulley, drain” (cf. PNEI ii 119–20).

For *e* for *i* see § 19.

### Sindi

Y. b) *Sindi* TRE DB 318r.

An orig by.n., cf. ODan *sinde* “servant” in compounds. A few instances are recorded in the 14th cent in Dan (DgP II 954). A name *\*Sinde* may be found in a Swed p.n. (Lundgren-Brate 226).

The name may alternatively be *Sjúndi* q.v. with *e* for *jú* (cf. § 56) and l.OE raising of *e* to *i* before *n* + cons. (cf. Feilitzen 365).

### Sindri

Y. a) in *Senerebi* DB, *Sindarebi* 1170–88, *Sinderbi*, -by 12th (Sinderby,

Halikeld W, N) PNYN 225. – in Sinderberg 12th (lost place in Burrill, Hang E W, N) PNYN 225. – in Sinderthorn 12th (f.n.) PNYN 333

An orig by.n., cf. the OIcel vb *sindra* “to send out sparks” or perhaps the noun *sindr* n. “slag, dross”. Fairly frequent as a pers.n. in Norw and also found in WScand as a by.n. (Lind 904–05; BN 308). A \**Sindre* may be found in some Swed p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 226; Ödeen 213) and there are a few late instances of the name in Dan (DgP 1247).

Some of the p.ns. may rather contain the OE common noun *sinder* “cinder, slag” and refer to a place where cinders were dumped (cf. PNEI ii 122). The first el. in Sinderby may rather be *søndre* “south-”.

The DB form is probably corrupt. For metathesis see § 75.

### \*Sjónr

Y. a) in Senerhou 13th, Shonerhom 1252 (Shunner Howe, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 130.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *sjón* f. “sight, eyesight”. A weak form *Sjóni* is recorded as a fictional name and as a by.n. in WScand (Lind 906; BN 309).

The p.n. may rather contain the gen. of the common noun *sjón* and mean “look-out hill” (thus Ekwall DEPN; PNEI ii 123).

The form in *Sener-* shows *e* for *jó* (see § 56), whereas the forms with *Sh-* probably indicate preservation of the Scand diphthong *jó* (Cf. Sandahl *Studia Neophilologica* XXXVI ii (1964) 269). Note the preservation of the Scand gen. in *-ar*.

### Sjúndi

L. b) *Sendi* TRE DB 16/14.

An orig by.n. “the seventh” (Nord.Kult.VII 43). An EScand form, cf. *Sjaundi* in WScand. Fairly common in Dan from the 12th cent onwards and found in some p.ns. there (DgP 1247–49; DS IX 44). Also quite frequent in Swed from the 14th cent onwards and found in p.ns. there (Lundgren-Brate 227).

The L form may alternatively represent *Sandi* q.v. with AN substitution of *e* for *a*.

For *e* for *jú* see § 56.

### Skaði

Y. a) in boscum de Scatholme c1225, Skaholm 1321 (Scalm Park and Wood, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 37.

b) *Willelmo Scatha* abl., witness, [c1170–85] 17th YCh 11. 181.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skaði* m. “scathe, harm”. Recorded in a WScand fictional source and found in some Norw p.ns. (Lind 906).

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *t,th* for medial *ð* see §§ 117.118, and for loss of intervocalic *ð* see § 120.

### Skagi

Y. a) in **Scage(s)torp** DB (Scawthorpe, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 105.

An orig by.n., either from *Skage*, a Norw p.n., or with the meaning “tall”, cf. OIcel *skaga* “to jut out”, *skagi* n. “jutting cape” (Nord.Kult.VII 200). Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel and some few other men in WScand sources. Found in Norw. p.ns. (Lind 907–08). Also a few instances as a by.n. (Lind BN 309–10). Possibly found in Swed p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 228) and as a by.n. there (XenLid 98). Appears in Dan as a pers.n. and frequently as a by.n. (DgP 1250; II 957–58).

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127.

### Skakari

L. a) ? in **Scache(r)torp** DB (Scottlethorpe, Beltisloe W) 57/14, 18/18.

Y. a) in **Seachregil** sic, **Scracreghil** sic DB, **Schachelgilla** 1146–61, **Scakregill** 1172 (Scargill, Gilling W W, N) PNYN 303.

An orig by.n. “the shaker”. A single instance is recorded in WScand as a by.n. in the 14th cent (Lind BN 310).

If the *r* in the L form is inorganic, then this p.n. may rather contain *Skakki* q.v. The 1146–61 form of the Y p.n. seems to show confusion with the pers. n. *Skakli/Skakull* q.v. Scargill may alternatively contain the bird name *skraki* (DEPN).

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *ch,c* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58. For syncope of this *e* see § 62.

### Skakkr, Skakki

L. a) ? in **Scache(r)torp** DB (Scottlethorpe, Beltisloe W) 57/14, 18/18.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skakkr* “skew, wry”. A very few instances are recorded of both strong and weak forms as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 310).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Skakari* q.v.

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For inorganic final *r* see § 78.



**\*Skakull, Skakli**

Y. a) in Scachelinge DB, Schachelingis 1098–1102, Eschechilinga 1115 (Skeckling, Holderness W, E) PNYE 34. – in Schachetorp DB, Skakiltorp 12th (Scagglethorpe, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 139. – in Scachertorp DB, Sc-, Skakelthorp(e) 1202–08 (Scagglethorpe, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 258.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skokull* m. “pole of cart or carriage”. The weak form is recorded in runes on a Dan coin as *skakli* (Jacobsen-Moltke 712). In Swed *Skakle* is found both independently and in some p.ns. and a form *Skakul* may be found in a p.n. (Lundgren-Brate 228). Cf. also the late Dan by.n. *Skaghel* (DgP II 958).

Skeckling may alternatively contain an OEScand *\*skækæl*, corresponding to ONorw *skenkil* “point, corner, edge” (PNYE 34).

For *Sch-*, *Sc-* for *Sk-* see §§ 126.127. For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For *e* for unstressed *u* see § 58. For *e* for *a* see § 2. For prosthetic *e* see § 65.

**Skáld**

Y. a) in Scalchebi DB, Scalzbi c1147 (Scausby, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 72. – in Scaldeaikes c1200 (f.n.) PNYW 7. 301.

b) Orm Scald 1184–85 P 70.

An orig by.n. “poet”. Recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 311) and found as a by.n. in a Swed runic inscription (SRU nr 951).

The DB form of the p.n. may rather indicate the pers.n. *Skalkr* q.v.

**\*Skáld-Finnr**

L. b) Henricum Scaudefin (Beckfield) 7/1 1219 AssSel 654.

An orig by.n., cf. *Skáld-Hrafn*, *Skáld-Þórðr* etc. (Lind BN 311–12). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For vocalisation of *l* see § 69. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

**Skalkr**

Y. a) in Scalchebi DB, Scalzbi c1147 (Scausby, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 72.

b) Elyam Scalc, Radulfum Scalk' 1218–19 AssSel 590.

An orig by.n. “servant, rogue”. Recorded once in WScand fiction and once as a by.n. (Lind 908; BN 312). A few instances are found in Dan legendary history (Lat *Scalcus*) and the name may appear in a couple of Dan p.ns. (DgP 1251).

Although the DB form of the p.n. indicates that the first el. is the pers.n.

*Skalkr*, there are very persistent medieval forms with spellings in *z* or *sce* < *ds* that suggest later substitution of *Skáld* q.v. or that the DB form is corrupt.

For *Sc* for *Sk*- see § 127. For *ch,c* for *k* see §§ 126.127.

### Skalli

L. a) in *Scaltorp* DB (Scotterthorpe, Corringham W) 8/18. – in *Scallebi*; *Scalebi*; *Scal'* DB 14/27, 28/16, 41/1, 44/2, 48/2,3; 26/16, 35/16, 41/2; 26/18, *Scalla-*; *Scalle-*; *Scallbi* LiS 1/18.19; 1/4.12; 1/17 (Scawby, Manley W). – in *Scalehou* 1254 (f.n. in Broughton, nr. Scawby, Manley W) Bower 571.

Y. a) in *Scallebi*, *Scalebi* DB, *Scalby* 1322 (Scalby, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 108. – in *haia de Scallebi* 1190 (Scalby Hay, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 109. – in *Sc-*, *Skalleby* 1230 (Scalby, Howdenshire W, E) PNYE 245. – in *Scaleby* 1233–56 (f.n. in Tadcaster, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 79. – in *Scaleberg* 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in *Scallerig* 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in *Scal(le)well(e)* 13th, 1522 (f.n. in Hipperholme, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 83. – ? in *Scalhou* 13th (f.n.) PNYE 94.

b) *Willelmus Skalle* prest 1218–19 AssSel 916.

An orig by.n. “bald-head”. Recorded in WScand mythology as a pers.n. and fairly common as a by.n. in both Norw and Icel. Also found in p.n.s. there (Lind 908; BN 313–14). A few instances are recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 228; SRU nr 895) and in Dan p.n.s.

For *Sc* for *Sk* see § 127. For *l* for *ll* see § 143. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Skammr, Skammi

L. a) in *Scantone*; -tune DB 24/1.2.9, 71/4; 60/1, *Scantuna* LiS 3/19 (Scampton, Lawress W).

Y. a) in *Scameston(a)* DB (Scampston, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 138.

An orig by.n. “the short one”. A few instances are recorded in WScand (Lind BN 315). One or two instances as a by.n. are found in Dan (DgP II 961, s.v. *Skam*).

The L p.n. may rather contain the adj. *skammr* “short” and a form of the Y p.n. from 1202 *Scameliston'* points towards *Skammel* q.v.

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *m* for *mm* see § 143. For *n* for this *m* see § 81.

### Skamibeinn

Y. a) in *Scambaynkeld* 1267 (f.n. in N Deighton, U Claro W, W) PNYW

5. 26. – in *Sc-*, *Skambandene* 1275 etc., *Skambaynden'* 1277 (*Scammonden*, *Agbrigg W*, *W*) PNYW 2. 304.

An orig by.n. “short-leg”. A single instance is found in an Icel p.n. (Lind BN 315).

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *m* for *mm* see § 143. For *ay*, *a* for *ei* see §§ 49-52.

### Skammel, Skammhals, \*Skammlaus

L. a) in *Scamelesbi* DB (*Scamblesby*, *Gartree W*) 14/48. – in *Scameldaile* c1200 (f.n. in *Hagworthingham*, *Hill W*) Bower 503.

Y. a) in *Scameston(a)* DB, *Scamastuna* 1122-37, *Scameliston'* 1202 (*Scampston*, *Buckrose W*, *E*) PNYE 138.

The pers.n. in these p.ns. cannot be identified with certainty. It may be ODan *Skammel*, perhaps from the stem *skamm-* “short”, or, in the case of *Scamblesby* and *Scampston*, the by.n. *Skammhals* “short-neck” or an unrecorded by.n. \**Skammlaus* “shameless”. *Skammel* is fairly common in Dan, particularly in N Jutland, from the late 13th cent onwards (DgP 1252-53). It is also found in three p.ns. in Normandy (*Adigard* 132-33). *Skammhals* appears as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 315) and probably in a Swed runic inscription as *skanmals* (SRSö nr 32).

Some forms of the Y p.n. suggest that the first el. may alternatively be the pers.n. *Skammr* q.v.

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *m* for *mm* see § 143. For loss of *l* see § 71.

### Skammketill

Y. b) *Scanchel* TRE DB 306r.

An orig by.n., *Skamm-* prefixed to *Ketill* q.v. A single instance is recorded in WScand in the 10th cent (Lind 908) and the name is also found in a Dan p.n. (DS II 115).

For *Sc* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *n* for *m* see § 81. For *ch* for *k* see § 126.

### Skapti

Y. a) in *Sk-*, *Sc(k)eftling(e)*, *-yng(e)* c1150-76 etc. (*Skeffling*, *Holderness W*, *E*) PNYE 20. – possibly in *Schaftholm(e)* 13th (*Shaftholme*, *L* *Strafforth W*, *W*) PNYW 1. 24.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skapt* n. “shaft, lance”. A fair number of instances are recorded in Icel as a pers.n. from c1000 onwards (Lind 908-09). It is found as a by.n. in both Icel and Norw (Lind BN 316) and possibly in

p.ns. in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 229) and Dan (Hald Vore Stednavne 78).

Skeffling may rather contain an OE pers.n. \**Sceftela* < *sceaft* “pole” with substitution of *Sk-* for orig *Sc-* (Ekwall DEPN). Shaftholme more probably contains the OE common noun *sceaft*.

For *Sc*, *Sch-* for *Sk-* see §§ 126.127. For *e* for *a* see § 2. For *ft* for *pt* see § 92.

### Skarði

L. a) in *Scarhou DB* (Scartho, Bradley W) 4/69.

Y. a) in *Escardeburg* 1155–63, *Scarðeborc* c1200 (Scarborough, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 105. – in *Sc-*, *Skardcroft(e)* 1160–75, *Sc-*, *Skarthe-croft(e)* 1174 (Scarcroft, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 101.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skarð* n. “notch, hack”. A few instances are recorded as a pers.n. in Norw from the 11th cent onwards (Lind 909). Also found as a by.n. in Norw and Icel (Lind BN 316) and in some Swed runic inscriptions (SRU nr 769). *Skarði* is possibly found in a Dan p.n. (DS XI 157) and a strong form *Skarth* appears as a by.n. in Dan in the 15th cent (DgP II 966). For a Scand tradition about the naming of Scarborough see APhS 1. 320.

Scarcroft more probably contains the OE common noun *sceard* “cleft” in a scandinavianised form (PNYW 4. 101).

For prosthetic *e* see § 65. For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *d,th* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.118. For loss of medial *ð* see § 120.

### Skati

Y. a) in *Scaite moor* 1801 (Scate Moor (Lane), Whixley, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 11.

An orig by.n., cf. either poetical OIcel *skati* “man, hero” or ModNorw *skate* “tree trunk without branches” or ODan *skathæ* “magpie”. Borne by the son of one of the orig settlers in Icel and a few men in Norw (Lind 910). Possibly found in some Norw p.ns. (Lind BN 318). Deduced in Swed from p.n. evidence (Lundgren-Brate 230; Sv. Uppsl. 26. 165). Several late instances of the bird-name as a by.n. are recorded in Dan (DgP II 967–68) and there are a few instances as a pers.n. in Dan legendary history and as an el. in Dan p.ns. (DgP 1253–54).

The form of the p.n. is too late to allow of any definite interpretation and the Scand common noun *skeið* “track” could equally well be the el. in question and would better explain the *ai* (PNYW 5. 11).

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127.

**Skeggr, Skeggi**

L. a) in **Sceggenesse, Schegenes** 12th (Skegness, Candleshoe W) Bower 174.

b) **Gilberti** (recte **Galfridi**) **Skeg f. Eudonis** [1223–39] c1330; **Iueta filia Eudonis Scheg; Skeg de Anderby**, [c1230–39] 13th; [1223–39] c1330, **Petrus Skeg de Anderbi** c1230–39 RA VI 1823; 1814, 1823, 1815.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skegg* n. “beard”. *Skeggi* is common as a pers.n. in Icel from the earliest times. It is less common in Norw but does appear in several p.ns. there (Lind 910–11). A few instances are recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 320). It is found as both pers.n. and by.n. in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 234; XenLid 101, 105) and Dan (DgP 1254; II 971). It also appears in two p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 134). *Skegg(r)* is found as a pers.n. in Norw from the 14th cent onwards (Lind 911–12) and as a by.n. in both Norw and Icel from 950 onwards (Lind BN 319). It is fairly common as a by.n. in Dan from the 14th cent onwards (DgP II 970–71).

For *Sc-*, *Sch-* for *Sk-* see §§ 126.127. For *g* for *gg* see § 143.

**\*Skeiðmann**

L. b) **William f. Ivonis f. Scethman** [c1150] 13th FP 184. – **fratre Sceimano de Sempringham, Senping'**, witness, [1150–57] ?, [1157–66] c1640 YCh 2. 1111; BS 517. – **Herbertus f. Scaitman, Skeitheman** 1202 Ass 654; 1034.

An orig by.n., cf. the Scand loan-word in OE *sceiðman* “viking” (Hofmann § 256). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *ai*, *e* for *ei* see §§ 49.50. For *th*, *t* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.117. For loss of medial *ð* see § 120.

**\*Skel**

Y. b) **Johannem Skel** acc. 1218–19 AssSel 775.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skel* f. “shell”. An Anglo-Scand formation?

**\*Skelfr**

Y. b) **Escelf** TRE DB 318r.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skelfr* “trembling, timid” (Feilitzen 248). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For prosthetic *E-* see § 65. For *Sc* for *Sk* see § 127.

**Skelkr**

Y. b) **Robertum Scelk fratrem suum** (Iuo de Werreby) 1218–19 AssSel 770.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skelkr* m. “fright, fear”. A single instance is recorded as a by.n. in WScand, the grandson of one of the orig settlers in Icel (Lind BN 321).

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127.

**\*Skemundr**

L. b) **Scemund, Schemin** (second form mistaken by the scribe for a village-name) TRE DB 30/20, 70/28.

An obscure name but possibly a Scand compound with the second el. *-mundr*. It might alternatively be an OE compound in *-mund* (Feilitzen 356). The forms could possibly be errors for *Skeiðmann* q.v.

For *Sc-*, *Sch-* for *Sk-* see §§ 126.127. For loss of final postconsonantal *d* see § 108.

**\*Sker**

Y. b) **Radulfum Sker de Lith'** acc. 1218–19 AssSel 979.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *sker* n. “rock in sea, skerry”. An Anglo-Scand formation?

**Skíði**

Y. a) in **Schirebi** DB, **Schittebi** 1187, **Sc-**, **Skytheby** 12th (Skeeby, Gilling W W, N) PNYN 288.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skíði* “sheath”. It appears early as a pers.n. in WScand but drops out of use fairly soon in Norw, where, however, it appears in several p.ns. (Lind 916–17). Forms *Skidh*, *Skidhe* and *Skidher* may be found in Swed p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 230).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. *Skyti* q.v.

For *Sc*, *Sch-* for *Sk-* see §§ 126.127. For *t,th* for medial *ð* see §§ 117.118, and for *tt* for *t* see § 142. For *y* for *i* see § 22. The DB form is probably corrupt.

**Skinnari**

Y. a) in **Scynnerbuttes** 1243 (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Skynnerenges** 1243 (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Scinergreve** 1273, **Skynnergreve** 1301 (Skinningrove, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 142. – in **Schinartorp** 1297 (Skinnerthorpe (lost), Sheffield, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW i. 213.

An orig by.n. "skinner". A single instance is recorded in WScand in the early 12th cent (Lind BN 325). Several instances of *Skinner* as a by.n. are found in Dan from c1300 onwards (DgP II 980–81).

The p.ns. may rather contain the Scand occupational term *skinnari* "skinner".

For *Sc-*, *Sch-* for *Sk-* see §§ 126.127. For *y* for *i* see § 22. For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58.

### Skinnr, Skinni

Y. a) in Scinestorp DB, Skintorp' c1200 (Skinthorpe (lost), Sprotbrough, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 65. – in Skynegarthe 1438, (f.n. in Guiseley, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 148.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skinn* "skin", probably with the same meaning as *Skinnari* q.v. A single instance is recorded in WScand in the 10th cent as a by.n. and the name may be found in several Norw p.ns. (Lind BN 325–26) and some Dan p.ns. (DS IX 120). The DB form suggests that Skinthorpe might contain a hitherto unrecorded strong form, perhaps an Anglo-Scand formation.

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *y* for *i* see § 22. For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### \*Skjaldr

L. b) terram Willelmi Skeld (Wood Enderby) c1200 NthCh 40.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skjöldr* m. gen. *skjaldar* "shield", perhaps with the same meaning as *Skjaldari* q.v. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *e* for *ja* see § 54.

### Skjaldari

Y. a) perhaps in Schelderscoh 1119 etc. (Skelderskew, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 149. – in Skeldergate, Sc- 12th (st.n. in York) PNYE 297. – in Skelder Gate 1775 (st.n. in Halifax, W) PNYW 3. 107.

An orig by.n. "shield-maker". Recorded once as a by.n. in Norw (Lind BN 323).

The first el. in Skelderskew may alternatively be the common noun *skjöldr* "shield" or the pers.n. *Skjöldr* q.v. and the two st.ns. more probably contain the Scand occupational term "shield-maker".

For *Sch-* for *Sk-* see § 126. For *e* for *ja* see § 54. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58.

**\*Skjaldfríðr fem.**

Y. b) **Scelfride** TRE DB 328r. – **Sceldfrithe** (Kilvington) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931.

First el. *Skjald-*. Second el. *-fríðr*. An Anglo-Scand formation (Feilitzen 365)?

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *e* for *ja* see § 54. For loss of *d* see § 108. For *d,th* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.118.

**\*Skjaldingr**

L. a) in **Scheldintorp** 1193, **Scheldingthorp** 1276 (Shillingthorpe, Ness W) DEPN.

An Anglo-Scand formation, either by the addition of *-ing* to the el. *Skjald-q.v.* or by the substitution of *-ing* for the orig *-i* of *Skjaldi*, a name recorded as being borne by a single character in WScand fiction (Lind 914).

For *Sch-* for *Sk-* see § 126. For *e* for *ja* see § 54. For *-in* for *-ing* see § 90 ii.

**\*Skjaldmarr**

Y. a) in **Scelmer-**, **Scemeltorp** DB (Skelmanthorpe, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 221.

First el. *Skjald-*. Second el. *-márr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *e* for *ja* see § 54. For loss of *d* see § 108. For *e* for a vowel in an unstressed syllable see § 58. The second form in DB is probably corrupt.

**Skjaldvǫr fem.**

L. b) **Rolf f. Sceldeuare** TRE DB p.13. – **Alani f. Seldwar', Seldwar** (Grainthorpe) [c1200] c1225, [c1200] c1330 RA V 1607, 1619.

Y. a) in **Scheldwarhil** 1210, 1216 (f.n. in Pontefract, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 83.

First el. *Skjald-*. Second el. *-vǫr*. A number of instances are recorded in Norw (Lind 914–15).

For *Sc*, *Sch-*, *S-* for *Sk-* see §§ 126.127.131. For *e* for *ja* see § 54. For *uu,w* for *v* see § 67. For *a* for *ǫ* see § 42.

**Skjǫldr**

Y. a) in **Schelderscoh** 1119, **Skelderschog** 1239 (Skelderskew, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 149.



An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skjoldr*, gen. *skjaldar* "shield". A single independent instance is recorded in Norw, where it is also found in some p.ns. WScand literary sources refer to a legendary Dan king bearing this name (Lind 917–18). A number of instances as a by.n. are recorded in WScand from the 12th cent onwards (Lind BN 327–28). It is recorded in Dan as the name of the legendary king and fairly frequently as a by.n. after c1400 (DgP 1259; II 981).

The p.n. may alternatively contain *Skjaldari* q.v.

For *Sch-* for *Sk-* see § 126. For *e* for *ja* see § 54. For *e* for inflexional *a* see § 58.

### \*Skóga-Reinn

Y. a) in Scograineshoues 12th, Scogreineshoues 1109–14 (Scograinhowes (lost), Sneaton, Whitby Strand W, N) PNYN 119.

An Anglo-Scand formation? The gen.pl. of *skógr* "forest" prefixed to *Reinn* q.v., referring to the abode or usual whereabouts of the man in question (Lindkvist 78). Cf. also the by.n. *Skóga-Skeggi* (Lind BN 328).

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For syncope of *e* < *a* see §§ 62.58. For loss of *h* see § 140. For *ai* for *ei* see § 49.

### \*Skógetill

Y. b) domum Radulfi Skokettr 1218–19 AssSel 933.

An Anglo-Scand formation? *skógr* "forest" prefixed to *Ketill* q.v. with the same sense as in *Skóga-Reinn* above.

For loss of *g* see § 136. For the substitution of *-in* for *-ill* see § 153.

### Skoltr

L. b) Alanus Scult 1202 Ass 921, also called Rannulfo Skult abl. 1202 Ass 1065.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skoltr* "snout, jaw-bone", Norw dial, Swed dial *skolt*, *skult* "skull, hillock" (Feilitzen Notes 66). A few instances are recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 329). Cf. the Dan by.n. *Skolti* (DS XI 217).

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For interchange of *o/u* see § 24.

### Skornir, Skorn

See s.v. *Skorri*.

**Skorri**

Y. a) in **Scornesbi** DB, **Scoreby** c1200 (Scoreby, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 272.

An orig by.n. possibly related to Dan *skurre* "to grate, jar" (Lind 923) but as this verb is not evidenced in OS cand, a derivation from the noun *skor* f. "notch, incision" may be preferable (DgP 1260).

The name occurs fairly frequently in WScand (Lind 923–24) and is found in Dan as both pers.n. and by.n. (DgP 1260; II 987).

If the DB form is not merely corrupt, it must be assumed that this represents the orig name of the village. At some period before 1200 this name must have been changed to Scoreby. DB *Scornesbi* would also seem to contain a Scand pers.n., either *Skornir*, recorded in OIcel as one of the names of *Óðinn* (Lind 923), or *Skorn*, a name which occurs occasionally in EScand (DgP 1260; Lundgren-Brate 233).

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *r* for *rr* see § 143.

**Skotr**

Y. a) in **Scotorp** DB, **Scothorp(e)** 12th, **Scozthorp(e)** 13th (Scosthrop, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 142.

An orig by.n. meaning in WScand "the Scot", probably a viking who had been in Scotland or Ireland. In Dan there are two names, 1. *Skot* possibly from ODan *skoot* "a tax" or *skot*, the name of a coin, 2. *Skotte* "the Scot". A few instances of *Skotr* are recorded as a by.n. in WScand and the name may also be found in p.ns. there (Lind BN 330–31). In Dan there are a few 15th-cent instances of *Skot* and a number of instances of *Skotte* from 1382 onwards (DgP II 988).

For *Sc* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *z* for *ts* see § 105. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

**Skotakollr**

Y. b) **Scotecol**, **Scotcol** TRE DB 307v, 315v.

An orig by.n. First el. either gen.pl. of *Skotar* "the Scots" or of *skot* n. "shot". A few early instances are recorded in WScand (Lind BN 330).

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *e* for inflexional *a* see § 58 and for syncope of this *e* see § 62. For *c* for *k* see § 127.

**\*Skraggr**

Y. b) **Thomas Scrag** (Faxfleet) 1185 Templ 132.

An orig by.n., cf. Norw dial *skragg* "shrivelled, wretched person", Swed

dial *skragger* “weak old man” (Feilitzen Notes 66–67). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127.

### Skrái

Y. a) ? in *Screngha*, *Escringha*, *Escraingha* DB, *Skraingeham* 1157, *Skraingesham* 1165–75 (Scrayingham, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 146.

An orig by.n. < *skrá* “dried skin”, cf. Swed dial *skråe* “rascal”, ModNorw *skraa* “weakling”. Found in WScand p.ns. (Lind BN 331).

The p.n. may alternatively contain an OE pers.n. *Scirhēah* (Ekwall Etymological Notes 85).

For prosthetic *E-* see § 65. For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. The two first forms in DB are probably corrupt.

### Skratti

L. b) *Matilda Scrat* 1220–34 RotHug I 215.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skratti* “sorceror”. Recorded once as the name of a giant in the Edda and once as a by.n. in WScand. May also appear in some p.ns. there (Lind BN 332).

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127.

### \*Skrifli

L. a) in *Scriuelesbi*, *Scrivelesbi*, *Scriwelesbi* DB 1/100, 38/3.6, *Scriflebi* LiS 19/1.2 (Scrivelsby, Horncastle W).

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skrifli* n. “fragment”. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96.

### Skræmir, \*Skræma

L. a) in *Screnbi* DB 3/43.45, 24/47, 29/13, 69/36.37, *Scrembi* 12th (Scrembi, Candleshoe W) Bower 173. – in *Scremtorp* 1212 (Screnthorpe, Candleshoe W) DEPN.

Orig by.n.s., cf. OIcel *skræma* “scare away”. *Skræmir* is recorded once independently in WScand and may be found in a p.n. (Lind BN 334). A single instance of *Skremmer* is recorded in Dan in the 16th cent (DgP II 995). The L p.ns. would appear to contain a weak form of the name such as *\*Skræma* but no such form is recorded in Scand and this must be an Anglo-Scand formation.

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *e* for *é* see § 40. For *n* for *m* see § 81. For syncope of *e* (from the inflexional ending) see § 62.

### Skúli

L. a) in *Scultofts* 12th–14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – in *Skulmyre* 1601 (f.n. in Bratoft, Candleshoe W) Bower 474.

b) *Escule, Scule* (Scale in ed.) TRE DB 4/80, 28/15. – *Scul* abl., witness, c1150–55 Dane 308.

Y. a) in *Sculecote(s)* 1166, *Sculcote(s)* 12th (Sculcoates, Harthill W, E) PNYE 214. – in *Scoleberg(h)* 1.12th (Skulberts Hill, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 96. – in *Sculebroc* 1229, *Sculbruke* 1430 (Scholebrook, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 31. – probably in *Scoulthorpe* 1317 (Scawthorpe, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 26. – in *Sculcote Brow* 1706 (School Cote Brow, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 88.

b) *Escul* TRE DB 330v.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *skýla* “to screen, shelter”. Found fairly frequently as a pers. n. in Icel from the 10th cent onwards but does not appear until later and then less frequently in Norw, where, however, it is contained in several p.ns. (Lind 925–27). A single instance is recorded in WScand as a by.n. (Lind BN 335). A few independent instances occur in Swed and it is also found in p.ns. there (SRU nr 614; Lundgren-Brate 233). It is possibly contained in a Dan p.n. (DgP 1261). Also found in two p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 135)).

For prosthetic *E-* see § 65. For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *o,ou* for *u* see §§ 34-35. For loss of final *e* < *i* see § 150. For syncope of medial *e* see § 62.

### Skúma

L. a) in *Escumetorp* DB (Scunthorpe, Manley W) 1/63, 8/32.

An orig by.n., cf. poetical Icel *skúma* “to look all around”. A few instances as both pers.n. and by.n. are recorded in WScand (Lind 927; BN 335).

For prosthetic *E-* see § 65. For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *e* for inflexional *a* see § 58.

### Skurfa

Y. a) in *Scurue-, Skurveton* DB (Scruton, Hang E W, N) PNYN 238.

An orig by.n., cf. ModNorw *skurva* “scab of a wound”. A single instance is recorded in a WScand source in the 9th cent but the bearer is a Dane

(Lind BN 335; DgP II 999). Note also that the ASC refers to a Scand jarl called *Scurfa* (911 D).

For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *u,v* for medial *f* see § 96.

### Skvaðra

Y. a) in *Codreschelf*, *Codreschef*, *Codeschelf* DB, *Scuðerschelf* 1176, *Sc-*, *Skutherskelf* c1296 (*Skutterskelfe*, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 175.

An orig by.n., perhaps from a p.n. (Lind) or from *skvaðra* "to chatter, talk" (Ekwall DEPN). The name, also spelt *Skoðra*, is borne by a father and son in WScand (Lind BN 335).

For loss of *S-* before *c < k* see § 124. For *Sc-* for *Sk-* see § 127. For *o-* for *va* see § 5. For *d,th* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.118. For metathesis see § 75.

### Skyti, Skytta

L. b) *Hugone Scut de Willugby* abl., witness, [c1200] c1330 RA IV 1435-

Y. a) in *Scyteby* [972] c1200, *Schitebi* DB (*Skidby*, *Harthill* W, E) PNYE 208. – in *Schirebi* DB, *Schittebi* 1187, *Sc-*, *Skytheby* 12th (*Skeeby*, *Gilling* W W, N) DEPN.

Orig by.ns. "marksman". A few instances of *Skyti* are recorded in WScand (Lind BN 336). *Skytta* is found as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 336) and is very common as a by.n. in Dan (DgP II 1000–05). *Skytte* appears as a pers.n. in Dan (DgP 1262).

*Skidby* may rather contain the OE common noun *scite* "dung" with Scand *sk* in later forms or the corresponding Scand noun *skítr*. *Skeeby* may rather contain the pers.n. *Skiði* q.v. and the preponderance of spellings in *-th-* or with loss of medial consonant suggests that this explanation is to be preferred (PNYN 288).

For *Sc-,Sch-* for *Sk-* see §§ 126.127. For *u,i* for *y* see §§ 37.38. For interchange of *t/tt* see §§ 142.143. For *th* for *t* see § 102.

### \*Slengr

L. a) in *Slenggesberg* 12th (f.n. in *Riby*, *Yarborough* W) Bower 444.

Y. a) in *Selunges-*, *Eslingesbi* DB, *Slengesbi*, *-by* 1161–84 (*Slingsby*, *Ryedale* W, N) PNYN 48.

An orig by.n., perhaps cf. OIcel *slongva* "to sling", Norw dial *sleng* "idler" etc. (Björkman ZEN 77). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For prosthetic *E-* see § 65. For *Sel-* for *Sl-* see § 63. For *i* for *e* see § 16.

**Slóði**

L. a) in *Slodebi* DB 3/52, 25/25, *Lodeby* 14/85 (*Sloothby-in-Willoughby*, *Calcewath W*).

An orig by.n., cf. ModNorw *slode*, ModIcel *slóði* “lazy man”. It is found once as a pers.n. and once as a by.n. and possibly in a p.n. in WScand (Lind 929; BN 341). Recorded a few times in Swed (SRU nr 847; Lundgren-Brate 236).

**\*Slægr**

L. b) *Thomas Sleh, Sle;* *Thomam Slegh* acc. (*Swineshead*) 7/1 1219 *AssSel* 237, 365.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *slægr* “sly, cunning”. An Anglo-Scand formation? For *e* for *ø* see § 44. For *gh, h, i* for *g* see §§ 133.135iii.137.

**Snarri**

L. b) *Snarri* TRE DB 28/37. – *James* son of *Snarry* 1226 FFM 191.

Y. b) *Esnarri* TRE DB 298r.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *snarr* “swift”. An Anglo-Scand formation? The persistent *a* and *rr* in DB and later sources are against derivation from OWScand *Snari* or *Snerrir* (*Feilitzen* 367).

For prosthetic *E-* see § 65.

**Sneypir, \*Sneypi**

Y. a) in *Sneip(e)torp* 1156 etc. (*Snapethorpe*, *Agbrigg W, W*) PNYW 2. 155.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *sneypa* “to disgrace”. *Sneypir* is recorded in WScand (Lind BN 345).

**\*Snigill**

Y. a) in *Snigleswath* 1150–70 (*Snilesworth*, *Birdforth W, N*) PNYN 204.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *snigill* “snail”. An Anglo-Scand formation?

**Snípr**

L. a) in *Snipmar* 13th (f.n. in *Gt Steeping*, *Candlehoe W*) *Bower* 485.

An orig by.n., cf. perhaps ModNorw *snípa* “miser, unsociable person”. A single instance is recorded in Norw in 1335 (Lind BN 346).

**Snjallr, Snjalli**

L. a) in *Sneleslunt* DB 22/14, 28/25, *Esnelent* 2/13, *Snelleslund* LiS 16/3.11.13 (*Snelland*, *Wraggoe W*).

Y. a) in **Scelsherge** sic 1235–55, **Snellesherg(he)** 1240–60 (Snelser (lost), Bentham, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 238.

b) **Snel** festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Alexandrum f. Snell'** 1219 AssSel 705.

Orig by.ns., cf. OIcel *snjallr* “well-spoken, excellent, valiant”. There are a few instances of the strong form as both pers.n. and by.n. in WScand (Lind 934; BN 346) and some instances of the weak form as a by.n. (Lind BN 345). An Icel version of Dan legendary history refers to a *Halfdan Snialli* (DgP II 1029).

Some of the forms in L and Y may rather represent the cognate OE pers.n. *Snel(l)* (Redin 25).

For prosthetic *E-* see § 65. For *e* for *ja* see § 54. For *l* for *ll* see § 143.

### Snókr

Y. a) ? in **Snokergilheued** 1305 (f.n. in Bordley, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 83.

An orig by.n., cf. ModNorw *snok* “snout, saucy person”. A single instance is recorded in WScand (Lind BN 346) and a weak side-form \**Snóki* may be found in a Dan p.n. (DS XII 65).

### Snorri

Y. a) in **Snoril** e.13th (f.n. in Doncaster, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 34. – in **Snoreholm(houses)** c1362, **Snoresholm** c1400 (Sneerholmes, Hart-hill W, E) PNYE 202.

An orig by.n. “the sharp-witted one”. Common in Icel from the 10th cent onwards but rare in Norw (Lind 934). A form *snorik* is contained in a Swed runic inscription (SRU nr 1156).

For *r* for *rr* see § 143.

### Snær

Y. a) in **Snetune, -ton** DB, **Snetton'** 1163 (Sneaton, Whitby Strand W, N) PNYN 118.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *snær* = *snjór* m. “snow”. The name *Snær* is borne by a legendary king and *Sniá* by a king of the underworld (Lind 937). A name \**Snio* is deduced in Swed from p.n. evidence and in Dan there are several references to a legendary king *Snio*, perhaps a snow or frost giant (DgP 1265). The fact that *Snæ-* occurs frequently as the first

el. of pers.n.s. suggests that short forms *Snær*, *Snio* may also have been current in Scand.

For *e* for *æ* see § 40.

### Snæbjörn

Y. a) in *Snebnchuses* (perhaps for *Sneb'ne-*) 12th (f.n. in Horsforth, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 152.

b) *Esnebern tegnus regis* TRE and 1086 DB 331v.

First el. *Snæ-*. Second el. *-björn*. Fairly common in Icel but there is no certain evidence that the name was found in Norw after the time of the settlement of Icel (Lind 935–36).

For prosthetic *E-* see § 65. For *e* for *æ* see § 40. For *e* for *jǫ* see § 54.

### Snækolfr

Y. a) in *Sneculf(s)cros Hundret* DB (*Sneculfscros* Hundred (lost), Harthill W, E) PNYE 153.

b) *Snaculf Cykelli filius, f. Cytel* (Girsby) [1002–16] ? YCh 2. 922.

First el. *Snæ-*. Second el. *-kolfr*. A Scottish viking *Snækólfr* is named in *Njáls* saga but some MSS have the form *Snækollr*, which may be the correct one. This is a common name for vikings in the sagas and the form *Snækólfr* may be a scribal error due to the appearance of *Melkólfr* in the next line (Lind 936; *Íslenzk Fornrit* XII 202 n.4).

For *e* for *æ* see § 40 and for AN substitution of *a* for this *e* see § 15. For *c* for *k* see § 127. For *u* for *o* see § 24.

### Snǫrtr

L. a) in *Snardesforde* DB 3/2, 35/17, *Snerte-*, *Suardes-*, *Snereforde* 16/50. 20.21, *Snarteforde* LiS 3/10 (*Snarford*, *Lawress* W).

An orig by.n., cf. Norw dial *snerting* “quick fellow”. Fairly common as a pers.n. in Icel (Lind 938).

For *a* for *ǫ* see § 42 and for *e* for this *a* see § 2. For *d* for medial *t* see § 103.

### Soddr

Y. a) ? in *Sotesac*, *Sosacra*, *-acre* DB, *Socchatre* 1279–81, *Southacre* 1283 (*Susacres*, *L Claro* W, W) PNYW 5. 107.

An orig by.n., cf. ModNorw *sodde* “heavy fellow”. A single instance is recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 347).



The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.ns. *Sauðr* q.v. or *Sótr* q.v.  
For *t* for *d* see § 107 and for *s* for *ts* see § 105.

### Sólarr

Y. a) in Solresgile (egge) 1202, Surgillhead 1658 (Surgill Beck, Lothersdale, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 31.

An orig by.n., ? cf. *sól* f. “sun”. A single bearer occurs in WScand fiction (Lind 939).

For *e* for *a* see § 8. For metathesis see § 75.

### \*Sótr, Sóti

L. a) in Sotebi DB 4/50, LiS 16/18 (Sotby, Wraggoe W).

b) Sota TRE DB 50/1. – Thomas Sote 1202 Ass 541. – Adam Sote de Leuernton’ acc. 1298 AssTh 110.

Y. a) in Sotecote(s) DB, Sotescotes J (Southcoates, Harthill W, E) PNYE 214. – ? in Sotesac, Sosacra, -acre DB, Socchatre 1279–81, Southacre’ 1283. (Susacres, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 107.

Orig by.ns., cf. OIcel *sót* n. “soot”. The weak form is borne by several men in Icel and Norw (Lind 941). It is also recorded twice in WScand as a by.n. (Lind BN 349). It is found in Swed (SRU nr 54; Lundgren-Brate 239) and Dan (DgP 1271; II 1036) and occurs in a p.n. in Normandy (Adigard 136). The strong form is not recorded in Scand and may be an Anglo-Scand formation.

Susacres may rather contain the pers.ns. *Sauðr* q.v. or *Soddr* q.v.

For *s* for *ts* see § 105.

### \*Sótakollr

Y. b) Sotecol gen. TRE DB 373v.

An orig by.n. First el. < *sót* n. “soot”. Second el. -*kollr*. Hence “black-head”. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *e* for *a* see § 58. For *c* for *k* see § 127. For *l* for *ll* see § 143.

### Sparhaukr

L. b) ? Reginaldum f. Sperhauec (Whaplode) 1202 Ass 386. – Sparhauec 1202 Ass 90.

Y. b) Sparauc (Arncliffe) [1182–c1200] 15th YCh 11. 131. – Sparhauec (Kellington) 1185 Templ. 133.

An orig by.n. “sparrow-hawk”. Found once independently in WScand as *Sporhaukr* and possibly in two Norw p.ns. (Lind BN 353).

Dr. Feilitzen agrees that the use of the bird-name as a pers.n. may be due to Scand inspiration but points out that the only certain instance recorded in Scand is from 1491 and suggests as an alternative etymon an unrecorded OE pers.n. *\*Spearhafoc* (op.cit. 369).

For *e* for *a* see § 2. For loss of *h* see § 140. For *c* for *k* see § 127. *-hauec* probably represents the substitution of cognate OE *hafoc*.

### Sperrir, Sperra

L. b) *Sperrir* TRE DB 16/22, 45/2.

Y. a) in *Sperragate* 12th (f.n.) PNYN 333.

b) *Johanne f. Sperry*, witness, [1180–1200] 14th–15th YCh 1. 317. – *Roberto Spery* abl., witness, [c1195–1215] 14th–15th YCh 1. 321.

Orig by.ns., cf. OIcel *sperra* “to stretch out” and *sperra* f. “beam, stake”. *Sperrir* may be found in some Norw p.ns. (Lind 942) and there are a few instances of *Sperra* as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 351).

For *r* for *rr* see § 143.

### \*Spíkfótr

Y. b) *Hugonem Spikfot* acc. 1218–19 AssSel 963.

An orig by.n. An Anglo-Scand formation? Cf., however, WScand *Spiknefr* in the 12th cent (Lind BN 351). For the first el. cf. perhaps ModNorw *spik* “great effort” or *spikk* “joke, trick”. A so-called double by.n.

### \*Spillir

L. a) in *Spilesbi* DB (Spilsby, Bolingbroke W) 3/22.26, 14/71.

b) *Spille* TRE DB 12/20.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *spilla* “spoil, destroy”. Not recorded as an independent name in Scand but found as the second el. of some WScand by.ns. (e.g. *akra-*, *skáldaspillir*).

For *l* for *ll* see § 143.

### Spíra

L. b) *Spiri* abl., witness, H<sub>2</sub> post 1169 Dane 486.

An orig by.n. “tall, slender figure”, cf. OIcel *spíra* f. “spar, tube”. A 13th-cent instance is recorded in WScand (Lind BN 352) and a 14th-cent by.n. *Spiræ* in Dan (DgP II 1043).

**Sprógr**

Y. a) in **Spro(h)ges-**, **Sproghescroft** 12th (f.n. in Paythorne, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 175.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *spróga* “to amble (of a horse)”. *Sprógr* is the name of a horse in Sturlunga saga but is not recorded in Scand as a pers.n. or by.n.

For *gh* for *g* see § 133.

**\*Sprottr**

Y. b) **Sprot** TRE DB 301r (bis), 306v, 309v, 313r (bis), 323r, 327v, 331v, gen. 310r, 373r, **Sport** sic 310r. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer.

An orig by.n., cf. Norw dial *sprot(t)* “small pole, angling-rod” (Björkman. Minnesskrift utg. af Fil.Samf. i Göteborg (1910) 78; quoted by Feilitzen 370). An Anglo-Scand formation?

Distribution of the name in England suggests Scand origin but alternative derivations of it are from OE *sprot* n. “sprout, shoot” or OE *sprott* m. “sprat” (Feilitzen 370–71).

For *t* for *tt* see § 143. For metathesis see § 75.

**\*Sprækr**

Y. b) **Spreg'** abl., witness, [? 1177–86] 1444 YCh 8. 163.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *sprækr* “sprightly, lively”, Jutland dial *spræg* “proud, boasting”. Possibly an Anglo-Scand formation but cf. the Dan by.n. *Spragh* (DgP II 1046).

For *e* for *é* see § 40. For *g* for *k* see § 129 but also BrNGG § 312.

**\*Spýtr**

Y. a) in **Spit(e)gill** 1613, **Spitsagill** 1635 (Spice Gill, Dent, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 253.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *spýta* “to stick with pins”, a name related in origin to *spjót* “spear”. There is no certain evidence for the existence of this name in Scand but it may be found in a Norw p.n. *Spüzillæ* (Smith PNYW 6. 253).

For *i* for *γ* see § 38.

**Stafn**

L. a) in **Stouenesbi** 12th, **Staphnesby**, **Stapnesbi** H<sub>2</sub> (Stainsby, Hill W) Bower 200.

An orig by.n. “stem of a ship”. A few instances are recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 354). It is also found as a pers.n. and probably in some p.ns. in Dan (DgP 1274; DS VII 11).

For *o* for *a* see § 3. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For *ph* for *f* see § 97. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

#### \*Stafnhildir, -hilda fem.

L. b) **Thorstani f. Stauenilde** (N Cadeby) [c1200] c1330 RA IV 1435.

First el. *Stafn-*. Second el. *-hildir*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For loss of *h* see § 140iv.

#### Staki

Y. a) ? in **Staxeby DB, Stachesbi, -by** 1090–96 (Stakesby, Whitby Strand W, N) PNYN 125.

An orig by.n., cf. ODan *stage* “shaft” etc. Recorded once in the 15th cent as a by.n. in WScand and found in some p.ns. there (Lind BN 355). Recorded in Dan as a pers.n. and (frequently) as a by.n. (DgP 1274; II 1051–52) and in Swed as a by.n. (XenLid 88).

The form contained in the Y p.n. shows substitution of the *-s* gen. of the strong declension for the normal gen. in *-a*.

For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For *x* for *ks* see § 130.

#### Stakkr

Y. a) in **Stac(s)tone, Staxtun, -ton(a)** DB (Staxton, Dickering W, E) PNYE 118.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *stakkr* 1. “cape, short cloak”, 2. “hay-stack”. A few instances are recorded in WScand as a by.n. and it may also be found in some p.ns. there, although these may rather contain the common noun “hay-stack” (Lind BN 355). It is also recorded as a by.n., “hay-stack”, in Dan (DgP II 1051).

For *c* for *k* see § 127. For *x* for *ks* see § 130.

#### Stalpi

Y. b) **Johanne Stalpi** abl., witness, [c1160–65] 14th YCh 2. 749.

An orig by.n., cf. perhaps OIcel *stálpi* “pith, strength”. A single instance is recorded as a by.n. in WScand in the 13th cent (Lind BN 356).

**\*Starkulfr**

Y. a) in *Stratesergum* (sic probably for *Starces-*) DB, *Starkesbergh* 1251, *Startholfisherix* H<sub>3</sub> (*Starkerghs*, (lost), *Rimington*, W *Staincliffe* W, W) PNYW 6. 178.

First el. *Stark-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

The name in question may rather be ContGerm *Starculf* (*Forssner* 226; *Feilitzen* 373).

Confusion between *t* and *c* is a common scribal error. *Starkes-* must represent a shortened form of *Starkulf*. For interchange of *u/o* see § 32.

**Steinn**

L. b) *Angeri f. Stan'* (*Grainthorpe*) [R<sub>1</sub>] 1409 GH 8 p.106. – *Radulfus Staim* sic (*Ormsby*) 1200 FFM 13. – *Gilebertus f. Stein* (*Syston*) 1207 FF 233.

Y. a) in *Steinesbi* DB (*Stainsby*, *Langbargh* W W, N) PNYN 171. – ? in *Stanesfelt* DB, *Stansfeld*(e) 1246 etc., *Staynsfeld* 1246 (*Stansfield*, *Morley* W, W) PNYW 3. 177. – in *Stainsaker* 1090–96, *Stainsecre* C1110 (*Stains-acre*, *Whitby Strand* W, N) PNYN 123. – in *Stainishou* 12th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in *Staynesbrecke* 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333.

b) *Stan*, *Estan*, *Stain* TRE DB 312r, 319r, 332r.

An orig by.n. “stone”. This name appears early and remains fairly common in both Norw and Icel as a pers.n. (*Lind* 956–57). It is recorded once as a by.n. in WScand C1400 (*Lind* BN 358). As a pers.n. *Sten* is fairly common in Swed (*Lundgren-Brate* 241–42) and Dan (*DgP* 1281–83). Several instances are recorded as a by.n. in Dan, possibly loans from Swed (*DgP* II 1065–66). The name may be found in p.ns. in Normandy (*Adigard* 176–77).

Forms in *Stan* show anglicisation. *Stān* is not recorded as a pers.n. in OE. A. H. Smith prefers to interpret *Stansfield* as OE *stānes-feld* “open land marked by a stone” or “open land belonging to a place called *Stān*” (PNYW 3. 177). *Estan* may rather represent the OE pers.n. *Æstān* < *Æðel-stān* or *Eādstān*, or Scand *Eysteinn* (*Feilitzen* 182).

For prosthetic *E-* see § 65. For *a* for *ei* see above and § 52. For *ai*, *ay* for *ei* see § 49. For *m* for *n* see § 85.

**Steinbítur**

L. b) *Symon f. Stainbid de Sunethorp* [l.12th] 13th FP 185.

An orig by.n., the name of the fish *anarrichas lupus*. A single instance of *Stenbit* is recorded as a by.n. in Dan in the 15th cent (*DgP* II 1066).

For *ai* for *ei* see § 49. For *d* for *t* see § 103.

### Steinbjörn

L. b) **Henrico Stainbin** abl., witness, [1.12th] 1409 GH 10 p.107.

Y. b) **Rainkillo f. Stainbern**, witness, [1135–53] 15th YCh 1. 64.

First el. *Stein-*. Second el. *-björn*. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel and a few other men there but soon drops out of use. Survives longer in Norw (Lind 950–51). Fairly common in Swed (SRU nr 646; Lundgren-Brate 242).

*-bin* is a corrupt or shortened form of *-björn*. For *ai* for *ei* see § 49. For *e* for *jö* see § 54.

### Steinfinnr

Y. b) **Robertus f. Herberti f. Stanuphini**, witness, [1160–70] m.13th YCh 3. 1633.

First el. *Stein-*. Second el. *-finnr*. A WScand name. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel but otherwise rare there. Fairly common in Norw (Lind 951–52). One instance found in Dan, referring to a Norwegian (DgP 1283).

For *a* for *ei* see § 49. For *ph* for *f* see § 97. The spelling of the name in the Y source would seem to be corrupt.

### Steingrím

L. b) **Staigrim** TRE DB 12/3, **Stangrim** 28/14, gen. 71/10. – **William and Alan sons of Staingrim** (Winterton) 1231 FFM 352.

First el. *Stein-*. Second el. *-grím*. One of the commonest names in Icel throughout the whole medieval period. Less common in Norw (Lind 952–53). Possibly found in a Swed p.n. (Lundgren-Brate 243).

For *ai*, *a* for *ei* see §§ 49.52. For loss of *n* see § 86iv.

### Steinketill

L. b) **Stanchil** TRE DB 16/1.2, 68/44. – **Roberto f. Stainke**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 447.

Y. b) **Ade f. Steinkyl de Feriby** [c1190–c1200] 13th YCh 3. 1897.

First el. *Stein-*. Second el. *-ketill*. A few instances are recorded in WScand (Lind 955) and in Swed, including a famous Swed king (SRSö nr 54; Lundgren-Brate 243). Fairly frequent in Dan (Lat *Stenkillus*) from the 13th cent onwards (DgP 1283–84; Hald Vore Stednavne 131).

For *ai*, *a* for *ei* see §§ 49.52. For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For *y* for *i* see § 22. For loss of final *l* see § 71.

**\*Steinlitr**

L. b) **Hereberti f. Steinlit'** (Bishop Norton) [C1150–60] C1225 RA IV 1192..  
First el. *Stein-*. Second el. *-litr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

**Steinulfr**

L. a) in **Steinolvemere** 13th, **Steinilmar** 1239 (f.n. in Huttoft, Calcewath: W) Bower 464.

Y. b) **Stenulf'** TRE DB 312r, **Stainulf** 315r, 317v (bis), 318r (bis), **Stainulf'** 318r (bis). – **Steinulphus** clericus witness, [1122–c30] 14th YCh 1. 637.. **Steinolf'**, **Stainulfo** clerico witness, [C1121–37] 14th, [1135–53] 15th YCh 4. 105, 1. 64. – terram **Rogeri f. Steinolf** (Chunegesland) [1173] 14th YCh 1. 123, and perhaps **Rogeri f. Steindf'** sic, witness [1175–85] 15th YCh 1. 70..

First el. *Stein-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Very common in Icel from the time of the settlement onwards. Does not reappear in Norw until the 14th cent but then becomes fairly frequent there (Lind 957–58). A few instances are recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 243; SRSö nr 205).

For *ai*, *e* for *ei* see §§ 49.50. For interchange of *u/o* see § 32. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For *ph* for *f* see § 97. For loss of *f* see § 100. The *d* in *Steindf'* may be an error for *ol*.

**Steinvarr masc. or Steinvqr fem.**

L. b) **Alanus f. Steinwar'**, **Steinware** 1202 Ass 716, 1042.

First el. *Stein-*. Second el. *-varr* or *vqr*. The fem. name is fairly common in both Norw and Icel, often in the form *Steinor* (Lind 960–62). *Stenvar'* is recorded as a patronymic in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 243).

For *w* for *v* see § 67. For *a* for *o* see § 42.

**\*Sterri**

Y. b) **Sterri**, **Sterre** gen. TRE DB 298r.

An Anglo-Scand formation? Its origin is obscure. Cf. perhaps the ODan by.n. *Sterre*, which is assumed to derive from ODan *stærræ* n. “sedge” (DgP II 1069).

**Stígr**

L. a) in **Stigeswald**, **-walt**, **-walde** DB 14/54, 27/19, 46/4, **Sticheswald** LiS-13/8 (Stixwould, Gartree W).

An orig by.n. “the wanderer”. It is probably an orig Dan name as it occurs early in Denmark and is very common there (DgP 1285–92), whereas

it does not appear in WScand until the 14th cent (Lind 964). Several instances are recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 243–44). It is also found as a by.n. in Dan (DgP II 1070) and Swed (XenLid 108).

For *ch* for *g* see § 135.

### Stígandr, Stígandi

L. a) in Stigandebi DB (Stainby, Beltisloe W) 27/43.

b) Robertus f. Stigandi TRE DB 69/30.

Y. a) in Stighandebi 12th (f.n) PNYN 333.

An orig by.n. “he who takes long strides” or “the quick-footed one” (Nord.Kult.VII 51). There are a few instances of the weak form in WScand and several of the strong one but it is noted by Lind that the strong forms make their appearance earlier in England than in WScand (Lind 963–64). A couple of early instances of *Stígandi* as a by.n. are also recorded in WScand (Lind BN 361). The existence of the name in Swed is deduced from p.n. evidence (Lundgren-Brate 244). There are six early bearers of the name in Normandy (Adigard 138–39).

For *gh* for *g* see § 133.

### \*Stígbeinn

Y. b) Henrico Stybeyn’ abl., witness, [1212–c25] 14th–15th YCh 1. 213.

An orig by.n., perhaps “striding leg”. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *y* for *i* see § 22. For loss of *g* see § 136. For *ey* for *ei* see § 49.

### \*Stjúpi

L. b) Stepi TRE DB 27/60. – Stepiot TRE DB 3/1. – Stépi de Enderbi abl., witness, 1142–53 Dane 512. – Stepi gen. (Little Cawthorpe) [c1150] 1409 GH 5 p.104. – Gileberto f. Stepi, witness [l.H<sub>2</sub>] c1225 RA V 1632. – Gileberto f. Stepi, witness, 1.12th Dane 548. – Johannes f. Stepi de Salfletebi c1200, witness [c1200] c1225 RA V 1636, 1675, Robert the priest son of, Alan, Richard sons of, Maud, Alice daughters of Stepy, Stepi (Saltfleetby) c.13th FP 119–20. – Stepy (Aswarby) 1206 FF 206. – Richard f. Stepi de Sumercoates, Tonna quondam uxor Ricardi f. Stepi [c1210] 13th, [c1220] 13th FP 161–62, terram Ricardi f. Stepy (Somercotes) [c1240] c1330 RA V 1691. – Robertus f. Stepy (Coleby) 7/1 1219 AssSel 380.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *stjúpr* “step-son”. A strong form *Stjúpr* occurs a few times as a by.n. and possibly in some p.n.s. in WScand (Lind BN 362). The weak form may be an Anglo-Scand formation.



For *e* for *jú* see § 56. For *y* for *i* see § 22. For the diminutive ending *-ot* see § 153.

### Stóri

L. b) **Stori** TRE DB p.13, 14/45.65, gen. p.4.9, **Estori** 56/5.

Y. a) in **Sturesber** 13th (f.n. in Rawcliffe, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 24.

b) **Stori** TRE DB 326r. – **Radulfus f. Sture** (Wilton) 1185 Templ 128.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *stórr* “big”. A few late instances are recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 362). *Store* is found in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRU nr 1092) and there are several instances of *Sture* in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 246). In Dan there are a number of instances of *Stor(e)* as a by.n. and one as a pers.n. (DgP 1293; II 1076). For this name cf. also G. Setterkrans, *Anthroponymica suecana ii* (1957) 113 ff.

For interchange of *ó/u* see § 27.

### Strútr

L. a) in **Strubi** DB 4/48, 14/60, 16/13, 40/11, LiS 16/14.16, **Strutebi** LiS 16/10 (Strubby, Wraggoe W). – in **Strobi** DB 4/60, 12/87, 25/22, **Strub(b)i** 12th (Strubby, Calcewath W) Bower 153. – **Dr(e)uistorp** DB, **Struttorp** 1196 (Trusthorpe, Calcewath W) DEPN.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *strútr* “pointed hood”. A few late instances are recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 365). It is borne by *Strútharaldr*, a Jarl in Skåne in the 10th cent and by a few other Danes in the 15th cent (DgP II 1082).

For loss of *t* see § 104. In Trusthorpe *Strútr* replaces orig \**Drjúgr* q.v.

### Stubbi

Y. b) **Ricardus Stubbe** (Faxfleet) 1185 Templ 132.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *stubbi* “tree-stump”. Recorded as a by.n. in WScand in the side-form *Stobbi* (Lind BN 362). *Stobbe* is also recorded independently in Swed and *Stubbe* is found as a by.n. there (Lundgren-Brate 245; XenLid 90). *Stubbi* appears in Dan as both pers.n. and by.n. (DgP 1298; II 1084).

### Stúfr, \*Stúfi

Y. a) ? in **Stouetun**, **Stutun(e)**, **Stutone** DB (Stutton, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 75.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *stúfr* “stump”, ODan *stuuf* “small piece of land

sold from a farm". *Stúfr* is found once in early times as a pers.n. in WScand and on a few occasions later (Lind 966–67) and once as a by.n. (Lind BN 366). Its existence in Swed is deduced from p.n. evidence (Lundgren-Brate 246; Ödeen 255–56). Found occasionally in the 12th and e.13th cent in Dan (DgP II 1085). A weak form *Stúfi* is not recorded in Scand.

The p.n. may alternatively contain one of the following common nouns, OE *stūt* "gnat", OE *stūt* "stumpy hillock" or OIcel *stútr* "bullock".

For *o* for *ú* see § 34. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For loss of medial *f* see § 100.

### Styrr

L. b) **Ster, Stur** TRE DB 32/1.28.

Y. a) in **Estires-, Stirsi** DB, **Stiresbi** c1110–15 (Stearsby, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 28. – in **Stirestorp** DB (Streetthorpe (lost), now Edenthorpe, L Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 22.

b) **Styr f. Ulfi** (Cleveland) [1002–16] ? YCh 2. 922–23. – **Stir** abl., witness, [1144–54] l.12th YCh 9. 150. – **Roberto Styr** abl., witness, [c1160–65] 14th YCh 2. 749.

Either an orig by.n. meaning "wild person", cf. OIcel *styrr* "noise, uproar, strife" or possibly a short form of compounds in *Styr-* (Nord.Kult.VII 91). A very few early instances are found in Icel. The name is fairly common in Norw from the e.13th cent onwards (Lind 973–74). It is recorded once as a by.n. in Icel (Lind BN 367). Also found in Swed and Dan as a pers.n. (DgP 1300; DS XI 186). A few instances are recorded in Normandy (Adigard 141).

For prosthetic *E-* see § 65. For *u,i,e* for *y* see §§ 37.38.39.

### Styrkár

L. b) ? **Willelmo f. Stercher**, witness, c1150–60 Dane 263.

First el. *Styr-*. Second el. *-kár*. Only occurs rarely in Icel but is common in Norw (Lind 969–71). Fairly common in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 248) and in Dan, particularly in Skåne (DgP 1300–01). Found in a p.n. in Normandy (Adigard 139).

The form in L may rather represent the ContGerm pers.n. *Starcher* (Forssner 83).

For *e* for *y* see § 39. For *ch* for *k* see § 126.

### Styrlaugr

L. b) **H. presbitero f. Stillag'**, witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> RA IV 1457.

First el. *Styr*-. Second el. *-laugr*. Found fairly frequently in Norw from the 1.13th cent onwards (Lind 971–72). Appears in Swed in forms such as runic *styr-laugr* and *Styrløgh*, *Stilloger* (SRSö nr 34; Lundgren-Brate 249; Nord.Kult.VII 254). A name *Stille*, recorded in Dan in the 13th cent, may be a short form of *Styr-laugr* with assimilation of *rl* to *ll* (DgP 1292).

For *i* for *y* see § 38. For assimilation of *rl* to *ll* see above and § 79. *a* is probably a scribal error but may be a substitution for *o* (cf. §§ 3.47).

### Styrmir

L. b) **Sturmeo**, **Sturmi** abl., witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 51 p.63, 54 p.65. – **Radulfo f. Esturmi**, witness, 1.12th Dane 524, **Sturmi de Tóðintona** abl., witness, 1.12th Dane 529. – **Robertus Sturmy de Luda**, witness, 1270–79 RA V 1742–43, juror, 1298 AssTh 487. – **Hugo Sturmy**, juror, 1298 AssTh 471.

Y. b) **Robertus Sturmi**; **Esturmi** c1130–40, [1170–90] 1.13th; c1130–40, [1170–90] 1.13th, 1180–96, [1175–85], [c1180–95] 17th YCh 2. 686, 659; 687, 659, 666, 744, 759, dono **Roberti et Willelmi Sturmi** [1176–86] 1.13th YCh 2. 673., **Willelmus Esturmi**; **Esturmy**; **Sturmi**; **Sturmy** c1150–80, [1175–90] 17th, [1170–80] 1.12th; [c1165–80] 15th; [c1165–80] 15th; [c1160–80] 17th, [c1150–72] 17th; [c1165–80] 1.15th, [1170–80] 15th, [1180–90] 15th YCh 2. 689, 745, 1. 412; YCh 2. 691; YCh 2. 692, 711; YCh 2. 691, 714, 1. 583, **Roberto f. Willelmi Esturmi** [1175–90] 17th YCh 2. 745, **Willelmum Esturmy de Lounesburg** acc. 1218–19 AssSel 865, **Willelmus Sturmy** [1284–85] 1.15th KI 79; these references are to several generations of Roberts and Williams, **Reginaldo Sturmi** abl., witness, [c1160–80] 17th YCh 2. 692, **Johannes Esturmi**; **Esturmy**; **Sturmy** [1170–90] 1.13th, [1185–96] 17th, [1180–96] 17th, [c1160–80] 17th, [1175–85] 1.12th, [1175–90] 17th; [1170–78] 1.13th; [1190–96] 14th YCh 2. 659, 773, 666, 692, 744–45; 660; 668, **Johanne Sturmino** abl., witness, [1190] 17th YCh 3. 1641. – **Sturmi**, **Sturemi** abl., witness, 1178, c1175–83 YCh 2. 1114–15. – **Richard Sturmy**, **Stourmy** (Holme) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 743.

An orig by.n. “the one who storms forward in battle”, “the impetuous one” (Nord.Kult.VII 53, 197). Fairly frequent in Icel from about 1050 onwards. Later and rarer in Norw (Lind 972–73). A single instance is recorded in Dan as *Styrmærus* in 1209. This Dan form may alternatively represent a compound *Styr*- + *-márr* (DgP 1301).

Some of the forms in L and Y may rather derive from a Fr name < OFr *estormi* “stormy, troubled” but this explanation seems less likely (cf. Tengvik 345; A. H. Smith Early Northern Nick-Names 38).

For prosthetic *E-* see § 65. For *u* for *y* see § 37. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *y* for *i* see § 22. The form *Sturmino* would seem to show addition of the suffix *-inus* (see § 153).

### Sumarr

Y. a) ? in **Somerwith** 1279 (Summer Wood, Hartwith, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 147. – in **Somersholm** 1282 (f.n.) PNYN 333.

A short form of compounds in *Sumar-* (Nord.Kult.VII 59) or perhaps an orig by.n., indicating the season of the year in which a man was born (Nord.Kult.VII 208). A few instances are recorded in WScand as both pers.n. and by.n. (Lind 977; BN 369). It is also recorded in Swed (*Sumar*, *Somar*) as a pers.n. and a by.n. and is found in p.n.s. there (Lundgren-Brate 238; XenLid 85). Fairly frequent in Dan from the 1.13th cent onwards as both pers.n. and by.n. Also found in Dan p.n.s. (DgP 1266–67; II 1093–95).

Summer Wood may rather contain the OE common noun *sumor* “summer”.

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58.

### \*Sumarfugl

Y. b) **Sumerful** TRE DB 327v.

An orig by.n. “butterfly”. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58. For loss of *g* see § 136.

### Sumarliðr, Sumarliði

L. a) in **Sumerdebi** DB 1/15, **Summerdebi** 1/16, 31/3.4, 57/43.55, 67/12, 72/55 (Somerby, Threo W). – in **Sumerdebi** DB 1/39, 12/6, **Summertebi** 14/21, **Summerdebi** 1/50, 63/3, **Sumerdbi** LiS 4/1.2 (Somerby, Corringham W). – in **Sumerte-**, **Summertebi** DB 13/18, 22/38, **Sumerdebi** LiS 11/6.17 (Somerby, Yarborough W). – in **Summerdebi** DB 28/36, **Sumerdebi** LiS 17/9 (Somersby, Hill W). – in **Somerdewilthes** 12th–14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

b) **Summerled** TRE DB 3/20, 14/78, 26/10, **Summerlede** 68/46, **Summerde** 3/48, **Summerdi** gen. 69/15 and probably **Summerlede** 4/19, which the scribe seems to have mistaken for a p.n. – Thomas f. Tholi f. **Sumerdi de Bicra** [c1200] 14th FP 225.

Y. a) in **Summerledeholm** 12th (f.n. in Wheldrake, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) YCh 11. 163, PNYE 325. – ? in **Somer lethome** 1541 (Summer Leatham, f.n. in Ledston, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 52.

b) **Sumerled** minister, witness, [958] 14th YCh 1. 3. – **Summerlede** TRE. DB 300v.

Orig by.ns. “summer-traveller”. Note, however, that Janzén (Nord.Kult. VII 45) considers that *Sumarliði* is a variation of *Vetrlíði* “a bear in its second year”. These names probably arose in the Atlantic islands. There is one instance of *Sumarliði* from the e.10th cent, a man of Scottish birth, and several from the time of the settlement of Iceland. It does not appear until late in Norw (Lind 975–77). There are a number of instances of *Sumarliðr* in Norw after c1320 (Lind 977). The names are not recorded in EScand. *Sumarliði* is found in a p.n. in Normandy (Adigard 142).

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *mm* for *m* see § 142. For loss of medial *le*, *li* see § 73. For *e* for *i* see § 19. For *d,t* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.117.

### Súni

L. a) in **Sonetorp** DB 1/37, 2/12, 28/27, **Sunetorp** LiS 16/11.13 (Swinthorpe, Wraggoe W). – in **Sunewith boscum** 12th, **bosco de Sunnewiz** 1219 (Swinn Wood, Calcewath W) Bower 138.

Y. a) in **Sunnebeck** 12th (f.n.) PNYN 333.

From *sonr* “son”, cf. *Bróðir*, *Faðir* above. A number of instances are recorded in Norw (Lind 940–41) but the name is typically EScand, being common in Swed (SRU nr 353; Lundgren-Brate 250) and Dan (DgP 1303–08; Nord.Kult.VII 203).

For *o* for *ú* see § 34. For *nn* for *n* see § 142.

### \*Sunna fem.

L. b) **Sunna uxor Rogeri fabri**, daughter of Thora, 1202 Civil Pleas 213; and Ass 28.

A short form of *Sunnifa* q.v. ? An Anglo-Scand formation? Cf., however, OE \**Sunna* found in p.ns. in Berkshire (Ekwall DEPN s.v. *Sonning*).

### Sunnifa fem.

L. b) **Lecia filia Sunniue** 1202 Ass 709. – **Sunniua quondam uxor Thoraldi f. Duede** [e.13th] 1.13th FP 60. – **Sunniua que fuit uxor Radulfi** (Ewerby) 7/1 1219 AssSel 592, 621. – **Emma filia Sunnijue** (Lincoln) 1228–33 RA. VIII 2186. – **Sunniva uxor eius** (Peter de Keleby) 1234 FFM 277. – **Sunnyva**, daughter of William, (Holton) 1250 FFF 59.

Y. a) in **Sunniuesic** e.13th (f.n. in Huddersfield, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 300. – ? in **Sundiechrofte** 13th (f.n. in Clifford, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 87. – in **Suninebrigge** (sic for *Suniue*-) 1338 (f.n. in Ravenfield, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 173.

b) **Sonneuæ** gen., TRE DB 298r, **Sunneva** abl. (York) [1121–27] 13th YCh 3. 1428. – **Sunniue uxor Lamberti de Houetun**, mother of Sigerith and Oreng, [c1160–74] l.12th YCh 9. 131. – **Hugo f. Sunneve de Lertinctona** ? 1166–81 YCh 5. 375. – **Gaufrido f. Sunnive** [1170–81] 14th–15th YCh 2. 911. – **Sunniue de Aykescarth** dat. [ante 1194] l.13th YCh 5. 360–61, **Orm de Aykescarth nepotem Sunniue** [8/11 1194] l.13th YCh 5. 361A. – **Sunnef** (Downholme) ante 1204 YCh 5. 127. – **Alexander** brother of **Suniva** the widow (Scagglethorpe) 1203–04 AssC 3, 15.

A scandinavianised form of OE *Sunnigifu* – said to be the name of an Irish Christian queen who fled to Norw, where she died (Nord.Kult.VII 144, 228). Several instances are recorded in Norw from the 11th cent onwards but the name is very rare in Icel (Lind 978–79). A few instances are found in Dan (DgP 1310).

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For *u, v* for medial *f* see § 96. For *e* for *i* see § 19.

### Sunnulfr

Y. a) in **Sunnolvehou** 1192–99 (Sunley Hill, Ryedale W, N) PNYN 66. – in **Sunnolclif** 1252 (f.n. in Langsett, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 334.

b) **Sonulfi presbiteri** (York) TRE DB 298r, **Sonulf** 301r, **Sunwlfo** abl. (York) [1121–27] 13th YCh 3. 1428. – **Sonulf** TRE DB 307r (bis), **Sonulfi** gen. 373r.

First el. *Sunn-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Lind suggests that the name may be a side-form to the fem. *Sunnifa* q.v. It is rare in Icel but fairly common in Norw in the 13th cent (Lind 979–80). A few instances are recorded in Swed and Dan (Lundgren-Brate 250; DgP 1311).

For *o* for *u* see § 32. For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For *v* for medial *f* see § 96. For loss of *f* after *l* see § 100.

### Sútari

L. a) ? in **Sutrebi** DB 13/5, LiS 14/7 (Sutterby, Candleshoe W).

Y. a) ? in **Suterscales** 1202–08, **Souterscales** 1204–55 (Souther Scales, Ingleton, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 244. – ? in **le Suterridding** 13th–14th (part of Ruddings, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 191. – ? in **Suterlund** 1334, **Soter-**, **Souterlund**, **Suterlundbek** 1335 (Sutherland and Sutherland Beck, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 79.

An orig occupational name “shoemaker”. Five instances are recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 370). Very common as a by.n. in Dan (DgP II 1097–1100) and also found in Swed (SRU nr 437; XenLid 105) but

cf. also the OE and ME occupational term, which is a loan from Lat (NED s.v. *souter*) and may well be found in these p.ns.

For *o,ou* for *ú* see §§ 34.35. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58. For metathesis see § 75. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Sváfi

L. a) in **Suabi**, Svabi DB 13/3, 69/12, **Suabi** LiS 15/1, **Suauebi** 12th (DEPN) (Swaby, Calcewath W). – in **Suaue-**, **Suaui-**, **Suavintone** DB 26/44, 37/5, 57/19 (Swaton, Aveland W).

b) **Suen f.** **Suaue** TRE DB p.2.8, **Suan** son of **Suaue** TRE DB p.13. – **Suaue** TRE DB 12/96. – **Swauo** abl., witness c1150–60 Dane 263. – **Radulfus f.** **Swaue de Swauctona**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 439. – **Radulfo f.** **Svaui**, witness, c1160–70 RA VII 2065. – **John** son of **Suaue**, bailiff of Lincoln, 1178–79 Hill 379. – **Jordano f.** **Swaue**, **Suave**, witness, [c1180–90] c1330, [c1200] c1225 RA VIII 2193, V 1534. – **John** son of **Suaue**, fined in Lincoln 1191, Hill 397. – **Richard** **Suaue**, fined in Lincoln 1191, Hill 397. – **Ricardo f.** **Swaue**, **Suaue**, witness, 1197–98, c1190–1200 RA VIII 2273, 2314. – **Willelmo** seruiante **Suaue**; **Swaue**, witness, c1200; [l.12th] c1225 RA VIII 2185, 2187–88; 2189. – **Robert f.** **Swaue de Cuningesbi** e.13th FP 40.

Y. a) in **Suauctorp** DB (Swaythorpe, Dickering W, E) PNYE 97.

b) **Swafa** (in another copy called **Swane**), witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8n.

A pers.n. formed from the folk-name “Swabians” (J. Kousgård Sørensen *Bebygg på -sted* 258). Recorded in Dan as the name of a moneyer (DgP 1314–15).

For *u,w* for *v* see § 67. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For loss of medial *f* see § 100.

### Svala fem.

L. b) **Azer f.** **Sualeuæ** TRE DB p.13. – **Roberti f.** **Swale** (Manthorpe-with-Little-Gonerby) 1185 Templ 90.

From the bird-name “swallow”. A few instances are recorded in Norw (Lind 982–83). Cf. also the Dan by.n. *Swale* (DgP II 1100–01).

For *u,w* for *v* see § 67. The DB form either reflects earlier Scand \**Swalwa* or is due to association with cognate OE *swealwe* (Feilitzen 378).

### Svanr

Y. a) in **Suenelund** 1189, **Swaneslund** 1237, **Su-**, **Swanneslund** 1293 (Swanland, Harthill W, E) PNYE 218.

An orig by.n. from the bird-name “swan”. Some instances as a pers.n. are recorded in Icel and one as a by.n. in Norw (Lind 985; BN 371). The existence of the name in Swed is deduced from p.n. evidence (Lundgren-Brate 251) and it is possibly recorded as a pers.n. and certainly as a by.n. and in a p.n. in Dan (DgP 1313; II 1101–02; DS V 410).

Some early spellings of the p.n. would seem to be derived from the gen. of *swān* or *Swān* but frequent forms with medial *-nn-* are against this derivation (A. H. Smith PNYE 219).

For *u, w* for *v* see § 67. For *e* for *a* see § 2. For *nn* for *n* see § 142.

### Svarri

L. a) in **Suarrebi** DB (Swarby, Aswardhurn W) 48/12, 57/33.

An orig by.n. “capable, energetic man”. Recorded once as a by.n. in Norw. (Lind BN 371).

For *u* for *v* see § 67.

### Svartr, Svarti

L. b) **Rannulfus Suort de Kedingestorp** 25/11 1218 AssSel 45.

Y. a) in **Swarthowe** 1383 (f.n. in Cattal, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 18. – in **Swart(h)hil(e)** 1155–90, **Swarteshill** c1330 (f.n. in Flasby, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 52. – in **Swarthowe** 1422 (Swartha, Silsden, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 20.

b) **Sort** TRE DB 298r. – **Walterus Swart** 1218–19 AssSel 853.

Orig by.n.s. “the black”. The strong form is common in Icel as a pers.n. throughout the whole medieval period but rare in Norw (Lind 987–89). It is also found occasionally as a by.n. (Lind BN 373) and in Swed as a pers.n. (Lundgren-Brate 251) and in Dan as both pers.n. and by.n. (DgP 1314; II 1103–04). The weak form is common as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 371–73) and is also recorded as a by.n. in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 252) and Dan (DgP II 1103–04).

For *u, w* for *v* see § 67. For *uo, o* for *va* see § 5.

### \*Svartbrandr

L. b) **Sortebrand** TRE DB 29/26. – **Vlf f. Suertebrand** TRE DB p.2.1. – **Sortebrand** (son of Vlf); **Sortebrandt**, lageman in Lincoln, 1086 DB p.2.2, p.4.12, p.14, 68/4.9.11, 72/18.29; 12/92, 68/1.2, 71/1, **Sortebrand** son of **Ulf LiS** 3/20. – **Suartebrandus** sacerdos, witness, [m.12th] 13th RA I p.286. – **Roberto f. Sortebrand**, witness, ante 1187 Dane 223, 229, **Robert** son of



**Suartebrand**, fined in Lincoln 1191, Hill 397, **Roberto f. Suartebrand** (Wigford) 1.12th Dane 79. – **Radulfus f. Swartebrand** 1202 Ass 1005. – **Walterus f. Swartebrand** (Normanby) 1206 Ass 1402, **Willelmo** (sic, error for **Waltero**) **f. Svortebrand** 1206 Ass 1517. – **Godfrey son of Swartbrond** (Skinnand) 1240 FFM 332. – **Emma daughter of Swartbrand** (Lincoln) 1250 FFF 60.

Y. b) **Suartebrand** (Thornton) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931. – **Roberto f. Swartebrand** (et Odone fratre ejus) [12th] 1.12th YCh 2. 713n.

First el. *Svart-*. Second el. *-brandr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *u,w* for *v* see § 67. For *vo*, *o* for *va* see § 5. For *e* for *a* see § 2. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *ond* for *and* see § 6. For *t* for final *d* see § 107.

### Svartgeirr

Y. a) in **Suardgereflad** 1.H<sub>2</sub>, **Swargerflat** 1303 (f.n. in Asenby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 333, YCh 11. 209.

b) **Siuargert** TRE DB 324v, **Suuarger** 325r. – **Suartero de Ponte Belli** abl., witness, [1170–81] 14th–15th YCh 2. 912.

First el. *Svart-*. Second el. *-geirr*. Not recorded in this form in WScand but found in weakened forms such as *Sverkir*, *Sørkvir*. Cf. also the Norw loan-name in Ir *Svartgair* (Nord.Kult.VII 104).

For *u*, *uu* for *v* see § 67. *Siuargert* has *iu* for *uu* by scribal error (Feilitzen 379). For *d* for *t* see § 103. For loss of *t* see § 104. For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For inorganic final *t* see § 104.

### Svarthofði, \*Svarthofuð

L. b) **Robert f. Suarhoued** 1163 FP 46. – **Swartheued pater Roberti** (Sauthorpe) 1202 Ass 53 and Civil Pleas 218, **Roberto f. Swartheued** 1202 Ass 1076.

Y. a) in **Swarhouethcros** 1108–14 (Swarthoe Cross, Whitby Strand W, N) PNYN 125. – in **Swarhovedwath** 12th (f.n. in Tolsby, Langbargh WW, N) PNYN 125 and 333. – in **Swarthowflat** H<sub>3</sub> (f.n.) PNYN 333.

b) **Sorchoued** TRE DB 306r. – **Petrum f., Normanni f. Swartheuid** (Manfield) 1202 FFBb 38.

An orig by.n. “black-head”. *Svarthofði* is common as a pers.n. in Icel (Lind 985–87) and is also recorded in Swed (SRU nr 1014; Lundgren-Brate 252; XenLid 101) and Dan (DgP 1314). It is found in some p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 143). The forms in L and Y seem to represent *\*Svarthofuð*, which may be an Anglo-Scand formation.

For *u, w* for *v* see § 67. For *o* for *va* see § 5. For loss of *t* see § 104. *c* for *t* is a scribal error. For *o* for *ȯ* see § 42. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For *d, th* for final *ð* see §§ 116.118. Some forms show substitution of cognate OE *heafod* for the second el.

### Svartkollr

Y. b) Sortcolf TRE DB 300v, Sortcol 300v, Suardcol 301r, Suartcol 329r, 332r (bis). – Martinus f. Swartchole [c1180–90] c1400 YCh 2. 845.

An orig by.n. “black-head”. *Svartakollr* is recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Finnur Jónsson Tilnavne 195) and *Svartkulle* in Swed (XenLid 101).

For *u, w* for *v* see § 67. For *o* for *va* see § 5. For *d* for *t* see § 107. For *c, ch* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For *l* for *ll* see § 143. For inorganic final *f* see § 100.

### \*Svartmundr

Y. a) in Swertmundeflat 1407 (f.n.) PNYN 333.

First el. *Svart-*. Second el. *-mundr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *w* for *v* see § 67. For *e* for *a* see § 2.

### Sveinn

L. a) in Suecinestorp 1196, Sweynesthorp 1263 (Swinethorpe, Graffoe W) DEPN. – in Sweinesbrig 1208 (f.n. in Hibaldestow, Manley W) Bower 574. – in Swainesdale 13th (f.n. in Barton-on-Humber, Yarborough W) Bower 435.

b) Suen f. Suaue gen. TRE DB p.2.8, Suan f. Suaue, Suuen p.13, 17/1. – Suen, Seuen, the thane, TRE DB 68/27.30. – Suen TRE DB p.12.4, 12/96, 14/1, 26/36.46, 45/3, gen. 71/14, Suuen 3/33, 4/69, 7/8, 16/10.28, Seuen 14/86. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – Suuen TRE DB, the two sons of Suuen 1086 DB 2/40. – Suen, the thane, 1086 DB 67/9.22. – Suuen, the bishop of Bayeux’ man, 1086 DB 4/78. – Suen, Alfred of Lincoln’s man, 1086 DB 27/56. – Suenus de Cherquebi, Sueno abl. c1140 Dane 468. – Suano abl., witness, 1143–47 Dane 255. – Gilbertus f. Swani, witness, [c1150] 1409 GH 4 p.104. – Ricardo f. Suani prepositi de Netelham c1150 RA II 611, Ricardus f. Swein de Netilham, witness, [e.H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 7 p.105. – Suan et heredes sui [c1160] 14th FP 3. – Swani [sacerdotis], witness, [c1160–66] 1409 GH 7 p.42. – Yuo f. Suent, Swan f. Magni, Magnussuna [c1160] l.13th, E<sub>2</sub> FP 71, 72, 72n. – Willelmo f. Suain de Halington, witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 27 p.52. – Eustace f. Swani de Catebi

[m.12th] 13th FP 65. – Suano preposito de Luda, witness, [ante 1184] 1409 GH 25 p.51. – Thomas f. Suane (Waddington) 1185 Templ 83. – Sainanus Hogolam, Suanus Hoggelamb (Scopwick, Temple Bruer) 1185 Templ 85, 95. – Sweinus lorimer, witness, [L.H<sub>2</sub> ante 1186] c1640 BS 198. – Thomas f. Suani [c1180–90] 13th FP 199. – Sweinus (et f. eius) witness, [L.H<sub>2</sub> ante 1186] c1640 BS 198. – Suainus Basset (Horkstow) [1180–1204] l.13th YCh 11. 286. – Swain f. Galfridi, witness, [R<sub>1</sub>] 1409 GH 8 p. 106. – Toli f. Sweni (Thurlby-by-Bourne) c1190–95 Dane 449. – Swain (Sausthorpe) 1196 FFF 298. – Swein (Glentham) 1197 FFF 299. – Godrici f. Swani (Somercotes [l.12th] c1225 RA V 1657–58. – Suain Haribrun (Snelland) [l.12th] l.13th FP 183, p.180, Suáno, Suano Haribrun abl., witness, l.12th Dane 226, 234. – Willelmo f. Suein, witness, l.12th RA V 1583. – Daudid f. Suani, Suain, witness, l.12th, 1180–1200 Dane 444, 448. – Alanum f. Swani de Lincolnia, Svani l.12th and seal Dane 75. – Suano mercatore, witness, l.12th Dane 184. – Joseph f. Suani, witness, [l.12th] 1409 GH 63 p.69. – Emma filia Suain de Jerburc [c1200] l.13th FP 182. – masuagia Petri f. Swain (Somercotes) [c1200] c1225 RA V 1677. – Gillebertum f. Swani (Saltfleetby) 1/7 1202 FF 54. – Radulfi f. Swani (Butterwick) 6/7 1202 FF 121. – Ricardum f. Swein 1202 Ass 32, 1041. – Walterum f. Willelmi f. Swein 1202 Ass 651. – Radulfum f. Swein 1202 Ass 669. – Waltero f. Swein 1202 Ass 1060. – Odone f. Swein 1202 Ass 1060. – David f. Swein (Stanford) 1212 Fees 196. – Rogerus f. Svayn (Newton-on-Trent) 1213–23 RA II 638. – Suano persona de Lud (et Josep f. ejus) abl., witness, [? e.13th] 13th–14th YCh 10. 35. – Godricus f. Sueni (Thurlby-in-Bilsby) e.13th RA VI 1754. – Andree f. Swain (Heckington) e.13th RA VII 2081–82, terram Swain (Heckington) e.13th RA VII 2081, Elias son-in-law of Sweyn (Heckington) 1240 FFM 314. – Ricardus f. Suani (Tetney) 25/11 1218 AssSel 102. – Rogerus f. Swan' (Branston) 25/11 1218 AssSel 42. – Willelmus Swein (N Thoresby) 25/6 1219 AssSel 814. – Alanum f. Swan (Winterton) 25/6 1219 AssSel 813. – Robertus f. Swani 25/6 1219 AssSel 800. – Swan f. Siwatt' de Scyrebec, Ralf et Alan filii Swan' de S. [c1220] 14th, [c1230] 14th FP 233–34. – Suaini de la Grene gen. 1220–34 RotHug I 221, bouatis Swani de la Grene [4/4 1233] 13th RA II 378. – Swan f. God' de Wybertona [c1225] 14th FP 227. – ? Robert Le Swan 1225 FFM 175. – Swan Cose (Cadeby) 1226 FFM 217. – Alano f. Swayn; Swain [ante 16/6 1236] c1330; ante 16/6 1236 RA IV 1206; 1209–10, 1214. – David f. Swayn de Schitebroc, Schuynn' sic. Svain c1240 FP 147–48. – Hugh son of Martin Swayn 1245 FFF 28. – Roger f. Swayn de Blankeley [c1250] 14th FP 205. – Sweyn son of Ralph de Sutton 1263 FFF 206. – Roger f. Swein de Wilweton' [m.13th] 15th FP 4. – Roberti Swain gen.

(Stallingborough) [1254–80] 13th–14th Selby 1052. – **Radulfus Swayn** (Stallingborough) [1254–80] 13th–14th Selby 991, 1052.

Y. a) in **Suanebi DB**, **Suenebi** 1111–22, **Swayneby** 1184, **Suanes-**, **Suanis-** **by** 1196, **Sweinesby** 1349 (Swainby, Halikeld W, N) PNYN 225. – in **Suannesside** 1147 (Swanside, Sawley, W Staincliffe W, W; owned by Suanus f. Suani c1147) PNYW 6. 183. – in **Suaneslaie** 12th, **Suainesleie** c1150 (Swanley Grange, Markington, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 181. – in **Swainesrode** 1180 (f.n. in Ledston, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 53. – in **Sueinlandes** 1193–99 (f.n. in N Cowton, Gilling W W, N) PNYN 333. – in **Swaynis-**, **Swaine(s)croft** 12th–13th (f.n. in Pollington, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 22. – in **Holan(de) DB**, **Holande Swayn(e)** 13th (Hoyland Swaine, Staincross W, W; cf. Suanus de Holand c1150 below) PNYW 1. 308. – in **Swaynisacre** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Suayn-**, **Suain-** **rodes(y)agh** 1268 (f.n. in Armley, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 216. – in **Swayn(e)sby** l.13th, **Swaneby** 1314 (Swainby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 178. – in **Swa(y)n-**, **Sweynescroft** 1292–1341 (f.n. in Altofts, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 121. – in **Swaynrod(e)** 1342 (Swain Royds, f.n. in Lofthouse, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 139. – in **Swaynesholm** 1343 (f.n. in Bowland Forest, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 211. – in **Swaynscroft** 1544 (Swainscroft Farm, Saddleworth, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 317. – in **Sweinrode-** **kell** 1576 (f.n. in Leathley, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 56.

b) ? **Swane** (in another copy called **Swafa**), witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8. – **Suuen TRE DB** 305r (9 times); 324v (3 times), 325r (bis), 329v (bis), **Suen gen.** 373v. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Suuen TRE DB** 319v (7 times), 320r (bis), **terram Suen de Hadeuic** 373v. – **Suen TRE DB** 315v, **Suuan** 316r, 317r, **Suuen** 317r, 317v (4 times), **Suuan TRE** and 1086 316v, **Suuen TRE** and 1086 330v, **Suuan** 1086 316v, **Suuen** 1086 317v (bis), **Swenus**, **Suenus**, **Sweinus**, **Swanus**, **Suanus f. Ailrici**, **Ailrich**, **Eilric**, his sons **Henricus** and **Adam** and **Adam's** daughter **Matildis**, **S.** died 1129, **H.** died 1172, **A.** died 1159, [c1120–80] transcripts from l.12th–16th YCh 3. 1428, 1430, 1435, 1466–67, 1475, 1485–86, 1663, **Henricus f. Swani**, **Suani** [1155–72] transcripts from 13th–16th YCh 3. 1674–75; 1676, **Adam f. Suani**, **Swani**, **Sueni**, **Swein**, **Swenni** [c1140–89] originals and transcripts from e.13th–15th YCh 1. 79, 3. 1475, 1500, 1503, 1664–71, 1677–81, 1699, 7. 9, 12–14, 17–18, 47, 122, 126, 131–32, 8. 110, **hæredes Adæ f. Swein** [1166] 13th RBE 431, **dono Ade Suani** (Kellington) 1185 **Templ** 133. – **Suano abl.**, witness, [1070–83] 13th–14th Selby 707. – **Sweno f. Edwini presbiteri abl.** (Halton) [1121–27] 13th YCh 3. 1428, **Swenus**; **Soenus f. Edwini de Haltona** [c1147–60] 13th YCh 6. 115–16, 119, 121; 120, **gen. Sueni**; **Sweni**; **Soeni** YCh 6. 117; 119; 120. – **Suay[n]**, witness,

[1129-35] 14th YCh 2. 1056. – **Gamello f. Suani**, witness, [1135-53] 15th YCh 1. 64. – **Gilberto f. Sweni** [c1140-50] 13th YCh 7. 126. – **Alricus f. Swany**, rusticus, (Warter) [1141-42] e.14th YCh 10. 66. – **Suanus f. Suani** [1140-46] 17th (Suanesside cf. above) YCh 11. 13. – **Suanus f. Duning**, witness, [1140-46] 17th YCh 11. 13. – **Suanus de Stoca**, witness, [1140-46] 17th YCh 11. 13. – **Suanus stultus**, witness, [1140-48] 14th-15th YCh 1. 539. – **Ricardo f. Suani**, witness, [1144-54] l.12th YCh 9. 150. – **Thoma f. Suani; Suein; Suaín; Swani** [1146-58] 14th-15th, c1174-89, [1159-71] 16th, [1182-c1200] 15th, [l.12th] 15th; 1194; 1185; c1174-89 YCh 5. 129, 217, 3. 1678, 11. 131, 262; 10. 44; Templ 125; YCh 5. 216. His son Adam. – **Soenus f. Gameli**, witness, [ante 1148] 14th-15th YCh 7. 127, **Suano f. Gamelli** abl., witness, c1160-75 YCh 11. 126. – **domino Suain de Hingilton** (Toma f. suo) abl., witness, [ante 1148] 17th YCh 11. 182. – **Suain; Suanus de Torentona**, witness, [1149-53] 15th; [c1154-72] 15th, [c1155-70] 15th, [c1165-75] 15th, [c1168-94] 15th YCh 1. 67; 11. 160-61, 7. 123, 1. 507, 4. 114. – **Suanus prepositus de Kete[lwe]llia** (et Harnoldus suus frater), witness, [m.12th] 15th YCh 11. 133. – **Alexander f. Sweni de Clettona** [12th] 13th YCh 3. 1796. – **Henrico f. Suani; Swani**, witness, [c1150-57] l.12th, [1152-55] 17th; [1158-64] m.13th; [1155-56] 17th YCh 6. 158, 7. 17, 3. 1478; 7. 18. – **Suano f. Westmundi** abl., witness [1150-60] l.12th YCh 3. 1726, **Suano f. Westmund** dat. (Wentworth) c1160-80 YCh 7. 134, **Sueinus f. Westmundi** 1166-67 P 82. – **Suano preposito de Stainburch et fratre ejus Wallevo**, witness, [1150-60] l.12th YCh 3. 1726. – **Basingo f. Suani**, witness, [1150-76] ? YCh 3. 1395, 1399. – **Suain Pethun**, witness, c1150-80 YCh 9. 94. – **sartes Suani de la Streta** (Wentworth) [c1152-55] 17th YCh 7. 129-30. – **Suenus, Suanus, Soenus clericus de Wad, de Derefeld**, decanus, [c1150-90] originals and transcripts from 13th-15th YCh 6. 117, 3. 1667, 1783, 7. 125, 127, 130, 134. – **Suanus; Suenus de Holand**, witness, [1154-59] 16th, donor, [1194-1211] 16th, [1190-1205] 16th; witness, [c1170-90] 17th YCh 3. 1665, 1686-87; 8. 145, **Suano de Hoiland et Willelmo fratre ejus**, witness, [1189-1201] 17th YCh 3. 1411. – **fratre Suano presbitero**, witness, 1154-60 YCh 2. 1095. – **Suano presbitero de Boltebi**, witness, [1154-60] l.12th YCh 3. 1831. – **Suanus f. Lefnathi** (Oxenhope) [12th] 13th YCh 3. 1796. – **frater Suanus dictus magister hospitalis Sancti Petri, Suanus, Suuanus, Swainus, Svanus** [c1145-1210] originals and transcripts from 13th-17th YCh 1. 50, 159, 197, 248, 251, 257, 282-84, 300, 302, 324, 414n, 546, 2. 761, 850, 882, 1009, 1127, 1258, 3. 1631, 4. 89, 117, 5. 346, 6. 67, 11. 147. These references are probably to more than one man. – **Suanus [diaconus]** witness, [1155-65] m.13th YCh 3. 1776. – **Suanus f. Bareth**, witness, c1155-86 YCh 7. 125. – **Suanus f. Siric**, witness,

c1155–86 YCh 7. 125. – **Rainerus f. Suani**, witness, [1159–71] 16th YCh 3. 1678. – **Suanus prepositus**, witness, [1160–70] 14th–15th YCh 2. 849. – **Suano pretore**, witness, [1160–70] 17th YCh 3. 1531. – **Suano abl.**, witness, 1160–70 YCh 2. 653. – **magistro Suano, priore de Noburc** (possibly two different men) abl., witness, [c1160–76] l.12th YCh 9. 155. – **Swanus Child**, miles, 1166 YCh 11. 88, **Sweinus Child** [1166] 13th RBE 426. – **Swano de Upton abl.**, witness, [c1166–1202] 17th YCh 6. 144. – **Suanus pelliparius**, witness, [1160–80] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1608. – **Swani gen.** (Easby) [15/10 1162] l.13th YCh 5. 238. – **Suein f. Hugonis abl.**, witness, 1164–c85 YCh 8. 67. – **Suain**, witness, [c1165–77] 15th YCh 3. 1762. – **Suano; Swano capellano** witness, [1170–77] 14th–15th, 1188; [12th] 15th YCh 3. 1571, 2. 763; 3. 1635. – **Ricardus f. Suani, Swani** (Swillington) [1170–80] m.13th, [1175–85] m.13th YCh 3. 1638–39. – **Suanus pistor**, witness, [c1170–83] 17th YCh 9. 16. – **Suano de Merchintona abl.**, witness, [c1170–90] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1870. – **Suani; Swani f. Roskel gen.** (Notton, Applehaigh) [1170–90] 17th, [1195–1217] 17th; 1190–1210 YCh 3. 1713, 1649; 1717. – **Radulfo f. Suani**, witness, [1171–81] 13th YCh 3. 1273. – **Suanus forestarius**, witness, [1175–85] 15th YCh 3. 1698. – **Suanus de Ruleia**, witness, [1175–85] 15th YCh 3. 1698. – **Suano de Kirkebi abl.**, witness, 1175–86, 1180–95 YCh 3. 1809, 1812. – **Suano decano**, witness, [c1175–89] 17th YCh 3. 1631. – **Suano barn, abl.**, witness, [1175–90] 14th YCh 2. 685. – **terram Roberti f. Suani** (Snydale) [c1175–1200] e.13th YCh 3. 1605. – **Suano fratre ejus** (Gilberto de Dalton), witness, [1180–89] 15th YCh 3. 1699. – **Ricardo f. Suani de Wellebrun**, witness, [1180–90] 17th YCh 1. 639. – **Ysaac f. Suani**, witness, [1180–90] l.13th YCh 2. 763. – **Suano abl.**, witness, [1180–90] 14th YCh 3. 1357. – **Suuanum f. Fughel** (Pollington) [1180–90] 17th YCh 1. 495. – **sartum Swani fabri** (E Ardsley) [c1180–93] 17th YCh 3. 1818. – **Ada f. Suani**, witness, [1180–1200] 17th YCh 1. 498. – **Helya f. Suani, Sueni, Swani**, father of **Acarisius**, witness, [1182–c1200] 15th, [1182–1212] 17th, [l.12th] 17th YCh 11. 131, 254, 7. 140. – **Suanus** (Skelton) 1185 Templ 119. – **Suanus** (Richmond) 1185 Templ 128. – **Suano sic nom.** (Allerthorpe) 1185 Templ 124. – **Suano**, brother of **St.Mary's**, abl., witness, [1184–91] 14th–15th YCh 1. 221. – **Suano, Suein f. Bernolf**, witness, [c1185–96] 15th YCh 8. 140–41, his sons **Robertus, Ricardus, Henricus filii Suani de Fekesbi** [c1185–96] 15th, c1185–1202, [c1200–18] 15th YCh 8. 140–41, 139, 142. – **Suain abl.**, witness, [c1185–1208] 14th–15th YCh 1. 625. – **Swano; Suano de Brettona abl.**, witness, 1185–c1215, [1195–1210] 17th; [1190–1219] 17th YCh 6. 159, 3. 1788; 3. 1811, **Swanus f. Ulkilli de B.** [1190–1220] e.15th YCh 3. 1791, **Suain f. Matildis de B. abl.**, witness, 1200–20 YCh 3. 1816, **Swain de B., Sw anum acc., Swain, Swaino dat.** 1202

FFBb 33, **Suan of B.** 1218–19 FFP 25, **Swanus de B.** 1218–19 AssSel 444. These references are to a father and son bearing the same name. – **Suanus de Deneby** [l.12th] 13th–14th Selby 547–48, **Henricus f. Swani de Deneby Suani** 1191–94, [1190–1219] 17th YCh 3. 1807, 1810. – **Suanus (et Serlo) de Hetun** [1195–1211] 15th YCh 3. 1701. – **Thomas f. Suani de Stauley** [l.12th] 17th YCh 7. 140. – **Henrici f. Swein** 1200 Pleas 3040. – **Waltf f. Suani (Riley)** 1202–c10 YCh 8. 159. – **Robertum f. Swain; Swein (Knottingley, Dunsforth)** 1202; 1212 FFBb 28–29; 166. – **Rogerum f. Swain (Gisburn)** 1202 FFBb 16. – **Willelmum f. Swaini** 1202 FFBb 19. – **Henricus f. Swain** 1202 FFBb 29. – **Swanus f. Arkilli (Morley)** 1202 FFBb 32, **Suan' f. Arkill' (Horbury)** 1218–19 AssSel 433. – **Swain gen. (Penisall)** [1200–08] 13th YCh 3. 1800. – **Swain f. Lefwini (Kilburn)** 1202 FFBb 36–37. – **Swa[y]n Spileman (Edlington)** 1203–04 AssC 4. – **Swain Belle** c1208 AssC 26. – **Robertum f. Swain** 1218–19 AssSel 16. – **Alanum f. Willelmi Swein'** 1218–19 AssSel 261. – **Simon f. Swaini** 1218–19 AssSel 761. – **f. Swani** 1218–19 AssSel 462. – **Johannes f. Swani de Upton', Swanus, Suanum acc., Swani gen.** 1218–19 AssSel 553. – **Suani de Crigeliston' acc.** 1218–19 AssSel 439. – **Suanum de Wadinton' acc.** 1218–19 AssSel 670. – **Suanus de Hesinton'** 1218–19 AssSel 676. – **Suanus de Stodfald', Swanum acc.** 1218–19 AssSel 671. – **Swanus de Chinkel'** 1218–19 AssSel 705. – **Suano carretario, witness,** [13th] 14th–15th YCh 1 322. – **Peter son of Swain (Stamford)** 1226 FFP 68. – **servicium Galfridi f. Swani (Easby)** [c1227–28] l.13th YCh 5. 155. – **Suano abl., witness,** [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 597. – **Agnete quondam uxore Ranulfi f. Swayn (Carlton)** [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 921.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *sveinn* “young man, servant”. Very common as a pers.n. in Norw from the 10th cent onwards but it does not appear in Icel until later (Lind 993–96). Also found as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 374). Very common, too, in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 252–53) and Dan. (Lat *Sueno*) (DgP 1315–26). It is also recorded in Normandy (Adigard 145).

The forms *Seuen*, *Sewen* could formally be derived from OE *Sāwynn*: but this derivation is unlikely (Feilitzen 358). The two Swainby's more probably contain the gen.pl of the Scand common noun *sveinn* “young man” and this noun may also form the first el. of some of the other p.ns. Instances of *Sveinn* as a surname in L and Y may rather represent the ME occupational term (Thuresson 129).

For *u*, *uu*, *w*, *o* for *v* see § 67. For *ei*, *ai*, *ey*, *ay*, *e*, *a* for *ei* see §§ 48.49. 50.52. For *nn* for *n* see § 142. *Sewen*, *Seuen* may be scribal errors or else show svarabhakti *e* (see § 63). *Sainanus* must be a scribal error. *Suent*

shows an inorganic final *t* (see § 104). The form *Suano* nom. may represent \**Sveini*.

### Sveinbjörn

Y. b) **Utredus f. Suenebern**, witness, [1159–71] 16th YCh 3. 1678.

First el. *Svein-*. Second el. *-björn*. Very common in Icel from c1000 onwards (Lind 990–91) but not recorded elsewhere in Scand.

For *u* for *v* see § 67. For *e* for *ei* see § 50. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *e* for *jǫ* see § 54.

### \*Sveinbróðir

Y. b) **Vlchil suabrodre** TRE DB 374r.

The pers.n. *Sveinn* q.v. + *bróðir* (cf. *Asketilbarn*). An Anglo-Scand formation?

The form recorded shows anglicisation of the first el. and loss of *n* (Tengvik 381). For *u* for *v* see § 67. For *a* for *ei* see § 52. For loss of *n* see § 86iv. For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116. For metathesis see § 75.

### Sveinungr, Sveiningr

L. b) **Sveining**, holder of a shop in Lincoln, c1190–1200 RA VIII 2313. – **Walteri f. Sueining** (Benington) 1206 Ass 1464. – **Rogerum Sueinyng'** 1298 AssTh 179.

A patronymic formed from *Sveinn* q.v. *Sveinungr* is borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel but is otherwise rare there. In Norw it is common from the 13th cent onwards (Lind 996–99). It is recorded once as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 374). It appears in Swed as runic *suainunkr* (SRSö nr 7) and *Swening*, *Swenung* (Lundgren-Brate 253–54) and is fairly frequent in Dan as *Swening* (DgP 1328–30).

For *u,w* for *v* see § 67. For *ey* for *ei* see § 48. The ending *-ing* in L may be an anglicisation.

### Svertingr

L. a) in **Swertingrietes** E<sub>3</sub> (f.n. in Saleby, Calcewath W) Bower 467.

b) **Suartin f. Grimboldi**, **Suartin**, lageman in Lincoln, TRE and 1086 DB p.2.1.2. – **Suardinc**, son of Hardecnut, lageman in Lincoln, 1086 DB p.2.2. – **Henrico f. Swarting'**, **Swarting**, witness, [c1180–90] c1330, 1197–98 RA VIII 2193, 2273.

A patronymic formed from *Svartr* q.v. (Nörd.Kult.VII 55). It appears



early in Icel and is common there. A few instances are found in Norw (Lind 1000–02). In the form *Svertungr* it occurs as a by.n. (Lind BN 375). It is recorded in Swed as *Swærtung*, *Svartung* (Lundgren-Brate 255; SRSö nr 217; SRU nr 1006) and in Dan as *Suertin(g)* (DgP 1331–32). Found in a single p.n. in Normandy (Adigard 144).

For *u,w* for *v* see § 67. Forms in *a* are due to association with OE *sweart* and Scand *Svart-* (Feilitzen 381). For unvoicing of the final *g* and for AN sound-substitution of *-in* for *-ing* see § 90.

#### \*Svínhildr fem.

L. b) **Hugonis f. Suinild, Swynild'** 1220–34, [4/4 1233] 13th RotHug I 221, RA II 378.

First el. *Svín-*. Second el. *-hildr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *u,w* for *v* see § 67. For *y* for *i* see § 22. For loss of *h* see § 140iv.

#### \*Sviningr

Y. a) ? in **Swiningethwait, Swiningtweit** 1202 (Swinithwaite, Hang W W, N) PNYN 256.

A patronymic. Perhaps recorded in a Swed p.n. (E. Hellquist Om de Svenska Ortnamnen på *-inge*, Göteborg 1904, 145).

The p.n. more probably contains a Scand noun *sviðningr* “place cleared by burning” (PNYN 256).

For *w* for *v* see § 67.

#### \*Sylfi, Sylfa

Y. a) ? in **Silftune, Siluetun(e)** DB (Over Silton, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 201. – ? in **Silftune** DB (Nether Silton, Allerton W, N) PNYN 207. – ? in **Sifthou** sic 1145–48, **Silfhou** 1155–65 etc. (Silpho, Whitby Strand W, N) PNYN 115. – ? in **Silfkelde** 12th–13th (f.n. in Kettlewell, E, Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 111. – ? in **Silvacre** 1597 (f.n. in Kearby, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 41.

An orig by.n., perhaps from ODan *sylf* “silver”. The form *Sylfa* is recorded in Dan as a pers.n. (DgP 1333–34; J. Kousgård Sørensen Bebygg. på *-sted* 254–55) and as *sulfa* in a Swed runic inscription (SRÖg nr 46).

Ekwall prefers to interpret the first el. in the three first-named p.n.s. as OE *scylf* “peak, ledge” (Selected Papers 89–90).

For *i* for *y* see § 38. For *u,v* for medial *f* see § 96. For syncope of *e* from the inflexional ending see §§ 58.62.

**Sæfari**

L. a) in Seurebi DB 12/10, 44/7, 70/7, Sourebi 1/76, Seurebi LiS 11/6.12, Safrebi 11/24 (Searby, Yarborough W).

b) Sauari de Lafford' 1202 Ass 788.

An orig by.n. "seafarer". A few instances are recorded in WScand fiction (Lind 1007) and it occurs once as a by.n. there (Lind BN 378). It is recorded in a Swed runic inscription (SRU nr 454).

For *e, a* for *á* see §§ 40.41. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For syncope of *e* < unstressed *a* see §§ 58.62.

**\*Sæfugl**

Y. b) Hálwærð Sæfugalasuna festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9.

An orig by.n. "sea-bird". An Anglo-Scand formation?

*-fugal-* shows either svarabhakti *a* (see § 64) or else the influence of cognate OE *fugol*.

**\*Sægrímr**

L. b) Sagrim TRE DB 12/7. – Segrím de Haltun, witness, c1155 Dane 248–49.

First el. *Sá-*. Second el. *-grímr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *a, e* for *á* see §§ 40.41.

**T****Tannr, Tanni**

Y. a) in Tanstern(e) DB (Tansterne, Holderness W, E) PNYE 60.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *tonn* f. "tooth". The strong form is found in Icel as a pers.n. and by.n. (Lind 1025–26; BN 381). The weak form is found as a pers.n. in Icel from the 11th cent onwards but not in Norw until the 16th cent. A few instances are recorded in WScand as a by.n. in the 13th cent (Lind 1025; BN 381). *Tanne* is recorded in Swed as a by.n. (XenLid 101) and is probably to be found in a Dan p.n. (DgP 1346; DS III 139).

The p.n. may alternatively contain OE *tān* "twig, sprout" (PNEI ii 176).

For *n* for *nn* see § 143.

**Tibbi**

Y. a) in **Tipe-**, Tibetorp DB (Tibthorpe, Harthill W, E) PNYE 167.

A hypocoristic name that occurs in Dan in S Jutland and in a single p.n. (DgP 1450; DS II 12). It is either a Frisian name, a side-form to *Tebbe*, a short form of names whose first el. is *Thiuda-* “folk” and whose second el. begins with *b-* (DgP 1347), or else derived from an EScand *Tibiorn* (Smith PNYE 167).

The p.n. may alternatively contain an OE name *Tibba* (Redin 70).

For *b* for *bb* see § 143. In *Tipe-* medial *b* has been unvoiced before the voiceless consonant *th*.

**Tindr**

Y. a) ? in **Tinshill** 1639 (in Adel, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 191.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *tindr* m. “mountain-top”. A number of instances are recorded in Icel but the name drops out of use in Norw very early (Lind 1030). It is also found in WScand as a by.n. (Lind BN 383).

For *s* for *ts* < *ds* see §§ 105.107.

**Tobbi**

Y. b) **Reginaldus f. Tobbe** 1165–66 P 39.

A side-form of *Tubbi*, short form of *Porbjorn* q.v. (BrNGG § 244 n.3). *Tubbi* is recorded from the 14th cent onwards in WScand (Lind 1043–44) and forms with *u* and *o* are both recorded in Swed (SRU nr 1177; Lundgren-Brate 280, 283) and Dan (DgP 1479; DS IV 325, XII 19). For the occurrence of this name in English sources cf. Feilitzen 388; Feilitzen Notes 60.

**Toddi**

Y. a) in **Todhou, -how** 1200–22 (Tod Howe, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 149.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *toddi* “stump”. A few instances are recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 384) and a number in Dan (DgP II 1138).

The p.n. may alternatively contain OE *tod* “fox” but the el. *haugr* is most frequently coupled with a pers.n.

For syncope of *e* < inflexional *a* see §§ 58.62.

**Tófi**

L. a) in **Tuue-; Tude-; Todetorp** DB (Towthorpe, Threo W) 67/14; 57/24.49; 72/60.

b) **Toui** TRE DB 28/1. – **Thowi, Thowy f. Siwati** gen. (Spalding), his sons Hugo and Godefridus, [c1150] c1330 Stenton Danes 21. – **Toue fox** [H<sub>2</sub>] 15th Dane 535. – **Toue** (Cadeby) [l.H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 50 p.28. – **Herbertus f. Thoue** (Cawkwell) 1185 Templ 107. – **Galfridus f. Toui** (Temple Bruer) 1185 Templ 95. – **Rogeri f. Toue** (Winthorpe) 1196–1203, [1196–1203] 13th RA VI 1829–30. – **Gilebertus f. Toue** (Theddlethorpe) c1200 RA VI 1771–72, **Gileberto f. Toue**, witness, c1200 RA IV 1436, VI 1774. – **Toue Horne** (Theddlethorpe) [c1200] c1225 RA VI 1763–64. – **Henricus f. Toui** (Oseby-in-Haydor) c1200–06, RA VII 2072. – **Eudo f. Toue** (Winthorpe) [ante 1206] c1225 RA VI 1831, [c1200] 13th FP 237, (Wrangle) 1221 FFM 158–59. – **Arnald f. Toui** (Pinchbeck) [c1215] c1300 FP 219. – **Thoui**, brother of Adam f. Roberti f. Moléé, e.13th FP 116. – **Henry f. Toue de Askeby** [e.13th] 13th FP 39.

Y. a) in **Touetun, -ton** DB (Towton, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 72. – in **Touetorp** DB (Towthorpe, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 13. – in **Touetorp** DB (Towthorpe, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 134. – in **Tofhusum** 1166–82, **Thousum** c1166, **Thouehus** 1276 (Towhouses (lost), Harewood, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 182.

b) **Toui, Thophi pruda** [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8, 8n.

A short form of names whose first el. is *þór-* and whose second el. begins with *f* or *v* (Nord.Kult.VII 209). Very old and common in Dan, where it is found in runic inscriptions as *tofi* (DgP 1475–76). Also fairly common in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 282–83). Probably borrowed from Dan by Norwegians for it becomes very common in Norw from the 10th cent onwards. Very rare in Icel (Lind 1033–35). A few instances are recorded in Normandy (Adigard 148).

For *Th-* for *T-* see § 102. For *u* for *ó* see § 27. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For *ph* for *f* see § 97. For syncope of *e* < inflexional *a* see §§ 58.62. The spellings of the p.n. *Tode-*, *Tude-* must be corrupt.

### \*Toglauss

Y. a) in **Tog(e)lestun, -ton** DB (Toulston, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 80.

An orig by.n. “ropeless, one who has no rope for his ship” (Smith PNYW 4. 80). Not found in Scand sources but MS A of the ASC for 921 records that a Danish jarl called *Toglos* was slain at Tempsford.

For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. *-les* shows substitution of the cognate OE el. *lēas*.

## Tóki

L. a) in **Tochemora** (m) c1160 (lost place in Grimsby, Bradley W) Bower 57. – in **Tocchecroft** 12th (f.n. in Rigsby-with-Ailby, Calcewath W) Bower 466.

b) **Tochi** f. **Outi** TRE DB p.2.3, p.13, 64/1.15.18. – **Tochi** TRE DB 29/18, 32/26, 68/19. – **Tocca sarneil** abl., witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 539. – **Toke** (Blankney) 1185 Templ 85. – **Toche** gen. (Glentham) [c1190] c1225 RA IV 1114. – **Tocha**, **Toka** prepositus de **Kedington** [c1190] e.13th FP 82–83. **Toke** gen., **Robertum Toke**, son of Toke and Matilda in **Kedington**, 13/7 1202 FF 136. – **Symone** f. **Thocche**, witness, ante 1187 Dane 223, 229. – **Simon** son of **Toke**, fined in **Lincoln** 1191, Hill 397, S. f. **Toc** [c1200] c1330 RA VIII 2260. – **Biatrixia filia Toc** 1202 Ass 720. – **Gaufridus f. Toke** 1202 Ass 785, 1049. – **Rannulfus f. Toke** 1202 Ass 797. – **Rogerum f. Toke** 1202 Ass 960. – **Robertum f. Toke** (et Gilebertum fratrem eius) 1202 Ass 238. – **Bernardum f. Toki** 1202–03 Ass 1255. – **Aluredus f. Toke** (Tetford) [c1210] c1225 RA VI 1889. – **Robertus f. Tocke**, **Toke** (Holton-by-Becker-ing) c1210–20, 1205–14 RA V 1467, 1469. – **Robertus f. Toke** (Newton-on-Trent) 1213–23 RA II 638. – **Simonem f. Toke** (Wrangle) 9/12 1218 AssSel 520. – **Willelmus f. Thoche**, **Toke** (Tetford) e.13th, [e.13th] 13th RA VI 1892. – magistro **Thoma Tocke**, witness, 1244 RA VIII 2352. – **Matilda Toke**, **Tok'**, **Cok** abl. (Candleshoe W) 1298 AssTh 258, 256, 283. Y. a) in **Tocvi** DB (Tockwith, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 250. – in **croptquem Toke tenuit** 12th (f.n. in Littlethorpe, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 175. – in **Tokeholme** 12th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Tockerode** 1204 (f.n. in Ledston, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 53. – in **Toklands** 15th (f.n. in Wombwell, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 106.

b) **Tochi** f. **Otta** (i.e. **Outi**) TRE DB 298v, **Tochi** 319r, 326r (bis) gen. 373v (bis). – **Tochi** TRE DB 306v, **Toc** 315v. – **Tocca** prepositus, witness, [c1135–48] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1123. – **Tocca rusticus** (Warter) [1141–42] e.14th YCh 10. 66. – **Sampsones f. Toke**, witness, [1148–56] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1124. – **Tocco de Crancewic** (Nicholaus f. suus), witness, [1154–60] 17th YCh 2. 1118. – **Guillelmo f. Tocke**, **Tocke de Merkynfeld**; **Gamellus f. Tocch'** (et Willelmus frater ejus) [c1154–72] 15th YCh 11. 158, 162; 160–61. – **Alexandro f. Toky** [1160–61] 13th RBE 26, [1160–62] 13th RBE 700. – **Thoma f. Toke de Hedona**, witness, 1156–84 YCh 2. 1216. – **Thomas f. Tocca** (Cliff) 1185 Templ 126. – **Toccheman f. Tocche** (Upleatham) [1160–70] 14th YCh 2. 901. – **Henrico f. Thok'** 1163–82 YCh 1. 418. – **Ricardus f. Tocce**, **Tocche**, **Toke**, witness, c1150–80, [c1154–72] 15th, 1180–95 YCh 9. 94, 11. 160, 3. 1585, **Radulfus f. Toke**, witness [1175–85] m.13th, [1195–1205] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1550, 1749, **Rogerus f. Ricardi**

Touche, Ricardo de Touge, Henrico de Touke 1189–90 YCh 3. 1748. – prato Gaufridi f. Walteri f. Tocke [c1180–1217] e.14th YCh 1. 394. – Toke fabro; witness, [c1185–1208] 14th–15th YCh 1. 625. – Gamello f. Toke, witness, [c1185–1211] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1009. – Siwardum f. Toki (Farnley) 1202 FFbB 28. – Toke (Aismunderby) [1204–06] ? YCh 11. 157. – Tebbe f. Toke (Hessle) 1/12 1208 FF 294. – Margery who was the wife of Roger Thoch (Acton) 1218–19 FFP 27. – pro morte Toke viri Ragignild' 1218–19 AssSel 832. – Richard Toche (Brandesburton) 1218–19 FFP 26. – Willelmus Toke (Askrigg) [1286–87] e.15th KI 149.

Either a short form of *Porkell* q.v. or possibly a pet-form of names in *Pór-* with the addition of the suffix *-ki* (B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 37–38). Very common in Dan, where it is found in many p.ns. (B. Hjorth Pedersen loc.cit.; DgP 1458–63). It probably spread to Swed and Norw from Dan. Fairly common in Swed as *Toke*, *Tuke* (SRU nr 755; Lundgren-Brate 281, 283–84) and in Norw from the 11th cent onwards but very rare in Icel (Lind 1035–37). In Normandy it is probably found as the surname *Tocque* and also occurs in a number of p.ns. there. (Adigard 149).

For *Th-* for *T-* see § 102. For *ch,c,ck,cch,cc* for *k* see §§ 126.127.128. For syncope of *e* < inflexional *a* see §§ 58.62. For the form *Toc* see § 150, but note that a by.n. \**Tök*, perhaps “fool”, is deduced from Dan p.ns. (DS IX 40, XII 22, 125).

#### \*Tókimann

Y. b) Toccheman f. Tocche gen. (Upleatham) [1160–70] 14th YCh 2. 901. – Henrico f. Thocheman (ni) [1160–75] 1.12th YCh 1. 409–10, Thocheman et Henrico f. ejus, Matilda filia Tocheman[nni], witnesses, [1166–76] 1.12th YCh 2. 780, Drogone f. Thokemanni de Helm[eslai], witness, [1170–76] 1.12th YCh 2. 728. – Hugoni f. Tokemanni (Brigham, Hedon) [1187–1207] 14th YCh 3. 1404.

An Anglo-Scand formation “*Tóki*’s man”, cf. *Akimann* above.

For *Th-* for *T-* see § 102. For *ch,cch* for *k* see §§ 126.128.

#### Tóla fem.

L. b) Tole que fuit uxor Ingeram 1208–09 Ass 1557, Tola, Tolam acc. que fuit uxor Ingeram’ de Saltfleteby 12/4 1209 FF 298.

A short form of names such as *Þorlaug* (Nord.Kult.VII 209). An EScand name which appears fairly frequently in Dan (DgP 1463). *tula* is found in a Swed runic inscription (SRSö nr 179).

## Tóli

L. a) in *Tolescale* 1150 (f.n. in Little Cawthorpe, Calcewath W) Bower 461. – in *Tolecroft* c1155 (f.n. in Stainton-le-Vale, Walshcroft W) Bower 429. – in *Tolecroft* c1216 (f.n. in Wilksby, Horncastle W) Bower 517. – in *Toletoftes* 14th (f.n. in Skidbrooke, Louthesk W) Bower 528.

b) *Toli* TRE DB 27/58, 42/9. – *Toli* son of *Alsi* TRE DB p.13. – *Toli*, Count Alan's man, 1086 DB 12/58.88. – *Hamo de Hundingtona* f. *Toli* c1160 FP 210. – *Toli de Alketoft*, witness, e.H<sub>2</sub>, *Tuoldus* f. *Toli de Halkeft* c1180 Dane 157, 160. – terram *Toli* f. *Sweni* (Thurlby-by-Bourne) c1190–95 Dane 449. – *Robert* f. *Toly de Bicra*, *Thomas* f. *Tholi* f. *Sumerdi de B.* [c1190] 14th, [c1200] 14th FP 224–25, *Thomas et Robertus filii Toli* (Bicker) 3/7 1202 FF 71, *Toli* nom. and abl. (Bicker) 6/7 1202 FF 99. – *Lambertus* f. *Tuli* 1196 P 87. – *Tholi de Wicford'* 1200 Pleas 3352. – *Toli*, *Tholy* dat. 1200 Crown Pleas 82. – *Toli*, *Tholi* acc. (Whaplode) 1202 Ass 386–87. – *Tholi* acc. 1202 Ass 800. – *Johannem et Alanum filios Alani Toli, J. et A. filii Tholi, J. f. Toli* (Boston) 1202 Ass 391, 502, 1140. – *Hugonem* f. *Tholi* 1202 Ass 556. – *Hawisa filia Toli* 1202 Ass 713. – *Walterus* f. *Toli*, *Toly* 1202 Ass 953, 1070. – *Thome* f. *Toly de Ingoldmeles* 1202 Ass 1073. – *Reginaldi* f. *Toly* 1202 Ass 1074. – *Alanum* f. *Toli* (Dowdyke) 28/6 1202 FF 48. – *Tholi* f. *G... gan* (Syston) 25/11 1207 FF 233. – *Robertus* f. *Tholi* 1212 Fees 165. – terram *Tolle* (Croxby) e.H<sub>3</sub>, 1231–40 RA IV 1390, 1395. – *Matildis* que fuit *uxor Toli* (Heckington) e.13th RA VII 2082. – *Thome* f. *Tholi* (Sausthorpe) e.13th RA VI 1901. – *Tolle* le grangier (Frieston) 25/11 1218 AssSel 51, 53. – *Helena* que fuit *uxor Tholi Marche* (Kirtton) 1219 AssSel 622, 690. – *Tholi* f. *Acke* (Swineshead) 7/1 1219 AssSel 365. – *Tholi* f. *Matillidis* et *Alanum fratrem eius* (Enderby) 25/6 1219 AssSel 797. – *Stephen* son of *Toly* (Tetney) 1226 FFM 182. – *Richard* son of *Tholy* (Sibsey) 1245 FFF 27. – *John* son of *Tholy* 1255 Ipm 335. – terram quondam *Tholy* 1258–62, 1288–89 RA VIII 2357–59.

Y. a) in *Toletorp* DB, *Tollethorp* 1228 (Towthorpe, Harthill W, E) PNYE 232. – in *Thollehowe* 1293 (f.n. in Boroughbridge, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 83.

b) *Thole* TRE DB 301v. – *Willelmus* f. *Tole* archidiaconus, witness, 1115–28, [1125–35] ? YCh 1. 95, 357. – *Toli de Driffeld*, witness, [c1130–39] 14th YCh 2. 1223. – *Thome* f. *Toli de Cliftona* [1175–90] 14th YCh 1. 267. – *Robertum* f. *Thole* (Dunsforth) 1208 FFBb 133.

A short form of names such as *Þorl akr*, *-leikr*, *-laugr* (Nord.Kult.VII 209). An EScand name. Fairly frequent in Dan (Lat *Tol(l)o*) and found

in a runic inscription on a Dan coin (DgP 1463–65). Appears in Swed p.n.s. (Lundgren-Brate 281).

For *Th-* for *T-* see § 102. For *u* for *ó* see § 27. For *ll* for *l* see § 142. For *y* for *i* see § 22.

### \*Tólimann

L. b) Hereward' Tholeman (Swineshead) 7/1 1219 AssSel 365.

An Anglo-Scand formation “*Tóli's* man”, cf. *Akimann* above.

For *Th-* for *T-* see § 102.

### Tóllir

Y. a) in Tolesbi, Tollesbi DB (Tollesby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 163.

A short form of names in *Porl-*. It is recorded in a Swed runic inscription (SRU nr 11) and found in Dan and Swed p.n.s. (DgP 1492; J. Kousgård Sørensen APHS 23. 109–10).

A. H. Smith (PNYN 163) assumes the first el. of the p.n. to be the Scand pers.n. *Tollr*. This, however, is an orig by.n. formed from a Lat loan-word and does not appear until late in either W or EScand (Lind BN 384; DgP II 1139) and it is unlikely that it was in use in the Viking period.

For *ll* for *l* see § 142.

### Tonna fem.

L. b) Tonn' abl., witness, [eH<sub>2</sub>] c1225 RA V 1688. – Tonnam quamdam feminam 1202 Ass 646a. – Tonna quondam uxor Ricardi f. Stepi [c1220] l.13th FP 162.

A short form of *Borgny* (Nord.Kult.VII 209). An EScand name recorded in both Dan (DgP 1465) and Swed (SRU nr 106; Lundgren-Brate 281).

### Tonni

L. b) Tona; Tonne; Tonna; Tonne gen. TRE DB 22/17.19.23; 24/24. 61.68; 69/13.23.31.33; 69/30.

Y. b) Tone TRE DB 329r, Tona 1086 331v.

A side-form of *Tunni* q.v., probably showing *a*-mutation (DgP 1494). Found in Dan p.n.s. (DS XI 212; XII 71).

The L forms may alternatively represent *Tunni* q.v. with AN *o* for *u* (Feilitzen 386).

For *n* for *nn* see § 143.



## Tópi

L. b) **Aldene Tope** TRE DB 7/18, his brother **Vlf Tope** sune ante 1086 DB 72/10. – **Tope** TRE DB 25/5.

Probably a short form of names in *Porb-* but it may alternatively be a loan from ContGerm (Nord.Kult.VII 209). A side-form to *Túpi* q.v. Only found in Dan sources and there almost exclusively in S Slesvig, where it occurs fairly frequently from the 13th cent onwards (DgP 1467–68).

## Tósti

L. b) **Tosti** TRE DB 4/17.69. – **Willelmi f. Tosti** (Killingholme) l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 427.

Y. b) **Tosti** abl. [1042–66] ? YCh 2. 925, **Tostig** eorl acc. [1055–64] e.14th YCh 1. 87, in **Tosti dagum** eorl c1055–65 Kirkdale Sundial, Ekwall Selected Papers 57, **Tosti comiti** [1061–65] ? YCh 1. 11, **Tostius** [1080–86] ? YCh 2. 974, **Tosti** (comes) TRE DB 299r (bis), 301v (4 times), 307v, 323v, 332r (bis). Earl of Northumberland, brother of Harold Godwine's son. – **Tostinoe**; **Tosti canonico**, witness, [c1120–29] c1400; [1125–35] ?, [1130–39] 14th YCh 2. 874; 1. 357, 2. 1208, **Willelmus f. Tostini**; **Tosti**; **Thosti** [c1140–95] originals and transcripts from 14th–17th YCh 1. 279; 1. 279, 282, 553, 2. 954, 978, 985, 1060, 3. 1572, 1631, 9. 14.95, BS 304; YCh 1. 562, 2. 1095, **Willelmo Tostini** [1165–80] 14th YCh 2. 683, **Hugo f. Willelmi f. Tosti** [1160–80] 17th, [c1212–17] 13th YCh 2. 1035, RBE 467, **Willelmo nepote Willelmi Tosti**, witness, [1160–65] 14th YCh. 2. 1175, **Radulfus de Meltenebi nepos Willelmi f. Tosti** [1170–80] 17th YCh 1. 444. – **Tosti de Gamelinga** abl., witness, [1160–75] 14th YCh 3. 1355. – **Helewisam**, quæ fuit uxor **Willelmi f. Tosti** (Marton); **Robertum Tosti**, **Willelmum f. Willelmi Tosti** (Marton) 1206; 1208 FFBb 104, 130, **Robertum Tosty**, **Rogerus Tosty de Marton** 1218–19 AssSel 1062.

A short form of *Porsteinn*. An EScand name. Common in Dan (DgP 1469–72; B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 38–39) and Swed (Lundgren-Brate 281–82; SRU nr 232). Spread later to Norw. Rare in Icel (Lind 1040).

For *Th-* for *T-* see § 102. For *γ* for *i* see § 22. For *-ig* for *i* see § 147iii. For the suffix *-inus* see § 153.

## Tóti

L. a) in **Totetoft** 1200 (f.n. in Surfleet, Kirton W) Kirkman 107.

Either a short form of *Porsteinn* q.v. (Nord.Kult.VII 209) or an orig by.n., cf. ModIcel *toti* “snout” or ModNorw *tot* “mouth” (Lind BN 385).

A few instances as a by.n. are recorded in WScand (Lind BN 385). The name is recorded in Dan from early times, once as *Thorsten dict. Tote* 12th and its existence in Swed is deduced from p.ns. (DgP 1472-73; DS VI 317).

The p.n. may alternatively contain an OE \**tōt(e)* “look-out”, ME *tote* “look-out hill”.

### Trani, Trana

Y. a) in *Tranebi*, -by 12th (Tranby, Harthill W, E) PNYE 216. – in *Transheued* 1160 (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in *Traneberg* c1230 (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in *Tranehouse* c1416 (Trenhouse, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 139.

An orig by.n. “crane”. It is found very early in WScand as a pers.n. in fiction and as a by.n. (Lind 1041; BN 386) and it also occurs in Swed (Nord.Kult.VII 274; SRU nr 186) and Dan (DgP II 1143-44).

The p.ns. may alternatively contain the bird-name *trani*.

### Trútr

Y. a) in *Truzstal* DB (Trouts Dale, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 98. – in *Trousthou* 1176 (f.n. in Askwith, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 62

Either an orig by.n., cf. ModNorw *trut* “snout, mouth” (Lind BN 388) or more probably a short form of *Þorgautr* (DgP 1426). A single instance is recorded as a by.n. in WScand (Lind BN 388). In Dan *Thruut* and *Trut* appear fairly frequently as side-forms of *Thrugot*, *Þorgautr* q.v. (cf. BrNGG § 392.2; DgP 1426-32).

Trouts Dale may rather contain OE *truht-stall* “trout pool” (DEPN).

For *ou* for *ú* see § 35. For *z* for *ts* see § 105ii. *st* is probably a scribal error for *ts*.

### Tryggr, Trygg(v)i

L. b) *terram que fuit Willelmi Trig* [c1160] 13th FP p.180. – *Willelmus Trig* 1202 Ass 729b, 730, 1044 and Crown Pleas 33. – *Trig* (Oseby-in-Haydor) c1200-11 RA VII 2070, 2072-73.

Y. b) *Trigo* abl., witness [l.12th] c1400 YCh 11. 185.

An orig by.n. “the trusty one” or “the sure one” (Nord.Kult.VII 53) or possibly a short form of names in *-tryggr* (DgP 1478). *Tryggr* is recorded in WScand as a pers.n. (Lind 1041-42) and the weak form *Tryggvi*, sometimes used as a short form of *Sigtryggr* q.v., is recorded in WScand as both pers.n. and by.n. (Lind 1042-43; BN 388). *Tryggi* is found in Swed as a pers.n. and in Dan as both pers.n and by.n. (DgP 1478, II 1148; DS XIII 259). The strong form is only once recorded in EScand in a Swed runic inscription as *tryk* acc. (SRU nr 952).

**Tulli**

L. b) **Rogerus Tulle** 25/6 1219 AssSel 804.

Possibly a short form of names in *Porl-*. Its existence in Swed has been deduced from p.n. evidence (Lundgren-Brate 284) and *Tul(l)i* is fairly common in Dan (DgP 1489–92; J. Kousgård Sørensen APhS 23. 110–11).

**\*Tumbi**

Y. a) in **Tumbholme** 1371 (Tumholme, Owston, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 33.

Possibly a short form of names in *Porm-*. Cf. OIcel *Simbi* < *Sigmundr* (Lind Supplement 723; NoB 8. 41; Feilitzen 388). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For syncope of *e* < *a* see § 58.62.

**Tum(m)i**

L. a) in **Tunbi** DB 29/9, **Tumbi** LiS 19/10 (Tumby, Horncastle W).

Y. b) **Tumme** gen. TRE DB 298r.

Short form of names in *Porm-* (Nord.Kult.VII 209). An EScand name. Recorded fairly frequently in Dan (Lat *Tumo*, runic *tumi*) (DgP 1492–93; Jacobsen-Moltke 724; DS II 12, 98, XII 212) and occurs in Swed in p.n.s. and three runic inscriptions (e.g. Sv. Uppsl. 29. 602; SRU nr 719). *Tumi* appears in Icel from the 12th cent onwards, possibly as a loan from Dan via England (Lind 1044–45). Found in two p.n.s. in Normandy (Adigard 153).

The forms in L and Y may alternatively represent the OE pers.n. *Tum(m)a* (Redin 72) and the p.n. may rather contain as its first el. OE *tūn*.

For *n* for *m* see § 81. For syncope of *e* < inflexional *a* see §§ 58.62.

**Tun(n)i**

L. b) **Tunne** TRE DB 24/37.54.76.

Y. b) **Gillebertus f. Tunny** 1218–19 AssSel 1005.

Perhaps a short form of a name *\*Thurniutr* (Nord.Kult.VII 209). An EScand name. Several instances are recorded in Dan (DgP 1493–94) and the forms *Tune*, *Tunne* are recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 285). The name is found in a Swed runic inscription as *tuna* gen. (SRÖg nr 241).

It is possible that the forms in L and Y may represent an OE pers.n. *Tunna* (cf. O. Arngart in Stud. Neoph. 1947–48, 80).

**Túpi**

L. a) in **Tupe-, Thope-, Topholm** 1175 (Tupholme, Gartree W) Bower 196.

A side-form to *Tópi* q.v. Recorded over the whole of the Dan area (DgP 1494).

The p.n. may alternatively contain ME *tup* "ram".

For *Th-* for *T-* see § 102. For *o* for *ú* see § 34.

**Þ****Pingi**

L. b) **Tinghi** (Alvingham) [1182] 1409 GH 1. p.102.

Possibly a short form of compounds in *Ping-*. \**Thingi* is found in Dan p.ns. (DS V 645).

For *T-* for *Þ-* see § 112. For *gh* for *g* see § 133.

**Pingulfr**

Y. a) in **Tingolvedale** 12th (f.n.) PNYN 333.

First el. *Ping-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Only recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 259–60).

For *T-* for *Þ-* see § 112. For interchange of *u/o* see § 32. For *v* for medial *f* see § 96.

**Þjóðulfr**

L. a) in **Tedul-, Tedulfi** DB 1/64, 71/18; 13/15, 30/4, 32/18, **Tedolfbi** LiS 1/9.14. (Thealby, Manley W). – perhaps in **Te(d)lagestorp** DB 12/95, 13/7, 27/62, 68/12, 69/15, **Tedolf-, Dedloncstorp** LiS 15/1.7 (Theddlethorpe, Calcewath W). – in **Theodolfbarnewud (am), Tiedolfbarnewde** 12th (f.n. in Aby-with-Greenfield, Calcewath W) Bower 458–59.

First el. *Þjóð-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Very common in Norw from c900 onwards. Appears early in Icel but is less common there (Lind 1125–29). Also recorded in Swed as *Thiudhulf* (SRSö nr 148; Lundgren-Brate 260) and in Dan as *Thydhulf* (DgP 1449).

Several of the early forms of Theddlethorpe seem to indicate that the first el. is some other pers.n.

For *T-* for *Þ-* see § 112. For *e*, *eo*, *ie* for *jó* see § 56. For *d* for medial *ð* see § 116. For interchange of *u/o* see § 32. For loss of *f* after *l* see § 100.

### Þjokki

Y. a) ? in **Theokemarais** 1189 (part of Marishes, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 84.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *þjokkr* "thick". *Þjokkubein* is recorded as a by.n. in OWScand (Lind BN 408). *Þhiokk* is found in Dan (DgP II 1128) and both *Þhiock* and *Þiocke* in Swed (XenLid 103).

For the spelling in *eo* see § 54.

### Þólfr

Y. b) **Tof** TRE DB 301r.

A syncopated form of *Þórulfr* q.v. An EScand name. Very common in Dan, where it occurs in runic inscriptions as *þulfr* nom., *þolfs* gen. (Jacobson-Moltke 727) and several p.ns. (DgP 1364–66; J. Kousgård Sørensen APHS 23. 106–08). Also recorded in Swed as *Tholf*, *Thulf* (SRU nr 756; Lundgren-Brate 263, 276). Borrowed from EScand to Norway, where it becomes common after c1300. Not recorded in Icel (Lind 1133–34). Note also a Norw side-form *Þófr*, with loss of *l*, that is evidenced as early as the 11th cent (Feilitzen 389 n.3).

For *T-* for *Þ-* see § 112. For loss of *l* see § 70.

### Þórr

L. a) see under **Þórir** below.

b) **Tor** TRE DB 4/10, 14/71, 26/30, 28/19. – **Tor**, the Bishop of Bayeux' man, 1086 DB 4/79.

Y. a) see under **Þórir** below.

b) **Dor** minister, witness, [958] 14th YCh 1. 3. – **Þór** in Ca' festerman [c1050] ? 1.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Tor** TRE DB 300r (bis), 301r (3 times), 301v, 309r (4 times), 309v (12 times, 5th instance gen.), 310v (3 times), 311r (3 times), 311v (4 times), 312v (bis), 313r, 324r (bis), 324v (bis), 325r (bis), 327r, 329r (bis), 330v, **Turot** 311r. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Frane** f. **Tor** TRE DB 374r. – **Tor** 1086 DB 309r. – **Ormuf** f. **Thor** (Crofton) [1133–53] 13th YCh 3. 1672. – **Acce** f. **Thor**, witness, [1135–53] 15th YCh 1. 64. – **Gaulennius** f. **Tor** de Ottalay, witness, [1148–56] 14th–15th YCh 11. 215. – **Thor** f. **Acce** de Snegintona, witness, [1157–58] 1.12th YCh 1. 402. – **Roberto** f. **Tor** witness,

c1155–80 YCh 2. 1029. – homine sanctimonialium de Watton nomine **Tor de Feriby** 1167–81 YCh 3. 1896.

In Scand *Pórr*, the name of the god, is only certainly recorded of the god himself, possibly in some p.ns. and in runic Swed *þor* father of *siþþor* (Lind 1206–07; Lundgren-Brate 263; DgP 1413; DS IX 24). The Anglo-Scand pers.n. is probably a short form of names in *Pór-*. This Anglo-Scand name may be found in some p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 155).

For *T-*, *Th-*, *D-* for *þ-* see §§ 111.112.113. For interchange of *ð/u* see § 28. For the addition of the AN suffix *-ot* see § 153.

### **Póra fem.**

L. b) **Inge f. Thore** 1202 Ass 28; (Thore must here stand for the gen. of the fem. Thora as the same Inga is called filiam Gileberti in Ass 50).

A short form of names in *Pór-*. Common in both Norw and Icel from the earliest times onwards (Lind 1134–35). Also frequent in Swed (SRU nr 34; Lundgren-Brate 263) and Dan (DgP 1374–76).

For *Th-* for *þ-* see § 111.

### **Póraldr, Póraldi**

L. b) **Þoroldus de Bukenhale** [1051] ? KCD 795, **Turaldus de Greteuilla**, **Tuoldus uiccomes** DB ante 1086 p.6.19, 11/9. – **Tuold** TRE DB 14/61. – **Turald'** (Snarford) 1086 DB 16/20. – **Tuold'**, Roger de Busli's man, 1086 DB 17/1. – **Tuold'** the priest 1086 DB 16/50, 26/13. – **Aluredus nepos Tuoldi** 1086 DB p.6.22. – **Tuold'**; **Tuoldi** gen.; **Abbate Tuoldo** abl., Norman abbot of Peterborough, successor to Brand, 1086 DB 8/17. 67/21; 8/34; 71/13. – **Thorald** (Horncastle W) LiS 19/2. – **Toroudo** presbitero c1140 Dane 468, **Toroldo** presbitero 1143–47 Dane 255. – **Thoraldo de Manby** abl., witness, [c1150] 1409 GH 5 p.105, **Rodger f. Thorold de Mannebi** l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 537, **Rannulf f. Toraldi de M.** [e.13th] l.13th FP 89. – **Thoraldus decanus**, **Thoraldo decano de Thatewella**, witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409, [c1150] 1409 GH 43 p.59, 5 p.105, **Tuoldus de Tadewella**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 544. – **Toroldus sacerdos**, witness, [c1155] 1409 GH 41 p.58. – **Thoraldus f. Warini** [e.H<sub>2</sub>] 1411 GH 9 p.94, **Thoraldus f. Warini de Barchewrthe**, **Toroldvs** (on seal), **Thoraldi** gen. l.H<sub>2</sub> and endorsement c1200 Dane 6. – **Willelmo f. Tuoldi** (Sixhills) 1185 RotDom 8. – **Thoraldo de Nouilla** abl., witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1407 GH 9 p.80, **Thoroldo**, **Toraldo**, **Toroldo de Neuilla** abl., witness, H<sub>2</sub>, l.12th; **Tuoldi de N.** gen. 1187 Dane 206, 211–12; 231, **Thorold de N.** gen 1185 Templ 103. – **Toraldus Wammall'** (Hainton) [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 20 p.10. – **Tuoldus de**

**Wellestuna, Thuoldus; Walter f. Thorold** [c1170] 13th; c1225 FP 176, p.179, 177. – **Thoroldi f. Nigelli** (Kelstern) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 475. – **Hugone f. Toroud**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 290. – **Turaldo, Tuoldo falcunario**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 521–22. – **Toraldus clericus**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 145. – **Toraldo sacerdote de Abí, Habi; Toraldus sacerdos de Habí** H<sub>2</sub> Dane 123, 131, 149a, 155; 148. – ex dono **Thoraldi de Esterbi, Willelmus f. Thuoldi** 1185 Templ 107–08, **Alanus f. Toroldi de Eisterby, Siwardus f. Thuraldi de Aisterby** [c1170] 1409, [c1180] ? GH 42 p.58, p.xxiv, **Alain f. Thorold de Aistrebi**, witness, 1183 Dane 536, **Alanus f. Toraldi**, witness, H<sub>2</sub> post 1175 Dane 538. – **Rogerus f. Thoraldi** 1.12th Dane 542. – **Thoroldo decano de Hedlingtuna**, witness, 1170–75 Dane 173. – **Tuoldus f. Toli de Halketoft** c1180 Dane 160, **Thoraldum de H.** acc., **Thoraldi gen.**, **Thoraldo dat.**, **Thoraldus** 6/6 1202 FF 117. – **Ricardus f. Thoraldi** (Toynton) c1182–90 RA VI 1860. – **Ranulfo f. Thoraldyn**, witness, [1183] 15th Dane 536. – **Tuoldo coruersario**, witness, 1.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 193. – **Thoraldo, Toraldo de Wincebi** [H<sub>2</sub>] c1225, ante 1219, [ante 1219] 13th, [c1200] c1330; [c1200] c1225 RA VI 1916, 1939, 1855; 1855, **Thoroldus de W.**, **Thoroldum acc.**, **Woluiatus pater ipsius Thoroldi** 1202, 1206 Ass 28, 1312, **Thoraldus, Thoroldus de W.** 1202 Civil Pleas 213, **Toraldum f. Wolweti, Thoraldum f. Woluiet** 1202 Ass 560, 1023. – **Thorald f. et heres Dued de Aluingham**, brother of Gilbert, Gamel, John, Ralf, husband of Sunniva, [c1190–1200] 1.13th FP 56–60. – **Rogero f. Toraldi**, witness, 1190–93 Dane 168. – toftum **Toraldi f. Vlfkel** (Alvingham) 1.12th RA V 1598. – toftum quod fuit **Thoraldi bercarii, Toraldi** (Withcall) 1.12th, [1.12th] c1225, c1210–20 RA V 1583, 1590. – **Thoraldo capellano**, witness, [1.12th] c1330 RA VII 1957. – **Toraldus Bunthing** (Saltfleetby) 1.12th Dane 549. – **Robertus f. Thoraldi de Saltfletebi, Toraldi** 1.12th, endorsement c1200 Dane 542. – magistro **Toraldo, Thoraldo** c1180–84, [c1180–84] c1330 RA VIII 2290. – **Thoraldo f. Alicie vidue**, witness, [c1200] c1330 RA V 1619. – **Hachet f. Thoraldi de Chorintun** [c1200] 1.13th FP 69. – **Thoraldo f. Jordani**, witness, [c1200] c1330 RA V 1619. – **Jordano f. Thoraldi** (Grainthorpe) [c1200] c1225 and c1330 RA V 1606–08, 1616, 1619. – **Thoraldo f. Siward abl.**, witness, **Thoraldi f. Seward** (Grainthorpe) gen. [c1200] c1225, [c1215–20] c1225 RA V 1607, 1612, **Thorald f. Sewardi de Germethorp** [c1240] 1.13th FP 79. – **Thoraldo, Thorraldo f. Mirield, Mirild**, witness, **Thoraldus f. Miriilde de Germuntorp** [c1200] c1225 and c1330 RA V 1606–08, 1610–11, 1619, **Roberto f. Thoraldi**, witness, [c1200] c1225, RA V 1607, **Robertus f. Toroldi, Tuold'** (Tetney, Grainthorpe) 25/11 1218 AssSel 102, 205, **Thomam f. Tuold'** (Grainthorpe) 25/11 1218 AssSel 205, – **Thoraldo f. Ricardi** (Mauncelot) abl., witness, [c1200] c1225 and c1330 RA V 1606, 1619,

**Thoraldus f. Ricardi Mancelot**, Thorald abl., [c1210–15] c1225, [c1200] c1330; terram **Toraldi**, **Thoraldi Mancelot**; **Thoraldus M.** [c1210–20] c1225, [c1210–20] c1330; [c1210–15] c1225; RA V 1604, 1619; 1603, 1613, 1617; 1605. – **Hamelini f. Thoraldi**, **Toraldi de Alwinham** c1200 RA V 1597. – **Thoraldo**, **Toraldo de Ristun** abl., witness, c1200, [c1200] c1225 RA VI 1773. – **Horaldo** sic, lay-brother of Catley, [c1200] 1407 GH 4 p.75. – **Thoraldus f. Ouiet de Ouston**, witness, c1200 Dane 402. – **Wimarcam filiam Thoroldi** (Edlington) 1202 Ass 24. – **Thoroldum de Horsinton** acc., **Tuoldus**, **Thuoldus**, **Thoroldo** abl. 1202 Ass 25, 578, 578a, 1075, **Tuoldum de H.** acc., **Tuoldus**, **Tuoldo** dat. 20/10 1208, 10/11 1208 FF 247, 268, **Toraldus de H.** 1212 Fees 165, **Thoraldo clerico de H.**, witness, ante 1219 RA VI 1939. – **Paganus et Woolmercus filii Toroldi**, **Thoroldi** (Donington) 1202 Ass 150, 1080. – **Walterus f. Toroldi** (Winteringham) 1202 Ass 182. – **Hugonem f. Toroldi** 1202 Ass 205. – **Thuoldum f. Wlseti** acc., **Thuoldus** 1202 Ass 591. – **Thoroldus frater Johannis** 1202 Ass 593, **Johannes f. Thoraldi de Edlinton**, **Thoroldi de E.**, ipse **Thoraldus** 1202 Ass 594, 1029. – **Thoraldi gen.**, **Thoroldum** acc., (Dunham) 1202 Ass 726. – **Thoroldus**, **Thoroldi gen. de Humberstein** 1202 Ass 877, 1061. – **Thoroldo de Staningeho** abl. 1202 Ass 1026. – **magistro Torold** de Dunham, witness, [c1204] c1320 RA III 791, **Tuoldus de D.** 1220–34 RotHug I 211, **Richard f. Thorald Cok de D.** [c1220] 13th FP 9–11. – **Thoroldum de Wlmaresti** acc. 1206 Ass 1414; this man is elsewhere called T(h)orgot. – **Robert f. Thoraldi de Salfletebi** e.13th FP 115. – **Tuoldus faber** (S Ferriby) 25/6 1207 FF 227. – **Tuoldus f. Hagemund** (Cotes) 7/6 1209 FF 301. – **Toroldum pastorem**; **Toroldo** dat. (Goxhill) 1218–19 AssSel 528; 619, 648, 705. – **Elye f. Thoraldi** [H<sub>3</sub>] 1409 GH 17 p.46. – **Toroldum Hundesfot et Humfridum fratrem suum** 7/1 1219 AssSel 263. – **Thoroldus**, **Thoraldus**, **Thoraldum** acc., **Toroldum** acc. de **Lincolnia** 7/1 1219 AssSel 428, 436. – **Tuoldo clerico** 1219 RotHug I 153. – **Walterum f. Toroldi** 7/1 1219 AssSel 277. – **Thoraldo pistore**, witness, c1220–30 RA VIII 2295. – **Thoraldi parmentarii** (Burton Pedwardine) 1220–34 Rot Hug III 68. – **Toraldus Auceps** (Snitterby) c1230–40 RA IV 1244. – **Alan son of Thorald** (Gonerby) 1231 FFP 165. – **Elya f. Thoraldi**, witness, [c1230–45] c1330 RA V 1576. – **Thoraldo piscatore**, witness, c1240–50 RA VIII 2292. – **Thomas son of Thorald** (Horsington) 1250 FFF 55. – **Johanne nepote Thoraldi**, witness, 1252–55, (Lincoln) 1273–74, 1277–78 RA VIII 2280, 2282–83. – **Thorald son of William** (Hainton) 1259 FFF 171. – **Reginaldus Thorald**, **Thorald**, **Torald de Brassynburgh**, juror, 1298 AssTh 249, 470, 441. – **Rogerus Thorald de [Geynesburgh]**, juror, 1298 AssTh 496. Y. a) in **Tuoldes**-, **Toroldesbi** DB, **Thoroldeby** 1219 (Thoraldby, Lang-



bargh W W, N) PNYN 175. – in **Turodes-**, **Turoldebi** DB (Thorlby, Hang W W, N) PNYN 268. – in **Turalzbi** DB, **Toroldebi** 1175–86 (Thorlby Hall, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 149. – in **Toruelestorp** DB, **Tu-**, **Toraldestorp** 1190–93, (Tharlesthorpe (lost), Patrington, Holderness W, E) PNYE 25. – in **Toredere-**, **Toreilderebi** DB, **Thordelbi** ante 1208, **Thoreldby** 1214–34 (Thorlby, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 76. – probably in **Tuadestorp** (sic for **Turaldes-**) DB (Thorpe Green, Thorpe Underwood, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 6. – in **Turodebi** DB (Thorlby (lost), Buckrose W, E) PNYE 125.

b) **Thorkil**, **Thurkil** f. **Thoraldi** (Little Smeaton; Thornton-le-Beans) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931. – **Turol** abl., witness, [1135–55] ? YCh 1. 373. – **Turol rusticus** (Warter) [1141–42] e.14th YCh 10. 66. – **Turol**; **Hurol**; **Thuroldo** abl., witness, [1148–56] l.12th, [1172–75] l.12th; [1152] 14th; [1162–76] l.12th YCh 2. 1209, 1229; 1228; 1248, **Thoroldus de Novavilla** [1157–58] l.12th YCh 1. 402, **Turol** de N., miles, [c1160–69] l.12th YCh 9. 157, **Turol** de Nevilla gen. [1175] 14th YCh 2. 1230. – **Turol** abbat de Fontibus, witness, [? 1150] e.15th, [1155] 13th YCh 5. 371, Templ 244. – **Turaldi** gen. (Stoches) [c1150–60] c1400 YCh 2. 828. – **Willelmus** f. **Toral** de Nutle [1154–80] 17th YCh 3. 1397. – **Toral** abl., witness, [1155–65] 14th YCh 2. 1190. – **Thoroldus** presbiter Sancti Nicholai in Beverlaco, witness, 1155–70 YCh 3. 1361. – **Malger** f. **Turol** de Rudstan; **Thoraldi** [1156–c75] 14th YCh 2. 1213–14; 1215. – **Willelmo** f. **Turol**, witness, [1157–70] 14th YCh 3. 1358. – **Thoraldi** gen., **Thoral** abl. (Barnby-upon-Don) [c1160–85] m.13th YCh 11. 109. – **Thuraldus** f. **Ricardi**, **Tural**, **Thural** dat. [1161–84] two 14th transcripts YCh 5. 331. – **Thosold** (sic for **Thorold**) de Misterton et Radulfo f. eius abl., witness, c1166–89 YCh 8. 124. – **Torold** clerico, witness, c1170–80 YCh 1. 124. – **Ricardo** f. **Thoraldi** de Latun, witness, [ante 1175] 14th–15th YCh 4. 120, **Roberto** f. **Thoraldi** (E Layton) [l.12th] 14th YCh 5. 376. – ex dono **Roberti** f. **Thoradi** (Hauxwell) 1185 Templ 127. – **Thoraldum** acc., **Thoral** abl. (Ruchau, Hunmanby) [1173–84] 13th YCh 2. 1192. – **Thoral** capellano; **Torold**, witness, [1175–89] 17th, [1185–1205] 14th, [1189–1204] 17th; [1180–95] 14th YCh 3. 1646, 2. 852–53, 1. 564; 1. 208. – **Toroldus de Bolebia**, witness, [c1180–90] c1400 YCh 2. 845. – **Toral** vigili, witness, [c1180–90] 17th YCh 1. 623. – **Toroldus** (Cowton) 1185 Templ 120. – **Thoraldus** (Scruton) 1185 Templ 122. – **Thoraldus** (Houghton) 1185 Templ 126. – **Thorold** abl., witness, [1188–94] 17th YCh 2. 842. – **Torold** clerico de Ripun, **Thoral** witness, [1191–94] 15th YCh 11. 276–77. – **Willelmo** f. **Thoraldi** le hoser [1190–1210] 14th–15th YCh 1. 295. – **Thoral** de Bretton abl., witness, [1195–1210] 17th

YCh 3. 1788. – **Torand'** (sic for **Toraud**) f. **Ade**, abl., witness, 1200–20  
 YCh 3. 1816. – **Thorold of Bainton** 1221–22 FFP 43. – **Thoroldus f. Wulfat**  
 (Tickhill) 1218–19 AssSel 36, **Thorald son of Wulfak** 1226 FFP 72. –  
**Henry son of Thorald (Leak)** 1231 FFP 164. – **Thorald of Harnhale** 1231  
 FFP 158. – pratum **Rogeri f. Thoraldi de Routhclif** [? c1250] 13th–14th  
 Selby 836.

First el. *Þór-*. Second el. *-valdr*. Both weak and strong forms occur frequently in Norw and cease to be distinguishable after c1300 (Lind 1137–39). They are not recorded in Icel, where the earlier form *Þorvaldr* survives (Nord.Kult.VII 94). *Þoraldr* is also recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 263–64) but the only early evidence for the name in Dan is provided by the p.n. *Thoreldorp* 14th (DgP 1353). The name is common in Normandy (Adigard 172–73) and it is probable that many of the bearers in L and Y are either Normans or of Norman descent.

For *T-*, *Th-*, *Ð* for *Þ* see §§ 110.111.112. Forms in *H-* must be scribal errors. For interchange of *ó/u* see § 28. For *rr* for *r* see § 142. For forms in *-old* see § 4 and for *e* for unstressed *o* or *a* see § 58. For vocalisation of *l* see § 69 and for loss of *l* before *d* see § 70. For loss of final *d* see § 108 and for *z* for *ts* < *ds* see §§ 105.107. For the addition of the AN suffix *-in* see § 153. Many of the early forms of *Thorlby* and the DB form of *Tharlesthorpe* are probably corrupt, although *Torueles-* may derive from *Þorvalds-* with weakening of *a* to *e* and loss of *d*.

#### **Þórarna fem.**

Y. b) ? **Tuorne** TRE DB 320v.

First el. *Þór-*. Second el. *-arna*. A couple of instances are recorded in Norw, one of them from the 9th cent. The name is frequent in Icel (Lind 1142–43). Not found in EScand.

The DB form may alternatively represent *Þórormr* q.v.

For *T-* for *Þ-* see § 112. For *u* for *ó* see § 28. For *o* for *a* see § 3.

#### **\*Þorbert**

L. b) **Turberto** abl., witness, 1.12th Dane 67. – **Turbertum** caretarium 1202–03 Ass 1255. – **Thurbertus** (Bleasby) [c1210–20] c1225 RA V 1565. – **Thurb'**; **Thurbertus** capellanus (Stamford-All-Saints) 1220–34, 1237 Rot Hug III 64; Rot Rob 22.

Y. b) **Turberto** abl., witness, [1178–c93] 17th YCh 2. 1256. – **Nicholao Turbert** abl., witness, 24/2 1247 BS 525.

A hybrid name. First el. *Þór-*. Second el. ContGerm *-bert* (Feilitzen 391).

Forms in *-bert* may, however, represent *Þorbjörn* q.v., since both *t* and *n* were lost after *r* and may have been interchanged (see §§ 86.104).

For *T-*, *Th-* for *Þ-* see §§ 111.112. For *u* for *ó* see § 28.

### Þorbjörn

L. b) **Heruei f. Turbern, Thurbern** (W Keal) [c1189–98] c1225, c1189–98 RA VI 1851–52. – **Martinum f. Turbern', Turberni** (Gt Ponton) 1202 Ass 1151, 1178.

Y. a) in **Torbornerode** 1208 (f.n. in Lead, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 75.

b) **Turber** TRE DB 298v, 317r, 322r (bis), 324v, **Torber** 298v, 325r, **Turbern** 301r (bis), 301v (bis). Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Torber; Turbern; Torbern** *tegnus regis* TRE and 1086 DB 331r; 331v (bis); 331v. – **Torberno** (Alano fratre ejus), witness, [1180–95] l.13th YCh 2. 764. – **Turbernus, Turbernum** *hominem suum* (John de Hessele) [ante 1219] l.13th YCh 9. 103, **Torbernus** [12th] l.13th YCh 12. 41.

First el. *Þór-*. Second el. *-björn*. Common in both Norw and Icel throughout the whole medieval period (Lind 1147–50). Also common in Swed (SRU nr 854; Lundgren-Brate 264) and Dan (Jacobsen-Moltke 727; DgP 1376–82).

Forms in *-ber* may equally well represent *Þorbert* q.v.

For *T-*, *Th-* for *Þ-* see §§ 111.112. For *u* for *ó* see § 28. For *e* for *jǫ* see § 54. The form in *o* in the p.n. must be corrupt. For loss of *n* see § 86.

### Þorbrandr

Y. b) **Torbrand** TRE DB 300r, **Turbran** 301v, **Turbrant** 327r. – **Torbrant** TRE DB 314r (4 times), **Torbrand** 314r, 314v (bis), 323r, **Turbrand** 314v, **Turbrant** 314v (4 times). T was the son of Carle son of Turbrand. – **Thorbrand** (York) [1142–43] 17th YCh 9. 118. – **Turbrando de Smidetun** abl., witness, [ante 1184] 15th YCh 5. 380. – **Ricardum f. Thurbrandi** (Malzeard) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 1276.

First el. *Þór-*. Second el. *-brandr*. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel. Some other early instances are recorded there but the name soon drops out of use. Survives longer in Norw but never becomes very frequent there (Lind 1150–51). Not recorded in EScand sources but a reference in Simeon of Durham to *quodam Dano ... Thurebrando cognomento Hold* (c1016) seems to indicate that the name was also in use in Dan (Feilitzen 392 n.3).

For *T-*, *Th-* for *Þ-* see §§ 111.112. For *u* for *ó* see § 28. For *t* for final *d* see § 107 and for loss of final *d* see § 108.

**Pórðr**

Y. a) in **Thorethrod** 13th (f.n.) PNYW 7. 302.

Y. b) **Pored Gunneres sunu** [966] ASC E, **Porode** eorl dat. [992] ASC E, **Pureð** eorl, **Peodred** eorl [10th] 10th, [10th] 14th ASCharters 60, 63 **Pureð** eorl [c1000] ? YCh 2. 921. – **Yord** (sic for **Pord**), witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8. – **Tored** TRE DB 320v (bis), **Toret** 328r. – **Tored** tegnus regis TRE and 1086 DB 331r. – **Bartholamæus Thuret** (Wythalle) [H<sub>3</sub>] 13th RBE 734, **Bartholomeo Turet** [militē] 1218/19 AssSel 505. – **Gilbertus f. capellani Thoreth' de Cowyk** [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 946.

A syncopated form of *Por(f)ræðr* q.v. or just possibly of *Porvøðr* (Nord. Kult.VII 95). One of the commonest names in both Norw and Icel throughout the period (Lind 1152–56). Also common in Swed (SRU nr 919; Lundgren-Brate 265–66) and Dan, where it appears as runic *þurþr* and *þorþ* (Jacobsen-Moltke 728; DgP 1406–14). May possibly be found in some p.ns. in Normandy, although the etymon here may rather be Anglo-Scand *Pórr* q.v. (Adigard 155).

The dissyllabic forms in Y reflect earlier *Porræðr*. For *T-*, *Th-* for *þ-* see §§ 111.112. For *u* for *ó* see § 28. For *e,o* for *ø* see § 43. For *d,t,th* for final *ð* see §§ 116.117.118. The form *Peodred* must be a substitution.

**Porfinnr**

L. b) **Johanne f. Turfin de Feribi**, witness, [c1210] c1225 RA VI 1889.

Y. a) in **Thorfyndryddang** 1344 (f.n. in Farnley, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 60.

b) **Turfin** gen. TRE DB 298r, **Torfin** 298v, 301r, 301v, 305v (bis), 306r (bis), 307r, 307v, 332r (3 times), 379r. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Torfin** TRE DB 309r (3 times), 309v (bis, second instance gen.), 310r (9 times, sixth instance gen.), 310v (3 times, third instance gen.), 311r (6 times), 312v (5 times, second instance gen.). – **Torfino** vicecomite, witness, [c1121–30] 14th YCh 5. 358. – **Normanus Turfini**, witness, [c1140–56] 14th–15th YCh 1. 215. – **Thorphinus f. Roberti**, **Torphinus**, **Torfinus**, **Torph[inus]**, **Torphinum** acc., **Torfini**, **Thorphini**, **Thorphyn** gen., **Turfino**, **Torfino** dat., **Torphino**, **Terfino**, **Torfin** abl. [1162–c1210] originals and transcripts from 1.12th–15th YCh 4. 26, 54–55, 91, 5. 149–54, 156–59, 161, 164–67, 171, 184A, 222, 239, 262, 267, RBE 587; son of Robert son of Copsi; father of Conan. – **Torfino f. Ucche** abl., witness, [c1148] 14th–15th YCh 5. 157. – **Torphino** clerico, witness, [c1150–61] 14th YCh 1. 325. – **Ketello f. Torfin**, witness, [1152–55] 17th YCh 7. 17. – **Torf[i]ne** presbiter de Crafne et frater ejus Fagonolf,

witness, [c1154-72] 15th YCh II. 160. – **Torphino de Torne[ton]**, abl., witness, [c1154-72] 15th YCh II. 162. – **Thorpinus de Alvestein, f. Gospatric, Torfini, Torphini, Thorfini** gen., **Torfino, Torphino** abl., [c1150-77] originals and transcripts from l.12th-c1500 YCh I. 71-72, 80-81, 123, 386-88, 395, 400, 402, 3. 1572; father of Alan. – **Torphino capellano, Turphino capellano de Rychemundia, Torfin de Richemund** abl., witness, [1158-84] 14th, [1161-84] 14th, [ante 1184] 15th YCh 5. 223, 226, 380. – **Torfino f. Catus** abl., witness, [c1160-80] 15th YCh II. 217. – **Torphin f. Gaufridi**, witness, [1162-75] 15th YCh II. 271. – **Petrus f. Thorfini de Ascheric'** c1174-89 YCh 5. 216-17. – **Torphinus f. Torph[ini]** [1170-77] 14th-15th YCh 3. 1572, **Torphino f. Torphini** [1176-90] c1400 YCh II. 224. – **Torphino de Manefelde** abl., witness, [c1174-81] 14th-15th YCh 4. 121. – **Sigeria filia Thorfini de Malhom** [1175-83] 15th YCh II. 245. – **Ricardo f. Torfini**, witness, [1175-84] 14th YCh II. 116. – **Torfino f. Roberti** abl., witness [1180] l.12th YCh I. 610. – **Thorfin** gen. (Brough) 1185 Templ 127. – **Thoma f. Thorfini**, witness, [c1185-1212] 15th YCh II. 282. – **Arnaldus f. Torphini** [1186] 17th YCh 6. 148. – **Thorfino forestario de Bernolfwic** dat. [c1190-1207] 15th YCh II. 134. – **Thorpinus molendinarius** (Eppleby) c1191-1203 YCh 5. 275. – **Torfinus, Torfinum f. Ormi** acc., **Torfino** dat. (Scotton) 1202 FFBB 70. – **Thomam Thorphin** acc. 1218-19 AssSel 821. – **Arnald son of Torfin** (Gargrave) 1226 FFP 71.

First el. *Þór-*. Second el. *-finnr*. Common in both Norw and Icel from the earliest times (Lind 1158-59). Recorded in Jämtland (Lundgren-Brate 267). Not certainly recorded in Dan (DgP 1382-83).

For *T-*, *Th-* for *P-* see §§ 111.112. For *u* for *ó* see § 28. For *ph* for *f* see § 97. For *y* for *i* see § 22.

### Porfrøðr, Porfriðr

L. b) **Godric son of Toruert** (or **Toruort**; fifth letter obscure) TRE DB p.13. – **Turued son of Vlued** TRE DB 1/23. – **Turuert** TRE DB 3/36, 4/77-79, 12/51, 27/54, 51/10, 53/1, 56/7.8, 59/13.14, 61/4, 66/1, gen. 72/39, **Turuert** and another **Turuert** 54/1, **Turuet** 4/17, **Toruert** 4/42, **Turuer** 16/46, 22/26 (4 times, last two instances gen.), 40/1, **Turuerd** 55/3, 66/2, dat. 72/39. Not certain to how many individuals these instances apply but **Turuert** and **Turuerd** in 72/39 are the same man. – **Warinus f. Toruerdi** (Toresbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – **Turuerdus** (et Fegge frater suus; Revesby) 1142 NthCh 3. – **Toruerdus le mutere** (Theddlethorpe, T. is called Gillebertus in Dane 485) l.12th Dane 484. – **houata Thoruerdi** (Hareby) 1185 Templ. 110, **Thorferth** (Hareby) 3/5 1215 FF 337. --

Vikellus f. Thoreuerd' de Sancto Botulfo, Thoma f. Thoreuerd' c1200 RA VII 1975.

Y. b) Thurferð minister, witness, [959] 12th YCh 1. 4. – Toruerd TRE DB 324r, Turuert gen. 374r. – Tureuert TRE DB 324v, Turuert 325r; Turuet 330v. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer.

First el. Þór-. Second el. -frøðr, -friðr. (Nord.Kult.VII 95). The form Þorrøðr, with loss of *f*, is recorded in WScand poetic sources (Lind 1156) but otherwise the name is only found in WScand in the syncopated form Þórðr q.v. In runic Swed, however, there is preserved a form þorfríp (SRU nr 121) and in other Swed sources occur the forms Thorfrødh, -fredh (Nord.Kult.VII 249). Dan sources only contain the syncopated form Thorth q.v. s.v. Þórðr (DgP 1406–14). The name is recorded in Normandy both independently and in p.ns. (Adigard 156–57).

For *T-*, *Th-* for *Þ-* see §§ 111.112. For interchange of *u/o* see § 28. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For *uert* < *friðr* see § 21. For loss of *r* see § 77. For *d.th.t* for final *ð* see §§ 116.117.118. For loss of final *t* or *d* see §§ 104.108.

### Porgautr

L. a) in Torgoteneuland 13th (f.n. in Gosberton, Kirton W) Kirkman 95. b) Purgodes lagen gen. [1053–55] 1.12th ASCharters 115, Turgot lag' TRE DB 18/1.7.13.29, gen. 59/6, lageman in Lincoln. – Turgot TRE DB p.13, 12/18, 14/58, 16/43, 18/3.4.6, 22/10, gen. 49/3. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – Thurgot gen. (Humberstone) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 476. – Turgot the tanner, fined in Lincoln 1191, Hill 397. – Thorgot, Thoregot, Torgot de Wolmeresti (once called Thorald) 1202; 1206 Ass 957, 1071; 1519, Magnus f. Torgot (Wolmersty) 1206 Ass 1377, Magnus son of Turgod de Wlmaresti (and Magnus his son) 1221 FFM 157–58, Thoregot de Wlmeresti, father of Magnus, [c1200] 13th FP 237, Matheum f. Turgod (Wrangle) 9/12 1218 AssSel 513, M. is identical with Magnus f. Thurgot 25/6 1219 AssSel 812. – Roberti f. Thorgoti (Claxby Pluckacre) e.13th RA VI 1881. – Ernis et Robert filii Thorgoti de Nort Sumercotes [c1220] 1.13th FP 160

Y. b) Turgod lag TRE DB 298v, Turgot 314r (bis), T. lageman of Lincoln, cf. above. – Turgot TRE DB 324r (bis), Turgod gen. 374r. – Turgot TRE DB 328v.

First el. Þór-. Second el. -gautr. A few instances are recorded in Icel but the name is much more common in Norw (Lind 1161–63). Several instances are recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 269–70). The name is common in

Dan sources, where, however, the first el. often undergoes metathesis, giving the form *Thrugot* (DgP 1426–32, 1435–36). The name is found in Normandy both independently and in p.ns. (Adigard 158).

For *T-*, *Th-* for *þ-* see §§ 111.112. For interchange of *u/o* see § 28. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *o* for *au* see § 47. For *d* for final *t* see § 103.

### Porgeirr

L. a) in *Thurgeriscroft* 12th–14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

b) *Turgerro Lincolnie* abl., witness, c1150 Dane 497, Warner son of *Turgar* 1167–68 Hill 379, Osbert son of *Turgar*, fined in Lincoln 1191, Hill 397, *Osberto f. Torger* [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 9 p.4. – *Walterus f. Torgar'*, *Torgari* 1202 Ass 778, 810.

Y. a) in *Turgesland* DB, *Turgarland*(am) 1090 (Thurgoland, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 314. – in *Thorgarlhaue* sic 1.13th, *Thurgrowe* 1600 (Thurgory, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 231. – ? in *Thugasyke* sic 1844 (Thugasyke Pond, Harthill, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 154.

b) *Torger[o]* abl., witness, c1100–06 YCh 2. 791.

First el. *þór-*. Second el. *-geirr*. Very common in both Norw and Icel throughout the whole period (Lind 1163–66). Fairly common in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 267–68) and Dan, where it appears as *Thorger*, *Thurger*, *Thyrger* and runic *þurgir*, *þurkir* (DgP 1383–84, 1441–43; Jacobsen-Moltke 728). A single independent instance is recorded in Normandy before 1066 (Adigard 158).

For *T-*, *Th-* for *þ-* see §§ 111.112. For interchange of *u/o* see § 28. For *e,a* for *ei* see §§ 50.52. For *s* for *rs* see § 76.

### Porgisl, Porgils

L. b) *Turgisle*, *Turgis* TRE DB 14/1.17.29; 14/30.36. – *Turgis* gen. (Sotby) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 60. – *Torgisio*, *Turgis[io]* abl. (Caistor) [1158–59] 13th, [c1154] 13th RBE 688, 795. – *Turgisium pistorem*, *Turgisius* (Louth) 1206 Ass 1310. – *Willelmus f. Turgis*, *Turgis'* (Lincoln) 1215, c1210 RA VIII 2303–04. – *Roger* son of *William Turgis* (Lincoln) 1245 FFF 9.

Y. a) in *Turgislebi* DB, *Thurkelby* 1216–56 (Thirkleby, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 125. – in *Turgisbi* DB, *Turgrimebi* 1192, *Turgrimesbi* 1194–1201 (Thorganby, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 263.

b) *Turgisio*, *Turgis*, *Thurgis'* dispensatore [c1135–1200] 14th YCh 1. 276, 343, 605, 2. 794, 796, 1051, 3. 1302, 4. 119, 5. 330–31, 366. – *Thurgisio de abbata* (St Mary's) dat. [c1150–61] 14th YCh 1. 271. – *Turgisius de Rodeham* [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – *Turgisius f. Malgeri* (Dacre) [1156] 15th, [1162] 15th YCh 1. 80–81. – *Turgiso*, *Turgisio* abl., witness,

**Turgis f. ejus** (Willelmus de Rossedale), **Turg[isii]** gen. [ante 1157] e.14th, [1153–57] e.14th, 1165–74, [1200–01] ? YCh 9. 108–11. – **Andrea f. Turgis** [1160–75] c1400 YCh 2. 836. – **Turgisius de Bray**, witness, [c1160–80] 15th YCh 11. 279. – **Turgisio de cellario** abl., witness, [1161–84] 14th; [c1170–84] 14th, [ante 1184] 14th YCh 1. 330,344; 2. 795, 5. 356. – **Waltero f. Turgisii** [1163–66] 17th YCh 1. 333, **Waltero f. Turgys** (Rogerero fratre ejus) [c1165] 14th–15th YCh 1. 328, **Rogero f. Turgisii**, witness, 1177–86 YCh 6. 134. – **Johanne f. Turgisili**, witness, [1163–69] l.12th YCh 9. 129. – **Turgisillo monacho de Sancta Trinitate**, abl., witness, [1170–83] m.13th YCh 3. 1734. – **Turg[isio] de Fal[cuner]** c1175–83 YCh 2. 1115. – **Turgisio** abl., witness, [1180–1200] 14th–15th YCh 1. 317. – **Thoma f. Turgisel**, witness, [1185–1205] 14th–15th YCh 1. 318, **Thoma f. Turgisii** [1203–12] 14th–15th YCh 1. 222. – **Turgisio abbate de Kirkstal**, witness, [1192–1200] 15th YCh 3. 1695, **Turgisus, Turgisius abbas de K.**, witness, [1198–99] 14th YCh 11. 46–47. – **Thurgiso le mercer** dat. [1190–1200] 14th–15th YCh 1. 297. – **Turgisio clerico; Thurgisio** [1180–95] 14th, [1199–1203] 14th; [1189–1204] 17th YCh 1. 208, 2. 1054; 1. 564. – **Turgis f. Turgis** abl. and gen., witness, [1187] 14th YCh 5. 148. – **Turgisio pincerna**, witness, [21/7 1187] 17th YCh 5. 190.

First el. *þór-*. Second el. *-gisl*, *-gils*. Very common in both Norw and Icel throughout the whole medieval period (Lind 1168–72). Also common in Swed (SRU nr 774; Lundgren-Brate 268–69) and Dan, where it appears as *Thor-, Thur-, Thrugils* and runic *þurkisl* (DgP 1383–85, 1418–25; Jacobsen-Moltke 728). Fairly common in Normandy, both independently and in p.ns. (Adigard 159–60).

Later forms of the Y p.ns. show substitution of the pers.ns. *Porketill* q.v. and *Þorgímr* q.v. respectively.

For *T-*, *Th-* for *þ-* see §§ 111.112. For interchange of *u/o* see § 28. For *y* for *i* see § 22. For forms in *-gis* see § 70. For svarabhakti *e* and *i* in *-gisel*, *-gisil* see § 63. For the addition of an inorganic final *e* see § 66.

### Þorgímr

L. a) in **Turgrim-**; **Torgre-**; **Turgre-**; **Torgrembi** DB 3/7; 4/75, 14/12, 47/5, 49/3; 18/9; 32/7, **Torgreme-**; **Torgrimbi** LiS 7/1; 7/2-5 (Thorganby, Walshcroft W).

Y. a) in **Torgrimestorp** DB (Thornthorpe (depopulated) Buckrose W, E) PNYE 143. – in **Turgisbi** DB, **Turgrimebi** 1192, **Turgrimesbi** 1194–1201 (Thorganby, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 263. – ? in **Thorgram Well** 1341 (f.n. in Carleton, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 72.

b) **Turgrim** TRE DB 301v.



First el. *Þór-*. Second el. *-grímr*. Common in both Norw and Icel throughout the medieval period (Lind 1173–74). Also recorded occasionally in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 269) and once in Dan (DgP 1385).

The DB form of Thorganby in Y contains the pers.n. *Turgis-* < *Þorgísl* q.v.

For *T-*, *Th-* for *Þ-* see §§ 111.112. For interchange of *u/o* see § 28. For *e* for *i* see § 19. Loss of *m* is probably due to scribal omission of a nasal stroke.

### \*Þórhefud

L. b) terram **Henrici Turhef**; **Turheued**; **Thurhef** (Navenby) c1230–45; [c1230–45] c1330; c1230–45 RA VII 2023; 2023, 2036; 2036. – **Roberto Turheued** abl., witness, c1245–55 RA VII 2037–42. – **Johanne Thurheued**, **Turheued** abl., witness, c1270, [c1270] c1330 RA VII 2044.

A hybrid name. First el. *Þór-*. Second el. OE *heafod* “head”. An Anglo-Scand formation.

For *T-*, *Th-* for *Þ-* see §§ 111.112. For interchange of *u/o* see § 28. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96.

### Þórhíldr, -hílda fem.

Y. a) in **Durildewelle(ker)** c1205 (f.n. in Kirkburton, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 247.

First el. *Þór-*. Second el. *-híldr*. Several instances are recorded in Icel from early times and this would seem to indicate that the name must also have been common in Norw before the settlement of Icel (Lind 1178). It is also recorded in Swed (Nord.Kult. VII 255) and Dan (DgP 1386).

*D-* probably represents earlier *Ð-* (see § 113). For *u* for *ó* see § 28. For loss of *h* see § 140iv.

### Þórir, Þóri

L. a) in **Thuorstorp** DB 25/24, **T(h)orestorp(a)** 12th (Thoresthorpe, Calcewath W) Bower 152. – in **Toresbi** DB 4/24, 12/38, 25/12, 27/16, 44/6, **Toresbi** LiS 8/14 (N Thoresby, Haverstoe W). – in **Toresbi** DB 13/3 (S Thoresby, Calcewath W). – in **Toreswe** DB 14/14, 27/10, **Toresweia**, **Toreweia** LiS 17/4.16 (Thoresway, Walshcroft W). – in **Thorwde** 12th (f.n. in Roughton, Horncastle W) Bower 515. – in **Toresby** 1256, **Thoreby** 1281, **Thorisby** 1292 (Thoresby, Bolingbroke W) Bower 131. – in **Thoresbek** 1327 (f.n. in Gainsborough, Corringham W) Bower 558.

b) **Tori** son of **Rold** TRE DB p.13. – **Tori** TRE DB 3/51, 7/54, 18/24,

31/1.3 (bis) 5.7, **Thori** (gen.) 72/55.56, acc. 72/55. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Tori** (Toresbia) 1142 NthCh 3. – **Thori magister de Grenefeld**, magistro **Thori H<sub>2</sub>**, witness, 1.12th Dane 125, 137, **Thori prior de Grenefeld H<sub>2</sub>** Dane 143. – **Thori canonicus de Sticheswald, Rumfarus de Lincolnia frater Thori canonici**, witnesses, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 124, 122, **Tori canonicus**, witness, 1172, c1172–80 Dane 379–81. – **Thori carpentario**, witness, 1.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 192–93, **Tori carpentarius** [c1160] 13th FP 32. – **Thori** (Bolingbroke W) 1185 Templ 108. – **Peter Thore**, fined in Lincoln 1191, Hill 397. – **William f. Thori** (Lutton) [1186] c1300 FP 214. – **Reinaldo f. Tori, Reginaldi f. Thori**, witness, 1.12th Dane 195, 197. – **Thori** nom. and gen. (Rowston) [c1200] 1407 GH 10 p.80. – **Roberto f. Tori**, witness, c1200 Dane 493. – **Robertus f. Tori**, witness, c1200 Dane 201. – **Willelmi f. Thori** 1202 Ass 480. – **Thori de Cuningesbi** 1202 Ass 487, **Robert f. Thori de C.** [e.13th] 13th FP 42. – **Alexander f. Tory** 1202 Ass 981. – **Robertum f. Thori** (Doddington) 13/10 1208 FF 245. – **Philippus f. Henrici f., Johannes f. Henrici f. Thure de Timberlund'** 1215–20, c1230–40 RA VII 1999–2000, **Henricus f. Thore** [e.13th] 1407 GH 3 p.75, **Henry son of Thure** 1226 FFM 191. – **Thori** (Burton, sic for Roughton) [e.13th] RA VI 1926. – **Hugonem f. Thory** (Tetney) 25/11 1218 AssSel 102. – **Robertus f. Thori** (Wildmore) 25/6 1219 AssSel 792. – **Emma que fuit uxor Johannis f. Thore** 1254–58, **Johanne f. Thore**, witness, c1260 RA II 591–92. – **Thorius son of Augustine** (Sutton) 1263 FFF 191, **Thorius Burdun of Sutton** 1263 FFF 195, **Peter son of Thorius** (Sutton) 1263 FFF 207, **Geoffrey son of Thorus** 1263 FFF 220. – **Torius de Drava** 1263 FFF 195.

Y. a) in **Toresbi DB** (Thoresby, Hang W W, N) PNYN 266. – in **Tvr-, Torbar DB** (Torbar hundred (lost), Dickering W, E) PNYE 86. – in **Toreshou DB** (Toreshou hundred (lost), Buckrose W, E) PNYE 120. – in **Toresbi DB** 325v, 381r (lost, ? in Newton-on-Ouse, Bulmer W, N). – in **Thurshou** 12th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Thorescroft** 12th (f.n. in Conistone, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 88. – in **Thorecros** 1173–85, **Thorescros** c1142 etc. (Thruscross, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 126. – in **Thurs(e)gayle** 1191–1210 (Thruslane, st.n. in Yk) PNYE 299. – in **Thur-, Thorheng'** 12th–13th (f.n. in Sawley, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 184. – in **Thorescroft** 1200–10 (f.n. in Flasby, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 52. – in **Thursmare** 1227 (f.n.) PNYE 328. – in **Thoririding** c1230 (f.n. in Gt Ribston, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 22. – in **Tursebrig** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Thuresden** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Thorsbehc** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Thoresdale** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Thoressete** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Thorgrim** 13th, **Thoregrine** 1280 (Fore Grums,

f.n. in Stainforth, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 156. – in Thurscroft 1319 (Thurcroft, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 142. – in Thuresgylle c1540 (Thorsgill Beck, a tributary of the Tees) Ekwall River-Names 171. – in Torsyd(e) 1581 (Tosside, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 182. – in Torrisholme 1692 (f.n. in Horton-in-Ribblesdale, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 225.

b) Grunekell f. Thorin (Gunby) [1066–69] 13th–14th Selby 706. – Tori TRE DB 312r, 326r. – Thori de Otringham [1154–63] 14th YCh 3. 1368. – Thoro de Steinbrun abl., witness, [c1170–90] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1870, ? grandfather of Willelmus clericus de Stainburne f. W. f. Thore de Ottelai [1180–1203] 15th YCh 3. 1869. – Robertus f. Thore de Liverseg, witness, [1195–1211] 15th YCh 3. 1706. – Alan son of Thore c1208 AssC 35. – Ricardum f. Thore (Farnley) 1218–19 AssSel 203. – Thore prepositum de Elmshal' 1218–19 AssSel 563.

*Þórir* is either a compound-name with first el. *Þór-* and second el. *-vér* (Nord.Kult.VII 95) or a formation in *-ir* from *Þórr* (ib. 95, 118). *Þóri* is either a secondary formation from *Þórir* with change from *ia-* to *an-* stem (BrNGG § 435.3) or a short form of names in *Þór-* (Nord.Kult.VII 191, 208, 241, 245). *Þórir* is one of the commonest names in Norw and Icel (Lind 1180–82). It is also common in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 266; SRU nr 726) and recorded in Dan (Jacobsen-Moltke 728; DgP 1387–88, 1440). *Þóri* is not recorded in WScand but is common in Swed and Dan as *Thori, Thuri* (DgP 1386–87, 1436–39; B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg på -by 36–37; Lundgren-Brate 266). The names, or at least one of the two, are found in p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 162).

It is possible that some of the p.ns. contain the name of the god *Þórr* or, more likely, the Anglo-Scand pers.n. *Þórr* q.v. First els. of p.ns. such as *Turse-*, *Thurs-* may alternatively contain Scand *þurs* “giant” (PNEI ii 217).

For *T-*, *Th-* for *Þ-* see §§ 111.112. For interchange of *o/u* see § 28.

### Porketill

L. b) Turchil TRE DB 2/32.33, 12/90, 26/27.40, 27/40.51.53, Torchetel 27/15, Torchil 72/34. – Torchil tagnus regis 1086 DB 67/12. – Turche abl., witness, c1150 Dane 307. – Thurchil gen. (Keddington) [e.H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 7 p.105. – Robertus f. Turketin (Norton Disney) c1160–66, c1150 Dane 240, 307. – Turkellum f. Radulfi de Lucebi acc., Turkellus, serf of Walterus Bec, H<sub>2</sub> RA II 496. – Gileberto f. Turkil, witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 290. – Thurkillo abl., witness, [1.12th] 1409 GH 14 p.110. – Turkillum Ruffum (Pinchbeck) 1202 Ass 375. – Turkil f. Willelmi, Turkil gen. 1202 Ass

716, 1042. – **Gaufridum f. Turkil** 1202 Ass 901. – **Turkil frater eius** (Walterus f. Ywini) 1202 Ass 908a. – **Ricardum f. Turkill'** 1206 Ass 1390. – **Robertum f. Turkill'** 1206 Ass 1432. – **terram Turkill' de Sezeby** 14/5 1209 FF 300. – **Turkill(us) Herre** (Aylesby) 1212 FFF 305 and FFBB 168. Y. a) in **Turchilebi DB, Thurkillebi, -by** 1202 (Thirleby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 189. – in **Torchilebi DB, Thorkelby** 1285 (Thirleby, Holderness W, E) PNYE 51. – in **Turgislebi DB, Thurkelby** 1216–56 (Thirleby, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 125. – in **Turkylholm** 12th (f.n.) PNYE 325. – in **Turkilwate** e.13th (f.n. in Tockwith, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 252. – in **Durkil-, Durkin-, Durkelrigmure** 1220–60 (f.n. in Sedburgh, Ewcross W, W) PNYW 6. 272. – in **Thurkilbergh** 1241 (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Thurkelandes** 13th (f.n. in Oxton, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 239. – in **Thurkelheued** 1329 (f.n. in Hemsworth, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 267. b) **Durkitel, Thurkytel minister** [958] 14th, [959] 12th YCh 1. 3,4. – **Purcyl, Purcil**, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8,8n. – **Porcotel Unbainas(una) fester-** **man** [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9, possibly identical with **Turchil TRE DB 321v** (bis), 329v, gen. 373v, **Torchil 322r, 329v**, gen. 373v, **Torchel** gen. 373v. – **Torchil TRE DB 298v, Turchil 303v, 379r**, gen. 298r (bis). – **Turchil TRE DB 300v**, gen. 373r. – **Torchil TRE DB 301r, Turchil** gen. 373r. – **Torchil TRE DB 310r** (bis), 310v, 311v, 312r (bis), 312v (bis), 313r (bis), **Turchil 311r, 311v, Torchil TRE and 1086 311v**. – **Torchil TRE DB 324r** (3 times), 324v (3 times). – **Turchil TRE DB 299v, 300r, 301r, 306v** (4 times), 328r, 330v, **Torchil 300r, 300v** (3 times), 301r, 301v (bis), 306r (4 times), 306v (3 times), 307r (4 times), 308r, 326v, 327v, 328r, 331v, **Turchel 306r, Torchil tegnus regis TRE and 1086 330v, Turchil tegnus regis TRE and 1086 330v, 1086 330v**. Not certain to how many individuals the DB instances refer. – **Thorkil, Thurkil f. Thoraldi** (Little Smeaton, Thornton-le-Beans) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931. – **Arkil, Askil f. Thurkilli, Thurkil** (Newsham, Ellerbeck) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931. – **Turkil f. Quenilde** (Lazenby) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931. – **Turkillus presbiter, witness**, [1122–c30] 14th YCh 1. 637. – **Turkillus de Danecastria, Turkillum** acc. [1159–63] l.13th YCh 2. 1005. – **Turc[hetillus] dapifer archiepiscopi, Thurkillo dapifero**, witness, [1154–60] 13th, [c1160–70] l.12th YCh 2. 880, 710. – **terram Turkilli** (York) [c1165] 14th–15th YCh 1. 328. – **Thurkillo, Turkillo de Tunstal** abl., witness [1173–81] l.12th YCh 4. 91; 92,94. – **Turkillus et heredes ejus, Turkilli de Bretgate** gen. [1179–86] 14th YCh 2. 840, **Thurchil de Breteg'**, witness, [1182–89] 15th YCh 11. 281. – **Alano f. Turkilli**, witness, [1190–1201] 17th YCh 9. 26, 113. – **Stephanus f. Thorke** (Copmanthorpe) [c1190–1210] 17th YCh 1. 554. – **Willelmo Turkyll** abl., witness, [c1198–1212] 14th–15th YCh 1. 258. –

magistro **Waltero Turkilli**, **Turkill**, **Thurkill** witness, [1203–c12] 14th–15th, [c1198–1212] 14th–15th, [1200–15] 14th–15th YCh 1. 257, 258, 207. – crofto **Turkilli** (N Dalton) 1202 FFBb 44. – **Henricus f. Thurkilli** (Huggate) also witness [1203–04] 14th YCh 2. 1261. – **Elyas son of Thurkel** (Siwardthorp) 1226 FFP 70. – **William and Thomas Turkyl** (Skirpenbeck) FFP 126. – **Willelmus Thurkill** (Easby) [1286–87] e.15th KI 172. – **Willelmus f. Thurkilli** (Suthbeck') [?] 13th] 13th–14th Selby 947.

First el. *Þór-*. Second el. *-ketill*. Very common in the forms *Þorkell*, *Þorkell* in both Norw and Icel throughout the whole medieval period (Lind 1184–87). Also common in Swed as *Thorkil*, *Thørkel*, *Thyrkil* (SRU nr 653; Lundgren-Brate 270–71) and Dan as *þurkil* in runic inscriptions and elsewhere as *Thorkil*, *Thurkil*, *Thyrkil*, *Thørkil* (DgP 1389–95). Common in Normandy before 1066 as *Tur-*, *Torketil* etc. and also found in p.ns. there in both full and shortened forms (Adigard 164–65).

The DB form of Thirkleby in Buckrose W contains the pers.n. *Þorgisl* q.v.

For *T-*, *Th-*, *D-* for *Þ-* see §§ 111.112.113. *D-* probably represents older *Ð-*. For interchange of *u/o* see § 28. For *ch,c* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For *y* for *i* see § 22. For loss of final *l* see § 71. For forms in *-ketin* see § 153.

#### Porlaug fem.

Y. b) **Turloga** TRE DB 300v.

First el. *Þór-*. Second el. *-laug*. Several instances are recorded in Icel but after the time of the settlement of Icel the name does not reappear in Norw until the 15th cent (Lind 1190–91). A few instances are recorded in Swed as *Thorløgh* (Lundgren-Brate 271).

For *T-* for *Þ-* see § 111. For *u* for *ó* see § 28. For *o* for *au* see § 47.

#### Þormóðr

Y. a) in **Turmoz-**, **Tormozbi** DB, **T'modesbi** 1167 (Thormanby, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 26. – in **Turmoz-**, **Tormozbi(a)** DB, **Thormodby** 1175–1200 (Thornaby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 172.

b) **Durmod** minister, witness, [958] 14th YCh 1. 3. – **Tormord** TRE DB 306 r. – tofto **Ricardi f. Thormod** [1175–1203] 15th YCh 2. 797.

First el. *Þór-*. Second el. *-móðr*. Common in both Norw and Icel (Lind 1198–1200). Also recorded in Swed (Ingvar Fredriksson Svenska Personnamnsstudier, Uppsala 1961, 200–04) and Dan (DgP 1398–99). Found in Normandy both independently and in p.ns. (Adigard 167).

For *T-*, *Th-*, *D-* for *Þ-* see §§ 111.112.113. For interchange of *o/u* see § 28. For *d* for final *ð* see § 116. For *z* for *ts* < *ds* see §§ 105.107. For exrescent *r* in *Tormord* see § 78.

**Pormundr**

L. a) in **Thormundholm** [H<sub>2</sub>] 1200 (f.n. in Benniworth, Louthesk W) Bower 535.

Y. a) in **Thormundwell** 14th (f.n. in Maltby, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 137.

First el. *Pór-*. Second el. *-mundr*. Probably an EScand name. It is rare in Swed (SRU nr 1010; Lundgren-Brate 271) but a number of instances are recorded in Dan, including *þurmutr* in a runic inscription from the early Viking period (Jacobsen-Moltke 728; DgP 1399). Not found in WScand until the 16th cent (Lind 1200).

For *Th-* for *P-* see § 111.

**Porn**

Y. b) **Torn** TRE DB 306r, 323r, gen. 373v. – **Crinan f. Thorne** (Over Dinsdale) [1100–c15] 12th YCh 2. 931.

Either an orig by.n. “thorn” or a short form of names in *-þorn* (DgP 1399). A number of instances are recorded in Dan (ib.).

The forms in Y may alternatively represent an OE *\*Porn*.

For *T-*, *Th-* for *P-* see §§ 111.112.

**\*Pornoddr**

L. b) **Lecia que fuit uxor Alani f. Thoronod’, Thurnod** (Owersby) 1219 AssSel 663, 844.

First el. *Porn-*. Second el. *-oddr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *Th-* for *P-* see § 111. For interchange of *o/u* see § 24. For the svarabhakti vowel see § 63. For *d* for *dd* see § 143.

**\*Pornulfr**

Y. b) **Turnolfi f. Ing’** gen. (Branton Green) 1202 FFBb 74.

First el. *Porn-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *T-* for *P-* see § 112. For *u* for *o* see § 24. For interchange of *u/o* in the second el. see § 32.

**Póroddr**

Y. a) ? in **Thorodwells** 1699 (Thurwood Wells, f.n. in Horbury, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 153.

First el. *Pór-*. Second el. *-oddr*. Common in Icel but less so in Norw (Lind 1202–04). Not recorded in EScand.

For *Th-* for *P-* see § 111. For *d* for *dd* see § 143.

**Póroormr**

Y. b) ? **Tuorne TRE DB 320v.**

First el. *Pór-*. Second el. *-ormr*. A few instances are recorded in WScand (Nord.Kult.VII 110).

The DB form may alternatively represent *Póarna* q.v.

For *T-* for *P-* see § 112. For *u* for *ó* see § 28. For *n* for *m* see § 81. For final supporting *e* see § 66.

**\*Porstacius**

L. b) ? **Thorstacius de Hotham**, witness, [l.H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 4 p.2.

A hybrid name? First el. *Pór-*. For second el. cf. e.g. *Eustacius*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

It is probable that the form *Thorstacius* is simply a scribal error for *Thorstanus*. Cf. below s.v. *Porsteinn Torstanus de Hotham* [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 16 p.8.

For *Th-* for *P-* see § 111.

**Porsteinn**

L. a) in **Thursteindeile** 12th (f.n. in Hackthorn, Aslacoë W) Bower 547. – in **Thorsteingraues** [H<sub>2</sub>] 1200 (f.n. in Benniworth, Louthesk W) Bower 535. – in **Turstaneswell** 1211 (f.n. in Waddingham, Manley W) Bower 577. – in **Thorstanflet** 13th (f.n.) Lindkvist 96.

b) **Turstin**, the bishop of Durham's man, 1086 DB 3/20.27.48. – **Turstin**, Ernegis' man, 1086 DB 34/3.8. – **Turstanus** presbiter, witness, [1147–66] 1409 GH 2 p.40. – **Turstanus** prior (Kirkstead Abbey), witness, ante 1158 Dane 158. – **terram Turstani** (Barnetby-le-Wold) c1160 Dane 245. – **Ricardo f. Turstani Caus**, witness, e.H<sub>2</sub> RA VIII 2258. – **Turstanus, Torstanus, Thurstanus Banastre** (Owersby) [c1160] c1225, [ante 1168] c1225, [c1200] c1330 RA IV 1296–97, 1299, **Turstanus Bastardus** e.13th RA IV 1302. – **Torstanus de Hotham**, witness [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 16 p.8. – **Torstanus**, brother of Robertus and Hugo, sons of Alanus, witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 16 p.8. – **Simone f. Turstani**, witness, c1180 Dane 160. – **Turstano fratre eius** (Robertus de Benigtun), witness, l.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 102. – **Warner son of Turstin**, bailiff of Lincoln, 1175–77 Hill 379. – **Turstanus** (Ringston) 1185 Templ 97. – **Turstanus frater eius** (Radulfus) (Timberland) 1185 Templ 85. – **Radulfus f. Torstan** (Temple Bruer) 1185 Templ 94. – **Petro f. Turstani**, witness, c1190 RA IV 1124. – **Turstani Albi gen.** (Glentham) [c1190] 13th RA IV 1114–15. – **Turstano f. Wlwini**, witness, c1190–95 Dane 449. – **Torstano capellano**, witness, [l.12th] 1409 GH 61 p.34. – **Turstino, Turstano de Suabi abl.** l.12th Dane 129, 135; 134, 136. – **Turstano, Tosteno**

**Bodin** abl. (Stamford) 1.12th, 1180–1200 Dane 441, 448. – **Turstanus de Caluetuna**, witness, 1.12th Dane 437. – **Ade f. Thurstani presbiteri** (Corringham) [c1200] 13th RA IV 1106. – **Thorstani f. Stauenilde, Torstani** (N Cadeby) [c1200] c1330, c1200 RA IV 1435–36. – **Turstanus f. Ywein** 1202 Ass 392 and Civil Pleas 241, **Thurstanus f. Y., Thurstanum, Thurstano** (Leake) 13/7 1202 FF 140. – **Willelmum f. Thurstan', Torstan'** (Timberland) 6/7 1202, 18/11 1208 FF 89, 283. – **Yuonem f. Turstani** 1202 Ass 385. – **Hawisa filia Turstani** 1202 Ass 690 and Crown Pleas 32. – **Osbertum f. Turstani** 1206 Ass 1316. – **Turstano fratre Reginaldo Puinhard'** 1206 Ass 1511. – **Alicia que fuit uxor Turstani** (Rippingale) 7/1 1219 AssSel 249. – **Thurstan le Despenser** (Dover Beck) 1219 FFM 129. – **toftum Rogeri Thurstan'** (Nettleham) 1229 RA II 618. – **William son of Thurstan** 1257 FFF 285. – **Thorstano de Ballio Linc' abl., witness**, 1262–65 RA VIII 2327. – **Ricardum Thurstan [de Rysyngton']** 1298 AssTh 41. – **Willelmus Thurstan de Rysyngton', juror**, 1298 AssTh 41, 43.

Y. a) in **Tostenland DB, Turstain(e)land(a)** 1184–91 etc. (Thurstonland, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 251. – in **T'stanebi** 1167, **Thurstanby** 1276 (Throxenby, Pickering Lythe W, N) PNYN 110. – in **Thurstaneng'** 13th (f.n. in Hemingbrough, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 257. – in **Thurstanland** 13th (f.n. in Hemingbrough, W of Ouse and Derwent, E) PNYE 257. – in **Thurstanridinc** 1260 (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 192. – in **Thurstanhaye** 1274 (Thurstonhaugh (lost), Sandal Magna, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 108. – in **Thurstanschaghe, Thorstanschaye** 1292 (Thurstonshaw (lost), Barwick-in-Elmet, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 109. – in **Thurstanflat** 1428 (f.n.) PNYE 322. – ? in **Frostin acre** 1596 (Frosten Wells, f.n. in Ecclesfield, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 253. – in **Thurstones** 1734 (Thurstons, Saddleworth, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 317. – in **Thurston Clough** 1736 (in Saddleworth, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 317.

b) **Turstan TRE DB 300v, Tursten gen. 373r.** – **Turstan TRE DB 318r, 320v, 324v, Turstane gen. 374r.** Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Tursten** 1086 DB 315v. – **Turstin' Drogo's man**, 1086 DB 324v. – **Tursten, Ernegis' man**, 1086 DB 328v. – **Thurstinum capellanum** [1102–07] 14th YCh 1. 129, **Turstein, Ðurstan, Turstane dat.** [1114], [1119]; [1123]; [1114] ASC E; ASC E; ASC H, **Thurstinus Turstinus archiepiscopus** [1114–40] originals and copies 14th–15th YCh 1. 19–20, 26–27, 61–62, RA I 20, T. de Bayeux, the king's chaplain, a canon of St. Paul's, nominated archbishop of York in 1114, consecrated 1119, died 1140. The number of instances of his name in 12th-cent sources is so great that only a selection has been given here. – **Turstini de Lumby gen.**



[1109-12] 13th-14th YCh 1. 43. - **Turstinus** archidiaconus witness, 1115-28 YCh 1. 95, **Thurstan**, witness, c1130 EHD II 963; **Turstino**, **Turstano** dat. [1123-33] 13th and c1320 RA I 20, **Turstino** abl., witness, [1125-35] ? YCh 1. 357. - **Turstino** aurifabro, aurifice, witness, [c1121-30] 14th, [c1121-37] 14th YCh 5. 128, 4. 105. - **Turstinus**, witness, [1122-c30] 14th YCh 1. 637. - **Turstinus** prepositus ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Beverlaco, **Turstino** abl. and dat. [c1135-47] ?, 1144-46, [1144-46] 1417, [1141-42] e.14th YCh 1. 104, 105-07, 152. - **Turstinus de Mundeford**, **de Munfort**, **de Acclum**, dapifer domini archiepiscopi, **Turstanus**, **Turstini**, **Thurstani** gen., **Turstino** dat., **Turstino** abl. [c1142-86] originals and transcripts from 1.12th-14th YCh 2. 673, 747, 1045, 1048, 3. 1825, 9. 17, 118, 125, RBE 420; father of Juliana. - **Osberto f. Turstini**, witness, 1147-53, [c1160-65] 14th YCh 6. 86, 2. 749. - **Turstino [filio] Langus**, brother of Robert, witness, [1148-56] 14th-15th YCh 2. 1124. - **Torstinus Aguilon**, witness, **Turstino** abl., witness, [1160-80] 17th, [c1148-54] 17th YCh 2. 1035, 1037. - **Turstino de Garton** abl., witness, [c1150-70] ? YCh 1. 546. - **Rogero f. Turstani**, witness, [1155] 17th YCh 3. 1769. - **Turstini** presbiteri (Belhagh) [1154-60] YCh 2. 1118. - **Turstino** parmentario, witness, c1155-80 YCh 2. 1029. - **Turstinus f. Petri de Touleston'**, witness, [l.H<sub>2</sub>] 15th YCh 11. 209, **Turstano** fratre suo (Hugone de Toulestun) [c1156-70] 15th YCh 11. 208. - **Johanni f., Adam f. Turstini** monatarii [1160-75] 14th-15th YCh 1. 334. - **Turstino f. Radulfi** abl., witness, [1160-76] 1640 YCh 2. 1174. - **Turstinus de Baius**, witness, [c1170-84] 17th YCh 7. 87, **Turstino de Baius, f. Osberti** archidiaconi, abl., witness, [c1160-80] 15th YCh 11. 280. - **Turstino** clerico, witness [1160-80] 14th-15th; [c1175-85] 14th-15th YCh 3. 1609; 2. 1066, 3. 1563-64, **Thurstino** abl., witness, [1180-1200] 14th-15th YCh 2. 915, **Turstinus**, witness, [1174-c95] 17th YCh 2. 678. - **Turstinus f. Roberti de Wagna** [c1160-80] 15th YCh 11. 279, **Turstinus** clericus de Waghena, witness, [1182-89] 15th YCh 11. 281. - **Turstinus de Dudhum** [1160-82] 14th YCh 1. 235. - **Turstanus de Lechamtone** [1166] 13th, YCh 1. 38 and RBE 415. - **Turstinus de Croftun**, witness, [1166] 17th YCh 2. 718. - **Turstinus**, witness, [1165-75] 14th-15th YCh 3. 1566. - **Thurstino f. Willelmi** abl., witness, [c1165-80] 14th YCh 2. 683. - **Turstanus, Turstinus de Arches, Turstani, Turstini** gen., **Turstino** dat. and abl. [c1164-1200] 15th YCh 1. 78, 7. 85, 11. 24, 38, 128, 129-30, 138-40, 231; his son Wielinus. - **Thurstano Broc'** abl., witness, [1165-79] ? YCh 3. 1400. - **Robertus f. [T]hurstani** [1166-80] 13th YCh 2. 1042. - **Willelmo f. Thurst'**, witness, [l.H<sub>2</sub> ante 1182] 1640 BS 520. - **Turstinus f. Bernardi de Caluctona** l.H<sub>2</sub> YCh 9. 77. - **Ricardus f. Turstini, Thurstini de Normanebi** [1170-80] 1.12th, [1175-85] 1.12th YCh 2. 739, 743. - **Turstino** monacho de

**Begh[anda]** [c1170–81] m.13th YCh 11. 227. – **Willelmo f. Turstani** (Bolton-by-Bowland) [c1170–91] 14th YCh 11. 110. – **Turstino de Apelt[ona]** abl., witness, [1170–75] 14th YCh 5. 137. – **Alexandro f. Thurstani de Aceles**, witness, [1170–85] 14th–15th YCh 2. 904. – **Turstino (et Galfrido) de Upsale**, abl., witness, [c1170–95] 1.13th YCh 2. 758. – **Turstino abbate de Geroldonia**, witness, [c1173–74] 1.12th YCh 4. 92. – **Turstanus de Sutona** abl., witness, [1174–77] m.13th YCh 3. 1774. – **Turstani de Neuton** gen. [c1174–84] 14th YCh 5. 330. – **Turstino sacerdote de Lokyngton'**, witness, c1175–83 YCh 2. 1116. – **Torstanus capellanus de Cothigham** 1175–84 YCh 1. 48. – **Thurstanus Galien** abl., witness, 1175–86 YCh 3. 1808. – **Thurstanus de Bergabi** abl., witness, [1178–c90] 1.12th, [1185–96] 17th YCh 2. 665, 773, **Turstani de B.** gen. [1200–01] ? YCh 9. 13. – **Ricardum f. Turstani**, brother of John and Thomas, [1180–90] 17th YCh 1. 495. – **toftum Turstini** (Kirby Grindalythe) [1180–90] 17th YCh 2. 1078. – **Turstinus ad fontem** (Yarnwick) [1184–98] 15th YCh 5. 336. – **Turstanus Lauardus**, **Turstani** gen. (Cliff) 1185 Templ 126. – **Turstanus** (Kirklington) 1185 Templ 121. – **Turstanus** (Cold Kirby) 1185 Templ 130. – **Willelmo f. Turstin**, witness, [1185–95] 14th YCh 2. 808. – **Rogerus f. Turstani de Kyrkeby** [1190–1200] 17th YCh 2. 1083. – **Ricardus f. Turstini canonici** 1191–1207 YCh 1. 125, **Turstino** abl. witness, [c1193–1205] 17th YCh 2. 1079. – **Thoma f. Turstani** 1200 Pleas 3139. – **Thurstanus f. Haldani** (Mickleton) 1202 FFBb 50. – **Turstanus f. Besing'** de Hudeswell, **Turstanus** acc. 1202 FFBb 67. – **Leticia**, who was the wife of **Thurstan** (Cave) 1203–04 AssC 23. – **Turstanus de Dauton'** abl. 1208 FFBb 138. – **Thurston**, **Thurstan** son of **James** c1208 AssC 30, **Turstanus f. Jacobi** 1218–19 AssSel 901. – **Turstinus de Mideherst**, **Turstini** gen. [e.13th] 1311 YCh 6. 35. – **Ailmar de Swinton'** auunculus **Simonis f. Thurstani** 1218–19 AssSel 337. – **Rogerum f. Turstan'** de Methelton' 1218–19 AssSel 863. – **Turstanus de Touleton'** [militē] 1218–19 AssSel 505. – **Turstanus de Matham** 1218–19 AssSel 114. – **Turstan'** de Merston' gen. 1218–19 AssSel 557. – **Turstanus de Baynton'** 1218–19 AssSel 71. – **Thurstan of Hendernes** 1226 FFP 79. – **terram Thurestan de Seleby** [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 215. – **Turstanus** [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 223. – **terram Martini f. Thurstani** (Langley in Brayton) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 358–59.

First el. *Þór*. Second el. *-steinn*. Very common in both Norw and Icel throughout the medieval period (Lind 1207–11). Also common in Swed (SRU nr 843; Lundgren-Brate 272–73) and Dan, including runic *þurstin* acc. (DgP 1400–06). It is the most common name of Scand origin in Normandy (Adigard 168–69) and it is likely that many of the men in L and Y bearing this name, particularly in the form *Turstin*, are Normans or of Norman descent.

For *T-*, *Th-*, *Ð-* for *P* see §§ 110.111.112. For interchange of *o/u* see § 28. For *s* for *rs* see § 76. For *ai*, *e*, *i*, *a* for *ei* see §§ 49.50.51.52.

### **Pórufr**

L. a) in **Turolve-**, **Turolf-**, **Turoluebi** DB (Thurlby, Ness W) 8/4.39; 27/52; 59/8. – in **Turolf-**, **Turolf-**, **Turolue-**, **Turoluesbi** DB (Thurlby, Graffoe W) 48/14; 56/15; 72/25; 72/26. – in **Turoluesbi** DB (Thurlby-in-Bilsby, Calcewath W) 13/8. – in **Torp** DB 24/6.7, 68/27, LiS 3/4. **Turuluestorp** LiS 3/19 (Thorpe-in-the-Fallows, Lawress W).

b) **Turolf** TRE DB 4/61, 26/4.16, **Turolf** 32/12, 69/13, **Turol** 14/91. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer.

Y. a) in **Purulfestune** [972] 11th, **Turulfes-**, **Turoluestorp** DB (Tholthorpe, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 21. – in **Turulfestune**, **Turolueston** DB (Thurlstone, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 339.

b) **Turolf** TRE DB 300r, **Turolf** 300v, **Turolf** 301r, **Turolf** 302r, gen. 373r. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Simon f. Thorolf'** (Laytham) 1218–19 AssSel 426.

First el. *Pór-*. Second el. *-ulfr*. Common in Icel, where it is borne by several of the orig settlers and their sons, but rare in Norw (Lind 1204–05). Also recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 273) and in two Dan runic inscriptions (*þurlf*, *þurulfs* both nom.) (Jacobsen-Moltke 729; DgP 1414). Note, however, that the syncopated form *Pólfr* q.v. is more common in EScand. The name occurs fairly frequently in Normandy (Adigard 170–71).

For *T-*, *Th-* for *P-* see §§ 111.112. For interchange of *u/o* in the first and second els. see §§ 28.32 respectively. For *v,u* for medial *f* see § 96. For loss of final *f* see § 100.

### **Þorvarðr**

L. b) **Toruard Cappe** (Barrow-on-Humber) 27/11 1203 FF 177. – **Thoruard'** prepositus (Barrow-on-Humber) 27/11 1203 FF 177.

Y. b) **Thuruartho clerico de Aldeburga et Alano f. ejus** [1150–70] ? YCh 3. 1395.

First el. *Þór-*. Second el. *-varðr*. Common in Icel throughout the medieval period but rare in Norw until c1300 (Lind 1214–16). A few instances are recorded in Dan from the 13th cent onwards (DgP 1415).

For *T-*, *Th-* for *P-* see §§ 111.112. For interchange of *o/u* see § 28. For *u* for *v* see § 67. For *d,th* for final *ð* see §§ 116.118.

### **\*Þorwif fem.**

Y. b) **Lewinus f. Turwif**, **Turewif**, **Thurgawif**, **Thuruif** [1155–65] 14th–15th, [1164–78] 14th–15th, [1161–84] 14th, [1140–55] 14th YCh 2. 981, 1254, 1. 210, 606, **L. f. Thurwyf** [1160–78] 14th, YCh 1. 234, **Hugoni f.**

**Lefwyni f. Thorewyf, Thorewif** [1170–85] 14th [1183–86] 14th–15th YCh 1. 229, 238.

A hybrid name. First el. *Þór-*. Second el. OE *wīf* “woman, wife”. An Anglo-Scand formation.

For *T-*, *Th-* for *Þ-* see §§ 111.112. For interchange of *u/o* see § 28. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

#### \**Þrylli*

Y. a) in **Trillebi(a), Trylleby** 1189, 1248 etc., **Thrilleby** 1273 (Thirlby, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 199.

Perhaps a diminutive of names in *Þryð-* (e.g. *Þryðrikr*) (Smith PNYN 199). An Anglo-Scand formation?

Ekwall prefers to interpret the p.n. as “by of the thralls”.

For *T-*, *Th-* for *Þ-* see §§ 111.112. For *i* for *y* see § 38.

#### *Þúfa fem.*

Y. a) in **Thuue-, Thufwath** 13th (Tewfit, Hang W W, N) PNYN 266.

An orig by.n. A single, probably fictional, instance is recorded in WScand (Lind 1226).

For *Th-* for *Þ-* see § 111. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For syncope of *e* < inflexional ending see §§ 58.62.

#### *Þumli, \*Þymill*

L. a) in **Stimble-, Stinblebi** DB 1/92, 30/18; 4/52, **Timlebi** LiS 19/4.7.8 (Thimbleby, Horncastle W).

Y. a) in **Timbelbi, Timbelli** sic DB, **thémelebi** 1088 (Thimbleby, Allerton W, N) PNYN 214. – in **aqua de Thymelbek** 1480 (in Rothwell, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 148.

*Þumli* is an orig by.n., cf. OIcel *þumall* “thumb”. It is recorded in WScand as a by.n. (Lind BN 410). *\*Þymill* is not recorded in Scand but would be an *i*-mutated form related to *Þumall*.

The p.ns. may alternatively contain an unrecorded OE pers.n. or by.n. *\*Þymel* “thumb-stall”.

For inorganic initial *S-* see § 124. For *T-*, *Th-* for *Þ-* see §§ 111.112. For *i*, *e*, for *y* see §§ 38.39. For *n* for *m* see § 81. For the insertion of *b* see § 83. For *e* for *i* see § 19.

#### *Þykk*

Y. a) in **Thikcroft** 13th (f.n. in Rawcliffe, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 25.

An orig. by.n., cf. OIcel *þykk* “thick” or *þykk* m. “thwack”. A couple of instances are recorded in WScand in the 13th and 14th cents (Lind

BN 411) and a few in Dan after c1300 (DgP II 1128 s.v. *Thiokk*).

The p.n. may alternatively contain OE *þicce* “thicket”.

For *Th-* for *þ-* see § 111. For *i* for *y* see § 38. For *k* for *kk* see § 143.

### Pyri fem.

L. b) ? toftum **Terri** (Glentworth) [1171–72] 1407, [1.12th] 1407 GH 19 p.85, 20 p.86.

Y. a) in **Tyrrehou** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Tirrerode** 1543 (f.n. in Barkisland, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 62.

First el. *þór-*. Second el. PrimScand *wīh* “battle”. A typically Dan name. Common in the whole of the land from early times onwards, including runic *þurui* acc. (Jacobsen-Moltke 729; DgP 1444–47). Also recorded in Swed, including runic *þurvi* (Lundgren-Brate 277) and WScand (Lind 1229).

The forms in L and Y may alternatively represent the OFr pers.n. *T(i)erri* < ContGerm *Theodric* (Feilitzen 383).

For *T-* for *þ-* see § 111. For *i,e* for *y* see §§ 38.39. For *rr* for *r* see § 142.

### Pyrnir

Y. a) ? in **Thirmethorn** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *þyrnir* “thorn-bush”. Fairly common in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 277–78) and some instances are recorded in Dan as *Thyrne* (DgP 1443–44).

It is more likely that the f.n. contains either OE *þyrne* or Scand *þyrnir* “thorn-bush” (PNEI ii 222).

For *Th-* for *þ-* see § 111. For *i* for *y* see § 38.

## U

### Ubbi

L. a) ? in **Opes-**, **Opetorp** DB 14/93, 24/31, **Ubetorp** 1204 FFM 63. **Obbethorp** 1292 BM (Obthorpe, Ness W).

A pet form of *Ulf* q.v. and possibly also a short form of names in *Ulf-* or *-ulfr* (Nord.Kult.VII 59). Some scholars, however, would derive the name from a root *\*ub* “unfriendly” or “great” (see references in DgP 1511). An EScand name. Fairly common in Swed (SRSö nr 255; Lundgren-Brate 182, 286) and common in Dan (DgP 1507–11). Its existence in Norw is deduced from p.n. evidence (Lind 1047).

The forms in the L p.n. may rather represent OE *Ubba*, *Uba* (Redin 111–12).

The DB forms are obscure. For *b* for *bb* see § 143.

### Úbcinn

L. a) in **Ubaine Bridge** c1163, **Umbayne Bridge** 1274 (f.n. in Conisholme, Louthesk W) Bower 520.

Y. b) **Porcetel Unbainasu[na]** festerman [c1050] ? l.111th YCh 1. 9.

An orig. by.n. “crooked” or “inhospitable”. An Anglo-Scand formation? Note, however, that this name is found in runes on a Dan coin from Lund (Jacobsen-Moltke 731).

*Un-*, *Um-* probably represent substitution of the OE negative prefix for Scand *Ū-*. For *ai, ay* for *ei* see § 49.

### Uggi

Y. a) in **Ug(h)etorp** DB, **Uggethorp(e)** 1161 etc. (Ugthorpe, Langbargh E W, N) PNYN 138. – in **Vg-**, **Ughil(l)** DB (Ughill, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 228.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *ugga* “to be afraid”. A single instance is recorded in WScand (Lind 1048). Its existence in Swed is deduced from p.n. evidence (Lundgren-Brate 287–88).

Ughill may rather contain the OE pers.n. *Ugga*.

For *V-* for *U-* see § 31. For *g* for *gg* see § 143 and for *gh* for *g* see § 133.

### Ugla

Y. a) in **Vgleford** 1109–19 (Ogleforth, York) PNYE 295.

An orig by.n. “owl”. It may be contained in some Norw p.n.s. (Lind BN 390) and is recorded in Swed and Dan (DgP II 1154–55).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the Scand bird-name *ugla* f. “owl”.

For *V-* for *U-* see § 31.

### \*Uglubárðr

Y. a) in **Ugleberdesbi** DB, **Ugel-**, **Uglebardeby** 1100–c15 etc. (Ugglebarnby, Whitby Strand W, N) PNYN 121.

b) **Vglebert** TRE DB 301r, **Vgelbert** 301r.

The pers.n. *Bárðr* q.v. with the gen. of *ugla* f. “owl” prefixed (Feilitzen 397) or an orig by.n. “owl-bearded” (Lindkvist lxii; Smith PNYN 121). An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *V-* for *U-* see § 31. For *e* for *a* see § 2. For *d, t* for final and medial *ð* see §§ 116.117 but forms in *-bert* probably show the influence of the ContGerm el. (Feilitzen 397).

## \*Ūhtbrandr

L. b) **Uctebrand** TRE DB 59/1.

A hybrid name. First el. OE *Ūht*-. Second el. *-brandr*. An Anglo-Scand formation (Feilitzen 398).

For *ct* for *ht* see Feilitzen § 141.

## Ūkyrri

Y. a) in **Ukerby** 1198 (Uckerby, Gilling E W, N) DEPN.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *úkyrr* “restless” and the by.n. *Kyrri* < *kyrr* “quiet” (Ekwall DEPN). An Anglo-Scand formation?

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. \**Ūtkári* q.v. (Ekwall loc.cit. and Smith PNYN 278).

For *e* for *y* see § 39. For *r* for *rr* see § 143.

## Ulfr

L. a) in **Ules-**, **Vlesbi** DB 40/22, 24/69; 69/14, **Ules-**, **Ulseby** LiS 15/10.13 (Ulceby, Calcewath W). – in **Ulues-**; **Ulves-**; **Uuesbi** DB 26/37.41; 67/22; 48/6 (Ouseby-in-Birthorpe, Aveland W). – in **Ulves-**; **Ulues-**, **Vluesbi** DB 7/22, 34/2, 68/39; 32/20; 70/4, **Ulesbi** LiS 11/8.9.15.16 (Ulceby nr Brigg, Yarborough W). – in **Ulnescroft** (sic for **Ulues-**) 1196 (f.n. in Burgh-le-Marsh, Candleshoe W) Bower 476. – in **Vlueswra** 1203 (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – in **Ulseberhes** 13th (f.n. in Mumby-cum-Chapel, Calcewath W) Bower 465. – in **Uluiscros** 1331 (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

b) **Ulf** ante 1066 Aldborough inscription Hofmann § 327. – **Vlf f. Suertebrand**, lageman in Lincoln, TRE DB p.2.1, p.4.12, **Sortebrand** loco **Vlf** patris sui 1086 DB p.2.2, **Sortebrand** f. **Ulf** LiS 3/20. – **Ulf** TRE DB 2/42, 30/6–8.20.36, **Wlf** 30/32, **Vlf Tope** sune abl. 1086 DB 72/10, **Vlf** (ond Madselin his gebedda) [1066–68] 12th ASWills XXXIX; brother of Halden, kinsman of Abbot Brand. – **Vlf** TRE DB p.13. – **Vlf** cilt TRE DB 51/7. – **Vlf** gen TRE DB p.2.6, **Vlf Fenisc** p.13, 72/44, **Vlf (F.)** 24/1.5.9.10.12.13.17.20.22.25.36.78.80.82, 42/14.15, 63/21, **Vlfenisc** 63/26, 71/16 d. – **Vlf de Ormesbi** TRE DB 70/27. – **Vlf** TRE DB 4/39, 6/1, 25/3, 32/1.32.34, 34/4, 63/12. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – **Vlbert frater Vlf** TRE and 1086 DB p.2.2. – **Vlfo** abl., witness, [1123–47] c1225 RA I 131. – **Vlphus**, witness, c1150 RA II 495. – **Ricardo f. Vlfi**, witness, c1160–70 RA VII 2065. – **William f. Ulf de Ywarbi** c1155 FP 187. – **Iuo f. Vlfi, Vlfus; Vlfus** (Nettleham) c1162–66; c1215 RA II 613–14; 617. – **Willelmus f. Hulf de Herdwic**, witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 60 p.34. – **Ricardum f. Ulf, Ulf de Ludford** [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409, [c1200] 1409 GH 15 p.7, 34 p.19. – **Margaret filia Roberti f. Ulf de Sutton** c1180–

90 FP 21. – **Gilberto f. Hulf**, witness, [1180–1200] 14th–15th RA IV 1198, **Gilberto f. Vlfi**, witness, [c1185] c1330 RA VIII 2259. – **Hulfo** sacerdote de Sancto Swithuno, witness, [c1183–89] 14th–15th, LH<sub>2</sub> RA IV 1201, Dane 426. – **Hulfus** (Metheringham) 1185 Templ 81, 84, **Robert f. Roberti f. Hulf de Methringham** [m.13th] 13th FP 198. – **Ulf de Hundegate**, fined in Lincoln 1191, Hill 397. – **Roberto f. Vlf**e, witness, [1196–1203] c1300 RA III 1094. – **Willelmo f. Vlf**. decano [1196–1203] c1225 RA IV 1118. – **William gener Ulf de Cunighesbi** [l.12th] 13th FP 44. – **Ulf f. Garuini** (Wigford) l.12th Dane 79. – **Ulf, Ulfo** stabulario l.12th Dane 434,436; 435. – **Ulf pater Ricardi** 1202 Ass 142, **Ricardum f. Ulfi** (Ludford) 11/6 1206 FF 208. – **Alexander f. Ulfi, Ulph'** 1202 Ass 798, 1051. – **Hamo f. Ulfi** (Barrow-on-Humber) 1203 Ass 1292. – **Rogerum f. Ulf** (Straton') 1206 Ass 1362. – **Hugone f. Vlf'**, witness, [1210–20] c1330 RA IV 1275–76. – **Hugo f. Wlfou** (Norton Disney) 1213–23 RA II 638. – **Ulf de Anderby** 3/7 1215 FF 337. – **Robertus f. Ulfi** (Tetney) 25/11 1218 AssSel 102. – **Galfridum f. Ulf** (Winterton) 25/6 1219, 6/7 1219 AssSel 813, 860. – **Hugo f. Ulf** (Caistor) 6/7 1219 AssSel 857. – **Hugone nepote Vlf** c1220 RA VIII 2308. – **Radulphi f. Hulf'** 1220–34 RotHug I 221. – **Richard f. Ulf de Sutton in Hoylond** [c1220] c1300 FP 221. – **Radulfi f. Vlsi** (sic for Vlfi) (Nettleham) [4/4 1233] 13th RA II 378. – **Vlf, Wlf'** (Newton-by-Toft) c1235–40, [1239–45] c1330 RA IV 1319–20. – **Wydo son of Ulf** 1248 FFF 48. – **Ulphus le Tippeler** 1256 FFF 150.

Y. a) in U-, V-, **Wluestun, -ton** DB (Oulston, Birdforth W, N) PNYN 192. – in **Ulvethorp** 1190–1215, **Hulvistorp** 13th (Ousethorpe, Harthill W, E) PNYE 181. – in **Olescel, Oleslec** DB, **Ulfskelf(f)** 1170–77 etc. (Ulleskelf, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 67. – in **Wl(f)uesdal(h)als** 12th (f.n. in Settle, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 154. – in **Vluerod** 1150–60 (f.n. in Adel, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 193. – in **Wolueshowe** 1158, **Ulveshowe** 1246 (Ulshaw Bridge, Hang W W, N) PNYN 249. – in **Uluisthorp R<sub>1</sub>** (Ulvesthorpe (lost), Pudsey, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 237. – in **Huluesweit** 1195 (f.n. in N Stainley, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 162. – in **Uluesgile** 1200–16 (f.n. in Flasby, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 53. – in **Ulvescroft** 1218 (f.n. in N Bierley, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 13. – in **Wluetueit** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Vlfesdale** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Vluesthorp** 13th (f.n.) PNYE 328. – in **Wlueshill** 13th (f.n. in Winterset, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 263. – in **Hulfridding'** 13th (f.n. in Selby, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 36. – in **Ulfridding** 13th (f.n. in Weardley, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 186. – in **Uluethayt, Uluwait** 13th, **Ulvesthawayt** 14th (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 192. – in **Ulvesdigck H<sub>3</sub>** (f.n. in Rimington, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 181. – in **Wolvecroft** c1297 (f.n. in Huddersfield, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 300.



b) **Styr f. Ulfi** (Normanby) [1002–16] ? YCh 2. 922–23. – **Ulf** festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9, terra **Vlf** (the constable) TRE DB 373v. – **Ulf** presbyter, festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9, possibly identical with **Vlf** TRE DB 306r, terra **Vlf** diaconi 373r, 374r. – **Vlf fenisc** TRE DB 298v. – terram **Norman f. Vlf**. TRE DB 373r. – terra **Archel f. Vlf** TRE DB 374r. – **Vlf** TRE DB 301r (4 times). – **Vlf** TRE DB 303r (8 times), gen. 373r. – **Vlf** TRE DB 309r (bis), **Uctred Ulfessuna** [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Vlf** TRE DB 324r (4 times). – **Vlf** TRE DB 324v, **Vlf** et fratris eius 374r. – **Vlf** 300r (3 times), 300v, 301r, 301v, 303r (7 times), 307r, 309r, 316v, 320v (bis), 321v, 322r, 324v (3 times), 326v, 331r, 332r (3 times), gen. 373r. Not certain to how many individuals the DB instances refer. – **Vluer** TRE DB 315r. – **Vlf** 1086.DB 33iv. – **Ulfus** presbiter et persona de **Adewic** [1120–30] m.13th YCh 3. 1663. – **Willelmo f. Ulfi**; **Willelmi Ulfi** (Grimthorpe etc.) c1120–29, [c1142–54] 15th–16th; [1158–72] 15th–16th YCh 1. 449–50; 451. W was dead ante 1130. – **Ulfo** presbitero, witness, [c1130–39] 14th YCh 2. 1222. – **Ulfus** presbiter de **Actun**, witness, [c1135–48] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1123. – **Aldredo Ulfi f. et Ranero** fratre suo, witness 1135–53 YCh 7. 12. – **Ulf de Erleshau**, abl., witness, [1135–53] 15th YCh 1. 64. – **Willelmus f. Wlfi** (Fulford) [c1150–61] 14th YCh 1. 325. – **Ulfo decano**, witness, [1152–53] 17th YCh 7. 15. – **Ulf Fornessuna** (Skirpenbeck) [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354; F. was a DB tenant. – **Hutredo f. Hulfi**, witness, [ante 1157] e.14th YCh 9. 108. – **Ulfo** persona abl., witness, [12th] 14th–15th YCh 1. 244. – **Vlfus** frater suus (Hormus de Littunia), witness, [m.12th] 15th YCh 11. 133, **Ada f. Vlfi de Litton**, witness, [ante 1204] 15th YCh 11. 241. – **Wlfi, Ulfi de Apilton**, witness, [ante 1161] 14th YCh 5. 364. – **Adam f. Ulfi, Vlfi**, witness, [1160–70] m.13th, c1174–89; 1168–85 YCh 3. 1633, 5. 216–17; 11. 147. – mansuram **Roberti f. Ulfi** (Weighton) [1160–70] 14th–15th YCh 1. 443, **Roberto f. Wlfi; Ulfi, Ulli**, witness, [1161–84] 14th; YCh 1. 330; 5. 379. – **Matheo f. Ulfi monataro**, witness, [1160–75] 14th–15th YCh 1. 334. – **Ulf** abl., witness, [1160–80] 14th YCh 1. 233. – **Ulf f. Roskil, Vlf**, father of **Rannulfus**, nom. and gen. [c1163–1207] originals and transcripts from 15th YCh 1. 78, 11. 25,38, 242–43. – **Thoma et Simone filiis Ulf de Scoreby** [1180–90] 14th YCh 2. 846. – **Gamello f. Ulf**, witness, [c1195–1207] 15th YCh 11. 243. – essartum **Vlfi** (Shitlington and Midgley) [c1196–1202] 17th YCh 8. 152. – **Henrico f. Wlf** (Southburn) [1196–c1212] 17th YCh 2. 669. – **Robertus f. Ulf** (? Whixley) 1202 FFb 29. – **Thomam f. Ulphi** (Croft) 1202 FFb 48. – **Willelmum f. Ulfi** (Langton-on-Swale) 1202 FFb 62. – **Ralph son of Ulf** c1208 AssC 39. – **Robertum f. Ulfi** 1218–19 AssSel 485. – **Walterus f. Ulf**, brother of **Adam**, 1218–19 AssSel 748. –

**Ulf de Westerne pater Golle, Matillidis, Emme, Beatricie, Isolde et Agnetis** (Melmerby) 1218–19 AssSel 80. – **Robertum f. Ulf de Askwith** 1218–19 AssSel 727. – **Richard son of Ulf** (Threshfield) 1231 FFP 160. – **Ulf, Ulf, Ulfe, Ulf, Wifi** all gen. [1284–85] l.15th KI 62,63,66,68,92; son of Thorald.

An orig by.n. “wolf” or perhaps a short form of compounds in *Ulf-*, *-ulfr*. Common as a pers.n. in both Norw and Icel throughout the whole period (Lind 1054–55). Also recorded as a by.n. in Norw (Lind BN 391). Very common in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 288) and Dan (DgP 1520–26).

Some of the p.ns. may alternatively contain an OE pers.n. \**Wulf(a)* or the common noun OE *wulf*, Scand *ulfr*.

For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For *V-,W-* for *U-* see § 31. For *O-* for *U-* see § 32. For loss of *l* see § 70. For *u,v* for medial *f* see § 96. For *ph* for *f* see § 97. For loss of *f* see § 100. For *-er* see § 144 but *Vluer* may alternatively derive from *Ulfarr* q.v.

### Ulfarr

L. a) in **Wlfarsic** c1200 (f.n. in Claxby, Ludborough W) Bower 423.

b) **Hosbertus Huluer de Castra**, witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 60 p.34.

Y. a) in **Hulverheved** 1254 (f.n.) PNYN 333.

b) **Ulf** (=Ulfar) festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9, **Vluer** TRE DB 315r.

First el. *Ulf-*. Second el. partly *-geirr* (cf. *Ulfgeirr* below), partly \**-harik* (cf. OE *Wulfhere*). A number of instances are recorded in WScand (Lind 1048), Swed (Lundgren-Brate 289–90) and Dan (DgP 1526; DS XI, 151, 153, 200, XIII 184).

Some of these forms might alternatively represent OE *Wulfhere* and the *er* in the DB form might possibly represent the Scand nom. *-r* so that the name in question would be *Ulfar* q.v. (see § 144). Forms in *Huluer* may rather represent ME *hulvere* “holly” (PNEl i 268; PNYE 325).

For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For *V-, W-* for *U-* see § 31. For *v,u* for medial *f* see § 96. For *e* for *a* see § 8.

### Ulfbjörn

L. a) in **Ulbernewange, Welbernewdewang** H<sub>2</sub> (f.n. in Ulceby, Calcewath W) Bower 472.

b) **Wlb'n'** (=Wlbern) (Dorrington) 1185 Templ 87. – **Wlb'n** (=Wlbern) (Rauceby) 1185 Templ 92. – **Wlb'** (=Wlber) abl., witness, c1190–95 RA VIII 2274. – **Ada Wlbarn, Wlm** (sic), tunc maiore, **Ada Wlbern**, witness, [H<sub>3</sub>] 1409 and 1411 GH 28–29 p.53, 8 p.94. – **Ricardo f. Wlbern'**, witness, c1220–30 RA VIII 2247.

Y. b) **Gamell f. Vlfbern'**, witness, [1140–46] 17th YCh 11. 13. – **Radulfus f. Wlbern** (Cudworth) [1200–14] 16th YCh 3. 1793.

First el. *Ulf-*. Second el. *-björn*. Not recorded in WScand or Swed but found on a Dan coin (DgP 1526).

For *V-*, *W-* for *U-* see § 31. For loss of *f* see § 100. For *e* for *jǫ* see § 54. The spelling in *-barn* either has AN *a* for *e* (see § 15) or else derives from *-bearn*.

### Ulfgeirr

L. b) toftum **Wlgeri** gen. (Glentworth) [1171–72] 1407 GH 19 p.85.

First el. *Ulf-*. Second el. *-geirr*. Found in a Norw runic inscription as *ulf-kæis* gen. (Lind 1049) and Swed runic inscriptions as *ulfkair* (e.g. SRU nr 650) and on a Dan coin (DgP 1526) Cf. also the compressed form *Ulfarr* above and the cognate OE name *Wulfgār*.

For *W-* for *U-* see § 31. For loss of *f* see § 100. For *e* for *ei* see § 50.

### \*Ulfgrím

L. b) **Vlgrim** TRE DB 57/7, **Vlgrin** 4/39.57, **Olgrim** 69/5. – **Hawisa filia Wolgrim** 1202 Ass 940. – **Johannes f. Wlgrim** (Gosberton) 22/10 1210 FF 314.

Y. a) in **Wlgrimcroft** 1246 (f.n. in Seacroft, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 123.

b) **Vlgrim** TRE DB 323r.

First el. *Ulf-*. Second el. *-grím*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

The forms in L and Y might alternatively derive from the ContGerm pers.n. *Wulfgrim*.

For *V-*, *W-*, *O-* for *U-* see §§ 31.32. *Wo-* probably shows confusion with OE *Wulf-*. For loss of *f* see § 100. For *n* for *m* see § 81.

### Ulfketill

L. b) **Vichel** abbatem TRE DB 72/48, **Ulfketil**, abbot of Crowland, 2/4 1080 EHD II 452. – **Ulchil** TRE DB 4/2.3.26, 12/4, 16/20, 25/7, 32/20, 34/11, **Vichel** 14/9, 26/9, 32/27, **Vlchil** 71/9, **Vlfchetel** 19/1, 59/2. Not certain to how many individuals these instances refer. – testimonio **Vlchil de Estrebi** 1086 DB 69/39. – **Vlchetel f. Mereuine** 1086 DB p.8.3. – **Vichel** dat., sold a ship to  $W_1$  but was dead in 1086, DB p.4.11. – **Ulchil Toller de Grimesby**, witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 60 p.34. – **Ulfkelli Feisewald'**, **Wlfkelli F.**; **Ulfkele**, **Ulfkeli** gen. (Alvingham) [R<sub>1</sub>] 1409; [m.H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 8–9 pp.106–07. – **Ulfkelli** gen. (Alvingham) [R<sub>1</sub>] 1409 GH 8 p.106. – **Nicholas son of Ulfkel** (Winceby) 1193 FFM 3. – **Hulfkettill** (Glentham)

1197 FFF 299. – toftum **Toraldi f. Vlfkel** (Alvingham) l.12th RA V 1598. – **Vlkellus f. Thoreuerd' de Sancto Botulfo** c1200 RA VII 1975, **Ulkel**, brother of Thomas, 1200 P 90. – filia **Ulfketel** 1202 Ass 523. – **Robertus f. Ulkelli de Maring'** 1220–34 RotHug III 137.

Y. a) in **Vlchiltorp** DB 303r (lost place in W Lutton, Buckrose W, E). – in **Vlkilcroft** 1154–74 (f.n. in Spofforth, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 38. – in **Vlfkelerode** c1205 (f. n. in Kirkburton, Agbrigg W, W) PNYW 2. 247. – in **Vlkilriding** c1230 (f.n. in Gt Ribston, U Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 22. – in **Ulfkilcros** 1239 (f.n. in Litton, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 127. – in **Ulfkelrode** 1298 (f.n. in Sowerby, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 158.

b) **Ulfketel, Ulfkytel** minister, witness [958] 14th, [959] 12th YCh 1. 3, 4. – **Ulfkitel, Ulfkytel**, witness, [c1030] 14th YCh 1. 8, 8n. – **Ulfcetel** presbyter, festerman, [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9. – ? **Ul[chil]** festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9. – **Ulfcetel** cyninges reue, festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9, **Vlchil** TRE DB 315r (bis), 315v, 316r, **Vlchel** 300v, 316r (bis), 1086 316v, 317v. – **Vlchel** TRE DB 319r (3 times), **Vlchil** 319r (bis), 319v. – **Vlchil** TRE DB 322v (bis), gen. 373v. – **Vlchil** TRE DB 324v, **Vlchel** gen. 374r. – **Vlchil** TRE DB 307v (bis), **Vlchil** suabrodre 374r. – **Vlchel** TRE DB 300r (3 times), 301r (3 times), 301v, 305v, 306v, gen. 298r, 373v (bis), **Vlchil** 300r (6 times), 301r, 301v, 305v, 308r (3 times), 309v, 310r (3 times), 312v (bis), 322r (bis), 326v, 330v, 332r, gen. 310r, 373v. Not certain to how many individuals the DB instances refer. – **Vlchel** tegnus regis TRE and 1086 DB 330v, **Vlchil** tegnus regis TRE and 1086 DB 330v (3 times), 331r, 331v (bis), 1086 330v. – **Vlchil** TRE and 1086 DB 326v. – **Ulkillum de Foston** acc., father of Uctred, [c1121–37] 14th YCh 4. 105. – **Hulchillo** preposito, witness, 1139–40 YCh 1. 62. – **Ulchillus de Clementhorp**, witness, brother of Gocelinus, [c1140–56] 14th–15th YCh 1. 215. – **Vlkil** forest[ario], witness, [1142–45] l.12th YCh 9. 89. – **Ulfkil** (Stillingfleet) [1154–76] 13th–14th YCh 10. 5. – **Johanne Hulfchillo**, witness, [1165–75] 13th YCh 2. 892. – **Ulfkillo** Palmer abl., witness, [1165–75] m.13th YCh 3. 1598. – **Rogero Ulkil** abl., witness, [c1175–1204] 15th YCh 4. 115. – **Thoma f. Ulkilli** [1180–1200] 17th YCh 1. 498. – **Ulkilli de Hecke** abl., witness, father of Herbertus and Adam, [1180–1200] 17th YCh 1. 498. – **Gamello f. Ulchel** (Fixby) [c1188–1202] 15th YCh 8. 143. – **Ulfkil** (Clifton) [1190–94] 15th YCh 1. 163. – domum **Ulkilli** (Newton Morrell) [l.12th or e.13th] l.13th YCh 5. 320. – **Swanus f. Ulkilli de Brettona** [1190–1220] e.15th YCh 3. 1791. – **Malcolmum f. Ulkil** (Branton Green) 1202 FFb 74. – terram **Ulfkil** (Kaldekeld') 1202 FFb 37. – **Radulfus f. Ulkil, Ulkel de Polington** [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 957–58,

962. – **Thomas f. Ulkel, Ulkyl, Ulfkill de Henessal** [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 933–35. – **Rogerus f. Ulfkill', Ulfkil** (Snaith) [? 13th] 13th–14th Selby 884, 894.

First el. *Ulf-*. Second el. *-ketill*. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel whose nationality is doubtful (Lind 1053). Found in Swed runic inscriptions as *ulfkitil, ulfkil, ulfkel* (SRU nrs 160, 161, 100). A number of instances are recorded in Dan, including inscriptions on some 11th-cent coins and a p.n. (DgP 1528).

For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For *V-*, *W-* for *U-* see § 31. For loss of *f* see § 100. For *ch,c* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For the second *e* in *-ketel* etc. see § 19.

### Ulfjótr

Y. a) ? in **Wlflachadale** 12th (Owlet Dale, Ganton, Dickering W, E) PNYE 119. – ? in **Wlfletebriggebert** 13th (f.n. in Ingthorpe, Marton, E Staincliffe W, W) YCh 7. 151.

First el. *Ulf-*. Second el. *-ljótr*. A few early instances are recorded in WScand (Lind 1053–54).

The forms of the pers.n. in the first p.n. in fact justify no more than the assumption that it is a name beginning *Ulf-*. The second p.n. may rather contain OE *wulf* and *flēot* “wulf stream” (PNYW 6. 41).

For *e* for *jó* see § 56.

### Ulfsteinn

Y. b) **Wulstain festerman** [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9.

First el. *Ulf-*. Second el. *-steinn*. In the form *Ulstanus* this name is borne by a priest in Lund in the 12th cent (DgP 1529). Cf. the more common OE pers.n. *Wulfstān*.

The first el. shows confusion with OE *Wulf-*. For loss of *f* see § 100. For *ai* for *ei* see § 49.

### Ulli

Y. a) in **Ulegile** 13th (f.n.) PNYN 333.

b) **Roberto f. Wlfi; Ulfi, Ulli**, witness, [1161–84] 14th YCh 1. 330; 5. 379.

Perhaps a pet-form of *Ulfr* q.v. or of names in *Ulf-* (Nord.Kult.VII 210) or perhaps formed from a stem related to Gothic *wulþu* “fame, glory” (DgP 1529). A single instance is recorded in WScand, where it is used as a diminutive of *Erlendr* (Lind 1056), and a few in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 289) and one or two doubtful ones in Dan (DgP 1529).

### Unni

L. b) **Robertus f. Hunne, Unne**, witness, c1150–60 Dane 261, 263.

Possibly a diminutive of names in *Unn-* or of other names (see above s.v. *Ulli*). A number of young instances are recorded in Dan (DgP 1532–33) and the name may also be found in some Dan p.ns. (DS II 66, XI 156, XII 215; Hald Vore Stednavne 80). It also appears in Swed (Modéer Kalmar Tänkebok 24).

The forms in L may alternatively represent Scand *\*Hunni* (another diminutive) or OE *Hunna* (Redin 67).

For inorganic initial *H-* or loss of initial *H-* see § 140i.

#### **\*Unnketill**

L. b) **Willelmus Uncle** (Scopwick) [H<sub>2</sub>] 1407 GH 7 p.77. – **Rannulfum f. Simonis Uncle** 1202 Ass 845.

Y. a) in **Unchel(f)s-**, Unglesbi DB, **Hunkelby W<sub>2</sub>** (Uncleby, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 131. – in **Uncnetorp DB, V-**, **Unkethorpe** l.12th (Ingthorpe Grange, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 40. – in **Hunchilhuse DB** (lost place near Brayton, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 26. – in **Unkelbek** 1300 (f.n.) PNYN 332.

b) **Hunchil** (Hunchilhuse) TRE DB 315v. – **Hugo le Huncel**, witness, [c1160–70] 13th YCh 2. 709, **Hugone Huncle**; **Uncle** abl., witness, 1175–85, [1178–c90] l.12th; 1189–c99, [1175–90] 17th YCh 2. 664–65; 741, 745. – **Unchel de Mersca** abl., witness, [c1170–85] l.13th YCh 1. 577.

First el. *Unn-*. Second el. *-ketill*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

Most of the forms in L and Y could alternatively represent *\*Húnketill*. First el. *Hún-*. Second el. *-ketill*. Probably an Anglo-Scand formation but cf. Dan *Ketil f. Hunkis*, a witness in 1216 (DgP 583). Ingthorpe Grange may alternatively contain an OE pers.n. *\*Uneca*, a diminutive of *Una*, (Ekwall NoB 1964 25–26). The surname may rather represent a by.n. from ME *uncle* “uncle” from Lat through Fr.

For inorganic initial *H-* and loss of initial *H-* see § 140i. For *V-* for *U-* see § 31. For *n* for *nn* see § 143. For *ch, c* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For *g* for *k* see § 129. For inorganic *f* see § 100. For loss of final *l* see § 71.

#### **\*Úrketill**

Y. b) **Radulfum f. Urkell’ de Holmes** 1218–19 AssSel 465.

First el. *Úr-*. Second el. *-ketill*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

#### **Úspacr**

Y. b) **Unspac, Vulpaco** (sic for **Unspaco**) abl., witness, c1125–28, [1109–28] c1400 YCh 2. 934, 966. – **Vnspac de Houincham** abl., witness, [c1138–43] l.12th YCh 9. 149, **Unspac de H.** 1150–c70 YCh 3. 1895. – **Uspac preposito**, witness, [1150–60] c1400 YCh 2. 830. – **Vspac’ fratre ejus**

(Ernaldo), witness, [1164–75] 15th YCh 11. 23. – **Vnspak, Vspac** forestarius- (Topcliffe) [1180–1204] 14th, [l.H<sub>2</sub>] 15th YCh 11. 83, 209.

An orig by.n. “unwise” or “unruly” (Nord.Kult.VII 34). Appears in Icel from the time of the settlement onwards but is not found until comparatively late in Norw (Lind 822–23). There are a couple of recorded instances of *Ospak* in Swed and one of *Uspak* in a p.n. there (Lundgren-Brate 190, 291) and the name is also found in Swed runic inscriptions (e.g. SRSö nr 202).. The name is recorded in Normandy in the forms *Ospak, Ospac, Uspac* etc. (Adigard 313–14).

Forms in *Un-*, *Vn-* show substitution of the cognate OE prefix *Un-* for the Scand negative prefix *Ó-*, *Ú-* < \**Un-*. For *c* for *k* see § 127.

### \*Útkári

Y. a) in **Ukerby** 1198, **Huckerby** c1250 (Uckerby, Gilling E W, N) PNYN 278.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *út* “out” and the pers.n. *Kári* q.v. and the WScand by.n. *Útsteinn* (Smith loc.cit.; Lind BN 394).

The pers.n. may alternatively contain the by.n. *Úkyrri* q.v. (Ekwall DEPN).

For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. The spelling *Uker-* may have developed by assimilation of *tk* to *kk* (cf. Bandle § 113 n.1) and AN graphical simplification of *kk* to *k* (see § 143). For *ch* for *k* see § 126. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58.

## V

### Valr, Váli

L. a) in **Walescros W**, **Walecros W DB** pp.79, 143, **Walescroft W** LiSp.244 (Walshcroft W). – in **Walesbi DB** (Walesby, Walshcroft W) p.143. 14/13, 16/11, 40/6, LiS 7/15.21.

Y. b) **Willelmo f. Wale**, witness, [12th] 14th YCh. 1. 414n. – **Robertus. Wal**, witness, [1160–80] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1608. – **Waleran f. Wale**, witness, [1177–1204] 15th YCh 6. 30.

*Valr* is an orig by.n. “falcon” and *Váli* an orig by.n. “foreign”. *Valr* is recorded in WScand as both pers.n. and by.n. (Lind 1070–71; BN 397) and is found as a pers.n. in a Swed runic inscription (SRSö nr 63). It also appears as a pers.n. in Dan but is there interpreted as meaning “foreign” (DgP 1541). It is possibly found in some p.ns. in Normandy (Adigard 235). In WScand there are a number of instances of *Váli* as a pers.n. at the time of the settlement of Icel and a couple of later instances as a by.n. (Lind

1069–70; BN 396). It is also recorded as a by.n. in Swed (XenLid 106) and Dan (DgP II 1168) and may be found in some Dan p.ns. (DgP 1541).

The form *Wal* could alternatively represent *Hvalr* q.v.

### Valhrafn

L. a) in *Walravensmedwe* 1340 (Woolram Wygate, Pinchbeck, Elloe W) Payling 46.

b) *Welrauen* TRE DB 7/51, *Walrauene* 33/2. – *Walrauen*, lageman in Lincoln, TRE DB, Agemund loco *Walrauen patris sui* 1086 DB p.2.1.2. – *Walrauen de Stanfort* abl., witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1411 GH 5 p.93. – *Ricardus f. Walerauen'*, *Walerandi* 1202 Ass 286, 347. – *Robertum Walerauen* acc. 1202 Ass 697.

Y. b) *Walter Walraven* abl., witness, [1178–90] 14th–15th YCh 2. 1255. – *Alexandro f. Walraven*, witness, [1190–1220] 17th YCh 1. 590.

A scandinavianised (or possibly anglicised) form of the ContGerm pers.n. *Wal(a)ram*, *-rand*. A few late instances are recorded as by.ns. in Dan (DgP II 1169), where they are interpreted as meaning “human-being in the shape of a raven”.

For loss of *h* see § 140ii. For *v,u* for medial *f* see § 96.

### Valþjófr

L. b) *Waltef* comes TRE DB p.13, 56/11, *Wallef* comes 56/13.14.17, comes *Wallef* [1090] e.13th RA I 3. – *Roberto Wlthef* (sic for *Wal-*?) abl., witness, H<sub>2</sub> Dane 534. – *Willelmo f. Walthef* (N Thoresby) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 534, *Walthef de Northcotes* 1202 Ass 879, *William f. Walthef de Norchotes* 1211–32 FP 16.

Y. a) in *Waldefrode* 12th (f.n. in Barnsley, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 306. – in *Walthefrode* 1210 (f.n.) PNYW 7. 302. – in *Waltef riding* 1219 (f.n. in Stillingfleet, E) PNYE 266. – in *Walthefriding* 13th–14th (f.n. in Aldfield, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 195.

b) *Wallef* comes TRE DB 320r, *Wallef* 308v, *Waltef* 298r, 305v (6 times), 306r (4 times), 307r (bis), *Walteif* 306r, *Walteu* 307r. – *Walleio presbitero*, witness, [1118–30] m.13th YCh 8. 11. – *Gospatrico f. Walthef* (Hutton) [c1121–c37] 14th YCh 9. 134. – *Wallief de Stotleia* abl., witness, 1139–40 YCh 1. 62, ? identical with *Wallef f. Archilli* (Herleshov) 1139–40 YCh 1. 62, *Uctredus f. Wallef*; *Waldef* [1135–53] 15th, [1149–53] 15th; [c1154–72] 15th; [1163–75] 15th, 1175–76 YCh 1. 64, 67; 11. 158–59, 242, 7. 83. – *Walleuo priore Chirchamensi*, witness, [1141–42] e.14th YCh 1. 152. – *frate ejus Walleuo* (Suano preposito de Stainburch) [1150–60] l.12th YCh 3. 1726. – *Waltef* (Broughton) [1152–54] m.13th YCh 7. 16, *Waldef* [1185–



96] l.13th YCh 2. 667, Wald[evus] de Broctona, witness, [1160-70] l.13th YCh 2. 693. – Paulinus f. Wald[evi] [1155-58] m.13th YCh 3. 1752. – Walef f. Alden', abl., witness, [1154-c60] 14th YCh 1. 37. – Hugo f. Walthephi de Rolestuna, witness [1157-58] l.12th YCh 1. 402. – Waldeus de Diction', witness, [1154-74] 14th-15th YCh 10. 4. – Walthef [presbiter] de Rip[on], witness, [c1155-70] 15th YCh 7. 123, Waldeuo, Waldeno sic [vicario] ecclesie de Ripun, witness, [8/4 1174] 15th YCh 7. 120-21. – Waltefus comes (? of Flanders) c1155-86 YCh 7. 125. – Waltheof de Jaedun [c1160-80] 15th YCh 11. 280, Waldevo f. Stephani de Yedune abl., witness, 1185-1215 YCh 3. 1875, Walthef de Ghedune, witness, c1172-74 YCh 6. 151, Hugo f. Walthef de Yadun [1185-c1215] 17th YCh 3. 1874. – Paganus f. Waldef, Walthevi [1161-75] 14th, [c1170-84] 14th YCh 1. 273-74. – Waltheus f. Gamel, miles, [1166] 13th YCh 7. 47 and RBE 431, Waldef f. Gamelli, witness, [c1164-75] 14th YCh 11. 253. – Wallevo clerico f. Stephani, witness, [1169] 1327 YCh 1. p.170. – Wallevo de Bereford abl., witness, [c1173-86] 14th-15th YCh 4. 89. – Waldevum de Pouelington acc. [1180-90] 17th YCh 1. 495. – Waltheus f. Ketelli (Arncliffe) [1182-c1200] 15th YCh 11. 131. – Alanus f. Walthelf (Cold Kirby) 1185 Templ 129. – Walthef f. Hucce (Cold Kirby) 1185 Templ 129. – Wallevus (Barnbow) [1190-91] 17th YCh 3. 1653. – Waldef gen. (Threshfield) [l.12th] 15th YCh 11. 262. – Waltef f. Suani (Riley) 1202-c10 YCh 8. 159. – Willelmum f. Waldef, Walthef (Ribston, Hornington) 1202 FFBb 65, 77. – Walthef de Raudon' et Aldith uxorem ejus 1202 FFBb 28. – Waldthef f. Yarnhan gen. (Doncaster) 1202 FFBb 21. – Walthef de Ulleg' nom., acc., dat. 1208 FFBb 117-18. – Toma f. Waldeui, witness, [c.13th] 17th YCh 11. 258. – Walfef sic de Bram, predictus Walthef [c1208-25] 14th-15th YCh 10. 57. – Robertus f. Waltef, Walthef (Barley) 1218-19 FFP 19, AssSel 63. – Adam f. Waldef' (Carlton Husthwaite) 1218-19 AssSel 172, 1014, Adam Walthef' 1218-19 AssSel 1011. – Waldef', father of Ragenild, 1218-19 Ass-Sel 263. – Roger son of William son of Waltheve 1225 FFP 61. – William son of Robert Walthef 1215 AssC 82.

First el. *Val-*. Second el. *-þjófr*. The name appears very early in WScand and is fairly common there (Lind 1071-73). In Dan it only appears very late in the forms *Wallof* (DgP 1548). The name is anglicised in l.OE sources as *Wælþeof*.

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For the assimilation of *lð* (< *lp*) to *ll* see § 114. For *t,th,d* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.117.118. For *e,ei,ie* for *jó* see § 56. For *u* for final *f* and the latinised forms in *-eus*, *-eui* etc. see § 96iv. For *ph* for *f* see § 97.

**Végeirr**

(See s.v. *Vígarr*.)

**Veggi**

L. b) *Wege* TRE DB 34/24, *Weghe* 63/8, terram *Wege* 71/17, possibly identical with *Wegga*, regius optimas, [1060–66] 12th KCD 819.

Y. b) *Wegga* festerman [c1050] ? l.11th YCh 1. 9, possibly identical with *Wege* TRE DB 316 r. – domum *Wegge* (Pontefract) [1180–1200] 13th YCh 3. 1578.

An orig by.n., cf. ODan *wægge* “wedge”. Recorded as a by.n. in Dan and possibly found in a p.n. from Halland (DgP II 1176).

For other interpretations of the forms in L and Y see Feilitzen 410–11.

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For *g* for *gg* see § 143 and for *gh* for *g* see § 133.

**\*Veikr**

Y. b) *Waih* TRE DB 324v.

An orig by.n. “the weak one” (Feilitzen 403). A weak form *Veiki* may appear in a Norw p.n. (Lind BN 399–400).

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For *ai* for *ei* see § 49. Final *h* is an error for *-ch* (cf. Feilitzen loc.cit. and § 126).

**Vémundr**

(See s.v. *Vígmundr*.)

**Vestarr, Wester**

Y. b) *Westre* TRE DB 318r (bis).

First el. *Vest-*. Second el. *-arr*. Borne by the father of three of the orig settlers in Icel and by a number of the settlers themselves but the name becomes rare later in Icel and Norw (Lind 1086). The form in Y may alternatively represent a Dan by.n. *Wester* (cf. ODan *vester* “the west”, *vestre* “western”), which appears fairly frequently (DgP II 1187).

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58 and for metathesis see § 75.

**Vestliði**

L. a) in *Westledebi* DB 14/42, 22/11, *Westletebi* LiS 16/3.10 (Westlaby, Wragoe W).

First el. *Vest-*. Second el. *-liði*. An orig by.n. “traveller to the west”.

Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel and a few other men there (Lind 1086). Not recorded in Norw or EScand.

For *W-* for *V* see § 67. For *e* for *i* see § 19. For *d,t* for medial *ð* see §§ 116.117.

### \*Vestmundr

Y. a) in *sartum quod fuit Westmundi* c1200 (f.n. in Carlton, Staincross W, W) PNYW 1. 278. – in *Westmanshalgh* (sic) 13th, *Westmondhalh* E<sub>1</sub>, *Westmundhalgh* c1283, (Westnall (lost), Bradfield, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 228.

b) *Suanus, Sueinus f. Westmundi, Westmund* [1150–60] l.12th, 1166–67; c1160–80 YCh 3. 1726, P 82; YCh 7. 134. – *Edus' que fuit uxor Westmund' de Mirefeld'* 1218–19 AssSel 633.

First el. *Vest-*. Second el. *-mundr*. An Anglo-Scand formation? Note that while *-mund* is a common el. in OE pers.n.s., *West-* is not found as a pers.n. el. there.

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For *o* for *u* see § 32. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63.

### Vibr

Y. b) *Ricardo f. Widh*, witness, [c1145–61] 17th YCh 1. 528.

An orig by.n. “tree, wood”. Borne by a dwarf in the Edda (Lind 1093). Probably found as *\*Vidher* in some Swed p.n.s. (Lundgren-Brate 296; Sv. Uppsl. 30, 1255). A weak form *Withi* is possibly found in some Dan p.n.s. (DS IV 433, XIII 110).

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For *dh* for final *ð* see § 119.

### Vifari

L. b) *Widfare* (Swaby) c1160–75, *Widfar*, *Widfare* c1192–1201 RA VI 1793–95.

Y. a) in *Wifretorp* DB, *Wiueretorp* 1109–14 (Weaverthorpe, Buckrose W, E) PNYE 122.

First el. *Vifð-*. Second el. *-fari*. An orig by.n. “he who travels far and wide”. A single instance is recorded in Icel in the 10th cent (Lind 1091) and the name is also found in a number of Swed runic inscriptions (cf. SRSö nr 256).

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For loss of *ð* see § 120 and for *d* for *ð* see § 116. For svarabhakti *e* see § 63. For *u* for medial *f* see § 96. For syncope of *e* < unstressed *a* see §§ 58.62. For apocope of final *e* see § 60.

**\*Viðforni, \*Viðforni**

Y. a) in *Widfornessei*, *Witfornes* DB (Withernsea, Holderness W, E) DEPN. – in *With-*, *Wid-*, *Witforneuinc*, *Widforneuic* DB (Withernwick, Holderness W, E) DEPN.

Either *Viðr-* “wide” or *Viðr-* “tree, wood” prefixed to *Forni* q.v. An Anglo-Scand formation? Ekwall in DEPN suggests that a man called *V.* lived at Withernsea and had a dairy-farm at Withernwick.

A. H. Smith in PNYE 26 and 69 prefers to interpret these two p.ns. as “near the thorn-tree” and “dairy-farm belonging to a lost place With-thorn”.

**Vifill, Vifli**

L. a) in *Wivelesbi* DB 30/12, *Uiflesbi* LiS 9/2 (Weelsby, Bradley W). – in *Wiuelestorp* DB (Wilsthorpe, Ness W) 14/92.95. – in *Wiuelesforde* DB (Wilsford, Threo W) 51/12, 58/7. – ? in *Wifilingham*; *Wiuilingeham* DB 14/7; 28/21, 35/8, *Wifilingham*; *Wiflinge*ham LiS 7/4.11-13; 7/14 (N Willingham, Walshcroft W). – ? in *Welingeham*, *Wilingeham* DB 4/4, 7/2, 12/3, 20/4; 28/5.6, *Wiflinge-*; *Uiflinge-*, *Uiflingeheim*; *Wiflinge-*ham LiS 6/1; 6/1; 6/2.3; 6/6 (Willingham-by-Stow, Well W). – in *Wyveleseefendyk* 12th-14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling. – ? in *Winelesworth* 1199, *Wyveleswurth* 1280 (Wildsworth, Corringham W) DEPN.

Y. a) in *Wifeles healh* c1030, *Wifles-*, *Wiueshale* DB (Wilsill, L Claro W, W) PNYW. 5. 150. – in *Wifles-*, *Wiulestorp* DB (Wilsthorpe, Dickering W, E) PNYE 88. – in *Wiules-*, *Wilestorp* DB, *Wiu-*, *Wiv-*, *Wyvelest(h)orp* 12th etc. (Wilstrop, Ainsty W, W) PNYW 4. 259. – in *Wyuelesthwayt* 1193-99. (f.n. in N Stainley, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 162.

b) *Wife* TRE DB 301r (bis).

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *vifill* “beetle”. The name *Vifill* is borne by the slave of one of the orig settlers in Icel and some other men there but it does not reappear in Norw until the 14th cent, when there are several instances (Lind 1094-95). A single instance is recorded as a by.n. in WScand in the 10th cent (LindBN 401). *\*Vivil* may be found in some Swed p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 302) and the name occurs once in Dan legendary history in an Icel source and possibly in some Dan p.ns. (DgP 1596; DS VIII 147). A weak form *Vifli* is found in Norw p.ns. (Lind Supplement 808) and possibly in a Dan p.n. (DS XII 53).

The existence of a cognate OE pers.n. *Wifel* “weevil” is suggested by such p.ns. as *Wilden* in Worcestershire and *Wilsford* in Wiltshire and some of the p.ns. in L and Y may rather contain the OE name or the OE common noun *wifel* (PNEI ii 264).

For *W-*, *U-* for *V-* see § 67. For *γ* for *i* see § 22. For *u,v* for medial *f* see § 96. For *e* for *i* see § 19. For *l* for *ll* see § 143 and for loss of *l* see § 71.

### Vígarr, Végeirr

L. b) **Wigerus** sacerdos, canon of Lincoln, witness, 1147 RA III 921, **Wigero** canonico, witness, c1150, 1163–66 Dane 307, 466, **Wigerus** [canonicus], witness, [c1150–60] c1225 RA II 331, **Wigerus** canonicus (a shop in Lincoln) [1154–77] c1225 RA VIII 2336, **Wigerus**, witness, c1150 RA II 495, **Wigerus**, witness, c1150–60 Dane 383, **Wigero** abl., witness, 1162–63 RA IV 1292. – **Wiger** the tailor, fined in Lincoln 1191, Hill 397. – **Wigerus de Wikeford**' 6/7 1219 AssSel 821. – **Wigerus**, son of Johannes de Lincolnia, 6/7 1219 AssSel 820. – **Wygerus de Sterisgard**' 1230–39 RA II 639.

Y. b) **Wigero de Braham** abl., witness, 1154–76 YCh 10. 51–52. – **Wigaro** camerario, witness, 1159–64 YCh 8. 111.

*Vígarr*. First el. *Vig-*. Second el. *-geirr*. *Végeirr*. First el. *Vig-* or *Vé-*. Second el. *-geirr*. *Vígarr* occurs occasionally in Norw in the 14th and 15th cents (Lind 1095–96) and there are a number of instances of *Végeirr* in Norw from the 14th cent onwards. This name is also borne by the father of several of the orig settlers in Icel (Lind 1079). There are a few instances of *Viger* (runic *vikair*) in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 297; SRU nr 985; SRSö nr 214) and a *Wiger* is named in Dan legendary history (DgP 1567).

Some of the forms in L and Y may alternatively represent the ContGerm pers.n. *Wigger* or the OE pers.n. *Wihtgār*.

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For *γ* for *i* see § 22. For *e* for *a* or *ei* see §§ 2.50.

### Vigautr

L. b) **Wigfoto]** Linc' abl., **Wigoto de Linc'** dat. 1100–15 Writs 144. – **Wigote** vicecomiti [1114–16] c1225 RA I 67. – **Wigoto de Branzwel**, **Brancewella** abl. c1150, c1158 Dane 244, Stenton Feudalism 31, dono **Wigoti** 1185 Templ 87. – **Alanus f. Wigoti** (Lincolnia) [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – **Wigot de Utterby** abl., witness, [H<sub>2</sub>] 1409 GH 3 p.40. – **Hubertus f. Wygoti** (Hackthorn) 1156–c85 YCh 3. 1370. – **Wigót** gen. (Buckland) H<sub>2</sub> Dane 200. – **Wigotus miles** [1166] 13th RBE 382. – **Wigot de Besebi** abl., witness, H<sub>2</sub>, c1200 Dane 534, RA IV 1434. – **W. f. Wigoti**, witness, c1180 RA V 1707. – **Wigoth de Lincolnia**, witness, ante 1183 Dane 425. – **Wigoti** gen. (Bloxham) 1185 Templ 96. – **Wigotus f. Asgeri** (Saltfleetby) 1.H<sub>2</sub> Dane 537, **Wigoti**, **Wygoti f. Asgeri**, **Rogerus f. Wigoti f. Asgeri**, **Wygoti** [l.12th] c1225 and c1330, [c1200] c1225 and c 1330 RA V 1706, 1719, **Hugo f. Wigoti Chonoting**, **Beatricia** que fuit uxor **Wigoti**

Chnotting (Skidbrook) [c1200] c1225 RA V 1722–23, Hugh f. Wigoti f. Asgeri de Scitebroc [c1210] 13th FP 137, Rogeri f. Wygoti (Skidbrook) [ante 1224] c1330 RA V 1731. – Wigoto presbitero, witness, c1190 RA IV 1124. – Wigot f. Leppe abl., witness, [c1190–1200] c1225 RA V 1656. – Wigot son of Wigot, fined in Lincoln 1191, bailiff of Lincoln 1206, Hill 397, 380. – Wigot de Sumercoates [l.12th] c1225 RA V 1668. – Wigot f. Willelmi de Salfletebi, Wigoti, Wigot gen.l.12th, 13th endorsement, seal RA V 1633, Robertus f. Wigoti, Wigotti de Salfletebi c1200, seal; witness l.12th Dane 546; 548, terram Roberti f. Wigoti (Saltfleetby) c1200 RA V 1645, John, Robert sons of Wigoht, Wigoti c1200 FP 121–22. – Wigot abl., witness, l.12th RA V 1631. – Thoma f. Wigodi, witness, l.12th Dane 213. – Wigot de Sancta Trinitate abl., witness, 1195–96 RA VIII 2316. – Wigote f. (H)osberti abl., witness, [1198–1205] c1225, [c1200] c1225 RA V 1680, 1724. – Willelmo f. Wigot, witness, [c1200] c1225 RA V 1677. – Wigot, Wigot' preposito, witness, [c1200] c1225 and c1330 RA V 1677. – Wygot ferario de Lindwde (et Clemente fratre eius), witness, [c1200] 1409 GH 34 p.19. – Wigot de Holmo; sigill Wigoti; Walter f. Wygoti, (Saltfleetby) c1210; c1200; c1220 FP 102, 105; 106–07. – toftum Wigodi, Wygodi; Wigodi, Uigodi (Furlanges) c1215; 6/7 1219 RA II 583; AssSel 909. – Wygote de Cadomo, witness, terram Wigoti de Cadomo, Wigotum acc. c1220, 1219–27 RA IV 1190, VIII 2194, Wygot de Kadamo 1226 FFM 183. – Elyas f. Wigot (N Thoresby) 25/6 1219 AssSel 814. – Juliana daughter of Wygot (Spalding) 1234 FFM 273. – Gilbert son of Wygot (Theddlethorpe) 1234 FFM 290. – Margeria filia Wigoti de Kam [June 1253] 13th RA II 395. – Thomas son of Wygod 1257 FFF 133. – Wygotto de [Aluingham] abl., witness, [1257] c1330 RA V 1601.

Y. b) Wigotus (Ousegate, York) [1156–57] 14th YCh 1. 354. – Robertus Wigot, witness, [ante 1183] 17th YCh 9. 80. – Robertus Wygot (Hutton Sessay) [1284–85] l.15th KI 95.

First el. *Vé*-. Second el. *-gautr*. Not recorded in WScand. Found as *uikaut*, *uikautrr* and *uikutr* in Swed runic inscriptions (SRU nr 706; SRSö nr 285; SRÖg nr 197), as *uikutr* in Dan runic inscriptions and *Wigot* in other Dan sources (Jacobsen-Moltke 737; DgP 1571). A name *Wigot(us)* is recorded in Normandy (Adigard 239).

For *W-*, *U-* for *V-* see § 67. For *y* for *i* see § 22. For *o* for *au* see § 47. For *th,d* for *t* see §§ 102.103. The isolated spelling *ht* for *t* may be an AN inverted spelling, as the AN scribes often represented OE *ht* by *t* (cf. Feilitzén § 141).

**Vigleikr**

L. a) in **Wilges-, Wilchesbi DB 38/5, 1/104, Wilghebi LiS 19/2** (Wilksby, Horncastle W). – ? in **Wilskegarth 12th** (f.n. in Brocklesby, Yarborough W) Bower 436.

b) **Wilac frater eius** (Achi f. Siuuardi) TRE DB p.13. – **Wilac** TRE DB 22/22. – **Wiglac** TRE DB 38/10. – **Wiglac** nom. and acc. TRE DB 69/36.

First el. *Vig-*. Second el. *-leikr*. Common in Norw after 1028 (Lind 1100–03). Also recorded in Swed as *Vighlak,-lek* (SRSö nr 48; Lundgren-Brate 298) and Dan (DgP 1569–70).

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For *i* for *ig* see § 136. For *a* for *ei* see § 52. For *c, ch, g* for *k* see §§ 126.127.129. The forms in the p.ns. apparently show syncope of *e < a* (see §§ 58.62).

**Vigmundr, Vémundr**

L. b) **Wimund**, the bishop of Bayeux' man, 1086 DB 4/38. – **Wimund**, Count Alan's man, 1086 DB 12/18.20.31. – **Wimund**, Ivo Taillebois' man, 1086 DB 14/5.6.63.64. – **Wimund**, Roger of Poitou's man, 1086 DB 16/2. – **Wimund** LiS 8/1, 9/15. – **Wimundo fratre eius** (Radulfo f. Herberti), witness, 1142–53 Dane 512. – **Wimundo f. Herberti coci, abl., Wimundus** [C1150] C1330 Stenton Feudalism 24. – **Reginaldi f. Wimund'** (Navenby) 1202 Ass 351. – **Wimundus, Wimundo ultra aquam** abl. Ass 536, 1018. – **Widonem f. Wimund'** (Shillingthorpe) 24/6 1202 FFM 53. – **William and Robert sons of Wymund** (Mablethorpe) 1257 FFF 132.

Y. a) in **Wimunderiding(g)e** 1166 (f.n. in Bramhope, S kyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 196. – in **Wymundeker** C1205 (f.n.) PNYN 333. – in **Wymundergil** 1265 (Wemmergill, Gilling W W, N) PNYN 309.

b) **Wimundo capellano**, witness, [C1125–30] 14th YCh 2. 1135. – **Wimundus dapifer**, witness, [1136–50] 13th YCh 2. 1047, **Wimundi** (Belhagh) [1154–60] 17th YCh 2. 1118, **Herbertus f. Wimundi de Etton** [1129–35] 14th YCh 2. 1056, **Aze, Asza f. Wymundi; Wimundi de Lochintona** [1130–c38] 14th, [1180–1200] 14th, [C1155–66] 13th; [1185–1211] 14th, [C1155–68] 13th YCh 1. 372, 165, 2. 1099; 1. 378, 2. 1100, **Radulfus f. Wymundi; Wimundi miles** [1154] m.14th, [23/11 1156] m.14th, [1154–60] 17th; 1166, 1154–60, 1150–53 YCh 3. 1385–86, 1388, 2. 1118; 2. 1003, 1095, 1108. – **Petro f. Wimundi; Guimundi**, witness, [1154–57] l.12th; [C1154–72] 15th, [l.H<sub>2</sub>] 15th, [C1160–75] 15th YCh 2. 1049; YCh 11. 159, 209, 218. – **Leonius f. Radulfi f. Wimundi**, heredibus Radulfi f. Wimundi [1160–66] 14th–15th, [1160–80] 14th–15th YCh 3. 1607–08. – **Aluredo f. Wigmundi**, witness, [1190] 14th YCh 1. 551. – **Wymundo de Mirefeld** abl., witness,

1191–94 YCh 3. 1807, Ricardum f. Wimundi de Mirfeld 1202 FFbB 60.  
– Willelmum f. Wimundi (Bramham, Almondbury) 1202 FFbB 23, 56.

First el. *Vig-* or *Vé-* Second el. *-mundr*. *Vigmundr* seems to be found in a p.n. in Norw (Lind 1103). A few instances are recorded in Swed as both *Vigmund* and *Vimund* (Lundgren-Brate 298, 300; SRU nr 1011). A name *Wimund(us)* occurs fairly frequently in Normandy (Adigard 368–69). *Vémundr* was a common name in WScand in the viking period (Lind 1080–82) and is also recorded in Swed (Lundgren-Brate 302–03) and Dan (DgP 1554).

The forms in L and Y may alternatively represent the OE pers.n. *Wigmund* (Tengvik 204).

For *W-*, *Gu-* for *V-* see § 67. For *y* for *i* see § 22. For *i* for *ig* see § 136.

### Víkarr

Y. a) in Wicresleia, Winceslei DB, Wi-, Wycheresleia c1147 (Wickersley, U Strafforth W, W) PNYW 1. 171. – in Wikerdale(bec) 12th–13th (f.n. in Litton, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 127.

Probably \**Wik-wariar* “an inhabitant of Viken” (Nord.Kult.VII 102). A few instances are recorded in Icel from the 11th cent onwards and in Norw from the late 12th cent (Lind 1104–05). Not recorded in Swed and probably only found in p.n.s. in Dan (DgP 1571; J. Kousgård Sørensen Bebygg. på -sted 247–48).

The f.n. may alternatively contain ME *wiker* “willow”.

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For *c, ch* for *k* see §§ 126.127. For *e* for unstressed *a* see § 58. For syncope of *e* see § 62.

### Vikingr

L. a) in Wichinge-, Wighingesbi DB (Wickenby, Wraggoe W) 22/10; 28/28; 22/34.

Y. a) in Wichis-, Wichintun DB (Wigginton, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 14. – in Wichingastorp DB (Wiganthorpe, Bulmer W, N) PNYN 35. – in Wi-, Wykin(g)gil(e) H<sub>2</sub> (Wycongill, Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 187. – in Wikicgibanc R<sub>1</sub> (f.n. in Bolton-by-Bowland, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 188. – in Wykynglund 1175–89 (f.n.) PNYW 7. 302.

Either an orig by.n. “viking” (Nord.Kult.VII 53) or a family name in *-ing* formed from names in *Vik-* (DgP 1572). Borne by the great-grandfather and father of some of the orig settlers in Icel but not otherwise recorded there. Common in Norw (Lind 1105–07). A number of instances



are recorded in Swed (SRU nr 649; Lundgren-Brate 299) and a few in Dan (DgP 1571-72).

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For *y* for *i* see § 22. For *ch*, *gh* for *k* see §§ 126.129. For *i*, *in* for *ing* see §§ 86.90.147.

### \*Vildfari

Y. b) **Willelmi Wildfar'** gen. (Cold Kirby) [1150-53] e.15th YCh 9. 76.

An orig by.n. First el. *Vild-*. Second el. *-fari*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67.

### Vindr

L. a) in **Winze-**, **Wizebi** DB 13/9, 28/42, **Wincebi** LiS 17/1.7 (Winceby, Hill W). – in **Windesland** 12th-14th (f.n. in Holland) Payling.

An orig by.n., cf. OIcel *vinðr* “wind” or ODan *windh* “work, effort” or e.ModDan *vind* “crooked”. The name of a giant in the Edda (Lind 1113). Note also the Dan by.n. *Wind* (DgP II 1198-1200). The existence of a Dan name \**Windir* is deduced from a p.n. (DS IX 197).

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For loss of *n* see § 86. For *z*, *c* for *ts* < *ds* see §§ 105.107.

### Vragi

L. a) in **Waragehou Wapentac**, **Warag' W.** DB 69/22, p.35; p.138, **Wraghehou W.** LiS p.255 (Wraggoe W). – in **Waragebi** DB 22/37, 34/12.13, 47/8.9, 69/24, **Wrage-**, **Wraghebi** LiS 16/6.13 (Wragby, Wraggoe W). – in **Waragebi** DB 64/18.19, **Wragebi** LiS 11/7 (Wrawby, Yarborough W). – in **Wragelandes** 12th (f.n. in Claxby-by-Normanby, Ludborough W) Bower 423. – ? in **Wargholm** 13th (Wragholme, Louthesk W) DEPN.

Y. a) in **Wraggebi**, -by 1160-70, **Wragheby** 1332 (Wragby, Osgoldcross W, W) PNYW 2. 89. – in **Wrauby** 1344, **Wragby** 1476 (Wragby, Whitby Strand W, N) PNYN 118.

An orig by.n., cf. perhaps Swed dial *vrage* “bollard” (B. Ejder in Meijberg's Arkiv 4. pp.81 ff.). Recorded in a Dan runic inscription (Jacobsen-Moltke 739) and in a 13th cent Dan source. Also found in a p.n. in Skåne (DgP 1598).

Wragholme more probably contains the Scand appellative *vargr* “wolf” (PNEI ii 229).

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For *War-* for *Vr-* see § 64. For metathesis see § 75. For *gh*, *gg* for *g* see §§ 133.142. For vocalisation of *g* see § 137.

## Vǫndr

Y. a) in **Wandewath** 12th–13th (f.n. in Rathmell, W Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 150.

An orig by.n. “wand”. Recorded once in Norw in 1380 (Lind BN 405).

The p.n. may alternatively contain the Scand common noun *vǫndr* “switch, wand”.

For *W-* for *V-* see § 67. For *a* for *ǫ* see § 42.

## Q

## \*Qgvindr

Y. a) in **Auundeleia**, -ley 12th, **Auundeley** 1349, **Aghenlay** 1198 (Ainleys, Morley W, W) PNYW 3. 43.

First el. \**Aǰu-*. Second el. *-vindr*. An Anglo-Scand formation?

The p.n. may alternatively contain the pers.n. \**Auðvindr* q.v., although the occasional forms in *Aghen-* and later development to *Ain-* suggest that the pers.n. in question is \**Qgvindr*.

For *A-* for *Q-* see § 42. For *gh* for *g* see § 133 and for vocalisation of *g* see § 137.

## Qlbjørn

Y. a) ? in **Habbeholme** 12th, **Albeholme** 1228 (Habholme Dike, Barkston Ash W, W) PNYW 4. 42.

First el. \**Alu-*. Second el. *-bjørn*. Several instances are recorded in Norw from the 1.13th cent onwards (Lind 1241–42).

If this pers.n. really does lie behind the Y p.n., then it must be in a short form *Abbi* q.v. or *Albe*. The p.n. might alternatively contain a short form of *Hallbjørn* q.v.

For inorganic initial *H-* see § 140i. For *A-* for *Q-* see § 42.

## Qlvir

Y. b) **Willelmus f. Oluir**, witness, c1155–86 YCh 7. 125.

Probably, first el. \**Alu-*. Second el. *-vér*. For an alternative interpretation involving OIcel *ol* “ale”, however, see Olaf Olsen Hørg, *Hov og Kirke*, Copenhagen 1966, 88–89 and n.154. Borne by one of the orig settlers in Icel but soon drops out of use there. Common in Norw (Lind 1244–49). Possibly found in Swed both independently and in p.ns. (Lundgren-Brate 318, 187–88). One doubtful instance is recorded in Dan (DgP 1610) and

the name may also be found in a p.n. there (B. Hjorth Pedersen Bebygg. på -by 40).

For *O-* for *Ō-* see § 42. For *u* for *v* see § 67.

## Ø

For names in *Øð-* see under *Auð-*.

### Øpi

Y. a) in *Ephede* 1496, *Eppett Ing* 1540 (Eppage Wood, Hartwith, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 147.

Either an orig by.n., cf. *øpa* “to shriek, cry out” (O. v. Friesen Upplands runstenar, 1907, 67) or a short form of names in *Øð-* (DgP 1614). A Swed rune-engraver bears the name *Øpir* (e.g. SRU nrs 922, 970, 973) and there are a fair number of instances of *Øpi*, *Øbi* in Dan (DgP 1614; DS II 47, XI 188). The name is recorded in DB as *Epi*, *Epy* (Feilitzen 429).

For *E-* for *Ø-* see § 44. For syncope of *e* < inflexional ending see §§ 58.62.

## LIST OF FIRST ELEMENTS IN THE PERSONAL NAMES

**Á-** < \**ana*, the intensive prefix “all-” (Nord.Kult.VII 62), in *Amundr* (?).  
**Ā-** < \**anu*, “ancestor” (Nord.Kult.VII 62), in *Aleifr*, *Óláfr*. N.B. The syncope of unaccented vowels took place earlier before strongly accented syllables and hence we have *Ā-leifr*, with loss of *u* before the period of *u*-mutation, but *Ó-láfr*, with loss of *u* after the period of *u*-mutation (see s.v. *-leifr* for a discussion of accentuation).

**Að-** < \**aþa*, of uncertain origin but perhaps identical with the stem of *aðal*- “noble” (Nord.Kult.VII 62), in *Alfr* (< \**Aþa-wulfar*), *Ann* (?) < \**Aðwin*).

**Ag-** < \**aʒa*, probably identical with the stem in OWScand *agi* “awe, terror, uproar” but possibly < a PrimGerm \**aʒ-* “point”. There is a side-form *Ōg-* < \**azu* (Nord.Kult.VII 63). In *Agmundr*, *Amundr* (?), *Ōgvindr* (?).

**Al-** < \**alu*, “protection, fortune”, with side-form *Ōl-* (Nord.Kult.VII 63). In *Almóðr*, *Ōlbjörn* (?), *Ōlvir*. For an alternative interpretation, however, see Olaf Olsen Hørg, Hov og Kirke, Copenhagen 1966, 88–89.

**Alf-**, identical with OIcel *alfr* “elf” (Nord.Kult.VII 64) in *Alfgeirr*, \**Alfgrímr*, *Alfketill*, *Alfrún* f. *Alfvaldr*, \**Alfvarðr*.

**An-** < \**and*, the preposition “against” (Nord.Kult.VII 64,202; Arkiv 80 (1965) 200 ff.), in *Anundr* (?), *Atsur* (< \**antswarur*).

**Arn-**, identical with OIcel *ørn* “eagle”, which shows *u*-mutation (Nord.Kult.VII 65), in *Arnbjörn*, \**Arnbrandr*, *Arngeirr*, *Arngrímr*, *Arnketill*, *Arnlaugr*, *Arnoddr*, *Arnrøðr*, *Arnþórr*, *Arnulfr*.

**Ás-** < \**ansu* cf. OIcel *áss*, *óss* “a god” (Nord.Kult.VII 65), in *Ásbjörn*, *Ásfrøðr*, *-friðr*, *Ásgautr*, *Ásgeirr*, *Ásgerða* f., *Ásketill*, *Áslákr*, *Ásmundr*, *Ásulfr*, *Ásvarðr*, *Ásviðr*.

**Auð-**, occasionally written **Od-**, of obscure origin but perhaps < *auðr* “wealth” or < the stem in *auðinn* “that befalls one” and *jóð* “new-born baby” (Nord.Kult.VII 66), in *Auðbjörn*, *Auðgeirr*, *Auðgrímr*, *Auðhildr* f., *Auðketill*, *Auðmundr*, *Auðulfr*, *Auðunn*, \**Auðviðr*, \**Auðvindr* (?).

**Berg-**, identical with the Norw dialect word *berg* “protection, help” (Nord.Kult.VII 66), in *Bergþórr*, *Bergulfr*.

**Björn-**, “bear” (Nord.Kult.VII 66) in *Björnkarl* or *-ketill*, *Björnulfr*.

**Bót-**, probably to be compared with OIcel *bót* “remedy, improvement”, related to \**bat-* in *betri*. Some scholars consider this el. to be a loan from

the continent or England but it is certain that in Scand it was interpreted as *bót* (Nord.Kult.VII 66–67), in *Bóthildir*.

**Brand-**, identical with OIcel *brandr* m. “sword”. A rare el. which is possibly only found in loan-names in Scand (Nord.Kult.VII 67), in *Brandulfr* (cf. ContGerm *Brandulf*).

**Brún-**, identical with OIcel *brúnn* “brown, bright”, in *\*Brúnkarl*, *Brúnketill*.

**Bryn-**, and before a vowel *Brynj-*, identical with OIcel *brynja* f. “corselet, mail-coat”, in *Brynhildir* f. (probably from ContGerm *Brünhilde*), *Brynjulfr*.

**Boð-, Boðv-** < *\*baðu*, identical with OIcel *boð* gen. *boðvar* “battle” (Nord. Kult. VII 67), in *Bárðr*, *Boðvarr*.

**Ei-** < *\*aiwa*, the adverb “always”, cf. Gothic *aiw* “sometimes” (Nord.Kult. VII 68), possibly in *Eileifr*, *Eiríkr*.

**Ein-** < *\*aina*, “one, alone, single” (Nord.Kult.VII 68–69), in *Einarr* and possibly in *Eileifr*, *Eiríkr*. Ivar Modéer, however, suggests in Svenska Personnamn 34 that names in **Ein-** were, in fact, original by.ns. and not normal dithematic names, e.g. *\*Aina-hariak* “he who fights alone”, cf. OIcel *einherjar* m.pl., *\*Aina-laiðar* “sole heir”.

**Eind-**. A difficult el. to interpret. Possibly in *Eindriði*.

**Ey-**, and before a vowel **Eyj-**, of uncertain origin but possibly (i) < *\*auja* “fortune, gift”, or (ii) cf. OIcel *ey* “island” < PrimGerm *\*awiō-*, or (iii) from confusion with **Ei-** < *\*aiwa* (Nord.Kult.VII 70–71), in *Eyjulfr*, *Eymundr*, *Eysteinn*.

**Far-**, cf. OIcel *far* “ship, passage”, in *Faraldr* (?), *\*Fargrímr*, *Farþegn*, *Farulfr*.

**Fast-**, cf. OIcel *fastr* “firm, fast”, more frequent as a second el. (Nord.Kult. VII 119), in *Fastulfr*.

**Frey-**, from the name of the god *Freyr* (Nord.Kult.VII 111), in *Freysteinn* (?).

**Frið-**, identical with OIcel *friðr* m. “peace”, probably in the sense of “protection” (Nord.Kult.VII 72, 96), in *\*Friðgestr*.

**Frost-**, cf. OIcel *frost* n. “frost”, in *\*Frosthildir* f., *\*Frostulfr*.

**Garð-**, identical with OIcel *garðr* m. “yard, enclosure” but used in the older sense “protection”, cf. the simplex name *Garðr* (Nord.Kult.VII 41, 104), in *\*Garðulfr*.

**Geir-**, identical with OIcel *geirr* “spear” (Nord.Kult.VII 72), in *Geirmundr*, *Geirsteinn*, *Geirulfr*, *Geirvarðr*.

**Gjaf-**, “gift” from the stem in *gjafari*, *gjafmíldr* etc., in *\*Gjafvaldr* (?).

**Gjalf-**, cf. OIcel *gjalfr* “surf” (Finnur Jónsson APhS 9. 294) in *Gylfi* (< *\*Gjalfvér*).

**Grím-**, cf. OIcel *grímr* m. “mask” (Nord.Kult.VII 41, 73), in *\*Grímbjörn*, *Grímketill*, *\*Grímvarðr*.

**Guð-**, and the side-form **Goð-**, cf. OIcel *guð*, *goð* n.pl. “the gods” (Nord. Kult.VII 73–74), in *Guðfriðr*, *Guðlaugr*, *Guðleikr*, *Guðmundr*, *Guðríðr* f., *Guðrøðr*, *-riðr*, *Guðþormr*, *Guðvarðr*.

**Gunn-** < \**gunþi*, identical with OIcel *gunnr*, *guðr* “battle” (Nord.Kult.VII 74), in *Gunnarr*, *Gunnfrøðr*, *-friðr*, \**Gunngeifu* f. (hybrid), *Gunnhildr* f., *Gunnhvatr*, *-hvati*, *Gunnketill*, *Gunnvarðr*, *Gunnvǫr* f.

**Há-**. This el. has at least three possible origins:– (i) < PrimGerm \**hanha* “horse”, related to OIcel *hestr* < PrimScand \**hanhista* (Nord.Kult.VII 75–76), (ii) < PrimScand \**hauha*, cf. OIcel *hár* “high” (Nord.Kult.VII 75), (iii) < PrimScand \**hapu*, cf. OIcel *høð* “battle”, with loss of *ð* < *þ* before *w* in the second el. in PrimScand (Nord.Kult.VII 75). It is rarely possible to determine the origin of the el. in the individual names so all names in *Há-* are here gathered under one heading and references are given to cognate names in OE and ContGerm:– *Hákon*, *Hámundr* (cf. OE *Homund* and ContGerm *Hahmund* (i), OE *Hēahmund* (ii)), *Hásteinn* (cf. OE *Hēahstān* (ii)), *Háulfr* (cf. ContGerm *Haholf* (i), *Haduwolf* (iii)), *Hávarðr*.

**Haf-**, identical with OIcel *haf* n. “sea” in *Hafgrímr*.

**Hall-**, identical with OIcel *hallr* m. “flat stone” (Nord.Kult.VII 77), in *Hallbjǫrn* (?), *Halldórr* (?), *Hallvarðr*.

**Her-**, and once **Har-**, < \**harja*, cf. OIcel *herr* m. “army” (Nord.Kult.VII 77–78; J. Kousgård Sørensen *Bebygg. på -sted* 246–47), in *Haraldr*, *Hergeirr*, *Herleifr*, *Hermóðr*, *Hervarðr*.

**Hildi-**, and before a vowel **Hild-**, < \**heldiō*, cf. OIcel *hildr* f. “battle” (Nord.Kult.VII 78), in *Hildigerðr* f., *Hildulfr*.

**Hjǫr-**, identical with OIcel *hjǫrr* m. “sword” in *Hjǫrleifr* (?).

**Holm-**, identical with OIcel *holmr* m. “island” (Nord.Kult.VII 79), in *Holmketill*.

**Hún-**, of doubtful origin but perhaps identical with OIcel *húnn* m. “bear-cub” or perhaps < PrimScand \**hūn* “high” (Nord.Kult.VII 80), in \**Húnhildr* f., \**Húnketill* (?), *Húnrøðr*, *Húnulfr* (?).

**Hundi-**, and before a vowel **Hund-**, cf. perhaps OIcel *hundr* m. “dog”, in \**Hundigeirr*, \**Hundigrímr*, *Hundulfr*.

**Ingi-** and before a vowel **Ing-**, of doubtful origin but perhaps related to Greek ἔνυχος “lance, staff” (Nord.Kult.VII 80–83), in *Ingifríðr* f., *Ingileif* f., \**Ingileifr*, *Ingimann*, *Ingimarr*, *Ingimundr*, *Ingiriðr* f., *Ingulfr* and possibly *Ivarr*.

**Járn-**, identical with OIcel *járn* n. “iron”, in \**Járnulfr*

**Jó-** < \**ehwa*, cf. OIcel *jór* “horse” (Nord.Kult.VII 83), in *Jóarr*, *Jókell*, *Jórekr*, *Jósteinn*.

**Jól-** < \**ighul* “sea-urchin” (E. Wessén SRSö 353), in \**Jólvarðr*.

**Jór-** < \**ebura*, cf. OIcel *jofurr* “prince”, OE *eofor* “wild boar”. The name el. probably has the sense “wild boar” or “wild-boar helmet” (Nord.Kult.VII 83), in \**Jórhildr* f.

**Ketil-**, alternating with **Kell-**, identical with OIcel *ketill* m. “cauldron, helmet” and hence “chieftain”. Cf. also the simplex name and the second el. *-ketill* (Nord.Kult.VII 85), in *Ketilbjörn*, \**Ketildagr*, \**Ketilfrøðr*, *-friðr*, \**Ketilgrímr*.

**Kol-**, identical with OIcel *kol* n.pl. “coals”, probably indicating dark colouring (Nord.Kult.VII 50, 85), in *Kolbeinn*, *Kolbrandr*, \**Kolbrúnn*, *Kolgrímr*, *Kolsteinn*, *Kolsveinn*.

**Leið-**, cf. either the OIcel adj. *leiðr* “evil, loathed” or *leið* f. “journey, path”, in *Leiðulfr*.

**Leik-**, cf. OIcel *leikr* m. “game, sport”, probably indicating skill with weapons (Nord.Kult.VII 195), in \**Leikulfr*.

**Lið-**, cf. either OIcel *liðr* m. “joint, generation” or Icel *lið* n. “household, assistance” (Nord.Kult.VII 114), in \**Liðulfr*.

(H) **líf-**, cf. OIcel *hlíf* f. “protection”, possibly in \**Liulfr* (? < \**Hlífulfr*).

**Lík-**, cf. OIcel *lík* n. “body, corpse”, in \**Líkulfr*.

**Lín-**, cf. OIcel *lín* n. “flax, linen”, in \**Línhildr* f.

**Lund-**, cf. OIcel *lundr* m. “sacred grove” (Feilitzen Notes 58), in \**Lundvarr* or *Lundvǫr* f.

**Móð-**, cf. OIcel *móðr* m. “excitement, wrath”, in *Móðulfr*.

**Odd-**, identical with OIcel *oddr* m. “point of weapon” (Nord.Kult.VII 85), in *Oddgeirr*, \**Oddgrímr*, *Oddketill*.

**Óðin-**, the god’s name *Óðinn*, ? in *Óðinkarl*, *-kárr*.

**Orm-**, identical with OIcel *ormr* m. “snake, serpent” (Nord.Kult.VII 85–86), in *Ormketill*.

**Ótt-**, probably related to OIcel *ótti* “terror” (Nord.Kult.VII 86), in *Óttarr* (cf. OE *Ōththere*).

**Ráð-**, identical with OIcel *ráð* n. “counsel, advice” (Nord.Kult.VII 87), in \**Ráðhildr* f.

(H) **rafn-**, identical with OIcel *hrafn* “raven” (Nord.Kult.VII 79), in *Rafnhildr* f., *Rafnketill*, *Rafnsvarttr*.

**Ragn-**, cf. OIcel *regin* n.pl., gen. *ragna* “ruling powers, the gods”. The pers.n. el. probably has the sense “advice”, cf. Gothic *ragin* pl. “advice, decision”, but it may indicate “the gods” (Nord.Kult.VII 87), in *Ragnaldr*, *Ragnhildr* f.

(H) **reið-**, the same word as the first el. in *Hreiðgotar*. Its origin is not certain but it is probably to be compared with OIcel *hreiðr* “nest”, perhaps in the sense “home” (Nord.Kult.VII 79), in *Reiðarr*, *Reiðulfr*.

**Rík-**, cf. the OIcel adj. *ríkr* “wealthy, powerful” (Nord.Kult.VII 266), in *Rikulfr*.

(H) **ring-**, cf. OIcel *hringr* m. “ring, link”, possibly referring to mail-coat (Nord.Kult.VII 198), in *Ringulfr*.

(H) **róð-**, cf. OIcel *hróðr* m. “fame, praise” (Nord.Kult.VII 79), in *Róaldr*, *Róarr*, *Róðmarr*, *Róðmundr*, *Róðulfr*.

(H) **ross-**, identical with OIcel *hross* n. “horse”, in *Rosketill*.

**Saks-**, cf. either OIcel *sax* n. “short sword” or *Saxar* m.pl. “Saxons”, in *Saksulfr*.

**Sal-**, identical with OIcel *salr* m. “house” (Nord.Kult.VII 88), in *Salmundr*.

**Sand-**, cf. OIcel *sandr* m. “sand” (Nord.Kult.VII 112), in *Sandulfr*.

**Sig-** < \**sigi*, the stem in OIcel *sigr* m. “victory” (Nord.Kult.VII 89), in *Sigarr*, *Sigfrøðr*, *-friðr*, *Siggautr*, *Sighvatr*, *-hvati*, *Sigketill*, *Sigmundr*, *Sigriðr* f., *Sigsteinn*, *Sigtryggr*, *Sigulfr*, *Sigvarðr*.

**Skjald-**, identical with OIcel *skjold* f., gen. *skjaldar* “shield” (Nord.Kult.VII 90), in \**Skjaldfriðr* f., \**Skjaldmarr*, *Skjaldvøf* f.

**Snæ-** < \**snaiwa*, cf. OIcel *snær* m. “snow”, in *Snæbjörn*, *Snækolfr*.

**Stafn-**, cf. OIcel *stafn* m. “stem of ship”, in \**Stafnhildr* f.

**Stark-**, cf. the OIcel adj. *sterkr* “strong”, in \**Starkulfr* (perhaps a loan from ContGerm).

**Stein-**, identical with OIcel *steinn* “stone” (Nord.Kult.VII 90), in *Steinbjörn*, *Steinfinnr*, *Steingrímr*, *Steinketill*, \**Steinlitr*, *Steinulfr*, *Steinvøf*, *-varr*.

**Styr-**, identical with OIcel *stýrr* m. “tumult, uproar”. Lind suggests that the origin of this el. may be the nick-name *Styr-* prefixed to *Björn* to give *Styrbjörn hinn sterki* (a Swed hero) but this is uncertain (Nord.Kult.VII 90-91), in *Styrkárr*, *Styrlaugr*.

**Sunn-**, probably the common Germ word for “sun”, which dropped out of use in Scand at an early period (Nord.Kult.VII 112), in *Sunnifa* f., *Sunnulfr*.

**Svan-**, cf. OIcel *svanr* m. “swan”, in *Svanhildr* f.

**Svart-**, cf. OIcel *svartr* “black”, in \**Svartbrandr*, *Svartgeirr*, \**Svartmundr*.

**Svein-**, identical with OIcel *sveinn* “young man, servant”, in *Sveinbjörn*.

**Svín-**, identical with OIcel *svín* n. “pig”, in \**Svínhildr* f.

**Sæ-**, identical with OIcel *sær* m. “sea” (Nord.Kult.VII 91), in \**Sægrímr*.

**Þing-**, identical with OIcel *þing* n “assembly”, in *Þingulfr*.



**Þjóð-**, identical with OIcel *þjóð* f. “people” (Nord.Kult.VII 93), in *Þjóðulfr*.

**Þór-**, alternating with **Þor-** before all consonants other than antevocalic *h*, the god’s name *Þórr* < \**þunraz*, in *Þólfr* (< *Þórulfr*), *Þóraldr*, \**Þórar* f. (?), \**Þorbert* (hybrid), *Þorbjörn*, *Þorbrandr*, *Þórðr* (< *Þorfrøðr*), *Þorfinnr*, *Þorfriðr*, *Þorgautr*, *Þorgeirr*, *Þorgisl*, -*gils*, *Þorgrímr*, \**Þorhefed* (hybrid), *Þórhildir* f., *Þórir* (? < \**Þorvér*), *Þorketill*, *Þorlaug* f., *Þormóðr*, *Þormundr*, *Þóroddr*, *Þórormr* (?), \**Þorstacius* (hybrid) (?), *Þorsteinn*, *Þórulfr*, *Þorvarðr*, \**Þorwið* (hybrid) f., *Þyri* f. (< *Þór* + PrimScand \**wih*).

**Þorn-**, identical with OIcel *þorn* m. “thorn”, in *Þornoddr*, \**Þornulfr*.

**Ulf-**, identical with OIcel *ulfr* m. “wolf” (Nord.Kult.VII 91), in *Ulfarr*, *Ulfbjörn*, *Ulfgeirr*, \**Ulfgrímr*, *Ulfketill*, *Ulfjóðr*, *Ulfsteinn*.

**Unn-**, cf. the simplex name *Unnr* from the stem in the vb *unna* “to love”, or the name *Unnr* of one of Ægir’s daughters, cf. OIcel *unnr* f. “wave” (Nord.Kult.VII 48), in \**Unnketill* (?).

**Úr-**, cf. OIcel *úrr* “ur-ox”, ? in \**Úrketill*.

**Val-**, of doubtful origin but perhaps < PrimGerm \**walha-* “Celtic; foreign” or < PrimGerm \**wala-* “the dead on a battle-field” (Nord.Kult.VII 92, 117), in *Valþjófr*.

**Vé-**, identical with OIcel *vé* n. “sanctuary” (Nord.Kult.VII 92), in *Végeirr*, *Vémundr*, *Vígautr*.

**Vest-**, cf. OIcel *vestr* n. “the west”, probably indicating the bearer’s origin (Nord.Kult.VII 102), in *Vestarr*, \**Vestmundr*.

**Víg-**, identical with OIcel *víg* n. “battle, strife” (Nord.Kult.VII 93), in *Vígarr*, *Vígleikr*, *Vígmundr*.

**Vík-**, identical with OIcel *vík* f. “creek”, perhaps particularly Viken in Norway (Nord.Kult.VII 102), in *Víkarr*.

**Ýr-** < PrimGerm \**iwa* “yew-tree, bow of yew” (Nord.Kult.VII 81), possibly in *Ívarr*.

## LIST OF SECOND ELEMENTS IN THE PERSONAL NAMES

**-arna**, fem. of **-arinn**, of doubtful origin, either < *arinn* m. “hearth” or more probably < *\*arin-* related to *ǫrn* “eagle” (Nord.Kult.VII 99), in *Þórarna* f. (?).

**-arr** < *\*harjar*, related to *herr* m. “army”, probably in the sense “warrior” (Nord.Kult.VII 100), in *Boðvarr*, *Einarr*, *Gunnarr*, *Ívarr* (?), *Jóarr* (?), *Óttarr* (?), *Reiðarr* (?), *Róarr* (?), *Sigarr* (?), *Ulfarr* (?).

**-arr** < *\*gairar*, cf. OIcel *geirr* m. “spear” (Nord.Kult.VII 100–01), in *Ivarr* (?), *Jóarr* (?), *Óttarr* (?), *Róarr* (?), *Sigarr* (?), *Ulfarr* (?).

**-arr** < *\*wariar*, cf. OIcel *vikverjar* “dwellers in Viken” (Nord.Kult.VII 102), in *Róarr* (?), *Vestarr* (?), *Vikarr* (?).

**-arr**, a colourless suffix arising from the frequency with which **-arr** deriving from various origins appears as a pers.n. el. (Nord.Kult.VII 102), in *Vestarr* (?).

**-beinn**, identical with OIcel *bein* n. “bone, leg”, in *Kolbeinn*.

**-björn**, identical with OIcel *björn* m. “bear” (Nord.Kult.VII 102), in *Arn-björn*, *Asbjörn*, *Auðbjörn*, *Grímbjörn*, *Hallbjörn* (?), *Ketilbjörn*, *Snæbjörn*, *Steinbjörn*, *Sveinbjörn*, *Þorbjörn*, *Ulfbjörn*, *Ǫlbjörn* (?).

**-brandr**, identical with OIcel *brandr* m. “sword” (Nord.Kult.VII 102, 121), in *\*Arnbrandr*, *Kolbrandr*, *\*Svartbrandr*, *Þorbrandr*, *\*Úhtbrandr* (hybrid).

**-brúnn**, cf. OIcel *brúnn* “brown, bright”, in *\*Kolbrúnn*.

**-dagr**, identical with OIcel *dagr* m. “day”, in *\*Ketildagr*.

**-finnr**, cf. OIcel *Finnr* m. “Laplander” (Nord.Kult.VII 56, 103), in *Steinfinnr*, *Þorfinnr*.

**-friðr** < *\*friður*, cf. also *-frøðr* below, in *Ásfríðr*, *Guðfríðr*, *\*Gunnfríðr*, *\*Ketilfríðr*, *\*Sigfríðr*, *Þorfríðr*.

**-fríðr** < *\*fríðiðr*, probably a noun formation from the adj. *fríðr*, related to Gothic *frijōn* “to love”, with orig meaning “loved”, later “fair”, in *Guð(f)fríðr* f., *Ingi(f)fríðr* f., *Sigríðr* f., *\*Skjaldfríðr* f.

**-frøðr** < *\*friður* “love, peace”, cf. also *-friðr* above (Nord.Kult.VII 103), in *Arnfrøðr*, *Ásfrøðr*, *Bárðr* (? *\*Boð-frøðr*), *Gunnfrøðr*, *Húnfrøðr* (?), *\*Ketilfrøðr*, *Sigfrøðr*, *Þórðr* (< *Þorfrøðr*).

**-gauti**, with forms **-goti**, **-guti**, weak forms corresponding to *-gautr* (cf. be-

low) (DgP 1702), possibly in *Auti* (? < \**Agguti*).

**-gautr**, with side-forms **-gotr**, **gut-** developed under secondary stress. The el. was probably originally Swed, since it means “man from Gautland” (Nord.Kult.VII 104, 122), in *Ásgautr*, *Siggautr*, *Þorgautr*, *Vígautr*.

**-geirr**, identical with OIcel *geirr* m. “spear” (Nord.Kult.VII 104), in *Alfgeirr*, *Arngeirr*, *Asgeirr*, *Auðgeirr*, *Hergeirr*, \**Hundigeirr*, *Oddgeirr*, *Svartgeirr*, *Þorgeirr*, *Ulfgeirr*, *Vígarr* or *Végeirr*.

**-gerðr**, with weak side-form **-gerða**, the fem. counterparts of masc. *-garðr*, < \**garðiðr* (Nord.Kult.VII 46–47, 105), in *Ásgerða*, *Hildigerðr*.

**-gestr** < \**zastir* “guest” (Nord.Kult.VII 53, 105), in \**Friðgestr*.

**-gísl**, alternating with **-gils**, which appears in positions of secondary stress. Probably to be compared with Longobard *gīsil* “arrow-shaft”, OIcel *geisli* m. “sun-beam” (Nord.Kult.VII 41, 105), in *Þorgísl*, *-gils*.

**-grímr**, identical with OIcel *grímr* m. “mask” (Nord.Kult.VII 41, 105), in \**Alfgrímr*, *Arngrímr*, *Auðgrímr*, \**Fargrímr*, *Hafgrímr*, \**Hundigrímr*, \**Ketilgrímr*, *Kolgrímr*, \**Oddgrímr*, *Steingrímr*, \**Ságrímr*, *Þorgrímr*, \**Ulfgrímr*.

**-hildir**, **-hilda**, identical with OIcel *hildir* f. “battle” (Nord.Kult.VII 74, 106), in *Auðhildir* f., *Bóthildir* f., *Brynhildir* f., \**Frosthildir* f., *Gunnhildir* f., \**Húnhildir* f., *Jórhildir* f., \**Línhildir* f., \**Ráðhildir* f., *Rafnhildir* f., *Ragnhildir* f., \**Stafnhildir* f., *Svanhildir* f., \**Svinhildir* f., *Þórhildir* f.

**-hvatr**, with weak side-form **-hvati** apparently developed in England, cf. OIcel *hvatr* “brave, bold” (Nord.Kult.VII 119), in *Gunnhvatr*, *-hvati*, *Sighvatr*, *-hvati*.

**-karl**, identical with OIcel *karl* m. “man”, in *Þjornkarl* (?), \**Brúnkarl*, *Óðinkarl* (?).

**-kárr**, a doubtful el. but cf. possibly OIcel \**kárr* “curly-haired” (Nord.Kult.VII 119–20, 201; NoB 32 (1944) 101 ff.), in *Óðinkárr* (?) *Styrkárr*.

**-ketill**, with the side-form **-kell** developed under secondary stress (Nord.Kult.VII 106), “cauldron, helmet” and hence “chieftain bearing helmet” (Nord.Kult.VII 43), in *Alfketill*, *Arnketill*, *Ásketill*, *Auðketill*, *Þjornketill* (?), *Brúnketill*, *Grímketill*, *Gunnketill*, *Holmketill*, *Húnketill* (?), *Jókell*, \**Lēofketill* (hybrid), *Oddketill*, *Ormketill*, *Rafnketill*, *Rosketill*, *Sigketill*, *Steinketill*, *Þorketill*, *Ulfketill*, \**Unnketill* (?), \**Úrketill*.

**-kolfr**, identical with OIcel *kólfr* m. “tongue of bell, kind of bolt”, in *Snækolfr*.

**-kollr**, identical with OIcel *kollr* m. “head, shaven crown”, probably with the extended sense “man” (Nord.Kult.VII 275), in \**Lēofkollr* (hybrid).

**-konr**, identical with OIcel *konr* m. “descendant” (Nord.Kult.VII 76, 106), probably in *Hákon*.

- laug**, the fem. form corresponding to *-laugr* q.v., in *Þorlaug* f.
- laugr**, with the forms **-logr**, **-lugr** developed under secondary stress. Of uncertain origin (Nord.Kult.VII 106–107), in *Arnlaug* (?), *Guðlaugr*, *Styrlaugr*.
- leif**, the fem. form corresponding to *-leifr* q.v., in *Ingileif* f.
- leifr**, with the form **-láfr** developed under secondary stress, < \**laiðar*. For the stem cf. OIcel *leif* f. “inheritance”. As a pers.n. el. it probably has the sense “son” (Nord.Kult.VII 107), in *Aleifr*, *Eileifr*, *Herleifr* (?), *Hjorleifr* (?), \**Ingileifr*, *Óláfr*.
- leikr**, with the form **-lákr** developed under secondary stress, “play, battle” (Nord.Kult.VII 109), in *Áslákr*, *Guðleikr*, *Vígleikr*.
- litr**, ? cf. OIcel *litr* m. “colour, hue, dye” or *litr* “hued, coloured”, in *Steinlitr*.
- ljótr**, probably identical with OIcel \**ljótr* “giving light”, OE *leoht* “light” (Nord.Kult.VII 43, 120) but may alternatively be related to OIcel *ljótr* “ugly”, in *Ulfjótr*.
- márr**, with the weakened form **-marr**, < \**māriR* with loss of *i* in positions of secondary stress before the period of *i*-mutation, cf. OIcel *mær* “famous” (Nord.Kult.VII 120), in *Ingimarr*, *Róðmarr*, \**Skjaldmarr*.
- móðr**, identical with OIcel *móðr* m. “excitement, wrath” (Nord.Kult.VII 109), in *Almóðr*, *Hermóðr*, *Þormóðr*.
- mundr**, with weak side-form **-mundi**, OWScand \**-mundr* < \**mundur* “protector”. The oldest names in *-mundr* are probably those whose first el. is the name of some higher power or sacred object (Nord.Kult.VII 109–10). The el. might alternatively be identical with OIcel *mundr* m. “gift” (ib. and Adigard 207). In *Agmundr*, *Amundr*, *Ásmundr*, *Auðmundr*, *Eymundr*, *Geirmundr*, *Guðmundr*, *Hámundr*, *Ingimundr*, *Róðmundr*, *Salmundr*, *Sigmundr*, \**Skemundr* (first el. obscure), *Svartmundr*, *Þormundr*, *Vémundr*, \**Vestmundr*, *Vígmundr*.
- oddr**, identical with OIcel *oddr* m. “(spear-)point” (Nord.Kult.VII 110), in *Arnoddr*, \**Þornoddr*, *Þóroddr*.
- ormr**, identical with OIcel *ormr* m. “serpent, snake”, in *Þórormr* (?) and possibly in *Guðþormr*.
- riði**, with the strong side-form **-riðr**, of doubtful origin, in *Eindriði*, *-riðr*.
- ríkr**, with the weakened form **-rekr** developed under secondary stress, in *Eiríkr* probably from \**rikiar* “mighty”, in other names, including *Jórekr*, probably from a substantive \**rikr* – an early Germanic loan from Celtic *rix* = Lat *rex* (Nord.Kult.VII 120–21).
- run**, identical in form with OIcel *rún* f. “confidante” but the sense in

pers.ns. is related to *rúnar* f.pl. “secret, wisdom” (Nord.Kult.VII 110–11), in *Alfrún* f.

**-steinn**, identical with OIcel *steinn* m. “stone” (Nord.Kult.VII 111), in *Eysteinn*, *Freysteinn* (?), *Geirsteinn*, *\*Goldsteinn* (hybrid), *Hásteinn*, *Jósteinn*, *Kolsteinn*, *Sigsteinn*, *Þorsteinn*, *Ulfsteinn*.

**-svartr**, identical with OIcel *svart* “black”, in *Rafnsvart*.

**-sveinn**, identical with OIcel *sveinn* “young man”, rare as a second el., in *\*Godsveinn* (hybrid), *Kolsveinn*.

**-tryggr**, identical with the OIcel adj. *tryggr* “safe, trusty”, in *Sigtryggr*.

**-þjófr**, of doubtful origin, possibly related to OIcel *þjófr* “thief” or to PrimScand *\*-þewar* “servant” with confusion with *þjófr*. For a full discussion of the problems relating to this el. see Nord.Kult.VII 116–18, in *Valþjófr*.

**-þormr**, probably cf. the vb. *þyrma* “to protect, show respect to”, possibly in *Guðþormr*.

**-þórr**, with the side-form **-dórr**, probably formed from the name el. *-þórir* (either a derivative form in *-ir* or a compound < *\*Þunra-wihar*) (Nord.Kult.VII 95, 118), in *Arnþórr*, *Bergþórr*, *Halldórr* (?).

**-ulfr** < *\*wulfar*, with the side-form **-olfr** developed under secondary stress and in part due to *a*-mutation, “wolf” (Nord.Kult.VII 111–12), in *Alfr* (? < *\*apa-wulfar*), *Arnulfr*, *Ásulfr*, *Auðulfr*, *Bergulfr*, *Bjornulfr*, *Brandulfr*, *Brynjulfr*, *Eyjulfr*, *Farulfr*, *Fastulfr*, *Frostulfr*, *\*Garðulfr*, *Geirulfr*, *\*Háulfr*, *Hildulfr*, *Hundulfr*, *Húnulfr*, *Ingulfr*, *\*Járnulfr*, *Jaulfr*, *Leiðulfr*, *\*Leikulfr*, *\*Liðulfr*, *\*Ligulfr* (first el. obscure), *\*Likulfr*, *\*Liulfr*, *Móðulfr*, *Reiðulfr*, *Rikulfr*, *Ringulfr*, *\*Riulfr*, *Róðulfr*, *Saksulfr*, *Sandulfr*, *Sigulfr*, *\*Starkulfr*, *Steinulfr*, *Sunnulfr*, *Þingulfr*, *Þjóðulfr*, *Þólfr*, *\*Þornulfr*, *Þórulfr*.

**-un(n)**, developed under secondary stress from *vinr*, identical with OIcel *vinr* m. “friend”, in *Ann* (? < *\*Aðwin*), *Auðunn*.

**-urr** < *\*swarur* “answerer” (Nord.Kult.VII 113), in *Atsur*.

**-valdr**, with the weak side-form *-valdi*, also *-aldr*, *-aldi* with loss of *v* in positions of secondary stress, cf. OIcel *valdr* m. “ruler” (Nord.Kult.VII 113), in *Alfvaldr*, *Faraldr* (?), *\*Gjafvaldr* (?), *Haraldr*, *Ragnaldr*, *Róaldr*, *Þóraldr*.

**-varðr**, interchanging with *-vörðr* > *-orðr* > *-urðr* in positions of secondary stress, < *\*warður*, cf. OIcel *vörðr*, gen. *varðar* “guard, watchman” (Nord.Kult.VII 113), in *Alfvarðr*, *Ásvarðr*, *Bárðr* (? *\*Boð-varðr*), *\*Geirvarðr*, *\*Grimvarðr*, *Guðvarðr*, *Gunnvarðr*, *Hallvarðr*, *Hávarðr*, *Hervarðr*, *\*Jólvarðr*, *Sigvarðr*, *Þorvarðr*.

**-varr**, either < the adj. *varr* “aware” or < the noun *\*warjar* “protector”,

cf. the vb. *verja* “to defend” and *-arr* < *\*warjar* (Nord.Kult.VII 114), in *\*Lundvarr*, *Steinvarr*.

*-vér*, with the side-form *-vir* developed under secondary stress, probably < *\*wihar* “warrior”, related to OIcel *víg* n. “battle” (Nord.Kult.VII 115), in *Gylfi* (< *\*Gjalfvér*), *Þórir*, *Ólvir*.

*-vi* < *\*wih* “battle” (DgP 1446), in *Þyri* (< *\*Þyr-wih*).

*-viðr*, probably identical with OIcel *viðr* m. “tree, wood” (Nord.Kult.VII 115), in *Asviðr*, *\*Auðviðr*.

*-vindr*, with the side-form *-undr* developed under secondary stress, of uncertain interpretation but perhaps “Wend” (Nord.Kult.VII 115–16), in *Anundr* (?), *\*Auðvindr* (?), *\*Ógvindr* (?)

*-vǫr*, the fem. form corresponding to *-varr* q.v., in *Gunnvǫr*, *\*Lundvǫr*, *Skjaldvǫr*, *Steinvǫr*.

## ADDENDA

p. 3, s.n. **Aki**. Add “in Acketoft 1316 (f.n. in Swineshead, Kirton W, L) Kirkman 115.”

p. 7, s.n. **Alfgeirr**. Add “quam Radulfus f. Algeri tenuit (Hessle, Y) [c1192–1218] l.14th YCh 12. 89.”

p. 14, s.n. **Arnketill**. Add “in Arkelcroft [1154–c66] 1280 (f.n. in Keldholme, Ryedale W, YN) YCh 9. 12. – in Arkeltwayt 1301 (Thwaite, Aysgarth, Hang W W, YN) PNYN 260.”

p. 24, s.n. **Ási**. Add “in Esewath’ [1136–45] 1442 (f.n. nr E Witton, Hang W W, YN) YCh 4. 19.”

p. 27, s.n. **Ásketill**. Add “in Astincroft 12th (f.n. in Middleton, U Claro W, YW) PNYW 5. 67. – in Astenacra 12th–13th (f.n. in Litton, W Staincliffe W, YW) PNYW 6. 127. – in Astinridding 13th (f.n. in Arthington, Skyrack W, YW) PNYW 4. 195. – in Estyngthorp’ 1483, Astynthorpe 1556 (Assenthorpe Green, L Strafforth W, YW) PNYW 1. 16. A.H.Smith suggests that Assenthorpe Green may contain a pers.n. *Āestān* (from *Æpelstān* or *Eādstān*).”

p. 29, s.n. **Ásketill**. Add “Astinus f. ejus (Alexander de Beningholm), witness, [ante 1193] 17th YCh 12. 83. – Aschetillo preposito de Wictona, witness, ante 1196 YCh 12. 55. – Anketino de Tranebi, witness, [1192–1218] 17th YCh 12. 85.”

p. 50, s.n. **\*Basing**. Add “in Basing grene 1554 (Bason Green, f.n. in Hessle, Osgoldcross W, YW) PNYW 2. 90.”

p. 60, s.n. **Bóndi**. Add “Willelmus f. Roberti f. Bondi, quod fuit Bonde (Hessle, Y) [1192–1218] l.14th YCh 12. 31.”

p. 67, s.n. **Brynhildr**. Add “in Brunildemire 1170–90 (f.n. in Stainburn, U Claro W, YW) PNYW 5. 50.”

p. 73, s.n. **Dúfa**. Add “Willelmus f. Duue (Hesselton, Y) [ante 1201] l.13th YCh 5. 247–48.”

p. 85, s.n. **Forni**. Add “Fornone clerico, witness, [1197–1201] 17th YCh 12. 14.”

p. 88, s.n. **Galmr**. Add “*Galmr* is also found in the Dan p.n. Galmstrup.”

p. 90, s.n. **Gamall**. Add “in Gamylcroft 1564 (f.n. in Bradfield, U Strafforth W, YW) PNYW 1. 243.”

pp. 93–94, s.n. **Gamall**. Add “ecclesiam de Burtona Gameli (Burton Pidsea, Y; Gamel is probably the name of a feudal tenant) [c1160–62] 13th YCh 2. 1307. – Gamello dispensatore, witness, [ante 1193] 17th YCh 12. 83.”

– **Roberto f. Gameli**, witness, ante 1196 YCh 12. 55.”

p. 97, s.n. **Gaukr**. Add “? in **Gaucrofte** 1341 (f.n. in Campsall, Osgoldcross W, YW) PNYW 2. 46.”

p. 101. Add “\***Gilliman**. Y. a) in **Gil(le)maneby** 1146–61 (Gilmonby, Gilling W W, YN). An Anglo-Scand formation, “*Gilli’s man*”, cf. **Áki-mann**.”

p. 101, s.n. **Gípr**, \***Gippi**. Add “in **Gyppecroft** c1200 (f.n. in Bicker, Kirton W, L) Kirkman 79. – in **Gippetoft** 1316 (f.n. in Swineshead, Kirton W, L) Kirkman 115.”

p. 106, s.n. **Grímr**. Add “in **Grimestorp** 1133 (now Wood Hall, W of Ouse and Derwent, YE) PNYE 258.”

p. 114, s.n. **Gunnhildr**. Add “in **Gonnildescroft** 1295 (f.n. in Fishtoft, Skirbeck W, L) Kirkman 134. – in **Gonyldbrygge** 1401 (f.n. in Swineshead, Kirton W, L) Kirkman 115.”

p. 117, s.n. **Gunni**. Add **Robertum f. Roberti f. Gunne** [1192–1218] l.14th YCh 12. 36.”

p. 128, s.n. **Halfdan**. Add. “**domus Aldani** (Wheldrake) [c1178–85] 17th YCh 11. 163.”

p. 146, s.n. **Húskarl**. Add “**Huscarl** gen. (Barnbrough) [1148–52] 13th YCh 8. 100–01, **Huschar** gen. [1154–57] ? YCh 3. p. 135.”

p. 150, s.n. **Ingimann**. Add “perhaps in **Yngmanne Logge** 1561 (Ingman Lodge, Horton in Ribblesdale, Ewcross W, YW) PNYW 6. 222.”

p. 153, s.n. **Ingus**. Add “**terram que fuit Walteri f. Hinghus** (Hessle) [1192–1218] l.14th YCh 12. 38.”

p. 154, s.n. **Jarl**. Add “in **Yarleshou** 12th–13th (f.n. in Long Marston, Ainsty W, YW) PNYW 4. 256.”

p. 164, s.n. **Kaupmann**. Add “**Willelmo Copman**, witness, [1182–1212] 17th YCh 11. 254.”

p. 167, s.n. **Ketill**. Add “in **Ketel-**, **Ketillrodis**, **-rodes** 1260 etc. (f.n. in Calverley, Morley W, YW) PNYW 3. 228.”

p. 171. Add “\***Keyrandi** or \***Kærandi**. Y. a) ? in **Cherendebi** DB, **Ker-netebi** 1190 etc. (Carnaby, Dickering W, E) PNYE 86. Orig by.ns., from the present participle of *keyra* “to drive” (PNYE) or of *kæra* “to prosecute at law” (DEPN). The later forms are difficult to explain.”

p. 174, s.n. **Kleppr**. Add “**Klepp** is found in a Dan p.n. in *-þorþ* (DS II 143).”

p. 180, s.n. **Kolsveinn**. Add “in **Colswaynthorp** 1345 (lost place, ? nr Hollym, Holderness W, YE) Lindkvist 68.”

p. 183. Add “\***Lakkandi**. Y. a) ? in **Lache(ne)bi** DB (Lackenby, Langbargh W W, N) PNYN 159. An orig by.n., perhaps “the shouting one”, cf.



OIcel *hlakka*, or “the slow one”, cf. Dan *lakke* (DEPN). A.H.Smith considered that the p.n. contains OIr *Lochan*.”

p. 187, s.n. **Leysingr**. Add “in **Lasing ridding** 1481 (f.n. in Markington, L Claro W, YW) PNYW 5. 183. – in **Laisingkerode** 13th (f.n. in Clayton W, Staincross W, YW) PNYW 1. 321.”

p. 187, s.n. **Liðulfr** or p. 188, s.n. **Likulfr**. Add “? in **Lichoulandes** 12th (f.n. in Thorpe, E Staincliffe W, W) PNYW 6. 97. Here A.H.Smith prefers to interpret the p.n. as “burial-mound lands” and this may well be a more satisfactory explanation of the f.n. in Kearby, too.”

p. 193, s.n. **Magnús**. Add “**Makus** gen. 1218–19 AssSel 552.”

p. 194, s.n. **Malti**. Add “in **Mauthorp** 1251, **Malthorpe** 1311 (Mawthorpe, Calcewath W, L) DEPN.”

p. 194, s.n. **Man(ni)**. Add “in **Mannetorp** 1185 (Manthorpe, Threo W, L) DEPN.”

p. 204, s.n. **Ormr**. Add “? in **Hormespit** [1159–71] 15th (f.n. in Moulton, Gilling E W, YN) YCh 4. 56.”

p. 207, s.n. **Orri**. Add “quod **Walterus Vvri tenuit** (Thorpe le Street) [c1190–c1210] 15th YCh 12. 84.”

p. 210, s.n. **Rafn**. Add “in **Rauenesberch, Rauenisberh** R<sub>1</sub> (Rainsber Scar, W Staincliffe W, YW) PNYW 6. 186. – in **Ravenesdale** 12th (Raven Dale, Dickering W, YE) PNYE 117. – in **Raven(e)scroft** 13th (f.n. in N Elmsall, Osgoldcross W, YW; named from **Osegote Raven** 13th) PNYW 2. 39. – ? in **Raveneswra** 1251 (f.n. in Marr, L Strafforth W, YW) PNYW 1. 76. – ? in **Ravenesbut** 1615 (f.n. in Thorne, L Strafforth W, YW) PNYW 1. 6.”

p. 212, s.n. **Rafnketill**. Add “**Stephanus Ram[chel]**, witness, [1161–c70] ? YCh 11. 104.”

p. 222, s.n. **Róðulfr**. Add “**Roulf’ de Helpring[ham]**, witness L, ante 1161 YCh 12. 106.”

p. 236, s.n. **Sigvarðr**. Add “in **Sywardtoft** 14th (f.n. in Frampton, Kirton W, L) Kirkman 90.”

p. 238, s.n. **Sigvarðr**. Add “in **Siwardherges** 1225 (f.n. in Haverah Park, L Claro W, W) PNYW 5. 120.”

p. 266. Add “**Stigamann**. Y. a) in **Stemanesbi** DB 305v, 331r, **Stemainesbi** 380v (lost village near Scalby, Pickering Lythe W, YN). An orig by.n. “highwayman”. Found in the Dan p.n. **Stimestrup** (*Stimanstorp* 1346) (Hald Vore Stednavne 132).”

p. 272, s.n. **Sunnulfr**. Add “in **Sonoluetre** 1243 (Sunley Wood, Birdforth W, YN) PNYN 192.”

p. 274. Add “**Svanhildr** fem. Y. a) in **Swannildene** 1329 (f.n.) PNYW

7. 301. First el. *Svan-*. Second el. *-hildir*. A number of instances occur in WScand (Lind 984) and Dan (DgP 1313)."

p. 274, s.n. *Svartr*. Add "? in *Suardrodeflat* 1292 (f.n. in Barwick in Elmet, Skyrack W, W) PNYW 4. 113. A.H.Smith considered that this f.n. contains the OE pers.n. *Sigeward*."

p. 276, s.n. *Sveinn*. Add "in *Sueyneshyll* c1220 (f.n. in Frampton, Kirton W, L) Kirkman 90. – *Swein* cementarius, witness L, ante 1161 YCh 12. 106."

pp. 278–80, s.n. *Sveinn*. Add "*Suano* abl., witness, c1100 YCh 12. 15. – *Swano* [de Swinton] dat. [1154–63] l.13th YCh 12. 78. – *Radulphum* f. *Swain* [1192–1218] l.14th YCh 12. 39."

p. 287, s.n. *Tóki*. Add "croftum *Thoche* (Hessle, Y) [c1160–81] 17th YCh 12. 21."

p. 289, s.n. *Tóli*. Add "? in *Tolehus* 12th (f.n. in Kirby Hall, U Claro W, YW) PNYW 5. 4."

p. 296, s.n. *Þórr*. Add "*Thor* (Dalton) [? ante 1175] 17th YCh 11. 233."

p. 308, s.n. *Þórir*. Add "*Turi* de *Birthorp*', witness L, ante 1161 YCh 12. 106."

p. 310, s.n. *Þorketill*. Add "in *pontem* de *Thirkil* 1326 (Thirtle Bridge, Holderness W, YE) PNYE 29. – in *Thurkelwode* 1301 (Thurtle Wood, Ryedale W, YN) PNYN 49."

p. 313, s.n. *Þorsteinn*. Add "in *Therstonbrech* 1530 (f.n. in Sutton St James, Elloe W, L) Kirkman 59." p. 314. Add "*Turstino* de *Colebi*, *Laurant* f. *Turstani* de *C.*, witnesses, [1192–1218] 17th YCh 12. 85." p. 316. Add "*Turstino* f. *ejus* (*Ricardo* de *Kilpin*), witness, [c1190–1207] 15th YCh 12. 57."

p. 323, s.n. *Ulfr*. Add "*R. f. Wlfi* de *Suintuna* [c1200–20] 14th–15th YCh 12. 82."

p. 330, s.n. *Valhrafn*. Add "*Walrafne* de *Crancewyk* abl., witness Y, [c1190–1207] 15th YCh 12. 57, *Alexandro* f. *Walrauen*' de *Cranswic*, witness, [post 1208] 17th YCh 12. 62."

## RESUMÉ

Hovedformålet med nærværende studier har været at give et billede af beskaffenheden og udbredelsen af nordisk nomenklatur i en del af det østlige England i tidsrummet fra de første nordiske bosættelser indtil slutningen af det 13de årh. Den største del af bogen består af en navnefortegnelse, der indeholder nordiske personnavne som findes i kilder fra grevskaberne Lincolnshire og Yorkshire. Navnene er ordnet alfabetisk. Opslagsformerne og de former som findes i indledningen er normaliserede klassisk islandske med visse nærmere omtalte modifikationer (se s. XVIII). Formerne under hvert opslagsord er delt i fire grupper, der betegnes L. a), Y. a), L. b) og Y. b). Betegnelserne L. a) og Y. a) bruges, når navnene findes (eller måske findes) som led i stednavne i henholdsvis Lincolnshire og Yorkshire, og betegnelserne L. b) og Y. b) bruges, når navnene forekommer selvstændigt i kilder fra de to grevskaber. Der tilføjes (i) en kort omtale af navnets etymologi og dets udbredelse og hyppighed i Skandinavien, (ii) alternative tolkninger (hvis sådanne findes) af formerne i Lincolnshire og Yorkshire, (iii) henvisninger til de afsnit i indledningen som behandler lydudviklinger og ortografi, og andre bemærkninger om problematiske eller dunkle former, hvor det forekommer påkrævet.

Indledningen til navnefortegnelsen behandler både de problemer, som er knyttet til personnavnene, og de oplysninger, som navnene er i stand til at give os om forholdene i England under den nordiske besættelse. I kapitel I omtales kort nogle af de vanskeligheder indsamlingen af materialet har været forbundet med, og der advares mod gengivelsens pålidelighed i nogle af de ældre trykte kilder.

Kapitel II indeholder en kort redegørelse for den rolle danskerne og nordmændene spillede i togterne mod og bosættelsen i Lincolnshire og Yorkshire. I det første afsnit skitseres bosættelsens historie fra de første isolerede strejftog i det 9de årh. indtil den normanniske erobring i det 11te årh. Oplysningerne er for det meste taget fra de korte annaler i Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Med hensyn til det vanskelige problem om størrelsen af de hære, som erobrede og delte jorden og bosatte sig i England, gives der udtryk for den mening, at selvom selve hærene godt kan have været forholdsvis små, må antallet af immigranter have været ret betragteligt. Denne opfat-

telse, som er den mest udbredte i nutiden, støttes ved henvisning til de talrige nordiske bebyggelses- og marknavne som findes i England.

I kapitlets andet afsnit behandles udbredelsen af de nordiske stednavne i de to grevskaber. Fremstillingen bygger på nogle værdifulde undersøgelser af Eilert Ekwall, A.H.Smith, F.T.Wainwright og Kenneth Cameron. Det viser sig, at de nordiske bosættelser i Lincolnshire, Yorkshire East Riding og de sydlige dele af Yorkshire North og West Ridings er overvejende danske, men at der findes et stort antal nordiske stednavne i de nordlige dele af Yorkshire North og West Ridings der må stamme fra de norske immigranter som kom fra Irland i det 10de årh., og en mindre koncentration af norske navne på kysten af Yorkshire North Riding som måske er vidnesbyrd om, at nordmænd har sejlet direkte til England over Vesterhavet.

I kapitlets tredje afsnit rettes opmærksomheden mod fordelingen af typisk østnordiske og typisk vestnordiske personnavne. Der er visse vanskeligheder forbundet med en sådan undersøgelse, men i det store og hele kan det siges, at de typisk østnordiske navne findes spredt nogenlunde jævnt over Lincolnshire og Yorkshire, medens der findes flere typisk vestnordiske navne som udelukkende forekommer i Yorkshire. Denne kendsgerning støtter den antagelse, at der fandtes større norske bosættelser i den nordlige og vestlige del af Yorkshire, medens der kun bosatte sig forholdsvis få nordmænd i isolerede bebyggelser i Lincolnshire.

I kapitel III behandles hyppigheden og den kronologiske lagdeling af klassificerede grupper af personnavne. Disse grupper er: klasse A: sammensatte navne som *Asbjørn*, *Porketill*; klasse B: oprindelige tilnavne, d. v. s. karakteriserende navne som blev tildelt en mand af hans samtidige og båret af ham som tillæg til hans fornavn, f. eks. *Gamall*, *Ketill*; klasse C: sekundære dannelser som *Tófi*, *Geirr*, *Trútr*; og endelig navne som egentlig ikke er af nordisk oprindelse, f. eks. irske og tyske navne som blev indført i England af skandinaver, og hybride navne.

I tabeller for hver af perioderne mellem de første vikingetogter og ca. 1250 meddeles antallet af navne (med procenter) fra hver af de tre klasser og antallet af forskellige navne i hver klasse. For tidsrummet op til ca. 1050 tages navnene fortrinsvis fra de stednavne som findes i *Domesday Book* (1086) og hvis første led er personnavne, sandsynligvis navne på bebyggelsens første ejer eller fæster. Forholdsvis gamle stednavne er dem der ender på nordisk *bý* eller engelsk *tūn*, medens navne på nordisk *þorp* sandsynligvis er noget yngre. Det viser sig, at de personnavne som findes i de »gamle« stednavne ikke er meget forskellige fra dem i de »yngre« navne. Det ser derfor ud til, at den samme slags personnavne var populære under de første bosættelser såvelsom under de sidste. Det er påfaldende, at tilnavne er alt dominerende.

Man kunne have ventet, at de fleste navne var sammensatte navne, da disse yndedes af de højere samfundslag i Skandinavien. Mulige årsager til at tilnavne er fremherskende som stednavneled diskuteres. Der fremsættes den opfattelse, at tilnavne blev foretrukket fremfor mere almindelige personnavne enten fordi naboerne til en bebyggelse ønskede, at der ikke skulle være tvivl om ejerens identitet (hvor der var flere mænd i byen med samme navn), eller fordi disse naboer var vant til at omtale manden til daglig ved hans tilnavn. Hvis de fleste af de tilnavne, der findes som stednavneled er virkelige tilnavne på folk, der også havde et fornavn, og ikke tilnavne som allerede var blevet taget i brug som fornavne, er det muligt, at stednavnestudier giver os et skævt billede af den herskende nordiske nomenklatur i England.

Opmærksomheden bliver dernæst rettet mod personnavne som forekommer selvstændigt i kilder fra de to grevskaber. Desværre findes der kun meget få selvstændigt forekommende tilfælde fra perioden før ca. 1050, men manglen på materiale fra den tidlige periode er til dels opvejet af de rige samlinger fra 11te, 12te og 13de årh. Det menes, at der ikke kom mange nordiske immigranter til Lincolnshire og Yorkshire efter midten af det 10de årh., og de nordiske navne som blev brugt i de efterfølgende århundreder må derfor være arv efter de oprindelige kolonister. Tabellerne for de selvstændigt forekommende tilfælde afslører, at nomenklaturen har været forholdsvis stabil. Mens den vedvarende popularitet for navne i klasse A skyldes at flere af de tidligst brugte navne forblev kurante, ser det ud til at navne i klasse B overvejende har været meget kortlivede, og klassens talrighed skyldes de mange navne (flere af dem måske opstået på engelsk grund) som forekommer bare én eller et par gange.

Når man sammenligner tallene for personnavne i stednavne med tallene for selvstændigt forekommende personnavne, ser man, at der ikke er stor forskel bortset fra en forklarlig overvægt af tilnavne som stednavneled. Sammensatte navne fastholder deres popularitet fra de tidligste tider lige så længe som nordiske navne bliver brugt i England. Mange af disse navne fik en fornyet popularitet efter den normanniske erobring, da de også blev båret af flere af de erobrende normanner i 1066 og af den normanniske overklasse i senere tider. Der er faktisk tale om en genindførelse af nogle navne via Normandiet. Der er hele tiden mange tilnavne i brug, men det er kun de færreste af disse navne som opnår større og vedvarende popularitet. Sekundære dannelser findes hele tiden, men der er ikke særlig mange af dem, og de er sjældnere i stednavne i Lincolnshire og Yorkshire end i stednavne som menes opstået i Danmark i vikingetiden.

Kapitel III slutter med en undersøgelse af de oplysninger som navnelisten

giver os om kolonisternes valg af navne til deres børn. Det viser sig, at de fleste fædre med nordiske navne valgte at give deres børn ikke-nordiske (normalt normanniske eller bibelske) navne. Jo længere man kommer ned i tiden, des hyppigere falder valget på ikke-nordiske navne.

Et tillæg til kapitel III indeholder en liste over de såkaldte anglo-skandinaviske dannelser, d. v. s. navne som utvivlsomt er af nordisk oprindelse men som ikke findes overleverede i nordiske kilder eller som først forekommer i Skandinavien meget senere end i England. Der er mange af disse navne, og deres talrighed beviser den nordiske nomenklatur livskraft i kolonierne.

I kapitel IV behandles gengivelsen af de nordiske navne i engelske kilder. Efter nogle indledende bemærkninger om den stilling, som engelsk, nordisk, latin, fransk og anglo-normannisk indtog i England efter 1066, og om afskrivernes nationalitet følger en detaljeret redegørelse for nordiske trykstærke monoftonger og diftonger, vokaler i tryksvag stavelse, konsonanter, bøjningsformer, anglisering, latinisering, og tilføjelse af fremmede suffikser. Til sidst findes en opsummering af sproglige kendsgerninger der kan pege mod enten et tidligt eller et sent tidspunkt for indførelse af et navn til England. Det må dog konstateres med beklagelse, at det er uhyre svært at drage sikre slutninger på dette grundlag.

Bogen slutter med registre over første og andet led i sammensatte personnavne (med en kort redegørelse for etymologien) og over alle engelske stednavne hvis tydning er behandlet i navnefortegnelsen.

## INDEX OF PLACE-NAMES

Italicised forms indicate names which no longer exist. Italicised figures indicate that the interpretation of the p. n. on the page in question has not previously appeared in print.

- Acceschaes* YW 4  
*Achebi* YN 4  
*Acketoft* L 353  
*Acthorpe* L 123  
*Addleborough* YN 40  
*Addle Croft* YW 14  
*Agbrigg* YW 2  
*Agbrigg wapentake* YW 2  
*Aggacroft* YW 2  
*Ailby* L 9  
*Ainderby* (3) YN 75  
*Ainleys* YW 42, 340  
*Ainreker* L 75  
*Aisby* (2) L 24  
*Aislaby* (Pickering) YN 33  
*Aislaby* (Whitby) YN 35  
*Aismunderby Close* YW 34  
*Aistangarthes* YN 78  
*Akewra* L 3  
*Aldanstubbing'* YW 127  
*Alderthwaite* YW 9  
*Aletoftegale* L 9  
*Alfgerriding* YW 7  
*Alfhou* YN 6  
*Algaretoft* L 6  
*Algarkirk* L 6  
*Algarlowe* L 6  
*Algerhage* L 6  
*Algrimhou* YN 7  
*Alkeltoft'* YW 8  
*Allerston* YN 6  
*Allerthorpe* YE 9  
*Allerthorpe* YN 16, 139, 142  
*Althorpe* L 9  
*Alwald(e)tofts* YN 8  
*Alwarding* YW 9, 129  
*Amotherby* YN 77  
*Amthorhegge* YW 17  
*Anderby* L 75  
*Andrebi* YE 75  
*Anlaby* YE 204  
*Apedale* YN 11  
*Ape Thorp* YW 11  
*Arbrandwyth* YN 12  
*Archelcrof* L 14  
*Archil-, Arkilcroft* YW 14  
*Arkelbek* YN 14  
*Arkelcroft* L, YN 14, 353  
*Arkelhowe* L 14  
*Arkell Nook* YW 14  
*Arkelmire* YN 14  
*Arkelrighes* L 14  
*Arkengarthdale* YN 14  
*Arkesden Ess* 16  
*Arketelesneuland* L 14  
*Arkilhou* YN 14  
*Arkiler* YW 14  
*Arkilmireflat* YN 14  
*Arkleside* YN 14  
*Arkle Town* YN 14  
*Arksey* YW 14  
*Armthorpe* YW 17  
*Arnesrode* YW 11  
*Arnestorp* YE 11  
*Arngillhead* YW 11, 12  
*Arnorntheirst* YW 16, 17  
*Arthelrow* L 14  
*Arther(h)eng(es), le* YW 17  
*Aschilrawa* YW 27  
*Asecroft* L 24  
*Asegothenge* YN 21  
*Asenby* YN 78  
*Asewellelane* L 24  
*Asfordcroft* L 20  
*Asgarby* (2) L 22  
*Asgarcroft* L 22  
*Asgarmare* L 22  
*Asgarrs, Little* L 22  
*Asgars Dreane* L 22  
*Asgarsdyk* L 22  
*Asgarthcroft* YW 24  
*Asgerecroft* L 22  
*Asgerewel* L 22  
*Ashby* (6) L 32-33  
*Askeldic* YN 27  
*Asketelhage* L 25  
*Aslackby* L 33  
*Aslacker* YE 33  
*Aslaoe wapentake* L 33  
*Aslacrigh* L 33  
*Aslactoft* L 33  
*Aslakemeer* L 33  
*Asperton* L 19  
*Asselby* YE 27  
*Assenthorpe Green* YW 353  
*Asserby* L 20  
*Astenacra* YW 353  
*Astincroft* YW 353

- Astinriding* YW 353  
 Aswarby L 35  
 Aswardby L 35  
 Aswardhurn wapentake L 35  
 Attermire Scar YW 40  
 Atterwith YW 135  
 Audleby L 9  
 Aunby L 41  
 Aunsby L 41  
 Autby L 8  
 Authorpe (2) L 1  
 Aveland wapentake L 1  
 Avethorpe L 1  
 Awardcroft YW 136  
*Awty lond* YW 44  
 Axholme wapentake L 123  
 Aylesby L 9  
 Aysdale Gate YN 24  
 Ayxa YW 4  
 Azerley YW 37
- Babthorpe YE 45  
 Bagby YN 45  
 Bag Dale YN 45  
*Baggethwait* YN 45  
 Baggholme Road L 21  
 Bagletts YE 45  
 Bagwith Ho YW 45  
 Bagwiths YW 45  
 Balby YW 46  
 Baldby Fields YN 45  
 Balkholme YE 46  
 Banthorpe L 48  
 Barfit Close YW 47  
*Barkestona* L 48  
 Barkisland YW 48  
 Barkston L, YW 48  
 Barkston Ash wapentake YW 48  
 Barkwith L 48  
 Barmby (2) YE 48  
 Barmby Fold YW 49  
 Barmston YE 55  
 Barnbow YW 49  
 Barnburgh YW 48  
 Barnby (2) YN, (2) YW 48  
*Barnebye* YW 48  
*Barnehaye* YW 49  
*Barnhou* YN 49  
*Barnhou (gathe)* L 48  
 Barnoldby-le-Beck L 55  
 Barnoldswick (2) YW 55  
 Barnscholes YW 54  
 Barnthorpe YW 55  
 Barsey YW 48  
 Barthorpe Bottoms YE 48  
 Bartindale YE 48, 55  
*Basinge grene* YW 353  
 Bassingham Farm L 49  
 Bassingthorpe Farm YW 50  
*Bassyngcroft* YW 50
- Baston L 45  
 Baswick YE 53  
 Battersby YN, YW 69  
*Batwauriding* YW 69  
 Baxby YN 45  
 Baythorpe L 48  
 Beasthorpe L 70  
 Beatrix YW 69  
 Beelsby L 51  
 Beesby (2) L 70  
 Belby YE 51, 52, 53  
 Belchford L 52  
*Beledale* L 51-52  
 Belleau L 138  
 Bellerby YN 51  
*Beltesholm* L 52  
 Belthorpe Ho YE 51  
 Beltisloe wapentake L 52  
*Beornesbrik* L 55  
*Beorneshag* L 54  
*Berguluesbi* YN 52  
*Berisholm drove, -landes* L 53  
*Bernebi* YN 48  
*Bernestoft* YW 55  
*Bernoffcroft* YW 55  
*Bernolfcroft* YW 55  
*Bernoluescroft* YW 55  
*Bersicraft* YW 53  
*Besi(n)gnab* YE 50  
*Bessewallesike* YW 53  
 Bessingby YE 50  
 Beswick YE 53, 70  
*Besynggate* YE 50  
 Bielby YE 51  
 Bigby L 51  
 Biller Howe YN 53  
 Bilsby L 53  
 Bilsdale YN 53  
*Biornhilles* YW 55  
 Birdforth wapentake YN 66  
 Bitchfield L 53  
 Blacktoft YE 56  
*Blafotewang* L 56  
*Blaiqueswath* YN 57  
 Blaithroyd YW 58  
 Blakes Dale YE 57  
 Blake Street YE 57  
 Blansby YN 57  
 Blaze Gate L 57  
 Bleasby L 58  
 Blossomgate YW 209  
 Blossom Street YE 209  
 Blyborough L 58  
 Blyton L 58  
 Bogridge Farm YW 68  
 Boltby YN 60  
 Bonby L 60  
*Bondeflatmire* YN 60  
*Bondholm* L 60  
 Bonthorpe L 66



- Botildehau* YE 61  
*Botildewellewong* YW 61  
*Botilgarth* YW 61  
*Boulby* YN 59  
*Bow Broom* YW 46  
*Bowthorpe* YE 59  
*Boythorpe* YE 68  
*Braceby* L 64  
*Bracewell* YW 64  
*Bracey Bridge* YE 64  
*Brandesburton* YE 63  
*Brandolfsike* YW 63  
*Brandsby* YN 63  
*Brandsdale* YN 63  
*Bransby* L 62  
*Brans Dale* YE 63  
*Bransholme* YE 63  
*Branston* L 62  
*Brantegate* L 62  
*Branzthoft* L 62  
*Branzuic* L 62  
*Brattleby* L 65  
*Brauncewell* L 62  
*Brawby* YN 61  
*Brayton* YW 64  
*Bredestorp* L 64  
*Brocklesby* L 65  
*Brodsworth* YW 64  
*Brokethau* L 65  
*Bromby* L 66  
*Brosehou* YN 65, 67  
*Brotherhill* YW 65  
*Brotherhouse Bar* L 65  
*Brothertoft* L 65  
*Brotherton* YW 64  
*Brumalfrode* YW 67  
*Brunhou(sike)* YW 66  
*Brunildeberge* YW 67  
*Brunildemire* YW 353  
*Brunildesford* L 67  
*Brusegarth* YN 67  
*Bucker Ho* YW 68  
*Buckrose wapentake* YE 68  
*Bug Dale* YE 68  
*Bughriding* YW 68  
*Bugthorpe* YE 68  
*Bukeshou* YN 68  
*Bulby* L 59  
*Bullamoor* YN 59  
*Burneston* YN 67  
*Burniston* YN 67  
*Burnolfscales* YW 67  
*Burythorpe* YE 54  
*Busby* YN 69  
*Buslingthorpe* L 24  
*Buxcroft* L 68
- Cadeby (2) L, YW* 163  
*Cade Drove* L 163  
*Caenby* L 159
- Calceby* L 159  
*Calcewath, -worth wapentake* L 159  
*Cana Barn* YN 160  
*Capon Hall* YW 164  
*Carebec* L 161  
*Carebi* Y 161  
*Careby* L 161  
*Caredick* L 161  
*Caretorp* YW 161  
*Carlby* L 161  
*Carlecotes* YW 162  
*Carlescroft* YW 162  
*Carlesmoor* YW 162  
*Carlethwayt* YW 162  
*Carling Gill* YW 165  
*Carlinghow* YW 165  
*Carling Howe* YN 165  
*Carnaby* YE 354  
*Carthorpe* YN 161  
*Casthorpe* L 162  
*Castlethorpe* L 164  
*Cat Flats* YN 163  
*Catfoss* YE 163  
*Cattal* YW 159  
*Catton* YN 163  
*Catwick* YN 163  
*Cawthorpe (3) L* 160  
*Caygate Lodge* L 164  
*Caythorpe* L 161, 163  
*Caythorpe* YE 161  
*Chenuthesholm* Y 174  
*Chetelestorp* YE 167  
*Chetelstorp* YE 167  
*Clackesdale* L 173  
*Clackeshou* YW 173  
*Clakeberg* L 173  
*Clasketgate* L 173  
*Claxby (3) L* 172-73  
*Claxton* YN 173  
*Clay Brook* YW 173  
*Claythorpe* L 173  
*Cleasby* YN 174  
*Cleggecliffe* YW 173  
*Clixby* L 174  
*Cod Beck* YN 180  
*Colbrandsic* YN 177  
*Cold Well* YW 176  
*Colebrandcrot* YW 177  
*Coleby (2) L* 176  
*Colegrimewelle* YW 178  
*Cole(s)bi* YN 176  
*Colescroftwell* YW 176  
*Colestainthorpe* YE 179  
*Colgrimcroft* L 178  
*Colgrimdale* YE 178  
*Collegrimewellerodes* YW 178  
*Coll(e)land* YW 176  
*Colstandic* L 179  
*Colsuainhaghe* YE 180  
*Colswainerode* YW 180

- Colswaynthorp* YE 354  
 Corby L 180  
 Coulby YN 176  
*Coup(e)man(e)sta(y)nes* YN 163  
*Coupmanstan* YN 163  
 Cow Bridge YW 176  
 Cowesby YN 164  
 Cow Gill Cote YW 176  
 Cowthorpe YW 176  
 Crooksby YN 181  
*cropho quem Toke tenuit* YW 287  
 Crosby L, YN 181  
 Crowland Common L 96  
 Croxby L 181  
 Croxton L 181  
  
 Dextrorpe L 72  
*Dolfin(e)riddynge, -wellsich* YW 71  
*Dolfynscorht* YW 71  
 Dowber Lane YN 73  
 Dowbiggin YW 73  
 Dowdyke L 73  
 Dowsby L 74  
 Dowsdale Bank L 74  
 Dowsthorpe YW 73  
 Dowthorpe Hall YE 73  
 Dringhoe YE 72  
 Dringhouses YW 72  
 Dromonby YN 72, 73  
*Dunchecroft* L 73  
*Durildewelle(ker)* YW 307  
*Durkil-, Durkinrigmure* YW 310  
  
 Earby YW 158  
 Easby (3) YN 24  
 Easedike YW 24  
 Easegill Cote YN 24  
 Easthorpe YN 155  
 Ecklands YW 76  
*Eklesgarth* YW 76  
 Eldwick YW 138  
 Elloughton YE 138  
 Else Croft YW 154  
 Else YW 74  
 Elslack YW 77  
 Eltofts YW 77  
*Emminghouwang* L 138  
 Enderby (3) L 75  
 Eppage Wood YW 341  
 Eresby L 156  
 Erringden YW 76  
*Eschelrode* YW 27  
*Eschelriding* YW 27  
*Esebrugg* YN 24  
*Esegerbrige* YW 23  
*Esekelda* YW 24  
*Esewath'* YN 353  
*Eskeldic* YN 27  
*Eskilberg* YN 27  
*Eskilscahe* YW 27  
  
*Eslundes* YN 24  
*Eterstorp* YN 76  
*Ethersgill* YW 154  
 Ewcross wapentake YW 156  
 Ewerby L 153  
 Exelby YN 27  
*Eylscroft* L 74  
*Eyrichtoftes* L 76  
  
 Faceby YN 81  
 Fadmoor YN 78  
 Falsgrave YN 147  
 Farlesthorpe L 79  
 Farmanby YN 79  
 Farmer Crook YW 79  
*Faroldfeld* YW 79  
 Faxfleet YE 79  
 Feizor YW 81  
 Felixkirk YN 87  
 Felliscliffe YW 81  
 Fewston YW 85  
 Firbeck YW 87  
 Firby YE, YN 87  
 Fixby YW 81  
 Flamborough YE 82  
 Flasby YW 82  
 Flaxby YW 82  
 Flaxton YN 82  
*Flemengsty* YW 83  
 Flixborough L 83  
 Flixton YE 83  
 Flockton YW 83  
 Fluddersome Lane YW 87  
*Folkerode* YW 84  
 Folkton YE 84  
 Fore Grums YW 308  
 Fornah Gill YW 84  
*Fornetorp* YE 84  
*Fornflath* YN 84  
*Forn(h)us* YW 84  
 Fornthorpe YN 84  
 Fosdyke L 85  
 Foston L, YE 85  
 Fotherby L 85  
 Foulbridge YN 84  
 Foulby YW 84  
 Fowthorpe YE 84  
 Fraisthorpe YE 86  
*Franewang* L 85  
*Fredegestdayle* L 86  
*Fridedic* YW 87  
*Frodegayl* YW 87  
*Frodesbeki* YW 87  
 Frosten Wells YW 314  
*Frostolcroft* L 88  
*Frostriding* YW 88  
 Frostrow YW 88  
 Fryton YN 87  
*Fulkeholm* YN 84  
 Fulsby L 84

Fulstone YW 88  
Fulstow L 88

Gainsthorpe L 89  
Galmanhove YE 89  
Galmanlythe YE 89  
Galmeswad' YW 89  
Gamaliscroft L 89  
Gamble Royd (2) YW 90, 91  
Game Ing Flat YW 90  
Gamelesker YW 91  
Gamelewad YW 90  
Gamelgrene YW 90  
Gamelheng YW 91  
Gamelkeldes YW 91  
Gamell Close YW 91  
Gamellesarges YW 90  
Gamelridyng (2) YW, YN 90, 91  
Gamelrode YW 90  
Gamelrodes YW 90  
Gamelssicke YN 90  
Gamelthwaytleghes YW 90  
Gamilbrigge YW 91  
Gamilhow YW 91  
Gamilisbrig YW 90  
Gamilwelrodhede YW 91  
Gamlebancke YW 91  
Gammersgill YN 91  
Gamskar YW 91  
Gamsworth YW 90  
Gamlcroft YW 353  
Gannerthorpe Wood YW 114  
Ganthorpe L 99  
Ganthorpe YN 89, 90  
Ganton YE 89  
Garriston YN 100  
Garrowby YE 99  
Garsdale YW 96  
Garthorpe L 99  
Gasou YW 96  
Gaucrofte YW 354  
Gauntlet L 117  
Gautby L 98  
Gauthscou YN 98  
Gauxholme YW 97  
Gawthorpe (6) YW 97  
Gawthrop YW 97  
Gelsthorpe YW 98  
Gelston L 102, 103  
Gertheston YW 100  
Gilby L 100  
Gillcroft Farm YW 101  
Gillecroft L 100  
Gilmonby YN 354  
Gilsthwaite Bridge YW 98  
Gilthwaites YW 120  
Gippetoft (2) L 101, 354  
Girsby L, YN 109  
Girthetoft L 120  
Gisburn YW 102

Glumesker YW 103  
Gokehing YW 97  
Gokewell L 96  
Golcar YW 110  
Goldentoft Lane L 114  
Golstaindale YN 103, 179  
Gonerby, Great L 114  
Gonerby, Little L 118  
Gonnildescroft L 354  
Gonwordegne L 118  
Gonyldbrygge L 354  
Goodramgate YE 112  
Goukistoft L 96  
Goulceby L 178  
Gowbusk YW 97  
Gowthorpe (2) YE, YW 97  
Goxhill L, YE 96, 97  
Graby (2) L 104  
Grainsby L 104  
Grainthorpe L 99  
Grentwith YW 104  
Grewelthorpe YW 200  
Gribthorpe YE 108  
Grimblethorpe L 107  
Grime Royd Close YW 106  
Grimesacre L 105  
Grimescales YW 106  
Grimescroft (2) L, YN YW 105, 106  
Grimes Dale YN 106  
Grimes Dike YW 106  
Grimes Gill (2) YW 106  
Grimeshou YN, YW 106  
Grimesthoren L 105  
Grimestoft L 105  
Grimestone L 105  
Grimestorp YE 354  
Grimestorp YW 106  
Grimethorpe YW 106  
Grimlands YW 106  
Grimsby (2) L, YN 105  
Grimsdalriding YW 106  
Grimsdalle L 105  
Grimslake YW 106  
Grimsthorpe L 105  
Grimstoft L 105  
Grimston (4) YE, YN, YW 105, 106  
Grimthorpe YE 106  
Grimwell L 105  
Grimyerd YW 106  
Gristhorpe YN 109  
Gristhwaite YN 109  
Grubhale YW 109  
Grumeshenges YW 109  
Grymdolez YW 106  
Grymehyng YW 106  
Grymescroft YW 106  
Grymesgrave YN 106  
Grymeshou YE 106  
Grymesmere YW 106  
Grymewell YW 106

- Grymland* L 105  
*Grymsholme* L 105  
*Grymston* YN 106  
*Guilthwaite* YW 101  
*Guisborough* YN 100  
*Guise Cliff* YW 102  
*Gunby* (2) L 116–17  
*Gunby* YE 115  
*Gundale* YN 117  
*Gunecroft* L 117  
*Gunerheld* YE 114  
*Gunerstan* YW 113  
*Gunerwallenase* YW 114  
*Gunewate toft* L 116  
*Gunildekelde* YN 115  
*Gunildescroft* YW 115  
*Gun(n)ecroft* YW 117  
*Gunnerby* L 113  
*Gunner Fleet* YW 114  
*Gunnergate Lane* YN 113  
*Gunnersart* YW 113  
*Gunnerville* YN 114  
*Gunness* L 117  
*Gun'nesse* YW 113  
*Gunnessonenge* YW 117  
*Gunnetoft* L 117  
*Gunneymarsh* YE 113  
*Gunnildecroft* YW 115  
*Gunnildrøddale* L 114  
*Gunnildridding* YW 115  
*Gunnis* L 117  
*Gunnycroft* YW 115  
*Gunremiresic* YW 113  
*Gunris* L 117  
*Gunthorpe* L 117  
*Gunthwaite* YW 115  
*Gunuldeland* YW 115  
*Guthram Gowt* L 112  
*Guthram Tofts Farm* L 112  
*Gutteworthescroft* L 112  
*Gyppescroft* L 354  
*Gyselecroft* YN 102
- Habertoft* L 129  
*Habholme Dike* YW 1, 129, 340  
*Habton* YN 121  
*Haceby* L 121  
*Haconby* L 124  
*Hacuneng* YW 125  
*Hagandehou* YW 148  
*Hagdens* YW 2  
*Hagenegate* L 122  
*Haggenby* YW 148  
*Hagnaby* (2) L 122  
*Hagthorpe* YE 123  
*Hagworthingham* L 122  
*Haisthorpe* YE 27, 148  
*Haldenby* YW 127  
*Haltecroftes* YW 130  
*Hamble Thorp* YW 131
- Hamondebek* L 131  
*Hamondeswode* YW 131  
*Hampsthwaite* YW 130  
*Hamund croft* YW 131  
*Hamundelandes* YN 131  
*Hanbeck* L 132  
*Hanby* L 132  
*Hanby* L 144  
*Handrehous* YW 131  
*Handtoftgate* L 132  
*Hangthwaite* YW 122  
*Hanlith* YW 122  
*Hanthorpe* L 140  
*Haraldcroft* YW 133  
*Haraldeshaga* L 132  
*Haraldhou* YN 133  
*Haraldsic* YN 133  
*Haraldstygh* L 132  
*Harchelcroft* L 14  
*Hareby* L 134  
*Harehou* YW 134  
*Harging, Harkincrofte* YW 139  
*Harlthorpe* YE 139  
*Harmby* YN 142  
*Harmston* L 140  
*Harrowby* L 139  
*Hartergate* YE 142  
*Hartoft* YN 134  
*Hasfordhirn* L 20  
*Hasthorpe* L 132  
*Hatterboard Hill* YN 135  
*Haukeraytheker* YW 136  
*Haukescou* YN 135  
*Haukscrode* YW 135  
*Hautholfhenges* YW 40  
*Hauxwell* YN 135  
*Haver Lane* YE 121  
*Haverstoe wapentake* L 136  
*Hawardedale* YN 136  
*Hawerby* L 136  
*Hawkhill* YN 135  
*Hawkswick* YW 135  
*Hawny* YN 130  
*Hawsker* YN 135  
*Hawthorpe* L 136  
*Haxby* YN 123  
*Haxey* L 123  
*Hedinslaie* YW 137  
*Hednesleya* YW 137  
*Helethorpe* L 138  
*Hellaby* YW 138  
*Hellifield* YW 138  
*Helperby* YN 141  
*Helperthorpe* YE 141  
*Hemingbrough* YE 138  
*Hemingby* L 138  
*Hemingecroft* L 138  
*Heminghouwang* L 138  
*Hemmingcroft* L 138  
*Hemmingdaile* L 138

- Hemmingriding* YW 139  
*Hemming stubbing* YW 138  
*Hemming Syke Wood* YW 139  
*Hemyng Riddyng* YW 139  
*Hemyngflatt* YW 138  
*Hensall* YW 137  
*Hergyncrofte* YW 139  
*Herringthorpe* YW 148  
*Herwardtoft* L 140  
*Heryngrodeyng* YW 148  
*Hestynschate* YW 135  
*Hexthorpe* YW 137  
*Hildegarescroft* L 141  
*Hildenley* YN 141  
*Hilderthorpe* YE 141  
*Hillbraith* YN 64  
*Hillgrim* YW 106  
*Hilston* YE 141  
*Hinderskelfe* YN 140  
*Hinderwell* YN 140  
*Hodster Lane* YW 202  
*Hokeswra* L 135  
*Holland Bridge* L 33  
*Holtby (2)* YN 143  
*Honington* L 145  
*Hore(n)bodebi* YN 143  
*Hormerydding* YW 204  
*Hormesgrif* YN 204  
*Hormespit* YN 355  
*Hornby (2)* YN 143  
*Hornsbeck* L 204  
*Horse Godley* YW 21  
*Hosbernerode* YW 18  
*Houcbyg* L 135  
*Houkesbec* YW 135  
*Houndale* YE 136  
*Houwardmar* L 136  
*Hoyland Swaine* YW 278  
*Hugset Wood* YW 148  
*Hulfridding* YW 322  
*Huluesweit* YW 322  
*Hulverheved* YN 324  
*Humbleton* YE 144  
*Humburton* YN 144  
*Humby, Great* L 144  
*Hunchilhuse* YW 328  
*Hund(e)landes* YW 144  
*Hundemar* L 144  
*Hunderthwaite* YN 146  
*Hundleby* L 145  
*Hundle Dale* YE 145  
*Hundolfgot* YE 145  
*Hundulforthorpe Farm* YN 145  
*Hunildehus* L 145  
*Hunlouetoft* L 204  
*Hutton, Low* YN 180  
*Hyarlesholm* YN 154  
  
*Ianulfestorp* YE 154  
*Ingaldmire* YW 151  
  
*Ingemerestanes* YN 150  
*Ingerthorpe* YW 151  
*Ingham* L 149  
*Inglepool* YE 152  
*Inglethwaite* YN 152  
*Ingman Lodge* YW 354  
*Ingmanthorpe* YW 99, 150  
*Ingoldmells* L 151  
*Ingoldsby* L 151  
*Ings Beck* YN 153  
*Ingthorpe Grange* YW 328  
*Inkell land* YW 76  
*Inkle Moors* YW 76  
*Iuerker* YW 153  
  
*Jatstaineswad* YN 155  
*Joldale* L 157  
*Jukeleholm* YN 156  
  
*Karewellhill* L 161  
*Karleslund* YN 162  
*Karlhou* YW 162  
*Katedale* L 163  
*Katehou* L 163  
*Kateridden* YN 163  
*Kate's Bridge* L 163  
*Katilscroft* YN 167  
*Keadby* L 166  
*Kearby* YW 182  
*Keisby* L 172  
*Kekmarish* YN 165  
*Kelleythorpe* YE 165, 172  
*Kellriding (2)* YW 167  
*Kemplah* YN 165  
*Kepstorn* YW 160  
*Kepwick* YN 160  
*Kerlingkelde* YN 165  
*Ketelberne croft* YW 170  
*Ketelcrofte* YW 167  
*Keteldaisbec* YW 171  
*Keteldike* YW 167  
*Ketelescroft* YW 167  
*Ketelesgat* YN 167  
*Ketelesgile* YW 167  
*Keteleshounab* YW 167  
*Ketelholme* L 166  
*Ketelisriding* YE 167  
*Ketelpittes* YN 167  
*Ketelridingh* YW 167  
*Ketelrode* YW 167  
*Ketelrodis* YW 354  
*Ketelscaye* YW 167  
*Ketespole* YW 167  
*Ketilcroft* L, YW 166, 167  
*Ketilflat(e)* YW 167  
*Ketillisk* YW 167  
*Ketiloxgange* YW 168  
*Ketlegait* L 166  
*Ketlesties* L 166  
*Kettelflat* YW 167

- Kettelsdale* L 166  
*Kettelsey* L 166  
*Kettle Burn* YW 170  
*Kettleby* L 166  
*Kettle Carr* YW 167  
*Kettleage* YW 168  
*Kettleman Bridge* YW 170  
*Kettle ridding* YW 168  
*Kettleroyd* YW 168  
*Kettle Rydings* YW 168  
*Kettlesbeck* YW 168  
*Kettlesing Head* YW 167  
*Kettlestang* YW 167  
*Kettlethorpe* L, YE YN, YW 166, 167  
*Ketsby* L 166  
*Kexbrough* YW 165  
*Kexby* L 165  
*Kexby* YE 164  
*Kex Moor* YW 167  
*Kickeholmboanc* YW 171  
*Kilgram Grange* YN 171  
*Killerby* (2) YN 171  
*Killingbeck Hall* YW 172  
*Killing Nab Scar* YN 172  
*Kirby, Cold* YN 182  
*Kirby Sigston* YN 232  
*Kirkby Underdale* YE 145  
*Kittle Royd* YW 168  
*Knavesmire* YE 175  
*Knowsthorpe* YW 174  
*Knustankelde* YW 174  
*Knuttesbutthes* YW 174
- Lacey* L 185  
*Lackenby* YN 354  
*Laisingerode* YW 355  
*Laisingrode* YW 187  
*Laisingtorp* L 186  
*Langthorpe* YN 184  
*Langthorpe Hall* YE 183  
*Langusboskes* YW 184  
*Lasing ridding* YW 355  
*Launeserges* YW 184  
*Lawress wapentake* L 183  
*Laysingcroft* YN 186  
*Laysthorpe* YN 185  
*Laythorpe* L 185  
*Laying Clough* YW 187  
*Lazenby* (2) YN 186  
*Lazencroft* YW 187  
*Leaf Howe* YN 185  
*Leasingsto(c)king* YW 186  
*Leckby* YN 190  
*Leggeshaghe* L 184  
*Leggeshowe* L 184  
*Legsby* L 184  
*Lepenges* YN 186  
*Lepsettynges* YN 186  
*Lichoulandes* (2) YW 187, 188, 355  
*Lifacre* YW 188
- Liolfhanne, -stighel* YW 189  
*Lithhofeld* YW 187  
*Lithoulandes* YW 187  
*Lobthorpe* L 184  
*Lodhenaikelandes* YW 190  
*Lodhenhawes* YE 190  
*Londesborough* YE 190  
*Lonsdale* YN 190  
*Loose Howe* YN 191  
*Lothenhawes* YE 190  
*Lothenrig* YW 190  
*Louneserges* YW 184  
*Lowcross Farm* YN 190  
*Lowthorpe* YE 182, 190  
*Lusby* L 191  
*Lyfacra* YW 188  
*Lyolfesenge* YN 189  
*Lyolfhanne, -stighel* YW 189  
*Lyolshawe* YW 189
- Mablethorpe* L 194  
*Maccus Butts Close* YW 193  
*Macusecroft* L 192  
*Macushau* YW 193  
*Macura* YE 193  
*Magnusdayle* YE 193  
*Maltby* (2) L, YN, YW 194  
*Manby* (2) L 194  
*Maneshou wapentac* YN 194  
*Manley wapentake* L 194  
*Mannegate* L 194  
*Manthorpe* (2) L 194, 355  
*Marderby Grange* YN 200  
*Marishes* YN 27, 40, 171, 193, 295  
*Marthwaite* YW 195  
*Maunby* YN 192  
*Mawthorpe* L 355  
*May Moss* YN 192  
*Melmerby* YN 195  
*Menethorpe* YE 195  
*Menthorpe* YE 195  
*Mexborough* YW 196  
*Milby* YN 196  
*Miley Pike* YN 196  
*Miningsby* L 196  
*Miregrim* YN 106  
*Modoluessik* YE 197  
*Mould Grain* YW 198  
*Mouleroid* YW 198  
*Mourethwait* YW 195  
*Mouscar* YW 199  
*Mouse Croft* YW 199  
*Mousegill* YW 199  
*Mouthwaite* YN 199  
*Mowthorpe* YN, YE 198  
*Moxby* YN 197  
*Mukescroft* YW 198  
*Mulecros* YN 198  
*Mulfosse* YN 198  
*Mulwith* YW 198

Mumby L 198  
 Muscoates YN 199  
*Musebec* YW 199  
*Musekelda* YW 199  
*Musgill* YW 199  
 Musley Bank YN 199  
*Mustardhouses* YW 199  
 Muston YE 199

Nafferton YE 201  
 Navenby L 201  
 Nawton YN 201  
*Nebberode* YW 201  
*Nibbehous, Nibbells end* YW 202  
*Niblone* YW 202

Obthorpe L 319  
 Oddacre Ho YW 202  
*Oddeland* YW 202  
*Od(d)eslund* YW 202  
*Odelgateland* YW 39  
*Odescroft* YN 202  
*Odesthorp* YW 202  
 Odsal YW 202  
 Ogleforth YE 320  
 Oglethorpe Hall YW 203  
*Okalkerr* YW 39  
*Okeles oxegange* YW 203  
 Onesacre YW 11  
 Onesmoor YW 11  
 Orby L 207  
 Orme Hall L 204  
 Ormerley Carr YW 204  
*Ormerode* YW 204  
*Ormesbricge* YN 204  
 Ormesby YN 204  
*Ormescrosse* YN 204  
*Ormesovenes* YN 204  
*Ormesrake* YW 204  
*Ormroydfield* YW 204–05  
*Ormryg* YN 204  
 Ormsby (2) L 204, 206  
*Orms Ing* YW 205  
*Orredale* L 207  
*Osbernescahebec* YW 18  
*Osbernridding* YW 18  
*Osbernthorpe* L 18  
*Osberode* YW 18  
 Osbournby L 18  
*Osburne Riding* YW 18  
*Osebarnerode* YW 18  
*Osebnerode* YW 18  
 Oseby L 36  
*Osemundegar* YN 34  
*Osgatelayne* YW 21  
 Osgathorpe Ho YW 21, 23  
 Osgodby (3) L, YE, YN 20, 21  
*Osgodflat(t)e* YW 21  
 Osgold Cross YW 21  
 Osgoldcross wapentake YW 21

Osgoodby YN 21  
*Osgotacre* L 20  
*Osgotebarnewude* L 20  
*Osgoteholm* L 20  
*Osgoteneuland* L 21  
*Osgotfeld* L 21  
*Osgottoftes* L 20  
 Osmondthorpe YW 34  
 Osmotherley YN 34  
*Osmundale* L 34  
*Osmundescroft* L 34  
*Osmundthorne* L 34  
*Osuluedale* L 35  
 Otby L 208  
*Oter(e)scroft* YW 207  
*Otter Lee* YW 207  
 Oulston YN 322  
*Ounesbi* YN 41  
 Ouseby-in-Birthorpe L 321  
 Ousethorpe YE 322  
*Outisti* L 43, 44  
 Owlet Dale YE 327  
 Owmbly (2) L 41  
 Ownber bottom YW 41  
 Oxxgoddess YE 21

Paythorne YW 208  
*Ploxmanflat* YN 208  
*Plusweynlondes* YN 209  
*pontem de Thirkil* YE 356  
 Posforth Gill YW 209

*Quelpesete* YN 147

*Rabainholmes* YW 209  
*Rackenthwaite* YW 215  
 Raincliffe YN 210  
*Raineslounde* YN 218  
 Rainey Croft YW 214  
 Rainsber Scar YW 355  
 Rainton YN 217  
 Raisdale YN 217, 218  
 Raisthorpe YE 217  
 Raithby-by-Louth L 217  
 Raithby-by-Spilsby L 210  
*Rammesthwait* YN 211  
 Ramsgill YW 210  
 Ramsholme YW 211  
 Ranby L 215  
 Rannelow L 214  
*Rathildayle* L 209  
 Rauceby L 216  
*RauEinstoft* L 210  
*Rauenesbogh'* YW 211  
*Rauenesthwait* L 210  
*Rauenhilbanc* YW 212  
*Rauenker* L 210  
*Rauenriding* L 210  
*Rauensuarterode* YW 213  
*Rauenylriding* YW 212

- Ravendale L 210  
 Raven Dale YE 355  
 Ravensacre YW 210  
 Ravensbut YW 355  
 Ravensclou YW 210  
 Raven(e)scroft YW 355  
 Ravenshed YE 211  
 Ravenswra YW 355  
 Ravenfield YW 210  
 Ravenssacre YW 211  
 Ravenroide YW 211  
 Raven's Bank L 210  
 Ravensbridge YW 211  
 Raven(s)brigg(e) YW 211  
 Ravensbrook YW 211  
 Ravenscar YN 211  
 Raven's Drove L 210  
 Ravenser YE 210  
 Raven's Gate L 210  
 Ravenshow YW 211  
 Ravens Lodge YW 211  
 Ravenstall YW 211  
 Ravensthorpe Manor YN 210  
 Ravenswartriding YW 213  
 Ravens Wharfe YW 211  
 Ravensworth YN 210  
 Ravenswyke YN 211  
 Raventhorpe L, YE 213, 214  
 Raventoft L 210  
 Raventofts Ho YW 211  
 Ravestoft L 210  
 Ravinsall YW 211  
 Ravon roydes YW 211  
 Rawenesmere L 210  
 Rawynskeldis YW 211  
 Reasby L 216  
 Renathorpe Hall YW 213  
 Renildtoft L 213  
 Reuenestoft L 210  
 Reveneshaudale L 210  
 Revesby L 216  
 Riggst(h)orp L 226  
 Rigsby L 226  
 Rimswell YE 218  
 Risby YE 227  
 Risedale YN 219  
 Roaldemyre YN 219  
 Roaldeshou YN 219  
 Rodley YW 222  
 Rokeby YN 223  
 Rolleshaye L 222  
 Rolston YE 222  
 Romanby YN 221  
 Romfarhadick L 224  
 Rook Barugh YN 223  
 Roseberry (2) YN 41  
 Rosedale YN 225  
 Rose Hill YN 225  
 Roselber Wood YW 225  
 Roskelthorpe YN 225  
 Roskilgate YW 225  
 Roskilleswangewath YW 225  
 Roskylmyre YW 225  
 Rosselholme YW 225  
 Rothtwayte YN 216  
 Routhegate YN 216  
 Routmerker YW 221  
 Rowaldecroft YW 219  
 Row Cross Quarry YW 210  
 Roweldesyke YN 219  
 Rowlescrofte L 222  
 Rowston L 222  
 Roxby L 223  
 Roxby (2) YN 216  
 Roxby House YN 223  
 Roxham L 223  
 Roxton L 223  
 Royles Head YW 222  
 Royston YW 221  
 Rudby YN 226  
 Ruddings YN 90, 272  
 Rumfar Croft L 224  
 Runswick Bay YN 218  
 Rusholme YW 226  
 Ruston Parva YE 221  
 Ryggistorp L 226  
 Saleby L 228  
 Salmonby L 229  
*sartum quod fuit Westmundi* YW 333  
 Sausthorpe L 229  
 Saxby (2) L 227  
 Saxedale L 227  
 Sax(e)hale, Saxhalla YW 227  
 Saxicroft YW 227  
 Saxilby L 228  
 Saxton YW 227  
 Scagglethorpe YE, YW 243  
 Scalby (2) YN, YE 244  
 Scaldeaikes YW 243  
 Scalehou L 244  
 Scalhou YE 244  
 Scalleberg YN 244  
 Scalleby YW 244  
 Scallerig YN 244  
 Scal(le)well(e) YW 244  
 Scalm Park and Wood YW 241  
 Scambaynkeld YW 244  
 Scamblesby L 245  
 Scameldaile L 245  
 Scammonden YW 245  
 Scampston YE 244, 245  
 Scampton L 244  
 Scarborough YN 246  
 Scarcroft YW 246  
 Scargill YN 242  
 Scartho L 246  
 Scate Moor YW 246  
 Scausby YW 243  
 Scawby L 244



- Scawthorpe YN 242  
 Scawthorpe YW 254  
*Sceldergate* YE 249  
*Scheldwarhil* YW 250  
 Scholebrook YW 254  
 School Cote Brow YW 254  
 Scograinhowes YN 251  
 Scoreby YE 252  
 Scothrop YW 252  
 Scotterthorpe L 244  
 Scotlethorpe L 242  
 Scrayingham YE 253  
 Scremby L 253  
 Scremthorpe L 253  
 Scrivelsby L 253  
 Scruton YN 254  
 Sculcoates YE 254  
*Scultofts* L 254  
 Scunthorpe L 254  
*Scynnerbuttes* YN 248  
 Searby L 284  
 Sewerby YE 238  
*Sewerthorp(e)* YW 238  
 Sexhou YN 230  
 Shaftholme YW 245, 246  
 Shillingthorpe L 250  
 Shunner Howe YN 241  
*Sigercrofte* YW 230  
 Siggleshorpe YE 235  
*Sighedesbrigga* YN 231  
*Sighro(y)de* YW 232  
*Sigotehous* YW 231  
 Sigsworth Grange YW 240  
*Sigwardayle* L 236  
*Sigwarth Harth* L 236  
*Sigwordcroft* L 236  
*Silfkælde* YW 283  
 Sil Howe YN 240  
 Silk Willoughby L 240  
 Silpho YN 283  
 Silsden YW 235  
 Silton (2) YN 283  
*Silvacre* YW 283  
*Sinderberg* YN 241  
 Sinderby YN 240  
*Sinderthorn* YN 241  
*Siuarbi* YE 238  
*Siwardherges* YW 355  
 Skeckling YE 243  
 Skeeby YN 248, 255  
 Skeffling YE 245, 246  
 Skegness L 247  
*Skeldergate* YE 249  
*Skelder Gate* YW 249  
 Skelderskew YN 249, 250  
 Skelmanthorpe YW 250  
 Skidby YE 255  
 Skinnerthorpe YW 248  
*Skinninggrove* YN 248  
 Skinthorpe YW 249  
 Skulberts Hill YW 254  
*Skulmyre* L 254  
 Skutterskelfe YN 255  
*Skynegarthe* YW 249  
*Skynnerenges* YN 248  
*Slenggesberg* L 255  
 Slingsby YN 255  
 Sloothby L 256  
 Snarford L 258  
 Sneaton YN 257  
*Snebnehuses* YW 258  
*Sneculfscros hundred* YE 258  
 Sneerholmes YE 257  
 Snelland L 256  
 Snelser YW 257  
 Snilesworth YN 256  
*Snipmar* L 256  
*Snokergilheued* YW 257  
*Snoril* YW 257  
 Somerby (3) L 270  
*Somerdewithes* L 270  
 Somersby L 270  
*Somersholm* YN 270  
 Sotby L 259  
 Southcoates YE 259  
 Souther Scales YW 272  
*Sowerthorp(e)* YW 238  
*Sperragate* YN 260  
 Spice Gill YW 261  
 Spilsby L 260  
*Spro(h)ges-, Sproghescroft* YW 261  
 Stainby L 266  
*Stainishou* YN 263  
 Stainsacre YN 263  
 Stainsby L 261  
 Stainsby YN 263  
 Stakesby YN 262  
 Stansfield YW 263  
 Starkerghs YW 263  
 Staxton YE 262  
*Staynesbrecke* YN 263  
 Stearsby YN 268  
*Steinilmar* L 265  
*Steinolvemere* L 265  
*Stema(i)nesbi* YN 355  
*Stighandebi* YN 266  
 Stixwoud L 265  
 Streetthorpe YW 268  
 Strubby (2) L 267  
*Sturesber* YW 267  
 Stutton YW 267  
*Suardgereflad* YN 275  
*Suardrodeflat* YW 356  
*Suayn-, Suainrodes(y)agh* YW 278  
*Sueinlandes* YN 278  
*Sueyneshyll* L 356  
*Sumerledeholm* YE 270  
 Summer Leatham YW 270  
 Summer Wood YW 270  
 Sundiechrofte YW 271

Sunley Hill YN 272  
 Sunley Wood YN 355  
*Sunnebeck* YN 271  
*Suninebrigge* YW 271  
*Sunniuesic* YW 271  
*Sunnolclif* YW 272  
 Surgill Beck YW 259  
 Susacres YW 229, 258, 259  
 Sutherland (Beck) YN 272  
 Sutterby L 272  
 Swaby L 273  
 Swainby (2) YW 278, 281  
*Swainesdale* L 276  
*Swainesrode* YW 278  
 Swain Royds YW 278  
 Swainscroft Farm YW 278  
 Swanland YE 273, 274  
 Swanley Grange YW 278  
*Swannildene* YW 355  
 Swanside YW 278  
 Swarby L 274  
*Swargerflat* YN 275  
*Swarhovedwath* YN 275  
*Swarteshill* YW 274  
 Swartha YW 274  
*Swart(h)hil(e)* YW 274  
 Swarthoe Cross YN 275  
 Swarthorpe YN 238  
*Swarthowe* YW 274  
*Swarthowflat* YN 275  
 Swaton L 273  
*Swa(y)n-, Sweynescroft* YW 278  
*Swaynesholm* YW 278  
*Swaynisacre* YN 278  
*Swaynis-, Swaine(s)croft* YW 278  
 Swaythorpe YE 273  
*Sweinesbrig* L 276  
*Sweinrodekell* YW 278  
*Swertingrietes* L 282  
*Swertmundeflat* YN 276  
 Swinethorpe L 276  
 Swinithwaite YN 283  
 Swinn Wood L 271  
 Swinhorpe L 271  
*Syerithcroft* YW 234  
*Syrithescore* YE 234  
*Sywardtoft* L 355

Tansterne YE 284  
*terra Sacsi* YW 227  
 Tewfit YN 318  
 Tharlesthorpe YE 299  
 Thealby L 294  
 Theddlethorpe L 294  
*Theodolfbarnewud(am)* L 294  
*Therstonbrech* L 356  
*Thikcroft* YW 318  
 Thimbleby L, YN 318  
 Thirlby YN 318  
 Thirkleby YN 310

Thirkleby YE 305, 310  
*Thirnehorn* YN 319  
 Thirtle Bridge YE add.  
 Thirtleby YE 310  
 Thixendale YE 235  
*Thollehowe* YW 289  
 Tholthorpe YN 317  
 Thoraby YN, (2) YE 299  
 Thoraldby YN 298  
*Thoresbek* L 307  
 Thoresby (3) L, YN 307, 308  
*Thorescroft* (2) YW 308  
*Thoresdale* YN 308  
*Thoressete* YN 308  
 Thoresthorpe L 307  
 Thoresway L 307  
*Thorethrod* YW 302  
*Thorfynryddang* YW 302  
 Thorganby L 306  
 Thorganby YE 305, 306  
*Thogram Well* YW 306  
*Thoririding* YW 308  
 Thorlby YW 299  
 Thormanby YN 311  
*Thormundholm* L 312  
*Thormundwell* YW 312  
 Thornaby YN 311  
 Thornthorpe YE 306  
 Thornton-le-Beans YN 109  
 Thornton Rust YN 225  
 Thorpe L 88  
 Thorpe Green YW 299  
 Thorpe-in-the-Fallows L 317  
 Thorpe-le-Street YE 226  
*Thorsbehc* YN 308  
 Thorsgill Beck Y 309  
*Thorstanflet* L 313  
*Thorsteingraues* L 313  
*Thorwde* L 307  
 Throstle Hill YW 87  
 Throxenby YN 314  
 Thruscross YW 308  
 Thurcroft YW 309  
*Thuresden* YN 308  
 Thurgasyke Pond YW 305  
*Thurgeriscroft* L 305  
 Thurgoland YW 305  
 Thurgory YW 305  
*Thur-,Thorheng'* YW 308  
*Thurkelandes* YW 310  
*Thurkelheued* YW 310  
*Thurkilbergh* YN 310  
 Thurlby (3) L 317  
 Thurlstone YW 317  
*Thurshou* YN 308  
*Thurstaneng'* YE 314  
 Thurstanflat YE 314  
*Thurstanland* YE 314  
*Thurstanridinc* YW 314  
*Thursteindeile* L 313

- Thurston Clough* YW 314  
*Thurstonhaugh* YW 314  
*Thurstonland* YW 314  
*Thurstons* YW 314  
*Thurstonshaw* YW 314  
*Thurtle Wood* YN 356  
*Thurwood Wells* YW 312  
*Thwaite* YN 353  
*Thymelbek, aqua de* YW 318  
*Tibthorpe* YE 285  
*Tiedolfbarnewde* L 294  
*Tingolwedale* YN 294  
*Tinshill* YW 285  
*Tirrerode* YW 319  
*Tocchecroft* L 287  
*Tochemora(m)* L 287  
*Tockerode* YW 287  
*Tockwith* YW 287  
*Tod Howe* YN 285  
*Toft hameri* YW 130  
*Tokenholme* YN 287  
*Toklands* YW 287  
*Tolecroft (2)* L 289  
*Tolehus* YW 356  
*Tolescale* L 289  
*Toletoftes* L 289  
*Tollesby* YN 290  
*Torbar hundred* YE 308  
*Torbornerode* YW 301  
*Toresbi* YN 308  
*Toreshou hundred* YE 308  
*Torgoteneuland* L 304  
*Torrisholme* YW 309  
*Tosside* YW 309  
*Totetoft* L 291  
*Toulston* YW 286  
*Towhouses* YW 286  
*Towthorpe* L 285  
*Towthorpe* YN, YE 286  
*Towthorpe* YE 289  
*Towton* YW 286  
*Tranby* YE 292  
*Traneberg* YN 292  
*Transheued* YN 292  
*Trenhouse* YW 292  
*Trousthou* YW 292  
*Trouts Dale* YN 292  
*Trusthorpe* L 73, 267  
*Tumby* L 293  
*Tumholme* YW 293  
*Tupholme* L 294  
*Turkilwate* YW 310  
*Turkylholm* YE 310  
*Tursebrig* YN 308  
*Turstaneswell* L 313  
*Tyrrehou* YN 319
- Ubaine Bridge* L 320  
*Uckerby* YN 321, 329  
*Ugglebarnby* YN 320
- Ughill* YW 320  
*Ugthorpe* YN 320  
*Ulbernewange* L 324  
*Ulceby (2)* L 321  
*Ulegile* YN 327  
*Ulffriding* YW 322  
*Ulfkelrode* YW 326  
*Ulfkilcros* YW 326  
*Ulleskelf* YW 322  
*Ulnescroft* L 321  
*Ulseberhes* L 321  
*Ulshaw Bridge* YN 322  
*Uluesgile* YW 322  
*Uluethayt* YW 322  
*Uluiscros* L 321  
*Uluwait* YW 322  
*Ulvescroft* YW 322  
*Ulvesdigck* YW 322  
*Ulvesthorpe* YW 322  
*Umbayne Bridge* L 320  
*Uncleby* YE 328  
*Underwit Wood* YW 145  
*Unkelbek* YN 328  
*Usselby* L 35
- Vlchiltorp* YE 326  
*Vlfesdale* YN 322  
*Vlfkelerode* YW 326  
*Vlkilcroft* YW 326  
*Vlkilriding* YW 326  
*Vluerod* YW 322  
*Vluesthorp* YE 322  
*Vlueswra* L 321
- Waldefrode* YW 330  
*Walesby* L 329  
*Walshcroft wapentake* L 329  
*Waltes riding* YE 330  
*Waltheffriding* YW 330  
*Waltheffrode* YW 330  
*Wandewath* YW 340  
*Wath* YW 4  
*Weaverthorpe* YE 333  
*Weelsby* L 334  
*Welbernewdewang* L 324  
*Wemmergill* YN 337  
*Westlaby* L 332  
*Westmanshalgh* YW 333  
*Whisby* L 147  
*Whitby* YN 147  
*Whitgift* YW 147  
*Whyett Beck* YN 148  
*Wickenby* L 338  
*Wickersley* YW 338  
*Wiganthorpe* YN 338  
*Wigginton* YN 338  
*Wikerdale (bec)* YW 338  
*Wikicgibanc* YW 338  
*Wilden Wo* 334  
*Wildsworth* L 334

- Wilksby L 337  
 Willingham (2) L 334  
 Wilsford L, Wi 334  
 Wilsill YW 334  
*Wilskegarth* L 337  
 Wilsthorpe L, YE 334  
 Wilstrop YW 334  
*Wimunderiding(g)e* YW 337  
 Winceby L 339  
*Windedland* L 339  
 Withernsea YE 334  
 Withernwick YE 334  
*Wlfarsic* L 324  
*Wlfgrimcroft* YW 325  
*Wlfletebriggebert* YW 327  
*Wl(f)uesdal(h)als* YW 322  
*Wlueshill* YW 322  
*Wluetueit* YN 322  
*Wolvecroft* YW 322  
 Woodthorpe L 75  
 Woolram Wygate L 330  
 -Wragby L, YN, YW 339  
*Wragelandes* L 339  
 Wraggoe wapentake L 339  
 Wragholme L 339  
 Wrawby L 339  
 Wycongill YW 338  
*Wykynglund* YW 338  
*Wymundeker* YN 337  
*Wyuelesthwayt* YW 334  
*Wyveleseefendyk* L 334  
 Yaddlethorpe L 154  
*Yarcolfsike* YE 155  
*Yarleshou* YW 354  
 Yarna Beck YN 155  
 Yawthorpe L 157  
*Yerleshow* YE 154  
*Yethersgill* YW 154  
*Yngolfridding* YW 152  
 Yoke fleet YE 156  
*Yoldale* L 157  
 Yorfalls YN 157  
 Youlthorpe YE 77, 157  
 Youlton YN 157  
*Yowlcroft* YW 157