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SOME ASPECTS OF REGIONAL VARIATION IN EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH PERSONAL NOMENCLATURE

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Towards the end of the Old English period, a certain *Gospatrik*, lord of Allerdale and Dalston in Cumberland, issued a writ, now preserved only in an imperfect thirteenth-century copy,¹ declaring that one *Thorfyynn mac Thore* should be free in respect of all things that were *Gospatrik's* in Allerdale and that the men who dwelt with the same *Thorfyynn* at Cardew and Cumdivock in Dalston should be free. The writ went on to forbid that the peace granted to any man should be broken and to issue certain geld exemptions, as well as to grant *Thorfyynn* financial and legal rights over land in Cardew and Cumdivock. The personal nomenclature contained in this record is an exact reflection of the heterogeneous nature of settlement patterns in this northern borderland of Anglo-Saxon England. This area was occupied by Anglian settlers from Northumbria during the latter part of the seventh century, but was subject to renewed British penetration from Strathclyde from the beginning of the tenth century onwards.² In addition, it was subject to Gaelic-Scandinavian settlement, which was formerly thought to have come from the Hiberno-Norse colonies in Ireland, but which has been recently suggested by Gillian Fellows-Jensen to have been the result of the influx of Vikings who had previously lived in mixed Gaelic-Scandinavian communities in Galloway or the Western Isles.³

Gospatrik's own name is a reflex of a British **Gwaspatric*, and he can be identified either with the person of this name (probably the third son of Earl Uhtred of Northumbria) who was murdered at the court of the Confessor on 28 December 1064,⁴ or with *Gospatric*, son of Maldred, a member of the old Northumbrian comital dynasty, who held the Northumbrian earldom for a short time after the Norman Conquest and later received the estate of Dunbar and other extensive properties in Berwickshire and East Lothian from Malcolm III of Scotland.⁵ *Gospatric*, son of Maldred, was the founder of the Scottish comital family of Dunbar, and the name was borne in the twelfth century by two of the earls of this house.⁶ The popularity of the name *Gospatric* in the old Northumbrian comital family was an obvious factor contributing to its ubiquity throughout the North. Scottish examples additional to those found in the comital house of Dunbar include *Gospatric* son of *Uhtred* son of *Ulfkil*, sheriff of Roxburgh in the early twelfth century,⁷ and, on a more humble level, two jurors in a perambulation of boundaries at Strobo, west of Peebles, from c.1200.⁸ Turning to the south-western corner of the old Northumbrian linguistic area, we find several examples of the name in Lancashire. Note the following forms: *Thoma filio*

Gospatricii (witness) 1184-1202 (17c) Cockersand, p.368 (for abbreviations see end of article); *Gospatricius* 1194-1219 (1268) Cockersand, p.943 (Whittington); *Gospatricius de Chorlton* 1200-23 (1268) Cockersand, p.707 (Beswick in Chorlton-upon-Medlock); *Cospatricio albo* (witness) 1200-27 (1412) Furness II, p.274; *Gospatricius filius Willelmi de Fel* 1200-40 (1268) Cockersand, p.823 (Lancaster). Going a step further, we can also ascribe the ubiquity of ME reflexes of OE *Ēadwulf*, OE *Ōsulf* < *Oswulf*, OE *Ūthrað*, and AScaud *Wælbēof* < ON *Valbjófr* in the north of England and southern Scotland to the influence of the naming practices found within the old Northumbrian comital family.⁹

Turning now to Thorfynn mac Thore, we find that his name belongs to a West Scandinavian-Gaelic onomastic region. *Thorfynn* reflects ON *Þorfinnr*, a name which is well represented in Norwegian and Icelandic sources,¹⁰ but which is apparently absent from the onomasticon of the East Scandinavian area.¹¹ In England, ON *Þorfinnr* is frequently attested in independent use in Yorkshire from the late eleventh to the early thirteenth century.¹² It is also contained in the place-names Thorpen Lees and Thorfinsty in Lancashire,¹³ in the lost Cumberland names *Briggethorfin* and *Aynthorfin*, noted in documents of c.1260,¹⁴ and in the place-name Corstorphine in Midlothian.¹⁵ An example of the name in independent use in Lancashire is contained in the form *Jurdanus filius Torphini de Gairstang* 1246 (1268) Cockersand, p.276 (Garstang). A Scottish example occurs in the form *Gillepatric mac Torphin* (perambulator of bounds at St Monance and Pittenweem, Fife) 1153-62 (1189-99) RRS I, p.215 (no.168). *Thore*, the name of the father of the Thorfynn of *Gospatric's* writ, is a reflex of ON *Þórir*, ODan *Thori*, a common enough name in the eastern Danelaw.¹⁶ The patronymic function, however, is indicated by the use of the Gaelic *mac*. Parallel forms of this type have been noted in medieval Scottish records. We have already mentioned the *Gillepatric mac Torphin* of a record of 1153-62. A further example, contained in the witness clause of a charter of 1153-9 from the mid-thirteenth-century part of the *Registrum* of Dunfermline Abbey, is *Alwyno mac Arkil* (ablative).¹⁷ The name of this witness appears in various forms in the attestation clauses of Scottish royal charters from c.1128 to c.1155.¹⁸ He was the Scottish king's *rannaire*, a Gaelic title with the sense "distributor of food".¹⁹ His name (OE *Ælfwine*) and that of his father (ON *Arnkell*) belong to the Anglo-Scandinavian tradition of Northumbria, though his son and successor bore the Gaelic name *Gilleandrais*.²⁰

Gospatric's writ stipulates that the men dwelling with Thorfynn at Cardew and Cumdivock should be free "swa Melmor 7 Thore 7 Sygoolf weoron on Eadread dagan". The *Thore* of this clause may be Thorfynn's father, though, as F.E. Harmer remarked,²¹ the name is common. If this *Thore* was Thorfynn's father, then we can, for chronological reasons, take *Eadread* to be a mistake for *Ealdred* and to relate to the Northumbrian earl of that name who ruled from 1018 to 1039.²² The form *Melmor* belongs to the Gaelic personal name *Maelmuire*, while *Sygoolf* is a reflex of the rare ON *Sigólfr*.

Gospatric went on to grant the men of Cardew and Cumdivock exemption from geld "swa ic bý 7 swa Willann, Wallðeof 7 Wygande 7

Wyberth 7 Gamell 7 Kunyth 7 eallun mine kynling 7 wassenas". Of these names, *Wallðeof* and *Gamell* are unambiguous, reflecting AS*can*d *Wælpðeof* < ON *Valbjófr* and ON *Gamall* respectively. *Wyberth* is perhaps best interpreted as a reflex of OE (Angl) *Wigberht*,²³ though, on formal grounds, the Continental cognate, represented by OSax *Wigber(h)t*, OHG *Wipreht* etc., cannot be entirely excluded. *Wygande* is probably a Continental name corresponding to OHG *Wigant*; alternatively, however, we may be concerned here with a Cumbric name corresponding to OBret *Uuicon*.²⁴ *Kunyth* has been explained by Max Förster as an ancestor of ModE *Kenneth* derived from Welsh *Cennydd*, the name of a sixth-century saint.²⁵ *Willann* is difficult. It may be a Continental name corresponding to OHG *Wieland*; for palaeographical reasons, we must reject Liebermann's reading of the form as *Willelmi*.²⁶

Gospatric concluded the writ by granting Thorfynn sake and soke and toll and team over all the lands in Cardew and Cumdivock which had been granted to Thore "in the days of Moryn" (on Moryn dagan), this being granted free of the obligation of providing messengers and witnesses in the same place. From the context, it is clear that the Thore of this part of the text is Thorfynn's father. Moryn is otherwise unknown; it has been suggested that it is reflex of either OIr *Morand* or OIr *Mórfind*.²⁷

Gospatric's writ belongs to what can be best described as a "Northern onomastic zone". In this region, which stretched from the northern parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire to southern Scotland, we find that a Northumbrian onomasticon of Anglian and Scandinavian origin meets, with varying degrees of intensity, a Gaelic onomasticon and, to a lesser extent, a Brittonic (Cumbric) onomasticon. After the Norman Conquest, of course, we have the additional factor of French personal names, often of West Frankish origin, throughout this region, as, indeed, in areas further south. The mixture of forms revealed in the language and orthography of this writ reflects the heterogeneous nature of settlement and of the patterns of political and cultural influence in the North-West between the tenth and the twelfth century. In this context, it is still relevant to quote the linguistic comments made by Alois Brandl over eighty years ago in Felix Liebermann's edition of the text:

In keeping with the age of the original document, several genuine OE features, in particular, the retention of a full vowel in the endings -as, (weor)on, (eall)un, are preserved. In addition, the text retains the insular forms of *g* (apart from in the loanword *heyninga*), voiced *f* (instead of the later ME spelling *v*), and *w*, though in the case of the latter the insular letter was not always properly understood by the copyist. The Late West Saxon *Schriftsprache* is indicated by the appearance of *ea* resulting from fracture in the forms *ealle*, *weald* (alongside *ællun*, *Caldebek*, *Wallðeof*, however), the syncopated third person present indicative verb form *greet*, and probably also by *y* in *gegyfan* (cf., however,

Bülbring, p.155). On the other hand, there is a series of Southern forms of a type which first arose in the twelfth century, namely, the diphthongized spellings in *groot*, *weoron*, *beo*, *beor*, the development of æ > e in *he(o)bbe*, and the appearance of *byn* beside *beo*. As Northern dialect features, one should emphasize: the participle form in *-an(d)*; *d* > *ð* in *mið*, *onðer*, *ðrenge* (for the dental change in *team* > *theam*, cf. Björkman, *Scand. Loanwords*, 1902, p.223, and Stolze, *Ortsnamen im Domesday Book*, 1902, § 36 f.); *lêaf* > *leof* *frêols* > *freals* (if these are not merely antiquarian spellings of the type represented by *-read* < *-red* in *Eadread* < *Eadred*). The latest features, which can only be ascribed to an ill-trained thirteenth-century scribe, include such misreadings as *c* for *e* and *y* or *g* for *w*, the phonetically inexplicable doubling of *n* (*ann*), the use of *seo* as a neuter accusative, *h[w]ylkun* for *ilkan* or Southern *ilkon*, loss of the genitival ending (in *Eadread dagan*, on *Moryn dagan*), an accusative plural *eallun myne kynling*, and a genitive plural (*ænig*) *myne wassenas*. The mixture of forms gives the impression that our scribe was working from a considerably older copy with which he was not fully competent to deal. We also get the impression that this older copy was the work of a southern scribe, as has also been shown to be the case in the northern portions of *Domesday Book* (Stolze, p.49), and, finally, that the West Saxon *Schriftsprache* was already present when our Cumberland record was originally drawn up. Amongst the loan elements, those from Old Norse are particularly conspicuous; these include the use of the present participle in *-and*, the words *dreng*, *bec*, *heyning*, and *gyrth*, and, of the personal names, certainly *Thore*, *Thorfyinn*, and *Gamell*. One should probably regard the following as Norman scribal forms: *o* for *u* in *onðer*, *woonnan*, *Sigoolf*; *ch* for *c*, *k* in *brech*; *ey* instead of *i* in *freyth*, *geyld* (cf. Stolze, p.23f.). The Celtic element, as one would expect in Cumberland, is represented by many of the personal names. In addition, there is *mac* (*Thore*), and Stevenson has also linked the strange form *wassenas* with Welsh *gwassan* = followers (related to *vasallus*).²⁸

Brandl's discussion shows its age in a number of errors, mainly of an etymological nature. For example, his reference to the form *Wallðeof* in the context of (or, in this case, absence of) fracture shows that he was unaware of the ultimate identity of this form with AS*cand* *Walþēof* < ON *Valþjófr* and regarded it as a reflex of some name in OE *W(e)ald*-. Brandl's identification of the form *Eadread* with the OE personal name *Eadræd* may be a formal possibility, but it does not fit the historical context which suggests that the form may be plausibly interpreted as a mistake for the name of the Northumbrian earl Ealdred.²⁹ The second element of *Sigoolf* does not contain AN *o* as an inverted spelling for *u*, as

suggested by Brandl, but reflects the ON variant *-ólfr*. One must, however, bear in mind that when Brandl wrote the above notes to Gospatric's will neither Lind's compendium of West Scandinavian personal names³⁰ nor Björkman's works about Scandinavian personal nomenclature in England³¹ had yet appeared. Nevertheless, from a methodological point of view, Brandl's commentary is remarkably modern. Brandl separates the various orthographic, phonological, and morphological layers within the extant text in order to arrive at its linguistic and textual history. At the same time, the discussion is spatially differentiated through its isolation of dialect features within the text and by its treatment of specific lexical and onomastic items (in this case, Scandinavian and Celtic items) within the linguistic and regional contexts of the document.

Returning to our "Northern onomastic zone", we find that the onomastic structure of this region can be typified by the history of a place-name from its northern approaches, Eddleston in Peeblesshire, which is documented by twelfth-century charters contained in the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*.³² Originally, this place had the Cumbric name *Penteiacob* "head, end of James's house". This Cumbric name was then succeeded by *Gillemurestun*, "the tūn of Gillemuire", a name indicating the acquisition of the property by a landowner with the Gaelic name *Gillemaire*, *-muire*. The use of the specific *-tūn* indicates that the area was English-speaking, though the replacement of Cumbric by English need not have been of any great antiquity.³³ *Gillemurestun* was acquired at farm by the Norman baron Richard de Morville (ob. 1189), Constable of the Scottish kings Malcolm IV and William the Lion, from Bishop Ingram of Glasgow (1164-74). Richard de Morville then turned the estate into a knight's fee for a Northumbrian named Edulf, son of Uhtred, from whom the place acquired the name *Eduifestun*, the modern *Eddleston*.

As is indicated above, the Northumbrian "comital names" *Ead(w)ulf*, *Gospatric*, *Ōs(w)ulf*, *Uhtred*, and *Walpēof* (< ON *Valþjófr*) are characteristic of this "Northern onomastic zone". Occasionally we find striking examples of such names within the same family. Lancashire examples are represented by the following forms: *Ricardo filio Huctredi filii Osolf* (witness in a document dealing with land *iuxta Asseleieford* in Clifton in Salfordshire) 1195-1212 (17c) Cockersand, p.725; *Waltheof de Quitinton filius Hutredi* 1184-1210 (1268) Cockersand, p.730 (Withington in Manchester). Coming, as they do, from south Lancashire, these forms, in fact, reflect the spread of a Northern onomasticon to the edge of the Midland area. It should not be forgotten that Lancashire is crossed by several important ME dialect isoglosses. Kristensson, on the basis of spellings in the Subsidy Rolls, regarded the area north of the Ribble as a separate south-western division of the Northern dialects of ME and assigned the parts of the county south of this river to the North-West Midland dialect of ME.³⁴ Long ago, Ekwall showed that the ME boundary between Northern *ā* and Southern/Midland *ǣ* (< OE, ON *ā*) followed the Ribble from its mouth to a little beyond Ribchester and then forked north to Longridge Fell, along which it ran east to the Hodder, turning down the latter to meet the Ribble

again just east of Winckley Hall.³⁵ The Ribble has also been generally regarded as the northern boundary in ME of West Midland *u* for OE *y* (with the exception of OE *y* before *l*, for which ME spellings in <u> have also been noted in the north of the county).³⁶ One should, of course, bear in mind that such boundaries were not static and that their creation was the result of a long period of evolution.³⁷ This, however, does not detract from the significance of the Ribble as a phonological (and onomastic) boundary, though in such boundary areas one must reckon with a certain degree of phonological and orthographic overlap.³⁸ Extending this argument, one can regard the examples of names typical of our "Northern onomastic zone" in records from the northern edge of the Midland area (as in the above-mentioned forms containing *Ōsulf*, *Ūthtrād*, and *Wælpēof* from the Manchester region) as representing a type of onomastic overlap. Of course, a certain amount of caution is necessary in dealing with this concept. Clearly, the appearance of such names as *Ōsulf* and *Ūthtrād* in the northern part of the Midland zone reflects Northern influence, and it is also clear that in the North the persistence and ubiquity of such names reflects their social prestige as "comital names" used by the pre-Conquest earls of Northumbria. This "comital" status does not apply when such names appear outside the North and its immediate environs. Whereas *Wælpēof* and *Gospatric* are almost entirely confined to this area, examples of *Ōsulf* have been found as far afield as Cornwall,³⁹ and *Ūthtrād* is not infrequent in East Anglian records of the ME period.⁴⁰ Despite these provisos, however, our anthroponymic boundaries can be defined with some clarity, though, here again, it would be wrong to regard them as static. It is, for example, probably significant that of the above examples of *Gospatric*, only one, *Gospatricius de Chorlton*,⁴¹ is drawn from a locality south of the Ribble (Chorlton-upon-Medlock in Manchester). Similarly, if we examine the distribution pattern of ODan *Auti*, ME *Outi*, a name well attested in the East Midlands and Norfolk,⁴² in medieval Lancashire, we find that there are no clear examples of its use north of the Ribble. The following forms have been noted: *Siwardo filio Avti et Ricardo fratre suo* (witnesses in a deed concerning property at Elswick, Clayton-le-Woods, Whittle-le-Woods, Wheelton, Withnell, and Roddlesworth; in 1212 the Book of Fees recorded that in the previous generation Richard de Molyneux of Sefton had granted his sister in marriage to Siward, son of Outi, together with two carucates at Cuerden, just south of Preston [and, therefore, of the Ribble]⁴³) c.1160 Hoghton, no.1 (facsimile in frontispiece); *Rogerus de Winstanisle filius Outi* 1190-1219 (1268) Cockersand, p.654 (Winstanley); *assartum Outi* (in Upholland) 1190-1225 (1268) Cockersand, p.610; *Alanus filius Outi* 1194 P NS 5, p.124; *sartum Outi* (in Bury in Knowsley) 1199-1220 (1268) Cockersand, p.606; *Rogerus filius Roberti filii Outi* 1200-20 (1268) Cockersand, p.544 (Maghull). ODan *Auti*, ME *Outi* is characteristic of the Anglo-Scandinavian areas of eastern England; its appearance in south Lancashire must reflect penetration from an East Midland "onomastic zone". In this context, it is also significant that its distribution, insofar as our sources allow us to come to any conclusions, seems to have been confined to the parts of the county south of the Ribble.

It should be emphasized that regionally defined anthroponymic systems of the type described above overlap with a more generally valid onomastic system operative throughout the entire English-speaking area of the late Old English and Anglo-Norman periods. This can be illustrated by again turning to the margins of our "Northern onomastic zone". In a charter of the period 1166-71 (probably of 1166),⁴⁴ King William the Lion of Scotland confirmed various properties granted by King Malcolm IV, the Countess Ada (de Warenne, mother of King William), and Herbert the Chamberlain to the Norman baron Hugh Giffard, lord of Yester in East Lothian. Among these properties, we find a part of Lethington in Haddington, East Lothian, *quam Edolf filius Gamel tenuit*, and a full toft in Linlithgow, West Lothian, *scilicet toftum quod Toke tenuit*. Whereas *Edolf* is a reflex of the typically Northumbrian "comital name" OE *Ead(w)ulf*,⁴⁵ *Gamel* represents a Scandinavian name, ON *Gamall* etc., which has been noted throughout the areas of Scandinavian settlement and influence in England,⁴⁶ and *Toke* is a characteristically East Scandinavian name, ODan *Tōki*, which is frequently attested in the Danelaw and occurs sporadically in other parts of England.⁴⁷ Somewhat earlier, in the period 1142-7 (probably 1143-7), Earl Henry of Northumberland, son of King David I of Scotland, issued a charter repeating and confirming his father's grants to the monks of Rievaulx Abbey at Melrose.⁴⁸ The charter includes two sets of witnesses, the first being witnesses to the later and fuller act of endowment and confirmation and the second being the witnesses to David I's original act of endowment of Melrose Abbey, which is to be dated to c.1136 and was probably limited to the properties of Melrose, Eildon, and Darnick, properties which are merely part of the items confirmed by Earl Henry. This second list of witnesses reads:

Preterea homines de Eadem terra. Gospatricio filio
Gospatricij. Vlfchillo filio Ethelstan. Osolfo
filio Huctredi. Macchus filio Vndwain. Huctredo
filio Siot. Horm filio Eilaf. Osolfo filio Elstan.
Roberto de Brus. Radulfo filio Turstani.

The first of these witnesses is Earl Gospatric II of Dunbar, son of Gospatric Maldredsson and a descendant of the old Northumbrian comital house.⁴⁹ The newer Norman nobility is represented by Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale, whose family came from Brix in the Cotentin and who was an ancestor of King Robert I.⁵⁰ A further Norman witness is probably represented by *Radulfus filius Turstani*. His name is the normal Latin form of OFr *Ra(o)ul*; his father's name is probably an anglicized form of Norman *Turstinus* < ON *Þorsteinn* etc., rather than a latinized form of the corresponding ASCand *Þurstān*.⁵¹ The other witnesses are all members of the local gentry of Roxburghshire and their names reflect the prevailing Northumbrian tradition. We have two witnesses with the "comital name" *Osolfus* < OE *Ōs(w)ulf*, the first of whom was the son of a man with the "comital name" *Ūhtræd* and the second of whom was the son of one *Elstan* < OE *Ælfstān* or *Ædelstān*. The "comital name" *Ūhtræd* is borne by a further witness; the name of his father, *Siot*, is best

interpreted as a reflex of the Continental Germanic *Sigot*. The witness *Vlfchillus* has a Scandinavian name, ODan, OSwed (runic) *Ulfkil*, which is frequently attested in the northern Danelaw.⁵² The form of his father's name, *Ethelstan* for OE *Æstelstān*, is a "learned archaism" on the part of the scribe, since [ó] in the OE name element *Æsel-* had already been lost in the eleventh century with the result that *Ail-*, *Ayl-*, *Eil-*, *El-*, etc. are the normal ME reflexes of this element.⁵³ A further witness bearing a Scandinavian name is *Horm*, son of *Eilaf*. *Horm* is ON *Ormr* etc., a name common throughout northern England, but rare south of the Humber.⁵⁴ The name of the father of this witness, ON *Eiláfr* etc., is sporadically attested throughout England in the early ME period.⁵⁵ The only Goidelic name in this list is *Macchus*, corresponding to Gaelic *Maccus*. The name of the father of this *Macchus*, *Vndwain*, is probably best interpreted as a corrupt form of an original byname based on the Scandinavian appellative *hunda-sveinn* "dog-keeper", which has also been noted as the first element of the Cumberland place-name *Hunsonby*.⁵⁶

The examination of this Scottish witness list has shown that in our "Northern onomastic zone" we find personal names which have a more general distribution as well as names which appear to be peculiar to this particular region. The elements involved are Cumbrian, Gaelic, Anglian, Scandinavian, and French, a mixture characteristic of this northern region. It is obviously otherwise when one turns to the South-East. Here the OE system, with subsidiary Scandinavian and Continental elements, defines the onomastic pattern of the latter part of the eleventh century. Celtic elements, with the exception of Breton names introduced after the Conquest by such men as *Tihel* of *Helion Bumpstead* (Essex),⁵⁷ are completely lacking. As an example of the anthroponymic situation in the South-East at the end of the eleventh century, we can take the list of *Colchester burgesses* of 1086 recorded by the *Little Domesday*.⁵⁸ The majority of the names in this list are OE ditheomatic names. In keeping with the general tendency of the late OE period, the number of different first elements is restricted. The following can be described as still productive: ME *Al-* < OE *Ælf-* or *Æsel-*; OE *Ælf-*; OE *Ēad-*; OE *God-*; OE *Gold-*; OE *Lēof-*; OE *Wulf-*. These first elements encompass the bulk of the OE first elements found in *Colchester* in 1086. In addition, we find the following:⁵⁹ OE *Æsc-*, in *Ascere* < OE *Æschere*; ME *Ail-* < OE *Æsel-*, in *Ailbriest* < OE *Æselbeorht*; OE *Beorht-*, late OE *Briht-*, in *Brictricus* (2x) < OE *Beorhtīc* and *Bricuuīnus* < OE *Beorhtwine*; OE *Blac-*, in *Blacstan* (3x) < OE **Blacstān*; OE *Brūn-* in *Brungarus* < OE *Brūngār*, *Brunloc* < OE **Brūnlocc*,⁶⁰ *Brumman* < OE *Brūnmānn*, and *Brunuuīnus* (2x) < OE *Brūnwine*; OE *Dēor-*, in *Deremanus* < OE *Dēormānn*; OE *Here-*, in *Herstan* < OE *Herestān*; OE *Lēod-*, in *Ledmarus* < OE *Lēodmār*; OE *Man(n)-*, in *Manstan* (2x) < OE **Manstān*, *Mansune* (2x) < OE *Mansunu*, and *Manuuīnus* (7x), *Manuīnus* < OE **Manwine*; OE *Ord-*, in *Orietus*⁶¹ < OE **Ordgēat* and *Orlaf* < OE *Ordlāf*; OE *Ōs-*, in *Osiet* < OE **Ōsgēat*; OE *Sā-*, in *Sagarus* < OE **Sāgār*, *Salware* < OE *Sāwaru* (fem.), *Sauuart* < OE *Sāweard*, and *Saulf* < OE *Sāwulf*; OE *Sige-*, in *Siricus* < OE *Sigerīc* and *Siuardus* (2x) < OE *Sigeweard*⁶²; OE *Stān-*, in *Stamburc* < OE **Stānburh* (fem.)⁶³ and *Stanart*, *Stanhert* < OE *Stānheard*; OE

Tūn-, in Tunric < OE *Tūnrīc; OE Wine-, in Winemerus < OE Winemār.⁶⁴

The Colchester list shows the Old English dithematic system to be largely intact, albeit in a process of strong concentration. As a corollary, we still find examples of Old English monothematic personal names here. These are as follows:⁶⁵ Berda < OE *Bearda < OE beard m. "beard"; Best, an original byname belonging either to OE *bæst* m./n. "inner bark of trees, bast" or OE *bēost* m. "beestings, the first milk of a cow after calving";⁶⁶ Chentinc < OE *Centing, probably a late OE hypocoristic form of OE *Centwine*;⁶⁷ Dela < OE *Dealla*, either an original byname belonging to OE *deall* "proud, exulting, bold, renowned" or a hypocoristic form of such a name as OE *Dealwine*;⁶⁸ Frent < OE *Frēond < OE *frēond* m. "friend, relative"; Goda (5x) < OE *Goda*, a hypocoristic form of names in *God-*; *Godincus* (2x), *Godinc* < OE *Goding*, a late OE hypocoristic form of names in *God-*; *Goldinc* < OE **Golding*, a late OE hypocoristic form of names in *Gold-*; *Hunec* < OE **Hūnuc* or **Hunning*, hypocoristic forms of names in *Hūn-*;⁶⁹ Not < OE **Hnot(t)*, an original byname probably formed from OE *hnot*, ME *not* "short-haired, with closely cropped hair"; Pic, an original byname formed from OE *pīc* m. "point, pointed tool, pick, pickaxe", ME *pīk(e)* "spike, etc."; Pote < OE **Pota*, probably belonging to OE *potian*, ME *pōten* "to push something, to shove";⁷⁰ Sprot < OE *Sprot*, an original byname belonging to OE *sprott* m. "sprat" or OE *sprot(t)* n. "sprout, twig, peg"; Stan < OE **Stān*, a hypocoristic form of late OE names in *Stān-*;⁷¹ Stotinc < OE **Stūting*, a diminutive in *-ing* of an original byname belonging to OE *stūt* m. "gnat";⁷² Tate < OE *Tāta* (masc.) or OE *Tāte* (fem.), hypocoristic forms of names in *Tāt-*; Wicga < OE *Wicga*, a name belonging to OE *wicg* n. "horse" rather than to OE *wicga* m. "insect, beetle".

As one would expect in a region bordering on an area of Scandinavian settlement and influence like East Anglia, Scandinavian personal names are not infrequent in Essex. This is fully borne out by the Colchester list, where we find the following Scandinavian names: Cullinc < ON *Kollungr*;⁷³ Gothugo < AS cand **Gōdhugi*;⁷⁴ Grimolf < ON *Grímólfr*; Hacon < ON *Hákun*, -kon; Osgot < AS cand *Ösgot* < ON *Ásgautr*; Sæuele < AS cand **Sæfugl*; Sacrimus, Sagrim < ON **Ságrímr*; Sueno < ON *Sveinn*; Suertinc < ON *Svertingr*; Suertlincus < AS cand **Swertling*;⁷⁵ Touius < ODan *Tōvi*; Turchillus < ODan *Þurkil*; Turstanus < AS cand *Þurstān* < ON *Þorsteinn*; Westan < ON *Vésteinn*.⁷⁶

Although the Continental element was clearly visible at Colchester in 1086, it was still of far less importance than the native English element. In addition to the ubiquitous French personal names Gau(l)tier (OCFr) < (West) Frankish *Walthari(us)*, Ra(o)ul < (West) Frankish *Rādulf(us)*, Roger < (West) Frankish (H)rōdgēr(us), and Will(i)aume (ONFr) < West Frankish *Willihelm(us)*, which are represented by the normalized scribal forms Galt[erus], Rad[ulfus] (Pinel), Rogerius, and Will[elmus] (Peccatum), we find the following Continental names: Ainolf, corresponding to OSax *Einulf*; Blancus, an original byname formed from OFr *blanc* "white, fair";⁷⁷ Colemanus, corresponding to OHG *Col(o)man*; Elebolt, corresponding to (West) Frankish *Erlebold*;⁷⁸ Filieman, corresponding to (West) Frankish *Filiman*;⁷⁹ Herdedunus (scribal error for

Herdechinus, reflecting MDu *Hardekin*);⁸⁰ *Rosellus*, an original byname formed from OFr *rossel* "red-faced, ruddy";⁸¹ *Sunegot*, reflecting a West Frankish **Sunegaud(us)*; *Tescho*, corresponding to German *Thieziko*, a diminutive of names containing Germanic **þeudō-* (OHG *Diot-*, OSax *Thiad-*, etc.) formed with the *-k* suffix; cf. such forms as *T(h)icekin*, *Thizelinus*, etc., noted in the Low Countries.⁸²

The investigation of the regional distinctions in the English personal nomenclature of the late Old English and early Middle English periods is still in its infancy. That is not to say that good regional studies do not exist - on the contrary, much of the best recent work has taken the form of regional investigations. What is lacking, however, is a systematic attempt to work out the different onomastic zones operative within the English-speaking area in the medieval period. Surveys of specific types of personal names found over the area of one or two counties provide us with an essential corpus of material, but they do not go far enough to create the systematic framework necessary for establishing regional criteria. Regional studies, whether based on the old county divisions of the period before the administrative reform of 1974 or on the region covered by a particular document, e.g., an assize roll or a monastic cartulary, must survey all the names within the region and not just those belonging to a specific type. In view of the wealth of material available, a certain setting of chronological limits is inevitable, though this should not be too narrow. Narrow chronological limits tend to give a deceptively static picture of an anthroponymic situation; they allow one to forget that anthroponymic systems are essentially dynamic and subject to continual change and innovation. The study of the regional aspects of anthroponymy must encompass the changes experienced within the onomastic system as a whole. Obviously, this must also be linked to the study of the history of the language and be related to the development of dialect zones. Personal names cannot be viewed in sociological isolation; the historical background to onomastic change and the differences in the modus of such change in various social groupings must be analysed in detail. It is only by using all the different types of evidence available that a comprehensive picture of the anthroponymic structure of England in this, or, for that matter, any other period can be obtained.

ABBREVIATIONS

AN=Anglo-Norman. Angl=Anglian. AS=Anglo-Scandinavian. Cocksand=The Charters of Cocksand Abbey of the Premonstratensian Order, ed. William Farrer, Chetham Society New Series 38-40, 43, 56-7, 64 (Manchester, 1898-1909); bracketed figures after the date of the entry indicate the date of the MS cited. DB=Domesday Book, seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi Regis Angliæ, ed. A. Farley and H. Ellis (London, 1783-1816, 4 vols.). Furness II=The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey, vol.II, ed. John Brownbill, Chetham Society New Series 74, 76, 78 (Manchester, 1915-19). Hoghton=A Calendar of the Deeds and Papers in the Possession of Sir James de Hoghton, bart., of Hoghton Tower, Lancashire, by J.H. Lumby, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society 88 (1936). MDu=Middle Dutch. ME=Middle English. ModE=Modern English. OBret=Old Breton. OCFr=Old Central French. ODan=Old Danish. OE=Old English. OFr=Old French. OHG=Old High German. OIr=Old Irish. ON=Old Norse. ONFr=Old Northern French. OSax=Old Saxon. OSwed=Old Swedish. P NS=Pipe Roll Society New Series (London, 1925ff.). RRS I=Regesta Regum Scottorum I: The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots 1153-65, ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960). RRS II=Regesta Regum Scottorum II: The Acts of William I King of Scots 1165-1214, ed. G.W.S. Barrow with the collaboration of W.W. Scott (Edinburgh, 1971). s.n.=sub nomine.

NOTES

- ¹ For the text of this writ, see *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. F.E. Harmer (Manchester, 1952) pp.423-4 (no.121); and A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, and Bruce Dickins, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, English Place-Name Society 20-2 (Cambridge, 1950-2) Part III, pp.xxvii-xxx.
- ² See Kenneth Jackson, "Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria", in *Angles and Britons*, O'Donnell Lectures (Cardiff, 1963) pp.71-3.
- ³ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, *Navnestudier* 25 (Copenhagen, 1985) pp.319-21.
- ⁴ See *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. Harmer, p.562.
- ⁵ See Archibald A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975) pp.98-9; and G.W.S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1981) p.7.
- ⁶ For the twelfth-century earls of Dunbar, see Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom*, pp.374-5.
- ⁷ Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, p.7.
- ⁸ G.W.S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980) pp.34-5.
- ⁹ With especial reference to Lancashire, see the remarks of John Insley, "Lancashire Surnames", *Nomina* 6 (1982) pp.93-8, esp. p.96.
- ¹⁰ E.H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn ock fingerade namn från medeltiden* (Uppsala, 1905-15) cols.1158-9; *Supplementband* (Oslo, 1931) cols.846-51.
- ¹¹ It should be noted that Thorfin has been recorded in Denmark, but only in a folk-tale borrowed from Norwegian. See *Danmarks Gamle Personnavne* I:

Fornavne, ed. Gunnar Knudsen and Marius Kristensen with the collaboration of Rikard Hornby (Copenhagen, 1936-48) cols.1382-3 for full details.

- ¹² Gillian Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, Navnestudier 7 (Copenhagen, 1968) pp.302-3.
- ¹³ Eilert Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922) pp.166, 200.
- ¹⁴ Armstrong, Mawer, et al., *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, II, p.360.
- ¹⁵ W.F.H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names* (London, 1976) p.115.
- ¹⁶ See Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, pp.307-9.
- ¹⁷ RRS I, p.182 (no.117). Cf. also: Alfwin Mac arch' (witness) c.1136-47, perhaps 1141-7 (14c, after 1316) RRS I, p.151 (no.29); Alwino Macarkil (witness) 1152-62 (13c, transcript of c.1840) RRS I, p.189 (no.125); *Ælwynus filius Arkil* (witness) 1154-9 (mid 13c, temp. Alex III) RRS I, p.185 (no.118); quam *Elwinus Renner* 7 *Eda uxor eius* . . . dederunt (confirmation by Malcolm IV to Dunfermline Abbey of the grant of the church of Kirknewton, Midlothian, made by Alfwin the rannaire and his wife Eda) 1153-62 (mid 13c, temp. Alex III) RRS I, p.213 (no.164).
- ¹⁸ For further references to Alfwin mac Archill, see RRS I, p.32 and notes 4 and 5.
- ¹⁹ The office of rannaire is fully discussed in RRS I, pp.32-3.
- ²⁰ RRS I, p.32 and n.5. For English examples of Gaelic Gilleandrais, see Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, *Nomina Germanica* 3 (Uppsala, 1937) p.261, and the works cited there.
- ²¹ *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, p.420.
- ²² See Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, p.559, s.n. Eadread, and the references cited there.
- ²³ For the appearance of OE *Wigbeorht* in the early-ninth-century part of the *Liber Vitae* of Durham, see Rudolf Müller, *Untersuchungen über die Namen des northumbrischen Liber Vitae*, *Palaestra* 9 (Berlin, 1901) p.83, though it should be noted that he wrongly assigns the variant spelling *uicbercht* to an OE element *Wīc-*, an element which, it should be added, does not occur in the OE onomasticon.
- ²⁴ Cf. Ekwall's discussion of the Lancashire place-name Wigan (*The Place-Names of Lancashire*, p.103).
- ²⁵ Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, p.564, s.n. Kunyth. Cf. also George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: their Origin, Meaning, and History* (New York, 1946) p.393, s.n. Kenneth.
- ²⁶ "Drei nordhumbrische Urkunden um 1100", ed. F. Liebermann, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen* 111 (1903) p.276 and n.23 (p.277). It should, however, be noted that Bruce Dickins, in his edition of the text contained in Armstrong, Mawer, et al., *The Place-Names of*

Cumberland (III, pp.xxvii-xxx), interprets the form not as a personal name, but as a reflex of the OE verb *willan* "to be willing, wish, desire". He translates the passage in question as: "And let everyone abiding there be as free of (royal) taxation as I am and as Walltheof and Wygande and Wyberth and Gamell and Kunith may wish, and all my kindred and dependants" (ibid., p.xxix). Margaret Gelling has suggested to me that the absence of the Tironian sign between this form and *Wallðeof* is in favour of Dickins's interpretation. *Willann* would then represent the present subjunctive plural form of the verb, *willen*. This interpretation solves the problem of the obscure personal name, though it also throws up questions as to the position of Walltheof, Wygande, Wyberth, Gamell, and Kunith, in that it implies that they were practically of equal status with Gospatric himself. The general context, however, would seem to make Harmer's translation somewhat more plausible, though the absence of comparable documents from this region means that the question must remain open.

- 27 Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, p.568, s.n. *Moryn*.
- 28 Liebermann, "Drei northumbrische Urkunden um 1100", pp.277-8 (translated from the German by the present writer).
- 29 Cf. above, p.184 and n.22.
- 30 For this work see above, n.10.
- 31 E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt und frühmittel-englischer Zeit*, *Studien zur englischen Philologie* 37 (Halle, 1910); E. Björkman, *Zur englischen Namenkunde*, *Studien zur englischen Philologie* 47 (Halle, 1912).
- 32 For the history of the place-name Eddleston, see G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the eleventh to the fourteenth century* (London, 1973) pp.297-8; and Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History*, p.93 and n.3.
- 33 For the disappearance of the Cumbric language, see Jackson, "Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria", pp.72-3; and Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, pp.11-12. Jackson (ibid., p.78) suggests that *Penteiacob* would have been the name in use in the eleventh century and goes on to point out that it is a well-preserved three-element Cumbric name, whose very spelling suggests a written document of Cumbric origin in the background.
- 34 Gillis Kristensson, *A Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290-1350: the Six Northern Counties and Lincolnshire*, *Lund Studies in English* 35 (Lund, 1967) pp.241-3, 283 (Map 17).
- 35 Eilert Ekwall, "The Middle English \bar{a}/\bar{o} boundary", *English Studies* 20 (1938) pp.147, 149-50. Cf. also the remarks of Kristensson, *A Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290-1350*, pp.32-4.
- 36 Kristensson, *A Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290-1350*, pp.116-20, 242, 291-5 (Maps 25-9).
- 37 Cf. the remarks of Jacek Fisiak, "Some Problems in Historical Dialectology", *Studia Anglica Posnaniensis* 16 (1983) pp.5-14. Note also Fisiak's interesting observations about the movement of dialect isoglosses in the fifteenth century in his article "English Dialects in the Fifteenth Century: Some Observations concerning the Shift of Isoglosses", *Folia Linguistica*

Historica 4/2 (1983) pp.195-217.

- 38 See the remarks of John Insley, "Lancashire Surnames", p.97.
- 39 For Cornish examples of OE *Ōs(w)ulf*, see John Insley, "Some Scandinavian Personal Names in South-West England from Post-Conquest Records", *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica* 3 (1985) pp.26-7.
- 40 See Bo Seltén, *The Anglo-Saxon Heritage in Middle English Personal Names: East Anglia 1100-1399*, II, *Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* 73 (Lund, 1979) p.161.
- 41 Above, p.184.
- 42 The Domesday Book examples for 1066 are listed by von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p.169. For post-Conquest examples from Lincolnshire, see Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, pp.43-4. In Norfolk the name occurs in Lynn, for which, see Cecily Clark, "The Early Personal Names of King's Lynn: an Essay in Socio-Cultural History. Part I - Baptismal Names", *Nomina* 6 (1982) p.53.
- 43 *The Book of Fees commonly called "Testa de Nevill"*, reformed from the earliest mss. by the Deputy Keeper of the Records (London, 1920-31) I, p.208.
- 44 RRS II, pp.154-5 (no.48).
- 45 Note, however, that in Domesday Book OE *Ēad(w)ulf* is attested in Devon, Herefordshire, Somerset, and Wiltshire, as well as in Yorkshire and Derbyshire (von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p.240). Seltén, *The Anglo-Saxon Heritage in Middle English Personal Names: East Anglia 1100-1399*, II, p.74, has two East Anglian examples from documents of 1199 and 1209 respectively, and also records the appearance of the name as a surname in Norfolk in the Subsidy Roll of 1327.
- 46 Cf. the Domesday Book forms collected by von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p.257.
- 47 For Lincolnshire and Yorkshire examples of *ODan Tōki*, see Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, pp.287-8. For the appearance of the name outside the Danelaw, see Insley, "Some Scandinavian Personal Names in South-West England from Post-Conquest Records", p.36, and the works cited there.
- 48 RRS I, pp.157-8 (no.41).
- 49 For the twelfth-century earls of Dunbar, see Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom*, pp.374-5.
- 50 For the origins of the Bruce family in Normandy, see G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, pp.322-3.
- 51 Cf. John Insley, "Field Names and the Scandinavian Settlement of England: A Comparative Study of the Evidence Provided by the English Place-Name Society's Survey of Northamptonshire", *Giessener Flurnamen-Kolloquium 1. bis 4 Oktober 1984*, ed. R. Schützeichel (Heidelberg, 1985) pp.123-4.

- 52 For Lincolnshire and Yorkshire examples, see Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, pp.325-7.
- 53 Cf. Fran Colman, "The Name-element ~~Æ~~sei- and related Problems", *Notes and Queries* 28 (1981) pp.295-301.
- 54 Cf. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, pp.204-6. For the use of the name in medieval Lancashire, see John Insley, "The Names of the Tenants of the Bishop of Ely in 1251: a Conflict of Onomastic Systems", *Ortnamnssällskapet i Uppsala Årsskrift* 1985, pp.66-7.
- 55 See Insley, "Some Scandinavian Personal Names in South-West England from Post-Conquest Records", p.28, and the works cited there.
- 56 Armstrong, Mawer, et al., *The Place-Names of Cumberland I*, pp.207-8.
- 57 For Bretons in post-Conquest England, see Sir Frank Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism 1066-1166*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1961) pp.25-8. For Helion Bumpstead, see P.H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Essex*, English Place-Name Society 12 (Cambridge, 1935) pp.508-9.
- 58 DB II, fols.104a-106a; *Domesday Book* 32: Essex, ed. Alexander Rumble (Chichester, 1983) B3.
- 59 The following OE dithematic personal names from the Colchester list have also been examined by Olof von Feilitzen, "Some Unrecorded Old and Middle English Personal Names", *Namn och Bygd* 33 (1945) pp.69-98: *Æschere*; **Blæcstān*; **Godflæd*; **Goldhere*; **Goldrīc*; **Ordgēat*; **Stānburh*; **Tūnrīc*. In addition, the following have been dealt with by P.H. Reaney, "Notes on the Survival of Old English Personal Names in Middle English", *Studier i modern språkvetenskap* 18 (1953) pp.84-112: *Godsunu*; *Herestān*; *Lēofweald*; *Manwine*. Finally, see von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* for the following: **Brūnlocc*; *Goldstān*; **Mansunu*; **Sægār*.
- 60 This name is morphologically identical with normal dithematic names in *Brūn-*. It is not, however, a true dithematic name of the traditional sort, but, as is shown by von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p.210, it is an original byname formed from OE *brūn* "brown" and OE *locc* m. "hair, curl".
- 61 The MS form should be read as *Orietur*. This is quite clearly a mistake for *Orietus*, resulting from the scribe having mistakenly used the -ur contraction instead of the correct -us contraction.
- 62 *ODan Sighwarth* is also theoretically possible as the etymon of *Siuardus*. Cf. the discussion by von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, pp.361-3, esp. p.363.
- 63 Von Feilitzen's suggestion (*The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p.371 n.4) that the Colchester form *Stamburc* may stand for ON *Steinbjǫrg* is unnecessary. Though he cites this reference in his article of 1945, it is there significant that he groups the form to the OE etymon without any further comment ("Some Unrecorded Old and Middle English Personal Names", p.89).
- 64 A possible alternative etymon is the Continental Germanic personal name *Winemar*, for which, see T. Forssner, *Continental Germanic Personal Names in*

England in Old and Middle English Times (Uppsala, 1916) p.258.

- 65 The following OE monothematic personal names from the Colchester list are examined by von Feilitzen, "Some Unrecorded Old and Middle English Personal Names": *Bearda; *Centing; *Fræond; *Hnot(t); *Stūting. In addition, see Olof von Feilitzen, "Some Old English Uncompounded Personal Names and Bynames", *Studia Neophilologica* 40 (1968) pp.5-16 for the names *Best* and *Stan*. The Colchester examples of OE *Golding, *Sprot*, and *Wicga* are dealt with by von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, pp.273 (*Golding), 371 n.1 (*Sprot*), 412 (*Wicga*).
- 66 Von Feilitzen, "Some Old English Uncompounded Personal Names and Bynames", p.7. *Domesday Book 32: Essex*, B3a note, s.n. *BEST*, also includes the possibility that we may be concerned here with an early example of the ME surname *Best(e)* from OFr *beste* "beast".
- 67 Von Feilitzen, "Some Unrecorded Old and Middle English Personal Names", p.76, took OE *Centing to be an original byname "man of Kent".
- 68 See Mats Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919) p.75; cf. also Olof von Feilitzen and Christopher Blunt, "Personal Names on the Coinage of Edgar", in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971) pp.192-3.
- 69 The editor of *Domesday Book 32: Essex* interprets the form as reflecting *Hunning (B3a note, s.n. *HUNNING*).
- 70 See *Domesday Book 32: Essex* B3a note, s.n. *POTE*.
- 71 For the theoretical possibility that this form might alternatively reflect an anglicized form of *ODan Stēn*, cf. von Feilitzen, "Some Old English Uncompounded Personal Names and Bynames", p.11.
- 72 Von Feilitzen, "Some Unrecorded Old and Middle English Personal Names", p.89, suggested that this form might alternatively represent an OE *Stoting from OE *stot* m. "a kind of horse".
- 73 Note, however, that Gösta Tengvik, *Old English Bynames*, *Nomina Germanica* 4 (Uppsala, 1938) pp.141-2, preferred to regard English forms in *Colling*, *Culling* as being of native rather than of Scandinavian origin.
- 74 *Gothugo* is wrongly interpreted by the editor of *Domesday Book 32: Essex*, B3a note, s.n. *GOT HUGH*, as a patronymic formation in which ON *Gautr* is compounded with Continental Germanic *Hugo* or Scandinavian *Hughi*, the second component then having the function of a patronymic byname, hence "*Gautr* son of *Hugo/Hughi*". P.H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of British Surnames*, 2nd ed. with corrections and additions by R.M. Wilson (London, 1976) p.150-1, s.n. *Goodhew*, is nearer to the correct etymology with his interpretation of the form as belonging to an unrecorded Scandinavian **Guð(h)ugi*. Reaney quite rightly interpreted the name as an original byname contrasting with the Scandinavian *Ill(h)ugi* < **il(h)ugi* "evil-minded". Reaney's forms, which include the one from Colchester, show quite clearly, however, that the first component of the name is *God*- < OE *gōd* "good, favourable, etc.", and the base is, therefore, an AScand hybrid **Gōdhugi*.
- 75 Von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p.379, gives the base as an unrecorded ON **Svartlingr* and, somewhat implausibly,

adds that in some cases derivation from OE *swertling* "titlark?, warbler?" might perhaps also be considered.

- 76 The editor of *Domesday Book 32: Essex B3a* note, s.n. *WIGSTAN*, wrongly interprets *Westan* as a reflex of OE *Wigstān*.
- 77 See Reaney, *A Dictionary of British Surnames*, p.37, s.n. *Blanc*.
- 78 The editor of *Domesday Book 32: Essex B3a* note, s.n. *AETHELBALD*, wrongly assigns this form to OE *Æþelbeald*.
- 79 See *Domesday Book 32: Essex B3a* note, s.n. *FILIMAN*.
- 80 See *Domesday Book 32: Essex B3a* note, s.n. *HARDEKIN*. For a Flemish example of *Hardekin* from the first half of the thirteenth century, see C. Tavernier-Vereecken, *Gentse Naamkunde van ca. 1000 tot 1253* (Tongeren, 1968) p.17. Other English examples from *Domesday Book* are listed by von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p.286.
- 81 *Domesday Book 32: Essex B3a* note, s.n. *ROSSELL*.
- 82 Ibid., s.n. *TESCO*. For eleventh- and twelfth-century examples of *Thiediko* from Westphalia, see Wilhelm Schlaug, *Studien zu den altsächsischen Personennamen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, Lunder Germanistische Forschungen 30 (Lund, 1955) p.187. For Flemish examples of *T(h)icekin*, *Thizekinus*, etc., see Tavernier-Vereecken, *Gentse Naamkunde van ca. 1000 tot 1253*, p.140.