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YORK

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It was while I was preparing a study of Scandinavian personal names in Yorkshire that Kenneth Cameron's pioneering work on the relationship between place-names and topography and geology inspired me to embark upon a study of place-names as evidence for Scandinavian settlement in that county. This is why I offer to him a study of a name from the wrong side of the Pennines in spite of the fact that we are both Lancashire folk and proud of it.

The name York is of particular interest to the toponymist, partly because it has undergone so many changes in its history and partly because it is so well documented. Its etymology has been the subject of much discussion in the course of time and the name has been well treated with a full list of recorded forms by Hugh Smith (PNYE, pp.275-80: for abbreviations and bibliography see end of article). The aims of the present paper, therefore, are firstly to assemble for convenient reference information that is scattered throughout numerous books and articles and secondly to assess the influence of the users of the name on its history and the way in which the language spoken by the user and the context in which the name is employed have determined its development from the second century to the present day.

Eburacum, Eboracum

Any explanation of the etymology of the name must be based on the form recorded by the Alexandrian mathematician and astronomer Claudius Ptolomaeus or Ptolemy, the compilation of whose *Geography* can be dated to between 140 and 150 (Rivet and Smith 1979, p.103). Ptolemy records that the Roman Legio VI Victrix was based at 'Εβόρακον (= *Eboracum*). The essential correctness of this form is confirmed by the later Romano-British sources. The fourth-century Antonine Itinerary has *Eburacum*, while locative forms such as *Eburaci* and *Eboraci*, which may have functioned as a kind of indeclinable form, occur in the surviving inscriptions (Rivet and Smith 1979, pp.355-6). Max Förster has argued that Ptolemy's 'Εβόρακον is an error for 'Εβούρακον, an error that would have arisen because ο was often pronounced as u so that ου could be written for ο and vice versa (Förster 1941, pp.248-9). The variation between u and o in the later sources, however, probably reflects the Vulgar Latin development of ū > o (Jackson 1953, pp.274-8). The recorded forms are thus to be taken to reflect a British name **Ebūrācon*, in which the adjectival suffix *-āco has been added to a British

plant-name *Ebūro to form a place-name with a collective sense "place abounding in *Ebūro". The exact meaning of British *Ebūro cannot be determined. The cognate Old Irish word *ibhar* is glossed as *taxus* "yew-tree", while modern Welsh *efwr* denotes "cow-parsley, hogweed", Breton *evor* "black alder, hellebore", and modern German *Eberesche* "mountain ash" (Pokorny 1959, p.334; Evans 1967, pp.346-7; Jackson 1970, pp.73-4; Rivet and Smith 1979, p.357). It seems most likely that the word originally denoted a tree, probably the yew-tree, and that its use for other forms of vegetation was a later development in the individual languages.

There is one other possible explanation of the British name *Eburācon. On the continent of Europe names in which the suffix *-āco is added to a Gaulish or Latin personal name to denote "property of, estate of" are of common occurrence. The personal name *Eburos* is recorded in a Gaulish inscription (Evans 1967, p.346) so it is possible that the British place-name means "the estate of Eburos". This type of formation, however, is rare in Britain and probably younger on the continent than the adjectival formations and it seems more satisfactory to look upon the British name as an adjectival formation on the tree-name (Jackson 1953, p.39; 1970, p.74).

Hugh Smith has drawn attention to a fourteenth-century etymology linking the name of York with the river-name Ure: "Use, quae quondam Jior dicebatur, a quo etiam dicitur Jiorke, id est Jior hooc (Use, which was once called Jior, from which furthermore Jiorke is named, that is Jior hooc)", an etymology that was accepted by several early toponymists, but Smith has demonstrated that it cannot be maintained (PNYW 7, p.141). There are two reasons for this. Firstly, the river at York has been known as the Ouse from very early times and secondly, the recorded forms of the river-name Ure show it to have been an original **Isura*, a form that cannot lie behind the recorded forms of the name of the city (PNYW 7, pp.133-4, 140-1).

Another erroneous interpretation of the name which may go right back to the Romano-British period is that the stem of the name is a Celtic word for "wild boar". An altar to the goddess Boudig was erected in Bordeaux in 237 by Marcus Aurelius Lunaris, a *Sevir Augustalis*, that is a member of a society for the promotion of emperor-worship, of the *coloniae* of York and Lincoln, *Col. Ebor. et Lind.*, (Burn 1969, pp.50-1). The inscription on the altar records that he had vowed to erect it when he set out from York (*ab Eboraci*). It has been argued that the sculptured bas-reliefs on the sides of the altar are representations of the Garonne, the river that carried Lunaris to Bordeaux, and of York, his port of departure (Courteault 1921, pp.106-7). The symbol assumed to represent York is a boar seen in profile to the left. This would imply that the British name of the city had already come to be understood by its inhabitants as containing a word for "boar" (Rivet and Smith 1979, p.357). The Indo-Germanic root *epero-*, however, which yields Germanic **ebura* and Latin *aper* would not seem to have had a Celtic reflex (Pokorny 1959, p.323) and it seems unwise to attach too much significance to the decoration of the

altar as evidence for the sense attributed to the place-name in the third century.

In the Romano-British sources the name *Eburacum*, *Eboracum* would seem originally to have referred to the military fortress on the left bank of the Ouse, while the civilian settlement on the right bank was known as *Colonia Eboracensis*, a distinction reflected in the inscription on the altar at Bordeaux. It has been argued, however, that both fortress and *colonia* were known as *Eburacum* in ordinary usage (Rivet and Smith 1979, p.356). It is difficult to know whether or not there had been a British settlement on the site before the establishment of the fortress there in the first century and hence whether it was Britons or Romans who were responsible for the coining of the name. It has been suggested that the name itself points to a pre-Roman settlement, since if the site had not already had a name, the Romans would most likely have named it from one of the rivers flowing there, "according to the common Roman practice" (Hartley 1971, p.56). Some support for this view might be derived from the fact that in the early fifth-century *Notitia Dignitatum* a sketch of the fort bears the caption *Sextae* and the text reads *Praefectus legionis sextae*. This suggests that for the Romans *Sexta* could function as a kind of place-name in much the same way as the phrase *Ad Legionem Sext[am]* does in one of the surviving inscriptions (Rivet and Smith 1979, pp.220, 356) and might imply that the name *Eburacum*, which was of course in existence when the *Notitia Dignitatum* was compiled, was not primarily associated with the Roman fort.

The records of the Council of Arles, convened by the Emperor Constantine in 314, note that among those present were five Britons, three bishops, a priest and a deacon. The bishop from *civitas Eboracensis* had the Celtic name *Eborius*, which may have been derived from that of his see (Norman 1971, p.152; Birley 1979, p.151). To this very day the official signature of the Archbishop of York is *Ebor*. It should be noted, however, that the other two bishops had a Latin name, *Restitutus*, and a Greek one, *Adelphius*, respectively and that there is thus no relationship between their names and those of their sees.

In the early eighth century the Venerable Bede, writing in Latin, referred to the city as *Eboracum oppidum* (I, 5), *civitas Eboraci* (IV, 12), *Eboraci* (V, 19), but when referring to the episcopal see he sometimes made the name feminine, *per Eboracae episcopum* (I, 29) (Colgrave and Mynors, 1969; Rivet and Smith 1979, p.356). It is the form *Eborace civitas* that lies behind the earliest occurrences of the name of the city as a mint signature on Northumbrian Viking coins of the early tenth century (Smart 1981, p.111). The name appears in various abbreviations and blunderings, often in the stylised form *Ebraice*. It has been suggested that it is the continental influence that is reflected in the distinct liturgical strain in the legends on those coins that accounts for the use of a Latin form of the mint name rather than one in the English or Scandinavian vernacular (Pirie 1975, p.lii). The form *Eborac* appears on one type of Æthelstan's English coinage but subsequently this form was dropped and it is some form of the

English name that appears on the later coins from the mint. It is not until the reign of Henry I that an isolated Latin form of the mint-signature reappears, perhaps influenced by the use of this form in Latin documents of the period, while it has been suggested that the use of *Eboraci* on Baronial issues from the mint in Stephen's reign may have been intended to distinguish these coins from the regular issues (Pirie 1975, p.liii).

In Greater Domesday Book of 1086 (GDB) the city is referred to by Latin forms of its name in the text: *jn Eboraco civitate* (GDB 298a), *Eborace ciuitatis* (GDB 298b), *iuxta ciuitatem Eboraci* (GDB 327a), *ciuitatis Eboracensis* (GDB 379a) and the archbishop is referred to as *Archiepiscopi Eboracensis* (GDB 298b, 302b) and the abbot as *Abbatis de Eboraco* (GDB 298b). Both in the text and in the rubrics, however, the county of Yorkshire is always referred to by an English form of its name, e.g. *Evrvicscire* (*passim*), *Jn Evrvice Scyre* (GDB 298b), *De Evrvic Scire* (GDB 373a), *Jn Euruic scire* (GDB 373a).

The Latin form of the name of the city continued in frequent use in official documents in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and was the form regularly employed when the document in question was in Latin.

Cair Ebrauc, Caer Efrog

It was naturally a British form of the name that remained in use by the Welsh. The city is referred to in Old Welsh as *Cair Ebrauc* and in modern Welsh as *Caer Efrog*, with the prefixing of the Old Welsh element *cair* "a fortified town" (Jackson 1938, p.46). This form gave rise to yet another erroneous explanation of the name. The twelfth-century historian, Geoffrey of Monmouth, recorded that *Ebraucus*, who was alive at the period when King David was ruling over Judea, founded a city beyond the Humber: "quam de nomine suo vocavit Kaerebrauc, id est civitatem Ebrauci (which was called Kaerebrauc after his name, that is Ebrauc's city)" (Hammer 1951, p.44). In spite of the evidence of the Welsh forms, the fact that the Anglo-Saxons, when they converted the name of the city to **Eoforwīc*, replaced *Ebor-* by *Eofor-* might suggest that the unstressed vowel of the second syllable had still been distinguishable when the first Anglo-Saxons, probably Roman mercenaries, arrived in York and that the name at that time probably had a form such as **Evorōg* (Jackson 1953, p.655; 1970, p.74), although the same substitution could have been made even if the unstressed vowel had already been lost (Zachrisson 1926, p.366).

Eoforwīc, Eoforwīccæstre, Eu(e)rvic

The word with which the Anglo-Saxons associated the British element was Old English (OE) *efor*, from the Germanic root **ebura* "wild boar". In later sources *efor* has the form *eofor* as a result of u-umlaut (Campbell 1959, §210; Smart 1981, p.111). As a place-name specific the word is of fairly common occurrence in England. Either the word itself or the personal name of identical form is

combined with habitative elements such as *-ingahām* (Everingham, PNYE, p.233), *-ingtūn* (Everington, PNBrk, p.279), *-tūn* (Everton, PNBdHu, p.104; PNLa, p.115; PNnt, p.29), and with originally topographical elements such as *-lēah* (Everley, PNW, p.329; PNYN, p.115; Eversley Ha, Yearsley, PNYN, p.193), *-dūn* (Everdon, PNNth, p.21; Eversden PNca, p.159), *-hēafod* (Eversheds, PNSr, p.276), *-holt* (Eversholt, PNBdHu, p.123), *-hyrst* (Ewehurst, PNK, p.96), *-land* (Yaverland, Isle of Wight), *-sceaga* (Evershaw, PNBk, p.42), and *-scēāt* (Evershot, PNDo). All these place-names, however, will almost certainly have been coined after the date at which the English first became acquainted with the name of York but they do suggest that it would have been natural enough for the English to associate British *evor in a place-name with their own animal term *e(o)for*.

For the adjectival suffix of the British name the English substituted the element *-wīc*. This generic occurs fairly frequently in place-names in England with the meanings "(dairy) farm, hamlet, salt-works". The first two of these denotations might have been more or less applicable to the settlement at York but it seems more likely that the English actually associated the generic with the civilian settlement outside the military fort at York, since this settlement had probably been referred to as "the vicus" (Gelling 1978, p.58). It is perhaps significant that the element *-wīc* occurs as the generic of, or as an epexegetic addition to, the names of several of the comparatively rare truly urban settlements of the pre-Viking period, for example *Hamwic* (Southampton), *Lundenwīc* (London) and continental *Quentauić* (Ekwall 1964, pp.15-20). The English may have been emphasising the urban nature of the settlement when they remodelled the Celtic name.

It has been noted that the English translator of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* almost always refers to York as *Eoforwicceastre*, a form which also occurs in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, while *Eforwicceastre* is found in the OE translation of Orosius (Campbell 1979, 34; cf. A *Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Toronto, 1980) s.v.). The OE element *ceaster* "old (Roman) fortification" was often compounded with a pre-English name in the early period of English place-name formation (Cox 1975-1976, p.62). **E(o)forwīcceaster* must have existed side by side with **E(o)forwīc* as a name for the city in the pre-Conquest period.

Names in *-wīc* show palatalisation and assibilation of final *-c* in most parts of England but not in the north, including Northumberland (Ekwall 1964, p.20). Since there is little trace of Scandinavian influence on the nomenclature of Northumberland, it is not necessary to ascribe the final *-k* in the modern form of the name York to Scandinavian influence, although it is possible that the final *-c* in *Eoforwīc* may sometimes have been palatalised and assibilated. Ekwall notes that Gaimar rhymes *Evrevic* with *Edelfriz*, which suggests that Norman [ts] has replaced OE [tj], and in a number of place-names in the East Riding the OE element *wīc* has been replaced by Scandinavian *viðr* rather than *vīk*, suggesting that in these names the pronunciation of final *-c* was [tj] rather than [k] (Ekwall 1964, pp.58-60).

It has already been noted that the English form of the name is employed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and in the OE translations of Bede and Orosius and it can be assumed that it was the form normally employed in English contexts. Very few pre-Conquest English documents survive from northern England but there are two in which the name of the city appears in English form: of *Euerwic* [1023] 12th-century manuscript (Sawyer 1968, no.956) and on *Euerwic* [1060-1066] 14th-century manuscript (Sawyer 1968, no.1161), while the English version of the law of Archbishop Thomas for the city of York, dating from about the year 1080, has in the surviving thirteenth-century manuscript the forms *Euerwic* and *Euerwyc* (Liebermann 1903, pp.279-80). On the coins of the York mint from 973 until well after the Conquest the mint signature was invariably rendered as some variation or abbreviation of an OE *Eoferpic*, although the initial syllable had become *Ef-* by about 1074 and in the reign of Henry I *v* replaced *f* and *w* replaced *wyn* (Pirie 1975, p.liii; Smart 1981, p.111). It has been suggested that it was the prestige enjoyed by the city that ensured the survival of its English name on coins for such a long time (Pirie 1975, p.liii).

The English form of the name of the county of Yorkshire is the one normally employed in the Post-Conquest period, even in many documents written in Latin. It has already been noted that this is the form employed in Greater Domesday Book. It also occurs regularly in Latin charters and writs of Henry I (e.g. Farrer 1914, nos.15, 18, 90, 91, 93, 129, 130) and in the Great Roll of the Pipe in the reign of Richard I (Stenton 1926). The Pipe Roll also employs an English form of the name of the city (*ad portam castelli de Euerwich*', *Burgenses de Euerw'*, *Euerwich*') beside the abbreviated Latin form (*Ciues Ebor*', *Telarii de Ebor*', *in civitate Ebor*', *in castello Ebor*').

There is also evidence that in the eleventh century the current English form of the name could influence the form taken by the Latin name in a transcript of a Latin text from the eighth century. There are two surviving old manuscripts of Eddius Stephanus' *Life of Bishop Wilfrid* but whereas the one (Bodleian Library, Fell collection, from c.1100) always has the form *Eboraca civitas*, the other (BL Cotton Vespasian D. VI, from the eleventh century), which may have been written in Yorkshire, has four instances of *Euroica civitas* as against only one of *Eboraca civitas* (Colgrave 1927, pp.xiii, 50, 58, 90, 106, 112).

The English form of the name of the city was also employed in documents written in French, even as late as the early fifteenth century (PNYE, p.276). The French version of Archbishop Thomas's law from about 1080, for example, has the forms *Evervic* and *Everwyk*, although it does have one reference to *communio Eboraci* (Liebermann 1903, pp.279-80). Wace, the twelfth-century author of the French metrical translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, states that it was the French who were responsible for the corruption of the British name to the form *Evrewic*: "Franceis puis cel nun corumpirent / E d'Eborac Evrewic firent (then the French corrupted this name and made Evrewic out of Eborac)" (Arnold 1938, I p.84), while the English translator of

Wace, Laȝamon, whose work survives in two thirteenth-century manuscripts, adapts the text at this point to: "Seoóðen comen vncuðe men; / & Eoverwic heo hæhten" (Madden 1847, I p.113); and the Lincolnshire author, Robert Mannyng of Brunne, writing in the early fourteenth century, renders this passage as: "Frankys spech is not so like, / For Eborak thei calde it Everwyk" (Madden 1847, III p.315).

Yerk

In the Middle English period the pronunciation of the OE diphthong *eo* would seem to have developed to [je] in many parts of the country and this development is reflected in forms such as *Yeversleye* 1304 and *Yearesley* 1577 of *Yearsley* (PNYN, p.193); and by the form *Yereley* 1577 and the dialectal pronunciation [jiələ] of the name *Everley* (PNYN, p.115). Both these North Riding names have OE *eofor* as their specific. Loss of intervocalic *v* from OE *f* occurs fairly frequently in Yorkshire place-names (PNYW 7, pp.92-3). The same developments as in *Yearsley* must be reflected in the form *Yerk*, rhyming with *clerk*, which occurs in the fourteenth-century *Lay of Havelok* (l.1178) as the name of the city (Skeat 1915, p.43), and in the early twentieth-century Lincolnshire dialect form [jerk] (Smith 1924, pp.294-6; Zachrisson 1926, p.363). An alternative explanation of the form *Yerk* in *Havelok* is that it is a blend of English *Euerwic* and a scandinavianised form **3orwík* (Dobson 1957, §430 n.3) but this seems less satisfactory.

Jórvík, Jork, 3orc, York

The earliest record of the scandinavianised form of the name of the city is as the Icelandic exonym *iorvik* in Egill Skallagrímsson's *Arinbjarnarkviða*, composed in the year 962 and recorded in a fourteenth-century manuscript at the end of a transcript of *Egils saga* (Jónsson 1912-15, AI, p.44). The same form occurs in Sigvatr Þórðarson's *Knútsdrápa* from about 1038, also first recorded in a fourteenth-century manuscript (Jónsson 1912-15, AI, p.248). In later Icelandic sources *Iork* is found as an alternative form of the name. In *Haralds saga Harðráða* in *Heimskringla*, for example, which was compiled about 1230, both forms occur (Aðalbjarnarson 1951, pp.179 and 181). The name *Jórvík* was taken from Europe to Iceland and bestowed upon settlements there, probably in the tenth or eleventh centuries (Kuhn 1949, p.54). There are four localities in Iceland called *Jórvík* and it is noticeable that they all bear the uncontracted form of the name.

As far as the interpretation of the first element of *Jórvík* is concerned, it would seem that the Scandinavians had recognised the ultimate identity of OE *eofor* with a word in their own language. The regular development of the Primitive Scandinavian form **eburæ* of the word for "wild boar" would have been to Old West Scandinavian **jórr*, Old East Scandinavian **iūr* but these forms do not survive in independent use and it is only a side-form *þofurr*, a new formation on the basis of the syncopated inflexional forms, that occurs independently in Old West Scandinavian in the transferred sense "prince,

warrior". That the contracted forms had, in fact, been current in Scandinavia, however, is shown by their occurrence, as appellatives or personal names, in such place-names as Danish Jorløse, Jystrup, Jørlunde and Jørslev (Jørgensen 1981, pp.61-2); and Swedish Juringe, Djursnes and Djurfors (Ståhle 1946, pp.251-3); and as the first element of compound personal names such as West Scandinavian *Jórulfr* and *Jórunn* (Janzen 1947, pp.83-4).

It is perfectly natural that it should be the West Scandinavian form of the word for "wild boar" that replaced OE *eofor* in the Icelandic exonym. In view of the predominantly Danish nature of the Scandinavian settlement of Yorkshire, however, it might have been expected that the Scandinavianised form of the name that became current in England would have reflected the Danish form of the word. The suggestion has been made that the employment of the West Scandinavian form in York might reflect the fact that Norwegian kings ruled here for many years (Zachrisson 1926, p.366 n.2).

The development of the form York from *Everwic* has been compared with that of the Frisian place-name *Jorwerd* from **Ewerwerth* and it has been argued that it is Scandinavian influence that accounts for the development that has taken place in both of the names (Miedema 1966, p.9; and 1978, pp.54-7). Miedema reckons with two possible forms of Scandinavian influence in the name *Jorwerd*. Either it is to be looked upon as a Frisian parallel to the Grimston-hybrids in England, in which a Scandinavian personal name **Jór* has replaced the original Frisian specific, or the original Frisian falling diphthong is to be considered to have developed into a rising one under Scandinavian influence (Miedema 1978, pp.73-4). There is, however, evidence that rising diphthongs developed in Frisian independently of Scandinavian influence (Feitsma 1963, pp.103-4) and it seems more satisfactory to treat the development in *Jorwerd* as an internal Frisian one (Hofmann 1976, p.38; Blok 1978, pp.44-5), particularly in the light of the generally sparse and uncertain evidence for Scandinavian linguistic influence on Frisian.

There is, of course, much more substantial evidence for Scandinavian influence on the nomenclature of Yorkshire than on that of Frisia but the possibility should be borne in mind that the development of the diphthong [jɔ] in York might also have taken place independently of Scandinavian influence. OE *eowu* "ewe" developed the dialect form *yowe* (Ekwall 1963, p.63; cf. Wright 1905, p.425) and the development of a rising diphthong is probably also evidenced in the recorded forms *Yoverland* 1311, 1312, *Yoverlond* 1312 of the place-name *Yaverland* in the Isle of Wight, whose specific is OE *eofor* (Köckeritz 1940, pp.ciii-civ, 262).

As far as the second element *-wíc* of the OE form of the name is concerned, the Scandinavians presumably associated this with their word *vík* f. "small bay, inlet", even though this is not topographically appropriate. It has been assumed that the younger form of the Scandinavian exonym *Iork* reflects loss of *v* in unstressed position after a long first syllable, since there is some evidence

for loss of *v* in such positions in the Scandinavian languages, for example in Old Icelandic *Nóregr* < *Norvegr* (Noreen 1923, §235. 1f) and Old Danish *Othensi*, *Othense* c.1100 < **Othæns-wē*, *-wī* (Brøndum-Nielsen 1957, §388). It has been claimed by Kristian Hald, for example, that the Old Danish generic *wīk* has been reduced to *-k* in a number of names in Jutland, including *Frøyk*, *Hjerk*, *Bork*, *Skjerk* and *Vork* (Hald 1965, p.247). *Frøyk* was certainly originally a name in *-wīk*. Its earliest recorded form is *Frøydewigh* 1418 and the development to *Frøyk* is a young one (Albøge 1976-84, pp.155-6, 555). *Hjerk* was probably originally a compound in *-wīk*, in which the contracted form developed at the end of the fifteenth century (Kousgård Sørensen 1982, pp.56-7). If it could be proved that the other three names were also originally names in *-wīk*, then they would offer close parallels to the development to *York*, but there is nothing in their recorded forms to suggest that they were ever compounds in *-wīk* and it seems more likely that they are all *k*-derivatives, either derivative place-names or derivative appellatives functioning as place-names (Albøge 1976-84, pp.267-8, 554-5). That a *k*-derivative could assume a form identical with that of *York* is shown by the name of the settlement now known as *Jork* which lies just north-west of Hamburg. The etymology of this name is uncertain, since its early forms, *Maiorc* 1221, *van Maiorke* 1358, *tho dem Jorke* 1366, are conflicting, but the most satisfactory explanation would seem to be that it is a *k*-derivative of the word *goor* "mud" and that the early forms in *Mai-* simply result from incorrect word-division in a Low German phrase such as "in deme Jorke" (Hofmeister 1979, pp.70-2). It is of significance for the explanation of the contracted form *York* that the four places called *Jórvík* in Iceland all retained this form of the name and that the place-name generic *vík*, *wīk* survives to the present day as *-vík* or *-víg* in all the place-names in which it is known to occur in Norway and Denmark with the exception of *Frøyk* and *Hjerk*, in both of which names the reduction to *-k* took place much later than in the name *York*.

The question arises, therefore, as to whether the form *Iork* in the Icelandic sagas might not represent a re-introduction of the name into Icelandic after contraction had taken place on English soil. Contact between England and Scandinavia remained close until at least about the year 1100 and there would have been many opportunities for a new form of the name to have been adopted. Introduction of two different forms of the name at two different periods would seem to be the most satisfactory explanation of the uncertainty felt by the thirteenth-century Icelandic authors as to which form to employ in their works.

Unfortunately there is very little early written evidence from England for scandinavianised forms of the name. This is mainly because of the continued use of Latin or English forms in written documents. It has been suggested very tentatively that two forms of the mint signature on coins of Cnut and Harthacnut might reflect an Anglo-Norse form of the name that was current in the city (Smart 1973, p.223; 1981, p.111). These are the forms *Eorc* and *Eorocc*. It would be rather strange, however, for a local pronunciation to be reflected in types that were probably not engraved

locally and it is possible that the two forms are merely blunderings of the more normally occurring signatures reflecting some form of *Eoforpic*.

If the coin inscriptions are not to be accepted as evidence for the existence of a contracted form of the name, then it is Lazamon who provides the earliest evidence for contraction. After attributing the introduction of the form *Eoverwic* to *uncude men*, Lazamon goes on to say that *norþerne men* through a bad habit or ill practice (*ane unpewe*) called the city *þeorc* or *þorc*, according to the two surviving manuscripts, both now dated to the second half of the thirteenth century (Madden 1847, I p.113; Stanley, 1968). It has been assumed that the expression "northern men" referred to the people of Yorkshire (Zachrisson 1909, p.64) but it must surely denote the Scandinavian settlers. Robert Mannyng of Brunne in the early fourteenth century has the form *þorc* and the fourteenth-century interpolation in a copy of the chronicle attributed to Robert of Gloucester reads: "And suth me clefeth Euerwicke this ilke toun y-wis, / And York also, thorgh light speche, y-hote also hit is" (Madden 1847, III p.315). An English charter from 1343 incorporated in the *Whitby Cartulary* of c.1400 has the form *þorc* (Atkinson 1879-81, p.230) and the same form occurs in the romance of *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimmild*, composed early in the fourteenth century and recorded in a manuscript of 1330-40 (Ekwall 1963, p.124). From about 1400 the form *York* is the one which occurs regularly in English contexts (PNYE, p.277).

Although the initial *w* of the second element is lost in the modern pronunciation of many English place-names in *-wīc*, for example Barwick, Berwick on Tweed, Greenwich, Harwich, there is no evidence for this loss in surviving spellings from the medieval period. Karl Luick would assign the loss of *w* in names other than York to the early Modern English period (Luick 1921-40, §778, 2), while E.J. Dobson, although noting that evidence for the loss does not begin to appear until the fifteenth century, considers that the change took place in the Middle English period (Dobson 1957, §421 (ii)). Ekwall has claimed that the *w* was sometimes lost early, pointing as examples to Barnack, Swanage and Winch (Ekwall 1960, p.516), but there seems little reason to accept this claim. Barnack in Northamptonshire can hardly be explained as a name in *-wīc* on the basis of the recorded forms (PNNth, p.230) and the etymology of Winch in Norfolk is too uncertain for its forms to be treated as evidence for a sound development (Ekwall 1964, p.53). Swanage in Dorset is indeed a name in *-wīc* but the earliest of its recorded spellings to indicate a pronunciation without *w* are from the sixteenth century (PNDo, 1. p.52). The early loss in York can thus hardly be explained as the result of the working of regular English sound developments.

It would seem that in the name of York there must have been a local dialectal development beginning with the loss of *w* and ending with syncopation of the vowel with secondary stress. This combined development would seem to have taken place both in the English form of the name, *Euerwic* > *þeorc* > *Yerk*, and in scandinavianised *Jorvik* > *Jork*. Evidence for an intermediate stage between *Jorvik*

and York may perhaps be provided by the surname Yorick, immortalised as the name of the king's jester whose skull provokes Hamlet to reflection in the graveyard, as that of the parson in Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* who claims to descend from the jester, and as the *nom de plume* adopted by Sterne himself. Shakespearean scholars are not agreed as to the origin of the name Yorick, one taking it to be a corruption of Saxo's *Roricus* and another assuming it to be a form of the Danish name Jørgen (cited by Jenkins 1982, p.386). No Danish name resembling Yorick is in fact recorded but there is a Frisian name Jork, which has been explained as a hypocoristic form of a name in *Eber-* (Mackensen 1983, p.100) and it is not inconceivable that Shakespeare might have included such a Frisian name in the anachronistic cosmopolitan mish-mash that forms the nomenclature of the court at Elsinore. Harold Jenkins, however, has suggested very tentatively that when Shakespeare wrote "Alas, poor Yorick", there may have been an echo in his mind of the exclamation: "Alas, poor York" that he had earlier employed in the third part of *Henry VI* (Jenkins 1982, p.386) and it is perhaps significant that the Yorkshire author and clergyman, Laurence Sterne, who adopted Yorick as a pen-name, was a prebend of York cathedral with a house in York, and that his novel *Tristram Shandy* was considered to be a satire on York affairs. It seems likely that both Shakespeare and Sterne associated the name Yorick with the name York and that the surname may in fact represent a local form of the name of the city. It is uncertain, however, whether this form ever actually functioned as a surname. I have not been able to trace any reference to a surname *Yorick* in the dictionaries of surnames available to me and there are no subscribers with this name in the current telephone directories for York, Nottingham or Manchester. Alas, poor Yorick may only be a figment of Shakespeare's imagination.

York as an eponymic base

In the course of time the city of York has been much favoured as an eponymic base for the formation of toponymics outside England. It has already been noted that the Vikings took the name in its scandinavianised form *Jorvík* to Iceland and bestowed it upon four settlements there. After the Norman Conquest of England there was an English emigration to Byzantium (Fell 1974). A thirteenth-century Latin chronicle compiled by an English monk and the fourteenth-century Icelandic saga of Edward the Confessor both record that the English settlers called their colony England and named their new homes after towns in the home country but it is only the saga that gives two examples of such names - *Lundun(am)* and *Jork* (Codex Stockholm Perg. 5 fol. f.71r [14th century] and *Flateyjarbok* f.213rb [late 14th century]). It is thus the contracted form of the name that was taken by the English to the Crimea.

In North America the name York became very popular, although the eponymic base was not always the Yorkshire city (*Encyclopædia Britannica* 1978, X pp.826-9). The town of York in Maine received this name after the English city in 1652, in replacement of an

earlier name, Gorgeana. In 1664 the English took over Nieuw Amsterdam from the Dutch and renamed it New York - not after the city but in honour of the governor of the colony, the Duke of York. The first permanent settlement in Pennsylvania was laid out in 1741 and named York after the English city. In 1781 the British were defeated at Yorktown, Virginia and in the next century Yorktown, Iowa, was called after Yorktown, Virginia. York, Nebraska, was laid out in 1869 and named for York, England. Several small localities in the United States were named Yorktown or Yorkville (Stewart 1970, p.546). In Canada, too, York proved a popular eponymic base. The trading-base known as York Factory in Manitoba, established on the site of a fort built in 1684, was actually named after the Duke of York but the township of York in Ontario received this name in 1793 after the English city, in replacement of an earlier name, Dublin; and York, Ontario, became in turn the inspiration for Yorktown in Saskatchewan, which was settled by men from Ontario. In Australia the town of York in Western Australia was surveyed and proclaimed in 1831 and named after York in England.

Conclusion

The development of the British name has now been traced from its topographical origin through its employment by the Romans for their fort and civilian settlement, its partial conversion by the English for use of their fortified settlement, episcopal see and mint, its adoption by the Vikings in scandinavianised form for the seat of their Northumbrian kingdom and as an eponymic base for four names in Iceland, and finally its contraction to the form that is current today for the name of the Yorkshire city and that is the basic name for eponymised names in Byzantium, North America and Australia. It seems likely that the contraction of the name took place in Yorkshire, perhaps because contact between two languages there contributed to a development which would not normally have taken place in either of the languages involved. In its new surroundings in North America the contracted name sometimes acquired epeexegetic suffixes such as *-town*, *-ton*, *-ville* and *factory*, thus receiving a form of compensation for the losses it had sustained in the Old Country.

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