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ENGLISH FAMILY-NAME FROM PLACES IN ENGLAND

Local surnames can be classified into two groups: 'locative surnames',
which derive from place-names and which previously denoted the place from
where a person has come to his new place of residence, and 'address names',
denoting the place where a person actually lived. It is with the first
group of local surnames that we are concerned here.

The modern forms of locative surnames often bear little resemblance
to the modern forms of the place-names from which they derive. This
difference may be purely on orthographical one; e.g. Cholmondeley Ch is
pronounced /tʃʌmləli/ and a surname derived from it may have a phonetic spell-
ing *Chenley*. The name in true of Wooster from Worcester, Norton from
Norwich, etc.* But far more interesting for a linguist are the differences in
pronunciation, and it is not always quite easy to establish a linguistic link between a surname and the place-name from which the surname dic-
tionsaries say it derives, as for example *Clarke* from Southcott Bk or
Sapworth from Sawbridgeworth Hrt, without a thorough knowledge of the his-
tory of English sounds and careful investigation into the history of the place-
and family-names concerned.

The task of the present writer was therefore to find out a) what are
the phonological differences between a locative surname and the place-name
from which it derives, and b) how can these differences be explained lin-
guistically. The material for this survey has been collected from all
printed books on English surnames published since c.1800. In these sources
there are circa 11,000 graphically different surnames derived from place-
names in England, including all surnames that may have an alternative
etymology. A high percentage of these names are graphically identical with
the respective place-names or show only a slight variation in spelling (e.g.
-*ley*, -*ly*, -*leigh*, -*lee*), from which no difference in pronunciation can be
inferred. These names have been excluded from the survey. In addition,
surnames from places whose etymology could be established neither with the
help of the publications of the English Place-Name Society nor any other
publications on English place-names, had to be omitted as it seemed essential
to attribute the difference between the place-name and the surname derived
from it to an irregular development of either the place-name or the surname.

This can be briefly explained by one example. The surnames *Chillington*
and *Shevington*, derived from *Chillingham* and *Shevington* Lk respectively,
differ from the place-names in the medial syllable (-in- instead of -ing-).
This variation must be explained differently in each case, for /ɪnp/ in
*Chillington* arose by assimilation from /ɪnt/, while *Shevington* comes from
the name of a hill, *Shevin*, to which OB *sēn* was added, the *g* being an unety-
ological insertion by analogy to other place-names in -ington. Thus the
surname *Shevington* is closer to the original form of the place-name than the
modern form of the place-name itself.

The number of names included in the survey was thus reduced to about
1,200 surnames which, according to the type of divergence from the place-
nome, could be grouped into the following categories.
1. The historical spelling of most place-names as opposed to the rather phonetic spelling of many family-names account for most phonological differences between surnames and the respective place-names. Phonological changes during the past 400 years or so are not always reflected by the modern spelling of place-names (though they have occasionally been: temporary phonetic spellings, which could not, however, prevail upon the historic ones), yet the spelling of many locative surnames was altered as the pronunciation changed. As nowadays the pronunciation of place-names is largely based on the modern spelling (spelling pronunciation), their traditional pronunciation has become obsolete.

There are many sound changes that are not reflected by the modern spelling of place-names and are therefore no longer observed in their pronunciation, but which are evident in the modern spelling and pronunciation of locative surnames. The majority of surnames included in the survey belong to this group, but let it suffice to quote but a few examples of consonantal changes here:

a. Assimilation, e.g. Apland from Acland, Blacktin from Blackden Ch.

b. Dissimilation of nasal and liquid consonants, e.g. Steven from Stenson Db, Hambley from Blankney Li, Mellorby from Melmorby Cu.

c. Loss of final & d after l, v in unstressed syllables, e.g. Driffill from Driffield Gl, Kirkland from Kirkland La.

d. Loss of initial 5, e.g. Ingleby from Hinkley Le.

2. Some locative surnames show a feature of regional dialect once also apparent in the place-name, but the spelling of the place-name (and accordingly the modern pronunciation) has been influenced by Standard English. This is illustrated by one example drawn from the northern counties, where the place-name element -ford takes the form -forth, as in Ampleforth Wv, Shadforth Du, etc. Though the spelling was reversed to -ford in quite a number of place-names, such as Bamford Du, Beech YE, etc., forms in -forth survive in the locative surnames Bamforth, Beeforth, etc.

3. A locative surname may preserve an older form of the place-name, from which the modern form of the place-name has developed, either by regular sound change (e.g. Abram La from OE Eadburhew by assimilation and contraction, whereas the locative surname from this place-name is Adderton), by insertion of an intrusive consonant (e.g. Coldridge D, being in 'coal ridge', whereas the surname is Coleridge), by folk etymology (e.g. Sawbridworth Hr, originally Stebrithe's worth, which in contracted form results in the locative surname Sawworth), by clipping (e.g. Featherstone Db, a non-shortened form of which survives in the surname Batheromshawhagh), or by the addition of a further place-name element (e.g. Wallasey Ch, which originally was OE Walas-ey - now surviving in the surname Valley - to which late genitive singular s and a second ey were added). Other locative surnames preserve a place-name which became obsolete when the place was renamed, e.g. Sheen from a place now called Richmond Sr.

4. The locative surname continues the Anglo-Saxon form of the place-name. During the ME period a place-name variant showing AN influence often existed beside the native form, but eventually became obsolete. Such forms, however, are often preserved in locative surnames, e.g. Dozier from Dorchester Du, 0, with AN /l/ for OE /l/ and French loss of /l/ before /l/. Tryanny from Thrimbly Wc with AN /l/ for OE /l/, Bly 0 from Blyth Wt with French loss of final /l/, Gooden from Lathom La with AN /l/ for ME /l/, Clatsworthy from Clatworthy 50 with AN /l/ for ME /l/.

5. Place-name elements are sometimes exchanged in the locative surname, e.g. in Baxendale from Baxenden La, with Scand. da 0 for English -den, and in Kilham from Culcheth La, with English enow for Welsh 000.

6. Some locative surnames are compounded of a place-name and an affix. Such names as Baxter from Exeter D, with the Latin preposition de, Sutten, from the river-name Tees with the French preposition sur, Bylender from Bylund Wv, Booswvr from Bolwiveir Le (note the phonetic spelling of the surname), Devonoish from Devon, and Penkettman from Penketh La, though this name can also be interpreted as 'servant of a man from or called Penketh'.

7. Folk etymology plays only a minor part in the rise of new variants of locative surnames, as e.g. in Adbook from Adeot 5a, Burbidge from Burbage Db, Lei, W, and Halfnaked from Halmaker 5x.

8. Locative surnames, whose spelling does not differ from that of the place-name, may nevertheless be pronounced differently. This is particularly true of names in which the letters th, ob, or ph occur, which originally belonged to two different place-name elements, and which are therefore pronounced 0, 0, and 0 respectively in the place-name. In the surname, however, they are sometimes pronounced /l/, /l/, and /l/ respectively, e.g. in Benthum, Ieham, Biagham. For some place-names with historical spelling no spelling pronunciation has been observed. This is not only true of some of the better known places such as Gloucester, Leicester, or Cholmleody, but also of some minor place, e.g. Nuthall Wt, which is pronounced /nath/. For the surname of this spelling, however, the spelling pronunciation /nath:sl/ is used.

Conclusion

This survey has made clear that locative surnames never became 'corrupted' as one can often see in onomatopoeic literature, but that the transformation from the common root into the divergent modern forms of place-name and locative surname with a prima facie inexplicable difference can be convincingly explained in linguistic terms. If one compares locative surnames not only with the Standard pronunciation of place-names, but also with the local pronunciation which can still be heard in quite a number of place-names, one will be surprised to find that many locative surnames are identical with this form of pronunciation. The reason for this phonological conformity is evident. Neither locative surnames nor the local pronunciation of place-names have been influenced by the historical 'official' spelling of the place-names, and they represent a more advanced stage of phonological development than the 'official' pronunciation of the place-name.
Notes

1. This article is an abstract of the author’s Ph.D. thesis to be published shortly (in German) by Hans Carl Verlag, Nuremberg.

2. A comprehensive list of names is included in the work; in this article, however, not more than three examples will be given for each type of name mentioned.

3. Supplementary information has been obtained from printed parish registers.

4. Place-names to which an affix such as Great, North, King’s, Lower, etc. was added have been dealt with under their principal form.

5. Closely related to this type of name, though not a locative surname in the strictest sense, is the patronymic type 'place-name + son', e.g. Claphamson, Clappinson (with assimilation /ms/ to /ns/) 'the son of a man from Clapham'.

6. There is also a locative surname with the phonetic spelling Battle.

7. The local forms of pronunciation of some place-names mentioned above are /befi:fs/ for Beeford, /sepsu:/ for Sawbridgeworth, /dayntli/ for Daventry; /amoks/ for Seavonaks is now obsolete, and an analogy to /drifull/ is found in the local pronunciation for Heathfield So, which is /hel/.

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STUDIES ON PLACE- NAMES AND ANGLO-SAXON MIGRATION: A COMPARISON OF -INGAS, -INGA- NAMES IN ENGLAND WITH THEIR PARALLELS ON THE EUROPEAN MAINLAND

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a list of parallels between the -ingas/-inga- place-names found in England and those found in the names of the Continental homelands. Some of these parallels have been noted occasionally, e.g. Poyninga Sx (Pantingsга 960), which goes back to a folk-name, OE *Pantingaz, and is, as Ekwall has shown, identical with Pilling, southeast of Mßnster, Westphalia (Pautningen 9th). Systematic investigation into the material provided by the volumes of the English Place-Name Society, Ekwall, Danmarks Stednavne, Förstemann, etc., reveals that the coincidence of a number of -inga folk-names in England and the possible Continental homelands is too close to be a matter of mere chance. Accidental correspondence is particularly improbable if a folk-name occurs only once on both sides of the North Sea and is adjacent to similarly unique name formations. In the case of Poyninga, which is a formation of an unrecorded personal name *Panael with the suffix -inga, its German cognate Pilling is situated near a place called "Tering" (lost) in Ascheberg, south of Mßnster, Westphalia (Terringen 12th), which shows similar early spelling to those of East and West Tarring Sx, not far from Poyninga (E. Tarring: Terringale) 1275; W. Tarring: Terringas 941 (e.1300).

For another group of German place-names obvious parallels can be noted in E. Anglia. The area around the modern city of Lingen, north-west of Ósnabrück, Lower Saxony, was known as 'in pago Sahalingun' in a charter of the late 9th/early 10th century. "Sahalingun" is the dative plural of a folk-name, Gmc. *Sahalinga, and so exactly corresponds to OE *Seoaltingas in the Norfolk place-names Saxlingham Nethergate, Saxlingham Thorpe (Sealingham 1046 (16th), Saxlingham 1163), and Saxlingham near Holt (Sazellingahham, Nowelingham 1086). It is worth noting that either within or at least in the immediate vicinity of this mid-Ems "pagus" there is a place called Messing, southeast of Lingen (trivio, Nameseuringen 9th, Nameseage 1000). Its name goes back to a folk-name, Gmc. *Messalinga, which is identical with the folk-name, OE *Messaltingas, in Great and Little Mßssingham NF (Mussingham 1066) and in Messingham LI (Mussingham 1067 (12th)). About 25 kilometres south-east of Messing we find the place-name Mettingen (Mettingage 1088); it corresponds to Mettingham SF (Mettingen 1086), near Bungay. A further parallel occurs in Erpen (Erpingge 852) near Dissen, south-east of Ósnabrück, and Erpingham NF (Erpingham 1086), north of Aylsham.

Regarding the two concentrations of name parallels within fairly limited areas, the supposition of an accidental correspondence, based on the same linguistic background of the Anglo-Saxons in their Continental homelands and in Britain, becomes less and less likely. On the contrary, we may reasonably speculate that some name transfer may have taken place, such as can be observed in practically every modern migration process. If this turns out to be true, we may be in a position to locate at least some of the starting points of Anglo-Saxon tribal units more precisely than hitherto. One major difference from modern name transfers such as York - New York, Orleans - New Orleans, etc. has to be noted, however. In modern times emigrants have transferred established place-names, whereas the Anglo-Saxons seem to have taken the names of their tribal units with them.

In the case of "Sahalingun"=Saxlingham, the likely course of events would be that a folk name "Sahalingós, located in the mid-Ems region, is