Within the last few thousand years southern Scandinavia has escaped lasting occupation by people speaking a foreign tongue. This means that there has been an uninterrupted development of settlement by people speaking the same language as far back as linguistic science can penetrate (Kouvärd Sjögren 1979, 3). It is therefore impossible in this region to date place-names by referring them to various chronologically stratified immigrations by foreign peoples and in the first half of this century several more or less fantastic estimates of the age of southern Scandinavian place-names were proposed, all based on the assumption that correlation between the distribution of types of place-name and that of datable archaeological finds is an indication of contemporaneity. An early and extreme example is the Norwegian Andreas M. Hansen's conclusion that settlements in Denmark with names in -lev, -lose and -toge must date from the same period as the graves of the younger Stone Age (Hansen 1904, 102, 105). More recently the methodological flaws in Hansen's arguments have been pointed out by both archaeologists and philologists and Scandinavian place-name scholars are now very concerned to distinguish between evidence, such as datable archaeological finds, that can help to date settlements and evidence that can contribute to the dating of the formation of the names of the settlements (Kouvärd Sjögren 1979, 16-17).

For the English toponymist the dating of place-names does not offer the same temptation to a gross exaggeration of their antiquity, since the arrivals of the Celts, the Romans, the English, the Vikings and the Normans provide reliable *termini post quem* for the formation of the various strata of names. Nevertheless there are innumerable pitfalls for the unwary, some of which I should like to demonstrate by reference to place-names in -by.

I must begin by confessing that, under the influence of earlier research, I have myself been guilty of assuming that place-names are contemporary with the settlements bearing the names and hence that concentrations of names in -by marked areas in which the Danes had taken over hitherto unexploited land and cleared it for settlement. I never, however, denied that names in -by could be borne by settlements originally founded by the British or the English long before the Viking invasions. Ellis EKwall, the pioneer of scientifically based place-name research in England, had already emphasised in his two early surveys of the Scandinavian element in English place-names that the Scandinavian names must often have replaced English names for established settlements. He pointed not only to the examples of Derby, which is known to have replaced the English name Norwic, and Whithby, which must certainly have had an earlier name, but also to the numerous Kirks, Kirkbys and Crosbys, which he considered were unlikely all to date from the period after the conversion of the Vikings to Christianity (Ekwall 1924, 75; 1936, 162).

In a study published in 1935 of Scandinavian place-names in the light of local topography and surface geology in South-West Kesteven, however, L. W. H. Payling interpreted the very striking distribution pattern of the various types of place-name as an indication of the planting by the Danes of new settlements, often with names in -by, on heavily wooded land that had had to be cleared before it could be exploited (Payling 1935).

In his discussion of Scandinavian place-names in England Sir Frank Stenton did
acknowledge that in some cases the relationship between the village with a name in -by and the man whose forename was contained in the village-name 'may possibly have anticipated the relationship between a medieval manor and its lord', that is that the village had been granted to the man and not founded by him. Stenton cited as an example of such a relationship Granby, for which Domesday Book records a population of forty-four villeins and nine bordars (Stenton 1942, 307). On the whole, however, Stenton's view was that names in which by or thorp is united in a strict grammatical compound with a Danish personal name suggest the foundation of new settlements rather than the establishment of Danish conquerors as lords of old ones. . . . There is much to suggest that the Dane who left his name to a by or a thorp had normally been, not the lord, but the leader of the men whose settlement had brought the village or hamlet into being' (Stenton 1943, 517).

Hugh Smith disagreed. He explained the much greater frequency of occurrence of anthroponymical specifics in place-names in -by in England than in place-names in -by in the Scandinavian homelands as a reflection of the fact that in Scandinavia 'a by arose because of a slow and peaceful exploitation of new land by a parent village, whereas in England the Danes found and quickly acquired by force of arms as their individual personal estates a large number of ready-made settlements and villages' (EPN 1. 68). Smith supported his argument by reference to the complete replacement of older names by the names Derby and Whitby, the replacement in some names of English elements such as byrig and tun by the Scandinavian generic by, and the existence of many names in -by whose specific is Old English origin. He considered that the giving of names in -by to villages acquired by personal conquest would have tended to eliminate the notion of 'new cultivators' from the concept of by, although he admitted that there may be some bys that are secondary settlements, notably those on less desirable sites, such as the fen margins in south-eastern Kesteven, and those whose specific is an older place-name, e.g. Blackfordby Lea, Stokeby Nt (EPN 1. 69).

In 1958 Peter Sawyer opened his attack on the assumption that there must have been many Scandinavian settlers in England. He pointed out that names such as Ashby and Willoughby, with English specifics, were more likely to be scandinavianisations of English names than hybrid names coined by Danes, but even he considered that 'a large number of the bys represent settlements formed ... by people whose speech was predominantly Scandinavian' (Sawyer 1958, 12).

Kenneth Cameron, following Payling's lead, studied the bys in the East Midlands in the light of their topographical and geological background (Cameron 1965). Since the bys tend to lie in the valleys of tributary streams, on the edge of stretches of favourable land or on smaller patches of such land than do the villas with English names, and very often on ground that is comparatively infertile or badly drained, Cameron looked upon them as settlements newly established by the Danes on the best available vacant land. My own study of the bys in Yorkshire led me to much the same conclusion as Cameron (SSNY).

The historical geographer Glanville Jones took a different view of the Scandinavian settlement as an adaptation of a pre-existing and in large measure surviving territorial organisation, with the names in -by being borne by pre-existing dependent hamlets rather than by new settlements planted on land left vacant by the English (Jones 1965).

By the time of the appearance of the second edition of The Age of the Vikings in 1971, Peter Sawyer had apparently been convinced by Cameron's argument that the names in -by, which are generally not on such good land as the hybrid names, represent a later stage of conquest and colonisation than these (Sawyer 1971, 163). Only one year later, however, Sawyer retracted this view in his inaugural lecture at Leeds, in which he accepted Glanville Jones's view that many of the Scandinavian place-names mark not so much an extension of settlement as its reorganisation under new lords (Sawyer 1973). This rejection of the evidence of English settlement was further elaborated by Sawyer in 1978 (Sawyer 1978, 161-63).

In my own study of the names in the East Midlands, which appeared in that year, I too joined the anti-expansionist party and argued that the place-names in -by reflected the breaking up of old estates and the transfer for the first time of individual units into small-scale private ownership (SSNEM).

Subsequently, Peter Sawyer has drawn attention to the way in which in Scandinavian England it is not only the noxes and their centres that tend to have English names but also the berewicks over which the lord retained control, while both the sokelands, which had a more independent status than the berewicks, and separate manors tend to have Scandinavian names, very often names in -by (Sawyer 1981, 128; 1992, 106).

I am now convinced that most of the settlements with names in -by were taken over by the Vikings as going concerns rather than that they represent the exploitation of vacant land. If this assumption is correct, then it has to be acknowledged that the names of the bys cannot contribute very much to the dating of the foundation of the settlements bearing the names. I shall therefore turn my attention now to the question of the dating of the formation of the names in -by. As termini post quern for their formation we have the recorded partitions of territory between Viking settlers. The first of these took place in 876, in which year the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that Halfdan 'portioned out the land of the Northumbrians and the Danes divided it and made their livelihood by it'. There were further partitions, of eastern Mercia in 877 and East Anglia in 880, both recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; of the Wwral by fugitives from Dublin at some time between 902 and 907, noted in Irish and Welsh sources (Wainwright 1948); and of the coastal district of Durham early in the tenth century, noted in the late tenth- or eleventh-century work, the Historia de Sancho Cuthberto (Morris 1981, 223-26). For the majority of the by-names in eastern England the terminus ante quem is provided by Domesday Book of 1086, in which the names are recorded as being borne by settlements. The absence of a name from Domesday Book must not of course be taken as an indication that the name or the settlement was not in existence in 1086. Only estates that were separately assessed for taxation in the parts of England that were subject to King William are named in Domesday Book and its coverage of the north-western counties is very uneven, Dunfrisshire, northern Westmorland, and most of Cumberland, which still formed part of the kingdom of Strathclyde in 1086 and thus lay outside William's control, are ignored in the Domesday Survey. For most of the bys in north-west England the terminus ante quem provided by documentary sources is therefore generally in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries and for the bys in Dunfrisshire even later. For all of the names in -by, then, there is a period of at least two centuries within which they can have been coined, while for most of the names in the North-West, this period is even longer.

As far as the use of the Scandinavian word -by in England is concerned, the literary evidence is sparse but the appearance in Domesday Book of a name-form such
as Denegibi (Osenby YW), in which the Scandinavian generic is combined with the English term for 'the Danes' in a characteristically OE genitive plural inflexion, indicates that English speakers were employing the generic -by to form place-names before the Norman Conquest. The occurrence of names in -by whose specific forms are Norman origin, on the other hand, has been taken as evidence for the survival in use of the generic even after the Conquest.

There have, in fact, been various arguments in the course of time both for the antiquity of some of the names in -by and for the youth of others. These arguments have not all proved to be equally valid. It is certainly true that names in which a typically Scandinavian inflexional ending survives in fossilised form to the present day must have been coined at a period when the Viking settlers still spoke their own language and had not yet adopted English as the language of daily life. There is, of course, a slight possibility that the names with the fossilised inflexions had been transferred at a later date from another locality but there seems to be little reason to reckon with the presence in England of Scandinavian names transferred as such from other localities in England or brought over from the Scandinavian homelands, except for two Uossals, Upaland and Roseberry in the North Riding of Yorkshire and Danmark in Lincolnshire, which seem to be eponymous forms of Uoppala, Önsberg and the Danish form of the name Denmark respectively (Fellows Jensen 1981, 133-35).

It has therefore seemed reasonable to accept the names in -by whose recorded forms betray typical Scandinavian genitival inflexions as coinages dating from the early period of settlement. There are six surviving genitiv in -ar by-name in the North Riding of Yorkshire, one in the West Riding, one in Lindsey and one in the East Midlands (SSNY 1992; SSNEM 272), while some forms in Lindsey and Cambridgeshire Cu show the substitution of a secondary Scandinavian genitive in -ar. Surviving Scandinavian genitival in -s are found in fourteen bys in the North Riding, three in the West Riding, three in the East Riding, nine in Lindsey and four in Kesteven (SSNY 240; SSNEM 272). These figures suggest that the North Riding of Yorkshire and Lindsey were areas in which names in -by were coined at an early date, but the comparative lack of surviving inflexions in,- for example, Kesteven and Nottinghamshire, may simply reflect the fact that the dialects in areas to the south of the swamps along the rivers Trent and Witham were less resistant than those to the north to the spread of English linguistic influence (cf. Kristensen 1977, 7-8).

Probably the best argument in favour of assuming that the names in eastern England were coined at an early date is the one based on the national origin of the specific. In both Yorkshire and the East Midlands 83% of the anthropomorphically specific of by-name are of Scandinavian origin. If any considerable number of the place-names had simply been coined by men of mixed English-Scandinavian descent at some later period, the distribution of the inflexion by-name would have been adopted in local dialects to such an extent that the percentages of OE personal names occurring as specific would surely have been higher than 65% in Yorkshire and 12% in the East Midlands. The Old English personal nomenclature was far from moribund in eastern England in the eleventh century, as can be seen from the names of the pre-Conquest tenants recorded in Domesday Book.

It has been argued by F. T. Wainwright (1962, 78) that many of the Scandinavian personal names contained in place-names in -by are archaic, since they are not recorded in independent use in England, and hence that the place-names in question must have been coined within at most a generation or two of the initial settlement. This argument is not satisfactory. The written sources from Northern England in the pre-Conquest period are not very numerous and a name may well have been in current use and yet have escaped being written down in a record that has survived.

Stenton has also argued that the large concentrations of bys are in themselves an indication of antiquity, since they 'suggest the conditions of an age when the Danish settlers in England still felt themselves strangers in a hostile land and sought security' (Stenton 1942, 305). I would argue on the contrary that the bys represent the spreading out over the countryside of Danes who felt that their position was secure. It might rather be argued that the absence of bys from an area where Scandinavians are known to have settled is more likely to reflect conditions under which the Danes feared for their safety. There is a striking lack of bys around Derby, for instance, in spite of the fact that the Danes had renamed this borough with a name in -by. Perhaps the Vikings kept together in their own borough because they were in a minority in this county or maybe the absence of bys merely reflects the comparatively swift conquest of Derbyshire by the English.

Since the high proportion of anthroponymic specific which are Scandinavian has been taken as an indication of an early date for the coinage of the names, it might be thought by implication that specific of English origin point to the coinage of the names at a period when there was no longer a distinct Scandinavian-speaking community in the area in question. The highest percentages of English specific occur in Northamptonshire (65%) and Lincolnshire (43%) and I consider that OE appellativ specific are more likely to betray that the by-names in question are in fact partial reshapings of older English names. There is some evidence for the reshaping of English names in -byr into names in -by. This process has taken place particularly frequently in Leicestershire but instances have also been noted in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire (SSNEM 13-14) and in Cheshire and southern Lancashire. The substitution may simply reflect the phonetic similarity between the two elements. It is noticeable that place-names in -byr are of comparatively rare occurrence in areas where names in -by are common and English names in -byr may well lie behind many of the names in -by. However, it can also be seen to have replaced other English generics. There is at least one instance, Coniston YE, in which an English place-name in -tun was temporarily reshaped as a name in -by (SSNY 24). The name Willoughby is of frequent occurrence in the East Midlands (SSNEM 78) and is also found twice in the West Riding of Yorkshire (SSNY 7), while Wilby in Norfolk has been thought to be a case of the same origin. Ekvall has suggested that in such cases Willoughby is a Scandinavianised form of an English *wilige-tun (DEPN) but David Mills has noted that some of the spellings recorded for Willoughby Wa and Wilby Nf might indicate that the names had originated as an OE *wilige-bæg 'circle of willows', the etymology proposed by Ekvall in DEPN for Wilby in Suffolk (PN 1. 33). The reshaping of *wilige-bæg to *wilige-b is more likely to have been prompted by the fact that by seemed to the local population a more suitable generic for a settlement name than did the topographical term bæg. One other common by-name, Asby, seems also more likely to be a partial reshaping of an earlier English name. Not only does the form taken by the specific in several names show that this was OE *asæc rather than Scandinavian askr but place-names containing *asæc are much commoner in England than as place-names containing *askr in Scandinavia. This is presumably because the ash-tree did not play a very significant role in the woodlands of southern Scandinavia in the Viking period.

Although it cannot be proved in the majority of cases that hybrid names in -by represent partial reshaping by the Vikings of earlier English names, the fact that substitution can sometimes be proved to have taken place supports the correctness of
this explanation. The replacement of an OE generic by by can hardly ever be dated at all closely. Many of the place-names are only recorded with by-spellings and for most of the names in eastern England this means that if there has been a substitution, this must have taken place before the compilation of Domesday Book. In the name Babbynd, by would seem to have been in the process of driving out byrig as early as 944 (SSNEM 34). In several other names in the East Midlands and in Gresby in Cheshire, on the other hand, the substitution would not seem to have taken place until the twelfth century (SSNEM 14: Pincb 4, 291). There are a number of instances in which byrig has replaced an original by in some early sources (Ivy and Whitby Ch, West Derby La, Kirby in Gretton Nth, Monks Kirby Wa and six bys in Leicestershire). These can probably best be explained as inverted substitutions and they point to a degree of confusion between the two generics.

While the by-names with specifics of English origin seem likely to have been coined at an early date, there are two groups of names in -by whose recorded forms must post-date the Norman Conquest. These are the names whose specifics are personal names known to have been borne by eleventh- or twelfth-century tenants of the villa in question and those whose specifics are personal names or appellatives that must have been introduced by the Normans. The occurrence of such names has been exploited by Peter Sawyer as an argument in favour of a comparatively late date for the coining of the majority of the names in -by (Sawyer 1962, 155). If such names were being created in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, then he considered that there was no reason why the Scandinavian place-names recorded in Domesday Book should result from a long and continuous process of settlement and name-giving. The nature of the place-names in -by with demonstrably young specifics is, however, more complex than might appear at first sight.

To begin with, it is rarely if ever possible to prove that a post-Conquest tenant of a by is identical with the man whose name forms the specific of its name. The example of Ormsby in the North Riding of Yorkshire, quoted by Sawyer (1962, 155), is of little value. Orms was a very common name in Yorkshire and it is far from certain that the Orm who was the tenant in 1086 was also the eponym. In the case of another North Riding by, Haltonby, the Halton who is recorded as living there c.1128 is rather unlikely to have been the eponym, for the place-name is already recorded as Hlcnth(n)bi 1170 x 1188. Neighbouring Jolly, however, first recorded 1193 x 1199, may well contain the name of the Joel who lived there c.1170 (PNYN 282-83) and Bagby in the East Riding, first recorded in the twelfth century, that of the Bagot who gave his name to the Bagot family resident here at the end of the twelfth century (PNYE 169). It is in Cumberland that documentary evidence for the association of names in -by with eleventh- or twelfth-century tenants is particularly abundant. A writ of Henry I records the granting to a Norman of lands that had belonged to the king's demesne Camel filius Bern and Glassam filius Briectric and these lands can be shown to be identical with Gamblesby and Glassonby, while an entry in the Pipe Roll of 1130 records a payment for the grant of land that had been Camel's (PNCu 192-94). Camel and Glassam would seem to have been of Scandinavian and mixed Celtic/English origin. A Willelmus filius Astini, servant of the lord of Anstybye (Asinstebi) c.1210 and it may well be his father who had given his name to the vill (PNCu 102). Astin is an Anglo-Norman form of the Scandinavian name Askiulv, in which the original ending had been replaced by a Norman diminutive in -in. The other five post-Conquest tenants whose names may form the specific of Cumberland by-names all bear names that were introduced into England by the Normans: Asylain in Agliston, Eurd in Etrby, Isaac in Isaacby, Pincun in Ponsoby and Richard in Rickerby (PNCu xxii).

For the other personal names of Norman origin that are contained in by-names, it is only possible to suggest an approximate dating for the bearer by reference to the historical records of Norman settlement in the area in question. It seems likely that the Normans whose names are contained in the personal names which contain the words YW, and Bagby, Darby and Crowarby Ye received their lands when William I was trying to strengthen his position in the north after driving the Danes out of York and the Isle of Axholme in 1069, or perhaps around 1080, when he was establishing the three great lordships of Tickhill, Pontefract and Richmond. Grimoldby in Lindsey is probably to be associated with a cluster of thorns which are found along the coast and which also contain Norman personal names, Grinethorpe, Thorne, Thorne, Thrathorpe and Tranthorpe. The suggestion was once made that this area could not have been fully developed for settlement until the construction of protective sea-banks, perhaps in the early eleventh century (Owen 1974-75), but it now seems likely that the settlements pre-date the sea-banks and thus that they can hardly have been founded by men of Norman origin but must have been taken over by the Normans from earlier owners (Owen 1975).

While only 1% of the bys in Lincolnshire and the North Riding of Yorkshire have specific of Norman origin, such specifics are found in no less than 43% of the bys in Dumfriesshire and 26% of those in Cumberland. Explanations for these high percentages offer the history of these counties. After his capture of Carlisle in 1092, William Rufus is known to have established southern peasants in the neighbourhood of the city and some of the by-names containing Norman personal names are probably to be associated with this plantation. The distribution patterns in the North-West of the bys containing Scandinavian personal names and those containing Norman personal names certainly show a negative correlation that can best be explained by the result of an outwards movement from Carlisle of settlers with Norman names (Fellows-Jensen 1983, Fig. 2). Some of the Norman names, however, may be associated with the establishment of Normans and Flemings in the border region by Henry I at the beginning of the twelfth century.

There are, then, two groups of names in -by whose present forms cannot be older than from the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, those containing the names of post-Conquest tenants and those with specifics of Norman origin. It seems to me highly unlikely that the Normans themselves or the local Anglo-Scandinavian population would have coined all these names in -by from scratch at this late period and I would argue that the names are rather to be compared with the Grimston-hybrids in that they reflect a partial adaptation of an existing name to incorporate the name of a new lord, in other words that they are manorial names.

In conclusion I should like to present a working hypothesis as to the progress in England and Dumfriesshire of Scandinavian settlement in general and of the bys in particular. There has been a tendency to assume that the majority of the names in -by in eastern England were coined in the last quarter of the ninth century but Peter Sawyer has recently drawn attention to the fact that Scandinavian place-names are surprisingly rare in the areas that are known to have been settled by the Danes but which were recovered by the English soon after 900, notably Cambridgeshire and the Derbyshire Peak District (Sawyer 1982, 103-4). This fact suggests that most of the Scandinavian place-names date from the period after 900 and reflect fragmentation of estates rather than colonisation.

Besides the marked variation as to the number of Scandinavian place-names in
areas settled by Vikings, there are marked regional variations in the percentages of
the place-names in -by which have personal names as specifics. I would argue that
in eastern England most of the place-names in -by with appellative specifics were
coined early in the tenth century and bestowed upon English settlements that had
been taken over by the Danes. That this process did sometimes take place is proved
by the instances of Derby and Whitby and rendered probable by the numerous
Kirkbyx and byx with English specifics. By-names with appellative specifics are
found not only in eastern England, where they are common in Suffolk, Derbyshire,
the West Riding of Yorkshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire,
but also on the other side of the Pennines, where they are exceptionally
common in Westmorland, Lancashire and Cheshire, and I would suggest that this
distribution pattern reflects the influence of Danish settlers who had made their way
westwards along the river valleys across the Pennines from the Danelaw.

At some later date the Danish settlers in eastern England began to break up the
old English estates into small independent agricultural units, many of which had
probably begun life as dependent secondary settlements. In most of the area this
fragmentation resulted mainly in place-names consisting of a Scandinavian personal
name plus by but in the Yorkshire Wolds the corresponding units tended to receive
names in -thorp. Across the Pennines, in Lancashire, Cheshire and Westmorland,
there are no certain examples of Scandinavian personal names compounded with by.
Cheshire and Lancashire south of the Wyre were only ever partially under Scandinavian
control and that for a comparatively short period of time, while English rule had been
re-established in Yorkshire by 927. This means that there was little opportunity
for fragmentation of the old estates by the Viking settlers in the area represented
by these three counties.

In Cumberland, on the other hand, there are thirteen names in -by whose
specific is a Scandinavian personal name and there is a single instance in Dumfries-
shire, a lost Cuseby, while in the immediate vicinity of Carlisle, in the coastal plain
of Cumberland and in eastern Dumfriesshire there are no less than twenty-eight bys
whose specific is a Norman personal name. These hybrid names must reflect the
taking over of the bys by Normans and Flemings whose personal names then replaced
the original specifics of the names. There is no record of such a substitution having
taken place in a place-name in -by but the present form of the Lincolnshire place-
name Basildonthorpe contains as its specific the Norman personal name Baselin,
that of the tenant of the vill in 1115. At that date the vill itself was still known as Essor
and the specific of this older name is the Danish personal name Esr, presumably
the name of an earlier tenant. That the substitution of one personal name for another in
place-names in -thorp in Denmark was still taking place in the thirteenth century has
been demonstrated by Christian Lisse, who has argued that a high percentage of
young specifics in a name-type in a region does not necessarily mean that the name-
type itself is young there (Lisse 1974).

Pursued to its bitter end, Lisse's argument can lead to a conclusion such as that
proposed by Niels Lund to the effect that partial reshaping of names was of much more
frequent occurrence than hitherto assumed and hence that 'on the whole, of the
settlements [in England] now having thorp-names the great majority were there before
the Danes arrived' (Lund 1975, 478). It is, of course, likely enough that most of the
thorp-settlements were in existence before the Viking invasions and it is even possible
that many of them had English names in -thorp but there are not such strong reasons
for accepting a partial reshaping of names in the case of the purely Scandinavian

thorp-names as in the case of the Grimston-hybrids and the bys containing Norman
personal names. It is probably significant that in the single demonstrable instance in
which an anthroponymical specific of a thorp-name has been replaced, it is a
Norman personal name that has displaced a Scandinavian one and that there are
several instances of the prefixing of Norman personal names to originally simplex
Thors, for example Pein in Painsthorpe YE, Pincon in Pinchinthorpe YN, Basewin
in Basingtonthorpe L (Kesteven) and Peverer in Periethorpe Nt (DEPN).

Most of the Dumfriesshire bys whose specific is a Norman personal name are
found in Annandale. Further up the valley the Normans would seem to have come
upon a settlement with an English name in -by. After its take-over by a Norman
called John, at any rate, it was referred to as Johnstone and not *Johnballe (Barrow
1980, 40, 47). Names consisting of a Norman personal name plus byn are of fairly
frequent occurrence in southern Scotland, where names consisting of English or
Scandinavian personal names plus tun are also to be found (Barrow 1980, 39). Names
in -byn with anthroponymical specifics are exceptionally rare in Cumberland (PNClu
496) and this is probably the reason for the absence of names of the Johnstone type
from that county.

Geoffrey Barrow has argued that in southern Scotland the settlement names
formed in the twelfth century and consisting of a personal name plus by or tun do not
imply wholly new units of settlement (Barrow 1980, 40 n.37) and the same must
surely apply to the situation in Cumberland. I would argue that there is no certain
evidence for the use of the generic by to coin new place-names in England after the
Norman Conquest and that the vast majority of the by-names had been coined as such
by the middle of the tenth century, although several of the names were later partially
reshaped to incorporate the names of eleventh- or twelfth-century tenants.

If any of the names in -by are to be assumed to have been coined from scratch
in the post-Conquest period, then the most likely candidates are the Newchs, which
expressly denote new settlements and whose specific is the English and not the
Scandinavian form of the adjective 'new'. It is also possible that some of the other
by-names with adjectival specifics are young, since this type of formation is
extremely rare among the by-names recorded in Domesday Book.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

County abbreviations are those employed by the English Place-Name Society.


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EPNS: English Place-Name Society.


PN + county abbreviation: publication of the EPNS.


NOTE

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