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Mr Peter Drummond
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8 Academy Place
Coathbridge
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REVIEWS


This volume is a valuable addition to the author’s distinguished contribution to the analysis of evidence concerning Celtic toponymy in antiquity. Professor Sims-Williams applies in this work those new methods of analysis and interpretation which he has already displayed in publications concerning the ancient Celts. He has endeavoured to bring together philological, historical and archaeological evidence in his analysis of the exceedingly complex sources available for the fields of study on which he has concentrated.

The introductory section reflects the author’s concern for considering carefully the relationship between place-names and what he terms ‘ancient linguistic geography’, and deals briefly with the extent of Celtic speech (this is discussed in considerable detail in the book), the early study of Celtic place-names, and an important but necessarily brief section termed ‘problems and objections’, rightly warning readers that etymologists and onomasticians have to pay attention to the nature of the context of various names in various regions. Here it should be stressed that attention must be paid to the dating of various attestations of both individual names and groups of names. The author’s approach to databases has benefited greatly from his experience in handling Ptolemy’s Geography and the Antonine Itinerary in collaboration with David N. Parsons and with the support and advice of the wide range of researchers in what he terms ‘the Ptolemy workshops’. (It is significant that the volume overall is dedicated to the members of the Ptolemy workshops.)

In this all too limited review I cannot deal (as I would dearly like to have done) with the full range of approaches and themes interwoven in this particularly stimulating and penetrating work, concentrating (as it does so carefully) in twelve chapters or sections on topics such as ‘A Database Approach’, ‘The Long Arm of Coincidence’, ‘Selected Celtic-Looking Strings and Elements’ (including the distribution of these elements), and a further six chapters devoted to ‘The Extent of Celtic Names’ in Northern, Central and Southern Europe. He deals tantalisingly and of course much less rewardingly with Asia Minor (west of longitude + 35) together with an area around the Mediterranean (north of latitude 35 and west of longitude + 35). This is followed by a short chapter devoted to a ‘Summary’ concerning the extent of Celtic names and, finally, a short but thoughtful chapter on
‘Prospects for Further Research’, recognising the need to consider chronological differentiation of the names, regional variation in names, relationship between Celtic and non-Celtic names, and what is termed a synthesis with other disciplines embracing epigraphy, history, and archaeology and population genetics. This is an admirable and very demanding scope for sure, but one that is particularly complex and full of hazards.

My experience many years ago in studying in great detail Gaulish personal names forced me to confront all sorts of difficulties, resulting in a mixed bag ranging from reasonably secure interpretations to a hesitant analysis of the multitude of forms considered. I rejoiced at some successes and worried at a host of difficulties and uncertainties. But the task was certainly worthwhile. This is an area of linguistic research that still rightly attracts the attention of many leading scholars.

The volume reviewed here reflects so many advances in this field of study, not least in Celtic. Professor Sims-Williams has in fact ventured further afield in so many ways, adopting and adapting new methodologies and recognising all the while that names of all kinds have a special significance not only for philologists (I, in my postgraduate research work, concentrated on the philological aspect in the main) but also for historians and archaeologists. He has produced a careful new study of great value. Many friends and scholars assisted him in the compilation of this volume and he generously acknowledges their vital advice and assistance. Long may he continue with his further studies in this area of research and in other related spheres. He has here adopted a sensitive approach that is not hidebound or overly technical. We look forward to further detailed work on ‘Ancient Celtic’ from Professor Sims-Williams. His friends will rejoice that the title adopted for the last chapter in this tantalising volume is ‘Prospects for Further Research’.

D. ELLIS EVANS


Names are in a way eternal, for long after other elements of a culture have substantially vanished we are left with names for the places we see, and of

the people themselves. I like the idea of this book, that place- and personal names are the carriers of cultural origins and change. The variety of topics and the writers’ presentational styles are entirely complementary. Particular contributors command attention.

Akselberg reviews medieval cultural-economic links between Norway and Shetland through his evaluation of the stadh names so emblematic of the Viking colonial period. His analysis of the names examined by the two great students of Shetland names—Jakobsen and Stewart—is thoughtfully structured, grouping names according to whether or not each scholar (dis)agreed on origins. Often they agreed on specifiers, in other instances they offered differing origins, or were unsure. However, the structure is too tabular, and the conclusions brief. A tighter structure grouping the names by possible origins with the analysis within a narrative, rather than meticulous breakdown into scholars’ points of agreement, would be a more rewarding read.

Place-names and topography of the main stream in Foula, Shetland, are covered by Baldwin. His paper is a description of the stream’s branches, and incorporates agricultural and building features at the same time as using oral evidence to make good a paucity of evidence. He is less concerned with derivations, which previous scholars have ruminated on, and is more interested in physically placing the names and explaining landscape use. Very recent names of little import like Figure Eicht Loch (p. 32) would be better confined to footnotes. Despite cultural change in the eighteenth century, the island’s growing population preserved the stock of names, but population decline followed by an influx of incomers in the twentieth century caused a diminution of place-names. One might add agricultural changes that led farmers away from regular perambulations around the land as another factor.

Brooke-Freeman’s paper describes her project’s work of collating Shetland names, assembling them onto a database and—crucially—placing them onto maps. This is not primary research as such, for modern work is forever indebted to the islands’ own indefatigable researcher Stewart. Brooke-Freeman is deciphering his notes of fifty years ago and locating the place-names. There are illuminating maps of a township with successive layers of recent information superimposed. However, it is debatable how much of significance informants are adding today: features like “meadow” (an agricultural usage) or “hall” (a building description) need not be included; otherwise, by the same token, features like “grazing” or “garage” become eligible.

Although not a linguist, I enjoyed reading most papers in this book. This was unfortunately with the exception of Coates’s paper on farm names in the
Danelaw containing personal names of either Scandinavian or English origin. My incomprehension may well not be the case for Nomina readers, but on encountering terms like “epenthesis”, “morphosyntactic” and “morpheme boundary” within four lines (p. 79), confusion followed for me. Name studies is a science that needs a language of its own, but Coates’s highly technical findings will be impenetrable for many I fear.

Crawford introduces her project exploring the Celtic clerics who came to the Hebrides and Northern Isles in the late Iron Age, concentrating on papar place-names and historical references. Twelfth-century Scandinavian accounts describe pre-Norse Irish cleric, and this is corroborated in place-names Papa- and Papil/Payble, from ON papi, and derived in turn from Irish. It cannot be said whether these names signify a presence or just ownership. A thorny issue is the Norse interrelationship with these clerics. Did settlers allow priests to prosper, or were Christian sites destroyed, and place-names applied to commemorate them?

Two papers segregate Northern Isles place-names into Scandinavian or British categories. These mirror the islands’ culture, with a Norwegian phase followed by a Scottish stratum. Gammeltoft evaluates Shetland island names, the commonest of which are Scandinavian specific + generic formations. For Scots versions it is interesting that both elements can be Scandinavian but the overall place-name not be; i.e. farm + generic Burwick Holm. Likewise structural usage of of reveals Scots use of Scandinavian elements, e.g. Holms of Burravoe. Names tell us what characteristics interested the settlers, or what islands were subsequently used for. One islet is alternatively named after three animals: dog, swine, horse. Gammeltoft says that this reflects changing use, but the first (Hundholmi) surely described a physical characteristic. Whereas “Norse” names extend from 800–1750 in the Northern Isles, Scots influence came around 1350, giving 400 years of language contact. Sandnes’s careful study of Orkney place-names establishes criteria to differentiate names into this or that language; besides Old Norse and English she recognises Norn—the islands’ own language. Like Gammeltoft, Sandnes makes it clear that names that appear Scandinavian from their Norn elements may be from Scottish culture, exemplified by the “x of y” formation (pp. 174–75). She also questions Norse attributions where Scots ones are more likely, e.g. Wind from English wind, not ON vin (grassland). Name constructions are important, especially for compound names with English + Norn form, these often with anglicised orthography too, e.g. Boat Geo = båt gá. Others are straightforward combinations of a Norn name with an English one appended.

The situation is complex because Sandnes treats the map form Geo in a Scandinavian name as Norse, but where it is part of a name with an English specific, Geo is a Scots usage of a Scandinavian word. Morphology is another indicator, as when Norse names are revealed by suffixed definite articles, or where word order is opposite to that of Scottish/English. The latter formation is an early Scandinavian construct, consisting beyond 1800 in Orkney’s Scottish name-forming. Sandnes dates Scots names from 1600, and she finds Norn components continuing for new names into the twentieth century.

The culture contacts of the volume title are most apparent in Kruse’s superb analysis of Norse naming patterns in the Hebrides. The colonisation stage saw adaptation of local place-names, mainly to name major islands, whilst minor isles carried Norse descriptive names. Such naming indicates a discontinuity from the past. Debunking some theories and reaffirming some conventions, the author establishes that there was no construction of Norse + Gaelic names. This again indicates scant cultural intercourse, and contrasts with later place-names that are Norse with Gaelic components. Kruse clarifies that before Viking settlement, Scots spoke Gaelic in north-west Scotland and in the Hebrides Picts spoke P-Celtic. Postulating that there were no Picts in the Northern Isles and Hebrides, he says (p. 151) that the Norse refer only once to Picts in those places, but one may add such place-names as Pettisler or Pettawater. His reasoning is irresistible. He argues that if the Hebrides were ethnically Pictish at the point of Viking colonisation one might expect place-names with Pictish evidence; the fact this is wanting lends proof to the hypothesis of Viking extermination of the Picts. Later place-names reveal the subsequent advance of Gaelic culture, in contrast to unbroken Gaelic traditions in the Inner Hebrides.

My favourite was Schmidt’s piece on evidence for Faroese and Shetlanders in Norway in the late Middle Ages. The writer has tied together place-names and personal names in an enlightening way, uniting many bits of evidence, and the different context he offers is fascinating for a Shetlander. He writes of islanders living in, and trading with, Norway as seen from the east side of the German Ocean. It is unsurprising that contact existed as such, but what is surprising is the degree of settlement of islanders in Norway, and the fact it was recorded is remarkable; Schmidt quotes many first-hand records. He explains the place-names’ origins, from Færøyjar and Hjalta, and finds records from the 1280s to 1520s. Faroese natives are identified by the byname Feriske, and Shetlanders by Hieltn/Hilet. Schmidt makes the interesting observation that the islanders were not regarded as foreign, and the
Scottification of Shetland was negligible in the 1520s, the majority of people
from there still bearing Scandinavian names. The rest of his paper comprises
toponyms. Names derived from Fær- are numerous, but farm names mainly
derive from sheep, not from the “sheep islands” as such. Schmidt questions
that other place-names concern bays frequented by Faroese boats, and
considers other interpretations more likely, from copes to paths. To
determine the other archipelago, Hjaltr/Hjalti (Shetlander) are sought in
names, excluding the personal name Hjalti. He finds five farms, plus almost
twenty other names derived from Shetlanders, mostly in Hordaland.

Sellar’s paper on Scandinavian personal names is misleading in that,
despite its title (“The significance of names: Scandinavian personal names in
the Northern and Western Isles”), the content deals with the names only of the
Kings of the Isles (Hebrides) and Man, and not of commoners, and the
Northern Isles only receive a fleeting mention. This becomes apparent
partway through the paper, which launches abruptly into the Earldom of
Orkney, then moves on to the Kings. The topic is insufficiently introduced,
and things could be clarified by explaining how the Kings of the Isles were a
dynastic branch of Man, and providing more dates. Because I am unfamiliar
with the people, an exposition of the significance of such characters as King
Somerled is needful. Sellars gives a useful description of the mutation of
names (pp. 203–05), and the appendix of Scandinavian and Gaelic derivatives
is well laid out and interesting.

I like concrete evidence, and Whaley’s fascinating paper on the meaning
and use of ON stóng and its derivatives in place-names offered plenty. I am
familiar with the word, and its meaning of ‘pole’, but I have never surmised
how it came to be fossilised in place-names. Her well-constructed paper
explains the permutations of meaning, and the exhaustive work places her
English findings in context further afield, including an appendix of 280 stóng
names. Whaley’s practical insight is deployed on likely meanings in place-
names, such as waymarks or boundary marks, just as unlikely derivations such
as temporary posts are dismissed.

It is surprising that such a volume can cost only £10, which is underpriced
considering the quality of the various authors’ work.

IAN TAIT

DIANA WHALEY, *A Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names*, English
Place-Name Society, Nottingham, 2006. lx + 423 pp., 2 maps, 32 plates. £20.
(ISBN 0 904889 72 6)

Modern place-name work in the Lake District began with Ekwall, who
published his Lancashire volume in 1922, listing the principal names in each
parish. The English Place-Name Society (EPNS) commenced its subscription
volumes on the English counties in 1924; the series now includes Cumberland
(3 volumes) 1950/2 and Westmorland (2 volumes) 1967. They list the primary
parish names, then the secondary names, and then field-names.

EPNS is now embarking on a Regional series with the mission-statement
“to diversify the dissemination of previous EPNS results”. Professor
Whaley’s volume on the Lake District National Park is the first in this
Regional series. She has collected all the names on the 1994 1:50000
Ordnance Survey map, added a few names from earlier larger scale maps and
made an alphabetical gazetteer of the resulting list. Her gazetteer includes
most of the primary parish names, and a limited number of the secondary
names. Field-names are ignored. The name-entries largely reiterate the analy-
sis in the earlier volumes, though a more modern view is given where it is
appropriate. Care has been taken to make the analysis as accurate as possible,
and Mary Atkin, Gillian Fellows-Jensen, Oliver Padel and Angus Winchester
are mentioned as correspondents or sources.

A few new names are recovered, and the author is to be applauded for the
identification of drw as a local place-name element and recognising it in the
names Trusmadoor and Truss Gap.

The Gazetteer includes three Roman place-names. There is no academic
consensus on the interpretation of Antonine Itur X and the names
Glannoventa and Galava should perhaps have been added to the entries for
Ravenglass and Ambleside, with a note that the attribution of the names was
derived from Rivet and Smith. Interpretation of the Ravenna Cosmography is
less certain, and the attribution of Mediobogdum ‘middle of the bend’ to
Hardknott is controversial—middle of what bend? Some commentators place
the name at Watercrook (middle of the river bend).

The Lake District National Park is one of the major upland zones in
England. The tide of settlement rose up the contours and then ebbed, leaving
a large number of early settlement site remains on the higher contours, which
are a major resource. The choice of secondary names in the Gazetteer ignores
this resource; a few examples make the point:
A walker in Troutbeck Park, Westmorland, would pass Sadgill (Sadgill 1297) and the group of early building remains on it. They are almost certainly a well-preserved saetr site. A walker at the head of Kenmare would find no reference to Skeel Gill. This joins into Bryants Gill at the site excavated, but not published, by the Search Group, whose find of a rectangular stone building was probably the skali site referred to in the stream name. There is a partial failure to refer to existing remains against the site names. Examples from a longer list are the Roman forts at the Cumberland Troutbeck, the mediaeval farm building at Sadgill (Longsleddale) and the extensive early remains at Subberthwaite. The transcription of by to ber there might have given one suggestion for the name Hubbersty Head. This could have been compared and possibly contrasted with the byr stadar element in the Lancashire Hubbersty and its sibling site byr stadir Bryning.

The Gazetteer is treated as self-indexing, and the volume has no index. I had trouble finding High Borran at Ings, which appears under Borran. Personal names, references to sites outside the National Park, and references to archaeological sites, are all difficult to find.

There is a set of colour illustrations which include Trusmoedor, a stone circle, some bake stones and some attractive Lake District views.

Subscribers to Nomina who have volumes 19 and 25, along with the EPNS volumes for Cumberland and Westmorland, will already have the greater part of information in this volume. EPNS members with these volumes, plus Ekwall’s Lancashire, are in much the same position. The foreword says that the publication was originally conceived as a rucksack book, but unfortunately a detailed place-name guide makes a very fat book indeed. The concise guide as it now is, weighs 1 lb 15oz, too heavy for the average rucksack, whilst the omission of secondary names like Sadgill and Skeel Gill will limit its appeal to fell walkers. It may well be useful to car tourists, although the absence in its remit of a large part of the coastal plain may limit its appeal there.

However, the author has made a praiseworthy attempt to produce a book with academic standards that will widen the lay audience for place-names, and we can wish it success.

ANTHONY ELLWOOD

[Editor’s note: Just before Nomina went to press, it was announced that Diana Whaley’s Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names had been awarded the Titus Wilson Prize by the Cumbria Tourist Board. The Society offers its warmest congratulations to Professor Whaley on this achievement.]
and indeed, the papers by Crawford, Gammeltoft, Gelling, Graham-Campbell, Parsons, Sandnes, Schmidt and Waugh could have formed a small, closely-knit volume of their own. With the exception of Schmidt's study of ethnicity in the names of sixteenth-century Shetlanders, all deal with place-name evidence, whether relating to the early stages of settlement or to subsequent periods. Thus Gammeltoft draws attention to the proportion of pre-Norse island names in the Hebrides as evidence for contact between the incoming Scandinavians and the indigenous populations, and argues that the high level of integration into Gaelic during the Middle Ages testifies to a situation of language shift rather than population shift. Two appendices to his paper present a corpus of Hebridean island names in ON eor ‘island’ recorded before c.1700, and a corpus of island names with other Scandinavian generics.

Focusing on settlement chronology, Graham-Campbell re-examines Nicolaien’s hypothesis that place-names in Old Norse dálr reflect seasonal exploitation of the west coast of Scotland by Scandinavian settlers in the Western Isles, and suggests that while in need of modification in light of subsequent research, it should not be rejected altogether. Nicolaien’s methodology receives more stringent criticism from Sandnes, who attempts to establish a chronology for topographical generics in Orkney based on a correlation between taxation value, size and age, rather than on a correlation between age and distribution as proposed by Nicolaien. This is one of the most ambitious papers in the volume, and benefits from a close discussion of methodological problems and issues. The names are tabulated within the article according to generics, with an appendix organising the material according to parish and pennyland value.

Naming chronology is also central to Crawford’s discussion of administrative structures in the west mainland of Orkney, where she argues that the much-discussed huseby and herad names “resonate with the royal Norwegian model” (p. 41) and are likely to have been introduced during a period of royal authority. This is an important contribution to the debate concerning the circumstances under which these names were established. Waugh’s study of Shetland place-names in -by or -bie, on the other hand, is less concerned with their role as evidence for the West Norwegian origin of the Scandinavian settlers than with the insular context of the names. While acknowledging the existence of Norwegian parallels, she emphasizes that the -by/-bie names “have developed over several centuries in a Shetland context and reflect local Shetland toponymic practices” (p. 299).

Two ground-breaking papers relate to England. Examining the linguistic origins of place-names on the Yorkshire Wolds, Gelling argues that the majority are consistent with a date of coinage after the Viking Wars, with few survivals from either Romano-British or early Anglo-Saxon times. The implications are that there was a substantial reduction in the population during the post-Roman period, with an influx of new settlers in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. The paper is a model of concise logic, drawing on archaeological as well as onomastic evidence, and is certain to provoke interest from historians as well as place-name scholars. In a contribution to Middle English dialectology, Parsons offers a statistical analysis of field-names from four Norfolk hundreds, comparable in some respects to his study of Domesday personal names in the 2002 issue of this journal (Nomina 25: 29–52). By calculating the ratio between generics of Old English and of Old Norse origin in field-names first recorded between 1100 and 1400, he postulates a more significant early Scandinavian presence than is reflected in the major names. While interesting in itself, the real importance of the study lies in the development of a robust methodology that can be applied to measure Scandinavian influence in other areas.

Contributions focusing on individual place-name elements include Sigmundsson’s study of tún in Iceland farm-names and Rentenaar’s discussion of -muide(n) in the Netherlands and Flanders. The former impacts on the interpretation of names in Orkney, while the latter offers valuable comparative evidence for the study of English place-names in -moot. It will certainly need to be taken into account when the Vocabulary of English Place-Names reaches letter M.

The papers by Insley and Page deal in some detail with the complexities involved in differentiating between personal names and appellatives as place-name qualifiers, a topic which formed the focus of a major article by Fellows-Jensen in 1975 (Onoma 19:445–58) and to which she has returned on many subsequent occasions. Discussing Suffolk place-names in -dena and drawing attention to their high antiquity, Insley supports a derivation of Ousden from OE æf ‘owl’, and proposes a new interpretation of Rattlesden from an earlier place-name *Rathyyl ‘hill infested by rats’. He goes on to present an analysis of the Chelsworth boundary clause. Page’s contribution, which discusses putative personal names in both toponyms and runic inscriptions, is based on a paper read at the annual meeting of the English Place-Name Society in July 2005. It is good to see it in print, especially as the style of presentation has survived the transition from oral delivery and enlivens the mainly serious tone.
of the festschrift. It is particularly appropriate to include a paper with so much
dry humour within a volume in honour of a scholar whose own research is
renowned not only for intellectual acumen but for wit and, in the words of
Page's opening sentence (a quotation from Gilbert and Sullivan's The
Mikado), "innocent merriment".

All contributions are written in English, although some are less fluent than
others and would have benefited from revision by a native speaker. Similarly,
some have been more carefully proof-read than others, and it is unfortunate
that the bibliographies following each paper occasionally give inaccurate
information or cite out-dated editions. Illustrations are of good quality
throughout. This is particularly important as regards the photographs
accompanying Roedahl and Wilson's superb study of the Viking-Age
standing-stones from Århus; but several other papers also include maps,
distribution maps and photographs, many of them original to this volume.

Rich and varied as are the papers in this festschrift, they still do not
exhaust the range of interests reflected in the publications of the honorand
herself. Her work on manuscript studies, beginning as early as 1969 with an
article on the scribe of the Lindsey Survey and including eight edited volumes
on the care and conservation of manuscripts published between 1995 and
2005, is scarcely represented; and in view of the title of the book, it is
surprising not to find some emphasis on literary onomastics. A fine study of
place-names in Old Icelandic sagas is contributed by Jesch, but there is no
coverage of issues relating to modern fiction, as raised for instance in
Fellows-Jensen's Anglo-Saxon England article of 1990. The editors may well
have found the challenge of representing all her many areas of expertise
within the covers of a single volume to be an impossible task, and we can only
sympathise with them in this respect. Indeed, it seems appropriate to conclude
this review by drawing attention to the sheer length of the final item in the
collection. It is of course traditional for a festschrift to include a list of
publications by the honorand. But how many of them run to twenty-nine
pages?

CAROLE HOUGH

ERNST EICHLER, INGE BILY, BÄRBEL BREITFELD and MANUELA
ZÜFLE, eds, Atlas Altsorbischer Ortsnamentypen: Studien zu toponymischen
Arealen des altsorbischen Gebietes im westslawischen Sprachraum [Atlas of
Old Sorbian Place-Name Types: Studies in the toponymic areas of the Old
Sorbian region in the Western Slavonic linguistic territory]. Five fascicles.
Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner
Verlag, Fascicle 1 (2000), 100 pp. ISBN 3 515 07675 1, DM 88; fasc. 2

The Sorbs, sometimes also known as Wends, are the smallest Slavonic
minority. About 60,000 of them live in two linked areas south of Berlin,
bordering on Poland in the east and on the Czech Republic in the south.
Speaking Sorbian, a West Slavonic language, they are presently found in the
Oberlausitz (Upper Lusatia) around Bautzen and in the Niederlausitz (Lower
Lusatia) around Cottbus. In the Oberlausitz (Serbia) their language displays
similarities with Czech, in the Niederlausitz (Sorby) with Polish. There are
now no Sorbian diasporas in the neighbouring countries. Historically, they
occupied a much larger area, however, for the Slavonic tribes from which they
are descended settled extensive stretches of land between the rivers Oder in the
east and the Elbe/Saale in the west, but since their loss of independence in the
tenth century, their settlement area has been shrinking for a thousand
years, and the Sorbs have been increasingly dominated by the German
language and culture.

The publication under review, the Atlas of Old Sorbian Place-Name
Types, is concerned with the toponymic reflexes of Old Sorbian when it was
most widely spoken, and the basic map therefore extends beyond the Ober-
and Niederlausitz, especially in the west where it includes the Harz Mountains
and parts of the administrative 'lands' of Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt and
Thuringia, but also in the east where it crosses the Oder and Neisse as far as
the Bober and Queis. It is the main purpose of the atlas to look for and
potentially discuss and interpret the scatter of various early place-name
elements with the aim of discovering patterns which are not obtainable in any
other way; this is made possible because in the German-Slavonic contact zone
settlement names have been recorded since the ninth century, much earlier
than in the areas that are still Slavonic today. Since the publication of V.
Šmilauer's Atlas of Place Names in Bohemia in 1969, this is the first atlas
concerned with place-name typology in a Slavonic settlement area. In
particular, it is based on a phonological, typological and semantic-lexical analysis of place-names; taking into account the results of research into settlement history and archaeology, Old Sorbian place-names, river names and landscape names can be shown to have existed since the sixth or seventh centuries, following evidence for pre-Slavonic settlement, such as Old European and Germanic river names, and preceding German names: thus creating continuity through linguistic-toponymic contact phenomena and resulting in the integration of Slavonic place-names into German.

The cartographic application of the relevant toponymic material includes the investigation of structural types derived from both appellative and anthroponymic bases, frequently providing as a by-product the earliest references to the lexical items or personal names in question. In her introductory commentary, from which much of this information has been taken, the investigator-in-chief, Inge Bily, includes as a model of the presentation of the individual entries the place name Bolbritz as an example of the common structural type 'dithematic Slavonic personal name + suffix -ici' (Old Sorbian *Boleborici, derived from the personal name *Bolebor). Otherwise the first fascicle is devoted to an account of the planning, preparation and realisation of the atlas project and the general principles on which it is based. It also contains, in small print, almost fifty pages of bibliographical references to the subject, a remarkable corpus of secondary literature. Apart from the general map, all other, more detailed maps are to be found in later fascicles.

The atlas proper, so to speak, begins with Fascicle 2 which contains, in addition to a general modern map of the area most likely to reward the search for Old-Sorbian place-names and an outline map, eight preliminary maps concerning editorial and other relevant background matter, four maps of different structural name-types, eight analytical maps and one synthetic map. All of these are accompanied by detailed inventories of the names in question, as well as various analyses, tables and statistics. The mutually illuminating integration of maps (which are inserted in a pocket at the end of the fascicle) and texts is a major feature in the successful shaping of a very satisfactory atlas, in the context of which Fascicle 2 is devoted to place-names in which a dithematic Slavonic full personal name, like Bolbritz above, is combined with a derivative element.

Much of the mappable space and the accompanying texts are given to a presentation and interpretation of structural aspects of a variety of name types belonging to this compound category and the evidence is divided into four sections: Type-map 1: Dithematic Slavonic full personal names + possessive -ja (Cotibus < *Chotébu, personal name *Chotébu; Radegast < *Radogož, pers. n. *Radogost). The ninety-five names of this type have their densest distribution around, and radiating out from, Altenburg, as well as on the rivers Saale and Elbe. Type-map 2: Dithematic Slavonic full names + patronymic -ici and -ovici (Bolbritz < Bol′eborici, pers.n. Bol′ebor; Pommritz < *Pomirońci, pers.n. Pomir). The sixty-two names of this type and the names in the next two categories do not show any significant distribution patterns. Type-map 3: Dithematic Slavonic full names + -in- or -ov- (Nechern < Nechörn; pers. n. *Nechörn; Sayder < *Zavidov, pers. n. *Zavid). Five examples. Type-map 4: Dithematic Slavonic full name + German generic -dorf (Kottmärnsdorf, pers. n. *Chatmär + -dorf; Rathaumnardorf < pers. n. *Radomir + -dorf). Forty-two examples. These are German names containing Slavonic personal names as suffixes; occurring particularly in Slavonic–German linguistic contact zones, they are frequently situated along water-courses. The overall distribution of this type is between the rivers Saale and Elbe, to the Schwarze Elster and around Bautzen; they are less dense in the Niederlausitz. An alphabetical list of dithematic personal names demonstrates their complete use in place-names, and the editors have provided additional bibliographical references.

Eight analytical maps show the scatter of the generics -slav, -mir, -bud, -gost, -mysl, -rad, -bor, and mil and a synthetic map provides an overall view of the geographical distribution of dithematic Slavonic full personal names in Old Sorbian place-names; highlighting their location on water-courses or near them. The collections in Fascicle 2 provide a great variety of opportunities for anthroponymic research and may, for instance, disclose links between particular second elements in personal-name compounds and certain place-name suffixes.

The double Fascicle 3/4 continues the exploration of Old Sorbian place-names of the structure personal name plus suffix by concentrating on the common type 'Slavonic short name + -(ov)iči', in connection with a variety of anthroponymic suffixes of which the following are especially displayed cartographically on analytical maps; -er-, -ch-, -k-, -l-, -n-, -s-, and -t-; other formations are mapped together. The total number of names involved is 748. Examples for -oviči- formations are Birkwitz < *Birkovic, personal name *Birk, suffix a; Merschwitz < *Mirašovič, pers. n. *Miraš, suffix as; Peckwitz < *Pikovic, pers. n. *Pik, suffix a; names formed with -ici- are, for example Doblitz < *Dobeliči, pers. n. *Dobel, Suffix el; Kaditz < *Kojačišt, pers. n. *Kojašt, suffix ats; Nöthenitz < *Netniči, pers. n. *Neten, suffix ěn.
In addition to an overall alphabetical listing based on the reconstructed Old Sorbian form of the name, the various commentaries include some numerical and/or thematic breakdowns, like an alphabetical index of the reconstructed Old Sorbian short personal names encountered in the place-names examined, lists of the names mapped on the analytical maps, a useful recurrent index of the same, and comments on the distribution of certain name types in the area of exploration. Again it must be stressed how rich a source these names and their narrations are likely to be for scholars with a primary interest in personal names for many of which the place-names provide the earliest reference.

Fascicle 5 rounds off the work on the atlas brought to fruition so far and, with hindsight, provides several alphabetical indices which bring together materials for Fascicles 2 and 3/4: (1) Reconstructed Old Sorbian full names in the place-names of the Old Sorbian region, (2) Reconstructed Old Sorbian personal names (full names and short names) in the place-names examined, (3) Reconstructed Old Sorbian originals of modern place-names, and (4) an Index of modern place-names. In addition, there are a seventy-two-page bibliography in support of the 'Atlas of Old Sorbian Place-Name Types' and a thirty-page bibliography on 'Slavonic Place-Name Typology', as well as a list of abbreviations. Apart from the central business of atlases, maps, the scholarly enterprise under review supplies an enhancing and enlightening corpus of textual information, well integrated with the cartographic material. The result is an impressive compendium which proves, if proof is indeed necessary, that the visual representation of toponymic evidence can not only function as the result of research but also as a stimulating catalyst for new explorations and ideas. The Saxonian Academy of Sciences and the team involved in producing the atlas are to be congratulated on a remarkable achievement in the field of onomastic scholarship, and it is to be hoped that this as yet incomplete project will be continued in the years to come.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN


This is not a comprehensive survey of the place-names of Gwent (the title chosen here for the erstwhile territory of historic Monmouthshire, probably the most anglicised of the thirteen old counties of Wales), but an examination of over five hundred of those names selected on the basis of their prominence on maps and in historical documentation. Neither is it a dictionary of place-names which merely gives concise definitions. It steers a middle course by providing a reliable, if not exhaustive, backing of documentary evidence and a competent consideration of that evidence in support of the interpretation offered in each case. The author omits the sources of his early dated forms in order to keep the book within the limits of just over two hundred pages, admirably presented in a pocket-sized format with a wide-ranging list of abbreviations which also serves as a bibliography, and an introduction which should be essential reading for those misinformed pundits who argue about the Welsh/English status of Monmouthshire to this day. As the author explains, he intends to deposit a record of his sources with the Melville Richards Archive which will be accessible either on its web-site or at its location in Bangor.

The book provides an adequate introduction to Gwent place-names. Monmouthshire has not been well-treated in this respect in the past: possibly, as Richard Morgan averts, because historical sources are not plentiful, in particular those which provide early forms of Welsh names. It could also be because of the inadequacy felt by prospective investigators of their ability to deal with both the Welsh and the English names, Welsh names predominating in the highly anglicised county where today Welsh speakers make up less than five per cent of the population but where 85% of its place-names 'are still incontrovertibly Welsh'. They include major Welsh names distorted by English speakers, such as Kemesy, Lantillio Perthole, or Langattock Vion Avel, as well as minor names where Livox occurs for Llwyfo, Lettravane for Llidiard-y-frân, or Cape of Scotland for Caes Pygodyln.

In a work of this nature which is not the result of a survey in the kind of depth found in an EPNS county volume, and which will be expected of the Welsh counties when the national survey ever becomes a reality, some conclusions arrived at will be tentative, even debatable, but this in no way detracts from the value of the work as it serves as an incentive for badly-needed further research. The author makes no grave errors of judgement and is to be commended for venturing into this difficult field of investigation. He is a professional archivist of some esteem who displays a full awareness of the historical background and of the work of local historians and comparatively few toponymists who have dealt with Monmouthshire place-names from Archdeacon Coxe and Bradney down to B. G. Charles, a surprising omission from the bibliography, perhaps, being the notes appended to the admittedly
short section on Monmouthshire in George Owen's *Description of Penbrokshire* (the *Cymrrodoriaon Record Series* edition of 1892–1937, vol. 3) which, although dated, is still informative.

An exhaustive catalogue of points which could be raised cannot be made here, but where the present reviewer is concerned, interest lies primarily in the interpretations of some of the Welsh elements which occur in the forms of many of the names discussed. For instance, in the note on *Basaig* (p. 42), it may be misleading to say that *Basaig* occurs in the former names of the rivers *Stewi* and *Seilo* in Ceredigion (*Massalek* and *Salek* respectively on Saxton's map of 1578). *Bysaleg* is the form which occurs in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem for Saxton's *Massalek*, exhibiting the common Welsh initial *b-* alternation, and it is possible that the *s alek* in both names, if it is for a Welsh (*W*) *saleg*, could be derived from Latin *salic-* 'willow' (*Nomina*, 19, 1996, 33).

The very difficult form *Strigoil* (*Estrigothel* 1086 etc.), the forerunner of Chesstow (p. 67), is claimed to be derived from *W ystraigl* 'river bend', but it would be useful to know what record of this form exists. Further, is not the form *Clawrphof*, for *Llawr-y-phoff* 'the lowland of the parish' (p. 69), a scribal representation of the common *cl-* anglicised pronunciation of the fricative Welsh *ll*- rather than that *W clawr* 'lid, cover' has 'replaced' *llawr* as a first element? That *Gofflon* (*Gowillon*) is an unrecorded plural of *W gofial* 'a dialect form of *W gefall* 'smithy, forge' seems doubtful (p. 98). It is not a dialect form but a lexicographical composition based on *gof* 'smith', and is not likely to have been used in the vernacular. It has been suggested elsewhere that the name may be similar in origin to *Gyfeillion* in Glamorgan, having regard to its location between the sloping sides of the entrance to Cwm Llanwenarth, but this is not considered here.

In *Mynydd Islwyn* (p. 157), the idea of 'mountain below the grove' does not strike one as convincing. There should be here a consideration of the widespread use of *W mynydd* 'mountain' in place-names in south Wales, especially in areas which are not by any means hilly, let alone mountainous, in the sense of 'heath, common or open land', as in *Mynydd Bychan*, *Cardiff*, *Mynydd Stafford*, *Mynydd bach y cocs*, *Mynydd bach y glo*, Swansea. The same may be true in the case of *Mynydd y betws* (p. 161) but not, of course, *Mynydd Machen* or *Machen Hill* (p. 157), which is a prominent feature to which several map forms refer as *Kiriwn becon* 1577 after Saxton, the second element being supported by the form *Begwys* 1885–86, a borrowing from English *beacon* in relation to mounds on the hill. The element *kiriwen*, however, remains unexplained, but that it is an attempt to convey the Welsh form *cerdin*, a variant form of *cerdin* 'rowan tree, mountain ash'; in the Welsh form *Mynydd Cerdin* seems likely, this being a very common element in river-names in Wales, two in Glamorgan, named from the existence of such trees growing on their banks. The forms *Mynydd y cartun* 1631 and *Monyth y Kertin* 1638, 1742 can be added.

The Welsh form *penbidwol* which occurs as the place-name *Penbiddle* (pp. 167–68) in Gwent is interesting. It is suggested by Richard Morgan that it may be 'beadle's hill', with *W pen* here in the sense of 'hill, height', and a borrowing *bedel, bidel* from English *beadle* (OE *bydel*, OF *bedel*). The early forms of the name would seem to support this, but there is a Welsh form *bidwal* which is well evidenced in names such as *Tal-y-bidwai*, *Bedwel*, *Tynd Bydwal* etc., and possibly (under English influence) *Putwells*, *Putwell*, *Putwall* etc., ranging from the town of Denbigh in the north down to the south and across to the Gower peninsula. However, it is not recorded in the University of Wales Dictionary, but it does appear in that of William Owen (Pughe) in 1803 with no further comment other than the meaning as 'fortification' (*amddiffynfa*) and could be a combination of *W bid* 'quickest hedge' and *W (*g*)wal* 'wall', conveying the idea of an enclosure surrounded by a wall or dyke and surrounded by a hedge.

Clearly, such comments do not amount to fundamental criticisms: they are merely additional observations which, it is hoped, serve as a sample of the way in which this comparatively short and to some extent 'popular' but stimulating examination of Monmouthshire place-names can stimulate further discussion and investigation.

**GEORGE BRODERICK, A Dictionary of Manx Place-Names, EPNS Popular Series, vol. 4. English Place-Name Society, Nottingham, 2006. xlviii + 234 pp. £11.00 to EPNS members; £14.00 to non-members. Paperback (ISBN 0 904889 71 8)**

George Broderick's seven volumes on the place-names of the Isle of Man which appeared 1994–2005 are an important and successful scholarly work. This book is an attempt to provide a readable and accessible dictionary which will appeal to the non-specialist reader, especially to those who find the earlier works on Manx place-names too costly or too difficult to find on the booksellers' shelves. This dictionary certainly shares the successful format of
earlier volumes in this series, and is backed up by sound scholarly research based on a wide range of documentary sources.

The introduction (pp. xi–xv) is brief, giving a short account of the various categories of names, ranging from pre-Scandinavian, Celtic names, to Scandinavian, English, and Kirk-names. A short explanation of land division and tenure, defining terms such as sheading, treen and quarterland, is followed by an extensive bibliography, a pronunciation guide, and a set of maps. These (pp. xxx–xlviii) begin with a map of the island’s administrative divisions before 1796, followed by maps of the seventeen parishes showing the land divisions for treens, within which are marked the quarterlands. Each treen comprised on average four quarterlands.

The Dictionary section (pp. 1–72) is supplemented by the treen names (pp. 173–89) and the parish names (pp. 191–96), with the last of these accompanied by illustrations from ‘Sketches of the Churches in the Isles of Man’, c.1830. A list of place-name elements (pp. 197–220) and a list of personal names and surnames in Manx place-names (pp. 221–27) provide the final dictionary section. Finally, a small number of documents illustrating sources of historical and name evidence are inserted (pp. 229–34). These comprise a passage from the Chronicles of Man of 1227, a copy of the Appyn Charter of 1376/77, and a letter from Edward Faragher, dated 1896 which lists the field-names of his native Creaganeash in Rushen. This last gives a delightful account of the informant’s father who, on coming home late at night from Port Erin, was conducted by a host of fairies to view a fairy ‘exhibition’, which far surpassed that which he had seen in Dublin some years earlier!

Many of the place-name elements in this dictionary will be familiar to users in both Ireland and Scotland. The extensive use of Gaelic baile ‘farm’ is a prominent feature of the settlement names, and since they run to fifty-eight pages of text in the dictionary, they provide us with a wide range of specifics. Many are late, with early documentary forms sometimes eighteenth or nineteenth century. The presence of surnames such as Ballacubbon in Arbory (the surname Cubbon) dates from 1816, Ballaladagan (1825), Ballafletcher (1704) and five examples of Ballakelly (1684–1716) give some idea of the popularity of this generic. There are obvious parallels here with the naming patterns in Galloway, with names like Balmacelltan and Balmangan Kirkcudbrightshire. It is noticeable that the common Scottish Gaelic generic achadh ‘field’, found normally as achd, is completely absent in Man, and the term baile ‘fold’ regularly occurs, as does both ‘buth, hermitage’.

The common Irish and Gaelic din seems virtually absent on Man, with a preference for caisteal ‘castle’; although even this is limited to a few examples. Ecclesiastical generics are provided by kirk in all of the parishes, while Gaelic sill ‘church’ is limited to Killabrega in Lezayre and perhaps Killeaba in Manghold (p. 128).

Topographic names provide us with some of the most fascinating material, and a perusal of the elements index will reveal terms which will be familiar to both Irish and Scots readers. Awin ‘river’, brough ‘bank’, carraig ‘rock’, glion ‘glen, valley’, and knock ‘hill’, all remind us that Man’s linguistic history is inextricably bound up with Ireland and Scotland. The Scandinavian elements, likewise, have their parallels in Galloway, also.

The entries are fairly concise, but give the usual locational information—parish, four-figure grid reference and pronunciation. Early forms are provided, with dates, but without source reference, followed by a brief discussion on derivation. In order to keep the volume compact, and deal with some 2,000 place-names, this is a commendable compromise, which provides the general reader with an excellent handbook on Manx place-names. It is bound to attract a wide market on the island, since it should occupy a prominent position on the bookshelves of all Manx households.

IAN A. FRASER

STAN BECKENALL, Place Names and Field Names of Northumberland. Brimscombe Port, Tempus: Stroud. 2006. 159 pp., 30 colour plates, 49 figs. £16.99. (ISBN 0 7524 3647 3)

Anyone interested in the Northern past, and especially in the prehistory of Northumberland, already owes a great debt of gratitude to Stan Beckensall, best known for recording and making accessible the county’s outstanding rock art (such as the splendid cup and ring marked slabs at Roughting Linn visited by the Society’s conference in Newcastle 2001), not to mention discovering several ‘new’ sites. Prior to the 2006 volume under review he also had two toponymic publications to his name: Northumberland Place-Names (48 pp., Frank Graham 1975, reprinted by Butler Publishing 1992 and 2004) and Northumberland Field Names (72 pp., Frank Graham [1977]), and these, as rather cryptically indicated in the Acknowledgements, have formed the basis for much of the 2006 volume: the lists of elements and of place-names in Part I and most of Part II.
Following a brief general Introduction, Part I, Place Names offers an excellent preliminary sketch of the geography of Northumberland, a lively if somewhat impressionistic history, a list of elements, and a set of listings and discussion of names under the headings: physical characteristics of the landscape; rivers and streams; vegetation, natural and planted; animals and birds; people; dwellings and other buildings; colour, size and French names; and historical information. Beckensall is at his best in discursive, thematic sections such as these, where the fascination of the names, and the author’s knowledge of Northumbrian landscapes and man’s use of them, shines through. He manages to make marsh and mud interesting: ‘Slaley and Swarland are heavy to plough, perhaps because of wet clay soil. Slaggyford was heavy and soggy, and Philip was foul’ (p. 35), though the fluent, jargon-free style sometimes comes at the price of precision, e.g. ‘Blyth has one sound’ (p. 9).

The final section in Part I, and in a sense its core, is an alphabetical list of place-names. Beckensall’s stated purpose in 1975 (p. 3) was ‘to make available a comprehensive guide to Northumberland place-names. It is not original, as the spade-work has been done in two main works: (1) The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham, by Professor Allen Mawer (Cambridge U.P., 1920); (2) The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names (Fourth Edition) Eilert Ekwall’. The 2006 counterpart is in all essentials the same, with the important advance that Victor Watts’ 2004 Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names has also been consulted. Each entry consists of: a number which keys into the location map on p. 48; a headword, with an indication of pronunciation in a few cases such as ‘Akeld (ay-keld)’; the earliest spelling and date, occasionally with one or more further spellings; and an interpretation with or without etymons, such as ‘OE acum = at the oaks’ for Acomb or ‘settlement at the hill edge’ for Bilton.

The great majority of entries are more or less unproblematic, but there is, sad to say, a pervasive lack of rigour and consistency here and throughout Part I of the book. Slips are especially numerous in the Old English etymons, e.g. goec for geac ‘cuckoo’ (p. 24), barem for bearu ‘grove’ (p. 39), neardre-tun for neaddre-tun ‘adder farm’ (p. 65) and scelf-hoe for sceaf-hoh ‘shaft-shaped ridge’ in Shaftoe (p. 68). Biddleston (Billesden 1181) is explained as ‘OE byde/bot/dun = valley dwelling’ (p. 51), where dun seems to be a mistake for demu ‘valley’, and where ‘valley with a dwelling’ would represent the morphology and meaning better than ‘valley dwelling’; bygging/bigging is a Middle English formation on a root of Scandinavian origin, not ‘Old West Saxon’ (p. 23); Haining (Heyning 1304) is surely Middle English haining ‘an enclosure’ rather than Old English haegen ‘enclosure or grove’ (p. 59); and Old English gat ‘goat’ does not appear in the name Yeavering (p. 24 but not p. 74). Although the interpretations are normally based on Mawer, Ekwall and Watts (‘M’, ‘E’ or ‘W’ being used occasionally to indicate which), this is not a total guarantee of accuracy. The ‘sallows’ in the explanation of Saltwick (Salweyc 1268 and similar) as ‘Place where salt was made (M)? or farm among the sallows’ (p. 68) seem to have been transplanted from Ekwall’s entry for the Lancashire Salwick, and the prioritised ‘bare farm’ is less likely than ‘barley farm’ as an explanation of Barton (p. 50), while ‘house’ is not a good rendering of the generic [Middle English slohele ‘shielings’] in Abbshiel and Agars Hill (p. 49). There are also numerous minor inconsistencies of formatting and coverage, which are difficult to avoid in work of this kind, and may only annoy determined pedants, but they are indicative of a somewhat under-planned approach overall. Thus although the Newcastle area is covered in the book, it is excluded from the map on p. 6. ‘Old Norse’ / ‘Old Scandinavian’ are both used without any explanation of their scope, and the problem of putative Norse naming in Northumberland is not mentioned. In the alphabetical list, there does not seem to be a clear policy as to whether the etymologies are of modern forms or medieval ones, so that some entries are slightly tangled or incomplete, as when Brockley Hall (Brockleygehirst 1309) is explained as ‘OE broc-byrst = badger wood’ (p. 52), ignoring both -ley- and ‘Hall’.

Part II, and the 1977 publication on which it is largely based, represents an excursion onto all-but virgin territory, and a very real contribution to the recording of Northumberland names. Beckensall has used a variety of documentary sources from the thirteenth century onwards, but above all maps, especially Robert Norton’s beautiful plans of the Earl of Northumberland’s estates in the 1620s, early nineteenth-century plans of estates owned by the Greenwich Hospital, and mid-nineteenth century Tithe maps. The Tithe maps are usefully redrawn in order to show the field-names clearly, while estate plans are reproduced photographically (rather less legibly than in the larger-format 1977 book). Based on these sources, Part II offers a general review, an alphabetical list of common elements (denominatives) in field names, then, as the longest section, detailed coverage of a wide variety of Northumberland townships or estates. This normally comprises brief topographical and historical notes (new to the 2006 book), documentary extracts where available, and listings and discussion of names, often under headings such as
physical features, size and position of fields, industry, or social. There are also some interesting comparisons between sources, registering, for instance, the replacement of Thirskley Riggs by Thistleley Rigs; Weigh Hill Law by The Rye Hills; and High, West and Low Benacres by Binnacle Close (pp. 90–91). Finally, there is a useful 24-page alphabetical list of field names, with some dates and occasional interpretations.

Overall, then, the rich collection of data in Part II of this book contributes significantly to the microtoponymic study of Northumberland, while Part I provides a handy, user-friendly and infectious enthusiasm overview of the place-names, based on a mainly sound summary of the available information, and the alphabetical listing in particular, like its 1975 predecessor, makes a convenient starting-point for independent investigation of particular features in the Northumberland corpus, especially welcome with Mawer 1920 out of print and English Place-Name Survey coverage of the county yet to come. At the same time, readers new to the subject may often be undetectably misled or left stranded on points of detail, while the more toponymically seasoned may find themselves occasionally murmuring, ‘well, yes and no’, ‘well, not really’, or ‘surely not’ and reaching for Mawer, Ekwall and Watts. This is an attractively produced and sturdy paperback, enriched by colour and monochrome photos of maps, signposts, and landscapes aerial and terrestrial, and despite flaws it is currently the most useful one-stop source for Northumberland names.

DIANA WHALEY

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Carole Hough

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Acknowledgements for providing information or sending offprints are due to Andrew Breeze, Richard Coates, Philip Dance, Klaus Dietz, Kay Muhr, David Postles and Alex Rumble.


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