Vikings in North East England: A Re-Assessment of the Place-Name Evidence

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Abstract

This thesis presents a comprehensive account of the place-names that provide evidence of the nature and extent of Viking-age Scandinavian settlement in what is now County Durham and Northumberland, in the North East of England. In doing so, it addresses the fact that previous work on this subject has been spread piecemeal across several separate sources that focus primarily on other topics, resulting in conflicting accounts of the place-name evidence and of the nature of the settlement, both across and within sources.

The project offers a detailed analysis of two kinds of material: (1) the small number of modern studies, and even smaller amount of medieval writing, that deal with Old Norse place-names and Scandinavian presence in the North East, and (2) novel place-name data, compiled from sources not consulted in previous studies of the region. This material is considered in relation to the far larger body of work that addresses the same issues of Scandinavian settlement and place-name evidence in the context of other regions of England.

The toponymic data consists of place-names of possible Old Norse origin or influence extracted from place-name dictionaries and maps. The dictionary sources comprise the standard general dictionaries of English place-names (Ekwall 1960; Mills 1998; Watts 2004), in combination with those that focus specifically on Northumberland and/or County Durham (Mawer 1920; Watts 2002a). The map sources comprise six-inch to the mile and 25-inch to the mile first edition Ordnance Survey maps (1890s-1920s) covering selected areas that allow for a comparison between parts of the region where Scandinavian influence is expected and parts where it is not. The material extracted from these sources was compiled in a database of place-names of potential ON origin or influence in the North East, highlighting various factors that can be attributed to the names, organised into several categories. Subsequent analysis of the database focused on identifying any patterning in the place-names in terms of these key factors, and/or in relation to their distribution across the regions under investigation.

The most significant result of the analysis is that a large number of minor names (e.g. names of very small tributary streams, names of hillsides) can be linked to the influence of ON, particularly in specific areas. In conjunction with socio-historical evidence, the analysis of the toponymic data points to possible Scandinavian rule and presence in parts of what is now County Durham, but not Northumberland, other than in two related, small areas. This suggests that County Durham may have been a frontier zone between areas of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian influence in Viking Age England. In this context, I also propose that the River Tyne is a more appropriate candidate for the approximate northern boundary of the Danelaw, rather than the River Tees, as is commonly suggested, and therefore that what is now County Durham effectively lay within the Danelaw.

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For Beardsley Bear.

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Shy bairns get nowt.

Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction 1

1.1 Research questions and arguments 2

1.2 Structure of the thesis 3

1.3 Terminology 5

Chapter 2. Socio-historic background to Viking Age England 8

2.1 Introduction to Viking settlement in England 8

2.2 A timeline of the Vikings in England 10

2.3 Material culture 16

2.3.1 Documents 17

2.3.2 Archaeology 20

2.4 Settlement numbers: a point of dispute 22

2.5 The nature and extent of Scandinavian settlement 27

2.5.1 Settlement vs seizure 28

2.5.2 Manorialisation and sokemen 29

2.6 Contact between Vikings and Anglo-Saxons 32

2.7 The Danelaw and its borders 35

Chapter 3. Linguistic background to Viking Age England 41

3.1 Old Norse in England 41

3.2 Distribution of Old Norse place-names 44

3.2.1 Land quality and name-types 44

3.2.2 Settlement distribution across regions 46

3.2.3 Lack of Old Norse names 49

3.3 Place-names of Old Norse origin and influence 51

3.3.1 Place-names as evidence for settlement patterns 51

3.3.2 Place-names and language contact 55

3.3.3 Issues of borrowing 57

3.3.4 Issues relating to first attestation 61

3.3.5 Elements and other types of influence 63

3.3.5.1 bý 63

3.3.5.2 thorp 73

3.3.5.3 Other non-topographical elements 74

3.3.5.4 Topographical elements 76

3.3.5.5 Grimston hybrids 78

3.3.5.6 Scandinavianised place-names 80

Chapter 4. Vikings in the North East 85

4.1 Socio-historic background 85

4.1.1 Halfdan, the 870s 87

4.1.2 Guthred, the 880s 94

4.1.3 Ragnald, the 910s 96

4.1.4 Integration and assimilation 100

4.1.5 A new Danelaw border? 102

4.1.5.1 The realm of Viking kings of Northumbria 102

4.1.5.2 The extent of the Danelaw 104

4.1.5.3 Evidence for the Tyne as the Danelaw's northern border 109

4.2 Old Norse place-names in the North East 113

4.2.1 An introduction 113

4.2.2 Previous studies 114

4.2.2.1 County Durham 114

4.2.2.2 Northumberland 118

4.2.2.3 Summary of names identified in previous work 119

4.2.2.4 Minor and field-names 121

4.2.2.5 Danish/Norwegian origins 123

4.2.2.6 Dating name formation 124

4.2.2.7 Elements not representing Scandinavian settlement 125

4.2.2.8 Ecclesiastical land ownership 127

4.3 Summary of Vikings in the North East 128

Chapter 5. Method 132

5.1 Data collection I: place-name dictionaries 132

5.2 Data collection II: Ordnance Survey maps 134

5.3 Combining dictionary and map data 138

5.4 Data categories 138

5.5 A comparative case study: Aysgarth, North Yorkshire 144

Chapter 6. Data analysis I: grouping and categorisation of data 146

6.1 Location of place-names forming the dataset 147

6.2 Elements and other types of influence across the whole dataset 151

6.3 Ambiguous, naturalised and likely Old Norse elements 160

6.4 Grimston hybrids 178

6.5 Topographical and non-topographical elements 180

6.6 Major, minor and stream names 185

6.7 Scandinavianisation 190

6.8 Old Norse influence on all or part of place-names 192

6.9 Confidence ratings 194

6.10 Case study: Aysgarth, North Yorkshire 202

6.10.1 Elements and other types of Old Norse influence 204

6.10.2 Ambiguous, naturalised and likely Old Norse elements 208

6.10.3 Topographical and non-topographical elements 211

6.10.4 Major, minor and stream names 212

6.10.5 Old Norse influence on all or part of place-names 213

6.10.6 Confidence ratings 215

6.11 Summary of findings arising from data analysis I 211

Chapter 7. Data analysis II: geographical distribution of the place-name data 225

7.1 Place-names identified by Watts (1988–89) as examples of Old Norse influence or origin 226

7.2 Location of place-names identified in the dataset from both dictionaries and Ordnance Survey maps 229

7.3 *Dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* 236

7.4 Grimston hybrids 245

7.5 *býr* 247

7.6 Ambiguous, naturalised and likely Old Norse elements 250

7.7 Topographical and non-topographical elements 254

7.8 Major, minor and stream names 256

7.9 Scandinavianisation 258

7.10 Old Norse influence on all or part of place-names 260

7.11 Confidence ratings 262

7.12 Summary of findings from data analysis II 267

Chapter 8. Conclusions 273

8.1 Frequency and distribution of Old Norse place-names in the North East 274

8.2 Vikings in the North East 275

8.3 Borders 277

8.4 Do Old Norse place-names in the North East represent Scandinavian settlement? 278

8.5 Future research 279

Appendices

Appendix A, part 1: components and interpretation of the NE dataset

Appendix A, part 2: detailed location information of the NE dataset

Appendix B: element glosses and sources

List of figures and tables

	Name	Page number
Map A	The North East of England	xxi
Map B	Topographical map of Northumberland	xxii
Figure 1	Map of Viking territories and settlements in the British Isles in 'c.9th Century'	37
Figure 2	Smith's (1956) map of 'The Scandinavian settlement'	47
Map C	'The distribution of by-names, recorded by 1086, in England'	64
Figure 3	Map showing the location of place-names in County Durham, extracted from both dictionary sources, which potentially evidence ON influence.	100
Figure 4	Closer view of Figure 1 above (Section 2.7), showing the Scandinavian-maintained 'Kingdom of York' and the lands of English Northumbria.	102
Table 1	Number of place-names in the NE dataset of potential ON origin or influence in each county	148
Figure 5	Place-names collected from the four OS maps surveyed within the North East, plus the case study area map in North Yorkshire	149

Table 2	Total names of potential ON origin or influence extracted from each OS map	151
Table 3	ON influence and other types of influence that appear in the whole NE dataset, by position within the place-name	153
Table 4	Ambiguous, naturalised and likely ON elements across the whole NE dataset	162
Table 5	Ambiguous, naturalised and likely elements by county	163
Table 6	Numbers and proportions of ambiguous and naturalised elements across the four OS map areas	165
Table 7	Elements across the NE dataset, excluding ambiguous elements	168
Table 8	Elements across the NE dataset excluding ambiguous elements and those naturalised into English	175
Table 9	Grimston hybrids across the whole NE dataset	178
Table 10	Grimston hybrids by county	179
Table 11	Topographical and non-topographical elements across the NE dataset	181
Table 12	Topographical and non-topographical elements by county	182

Table 13	Topographical and non-topographical elements across the four OS map areas	183
Table 14	Topographical and non-topographical elements seen solely in names extracted from dictionaries, by county	184
Table 15	Topographical and non-topographical elements seen solely in names extracted from maps, by county	184
Table 16	Major, minor and stream names across the whole NE dataset	186
Table 17	Major, minor and stream names across different sources	187
Table 18	Major, minor and stream names across the four OS map areas	188
Table 19	Major, minor and stream names by county	189
Table 20	Scandinavianised names extracted from dictionaries	190
Table 21	Scandinavianised names extracted from dictionaries, by county	191
Table 22	Is ON influence seen on all of the component elements in the name?	192

Table 23	ON influence on all of the elements in each name, by county	193
Table 24	ON influence on all of the elements in each name, across the four OS map areas	193
Table 25	Confidence ratings across the whole NE dataset	195
Table 26	Confidence ratings across different sources	196
Table 27	Confidence ratings by county	197
Table 28	Confidence ratings across the four OS map areas	198
Table 29	Confidence ratings cross-referenced with ambiguous, naturalised and likely ON elements, from the whole NE dataset	200
Table 30	ON influence on all of the elements in each name by confidence rating category	201
Table 31	Total number of names reflecting potential ON influence extracted from each OS map, including the Aysgarth map	203
Table 32	ON elements and ON influence that appear, whether naturalised, ambiguous or neither, in the area covered by the Aysgarth map	204

Table 33	Naturalised, ambiguous and likely ON elements in the area covered by the Aysgarth map	209
Table 34	Topographical and habitative elements extracted from the Aysgarth map	211
Table 35	Major, minor and stream names extracted from the Aysgarth map	212
Table 36	ON influence on all of the elements in names extracted from the Aysgarth map	214
Table 37	Confidence ratings across the Aysgarth map	215
Figure 6(a)	A map showing ON place-names in County Durham according to Watts (1988–89)	227
Figure 6(b)	A map showing ON place-names in County Durham according to Watts (1988–89), colour coded	227
Figure 7(a)	Geographical distribution of NE dataset names (dictionary sources only)	229
Figure 7(b)	Closer view of the area between Castle Eden and the River Wear	230
Figure 8	Geographical distribution of NE dataset names (OS map sources only)	232

Figure 9(a)	Durham A map - potential ON names in the area of expected Scandinavian influence around Eastgate (OS, Durham XXIII)	233
Figure 9(b)	Durham B map - potential ON names in the area where Scandinavian influence is not expected, around Lanchester (OS, Durham XVIII)	233
Figure 9(c)	Northumberland A map - potential ON names in the area of expected Scandinavian influence around Rothbury (OS, Northumberland XLIV)	234
Figure 9(d)	Northumberland B map - potential ON names in the area where Scandinavian influence is not expected, around Bedlington (OS, Northumberland LXXII)	234
Figure 10	Distribution of *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* (dictionary sources only)	237
Figure 11(a)	Durham A map – names possibly containing *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* in the area of expected Scandinavian influence around Eastgate (OS, Durham XXIII)	238
Figure 11(b)	Durham B map – names possibly containing *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* in the area where Scandinavian influence is not expected, around Lanchester (OS, Durham XVIII)	240

Figure 11(c)	Northumberland A map – names possibly containing *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* in the area of expected Scandinavian influence around Rothbury (OS, Northumberland XLIV)	241
Figure 11(d)	Northumberland A map – names possibly containing *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* in the area where Scandinavian influence is not expected, around Bedlington (OS, Northumberland LXXII)	241
Figure 12	Names possibly containing *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* in the area covered by the comparative case study map (Yorkshire LXVII)	243
Figure 13	Distribution of possible Grimston hybrids in the NE dataset (dictionary sources only)	246
Figure 14	Distribution of place-names possibly containing *býr* in the NE dataset	249
Figure 15(a)	Geographical distribution of naturalised and ambiguous elements in the NE dataset (dictionary sources only)	251
Figure 15(b)	Figure 15(b): Geographical distribution of naturalised and ambiguous elements in the Aysgarth data	251
Figure 16(a)	Geographical distribution of likely ON elements in names across the NE dataset (dictionary sources only)	252

Figure 16(b)	Figure 16(b): Geographical distribution of likely ON elements in the Aysgarth data	252
Figure 17	Distribution of topographical and non-topographical elements across the NE (dictionary sources only)	254
Figure 18	Figure 18: Distribution of topographical and non-topographical elements in the Aysgarth data	255
Figure 19	Distribution of major, minor and stream names in the NE (dictionary sources only)	256
Figure 20	Distribution of major, minor and stream names in the Aysgarth data	258
Figure 21	Distribution of names possibly exhibiting Scandinavianisation (dictionary sources only)	259
Figure 22	Distribution of place-names with possible ON influence on all of its elements in the NE data (dictionary sources only)	260
Figure 23	Distribution of place-names with possible ON influence on all of its elements in the Aysgarth data	261
Figure 24	Distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories in the NE (dictionary sources only)	262

Figure 25(a)	Distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories on the Durham A map (OS, Durham XXIII)	263
Figure 25(b)	Distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories on the Durham B map (OS, Durham XVIII)	264
Figure 25(c)	Distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories on the Northumberland A map (OS, Northumberland XLIV)	264
Figure 25(d)	Distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories on the Northumberland B map (OS Northumberland LXXII)	265
Figure 26	Distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories on the Aysgarth map	266

Map A: The North East of England

Annotations my own. See Section 1.3 for notes on terminology, including working definitions of 'Northumberland' and 'County Durham'. This map reflects my working definitions, with any land north of the Tyne considered as Northumberland, and any land south of it, and north of the Tees, considered as County Durham. The actual present-day scope of these counties differs from this, largely due to the creation of the metropolitan county of Tyne and Wear in 1974. Sourced from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Northumberland_and_County_Durham_location_map.svg.

Map B: topographical map of Northumberland

The red circle illustrates the location of the Cheviots. Note the southern border of Northumberland is here shown as the northern border of Tyne and Wear, but for the purposes of this project, Northumberland extends to the Tyne (and not beyond) (see Section 1.3).

Sourced from

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Northumberland_UK_relief_location_map.jpg.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Early medieval Britain suffered from attacks by bands of Viking marauders, which later developed into a pattern of permanent Scandinavian settlement in some areas. Somewhat surprisingly, there has been no previous detailed account of the Vikings in the North East of England (the NE), nor a cohesive account of Old Norse place-names in the region, despite the fact that the geographical patterning of Scandinavian settlement in early medieval Britain is often assessed through analysis of the distribution of place-names of Old Norse (ON) origin or influence.

The present project addresses this gap. The investigation draws together and examines earlier accounts of Viking presence and ON place-names in the NE, and provides new evidence in the form of novel place-name data collection and analysis. Earlier accounts are often fragmented or contradictory, sometimes in relation to each other and sometimes even within themselves. Where there is consensus, it is generally in the belief that evidence for Viking influence north of the River Tees is minimal, or even entirely non-existent.

Watts (1988–89) offers an account of Scandinavian place-names in County Durham, but it is brief, and provides little in the way of background or contextualisation. Despite identifying 90 place-names of possible ON origin or influence, the results of the investigation presented by Watts (1988–89) appear not to have generated any interest or received any attention, even though his findings seem to contradict the typical observation that there was little or no Viking presence north of the River Tees. The same can be said of the many references to Vikings in the NE that appear in documents near-contemporary to the Viking Age, such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, and writings by Alcuin, Bede, Asser, and Symeon of Durham. These and similar documents contain several references to a Viking army at the River Tyne, to a Danish king making deals with Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical leaders in what is now County Durham, and to a Norwegian king granting land to his followers in specified areas in the east of County Durham.

Furthermore, while a cursory glance at a map shows that there are clearly fewer major names that exhibit ON influence north of the Tees than south of it, the possibility of such influence on minor names has been almost completely ignored, other than in one study by Watts (2002b), which examines minor names in a small area in what is now south-eastern County Durham. A number of the minor names that form part of this project's dataset were collected from the large-scale 25-inch to the mile (1:2,500) first edition Ordnance Survey maps (1890s–1920s), therefore constitute a new source of evidence for possible Scandinavian influence in the NE that has not previously been considered.

1.1 Research questions and arguments

In addressing the gap in previous studies outlined above, the present project will answer the following research questions.

(1) What is the extent and distribution of ON place-names in the NE?[1]

(2) What does the extent and the distribution of ON place-names indicate, if anything, about Scandinavian settlement in the region?

(3) What are the implications of the extent and distribution of ON place-names, and Scandinavian settlement, for our understanding of the extent of the Danelaw at its northern border?

In answering each of these research questions, arguments are presented that lead to the following conclusions:

(1) There is strong evidence of considerably more ON influence on the place-names in County Durham than has previously been suggested, but not in Northumberland, other than perhaps in small, isolated areas around Rothbury, in central Northumberland, and Akeld in the north of the county.

(2) There was Scandinavian rule and settlement in County Durham.

[1] As explained in Section 1.3 and the introduction to Section 3.3.1, 'ON place-name' is here used as shorthand for 'place-names of possible or certain Old Norse origin or influence'.

(3) County Durham was effectively a frontier zone between the Danelaw and the territory further north that was more fully under the control of the Anglo-Saxons. The River Tyne is therefore a better candidate for the northern border of the Danelaw than the River Tees.

1.2 Structure of the present study

The main discussion of this thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 provides a socio-historical overview of Viking presence in Anglo-Saxon England, exploring what is known about settlement numbers and distribution, the nature of the settlement, and the relationship between the incoming Vikings and the resident Anglo-Saxons. Chapter 3 discusses the linguistic impact of this Viking settlement, with a particular focus on place-names. The ways in which ON had an impact on the English language is discussed, as well as the distribution of ON place-names across England. Other key issues addressed include the value of place-names as historical sources, and issues of language contact, borrowing, and recording in relation to place-names. An overview of ON place-name elements and other kinds of ON influence on place-names in England concludes Chapter 3.

Those two chapters set the scene for Chapter 4, which explores the Viking presence and influence in the NE specifically. The socio-historical environment is addressed first, bringing together historical and modern scholarly accounts of three phases of activity by Viking leaders in the region: Halfdan in the 870s, Guthred in the 880s, and Ragnald in the 910s. This discussion leads into an exploration of the scope of the Danelaw from the perspective of this historical evidence. The Danelaw is usually considered to extend in the north up to the River Tees, but consideration of the historical evidence presented in Chapter 4 provides a basis for the third argument outlined in Section 1.1: the River Tyne is a more appropriate place to draw an approximate border for the northernmost extent of Danish rule. This would place County Durham within the Danelaw. In previous accounts, Northumberland and County Durham have been grouped together in

Bernicia, a sub-kingdom of the Kingdom of Northumbria and stronghold of independent Anglo-Saxon power, thought to have been sufficiently united and powerful to repel the Vikings at the Tees. The first section of Chapter 4 explores whether this is an appropriate way to view the situation in the NE during the Viking Age, if the region appears to be more fractured than previously assumed, with some kind of internal division at the Tyne.

Following this consideration of the socio-historical context, the second section of Chapter 4 provides an initial outline of Old Norse place-names in the NE, examining and evaluating previous research on their distribution across County Durham and Northumberland, and on the different types of names that are found in the region. The issue of ecclesiastical land ownership, and the place-names that are found on such land, is also separately considered in this section, given how widespread this was in County Durham and in light of the evidence for Viking land-owners in this area that emerges from the discussion in Chapter 3 of the socio-historical context.

In view of all of the above, detailed examination of the place-name evidence for the NE is clearly called for, and this is done in Chapters 5-7. First, Chapter 5 describes the methodology used in this project, with particular reference to the compilation and analysis of the place-name database (which is presented in its entirety in Appendix A, parts 1 and 2). The full dataset contains all place-names that may contain an Old Norse element or exhibit Old Norse influence, based on evidence from two local place-name dictionaries — *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham* (Mawer 1920) and *A Dictionary of County Durham Place-Names* (Watts 2002a) — as well as the study of Scandinavian place-names in County Durham by Watts (1988–1989). As noted above, the dataset also includes names that have been extracted from early large-scale (25 inches to the mile) Ordnance Survey maps of select areas of the NE. Additional data was collected for a case study of the area around Aysgarth in North Yorkshire, using the relevant 25-inch scale Ordnance Survey map and the English Place-Name Society volume on North Yorkshire (Smith 1928 [1979]). The purpose of this case study of an

area that falls clearly within the Danelaw, as traditionally defined, is to facilitate exploration of research question (3), relating to the contrast in ON influence on place-names to the north and south of the River Tees. This allows for examination of the assumption that there was extensive Old Norse linguistic influence, as well as settlement, to the south of the Tees in Yorkshire, and minimal influence and settlement to its north in County Durham.

Chapters 6 and 7 present the data analysis that is at the heart of this project. These chapters identify patterns and other important details within the place-name dataset compiled for this project, in light of the discussion of the historical and linguistic background of Viking settlement in other areas of England, as outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, and of the situation in the NE specifically, as discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 6 focuses on categorising the data, while Chapter 7 explores the distribution of the collected place-names across the NE. The data is categorised and presented in relation to various characteristics: the types of names identified (major, minor and stream names), the types of elements seen in the names (topographical and non-topographical), the processes that names may have or have not undergone (Scandinavianisation), the degree of confidence that can be attributed to the analysis (confidence ratings), and others. Where relevant and appropriate, the analysis of the NE data is compared to the North Yorkshire case study data.

Chapter 8 summarises the findings and conclusions that have emerged from the analyses presented in the preceding chapters, and identifies some possible avenues for further research into the Scandinavian element in the place-names of the NE.

1.3 Terminology

It will be useful at the outset to establish how some key terms are used throughout this thesis. I use the word *Viking* interchangeably with *Scandinavian,* meaning any person of Scandinavian descent who migrated from Denmark or Norway in the last two centuries of the first millennium AD, and their direct descendants. I use the term

Viking Age (England) to refer to the period from the 860s up to the Norman Conquest of 1066, marking the two centuries in which England experienced Viking raids, settlement and rule.

This project follows Townend (2002: xv) in the use of two important and much-used terms: I use the term *Old Norse* to 'designate the language spoken by Scandinavians in the Viking age', while *Norse* and *Old English* (OE) are used as linguistic terms, and *Scandinavian* (as an adjective) and *Anglo-Saxon* are 'employed with historical and cultural reference'. *Old Norse place-names* is occasionally used as shorthand for 'place-names of possible or certain Old Norse origin or influence.

The Danelaw is the term typically used to describe the area of England under Scandinavian rule during the Viking Age, though the scope of this area is not very precisely defined in the literature, and its northernmost reach is discussed in detail below (Section 2.8 and Section 4.1.5). When using the term *the traditional Danelaw*, however, I refer to the area roughly between Watling Street and the River Tees, that is, the 'traditional' interpretation of what constitutes the Danelaw, which is also standardly adopted by modern historians. The terms *Northumberland* and *County Durham* as used here correspond broadly to the areas of the present-day counties, but the areas designated by these terms do not match the current county boundaries exactly. The nuances of the modern boundaries are irrelevant to early medieval activity. Rivers and Roman roads (such as Dere Street, which ran north to south through County Durham), present in Viking Age England, are more likely and more useful reference points for contemporary borders. Watts (2002: xi, fn. 1) takes *County Durham* to be 'the pre-1974 county including those districts subsequently incorporated into Tyne and Wear and into Cleveland but excluding those parts of North Yorkshire added in 1974'. I have adopted the same approach as Watts in taking County Durham to include those parts that belonged to the county prior to 1974, but then became part of the new metropolitan county of Tyne and Wear, that now separates Northumberland and County Durham in the east. Unlike Watts, however, I have taken the county's southern

border to be the River Tees. To avoid confusion, I have also included the part of Northumberland that is south of the Tyne, in the west of the region, as Durham. *Northumberland* incorporates those parts of Tyne and Wear that belonged to Northumberland prior to 1974, and all lands up to the Scottish border. As a result, everything between the Tyne and the Tees is considered *County Durham*, and everything between the Tyne and the Scottish border is considered *Northumberland*. I often refer to County Durham simply as *Durham*, unless a clear distinction needs to be made between the county and the city. In terms of onomastic terminology, *specifics* are the qualifying elements in place-names that consist of more than one element, while *generics* are the elements that are qualified by the *specifics*. For the purposes of the present project, this is perhaps a little more complex than is necessary, and it is more helpful to say simply that *specifics* are the first element of multi-element place-names, while the following elements are the *generics*. *Simplex* names are names made up of just one element.

Chapter 2. Socio-historical background to Viking Age England

2.1 An introduction to Viking settlement in England

Some of the principal questions that need to be addressed in the study of Scandinavian settlement in England are highlighted by Abrams and Parsons (2004: 380):

(a) When and where did the Viking settlement of Anglo-Saxon England begin, and how did it progress?
(b) How many stages of settlement were there?
(c) How many settlers were there and from where in Scandinavia did they come?
(d) What type of land did they occupy?
(e) What was the effect of the settlement on the existing populations?

This section addresses these questions using a combination of the primary evidence provided by near-contemporary medieval sources and the wealth of secondary literature on this topic that has been produced since the early 20th century.

It appears that settlement in England and Ireland, and maybe Shetland and Orkney, came after an initial period of raiding. Following this, Scandinavian bands spent winters in England, perhaps for the first time in 850 (Richards 2007: 23), and this was followed by permanent occupation later in the 9th century (Holman 2017: 49). The first instances of Viking presence in England and perhaps Scotland, then, were raids that were not immediately followed by settlement, the earliest of which appear to be on Lindisfarne and the Scottish islands in 793–795. Monasteries were prime targets because they were both rich and undefended (Holman 2017: 120). At the time of these early raids, Mercia was the most powerful Anglo-Saxon kingdom, but throughout the 9th century, 'Viking raids brought Mercia, East Anglia and Northumbria to their knees, leaving Wessex as the last outpost of 'Englishness'' (Holman 2017: 30). It is notable that often in literature that addresses the history of Viking settlement in England, there are references to 'Northumbria' as a whole, when in fact it is likely that the events being described relate

only to Deira, the southern part of the kingdom, to the exclusion of the northern part, Bernicia. Rather than being 'brought to its knees' at the hands of the Vikings, this northern part of the kingdom retained its Anglo-Saxon independence and identity, in contrast with its Anglo-Scandinavian Northumbrian neighbour, Deira (Higham 1986: 311). In this context, the position and nature of the boundary between Anglo-Saxon Bernicia and Anglo-Scandinavian Deira is a key issue when considering the question of the NE's position and status inside or outside the Danelaw (see Section 4.1.5).

According to Holman (2017: 26–27), the impetus behind the initial raids of the late 8th and early 9th centuries may have been 'sheer opportunism', with Vikings capitalising on the excellence of their longships, their lack of political ties to continental Europe, and the wealth of the Anglo-Saxon monasteries. A letter written by Alcuin of York (c.732–804 (Allott 1974: v)) to King Æthelred of Northumbria describes the Lindisfarne raids, in which he condemns a desire at this time to imitate Scandinavian hairstyles, suggests Anglo-Saxons were not unfamiliar with their Scandinavian neighbours before this time (Whitelock 1979: 844). Indeed, although 'hit-and-run raids leave little definitive archaeological trace' (Holman 2017: 24), it has been suggested that there may have been trade between Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians before the Lindisfarne raid, and that this raid marked a change in the nature of the political relationships between the British Isles and Scandinavia (Hines 1984: 293–294, cited in Holman 2017: 25). In contrast, Richards (2007: 30) argues that, unlike the northern and western isles of Scotland, 'England was not troubled much until the second quarter of the ninth century', with the first winter settlement occurring in 850. Scandinavian ships are first mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the entry for 789 (mistakenly labelled 787 in the Chronicle manuscripts), and although they are described as *Deniscra* ('Danish'), two versions of the text – the Peterborough Chronicle (Manuscript E) and the so-called Bilingual Canterbury Epitome (Manuscript F) – specify that the ships hailed from Hordaland, which was in western Norway (Swanton 2000: 54–55; Richards 2007: 18–19). Richards (2007: 34) considers the year 865 to be the date from which Vikings

arrived in England with the intention of permanent settlement (see also Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 267). Despite the possibility of earlier settlement, or at least contact, any larger-scale settlement began following the arrival of the armies of Ívarr and Halfdan in the 860s, and thus it is from this time that a timeline of settlement is provided.

2.2 A timeline of Viking settlement

865

An army led by Ívarr and Halfdan arrived in East Anglia (Sawyer 1998: 115). While earlier raiding had aimed to obtain 'portable wealth', by the second half of the seventh century 'the aims of Viking armies had shifted to land seizure and political conquest' (Hadley and Richards 2021: 7).

866 or 867

York was taken in either 866 or 867 (Fellows-Jensen 1978: 1; Holman 2017: 31). In discussing this, Holman (2017: 31) refers to York as the Northumbrian 'capital', which further illustrates the confusion that can be found in some accounts with respect to the status of Bernicia and Deira as the two constituent sub-kingdoms of Northumbria. York was the seat of power of Deira, whereas the seat of power of Bernicia was Bamburgh (Rollason 2003: 48, 75).

869

The East Anglians were defeated by the Viking army (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 417).

871–899

The reign of King Alfred. By this time 'most of the country was under Danish rule and Alfred's kingdom of Wessex stood alone against the 'Great Army'' (Holman 2017: 30).

874–876

In 874 the Great Army spent its winter at Repton in Derbyshire (ChronE 874[2]; Swanton 2000: 73). One half of the army went to Cambridge and was subsequently granted lands in Mercia by King Alfred (Fellows-Jensen 1978: 2). Soon after the winter in Repton, Halfdan led the other half of the army north to the Tyne. Sawyer (1998: 117) gives the year as 876. Higham (1986: 308) argues that Halfdan's winter spent on the Tyne must have been that between 875 and 876, meaning the year of travel would be 875, as it is the 876 entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which describes Halfdan's followers sharing out land in the area (see below). Either way, the activities of Halfdan's army between Repton and the Tyne in the period from 874 to 876 are unclear (see Section 4.1.1 for further discussion of this). The Chronicle notes that upon arriving at their winter-quarters at the Tyne, 'se here þæt lond geeode' (ChronA 875.1). Swanton translates this as '[Halfdan's] army conquered that land' (Swanton 2000: 74, 75), though the translation of *geeode* as 'conquered' is potentially problematic, since its range of meanings would also allow for translations such as 'passed over' or 'occupied' (see Section 4.1.5.3).

875

The Community of St Cuthbert fled Lindisfarne, and Halfdan engaged in raids against Strathclyde Britons and Picts (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 1).

876

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle makes reference to Viking settlement in Northumbria, the first recording of Viking settlement anywhere in England (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 382). The entry says that 'Healfdene Norþanhymbra lond gedęlde & ergende wæron

[2] ChronE 874: Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Manuscript E ('Peterborough Chronicle'), entry for the year 874. Unless otherwise stated, all citations to and quotes from Old English texts are sourced from the Toronto DOE corpus, using the title abbreviations used by the DOE.

& hiera tilgende' (ChronA 876.6; 'Halfdan divided up the land of Northumbria, and they were ploughing and providing for themselves', Swanton 2000: 74).

877

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle first recounts Viking settlement in eastern Mercia (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 382).

878

The Treaty of Wedmore was agreed between King Alfred and Guthrum, a Viking leader. As Holman (2017: 121–122) notes, the conversion of Guthrum to Christianity was 'a huge propaganda coup for Alfred', as were his generous gifts to Guthrum, since these could be seen as a demonstration of one of the essential qualities of a good king and a good Christian, as well as serving a political function as a Danegeld pay-off in disguise. Holman (2017: 123) also suggests that Guthrum forsook Norse paganism 'in name if not necessarily in deed'.

880

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reports the first Viking settlement in East Anglia (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 382, 417).

Early 880s

Guthred became king in York, and was supported by the Community of St Cuthbert, who were now based at what is now called Chester-le-Street, having relocated from Lindisfarne (Higham 1986: 311).

896

The Danish army dispersed. Some subsequently settled in East Anglia and Northumbria, 'while others sailed south to Frankia in search of fresh – and easier – conquests' (Holman 2017: 34).

899

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for this year recounts that Æthelwold, a cousin of Edward the Elder, King of the Anglo-Saxons (reigned 899–924), rebelled against the king. The Danish army accepted Æthelwold as king, who incited a wider rebellion in East Anglia against Edward, but was then killed (Holman 2017: 97).

902

Scandinavians led by the brothers Olaf the White and Ivar the Boneless were expelled from Dublin by an alliance of two Irish kingdoms, Brega and Leinster, and many of the expelled Hiberno-Scandinavians travelled to North West England (Holman 2017: 36).

Early 900s

Throughout this time Cumbria was settled by people of Scandinavian origins from Ireland and possibly North West Scotland (Lomas 1992: 4).

914 and/or 918

The Battle(s) of Corbridge were fought, where Ragnald, an Irish-Norwegian Viking leader, was victorious over the Bernician aristocracy, who were joined by King Constantine of the Scots (Higham 1986: 312; Rollason 2003: 274).

917

Danish East Anglia submitted to Edward the Elder (ChronA 917; Swanton 2000: 102–104).

919

Norwegian Vikings took York (Richards 2007: 29).

c.921

Ragnald's brother, Sigtrygg, became king of York (Rollason 2003: 217). Sigtrygg had political ties with Athelstan, one of the English kings whose reign coincided with his own. In marrying Athelstan's sister in 926 (Rollason 2003: 262), Sigtrygg underwent a brief conversion to Christianity, but other than this, unlike his predecessor Guthred, Sigtrygg was not a Christian. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for 925 describes Sigtrygg as *Norðhymbra cyng*, king of the Northumbrians (ChronD 925.1; Swanton 2000: 105). Again, with York as a seat of power it seems likely this refers to Deira specifically rather than the whole kingdom of Northumbria, all the way from the Humber to the Forth.

By 927

Fellows-Jensen (1985: 3) considers it likely that the Britons of Strathclyde had reoccupied Dumfriesshire and the northern part of Cumberland and Westmorland by 927, with place-name evidence in these areas pointing to Scandinavian settlement before this time.

937

The Battle of Brunanburh was fought between Athelstan, King of the English, against Constantine II, king of Scotland, and Olaf Guthfrithsson of Dublin (Holman 2017: 40). Athelstan's victory is memorialised in a poem in the Winchester version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ChronA 937, Brun A10.1; Swanton 2000: 106, 108–110).

954

King Edgar of England defeated Eric Bloodaxe, the last Viking king of York, who is killed. The city then remained in English hands (Holman 2017: 41). Until this point, Northumbrians had been reluctant 'to acknowledge the overlordship of a southerner', but upon the English re-claiming of York, Northumbria became part of the united kingdom of England (Sawyer 1971: 151).

955

Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 267) consider that no further Norse speakers settled in northern England after this date, and that 'Norse probably lasted no more than two generations after 955'.

Late 900s

The army of the Danish king Svein Forkbeard carried out campaigns in England, aiming to accumulate an enormous silver hoard and the English throne (Holman 2017: 42).

991

The Battle of Maldon was fought, between an English army led by Byrhtnoth, Ealdorman of Essex, and a Viking host possibly led by Olaf Tryggvason, later king of Norway, in which the Scandinavians were victorious and the English were forced to pay a large Danegeld (Holman 2017: 42).

1013

Svein Forkbeard sailed into the Humber estuary and a large proportion of the country submitted to him: 'Uhtred eorl & eall Norðhymbra', 'eall þet folc on Lindesige', 'þet folc of Fifburhingan' and 'eall here be norðan Wætlingastræte' (ChronE 1013.6), namely 'Earl Uhtred and all Northumbria', 'all the people in Lindsey', ' the people of the Five Boroughs', and 'all the raiding-army[3] to the North of Watling Street' (Swanton 2000:

[3] A note on the continued occurrence in the Chronicle of the term *here*, used in earlier entries to clearly refer to the Danish raiding army, but also seen in this entry relating to some 150 years after the 9th century raids. Although Swanton translates the 1013 instance of *here* as 'raiding-army', he mentions in a footnote that the term 'is apparently here used of the whole organised settlers in the area' (Swanton 2000: 143, fn. 19). Similarly, Whitelock translates *here* in this instance as 'Danish settlers', mentioning in a footnote that this word is literally 'the

143). Then Oxford, Winchester, Bath, and finally London submitted to Svein (Swanton 2000: 143–144) after which time Æthelred fled to the Isle of Wight, and then France (Swanton 2000: 144).

1014

Svein Forkbeard died and Æthelred returned to the throne, leading Svein's son Cnut to fight for his claim (Holman 2017: 44–45). Cnut's reign 'was certainly not that of a pagan barbarian: he adopted, with remarkably few adaptations, English law, promoted new Englishmen at his court, married Æthelred's widow, Emma, and was an enthusiastic patron of the Church' (Holman 2017: 123).

1041

Cnut appointed Siward, a Dane, as Earl of Northumbria (Aird 2009: 310, Insley 2009: 327).

1066 onwards

Following the Norwegians' defeat at the battle of Stamford Bridge, 'Scandinavian fugitives from the Danelaw may have settled in England west of the Pennines' (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 5).

2.3 Material culture

There is a dearth of surviving contemporary material culture available from Viking Age England. What few documents do survive are (a) usually later copies, (b) rarely from northern Britain, and (c) likely marred by political or cultural bias. There is very little surviving Viking archaeology in the NE, though what little there is does support the idea of Scandinavian settlement in southernmost County Durham. Place-names are

army', and is 'used in the sense of the organized inhabitants of an area of Danish settlement in England' (Whitelock (ed.) 1961: 92).

therefore very often relied upon in both historical and linguistic research, including, of course, the present project. Their reliability as an evidence source has been disputed, and this controversy will be discussed in Section 3.3.1.

2.3.1 Documents

There is a distinct lack of documents about Viking Age England that are contemporary with the period (Rollason 2003: 11). Even the surviving versions of contemporary documents are usually later copies, and are therefore likely to have been subject to various changes, additions and omissions. In the context of the present project, there is the additional problem that there are far fewer extant documents that were produced in central and northern Britain than in Ireland and southern England (Holman 2017: 10–11, Edmonds 2019: 156). Rollason (2003: 16–17) points out that contemporary medieval documents shed more light on some locations than others. For example, we can glean vital information on York from Alcuin's late 8th century letters (see Allott 1974, especially 1–13), and his so-called 'York poem' (see Godman 1982). Nonetheless, Rollason (2003: 17) points out that there is a severe lack of Northumbrian documents from 886/887 onwards, following the Viking capture of York. There are no Northumbrian charters for this period, though the Worcester and Peterborough versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (manuscripts D and E respectively) are useful in that they focus more on northern England than on Wessex (Rollason 2003: 17).

The most famous, or perhaps infamous, documentary records of Vikings in England are the accounts of the earliest raids, such as that on Lindisfarne in 793. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle describes 'fiery dragons […] flying in the air' ('fyrene dracan on þam lyfte fleogende), followed by 'a great famine' ('mycel hunger'), and then 'the raiding of heathen men miserably devastated God's church in Lindisfarne by looting and slaughter' ('earmlice heðenra manna hergung adiligode Godes cyrican in Lindisfarena ee þurh reaflac & mansleht') (ChronE 793.1, 793.2; Swanton 2000: 55, 57). Holman

(2017: 12) reminds us that these are the words of 'outraged monastic historians', noting that 'a Scandinavian author writing for a Scandinavian audience [would be] likely to put quite a different slant on a Viking raid from a British author writing for a British audience', and that there is also variation between the viewpoints of northern British authors and those from the south who had never been to those locations targeted by such raids. Alcuin writes about the Lindisfarne raid 'with indignation and horror' (Richards 2007: 29). At the time, Alcuin was based at the court of Charlemagne, who was embroiled in conflict with Denmark, and Myhre (1993: 197) therefore argues that he had a political motive for depicting the Vikings as barbarous heathens in his letters, which are effectively 'arguments in a political and ideological conflict', rather than 'objective descriptions of the situation'.

In many place-name studies, the Domesday Book (1086) is an invaluable source. It records 'owners, landholders, tenants, population, land and taxation values, and a wealth of other social and economic data' (Holman 2017: 60), and in doing so it often provides the earliest surviving form of a name. There is some doubt surrounding its usefulness for studies of earlier medieval settlement and name distribution, and Abrams and Parsons (2004: 413) consider the Book to be 'an unreliable guide to lands held before the end of Scandinavian rule in 954'. This debate is not to be explored further here, as Northumberland, Durham, North West England, London and other towns are not covered in the Book. Domesday Book spellings of place-names are therefore not available as a source of evidence for the present project, hence the brief mention here of a document of such enormous importance.

The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* is an 11th-century narrative which contains a summary of charters concerning St Cuthbert's church (Rollason 2003: 11; for a translation of the text, see Johnson South 2002). Abrams and Parsons (2004: 413) argue that, because of the *Historia*, more is known about the Community of St Cuthbert's endowment in the Viking age than is known about the endowment of York in the same time period. However, even this document is of limited usefulness in the context of the

present study, since Scandinavian presence, land exchange and political power in northern Northumbria are not covered in detail, nor very frequently.

Charters of the period record grants of land, primarily to churches, and primarily by kings. they are the most important early medieval documents in southern England (Rollason 2003: 11). Although there are issues of 'authenticity and reliability', Rollason suggests that they are the most important early medieval documents in southern England because of the wealth of information they can provide:

> '[such charters] are of immense value for studying the succession of kings in the various kingdoms, the administrative machinery available to them, the personnel of their courts who were generally listed as witnesses to the charters, the extent of the privileges which kings were able to grant (exemption from service to the king and from taxation, for example) and also for the land itself, what it produced and how it was cultivated.' (Rollason (2003: 11).

Unfortunately, when it comes to Northumbria, the only pre-Viking charters available are contained in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and a questionable document of King Ecgfrith from the 670s or 680s (Rollason 2003: 11). There are no law codes associated with Northumbrian kings equivalent to those of King Ine and King Alfred in southern England (Rollason 2003: 12). This scarcity of charters and law codes means that less is known about landholdings, social structure and royal estates in the North (Rollason 2003: 12–13).

Nonetheless, there are more pre-Viking historical and hagiographical documents in Northumbria than elsewhere (Rollason 2003: 13). Histories and hagiographies from the 6th century are 'very scattered and fragmentary' (Rollason 2003: 15), but the 7th century gives us some significant and substantial sources, such as Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. For the majority of the 8th century, after the death of Bede, the best sources are annals, which are less rich than the earlier sources (Rollason 2003: 16). 9th

century evidence is even more obscure, with the best accounts of northern England appearing in southern sources such as Asser's *Vita Ælfredi regis Angul Saxonum* ('Life of King Alfred') (Stevenson 1959; Keynes and Lapidge 1983), or indeed in 12th century sources such as Symeon's *Historia Ecclesiae Dunelmensis* (Rollason 2003: 16).

2.3.2 Archaeology

Archaeological evidence for the Viking presence in Britain primarily consists of stone sculpture, graves, and coins, with some jewellery finds, too. According to Abrams and Parsons (2004: 414–415), it is likely that there is more than one category of Anglo-Scandinavian stone structure and deducing who erected them is a complicated task (see also Sidebottom 2000; Stocker 2000), '[t]herefore, any attempt to correlate sculpture with place-names needs to be done on a local basis' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 415). Abrams and Parsons conclude that, overall, there is no correlation between the geographical distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture and Old Norse place-names, and that such sculpture is mainly found in English-named places (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 414, drawing in discussions by Collingwood 1908: 120–121; Binns 1956: 5; Sawyer 1971: 163–166; Sawyer et al. 1969: 205–206; Fellows-Jensen 1972: 118–119, 218–221). Rollason (2003: 233) identifies Middleton in North Yorkshire as a good example of the unclear relationship between Scandinavian-style archaeology, Scandinavian settlement, and spread of Scandinavian influences. Middleton has an English name (OE *middel* 'middle' (Smith 1956b: 40)) plus OE *tūn* 'enclosure, farmstead, estate, village' (Smith 1956b: 188)), but houses gravestones representing Viking chiefs, which leads Rollason to question if Middleton was a Viking-held settlement that retained its English name, or 'simply evidence of the spread of Viking taste among the English promoted by a dominant Viking elite' (2003: 233).

In discussing the lack of pagan Viking Age graves in the Danelaw, Holman (2017: 139–140) concludes that Viking settlers in this area 'seem to have been rapidly converted to Christianity, and to archaeologists their graves are therefore indistinguishable from those of the Vikings' Anglo-Saxon neighbours'. Holman (2017: 176) also argues that

the presence of Scandinavian stone memorials in any given place suggests that Vikings were living there, rather than merely passing through. Numismatic evidence for the late-9th to mid-10th century era of Viking kings in Northumbria is quite strong (Rollason 2003: 19, citing North 1994; Grierson and Blackburn 1986).

Kershaw (2013: 205) considers that '[t]he distribution of Scandinavian-style jewellery reflects the concentration of both contemporary settlement and modern-day artefact recovery' in North Yorkshire, with the most northerly find being at Dalton-on-Tees, on the south bank of the river. Despite Scandinavian-style brooches being prevalent in eastern England south of Yorkshire, less than 20 brooches are found north of the Humber, and all of those are south of the Tees (Kershaw 2013: 202), though metal-detecting north of the Tees has been restricted (Kershaw 2013: 206), which may obscure potential metallurgical findings in Durham or Northumberland.

In terms of archaeological evidence for Vikings in the NE, the richest site is Simy Folds, an early medieval settlement in southernmost County Durham (see Coggins, Fairless and Batey 1983), given the potential metallurgical and pastoral evidence at this site (Higham 1986: 328). Holman (2017: 50) argues that the archaeological finds on this site constitute evidence of definite Viking occupation. Furthermore, along the River Tees (the southern border of County Durham) there are instances of hogback stones (house-shaped shrines), which Higham (1986: 333) believes reflect Scandinavian lordship, even though most of the relevant sites 'preserve their pre-Scandinavian place-names, despite the control exercised by an immigrant aristocracy'. Cemetery evidence, however, is concentrated south of the Tees, with only very sparse evidence north of the Tyne (Lucy 1999: 16, in Rollason 2003: 18). There is some Jellinge-style stone sculpture – the most commonly found Viking art style seen in England, with roots in Scandinavia itself, not in Britain – at Gainford, Aycliffe and Sockburn in southernmost Durham (Rollason 2003: 248), but only one of these places has a name that exhibits ON influence (Gainford: OE *gegn*, 'direct', with the velar /g/ rather than palatal /j/

phoneme due to Scandinavian influence (Watts 2002a: 48), supporting the assertion that Viking archaeological items can be found even in the absence of ON place-names.

2.4 Settlement numbers: a point of dispute

The question of the number of Vikings who arrived and settled in England during the 9th and 10th centuries proved to be one of the most contentious issues in 20th century Viking studies. There has not been a consensus as to whether Scandinavian settlement consisted of only a small group of high-ranking incomers, or of mass migration following the arrival of the great armies of the 860s. This debate has been the subject of considerable scholarly interest for almost a century. Despite the level of attention it has received, Holman (2017: 88) believes that '[t]he question of numbers, which has dominated scholarship on the Danelaw for so long, is quite simply impossible to resolve [...] there are simply too many variables'. Although there are other factors, place-names are typically the main source of evidence in this debate, with Holman (2017: 62), for example, suggesting that the map of the distribution of Old Norse place-names in the British Isles provides 'evidence for all the regions settled by Scandinavians, as well as a clear and striking picture of the variation between different areas'. The next part of this section will discuss some seminal studies on the assessment of settlement numbers via place-name evidence, many of which are consolidated in a brief helpful summary from Abrams and Parsons (2004: 384–385), as well as evidence from personal names. I set out the arguments in favour of small-scale settlement first, before moving on to those that favour the large-scale interpretation. On the basis of this discussion, I believe that place-name evidence, together with the many sensible discussions of its significance, suggests that Scandinavian settlement from the 860s in eastern England was in large numbers. The weight of this argument seems to fall clearly on the side of widespread settlement rather than elite, minority influence.

The foremost proponent of the position that the number of Scandinavian settlers was low is Sawyer, who began publishing work in favour of this interpretation in the 1950s, and continued into the 1990s (see, for example, Sawyer 1957–1958; 1962; 1998).

Sawyer's overarching argument is that an elite group of settlers would have disproportionately affected surrounding place-names, and therefore it would be misleading to take the large quantity of Scandinavian place-names in England as a sign that there must have been a large number of settlers (Sawyer 1957–1958: 8; 1998: 104–106). That is to say, the prevalence of Scandinavian place-names may be down to political status rather than numerical dominance. Wormald disputes Sawyer's stance, arguing that 'a mere change of landlords will not account for all the evidence' (1982a: 147; see also Wormald 1982b; 1982c: 134–137; and Gelling 1988: 220–221). Stafford (1985: 120–121) also disputes Sawyer's conclusions regarding status, arguing that onomastic evidence is not consistent with the idea of a settlement only of a ruling class, but concludes that settlement was not hugely extensive, as the existing population was too large and the social structure of their communities was too strongly established to be impacted significantly. In the later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Hadley became the new champion of the argument against heavy settlement, with a position that focused in particular on the idea that it is simply not possible to use place-names as evidence for settlement (Hadley 1997: 69–75; 2000a: 17–22; 2000b: 122–128; 2001: 13–14; 2002: 56–62). The present project takes a very different view from Hadley on this issue. The reasons for this, and for embracing place-names as a useful source of historical evidence, will be discussed in detail in Section 3.3.1.

In contrast to the arguments for small-scale settlement, Townend (2002: 47) notes that the 'traditional philological view' is that the 'sheer scale of Norse linguistic influence' indicates widespread Scandinavian settlement. Later, Townend provides a neat summary of the argument favouring large-scale Scandinavian settlement: 'the linguistic and onomastic results of Viking Age contact are not plausibly explained' by 'a small number of elite speakers: the influence of Old Norse on the English language, in terms of vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation, is too substantial for this to have been the case' (Townend 2014: 97). Studies summarising this argument are presented

chronologically throughout the rest of this section. One example of this view can be seen in the discussions presented in the first half of the twentieth century by Stenton (1927; 1942). In promoting the idea of large settlement numbers, Stenton (1927: 140; 1942: 303, 312) argues that the freemen, also known as sokemen, mentioned in the Domesday Book, were descended from members of the Viking armies who had settled in Anglo-Saxon England. In other words, Stenton believed that the Domesday Book records a large-scale settlement of Vikings in the Danelaw that occurred as a result of colonisation by large armies. In the mid-1960s, Jones (1965: 83) argued that there were more Scandinavian settlers than even place-names suggest. Later, Fellows-Jensen (1968: xxii–xxiii) wrote in support of Stenton's conclusions of large-scale, widespread settlement. In his studies of ON place-names in a large area in the East Midlands, Cameron accepted Sawyer's suggestion of small numbers of incomers in the armies, specifically, but concluded that the distribution of place-name element *býr* (see Section 3.3.5.1), *thorp* (Section 3.3.5.2) and Grimston hybrids (Section 3.3.5.5) in this region points to subsequent settlement in large numbers (Cameron 1975a: 115–116, 127–18; 1975b: 147; 1975c: 171). Similar conclusions are reached through the analysis and interpretation of place-name evidence seen in later twentieth century studies by Wormald (1982a), Stafford (1985) and Gelling (1997: 220–221). In the early 21st century, Townend (2002: 2) argues that Scandinavian settlement was 'large-scale and profound' and, in taking a similar view, Abrams and Parsons (2004: 422) state that names in *býr* (farmstead, village (Smith 1956a: 66)), in the Danelaw 'should be treated, in general, as evidence for Norse-speaking communities and a relatively large number of settlers'. Names in *býr* in the NE are discussed in section 7.5.

Looking at their account in more detail, Abrams and Parsons (2004) outline three pieces of evidence which lead them to conclude that place-names are indicative of settlement in large numbers. The first is the prevalence of ON specifics, particularly ON anthroponyms, seen in names in *býr*. They argue that the very strong tendency for *býr* to appear with ON specifics (anthroponymical or otherwise) points to such names

being coined by ON speakers, rather than 'imposed by a governing class' of high-ranking Vikings in an area that is under their rule but has little in the way of settlement by a wider Scandinavian population (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 401–402). Since this type of name formation is very common – with hundreds of examples throughout England alone – it follows, if we accept the premise that these names were not 'imposed' on a non-Viking population, that settlement would have to be in large numbers, in order to result in so many wholly Norse coinages in *býr*. The second issue that Abrams and Parsons (2004) cite as evidence against the view that there were only small numbers of high-ranking settlers involves the interpretation of field-names. They note that some studies suggest field-names tell us nothing about settlement (citing Lund 1981: 156–159; Sawyer 1982: 102), but argue that they do in fact constitute strong evidence of linguistic influence, even though these names tend to be recorded later than other kinds of place-names (generally not before the 12th century) and do not survive for as long as major names (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 402–403). Abrams and Parsons (2004: 402) highlight two key positive features of field-names as sources of evidence. Firstly, because they tend to be less long-lasting than other place-names, they can be dated more reliably. Secondly, and most importantly, they argue that field-names 'presumably reflect the local vocabulary of the farming classes', noting that '[i]n northern Lincolnshire in particular, the quantity and range of this Norse vocabulary [seen in field-names] surely indicates that somewhere behind the Anglo-Scandinavian mixture of 12th century records there existed an earlier Norse-speaking farming population' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 402). In considering the alternative view, they emphasise that it is easy to imagine how elite influence might impact on specialised vocabulary (such as legal terms), but question why this kind of prestige-motivated influence would 'entice local farmers to use Norse words in describing furlongs, streams, hollows and hillocks' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 402–403). If Norman influence and Scandinavian influence were the same in terms of the relative status and number of the settlers, it seems reasonable to assume that the Anglo-Scandinavian

and Anglo-Norman contact situations would likely have resulted in a similar effect on field-names, and yet this is evidently not the case (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 403). The third source of evidence that Abrams and Parsons cite in favour of mass rather than minority settlement relates to patterns in personal names. They point out that ON anthroponyms were popular in England from the 11th century and remained so for hundreds of years in some areas of the Danelaw (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 403). Of course, this alone does not support the argument for large numbers of settlers, since Norman anthroponyms were also popular from the 13th century onwards, and Norman settlement was small in number and elite in nature (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 403). What differentiates the two influences on personal naming is the variation seen in the Scandinavian stock. Hundreds of different personal names of ON origin made their way into English, whereas the Norman name stock was very small, with multiple variations of just a few names becoming popular (Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England). Townend (2014: 97) argues that the range of ON personal names in England 'indicates that what we are dealing with is a vibrant, living tradition of name-giving'. It is possible, of course, that Anglo-Saxons might name their children out of respect or reverence for their new leaders, though Townend (2014: 97) notes that

> 'Anglo-Saxon and Viking name-giving seems to have been governed and constrained by family ties and other close connections (such as god-parenting): children were normally names after a relative or patron, so that a widespread decision on the part of Anglo-Saxon parents to throw off family names and networks, and to choose new-fangled Scandinavian names for their children, seems highly unlikely'.

When it comes to explaining the emergence of a whole new naming tradition, '[c]ommunities of native Norse-speakers again seems a preferable option' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 403).

Moving away from place-name evidence, Townend (2013: 114–115, 2014: 98) highlights the fact that perhaps 10–20,000 Norwegians migrated to Iceland at around

the same time, and thus questions why migration to England would be on such a comparatively small-scale, given that Iceland is and was less fertile and less accessible. However, it is unclear whether there is a strong basis for drawing parallels between early medieval Iceland and England, given the very different socio-historical situations involved, and the different origins of the majority of settlers migrating to Iceland (Norway) and England (Denmark). It seems reasonable to conclude that Iceland was an easier target considering that, prior to 9th century Norwegian settlement, the island was only 'inhabited by a handful of Irish hermits' (Holman 2017: 3). This suggests that potential settlers could have greater confidence of secure or profitable settlement in Iceland - compared with England - and therefore that they might be attracted in large numbers. In the English context, there would be a different motivation for large numbers of settlers: the more heavily populated towns and villages, and thus the larger armies that they would encounter, would give the incoming Danes reason to make sure their own armies were of sufficient size. In terms of documentary evidence, Rollason (2003: 235) acknowledges that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may have exaggerated the size of the Viking armies to emphasise the pagan threat, but also highlights the fact that The Great Army had great success, in 'effectively liquidating not only Northumbria but also the kingdoms of East Anglia and Mercia' (Rollason 2003: 235). It seems the Northumbrians offered a decent counter-attack when York was taken, suggesting '[t]here is every reason therefore to think that the Great Army was an extremely formidable force, one that remained capable of subjugating Northumbria south of the Tees even when [the army] had split into three' (Rollason 2003: 235).

2.5 The nature and extent of Scandinavian settlement

In addition to the scale and whereabouts of Viking settlement, another focus in previous work has been the nature of the settlement process. In particular, there are questions about how the arrangements for Scandinavian settlement functioned alongside or worked against established Anglo-Saxon landholding systems. Despite

an unfortunate lack of documentary evidence that can help us with the interpretation of specific contexts, there are two important general issues to consider when looking at the establishment of Viking settlements: acquisition and prior occupancy. Specifically, in relation to the first there are questions about whether the Vikings acquired the land by seizing it, buying it, or by having it granted to them. With respect to the second issue, the question is whether they were settling disused territory or taking over already occupied land, and in the latter case, whether they displaced the previous inhabitants or intermingled and cohabited with them. The sections below consider what we know about each of these issues and questions in more detail.

2.5.1 Settlement vs seizure

One source of uncertainty about Scandinavian settlement is the unclear distinction between the seizure and subsequent ownership of land, and political rule. This is closely linked to the distinction between raids and settlement. We know that in some cases leadership in an area shifted from Anglo-Saxon to Viking hands, and perhaps even back again. However, it is not always clear whether the group that was ousted from power were expelled from the community entirely, or able to remain. If the latter, it can be unclear whether they were able to maintain ownership of their land, or were relegated to the role of tenants. The nature and extent of Scandinavian settlement can be unclear even in places with a Scandinavian lord, in that it is not obvious whether Scandinavian overlordship in a particular area was accompanied by the settlement of Scandinavian people of lower rank in that area. It is likely that these different options depended on local conditions, availability and quality of land, the attitudes of the newcomers, and other variables.

When power shifted, each group may have been able to maintain some presence or even some level of control of areas of land. Even though they may be deprived of land in areas that now had to be shared with Viking settlers, the English were typically able to retain some degree of presence and influence in those regions (Higham 1986: 330). Similarly, Abrams and Parsons (2004: 400) argue that the Scandinavians may have

continued to own land, even when power and leadership in an area shifted back to the Anglo-Saxons. The passing of land back and forth may have been common even from the early stages of Scandinavian raiding and colonisation, with military leaders acquiring land, which then passed into the hands either of their Scandinavian followers or of Anglo-Saxons. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 408) consider it possible that the 'settlement' recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 'meant more or less the immediate seizure of land', followed by the land being either given or sold back to Anglo-Saxons, or divided up and given to other Scandinavians. They suggest that the Vikings' willingness to sell to Anglo-Saxons 'might indicate that the land was surplus to the settlers' requirements' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 405–406).

At first glance the idea that the Scandinavians had a great surplus of seized land may seem to suggest settlement in relatively small numbers, but it is clear the Vikings took control of vast tracts of land even outside the traditionally defined region of the Danelaw. For example, the majority of eastern County Durham was granted to Onlafbal and Scula, two of Ragnald's followers, after their victory at the Battle of Corbridge in 914 (see Section 4.1.3). In considering the implications of the Treaty of Wedmore, agreed by Alfred the Great and Guthrum, Viking king of East Anglia, in 878 AD, Abrams and Parsons (2004: 409–410) argue that it suggests many Danes were viewed as having equal status to West Saxon thanes, and therefore considered reasonable potential landholders, at least as far as the West Saxons were concerned.

This section has outlined some of the key issues related to the nature of Scandinavian presence, settlement and land organisation and political structures in the general context of Viking Age England. The characteristics and significance of these issues specifically in the context of the NE will be addressed in detail in Chapter 4.

2.5.2 Manorialisation and sokemen

Land within the Danelaw was divided and administrated differently from land in other areas of England. This structure may shed light on the arrangements of Scandinavian settlement sites, such as settlement timeframes and political hierarchies. The locations

of this distinct organisation system may help identify areas that experienced Scandinavian settlement.

Danelaw land was divided into *wapentakes* and *sokes*, while southern England had *hundreds* and *district manors*. Wapentakes and hundreds were the 'principal units of local administration and justice' (Holman 2017: 165), while sokes were 'the main units of land ownership (and thus taxation and administration)' which were generally made up of 'a central settlement, with several smaller dependent sub-settlements scattered around it' (Holman 2017: 165–166). Stenton (1971: 524) suggests that this represents the usual nature of Viking settlement in the 9th century, with the leader taking the central settlement and bestowing the sub-settlements to his followers. Recent accounts argue that this soke structure need not be accredited to Scandinavians, arguing instead that sokeman and soke divisions existed in places with little to no Scandinavian settlement, such as in Wales and Bernicia, and furthermore that *wapentake* may also have been a Scandinavian term used to refer to something that existed not just within the Danelaw (Rollason 2003: 233; Holman 2017: 166; OED wapentake). Even if we accept that *wapentake* is essentially just a different way of referring to a *hundred* and does not necessarily indicate Scandinavian settlement or speech, surely it is telling that this is an ON word that was adopted to refer to an administrative division. The existence of a wapentake may indicate re-naming rather than the establishment of a new system of land organisation in an area, but the fact remains that the new system of organisation that did emerge in some areas also used this ON term (Holman 2017: 162), and that it was far less commonly used in areas that show no signs of Scandinavian settlement. In County Durham there is just one known wapentake, Sadberge, and even there, the present study has found evidence of a concentration of place-names that reflect ON influence and point to a Scandinavian presence in the area (see Section 4.2.2.1). For further discussion of this and of the status that wapentake therefore appears to have as a diagnostic of Scandinavian settlement, again see Section 4.2.2.1.

Viking raids and subsequent settlement led to a re-organisation of land in a process known as manorialisation, whereby larger land units were parcelled into smaller ones (Holman 2017: 67–69). Abrams and Parsons (2004: 391) argue that manorialisation first occurred in 'fertile lowlands'. They also suggest that the specific nature of the manorialisation process might vary, with the term sometimes referring 'simply to the break-up of estates into smaller units with more independent holders', while in other instances it refers to a more complex process 'involving settlement-nucleation and communal agricultural systems as well as the development of 'feudal' services (and thus decreased number of tenants), over a period extending well beyond the Norman conquest' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 390, fn.64). Rollason (2003: 232–233) believes that the distribution of ON place-names 'seems to point to the splitting up of these units but not to fundamental change', and that the divisions may be happenstance as the creation of villages this way was the trend in northern Europe at this time. Stenton (1971: 515-519; see also Stenton 1910, 1969) suggests that manorialisation is partly a consequence of the large number of free peasants – known as sokemen – who are mentioned in the Domesday Book as inhabitants of areas that had been under Scandinavian rule in the 9th and 10th centuries.

There may be a link between manorialisation and the distribution of place-names of different origins. Rollason (2003: 232–233) notes that the main settlement in a manorialised area tends to have an OE name, with some subordinate settlements with ON names. Stenton contends that names made up of anthroponyms plus *býr* may represent sokemen's allotted sub-settlements, and that the men named in such places were likely more powerful than other local settlers, though not as powerful as the lord of the area (Stenton 1910: 45, 91; 1927: 143–146; 1942: 305–308; 1971: 524). Abrams and Parsons (2004: 391) suggest that earlier manorialisation led to more names consisting of ON anthroponyms plus *býr*, resulting in a large number of such names in the Wreake valley (Leicestershire), but few in the Derbyshire uplands, which was manorialised much later (Stafford 1985: 119). Unlike Stenton, Abrams and Parsons

(2004) do not associate place-names formed of anthroponyms plus *–býr* with the numerous free peasants referred to as sokemen in the Domesday Book. Instead, they highlight two studies that attribute such names to grants of land by Viking army leaders to their followers, leading to more numerous independent areas rather than fewer areas dependent on a centre (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 389–390, citing Jones 1965: 77 and Fox 1989: 90–96). Sawyer argues that this type of name reflects the break-up of larger estates into smaller ones with their own lords (1978: 151–156 and 162–164; 1982: 104–106; 1994: 15–17; 1999: 112–113).

2.6 Contact between Anglo-Saxons and Vikings

Vikings maintain a violent reputation. Nevertheless, as the preceding section has begun to show, there is still a lack of clarity when it comes to the nature of their settlement in England after the initial raids. Equally there are aspects of the socio-political relationships that developed between the Viking settlers and the Anglo-Saxons that remain unclear. What is apparent is that the Vikings did not spend centuries after their first dramatic appearances in the late 8th century engaged only in conducting violent raids on Anglo-Saxon villages, murdering monks and looting monasteries, as the popular imagination might have us believe. Nor did the Vikings leave England. Rather, they became part of English society. This section discusses the political disputes and processes of acculturation that shaped their integration into and impact on Anglo-Saxon society over the later centuries of the first millennium AD.

Some aspects of 'both Scandinavian and English culture persisted, and some perished', and additionally, 'new, 'hybrid' forms evolved, unique products of Anglo-Scandinavian contact, which had not previously existed in either culture' (Townend 2014: 113). The intermingling of Anglo-Saxons and Vikings is perhaps best summarised by Filppula (2010: 436): '[i]nitially very hostile, relationships between the settlers and the Anglo-Saxon-Celtic population turned in the course of time into ones favoring peaceful coexistence, intermarriages, and eventual amalgamation of the two

populations'.Crucial to the distinction between early raiding and later peaceful settlement is Higham's (1986: 310) notion that 'by AD 883 the Danish host was a satisfied power, absorbed in estate management and the dispensing of patronage, and was in addition in military decline'. Holman (2017: 178) adds that Scandinavian settlers in the British Isles, as well as Iceland, made a living with their families and aimed to 'establish and maintain an organized society that was controlled by laws, paid taxes to the Church and local rulers, and that was far removed from the wild and destructive barbarians of popular mythology'. Holman (2017: 41) also notes that by the time English rule was re-established in York in 954, '[m]any of the Vikings had hung up their swords and axes, and instead picked up the plough, the fishing net, or the merchants' scales'. In discussing this acculturation process in Northumbria specifically, Higham (1986: 315–316) deems 'ethnic and cultural integration', including the beginnings of Christianisation, to have commenced very soon after the Vikings' settlement, and estimates that by the early 10th century, Anglo-Saxons and Danes presented 'a relatively united front to the Irish-Norse menace' (referring to Norwegian Vikings from Ireland). Holman (2017: 40) agrees that 'the Danes who had settled [in northern England] in the 870s definitely did not welcome their Scandinavian brothers'. The first Hiberno-Norse king of York, Ragnald (reigned 914 to 920 or 921 (Rollason 2003: 217)), whose coins featured pagan icons such as Thor's hammer and Odin's ravens, stood in plain contrast to earlier Scandinavian settlers of the Danelaw, who had become 'Christian farmers and traders' as early as the first part of the 10th century (Holman 2017: 101). It seems that, by this time, 'the Danes were clearly an accepted part of the political landscape and viewed as subjects of the English king' (Holman 2017: 41).

The conversion from native Scandinavian pagan religion to Christianity offered political advantages for Vikings in England. It appears to have happened quickly (Higham 1986: 315; Holman 2017: 139–140). As Holman (2017: 132–133) points out, Christianity also afforded 'prestige and status, bringing them into the larger community of Christian Europe and conferring the recognition and potential support of other leaders in

Christendom', and meant the Church could be a political ally, offering economic and political support (see Section 4.1.2). Pagan iconography and the influence of Scandinavian art styles on crosses and other stone sculpture may at first seem to indicate that there was a level of prestige associated with Viking culture, but Rollason (2003: 242–243) believes instead that this points to 'assimilation and adaptation to native traditions rather than any dominance of Viking culture' and may even reflect 'the church's efforts to gather previously pagan Vikings into its fold by relating pagan stories to Christian ones' (Rollason 2003: 239). In this context, it is notable that there is a lack of pagan grave sites in the Danelaw, which Holman (2017: 139–140) attributes to the Vikings' rapid religious conversion and assimilation to Anglo-Saxon life, rendering Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon graves indistinguishable. Evidently Scandinavian paganism did not last long in England. Holman (2017: 143–144) speculates that this may be due to its roots in family relationships and specific religious sites that were largely left behind, whereas Christianity already had an infrastructure in Anglo-Saxon England and was, at that time, a coherent set of beliefs that could be easily taught, and had a dedicated body to teach it, in the priesthood.

The Battle of Brunanburh, of 937, is another example of the changing relationship between Vikings and Anglo-Saxons after the initial raiding period. Brunanburh was fought between Athelstan, king of the English, against Constantine II, king of Scotland, and Olaf Guthfrithsson of Dublin. Athelstan had Viking acquaintances, such as the Icelandic poet Egil Skallagrimsson, and the Norwegian prince Hákon, who Athelstan had fostered and brought up at his court as a Christian. Holman (2017: 40) takes this to show that 'it was no longer a case of us versus them (if indeed it ever had been)'.

The Danelaw is so named as it refers to the area over which the Danes had jurisdiction. Nonetheless, following decades of conflict between kingdoms, by the mid-10th century Wessex had regained control of all the regions that had previously been under Danish rule (Holman 2017: 98–99). The kingdom of York was the last to fall to Wessex in 954, but even then, southern leaders rarely ventured so far north. Instead, they appointed

Anglo-Scandinavian earls 'to control the region and protect their interests, or entrusted the native earls of Bernicia (centred on their residence at Bamburgh, Northumberland) with the same task' (Holman 2017: 103). Even into the 11th century and the period of Anglo-Scandinavian rule of England, Cnut continued this general policy, though in putting it into practice he murdered a Bernician earl Uhtred and gave the position to his Scandinavian brother-in-law Erik Hákonarson (Holman 2017: 103). In doing so, he was installing an (Anglo-)Scandinavian ruler in Northumberland, an area with no attested Scandinavian settlement (see Section 4.2.2.2). The situation therefore has some similarities to the establishment of Norman rule from the later 11th century, which also involved the imposition of an elite ruling class.

In the context of the interaction between these various influences and events, we can see how the Danelaw may have 'developed a true hybrid culture' (Holman 2017: 176), and may have been an area in which the culture and legal system of neither Danes nor Anglo-Saxons prevailed (Fenger 1972: 94). Nonetheless, law-codes of King Edgar in the mid-10th century, and King Æthelred in the early 11th century 'testify to the legal distinctiveness of the areas settled by Scandinavians' (Holman 2017: 160). It is possible that 'the Danelaw' was simply a convenient term used to refer to Scandinavian-heavy areas of England north of Watling Street (see Holman 2017: 161–164).

2.7 The Danelaw and its borders

Having considered some aspects of the culture and demographics of the Danelaw, let us now address its geographical extent. This discussion concludes the overview of the socio-historical background to the Vikings in Anglo-Saxon England, which will be built upon and developed through the background to the Vikings in the NE specifically, in Chapter 4, and analysis of place-name data in Chapters 6 and 7.

It seems to be widely accepted that the geographical scope of the Danelaw is said to encompass 'Northumbria south of the Tees, the north-east midlands and eastern England' (Rollason 2003: 219, 257; see also Holman 2017: 157–164; Section 4.1.5.2 and

Figure 1 below). As we have just seen in Section 1.3, it is difficult to pinpoint a definition of the Danelaw as such, particularly in terms of the scale of Danish jurisdiction, but it is safe to assume that it refers to areas of England with considerable Scandinavian settlement.

Figure 1: Map of Viking territories and settlements in the British Isles in 'c.9th Century'.[4]

[4] The basis for including a large part of North West England as part of the Danelaw here is not clear.

This map illustrates the locations of Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon and Celtic-maintained lands in the British Isles as of the 9th century. Given the arrival of the Viking armies to England in 865 (see Section 2.2, this is presumably a depiction of the late 9th century, specifically. It is not usual to see a large amount of North West England (Cumbria and northern Lancashire) considered to be part of the Danelaw (see section 3.3.5.1, parts c and d), and the basis for doing so here is not clear. The black box highlights the northern boundary of the Danelaw, which is here shown to be the River Tees. The fact that the border is drawn what appears to be a few miles north of the Tees on this map is discussed below (Section 4.1.5).

Rollason (2003: 20–44) provides an insightful discussion of the nature of borders, primarily with reference to the geographical and political boundaries of the kingdom of Northumbria, much of which is relevant in considering the borders of the Danelaw. This is therefore presented in Section 4.1.5.2 below. At the northern and southern extremes of the Kingdom of Northumbria, the Humber and the Forth may have been frontier zones ('in which the transition from one kingdom to the next was a graded continuum rather than the sudden change which is implied by a line' (Rollason 2003: 20); there is evidence of Anglo-Pictish cultural mixing in Lothian, between Berwick and Edinburgh, though this could be due to Pictish expansion southwards rather than Northumbrian expansion northwards (Rollason 2003: 36). Regarding internal Northumbrian borders, there is no contemporary account of the border between Bernicia and Deira, though in the 12th century, Richard of Hexham names the Tyne as the boundary between the two (Raine 1864–1865, volume I: 44) as does Symeon of Durham (Arnold 1888 [2012]: 339). Rollason (2003: 44), however, states the Tees, or nearby, was 'almost certainly' the location of the Bernicia-Deira border. Accepting this view would suggest that the northern border of the Danelaw was also at the Tees (again, see Sections 2.7 and 4.1.5). This issue of whether the Tees or the Tyne is a better consideration of such a border lies at the heart of the present study. It was addressed briefly in Section 2.4, above, and the evidence and argument to support the

interpretation of the Tyne as the stronger border between Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian rule, territories and people is presented at various points throughout Chapter 4 (especially Sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.5).

2.8 A summary of Chapter 2

The earliest activity in what may be considered to be Viking Age England was raiding that was not followed by settlement in the late 8th century. In discussing Scandinavian presence in Northumbria, the kingdom as a whole is often referred to, but this reference likely refers only to Deira, the southern sub-kingdom. Settlement followed the arrival and dispersal of the 'Great Army' in the mid-9th century. Part of this army travelled north to the Tyne, where they spent an unknown amount of time with an unknown purpose, with unknown impacts regarding political rule and land ownership. Just over 100 years later, a Christian Viking became King in York, and is supported by the County Durham-based Community of St Cuthbert. In the early 10th century, the Bernician (northern Northumbrian) aristocracy is defeated in battle by Ragnald, a Hiberno-Norse Viking king. Shortly afterwards, the Hiberno-Norse take York. In the 950s, King Edgar of England defeats Eric Bloodaxe, the last Viking king of York, who is killed. At this point, Northumbria comes under the rule of southern England. The late 10th and early 11th century saw fresh Danish and Norwegian campaigns against the English throne, which were, in the cases of Svein Forkbeard and Cnut, successful. This family ruled until the Norman Conquest.

The lack of contemporary documents for Viking Age England means place-names must be relied on, although this is sometimes disputed. What few documents there are are (a) usually later copies, (b) rarely from northern Britain, and (c) likely marred by political or cultural bias. There is very little surviving Viking archaeology in the NE, though what little there is does support the idea of Scandinavian settlement in southernmost County Durham.

The weight of evidence in the debate as to whether Vikings settled in small or large numbers falls in favour of the latter argument. Monarchical and political rule and land ownership changed from Anglo-Saxon to Viking and back again rather frequently in Viking Age England, though this may not have had a dramatic impact on tenants. Land was organised differently in the Danelaw compared to other areas of England, and this may have impacted upon ON place-name distribution. The initially violent, hostile relationships between Anglo-Saxons and Vikings became a peaceful co-existence. These two cultures merged; the Vikings never left England, and where the two peoples integrated, a hybrid culture emerged.

The Danelaw is unlikely to have had any linear land borders other than that agreed upon in the Treaty of Wedmore in 878, but its northern boundary appears to be somewhere in the NE. This is to be explored in more detail later. We now move on to Chapter 3, to examine the linguistic background to Viking Age England.

Chapter 3. Linguistic background to Viking Age England

3.1 Old Norse in England

Invasion and settlement of Old Norse-speaking peoples in the early Middle Ages had a profound and long-lasting effect on the English language, the study of which forms an extensive field of scholarship that has continued to yield new research and insights since the mid-nineteenth century (a very early example is Worsaae 1852). The contact between Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavian settlers created a context for language contact between OE and ON. Grant (2003: 21) attributes the considerable influence of ON on OE to three main factors: (1) degree of mutual intelligibility due to typological similarity, (2) high number of settlers, and (3) long persistence of ON in England. The typological similarity of ON and OE comes from the fact that they share the same origins in the Germanic language family. In the evolution of Germanic languages, English sits within the West Germanic branch, and ON and modern Scandinavian languages in the North Germanic branch. The two languages have 'a maximum separation of perhaps 1000 years' (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 282). ON impact on OE and ME extended to place-names, in fact some kinds of ON influence are only preserved in an English context in place-names. This is addressed in Section 3.3.

The unique nature of the impact of ON on OE is seen in the borrowing of function words and developments in other aspects of morpho-syntax, in OE and indeed in later and current Englishes. For example, features such as the third person plural pronouns *they*, *their* and *them*, the third person singular present tense inflection <-s>, the OE/ME present participle suffix <-and/-end/-ind> (PDE <-ing>), the absence of relative pronouns in zero relative clauses, and the 'erosion of V2 word-order' have all been identified as possible results of ON influence (Filppula 2010: 436–437). Filppula argues that this kind of morpho-syntactic influence is 'to be expected in the type of language shift situation that the Scandinavians were involved in soon after they had settled permanently in the country' (2010: 436). The borrowing of morpho-syntactic items, particularly, points to close and long-term contact between the speakers of ON

and OE (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 281; Schreier and Hundt 2013: 4; Durkin 2014: 176). Nonetheless, Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 281, 303) also consider that the typological similarity of ON and OE, given their shared origins as mentioned above, 'might have permitted borrowing of such features even with less intense contact', and that instances of structural influence of ON on OE were a consequence of this close typological relationship rather than a result of large settlement numbers.

A major result of the contact between ON and OE speakers was widespread lexical borrowing. After Latin, ON loans constitute the second biggest group of loanwords in OE, though the full extent of the Scandinavian impact on English vocabulary only starts to emerge in Middle English texts (Kastovsky 1992: 301). The persistence of these Viking Age loans means that many hundreds of words of ON origin are still seen in Present-Day English (PDE), across various parts of speech, with the intensity of the contact also reflected in the everyday nature of many of them: for example nouns such as *bank, dirt,* and *egg*, adjectives such as *odd, tight,* and *weak,* and verbs such as call, *clip,* and *give* (Kastovsky 1992: 320). Unsurprisingly, given subsequent changes to the language, and to society, not all of the many ON loans survived into PDE. Examples of ON loans that became obsolete include *crike* (a type of coastal inlet), *ardawe* (referring to ploughing), and *frist* (loosely meaning 'to delay') (Bator 2010: 78, 118, 184). Barber, Beal and Shaw (2009: 144) point out that in some dialects of English, in areas of England and Scotland that experienced significant Scandinavian settlement, 'a larger vocabulary of Scandinavian loanwords is preserved', such as '*big* 'to build', *hoast* 'cough', *laik* 'to play', *lait* 'to search', *lathe* 'barn' and *lie* 'scythe''. It is estimated that around 150 (Kastovsky 1992: 320) to 200 (Schreier and Hundt 2013: 4) lexical items were borrowed from ON. Grant (2003: 30–31) believes this adoption of basic lexis, as well as the early borrowing of terms from military and legal fields, indicates an original prestige relationship, pointing to OE speakers aiming to use or imitate ON, which carried prestige. ON legal terminology appeared in the Danelaw that was not used elsewhere, such as *lahslit* ('penalty for breaking the law') and *witword* 'agreement'

(Holman 2017: 162). As Holman (2017: 72) points out, in contrast to loans from French, which were associated with prestigious fields and elite society, and often introduced new concepts, OE already had words for ON nouns *knife*, *score*, and *sky,* for adjectives *flat*, *happy* and *ugly,* and for verbs *clip*, *die*, and *scare*, for example. Grant (2003: 45) further points out that there are also instances where the ON loan came to coexist with its OE equivalent, rather than replacing it, suggesting that ON loans into OE were the result of 'sustained contact'. With semantic changes leading some such pairs to develop different meanings, Grant suggests that the continued existence of both the OE and ON words could provide speakers with 'variant linguistic options' (2003: 45). Examples that have survived into PDE include *no/nay*, *craft/skill*, *hide/skin* and *sick/ill*, where in each case the first word is derived from OE and the second from an ON loan. There is a traditional argument (see for example Jespersen 1956) that basic ON lexis found its way into OE because of their shared origin as Germanic languages, which meant that ON lexis was easily adaptable into OE. However, this has been disputed on the grounds that ON influence on OE is not restricted to lexis (see below, and Hines 1991: 406). Grant (2003: 46) nevertheless believes that there is some merit in the traditional argument, and that this kind of borrowing situation may reflect typological similarity.

Although rather less attention is generally paid to the phonological impact of ON on OE, there are a number of features where this influence can be seen. For instance, non-palatalised pronunciations of palatal sounds in certain words are indicators of ON influence, such as [k] as opposed to [tʃ], for example in *kirkja* and *circe* (both 'church'). It is possible the large number of cognates in ON and OE might be conflated with or obscure potential phonological influence, as there are many ON and OE cognates with almost identical phonological characteristics. It is therefore debatable whether the adoption in some regions of velar [k] rather than palatal [tʃ] in the word meaning 'church', for example, should be viewed as phonological adaptation or some kind of lexical borrowing. It is not clear whether an ON pronunciation was adopted by English

speakers, or whether the ON word with the velar sound was borrowed by English speakers and replaced the OE or ME cognate with the palatal sound. This is an important issue in the context of determining the ON or OE origin of certain place-names, as 'Scandinavianisation' of OE-origin place-names has been noted to occur via phonological adaptation or via translation of elements (Townend 2000: 98) (see Sections 3.3.3 and 3.3.5.6).

It is worth noting that in the Kingdom of York, where an end date to Viking rule can be ascertained (the year 954, see Section 2.2), ON as a spoken language 'did not suffer any sudden decline' (Townend 2014: 119). At the close of what we refer to as Viking Age England, English had become an 'Anglo-Scandinavian' language (Townend 2014: 121). It should also be remembered that Britain was a land of four languages, or five, if Latin is to be included (Edmonds 2019: 158). ON borrowed from Gaelic, too, with some elements entering the ON onomasticon, for example ON *kapall* (from Old Irish *capall*, 'pack horse'), seen in place-name Capplebeck, and ON *korki* (from Old Irish *coirce*, 'oats'), seen in several minor names in Lancashire (Edmonds 2019: 162).

3.2 The distribution of ON place-names

The main question addressed here is whether or not ON place-names in the British Isles constitute evidence of settlement by ON speakers, which is discussed through the lens of land quality in Section 3.2.1. The distribution of ON place-names across regions is outlined in Section 3.2.2. A logically related question is whether or not absence of Old Norse place-names should be taken to imply an absence of Old Norse speakers, which is addressed in Section 3.2.3.

3.2.1 Land quality and name-types

When it comes to the distinction between OE and ON origins, place-name elements and etymologies appear to pattern with land quality. For instance, Anglo-Saxon settlements tend to be situated on land that is superior to that of Viking settlements in terms of its agricultural value, as the Anglo-Saxons settled several centuries earlier than the Vikings, and were therefore in a position to choose the most productive land

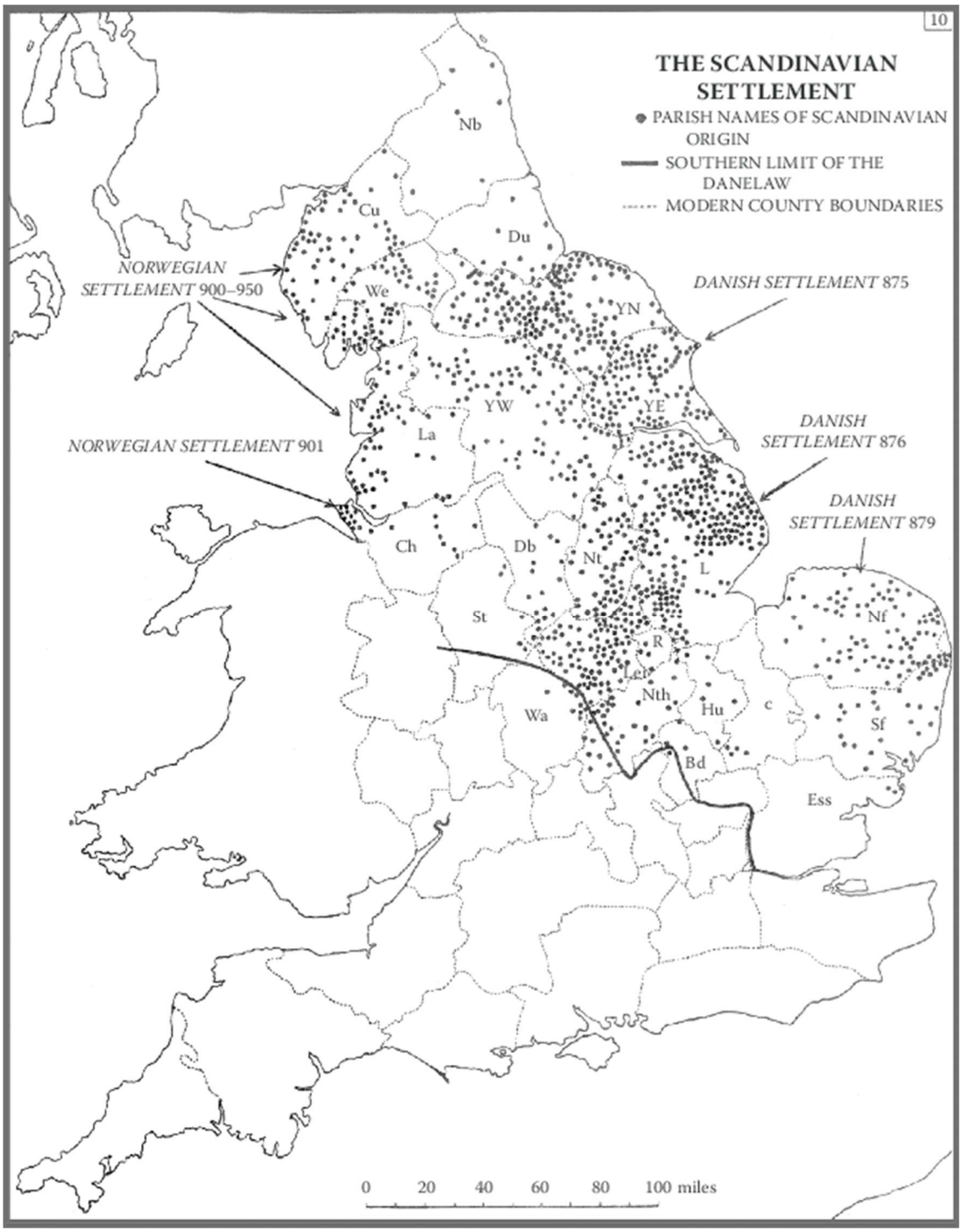
(see Cameron 1975a*:* 127–131; Gelling 1997: 223–224). This patterning is consistently seen in the distribution of OE- and ON-named villages in northern and eastern Lincolnshire, for example, with the Danish settlements being situated on inferior soils when compared with the English settlements (Cameron 1975a: 127–130; Gelling 1997: 223–224).

Cameron (1975a, 1975b and 1975c) provides an overview of names in *býr* (see Section 3.3.5.1), names in *thorp* (see Section 3.3.5.2) and Grimston hybrids (see Section 3.3.5.5) respectively, within the territory of the Five Boroughs (Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Lincoln and Stamford). He asserts that Grimston hybrids occupy the most desirable land of the three, often located in major river valleys, with names in -*býr* on less desirable land, and those in *thorp* on worse land still (Cameron 1975a: 125). Cameron links this hierarchy of land and related name-types to the three chronological stages of Scandinavian settlement in the north-east Midlands, with Grimston hybrids representing the earliest Scandinavian presence and names in *thorp* representing the latest (Cameron 1975c: 170–171). Fellows-Jensen's (1972, 1978) studies of Yorkshire and the East Midlands support Cameron's interpretation. Both Cameron and Fellows-Jensen interpret these findings to mean that hybrids in –*tūn* represent Anglo-Saxon places taken over by Scandinavians (Cameron 1975c: 170; Fellows-Jensen 1972: 223) while names in *býr* represent the settlement of previously unoccupied or unexploited land (Cameron 1975a: 126; Fellows-Jensen 1972: 223, Fellows-Jensen 1978: 368–369), and names in *thorp* represent later expansion from earlier settlements to secondary, less desirable sites (Cameron 1975b: 147; Fellows-Jensen 1972: 223, Fellows-Jensen 1978: 370). Bearing in mind that Grimston hybrids tend to be associated with 'large and important settlements' (Cameron 1975c: 157), these conclusions indicate not only that the Vikings took over already occupied settlements that were large and significant, but also that they tended to do this before establishing their own, new settlements.

3.2.2 Settlement distribution across regions

Figure 2 replicates Smith's much-used map of 'parish names of Old Norse origin' (1956: Map 10). Questions about what exactly the points on this map represent are discussed immediately below.

Figure 2: Smith's (1956) map of 'The Scandinavian settlement'



Map sourced from: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/AH-Smiths-1956-map-of-Scandinavian-settlement-of-England-reproduced-by-permission-of_fig8_300392602

According to Abrams and Parsons (2004: 382), the map 'seems to offer an exquisitely clear delineation of the lands involved [in Scandinavian settlement]', but they go on to argue that it is problematic insofar as the map does not illustrate what phase of conquest or settlement, nor what kind of Scandinavian influence, each name reflects. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 392) describe Smith's map as 'an index of the influence that Scandinavian language has had within England'. However, Smith's map evidently omits a large number of relevant names. It includes only ten in County Durham and just five in Northumberland. There are many more examples than this even of major place-names containing Old Norse elements in these counties (see Sections 6.5 and 7.8). A final notable point about Smith's map is particularly pertinent for the present project: although there is a line representing the 'southern limit of the Danelaw' there is no similar line depicting a northern limit. Similar observations can be made about a much more recent map, provided by Hadley and Richards, of the 'main Scandinavian-influenced settlement names in England' (2021: 193). This map illustrates two names in *býr* and three in *thorp* in the NE, with no Grimston or Carlton hybrids or ON place-names of any other type. The presumed border agreed between Alfred and Guthrum is drawn, but no northern border of Viking rule.

Abrams and Parsons (2004: 392) suggest that Smith's map might illustrate the extent of Scandinavian influence on the English language. If so, this would only be in the context of major place-names, and there would still be a lack of clarity about exactly what time period was being represented. The map cannot be an index of Norse influence on English as a whole: many lexical loans are unconnected to the onomasticon, and many of these loans are subsequently spread beyond the region indicated on Smith's map to become part of the general vocabulary of English. With respect to the question of chronology, it is possible that the information captured in the map covers a very broad period of time. If Smith used the earliest attestations of the relevant place-names, he may have been plotting spellings spanning some 600 years: even though some names were recorded towards the end of the first millennium

AD, others have no attestations before the 16th century. Overall, then, it becomes apparent that the map is most representative of Norse influence on the English onomasticon, though the date or range or dates represented remains unclear.

There are numerous factors involved in determining the locations in which Scandinavians did and did not settle. For example, Fellows-Jensen (1991) argues that the scarcity of ON place-names in north-west Derbyshire, south-east Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire might be explained by the topography of these regions, in that they may have been considered too high or too marshy, and therefore viewed as 'unattractive for settlement' (Fellows-Jensen 1991: 338). There is also the issue of the location of these areas in relation to the Danelaw boundary. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 405) suggest that '[i]f Cambridgeshire had been regarded as a border region, it might have been less attractive to [Scandinavian] settlers than the areas further behind the front lines'. This issue of the nature of the Danelaw boundary is central to the present study, one of the main aims of which is to analyse the place-names around and north of the River Tees in order to assess the common view - presented in previous research - that the Tees is a hard border at the northern limit of the Danelaw (see Sections 2.7 and 4.1.5.2), with little to no ON influence north of the river in what is now County Durham. Although there are clear differences in the socio-political situations in the north and south of the Danelaw, the discussion and analysis presented in Chapter 4 will argue against this 'hard border' interpretation.

3.2.3 Lack of ON names

Scarcity of place-names of ON origin and influence in any given area does not necessarily equate to an absence Scandinavian settlers in that area. In other words, '[a]bsence of evidence on the place-name map is certainly not evidence of absence' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 411). Furthermore, Abrams and Parsons (2004: 384) believe that a lack of place-names of a certain language of origin does not equate to a lack of settlers who spoke that language.

This is pertinent to any discussion of Vikings in the NE, as existing scholarship notes very few ON place-names in the region, and assumes little to no Scandinavian settlement. Such settlement is discussed in detail in Section 4.1, while considerably more place-name evidence than accounted for to date is presented and analysed in Chapters 6 and 7. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 411) provide five possible explanations that might account for a lack of ON place-names in areas that may have been settled by Scandinavians, and indicate why an absence of ON place-names does not necessarily equate to an absence of ON speakers:

1. 'Scandinavians may have settled densely in some areas, given up their language early, and not affected the place-names'.
2. When Scandinavian settlements were reclaimed by Anglo-Saxons, new ON place-names may have been lost.
3. ON place-names may have been resisted by the local population in some places.
4. ON place-names may be 'under-recorded by some local bureaucracies'.
5. In some areas 'Scandinavian settlers, though present, may not have been as successful at acquiring ownership of land as their fellows elsewhere in the Danelaw'.

Abrams and Parsons (2004: 412) also argue that the predominance of non-Norse place-names around Derby and Lincoln, for example, may reflect the bilingual situation of such areas, resulting in greater pressure there to retain English names. Additionally, where the (English) Church maintained control of land, this hindered Norse place-name formation, but the extent to which Scandinavian settlers might have made use of this land is unclear due to the scarcity of ecclesiastical records from the mid-9th to mid-10th century (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 413).

3.3 Place-Names of Old Norse origin and influence in England

This section provides a detailed account of existing scholarship on place-names of ON origin and influence in England. Section 3.3.1 examines place-names as evidence for settlement patterns. The subsequent sections outline some relevant issues in onomastics, including the impact of language contact (3.3.2) and of lexical borrowing (3.3.3) on place-names, and the recording of the first attested occurrences of place-names (3.3.4). Section 3.3.5 explores research into the most common ON place-name elements and name types in England, including *býr*, *thorp*, and Grimston hybrids, as well as the significance of a lack of ON place-names. ON names in the NE are covered in the next chapter (section 4.2). For the sake of brevity and readability, the term 'ON place-names' is used throughout this section as shorthand to refer to place-names of possible or likely Old Norse origin and influence. As will quickly become apparent, it is important to remember that this does not always equate to a name coined by an ON speaker using strictly ON elements only. The situation is more complex than that.

3.3.1 Place-names as evidence for settlement patterns

As with the issue of settlement numbers (see Section 2.3), the question of whether place-names can be relied upon to tell us anything meaningful about settlement patterns is a controversial topic in the field of onomastics. The two debates are inevitably linked. While there are limitations in terms of what place-name evidence can tell us, particularly when looking at individual names, place-name evidence is still extremely useful when thinking about context, which is to say, whether there are patterns in the place-name evidence in a geographical area, or whether place-name evidence supports and/or is supported by other kinds of evidence.

It is undeniable that there is a very large number of ON place-names in England, and Abrams and Parsons (2004: 380) observe that a map of ON place-names is frequently provided in accounts of the history of the Vikings in England. Nonetheless, many scholars argue that the prevalence of ON place-names in certain parts of the country does not necessarily require that there were large numbers of Viking-inhabited settlements, and therefore conclude that place-names are not reliable evidence of

Scandinavian settlement. This line of reasoning spans the decades, with the most prominent arguments coming from Sawyer in the 1960s and Hadley in the 2000s. The importance of this debate with respect to the present project is outlined in the remainder of this section. Its relevance for the status of the north-eastern counties of England in the Viking Age is explored in Sections 3.3.3 (place-names and borrowing) 4.2.2.9 (the (non-)diffusion of place-name elements, and implications for the NE), and elsewhere throughout Chapter 4 (Vikings in the North East).

Sawyer (1962) questions why ON-named places would equate to mass Scandinavian settlement, when English speech was peppered with ON loans and therefore any ON place-name could well have been coined by an Anglo-Saxon. Lund (1981: 167–168) agrees that the plethora of ON place-names should not be used as evidence for large settlement numbers, as there is no common position on this subject even among linguists alone. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 380) expand on this point, claiming that onomasticians have 'constructed various narrative accounts of the progress of Scandinavian settlement which, while they can be made to fit the pathetically few historical 'facts', have failed to find a consensus of agreement'.

Hadley is one of the main proponents of this position in more recent studies, providing one of the strongest cases against the usefulness of place-names, focusing on the idea that an apparently ON place-name may have been coined by a speaker of a different language, or at a time when ON was no longer a first language for inhabitants of England. A salient argument, one readily used by Hadley, for those claiming a tenuous link between ON place-names and Scandinavian settlement is borrowing, which is addressed in more detail below (Section 3.3.3). She claims the distribution map of ON place-names seen in so many studies (for example that shown in Figure 2, section 3.2.2 above), both linguistic and historical, is useless, as ON place-names need not indicate Scandinavian settlement. Hadley (2000a: 334; 2002: 56–57) emphasises the role of fashion in name-giving. Abrams and Parsons agree this is an important factor, with 'dialectal 'fashions'' – local speech habits which are not necessarily related to historical

circumstances – playing a role in name-giving, but they also highlight that name-giving is dependent on 'changing political, social, and economic conditions' (2004: 381). Despite arguing strongly against place-names being evidence of settlement, Hadley also recognizes that a lack of place-names of a certain origin does not equate to a lack of settlers or influence of speakers of that language (2000: 332).

Although the basic point that ON place-names are not necessarily indications of Scandinavian settlements is credible, this does not rule out a number of other possibilities. For example, a settlement could be founded by English speakers, subsequently inhabited by ON-speaking people and re-named in that language, thus the name might represent Scandinavian settlers. Holman does make an important point about coinage dates: since we cannot necessarily tell when a name was given to a place, we cannot always determine definitely whether it was coined by early raiders, or 'their descendants who continued to use some of the names and words of their parents and grandparents long after they stopped thinking of themselves as Scandinavian' (Holman 2017: 66). Again, this brings us to the issue of borrowing (Section 3.3.3), in that an obscure coinage date means we may not be able to tell with certainty if a name consists of borrowed elements that could therefore be applied by an English speaker, or was given by an ON speaker in the context of a Scandinavian language community. One particular kind of evidence which more securely and clearly points to a conclusion of an ON place-name coined or adapted at an early date is ON inflection in a place-name. Presence of ON grammatical inflection in a place-name such as possible ON plural marker <-ar> in Stooperdale, in southern Durham (Watts 1988–89: 30) does imply coinage by ON speakers (Fellows-Jensen 1994: 134, Cameron 1998: 109). Holman believes that such instances 'clearly [indicate] that the Scandinavian languages were spoken and understood by the people who used these names' (Holman 2017: 68), and this could cover ON speakers as well as a bilingual ON-OE/ME speech community. The importance of this becomes apparent in Section 3.3.3.

Despite the limitations and issues identified above, it would be highly restrictive to discount the use of place-names as a source of evidence for Scandinavian settlement in a context where other evidence, especially textual, is so limited. A number of researchers have argued for the importance, and even necessity, of place-names as a source of evidence, such as Higham (1986), Townend (2002), Abrams and Parsons (2004) and Filppula (2010). Linguists and historians alike are required to at least consider place-name evidence (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 381). Higham (1986: 323) states that 'it is to place-names that we must turn to assess the scale of Norse immigration, to identify its source and the direction it took'. Filppula (2010: 436) describes the large number of place-names of Scandinavian origin in the British Isles as 'living testimony to the extent of Scandinavian linguistic influence on English'. Holman (2017: 18–19) posits that

> 'place-names remain absolutely vital indicators of the regions that were colonized by Scandinavians, and are central to the ongoing debates about the scale and intensity of this colonization and to understanding the relationship between the Vikings and local people across the British Isles'.

Place-name evidence is so important in part simply due to the paucity of documentary evidence relating to the extent and distribution of Scandinavian settlement (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 381), meaning that toponymic evidence is, relatively speaking, far more frequent. As noted directly above (Filppula 2010: 436), unlike contemporary documentary sources, a large number of place-names survive into the present day, and an early attestation, where available, allows for analysis of linguistic change within a place-name over centuries. As indicated by the previously mentioned issues and limitations, any interpretation of a place-name must of course be treated with caution, 'especially when we take into account the nature of names, with their potential for alteration and adaptation' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 393). This emphasises the fact that the context of a name is of utmost importance. Indeed, Abrams and Parsons (2004: 394) maintain that context 'prevents anarchy in place-name study'. The kinds of

contextual information that they highlight includes information from topography, archaeology, additional documentary evidence (though this is rare) and the most common form of context, other place-names. With respect to the context provided by other place-names, a key point is that prevalence of one name-type in an area is very often used to deduce information about another name-type, and 'while any single name may mislead, a strong pattern of names can be convincing' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 394). Although Abrams and Parsons advocate using place-name evidence to inform historical study, as well as identifying some risks of doing so, with respect to Scandinavian settlement they conclude that onomastics are just one element of broader historical analysis: 'the interpretation of local circumstances is a matter for historical analysis, informed by the place-name pattern' (2004: 419).

3.3.2 Place-names and language contact

Language contact is a very extensive field of enquiry in linguistics, and mostly falls outside the scope of this project. Unfortunately, language contact can be troublesome within the field of historical linguistics. '[W]hat we mean by 'languages in contact' is 'users of language in contact'' (McIntosh 1994: 37), and Winford (2003: 18) states 'we must understand the precise nature of the contact situation to determine the directionality of change and its agents'. These quotes illustrate the barriers we face in studying a historical language contact situation, with the speakers of the languages in question having been dead for more than a millennium.

There are some aspects of the study of language contact that have an important bearing on place-name coinage. For example, Sandnes (2007: 126) observes that regardless of the specific nature of a language contact situation, there are commonalities in the way that place-names are coined and change over time. Sandnes (2007: 127) notes that place-names are coined by individuals, and that in language contact situations there are always some bilingual speakers. These speakers could in theory coin true hybrid names, using elements from the different languages they speak, but this is unlikely as '[i]t would imply a code shift within the linguistic unit of

one single name, whereas sociolinguistics tells us that speakers normally keep to one language in a specific context' (Sandnes 2007: 127). Although there were likely a number of bilingual ON-OE speakers (Winford 2003: 81; Coates 2005: 74), it is unlikely that such speakers directly coined a place-name made up of both ON and OE elements. This is consistent with the suggestion that Grimston hybrids represent renaming of pre-existing settlements (Section 3.3.5.5), whereby the first element of an OE place-name, coined by OE speakers, is replaced by an ON anthroponym. This is an important point for this project, because of the number of place-names in the NE that may be made up of a mix of ON and English elements (see Sections 6.8 and 7.10). If Sandnes is correct, these names would not have been coined by an Anglo-Saxon who happened to also speak ON, though naturally, being able to speak ON suggests a close relationship with Scandinavian settlers. It remains the case that these names may have been coined by an English speaker using borrowed ON lexical items (Section 3.3.3), but it is also possible that they were coined by a native speaker of ON, i.e. a Scandinavian settler.

Despite the popular depiction of Vikings as brutal, havoc-wreaking raiders, their settlement in England evidently involved communication with their Anglo-Saxon neighbours. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 388) believe that 'the linguistic evidence indicates significant contact between speakers of English and Norse'. In his handbook of language contact, Winford (2003) uses ON-OE contact as a case study, in which he notes that 'the size and duration of the settlement led to a situation of relatively intense contact between Norse and English speakers, resulting in considerable lexical and some structural influence from Norse on the English spoken in the Danelaw' (Winford 2003: 80). The diffusion of lexical and structural influence 'was facilitated by the close typological similarity between OE and Viking Norse (see section 3.1), reinforced by the close contact between Norse and English speakers, leading to extensive bilingualism' (Winford 2003: 81).

The debate surrounding ON-OE contact leading to bilingualism, an Anglo-Scandinavian hybrid dialect, or just a range of loans in each language, has been much discussed. Coates (2005: 74) is unsure 'whether it is appropriate to think in terms of two speech-communities' as opposed to one bilingual community, at least in some regions. Townend (2000) provides an overview of this subject. Townend believes that speakers of ON and OE would largely have been able to understand one another even when using their own languages (Townend 2000: 90; and Townend 2002: 9–11 provides a useful overview of seminal arguments in favour of mutual intelligibility of ON and OE, e.g. Björkman 1900–02: 8; Jespersen 1956: 60, 75; Strang 1970: 282; Baugh and Cable 1978: 95; Hogg 1992: 7; Blake 1992: 11). He argues that Viking Age England on the whole was 'a society in which two vernacular languages were spoken, and two speech communities were in close and persistent contact' (Townend 2000: 90). Later, Townend adds that speakers of ON and OE were 'probably mutually intelligible, at least for pragmatic purposes', and that this would allow for both socialising and maintenance of group identities, with neither ON nor OE speakers 'obliged to give up their own language and learn the others'' (Townend 2014: 118).

3.3.3 Issues of borrowing

Coates (2005: 73) observes that 'assigning a particular place-name to speakers of one language or the other can be very problematic'. One reason for this is that extensive lexical borrowing between ON and OE (see Section 3.1) sometimes makes it very difficult to determine with certainty whether a place-name was coined by ON speakers, OE speakers using elements borrowed from ON, or speakers of a potential Anglo-Scandinavian hybrid language or dialect (see Section 2.6). As well as elements of ON lexis and morpho-syntax, borrowings from the ON toponymicon – that is, vocabulary used for place-names – also became productive in English. The most notable of these include *býr* ('farmstead, village' (Smith 1956a: 66)), *þorp* ('secondary settlement, dependent outlying farmstead or hamlet' (Smith 1956b: 205)), *bekkr* ('stream, beck' (Smith 1956a: 26)), *dalr* ('valley' (Smith 1956a: 126)) and *kirkja* ('church' (Smith 1956b:

3)). Watts (1988–89: 54) states that, as a result of the extensive borrowing of ON place-name elements into English dialects, these 'cannot be used uncritically as diagnostics for the presence of Scand [sic] settlers'. Nevertheless, a critical assessment of these kinds of ON elements, and the contexts in which they occur, can provide useful evidence (see Sections 3.2.3 and 3.3.1). Consequently, these ON place-name elements, including those that appear to have been borrowed into English forms an important part of the present project's analysis of place-names in the NE (see Sections 4.2, 6.3 and 7.6).

When approaching evidence of this kind, there are two important considerations to bear in mind. On the one hand, the presence and productivity of borrowed elements in a toponymicon can obscure or cast doubt on the language spoken by those who coined a name or inhabited a settlement with such a name. The productivity of borrowed elements also causes problems in the interpretation of hybrid names, with a name that appears to be made up of one element from one language and one from another potentially, in reality, being a name derived from a single language of origin, but using a productive borrowed element (Gammeltoft 2007: 481).

On the other hand, there are some kinds of evidence that suggest that an element does not indicate the use of borrowed ON material by OE speakers. Evidence of this type includes (rare) early recordings and the presence of source language inflections, which point to involvement of speakers of the source language in the coinage of such a name (Townend 2002: 54, and see Section 3.3.1). Furthermore, there are ideas that point to a possible way of addressing these issues about borrowed elements obscuring the native language of the people who coined such names. In essence, these theories highlight some important aspects of the way in which the geographical diffusion of borrowed place-name elements differs from that of loans into the general lexicon. Dance (2003: 328–329) believes that place-name elements do not diffuse in the same way as lexical borrowings do; he concludes in this study of ON loans in early Middle English texts from the south west Midlands that most probably appeared in these texts

as a result of geographical diffusion, whereas the place-names of this region do not evidence many instances of ON influence. Similarly, Townend believes that it is not the case that place-names with ON elements are as likely to have been coined by an OE-speaking population using borrowed ON elements as by ON speakers, arguing that this suggestion (seen for example in Richards 1991: 35; Hadley 1997: 72) stems from a 'false analogy with loanword evidence' (Townend 2000: 98). Given what Townend terms the 'geographical inertia' of place-names (following Kitson 1995), he concludes that 'there is no reason to think that ON place-names are substantially found in areas in which ON was never spoken' (2000: 98). If we accept this interpretation - and I think the weight of evidence presented by Dance and Townend indicates that we should - then this has significant implications for our analysis of ON place-names in England. If (previously) foreign place-name elements are only likely to appear in the area where the borrowing first occurred, this would very strongly suggest that place-names containing an ON element — whether adopted as a productive loan in the local toponymicon or not — should be taken as evidence of ON speakers. This view of borrowed ON place-name elements is largely backed up by the map of the distribution of English place-names containing ON elements (for example Figure 2 in section 3.2.2). If elements loaned into the OE toponymicon from ON did diffuse in the same way as lexical loans, it is difficult to explain why the distribution of these names is so uneven across the country. On the contrary, there appear to be quite sharp borders in some regions, delimiting where an ON element is and is not found. As a note of caution, it is worth pointing out that the present project's in-depth analysis of major and minor names in the NE (see Section 4.2, and Chapters 6 and 7) challenges the traditional view that there is little to no ON influence on place-names in the region. The full extent of ON influence on the place-names of other regions may have been similarly understated in previous studies. Nevertheless, there are certainly fewer names exhibiting ON influence in the NE than there are in Yorkshire, its neighbour to the south (Section 6.10, and discussion throughout Chapter 7), indicating a lesser impact

of ON on the onomasticon in the NE than on the lexicon. A future study might usefully focus on the details of how the process of the diffusion of place-name elements differs from that of lexis, but this issue is beyond the scope of the current project (see Section 8.5).

Gammeltoft (2007) was cited above in reference to the complications that productive borrowed elements pose for the interpretation of hybrid names, in that a name that appears to be made up of elements from two different languages may actually be a name of one language of origin, using a productive element borrowed from another language. In an earlier study, however, Gammeltoft (2004: 71) argued that the non-replacement of Scandinavian-origin words with Gaelic place-names shows that Scandinavians continued to live in the area. Following the English model, ON place-name elements borrowed into Gaelic presumably became productive, meaning Gaelic speakers could coin place-names using ON elements. With this in mind, it is not clear why we should assume that a lack of 'replacement', or what we might call *re-Gaelicisation*, would necessarily indicate continuing presence of ON speakers, as Gammeltoft suggests. On the other hand, the language contact situation between ON and Gaelic is very different to that between ON and OE, which are two closely related Germanic languages that share many cognates, even within the toponymicon, as we see with examples such as OE *tūn* and ON *tún* (both 'enclosure, farmstead, estate, village' (Smith 1956b: 188)). In light of this, it therefore seems plausible that the continuing use of ON in Gaelic-speaking communities would differ from such in OE-speaking communities. Gaelic speakers married ON speakers in Ireland and the Scottish Islands (Edmans 2019: 157), and there may be some examples of Gaelic-Scandinavian influence on place-names (for example Kirksanton; ON *kirkja* and Brittonic *Santán* 'saint', Edmonds 2019: 140). Nonetheless, evidently there are challenges we face in understanding the role of borrowed place-name elements, which complicates our assessment of place-name etymologies. This challenge varies

according to the typology, and the relationship between speakers, of the languages involved.

The issue of borrowing is carefully considered throughout this project. ON elements that were borrowed into English and used productively are referred to as 'naturalised' elements. Throughout Chapters 6 and 7, an element's naturalised status is used as a variable.

3.3.4 Issues relating to first attestation

Another issue that can be problematic in analysing place-name evidence is the fact that the date of the first recorded use of the name may be unclear. Even when it can be fixed with some certainty, this date may be much later than the establishment of the settlement in question. It is an unavoidable fact that place-names are first recorded after the settlements in question are established, and after their names are coined (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 392). This leads to doubts over the extent to which they reliably reflect the origins of a name, given the intervening time between the settlement being established and the name being coined, and then its first attested use in a (surviving) textual source. A name may have changed in its form between its coinage and its recording. The Domesday Book is an excellent source of late 11th-century place-name spellings, as settlements are listed alphabetically within counties. It is unfortunately not useful for the present study, as most of the North East of England, as well as the North West and many other areas of Britain, are not covered (see Section 2.3.1), and the Book was compiled in 1085-1086, some two centuries after the arrival of the Viking Great Army in 865. Unfortunately, there is a lack of pre-Domesday Book sources, especially in northern and eastern parts of the Danelaw (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 392), and in areas typically thought of as being north of the Danelaw (see section 2.3.1). Fellows-Jensen (2005: 115) notes that the Vikings' infamous destruction of monasteries, and the resulting loss of archives, is part of the reason for a lack of early sources in some areas. In other areas, such as Orkney, Shetland, and the Isle of Man, however, such records and early sources of written

names likely never existed (Fellows-Jensen 2005: 115), and this may also be the case for the North East of England. In Fellows-Jensen's (1985) study of Scandinavian place-names in the North West of England, the lack of early sources led to a necessary reliance on later medieval records, up to the 16th century (1985: 6–7), indicating that a reliable, much-cited study can be successfully carried out even when later records are necessarily relied upon. It must be remembered, then, that late recording does not necessarily imply late coinage, but may instead provide evidence of survival or transmission of a name between an earlier coinage and a later recording (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 392–393).

Townend (2000: 99–101) makes two observations that lead him to suggest there may have been more contemporary Scandinavian place-names in some parts of the country than we have evidence of in surviving records. The first is that, even where a place-name has no trace of ON origin or influence, it may have co-existed alongside a Scandinavianised version of the name, or an ON alternative. If there were sufficient English speakers in the vicinity to pass the English version of such a name down, then there would be little reason for English clerks to record the Scandinavianised/ON version, and the same may have happened in cases of only short-term Scandinavian settlement, where ON was not present as a spoken language for long enough for a name to be passed on or adopted. This aligns with Townend's notion that ON place-names are only preserved if they 'passed into general currency, or at least were not known solely to the Norse-speaking community' (2000: 99–100). The second, related, observation that Townend (2000: 99–101) makes is that place-names were only recorded in English sources, and therefore were most likely only recorded after a name had passed into use among OE speakers. With this in mind, it would be reasonable to conclude that there would likely be more Scandinavian place-names in use by both ON and OE speakers that did not find their way into OE texts, since it is not immediately obvious why English scribes would write down a Scandinavian version of a name used only by speakers of another language.

Overall, then, Sections 3.3.1 to 3.3.3.4 have provided an overview of the issues often encountered in the field of place-names, but have illustrated that as long as these limitations are understood and taken into consideration, they can still be worthwhile and indeed necessary sources of evidence. Let us now move on to consider various ON elements and other kinds of ON influence pertinent to any study of ON-influenced place-names in England.

3.3.5 Elements and other types of influence

This section firstly outlines previous research on various place-name elements of ON origin, including *býr*, *thorp*, other non-topographical elements, and some topographical elements. Next, certain common types of ON influence on place-names in England are covered, including Grimston hybrids and Scandinavianised place-names. The significance of a lack of ON names in a given area is also discussed.

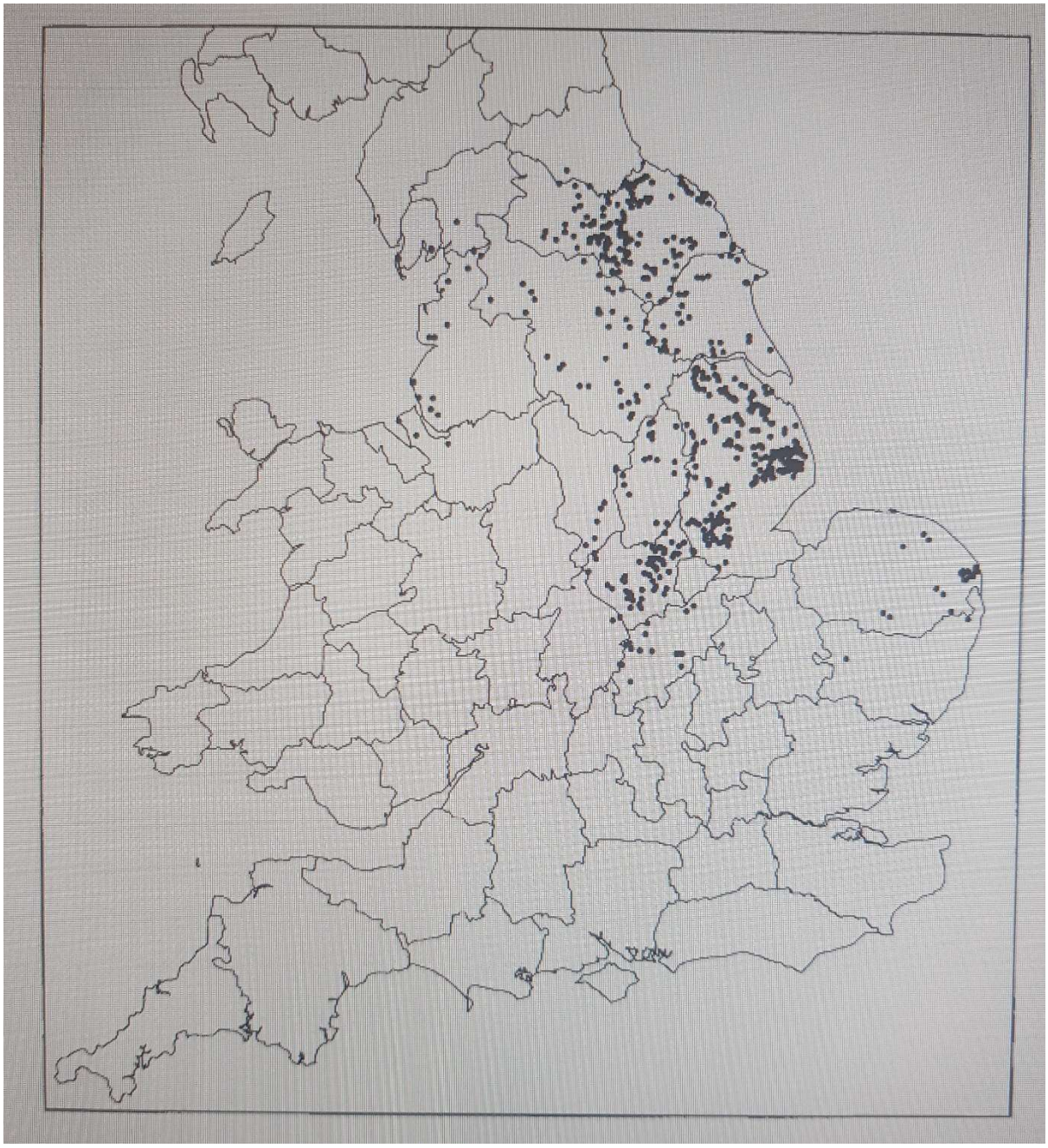
3.3.5.1 býr

This section examines the vast amount of scholarship on the element *býr* ('farmstead, village' (Smith 1956a: 66). The distribution and interpretation of such names will be addressed first. We will then examine the question of who coined them, and consider whether they tend to represent Danish or Norwegian influence. Finally, we will look at *býr* in the context of issues of landholding.

(a) Distribution and interpretation

There are around 850 names in *býr* in England, most of which are in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (Holman 2017: 63). Abrams and Parsons (2004) offer a comprehensive account of this element, and a variety of issues associated with it. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 420) note that the use of *býr* may vary across England, and provide a map of place-names containing the element that were recorded pre-1086, that is, before the Domesday survey (2004: 396).

Map C: 'The distribution of by-names, recorded by 1086, in England' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 396)



According to this map, there are no names in *býr* recorded before this date in the NE, but my dataset indicates there are eight possible names in *býr* in the region (see section 7.5).

In terms of interpretation of names in *býr*, Fellows-Jensen (1985: 15) argues that those with anthroponymical specifics 'are probably all names of sometime owners or tenants

of the vills in question'. *Býr* was borrowed into ME and seems to be fairly well-established as meaning 'town' or 'village' in ME (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 395). Even before that, it was productive in naming places big and small in Viking Age England (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 11). It may even feature in one OE gloss in the Lindisfarne Gospels (Abrams & Parsons 2004: 399, fn. 93; DOE MkGl (Li) 0153 (5.3)). The element only survives into modern English in place-names and in the fossilised compound 'by-law', which refers to a law dealing with matters of local or internal regulation, made by a local authority and appears to have its origins in the genitive form *býr* (OED by-law).

(b) Who coined names in *býr*?

Evidence suggests that place-names in *býr* are 'distinctively Scandinavian' and 'arose in a predominantly Norse-speaking environment', rather than in an Anglo-Scandinavian society in which English was peppered with ON loans (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 398; see also Cameron 1975a: 120; Fellows-Jensen 1972: 12, 242; 1978: 278). Abrams and Parsons (2004: 397) emphasise this conclusion by highlighting the two most salient observations that emerge from the studies by Cameron (1975a) and Fellows-Jensen (1972; 1978). The first is that *býr* is combined with ON elements four times more often than with OE elements, and the second is that around half of names in *býr* involve its combination with anthroponyms, which are overwhelmingly ON. In relation to the first of these points, Abrams and Parsons (2004: 398) note that 'a minimum ratio of 4:1 Old Norse to Old English first elements does not suggest Old English as the base language', and conclude that this points to early coinage or adaptation of *býr* names by OE speakers (2004: 419), in many cases before the 11th century (2004: 404).

On the second point, regarding the frequency of names in which *býr* combines with anthroponymical (predominantly ON) specifics, the conclusions presented by Cameron, Fellows-Jensen and Abrams and Parsons, contradict Sawyer's (1998: 111) suggestion that these names are unlikely to have been ON coinages because contemporary Danish places were rarely named after people. In response to this,

Abrams and Parsons (2004: 405) argue that new types of land holdings in England may have prompted new naming systems. The prevalence of ON anthroponyms as the specific of place-names in *býr* is also at the heart of the suggestion that ON anthroponyms in fact reflect the adoption of ON personal names among Anglo-Saxons (see Section 2.3). However, Abrams and Parsons (2004: 398) make a convincing argument that ON personal names do not tend to represent Anglo-Saxons. The coinage of *býr* names by ON speakers is also supported by morphological evidence. Specifically, The fossilisation of ON genitive <-ar> is cited by Abrams and Parsons (2004: 398) as 'near to proof' that ON speakers were responsible for such names (see also Cameron 1975a: 119; Fellows-Jensen 1972: 239–240, 1978 271–274, 1994: 134).[5] Abrams and Parsons concede that some wholly ON names, including names in *býr* with an ON specific, may represent adaptations of OE names, but believe 'it would be far-fetched to suppose that many did so' (2004: 399).

Following their interpretation of the evidence and conclusion that names in *býr* were coined by speakers of ON, Abrams and Parsons (2004: 399) argue that names in *býr* can therefore be dated to a time when ON was spoken in England, but note that it is hard to make a more precise judgement about when this was. They argue that 'the most promising linguistic criterion for dating the *býr* names that has been so far identified does tend to suggest a relatively early date – albeit a very imprecise one – for the whole of eastern England' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 400). This criterion refers to Fellow-Jensen's work on the combination of *býr* with contracted forms of ON anthroponyms such as Ketill and Thór (Fellows-Jensen 1991a: 112–121; 1994: 135–136). However, they also suggest that the distribution of names in *býr* reflects more strongly 'the circumstances of settlement, of land-taking and land-holding', which 'may have varied from area to area', rather than the coinage date of such names (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 406). In this respect, their interpretation differs from that

[5] Fossilisation in other names in *býr* of ON genitive marker <-s> is also considered by Abrams and Parsons (2004: 398) to be evidence that ON speakers coined such names, to a lesser extent than <-ar>, given that <-s> can be ambiguous with OE genitive marker <-es>.

of Sawyer (1981: 129; 1982: 103) and Fellows-Jensen (1972; 1978; 1983a: 54–56; 1984: 35–36; 1985: 24; 1991b: 338; 1994: 134), who focus on the issue of coinage date. Fellows-Jensen argues in favour of names in *býr* being coined in the 10th century. Five such names in Yorkshire and the East Midlands can reasonably be dated to 10th century sources: Belby, Helperby, Skidby, Lumby and Bleasby (Fellows-Jensen 1972: 237, 1978: 293). This figure would be higher if the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto was included as a source (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 404, fn. 116).

There are some names in *býr* in Yorkshire whose specific is *Kell*, the contracted form of the ON anthroponym *Ketill.* Fellows-Jensen (1991a: 112–121; 1994: 135–136) points out that this contracted form in contexts other than place-names seems to have been found only in the 11th century, and further suggests it would be reasonable to conclude that the occurrence of the contracted name rather than the full form points to the presence of ON speakers in Yorkshire in this century, an interpretation supported by Abrams and Parsons (2004: 400). Looking beyond Yorkshire, Abrams and Parsons (2004: 400, fn.104) note the absence of the contracted form alongside *býr* in the East Midlands, suggesting that ON may not have been in use there in the 11th century. Leaving aside the issue of how widely ON may have been used, if *býr* was at all productive into the later 11th century, this could signify that ON was current in at least some parts of the Danelaw at that time, or it could be a sign that *býr* had been borrowed into OE by then, or that *býr* was fossilised in the onomasticon, meaning newer names in *býr* were coined through analogy with existing ones. As Abrams and Parsons (2004: 400) point out, it is 'hard to say' which of these possibilities is the case. It is perhaps the case that a mixture of these options is the most appropriate explanation.

Abrams and Parsons (2004: 411) conclude that 'though precise dates and circumstances are elusive, groups of *býr* names on the map of eastern England should be taken as positive evidence for the presence of groups of Old Norse-speakers in the Viking Age'. Nevertheless, they are also careful to emphasise that names in *býr* are only generally, rather than exclusively, given in a Scandinavian linguistic context, as it is clear

that this element was borrowed into English (see Section (a) above, within 3.3.5.1). Both Fellows-Jensen (1984: 33) and Cameron (1985: 134) argue that names in *býr* with English specifics of any kind usually represent adaptations of existing English names, rather than the creation of novel ON names. As we shall see (Section 7.5), names in *býr* that have been found in the NE as part of the present project have the same kind of etymology and makeup of elements as those encountered elsewhere in England. Therefore, it can be assumed that here, too, they most likely (but not certainly) indicate coinage by ON speakers.

In terms of the significance of the settlements that they denote, there is a tendency for names in *býr* to be associated with places that are found on low-status land and that have relatively little importance, certainly compared with places that carry names in -*tūn*. As a result of this tendency, the *býr* settlements in Yorkshire and the East Midlands 'form a more or less coherent group' and that does not seem to reflect the seizing of 'thriving English villages' or to represent 'the spoils seized by members of a (small, élite) conquering army' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 401, see also 404). Instead, it is thought that names in *býr* exemplify the 'secondary migration of Danish colonizers' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 382, citing Cameron's assessment of place-names in the north east Midlands, see Cameron 1975a).

(c) Danish or Norwegian origins?

With respect to the specific nature of its Scandinavian origins, the evidence suggests that *býr* has Danish as opposed to Norwegian origins. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 395, fn.81) note that *býr* is specifically the Old Danish form of the Norse element, but that it is more appropriate to cite this form than the Old West Norse (i.e. Norwegian) form *býr*, since the latter is never seen in English place-names. Nonetheless, Fellows-Jensen (1972: 6) argues that Norwegian settlers adopted *býr* as a productive element, citing the evidence of Norwegian names in *býr* that can be found in Yorkshire, usually as the names of lost or very small settlements, perhaps consisting of just one house or some 'archaeological remains' (Fellows-Jensen 1972: 6). Names in *býr*, then, might have been

coined by speakers of Old Danish or Old West Norse, though the former is more likely. They may arise in a Norwegian context in some areas, and in these instances appear to represent smaller, less important settlements than those coined by speakers of Old Danish.

When functioning as the specific in a *býr* place-name, elements that mean 'Dane'/'Danish' or 'Norwegian' evidently indicate the presence of Danish rather than Norwegian settlers, or vice versa, depending on their location. For example, the place-names *Normanby* ('village of the Norwegians' (Smith 1975a: 119)) and Normanton, both of which are common in the Danelaw, point to pockets of Norwegian settlers in predominantly Danish areas.[6] In contrast, 'the complete absence of Normanby-names' in the North West indicates an area with a primarily Norwegian population of Scandinavian settlers who would have no reason to isolate and highlight particular settlements as Norwegian (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 17). In areas where Scandinavian settlers were more likely to have Danish origins, *Normanby* names suggest the movement of Norwegians from the North West, or perhaps York, areas of Norwegian settlement and power respectively. In the case of Norwegian or Irish-Norwegian settlers who moved from the North West to the Danelaw, their route may well have crossed the Pennines. It is reasonable to assume that this route led some into the classic Danelaw area, south of the Tees, but perhaps it is at least as plausible that others crossed a more northerly part of the Pennines, into the North East of England, most likely County Durham. This is discussed in more detail in Section 4.2.2.3. This migration also seems to have occurred in the opposite direction, with *Denby* in Dumfriesshire, for example, indicating an isolated group of Danes in an area where Scandinavian settlement was more typically associated with Norwegians. Indeed, Fellows-Jensen (1985: 288) argues that the distribution of names in *býr* in the North West, particularly

[6] For example, there is a *Normanby* a few miles north of Scunthorpe, in Lincolnshire, close to the south bank of the Tees near the coast at Middlesborough in North Yorkshire, and north east of York, near to the North Yorkshire town of Malton.

in Lancashire and northwards, illustrates just such a movement of settlers from the Danelaw, across the Pennines. Townend warns caution on this subject, however. Denby- and Normanby-type names may instead have been coined to more generally refer to a place taken over by Danes or Norwegians, in which case the name would not necessarily indicate the distinctiveness of Danish or Norwegian settlers there (Townend 2014: 114).

In a similar vein, *býr* names that incorporate <Ir-/Ire-> (*Íri,* 'Irishman' (Smith 1956a: 304)) as the specific are indicative either of Norwegian settlers who came to England via Ireland, or of Irish settlers themselves, as seen in various places in the North West of England, such as *Irby* in Cheshire, *Ireby* in Lancashire, and *Ireby* in Cumberland (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 17).

(e) *býr* in the North West

In the North West, *býr* is the most common Scandinavian generic, although it is not as common there as in the East Midlands and Yorkshire (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 7). Amongst a wealth of other scholarship, Fellows-Jensen has published extensive work on *býr* in the North West (1983a: 54–59; 1983b; 1985: 310, 411–414; 1997: 82–84). What follows is an outline of Fellows-Jensen's conclusions on *býr* in the North West, highlighting commonalities and differences between the distribution and interpretation of this element here and in the Danelaw.

In Cumberland and Dumfriesshire — which are the northernmost counties within what Fellows-Jensen considers to be 'the North West' region — *býr* is often found with anthroponymical specifics, as is also the case in the Danelaw (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 21, 413–414). In contrast, this kind of specific is rare in the more southerly parts of the North West region (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 21, 413–414). Fellows-Jensen (1983a: 54–55; 1985: 21, 413–414) explains this in terms of the link between manorialisation (see Section 2.5.2) and shifting control of the land. In her view, names that combine *býr* with an anthroponymical specific are an indication of manorialisation. Since Viking areas of

Lancashire and Cheshire were retaken by the English, and Viking areas of Westmorland by the Strathclyde Britons, Fellows-Jensen argues that the process of manorialisation did not have time to take place, and therefore there is a related absence of *býr* names with anthroponymical specifics. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 407) tentatively support this general interpretation, but argue that the distribution patterns themselves do not necessarily constitute conclusive evidence. However, there are other elements to Fellows-Jensen's interpretation. There are many continental Germanic anthroponyms (e.g. Norman and Flemish) in *býr* names in the North West, but not in the Danelaw. Fellows-Jensen (1985: 22) suggests that these represent a replacement of earlier names in *býr*, deeming it unlikely that Norman settlers would coin names consisting of an anthroponym plus *býr* if such names were not already present in the area. She also argues that these names may reflect the restoration of Carlisle by William Rufus, and his subsequent deployment of peasants to settle in and work nearby land (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 21). It should be noted that there are also instances of names in *býr* with Gaelic anthroponymical specifics, such as Melmerby (anthroponym Máel Muire) and Fixby (anthroponym Fíacc) (Edmonds 2019: 174).

Another element in Fellows-Jensen's assessment of names in *býr* involves the way in which the distribution of those with anthroponymical specifics differs from the distribution of those with appellatival specifics (non-anthroponymical). In the North West, appellatival specifics are more prevalent in the more southerly parts of the region, with Cumberland and Dumfriesshire in the north exhibiting a proportion similar to the Danelaw (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 20). Most appellatival specifics that combine with *býr* in names in the North West region are of ON origin. This contrasts with the Danelaw, where most appellatival specifics are of OE origin (while most anthroponymical specifics are ON). Fellows-Jensen (1985: 21) argues that, as in the Danelaw, this is an indication that 'most of the names were coined at a period in which the Scandinavian language was still current in the area'. If so, appellatival specifics add to the evidence that places with names in *býr* were not new settlements on previously

vacant land. For instance, Fellows-Jensen (2005: 113–114) suggests that the name *Kirby/Kirkby* (the specific of which is *kirkja*, 'church') was given to places that already had a church when the Scandinavian settlers arrived, and that *Derby* (the specific of which is *djúr*, 'deer') was renamed as such because of its existing proximity to a deer park. Additionally, Fellows-Jensen highlights the existence of some appellatival specifics of names in *býr* denoting Britons, such as ON *Bretar* ('Britons' (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 26)) in *Birkby*, but argues that these may be Scandinavianisations of OE place-names containing OE words for Britons, and thus do not necessarily indicate Vikings themselves encountering or interacting with the Britons directly (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 16–17).

Abrams and Parsons (2004: 407) warn that 'direct comparison between [the Danelaw and the North West] may be dangerous', in that these areas are markedly different when it comes to both their place-names and their history. Given their view that the North West and the Danelaw are 'geographically and historically distinct regions', they argue that 'a single model to explain circumstances' is perhaps unwise or futile, and conclude that, to some extent, Fellows-Jensen has adopted such a position (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 407; referring to Fellows-Jensen 1983a: 54–59; 1983b; 1997: 82–84; 1985: 310, 411–414). In support of their argument, Abrams and Parsons point out, for example, that while there is very little documentary evidence for Scandinavian settlement in the North West, what little we have for the Wirral shows differences between there and the Danelaw; in particular, it seems that the English retained political power in this region, with instances of land grants from them to Scandinavian settlers, and that the Vikings who settled in this area came via Ireland (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 407, fn.126, citing work by Wainwright 1975: 131–16; Radner 1978: 166–173;). What little documentary evidence there is from Cumberland and Dumfriesshire is similarly complex (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 407).

3.3.5.2. thorp

This common element in place-names in England is an Anglicised spelling of the ON element *þorp* ('secondary settlement' (Smith 1956b: 205)). As well as frequently functioning as a generic element in English place-names (e.g. Cleethorpes, Lincolnshire), it is also seen as the first element in a two-word place-name (e.g. Thorpe Thewles, County Durham), and as a single-element place-name in its own right (e.g. Thorpe, Derbyshire). The element can also 'lie hidden from view behind a variety of spellings', for example in Droop in Dorset, Eastrip in Somerset, and Puckrup in Gloucestershire (Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011: 1).

The 'secondary settlement' interpretation is reflected in the observation, supported by both linguistic and archaeological evidence, that *thorp* is invariably used to name small settlements, with Scunthorpe the only exception (Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011: 1–2, 138). As we shall see, previous research suggests that *thorp* seems to be associated with early Scandinavian settlements, but not the earliest. The interpretation of this element to signify 'secondary settlement' is reflected in researchers' conclusions that names in *thorp* were coined later than any first-wave Scandinavian settlement (see e.g. Abrams and Parsons 2004: 394; referring to Cameron 1975b: 146; Lund 1976; Fellows-Jensen 1991–1992: 449–450). Nonetheless, as with names in *býr*, there are few OE anthroponymical specifics combined with *thorp*, which may indicate coinage in predominantly Scandinavian areas at an early period (Fellows-Jensen 1972: 49). Names in *thorp* may date to a time of increased Anglo-Danish interaction (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 382; Cameron 1975b: 142–143), again pointing to a relatively early period, but not as early as late 8th and early 9th century raids and violent seizure of English settlements. On the other hand, Fellows-Jensen (1972: 53) notes that continental Germanic anthroponyms are often the specific of names in *thorp* in Yorkshire, suggesting this element was productive into the 11th century in that region, and consequently that not all names in *thorp* appear to have been coined by Scandinavians.

Cullen, Jones and Parsons (2011: 3) consider the '*thorp* heartland' to be the Five Boroughs, and cite the Leicestershire Survey (Slade 1956: 19) as evidence of the density of this element in this area, with four names in *thorp* found in the few square miles of the Seal Hundred administrative area alone, for example. The same authors identify five names in *thorp* in County Durham (Fulthorpe, Little Thorpe, Threlthorpe, Thrope Bulmer and Thorpe Thewles), and two in Northumberland (Throphill and Thropton) (Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011: 4, Figure 1.3, 265, 200–201).

There are very few names in *thorp* in the North West, suggesting that this may reflect the settlement of the region by Norwegians, rather than Danes, though it is possible that *thorp* could have been a productive element available to Norwegians, since there is one name in *thorp* in Shetland and one in Iceland, both areas of Norwegian, and not Danish, settlement (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 47–48). It is worth noting that the seven names in *thorp* that are can be located in the North West are in the east of the region, nearest to areas of heavy Danish settlement, for example Hackthorpe at the eastern edge of the Lake District, and several instances of simplex name Thorp(e) (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 48). With this in mind, a couple of possibilities may account for the small number of *thorp* names in the North West region: either this element was indeed used only by Danes, and some of their *thorp* settlements 'spilled over' into the counties included in Fellows-Jensen's study of the North West, or there were Norwegian settlers who were geographically close to these Danish settlers and who adopted the element from them.

3.3.5.3 Other non-topographical elements

While *býr* and *thorp* are the most frequent ON elements seen in place-names in England, there are other common elements. Some relate to topographical features - that is, aspects of the landscape - and others refer to non-topographical features, such as types of settlement, as *by* and *thorp* do. This section discusses the other important non-topographical elements, while the following section covers the key topographical elements. Though it is very rare in areas of Norwegian settlement, *toft* ('building plot',

Smith 1956b: 181) is common in Danish areas, as seen for example in Scraptoft in Leicestershire and Fishtoft in Lincolnshire (Fellows-Jensen 1978: 138). There are also numerous instances of *karl* ('freeman of the lower class', Smith 1956b: 2), which survives in modern place-names in the form <carl>. This element lends its name to a category of ON place-names, Carlton hybrids, which consist of an ON appellatival element compounded with OE *tūn* 'enclosure, farmstead, estate, village' (Smith 1956b: 188). Carlton itself is the typical example, with instances in what is now the outskirts of Nottingham city, and another further north in Nottinghamshire, on the River Trent. These hybrids are therefore different from the well-known category of Grimston hybrids, which combine an ON anthroponymic element with OE *tūn*, and which are discussed separately in Section 3.3.5.5.

Kirk, from ON *kirkja* ('church'), is prevalent in place-names in both England and Scotland. However, it is scarce in the Danelaw, with the few examples such as Oswaldkirk and Romaldkirk in North Yorkshire, and Peakirk in Northamptonshire, considered to be instances of the Scandinavianisation of OE *cirice* ('church') rather than names coined in the ON cognate *kirkja* (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 45). From this it can be understood that names in *kirk* in the Danelaw are not coined in this ON element. Records relating to Gosberton in Lincolnshire reflect this proposition, with an early spelling, *Gosbertchirche,* reflecting the OE form, while later spellings exhibit the Scandinavianised *kirk* (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 45). Furthermore, although *kirk* appearing as the second element in a place-name points to a non-Celtic speaking population (see immediately below), it is 'very likely' that names in *kirk* in North Yorkshire, at least, 'reflect the influence of celticised [sic] Vikings, since [place-names] consisting of a saint's name plus a word for church are extremely rare outside the areas of England which were Celtic-speaking in the Anglo-Saxon period' (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 46; see also Gelling 1981).

Fellows-Jensen makes a similar point in her analysis of Scandinavian place-names in the North West, stating that '[i]t is certain that the *kirkja*-names in the North-West

reflect Celtic influence' (1985: 45). Evidence for this comprises an overwhelming proportion of specifics in such names being the names of (usually Irish) saints such as Bride and Patrick, a generic-specific word-order that reflects the word-order seen in Celtic place-names, and the aforementioned lack of saints' names plus *kirk* in non-Celtic speaking areas (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 45–46). The sole north-western name in *kirk* that does not contain a saint's name, out of a total of 14, is Ormskirk (ON personal name *Ormr* + *kirkja*), which is the most southerly example of *kirk* in the North West (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 46). As with those in the Danelaw, the recording of this name varies between the OE and the ON cognates, so this may also be an instance of Scandinavianisation (see Section 3.1). Fellows-Jensen (1985: 45-46) concludes that there are three plausible explanations that might account for individual *kirk*-names in Cumberland, the northern part of modern-day Cumbria: (1) they are the result of partial Scandinavianisation of Celtic names; (2) they are new names coined by Scandinavians familiar with Celtic compounds in Scotland; and (3) they reflect the use of *kirk* once it had been borrowed into the local (non-ON) language.

3.3.5.4 Topographical elements

Topographical elements refer to an aspect of the landscape. As well as referring to landscape features themselves, such elements can also be constituents of habitation names, that is, names of landscape features can be used to refer to settlements. Topographical elements that are found in the dataset for this project include *dalr, krókr* and *kjarr*. *Dalr* ('valley', Smith 1956a: 126–127) is common throughout the Danelaw and often replaced OE *denu* ('valley' (Smith 1956a: 130)). *Krókr* ('crook, bend', (Smith 1956b: 7)) denotes 'land in bend in a river' in major names, but in minor and field-names denotes 'a nook, a secluded corner of land' (Smith 1956b: 7), and is seen in names such as Denton in West Yorkshire, and Shipden in Norfolk (Smith 1956a: 130). *Kjarr* ('brushwood' is very common in 'later minor names and [field-names] in the Danelaw' (Smith 1956b: 4), and place-names incorporating this element include Ellerker in East Yorkshire and Cringle Carr in North Yorkshire (Smith 1956a: 4). While

the notion that *kjarr*-names are late coinages suggests they were not likely coined by ON speakers, their limited distribution (to within the Danelaw) suggests that this element did not diffuse to areas where there had never been a presence of ON speakers. This issue of the relationship between the diffusion of place-name elements and the presence, or absence, of ON speakers in an area is a key point for the present project's analysis of place-names in the NE (see especially Sections 3.3.3 and 4.2.2.9; Townend 2000: 98). *Holm*, from ON *holmr* ('isle, water meadow' (Smith 1956a: 258)), is another common topographical element, more so in the North West than elsewhere (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 74), and it can be seen in place-names such as Oxenholme in the former county of Westmorland, now the southern part of Cumbria, and the place-name Durham itself (Smith 1956a: 259). While names containing *holmr* were included in the dataset compiled for this project, we shall see that they cannot be relied upon as indicators of Scandinavian presence because the element was naturalised into ME generally, not just into Danelaw-area dialects.[7]

There are several ON-derived elements referring to streams, the most frequent being *bekkr*, which occurs in modern names as<beck>, for instance in village name Caldbeck in Cumbria. *Gil* ('ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream', Smith 1956a: 200) is another stream element, but this one does not often occur in heavily Danish areas, with only rare examples in the Danelaw such as Hell Gill and Wemmergill, both in North Yorkshire (Smith 1956a: 200). In western County Durham, 'ON gil is diagnostic for Irish-Norwegian settlement' (Watts 2004: 219). The distribution of *gil*, and Watts' observations about this and other ON topographic elements in the NE, will be discussed in detail in Section 7.3

[7] It is not clear what Watts (2002b) means by 'naturalised'. It could be that this term means loaned into English and used productively by English speakers, or it could mean adaptation of the element to Middle English phonology. Because of the sense in which Watts discusses naturalised elements, in that he claims they cannot be used as any kind of diagnostic for Scandinavian settlement, and the lack of discussion of any kind of phonological adaptation or Anglicisation of these elements, I am assuming by 'naturalised' Watts means, essentially, borrowed. Henceforth, then, I used 'naturalised' to mean borrowed into English and used productively by English speakers.

Since they can, of course, refer directly to landscape features, rather than only appearing as constituents in settlement names, topographical elements are very often found in minor names, and minor names are indeed most usually made up of topographical elements. This project highlights a wealth of minor names in the NE provide varying degrees of evidence of ON influence and therefore minor names, and topographical ON place-name elements, are crucial in exploring the extent of such influence and the possibility of Scandinavian settlement in the region (see Section 4.2.2.5).

3.3.5.5 Grimston hybrids

Grimston hybrids consist of an ON anthroponym plus OE generic element *tūn* ('enclosure, farmstead, estate, village' (Smith 1956b: 188)). Grimston (ON personal name *Grimr* + *tūn*) itself is a typical example, with one instance of this place-name found in east Yorkshire, close to the mouth of the Humber. These names are common and the dating, interpretation and linguistic makeup of Grimstons is much discussed. The pre-Domesday Book recording of some Grimston hybrids suggests coinage in the early 10th century (Cameron 1958: 161). More recently, such an early date for these names has been disputed (Fellows-Jensen 2001: 285–286), with the 11th century being proposed as a more likely date (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 394).

In his seminal study of Grimston hybrids in the East Midlands, Cameron concludes that these names exemplify raiding Danish armies taking over English settlements, noting that they tend to denote 'large and important settlements' (Cameron 1975c: 157), supporting his earlier findings that Grimstons in Derbyshire are on high-quality agricultural land (Cameron 1958). The location of Grimstons on good land is further evidence that these names do not represent new settlements, but rather a takeover of existing English villages, as earlier settlers (i.e. Anglo-Saxons) will have selected the best agricultural land. Townend (2014: 102) adds the frequency with which Grimston-named places became parishes, their wealth as recorded in the Domesday Book, and the low desertion rate in the later medieval period, as evidence for Grimston hybrids

representing previously occupied sites. Fekete (2016: 7) agrees that Grimstons likely represent a takeover of English settlements, if such a name was coined at an early period of settlement and therefore of contact, but argues that later names may have been coined or adapted by Anglo-Saxons who had Scandinavian names, 'which would presuppose the existence of a more advanced stage of population mixing'. Indeed, Coates (2005: 73) argues that anthroponyms in place-names 'should not be thought to reliably indicate the ethnicity of the bearer', and Fellows-Jensen (1972: 122) claims that a Grimston hybrid is likely to represent an Anglo-Saxon if the ON anthroponym involved is one that was very common in Viking Age England. In keeping with his traditional view of scarce Scandinavian presence in England (see Section 2.3), Sawyer (1957) suggests that Grimstons cannot be evidence of Scandinavian settlement, because some Anglo-Saxons bore Norse anthroponyms, but it seems extremely unlikely that that every single anthroponym seen in a Grimston hybrid is an instance of an Anglo-Saxon with a Norse name. Higham (1986: 308) agrees with Cameron that Grimstons are evidence of the renaming of English settlements, adding that they specifically exemplify the renaming of English places with names in *tūn*, and that the ON anthroponyms represent men who were granted land following the dispersal of estates.

Questions have been raised about whether Grimstons are in fact hybrid names, containing elements from two different languages. Parsons (2001: 308) argues that OE *tūn* may have been borrowed into ON with the meaning 'English village'. If this is not the case, it is not clear why Vikings would have conquered and adapted so many English settlements with names in *tūn* rather than those with other OE generics. If *tūn* was borrowed in this way, this would mean that Grimston hybrids were wholly Norse names, not hybrids at all (Townend 2013: 119). It is generally thought that OE *tūn* was not borrowed into ON, because the cognate ON *túnn* was not established as a productive element in ON by the time of Scandinavian presence in England, but Townend (2013: 120, 2014: 102) sees no reason why the OE cognate should not be

loaned into ON. Fellows-Jensen (1972: 109–111) considers it likely that Vikings would understand the meaning of OE *tūn* because of the existence of the cognate ON *tún,* and may have used OE *tūn* productively themselves, with the result that it entered the ON onomasticon untampered (Fellows-Jensen 1978: 174). Parsons (2001: 308) offers an alternative interpretation, suggesting that Grimstons are neither hybrids nor wholly ON names, but are English adaptations that replace the Anglo-Saxon anthroponym of an earlier name with a Scandinavian anthroponym, perhaps to represent a new landowner or overlord. Townend (2013: 118) raises Parsons' own previously mentioned point, noting that it is unclear why this would occur only with names in *-tūn* and not with other generics. Another reaons that Townend (2013: 118) considers Parsons' suggestion of English adaptation unlikely relates to the presence of the ON strong genitive marker <-s> in some Grimstons, pointing to a purely ON structure. It should be noted that there is no discussion of the alternative ON strong genitive marker <-ar>, and because <-s> is ambiguous, in the sense that it might also be an indication of the OE strong genitive <-es>, its presence does not necessarily point to ON coinage. Grimstons are distributed irregularly in England, which is typically explained by varying settlement patterns. Townend (2013: 120–121), however, argues that this irregularity could mirror irregularities in the adoption of OE *tūn* into ON, in that it may have had 'wider currency' in some areas, and may not have been borrowed at all in others. Townend concludes, therefore, that the irregular distribution shows 'not so much settlement patterns as linguistic isoglosses' (2013: 120). When it comes to the NE specifically, Higham (1986: 308) notes that Grimstons are not prevalent in the region, but that there are clusters around Sheraton at the Tees basin in southernmost County Durham, and between Sedgefield and Stockton, again in southern Durham (see Section 4.2.2.3).

3.3.5.6 Scandinavianised place-names

Scandinavianised names are formed through ON speakers recognising and understanding OE names and 'inwardly transposing them into their own dialect', either

through adapting the pronunciation in accordance with the phonological rules of ON, or through translation of an element (Townend 2002: 60). In other words, 'in the mouths of Norse speakers, many English place-names underwent adaptation' (Townend 2014: 109). They therefore differ from names that include ON elements as a result of other kinds of processes: re-naming with semantically and/or phonologically unrelated elements; new names for new settlements; and elements added on to existing names (i.e. 'epexegetic' elements). Nicolaisen (1975: 170) states that phonological adaptation is the most common way in which names are Scandinavianised, but Townend (2002: 69–87) categorises most of his corpus of Scandinavianised names in Yorkshire, the Five Boroughs and the North West as semantic adaptations, that is, as translations of elements. The process of translating place-name elements points to bilingual speakers (Gammeltoft 2007: 482; Sandnes 2007: 130). The distinction between translation of an element and a change in pronunciation (hereafter 'sound substitution') is not always clear-cut. It is difficult to identify instances of translation, as many translations in the process of Scandinavianisation involve cognate substitution, rather than substitution of etymologically unrelated elements, meaning that phonological correspondences are seen in many examples (Gammeltoft 2007: 482). Clear examples of translation that do not involve cognate substitution include the replacement of OE *denu* with ON *dalr* (' both 'valley' (Smith 1956a: 126, 130)) and OE *byrig* ('stronghold' (Smith 1956a: 74)) with ON *býr* ('farmstead, village' (Smith 1956a: 66)), but these are rare (Gammeltoft 2007: 491; this is also apparent in Townend's (2002) corpus, where this kind of translation accounts for just 5% of all element substitutions, see Lindsay 2018: 5)).

There is some debate as to what Scandinavianised names represent, and what kind of name constitutes a clear example of Scandinavianisation. Fellows-Jensen (1972: 137–139) highlights evidence for Scandinavianisation as late as the 14th century, suggesting that these names are very weak evidence for Scandinavian settlement, as they are attested so long after the settlement itself took place. Cameron (1975a: 120) considers

them to reflect linguistic differences between OE and ON, while Townend (2002: 51) argues that they reflect the similarity between the two languages. Fellows-Jensen (1972: 120) and Gelling (1997: 218) believe that these names indicate localised settlement rather than the kind of authoritative or bureaucratic presence that was later seen with the Normans. Clark (1992: 483) argues that they illustrate the 'cultural dominance' of the Vikings in England. Cameron (1975c: 168–169) and Clark (1992: 484) consider Grimston hybrids to be examples of Scandinavianisation, and Townend (2013: 119) believes this to be true for both Grimston and Carlton hybrids. Abrams and Parsons (2003: 399) deem wholly Scandinavian names unlikely to be instances of Scandinavianisation.

In a previous project, I examined the possible phonological and geographical constraints on the process of Scandinavianisation, and the effect of borrowing, by quantifying and mapping the data from Townend's (2002) corpus (Lindsay 2018: 12–38). In terms of the geographic distribution, the Scandinavianised names are unevenly distributed, with over half located in Yorkshire. The most usual sound substitution is a consonant replacing a consonant, with 82% of consonant substitutions (and 38% of all sound substitutions) involving the replacement of [ʃ] with [sk] or of [tʃ] with [k].[8] The replacement of [d] with [ð] constitutes 28% of all consonant substitutions, making up 13% of all sound substitutions. This means that 49% of all instances of Scandinavianisation in the database are one of these three replacements: [ʃ] by [sk], [tʃ] by [k], and [d] by [ð]. It seems that Scandinavianisation occurs via predictable sound substitutions, with an OE phoneme replaced by its corresponding ON etymological equivalent. However, any particular instance of these kinds of changes in pronunciation (and spelling) may simply be the result of the translation of an element from OE to ON, rather than necessarily indicating that Scandinavianisation is a purely phonological

[8] These two features have been grouped together as both involve the substitution of a palatalized pronunciation that arose in OE, [ʃ] and [tʃ], with the respective unpalatalized Germanic pronunciation that had survived in ON, [sk] and [k].

process. It is clear place-names preserve some distinctions between OE and ON phonology, with Scandinavianised names exhibiting a lack of palatalisation.

Some Scandinavianised names undergo a process of re-Anglicisation, whereby the changes produced by Scandinavianisation are 'undone', and the name reverts to its English form. Data analysis in Lindsay (2018: 13) shows that re-Anglicised names are unevenly distributed across Yorkshire, the North West and the Five Boroughs, with more than half located in Yorkshire. However, this is evidently a natural consequence of the high proportion of all Scandinavianised names that are found in Yorkshire, as only 20% of Scandinavianised names there exhibit subsequent re-Anglicisation. There is little variation amongst the North, East and West Ridings of Yorkshire, but the North West is split between higher re-Anglicisation rates in Cheshire and Lancashire in the south of the region, compared with Cumberland and Westmorland in the north. In the Five Boroughs, there is considerably more re-Anglicisation in Derbyshire than elsewhere. Vowel substitutions are more often re-Anglicised than consonant substitutions, and the re-Anglicisation rates of all different consonant pairs are low. The most common kind of re-Anglicisation involves whole element substitution. For example, ON *brunnr* was re-Anglicised to OE *burna* in 92% of cases (including in Cliburn in Westmorland, and Kilburn in North Yorkshire (Townend 2002: 73)), and ON *heimr* reverted to OE *ham* in 94% of cases (including Bispham in Lanchester and Wintringham in East Yorkshire (Townend 2002: 78–79)). In contrast, ON elements that were borrowed as translations of broadly equivalent OE terms tend not to be re-Anglicised: ON *býr* reverts to OE *byrig* in only one out of eight instances (12.5%), *kirk* reverts to *cirice* in just 2 out of 18 instances (11%),[9] while ON *dalr* never reverts to OE *denu* (both 'valley' (Smith 1956a: 126, 130), nor ON *bekkr* to OE *bæc* / *bece* (both

[9] This substitution in some cases is interpreted as involving phonological adaptation of [k] from [tʃ] (Townend 2002: 58, 61). This is a strong example of the difficulty involved in assessment of the processes of Scandinavianisation (phonological adaptation or semantic substitution) applies to various place-names (see Section 3.1).

'stream', the OE cognate with the additional possible meaning 'valley' (Smith 1956a: 23, 26)).

It might be expected that re-Anglicisation would be more prevalent in places with lesser or shorter-term Viking presence, where the currency of ON would be weaker, but this does not seem to be the case. Derbyshire has high re-Anglicisation rates (8 out of 11 names, Lindsay 2018: 15), whereas neighbouring Nottinghamshire contains no instances of re-Anglicisation (Lindsay 2018: 16). These counties were re-taken by English Mercia within a year of each other (Walker 2000: 110, 113), making a contrast between them in terms of longevity and currency of ON unlikely. There was heavier Scandinavian settlement and therefore likely longer and stronger currency of ON in Derbyshire than in Warwickshire, Staffordshire and Northamptonshire (Gover et al. 1933: xxi, xxxvii; Gover et al. 1936: xxi, xxiii), where re-Anglicisation rates are low. Overall, then, there is no consistent correlation between stronger Viking presence and currency of ON on the one hand, and rates of re-Anglicisation in place-names on the other. In the counties covered by Townend's (2002) corpus and examined in Lindsay (2018), re-Anglicisation rates vary from 0% to 73%. It should be remembered, of course, that re-Anglicisation could have occurred centuries after the OE period.

Chapter 4. Vikings in the North East

4.1 Sociohistorical background

Very little is written about Scandinavian settlement in Northumberland and County Durham (together, 'the NE' (see Section 1.3). Although land ownership and some level of political or aristocratic power, primarily in southern County Durham, is discussed in several accounts of the Vikings in Northumbria (as outlined below), the settlement of ordinary Scandinavian people is rarely even considered. Higham's (1986: 310) claim that 'very little colonization occurred' north of southern Durham implies that the southernmost area of the NE did experience some 'colonization', but the nature of this settlement is not discussed, only land-holding and power arrangements. Watts (1988–89: 54) states that '[v]ery little is known in general about the actual settlement sites of the Scandinavians in Northumbria as a whole outside York, not least, perhaps, because many such sites have continued in use as farming settlements'. Within the NE, only Simy Folds in south-west Durham 'has been provisionally identified as a Viking-period farmstead' (Watts 1988–89: 54, see Coggins et al. 1983).

It is well-known that the earliest Viking raids in Britain targeted monasteries, including Lindisfarne in 793 and Wearmouth-Jarrow in 794, in Northumberland and Durham respectively. Monasteries were 'easy and obvious targets for heathen pirates. Many were directly accessible from the sea. Few, if any, were in any sense defensible' (Higham 1986: 306). Higham (1986: 307) takes an interesting view on the reaction and response to these early raids, positing that 'there is no evidence that the political community adopted a serious attitude towards these occasional raids', and '[h]owever awful for the victims, the activities of a few shiploads of heathen warriors were insufficiently alarming or predictable to stimulate the union of the fragmented Northumbrian leadership'.

Lack of consideration of Scandinavian settlement in the region may be due to the fact that the Danelaw — that area of Anglo-Saxon England that was under Danish rule — is often thought to extend only up to the River Tees (see Sections 2.7 and 4.1.5),

meaning that the regions now covered by County Durham and Northumberland are not considered to have been part of the Danelaw (Rollason 2003: 257; Holman 2017: 157). When taken alongside the general understanding that there is very little influence of Norse on local place-names in the region (see Section 4.2), previous researchers have apparently seen no reason to believe that ordinary Scandinavian people settled in and integrated into Northumberland or County Durham. Chapters 6 and 7 will question this view by presenting clear evidence that there is noteworthy ON influence on place-names in the region. Furthermore, even before place-names are considered, a careful examination of the activity of three powerful Vikings in the NE points to far more settlement than traditionally assumed in Durham, though it appears to be very limited in Northumberland. Reinforcing the evidence of the many names of possible or likely ON origin in County Durham that have been identified in the data collected for the current project (see Sections 6.5 and 7.8), the details of Viking activity outlined below support the conclusion that the Tyne is a more suitable estimation of the Danelaw's northern border than the Tees. This is because Viking settlement and the rule of the Viking kings of York seems to have covered County Durham, the area between the Tyne and the Tees, rather than stopping at its southern border.

There are three areas of Scandinavian presence or activity in the NE that are consistently discussed in accounts of the Vikings in Northumbria, not all of which can be located with precision. These are areas linked to three Viking leaders at three different times (see also the timeline of the Vikings in England, Section 2.2): Halfdan in the 870s; Guthred in the 880s; and Ragnald in the 910s. It seems that between the raids on monasteries in the 790s and Halfdan's journey to the Tyne in the 870s, the Vikings somewhat ignored the NE (Rollason 2003: 212).

Before outlining these key phases of activity, it should be noted that, in addition to longer term presence, Vikings may have passed through through the NE. There are several locations in the region that are considered to have been part of various routes that Viking armies may have travelled. Eric Bloodaxe, the last Viking king in

Northumbria, was killed in 954 at Stainmore, which is located on what was the primary route between York and Carlisle (Rollason 2003: 256, Edmonds 2018: 88). Stainmore is situated around 6 miles south of the Tees, so it is possible that journeys on this route, whether by Eric Bloodaxe or by other Scandinavians, may have passed through the south-western part of Durham. According to Fellows-Jensen (1985: 17), place-name *Denbie* (ON *Danir* 'Danes' (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 28)) in Dumfriesshire indicates an isolated group of Danes (see Section 3.3.5.1 (e)), who 'probably came across the Pennines from Yorkshire to Carlisle and proceeded from there into Dumfriesshire', again indicating use of a route north-west to Carlisle that may well have passed through the south-western part of County Durham. There is no obvious reason why some travellers may not have stayed in the region, if the geographical and/or political conditions were attractive. Higham (1986: 327) suggests that in the North West, some shielings may have become permanent settlement sites, and it is therefore plausible that the same may have happened with any temporary dwellings or settlement sites on these routes through the south-western part of County Durham. As we will see (Section 4.2.2.2) this may also apply to two areas of Northumberland.

4.1.1 Halfdan, the 870s

With part of the *micel here*, the Viking army that landed in East Anglia in 865, the Viking leader Halfdan travelled to the River Tyne in 874, where a winter was spent (ChronA 875.1; Swanton 2000: 72). The Chronicle does not state where on the 73-mile span of the Tyne these winter-quarters were located, but the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* records that the army sailed as far as *Wircesforda*, a name which does not survive to the modern record (Johnson South 2002: 52–53). The question remains of where within Northumberland or Durham – and it must be one of these counties – these Vikings spent some months between 874 and 875. The Chronicle's entry for 876 states that 'Healfdene Norþanhymbra lond gedęlde & ergende wæron & hiera tilgende' (ChronA 876.6; 'Halfdan divided up the land of Northumbria, and they were ploughing and providing for themselves', Swanton 2000: 74). This is the first record of

Viking settlement, rather than raids and army camps, in England (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 382), and as Townend (2014: 85) points out, it is 'the extent of the explicit notice given by the *Chronicle* to Scandinavian settlement in the north'. The sequence of events that the Chronicle entries are describing follows the general pattern of raiding followed by the establishment of winter-quarters, followed by colonisation that is seen in England and Ireland, and maybe Shetland and Orkney (Holman 2017: 49). Abrams and Parsons (2004: 393) argue that 'Viking military occupation that is not succeeded by the settlement of Norse-speakers need leave no trace in the local toponymy', and since the winter-quarters on the Tyne were evidently a military camp, this would explain why there is no clear clustering of any ON influence on place-names near this river (see Chapter 7).

Halfdan is named by Asser as 'rex illius partis Northanhymbrorum' (Stevenson 1959: 38; 'king of one part of the Northumbrians', Keynes and Lapidge 1983: 83). In the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* he is called 'rex Danorum' ('king of the Danes', Johnson South 2002: 52–53), while in the Chronicle he is identified as one of two 'hæþnan cyningas' (ChronA 871.8; 'heathen kings', Swanton 2000: 70). Asser wrote that Halfdan 'subdued the whole province of Northumbria' (Stevenson 1959: 36; Keynes and Lapidge 1986: 86), and Higham (1986: 308) suggests that Halfdan 'probably intended to take control of all Northumbria as his own kingdom', based on his raiding of the Strathclyde Britons in western Scotland and in northernmost Northumbria, in modern-day Lothian and the Scottish Borders.

It is usually assumed that Viking kings of Northumbria ruled Deira, the part of Northumbria between the Tees and the Humber, corresponding roughly to present-day North and East Yorkshire (see Section 4.1.5.1 for a reconsideration of the areas ruled by these kings). Rollason (2003: 212–213, 216–217) points out that a York base is an assumption, and that Halfdan and his followers may have had different or additional centres for their activity. However much of Northumbria Halfdan was 'king' of, and wherever his base, it is entirely unclear from the near-contemporary sources

where exactly his people settled, ploughed and provided for themselves within the huge expanse of Northumbria, between the Firth of Forth down to the Humber. Wherever their lands may have been, it seems that it was a rather large area. Just twenty years later, Asser writes that, in 876, Halfdan 'totam regionem sibimet et suis divisit, et illam cum suo exercitu coluit' (Stevenson 1959: 38; 'shared out the whole province between himself and his men, and together with his army cultivated the land', Keynes and Lapidge 1983: 83). Jones (1968: 221) claims that 'the area partitioned was approximately that of modern Yorkshire', but provides no evidence or elaboration. Hunter Blair (1977: 73) concurs, stating that Halfdan's army 'returned to southern Northumbria and settled down to permanent homes in what, as later evidence shows, corresponded broadly with modern Yorkshire'. Again, this is not substantiated, and it is not clear what the 'later evidence' is. In my view, these claims about the whereabouts of Halfdan and his followers in the 870s that are presented in major historical studies of early medieval England (Jones 1968; Hunter Blair 1977) contribute significantly to the widespread view that anywhere north of the Tees was devoid of Scandinavian settlement. Elsewhere, Jones (1965: 221) also states that Halfdan's campaigns against the Strathclyde Britons and the Picts, conducted from the Tyne northwards, took place following his return to Deira. Considering Halfdan's winter at the Tyne is not questioned by Jones, this mention of Deira suggests that either (a) Jones considers the Tyne to have been located in (or most likely, at the northernmost border of) Deira, which would also place County Durham in Deira, and/or (b) the status of County Durham within Northumbria and the Danelaw has been confused or lost (see further Section 4.1.5.2).

Higham (1986: 310) considers there to have been 'very little Scandinavian colonization' north of southern County Durham despite Halfdan's military campaigns, with the Viking armies having too little manpower to be able to seize or settle on Bernician estates, that is, land north of the Tees. This implies, however, that (a) there was Scandinavian colonisation in the south of County Durham, and (b) Halfdan's

campaigning army was present in North East England in the late 870s at least. While the latter point does not entail Scandinavian settlement, even the fact that there was a Scandinavian army present in the region has not often been explicitly acknowledged. Higham (1986: 310) posits that Halfdan's campaigning in 875 must have been 'highly disruptive', as in this year the Community of St Cuthbert moved from Norham, on the present-day Scottish border in Northumberland, out of the way of Halfdan's campaigns northwards against the Picts.

What has been outlined so far about Halfdan's presence in the NE highlights three significant gaps in our knowledge of his campaigns: (1) the location of his winter-quarters on the Tyne in 875–6; (2) the location or locations of Halfdan and his army between the winter of 874–5 and 876; and (3) where the settling and pastoral activity occurred, starting in 876. The fact that there were campaigns into Scotland indicates Viking presence in the NE, even if fleeting and as part of a military campaign pushing northwards through lands they did not have the manpower to seize. Certainly Higham believes that this is the extent of the Viking presence in the NE, but the conclusion proposed here is that some of the land that Halfdan shared out for his people to plough and provide for themselves may have been situated north of the Tees.

As noted above, the abandonment of Norham by the Community of St Cuthbert in 875 has been taken as an indication that Halfdan's army took a route in the direction of this village (Higham 1986: 310; Rollason 2003: 245). While there is no known reference to Scandinavian settlement at Norham itself, its location on a route into Scotland suggests a journey northwards through Northumberland, and it seems plausible that,

in undertaking such a journey, the Vikings may have settled somewhere along the way, or at least that there was the opportunity for some influence of Norse in the area.[10] As will be explored further in Sections 4.2.2.2 and 7.2, there are two distinct clusters of place-names in Northumberland that may exhibit ON influence. Major names Bickerton, Rothbury, Snitter, Tosson and Thropton,[11] around 29 miles south of Norham, in central Northumberland, are located in the same small area as minor names Carterside, Cartington, Dunkirk Lodge, and Whinbank. Further north in Northumberland, around 11 miles south of Norham, minor names Crookham, Crookhouse, Over Acres, Stickley and Troughburn are found in the vicinity of major names Akeld and Coupland. These form the 'Rothbury' and 'Akeld clusters'. The areas in which both of these clusters are found, around Rothbury and around Akeld, could conceivably be passed through if travelling north to Norham, including from various points on the River Tyne. Both clusters are located just east of the Cheviot Hills, which supports the idea of their location on Halfdan's route north. A route over the Cheviots is improbable, and a route to the west of these hills is far longer unless Halfdan's regular starting point for raiding north of Norham was in present-day Cumbria, and

[10] Research into modern language contact situations indicates that intention to temporarily stay in a location results in lower language proficiency in the target language (the language that is new to speakers, the one that is being learned) (Geurts and Lubbers 2017). Duration in a new location has a 'highly statistically significant' effect on target language proficiency (Chiswick and Miller 2014: 31); intention to stay somewhere long-term or permanently results in higher levels of language proficiency in the local (target) language. This might suggest that upon their first route through, and their initial possible settlement in Northumberland, ON speakers continued to speak ON. Whether direct comparisons can be made between studies of modern contexts and the situation of Viking settlers more than a millennium ago is doubtful. For starters, there is no consensus on whether Vikings and Anglo-Saxons sharing a settlement could understand each other in their native tongues, developed an Anglo-Norse hybrid language, or assimilated to English peppered with ON loans (see Sections 3.1 and 3.3.2).

[11] The major names in the Rothbury cluster may contain ON elements kjarr 'brushwood' (Smith 1956b: 4), *rauðr* ('red', as a personal nickname), *ærgi* ('shieling' (Watts 2004: 557)), *tosvin* ('a field of tow or flax', Mawer 1920: 199), and *þorp* ('secondary settlement, dependent outlying farmstead or hamlet', Smith 1956b: 205) respectively. The makeup and interpretation of names in both clusters is explored in Section 7.4 and 7.6 particularly.

since Halfdan is connected to York and the Tyne, it might be assumed his route was in the east (see Map B in the front matter of this thesis). It should also be noted that three names exhibiting possible ON influence (Scrainwood, Ingleton and Ilderton, all possibly containing ON anthroponyms) are located on a direct line between the Rothbury and Akeld clusters, hugging the eastern edge of the Cheviots. These groups may represent the few Viking settlers 'scattered in Northumberland' that Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 275) mention without further detail. If these clusters are indeed instances of ON elements or ON influence on pre-Norse names, and this is the result of the presence of Halfdan's army in the area, there are three possibilities for what this represents:

1. *Scandinavian settlement, on the journey north to, or the return south from Scotland*. Pählsson (1976: 9–11) and Higham (1986: 315) suggest any such settlement would be small-scale. If the settlements represented by the names in question here were small, however, even small-scale settlement could have led to Scandinavian settlers in numbers similar to or greater than the contemporary Anglo-Saxon population in the area.
2. *Local adoption of some ON toponymical terms, resulting from repeated contact with ON speakers.* These kinds of toponymical terms would plausibly be on the subject of neighbouring settlements and topographical features in discussing their route, that is, local landmarks on the Vikings' route that might be mentioned in meetings between ON and OE speakers. The scarcity of ON place-name elements around these clusters does not undermine this possibility, as loans into local place-naming stock may not diffuse geographically (Townend 2000: 98, see Section 3.3.3).
3. *Presence of a Viking raiding army in these areas, with numbers overwhelming the local Anglo-Saxon population.* This could have led to dominance of the Scandinavians and therefore of ON, with more ON speakers than OE speakers in this small area, even if only temporarily. This in turn led to local place-names

being given and/or referred to in ON, resulting in the ON influence that is retained to this day in the names. Temporary settlements may become permanent ones, as Higham (1986: 327) suggests in relation to some shielings in North West England. This may have happened with temporary army camps and other non-permanent settlement sites used by Vikings in the NE.

Although these two clusters of possible Norse names around Rothbury and Akeld in Northumberland are on an entirely plausible route between the Tyne and Scotland via Norham, it seems unlikely that Halfdan's base was at either location. Rothbury is located 21 miles, and Akeld 14 miles, from Bamburgh, the seat of the independent Anglo-Saxon Bernician aristocracy, and there is a complete lack of evidence for Scandinavian land ownership north of the Tyne. Rather, it seems reasonable to suggest that these are possible resting points of perhaps frequent campaigns northwards and the return journey southwards, which may have led to some settlement and/or influence of ON, as discussed. This does not negate the possibility of Halfdan being based in County Durham, however. In the 12th century, Symeon of Durham wrote that Halfdan fled the Tyne, never to return (Arnold 1885 [2012]: 68; Rollason 2003: 216). He may have fled to Ireland, since he may be the king whose death in a battle in County Down in 877 is described in the Annals of Ulster (877, Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983; Rollason 2003: 216; Hadley and Richards 2021: 219).

Based on this outline of Halfdan's presence and activities in the NE, I suggest that (a) his base in the mid-870s was a location somewhere in present-day County Durham, between the Tyne and the Tees, and (b) at least part of the province that was divided, ploughed and settled upon by Halfdan's followers was located in what is now County Durham. As well as Halfdan's flight from the Tyne, and the fact that there is a lack of evidence in the historical records to indicate that he was based at York (Rollason 2003: 212–213, 216–217), Chapters 6 and 7 will show that the analysis of the place-names collated for the present project also support this suggestion. As briefly noted above (Section 4.1), and discussed in more detail below (Section 4.1.5), one of the main

arguments presented in this thesis is that the northern border of the Danelaw is better represented by the Tyne, rather than the Tees**.** This picture of Halfdan's people settling in Durham both supports and is supported by this alternative border. As noted near the beginning of this, Section 4.1.1, Asser's account, with its reference to the whole province (*totam regionem*), implies that a very large area was settled by Halfdan's people, suggesting widespread colonisation of an area, rather than isolated settlement. It seems entirely plausible to suggest that this may have been an area spanning northern North Yorkshire and across the Tees into southern Durham. The question of how far north this area may have stretched will be addressed in the analysis of the place-name data presented in Chapter 7.

4.1.2 Guthred, the 880s

In 883, the Viking aristocracy of Northumbria had a 'succession crisis' (Higham 1986: 310). Eadred, the Anglo-Saxon Abbot of Carlisle, who was leading the Community in their seven-year wanderings with the remains of St Cuthbert following their departure from Norham, aided Guthred, a Viking 'with Christian and English connections', to become the King of Northumbria (Higham 1986: 310). This title is misleading, as it is extremely unlikely that Guthred ruled all of the Kingdom of Northumbria, from the Humber to the Forth.[12] In any case, with the help of Eadred, Guthred became king of at least a part of Northumbria. The 11th century *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (Johnson South 2002: 52–53) states that a vision of St Cuthbert appeared to Eadred and told him that Guthred would be crowned king. Rollason (2003: 245) concludes that, while this miracle-story is evidently written to illustrate the power of St Cuthbert, it also indicates that the Community supported Guthred's accession.

To repay this support from Eadred and the Community, Guthred offered them two tracts of land. One of those was a large block in north-eastern County Durham, between the Tyne and the Wear between the coast and the Roman road Dere Street,

[12] Section 4.1.5.1 further explores the title of 'King of Northumbria' and the scope of the 'Northumbrian' Scandinavian kings.

which roughly intersects County Durham in half east-to-west (Hart 1975: 138–139; Higham 1986: 310). This covers the land between present-day Gateshead, Chester-le-Street, South Shields and Sunderland. He also permitted Eadred to buy lands in the parishes of Hesleden and Easington, in the east of the county between Sunderland and Hartlepool, which Higham (1986: 311) suggests led to the Community owning territory occupied by a mix of Danish and English tenants - a view that implicitly reflects the idea that there was Scandinavian settlement in eastern Durham. Indeed, Higham (1986: 311) argues that place-names around Easington and Hesleden are indicative of an Old Norse-speaking population spanning several generations, and it should be added that, rather than disappearing, it is likely that they integrated with Anglo-Saxons (see Sections 2.6 and 4.1.4). The *Historia* notes that the Community purchased land not just from Guthred, but also from members of his army, who had shared out the land (Johnson South 2002: 58–59).

Guthred's granting and selling of land to the Community was mutually beneficial (Higham 1986: 311). For Guthred, Eadred's purchase showed that the Community recognised his legitimacy as king, and that he could rely on them to enforce his rule in Durham. For the Community, the land gains meant that they could settle at Chester-le-Street, and also made them the biggest landowner in Bernicia (if, indeed, Chester-le-Street in County Durham was within Bernicia as opposed to Deira, see Section 2.7 and 4.1.5). In fact, the only rival to the Bishops of Chester-le-Street in terms of landholding was the Bernician aristocracy based at Bamburgh, who maintained a line of secular rulers and looked to the Anglo-Saxon kings in southern England for alliances that could oppose an Anglo-Scandinavian Northumbria ruled from York, in Deira (Higham 1986: 311–312). The Bernician lords needed allies as their political position was relatively weak compared to that of Anglo-Scandinavian Deira, where Viking immigration and subsequent population mixing led to a larger population and therefore a larger army (Higham 1986: 314).

These latter points illustrate a contrast between land north and south of the Tyne. To the south, land was owned by a Scandinavian king or the Community of St Cuthbert, who were legitimising that Scandinavian king's rule, and there was evidently some Scandinavian settlement, attested in the east of the county right up to the Tyne (see Section 4.2 for details of more areas of possible settlement). To the north of the Tyne, the Anglo-Saxon landowners stood in opposition to Anglo-Scandinavian rule of Northumbria, looking to southern England for allies, and while Scandinavian military presence may have resulted in some settlement or at least linguistic influence, there is little to no discussion of Scandinavian land ownership or political power in Northumberland in historical records nor modern accounts, and far less ON influence on place-names (Sections 4.2.2.2, 6.1 and 7.2). This lends considerable support to the idea of the Tyne as a more appropriate northern border of the Danelaw (see Section 4.1.5).

While the possibility of Halfdan's shared out land being partially located in County Durham relies on piecing together previously unconnected evidence, and the only explicit mention of Halfdan's activity in the NE is in reference to an unspecified location on the Tyne, evidence in the historical record of Guthred's activity in the region is far clearer and more detailed. There certainly appears to be Scandinavian rule in Durham in the late 9th century, but precisely how numerous the ON speakers in the east of the county were is very unclear. Stenton (1947: 250) believed that '[i]t was not until the tenth century that there was any considerable Scandinavian immigration into the county north of the Tees'. While disputing the idea of many ON speakers and Scandinavian colonisation of Durham in the late 9th century, Stenton's interpretation is nevertheless consistent with large numbers of Scandinavian settlers in the county in the 900s.

4.1.3 Ragnald, the 910s

In 914, the Bernician aristocracy, joined by King Constantine of the Scots, fought in the Battle of Corbridge against the Irish-Norwegian army led by Ragnald (Higham 1986:

312; Rollason 2003: 274). The Bernicians' aim was to stop Irish-Norwegian raids, following the seizure of lands belonging to the son of the Earl of Bamburgh (Johnson South 2002: 60–63). It is possible that there was another Battle of Corbridge in 918, though it may be that references to this second encounter are the result of confusion that led to sources splitting one battle into two events (Rollason 2003: 274–275). Whether it was one or two battles, Ragnald won, and following his victory he made various arrangements concerning land in County Durham (Higham 1986: 312). Ragnald agreed with the family of an Anglo-Saxon called Eadred, a tenant of the Community of St Cuthbert who had died in the battle (not the previously mentioned Eadred, Abbot of Carlisle and leader of the Community), that the Community might keep their land in the poor upland country in the west of the county, but richer lands in the east were seized. Two large tracts of this land were granted to two Scandinavian lords, Onlafbal and Scula (Hart 1975: 141; Higham 1986: 312–313; Rollason 2003: 231; Abrams and Parsons 2004: 408).[13] Scula's land was situated between Castle Eden and Billingham, in the far south-east of County Durham, while Onlafbal's was between Castle Eden and the River Wear, which covers almost all of the rest of the east of the county (Hart 1975: 141; and see Section 7.1, Figure 7(b)). How far west these lands stretched is uncertain. It seems plausible that Dere Street, which roughly intersects County Durham in half east to west, may have been the western boundary, but the route of this road south of Chester-le-Street is unclear (Hart 1975: 141). Whatever the extent of the lands they seized, it seems that the Vikings' overlordship in these areas was brief, since Symeon (Arnold 1885 [2012]: 73); Surtees 1816: ii, 40) discusses the Community granting and selling land that Ragnald had previously granted to Onlafbal and Scula. In this context, Watts (1988–89: 19) refers to the Scandinavians' 'temporary possession of an enormous block of land in east Durham', and Higham (1986: 312–313) suggests that this area was reclaimed by the Community in the 930s.

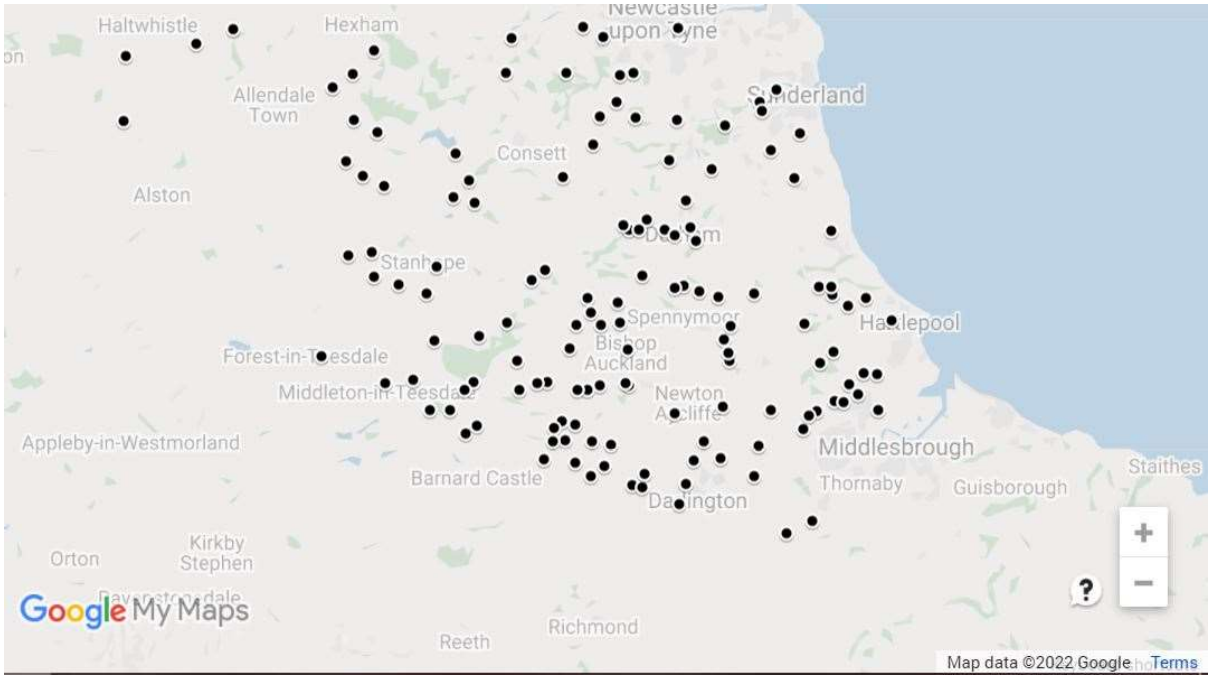
[13] The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto describes Onlafbal as 'an enemy, in whatever ways he was able, of God and St Cuthbert' (Johnson South 2002: 61–63, cited in Townend 2014: 126). Ragnald himself appeared never to have converted to Christianity (Townend 2014: 129).

Ragnald's presence in the NE, then, appears to have been military, and as mentioned above, Abrams and Parsons (2004: 393) argue that 'Viking military occupation that is not succeeded by the settlement of Norse-speakers need leave no trace in the local toponymy'. Watts (1988–89: 58) believes that the toponymy of north-eastern Durham fits with this, claiming that Onlafbal's block of land, between Castle Eden and the Wear, 'does not contribute a single example of a Scand [sic] settlement name of any type'. This claim is examined in Section 7.1 (Figure 7(b)). The temporary and perhaps negligible nature of Onlafbal and Scula's power and influence does not detract from the fact that a large proportion of the county was evidently ruled by Vikings in the early 10th century, nor does it cast doubt on any earlier Danish settlement in the county. Although the overall picture is one of the Vikings losing control of the lands they had initially seized, there appears to have been considerable transference of political power and lordship back and forth between the Community and the Vikings in the late 9th to early 10th centuries, which leads to a confusing picture of the power structures and demographics of County Durham in this period. Eadred's land in western Durham had been granted to him by Bishop Cutheard, an Anglo-Saxon leader of the Community, who also granted a certain Alfred land on the Durham coast in the east (Hart 1975: 140–141; Higham 1986: 292–293). Cutheard had bought that land from the aforementioned Christian Viking king Guthred (Johnson South 2002: 58–61; Abrams and Parsons 2004: 408, fn.133). Abrams and Parsons (2004: 408) state that, although the *Historia* is 'hagiographical, retrospective […] and unreliable', its depiction of Ragnald's seizure of the Community's land is credible. It has been rather glossed over in previous research that Ragnald's army, much like Halfdan's forty years earlier, shared out land in County Durham that Ragnald must have ruled in order to be able to do so, lending further support to the idea that at least part of the present-day county lay within the Danelaw, though in this case it might be better named the Norlaw. These exchanges of land illustrate the alternating transfers of power: Guthred sells or grants land to the Community, who helped him to become king; the Community then grants

some of this land to men they trust to use it for the benefit of the Community; Ragnald subsequently seizes this land, granting some to his followers; and then the Community reclaims it in the 930s (Higham 1986: 312–313). Underlying these shifts, a clear contrast can be identified between the kind of relationship the Community had with the Danes, on the one hand, and with the Irish-Norse, on the other. It seems that, quite soon after the first Vikings appeared in the NE in the 870s (discounting the initial destructive raids of the 790s), the Danes and the Anglo-Saxons were perhaps indeed 'presenting a relatively united front to the Irish-Norse menace' (Higham 1986: 315–316), who were 'conspicuous by their paganism' (Townend 2014: 127). Abrams and Parsons (2004: 408) note that these lands originally fell under Viking lordship perhaps via Guthred, or perhaps via Halfdan's army in the previous decade. This provides another example, seen throughout this account of the historical context, of previous research discussing Viking presence and power in County Durham lands, without addressing the question of what this means for this area's assumed status outside of the Danelaw.

In terms of the effect of these power changes on the makeup of the population, it seems unreasonable to assume that any Danish landowners and settlers vacated the area or were killed each time the Community regained control or ownership of land that the Vikings had seized. Instead, the changing political leadership does not appear to equate to any notable change in the demographics of this area: Higham (1985: 311, 312–313) argues that Norse place-names on the Durham coast provide evidence of the survival of Danes following both Abbot Eadred's purchasing of land there in the 880s, and Ragnald's seizure of these lands in the 910s. However, it is worth noting that neither Mawer (1920) nor Watts (2002a) identifies any clusters of Norse names on the Durham coast (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Map showing the location of place-names in County Durham, extracted from Mawer (1920) and Watts (2002a), which potentially evidence ON influence.



4.1.4 Anglo-Scandinavian integration and the political landscape of Northumbria

With a Scandinavian king relying on the support of the Christian, Anglo-Saxon leader, it is clear that just twenty or so years following the arrival of the 'great heathen army', the political landscape of Viking Age England was already looking quite different to the violent raids and monastery-burning rampages that popular narratives often focus on. In the case of the relationship between Eadred and Guthred, the Vikings were at least not completely at odds with the Community, and managed to find some kind of peace (see Abrams and Parsons 2004: 413).

The details of the social integration and assimilation of the Vikings and the existing Anglo-Saxon population was addressed in Section 2.6. In relation to the NE specifically, Higham (1986: 315–316) considers the initial arrival of the Vikings to be 'traumatic' for Christian Anglo-Saxon society, but also states that early contact with the Community and the Church more generally led to their Christianisation and Anglicisation within a decade, though the process of ethnic and cultural integration continued into the early 10th century. Higham (1986: 316) speculates that the complex hierarchy of land

ownership — with a Danish king, Anglo-Saxon bishops, Anglo-Saxon lords, and Danish and Anglo-Saxon land-holders — was a catalyst for assimilation in southern County Durham. Rollason (2003: 255) asserts that, although Viking settlement and influence is clear and had a significant impact at least in the southern part of Northumbria, cultural, religious and ethnic assimilation into Anglo-Saxon society was the foremost process, and in that sense the Vikings had far less impact on Anglo-Saxon England than the Anglo-Saxons previously may have had on Celtic Britain. Rollason (2003: 249) also discusses the geographical limits of Viking impact, stating that north of the Tees, the 'ethnic and cultural character were not radically altered'.

The account presented so far in this chapter has highlighted the fact that Danes and Anglo-Saxons both remained tenants of land in County Durham through changes in lordship from English to Danish to Irish-Norwegian and back to English, and that Viking kings ruled in parts of the NE for a time throughout these changes. The following section considers the geographical scope and significance of the 'Viking kings of Northumbria', and what implications an understanding of their status and role has on our conception of the northern extent of the Danelaw.

4.1.5 A new Danelaw border?

Figure 4: Closer view of Figure 1 above (Section 2.7), showing the Scandinavian-maintained 'Kingdom of York' and the lands of English Northumbria.[14]

4.1.5.1 The realm of Viking kings of Northumbria

Although this chapter has only discussed Viking presence and rule in the NE from the 870s to the 910s, it should be remembered that Scandinavian kings of Northumbria ruled for nearly a century, from 866 to 954, when Eric Bloodaxe was driven from York (ChronD 954.1, Swanton 2000: 113), and that in the 11th century there were Scandinavian kings of all England, with the reigns of Cnut and his sons from 1016 to 1042. It is only through accounts of Halfdan, Guthred and Ragnald, which are patchy

[14] As shown within the white box, this map draws the northern border of the Danelaw as a few miles north of the Tees in southernmost County Durham, south of Durham city. This appears to be the area between Barnard Castle and Darlington. The basis for drawing the border in this way is opaque. There is no consensus, and extremely little discussion, of whether the northern border of the Danelaw should be considered to be at the Tees, the Tyne, or somewhere in between.

and scattered in both medieval sources and modern scholarship, that we know anything about Scandinavian rule and indeed settlement in present-day County Durham. Whether this area was under the rule of different Scandinavian kings at other times (before the reign of Cnut) is even less clear.

It is extremely unclear where exactly the Scandinavian kings ruling in Northumbria actually ruled over. To take just one example, in its entry for the year 925, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle names Stigrygg *Norðhymbra cyng*, 'king of Northumbria' (ChronD 925.1; Swanton 2000: 105), but it is unlikely that Stigrygg ruled the whole of the kingdom of Northumbria from the Humber to the Forth.[15] To acknowledge and avoid this unintended implication, researchers often use the term 'Viking kings of York' (see e.g. Sawyer 1971: 151; Rollason 2003: 10, 216, 219, 227; Abrams and Parsons 2004: 413; Holman 2017: 98, 102). While it is not made explicit in any of the sources cited, such a term generally seems to imply that the area ruled by these kings is all or part of Deira, covering the southern part of Northumbria and the northernmost part of the Danelaw as it is typically defined. It is assumed that there was never Scandinavian rule where the Bernician aristocracy maintained ownership of their lands (Higham 1986: 311–312). This area of 'precarious independence' (Burnley 1992: 416) maintained by Anglo-Saxon earls based at Bamburgh in Northumberland is thought to have extended south of the Tyne, all the way to the Tees, encompassing all of County Durham as well as Northumberland (Partidge 1982: 121; Watts 1988–89: 17). Where any evidence is mentioned at all, the supposed lack of ON place-names in the region is the primary evidence used to support this picture (Rollason 2003: 244; Holman 2017: 63). This is why anything north of the Tees is not considered to be within the Danelaw. However, as Sections 6.1 and 7.2 will show, analysis of the data collected for the present project identifies more ON influence on place-names in Durham than previously assumed, and

[15] 'King of the Northumbrians', with the -a suffix in *Norðhymbra* indicating a genitive plural, is perhaps the more literal interpretation, but even if we take the phrase to refer to the Northumbrian people, it is unlikely that Stigrygg ruled over all Northumbrian people between the Humber to the south and the Forth to the north.

it is important to note that discussion of the Bernician aristocracy is notably absent from accounts of Durham in both the near-contemporary and modern secondary sources. From the information about the region that such sources do provide, it is evident that the Community of St Cuthbert is the main landowner (Higham 1986: 311), and that the Community and the Danes had peaceful, indeed favourable, relations. This leads to doubts about why the independent Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Bernicia is considered to include County Durham, an issue which is considered in the following section along with the geographical scope of the Danelaw in the north.

4.1.5.2 The extent of the Danelaw, and its borders

It was noted in Section 2.4 that the northern border of the Danelaw, often taken to be the Tees, seems to be considered to be a 'hard' border. If this is an accurate reflection of the situation, it raises questions as to why Scandinavians were happy to settle so close to the 'front lines' at the Tees while proximity to the Danelaw rendered Cambridgeshire, at its south-eastern border, an unattractive settlement region (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 415). One potential answer is that sparse Scandinavian settlement in Cambridgeshire was either partly or entirely due to its unappealing topographical conditions, rather than its location at the border of the Danelaw. Indeed, Abrams and Parsons (2004: 415) state that the lower number and sparse distribution of Norse place-names in East Anglia on average compared to other areas of the Danelaw represents less intense settlement on worse-quality land. Looking at the question from the other direction, another answer (which might work in combination with the first, rather than necessarily being an alternative explanation) is that the supposed front line of the Tees was not such a hard border after all. It could be that Vikings did settle north of the Tees, in County Durham, but left less trace on place-names there than in East Anglia, and certainly less than in Yorkshire. One specific reason for this could be that the ecclesiastical ownership of land in Durham may have impeded place-name coinage (see Section 4.2.2.8).

Of course, 21st century understanding of the locations of borders must surely differ significantly from that in Viking Age England, given the modern availability of pinpoint-accurate maps and birds-eye views of fields, towns, and whole continents. We can safely assume, however, that rivers were at least a candidate to act as boundaries between one place and the next. Certainly, the near-contemporary accounts discussed right across the present project use rivers as locational refence points, for example, Halfdan wintered at the River Tyne, and Onlafbal was granted land to the south of the River Wear. The fact remains that contemporary sources provide no account of the boundaries and extent of the Danelaw. It is possible that even at the time, people did not know precisely which areas were considered to be part of the Danelaw, and its scope may not have been particularly important as social, cultural and ethnic integration rapidly took place. It may also be the case that the issue of what the Danelaw was, and where its boundary was, was 'Wessex-centric': the arrangements for the Danelaw arises out of the conflict between Guthrum and Alfred, and the treaty that encoded the resolution of that conflict, which focused on the boundary between Guthrum's East Anglia (and eastern Mercia) and Alfred's Wessex (and western Mercia). This was a, and perhaps the only, important issue for the people working out the treaty, and not the boundary between the northernmost area of Viking rule and Anglo-Saxon Bernicia. It seems plausible that there could have been an additional treaty between a Viking king of York and the Bernician Ealdormen relating to control and ownership of land in this region where Anglo-Saxon Bernicia and the Anglo-Scandinavian Kingdom of York met, which may not have survived into modern records, or may never have been recorded. One of the main arguments of this thesis is that the Danelaw is best thought of as covering the full extent of that area of England that was effectively under Viking rule, and that this included the region between the Tees and the Tyne.

Rollason (2003: 257) considers the geographical scope of the Danelaw to encompass 'Northumbria south of the Tees, the north east midlands and eastern England'. Although it is never made explicit to my knowledge, it seems to be generally accepted that Deira, the southern sub-kingdom of Northumbria, falls within the Danelaw, while

Bernicia, the northern counterpart, does not. As noted in Section 2.7, where the border between Deira and Bernicia falls is not clear. In the 12th century, both Richard of Hexham (Raine 1864–1865, volume I: 44) and Symeon of Durham named the Tyne as the boundary between Bernicia and Deira. In modern scholarship, Edmonds (2019: 88, citing Orton and Wood 2007: 113–114) suggests the notion of Bernicia as an identifiable sub-kingdom might be related to the location of Hadrian's Wall, which loosely follows the line of the Tyne. Rollason (2003: 44) states the Tees, or nearby, was 'almost certainly' the location of the Bernicia-Deira border. Rollason (2003: 48) considers there to have been two 'Bernician heartland[s]': one in northern Northumberland, north and west of the seat of power at Bamburgh; and another around Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, 'in the south of Bernicia'. If the southern border of Bernicia was the River Tees, however, this would not place Monkwearmouth or Jarrow in the south of Bernicia, being located just to the south of the River Tyne. On Hadley and Richards' (2021: 23) map of 'The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and their neighbours, c.800', Bernicia and 'Northumbrian Deira' are labelled, but a border between them is not. The 'Bernicia' label is clearly placed in Northumberland, and the 'Deira' label in Yorkshire. This reinforces the unclear status of County Durham within Viking Age England.

Rather than the Tees forming a 'hard' border, County Durham may have been something more like a border region, with distinctly less ON influence and Scandinavian rule and settlement than south of the Tees in Yorkshire, but certainly more influence, settlement and Scandinavian power than in Northumberland. This in turn points to the Tyne as the more absolute border, and the Tees perhaps as the start of the border region between Anglo-Scandinavian Deira to the south and Anglo-Saxon Bernicia to the north. Although he does not apply the idea to the situation in County Durham, this interpretation fits with Rollason's (2003: 20) notion of a frontier zone, 'in which the transition from one kingdom to the next was a graded continuum rather than the sudden change which is implied by a line'. Rollason (2003: 21–22) contrasts

frontier zones to linear frontiers, but notes that even seemingly clear examples of these, such as Hadrian's Wall and Offa's Dyke, were likely 'permeable' and did not exist to prevent movement but rather control it, as indicated by the evidence of Roman influence that can be seen north of the wall and English settlements west of the dyke. The notion of a linear frontier may be problematic, in that different borders may have existed for different purposes, with financial matters, military and ecclesiastical organisation and legal jurisdiction potentially determined by different linear borders (Rollason 2003: 22). County Durham may have been a frontier zone, then, with the Tyne forming a linear frontier, albeit a permeable one that still allowed for more limited Scandinavian impact further north, as seen in the Norse influence on some names in Northumberland (see Sections 4.1.1 and 4.2.2.2).

Together with what we can determine about the circumstances of the various Viking rulers in the NE, as discussed in Sections 4.1.1-4.1.3, this interpretation of the frontier zone points to the northern border of the Danelaw drawn not at the Tees but at the Tyne, thereby placing County Durham within the Danelaw, ruled by Scandinavian kings most likely based at York. Confusion in previous research about Durham's position can be summed up in Rollason's description of Northumbrian rulers after the kingdom was divided following the Viking seizure of York in the 860s. He describes the kingdom as 'fractured into three areas' (Rollason 2003: 211): the area south of Tees that was ruled by Vikings; the area between the Tyne and the Forth that was ruled by Bamburgh lords and the ecclesiastical power of the Community of St Cuthbert; and Cumbria, which may have been an independent kingdom or part of Strathclyde. The land between the Tyne and the Tees – that is, County Durham – is not covered by any of the three areas Rollason defines, even though elsewhere he claims that 'the importance of Viking settlement or at least influence is clear apart from in most of the lands between the Tyne and the Forth' (Rollason 2003: 255), which suggests that settlement and/or influence was present in Durham, even if its significance is unclear. In contrast, as noted above, Rollason (2003: 249) describes culture and ethnicity north of the Tees as not

being 'radically altered'. In noting that the scope of the Viking kingdom of York is unclear, Rollason (2003: 219) nevertheless maintains that 'because characteristically Viking place-names are found mostly south of the River Tees, it can be argued that that river was its northern frontier', though in doing so he also acknowledges that 'there was clearly nothing firm about this', and recognises that evidence against the Tees as a northern border includes Halfdan's presence north of the river (see Section 4.1.1), and Ragnald's granting of land to Onlafbal and Scula (see Section 4.1.3). The first reference to 'Yorkshire' in the Chronicle appears in the D manuscript entry for 1065, which mentions all the thegns 'on Eoforwicscire and on Norðhymbraland' (in Yorkshire and in Northumberland) (Townend 2014: 18; ChronD 1065, Swanton 2000: 191). Townend notes the distinction made between these two different regions, and guesses that they 'equate roughly with the old kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia'. Again, Durham is forgotten. In Cullen, Jones and Parsons' study of *thorps*, they include Durham within the list of counties within the Danelaw, but Northumberland as part of ''English' England', outside of the Danelaw (2011: 80, 165, 201). In her study of Scandinavian jewellery in Viking Age England, Kershaw states that the Tees 'marks the northern boundary of the Danelaw' (2013: 206), but includes Northumberland and Tyne and Wear in her table of object records generated each year for the Portable Antiquities Scheme, in which 'only Danelaw counties have been included' (Kershaw 2013: 187, Table 6.1). Although most discussions to date seem to consider the Tees to be the best place to draw a northern border of the Danelaw, there is no consensus. Watts (1988–89: 18) states that 'the modern county of Durham seems often to have been regarded as something of a no-man's land between Tyne and Tees, yet the latter river was clearly not always the barrier we sometimes think'.

As indicated above, the argument in this thesis is that the land between the Tyne and the Tees, namely County Durham, should be considered to be under Viking rule and therefore part of the Danelaw. Chapters 6 and 7 will show how the analysis of place-name evidence is central to this argument, but – before that – the next section reveals

that there is also more evidence in historical records for believing this to be the case than Rollason mentions.

4.1.5.3 Historical evidence to support the Tyne as the northern border of the Danelaw

Firstly, it is proposed above (Section 4.1.1) that the land shared out by Halfdan for his followers to settle on may have been north of the Tees, in County Durham, after they had spent possibly more than a year at or near his winter-quarters at the Tyne. Even if this is not the case, several medieval sources note that Halfdan's army was present at the Tyne. Asser wrote that Halfdan's army 'in regionem Northanhymbrorum perexit, et ibi hiemavit iuxta flumen, quod dicitur Tine' (Stevenson 1959: 36; 'set out for the province of the Northumbrians, and spent the winter there beside the river Tyne', Keynes and Lapidge 1983: 82). The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* claims that Halfdan 'in Tinam intrauit' ('entered the Tyne', Johnson South 2002: 52–53). If land in present-day County Durham was impenetrable Bernician territory, unseizable with the manpower of Halfdan's army, it seems more likely that Halfdan would have made his winter-quarters at the Tees. His settlement at the Tyne might point to this river being the last tenable permanent or semi-permanent stop on the route through unconquerable Bernician lands into Scotland, suggesting that at least some land to the south of this was conquered or conquerable. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that, upon reaching the Tyne, 'se here þæt lond geeode' (ChronA 875.1, '[Halfdan's] army conquered that land', Swanton 2000: 74, 75), indicating Scandinavian rule near the Tyne, and therefore either in County Durham (south of the river) or southern Northumberland (north of the river, in the 870s at the very least. However, the DOE gives a range of meanings, and therefore possible translations, for *ge-eode* (as past tense of the verb *ge-gan*), including 'went', 'passed over', 'occupied', 'overran' and 'subdued'. Given this range of meaning, the Chronicle entry may simply be describing the army's journey over land near the Tyne, but the senses of occupation and overrunning show that it is at least possible that the Chronicle intended to convey the army's conquest of the area (as reflected in Swanton's choice of 'conquered' in his

translation). Even if the word is only intended to refer to their journey through land near the Tyne, this does not detract from the other points noted in Section 4.1.1 that are indicative of Halfdan's control over the area. In this context, Asser's description of Halfdan as king of one part of the Northumbrians (Stevenson 1959: 38; Keynes and Lapidge 1983: 83), might refer to the Northumbrians around (and most likely to the south of) the Tyne. The following quote from Higham (1986: 311) is a good example of a previous study that suggests County Durham, between the Tyne and the Tees, was under Viking rule, but that has no consideration of what this means for the scope of the Danelaw: 'Beyond the Tyne, Northumberland lay outside the normal control of Halfdan's successors'.

In addition to the details of Halfdan's movements and activities, a second important source of evidence relates to information about the Community of St Cuthbert. According to the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto's* telling of Eadred's vision of St Cuthbert in the early 880s, in which the saint advises Eadred to support Guthred as king, the saint instructs Eadred to go 'super Tinum ad exercitum Danorum' ('over the Tyne to the army of the Danes', Arnold 1888 [2012]: 203; Johnson South 2002: 52–53). Leaving aside the fact that these are words attributed to a vision of a saint, what is important here is that the author of the *Historia* describes the location of the Danish army in relation to the Tyne. Whether this meant over the Tyne from north to south – that is, from Northumberland into Durham – or vice versa, this suggests that the Danish army was in one of these counties (and the weight of evidence discussed throughout this thesis suggests it was Durham). Otherwise, the author would presumably have had St Cuthbert instructing Eadred to cross some other river. The presence of a Danish army in the NE in the 880s, some ten years after Halfdan first made his winter-quarters on the Tyne, perhaps indicates a continuous Danish presence in County Durham in the late 9th century, which is consistent with viewing the Tyne as the effective northern border of the Danelaw, rather than the Tees.

A third piece of evidence for considering County Durham to fall within the Danelaw is Guthred's granting and selling of land to Eadred and the Community of St Cuthbert in County Durham (see Section 4.1.2). Having land to grant and sell naturally entails ownership of that land, or lordship of the land, with land-owning tenants. The land Guthred granted the Community is in the north-easternmost corner of Durham, and the land the Community bought is in the east of the county, further south. If this land were close to the Tees, in the very south of the county, it might be considered that Danish rule perhaps extended just beyond the Tees, and that the river merely forms a convenient way of describing approximately where Danish rule ended, but this is not the case. Guthred granted the Community land immediately to the south of the Tyne, pointing to his rule right up to that river. It should be remembered that I am taking the term Danelaw to refer to the entirety of the area that we can reasonably conclude was under Scandinavian rule, and this is clearly the case here. As we saw in Section 4.1.2, the *Historia* describes the Community buying territory from Guthred's army, who had parcelled out land among themselves. Irrespective of the ethnicity of the lord, as overlordship at different ranks was somewhat changeable at this time, as noted above, this again points to Scandinavian settlement in Durham, which in turn supports the idea that this area was part of the Danelaw and contradicts the argument – or assumption – that Scandinavian settlement north of the Tees was practically non-existent.

The political and land-holding hierarchy in the south of County Durham also points to Scandinavian rule and settlement there. This has been discussed before: Higham (1986: 315–316) notes that the distribution of place-names in southern Durham gives us a picture of Danish and English settlers who were tenants of English aristocrats, who were in turn tenants of an English bishop and monastic community, who were in turn working in favour of a Viking king. In outlining this complex situation, Higham does not consider the apparent discrepancy between the fact that land north of the Tees was being ruled by a Viking king, on the one hand, and on the other, the idea that the

Danelaw did not reach beyond North Yorkshire or the general impression given in the literature that Scandinavian settlement north of the Tees was non-existent. Higham (1986: 315–316) also makes it clear that this complex tenancy structure applies to southern Durham specifically, which seemingly ignores the rule of Guthred right up to the Tyne, in northernmost Durham, as detailed immediately above. I argue that the settlement of Scandinavian people, i.e. the mix of Danish and English tenants, and the rule of a Scandinavian king north of the Tees, are both important factors that motivate a re-consideration of Durham's status in Viking Age England.

A final important source of evidence that supports the interpretation of the northern extent of the Danelaw offered here comes in the form of contemporary references to battles. Corbridge, the site of the one or two battles between the Bernicians and Ragnald's Irish-Norse army in the 910s (see Section 4.1.3), is located at the River Tyne. Although the battle does not feature in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the *Annals of Ulster* (918.4, Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983) mention a battle fought against Ragnald in 918 at this river, specifically referring to the river by name. Alongside Halfdan's winter-quarters at this river, and Guthred's rule seemingly right up to but not beyond it, this reinforces the idea that the Tyne seems to be a meeting point of Scandinavians to the south and Bernician Anglo-Saxons (in this instance joined by Scots), to the north. Again, if the land between the Tyne and the Tees had been part of the independently held Anglo-Saxon lands beyond the Danelaw, it seems reasonable to assume that this battle would more likely have been fought at the Tees, if that was the river that marked the clearest boundary between Scandinavian-ruled and Anglo-Saxon-ruled lands.

In sum, then, five pieces of evidence can be identified which support the idea that the northern border of the Danelaw can more accurately be drawn at the Tyne, rather than the Tees: (1) Halfdan's halt at the Tyne, and his possible conquering of land or at least presence there; (2) the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*'s description of where the Viking army was situated in relation to the Tyne; (3) Guthred's rule in northern Durham, specifically bordered by the Tyne, as shown in his granting and selling of land there to

the Community, and in his army dividing land in this area among themselves; (4) landholding hierarchies in (at the very least) southern Durham; and (5) the location of the Battle(s) of Corbridge. All of the discussions of Viking presence in northern Northumbria, covered throughout this chapter up to this point, illustrate more contrasts across the Tyne than across the Tees – in other words, more contrasts between Durham and Northumberland than between Durham and North Yorkshire.

The patterning of place-names to the north and south of the Tyne and the Tees is of course the key focus of the present project. The ways in which the historical evidence presented in this section concurs with and supports the analysis of the place-name evidence collated for this project will be discussed in detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

4.2 Old Norse place-names in the North East

4.2.1 An introduction

Studies focusing on the NE have concluded not only that are there hardly any names of ON origin, but also that there is scant evidence even of the influence of ON on place-names, whether major (Rollason 2003: 244) or minor (Watts 2002b). Rollason (2003: 244) states that there is a cluster of ON names in the far south of County Durham, but describes this as an anomaly and claims that 'there are very few Scandinavian names of any type' north of the Tees, providing a 'striking' contrast to the 'dense occurrences' of names south of the river. Unfortunately, Rollason does not give any examples of the ON names that constitute the cluster he describes. If Rollason's assessment of the situation were true, the Tees would be an unusually absolute border, which does not fit with the political landscape outlined above in Section 4.1, with much seizing, granting and selling of land back and forth between the Anglo-Saxon Community of St Cuthbert and various Viking rulers. Rollason (2003: 244) suggests that any 'Viking elite' north of the Tees did not affect local place-names. However, a cursory glance at a map of County Durham, or at the details of Watts' (2002a) dictionary of place-names in County Durham, shows major names such as Ireshopeburn and Etter's Gill betraying Irish-Norwegian influence in the west of the

county (via ON *Íri*, 'Irishman' and *gil*, 'ravine' respectively (Watts 2002a: 41, 66, 152, 157), and the Aucklands, Copeland and Gainford and betraying Danish influence in the south (via ON *auka*, 'additional', *kaupa*, 'purchased', and *gegn,* 'direct' respectively (Watts 2002a: 2, 9-10, 29, 48, 145, 152, 157)). Watts' dictionary does not provide any detailed coverage of minor names, and while his case-study of minor names near Hartlepool found little ON influence (2002b: 57–58), in collecting data for the present project I have extracted numerous names betraying ON influence in various areas within the NE. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 413–414) claim that areas the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* notes as being involved in land and power seizing by Vikings tend to have English names. It is not entirely clear what this means, however, as the *Historia* generally describes the extent of the land, from place X to place Y, and while places X and Y may have English names, that does not mean that any and all settlements between X and Y necessarily do. For instance, the land that Ragnald granted to his follower Scula is described as being between Castle Eden and Billingham, and the land he granted to Onlafbal is between Castle Eden and the River Wear (see Section 4.1.3). While none of these three names is Norse in origin, or betrays any Norse influence, the analysis of data collected for the present project shows that there are many possible ON names across this large area (see Sections 7.1. and 7.2).

4.2.2 Previous studies of the distribution and significance of ON names in the NE

4.2.2.1 County Durham

The only study of ON influence on place-names in the NE is Watts (1988–89), in which several clusters of names evidencing ON influence are highlighted. While Watts (2002a) certainly has more scope in terms of names, unsurprisingly for a dictionary of place-names, it does not say much about the impact of ON and Scandinavian settlement.

The combined findings that emerge from Watts (2002a) and Watts (1988-89) are as follows.[16] The middle and lower Tees valley, downstream from Eggleston to Coniscliffe,

[16] Section 7.1, particularly Figures 6(a) and 6(b), illustrate this more clearly.

contains a number of names in *býr*, Scandinavianised names, and ON topographical elements. Watts (1988–89: 57) considers this group to represent 'an arc of settlement in some density extending two to three miles north of the river', suggesting that 'it seems possible that we may see traces of activity connected with the events of 876, although this cannot be proved', referring to Halfdan's ploughing and sharing out of land (see Section 4.1.1). Cullen, Jones and Parsons (2011: 29) consider that this 'may be the only part of the county which received dense early Scandinavian settlement'. In the far south-east of the county, near the coast, there are Grimston and Carlton hybrids, and habitative elements other than *býr*, including five instances of *thorp* and one of *toft*, in Thorpe Thewles, for example, and Burn Toft (Watts 1988–89: 38–39). Cullen, Jones and Parsons' distribution map of thorps across England show a very clear clustering of this element in this south-eastern part of Durham (2011: 21, Figure 2.1). Watts believes that the distribution of the Grimston and Carlton hybrids 'could point to English settlements taken over by Vikings', or to 'infilling between existing settlements' (1988–89: 38). Watts considers that this group is 'on the margin of Scand [sic] settlement' (1988–89: 57), and that these settlements are related to the activity of Ragnald's army in the early 10th century rather than Halfdan's in the late 9th century (1988–89: 61, fn.101). Watts (1988–89: 39) mentions a group of Scandinavianised place-names to the north-west of Chester-le-Street, between Ouston and Waldridge, though these two settlements are just under 2 miles apart, and it is shown in Section 7.1 (Figure 4) that none of the place-names Watts identifies in this study are situated between the two. Ouston itself may contain the Anglo-Scandinavian anthroponym Ulfkil (Watts 2002a: 89), but it is not a Grimston hybrid, as the generic element is OE *stān*, 'stone' ('stone, rock' (Smith 1956b: 143)), not OE *tūn*, 'enclosure, farmstead, estate, village' (Smith 1956b: 188). In other words, the name apparently refers to the boundary stone of a man called Ulfkil, not to a farmstead. In upper Weardale and Teesdale, there are ON topographical elements. Watts (1988–89: 40) argues that most cases of topographical ON elements in Durham 'can only be regarded as ME formations', other

than nine names, seven of which are found in these upper valleys (including Hurbuck and Waskerley, possibly containing ON *hurðarbak* 'space behind the door', and ON *váskjarr*, 'wet marsh' respectively (Watts 1988–89: 30), and two of which are found in the middle Tees valley (Copeland and Dyance, possibly containing ON *kaupa-land* and ON *dyande,* 'marsh' respectively (Watts 1988–89: 28, 30). In terms of their significance, Watts (1988–89: 40) considers topographical names in County Durham to evidence either expansion eastwards from Cumbria, or 'westward expansion mark[ing] perhaps the adventurous energies of individual Vikings from the richer territories of the east' (see Section 7.7).

There have been other accounts of major names in the region that draw conclusions about Scandinavian settlement. Some have identified names that cluster or form a pattern in terms of the type of influence they exhibit. Higham (1986: 309–310) noticed that Mawer (1920) identifies Scandinavianised names between Barnard Castle and the coast, that is loosely along the River Tees, which Higham considers to be evidence of Old Norse speakers for several generations. This corresponds to the group mentioned above of Scandinavianised names identified by Watts, with Watts's line of such names extending 6 miles further upstream on the Tees from Barnard Castle, to Eggleston. Watts (1988–89: 33) believes that in Durham, as elsewhere, Scandinavianised names 'seem likely to have been borne by older settlements taken over and partly re-named by the Vikings', in contrast to names consisting of one ON and one OE element, which 'might be late coinages' dating from a time when neither a person named with an ON anthroponym nor the use of Scandinavian place-names elements necessarily points to Scandinavian ethnicity (see also Fellow-Jensen 1985: 199). Higham (1986: 308) also alludes to two clusters of Grimston hybrids in south-eastern County Durham, in the land between Sedgefield and Stockton and around Sheraton, which is between Hartlepool and Castle Eden. Unfortunately, as with Rollason's (2003) account of the southern part of the county (see Section 4.2.1), Higham does not provide specific examples of either group of names. 25-inch to the mile (1:2,500) first edition Ordnance

Survey maps of the land between Stockton and Sedgefield, however, reveal names including Thorpe Leazes, Thorpe Larches and Elstob Beck (containing ON topographical elements *thorp* and *bekkr*). Watts (1976: 219, 1988–89: 19) suggests that Grimstons north of the Tees reflect the Irish-Norwegian rule of the early 10th century, while Higham (1986: 308) believes they represent a re-naming of English place-names in *tūn*, when Danes became landholders following Halfdan's dividing of lands (see Section 4.1.1). The location of these Grimston hybrids corresponds to Watts' identification of Grimston and Carlton hybrids in south-eastern Durham.

Other clusters of ON-influenced names have been mentioned where there is not a single shared element or type of influence at work. As noted above (Section 4.1.2), Higham (1986: 311, 315) considers ON elements in names around Easington and Hesleden, in eastern Durham, to represent land previously owned by Guthred which was bought by the Community, and that the continued survival of these names indicates survival of a high number ON speakers for several generations. Once again, no examples of such names here are provided. There is a group of names in southernmost County Durham near Gainford, itself Scandinavianised (palatal [j] in OE *gegn* 'direct' (Watts 1988–89: 32, 2002a: 152), velarised to [g] under ON influence (Watts 2002a: 48)). These names include Ulnaby (ON anthroponym plus *býr* (Watts 1988–89: 24, Watts 2002a: 128)), Killerby (On anthroponym plus *býr* (Watts 1988–89: 24, Watts 2002a: 68)), and Dyance (ON *dyande*, 'marshes' (Watts 1988–89: 30, Watts 2002a: 36)). They correspond to Watts' Tees valley group of names, and might represent immigration 'of numerical significance' (Higham 1986: 315). A small hoard was found in the churchyard at Gainford, containing coins from more southerly kingdoms of England, including one of King Alfred, suggesting 'they were deposited by members of the Great Army' (Hadley and Richards 2021: 79–80, also Pagan 196: 190–191). Morris (1981: 228) notes ON influence on names around the River Skerne, which reflects Scandinavianisation in the initial [sk] (Watts 2002a: 113; see Section 3.3.5.6), considering this a possible sign that Vikings had taken the whole area, which

corresponds to the later-formed wapentake of Sadberge. This group of names is located between Watts' Tees valley names and the Grimston hybrids that Higham identified around Sheraton. This project does not identify a particularly distinct cluster of potentially ON-influenced names in this area (Section 7.1), though there are names in the NE dataset between Darlington and Middlesborough, which may correspond to the wapentake of Sadberge.

In terms of the names of larger areas, rather than individual settlements, Sadberge (possibly ON *set-berg*, 'seat, hill, flat-topped hill' (Watts 2002a: 107)) is the only one with a fully ON name in County Durham. While Higham (1986: 315) argues that the existence of a wapentake in the NE points to a high number of Scandinavian immigrants, Watts (1988–89: 50) argues that this 'clearly implies that only one small area of the county was sufficiently Scandinavianized to bear a name of ON origin'. In light of the historical details outlined in Section 4.1, I would argue that this Watts' view of the area as being largely beyond the reach of Scandinavian settlement or even influence understates the level of Viking activity and control in the region. In that context, the fact that the name of a wapentake (itself perhaps an ON term, first recorded in English in 962 (Cameron 1975a: 118)) is made up of two ON elements that were not naturalised into ME, seems to point quite naturally and straightforwardly to coinage by ON speakers, without any need to explain it away as anomalous Scandinavianisation in one small area. Auckland, seen in several place-names around Bishop Auckland, and also the name of the administrative area where these settlements are located, giving another administrative area with a name influenced by ON.

4.2.2.2 Northumberland

There are very few studies or accounts of any possible Viking settlement in Northumberland, though Mawer (1920) identifies more than one hundred names in Northumberland that he considers to contain an ON anthroponym, ON element or OE/ME element loaned from ON (Section 6.1, Figure 7(a), and Appendix A, part 1). As

discussed in Section 4.1.1, there are handfuls of names around Rothbury and Akeld that have been identified as potential signs of small-scale Viking settlement (Pählsson 1976: 9–11; Higham 1986: 315; Section 7.8, Figure 19 for example). While these clusters cannot be taken as definitive indications of Scandinavian settlement, this is a very plausible interpretation given the fact that these are two clear clusters, rather than isolated individual names, and the fact that they lie just to the east of the Cheviots, on the clear path northwards towards Norham that was a probable location of the Viking route through the area.

4.2.2.3 Summary of groups of names identified in previous studies

It is clear that Watts (1988–89) and the few other sources cited above that discuss the distribution of ON-influenced place-names in the NE are presenting largely the same picture, though with some notable differences. Watts (1988–89) does not include the names around Easington and Hesleden mentioned by Higham (1986: 311, 315). I have not included these names in the summary list below, because Higham provides no examples and no evidence. Watts (1988–89) also excludes the Northumberland names, as his study focuses only on Durham. Only Watts mention the names to the north-west of Chester-le-Street. Taken together, the sources discussed in the preceding sections highlight the following clusters, grouped by location rather than by influence type:

1. The 'Tees valley' cluster. These names are found in an area that runs roughly along the the River Tees, from Eggleston to Coniscliffe, then north-east to Redmarhsall, skirting north of Darlington. This covers the wapentake of Sadberge. This group consist of names in *bý*, Scandinavianised names, and topographical elements. They are considered to represent Danish settlers. Analyses conducted for the present project (Section 7.1, Figures 6(a) and 6(b)) supports the existence of a cluster of names here, but I suggest that the group is bigger than Watts suggests, stretching further north away from the Tees, which I refer to several times below as the area roughly between Gainford and Crook.

2. The far south-east of County Durham, featuring Grimston and Carlton hybrids, one name in *býr*, and names with other ON habitative elements such as *thorp*. They represent Scandinavians taking over English settlements or filling in between them, and may represent the activity of Halfdan's army in the late 9th century or Ragnald's in the early 10th. The present project supports the idea of this as a group of ON-influenced names in Durham (Section 7.1, Figures 6(a) and 6(b)), with a clear cluster of Grimston hybrids in this area (Section 7.4).
3. North-west of Chester-le-Street there are Scandinavianised names. This project does not support the suggestion of such a group. Instead, a cluster of potentially ON-influenced names south-west of Chester-le-Street is identified (Section 7.1, Figure 6(b)).
4. In upper Weardale and Teesdale, in the far west of County Durham, there are names containing ON topographical elements. They are considered to represent Irish-Norwegian settlers from west of the Pennines. This project supports this identification of ON topographical elements along the two valleys (Section 7.1, Figure 6(b), and Section 7.7).
5. Around Rothbury and Akeld, in Northumberland, there are a possible clusters of major and minor names of different kinds. Data collected and analysed for the present project supports this (Section 7.4, Figure 13; Section 7.6, Figure 16(a); Section 7.7, Figure 17; Section 7.10, Figure 22).

All of the names that were mentioned by Watts (1988-89) have been included in the dataset analysed in Chapters 6 and 7, other than those that he explicitly says should be excluded on the basis that they are very probably late coinages. With all the names collated, one very striking point becomes immediately apparent: although Watts (1988–89: 57) concludes that there is hardly any Scandinavian settlement in County Durham, there are 90 place-names in the region that he interprets as exhibiting ON influence. As we shall see in Chapters 5–7, the full database compiled for the present

project contains many more names than this, since it also incorporates relevant examples collected from Watts (2002a), Mawer (1920) and four large-scale OS maps.

4.2.2.4 Minor and field-names

Watts (2002b) studied what he terms 'field-names' in two areas in County Durham, to determine the etymology of such names and whether they mirror the findings of earlier work relating to ON and OE major and minor name patterning. Before we look at the findings of Watts's analysis, there is an important point to be aware of in relation to terminology. The title of Watts's (2002b) paper is 'Medieval Field-Names in Two South Durham Townships', but throughout the discussion it is not entirely clear whether the focus is on field-names only, or other kinds of minor names as well, such as names of streams, hills or individual farms, for example. It is also not at all clear what constitutes a 'field-name', in contrast with any other kind of minor name, if indeed such a distinction is being observed. Lack of clarity in the definition of these terms is not only an issue in Watts (2002b); it is a recurring issue in the place-name literature. As mentioned in Section 1.3, for the purposes of this project, 'minor name' refers to any name of a topographical feature, or a single dwelling or other building.

Watts (2002b) summarises the findings of two earlier papers: the studies by Hald (1948) and Cameron (1973) of field-names around two OE-named villages in Lincolnshire. Hald's (1948: 24–33) study found a wealth ON influence, and Cameron (1973: 40–41) identified similar numbers of OE, ON and ambiguously OE/ON generic elements in field-names surrounding the English-named larger settlement, with 25, 23 and 27 instances respectively. Cameron (1973: 41) concluded that 'this mixture reflected the situation pretty exactly of this English-named village on the edge of Danish settlement'. Watts (2002b: 53–54) takes these findings to indicate that 'in areas subject to Danish occupation the evidence of major settlement names needs to be set in the field-name context. Within the Danelaw the occurrence of an English-named village cannot be taken as negative evidence against Danish settlement: for that the field-name evidence needs to be investigated'. Watts (2002b: 54–55) also outlines two

different studies in which Cameron (1996, 1997) noted the ON elements in minor and field-names around some ON-named settlements in Lincolnshire, and concluded that:

> 'The evidence obtained [...] reinforces that of the [major] place-names. The sheer variety of the vocabulary involving over eighty words, many connected with farming and land-measurement, the number of Scandinavian compound field-names and the occurrence of some sixty Scandinavian personal names of the first element of field-names all point to a conclusion that Danish settlement here must have been the result of colonisation on a large scale' (Cameron 1996: 26).

Considering the conclusions of Watts (2002b) and Cameron (1973), it appears that the distribution of ON influence in minor names may better reflect the ethnic makeup of the early medieval population of an area than the major names. An OE-named settlement in an area of Danish rule may not seem a likely candidate for the location of Scandinavian settlement, but the associated minor names may reflect the mixed ethnicity of settlers there (see Section 3.3.1).

Watts (2002b) examines field-names around Billingham and Wolviston, south-west of Hartlepool, which he describes as two English-named villages 'in the southern part of County Durham where Scandinavian influence is most to be expected' (2002b: 55). One aim of his analysis is to establish if field-name evidence fits with the findings of his earlier investigation (Watts 1988–89), in which he concluded that there is 'an arc of settlement in some density extending two to three miles north of the river' (1988–89: 57). It was noted above (Section 4.2.2.3) that this arc extends to Redmarshall, however, and these two villages are some five miles north-east of Redmarshall; in fact, their location is more reminiscent of the south-eastern group of Grimston and Carlton hybrids that Watts identifies in the earlier paper. Whatever the reason for selecting these locations, Watts (2002b: 55) collected 250 field-names, of which 118 (47.2%) have English generics, 51 (20.4%) have ON generics, and 76 (30.4%) have ambiguous OE/ON generics. In terms of specifics, 60 (24%) have English specifics, 10 (4%) have ON

specifics, and 31 (12.4%) have ambiguous OE/ON specifics (Watts 2002b: 55–56). All of the ON specifics and generics are elements that were naturalised into ME. There are no wholly ON names and no obvious ON anthroponyms, whereas there are 4 possible OE anthroponyms (Watts 2002b: 56–57). Watts' conclusion is that, while the evidence is somewhat later than that examined by Hald (1948) and Cameron (1973) and therefore contains 'a number of Middle English coinages with Scandinavian elements which had by then become widely naturalised in northern dialects', the findings point to the overall English nature of minor names in the area in question, which supports his view that 'Scandinavian influence in County Durham was severely restricted' (Watts 2002b: 57–58). Watts (2002b: 58) also argues that these findings are 'further evidence of the high skill and great success with which the Community of St Cuthbert defended its possessions' from both Danish incomers in the 9th century and Irish-Norwegian incomers in the early 10th. The data and analysis presented in this thesis do not support Watts in this regard (see also Section 4.2.2.8). This project identifies a considerable amount of possible ON influence on minor names in County Durham, particularly in the south of the county, west of the area that Watts investigated, where it does not appear to be the case that the Community resisted Scandinavian impact (Sections 6.1 and 7.2). Furthermore, the Viking king Guthred's dealings with the Community in the 880s (see Section 4.1.2), when they supported his accession and were offered lands in return, suggests that the Community's ownership of land in County Durham did not impede Scandinavian settlement, though ON major name formation may have been impeded (see Section 4.2.2.8).

4.2.2.5 Danish/Norwegian origins

Townend (2014: 114) highlights that 'although there were some cultural traits that were shared across the so-called 'Viking diaspora', others were more restricted and regional'. On the subject of the origins within Scandinavia of settlers in the NE, Watts (1988–89: 42) concludes that the Tees valley names represent Danish settlers, while the names in the upper valleys in the west of Durham represent Irish-Norwegian settlers.

This is based on the presence in the Tees valley of names in *býr,* which is 'the characteristically Danish habitative generic', and of *dyandi*, ('swamp, marsh', (Watts 1988–89: 41) seen in *Dyance*) and *flask* ('pool, swamp' (Watts 2002a: 152), seen in Flass Hall), which are also Old Danish diagnostics (Watts 1988–89: 41). In western County Durham, Watts (1988–89: 41, 2004: 219) considers instances of the ON element *gil* ('ravine', Watts 2002a: 152) to denote Irish-Norwegian settlement, originating from west of the Pennines. Ireshopeburn, in the far west of County Durham, contains ON *Íri*, meaning 'Irishman' (Watts 2002a: 157), again indicating Irish-Norse presence in this area. Higham (1986: 315) also believes that names in the middle Tees valley represent 'Danish immigrants fill[ing] the crucial middle and lower ranks of land-ownership', and 'Danish landholders doggedly [holding] onto estates at the local level', which is reflected in Scandinavian-style sculpture at Sockburn and Gainford, as well as in place-naming patterns.

4.2.2.6 Dating name formation

Based on his discussion of linguistic evidence for dating names in County Durham, Watts (1988–89: 45) concludes that there is 'no support [for] any notion that Scandinavian speech was ever a living thing north of the Tees'. This is a little confusing, given that elsewhere, although he suggests that there is a lack of any trace of ON morphology in place-names in the county, Watts does identify a possible case of the ON <-ar> plural suffix in Stooperdale (possibly ON *stólpar* 'pillar, post' (Watts 1988–89: 30, 44) plus ME *dal* 'a share in the common field, a division of meadowland' (Watts 2002a: 120)). There are also two names in this project's dataset that may contain the ON definite article suffix <-inn> (Hollin Shade and Hollinside Hall/Terrace, see Section 6.2, Table 3, and Appendix A, part 1) If these examples do indeed constitute traces of ON morphology, this points to the involvement of speakers of that source language in their coining (Townend 2002: 54), given that these suffixes were not among the elements of ON morphology that were borrowed into English generally (see Section 3.1). Also, Watts does explicitly mention Scandinavian settlers in Durham, not just a

linguistic influence of ON that may have diffused from south of the Tees, and while his conclusion, quoted at the beginning of this section, makes it clear that he does not believe they spoke ON, it is not clear what language he believes that these settlers did speak. The safest assumption might be an Anglo-Scandinavian hybrid dialect, or simply English, infused with ON loans as it was by the ME period. However, Watts (1988–89: 43) also argues that the diphthong [ei], represented by <ai> and <ay> in the earliest attestations of the ON anthroponymical specifics *Bleikr* and *Sveinn* in place-names *Blakeston* and *Swainston,* illustrates likely coinage before the year 900, when the process of monophthongisation of [eɪ] began in Old Danish. There are also several examples of names containing elements that were not naturalised into ME, that is they were not loaned and did not become part of the English lexicon or onomasticon (see Section 6.3). Coinage of names before 900 and instances of ON elements that were not naturalised into ME points to speakers of ON in County Durham, and casts doubt on Watts' own assertion that ON speech was not present.

There have been many attempts to link land quality with different types of ON influence on place-names, and with questions about the lateness or earliness of settlement (Cameron 1958, 1975; Higham 1986: 323–327; see Section 2.4), but Watts (1988–89: 46–48) finds no clear correlation between the land quality of settlements with English names, when compared with those that have names reflecting ON origin or influence, other than in the Tees valley group (see item 1 in the summary list in Section 4.2.2.3).

4.2.2.7 ON elements not considered to represent Scandinavian settlement

In contrast to *gil,* which Watts (2004: 219) considers to be diagnostic of Irish-Norse settlement in England (Section 4.2.2.5), Watts (1988–89: 26) considers both *toft* ('building site, curtilage' (Smith 1956b: 181)) and *garðr* ('enclosure' (Smith 1956a: 195)) to have been naturalised into ME at an early date, meaning that all names in *toft* in Durham are 'late formations with this word naturalized into ME', and that *garðr* is 'useless' as a diagnostic for Scandinavian settlement in the county. Similarly, Watts

(1988–89: 27) considers instances of <crook> (from ON *krókr*, 'land in bend in a river' (Smith 1956b: 7)) to be late formations other than in Crookton (possibly ON *krókr* plus OE *tūn* (Watts 1988 – 89: 30)), and that cases of *mýrr* ('mire, bog, swampy ground' (Smith 1956b: 47)), *holm* ('isle, water meadow' (Smith 1956a: 258)), and *kjarr* ('brushwood' (Smith 1956b: 4)), other than in Waskerley (which Watts suggests contains ON *váskjarr*, 'wet marsh' (Watts 1988–89: 30) date from the ME period. However, given the possibility that borrowed place-name elements such as these do not diffuse over geographical space (Townend 2000: 98, see Sections 3.3.3 and 3.3.5.4), and therefore may still constitute evidence of earlier settlement activity, names including these elements have been included in the dataset. Section 6.2 (Table 3) illustrates that no examples of *holmr* were identified in creating the NE dataset, and just two examples each of *garðr, mýrr* and *toft,* so little can be said about the distribution of such elements which are, as seen directly above, considered to be poor evidence of Scandinavian settlement. Section 7.3 (Figures 9–10(d)) show that *krókr* does not appear to pattern in a significant-looking way across the NE, with place-names possibly containing this element scattered across the region. *Kjarr*, however, is found on both the Durham and the Northumberland A maps (in areas where Scandinavian settlement might be expected), and on neither B map (Section 7.3, Figures 10(a) to (d)). Section 7.3 (Figure 10) illustrates that the dictionary sources, too, identify *kjarr* in five place-names, three of which (Bickerton, Carr House and Hollin Carr, near Rothbury, Gainford and Hartlepool respectively) are located in clusters of ON-influenced place-names identified in this project, comprising the strongest evidence of Scandinavian settlement (Section 7.1, Figures 5(a) and 5(b)). The appearance of *kjarr* in areas of assumed Scandinavian settlement, where there are many other ON elements, is consistent with Townend's notion of the geographical inertia of place-name elements, by supporting the idea that even late-appearing elements of this kind are only found where ON speech (or at least fairly significant influence) was previously present.

As mentioned above (Section 3.3.3), there are many other ON elements that were naturalised into ME and that appear in County Durham. While Watts (1988–89: 32) believes that 'many of these names must be regarded as late coinages', I have not considered it wise to exclude place-names containing such elements from data analysis in this project, not least because 'many' is not the same as 'all'. Analysis of the location of these names in relation to others containing non-naturalised ON elements, for example, is contextualised via maps throughout Chapter 7. For the purposes of the present project a distinction has been made between those names that Watts (1988-89 and/or Watts 2002a) explicitly identifies as definite late coinages on the one hand, and those that he more cautiously suggests have a high chance of being late coinages. Given that Watts had access to early spellings as the basis for his conclusions, names in the former group (such as Raisby and Follingsby) are excluded from the dataset analysed in Chapters 6 and 7. Those that Watts is less certain about have been included in the dataset, and their likelihood of representing ON speakers as opposed to later ME coinages will be assessed as part of the analysis.

4.2.2.8 Ecclesiastical land ownership and name formation

Abrams and Parsons (2004: 413) consider the possibility that 'continuing ecclesiastical ownership retarded or impeded the formation of new names'. The process of manorialisation may also have been retarded by ecclesiastical land ownership (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 410). As Section 6.6 will show, analysis of the data collected for the present project indicates that there may be 64 major names, and 74 minor names, of possible ON origin or influence in County Durham. The minor names were primarily collected from just four very small areas of the region covered by select OS maps; it is reasonable to assume study of more maps, covering more of the NE, would reveal a far greater number of minor names. With the Community of St Cuthbert as the major landowner in County Durham from the late 9th century (Higham 1986: 311), it does not seem to be the case that ecclesiastical land ownership impeded name formation, or at least adaptation, in this area.

Alternatively, if few minor names had been identified in County Durham in this project's data collection, and if the mass land ownership by the Community of St Cuthbert does indeed impede name formation, this might explain why this area has not been considered to fall within the Danelaw. The primary reason given for drawing the northern boundary of the Danelaw at the Tees is the lack of ON influence on place-names north of this river (see Sections 2.7, 4.1.1 and especially 4.1.5 for detail), but if the reason behind the lack of such names there is related to the Community's ownership of land, this somewhat disputes this argument. It certainly seems possible that the Community's status as Northumbria's biggest landowner obscured much Scandinavian presence, whether that be rule or settlement. This would go some way to explaining why Durham has consistently been considered to fall outside of the Danelaw, and Scandinavian settlement has been considered to be nearly non-existent, despite of the historical evidence (reviewed in Section 4.1) pointing to some degree of Viking rule in Durham. Indeed, Section 6.1 (Table 1) illustrates that this project's dataset includes 178 names of possible ON origin in Durham. This suggests that either this ecclesiastical land ownership did not in fact impede name formation, or if it did, the far greater influence of ON on place-names in Durham identified in this project is an underestimation.

4.3 A summary of the Vikings in the North East

The above discussion of historical and toponymical evidence for Viking presence in the North East of England identifies several instances of Scandinavian rule and settlement in this region in the late 9th and early 10th centuries. To date, references to and discussions of these examples of power and/or settlement are scattered among disparate sources: very large-scale studies of northern England or the kingdom of Northumbria covering several centuries (e.g. Higham 1986; Rollason 2003), small-scale place-name studies (Pählsson 1976; Watts 2002b), and entries and glossaries in place-name dictionaries (Mawer 1920; Watts 2002a; Watts 2004). The lack of a

comprehensive outline of the distribution, nature and significance of the Vikings in the NE was a primary motivating factor for the present project. To summarise the most important historical points covered in this chapter, the various cases of Scandinavian rule or power in the NE, highlighted in near-contemporary sources and discussed with varying degrees of detail and clarity in modern, secondary literature, are as follows:

(a) Halfdan spends at least a winter, and perhaps more than a year, at the River Tyne in the mid-870s. He shares land out to his followers to farm (and settle on) shortly after this, and some of this land may have been in County Durham.
(b) In the 880s Guthred, a Danish king in Northumbria, appears to have ruled throughout present-day County Durham, as far north as the River Tyne. This is evidenced in his granting of land to the Community of St Cuthbert in north-easternmost Durham, a block of land bordered in the north by the Tyne. This appears not to be an isolated area within the NE under Guthred's rule, as he also sold land to the Community in the east of the county.
(c) Following his victory at the Battle of Corbridge in the 910s, Ragnald, an Irish-Norwegian leader, allowed some tenants of the Community to retain their lands in the poor uplands in the west of County Durham, while seizing richer lands to the east. This indicates his authority over who maintained lands right across the county. Ragnald subsequently granted two enormous tracts of land in eastern Durham to Onlafbal and Scula, again illustrating Scandinavian rule in a large part of the county.
(d) There is a lack of evidence for Bernician rule in County Durham, and comparatively more evidence for Viking rule there. Durham does not appear to be part of the Anglo-Saxon independence maintained by the Bernician aristocracy based at Bamburgh. It has previously been assumed that the whole of the NE (both Northumberland and Durham) was part of this Anglo-Saxon kingdom, and that the Anglo-Scandinavian kingdom of York was bounded to the north by the Tees, but there is no clear evidence for this. The historical

evidence discussed in this chapter suggests that County Durham was in fact not ruled by the Bernicians, but rather fell under the authority of a Scandinavian king. Indeed, in the 880s Guthred was helped to power by the Community of St Cuthbert, based in County Durham.

In Sections 2.7 and 4.1.5.2, I discussed Rollason's (2003) notion of 'frontier zones', as 'permeable' border areas that served to control movement rather than prevent it. Developing that idea, and based on the evidence presented above, I suggest that County Durham was a 'buffer zone' between the Bernician Anglo-Saxons to the north and the Kingdom of York to the south. There appears to have been Viking rule here, most likely between the 880s and 910s. This means that the county would be better considered to be part of the Danelaw, with the Tyne, at the northern border of Durham, representing a better marker of the furthest extent of Scandinavian influence and power, rather than the Tees at its southern border. Durham was evidently not 'as Danish' as Yorkshire, with less settlement and undeniably less influence on place-names. The notion of the 'buffer zone' fits this situation of an area which was under the rule of a Viking king, but did not see as much settlement as the more southerly counties in the Danelaw, and therefore also experienced less ON influence on place-names, with such influence petering out somewhat towards the north of the county. Widespread ecclesiastical land ownership may coincide with better resistance to Scandinavian settlement, and this may have reinforced the nature of the area as a buffer zone, inhibiting further colonisation. This does not take away from the fact that there seems to have been a Viking king ruling in County Durham (Danish in the 9th century, Irish-Norwegian in the early 10th century), and that settlement of Danish free peasants is likely in several areas of the county, as well as settlement of Irish-Norwegian Vikings in the western uplands. Indeed, by the early 10th century, Anglo-Saxons and Danes appear to have been united against the Irish-Norwegian incomers, having likely assimilated culturally, linguistically and theologically.

The discussion in this chapter has not highlighted any historical evidence that would give us reason to suppose there was Scandinavian settlement in Northumberland in significant numbers or across a sizeable area. As noted in Sections 4.1.1 and 4.2.2.2, it is possible that Rothbury and Akeld were common resting points for Vikings on the raiding routes northwards into Scotland, as indicated in the two small, connected to each other but otherwise isolated groups of ON-influenced names there. These may have turned into settlement sites, or the effect of this temporary presence in the area may be purely toponymical. Overall, however, the Bernician aristocracy, and its lands and people in Northumberland, certainly seems to have resisted Scandinavian influence and settlement more robustly than the Community of St Cuthbert and its lands in County Durham.

Chapter 5. Method

This shorter chapter begins by outlining the collection methods used to gather toponymic data from two source types. The categories by which the data is analysed in Chapters 6 and 7 is discussed, and the chapter concludes with on overview of the case study area used to compare the NE data to data in an area within the traditional Danelaw (Aysgarth, in North Yorkshire).

5.1 Data collection I: place-name dictionaries

The first stage of data collection involved collating place-names in County Durham and Northumberland that are considered to be of ON influence or origin, according to Mawer's (1920) *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*, and/or Watts' (2002a) *A Dictionary of County Durham Place-Names*. Cross-referencing the other, more general place-name dictionaries (Mills 1998; Watts 2004; Ekwall 1960) was largely not necessary, partly because they rely on each other (i.e. Mills and Watts cite Ekwall) but, more pertinently, because the information they contain about names in County Durham and Northumberland is based on Mawer (1920) and Watts (2002a). The more general place-name dictionaries were consulted when the localized dictionaries were less clear, for example Watts (2004: 428) notes that there is a Nafferton in Humberside (as well as the Northumberland Nafferton contained in this project's dataset), which Mawer (1920) does not cite as an analogy with the Northumberland name. Also classed as dictionary names are those identified in Watts (1988-89), which includes some names not mentioned in Watts (2002a). The dictionary names were identified through reading every entry in these sources and noting every place-name whose entry states or suggests that it contains: (a) an ON element of any kind including an ON anthroponym; (b) an OE or ME element that originates from ON; or (c) some form of Scandinavianisation. The range of different types of possible ON influence meant that it was also important to consult the glossaries of place-name elements and anthroponyms found in the appendices of each dictionary, in order to ensure that no

ON, ME via ON, or Scandinavianised elements were omitted. The glossaries were extremely useful in this regard, as the etymology of some names is not clear from the individual entries in each source. Also, both Watts (2002a) and Mawer (1920) contain various frequently occurring elements, such as *býr*, that were borrowed from ON, but became productive parts of the ME onomasticon and/or lexicon. These ON origins of these elements is recorded in the relevant glossary entry, but they are not explicitly noted as ON in the individual name entries (presumably to avoid repetition). As might be expected, many names appear in both sources, while others do not, purely because of the different geographical scope of each source (any Northumberland name is covered by Mawer (1920) but not Watts (2002a)).

Names that contain an ON element which forms part of another name already included in the dataset are not included. For example, Haughton-le-Skerne is a village near the River Skerne. The river name is included in the dataset, but the village name is not, in order to avoid duplicated analysis, given the relevant part of the name is clearly derived from the river name. In this example, the earliest citations of this village name (*Halhtune*, in circa 1040 (Watts 2002a: 56), *Haluton* in 1177 (Mawer 1920: 105) do not contain the river name, indicating that it is a later addition, giving further reason to omit it from the dataset. Another example of a slightly different kind is the related pair of Hisehope and Hisehope Burn. In this instance, Hisehope is included in the dataset, but the name of the stream is not, as the additional *burn* is not an ON element. Where a name that clearly references another does involve the addition of a further possible ON element, however, both have been included. Examples include Ambling Gate and Ambling Gate Bank in Durham, and Swinacote and Swinacote Gill on the North Yorkshire case study map (see Section 5.5). In each of these pairs, the first name contains one possible ON element, (i.e. *gata* ('way, path, road, street' (Smith 1956a: 196)) and *kot* ('hut' (Smith 1956b: 19) and the second contains another (i.e. *bank* ('a bank, the slope of a hill of ridge' (Smith 1956a: 19)) and *gil* ('ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream' (Smith 1956a: 200)).

A few limitations to this data collection method might be identified. One is that a decision had to be made in terms of which names to extract from each dictionary, by identifying place-name elements or authors' interpretations that were going to be considered as diagnostic of possible ON influence. Several options were available in this regard, and only one could be chosen. Another limitation is that the authors' own data collection methods – how each name was chosen for inclusion and non-inclusion – are not clear. Nonetheless, the dictionary sources were a highly valuable source of information on potential ON influence on names in the regions; information which cannot easily be found elsewhere.

5.2 Data collection II: Ordnance Survey maps

As a supplement to the dictionary sources, data was also collected from the National Library of Scotland's (NLS) first edition (1890s–1920s) OS maps, which are overlayed with modern satellite images. These maps are particularly useful because they are extremely detailed, especially those at the 25-inch to the mile scale. Townend (2014: 111) observes that ON minor names 'can probably be better appreciated from large-scale Ordnance Survey maps than from the English Place-Name Society volumes'. This project is an effort to begin the task of extracting such names from some such maps of Durham and Northumberland. In any case, while Watts' dictionary (2002a) constitutes the EPNS volume for Durham, at the time of writing, no such volume exists for Northumberland.

Admittedly, these resources are not especially old in the context of a project that is exploring 9th and 10th century Scandinavian settlement, but being even 100–130 years old is beneficial, in comparison with using only a detailed present-day map. The late 19th and early 20th century maps depict a region that is far more rural than in 2023. The modern map, no matter how detailed, has street names, housing estate names and names of suburbs that did not exist in the 1910s, let alone in the 900s, obscuring names

of topographical features and individual farms, for example. There is, of course, no detailed contemporary Viking Age, later medieval, or even early modern map.

6-inch to the mile scale maps were studied in minute detail, covering the areas where ON influence in the NE is most expected, based on discussion in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 above. This allowed for coverage of a large area and indicated which maps should be examined in more detail, using the 25-inch scale maps. In studying these 6-inch maps, I recorded the details of any names that contained or appeared to contain ON elements, whether these were the names of settlements, farms, streams, or unclear references. Ambiguous elements — that is, those that could be either ON or OE — were included, except in cases where the context pointed clearly to an OE interpretation, such as Houghton Gate clearly being the location of an entry point (OE *geat*, 'hole, opening gap' (Smith 1956a: 198)) to the Lambton estate rather than being a road (ON *gata*, 'way, path, road, street' (Smith 1956a: 196)). For features that span some distance — most notably, rivers and streams — I recorded the point of the location as the position of the name on the map. Instances of the element *land* were not recorded, despite the possibility that these could reflect the ON cognate of the OE word, because of the high quantity of cases and the likelihood of those cases being from OE, perhaps unless surrounded by lots of other ON elements, which would already be recorded in the database. Recording all instances of *land* would have added a large number of additional names, but every one of these would all be ambiguous with respect to the ON or OE origins of the element. Such a large sample of highly ambiguous names would potentially obscure patterns in the distribution of names that can more securely be attributed to either ON or OE. I noted names containing *well,* for example Ladywell (map Northumberland LXX, sub-sheet 9),[17] as this could stem from ON *wella* ('spring', see Watts (2002b: 55)), but did not record the names of locations that the maps identified as wells, that is wells in the PDE sense of the word. As with the

[17] The maps are named by the county they cover and a Roman numeral which refers to the different areas within each county. Each map, which are referred to by NLS as sheets, are divided into 16 sub-sheets.

dictionary data mentioned in Section 5.1, I did not record names which contain another name, where the other name is nearby and they are clearly related. For example, since Stella Gill, Barras Dale and Harrow Bank were recorded in the database, Stellagill Wood, Barrasdale Sike and Harrowbank House were not included. However, where the second name involves the addition of a (possible) ON element, this was included in the database. For example, Westholme was included on the basis that the generic element derives from ON *holmr* ('isle, water meadow'), and the related Westholme Bank was also included on the basis that *Bank* may reflect ON *banki* (('a bank, the slope of a hill of ridge' (Smith 1956a: 19))).

By demonstrating which broad areas contained the greatest number of (potential) ON elements, this initial examination of the 6-inch maps indicated which 25-inch scale maps should be used for a more in-depth search of an area where ON influence is most prevalent in the NE. I used-25 inch to the mile scale versions of the same maps online to look at some of these areas in more depth. Names were extracted from these more detailed maps in exactly the same way, and with same criteria, as the 6-inch maps. The satellite overlay function on the NLS website gave access to the geolocation coordinates (latitude and longitude) of the locations associated with the relevant names.

Ideally, the study would have taken account of all of the 25-inch sheets for County Durham and Northumberland, but the size of this task was far beyond the scope of the project. Most of the 25-inch maps are split into 16 sub-sheets on the NLS website, and there was simply too much ground to cover in the available time. Therefore, it was necessary to pick sample areas to get a sense of ON influence in the region. I decided to choose two areas from each county. To gather a range of data, and to be able to compare the extent and distribution of patterns across the region, I decided it was prudent to study both the area (i.e. 25-inch map sheet) where ON influence would be most expected within each county, and another area in each county where ON influence is not expected. Based on assessment of the 6-inch maps, I chose the area

covered by the Durham XXIII sheet as the region of that county where ON influence would be most expected.[18] For Northumberland, I selected sheet Northumberland XLIV, centered around Rothbury, which is one of the clusters of ON influence in Northumberland (Section 4.1.1). Henceforth, these maps covering areas where Scandinavian influence is more expected are referred to as the 'A maps'.

For the areas with little to no ON influence expected, I selected the Durham XVIII, sheet, around Lanchester, in northern central County Durham, as this area is not mentioned in any of the literature related to Scandinavian settlement or rule that was discussed in Chapter 4. Also, it is a rural area that is similar to the other sample Durham area represented in the A map, i.e. it is mainly rural, but with several villages and hamlets, located mainly next to watercourses. For Northumberland, I chose Northumberland LXXII, around Bedlington in the south-east of the county, for the same reasons. These maps that represent the areas where ON influence is not expected are subsequently referred to as the 'B maps'.

The reason behind choosing to collect data from areas where Scandinavian influence is and is not expected was simply to assess if there was any noticeable difference in terms of ON influence across the two. If the A maps did appear to contain considerably more ON influence than the B maps, this supports the suggestion of Scandinavian influence in the A map area, and not in the B map area. Conversely, if there appeared to be similar levels of ON influence on both the A and the B maps, then the minor name evidence would suggest that the A map areas are not as 'Scandinavian' as previous research had speculated, or at least that the A map areas and the B map areas are equally as Scandinavian-influenced.

There are potential limitations to this method of collecting place-names of interest from OS maps. The names had to be extracted manually and it is therefore possible that some instances of potential ON influence were missed. This is most likely for

[18] Durham XXXIX actually featured more ON influence, but many of these instances were in North Yorkshire, as the map covered an area of southernmost Durham and northernmost Yorkshire.

possible cases of ON anthroponyms, as the sheer diversity of personal names, as well as their varying present-day forms, makes them difficult to spot. It is also possible that the chosen sample areas were not the best or most advantageous regions on which to focus the study. While I am confident that the area represented by the A maps contain the most ON place-name influence in the county, the choice of the two B maps had to be based largely on educated guesswork.

5.3 Combining dictionary and map data

In combining the data collected from the two kinds of sources described in Sections 5.1 and 5.2 — the dictionaries and the OS maps — some candidate place-names were excluded from the final database, while in other instances information from the different sources was collated. In the first instance, I deleted any duplicate entries (i.e. separate entries for names collected from the maps that had already been identified in Watts (2002a), Mawer (1920) or Watts 1988–89), while retaining any information that was gathered from only one of the sources.

There were some cases in which I extracted a name from a map due to its appearance of possibly exhibiting ON influence or an ON element, but omitted the name from the dataset, as the name was contained in one or both dictionaries, with neither considering the name to even possibly contain an ON element or influence. I also omitted any names clearly relating to this name. Where names collected from the maps also appeared in the dictionaries, I checked the geolocation coordinates to ensure that they referred to the same place.

5.4 Data categories

Each field in the data, i.e. each place-name, fits into several categories. Some categories are simple details such as those relating to a name's location, covered in Section 5.4.1. Other categories are more complex and represent my interpretation and analysis of the data. Categorisation of the data in this way is discussed in Sections 5.4.2 to 5.4.8.

5.4.1 Basic details

For each place-name in the database, I recorded some basic, factual information: the modern-day form of the name, the geolocation coordinates (latitude and longitude), which modern-day county the corresponding location is in, and whether the name appears in the dictionaries, on the OS maps, or both. As noted in Section 1.3, for the purposes of this project, anything south of the River Tyne is classified as part of County Durham, while anything north of the river is considered part of Northumberland. Other basic details include which OS sheet and sub-sheet the name is extracted from, where applicable. Detailed location information can be seen in Appendix A, part 2.

To obtain the longitude and latitude coordinates of place-names contained within Mawer (1920) and Watts (2002a), in the first instance I searched for the name on Google Maps, and inputted the retrieved coordinates into the database. However, there were several cases where a Google Maps search did not bring up a result, particularly for minor and, naturally, lost names. In such cases, I used the grid references provided in Watts (2002a) along with the Ordnance Survey (OS) website. Sometimes a search on the OS basic online map brought such names up, but in other cases it was necessary to input the grid reference and manually search around that area for the name in question. A third process was searching the OS maps with overlays on the NLS website. The NLS search function permitted me to find names referring to small topographical features, such as Catterick Moss, the name of a fell. These processes allowed me to obtain the coordinates of almost all names in the dataset. No previous study has mapped the geographical distribution of possibly ON-influenced place-names in the NE in this way. These maps can be seen below (Figures 6(a) and 7, in Section 7.2). Some names still could not be located, in which case I used the coordinates for the national grid reference listed in Watts (2002a) or Watts (1988–89), on the basis that the name is somewhere nearby that plotted point; it is not explained in those sources how the grid reference was obtained.

5.4.2 Confidence ratings

Confidence rating categorisation addresses certainty levels relating to a name exhibiting ON influence. It was easier to categorise the dictionary names in this way, due to the metadata available for these. Those extracted from dictionaries usually have a range of attestations, sometimes from an early medieval period, and all have the authors' interpretation. Those extracted from maps often have no context attached to them at all other than my recording of their coordinates. Categorising the data in this way was a complex and lengthy process, and this section therefore provides some examples of the confidence ratings which, in the interests of brevity, do not exhaustively cover every possibility, but do give a clear sense of how the system works.

5.4.2.1 Confidence ratings of names extracted from dictionaries

Names sourced from the dictionaries are attributed one of three categories. Names with the highest confidence rating (rating 1) are considered by 100% of the dictionary sources it is contained within to contain an ON element that was not naturalised into ME, or that Watts (2002a) identifies a non-naturalised ON element but Mawer (1920) does not. A working definition of 'naturalised' was introduced in Section 3.3.5.4, repeated here.[19] Names are categorised with lower confidence ratings (ratings 2 and 3) if their dictionary source(s) suggest ON influence is possible: compare for example Watts' choice of words in his dictionary entry for Hisehope ('it is tempting to suggest…' (Watts 2002a: 60) compared his wording relating to Little Thorpe ('this is the 'outlying farm' of Easington' (Watts 2002a: 72). Other records in the data that are categorised with a middling confidence rating are names containing one element that was, and one element that was not, naturalised into ME, and names containing an ON anthroponym and no other ON element, which could reflect a Scandinavian settler, or a settler of any ethnicity bearing an ON name.

[19] See footnote 7, above, for comments on Watts' use of the term 'naturalised' and its use throughout this project.

Names are categorised with the lowest confidence rating (rating 4) include those in which all ON elements in the name are elements that were naturalised, according to Watts' (2002b: 54–56) categorisation of naturalised elements, or the relevant entry in the element glossary in Mawer (1920)/Watts (2002a). Also in this category are names that contain only elements that are ambiguously OE or ON, or a compound of an ambiguous element and a naturalised ME element.

5.4.2.2 Confidence ratings of names extracted from OS maps

Names sourced from the OS maps are assigned to one of four of the same categories as the dictionary names. Names are categorised with a lower confidence rating if they contain an element that Watts (2002b: 54–56) considers to be ambiguously ON and OE, for instance. Names are categorised with the lowest confidence rating if it was extracted only because of the presence of an element that is a PDE word that happens to be of ON origin, such as *bank* and *well*.

5.4.3 Element or type of influence.

The data is also categorised by the ON element or type of ON influence it may contain, with separate categories for the specific, generic and second generic elements, namely the first, second and third elements of each place-name, as well as a category for simplex names made up of just one element.

In some instances the element listed is evidenced in the name, and in others the element listed is the ON root of a ME loan. For names extracted from the OS maps which do not also appear in the dictionaries, these elements represent possible ON roots, based on other names containing the same modern form of such an element. For example, in Crooked Wells, it is not known that the specific element here stems from OE *crōc* or ON *krókr*, but the dictionary entries for several other names that contain various forms of <crook> identify ON *krókr* as the source. Several elements were listed in the dictionaries as having several options for their etymology, and this ambiguity is recorded in the dataset (Section 5.4.7).

It is very important to note that the dataset does not represent definite instance of ON elements or other kinds of influence. The elements/influence category discussed here illustrates my analysis of what element or what kind of influence the place-name exhibits if it does indeed exhibit ON influence. The database was produced in the knowledge that many of the names do not represent ON speech or Scandinavian settlers.

5.4.4 Major, minor and stream names

The data is categorised by its status as a major, minor or watercourse name. For the sake of brevity, 'stream name' is used to refer to names of watercourses big or small, be that major rivers or tiny inlets. For the purposes of this project, any topographical feature (a hill, a river bank) or isolated dwelling (a farm or hall) is considered to be a minor name. Everything else is classified as a major name. Of course, this is based on a combination of early OS maps and modern satellite maps, which depict a different landscape to that of the 10th century, apart from the rivers and streams, which are most likely to be unchanged. This is another example of the value of the first edition OS maps, as there were some cases where a single dwelling in the 1890s had become a hamlet or village by 2023, such as Slingley.

5.4.5 Topographical status

A further category is whether the name contains only topographical elements, only non-topographical elements (including habitative elements, anthroponyms and adjectives), or at least one of each. Names exhibiting only phonological Scandinavianisation or ON morphology could not be categorised in this way.

5.4.6 Scandinavianisation

Data is categorised by whether or not it appears to have undergone Scandinavianisation. This category does not necessarily apply to the whole name: any name that evidences one possible instance of phonological Scandinavianisation, or substitution of an OE element for an ON element, is categorised as evidencing possible Scandinavianisation, even if the name also evidences a different kind of ON influence.

The majority of the data extracted from OS maps are not categorised in this way, as it is impossible to identify Scandinavianisation without any early attestations.

Different kinds of Scandinavianisation are shown differently within the data. In clear cases of element substitution (see Section 3.2.5.6), for example the Auckland names, names are categorised as containing the element or influence type evidenced in each place-name as per the element and type of ON influence category (Section 5.4.1), as if there is no evidence of previous elements. The Scandinavianisation category adds to this by addressing whether these elements have appeared via a process of Scandinavianisation. For instances of sound substitution (again see Section 3.2.5.6), seen for example in Coniscliffe and Cowpen Marsh,[20] such records are categorized as phonological Scandinavianisation in the element and type of influence category.

5.4.7 Naturalisation into ME according to Watts (2002b) or glossaries of Watts (2002a) or Mawer (1920)

As per the working definition of 'naturalised' provided in footnote 7, this category is intended to demonstrate whether or not the element was borrowed into English and used productively by English speakers. For the sake of consistency, I used this existing framework for categorizing elements in this way. An alternative method would have been to make use of a category that analysed ON elements' status as borrowed elements in ME, using the Middle English Dictionary (MED), but this posed problems relating to borrowing into the lexicon as opposed to onomasticon: an element's absence from the MED does not necessarily indicate that it was not loaned into the Middle English onomasticon and used productively for naming places.

5.4.8 ON place-names with possible ON influence on all elements

A final way in which the data is categorised is by whether or not all of the elements in a place-name exhibit ON influence of some kind, if the ON etymology or influence is

[20] Coniscliffe features phonological Scandinavianisation of OE *cyning*, via influence of ON *kunung* (both 'king') (Watts 2002a: 29). The second element in Cowpen Marsh exhibits a re-Anglicisation, so to speak, of *marsk*, itself an instance of Scandinavianisation (Mawer 1920: 56).

assumed to be accurate. This relates to the often-discussed issue of hybrid names, made up of one element of ON origin and one element of a different etymology. I opted to categorise the data as exhibiting ON influence on all or part of a name, rather than wholly ON or hybrid names, as the latter would have excluded names containing one possible ON element and an instance of Scandinavianisation. While such names were not coined as wholly ON names, both elements do exhibit Scandinavian influence and are even more likely to be instances of ON speakers renaming previously English-named places than names which only contain a possible instance of Scandinavianisation. Later added elements such as *Hall* and *Terrace* following *Hollinside*, and *Hill* following *Ornsby* are excluded from what is considered 'all' the elements in a name – since Hollinside and Ornsby may be made up of 100% ON origin or influenced elements, these are categorised as wholly ON. There are other instances of this – this is not an exhaustive list of examples.

5.5 A comparative case-study: Aysgarth, North Yorkshire

The area immediately surrounding Aysgarth, in the Yorkshire Dales, was selected as a comparative case study area. The aim of collecting names from an OS map covering a sample 'case study' area was to compare the quantity and distribution patterns of ON influence in an area within the traditional Danelaw, to the south of the NE, with the NE data. I selected an area that experienced Scandinavian settlement and which is expected to exhibit considerably more ON influence on place-names than in the NE. I chose the area around Aysgarth, North Yorkshire, represented on the 25-inch scale OS map Yorkshire LXVII (1910), as this is not far south of the Tees and has identifiable major names containing more than one ON element (Aysgarth, Thoralby etc.), pointing to a considerable level of ON influence. Selecting an area close to, but outside, the NE, allows for comparison of two areas that are as close as possible, but that differ in terms of their ethnic and linguistic demographic in the Viking Age.

Names were extracted from this map in exactly the same way as for the NE maps. I also consulted Smith's (1928) place-name dictionary for this area, as well as Watts (2004). These sources provided information on some early spellings. The case study will be used as a point of comparison with the NE analyses presented throughout Chapters 6 and 7, in Sections 6.10 and 7.12.

Chapter 6. Data analysis I: grouping and categorisation of data

This first chapter of analysis evaluates and assesses the extent of ON influence on place-names on the NE, in relation to different categories as discussed throughout Section 5.4, including different kinds of elements, and the different geographical areas of interest. This chapter makes use of tables to present the information, and provides the broader overview of the extent and types of ON influence. Chapter 7 provides a specific focus on issues of geographic distribution, which are key to my research questions and arguments (Section 1.1) about the status of the area between the Tees and the Tyne.

Firstly in this chapter, information relating to the location of the place-name data will be addressed (Section 6.1), followed by elements and other types of ON influence found in the whole dataset (Section 6.2). Next, several data categories are examined: naturalised and ambiguous status (Section 6.3); topographical status (Section 6.5); major, minor and stream names (Section 6.6); Scandinavianisation (Section 6.7); whether potential ON influence is seen on all or some elements of a name (Section 6.8); confidence ratings (Section 6.9). These variables are frequently cross-referenced with each other, with source type (dictionary/OS map) and with location.

Finally, these analyses are repeated for the case study dataset, comprising place-names around Aysgarth in North Yorkshire. As noted in Section 5.5, this facilitates comparison between an area in the traditional Danelaw where several major names are identifiably ON in origin. An aim of this chapter is to establish a broad overview of possible Scandinavian settlement and influence of ON before looking at the more specific details of the patterns of distribution, covered in Chapter 7.

Before beginning by examining the location of the place-name data that is analysed in this and the following chapter, let us consider why and how two of the categories in question – naturalised and ambiguous elements, and confidence ratings – apply to the data. These categories were applied to the data with an aim of showing and exploring the distinction between the 'stronger' and less strong, less clear-cut kinds of evidence.

The term 'likely ON elements' is used throughout Chapters 6 and 7 to refer to ON place-name elements that were not naturalised into English, and are not ambiguously ON/OE in origin. They constitute the strongest evidence of ON influence, potential Scandinavian settlement and ON speakers. Place-names containing naturalised and ambiguous elements in the dataset, on the other hand, might only be very loosely linked to Scandinavian settlers and ON speech in the NE, and therefore do not constitute less convincing evidence for the arguments put forward in this project (Section 1.1). However, factors such as their proximity to groups of names which more convincingly exhibit ON influence, explored in Section 7.6, might add weight to these arguments.

Confidence rating categorisation allows data to be grouped into one of four categories on a scale of most likely (confidence rating 1) to least likely (confidence rating 4) to represent ON influence. Section 5.4.2 gave an outline of the confidence ratings that were assigned to the data. There is a key distinction between ratings 1-3, assigned to data that the collection process suggests likely represent ON influence, through to those that have ambiguous ON/OE etymology, and rating 4, which applies to place-name elements that are English words that happen to be of Old Norse origin, that is, words that appear to have been adopted from ON into the general English lexicon, and then used in place-names. Except where the confidence ratings themselves are being assessed, the analyses below and in Chapter 7 omit place-names that were categorised as confidence category 4. Excluding these cases, which have questionable status as signs of direct ON influence in the coining of place-names themselves, avoids the possibility that they will distort the results and focuses the analysis on the more robust evidence in the dataset.

6.1 Location of place-names forming the dataset

As noted in Sections 5.1 and 5.2, the dataset contains names from two regional place-name dictionaries (Mawer (1920) and Watts (2002a)), an English place-name dictionary (Watts 2004), a paper on Scandinavian influence on place-names in County Durham

(Watts 1988–89), and four 25-inch scale early Ordnance Survey maps. Analysis of data by county across the whole dataset is not provided, as Mawer (1920) covers both Northumberland and County Durham, but Watts (2002a) does not. Analysis of this kind, then, would give an unbalanced view of cases of ON influence according to secondary sources. The geographical distribution of cases can be assessed, however, with two similarly rural areas in each county studied. As described in Section 5.2, I studied one area in each county where Scandinavian settlement might be expected based on previous research. These areas are covered by the 'A' maps: map Durham XXIII, around Eastgate, in the south-west of the county, and Northumberland XLIV, around Rothbury, in central Northumberland. In addition, I examined one area in each county that is never mentioned in the literature as containing any signs of ON influence, either in terms of place-names or Scandinavian settlers. These areas are covered by the 'B' maps: Durham XVIII, around Lanchester, in northern Durham, and Northumberland LXXII, around Bedlington in the south-east of the county.

It must be remembered that the data discussed here does not represent definite cases of ON influence. Rather, the data consists of modern place-names that may reflect such influence, either in the form of an element of ON origin, or in the form of an OE element that has undergone Scandinavianisation.

Table 1 shows the number of place-names in the dataset of potential ON origin or influence by county. Of 236 total names collected, 75% are located in what is now County Durham (see Section 1.3 for a working definition of both counties).

Table 1: Number of place-names in the NE dataset of potential ON origin or influence in each county

	N	**%**
County Durham	178	75%
Northumberland	58	25%
Total	**236**	

Figure 5 illustrates the location of the place-names collected from the five OS maps consulted in collecting data, as outlined in Section 5.2. This gives a brief overview of the location of the maps referred to, and provides an early indication of the sparsity of data, and therefore of names of potential ON origin or influence, in Northumberland as opposed to County Durham.

Figure 5: Place-names collected from the four OS maps surveyed within the NE, plus the case study area map in North Yorkshire

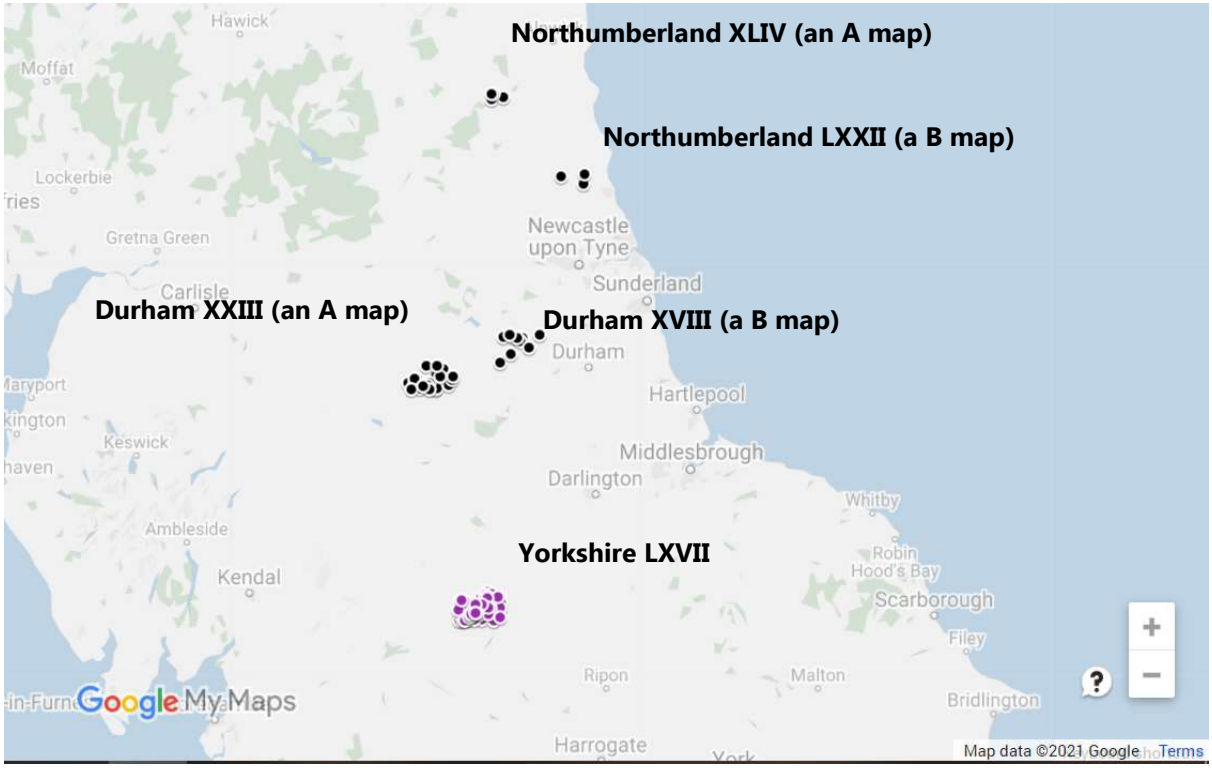


Table 2 provides the raw numbers (N) of names collected from each of the four OS maps, also expressed as a percentage of the total number of map names collected. 53 names in total were collected from the four maps (see Section 5.2 for an account of the collection criteria). The first thing to note is that considerably more cases of potential ON influence or elements were found on the Durham A map than on any of the others: more than half of all the names extracted from the NE OS maps were extracted from this sheet. It is also clear that both Durham maps contain more potential cases of ON influence than the Northumberland maps: 29 versus 9 for the

areas where ON influence might be expected, and 11 versus 4 for the areas where it is not expected. Overall, then, more than twice as many potential ON elements or instances of other indicators of ON influence were found in the two Durham maps. There is a distinction across the two counties, as well as across the A and B maps: more place-names of potential ON origin or influence were identified from the Durham maps, and from the maps where Scandinavian settlement is more likely.

In sum, the raw numbers of names potentially containing ON elements or displaying ON influence across the four sample areas of the NE point to greatest ON influence on place naming in the south-west of the region. From these samples, the initial impression is therefore that there is considerably more influence of ON in County Durham than in Northumberland overall. However, it must be noted that there is evidence of possible ON influence across every sample area, even where no previous research has suggested any Viking settlement or even short-term presence. At first glance, this might appear to contradict the idea presented in Townend (2000: 98) that ON place-name elements are not found where there is no Scandinavian settlement, because place-name elements do not diffuse over geographical areas in the same way as lexemes do (see Section 3.3.3). However, Townend's interpretation will still be applicable if the only ON influence identified in the areas represented by the B maps takes the form of ON elements that were borrowed into the English lexicon, or if it can be argued that there was in fact settlement in those areas. The presence of borrowed elements in the B map areas is explored in Section 6.2 below, although it is important to be cautious with respect to the conclusions that can be drawn here, as the status of the relevant elements as loans is not entirely clear, when it comes to making a distinction between whether they were adopted into the lexicon or the onomasticon. As noted in Section 3.3.5.4, following Watts (1988–89: 26), by 'naturalised' I mean borrowed into English and used productively by English speakers, though there is no way of knowing if Watts meant naturalised into the ME lexicon or the ME onomasticon.

Table 2: Total names of potential ON origin or influence extracted from each OS map

Map	**N**	**%**
ON influence expected (A maps)		
Durham XXIII (Eastgate)	29	55%
Northumberland XLIV (Rothbury)	9	17%
ON influence not expected (B maps)		
Durham XVIII (Lanchester)	11	21%
Northumberland LXXII (Bedlington)	4	8%
Total	**53**	

6.2 Elements and other types of ON influence across the NE data

This section explores the distribution of the various kinds of potential ON elements and other types of ON influence that appear across the NE dataset as a whole. This includes elements that are ambiguous in origin (i.e. may be either ON or OE), as well as those that appear to have been naturalised into English. Table 3 lists the 77 possible ON elements and other kinds of Norse influence on place-names that are recorded in the major sources used in this study: Mawer (1920), Watts (1988–89), Watts (2002a), and the four OS maps. As well as the total number of occurrences of each feature, the upper part of the table also shows how many instances of the different elements are found in the different positions within a place-name – that is, as the specific or generic – and how many occur as the single element in names that consist of just one element. The lower section of the table does the same, applied to other kinds of influences, for example phonological Scandinavianisation. In the context of generics, the 'generic 2' column records the number of occurrences in names where there are two possible ON-influenced generics. The final column indicates the relative frequency of each element or type of influence, as a percentage of the whole dataset.

As mentioned in Section 5.1, the source dictionaries record some of the place-names in the dataset as having elements of ambiguous etymology. In some of these cases, it

is unclear whether an element is a potential example of phonological Scandinavianisation, an ON element, or an ON anthroponym, for example the river name Skerne may contain ON *skírr* 'bright' (Mawer 1920: 181) or Scandinavianisation ([ʃ] to [sk]) of OE *Scīre* 'bright one' (Watts 2002a: 113), as seen in Skirlaugh, East Yorkshire (Townend 2014: 110). In other cases, an element may be an ON anthroponym or a non-anthroponymical ON element, such as Tursdale, which may contain ON anthroponym *Thrylli* or ON/OE *thræll* ('thrall' (Watts 2002a: 127, 164)). In the former cases, the non-phonological Scandinavianised option was inputted into the dataset, and in the latter, the ON non-anthroponymical element, simply in order to convey the range of possible ON elements across the dataset. This means that the figures here for phonological Scandinavianisation and ON anthroponyms may be slightly conservative. There are only a total of eight cases of both of these ambiguous circumstances in the dataset excluding code 4 names, however, so any underestimation of these figures does not have a major impact.

A note on the exclusion of confidence rating category 4 names here. Some elements that would belong to category 4 still appear in the analyses here, as the names in which they appear also contain a type of influence that does not belong to category 4. An example is *well*, which appears in names such as Tranwell, where *trani* triggers a confidence code 1.

Table 3: ON influence and other types of influence that appear in the whole NE dataset, by position within the place-name. See Appendix B for sources for each element gloss.

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
Element (listed alphabetically)							
á 'river, stream'	'river, stream'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
Auka 'additional'	'additional'	2	0	0	0	2	0.7%
ærgi	'shieling'	0	1	0	0	1	0.4%
bank	'a bank, the slope of a hill of ridge'	0	5	0	0	5	1.8%
bekkr	'stream, beck'	1	2	1	0	4	1.4%
berg	'hill, mountain'	0	1	0	0	1	0.4%
blár	'dark, blue, livid'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
brún	'brown, dark-coloured'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
bý	'farmstead, village'	0	8	0	0	8	2.8%
dalr	'valley'	1	8	1	0	10	3.5%
diki	'ditch'	3	2	0	0	5	1.8%
dyande	'marsh'	0	0	0	1	1	0.4%
eski	'place growing with ash trees'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
flask	'swamp, swampy grassland, shallow water, pool'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
gagnlauss	'profitless'	0	0	0	1	1	0.4%
garðr	'enclosure'	0	2	0	0	2	0.7%
gata	'way, path, road, street'	0	14	0	0	14	4.9%
gil	'ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream'	0	12	1	0	13	4.6%
grein	'branch (of a tree), fork (of a river)'	0	2	0	1	3	1.1%
gróf	'stream, the hollow a stream makes' pit'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
hafri	'oats'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
hamarr	'rock, cliff'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
heimr	'home, homestead, estate'	0	1	0	0	1	0.4%

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
hegning	'enclosed land'	0	0	0	1	1	0.4%
hengjandi	'hanging'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
hestr	'horse, stallion'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
hetta	'hat' or 'hood'	0	0	0	1	1	0.4%
hǫgg	'cutting, felling of trees, part of a wood marked off for cutting'	4	1	0	0	5	1.8%
hór	'high'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
hurðarbak	'space behind the door'	0	0	0	1	1	0.4%
hvammr	'small valley'	0	0	0	1	1	0.4%
hvin	'whin, gorse'	7	0	0	0	7	2.5%
hvirfill	'circle, hilltop, whirlpool'	2	0	0	0	2	0.7%
Íri	'Irishman'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
karl	'freeman of the lower class'	2	0	0	0	2	0.7%
kaupa	'purchased'	2	0	0	0	2	0.7%

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
kelda	'spring, marshy place'	0	1	0	0	1	0.4%
kirkja	'church'	0	1	0	0	1	0.4%
kjarr	'brushwood'	5	6	0	0	11	3.9%
klint	'cliff'	2	0	0	0	2	0.7%
knjúkr	'high and steep hill'	1	1	0	0	2	0.7%
knottr	'hillock'	0	1	0	0	1	0.4%
krókr	'crook, bend'	8	3	0	2	13	4.6%
kúpa	'cup or bowl'	1	0	0	1	2	0.7%
land	'part of the earth's solid surface/tract of land'	0	4	0	0	4	1.4%
leið	'road, track'	0	1	0	0	1	0.4%
lúka	'hollow of the land'	0	0	0	1	1	0.4%
mýrr	'mire, bog, swampy ground'	0	2	0	0	2	0.7%
nabbi	'projecting peak, knoll, hill'	2	0	0	0	2	0.7%
rá	'land-mark, boundary'	1	0	0	1	2	0.7%

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
ryðja	'clearing'	2	0	0	0	2	0.7%
salterg	'salt shieling'	0	2	0	0	2	0.7%
sate/set	'flat piece of ground'/'seat'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
sef	'sedge, rush'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
skalli	''bald head' used of 'bare hill'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
skírr	'clear, bright, pure'	1	0	0	1	2	0.7%
skógr	'a wood'	0	1	0	0	1	0.4%
snap	'rough pasture'	2	0	0	0	2	0.7%
steinn	'stone, rock'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
stólpi	'stake, stump, post'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
þorp	'secondary settlement, dependent outlying farmstead or hamlet'	2	2	0	0	4	1.4%
þræll	'thrall, serf, slave'	2	0	0	0	2	0.7%

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
toft	'building site, curtilage'	1	1	0	0	2	0.7%
tosvin	'field of tow or flax'	0	0	0	1	1	0.4%
trani	'crane'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
tré	'tree'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
troll	'troll, supernatural being'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
tún	'enclosure, farmstead'	0	2	0	0	2	0.7%
tyri	'resinous wood for fire-making'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
vás	'wet'	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
vað	'ford'	0	1	0	0	1	0.4%
viðr	'wood' or 'tree, tree trunk'	0	1	0	0	1	0.4%
well	'well, spring, stream'	0	5	0	0	5	1.8%
Other types of influence							
ON anthroponym	n/a	69	1	0	1	71	25.1%
ON morphology	n/a	0	1	0	0	1	0.4%

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
Phonological Scandinavianisation	n/a	17	7	0	0	24	8.5%
Unexplained ON element	n/a	1	0	0	0	1	0.4%
Total		**163**	**103**	**3**	**15**	**284**	

Extensive analysis of all of the data extracted from the dictionaries and the OS maps would be inappropriate, given that they cover different areas: Watts (2004) covers the entirety of England, Mawer (1920) focuses on Northumberland and Durham, Watts (2002a) and Watts (1988–89) deal only with Durham, while each of the four OS maps covers approximately five square miles. The details of the whole dataset presented in Table 3 are provided as an overview of the range of ON influence across the region, as recorded across the sources. The analyses presented in later sections focus mainly on individual counties or smaller areas, combining multiple sources where they refer to the same area.

The table lists 163 cases of possible ON specifics (representing 57% of the whole dataset), 103 generics (36%), a further 3 cases where there are two possible ON-influence generics (1%), and 15 cases of simplex names that may exhibit Scandinavian origin or influence (5%). Anthroponyms are the most common kind of ON influence overall (71 cases, 25.1%). Examples of place-names containing possible ON anthroponyms in the data include Aislaby, Glanton, and School Aycliffe. The second most common influence in the dataset is phonological Scandinavianisation (24 cases, 8.5%), with possible instances including Coniscliffe, Nunstainton and Thackmyers. Next is a group of elements that occur 10–14 times each, and therefore each represent

between 3.5% and 4.9% of the dataset: *dalr ('valley',* (Smith 1956a: 126)), *gata ('way, path, road, street'* (Smith 1956a: 196)), *gil ('*ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream' (Smith 1956a: 200)), *kjarr ('brushwood'* (Smith 1956b: 4)), and *krókr* ('crook, bend' (Smith 1956b: 7)). There is a total of 61 cases of these five most common elements (making up 21% of the dataset). The 71 ON anthroponyms, 24 phonologically Scandinavianised names, and 61 cases of the further five common elements together represent 55% of the whole dataset (156 of the total 284 cases). The remaining types of influence recorded in Table 3 occur a maximum of 8 times, and therefore constitute a maximum of 2.8% of the dataset. There are 41 elements that were found to have only one possible occurrence, making up just 0.4% each of the data, and together forming just 14% of the whole dataset.

6.3 Ambiguous, naturalised and likely ON elements

Elements that were not naturalised into ME (Watts (1988–89: 26), see Section 3.3.5.4 and Section 6.1 above) are more likely to be indicative of ON speakers, and less likely to represent English speakers' use of ON elements that had made their way into the English onomasticon and/or lexicon. Nevertheless, loans of this kind do not necessarily exclude the possible involvement of ON speakers. If place-name element loans do not diffuse through space in the same way lexical loans do (see Section 3.3.3), this means it is more likely that an ON place-name element reflects influence from ON speakers. However, if an ON place-name element was borrowed into the English lexicon (as opposed to just the onomasticon), it may have diffused over a geographical area, and may have been subsequently used in the onomasticon for naming places. This is not just a hypothetical possibility, since several ON place-name elements, such as *býr* and *thorp*, were indeed borrowed into the English lexicon (see Sections 3.3.5.1 and 3.3.5.2). Nonetheless, if an element that we know is naturalised into English appears in an area dense with other ON elements, naturalised or not, this could be indicative of coinage by ON speakers.

Another important factor is the consideration of ambiguous elements, that is, those whose modern form could indicate either ON or OE etymology. Such ambiguity means that some elements that indicate possible ON influence may not evidence ON at all, but it would be unwise to discard such elements altogether. In some cases, early attestations of relevant place-names might point to one etymology or the other. For example, early spellings of Skerningham, near Darlington, feature the spelling <ei>, pointing to ON *heimr* rather than OE *hām* as the final element (*Skirningheim* in Symeon's writing in the early 12th century, Arnold 1885 [2012]: 217, cited in Watts 2002a: 113).

Table 4 gives the raw numbers and relative percentages of ON elements that were naturalised into English, are ambiguously ON or OE in etymology, and are neither naturalised nor ambiguous. This latter category, elements that are non-naturalised and non-ambiguous, are henceforth referred to as 'likely ON elements'. Since several names contain more than one possible case of ON influence, many names belong to more than one of these categories, and are therefore represented more than once in the numbers summarised in the table. For example, Crook's Altar, in western County Durham, contains one element that is ambiguous, *krókr* ('crook, bend' (Smith 1956b: 7) and one element that is neither ambiguous nor naturalised into English, *salterg* ('salt shieling', Watts 2002a: 24, 32).[21] The nature of this name means that it belongs to two categories, and is therefore represented twice in the table.

[21] As a point of interest, evidence for the second element of this place-name as ON *salterg* may be seen on some earlier, less detailed maps of County Durham. On Jeffreys and Armstrong's 1768 map, the name is noted as *Crooked Salter*. Hobson's 1840 map shows this name with spelling *Crooks Alter*.

Table 4: Ambiguous, naturalised and likely ON elements across the whole NE dataset

	N	**%**
Elements naturalised into ME	86	34%
Ambiguous elements	45	18%
Likely ON elements (those neither naturalised nor ambiguous)	45	18%
n/a (names containing ON anthroponyms or instances of phonological Scandinavianisation)	77	30%
Total	**253**	

Table 4 shows that 34% of all cases of potential ON influence in the whole NE dataset take the form of elements that were naturalised into English, with a further 18% taking the form of elements that have an ambiguous etymology (ON or OE/ME). Together, these two categories therefore account for almost three quarters of the instances of potential or likely ON influence (73%). Not much can be said here about the ON anthroponyms and cases of phonological Scandinavianisation (i.e. the cases represented by the 'n/a' category in the table), as it is impossible to assess whether these might reflect Scandinavian settlers and/or ON speech before looking at their location on a map and in relation to other names in Section 7.6.

As the table shows, 18% of cases represented in the dataset take the form of an ON element that was not naturalised into English and is not ambiguous. Although such elements account for the (joint) smallest proportion of the data, it is also the case that they are the most likely examples of names created by ON speakers, and therefore it is certainly noteworthy that almost one sixth of the possible cases of ON influence on place-names in the NE point to coinage by ON speakers. The fact that around 18% of cases involve such a strong indication of direct influence from ON speakers results in a very different picture from the one that Watts (1988–89: 45) presents with his claim

that the make-up of place-names in Durham, at least, 'lend[s] no support to any notion that Scandinavian speech was ever a living thing north of the Tees'.

We will now turn to Table 5, which presents the distribution of ambiguous and naturalised elements by location, firstly by county and then by the four more localised areas represented by each of the OS maps.

Table 5: Ambiguous, naturalised and likely elements by county

	Durham		***Northumberland***	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
Elements naturalised into ME	72	38%	14	23%
Ambiguous elements	33	17%	11	18%
Likely ON elements (those neither naturalised nor ambiguous)	34	18%	11	18%
n/a	53	28%	24	40%
Total	**192**	**101%**	**60**	**100%**

Across Durham and Northumberland, the proportion of ambiguous and likely ON elements is almost identical. There is a higher proportion of naturalised elements in Durham than Northumberland, though this can be related to the considerably higher proportion of names in Northumberland evidencing a potential ON anthroponym or phonological Scandinavianisation. This data may be inconsistent with Townend's (2000: 98) suggestion that we will not find ON place-name elements where there was no Scandinavian settlement (see Section 3.3.3); despite there being no evidence in historical records that there was Scandinavian settlement in Northumberland (see Section 4.2.2.2), 18% of the potential instances from the dataset of ON influence in this

county take the form of an element that is the most convincing kind of evidence of direct ON influence. This does not fit with the idea that ON elements only appear where there were Scandinavian settlers. On the other hand, it is possible that the 11 likely ON elements in Northumberland are in fact representative of ON speakers, which would be consistent with Townend's (2000: 98) suggestion. The likelihood of this cannot be assessed in the analysis following Table 6 immediately below, which presents the data categorised by location of the source OS maps, as only 3 of these 11 instances of likely ON elements in Northumberland were extracted from OS maps. Rather, analysis of the geographical distribution of likely ON elements is presented in Section 7.6, Figure 16(a), and this illustrates that 5 of these 11 cases are very clearly situated in the two areas of Northumberland that appear to contain clusters of ON-influenced place-names, and which may in turn have experienced Scandinavian settlement (around Rothbury and Akeld, see Sections 4.1.1, 4.2.2.2 and 4.3). It is plausible to suggest that, given their very distinctive location within these clusters, these five instances are indeed examples of ON elements, given by ON speakers. The remaining six, including the instance located in the area covered by the Northumberland B map (see Table 6) could well constitute misinterpretations of a name's components. Indeed, the Northumberland B map name is Tranwell, the earliest spelling of which exhibits a specific <Trenne-> rather than with <a> (Mawer 2910: 199). I therefore tentatively suggest that the Northumberland analyses, particularly those presented on Figure 16(a) below, support Townend; 5 of 11 instances of likely ON elements appear around Rothbury and Akeld because ON speech was at one time present there, and the remaining 6 instances are either not in fact ON place-name elements, or are reflective of other areas of contemporary ON speech not identified or explored in this project.

Table 6: Numbers and proportions of ambiguous and naturalised elements across the four OS map areas

	A maps: ON influence expected				***B maps: ON influence not expected***			
	Durham XXIII (Eastgate)		**Northumberland XLIV (Rothbury)**		**Durham XVIII (Lanchester)**		**Northumberland LXXII (Bedlington)**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Elements naturalised into ME	17	56%	4	40%	8	67%	2	40%
Ambiguous elements	12	39%	1	10%	2	17%	2	40%
Likely ON elements (those neither naturalised nor ambiguous)	1	3%	2	20%	2	17%	1	20%
n/a	1	3%	2	20%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	**31**	**100%**	**10**	**100%**	**12**	**100%**	**5**	**100%**

Table 6 also shows that there seems to be no patterning in the relative frequencies of naturalised and ambiguous elements in terms of whether the area is one where ON influence is expected (the A maps) or not expected (the B maps). Across the two

counties, the average proportion of instances of ON influence that take the form of naturalised elements is 48% of names found on the A maps, and 54% of names found on the B maps. With respect to ambiguous elements, the average proportion on A maps is 25%, and on B maps 29%. The highest proportions of likely ON elements are on the two Northumberland maps, but raw numbers are so low, it would not be appropriate to draw conclusions or make comparisons in this respect. It is worth noting that the Durham A map includes only one likely ON element, even though overall it contains the most cases of ON influence by a considerable margin (29 cases; see Section 6.1, Table 2). Nonetheless, since the number of occurrences of such elements is so low across all four of the OS maps, firm conclusions cannot be drawn here given such limited evidence.

Next, ambiguous and naturalised elements are analysed in the context of the range of elements across all the data. Table 7 below replicates Table 3, but with the exclusion of ambiguous elements. In other words, it shows all elements and other types of influence recorded in the database other than those with an ambiguous etymology (i.e. those that could be ON or OE). Table 8 then replicates Table 7, but with the exclusion of those elements that were naturalised into English, that is, it shows only those elements and types of influence that are most likely to have been used to create place-names by ON speakers. The aim of Table 8 is to identify the ON influence on place-names that is most likely to represent Scandinavian settlers and/or ON speech, without the additional important consideration of geographical context, which is assessed in Chapter 7. The ambiguous elements excluded from the above table are the following, with the ON element followed by the ambiguous OE/ME counterpart:

dalr 'valley' (Smith 1956a: 126), *dæl* 'valley' (Smith 1956a: 125), *dal* 'a share, portion' (Smith 1856a: 126)

diki 'ditch' (Smith 1956a: 133), *dīc* 'ditch' (Smith 1956a: 131)

heimr 'home, homestead, estate' (Smith 1956a: 241), *hām* 'village, manor, homestead' (Smith 1956a: 226)

hvammr 'small valley' (Smith 1956a: 270), OE *hwamm* 'corner, angle, porch' (Smith 1956: 271), ME *wham* 'marshy hollow' (Watts 2002a: 156)

hvirfill 'circle, hilltop, whirlpool' (Smith 1956a: 271), *hwerfel* 'a circle' (Smith 1956a: 272)

krókr 'crook, bend' (Smith 1956b: 7), *crōc* 'crook' (Smith 1956: 112)

land 'part of the earth's solid surface/tract of land' (Smith 1956b: 13), *lond* 'land (Smith 1956b: 26)

rá 'land-mark, boundary' (Smith 1956b: 78), *rā* 'roe' (Smith 1956b: 78)

skírr 'clear, bright, pure' (Smith 1956b: 125), *scīr* 'bright, gleaming' (Smith 1956b: 111)

túnn 'enclosure, farmstead' (Smith 1956b: 188), *tūn* 'enclosure, farmstead, estate, village' (Smith 1956b: 188)

wella 'well, spring stream' (Watts 2002b: 55), *wella* 'well, spring, stream' (Smith 1956b: 150)

ON anthroponyms

There are further ON/OE pairs of elements which are often ambiguous, such as *eski* ('place growing with ash trees' (Smith 1956a: 160) and *æsc* ('ash tree' (Smith 1956a: 4)), and *steinn* and *stān* (both 'stone, rock' (Smith 1956b 143, 150), but which do not appear in the dataset in an ambiguous context; the authors of the dictionaries consider the etymology clear based on early spellings.

Table 7: Elements across the NE dataset, excluding ambiguous elements. See Appendix B for sources for element glosses.

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
Element (listed alphabetically)							
á	'river, stream'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
auka	'additional'	2	0	0	0	2	1.2%
ærgi	'shieling'	0	1	0	0	1	0.6%
bank	'a bank, the slope of a hill of ridge'	0	5	0	0	5	3.1%
bekkr	'stream, beck'	1	2	1	0	4	2.5%
berg	'hill, mountain'	0	1	0	0	1	0.6%
blár	'dark, blue, livid'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
brún	'brown, dark-coloured'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
bý	'farmstead, village'	0	8	0	0	8	4.9%
dyande	'marsh'	0	0	0	1	1	0.6%
eski	'place growing with ash trees'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
flask	'swamp, swampy	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
	grassland, shallow water, pool'						
gagnlauss	'profitless'	0	0	0	1	1	0.6%
garðr	'enclosure'	0	2	0	0	2	1.3%
gata	'way, path, road, street'	0	14	0	0	14	8.6%
gil	'ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream'	0	12	1	0	13	8.0%
grein	'branch (of a tree), fork (of a river)'	0	2	0	1	3	1.8%
gróf	'stream, the hollow a stream makes, pit'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
hafri	'oats'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
hamarr	'rock, cliff'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
hegning	'enclosed land'	0	0	0	1	1	0.6%
hengjandi	'hanging'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
hestr	'horse, stallion'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
hetta	'hat' or 'hood'	0	0	0	1	1	0.6%
hǫgg	'cutting, felling of trees, part of a wood marked off for cutting'	4	1	0	0	5	3.1%
hór	'high'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
hurðarbak	'space behind the door'	0	0	0	1	1	0.6%
hvin	'whin, gorse'	7	0	0	0	7	4.3%
Íri	'Irishman'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
karl	'freeman of the lower class'	2	0	0	0	2	1.2%
kaupa	'purchased'	2	0	0	0	2	1.2%
kelda	'spring, marshy place'	0	1	0	0	1	0.6%
kirkja	'church'	0	1	0	0	1	0.6%
kjarr	'brushwood'	5	6	0	0	11	6.7%
klint	'cliff'	2	0	0	0	2	1.2%

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
knjúkr	'high and steep hill'	1	1	0	0	2	1.2%
knottr	*Knǫttr* is 'ball' in Smith (1956b: 5)	0	1	0	0	1	0.6%
kúpa	'cup or bowl'	1	0	0	1	2	1.2%
leið	'road, track'	0	1	0	0	1	0.6%
lúka	'hollow of the land'	0	0	0	1	1	0.6%
mýrr	'mire, bog, swampy ground'	0	2	0	0	2	1.2%
nabbi	'projecting peak, knoll, hill'	2	0	0	0	2	1.2%
ryðja	'clearing'	2	0	0	0	2	1.2%
salterg	'salt shieling'	0	2	0	0	2	1.2%
sate/set	'flat piece of ground'/'seat'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
sef	'sedge, rush'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
skógr	'a wood'	0	1	0	0	1	0.6%
snap	'rough pasture'	2	0	0	0	2	1.2%
steinn	'stone, rock'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
stólpi	'stake, stump, post'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
þorp	'secondary settlement, dependent outlying farmstead or hamlet'	2	2	0	0	4	2.5%
þræll	'thrall, serf, slave'	2	0	0	0	2	1.2%
toft	'building site, curtilage'	1	1	0	0	2	1.2%
tosvin	'field of two or flax'	0	0	0	1	1	0.6%
trani	'crane'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
tré	'tree'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
troll	'troll, supernatural being'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
tyri	'resinous wood for fire-making'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
vás	'wet'	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
vað	'ford'	0	1	0	0	1	0.6%

Element/type of influence	Gloss	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N single element	N total	%
viðr	'wood' or 'tree, tree trunk'	0	1	0	0	1	0.6%
Other types of influence							
ON morphology	n/a	0	1	0	0	1	0.6%
Phonological Scandinavianisation	n/a	17	7	0	0	24	14.7%
Unexplained ON element	n/a	1	0	0	0	1	0.6%
Total		**77**	**77**	**2**	**9**	**165**	

With the instances of ambiguous influence excluded, ON influence is equally as common on specifics as it is on generics (with 77 and 79 instances of each respectively), mostly due to the exclusion of ON anthroponyms. Excluding the 12 ambiguous elements mentioned above meant setting aside 119 out of the 284 total cases of ON influence recorded in the database, leaving 165 cases. Table 7 shows that with these elements excluded, phonological Scandinavianisation is the most prevalent type of ON influence, with 24 instances, representing 14.7% of all non-ambiguous cases. The summary of the whole dataset provided in Section 6.1 (and Table 3) identified the five most common individual elements as *dalr ('valley',* (Smith 1956a: 126)), *gata ('way, path, road, street'* (Smith 1956a: 196)), *gil (*'ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream' (Smith 1956a: 200)), *kjarr ('brushwood'* (Smith 1956b: 4)), and *krókr* ('crook, bend' (Smith 1956b: 7)). The three of these elements that have not been excluded as ambiguous - namely *gata*, *gil* and *kjarr* - remain the most frequent individual elements in the filtered version of the dataset represented in Table 7. These four types of

influence (*gata*, *gil*, *kjarr* and phonological Scandinavianisation) account for a total of 62 cases, representing 38% of all non-ambiguous cases in the dataset. The remaining 62% of the dataset is divided between a further 60 different types of influence, with no individual type occurring in more than 8 cases (4.9%). Indeed, 39 elements or other influence types appear just once. This variety of elements is not congruent with the suggestion of extremely limited ON influence, as has been suggested in studies to date, and in fact this may be taken as evidence of Scandinavian settlement (Cameron 1996: 26, see Section 4.2.2.4).

As noted above, Table 8 replicates Table 7, but with the further exclusion of those elements that were naturalised into English, meaning it shows only those elements and types of influence that are most likely to have been used to create place-names by ON speakers. The elements in the dataset that were naturalised into English and are therefore excluded from Table 8 are:

bank 'a bank, the slope of a hill of ridge' (Smith 1956a: 19)

bekkr 'stream, beck' (Smith 1956a: 26)

blár 'dark, blue, livid' (Smith 1956a: 38)

býr 'farmstead, village' (Smith 1956a: 66)

garðr 'enclosure' (Smith 1956a: 195)

gata 'way, path, road, street' (Smith 1956a: 196)

gil 'ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream' (Smith 1956a: 200)

grein 'branch (of a tree), fork (of a river)' (Smith 1956a: 208)

hafri 'oats' (Smith 1956a: 220)

hamarr 'rock, cliff' (Smith 1956a: 229)

hegning 'enclosed land' (Smith 1956a: 241)

hengjandi 'hanging' (Smith 1956a: 243)

hǫgg 'cutting, felling of trees, part of a wood marked off for cutting' (Smith 1956a: 256)

holmr 'isle, water meadow' (Smith 1956a: 258)

hvin 'whin, gorse' (Smith 1956a: 270)

kirkja 'church' (Smith 1956b: 3)

kjarr 'brushwood' (Smith 1956b: 4)

knottr 'hillock' (Watts 2002a: 157)

leið 'road, track' (Smith 1956b: 23)

mýrr 'mire, bog, swampy ground' (Smith 1956b: 47)

nabbi 'projecting peak, knoll, hill' (Smith 1956b: 48)

snap 'rough pasture' (Watts 2002a: 163)

þorp 'secondary settlement, dependent outlying farmstead or hamlet' (Smith 1956b: 205)

toft 'building site, curtilage' (Smith 1956b: 181)

Instances of phonological Scandinavianisation have also been excluded. The remaining types of influence represented in Table 8 are therefore the most likely to represent ON speakers, though it remains the case that some proposed etymologies here are safer than others: single element *dyande* 'marshes' (Watts 2002a: 36) is almost certainly the etymology of place-name Dyance, close to Gainford in southernmost Durham, but *troll* ('troll, supernatural being' (Smith 1956b: 188)) in Troughburn (Mawer 1920: 200–201) is far more doubtful.

Table 8: Elements across the NE dataset excluding ambiguous elements and those naturalised into English.

Element/type of influence	**N specific**	**N generic**	**N generic 2**	**N simplex**	**N total**	**%**
Elements						
á	1	0	0	0	1	2%
auka	2	0	0	0	2	4%
ærgi	0	1	0	0	1	2%
berg	0	1	0	0	1	2%

Element/type of influence	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N simplex	N total	%
brún	1	0	0	0	1	2%
dyande	0	0	0	1	1	2%
eski	1	0	0	0	1	2%
flask	1	0	0	0	1	2%
gagnlauss	0	0	0	1	1	2%
gróf	1	0	0	0	1	2%
hestr	1	0	0	0	1	2%
hetta	0	0	0	1	1	2%
hór	2	0	0	0	2	4%
hurðarbak	0	0	0	1	1	2%
Íri	1	0	0	0	1	2%
karl	2	0	0	0	2	4%
kaupa	2	0	0	0	2	4%
kelda	0	1	0	0	1	2%
klint	2	0	0	0	2	4%
knjúkr	1	1	0	0	2	4%
kúpa	1	0	0	1	2	4%
lúka	0	0	0	1	1	2%
salterg	0	2	0	0	2	4%
sate/set	1	0	0	0	1	2%
sef	1	0	0	0	1	2%
skógr	0	1	0	0	1	2%
steinn	1	0	0	0	1	2%
stólpi	1	0	0	0	1	2%
þræll	2	0	0	0	2	4%
tosvin	0	0	0	1	1	2%
trani	1	0	0	0	1	2%

Element/type of influence	N specific	N generic	N generic 2	N simplex	N total	%
tré	1	0	0	0	1	2%
troll	1	0	0	0	1	2%
tyri	1	0	0	0	1	2%
vás	1	0	0	0	1	2%
vað	0	1	0	0	1	2%
viðr	0	1	0	0	1	2%
Other types of influence						
ON morphology	0	1	0	0	1	2%
Unexplained ON element	1	0	0	0	1	2%
Total	**31**	**11**	**0**	**7**	**49**	

The figures here are rather different to those discussed so far, in the sense that there is a lot of variety within this group. There are 39 different kinds of influence that are neither ambiguously ON/OE nor ON elements that were naturalised into English (the likely ON elements), which constitutes roughly half of the 77 different types of influence seen in the whole NE database (Section 6.2, Table 3). There are very few examples of each type, though, with a maximum of two instances of any individual type of influence recorded in the database. The variety of types of ON influence — both in the dataset as a whole (Table 3) and even within this subset once the exclusions have been taken into account (Table 8) — might point to considerable Scandinavian settlement. In his study of minor names around an English-named village in Lincolnshire, Cameron (1996) concluded that the variety of the vocabulary (more than eighty words) and the preponderance of ON anthroponyms 'point to a conclusion that Danish settlement here must have been the result of colonisation on a large scale' (Cameron 1996: 26). While of course Cameron's area of study was much smaller than

that studied here, the fact remains that there is variety of ON vocabulary in this project's dataset, even within the subgroup of vocabulary items that were not naturalised into English, and there is a considerable amount of ON anthroponyms. Again, while this does not necessarily indicate that there was Danish settlement in the regions under consideration here that was on the same scale as in northern Lincolnshire, it also does not support the conclusion that there was a complete absence of Scandinavian settlers and speech in the area.

6.4 Grimston hybrids

Grimston hybrids (discussed in Section 3.2.5.5) consist of an ON anthroponym plus OE generic element *tūn* ('enclosure, farmstead, estate, village' (Smith 1956b: 188)), and are seen as representing pre-existing settlements that were taken over by Scandinavians. Grimston (ON personal name *Grimr* + *tūn*) itself is a typical example. While this is not a distinct data category identified in the NE dataset (Section 5.4), Grimstons can be identified by extracting names containing an ON anthroponym as well as *tūn*, which are both indicated through the categorisation of the component element of each data entry, i.e. each name. Table 9 presents the raw numbers and relative percentages of Grimston hybrids found across the NE dataset.

Table 9: Grimston hybrids across the whole NE dataset

	N	**%**
Grimston hybrids	13	4%
ON anthroponymical specifics combined with elements other than *tūn*	56	18%
Other names	238	78%
Total data entries	307	

Table 9 shows that just 4% (13 of 307 data entries) of names in the NE dataset are possible instances of Grimston hybrids. This may at first glance be indicative of a lack of ON anthroponyms in place-names in the NE generally, but the table also illustrates that a further 56 (of 294; 18%) cases of ON anthroponyms are found in the database functioning as the specific (first element) of place-names in combination with elements other than *tūn*. In total, place-names containing potential ON anthroponymical specifics make up 22% (69 of 307 data entries) of the whole dataset. Further analysis of Grimston hybrids across the dataset is explored immediately below; Grimston hybrids specifically, rather than other place-names with ON anthroponymical specifics, are focused on here due to the frequency with which Grimstons have been discussed in previous research (see Sections 3.2.1 and 3.5.5). Analysis of this type of name across this project's dataset will allow for parallels to be drawn, or differences to be highlighted, between findings presented here and in previous research. Table 10 presents the number and proportion of Grimston hybrids across the two NE counties.

Table 10: Grimston hybrids by county

Grimston hybrids		
	N	**%**
Durham	9	69%
Northumberland	4	31%
Total	13	

Table 10 illustrates that more than two thirds (69%) of Grimston hybrids identified in the NE dataset are located in Durham, with the remaining 31% located in Northumberland. Low raw numbers prevent any firm conclusions when analysing the number and proportion of Grimstons as presented in Table 10, but the analysis in Section 7.4 (Figure 13) below illustrates that several of the Durham Grimstons form a very clear cluster at the south east Durham coast, and one Northumberland Grimston

is located near Akeld. This may constitute further evidence to the argument presented throughout this thesis (for example Sections 4.1.1, 4.2.2.2 and 4.3) that Scandinavian settlement may have taken place in these two locations.

Following the approach applied to the other data categories analysed throughout this chapter, Grimston hybrid data across dictionary and individual OS map sources might be expected here. Such analysis is not presented because no additional examples of possible Grimston hybrids were identified from the OS maps; all Grimston hybrids were sourced from the place-name dictionaries. Though time was taken to study every name in *tūn* on the source OS maps, it is possible that potential cases of Grimston hybrids were missed, as the way in which the ON anthroponyms would be represented in the modern forms of place-names is not necessarily clear or predictable, and I am not familiar with the entire ON personal naming stock (see also Section 6.5).

Further analysis of Grimstons, cross-referencing various data categories, is not presented here, again due to the low raw numbers of this name type in the NE data. Their distribution is assessed in Section 7.4 below.

6.5 Topographical and non-topographical elements

Topographical elements refer to landscape features. Non-topographical elements include habitative elements, anthroponyms, and adjectives such as *skírr* ('bright', Watts 2002a: 113). In some cases, the topographical or non-topographical nature of some elements in the context of particular names was not made clear by the relevant dictionary, and these were deemed 'unclear'. 'N/a' applies to cases of phonological Scandinavianisation and ON morphology, because these are not elements that can be classed as topographical or not. It is important to note that, despite watercourses themselves being topographical features, some stream names are categorised as topographical and some as non-topographical, because the topographical category relates to the meaning of the elements that make up a name. For example, the River Skerne is categorised as containing adjective *skírr* 'bright', which is in turn classed as

non-topographical. Table 11 illustrates the raw numbers and relative proportions of topographical and non-topographical elements across the whole dataset.

Table 11: Topographical and non-topographical elements across the NE dataset

	N	**%**
Topographical	73	31%
Non-topographical	135	57%
Mixed (name contains both a topographical and a non-topographical element)	13	5%
Unclear and n/a	16	7%
Total	**237**	**100%**

Across the whole dataset, non-topographical elements are the most prevalent, forming more than half (57%) of all possible cases of ON influence. Let us now consider, through data presented in Table 12, whether there is any pattern in how topographical and non-topographical elements are distributed across Durham and Northumberland.

Table 12: Topographical and non-topographical elements by county

	Durham		***Northumberland***	
	N	**% of Durham names**	**N**	**% of Northumberland names**
Topographical	58	33%	14	24%
Non-topographical	94	53%	41	71%
Mixed	11	6%	2	3%
Unclear and n/a	15	8%	1	2%
Total	**178**	**100%**	**58**	**100%**

Table 12 reinforces trends seen in Table 11 with non-topographical elements more prominent in both counties, though especially so in Northumberland, where topographical elements make up just under a quarter of all cases of possible influence, compared to a third in Durham. As noted in Section 5.2, the possibility of non-topographical elements having been missed in data collection due to failure to identify ON anthroponyms may skew these figures, making the proportion of non-topographical elements even higher.

We shall now move on to the issue of the distribution of topographical and non-topographical elements across the areas represented by the four OS maps. This allows for assessment of whether there is any patterning in relation to the difference between areas in the two counties where Scandinavian settlement might be expected, and areas where it would not be expected.

Table 13: Topographical and non-topographical elements across the four OS map areas

	A maps: ON influence expected				***B maps: ON influence not expected***			
	Durham XXIII (Eastgate)		**Northumberland XLIV (Rothbury)**		**Durham XVIII (Lanchester)**		**Northumberland LXXII (Bedlington)**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Topographical	18	62%	4	44%	8	73%	1	25%
Non-topographical	9	31%	5	56%	3	27%	3	75%
Mixed	1	3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Unclear and n/a	1	3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	**29**	**99%**	**9**	**100%**	**11**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**

Table 13 illustrates a very mixed pattern of topographical and non-topographical elements, with no discernible trend in line with whether or not the area is expected to have experienced Scandinavian settlement or presence. As noted below Table 12 and in Section 5.2, the possibility of accidental omission of ON anthroponyms may have skewed these figures, especially with raw numbers as low as these. Due to the small amount of relevant data and the lack of patterning, the categorisation of the data in this way is not particularly enlightening. Nonetheless, if the data is separated into dictionary and map sources, represented in Tables 14 and 15 below, a clearer pattern emerges. Any name found in both a dictionary entry and extracted from a map is included in the calculations for dictionaries.

Table 14: Topographical and non-topographical elements seen solely in names extracted from dictionaries, by county

	Durham		**Northumberland**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
Topographical	33	23%	9	18%
Non-topographical	84	59%	38	76%
Mixed	10	7%	2	4%
Unclear and n/a	15	11%	1	2%
Total	**142**		**50**	

Table 15: Topographical and non-topographical elements seen solely in names extracted from maps, by county

	Durham		**Northumberland**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
Topographical	25	69%	4	57%
Non-topographical	10	28%	3	43%
Mixed	1	3%	0	0%
Unclear and n/a	0	0%	0	0%
Total	**36**		**7**	

As a comparison of Table 14 with Table 15 indicates, the two place-name dictionaries (Mawer 1920 and Watts 2002a) identify many more non-topographical elements than topographical elements, in both counties, though the ratio of non-topographical elements is considerably higher in Northumberland, where only 18% of all cases of ON influence extracted from the dictionaries take the form of a topographical element.

Among the names extracted from the four OS maps, the picture is different. More than half of all cases of ON influence extracted from these maps are a possible topographical element, and topographical elements are even more prevalent in Durham (69% of cases in that county) than in Northumberland (57%), though again the raw numbers are very low.

There are several possible explanations for the greater proportion of topographical elements extracted from the four OS maps when compared with those identified by and extracted from the place-name dictionaries. Firstly, it is likely that in searching the maps, potential cases of place-names containing ON anthroponyms were missed, as the way in which the ON anthroponyms would be represented in the modern forms of place-names is not necessarily clear or predictable, and I am not familiar with the entire ON personal naming stock. Indeed, not one instance of a place-name containing an ON anthroponym was identified from the four OS maps, though these are the most common kind of non-topographical element found in the place-names extracted from the dictionaries. Finally, it is possible that the abundance of names containing topographical elements found on the maps are minor names, that is names of features such as riverbanks or springs that are so small that they were not considered appropriate for inclusion in the place-name dictionaries. Therefore, while the data collected from the OS maps may underestimate the quantity and proportion of non-topographical elements, the data collected from the source dictionaries very probably underestimates the quantity and proportion of topographical elements. It should be noted that every part of analysis relating to topographical status presented here indicates a prominence of non-topographical elements in Northumberland, while the picture in Durham is more mixed.

6.6 Major, minor and stream names

As outlined in Section 1.3, a minor name refers to any name of a topographical feature, or a single dwelling or other building. A major name refers to everything else, other than watercourses. Watercourses are considered to be a distinct category as river

names, at least, have the highest survival rate of all toponyms, and are the least likely to be replaced (Gelling 1991: 443–444). Table 16 shows the raw numbers of major, minor and watercourse ('stream') names across the NE dataset as a whole, and the proportion that these represent of the total cases in percentage terms.

Table 16: Major, minor and stream names across the whole NE dataset

	N	**%**
Major	101	43%
Minor	86	36%
Stream	17	7%
Unknown	32	14%
Total	**236**	

The distribution of major and minor names across the whole dataset is quite evenly spread, though major names are more frequent. It was not possible to establish whether a name was major or minor in 14% of cases, including Kyo Leith, Trewitley, and Ulwham. These unknown instances were all extracted from the dictionary sources, and while the location of each example could be approximated (other than Crooks and Staner Yare), neither the late 19th and early 20th century OS maps nor a modern map showed a place or a feature with the name in question. Just 7% of cases refer to streams, including tiny watercourses, such as Dry Gill and Grains, as well as large rivers such as the Wansbeck, in central Northumberland, and the Gaunless, in southern County Durham. Table 17 presents the calculations cross-referencing major/minor status with source type, to identify any possible patterning.

Table 17: Major, minor and stream names across different sources

	Dictionary names		**Map names**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
Major	95	49%	5	12%
Minor	55	29%	31	72%
Stream	10	5%	7	16%
Unknown	32	17%	0	0%
Total	**192**		**43**	

Again, names that appear in both the dictionaries and on the OS maps are included under dictionary names, simply because the map names were collected specifically to add to the dictionary data; the dictionary names covers a broader area and have more information relating to them, such as early spellings. As Table 17 shows, a far higher ratio of minor to major names were collected from the maps than from the dictionaries. This was expected, based on the findings relating to topographical elements described (Section 6.5). 72% of all the names extracted from the OS maps were names of topographical features or individual dwellings (which make up the category of minor names), whereas just 29% of names extracted from the dictionaries referred to such. In contrast, while just under half of all instances of ON influence in the dictionaries relate to a major place-name, only 12% of those extracted from the maps did so. This stark distinction may be due to the same reasons that account for the prevalence of topographical elements on the maps compared to in the dictionaries, namely that the names of minor features may not have been considered appropriate for inclusion in the place-name dictionaries consulted for this project. This might be the case for individual riverbanks, or shielings, but the fact remains that the source dictionaries do include some names that would be classified as minor and are indeed classed as minor in this project's database, for example Hurle House in south-east Durham (possibly

containing ON *hvirfill* 'circle' (Watts 2002a: 64)), and Stagshaw in southern Northumberland (possibly containing ON *steinn* 'stone' (Mawer 1920: 187)). The decision behind the inclusion of a handful of minor names to the exclusion of many others is not made clear, though it may be due to the authors' different definition of minor names (which is not explicit in either dictionary), or simply due to time or space constraints in each dictionary. Crucially, this lack of consideration of minor names may account for previous researchers' claims about a lack of ON influence or elements on place-names in the NE; on a map illustrating only the major names identified in this data, ON influence would look rather sparse. There are various minor names that show ON influence and that are not included in the dictionary sources, whether because the authors were not aware of them, chose not to take them into consideration, or another reason. An awareness of the existence of these names creates a rather different perspective for thinking about the nature, extent and distribution of ON influence on place-names in the NE. Table 18 illustrates the major/minor status of names across the areas represented by the four OS maps.

Table 18: Major, minor and stream names across the four OS map areas

	A maps: ON influence expected				***B maps: ON influence not expected***			
	Durham XXIII (Eastgate)		**Northumberland XLIV (Rothbury)**		**Durham XVIII (Lanchester)**		**Northumberland LXXII (Bedlington)**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Major	1	4%	2	50%	1	10%	0	0%
Minor	21	84%	2	50%	5	50%	3	100%
Stream	3	12%	0	0%	4	40%	0	0%
Total	**25**		**4**		**10**		**3**	

There is no row for 'unknown' status in Table 18, as there were no cases on the maps where it was not possible to assess whether a name was major, minor or a water course name according to the criteria set for making such judgements in the present project.

There is little that can be concluded from Table 18 in terms of the patterning of major/minor status, as the raw numbers are so low. One point that can be made is that ON influence on the names of watercourses is seen only on the Durham OS maps, with no ON influence at all on stream or river names evident on either Northumberland map. Table 19 presents the full data on major, minor and stream names, taking account of names extracted both from the dictionary sources and from the maps, thereby allowing us to determine whether the picture that emerged from the maps alone is reflected in the dataset as a whole.

Table 19: Major, minor and stream names by county

	Durham		**Northumberland**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
Major	64	36%	37	65%
Minor	74	42%	12	21%
Stream	16	9%	1	2%
Unknown	24	13%	7	12%
Total	**178**		**57**	

The data in Table 19 shows that a far higher proportion of major names than minor names can be identified in Northumberland, whereas in Durham, minor names are more prevalent than major names – in the context of many more names of all types in Durham than in Northumberland. The dictionaries record one stream name in Northumberland exhibiting possible ON influence, Crook Burn, and no further examples were identified from the OS maps. Stream names of possible ON origin or influence are clearly more widespread in Durham than in Northumberland.

Table 19, including both map and dictionary data, records 16 stream names exhibiting possible ON influence in Durham, while Table 18 above records 7 stream names in the two localised areas of Durham covered by the OS maps consulted. This indicates that dictionary sources contain just 9 stream names in Durham that may indicate ON

influence. In turn, this illustrates that this project identifies almost as many possibly ON-influenced stream names in just two small areas of County Durham as the dictionary sources identify for the whole county – 7 additional instances collected from the Durham maps, joining the 9 identified in the dictionaries. While it is of course possible that my data collection is an over-estimation of ON influence, it is reasonable to conclude that the dictionaries under-represent the number of stream names that may exhibit ON influence in County Durham, perhaps by a considerable number. Given that streams are an abundant landscape feature, and would not usually be included in place-name dictionaries, this highlights the advantage of collecting minor names, and of consulting large-scale maps alongside dictionaries.

6.7 Scandinavianisation

Table 20 shows the numerical distribution of names that appear to exhibit Scandinavianisation, either by phonological adaptation or by translation of elements. How this was assessed is outlined in Section 5.4. As noted there, only dictionary data is consulted here, as it was not possible to establish whether names extracted from the OS maps had undergone Scandinavianisation, due to a lack of early spellings.

Table 20: Scandinavianised names extracted from dictionaries

	N	**%**
Scandinavianised	27	14%
Not Scandinavianised	165	85%
n/a	1	1%
Total	**193**	

Table 20 shows that 14% of names in the database evidence some form of Scandinavianisation. It is most usually OE that is replaced, but in the case of the Auckland names (Bishop Auckland, St Helen's and West Auckland), ON elements

replace an older Brittonic name (Primitive Welsh *allt clüd*, 'cliff on the River Clyde' (Watts 2002a: 10)). Whether this rate is different between the two NE counties is assessed immediately below in Table 21.

Table 21: Scandinavianised names extracted from dictionaries, by county

	Durham		***Northumberland***	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
Scandinavianised	25	18%	2	4%
Not Scandinavianised	116	82%	48	96%
n/a	1	1%	0	-
Total	**142**		**50**	

Table 21 shows that, of the dictionary names located in Durham, 18% exhibit Scandinavianisation, while the equivalent figure for Northumberland is just 4%. Clearly Scandinavianisation is not the dominant type of ON influence in either county, but there are more names in Durham that reflect Scandinavianisation than in Northumberland (25 in Durham, just 2 in Northumberland). Also, Scandinavianisation is relatively more frequent in Durham, potentially seen in 18% of the Durham names, but only 4% of the Northumberland names. The data therefore suggests that, with a higher total number of ON-influenced names, the relative frequency of Scandinavianised names is higher in Durham than in Northumberland. This might be representative of more widespread ON speech in Durham, if Scandinavianised names represent local settlement as opposed to authoritative presence (Fellows-Jensen 1972: 120, Gelling 1997: 218, see Section 3.3.5.6). In this sense it is surprising there is any Scandinavianisation at all in Northumberland, since previous accounts dismiss the idea that there is any Viking presence at all (see Sections 4.2.2.2 and 4.3). Whatever Scandinavianised names do represent, they form evidence of ON influence in some form.

6.8 ON influence on all or part of place-names

This section analyses the distribution of place-names that exhibit potential ON influence on all of the elements contained within them, as opposed to those in which possible ON influence is seen on just some of its component elements. Table 22 presents the figures relating to this across the whole dataset.

Table 22: Is ON influence seen on all of the component elements in the name?

	N	**%**
ON influence seen on all elements	61	26%
Partial ON influence	176	74%
Total	**237**	

As Table 22 shows, 26% of names in the whole dataset appear to exhibit ON influence in all of their elements. While this may initially seem like a low ratio of wholly Norse to ON-OE hybrid names, the fact that there are 61 place-names in the NE that potentially exhibit Scandinavian influence in all of their elements casts doubt on the view that has been commonly expressed in previous research that there is a complete lack of ON influence in the region. Again, contextualising these names on a map will allow more to be said about this (Section 7.10). Tables 23 and 24 show the distribution of names that exhibit ON influence on all of the elements contained within them, by county and by OS map.

Table 23: ON influence on all of the elements in each name, by county

	Durham		***Northumberland***	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
ON influence seen on all elements	49	28%	11	19%
Partial ON influence	129	72%	47	81%
Total	**178**		**58**	

Table 24: ON influence on all of the elements in each name, across the four OS map areas

	A maps: ON influence expected				***B maps: ON influence not expected***			
	Durham XXIII (Eastgate)		**Northumberland XLIV (Rothbury)**		**Durham XVIII (Lanchester)**		**Northumberland LXXII (Bedlington)**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ON influence seen on all elements	6	21%	2	22%	4	36%	1	25%
Partial ON influence	23	79%	7	78%	7	64%	3	75%
Total	**29**		**9**		**11**		**4**	

As seen in Table 24, just 3 names were extracted across both Northumberland maps, covering approximately 10 square miles between them, that exhibit possible ON influence on all of their elements, compared to 10 names from the Durham maps. The average wholly Norse figure for the Durham maps is 28.5%, compared to 23.5% for the Northumberland maps. The picture that emerges from the map data is unexpected, with the two maps where ON influence is unexpected featuring the highest proportions of wholly Norse names, though of course raw numbers are extremely low. These figures may indicate that, in the NE, the extent of ON influence is not related to

the proportion of wholly Norse names, or that there is in fact some Norse linguistic influence or settlement around Lanchester and/or Bedlington. However, the raw numbers here are so low that it is difficult to come to any firm conclusions.

The sparsity of even potential examples of wholly Norse names in the two Northumberland OS maps, along with the lower proportion of wholly ON names in Northumberland overall, taking account of both the map and the dictionary sources, illustrates a contrast between these two NE counties that reflects their different situations within Viking Age England, as summarised in Section 4.3 and indeed in my conclusions in Chapter 8.

6.9 Confidence ratings

As explained in detail in Section 5.4.2.1, the confidence rating system was established in order to capture and classify differences in the likelihood of each case in the dataset representing coinage by ON speakers, or ON speech in the relevant area, with names that were judged most likely to exhibit ON influence belonging to confidence rating category 1, and names that were judged least likely to represent such influence belonging to category 4. A name would be attributed a confidence rating of 1 if it is considered by all of the dictionary sources it is contained within to contain an ON element that was not naturalised into ME, for example. Confidence rating 2 is applied to names where the dictionaries use tentative wording relating to their potential ON influence. Confidence rating 3 is applied to names containing one element that was, and one element that was not, naturalised into ME, among other analyses of the origins of such names. Names that were classified with a rating of 4 are generally excluded from data analysis, but are included here in order to give a full picture of the way in which the confidence rating system was applied to the data. Table 25 presents the confidence ratings of place-names across the dataset as a whole. As with all analyses based on source type, any name that appears in both is counted under dictionary names.

Table 25: Confidence ratings across the whole NE dataset

	N	%
1	33	11%
2	57	19%
3	149	49%
4	68	22%
Total	**307**	

Table 25 shows that only 11% (33 of 307) of names in the dataset were classified as the most likely examples of ON influence or origin, belonging to the highest confidence rating category of 1, while the most common confidence rating was 3, with almost half of names in the dataset (49%; 149 of 307) assigned to this category. Although this means that names in the 'strongest' confidence rating category are the least common, it remains the case that 33 names can be judged examples of ON influence with a high degree of confidence. Additionally, the two strongest confidence ratings (1 and 2) taken together account for 90 cases, totaling 30% of the data. On balance, names categorised with a confidence rating of 2 are more likely than not to represent instances of ON influence or origin, even if they are not as likely as those with a rating of 1. This analysis casts doubt on the assessments presented in previous research that suggest a complete dearth of ON place-names and influence north of the Tees (see Section 4.2.1). Table 26 below presents calculations of the various categories of confidence ratings by source type.

Table 26: Confidence ratings across different sources

	Dictionary names		***Map names***	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
1	32	16%	1	1%
2	55	27%	2	2%
3	107	52%	41	41%
4	11	5%	57	56%
Total	**205**		**101**	

Table 26 shows that just over half of the names extracted from the dictionaries are categorised with a confidence rating of 3. The dictionary sources confidently consider 16% (32 of 205) to exhibit ON influence (code 1). More than half of all names extracted from the four OS maps belong to the lowest confidence rating category of 4 (56%; 57 of 101), with a further 41% (41 of 101) in the second lowest category of 3. While the fact that such a high proportion of the names belong to the two lowest confidence rating categories does not look promising in terms of the candidate names extracted from the OS maps representing evidence of Scandinavian settlement or ON speakers in the areas that the maps cover, such a high figure is unsurprising. Attribution of confidence rating categories to the OS map names was based purely on the form of the name as recorded on the map, since no early attestations were available. According to the rating system described in Section 5.4.2.1, any name that appears to contain an element that was naturalised into English is classified as category 3 or 4, but of course the presence of a naturalised element does not rule out the possibility of coinage by ON speakers; it simply makes it less likely. As it stands, the data presented in this section has not provided a very clear picture of the situation. Contextualisation of the names in terms of their geographical position and distribution in the regions under examination is crucial for a clear understanding of the implications of these confidence ratings. When mapped and seen in terms of their position in relation to the names that the dictionaries consider to be clear representations of ON speakers (confidence rating

1), seen in Section 7.11, many of the category 3 or even category 4 names extracted from the OS maps might nevertheless suggest that it is appropriate to interpret them as providing stronger evidence of ON influence.

We will now move on to examine the interaction of the confidence codes with other data, to establish whether any patterning of this data might be seen before it is contextualised geographically. Firstly, Table 27 presents figures for confidence rating categorisation cross-referenced with the county in which each name appears.

Table 27: Confidence ratings by county

	Durham		***Northumberland***	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
1	30	13%	3	4%
2	43	19%	14	18%
3	106	46%	42	55%
4	50	22%	18	23%
Total	**229**		**77**	

There is a much higher number of names categorised as the most convincing examples of ON influence in Durham than in Northumberland (30 vs 3), but this represents the least common confidence rating category seen in either county, that is, it represents the category to which the fewest names in each county belong. There are similar proportions, at least, of names in confidence rating categories 2 and 4 in each county, and a slightly higher proportion of category 3 names in Northumberland. The analysis presented in Section 7.11 will add to this discussion of Table 27, which is inevitably rather limited, given the nature of the data being considered at this initial stage of analysis. Table 28 presents confidence rating categories across the areas represented by the four OS maps.

Table 28: Confidence ratings across the four OS map areas

	A map: Durham XXIII (Eastgate)		A map: Northumberland XLV (Bothbury)		B map: Durham XVIII (Lanchester)		B maps: Nortumberland LXXII (Bedlington)	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
1	1	2%	0	0%	0	0%	1	7%
2	1	2%	3	18%	1	4%	0	0%
3	27	53%	7	41%	10	36%	3	20%
4	22	43%	7	41%	17	61%	11	73%
Total	51		17		28		15	

Confidence rating categories are cross-referenced with the location of the source OS maps in order to explore the previous observation (Section 6.1) that names possibly evidencing ON influence were extracted from all four OS maps, and the related issue of how and why ON influence appears in areas such as Lanchester and Bedlington, if Townend (2000: 98) and Dance (2003: 328–329) are correct in suggesting that borrowed place-name elements are inert in terms of diffusion over a geographical area (Section 3.3.3). This may be linked to the categorisation of confidence of the names extracted from each map. For example, if all of the candidate names found in the two areas that were not expected to show signs of Scandinavian settlement are classified in the lowest confidence rating category (rating 4), indicating a lower likelihood that they reflect direct ON influence, then the theory proposed by Townend (2000) and Dance (2003) could still hold: place-names that belong to category 4 contain onomastic elements that were also part of the general English lexicon, and that just so happen to be ON in origin (see Section 3.3.3). Of course, their theories would also hold if there was Scandinavian settlers and ON speakers in the B map areas too, but, as we shall see, the analysis and discussion in the remainder of this section, as well as

discussion in Sections 4.2.2.1, 4.2.2.2 and 4.3 above, does not support this interpretation, and nor does any previous research.

In Table 29, confidence ratings are cross-referenced with ambiguous elements and those naturalised into English. Because being ambiguously OE/ON or being naturalised into English is a diagnostic for a confidence category rating of 3 for map names, it is expected that names in confidence rating category 3 will all be naturalised into ME, or the ambiguous category. Nonetheless, this analysis was conducted to assess whether the dictionaries may consider some names containing ambiguous or naturalised elements to be likely instances of direct ON influence or ON speech, and are therefore categorised with a confidence rating of 1 or 2.

Table 29: Confidence ratings cross-referenced with ambiguous, naturalised and likely ON elements, from the whole NE dataset

	Confidence rating 1		**Confidence rating 2**		**Confidence rating 3**		**Confidence rating 4**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Elements naturalised into ME	7	17%	8	13%	73	48%	47	82%
Ambiguous elements	8	19%	7	11%	30	20%	8	14%
Likely ON elements (those neither naturalised nor ambiguous)	14	33%	15	25%	16	11%	2	4%
n/a (names containing ON anthroponyms or instances of phonological Scandinavianisation)	13	31%	31	51%	33	22%	0	-
Total	**42**		**61**		**152**		**57**	

Table 29 shows that a third of confidence category 1 names contain elements that are neither naturalised nor ambiguous. As expected, most of the examples of names that are in confidence category 1 but contain naturalised or ambiguous elements were extracted from the dictionaries, as the entries in those sources provided additional background information, such as early attested spellings. In contrast, the only context available for the names extracted from the four OS maps, beyond the location of the

place in question, is the late 19th/early 20th century spelling on the map itself. I did not categorise any name differently in terms of confidence ratings based on its location, namely, location in a place of expected/unexpected Scandinavian settlement was not a criterion in determining the confidence rating categories of the name, as this would have skewed data before examining the geographical position and distribution of the names. Nearly 1 in 5 (17%) of names including a naturalised element are categorised as being a convincing example of ON influence, indicating that place-names that contain an element that was borrowed into English may still be representative of Scandinavian settlement.

Unsurprisingly, non-naturalised elements are more common among confidence category 1 names (33%) than among category 2 (25%), category 3 (11%), or category 4 names (4%). Also predictably, naturalised elements are far more prevalent among code 4 names (82%) than names with any other confidence code. The preponderance of category 2 names attributed 'n/a' in terms of naturalised/ambiguous status reflects the large quantity of these names which evidence phonological Scandinavianisation; most cases of this kind of influence belong to confidence category 2. Table 30 below shows confidence rating categories cross-references with whether ON influence is potentially seen on all or some of a name's elements.

Table 30: ON influence on all of the elements in each name by confidence code

	ON influence seen on all elements		***Partial ON influence***	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
1	17	27%	16	7%
2	17	27%	40	16%
3	27	42%	122	60%
4	3	5%	65	27%
Total	**64**		**243**	

Table 30 shows that, even among names that exhibit potential ON influence on all of their elements, a majority are not categorised as being the most convincing examples. The most common confidence category rating wholly Norse names belong to is category 3, indicating uncertainty about the likelihood of ON influence even on those names that might seem to be the most convincing examples of ON speech in the dataset. Nonetheless, while just under a third (32%) of apparently wholly Norse names belong to confidence category 1, just 7% of names exhibiting partial ON influence are. Chapter 6 has so far examined the grouping of the basic details and categories applied to the NE dataset alone. Section 6.10 immediately below moves on to analyse, where possible, the same categories with reference to the data collected from the case study area of Aysgarth, in North Yorkshire.

6.10 Comparative case study: Yorkshire LXVII (Aysgarth)

A case study area was identified from which to collect place-names of possible ON influence and origin, and analyse their makeup and distribution as per the data categories discussed already in this chapter. A detailed outline of the reasons behind choosing the area represented by the Yorkshire LXVII map is given in Section 5.5. This is an area not far south of the Tees. It contains some major names that are identifiably Norse, and thus it allows for comparison of this definite Danelaw area with the areas in County Durham and Northumberland that are under investigation in this project. Only 14 Yorkshire LXVII sub-sheets were studied, as opposed to the usual 16 (see Section 5.2), as sub-sheets 1 and 2 are not available on the NLS website. As far as possible, the same kinds of features will be analysed and cross-referenced for the names extracted from this map as for the NE maps that have been analysed in the earlier sections of this chapter, to allow for comparisons of the types and distributions of potentially ON-influenced place-names found in the two areas.

As with the NE data discussed in the sections above, those names from the Yorkshire OS map that were assigned to the lowest confidence rating category (rating 4) are

excluded from the data presented below, other than in the context of exploring the proportions of the different confidence rating categories themselves. Table 31 presents the raw numbers of names collected from the case study area map and the source maps covering areas of Durham and Northumberland.

Table 31: Total number of names reflecting potential ON influence extracted from each OS map, including the Aysgarth map

Map	**N**
ON influence expected	
Yorkshire LXVII (Aysgarth)	76
Durham XXIII (Eastgate)	29
Northumberland XLIV (Rothbury)	9
ON influence not expected	
Durham XVIII (Lanchester)	11
Northumberland LXXII (Bedlington)	4
Total	**129**

Table 31 shows a sharp contrast between the area represented by the Aysgarth map and the areas covered by the NE maps. With 76 names evidencing ON influence from just 14 sub-sheets, the Aysgarth map alone contains more than all four of the NE OS maps combined (totaling 53 names), and more than two and a half times as many as even the individual NE map with the highest number of names (Durham XXIII, with 29 potential ON-influenced names extracted). These figures illustrate very clearly why the Tees is generally considered to be the northern boundary of the Danelaw (see Section 4.1.5), with evidence of such markedly different frequencies of ON elements and other kinds of influence just 16 miles south of this river (at the Tees' nearest point to Aysgarth), compared with just a few miles north of it (Eastgate in Durham is 7.5 miles north of the Tees at its nearest, near Newbiggin). Although the clear difference between the areas north and south of the Tees show why it has previously been

considered a boundary in relation to Scandinavian settlement, the evidence collected for this project and presented in the earlier sections of this chapter show that the Tees is certainly not a dividing line between a southern area that exhibits evidence of ON influence on place-names, and a northern area where there is a complete absence of such evidence.

6.10.1 Elements and other types of influence in the Yorkshire data

This section presents and analyses data relating to the elements found within the place-names extracted from the case study map. Table 32 details all elements found within the Yorkshire LXVII map, covering Aysgarth and its surrounding areas in North Yorkshire, as well as the corresponding figures for the NE data, which was presented above (Section 6.2, Table 3).

Table 32: ON elements and ON influence that appear, whether naturalised, ambiguous or neither, in the area covered by the Aysgarth map. See Appendix B for sources for each element gloss.

Element/type of influence	Specific	Generic I	Generic II	Single element	Yorkshire LXVII total	% of Yorkshire LXVII	NE database total	% NE database
Elements								
bank	0	3	3	0	6	5%	5	1.8%
bekkr	0	12	7	0	19	17%	4	1.4%
býr	0	3	1	0	4	4%	8	2.8%
dalr	0	2	0	0	2	2%	10	3.5%
diki	1	0	0	0	1	1%	5	1.8%
eiki	2	0	0	0	2	2%	0	0%
elri	1	0	0	0	1	1%	0	0%
fors	1	4	2	1	8	7%	0	0%
garðr	1	3	0	0	4	4%	2	0.7%

Element/type of influence	Specific	Generic I	Generic II	Single element	Yorkshire LXVII total	% of Yorkshire LXVII	NE database total	% NE database
gata	0	8	0	0	8	7%	14	4.9%
geil	1	0	0	0	1	1%	0	0%
gil	3	12	2	1	18	16%	13	4.6%
hegning	1	0	0	0	1	1%	1	0.4%
hestr	1	0	0	0	1	1%	1	0.4%
holmr	1	4	0	0	5	4%	0	0%
kelda	2	1	0	0	3	3%	1	0.4%
krók	1	0	0	0	1	1%	13	4.6%
mýrr	0	2	0	0	2	2%	2	0.7%
nabbi	0	1	0	0	1	1%	2	0.7%
skarðr	2	2	0	0	4	4%	0	0%
sviðnungr	1	0	0	0	1	1%	0	0%
vað	0	2	0	0	2	2%	0	0%
vestr	2	0	0	0	2	2%	0	0%
vrá	1	0	0	0	1	1%	0	0%
well	0	0	2	0	2	2%	5	1.8%
þakk	1	0	0	0	1	1%	0	0%
þveit	0	3	0	0	3	3%	0	0%
Other types of influence								
ON anthroponym	4	1	0	0	5	4%	71	25.1%
ON morphology	0	3	0	0	3	3%	1	0.4%
Phonological Scandinavianisation	1	0	0	0	1	1%	24	8.5%
Total	**28**	**66**	**17**	**2**	**113**		**182**	

The total cases of ON influence shown in Table 32 (113) is a higher figure than the total number of names extracted from the map (76) because some names contain more than one possible instance of ON influence. The NE totals and percentages are provided in the shaded columns of the table to allow for direct comparison of the makeup of the names extracted in the different regions. Note that the NE figures also exclude those names that were classified in the lowest confidence rating category (rating 4). This means, for example, that while zero occurrences of *holmr* are recorded in the table for the NE, this is not to say there are no cases of this element among the NE data. Rather, it reflects the fact that those cases are considered extremely unlikely to represent ON origin or influence, and thus are excluded. While *well*, for example, is also excluded on the same grounds, Table 32 records 5 instances of this element in the NE, as these occurrences appear alongside other instances of possible ON influence in a name, such as in Hanging Wells and Tranwell, which may contain ON *hengjandi* ('hanging' ((Smith 1956a: 243)) and *trani* ('crane' (Smith 1956b: 185)) respectively. The zero occurrences of *holmr* indicate that there were no names identified in the NE data that contained *holmr* alongside another kind of ON element of influence, whereas 5 such names occur in the Aysgarth data. It must be remembered when looking at the raw numbers from the NE maps that names were extracted from four maps from this region, plus two place-name dictionaries, as opposed to just one map in Yorkshire. The following elements were not found on any of the four NE OS maps, but appear on the Aysgarth map: *eiki, elri, fors, geil, skarðr*, *svitnungr*, *að, vestr*, *vrá*, *þakk, þveit*.

Table 32 shows that there are considerably more instances of ON influence on the generic, compared with the specific, in the place-names of the Aysgarth area, though this may be due to the lack of ON anthroponyms identified (see immediately below). In total, 30 different types of ON influence can be found on the Aysgarth map. *Bekkr* and *gil* are the most common types of ON element or influence, making up 17% (19 occurrences) and 16% (18 occurrences) of all cases respectively. No other single type

of influence constitutes more than 7% of cases, i.e. occurs more than 8 times, across this map. *Gil* and *bekkr* are both far more prevalent in this area of Yorkshire than they are in the NE areas under investigation in this project, where they form just 4.6% (13 occurrences) and 1.4% (4 occurrences) of the whole dataset respectively, compared to 17% (19 occurrences) and 16% (18 occurrences) in the Aysgarth data. A noteworthy element when assessing the Aysgarth map is *gata*. Instances of this element on the NE OS maps were only recorded in cases where there was at least a possibility that they reflected ON *gata*, 'road', as opposed to 'gate' in the most common modern sense of the word, from OE *geat*. Although some instances quite clearly referred to a road, such as Scotland Gate, most are ambiguous, and <gate> on the map could refer to either a gate or a road. On the Aysgarth map, however, almost all of the instances of <gate>, such as Scot Gate and Stony Gate, very clearly refer to a road, pointing to the ON rather than the OE etymology. The figures for ON anthroponyms vary greatly between the two regions, with just 4% of cases (5 occurrences) on the Aysgarth map noted as possibly evidencing an ON personal name, including Apedale Beck and Hagga Hill, but just over a quarter of the NE names doing so (25.1%; 71 occurrences). Crucially, though, it must be remembered that no ON anthroponyms were identified on the NE maps, and the higher number recorded in the table therefore represents names extracted from the NE place-name dictionaries only. The cases of ON anthroponyms in the Aysgarth set of place-names were also confirmed through consulting place-name dictionaries (Smith 1928, Watts 2004). As with the NE map data discussed in Section 5.2, the number of cases involving ON anthroponyms extracted from the Aysgarth map is likely to be an underestimate, because of the difficulties involved in identifying relevant examples.

Overall, the most palpable difference between the Aysgarth data and the NE data is the sheer quantity of instances of potential ON influence in the former compared with the latter. This is expected, of course, given North Yorkshire's position within the traditional Danelaw area. Another noticeable difference is the variety of elements

represented in the Aysgarth data. Although there are fewer different types of influence seen on the Aysgarth map than in the NE data, there are several elements that do not appear in the NE data presented in Table 32. Crucially, the 30 types of influence in the Yorkshire data are all found within the space of only a few square miles, and were extracted from just one OS map area, whereas the 83 types of influence that were identified in the NE data, from four maps and two place-name dictionaries, are spread across that whole region of England.

6.10.2 Ambiguous, naturalised and likely ON elements

In this and subsequent sections in Chapter 6, where it is used as a point of comparison, NE map data includes names that were extracted from the OS maps and could not be referenced in any dictionary, as well as names that were extracted from OS maps but had already been recorded in the dataset as they appear in a place-name dictionary. This differs from the map data in the analysis of the NE data is isolation seen earlier in this chapter, where the nature of the source (map/dictionary) was regularly used as a point of comparison. Including map names that are also found in the dictionary sources has been done here in order to make the two sets of data (NE and Aysgarth) as directly comparable as possible – the Aysgarth data comprises names identified on the OS map Yorkshire LXVII, which were cross-referenced in a place-name dictionary where possible. Table 33 below presents the figures relating to elements that were naturalised into English, or are ambiguously ON/OE in origin, across the Aysgarth and the NE data.

Table 33: Naturalised, ambiguous and likely ON elements in the area covered by the Aysgarth map

	Yorkshire LXVII		***NE map data***		***NE data***	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Elements naturalised into ME	54	64%	31	53%	86	34%
Ambiguous elements	16	19%	17	29%	45	18%
Likely ON elements (those neither naturalised nor ambiguous)	12	14%	7	12%	45	18%
n/a (names containing ON anthroponyms or instances of phonological Scandinavianisation)	2	2%	3	5%	77	30%
Total	**84**		**58**		**253**	

'NE data' refers to the whole NE database, made up of map and dictionary data.

Table 33 shows that the Aysgarth map contains almost double the proportion of naturalised elements (64%) compared with the NE data overall (34%), indicating that a smaller proportion of names contain naturalised elements in the NE, according to the source dictionaries. The relatively low proportion of naturalised elements in the NE overall data may well be exaggerated by the much higher proportion of names designated 'n/a' compared to the map data, especially given the similar proportion of likely ON elements across the map and overall data. The figure of 30% 'n/a' in the NE

overall data comes from the preponderance of ON anthroponyms and cases of phonological Scandinavianisation, which are difficult to identify from the OS maps. No doubt more instances of these two kinds of ON influence are in fact present on the Aysgarth map, and if these names had been identified and recorded in the dataset, the proportion of names categorised as 'n/a' would have been higher than 2%. Further research into the 'n/a' names might reveal some of the ON anthroponyms to be naturalised into English and given to people of non-Scandinavian ethnicity, and some to never knowingly be used by or given to people outside of ON-speaking populations. Such research goes beyond the scope of this project.

The following elements in the Aysgarth data are ambiguous: *dalr, diki, gata, krók, vestr, well,* and ON anthroponyms. The following naturalised elements appear: *bank, bekkr, býr, garðr, gil, hegning, holmr, mýrr, nabbi, riding*, *þveit.* Excluding the elements in these two lists, we are left with the following non-naturalised non-ambiguous elements: *eiki*, *elri*, *fors, geil, hestr, kelda, skarðr, sviðnungr, vað, vík*, *vrá*, *þakk,* as well as possible ON morphology, which is unlikely to represent OE speakers.

More likely ON elements were identified in the Aysgarth data than in the NE map data (12 versus 7). The Aysgarth data also contains greater variety of likely ON elements. It remains the case that elements that were naturalised into English are the most common kind of ON influence in both the Aysgarth and the NE data, but this does not detract from the number of names that are the most likely candidates for having been coined by ON speakers. Indeed, the extent of naturalised elements, which is higher in the Aysgarth data than in the NE map data and the NE data overall, may reflect a contact situation, necessarily involving speakers of both ON and OE, which facilitated extensive borrowing.

A final point to note here is the higher rate of likely ON elements in the overall NE data compared to the NE map data and the Aysgarth map data. At first glance, this may seem to be a promising indicator in the NE of place-names that were more likely to be coined by ON speakers than OE speakers, but the relatively low number and

proportion of likely ON elements in the Aysgarth data may simply be a consequence of the slightly different method applied to this case study. Had a large-scale study of North Yorkshire been carried out, following exactly the same method that was applied to the NE in using place-name dictionaries to extract all names exhibiting ON influence, it is likely the number and proportion of likely ON elements identified would have been considerably higher than those recorded for Aysgarth alone in Table 33. This is supported by the more extensive range of likely ON elements in the Aysgarth data, seen above in Table 32. Of course, an additional study of this kind goes beyond the scope of this project.

6.10.3 Topographical and non-topographical elements

Table 34 presents the raw numbers and relative proportions of topographical and non-topographical elements seen across the Aysgarth map, alongside the respective figures for the NE maps and NE overall data.

Table 34: Topographical and habitative elements extracted from the Aysgarth map

	Yorkshire LXVII		***NE map data***		***NE data***	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Topographical	47	62%	29	67%	73	31%
Non-topographical	19	25%	13	30%	135	57%
Mixed	8	11%	1	2%	13	5%
Unclear and n/a	2	3%	0	-	16	7%
Total	**76**		**43**		**237**	

Topographical elements are the most common kind of ON element in the names extracted from the Aysgarth map, accounting for 62% of the instances of ON-influence (47 of 76 occurrences). Again, ON anthroponyms, if successfully identified in the maps examined here, in both the NE and Aysgarth data, would no doubt alter these figures, but it can certainly be said that, leaving ON anthroponyms aside, topographical

elements very much seem to be the predominant kind of ON influence on place-names in the case study area.

6.10.4 Major, minor and stream names in the Yorkshire data

Table 35 presents calculations for major, minor and stream names across the Aysgarth data, the NE map data specifically, and the NE data overall.

Table 35: Major, minor and stream names extracted from the Aysgarth map

	Yorkshire LXVII		***NE map data***		***NE data***	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Major	9	12%	13	24%	101	43%
Minor	40	53%	34	63%	86	36%
Stream	27	36%	7	13%	17	7%
Unknown					32	14%
Total	**76**		**54**		**236**	

Table 35 shows that there is a much higher proportion of major names extracted from the overall data (43%; 101 occurrences) than from either the NE map data (24%; 13 occurrences) or the Aysgarth map data (12%; 9 occurrences). This is likely due to the relatively low instances of minor names identified in place-name dictionaries as opposed to a preponderance of major place-names of ON influence or origin.

Although minor names are the most common type extracted from the Yorkshire LXVII OS sheets, they are less dominant here than on the NE OS maps, which may to be due to the large number of stream names on the Yorkshire map, including Eller Beck and Heaning Gill, for example. There are almost four times as many ON-influenced stream names on the Yorkshire map (27 occurrences; 36%) compared with the NE maps (7 occurrences; 13%), and they make up 29% more of the Aysgarth dataset than the NE dataset as a whole (7%; 17 occurrences). The data presented in Section 6.5 (Table 19) showed that ON-influenced stream names are more common in Durham (16 occurrences) than in Northumberland (only 1 occurrence), though they make up just

9% of all Durham data. The data in Table 35 shows that ON-influenced stream names are considerably more frequent in the Aysgarth area of Yorkshire than in either NE county (with 27 instances making up 36% of the Aysgarth data). It is clear from Table 31 (Section 6.9) that the raw number of cases of ON influence found on the Yorkshire map far outweighs the cases extracted from any of the four NE maps. It is possible, then, that the more ON influence on place-names in a given area, the more likely there are to be names of watercourses evidencing ON influence. Since rivers are usually the earliest-named places, and their names are not prone to change or replacement (Ekwall 1964: 46-48; Gelling 1991: 443–444), this points to coinage at a time contemporary with ON speech. Alternatively, ON influence on river names might be indicative of ON speakers in such numbers that even the oldest, most established names were affected by a demographic and linguistic change. Fellows-Jensen (2005: 104) believes that pre-Norse names for topographical features, such as mountains and rivers, are expected to survive all but 'a massive Norse immigration'. Townend agrees: '[f]or Norse river-names to be established, a necessary precondition would seem to be a widespread and substantial population of Norse speakers' (2014: 112). With this in mind, ON renaming of major river-names in the NE therefore points to considerable Scandinavian settlement, or at least considerable influence in southern Durham, where the Gaunless (ON *gagnlauss* 'profitless' (Watts 2002a: 48)) and the Skerne (ON *skírr* 'bright' (Mawer 1920: 181) or Scandinavianisation ([ʃ] to [sk]) of OE *Scīre* 'bright one' (Watts 2002a: 113) are located.

6.10.5 ON influence on all or part of a place-name

When studying the OS maps, a noticeable difference between the place-names in Aysgarth and those in the NE was the multitude of names that appeared to contain multiple ON elements on the Yorkshire map, such as Keld Gill (likely ON *kelda* 'spring, marshy place' (Smith 1956b: 3) and ON *gil* 'ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream' (Smith 1956a: 200)) and Eller Beck (ON *elri* ('alder tree, alder wood' (Smith 1956a: 150)) and ON *bekkr* 'stream, beck' (Smith 1956a: 26)). There are even names that appear to

contain three ON elements, such as Aysgarth Force and Thackthwaite Beck.[22] Even before conducting the analysis presented immediately below, during the data collection process, it appeared that there were far more examples of names containing multiple ON elements on the Aysgarth map than on the NE maps Table 36 illustrates the Aysgarth, NE map-specific and NE overall data categorised by whether ON influence is seen on all of its elements.

Table 36: ON influence on all of the elements in names extracted from the Aysgarth map

	Yorkshire LXVII		**NE maps**		**NE data**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
ON influence seen on all elements	19	25%	13	24%	61	26%
Partial ON influence	57	75%	41	76%	176	74%
Total	**76**		**54**		**237**	

Despite the observation made during data collection, noted immediately above it, Table 36 shows that the rates of Norse names exhibiting potential ON influence are almost identical across the Yorkshire, NE map and NE overall data. Names that exhibit ON influence on all of their elements are more likely than ON-OE hybrid names to represent coinage by ON speakers (see Sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3). It is possible that if a larger-scale study of North Yorkshire was conducted, a greater number and proportion of names exhibiting potential ON influence on all of their elements might be identified.

[22] Aysgarth Force consists of ON *eiki* ('oaken, oak, oakwod' (Smith 1956: 149)), ON *skarðr* ('an opening, an open place in the edge of something, a gap, a mountain pass' (Smith 1956b: 124)), and ON *fors* ('waterfall' (Smith 1956a: 184)). Thackthwaite Beck is interpreted by Smith (1928: 266) as ON *þakk* ('long, coarse grass, rushes' (Smith 1928: 266)), ON *þveit* and ON *bekkr*.

Nonetheless, it remains the case that there are examples of such names in the NE, the presence of which is counter to the argument that there was an absence of ON speakers in the NE, since such names are good evidence of the presence of ON speakers.

6.10.6 Confidence ratings

Table 37 illustrates the categorisation of the Aysgarth, NE map and NE overall data according to the confidence rating category, that is, the likelihood each name exhibits ON influence, according to the parameters used in this project (see Section 5.4.3.1).

Table 37: Confidence ratings across the Aysgarth map

	Yorkshire LXVII		**NE map data**		**NE data**	
Confidence rating	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
1 (likely ON elements)	15	16%	3	3%	33	11%
2	3	3%	5	4%	57	19%
3	58	63%	47	42%	149	49%
4 (least confident)	16	17%	57	51%	68	22%
Total	**92**		**112**		**307**	

Table 37 shows that there is a greater proportion of names that belong to the highest confidence rating category (1) in the Aysgarth data (16%; 15 cases) than in both the NE map data (3%; 3 cases) and the NE data as a whole (11%; 33 cases). This clearly illustrates the prevalence of names that can be considered the most reliable examples of potential ON origin or influence in this area of the traditional Danelaw, compared with the NE. As mentioned in Section 6.8, this does not detract from the fact that 33 names in the dataset compiled and analysed for the present project also belong to that highest confidence rating category, as very strong evidence of ON influence on place-names in the NE. The considerably lower proportion of category 2 names in both the Aysgarth and the NE map data compared to the overall NE data (which includes

dictionary data) is likely due to the lack of ON anthroponyms identified on the maps, since anthroponyms typically belong to that second highest confidence rating category.

6.11 Summary

This section summarizes the findings related to the extent of different kinds of ON influence on place-names in Durham and Northumberland presented in the analyses above.

6.11.1 Distribution of cases and range of elements

Comparison of the four NE OS maps shows that the greatest degree of ON influence is seen the Durham A map, which represents the area of expected Scandinavian influence in that county, around Eastgate (Section 6.1, Table 2). There is more evidence of influence on each of the Durham maps than on either Northumberland map. When it comes to the comparative case study map of the area around Aysgarth in North Yorkshire, more ON-influenced place-names were found on its 14 sub-sheets than from all 64 sub-sheets of the four NE OS maps combined (Section 6.10, Table 31). This reflects a considerably greater concentration of cases of ON influence on the place-names in North Yorkshire than in the NE, which fits in with North Yorkshire's status as part of the traditionally defined region of the Danelaw. In total, 77 different kinds of ON influence were identified in the NE database (combining the map and dictionary data), while 30 different kinds of influence were found on the Aysgarth map (Section 6.10, Table 32). Despite the NE data containing around two and half more times more types of ON influence than the Aysgarth data, the geographical area covered by the NE data is vast compared to the area covered by the Aysgarth data, certainly more than two and a half times bigger. If a larger area of North Yorkshire was covered, then it is quite possible that even more variety in the types of ON influence would be found. This is supported by the relative (but not absolute) greater variety of likely ON elements (Section 6.10.2) in the Aysgarth data compared with the NE data. Across the NE data, there are more cases of influence on specifics than generics, with a handful

of cases of influence on a second, additional generic, and on simplex names (Section 6.2, Table 3). In contrast, the Aysgarth map shows more evidence of influence on generics rather than specifics (Section 6.10.1, Table 32), but this may be due to a lack of ON anthroponyms in the data that can be readily collected from map sources rather than dictionary sources; ON anthroponyms are a significant contributor to the predominance of ON influence on specifics in the NE dataset. The figures for ON influence on specifics in the Yorkshire case study area may therefore be conservative.

In the NE data, ON anthroponyms, phonological Scandinavianisation, *dalr* ('valley' (Smith 1956a: 126)), *gata* ('way, path, road, street' (Smith 1956a: 196)), *gil* ('ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream' (Smith 1956a: 200)), *kjarr* ('brushwood' (Smith 1956b: 4)) and *krókr* ('crook, bend' (Smith 1956b: 7) are the most common types of ON influence. These seven of the 77 different types of influence make up 55% of all cases (156 of the total 284 cases; Section 6.2, Table 3). The remaining 70 types of ON influence are found only 8 times or less each, with each type therefore making up a maximum of 2.8% of the NE data. Among these less frequent types of influence, there are 41 elements that have just one occurrence, forming just 0.4% each, and together totalling 14% of the whole NE database. Examples include *ærgi* ('shieling' (Watts 2004: 557)) and *hegning* ('enclosed land' (Smith 1956a: 241)). On the Aysgarth map, *bekkr* ('stream, beck' (Smith 1956a: 26)) and *gil* are the most common kinds of influence. Out of the total of 27 different types of ON influence that were found on the Aysgarth map, these two constitute 33% of all cases (37 of the total 113 cases). The remaining 25 types of ON influence found on the Aysgarth map make up no more than 7% each of the case study data (Section 6.10.1). There are considerably fewer instances of ON anthroponyms in the Aysgarth data than in the NE data, with only 1 identified in the former versus 71 in the latter. The same applies to instances of phonological Scandinavianisation, with 5 instances identified in the Aysgarth data and 24 in the NE data. As noted above, this may simply be a result of the relative difficulty in readily identifying and extracting place-names that reflect these kinds of ON influence from the OS maps, since the

situation with the Aysgarth map mirrors the much lower number of anthroponyms and instances of phonological Scandinavianisation that were identified in the NE maps, when compared with the dictionaries. There is a total of 61 cases of these five most common elements (21% of the dataset). These final analyses in this sub-section are drawn from Section 6.10.1, Table 32.

6.11.2 Naturalised, ambiguous and likely ON elements

A total of 52% of the recorded examples of ON influence in the NE data take the form of elements that are either naturalised into English (34%; 86 cases) or are ambiguously ON or English in their etymology (18%; 45 cases, Section 6.3, Table 4). Of the remaining examples in the dataset, 18% (45 cases) contain likely ON elements. While this figure can only be an estimate, this clearly illustrates that it is inaccurate to claim that there is a complete lack of direct ON influence on place-names north of the Tees, as has generally been suggested in previous accounts (see Section 4.1.5 and 4.2.2). While it is conceivable that all of the place-names containing naturalised or ambiguous elements represent the use of ON loans by Anglo-Saxons or the presence of the OE version of an etymologically ambiguous element, and that all of the place-names with ON anthroponyms relate to Anglo-Saxons with Norse personal names, the fact remains that 45 of the 253 possible cases of ON influence in the NE database (18%) involve elements that were not used by non-ON speakers (Section 6.3, Table 4). There is a higher rate of naturalised and ambiguous elements in the Aysgarth data than in the NE data (a total of 83% versus 52%), and the proportion of likely ON elements is just 5% higher than in the NE: 11% (33 cases) in the NE data overall versus 16% (13 cases) in the Aysgarth data (Section 6.10.6, Table 37). Although these figures would likely be affected by the addition of some ON anthroponyms, which are difficult to identify from map sources, this number and proportion of likely ON elements in the NE data also supports the idea of some ON speakers in the NE, if the rate of elements not used by non-ON speakers is similar in this small area within the traditional Danelaw as it is in some areas north of the Tees.

The NE dataset contains 11 different ambiguously ON/OE elements, and 25 elements that were naturalised into English (Section 6.3). When ambiguous elements, naturalised elements, ON anthroponyms and instances of phonological Scandinavianisation are excluded from calculations, we see there are 39 non-naturalised, non-ambiguous ON elements in the NE dataset, around half of the 77 different types overall. This means that around half of the NE data contains instances of the most likely candidates for ON influence. There are very few examples of each of these likely ON elements in the NE data (a maximum of 2; Section 6.3, Table 7). In his study of Lincolnshire, Cameron (1996: 26) concluded that a similar range of ON elements and preponderance of ON anthroponyms pointed to ON speakers and therefore settlers. At first glance, the fact that there is a greater variety of likely ON elements in the NE compared with Aysgarth may seem surprising, given North Yorkshire's status within the traditionally defined region of the Danelaw, and Cameron's (1996) suggestion that a greater variety of place-name elements is an indication of the presence of ON speakers. However, given that the NE dataset covers a much larger geographical area than the Aysgarth dataset, it can be safely assumed that a larger-scale study of ON influence on the place-names of North Yorkshire would reveal a greater number of likely ON elements than have been identified in this study of the NE.

It is surprising to find (Section 6.3, Table 6) that the map where ON influence is most expected (the Durham A map, around Eastgate in western County Durham) features a very low proportion of likely ON elements (3%; 1 out of 31 instances of possible ON influence identified on that OS map). This is a lower number and proportion of likely ON elements than can be found on the B maps, covering areas of the NE where ON influence is unexpected, and lower than both Northumberland maps. This observation is somewhat at odds with others summarised in this section. This could comprise negative evidence for Scandinavian settlement and ON speech in south west Durham, but given the weight of evidence presented right across this thesis, I believe the wealth

of naturalised and ambiguous elements in this area are best considered to be positive evidence for such settlement.

6.11.3 Topographical/non-topographical status

Non-topographical elements make up more than half (57%; 135 of 237) of all instances of ON influence in the NE dataset (Section 6.5, Table 13). In Northumberland, nearly three quarters (71%; 41 of 58 cases, Section 6.5, Table 12) of the examples of ON influence take the form of non-topographical elements such as *gata* and *toft*. In Durham, topographical elements are more prevalent than in Northumberland (33% or 58 cases versus 24% or 14 cases, Section 6.5, Table 12), but non-topographical elements are the dominant type of influence here too (53%, 94 cases, Section 6.5, Table 10). When using the NE map data alone, however, topographical elements are the dominant type of ON influence in Durham, but not in Northumberland, though the number and proportion of non-topographical elements found on the Northumberland A map (Northumberland XLIV, Rothbury) is much higher than in the Northumberland data overall (including the dictionary data), with 44% of examples (4 of 9 cases, Section 6.5, Table 11) on the A map involving non-topographical elements, compared with only 24% (14 of 48 cases, Section 6.5, Table 12) in the Northumberland data as a whole. It follows, then, that comparison of dictionary names with map names shows the rate of topographical elements to be much lower among the dictionary names. This rate is even lower in Northumberland than in Durham. The reason that the proportion of topographical elements is higher among the map data than among the dictionary data is that there are far more minor names extracted from the maps than from the dictionaries, and the majority of minor names are names of topographical features. The fact that ON anthroponyms are likely to be underrepresented in the dataset means that the relative proportions of topographical elements may be overestimated, but the basic differences that we see between Durham and Northumberland still stand.

The Aysgarth dataset contains twice the proportion of topographical elements that are seen in the NE dataset as a whole (47 of 76; 62% in the Aysgarth data, 73 of 237; 31%

in the NE data, Section 6.10.3, Table 34), This is to be expected, based on the far greater number of major names in the latter (101 major names in the full NE dataset versus only 9 major names found in the Aysgarth OS map).

6.11.4 Major/minor/stream names

Just 7% of the place-names in the NE dataset are identified as the name of a watercourse (17 of 236 cases, Section 6.6, Table 14). As expected, there are more major names than minor names extracted from the dictionaries, and more minor names than major names extracted from the OS maps (Section 6.6, Table 17). In the case study area, ON-influenced stream names, constituting 36% of the Aysgarth data (27 of 76, Section 6.10.4, Table 35), are more abundant than ON-influenced major names, which constitute 12% of the Aysgarth data (9 of 76, Section 6.10.4, Table 35). Stream names constitute 20% more of the data collected from the Aysgarth dataset than from the NE maps on average, where stream names make up 13% of the cases of possible ON influence (7 of 54, Section 6.10.4, Table 35).

The abundance of minor names that were identified on the OS maps, and were not recorded in the dictionaries, may go some way to explain the assumptions in previous accounts of a total lack of ON influence in the NE (see Sections 4.1.5 and 4.1.2). Minor names were not studied in depth in earlier studies of place-names in the region, other than in Watts (2002b), which investigates just two small areas of Durham. Watts (2002b: 55–56) found that all ON elements in the field-names he collected were naturalised into English. This is not the case for all the names collected here; Section 6.3, Table 4 illustrates that 18% (45 of 253) instances of possible ON influence constitute likely ON elements that were not naturalised into English. It is clear that many potential cases of ON influence on place-names in the NE are not included in place-name dictionaries or in previous studies, as a close examination of detailed maps of selected parts of the region has revealed many minor names of possible ON origin.

6.11.5 Scandinavianisation

Only names extracted from the source dictionaries were used in analysing the rates and distribution of Scandinavianisation, as the kind of early attested spellings provided

in the dictionaries are not accessible for place-names extracted from the OS maps. Among the names extracted from the dictionaries, 14% (27 of 193 cases, Section 6.7, Table 20) exhibit Scandinavianisation on at least one element, whether through phonological substitution or the translation of elements. Scandinavianisation is clearly not the dominant type of ON influence in the NE, but it is more frequent within dictionary-sourced names exhibiting possible ON influence in Durham (25 of 142; 18%) than those in Northumberland (2 of 50; 4%, Section 6.7, Table 21). This illustrates another notable contrast between the two NE counties.

6.11.6 ON influence on all or part of a place-name

Across the whole NE dataset, 26% of names exhibiting some level of ON influence appear to do so on all of their elements (61 of 237 cases, Section 6.8, Table 22). There is a higher rate of names exhibiting possible ON influence on all of their elements in Durham (28%; 61 of 178 cases) than in Northumberland (19%; 11 of 58 cases, Section 6.8, Table 23). The OS maps of areas where ON influence is not expected (the B maps) have higher proportions of wholly Norse names than the maps where ON influence is expected (the A maps), but raw numbers of instances extracted from the B maps are so low (a maximum of 11, Section 6.8, Table 24) that this finding should probably be disregarded. The fact that the Durham data exhibits a higher proportion of possibly wholly Norse names than the Northumberland data may be an indicator of the different status that the two areas have in relation to the Danelaw, given that it seems to reflect different kinds or levels of ON influence.

6.11.7 Confidence ratings

The Aysgarth data has a greater proportion of names in confidence rating category 1 than the NE data (16% vs 11%, Section 6.10.6, Table 37). In the NE dataset as a whole, 11% of names (33 of 307 cases, Section 6.9, Table 25) belong to the highest confidence rating category (rating 1), and can be taken as the examples that are very likely to represent ON influence. This may seem like a low figure at face value, but once again, this indicates that 33 names can be confidently considered to exhibit ON influence, which is contrary to the assumptions and interpretations presented in previous

research suggesting a complete dearth of such influence north of the Tees. The distribution of names in the different confidence rating categories does not reveal much before they are put into geographical context, seen below in Section 7.11. If closer inspection of the geographical position and context in which the relevant place is situated suggests that a place-name may be more or less likely to represent an instance of ON influence than the confidence rating category suggests, this will constitute further helpful information which will allow informed confidence or caution in the interpretation of the name in question. Cross-referencing confidence rating categories with county reveals a slightly higher rate of category 1 names in Durham (13%; 30 of 229 cases) than in Northumberland (4%; 3 of 77 cases, Section 6.9, Table 27), but category 1 is the least common confidence rating category in both counties. Cross-referencing confidence categories with naturalised/ambiguous status across the whole NE dataset reveals that 36% of names in the highest confidence rating category contain ON elements that were naturalised into English or are ambiguously ON/OE in etymology (15 of 42 cases). This suggests that naturalised and ambiguous elements can sometimes be indicative of ON speakers and Scandinavian settlement. Predictably, the proportion of names exhibiting possible ON influence on all elements that belong in the highest confidence rating category (rating 1) is much higher than the proportion of hybrid names that belong in that category: 27% of wholly Norse names (17 of 64 cases) versus only 7% of hybrid names (16 of 243 cases, Section 6.9, Table 30). These names are the most reliable candidates for representing the influence of ON speech.

6.11.8 Conclusions

The most pertinent findings so far, having analysed the categorised data in terms of relative frequencies of features of interest, are as follows. Any geographical patterning at this stage is seen across the two counties, which is crucial in supporting the argument of the Tyne being a boundary between distinct regions in Viking Age England. A distinction between a greater extent of possible ON influence in County Durham than in Northumberland is seen in the sheer amount of names exhibiting ON

influence extracted (Section 6.1, Table 1), the distribution of topographical and habitative elements (Section 6.5, Table 12), Scandinavianised names (Section 6.7, Table 21) and wholly Norse names (Section 6.8, Table 23). There are no clear patterns across the NE OS maps in terms of areas where ON influence is and is not expected. The proportion of ON influence that is seen on watercourse names is considerably lower in the NE than in the case study area in the traditional Danelaw. Nonetheless, ON influence on river names in the NE, including at least one wholly Norse coinage (the Gaunless), is a key piece of evidence in the argument against the notion that the River Tees is the northern boundary for the Vikings in England. We can safely assume that the Gaunless, a major waterway, was named and referred to before the arrival of Scandinavian settlers in England. Given that river names tend to survive even mass migrations of speakers of a foreign tongue, if the Gaunless does indeed reflect ON *gagnlauss* ('profitless' (Watts 2002a: 48)), this may be indicative of ON speakers in such numbers near this river that the ON version of the river name superseded its former name.

Some potentially interesting patterns have arisen from looking at the number and relative frequencies of different features and types of ON influence, and from making basic comparisons across the two counties of interest, as well as making a comparison with an area of established ON influence in North Yorkshire. A much clearer picture, and a better understanding of what these patterns mean, can be gained by looking in detail at the geographical position and distribution of the place-names and the relevant features, which is what we turn to in Chapter 7. This more detailed analysis in Chapter 7 explores whether an understanding of the location of this project's data clarifies, develops or revises any of the findings derived from the initial analysis presented here, especially in terms of whether issues of proximity might be revealing. For example, place-names that might not seem such strong evidence for ON influence in the abstract, outlined in Chapter 6 here, can take on more significance if they are found to be near to names that constitute more convincing evidence.

Chapter 7. Data analysis II: geographical distribution of the place-name data

Some potentially exciting patterns arose when looking at the number and relative frequencies of various types of ON influence across Northumberland and County Durham, and when comparing these with a 'traditional Danelaw' area in North Yorkshire. A clearer understanding of the significance of these patterns is gained by looking in detail at the geographical position and distribution of the place-names and the features by which they are categorised, which is the focus of this chapter. The aim is to explore the geographical patterning of possible ON-influenced place-names in the NE, and in doing so to examine whether names sharing particular features tend to be located in particular parts of the region. Doing so may shed light on which areas of the NE, are most likely to have experienced ON speech and related Scandinavian settlement.

Data from a previous study (Watts: 1988–89) is mapped (Section 7.1), followed by the distribution of (a) dictionary and OS map data (Section 7.2), (b) five of the most common ON place-name elements across the region (Section 7.3), (c) Grimston hybrids (Section 7.4) and (d) place-names in *býr* (Section 7.5). Next, the distribution of several categories are mapped: naturalised, ambiguous and likely ON elements (Section 7.6); topographical and non-topographical elements (Section 7.7); major, minor and stream names (Section 7.8); ON influence on all or part of a name (Section 7.10); Scandinavianisation (Section 7.11); and confidence rating categories (Section 7.12). Where possible, the distribution of place-names from the case study area of Aysgarth in North Yorkshire is presented and analysed to show the same variables as the NE data, and Aysgarth maps are provided as a point of comparison. This was not always possible, for example, no Grimston hybrids were identified on the Aysgarth map.

In the figures below that present the NE data as a whole, only names extracted from dictionary sources are included. This is because additional names were extracted from

four OS maps only (Section 5.2), and therefore presenting map and dictionary data together would naturally show clustering in the areas covered by those four OS maps consulted. The figures that present the Aysgarth data, however, include names extracted from the Aysgarth OS map as well as the relevant dictionary sources (Section 5.5), as both sources cover the same area, directly around Aysgarth village.

As with the initial analysis that was presented in Chapter 6, place-names that belong to the lowest confidence rating category (rating 4) and therefore constitute the examples that are highly unlikely to reflect ON influence are not included in the detailed examinations of geographical distributions below, except where the issue of the distribution of the names in the different confidence rating categories is itself being considered (Section 7.11). This allows analysis to be based on the most robust evidence, and will therefore be less likely to be distorted by less convincing, less reliable evidence.

7.1 The geographical distribution of ON place-names identified by Watts (1988-89)

Before looking in detail at the full dataset collated for the present project, it is worth examining the geographical distribution of the data from the only previous standalone study of ON influence on the place-names of County Durham (Watts 1988–89). Watts (1988-89) identifies 90 place-names of ON influence or origin, but does not discuss the situation in the county as a whole. To help illustrate the situation, the map presented in Figure 6(a) plots the position of all 90 names identified by Watts, and Figure 6(b) plots the same 90 names, presented in groups of my own devising outlined in the discussion immediately below the figures.

Figure 6(a): A map showing ON place-names in County Durham according to Watts (1988–89)

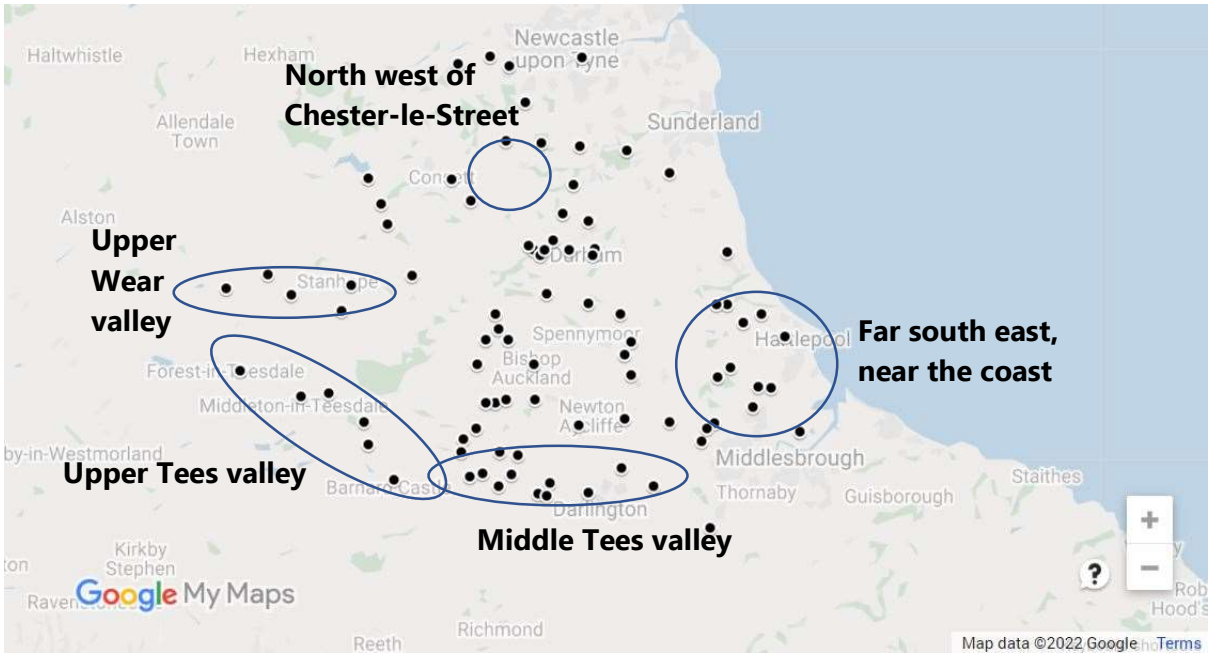
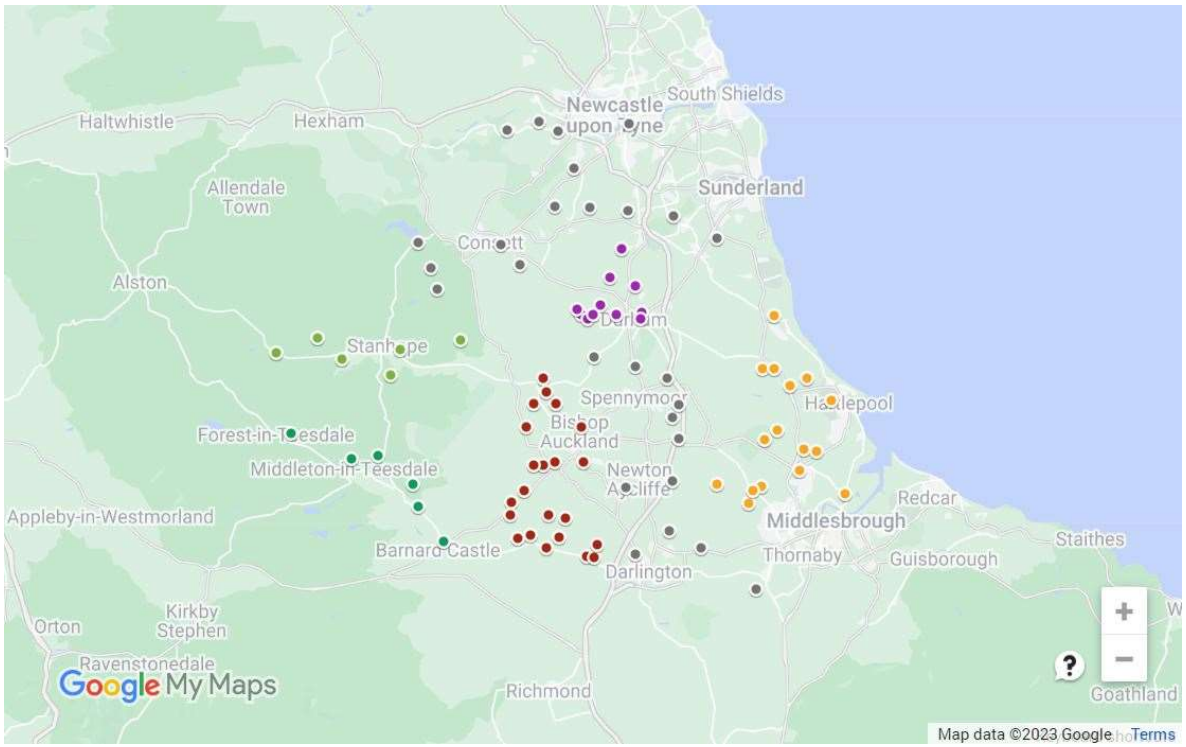


Figure 6(b): A map showing ON place-names in County Durham according to Watts (1988–89), colour coded to illustrate clusters discussed immediately below.



Note that the River Tyne, marking the northern boundary of County Durham for the purpose of this project (see Section 1.3), runs west of Newcastle towards Hexham. Alston is a westernmost point of County Durham; west of this town is Cumbria.

Figure 6(a) shows the location of all place-names identified in Watts' (1988–89) study as containing possible instances of ON influence. Watts identifies the following clusters among his own data: the middle Tees valley (between Darlington and Barnard Castle); the far south-east of the county, near the coast; north-west of Chester-le-Street (between Durham and Consett); upper Weardale (west of Stanhope); upper Teesdale (north-west of Barnard Castle). Watts does not show these areas in the context of a map, so I have highlighted the areas roughly on Figure 6(a).

Having plotted the locations of these names, I personally see some different patterns. In the north-east of the county, ON-influenced names are noticeably scarce. There is also an absence of names in the far north-west, north and west of Consett. In more southerly western areas of Durham, the ON-influenced names identified by Watts are very clearly located along the upper valleys of the Tees and the Wear. The densest cluster of names is from the north bank of the Tees around Gainford (located between Barnard Castle and Darlington), north all the way to Crook (not far to the north of Bishop Auckland). This corresponds to Watts' Tees valley names, which might represent immigration 'of numerical significance' (Higham 1986: 315), but I advise that this cluster runs further north than Watts suggests, indicated by the dark red names on Figure 6(b). Another cluster can be identified in the south-east of the county, between Castle Eden (north of Hartlepool) down towards Middlesborough, which corresponds with the south-east coastal group identified by Watts. There also appears to be a concentration of names south-west of Chester-le-Street (directly north of Durham), as opposed to north-west of Chester-le-Street as Watts proposes. The clusters in the upper Wear and Tees valleys are clear. My observations give us the following five clusters of names, as highlighted in Figure 6(b) in different colours:

1. Gainford to Crook (dark red)
2. The south-east group (orange)
3. South-west of Chester-le-Street (purple)
4. Upper Wear valley (Clint's Wood to Ireshopeburn) (light green)

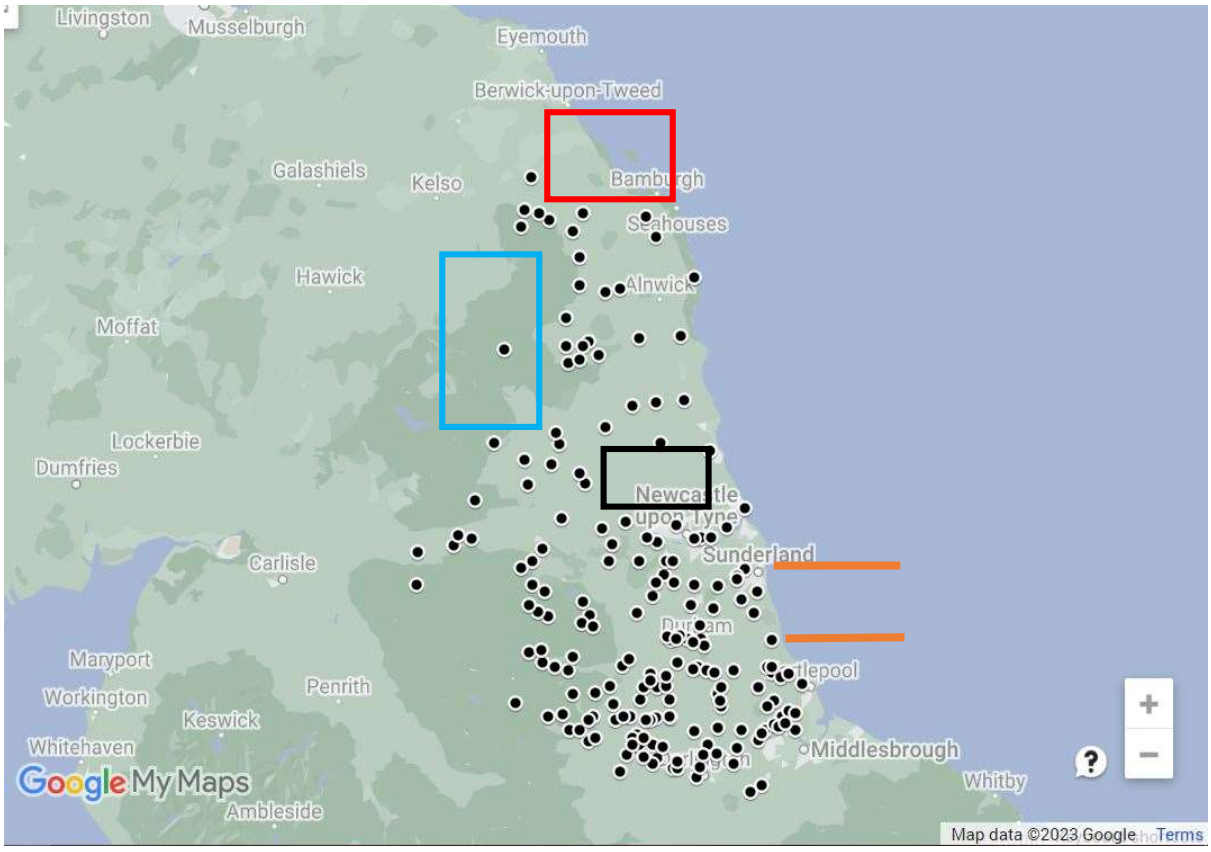
5. Upper Tees valley (Harmire in Barnard Castle to Etter's Gill) (dark green)

Note that those places marked by a grey pin are not being identified as members of an additional cohesive group, but simply as names that have not been assigned to any of the five groups listed above.

7.2 Location of place-names identified in the dataset

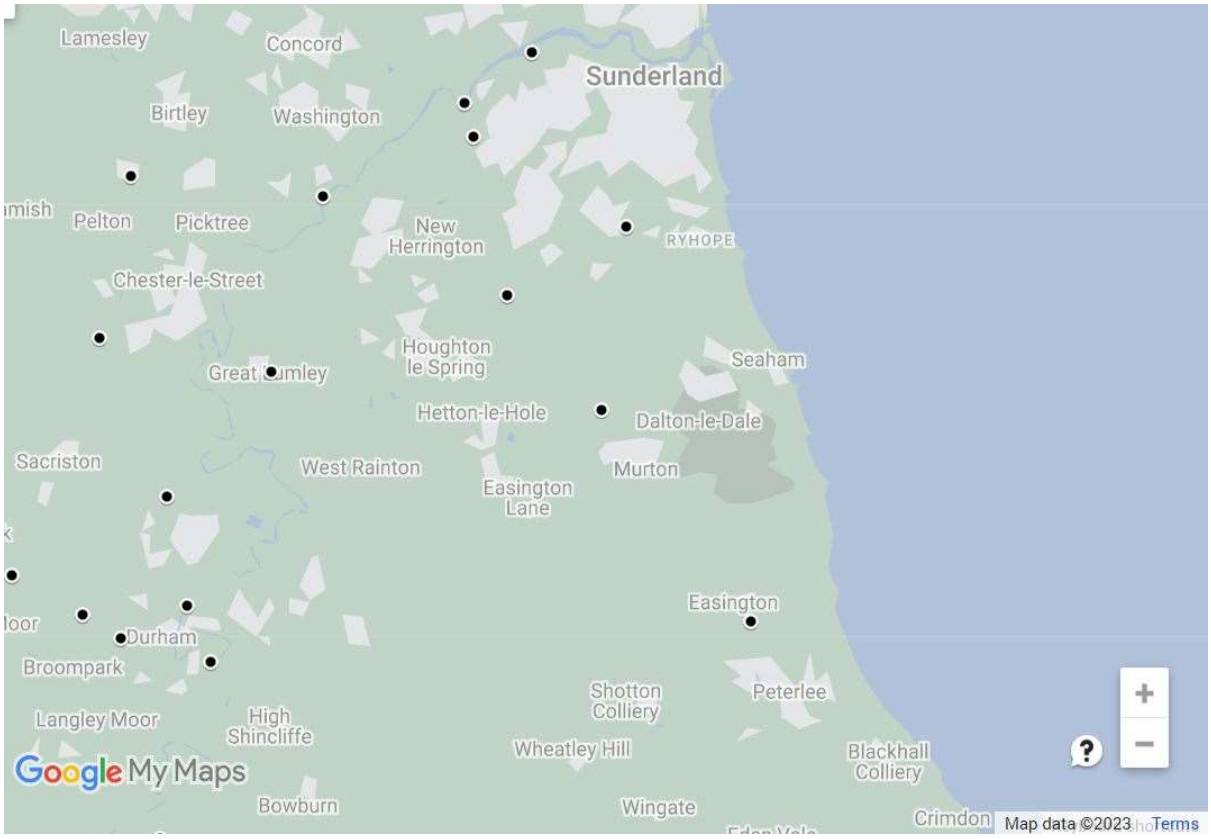
The map in Figure 7(a) illustrates the geographical distribution of place-names in this project's dataset that were extracted from dictionary sources. The map in Figure 7(b) shows a closer view of the same map (from Figure 7(a)), to illustrate the examples of potential ON-influenced names between Castle Eden and the River Wear, discussed immediately below.

Figure 7(a): Geographical distribution of NE dataset names (dictionary sources only)



The boxes on Figure 7(a) illustrate areas where potential ON-influenced place names appear to be absent according to Mawer (1920) and Watts (2002a), and the lines mark the area that Watts (1988-89) suggests exhibits no evidence of ON influence (see immediately below for discussion of both).

Figure 7(b): Closer view of the area between Castle Eden and the River Wear



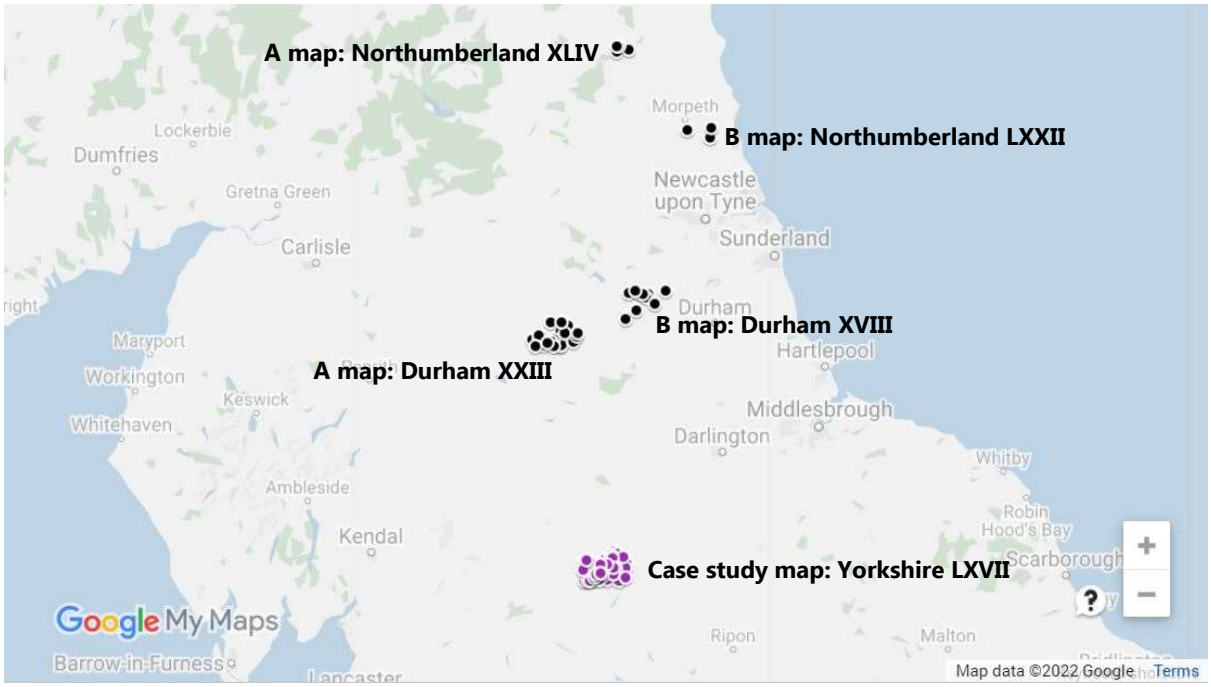
The map in Figure 7(a) indicates a spread of potential ON elements and other types of influence right across both Durham (south of Newcastle, on the River Tyne) and Northumberland (north of Newcastle), based on the interpretation of the relevant names in Watts (2002a), Mawer (1920) and Watts (2004) (see Section 5.1). The only sizeable areas where the dictionaries do not consider there to be any possible influence are in the westernmost part of Northumberland, around Kielder Forest (indicated by the blue square), and the very far north of the county, to the south of Berwick (indicated by the red square). A smaller area lacking possible Norse influence can be found directly north of Newcastle (indicated by the black square). The dictionaries certainly identify more possible cases of ON influence in Durham than in Northumberland (see Section 6.2).

The orange lines on the Figure 7(a) map indicate the approximate latitudes of Sunderland to the north and Castle Eden to the south. Watts (1988–89: 58) claims that

between Castle Eden and the River Wear (and Sunderland sits at the mouth of the Wear) there is not 'a single example of a Scand [sic] settlement name of any type'. This area is picked out specifically because it is the block of land granted by Ragnald to one of his followers, Onlafbal, in the 910s following the Battle of Corbridge (Hart 1975: 141; see Section 4.1.3). The map in Figure 6(b) indicates that there are in fact six names of possible ON origin in this area, near the coast between Castle Eden and the Wear. These are Little Thorpe, Slingley, Haining, Silksworth, Offerton, and Claxheugh. Two names to the south and the east of Washington appear to form part of this cluster, but they in fact sit to the north of the Wear. While the presence of Ragnald and his followers in Durham may have been temporary and/or militaristic, as evidenced in the Community of St Cuthbert's granting and selling of land that Ragnald had previously granted to followers (see Section 4.1.3), it is nevertheless clear that there is not in fact a complete absence of ON influence on place-names in these areas. Indeed, the land granted by Ragnald to a different follower, Scula, was that between Castle Eden and Billingham (Hart 1975: 141), which fits rather neatly with the south-east group of names highlighted in orange on the Figure 6(b) map, in south-eastern Durham. It is not clear why the area granted to Onlafbal features fewer names exhibiting possible ON influence when compared with the area granted to Scula. Perhaps Onlafbal had fewer followers. Perhaps his people settled in fewer, more densely-populated villages. Or perhaps the land was of inferior quality between the Wear and Castle Eden than it was between Castle Eden and Billingham.

The map in Figure 8 illustrates the geographical distribution of place-names extracted from the OS map sources, in this project's NE dataset (in black), as well as the comparative case study dataset in North Yorkshire (in purple).

Figure 8: Geographical distribution of NE dataset names (OS map sources only)



The map in Figure 8 shows names extracted from the four OS maps (see Section 5.2), with the locations selected in Northumberland, Durham and North Yorkshire clearly seen. Even a cursory glance at the map shows that the preponderance of NE place-names of possible ON origin or influence recorded in the dataset for this project are to be found in the areas covered by the Durham maps, rather than the Northumberland maps, and that the comparative case study area around Aysgarth in North Yorkshire has an even more dense cluster of potential ON names than any of the areas in either NE county (see Section 6.10, Table 31). The sparsity of such names in Northumberland supports the suggestion that the two counties either side of the Tyne experienced different degrees of Scandinavian influence, and therefore should not be considered together as a single, indivisible part of Anglo-Saxon maintained Bernicia (see Section 4.1.2 and 4.1.5). It is difficult to imagine why there would be such a clear contrast across these four areas of the NE if there was simply no Scandinavian presence, settlement or speech in the whole region.

Figure 9(a): Durham A map – potential ON names in the area of expected Scandinavian influence around Eastgate (OS, Durham XXIII)

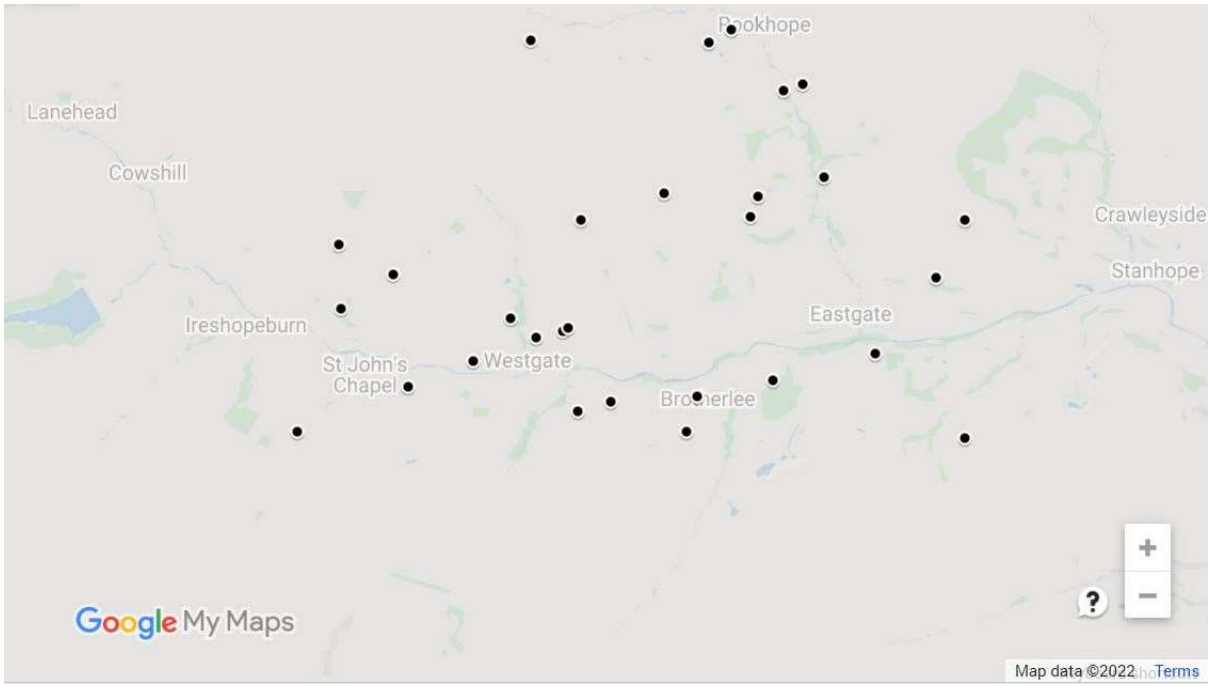


Figure 9(b): Durham B map – potential ON names in the area where Scandinavian influence is not expected, around Lanchester (OS, Durham XVIII)

Figure 9(c): Northumberland A map – potential ON names in the area of expected Scandinavian influence around Rothbury (OS, Northumberland XLIV)

Figure 9(d): Northumberland B map – potential ON names in the area where Scandinavian influence is not expected, around Bedlington (OS, Northumberland LXXII)

The maps in Figure 9 illustrate a sharp contrast between the areas where Scandinavian influence or settlement is most and least likely: the Durham A (Figure 9(a)) and the Northumberland B map (Figure 9(d)), respectively. A comparison of the four maps does not point to a straightforward distinction between the two counties, which would be seen if the Durham maps exhibited signs of ON influence and the Northumberland maps exhibiting no such signs. Instead, a similar picture is seen in the Durham B map and the Northumberland A map. this may constitute further evidence that the Northumberland A map area experienced some Scandinavian settlement, as well as County Durham more generally; in the Durham A map area particularly, but even in the Durham B map area as well. This in turn lends further support to the argument that Durham and Northumberland were not one coherent part of Anglo-Saxon Bernicia, in the Viking Age.

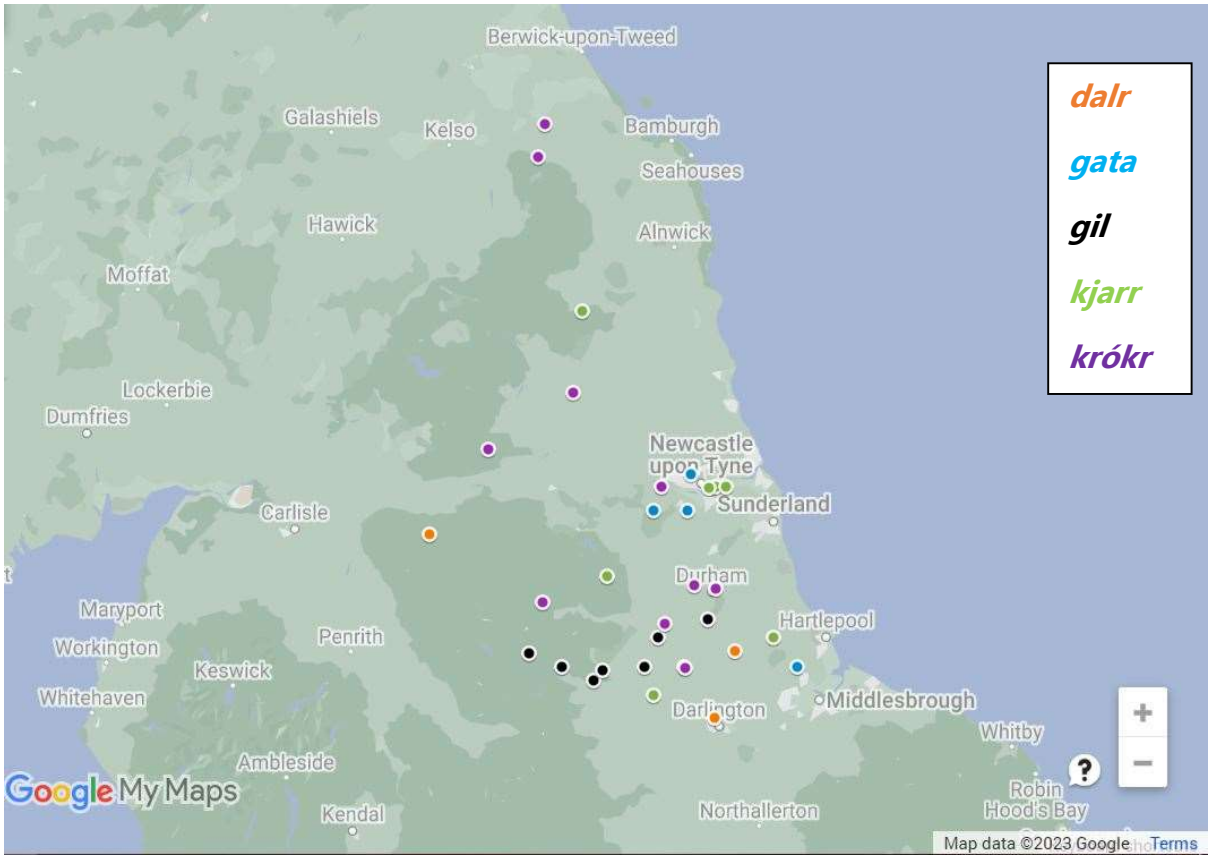
The presence of place-name features that potentially reflect ON influence on each of the four maps could indicate that these ON elements were adopted into the toponymicon, and perhaps the lexicon, of OE speakers in the region, and were used productively in naming places in the NE. If so, this could in theory be indicative of ON speech in all four of the selected areas of the region. On the other hand, the presence of at least some examples of ON influence across the NE could suggest that there was some geographical diffusion of ON elements from areas that did have ON speakers into those that did not, with the former being those areas that exhibit more signs of such influence, possibly including the area covered by the Durham A map, for example. On the face of it, this latter suggestion would conflict with Townend's (2000: 98) proposition that place-name elements do not diffuse across space in the way that items from the lexicon do (Section 3.3.3). However, it must be remembered that the names that were extracted from the four OS maps and recorded in the database constitute potential — not definite — instances of ON influence, and that some are far more likely cases of that influence than others. As only four possible cases were found on the Northumberland B map, for instance, it would not take much additional

evidence — perhaps in the form of early attested spellings identified as part of a future study (see Section 8.5) — to leave this particular OS map with no instances of potential ON influence at all. In this context, the paucity of instances of potential ON influence seen on the Northumberland B map, and the higher number of instances seen on the Northumberland A map, where the make-up and clustering of the potential cases of ON influence examples suggest ON speakers may have been present around Rothbury, would lend support to Townend's 'geographical inertia' theory. These issues are addressed in Section 7.11 below.

7.3 *Dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr*

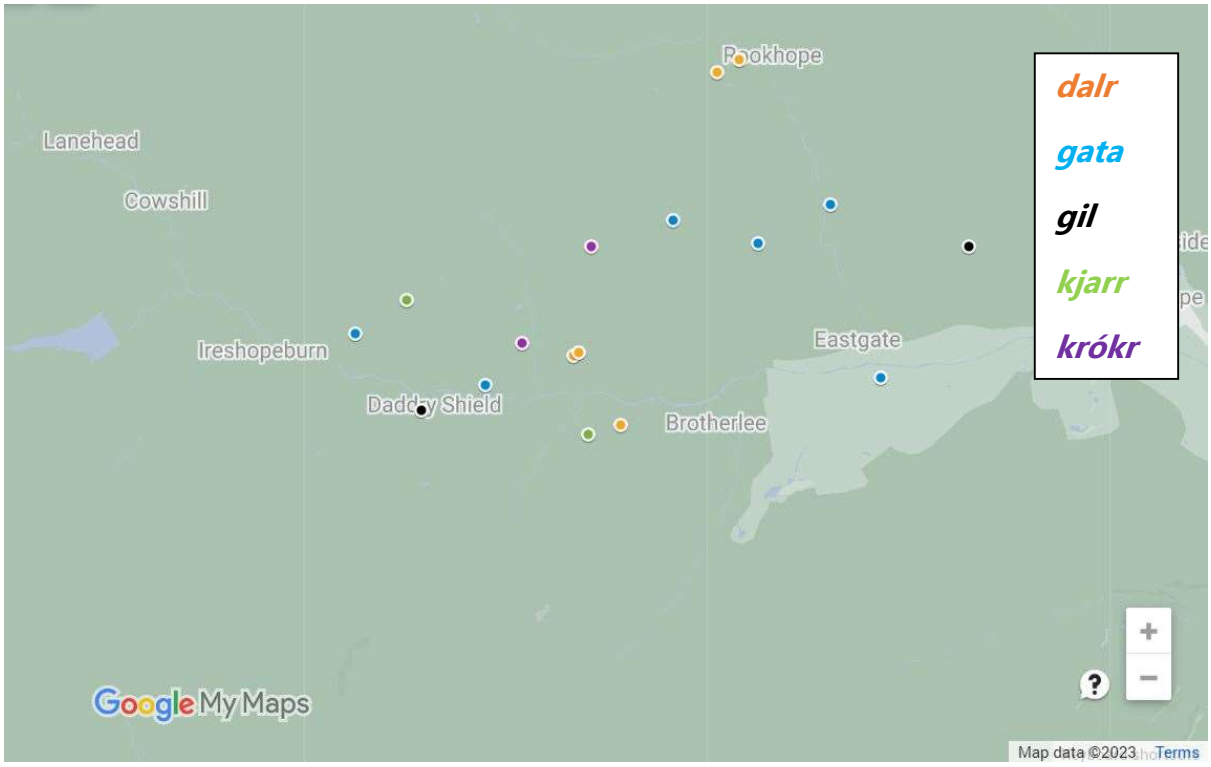
The elements *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* were identified as the most prevalent in the NE database after ON anthroponyms and phonological Scandinavianisation (Section 6.2). Figure 10 illustrates the geographical distribution of these five elements in this project's dataset that were extracted from dictionary sources.

Figure 10: Distribution of *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* (dictionary sources only)



The map in Figure 10 shows that, among the names extracted from the dictionary sources, *gil* is restricted to southern County Durham. *Gata* appears to be most prevalent in northernmost County Durham, with one additional isolated instance in the south east. *Kjarr* and *krókr* are spread across the whole region, though there are fewer instances of either element in Northumberland. The few cases of *dalr* are dispersed over a large area. The distribution of these five elements in the maps presented in Figures 13-16 below will indicate the extent to which these trends are replicated in or supported by the data extracted from the four OS maps.

Figure 11(a): Durham A map – names possibly containing *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* in the area of expected Scandinavian influence around Eastgate (OS, Durham XXIII)



The map in Figure 11(a) shows that, of the five key database elements under consideration here, *gata* is the most common one found on the Durham A map. Furthermore, the map shows that the instances of names potentially containing *gata* in this area of Durham have a geographical distribution that is different from the one we see when focusing only on the examples of names extracted from the dictionary sources. The dictionaries record only a handful of examples in northern Durham as names that potentially contain *gata*, but close study of the detailed OS map suggests many more examples in the county. It would be interesting to assess the extent of this element in similar fine detail across the whole region, but such an enormous task falls outside the scope of the present project (see Section 8.5). It is, of course, not impossible that every instance of *gata* found on this map is in fact an example of OE *ġeat* ('gate'), rather than ON *gata* ('road'). However, in light of the position in which some of these names appear, and the parameters that determined their inclusion in

the dataset, I consider this to be very unlikely. For ©nstance, some names containing <gate> very clearly refer to a road on the OS map, for example Level Gate, the instance just to the east of Ireshopeburn seen on Figure 11(a), and indeed any such name that obviously referred to a gate rather than a road was excluded from the dataset. The likelihood that each individual name was an instance of ON *gata* rather than OE *ġeat* was reflected in the confidence rating category to which it belongs (see Sections 5.4.2.2 and 7.11).

Turning to the other four common database elements (*dalr, gil, kjarr* and *krókr*), Figure 11(a) shows that more instances of *dalr* (five) can be found on the OS map of this small area of Durham than among all the names extracted from the dictionary sources (three, see Appendix A, part 1 and Figure 10 above). This is probably due to the fact that the dictionaries do not systematically include topographical and minor names. Little can be said about *gil*, *kjarr* or *krókr* at this point, as so few examples of each were found on the Durham A map. Figure 11(b) goes on to illustrate the distribution of these five elements across the area covered by the Durham B map, where ON influence is not expected.

Figure 11(b): Durham B map – names possibly containing *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* in the area where Scandinavian influence is not expected, around Lanchester (OS, Durham XVIII)

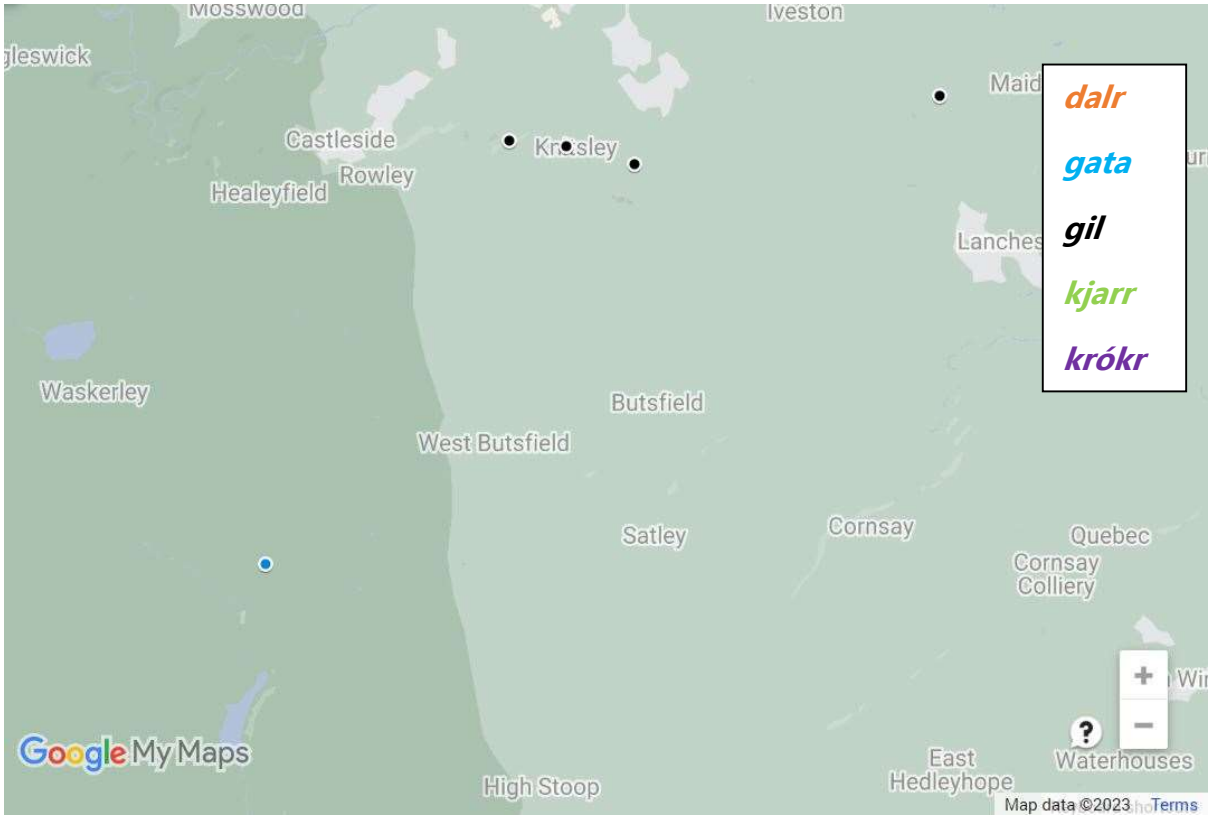


Figure 11(b) shows that there are very few names containing any of the five key database elements in the area covered by the Durham B map. Only four instances of *gil* (Back, Howns, Knitsley and Park Gill) and one instance of *gata* (Saltergate) were extracted. This distribution pattern reveals a more northerly extent of *gil* in the county than is suggested by the names extracted from dictionaries alone; Figure 10 showed that the most northerly instance of *gil* extracted from the dictionary sources is located approximately 3 miles south of Durham city, while the northernmost example of *gil* on the Figure 11(b) map is some 9.5 miles north west of Durham city. Figures 10(c) and 10(d) display the distribution of *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* across the areas covered by the Northumberland A and B maps respectively.

Figure 11(c): Northumberland A map – names possibly containing *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* in the area of expected Scandinavian influence around Rothbury (OS, Northumberland XLIV)

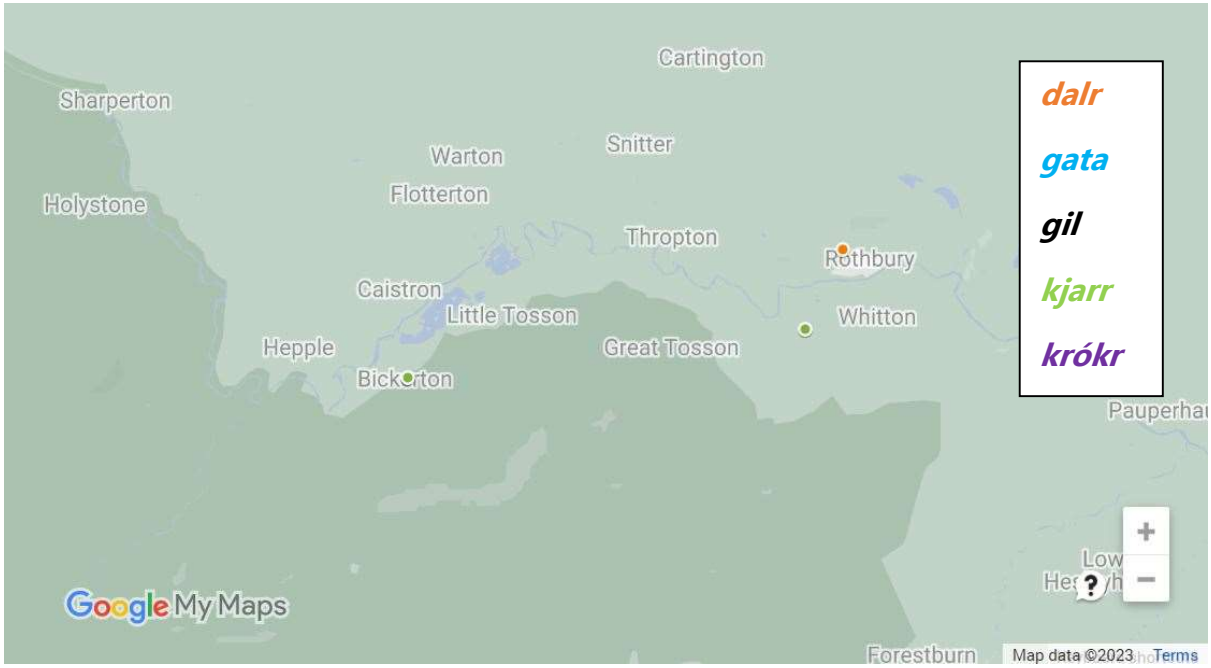
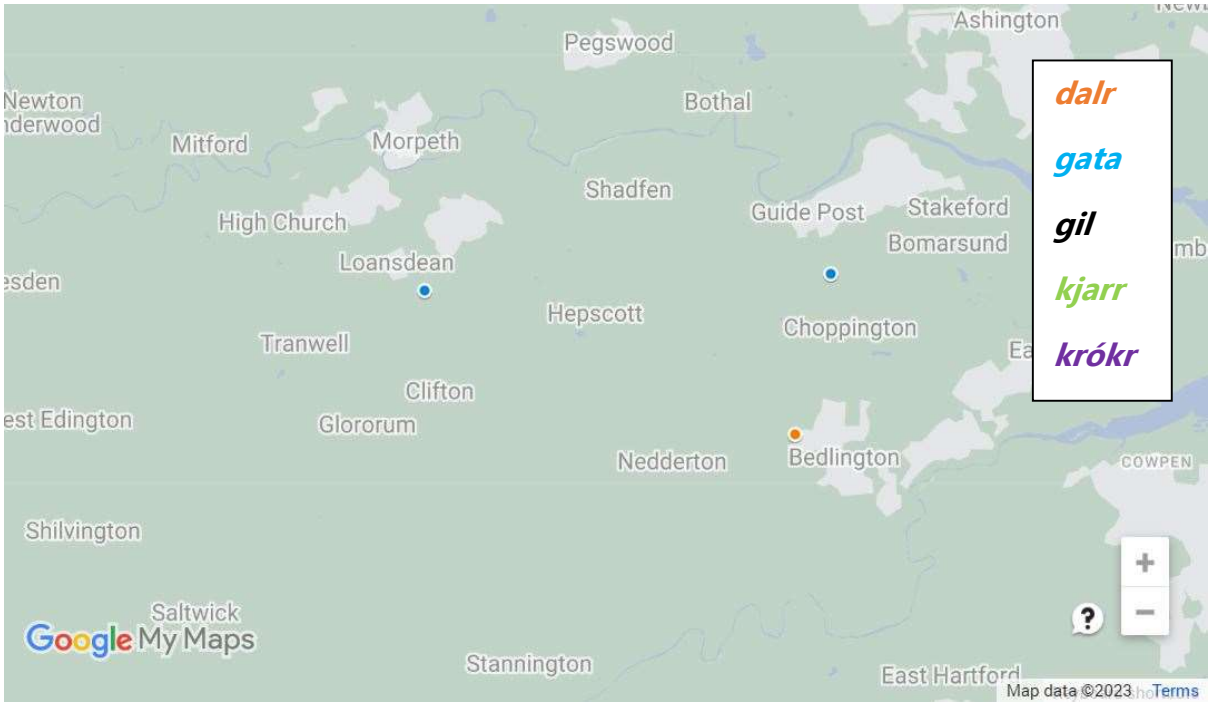


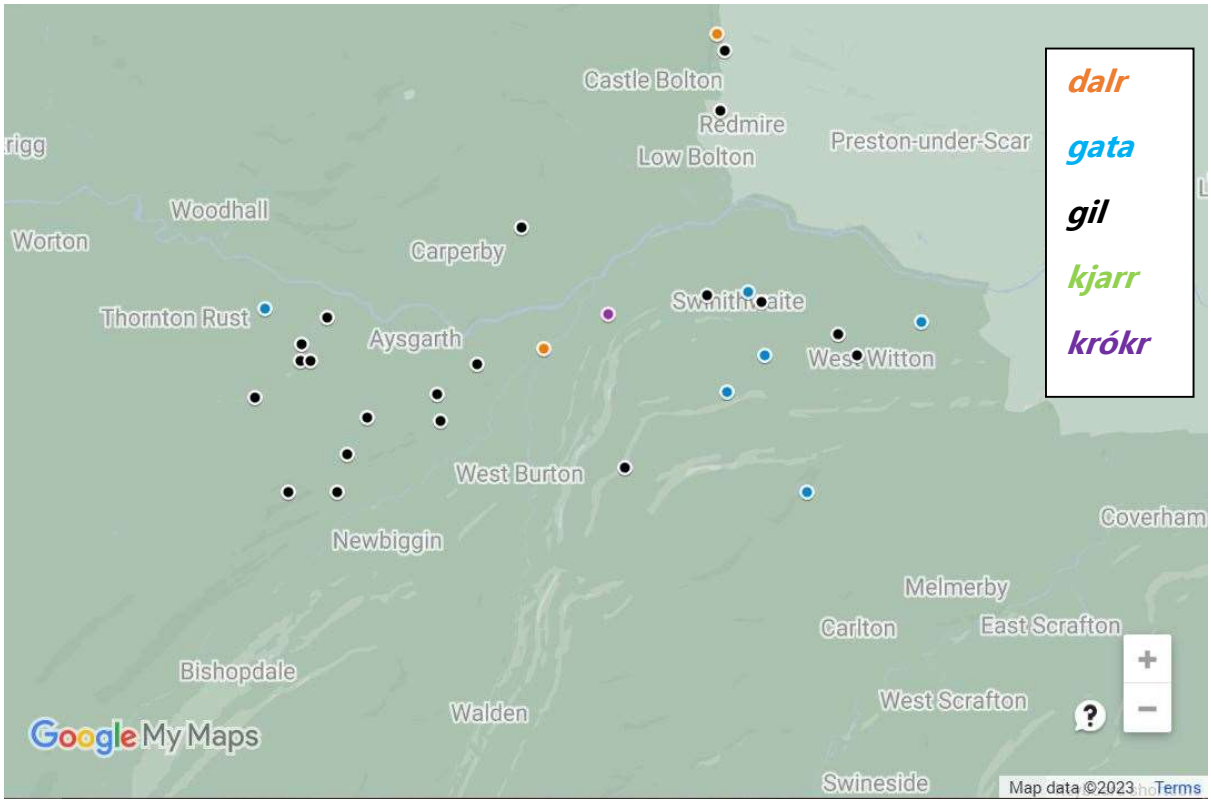
Figure 11(d): Northumberland A map – names possibly containing *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* in the area where Scandinavian influence is not expected, around Bedlington (OS, Northumberland LXXII)



Figures 11(c) and 11(d) are analysed together as so few (six) instances of *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* appear across the two Northumberland OS maps. There are no instances of *gil* or *krókr* on either Northumberland map (Figures 11(c) and 11(d). Figure 11(c) shows that there are two possible instances of *kjarr* (Bickerton and Carterside) in the area covered by the Northumberland A map, the same number in the area covered by the Durham A map. (Figure 11(a)). No examples of *kjarr* were identified in the area covered by either the Durham or the Northumberland B map (Figures 11(b) and 11(d)). This may suggest that *kjarr* appears where Scandinavian settlement and ON speech is most likely to have been present in Viking Age NE England, although with such low numbers of instances, this is an extremely tentative suggestion.

Overall, it certainly appears to be the case that in the area covered by the Durham A map, around Eastgate in south west Durham, there is a higher number and greater variety of ON elements in its toponymy than in the area covered by the Durham B map (around Lanchester, in central Durham) and the areas covered by both Northumberland maps. The distribution of *gil* across the four areas covered by the OS maps suggests that *gil* is clearly present in County Durham, but not in Northumberland. One explanation for this could be that *gil* entered the toponymicon in Durham but not in Northumberland, which is in keeping with the argument presented throughout this thesis, that County Durham contains more ON influence on place-names than has previously been suggested, and that this county experienced at least some Scandinavian settlement and rule (see Sections 1.1, 4.1.5, 4.3). It could also be the case that *gil* entered dialect lexicons in County Durham but not in Northumberland. In earlier accounts, *gil* was only identified in the west of County Durham, in the upper Wear and Tees valleys (see Watts 2004: 219). Figure 12 moves us on to analyse the distribution of the five common elements in question in this section in the context of the comparative case study area around Aysgarth in North Yorkshire.

Figure 12: Names possibly containing *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* in the area covered by the comparative case study map (Yorkshire LXVII)



The map in Figure 12 shows that there is evidence of considerably more instances of the five common elements in question in the area around Aysgarth than in the areas covered by the NE maps, though it is notable that there are no cases of names containing *kjarr*. Most striking is the abundance of *gil*, with 20 instances in the area covered by the Aysgarth map. This element is completely absent from either Northumberland map, but appears 6 times across the two Durham maps. This reflects the idea presented in Section 4.3, of County Durham as a buffer zone between Anglo-Scandinavian Deira to the south, incorporating the area covered by the Aysgarth map, and Anglo-Saxon-maintained Bernicia to the north, incorporating the area covered by the Northumberland maps.

All five of the key elements under consideration in this section — *dalr*, *gata*, *gil*, *kjarr* and *krókr* — were either naturalised into English or have an ambiguous etymology (i.e. either an OE or ON origin is possible) (see Section 3.3.3). Together with the

geographical distributions indicated in the maps above, this fact suggests either that these elements diffused over geographical space and became productive in the NE, or that Old Norse speakers coined these place-names. If these elements did diffuse over space, it is unclear why this resulted in these elements being prevalent around Eastgate (the Durham A map), but not around Lanchester (the Durham B map), Rothbury (the Northumberland A map) or Bedlington (the Northumberland B map). On the other hand, if these elements evidence Norse speech, it is unclear why there are any instances at all around Bedlington, where there is no evidence in the historical records of Viking presence (see Sections 4.1, 4.2.1 and 4.2.2). Nonetheless, again it should be remembered that no place-name in the data is a definite example of Old Norse influence or origin. Some are very likely to be, such as Aislaby and Dyance in southernmost County Durham (Watts 2002a: 1, 36), but most are much less certain. This is reflected in the fact that the majority of names in the dataset belong to the two lowest confidence rating categories (codes 3 and 4) (see Section 6.9). All six of the names that were found on the two Northumberland maps presented above in Figures 10(c) (the A map) and 10(d) (the B map) belong to the second lowest confidence rating category (code 3). As such, they are not among the most convincing examples of potential ON influence in the dataset and therefore do not constitute particularly strong evidence. The three of the five common elements in question in this section found on the Northumberland A and B maps, *dalr*, *kjarr* and *gata*, are all dialect lexical loans (Heslop 1892–1894: 318; OED carr/car, n.2, OED dale, n.1); as items in the lexicon, they are used productively in more contexts that just place-names. These elements are therefore expected to diffuse over geographical space, if only across an area with shared dialect features. Once productive in the local lexicon, they could be used to describe valleys, marshy places and roads respectively, at any time between the borrowing and the present day. If future research finds a clear reason to discount the names on the above Northumberland maps as potential examples of ON, then this would suggest these elements did not diffuse as productive toponymical elements,

supporting Townend's (2000: 98) notion of 'geographical inertia' (Section 3.3.3). This in turn, crucially, may point to ON speech in County Durham; if ON place-name elements did not reach Durham via diffusion, they were likely productive there via the presence of ON speakers.

In the context of the dictionary data, the map presented in Figure 10 above highlights the far greater prevalence of place-names containing *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* or *krókr* that are recorded in Durham, when compared with Northumberland. The preponderance of these elements in the area around Eastgate (Durham A map, Figure 11(a)) and the distribution of names containing these elements right across the south of Durham that can be seen in Figure 10, suggests that further research into minor names in a greater number of localised areas of the county has the potential to reveal many more cases of these particular key elements. The same cannot be said for Northumberland: the Northumberland A and B maps presented in Figures 11(c) and 11(d) do not give any indication that further examination of minor names across the county is likely to reveal a much greater number of names containing these elements than is already seen in the dictionary-based map in Figure 10. The greater number of these five key database elements in the place-names of County Durham, the likelihood of this being an underestimation of their numbers, and the contrast with Northumberland all adds further support to the idea that there was little to no diffusion of ON place-name elements into Northumberland, and points to Old Norse speech as the source of these elements in Durham. This in turn lends support to the argument that there is a contrast between the two north-eastern counties in terms of Scandinavian presence and settlement (Sections 1.1, 4.1.5 and 4.3).

7.4 Grimston hybrids

As discussed in Sections 3.2.5.5 and 6.4, Grimston hybrids are place-names that consist of an ON anthroponym plus OE *tūn* ('enclosure, farmstead, estate, village' (Smith 1956b: 188)) and are seen as representing pre-existing settlements that were taken

over by Scandinavians. The distribution of Grimston hybrids in the NE data is examined in this section in order to assess whether they are found across the region, or specifically in areas where ON speakers may have been present in accordance with the historical evidence discussed in Sections 4.1 and 4.2. Figure 13 shows the distribution of Grimston hybrids found in the NE dataset, across all source types.

Figure 13: Distribution of possible Grimston hybrids in the NE dataset (dictionary sources only)

As the map in Figure 13 shows, Grimston hybrids are rather found in a rather large area across the NE, though there is a definite cluster in the far south-east of the region between Hartlepool and Middlesbrough. This fits with Watts' (1988–89: 38–39) identification of such names in this area. The northernmost Grimston, Ilderton (which may contain ON anthroponym *Hild* (Mawer 1920: 122)), is near to the possible cluster of ON-influenced names around Akeld (Sections 4.1.1 and 4.2.2.2). As Grimstons are considered to represent pre-existing settlements taken over by Vikings (see Section 3.2.5.5), and Watts believes that the distribution of Grimston hybrids in Durham 'could

point to English settlements taken over by Vikings', or to 'infilling between existing settlements' (1988–89: 38). The distribution of places shown in Figure 13 suggests that this process happened in the south-east of Durham. Watts (1988–89: 61, fn.101) considers that these settlements are related to the activity of Ragnald's army in the early 10th century rather than Halfdan's in the late 9th century.

In contrast, the area between Gainford and Crook (marked with the black rectangle), which is dense with ON-influenced place-names and is one of the clusters of ON names in Durham identified by Watts (1988–89) (see Section 7.1, Figures 5(a) and 5(b)), is rather devoid of Grimston hybrids, with just one example, Ingleton, in this area. This may indicate that Viking settlement between Gainford and Crook consisted of the takeover of unoccupied land, rather than of pre-existing settlements. As we shall see, this interpretation is supported by the analysis of names containing *býr* in Section 7.5.

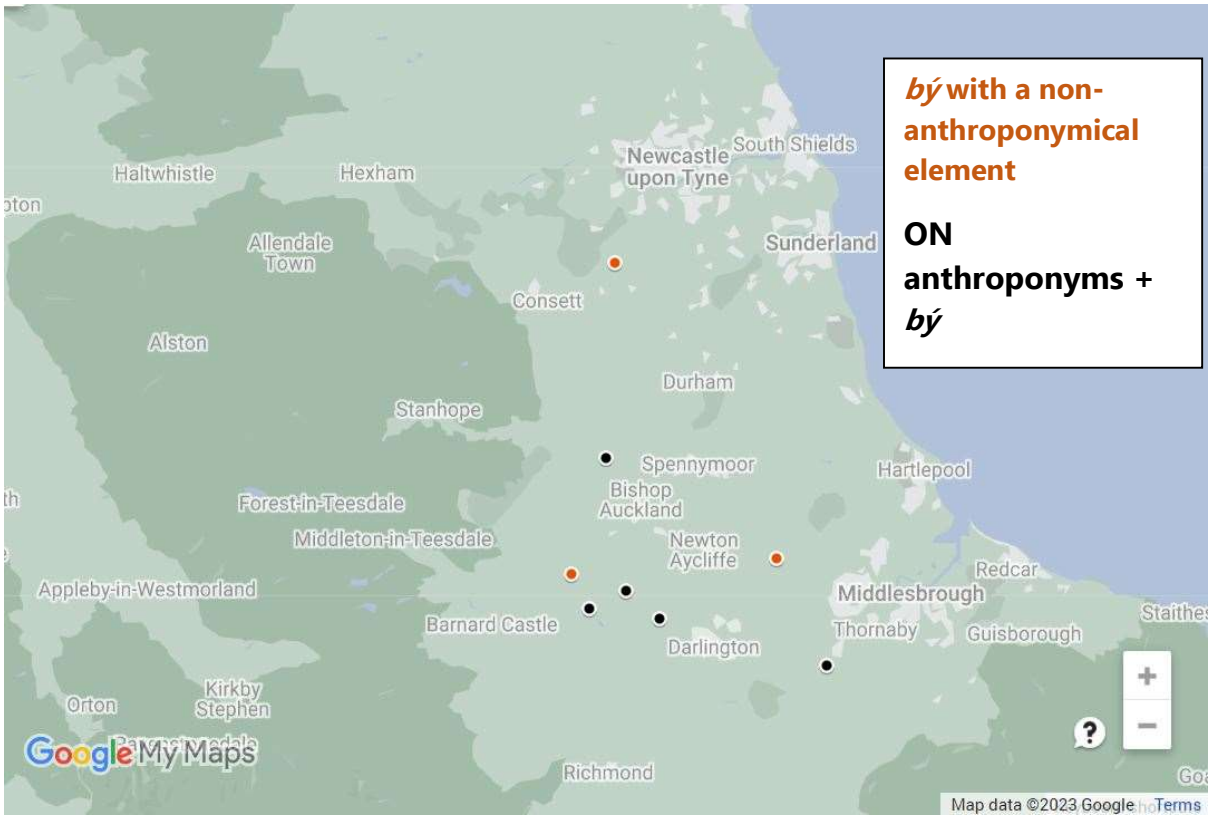
7.5 *býr*

Place-names made up of an ON anthroponymical specific plus generic *býr* ('farmstead, village' (Smith 1956a: 66)) may reflect granting of land by Viking army leaders to their followers (Stenton 1910: 45, 91, 1927: 143–146, 1942: 305–308, 1971: 524; Jones 1965: 77; Fox 1989: 90–96), and the anthroponyms 'are probably all names of sometime owners or tenants of the vills in question' (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 15). Section 3.3.5.1 above covered the distribution and significance of this place-name element in detail. In sum, names consisting of an ON anthroponym plus *býr* may represent the presence of ON speakers, and so the distribution of such names is worth examining. Of course, a place being granted to a Viking leader does not necessarily entail the settlement there of ON speakers, but if the anthroponyms in question here represent the tenants rather than the owners of the land, this would be more likely as an indicator of Scandinavian settlement. Abrams and Parsons (2004: 402) state that the number of anthroponyms in names in *býr* that represent tenant farmers indicates Scandinavian settlers in large numbers. While there are just eight instances of *býr* in the NE data, five

of these appear to have an ON anthroponym as their specific: Aislaby (*Aslak* (Watts 2002a: 1), Killerby (*Kilvert* (Watts 2002a:68)), Rumby Hill (*Hrómund* (Watts 2002a: 105), Selaby Hall (*Sælithi* (Watts 2002a: 110)) and Ulnaby (*Ulfethinn* (Watts 2002a: 128)). Two further potential examples of *býr* in the NE dataset are Raby and Scalby, in which *býr* is seen alongside possible instances of ON *rá* ('land-mark, boundary' (Smith 1956b: 78)), and ON *skalli* ('bald head' (Smith 1956b: 123), used as a reference to a bare hill) respectively.[23] Tantobie may also contain *býr*, but the first element of this name is unknown; it has no early attestations (Watts 1988–89: 24) and is not included in either Mawer (1920) or Watts (2002a). All of the NE names in *býr* other than Tantobie, then, contain another possible ON element alongside *býr*. The earliest attestations of these names range from 1040 to 1382 (Watts 1988–89: 24; Watts 2002a: 1, 100, 105, 110, 128). Further ON elements appearing in names in *býr*, and their relatively early attestations, indicate that the instances of type of name in the NE have the same makeup of elements and etymology as such names elsewhere in England, and that it is therefore plausible to suggest that English is not the base language of these names, and that they are likely indicative of ON speakers (Section 3.3.5.1). The distribution of place-names in the NE that may contain *býr* is shown in Figure 14.

[23] Interpretation of Raby is sourced from Watts (2002a: 100), and Scalby from Watts (1988–89: 24).

Figure 14: Distribution of place-names possibly containing *býr* in the NE dataset



The map in Figure 14 shows that all five of the names made up of an ON anthroponym plus *býr* are found in southern County Durham. Aislaby is somewhat isolated from the other names of this type, situated further east beyond Darlington. The concentration of the other four ON anthroponym plus *býr* names fit rather neatly into the cluster of names identified by Watts (1988–89) located between Gainford and Crook (Section 7.1, Figures 6(a) and 6(b)). Most are situated very close to the Tees, other than the northernmost example, Rumby Hill. The location of Rumby Hill suggests that ON speakers may have settled or at least been present as far north as Crook, less than one mile to the north of Rumby Hill. This supports my identification of a group of place-names between Crook in the north, south to Gainford at the Tees (Section 7.1, Figure 6(b)). The clustering of this type of name in an area in which place-names exhibiting possible ON influence of many kinds (again see Section 7.1) is consistent with the argument that place-names consisting of an ON anthroponym plus *býr* represent Scandinavian influence (see Sections 2.5.2 and 3.3.5.1(a)). Since ON anthroponyms are

the most common kind of element in the entire database (Section 6.2, Table 3), the limited area in which names that consist of the combination of an ON anthroponym plus *býr* specifically appear is noteworthy. The distribution of these names, and their very limited presence in south-east Durham where Grimston hybrids are concentrated, supports the notion of Viking settlements from Gainford to Crook existing on previously unoccupied sites, which *býr* is thought to represent (see Section 2.4), while settlements in the south-east of the county are more likely to be re-named pre-existing settlements that were taken over by Scandinavians.

There is only one example of a place-name consisting of an ON anthroponym plus *býr* in the area covered by the Aysgarth map; Thoralby (ON anthroponym *Þorvaldr* (Smith 1928: 176, 268)). This is surprising, given that this area lies within the traditionally defined region of the Danelaw, and that *býr* is such a common generic element in the Danelaw as a whole, with perhaps 850 instances (Section 3.3.5.1(a)).

7.6 Ambiguous, naturalised and likely ON elements

We will now move on to consider the geographical position of ON elements that were naturalised into English, and which have ambiguous ON/OE etymology. Figures 15(a) and 15(b) begin this section by illustrating the distribution of such elements across the NE, found in names extracted from the dictionary sources, and across the Aysgarth data.

Figure 15(a): Geographical distribution of naturalised and ambiguous elements in the NE dataset (dictionary sources only)

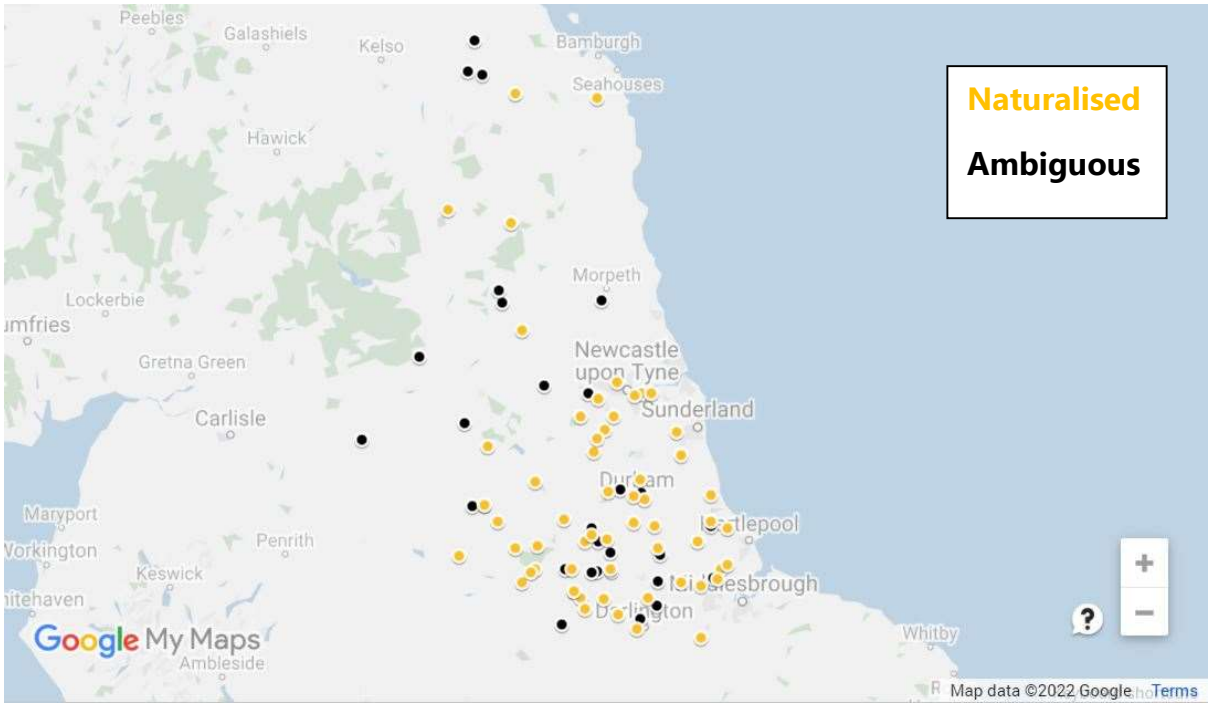
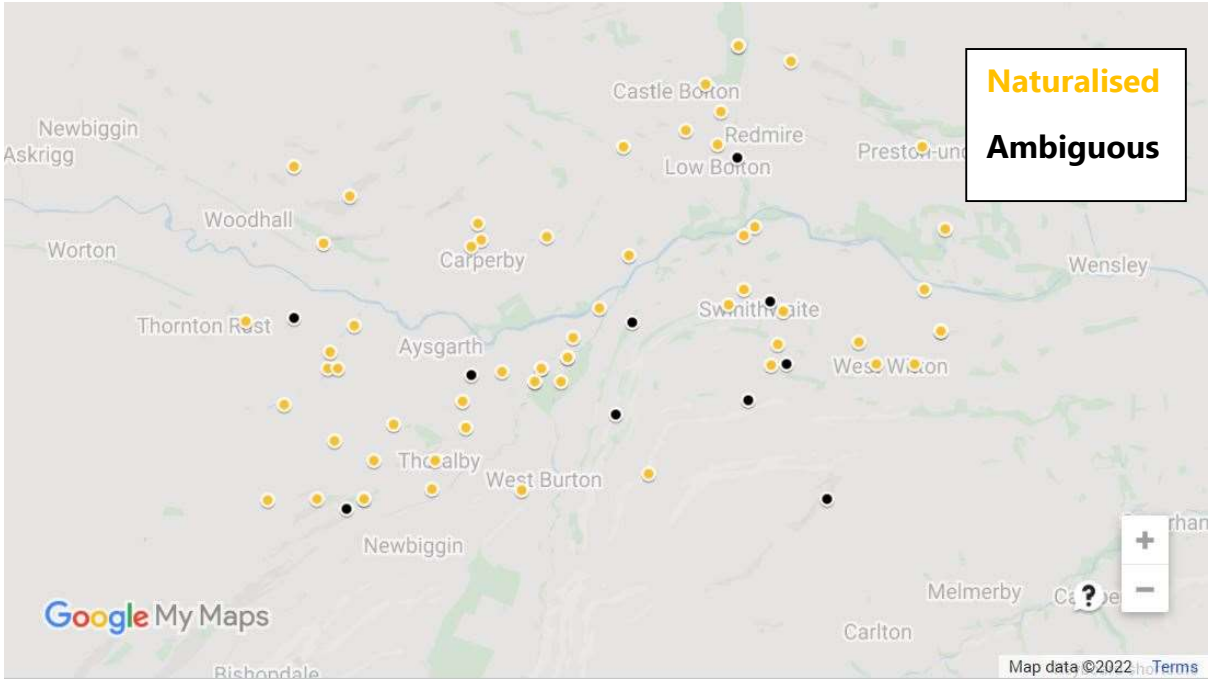


Figure 15(b): Geographical distribution of naturalised and ambiguous elements in the Aysgarth data



The purpose of this chapter is to establish whether the details of the geographical distribution of certain ON place-name elements, and types of ON name formation, is notable and adds anything to our understanding of the situation regarding Scandinavian settlement and ON speech in the NE. Judging by the distribution shown on Figures 15(a) and 15(b), this does not appear to be the case for the distribution of naturalised or ambiguous elements in the NE. There also does not appear to be anything significant in the distribution of these kinds of elements in the comparative case study area of Aysgarth. Figures 16(a) and 16(b) illustrate the distribution of likely ON elements across the NE and the Aysgarth data.

Figure 16(a): Geographical distribution of likely ON elements in names across the NE dataset (dictionary sources only)

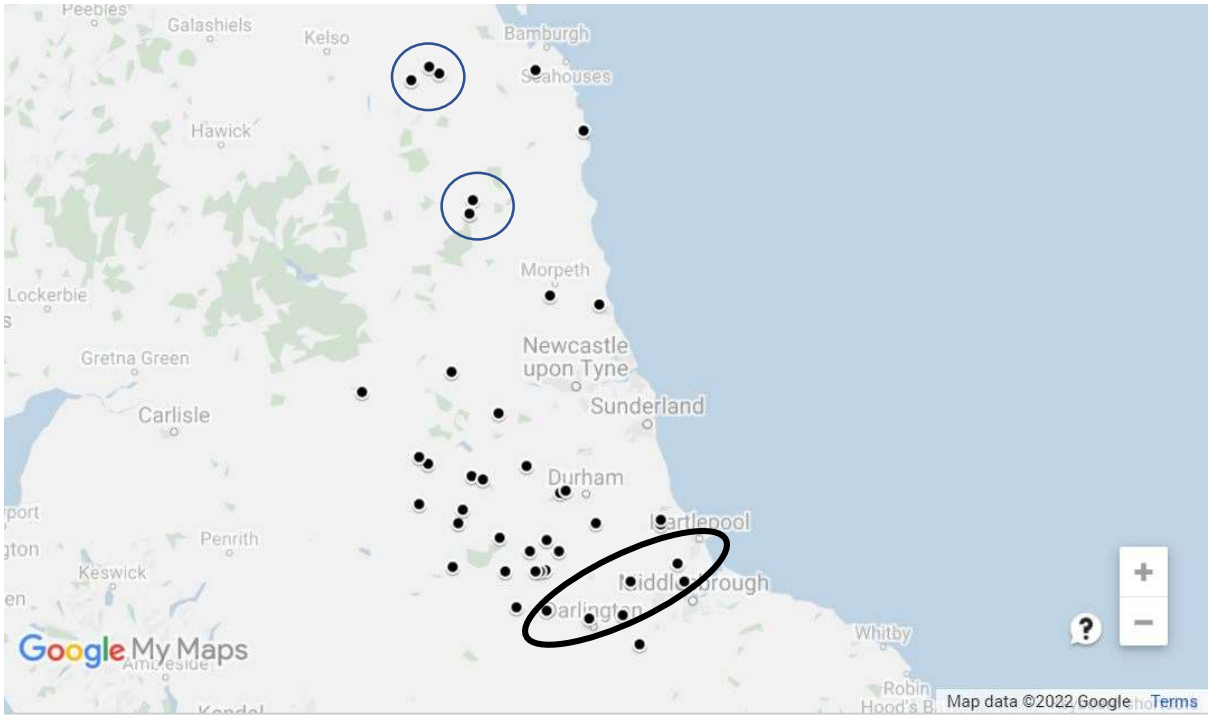


Figure 16(b): Geographical distribution of likely ON elements in the Aysgarth data

The blue circled names on the map in Figure 16(a) are around Rothbury (the more southerly group) and Akeld (the more northerly group) respectively, lending further support to the possibility that these two areas experienced some Scandinavian settlement or at least ON speech, perhaps via a temporary presence on a route northwards into Scotland (see Sections 4.1.1 and 4.2.2.4).

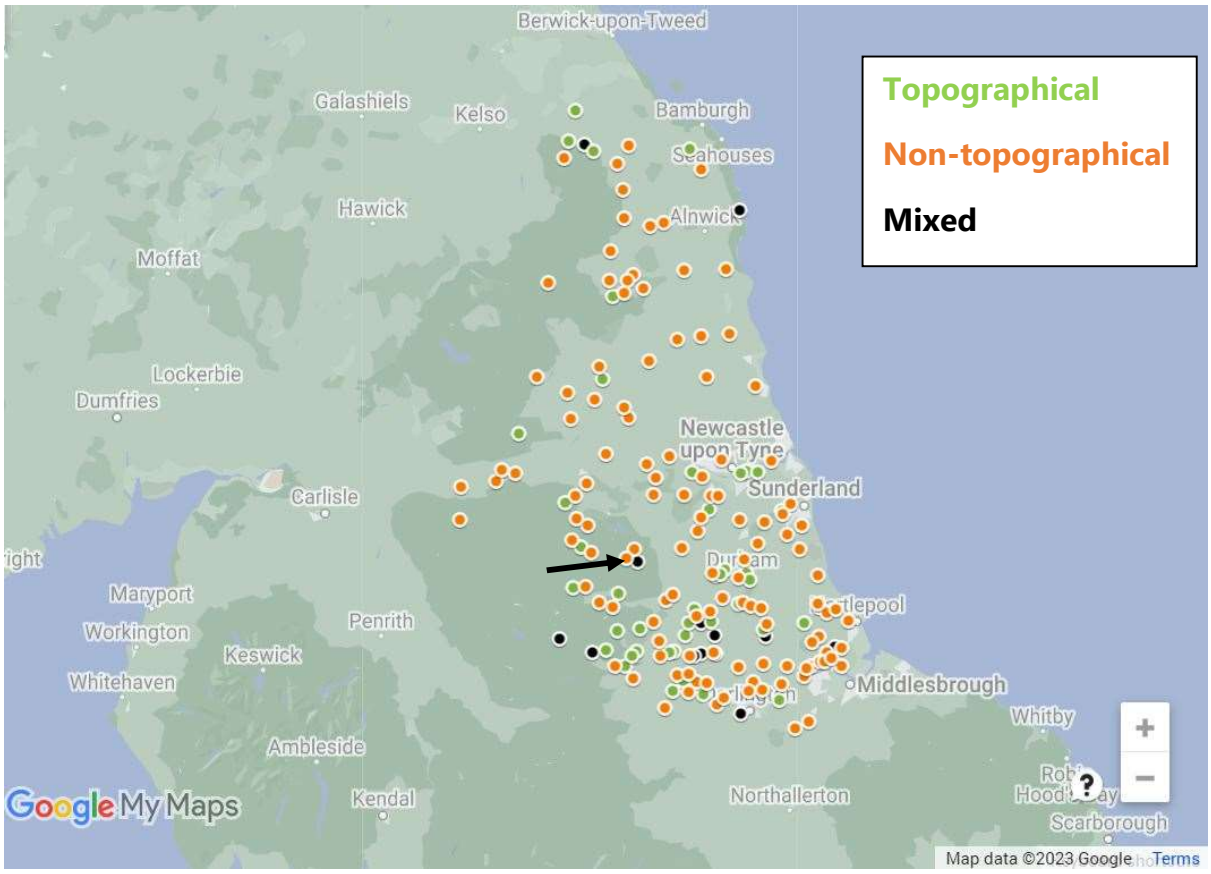
Within the NE, likely ON elements are mostly found in western County Durham, and, as shown in the black circle, along the Tees valley towards the coast near Middlesbrough. In the context of the comparative case study area in Yorkshire, around Aysgarth (Figure 15(b)), we see that non-ambiguous, non-naturalised elements are mainly found on the banks of the River Ure. The concentration of these elements along rivers may be pertinent. The earliest settlements in any area tend to be located on watercourses, which suggests that these are habitation sites that Vikings took over, rather than sites that they established themselves, since they are likely to have been prime locations and therefore unlikely to have been unoccupied before the arrival of the Vikings. Kruse (2004: 101–102) claims that, in order for an ON place-name to replace a native one, ON must have been the dominant language in the relevant area,

even if only for a short time. With this in mind, it is reasonable to conclude that the presence of these place-name elements points to possible ON speech in the NE along the Tees, just as it does, predictably, along the Ure in North Yorkshire.

7.7 Topographical and non-topographical elements

This section turns to the geographical positioning of topographical and non-topographical elements. Figure 17 shows the distribution of these different element categories across the NE.

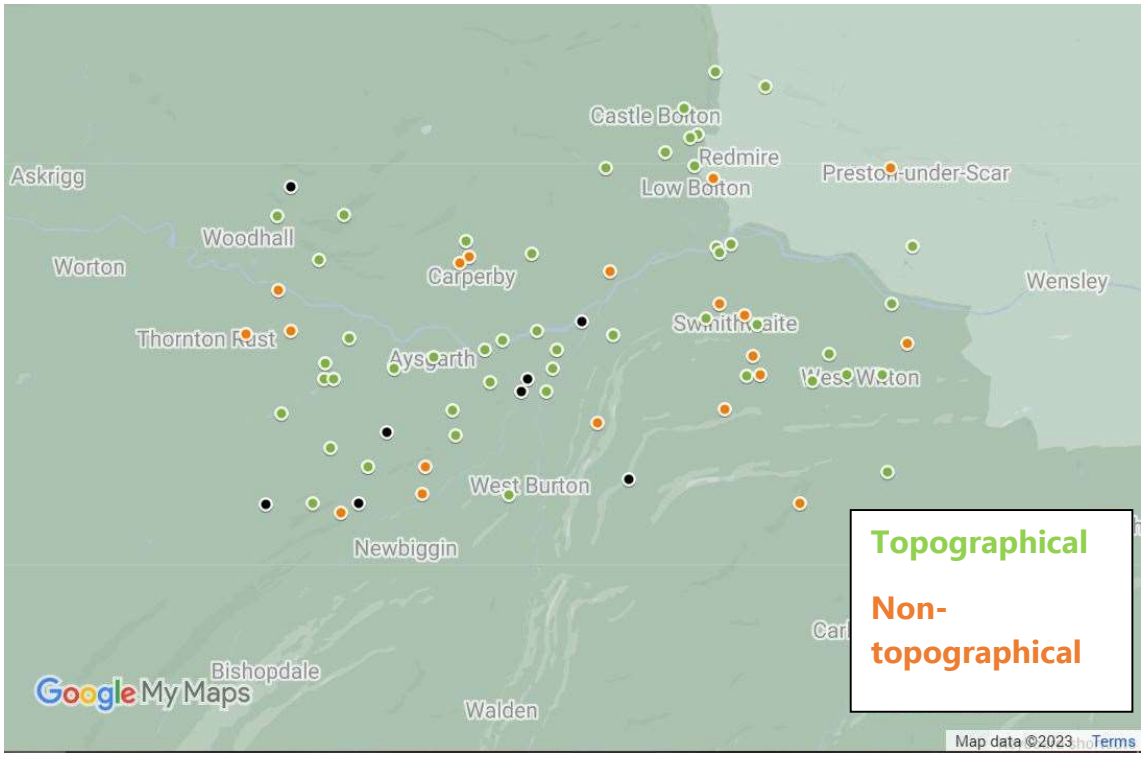
Figure 17: Distribution of topographical and non-topographical elements across the NE (dictionary sources only)



As the map in Figure 17 indicates, topographical elements are uncommon in both Northumberland and in eastern County Durham. Topographical elements very much seem to cluster in western Durham. This patterning reflects Watts' (1988–89: 40)

suggestion that topographical names in County Durham evidence either expansion eastwards from Cumbria, or 'westward expansion mark[ing] perhaps the adventurous energies of individual Vikings from the richer territories of the east' (Section 4.2.2.1). There are 13 mixed names - that is, those that consist of at least one topographical element and one non-topographical element – identified in the NE dataset (Section 6.5, Table 11). All bar three of these are situated in southern Durham, with Waskerley as a fairly isolated more northerly example within Durham, indicated with the black arrow on Figure 17. The two other exceptions (Coupland and Howick) are located in northern Northumberland. Howick, on the Northumberland coast, is categorised with a low confidence rating, and is not located in any area identified throughout this project, or previous research, to have even possibly experienced Scandinavian settlement. Coupland, however, is part of the cluster of ON-influenced names very close to Akeld (Section 4.1.1). Figure 18 illustrates the distribution of these element types across the area covered by the Aysgarth dataset.

Figure 18: Distribution of topographical and non-topographical elements in the Aysgarth data

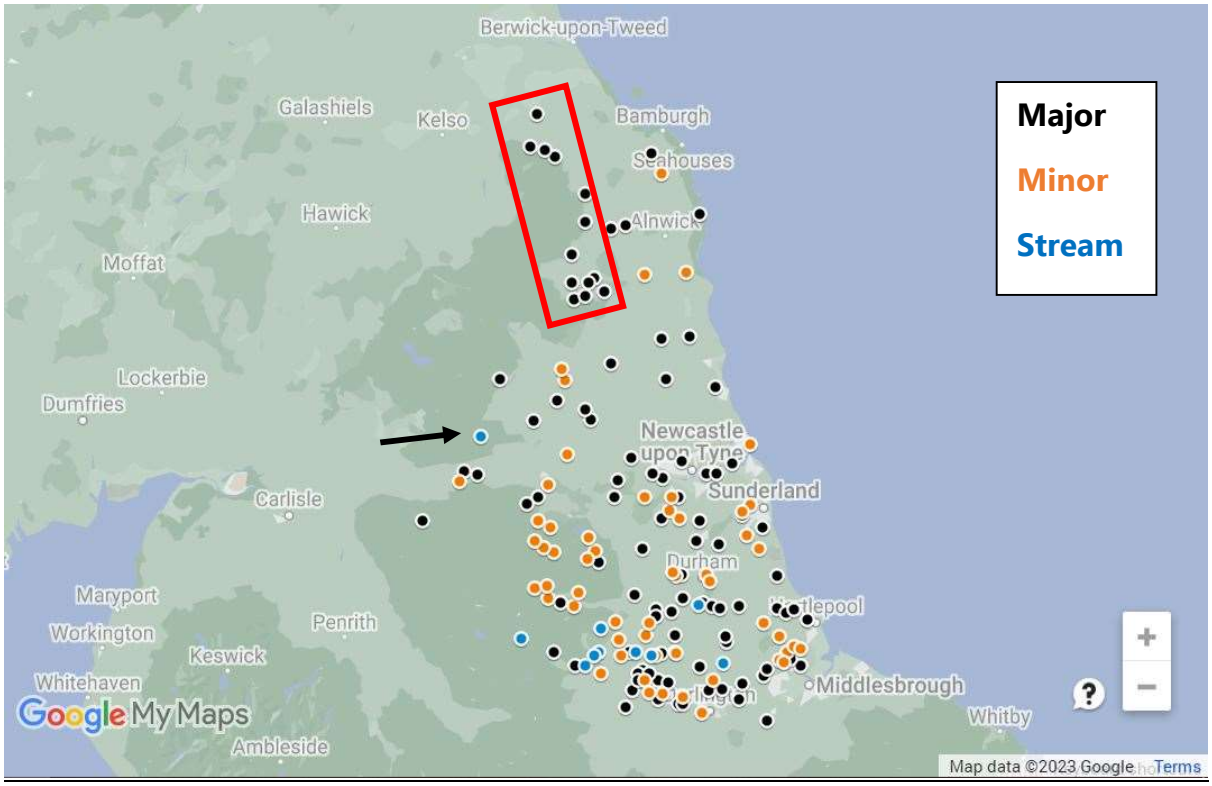


Judging by the distribution we see in Figures 17 and 18, topographical elements at first appear to be considerably more frequent around Aysgarth than they are in the NE data, but this is largely due to the data collection methods: the NE map in Figure 26 shows only those names that were extracted from the dictionary sources, which do not systematically include minor names and therefore record few examples of the topographical elements that are frequently contained in such names. Sections 6.3 and 6.9.3 shed more light on the distribution of topographical and non-topographical elements.

7.8 Major, minor and stream names

We will now analyse the distribution of major, minor and watercourse (stream) names across the areas in question. Figure 19 begins by illustrating the position of names containing these different name types across the NE dataset.

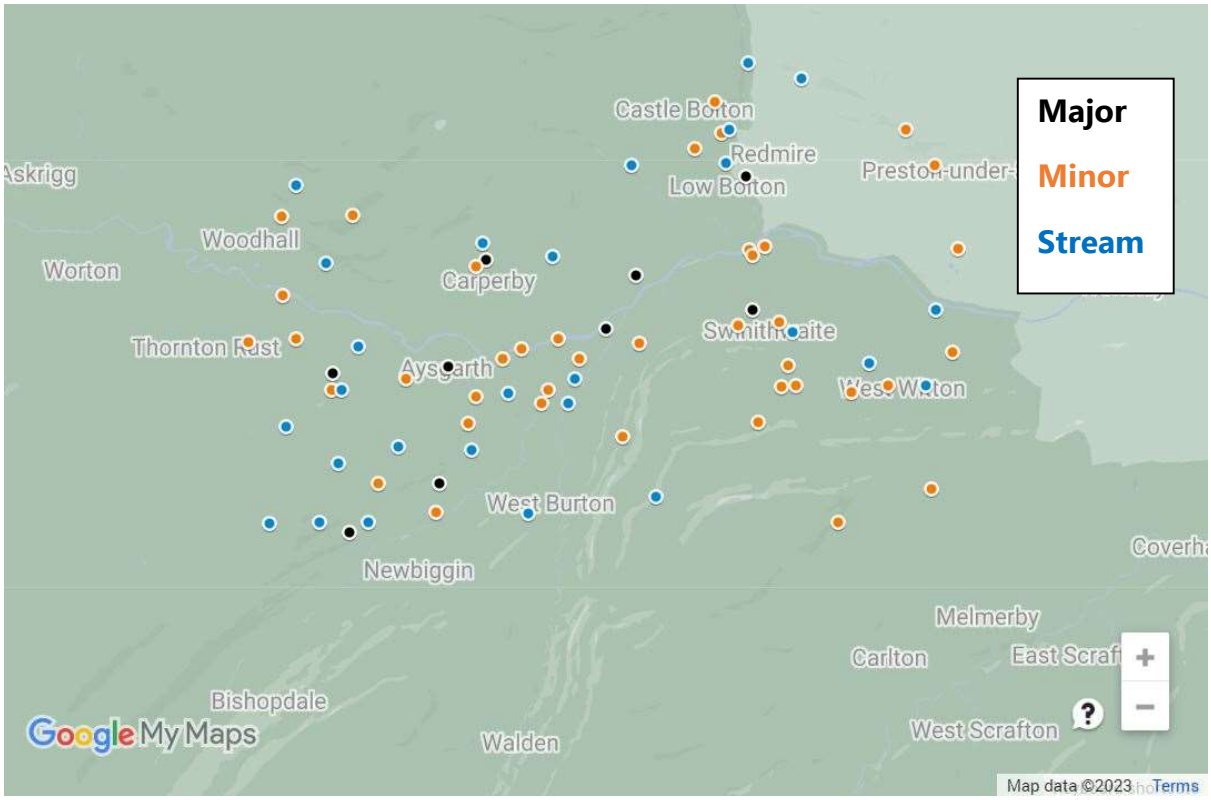
Figure 19: Distribution of major, minor and stream names in the NE (dictionary sources only)



The map in Figure 19 shows clearly that ON-influenced stream names extracted from the dictionary sources are almost exclusively seen in southern County Durham, with just one exception, Crook Burn, in south west Northumberland, indicated with a black arrow. There are quite clearly more names of all kinds in southern Durham, though the contrast between southern and northern Durham (roughly to the south and north of Durham city) is less stark than the difference to the north and south of Newcastle, situated on the Tyne, and therefore marking the boundary between Durham and Northumberland. This lends further support to the argument reiterated throughout this thesis (for example Sections 1.1 and 4.1.5) that these two counties held different statuses in Viking Age England, and were not one coherent part of a region that lay outside of the Danelaw. Within Northumberland, it is interesting to note the points contained within the red rectangle on the map in Figure 19. This marks a line of potentially ON-influenced major names hugging the eastern edge of the Cheviot hills, which appear to end at the south in a small cluster of major names around Rothbury. This illustrates rather neatly the possible route of some Vikings northwards to Scotland (see Sections 4.1.1 and 4.2.2.2).

As noted in Section 6.6 (Table 17), 31 additional minor names exhibiting possible ON influence were identified from the four OS maps consulted in this study alone which had not been recorded in the dictionary sources. There are also seven additional examples of stream names identified from the four OS maps (again see Section 6.6, Table 17), which had not been identified in the dictionaries, including Knitsley Gill and Wittongill Sike. Future study of OS maps covering more areas of the NE would go some way to deciphering to what extent the distribution of minor and stream names across the NE, shown in Figure 28, is an underrepresentation (see Section 8.5). Figure 20 presents the distribution of major, minor and stream names across the area covered by the Aysgarth dataset.

Figure 20: Distribution of major, minor and stream names in the Aysgarth data



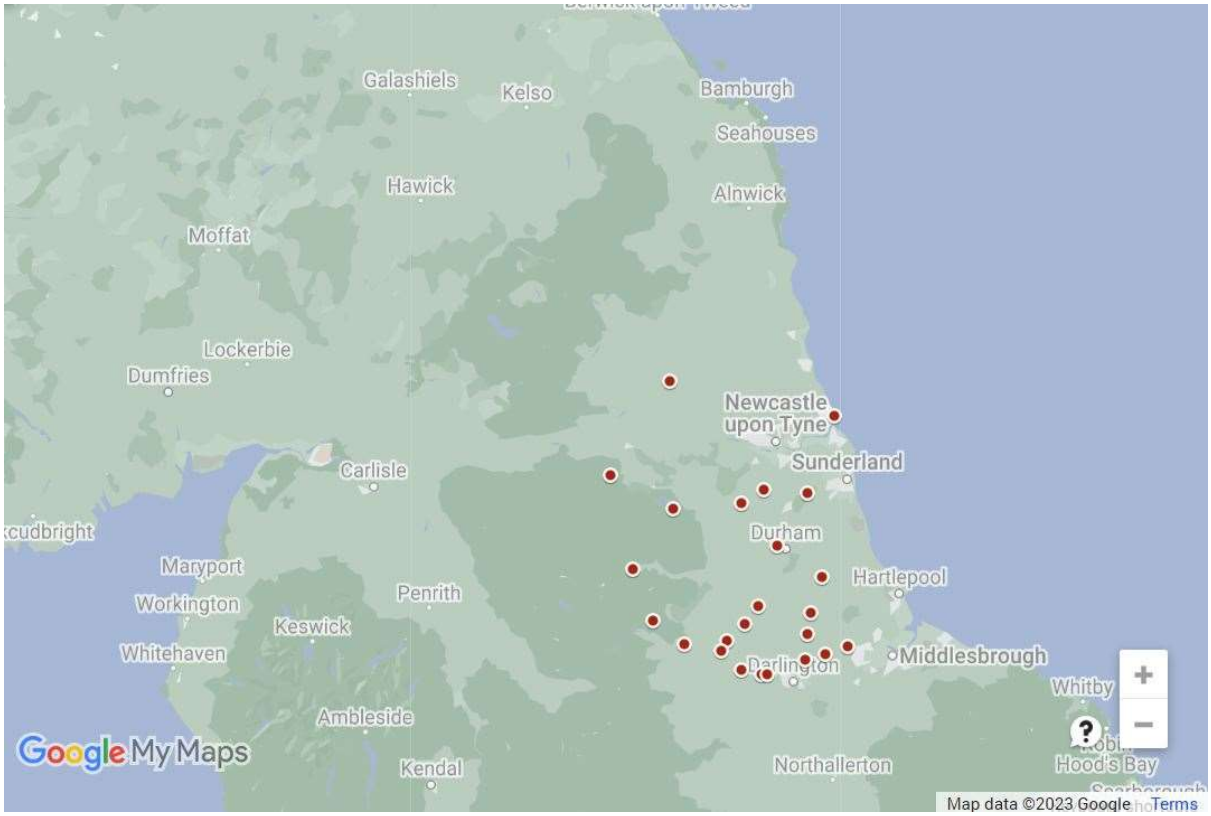
The most noticeable difference between the NE data described above and the picture that we see in the comparative case study area of Aysgarth is the prevalence of stream names in the Yorkshire context that may evidence ON influence or origin. The large ratio of minor names to major names seen on the map in Figure 20 (40 minor names vs 9 major names, Section 6.10.4, Table 35) is a possible indication of what a map of County Durham might look like if it incorporated findings from a greater number of detailed, large-scale maps, which would likely provide many more examples of minor names.

7.9 Scandinavianisation

The next data category to be analysed in detail is Scandinavianisation. Alongside all the other ways in which the data is categorised, each entry is categorised as either evidencing Scandinavianisation, or not. Names addressed throughout this section that

are categorised as examples of Scandinavianisation, then, may be instances of phonological Scandinavianisation or of element substitution (see Section 3.3.5.6).

Figure 21: Distribution of names possibly exhibiting Scandinavianisation (dictionary sources only)

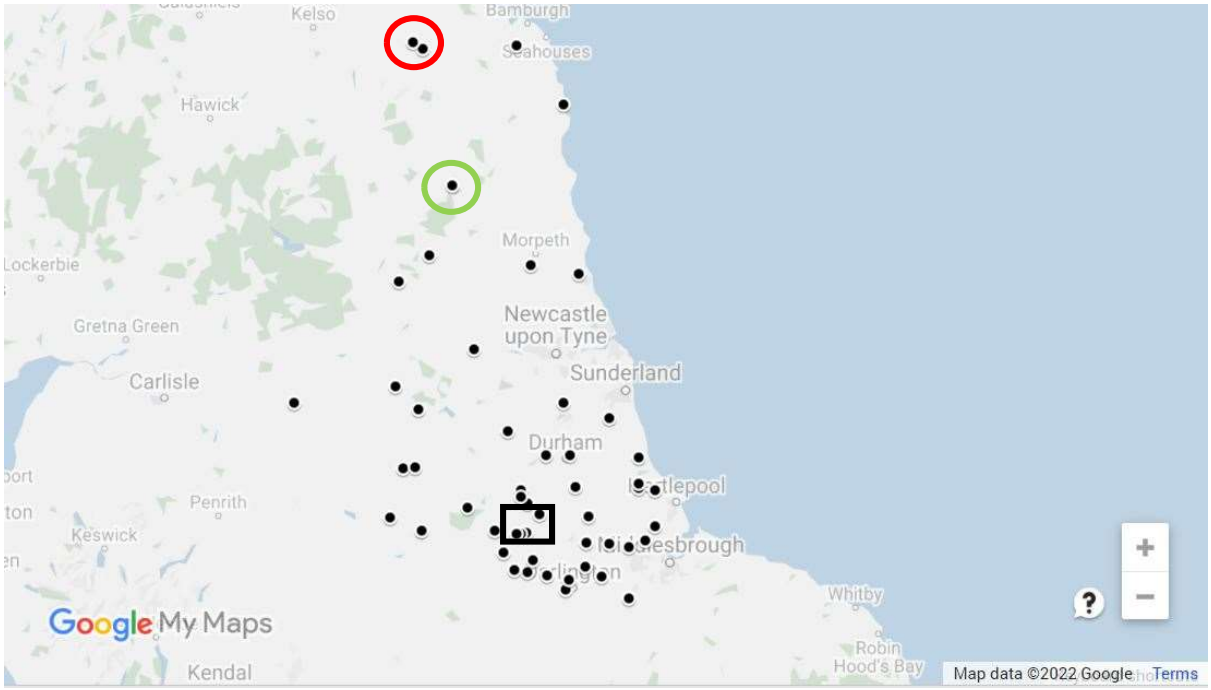


The map in Figure 21 shows a very clear contrast between the northern and southern parts of the NE, between Northumberland and Durham, in terms of the geographical distribution of place-names that appear to have undergone a process of Scandinavianisation. These results add further evidence, presented throughout this thesis, that potential ON influence on place-names is very different in County Durham compared to Northumberland. As seen in Section 6.7, Table 21, there is far greater frequency of names that may have undergone Scandinavianisation in Durham, south of the Tyne, compared to north of it in Northumberland. Within Durham, again, the map in Figure 5 shows that most Scandinavianised names are found in the south of the county, south of Durham city, with just 5 out of a total 17 cases found north of this.

7.10 ON influence on all or part of place-names

The penultimate category analysed in this chapter is whether potential ON influence is seen on all or part of each name. Figure 22 illustrates the distribution of names in the NE dataset which evidence possible ON influence on all of their elements.

Figure 22: Distribution of place-names with possible ON influence on all of its elements in the NE data (dictionary sources only)



As the map in Figure 22 shows, place-names that are recorded in the dictionary sources and that evidence possible ON influence in all of their elements are very clearly concentrated in the south of County Durham. Several of these names are situated near the banks of the Tees, and there is a small group (West and St Helen Auckland, Bishop Auckland, Copeland, indicated in a black rectangle)[24] near the banks of the Gaunless, which is itself a very likely example of a wholly Norse name.[25] Three of the ten names within Northumberland that exhibit possible ON influence on all of their elements are

[24] *Auka-land* ('additional land' (Watts 2002a: 10, 145)), *kaupa-land* ('purchased land' (Watts 2002a: 29))

[25] *Gagnlauss* ('profitless' (Watts 2002a: 48))

Akeld, Coupland and Tosson.[26] Akeld and Coupland, marked within the red circle on the map in Figure 22, are part of the Akeld cluster of potential ON names (see Sections 4.1.1 and 4.2.2.2), and Tosson, marked with the green circle, is part of the Rothbury cluster. This constitutes compelling evidence for some level of Norse speech in these locations, given that a wholly Norse name is more likely than a hybrid name to have been coined by a ON speaker (Section 3.3.1 and 3.3.3). Little can be deduced from the distribution of wholly Norse names in the Aysgarth data that is depicted in Figure 23. Many of the names are located near the banks of the Ure, but this may reflect the distribution of settlements in early medieval North Yorkshire generally.

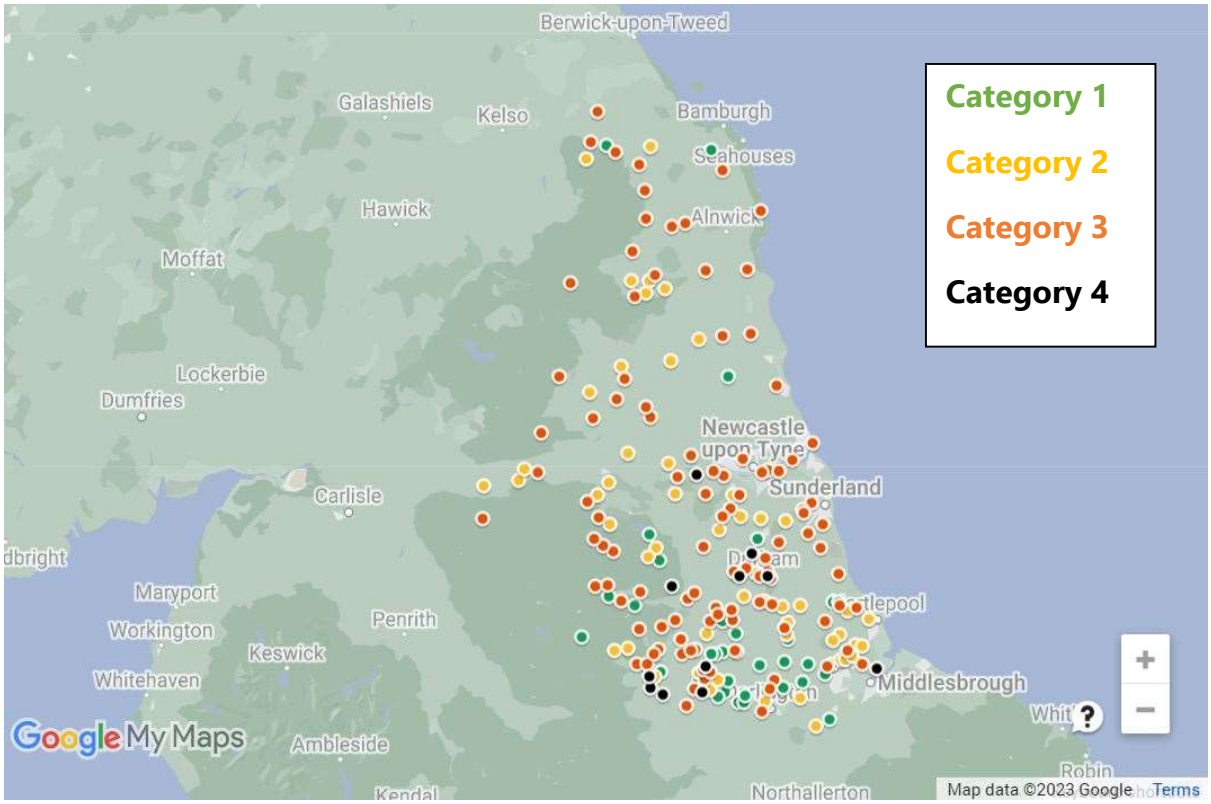
Figure 23: Distribution of place-names with possible ON influence on all of its elements in the Aysgarth data

[26] Akeld *á* ('river, stream' (Smith 1956a: 1)) plus *kelda* ('spring, marshy place' (Smith 1956b: 3)), Mawer (1920: 2–3), Coupland *kaupa-land* ('purchase land' (Mawer 1920: 52, 56)), and Tosson *tosvin* ('field of tow or flax' (Mawer 1920: 199).

7.11 Confidence ratings

Figure 24 illustrates the geographical distribution of names belonging to the four different confidence rating categories, from 1 (the most likely candidates of ON influence) to 4 (the least likely).

Figure 24: Distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories in the NE (dictionary sources only)



The map in Figure 24 shows that names in the highest confidence rating category (category 1), which constitute the cases that are most likely to exhibit ON influence, are concentrated in the south and west of County Durham, with a handful in more northerly parts of Durham and only three rather isolated examples appearing in Northumberland (Coupland, Lucker and Tranwell). This distribution is indicative of some level of Scandinavian presence, speech or settlement in the southernmost part of the NE. It is unclear why there would be such a clear distinction between southern and western Durham, on the one hand, and the other parts of the NE, on the other, if

this were not the case. This interpretation is something that only becomes clear when looking at the details of the geographical distribution of the place-names and relevant features, as discussed throughout this chapter, which shows the importance of doing so in addition to grouping and categorising the data alone, as seen in Chapter 6.

Figures 25(a), (b), (c) and (d) show the distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories across each of the source OS maps consulted in this project.

Figure 25(a): Distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories on the Durham A map (OS, Durham XXIII)

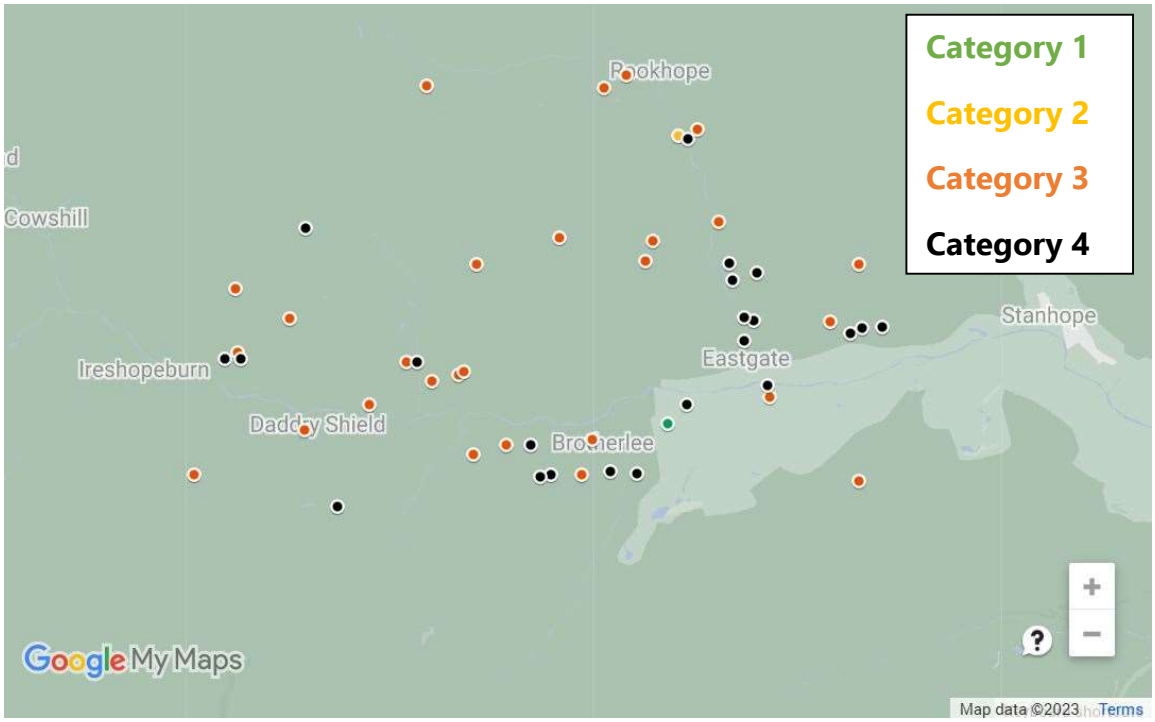


Figure 25(b): Distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories on the Durham B map (OS Durham XVIII)

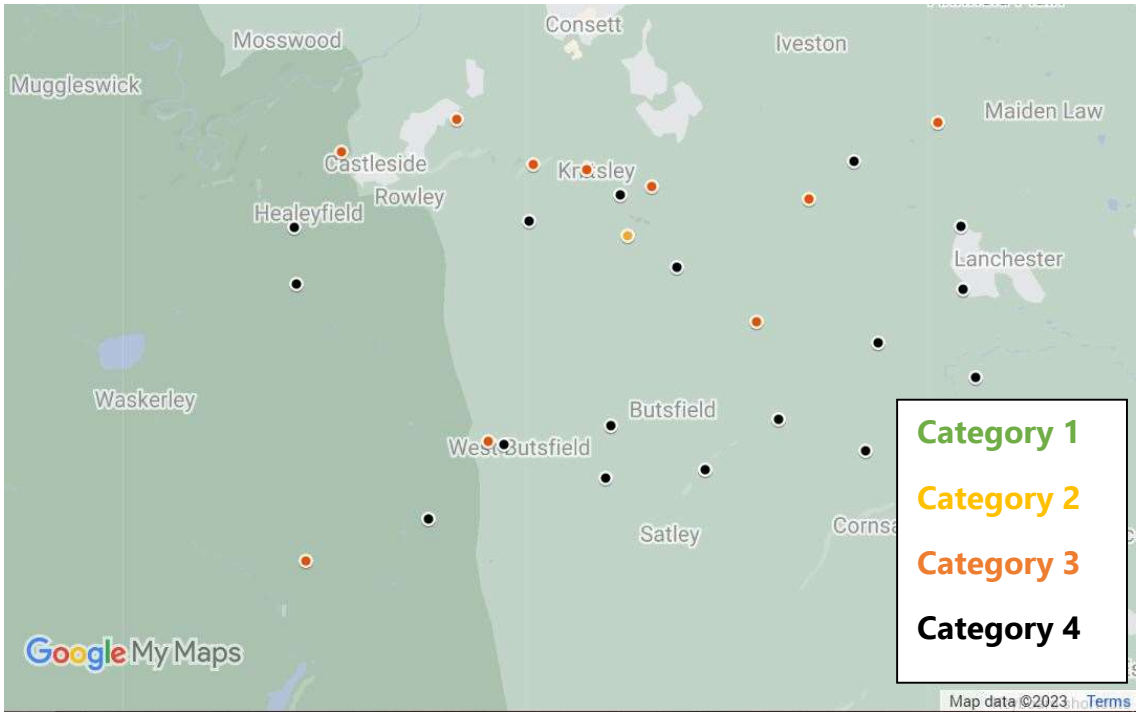


Figure 25(c): Distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories on the Northumberland A map (OS Northumberland XLIV)

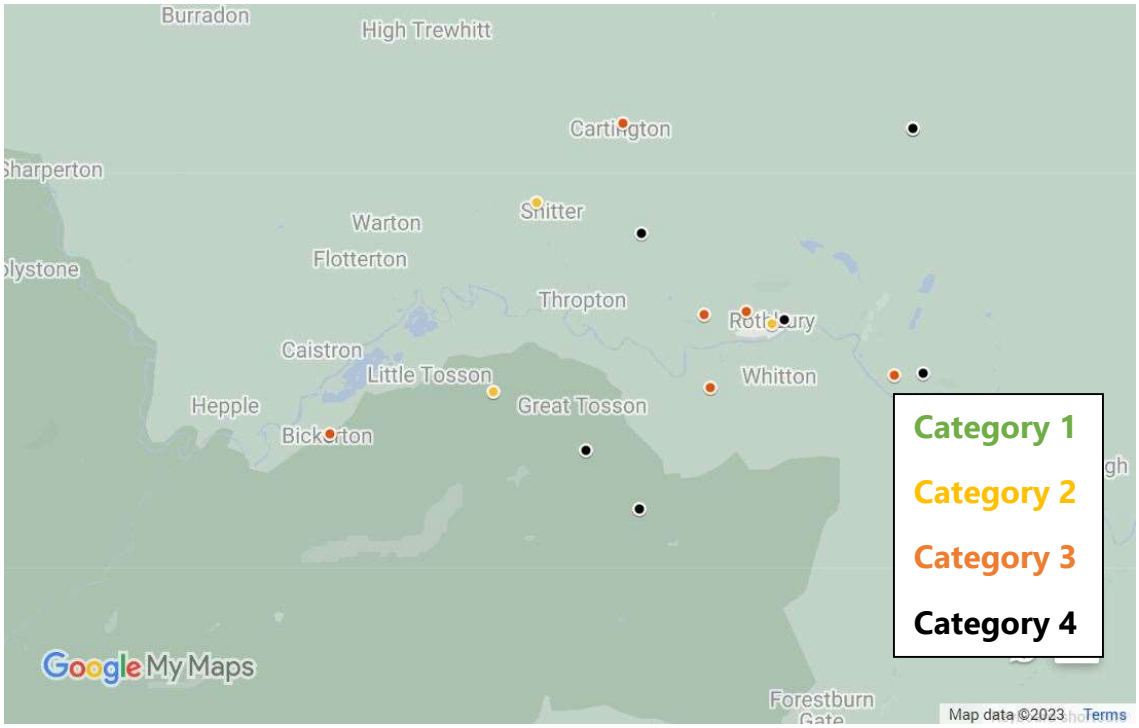
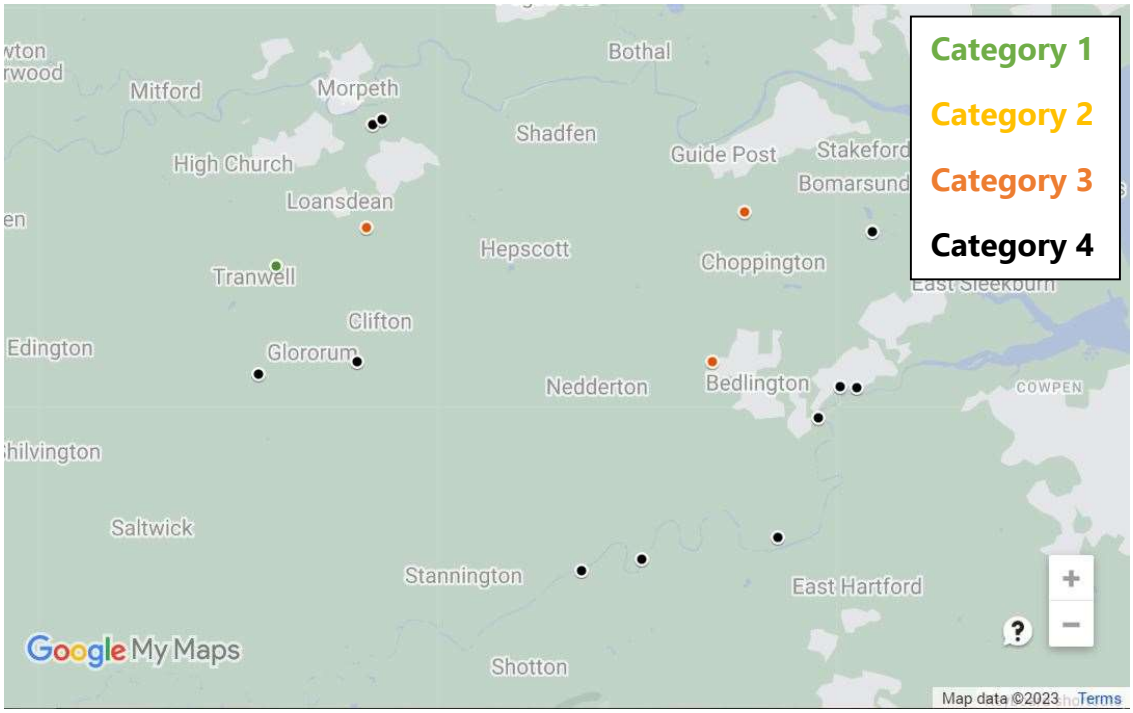


Figure 25(d): Distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories on the Northumberland B map (OS Northumberland LXXII)

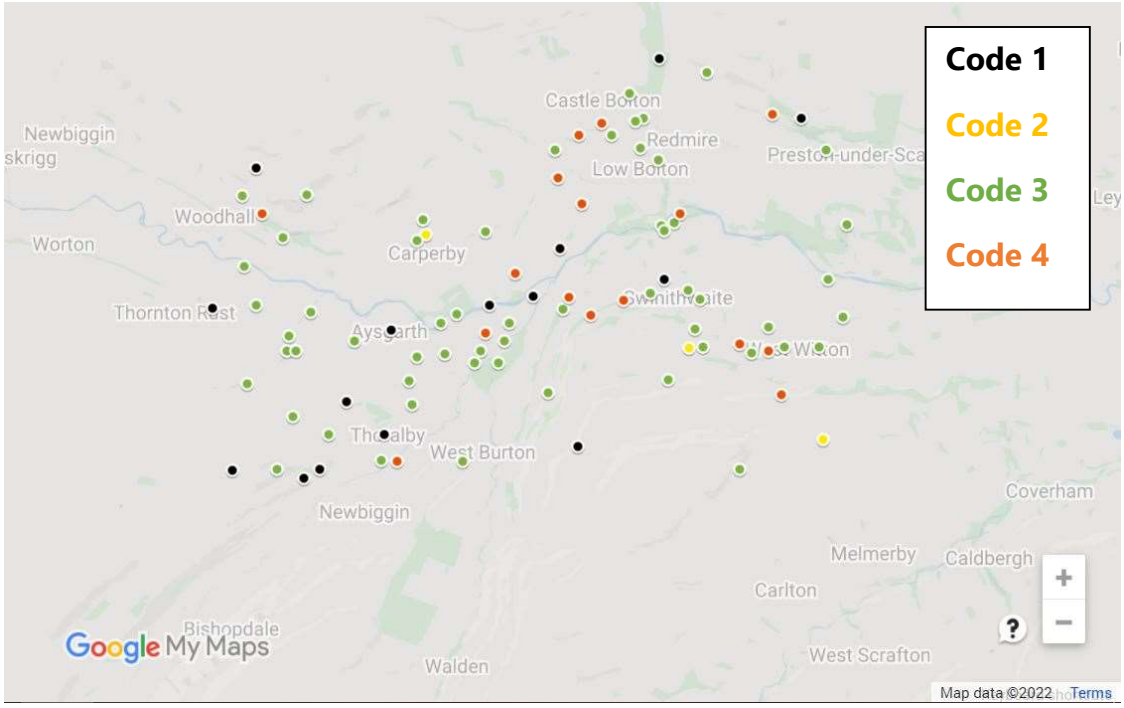


The lack of names that belong to the highest confidence rating category (category 1) in the area around Eastgate on the Durham A map (Figure 25(a)) is unexpected, given the weight of evidence analysed throughout this chapter, for example Section 7.2 and 7.5, and in Sections 4.1.1 and 4.3 above, which suggests that Scandinavian presence and ON speech may have been present in southern Durham. Nonetheless, the large number of names belonging to category 3 on the Durham A map illustrates the greater number of place-names using ON elements that were naturalised into English in this area, as most names containing a naturalised element belong to this category (see Section 5.4.3). Names belonging to category 3 are considerably more frequent in the area covered by the Durham A map (Figure 25(a)) than on any of the other maps consulted (Figures 25(b), (c) and (d)), however, which supports Townend's (2000: 98) 'geographical inertia' theory relating to the lack of diffusion of place-name elements over space (Section 3.3.3). If toponymical elements diffused in the same way that lexical loans do, we might expect the frequency of names in category 3 seen on Figure 25(a),

i.e. in the area covered by the Durham A map, to be similar across different areas of the NE. The higher frequency of category 3 names on the Durham A map than on the other maps in turn points to ON speakers around Eastgate.

The presence of a category 1 name on the Northumberland B map (Tranwell, Figure 25(d)) is unexpected and very hard to explain. It belongs to confidence category 1 because of its possible ON specific *trani* ('crane' (Smith 1956b: 185)), an element not naturalised into English, and because of the analogy with two similar names in Yorkshire, and one in Cheshire, presented by Mawer (1920: 199). Given its isolated position, with respect to the lack of any neighbouring names that also belong to the higher confidence rating categories and therefore constitute strong cases of possible ON influence, a clearer interpretation of this name may emerge if or when further research into minor names in this area of Northumberland is conducted. Figure 26 presents the distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories in the Aysgarth data.

Figure 26: Distribution of names belonging to the different confidence rating categories on the Aysgarth map



When it comes to the different confidence rating categories, the names recorded on the Aysgarth map (Figure 26) do not exhibit any clear patterning in the way that some of the names on the NE maps do (Figures 25(a) to (d)). Apart from the fact that there are more names belonging to category 3 and relatively few examples of names belonging to category 2 (see also Section 6.10.6, Table 37), names in the different confidence rating categories do not appear to cluster together in any obvious way. Names belonging to categories 1 and 3 are spread across the area covered by the Aysgarth map. Given this is an area within the Danelaw as traditionally defined, where ON influence on place-names is more frequent than on any of the OS maps covering the NE (reflected in Section 6.10, Table 31), the large number of names belonging to confidence categories 3 and 4 on the Aysgarth map, i.e. the names considered to be least likely to represent ON influence, might indicate that the Durham A map, with its preponderance of names belonging to category 3 and lack of names belonging to category 1 (Figure 25(a)), might also reflect an area of Scandinavian settlement, like the Aysgarth map does.

7.12 Summary

Using Watts' (1988–89) study of ON place-names in County Durham, I suggest there are (at least) five groups of ON-influenced place-names in the county: (1) between Gainford and Crook; (2) south east Durham; (3) south west of Chester-le-Street; (4) the upper Wear valley, from Clint's Wood to Ireshopeburn; and (5) the upper Tees valley from Harmire in Barnard Castle to Etter's Gill. Evidence is presented throughout this chapter, summarised here, that supports the idea of Scandinavian settlement in all of these areas except group (3) to the south west of Chester-le-Street. The south eastern Durham group may represent the tract of land granted to Scula by Ragnald in the early 900s (Section 7.2). I propose that outside of Durham, there may also have been Scandinavian settlement, or at least the presence of ON speakers, around Rothbury and Akeld in Northumberland.

According to Watts, there is a clear absence of Norse influence on place-names in the far north-west and the far north-east of the county (Section 7.1). Place-name dictionaries illustrate ON influence across the whole region, other than in the far west and far north-east of Northumberland, and in a small area directly north of Newcastle (Section 7.2, Figure 7(a)). The dictionaries identify considerably more instances of ON influence on place-names in Durham than in Northumberland (Section 7.2, Figure 7(a)). The four large-scale OS maps that were examined in detail in Sections 7.2 (Figure 8) provide additional evidence that primarily takes the form of additional minor names. Many more are found on the Durham A map representing the area around Eastgate, in the Wear valley, than in the other three areas studied in detail using these maps (Section 7.2, Figure 8, see also Section 6.1, Table 2). The makeup of minor names around Eastgate mirrors what we see in the area around Aysgarth, in the traditional Danelaw, within Anglo-Scandinavian Deira ruled from York (Section 7.8). In this respect, the area of Durham around Eastgate has more in common with the Yorkshire area of Aysgarth than it does with of the areas around Rothbury or Bedlington (the Northumberland A and B maps, in northern and central Northumberland), which are situated in what would have been Bernicia, ruled from Bamburgh. This supports my argument that the Tyne, between Durham and Northumberland, is a more credible northern border of the Danelaw than the Tees, between North Yorkshire and Durham. The contrast seen in the overall distribution of possibly ON-influenced names to the north and south of the Tyne supports my suggestion that County Durham and Northumberland were not one coherent area within Anglo-Saxon Bernicia. The distribution of the data overall also illustrates clusters of possible ON-influenced names around Rothbury and Akeld.

As noted in Section 6.2 (Table 3), the five elements *dalr, gata, gil, kjarr* and *krókr* are the most common kind of ON influence in the NE database, after instances of ON anthroponyms and phonological Scandinavianisation. There is no clear geographical patterning of *dalr* in the NE, though since this element appears only on the OS maps

where some Scandinavian presence is more likely (the A maps, around Eastgate in south west Durham and Rothbury in central Northumberland, Section 7.3, Figures 10(a) to 10(d)), it may be the case that *dalr* is found only where ON speakers were present. This is corroborated by the usage of modern *dale* as a lexical (non-toponymical) noun in Yorkshire but not in the NE (see Heslop 1892–1894: 318), and the distribution of names in *dalr* identified by the dictionaries in southern Durham and the Pennines (Section 7.3, Figures 9 and 10(a)). There is no clear patterning of *kjarr* or *krókr* across the NE either, with sporadic instances across the region. A similar patchy distribution of these two elements is also seen in the Aysgarth data, suggesting that a lack of clear clusters or high frequency of *kjarr* and *krókr* in the NE data does not preclude Scandinavian settlement there. Analysis of the minor names recorded on the OS maps reveals *gata* to be more prevalent than indicated by studying place-name dictionaries alone (Section 7.3, Figure 10 compared with Figures 10(a) to 10(d). Naturally, not all of the instances of *gata* identified on the OS maps will be instances of ON *gata* rather than OE *ġeat*, but some clearly do indicate roads, and indeed any that clearly refer to gate(ways) were not included in the database. There are no instances of *gil* on either Northumberland OS map (Section 7.3, Figures 10(c) and 10(d)), nor are any identified in Northumberland by any of the place-name dictionary sources (Section 7.3, Figure 10). Based on this evidence alone, this element appears to be absent in this county. In contrast, four instances of *gil* are identified on the Durham B map, around Lanchester in central County Durham, which were not mentioned in the dictionaries (Section 7.3, Figure 11(b)).

Grimston hybrids in the NE are concentrated in south-east Durham (Section 7.4, Figure 13), which may be indicative of Scandinavian settlement and re-naming of pre-existing sites in this area (Sections 3.2.1 and 3.3.5.1(b)). The distribution of Grimston hybrids in the NE, too, supports my suggestion that Durham and Northumberland were not one cohesive Bernician, Anglo-Saxon unit in the Viking Age. Names made up of an ON anthroponym plus *bý* are concentrated between Gainford and Crook, stretching north

from the middle Tees valley (Section 7.5, Figure 14). This area has already been identified (Section 7.1, Figures 5(a) and (b)) as one with a relatively dense concentration of names that might exhibit ON influence, and this taken alongside the presence of names made up of ON anthroponyms plus *býr* there lends support to the idea of Scandinavian influence in this area. This type of name may indicate settlement of previously unoccupied sites north of Gainford (Section 3.2.1). The prevalence of other ON elements alongside element *býr* suggests that English may not have been the base language of such names in the NE, and as names of this type have been identified in Durham, this points to ON speech south of the Tyne (Section 7.5).

Place-names containing likely ON elements in the two areas of Northumberland that may have experienced Viking presence or settlement (Akeld and Rothbury, Section 7.6, Figure 16(a)) lend support to the suggestion of relatively isolated Scandinavian settlement around these two settlements (Sections 4.1 and 4.2.2.2). Across the whole region, likely ON elements are primarily found in southern Durham, particularly along the Tees, and in western Durham (Section 7.6 (15(a)). In the Aysgarth area of Yorkshire, these elements are found in a similar geographical context, mainly along the Ure (Section 7.6, Figure 16(b)). These locations near to rivers may be significant as an indication that the places in questions represent the Viking takeover of Anglo-Saxon settlements, rather than the creation of new settlements in unused territory.

Topographical ON elements are rare in Northumberland and in eastern Durham, and ON watercourse names are seen almost exclusively in Durham (Section 7.7, Figure 17). There are considerably more ON watercourse names in the Aysgarth data than in the NE data as a whole, which shows another parallel between the traditional Danelaw, in Anglo-Scandinavian Deira, and County Durham, rather than between Northumberland and County Durham (Section 7.7, Figure 18). Whether ON influence on watercourse names is as prevalent in Durham as it is in Aysgarth would require further research, examining more areas of the county at the level of detail provided in the OS maps. If such influence is less extensive in Durham than in North Yorkshire, but far more

extensive in Durham than in Northumberland, this would provide evidence pointing to County Durham as a buffer zone between Scandinavianised Deira to the south and independent Anglo-Saxon Bernicia to the north (Section 4.3). Further evidence for this argument is reflected in the frequency of Scandinavianised place-names in County Durham, which are absent in Northumberland (Section 7.9).

There are considerably more place-names exhibiting possible ON on all of their elements in Durham than in Northumberland (Section 7.10, Figure 22). Three (Akeld, Coupland, Tosson) out of the ten possible wholly ON names in Northumberland are located in the two areas of Northumberland that may have experienced Viking presence or settlement, providing further evidence for possible ON speech here.

Across the whole region, names that belong to the highest confidence rating category (code 1) are concentrated in southern and western Durham (Section 7.11, Figure 24). This clear distribution pattern suggests robust evidence in these areas for the presence of ON speakers or at least more ON influence, as it is difficult to imagine what explanation there would be for this patterning otherwise. There are few names belonging to the highest confidence rating category in the area covered by the Durham A map around Eastgate, where ON influence is expected, but the large number of names in this area that belong to the third confidence rating category (category 3) — larger than in the other areas studied closely via OS maps — illustrates the preponderance of elements naturalised into English from ON (Section 7.11, Figure 25(a)). This high frequency of ON elements naturalised into English in this area supports Townend's (2000: 98) theory of the 'geographical inertia' of place-name elements: if such elements diffused over geographical space, many more names belonging to this code 3 category would be expected across all the OS maps studied. This in turn points to ON speech around Eastgate.

In sum, analysis of the geographical distribution of the names recorded in the database indicates the presence of ON speakers in southern and westernmost County Durham, and isolated groups around Akeld and Rothbury in Northumberland. It also supports

the idea that Durham and Northumberland were not one Bernician, independently Anglo-Saxon-maintained area. While this was suggested by findings presented in Chapter 6 in analysing the categorisation and related groupings of the data (summarised in Section 6.11.8), examining the geographical distribution of this categorised data results in a far clearer picture, and more robust analyses, as summarised here.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

This study set out to provide a comprehensive account of potentially ON-influenced place-names in what is now County Durham and Northumberland, addressing the fact that previous work on this topic has presented conflicting accounts of the place-name evidence and of the nature of Scandinavian settlement in the NE. Discrepancies exist both across and within sources, and this has likely led scholars to underestimate the amount of ON place-name data available. In particular, the previous chapters have addressed the following research questions.

(1) What is the extent and distribution of ON place-names in the NE?

(2) What does the extent and the distribution of ON place-names indicate, if anything, about Scandinavian settlement in the region?

(3) What are the implications of the extent and distribution of ON place-names, and Scandinavian settlement, for our understanding of the extent of the Danelaw at its northern border?

By answering each of these research questions, it was possible to come to the following new conclusions:

(1) There is strong evidence of considerably more ON influence on the place-names in County Durham than has previously been thought, but not in Northumberland, other than perhaps in small, isolated areas around Rothbury in central Northumberland, and Akeld in the north of the county.

(2) There was Scandinavian rule and settlement in County Durham.

(3) County Durham was effectively a frontier zone between the Danelaw and the territory further north that was more fully under the control of the Anglo-Saxons. The River Tyne is therefore a better candidate for the northern border of the Danelaw than the River Tees.

In order to address these questions, the discussion presented above first examined the large body of work relating to Scandinavian settlement and ON place-names in other regions of England. It offered a detailed analysis of two kinds of material: (1) the small

number of modern studies, and even smaller amount of medieval writing, that provide information about ON place-names and Scandinavian presence in the NE, and (2) novel place-name data, compiled from sources not consulted in previous studies of the region. The toponymic data consists of place-names of possible ON origin or influence extracted from dictionaries — especially Watts (2002a) and Mawer (1920) — and first edition OS maps. The material extracted from these sources was compiled in a database of place-names of potential ON origin or influence in the NE, highlighting factors such as location within the region, component elements, and many more. Subsequent analysis of the database focused on identifying any patterning in the place-names in terms of these key factors, and/or in relation to their distribution across County Durham and Northumberland.

8.1 The frequency and distribution of ON place-names in the NE (Research Question 1)

The most commonly used and most useful context for analysing place-names is the information provided by other neighbouring place-names. This is a well-established principle in place-name study generally but has been absent in virtually all work on ON influence in the NE to date. Because of the lack of studies on minor names — other than one short paper covering one small area (Watts 2002b) — previous studies did not identify any significant evidence of ON influence on the place-names of the NE, either in terms of the number of cases or any patterns in the distribution of relevant names. This project has identified a substantial number of instances of ON influence on place-names (237 instances, discounting the names belonging to the lowest confidence rating category). This consists of a sizeable number of cases both of major names (101 of the 236 cases, or 43%) and minor names (86 of 236 cases, or 36%), as well as others such as stream names (see Section 6.6, Table 16). 72% of names extracted from the OS map sources are minor names (Section 6.6, Table 17). It is this minor name evidence that constitutes the kind of 'strong pattern of names [that] can be convincing' (Abrams and Parsons 2004: 394). The OS maps consulted in this project

cover just four small areas within the NE, and further study of more OS maps across the region is likely to reveal far more evidence of possible ON influence. This suggests that a large amount of such evidence has been disregarded in previous studies that claim little to no ON influence on place-names north of the Tees.

Data collected from these extremely detailed OS maps, in particular, has shed light on the wealth of ON influence that can be identified across County Durham. Even the data collected from place-name dictionaries reveals considerably more potential cases of ON influence on place-names in the region than even the authors of those same dictionaries seem to have noticed or considered noteworthy. Again, this may partly be due to the lack of work on minor names. Bearing in mind Townend's (2000: 99) suggestion that there may be more ON-influenced place-names than we have on record, the full extent of ON influence in Durham may be greater than even the results of the present project suggest.

8.2 Vikings in the NE (Research Question 2)

Minor name distribution, with most possible ON minor names in the dataset located in southern and western County Durham, and a distinctly lower frequency of such names in Northumberland, points to Scandinavian rule and settlement in at least some parts of Durham (Section 7.8, Figure 19). Further collection of minor name data would illustrate the possible settlement distribution pattern throughout Durham (see Section 8.5). Collation of evidence for the presence of the Viking leaders Halfdan, Guthred and Ragnald in the NE, in the 870s, 880s and 910s respectively, supports this (Sections 4.1.1, 4.1.2 and 4.1.3).

There is evidence suggesting that Halfdan shared out land to his followers partly north of the Tees. This may be because of, or may be a factor that contributed to, County Durham's status as effectively part of the Danelaw. Without analysis of a more extensive collection of minor names in a wider cross-section of the region, it is difficult to assess exactly where Halfdan's followers may have settled and farmed. But it is fair

to say that this Viking presence in the NE has been very much understated in previous research, which simply claims there was no Scandinavian influence, settlement or rule north of the Tees. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ChronA 875.1) states that upon reaching the River Tyne, Halfdan's army *geeode* the land. The OE word *geeode* could mean 'conquered', or simply 'went over'. Even if the latter translation is more accurate, and even if Halfdan's land was shared out and ploughed exclusively south of the Tees, it remains the case that there was a Danish army, and therefore Viking activity, at the River Tyne in the 870s. This project identified ON influence in two small clusters of major names showing possible ON influence (Akeld and Coupland, and Rothbury, Snitter and three others), supplemented by some minor names (Crookham, Troughburn, Whinbank and others) and some names located between these two clusters (Ilderton, Ingleton and Scrainwood). These could represent Halfdan and his army travelling northwards to Scotland, leaving some settlers on the journey north or the return journey south. These may be the settlers 'scattered in Northumberland' that Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 275) mention in passing and without further detail. Toponymic evidence analysed in the present project also supports this (see Section 8.4).

Guthred granted the Community of St Cuthbert land in the north-easternmost area of County Durham, between what is now Gateshead, Chester-le-Street, Sunderland and South Shields, and permitted the Community to buy land in the south-east of the county, in exchange for the Community's support. These dealings between a Viking king and the Community, and the number of names both major and minor throughout Durham, suggest that ecclesiastical land ownership did not impede Viking activity in the county. This situation represents a significant cross-Tyne contrast. To the south of the Tyne, there was a Viking king making deals with Anglo-Saxon Church leaders, while to the north, the Earls of Bernicia based at Bamburgh were looking to southern England for alliances. In discussing Guthred's dealings with the Community, which occurred some ten years after Halfdan wintered at the Tyne, the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*

(Johnson South 2002: 52–53) mentions the location of a Danish army in relation to the Tyne, suggesting this army was based near to this river. The land Guthred granted to the Community was bordered in the north by the Tyne, suggesting ownership or the conquering of land right up to this river, not just slightly beyond the Tees.

Ragnald, an Irish-Norwegian Viking king, was in charge of eastern County Durham in the 910s. This may have been a temporary situation, and the extent of related settlement of Irish-Norwegian followers is unclear, but this does not cast any doubt on earlier Danish settlement in south-east Durham, for example. The Battle of Corbridge, in which Ragnald defeated the Earls of Bamburgh and the Scots, took place at the Tyne, showing this river to be a meeting point of Vikings and Bernicians.

The conclusion is that near-contemporary as well as modern discussions of the circumstances of Halfdan, Guthred and Ragnald all contain references to the River Tyne, and not the River Tees.

8.3 Borders (Research Question 3)

One of the firm findings of the present study is that contrast in ON influence on place-names to the north and south of the River Tees is much less stark than has been suggested in previous studies (see especially Sections 2.7 and 4.1.5.2). There is more of a contrast to the north and south of the River Tyne, though it must be emphasised that there does appear to be considerably less ON influence on place-names in County Durham than there is south of the Tees in Yorkshire. County Durham may well have been a frontier zone, then. The findings of this project do not support a view of the Tees as a linear border between (a) the Danelaw and an independent Anglo-Saxon stronghold, nor (b) Deira and Bernicia. More evidence has been found to support the Tyne as a (permeable) linear border (see Sections 2.7, 4.1.5.2 and 4.3). As far as the Viking Age period is concerned, County Durham might be better considered as part of Deira, rather than Bernicia, or better still, as a frontier zone between Deira and Bernicia, as well as between the Danelaw to the south and Anglo-Saxon-maintained lands to

the north. In near-contemporary documents, the Bernician lords at Bamburgh are never mentioned in relation to Durham land-holdings and deals; indeed, they were rivals to the Community of St Cuthbert in terms of land ownership in the NE.

While both the Tees and the Tyne are natural landscape boundaries, this project's findings suggest the Tyne is the more likely to have been, in Viking Age England, a political border. The picture that emerges from the argument presented in this thesis of Durham as a frontier zone, and as a county with mainly English major names but substantial ON influence on minor names at least in some areas, is also supported by Cameron's (1973: 41) observation that minor ON names around an English major name are diagnostic of a habitation site at the edge of Scandinavian settlement.

8.4 Do ON place-names in the NE represent Scandinavian settlement?

The contrasts in the distribution of ON-influenced place-names between Durham and Northumberland, together with evidence for Viking rule and settlement in Durham but not in Northumberland (other than in two isolated locations), leads me to support the argument that ON place-names typically represent Viking settlement. It is difficult to explain the contrast between the toponymy of the two counties of the NE otherwise. Overall, therefore, the findings of this project are in line with Townend's (2000: 98) suggestion that 'there is no reason to think that ON place-names are substantially found in areas in which ON was never spoken'. Following this, I propose that the vast majority of Northumberland place-names in the database, other than those in and between the Rothbury and Akeld clusters (outlined in Section 8.2), are either late formations coined in analogy with other names in other locations, or could be ruled out as examples of the proposed ON element or influence type if further evidence was available

Although it is also the case that some Durham names in the database will of course be instances of ME or later English speakers using a borrowing from ON without knowing its etymology, and are thus only extremely loosely connected to 'Vikings', the sheer

number of potential ON-influenced minor names, and the presence of possible ON major river names, the distribution of names made up of an ON anthroponym plus *býr* and the distribution of Grimston hybrids, indicates that this cannot be applied to all the data. Any attempt to dismiss the evidence of ON influence in County Durham faces having to explain, for example, the etymology and significance of the wholly ON river name Gaunless (ON *gagnlauss*, 'profitless' (Watts 2002a: 48)) without positing local ON speech. An important conclusion of this project is that ON influence on river names and the use of elements that were not naturalised into English, and are not ambiguously ON/OE in origin, constitute evidence of the presence of ON speakers in the NE of England. To my knowledge, this has only been briefly suggested once before (Higham 1986: 311), and the only scholar to have focused on ON influence on NE place-names specifically, Victor Watts, argued that there is 'no support [for] any notion that Scandinavian speech was ever a living thing north of the Tees' (Watts 1988–89: 45). Watts (1988–89: 45) himself argues that in the Danelaw, at least, an English major name does not necessarily indicate a lack of Scandinavian settlement, and that names of smaller features must be studied to assess such settlement. I argue that this also applies in County Durham, and that the weight of evidence discussed throughout this project points to County Durham effectively being part of the Danelaw.

8.5 Future research

There are a number of areas that future studies could usefully explore in order to test or supplement the findings of the present project. One such study might look into the ON anthroponyms contained within the NE data, which could reveal some to have been naturalised into English and regularly given to people of non-Scandinavian ethnicity, and others to never knowingly be used by or given to people outside of ON-speaking populations.

A larger-scale study of the ON-influenced place-names of at least part of North Yorkshire could sit alongside the present study, following the same method that was applied to the NE in using place-name dictionaries to extract all names exhibiting ON influence, alongside

detailed, early OS maps. Or, the present project's dataset could be developed much further, by studying more of the OS maps covering County Durham and Northumberland. Sourcing early spellings for the names not contained within the dictionaries would add enormous value to the dataset. It was beyond the scope of this project to use the thousands of charters housed in the Durham Cathedral Archive, for example, due to the fact that these charters are not, at the time of writing, systematised geographically, chronologically or alphabetically. Consultation of more medieval documentation such as this, if at all possible, would be a worthwhile project.

The significance and distribution of at least two ON elements appear to be worthy of their own study, given that they appear across County Durham. The source dictionaries only note a handful of names in northern Durham containing possible instances of *gata* ('way, path, road, street', Smith 1956a: 196), but close study of the source OS maps suggests many more potential examples in the county (Section 7.3, Figures 11(a) to 11(d)). There are no instances of *gil* on either Northumberland OS map, nor are any identified in Northumberland by any place-name dictionary consulted. In contrast, four instances of *gil* are identified on the Durham 'B' map (Durham XVIII, around Lanchester), though none of these was mentioned in the dictionaries. A future study of the distribution of both *gata* and *gil* in County Durham would be most interesting, given that *gil*, at least, is considered to be 'diagnostic' of Viking settlement (Watts 2004: 219).

Another avenue of further study could focus on the details of how the process of the diffusion of place-name elements differs from that of lexis. An important piece of research that is worth bearing in mind for future studies of a more sociolinguistic nature on the subject of lexical vs. onomastic diffusion is Franco et al. (2019), who discuss the importance of semantics and geography (Franco et al. 2019: 26). The differences in diffusion across the onomasticon and across the lexicon could be explored in light of different models of diffusion, including those that have been developed in studies of language variation and change, the most well-known being Trudgill (1974). For example, Szmrecsanyi (2012) argues that the role of geographical

proximity is over-played with respect to morpho-syntactic variation between different British English dialects. It would be interesting to examine the role of proximity with respect to variation in place-names of different origins across a given area, as this would shed further light on the (non-)diffusion of place-name elements over space. In a study on measuring linguistic diffusion, Nerbonne (2010: 3827–8) concludes that diffusion models can be tested using quantitative methods, and calls for empirical linguistic variables to be applied and tested in this way. Place-names are an easily accessible source of empirical evidence, and a quantitative study of place-name element diffusion would provide a very different angle on this subject than the one presented in this thesis. Further work could certainly be carried out on the relationship between ON place-name coinage and the bilingual or mutually intelligible language contact situation of ON and OE in England, perhaps following Poplack's (2017) study of the process, as opposed to the outcome, of lexical borrowing in bilingual speech communities.

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by-law

carr/car 2 n.2

dale n.1

wapentake

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Appendix A, part 1: components and interpretation of the NE dataset

The large table provided in this appendix shows the 307 place-names that make up the NE dataset, with data categories shown. Detailed location and source information, such as coordinates, and which OS map the name was extracted from (where applicable), are given in Appendix A, part 2, below. The categorisation of each entry was coded or abbreviated as follows, in order to facilitate easy filtering, grouping and numerical analysis.

Sourced from dictionary or OS map?

'D' refers to names sourced from place-name dictionaries (Watts 2002a) and Mawer (1920), 'M' to names sourced from OS maps and 'DM' to names extracted from OS maps that were also found in the dictionaries consulted.

County

'Dhm' is an abbreviation of County Durham, and 'Nhb' of Northumberland.

Component element(s)/other type(s) of influence

This category shows ON element(s) or other type(s) of ON influence within each name, in order of appearance within the name. In another format, the dataset shows this information across specific, generic, second generic and simplex name position (reflected in Section 2, Table 3), but this is compressed to just one column here for brevity and to eliminate a very high frequency of instances of 'n/a'. Phonological Scandinavianisation is abbreviated to 'Phon. Scand.' and ON anthroponyms to 'ON anth'.

Major, minor or stream name

As noted in Section 1.3, a 'minor' name refers to any name of a topographical feature, or a single dwelling or other building. A 'major' name refers to everything else, other than watercourses, which are categorised as 'stream' names, although some do refer to larger watercourses, such as the River Gaunless.

Topographical status of component parts

Here, 'T' is applied to names that only contain one or more topographical elements. 'O' is applied to names that only contain one of more non-topographical element ('O' for 'Other'). 'TO' is applied to names that contain at least one topographical and at least one topographical element ('Mixed' names, as seen throughout Chapters 6 and 7).

As discussed in Section 6.5, despite watercourses themselves being topographical features, some stream names are categorised as topographical and some as non-topographical, because the topographical category relates to the meaning of the elements that make up a name. For example, the River Skerne, is categorised as containing adjective *skírr* 'bright', which is in turn classed as non-topographical.

Scandinavianised?

This refers to whether a name appears to have undergone Scandinavianisation ('Y', yes), or not ('N', no). Scandinavianisation in this case applies to possible instances of both phonological Scandinavianisation and element substitution. In the former case, 'Phon. Scan.' will appear in the component element(s) category, and in the latter case, the ON elements that replaced previous elements appear.

Naturalised/ambiguous?

This category indicates whether the potentially ON components of each name are elements that were naturalised into English ('Y', Y for yes, naturalised into English), ambiguously ON/OE in etymology ('A') or likely ON elements ('N', N for neither naturalised nor ambiguous). More than one initial illustrates more than one instance of ON influence could be categorised in this way within that name. For example, a name categorised as 'NN' contains two instances of possible ON influence, and both are likely ON elements, and one categorised as 'A' contains one instance of possible ON influence, and it is an ambiguously ON/OE element.

ON influence seen on all elements?

This category indicates whether ON influence may be present on all of the elements within a name ('Y', Y for yes, influence on all elements) or on just some of the elements ('N').

Confidence rating

This illustrates which confidence rating category each name belongs to. Each rating, 1–4, is outlined in Section 5.4.2.1 and 5.4.2.2.

Place-name	*Sourced from dictionary or OS map ?*	*County*	*Component element(s)/other type(s) of influence*	*Major, minor or stream name*	*Topographical status of component parts*	*Scandinavianised?*	*Naturalised/ambiguous?*	*ON influence seen on all elements?*	*Confidence rating*
Acorn Bank	M	Nhb	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Aislaby	D	Dhm	ON anth bý	Major	O	N	Y	Y	1
Akeld	D	Nhb	á kelda	Major	T	N	NN	Y	3
Aldin Grange	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Unknown	n/a	Y	n/a	N	2
Ambling Gate	M	Dhm	gata	Minor	O	n/a	Y	N	3
Amerston	D	Dhm	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	2
Angerton	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	2
Annigate House	D	Dhm	gata	Minor	O	N	Y	N	3
Ashy Bank I	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Ashy Bank II	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4

Place-name	*Sourced from dictionary or OS map ?*	*County*	*Component element(s)/other type(s) of influence*	*Major, minor or stream name*	*Topographical status of component parts*	*Scandinavianised?*	*Naturalised/ambiguous?*	*ON influence seen on all elements?*	*Confidence rating*
Auckland, Bishop	D	Dhm	auka land	Major	TO	Y	NA	Y	1
Auckland, West and St Helen	D	Dhm	auka land	Major	TO	Y	NA	Y	1
Back Gill	M	Dhm	gil	Stream	T	n/a	Y	N	3
Bank Cottage	M	Nhb	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Bank Spring	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Barras Dale	M	Dhm	dalr	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	3
Beckley	D	Dhm	bekkr	Minor	T	N	Y	N	3
Bedlington Bank	M	Nhb	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Beggarside Wood	M	Dhm	sæti	Minor	Unclear	n/a	A	N	4
Bellingham	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Bickerton	DM	Nhb	kjarr	Major	T	N	Y	N	3
Biddick, North	D	Dhm	ON anth	Unknown	O	Y	n/a	N	2
Birkey Bank	M	Dhm	Phon. Scand. bank	Minor	T	Y	Y	Y	2

Place-name	*Sourced from dictionary or OS map ?*	*County*	*Component element(s)/other type(s) of influence*	*Major, minor or stream name*	*Topographical status of component parts*	*Scandinavianised?*	*Naturalised/ambiguous?*	*ON influence seen on all elements?*	*Confidence rating*
Birks Well	M	Dhm	Phon. Scand. well	Minor	T	Y	A	Y	3
Black Banks I	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Black Banks II	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Blakeston (Hall)	D	Dhm	ON anth	Unknown	O	N	n/a	N	2
Blaydon	D	Dhm	blár	Major	O	N	Y	N	3
Bolt's Law	D	Dhm	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	3
Brancepeth	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	2
Branksome (~ Hall, ~ Cottage)	D	Dhm	holmr	Minor	T	N	Y	N	3
Broad Dale House	M	Dhm	dalr	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	3
Brock Bank	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Broomy Banks	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Brotherwick	D	Nhb	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	3
Browney Bank	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4

Place-name	*Sourced from dictionary or OS map ?*	*County*	*Component element(s)/other type(s) of influence*	*Major, minor or stream name*	*Topographical status of component parts*	*Scandinavianised?*	*Naturalised/ambiguous?*	*ON influence seen on all elements?*	*Confidence rating*
Bulbeck Common	D	Dhm	ON anth bekkr	Minor	O	N	Y	Y	2
Burn Toft (Low ~, Middle ~, farms)	D	Dhm	brún toft	Minor	TO	N	YN	Y	2
Burnt Walls Banks	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Byker	D	Nhb	kjarr	Major	T	N	Y	N	3
Cadger Bank	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Cairnycrook Knowe	M	Nhb	krókr	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	3
Caistron		Nhb	kjarr	Major	T	N	Y	N	3
Carlbury	D	Dhm	karl	Major	O	Y	n/a	N	1
Carlton	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Major	O	Y	n/a	N	1
Carp Shield	D	Dhm	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	2
Carr Brow Moor	M	Dhm	kjarr	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	3
Carr House 1	D	Dhm	kjarr	Unknown	T	N	Y	N	3
Carr House 2	D	Dhm	kjarr	Minor	T	N	Y	N	3

Place-name	*Sourced from dictionary or OS map ?*	*County*	*Component element(s)/other type(s) of influence*	*Major, minor or stream name*	*Topographical status of component parts*	*Scandinavianised?*	*Naturalised/ambiguous?*	*ON influence seen on all elements?*	*Confidence rating*
Carterside	M	Nhb	kjarr	Major	T	n/a	Y	N	3
Cartington	DM	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Castle Bank I	M	Nhb	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Castle Bank II	M	Nhb	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Catterick Moss	D	Dhm	salterg	Minor	O	N	N	N	1
Chestergarth House	M	Dhm	garðr	Minor	O	n/a	Y	N	3
Claxheugh (~ Rock and ~ Cottage)	D	Dhm	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	3
Claxton	D	Dhm	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	2
Cleatlam	D	Dhm	klint	Major	T	N	N	N	3
Clints Wood	D	Dhm	klint	Minor	T	N	N	N	3
Cockshot Banks	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Coldwell Hill	M	Nhb	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
Coniscliffe, High and Low	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Major	n/a	Y	n/a	N	1
Copeland	D	Dhm	kaupa	Minor	TO	N	NA	Y	1

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			land						
Coupland	D	Nhb	kaupa land	Major	TO	N	NA	Y	1
Cowet Wells	M	Nhb	well	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Cowgate	D	Nhb	gata	Major	O	N	Y	N	3
Cowpen	D	Nhb	kúpa	Major	O	N	N	Y	3
Cowpen Bewley	D	Dhm	kúpa	Major	O	N	N	N	3
Cringle Dykes	D	Dhm	kringla diki	Unknown	TO	N	NA	Y	1
Crook	D	Dhm	krókr	Major	T	N	A	Y	3
Crook Burn	D	Nhb	krókr	Stream	T	N	A	N	3
Crook, Coppy	D	Dhm	krókr	Minor	T	N	A	N	3
Crookdean	D	Nhb	krókr	Minor	T	N	A	N	3
Crooked Well	M	Dhm	krókr well	Minor	T	n/a	AA	Y	3
Crook Hall	D	Dhm	krókr	Minor	T	N	A	Y	3
Crookham	D	Nhb	krókr	Major	T	N	A	N	3
Crookhill	D	Dhm	krókr	Major	T	N	A	N	3
Crookhouse	D	Nhb	krókr	Major	T	N	A	N	3

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Crooks	D	Unknown	krókr	Unknown	T	N	A	Y	3
Crook's Altar	DM	Dhm	krókr salterg	Minor	T	N	NA	Y	3
Crookton	D	Dhm	krókr	Unknown	T	N	A	N	3
Croxdale	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	2
Dale Head	M	Dhm	dalr	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	3
Day Gill	D	Dhm	gil	Stream	T	N	Y	N	3
Debdon Well	M	Nhb	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
Dike Barn	M	Dhm	diki	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	3
Dike House	M	Dhm	diki	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	3
Dotland	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	2
Dry Gill	M	Dhm	gil	Stream	T	n/a	Y	N	3
Dunkirk Lodge	M	Nhb	kirkja	Minor	O	n/a	Y	N	3
Durham	D	Dhm	holmr	Major	T	N	Y	N	4
Dyance	D	Dhm	dyande	Minor	T	N	N	Y	1
Dyke Nook	M	Dhm	diki knjúkr	Minor	T	n/a	NA	Y	2
Easter Well	M	Dhm	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4

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Eddy's Bridge	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Minor	n/a	Y	n/a	N	1
Eggleston	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Eltringham	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Eshells	D	Dhm	eski (or ON anth) Phon. Scand.	Major	T	Y	A	Y	3
Etters Gill	D	Dhm	ON anth gil bekkr	Stream	TO	N	YY	Y	1
Farrow Shields	D	Dhm	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	2
Fenrother	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Fieldon Bridge (lost element gate)	D	Dhm	gata	Major	O	N	Y	N	3
Fitches	D	Dhm	vath	Minor	T	N	N	N	2
Flass Hall	D	Dhm	flask	Minor	T	N	N	N	3
Foulbridge House	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Minor	n/a	Y	n/a	N	2

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Gainford-on-Tees	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Major	n/a	Y	n/a	N	1
Gate Castle	DM	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Minor	n/a	Y	n/a	N	1
Gaunless	D	Dhm	gagnlaus s	Stream	O	N	N	Y	1
Gellesfield	D	Dhm	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	2
Gerard's Gill	D	Dhm	gil	Stream	T	N	Y	N	3
Glantlees	D	Nhb	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	3
Glanton	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Glendale Cottages	M	Nhb	dalr	Major	T	n/a	A	N	3
Glitteringstone	M	Nhb	glitter	Minor	O	n/a	Y	N	4
Grains (small rivers)	D	Dhm	grein	Stream	T	N	Y	Y	3
Greenside	M	Dhm	sæti	Major	Unclear	n/a	A	N	4
Greenside Bank	M	Nhb	sæti bank	Minor	Unclear	n/a	YA	N	4
Greenwell	M	Dhm	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
Grewburn	D	Dhm	gróf	Minor	O	N	N	N	3
Gunnerton	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3

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Hackford	D	Dhm	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	3
Hag Bank	M	Dhm	hǫgg bank	Minor	T	n/a	YY	Y	4
Hag Gate	M	Dhm	hǫgg gata	Minor	O	n/a	YY	Y	3
Hag House 1	D	Dhm	hǫgg	Minor	O	N	Y	N	3
Hag House 2	D	Dhm	hǫgg	Unknown	O	N	Y	N	3
Hagg Wood	D	Nhb	hǫgg	Minor	O	N	Y	N	3
Haining (High ~, Middle ~, Low ~)	D	Dhm	hegning	Minor	O	N	Y	Y	3
Hall Garth	D	Dhm	garðr	Minor	O	N	Y	N	3
Hanging Wells	DM	Dhm	hengjandi well	Minor	O	N	YA	Y	3
Hare Holme	D	Dhm	holmr	Minor	T	N	Y	N	4
Hargill Hill	D	Dhm	gil	Minor	T	N	Y	N	3
Harmire	D	Dhm	mýrr	Major	T	N	Y	N	4
Hawksley Hill	D	Dhm	ON anth	Unknown	O	N	n/a	N	2
Hazel Bank	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4

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Hedley-on-the-Hill (lost element karl)	D	Dhm	karl (or ON anth)	Major	O	N	N	N	2
Henshaw	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	2
Hett	D	Dhm	hetta	Major	O	N	N	Y	3
High House Well	M	Dhm	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
Hisehope	D	Dhm	hestr	Minor	O	N	N	N	2
Holling Car	D	Dhm	kjarr	Minor	T	N	Y	N	3
Hollinside Hall and Terrace	M	Dhm	hǫll ON morph sæti	Major	Unclear	n/a	NNA	Y	4
Hollin Shade	M	Nhb	hǫll ON morph	Minor	n/a	n/a	N	Y	4
Holme House Farm	D	Dhm	holmr	Minor	T	N	Y	N	4
Holm Hill	M	Dhm	holmr	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Holm House	M	Dhm	holmr	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Holm Linn	M	Dhm	holmr	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4

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Hooker Gate	D	Dhm	gata	Minor	O	N	Y	N	3
Houtley	D	Dhm	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	2
Howick	D	Nhb	Phon. Scand.	Major	TO	N	NN	Y	3
Howlmires	D	Dhm	mýrr	Unknown	T	N	Y	N	4
Howns Gill	M	Dhm	gil	Stream	T	n/a	Y	N	3
Huller Bush (High and Low)	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Minor	n/a	Y	n/a	N	1
Hummerskn ott	D	Dhm	hamarr (or ON anth) knottr	Minor	TO	N	YY	Y	3
Hurbuck	DM	Dhm	hurðarba k	Major	O	N	N	Y	3
Hurle House	D	Dhm	hvirfill	Minor	O	N	A	N	2
Hutton Henry	D	Dhm	hór tún	Major	O	N	NA	Y	3
Ilderton	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Ingleton	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	2
Ingram	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3

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Ireshopeburn	M	Dhm	Íri	Major	O	N	N	N	1
Kearsley	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Kelloe	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Major	n/a	Y	n/a	N	2
Kell's Bank	M	Dhm	ON anth bank	Minor	TO	n/a	Y	Y	3
Kenner's Dene	D	Nhb	Phon. Scand.	Minor	n/a	Y	n/a	N	3
Keverstone	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Major	n/a	Y	n/a	N	3
Killerby	D	Dhm	ON anth býr	Major	O	N	Y	Y	1
Kirkheaton	D	Nhb	Phon. Scand.	Major	O	Y	Y	N	3
Kitswell Lane	M	Dhm	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
Knaresdale (now Knarsdale)	D	Dhm	ON anth dalr	Major	O	N	A	Y	3
Knitsley Gill	M	Dhm	gil	Stream	T	n/a	Y	N	3
Kyo Leith	D	Dhm	leið	Unknown	O	Y	Y	N	2

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Ladywell Banks	M	Dhm	well bank	Minor	T	n/a	YA	N	4
Level Gate	M	Dhm	gata	Minor	O	n/a	Y	N	3
Lockgate Shanks	M	Dhm	gata	Minor	O	n/a	Y	N	3
Long Well Sike	M	Dhm	well	Stream	T	n/a	A	N	3
Loop, The (lost element 'graine')	D	Dhm	grein	Unknown	T	N	Y	N	3
Lucker	D	Nhb	lúka	Major	T	N	N	Y	1
Ludwell	M	Dhm	well	Major	T	n/a	A	N	4
Lumley	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Margery Dale, High~ and Low~	M	Dhm	dalr	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	3
Meadow Dale	M	Nhb	dalr	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	3
Middlehope Bank	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Mill Bank	M	Nhb	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4

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Moss Mire	D	Dhm	mýrr	Minor	T	N	Y	N	4
Nab End	D	Dhm	nabbi	Minor	T	N	Y	N	3
Nable Hill	D	Dhm	nabbi	Unknown	T	N	Y	N	3
Nafferton	D	Nhb	ON anth tún	Unknown	O	N	A	Y	2
Nookton	D	Dhm	knjúkr	Minor	T	N	N	N	3
Northgate, High and Low	M	Dhm	gata	Minor	O	n/a	Y	N	3
Nunstainton	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Major	n/a	Y	n/a	N	1
Nutty Hagg	D	Dhm	hǫgg	Unknown	T	N	Y	N	3
Offerton	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Ouston	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	Y	2
Over Acres	D	Nhb	hafri	Unknown	O	N	Y	N	3
Paddock Myre	D	Dhm	mýrr	Unknown	T	N	Y	N	4
Park Gill	M	Dhm	gil	Stream	T	n/a	Y	N	3
Plainfield	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	2

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Plessey Bank	M	Nhb	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Podgehole	D	Dhm	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	3
Prydale House	M	Dhm	dalr	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	3
Rabbitbank Wood	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Raby	D	Dhm	rá býr	Major	O	N	YA	Y	2
Ragpath Side	M	Dhm	sæti	Minor	Unclear	n/a	A	N	4
Ramshaw Well	M	Dhm	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
Ray	D	Nhb	rá	Minor	O	N	A	Y	2
Redmire Gill	D	Dhm	mýrr gil	Stream	T	N	YY	N	3
Redmires	D	Dhm	mýrr	Unknown	T	N	Y	N	4
Riddlehamhope	D	Dhm	ryðja	Minor	O	N	N	N	3
Ridley	D	Dhm	ryðja	Major	O	N	N	N	3
Rothbury	DM	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	2
Rudchester	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3

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Rumby Hill	D	Dhm	ON anth bý	Major	O	N	Y	Y	3
Sadberge	D	Dhm	sate/set berg	Major	T	N	NN	Y	2
Saltergate	M	Dhm	gata	Major	O	n/a	Y	N	3
Salt Holme (now Saltholme)	D	Dhm	holmr	Major	T	N	Y	N	4
Scalby	D	Dhm	skalli (or ON anth) bý	Unknown	O	N	YN	Y	1
School Aycliffe	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	1
Scotland Gate	M	Nhb	gata	Minor	O	n/a	Y	N	3
Springwell House	M	Dhm	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
Scrainwood	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Scutterhill Bank	M	Dhm	Phon. Scand. bank	Minor	T	Y	Y	N	3

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Seavy Clough	D	Dhm	sef	Minor	O	N	N	N	3
Selaby Hall	D	Dhm	ON anth bý	Minor	O	N	Y	Y	2
Sheraton	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	2
Shotton Bank	M	Nhb	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Silksworth	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Silverdikes	M	Dhm	diki	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	3
Skerne (River)	D	Dhm	skírr (or phon. Scand.)	Stream	O	Y	A	Y	1
Skerningham	D	Dhm	skírr (or phon. Scand.) heimr	Major	O	Y	AA	Y	1
Sleekburn Bank	M	Nhb	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Slingley	D	Dhm	ON anth	Minor	O	N	n/a	N	3
Snaisgill	D	Dhm	ON anth gil	Major	TO	N	n/a	Y	2
Snape Gate	DM	Dhm	snap	Major	O	N	Y	N	3

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Snipe Gate	D	Dhm	snap	Unknown	O	N	Y	N	3
Snitter	DM	Nhb	ærgi	Major	O	N	NN	N	2
Sour Myres	D	Dhm	mýrr	Unknown	T	N	Y	N	4
South Gate	M	Nhb	gata	Minor	O	n/a	Y	N	3
Spring Bank	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Spurlswood Beck	D	Dhm	bekkr	Stream	T	N	Y	N	3
Spurlswood Gill	D	Dhm	gil	Stream	T	N	Y	N	3
Stagshaw	D	Nhb	steinn	Minor	O	N	N	N	2
Staindrop	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Major	n/a	Y	n/a	N	1
Stainton, Little	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Major	O	Y	n/a	N	1
Staner Yare	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	N	3
Stickley	D	Nhb	ON anth	Unknown	O	N	n/a	N	2

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Stirtwith	D	Dhm	Unexplained ON element viðr	Unknown	T	Y	N	N	2
Stone Carrs	M	Dhm	kjarr	Major	T	n/a	Y	N	3
Street Gate	D	Dhm	gata	Major	O	N	Y	N	3
Stooperdale	D	Dhm	stólpi ON morphology dalr	Unknown	Unclear	N	NA	Y	2
Sunny Bank	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Swainston	D	Dhm	ON anth	Unknown	O	N	n/a	N	2
Sweet Wells	M	Dhm	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
Tantobie	D	Dhm	býr	Major	O	N	Y	N	3
Thackmyers	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Unknown	n/a	Y	n/a	N	1
Thockrington	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Thorpe Bulmer	D	Dhm	þorp	Major	O	N	Y	Y	3

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Thorpe, Little	D	Dhm	þorp	Major	O	N	Y	Y	3
Thorpe Thewles	D	Dhm	þorp	Major	O	N	Y	Y	3
Threlthorpe	D	Dhm	þræll þorp	Unknown	O	N	YN	Y	1
Thrislington	D	Dhm	ON anth	Unknown	O	N	n/a	N	2
Throston (High ~)	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	2
Thrundle	D	Dhm	ON anth dalr	Major	TO	N	A	Y	2
Titlington	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Toft House	D	Nhb	toft	Unknown	O	N	Y	N	3
Tone	D	Nhb	ON anth	Unknown	O	N	n/a	Y	2
Tosson (Great ~, Little ~)	DM	Nhb	tosvin	Major	O	N	N	Y	2
Tow Law	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3

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Trafford Hill	D	Dhm	tré	Unknown	O	N	N	N	2
Tranwell	DM	Nhb	trani well	Major	O	N	NA	Y	1
Trewhitt (High ~)	D	Nhb	tyri		O	N	N	N	2
Trewitley	D	Nhb	ON anth	Unknown	O	N	n/a	N	2
Troughburn	D	Nhb	troll	Unknown	O	N	N	N	2
Tursdale	D	Dhm	þræll (or ON anth)	Major	O	N	Y	N	2
Ulgham	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Ulwham	D	Dhm	ON anth	Unknown	O	N	n/a	N	2
Ulnaby	D	Dhm	ON anth býr	Minor	O	N	Y	Y	1
Ushaw	D	Dhm	ON anth skógr	Major	T	N	N	Y	2
Wackerfield	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3

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Waldridge	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Major	n/a	Y	n/a	N	1
Walker	D	Nhb	kjarr	Major	T	N	Y	N	3
Warm Wells	M	Dhm	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
Waskerley	D	Dhm	vás kjarr	Major	TO	N	YN	N	1
Wellbank Wood	M	Dhm	well bank	Minor	T	n/a	YA	N	4
Wellfield Cottage	M	Nhb	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
Well Hill	M	Nhb	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
West Bank	M	Dhm	bank	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Westend Well	M	Dhm	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
West Grain Bridge	M	Dhm	grein	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	3
Westholme Hall	D	Dhm	holmr	Minor	T	N	Y	N	4
West White Well	M	Dhm	well	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	4
Wham	D	Dhm	hvammr	Major	T	N	A	Y	3
Whessoe	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3

Place-name	*Sourced from dictionary or OS map ?*	*County*	*Component element(s)/other type(s) of influence*	*Major, minor or stream name*	*Topographical status of component parts*	*Scandinavianised?*	*Naturalised/ambiguous?*	*ON influence seen on all elements?*	*Confidence rating*
Whinbank	M	Nhb	hvin bank	Minor	T	n/a	YY	Y	3
Whinney Hill	D	Dhm	hvin	Minor	T	N	Y	N	3
Whinny Bank	M	Dhm	hvin bank	Minor	T	n/a	YY	Y	3
Whinny Hill	M	Dhm	hvin	Minor	T	n/a	Y	N	3
White Park Well	M	Nhb	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
Whitewell Crags and Springs	M	Dhm	well	Minor	T	n/a	A	N	4
Whorlton	D	Nhb	hvirfill	Major	O	N	A	N	3
Willington	D	Dhm	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Willington Quay	D	Nhb	ON anth	Major	O	N	n/a	N	3
Wilmire (House)	D	Dhm	ON anth mýrr	Minor	O	N	Y	Y	2
Windygate Hill	M	Dhm	hvin gata	Minor	O	n/a	YY	N	3
Windy Hill I	D	Dhm	hvin	Unknown	O	N	Y	N	3
Windy Hill II	M	Dhm	hvin	Minor	O	n/a	Y	N	3

Place-name	*Sourced from dictionary or OS map ?*	*County*	*Component element(s)/other type(s) of influence*	*Major, minor or stream name*	*Topographical status of component parts*	*Scandinavianised?*	*Naturalised/ambiguous?*	*ON influence seen on all elements?*	*Confidence rating*
Wittongill Sike	M	Dhm	gil	Stream	T	n/a	Y	N	3
Wolviston	D	Dhm	Phon. Scand.	Major	O	Y	n/a	N	2

Appendix A, part 2: detailed location information of the NE dataset

Place-name	*Latitude*	*Longitude*	*County*	*OS sheet*	*OS sub-sheet*
Acorn Bank	55.112102	-1.595484	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	16
Aislaby	54.504999	-1.376489	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Akeld	55.560857	-2.069809	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Aldin Grange	54.780398	-1.618068	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Ambling Gate	54.761097	-2.082882	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	8
Amerston	54.664966	-1.341077	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Angerton	55.175710	-1.891309	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Annigate House	54.634253	-1.314814	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Ashy Bank I	54.754742	-2.074786	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	8
Ashy Bank II	54.753671	-2.080016	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	12
Auckland, Bishop	54.667369	-1.679022	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Auckland, West and St Helen	54.632870	-1.724643	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Back Gill	54.831275	-1.818685	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	3
Bank Cottage	55.127314	-1.586597	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	15

Bank Spring	54.744092	-2.185861	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	9
Barras Dale	54.733409	-2.128662	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	14
Beckley	54.900396	-1.696750	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Bedlington Bank	55.130945	-1.577954	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	12
Beggarside Wood	54.826926	-1.845485	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	6
Bellingham	55.147431	-2.254341	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Bickerton	55.296136	-2.008527	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	9
Biddick, North	54.87863	-1.519311	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Birkey Bank	54.771829	-2.091440	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	3
Birks Well	54.835685	-1.886105	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	1
Black Banks I	54.794791	-1.828494	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	14
Black Banks II	54.795688	-1.807072	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	15
Blakeston (Hall)	54.609179	-1.368296	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Blaydon	54.961966	-1.718216	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Bolt's Law	54.821584	-2.077949	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Brancepeth	54.737210	-1.655070	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Branksome (~ Hall, ~ Cottage)	54.540300	-1.592571	Dhm	n/a	n/a

Broad Dale House	54.779327	-2.102831	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	3
Brock Bank	54.747153	-2.054331	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	12
Broomy Banks	54.801326	-1.827344	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	10
Brotherwick	55.345368	-1.640946	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Browney Bank	54.802148	-1.790846	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	11
Bulbeck Common	54.871715	-2.088318	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Burn Toft (Low ~, Middle ~, farms)	54.645118	-1.292515	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Burnt Walls Banks	54.755950	-2.080460	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	8
Byker	54.972192	-1.577266	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Cadger Bank	54.818513	-1.750620	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	8
Cairnycrook Knowe	55.30361	-1.943983	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	11
Caistron	55.306494	-2.008749	Nhb		
Carlbury	54.538534	-1.670687	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Carlton	54.591445	-1.391118	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Carp Shield	54.826719	-1.938036	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Carr Brow Moor	54.748943	-2.175200	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	9
Carr House 1	54.969484	-1.596047	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Carr House 2	54.581370	-1.780678	Dhm	n/a	n/a

Carterside	55.301941	-1.923531	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	11
Cartington	55.335347	-1.943264	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	3
Castle Bank I	55.164165	-1.684704	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	1
Castle Bank II	55.164784	-1.682666	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	1
Catterick Moss	54.720358	-2.008516	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Chestergarth House	54.772509	-2.087305	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	3
Claxheugh (~ Rock and ~ Cottage)	54.912093	-1.434180	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Claxton	54.643436	-1.270486	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Cleatlam	54.563377	-1.81558	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Clints Wood	54.745360	-1.991644	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Cockshot Banks	54.826149	-1.896679	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	5
Coldwell Hill	55.134412	-1.687968	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	9
Coniscliffe, High and Low	54.536771	-1.655091	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Copeland	54.629551	-1.743363	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Coupland	55.572878	-2.102029	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Cowet Wells	55.293909	-1.951462	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	14
Cowgate	54.992852	-1.657617	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Cowpen	55.130435	-1.546802	Nhb	n/a	n/a

Cowpen Bewley	54.609771	-1.268578	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Cringle Dykes	54.690784	-1.722062	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Crook	54.716014	-1.743987	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Crook Burn	55.042062	-2.312251	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Crook, Coppy	54.633173	-1.676553	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Crookdean	55.143616	-2.039843	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Crooked Well	54.743682	-2.150172	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	10
Crook Hall	54.782292	-1.575107	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Crookham	55.636504	-2.129675	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Crookhill	54.970628	-1.751358	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Crookhouse	55.579749	-2.151310	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Crooks	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	n/a
Crook's Altar	54.755800	-2.135078	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	6
Crookton	54.78954	-1.646571	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Croxdale	54.727840	-1.585930	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Dale Head	54.742023	-2.138954	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	10
Day Gill	54.63644	-1.80979	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Debdon Well	55.334744	-1.87879	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	4
Dike Barn	54.729492	-2.112320	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	15
Dike House	54.733911	-2.110156	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	15
Dotland	54.927203	-2.127688	Dhm	n/a	n/a

Dry Gill	54.735136	-2.172333	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	13
Dunkirk Lodge	55.303621	-1.882746	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	12
Durham	54.774804	-1.576020	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Dyance	54.556962	-1.717176	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Dyke Nook	54.825306	-1.823874	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	6
Easter Well	54.729581	-2.118837	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	15
Eddy's Bridge	54.852009	-1.960324	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Eggleston	54.610121	-2.002664	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Eltringham	54.960057	-1.869006	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Eshells	54.914503	-2.162420	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Etters Gill	54.660431	-2.180431	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Farrow Shields	54.954787	-2.384573	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Fenrother	55.222527	-1.724297	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Fieldon Bridge (lost element gate)	54.635527	-1.681802	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Fitches	54.667882	-1.772977	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Flass Hall	54.780013	-1.676857	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Foulbridge House	54.88579	-1.665190	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Gainford-on-Tees	54.547226	-1.738060	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Gate Castle	54.735964	-2.093913	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	15
Gaunless	54.629134	-1.760452	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Gellesfield	54.926020	-1.690976	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Gerard's Gill	54.725921	-1.602068	Dhm	n/a	n/a

Glantlees	55.342715	-1.779003	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Glanton	55.424524	-1.889487	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Glendale Cottages	55.311518	-1.915731	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	7
Glitteringstone	55.321483	-1.939162	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	7
Grains (small rivers)	54.679918	-1.922096	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Greenside	54.819074	-1.896066	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	5
Greenside Bank	55.334744	-1.87879	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	5
Greenwell	54.807436	-1.747887	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	12
Grewburn	54.629015	-1.855423	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Gunnerton	55.069822	-2.144005	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Hackford	54.883558	-2.126141	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Hag Bank	54.740588	-2.072207	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	12
Hag Gate	54.739279	-2.071784	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	16
Hag House 1	54.784231	-1.685806	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Hag House 2	54.808296	-1.583562	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Hagg Wood	55.527587	-1.723890	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Haining (High ~, Middle ~, Low ~)	54.855315	-1.444634	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Hall Garth	54.580428	-1.554494	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Hanging Wells	54.758753	-2.096859	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	7

Hare Holme	54.775122	-1.668010	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Hargill Hill	54.690811	-1.761894	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Harmire	54.552952	-1.917158	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Hawksley Hill	54.587369	-1.943207	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Hazel Bank	54.771390	-2.089466	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	3
Hedley-on-the-Hill (lost element karl)	54.927821	-1.876996	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Henshaw	54.975263	-2.367309	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Hett	54.722202	-1.561581	Dhm	n/a	n/a
High House Well	54.729439	-2.121326	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	15
Hisehope	54.811287	-1.964369	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Holling Car	54.691242	-1.389767	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Hollinside Hall and Terrace	54.811758	-1.769100	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	12
Hollin Shade	55.303829	-1.876287	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	12
Holme House Farm	54.56519	-1.955997	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Holm Hill	54.746211	-2.077574	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	12
Holm House	54.748719	-2.075482	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	12
Holm Linn	54.749183	-2.077435	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	12
Hooker Gate	54.928386	-1.779714	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Houtley	54.948891	-2.093337	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Howick	55.452839	-1.596802	Nhb	n/a	n/a

Howlmires	54.816326	-1.628387	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Howns Gill	54.834079	-1.844465	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	2
Huller Bush (High and Low)	54.594648	-1.924490	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Hummersknott	54.521042	-1.593026	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Hurbuck	54.829838	-1.784361	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	4
Hurle House	54.618801	-1.338791	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Hutton Henry	54.718819	-1.343121	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Ilderton	55.491176	-1.974457	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Ingleton	54.580687	-1.736961	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Ingram	55.439853	-1.971619	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Ireshopeburn	54.742496	-2.206414	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Kearsley	55.072474	-1.956728	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Kelloe	54.720556	-1.471792	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Kell's Bank	54.748523	-2.058854	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	12
Kenner's Dene	55.023571	-1.431171	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Keverstone	54.599207	-1.786683	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Killerby	54.576875	-1.705507	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Kirkheaton	55.090495	-1.972605	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Kitswell Lane	54.826445	-1.751004	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	8
Knaresdale (now Knarsdale)	54.882430	-2.504213	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Knitsley Gill	54.833455	-1.832633	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	2

Kyo Leith	54.860935	-1.734259	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Ladywell Banks	54.834414	-1.774156	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	4
Level Gate	54.744884	-2.186658	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	9
Lockgate Shanks	54.759103	-2.117300	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	7
Long Well Sike	54.777894	-2.145890	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	2
Loop, The (lost element 'graine')	54.676047	-1.995783	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Lucker	55.56625	-1.760198	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Ludwell	54.738262	-2.089793	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	15
Lumley	54.837375	-1.540595	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Margery Dale, High~ and Low~	54.742450	-2.137945	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	10
Meadow Dale	55.134413	-1.609751	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	11
Middlehope Bank	54.760279	-2.171826	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	5
Mill Bank	55.131282	-1.581849	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	12
Moss Mire	54.587194	-1.960048	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Nab End	54.900112	-1.461728	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Nable Hill	54.676618	-1.520688	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Nafferton	54.985633	-1.900520	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Nookton	54.831152	-2.111317	Dhm	n/a	n/a

Northgate, High and Low	54.756051	-2.098578	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	7
Nunstainton	54.65631	-1.511046	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Nutty Hagg	54.69257	-1.691249	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Offerton	54.892416	-1.458502	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Ouston	54.88325	-1.597722	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Over Acres	55.538267	-1.992425	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Paddock Myre	54.604522	-1.776356	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Park Gill	54.839524	-1.756256	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	4
Plainfield	55.324470	-2.017963	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Plessey Bank	55.107993	-1.638825	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	15
Podgehole	54.656392	-1.859819	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Prydale House	54.777771	-2.107723	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	3
Rabbitbank Wood	54.830282	-1.825405	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	2
Raby	54.593509	-1.799688	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Ragpath Side	54.798049	-1.771937	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	16
Ramshaw Well	54.725642	-2.165074	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	13
Ray	55.166062	-2.051455	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Redmire Gill	54.610503	-1.970181	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Redmires	54.755081	-1.887938	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Riddlehamhope	54.844487	-2.139465	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Ridley	54.968557	-2.324106	Dhm	n/a	n/a

Rothbury	55.310068	-1.909761	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	11
Rudchester	55.001138	-1.824726	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Rumby Hill	54.702337	-1.739466	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Sadberge	54.546871	-1.470795	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Saltergate	54.784161	-1.894225	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	13
Salt Holme (now Saltholme)	54.600592	-1.222641	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Scalby	54.609668	-1.444261	Dhm	n/a	n/a
School Aycliffe	54.606549	-1.600554	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Scotland Gate	55.153211	-1.602543	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	4
Springwell House	54.789568	-1.867489	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	13
Scrainwood	55.379130	-2.017706	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Scutterhill Bank	54.741305	-2.144748	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	10
Seavy Clough	54.692698	-1.875170	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Selaby Hall	54.559896	-1.764755	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Sheraton	54.708810	-1.317144	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Shotton Bank	55.109461	-1.625341	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	15
Silksworth	54.871342	-1.395670	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Silverdikes	54.752832	-2.186894	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	9
Skerne (River)	54.613242	-1.522084	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Skerningham	54.564201	-1.526196	Dhm	n/a	n/a

Sleekburn Bank	55.150682	-1.574511	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	4
Slingley	54.828536	-1.406072	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Snaisgill	54.635743	-2.075368	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Snape Gate	54.728727	-2.052882	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	16
Snipe Gate	54.732369	-1.835092	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Snitter	55.325495	-1.962275	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	2
Sour Myres	54.9638	-1.806918	Dhm	n/a	n/a
South Gate	55.151281	-1.685935	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	1
Spring Bank	54.743700	-2.147833	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	10
Spurlswood Beck	54.636967	-1.930164	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Spurlswood Gill	54.629474	-1.946149	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Stagshaw	55.004760	-2.032116	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Staindrop	54.580566	-1.801494	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Stainton, Little	54.575779	-1.463683	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Staner Yare	Unknown	Unknown	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Stickley	55.570662	-1.959225	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Stirtwith	54.638451	-2.029179	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Stone Carrs	54.732137	-2.135861	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	14
Street Gate	54.927466	-1.668313	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Stooperdale	54.540019	-1.583580	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Sunny Bank	54.744129	-2.189530	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	9

Swainston	54.65467	-1.362989	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Sweet Wells	54.748060	-2.047543	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	12
Tantobie	54.887402	-1.724489	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Thackmyers	54.726385	-1.364432	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Thockrington	55.105713	-2.067299	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Thorpe Bulmer	54.716027	-1.288790	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Thorpe, Little	54.778849	-1.345401	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Thorpe Thewles	54.604497	-1.381103	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Threlthorpe	54.726237	-1.345416	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Thrislington	54.689109	-1.509513	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Throston (High ~)	54.694997	-1.246888	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Thrundle	54.663976	-1.513973	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Titlington	55.431127	-1.842594	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Toft House	55.319571	-2.218978	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Tone	55.116997	-2.154872	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Tosson (Great ~, Little ~)	55.301368	-1.972119	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	10
Tow Law	54.742449	-1.814023	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Trafford Hill	54.493605	-1.418248	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Tranwell	55.146407	-1.705813	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	5
Trewhitt (High ~)			Nhb	n/a	n/a
Trewitley	55.216417	-1.801135	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Troughburn	55.548043	-2.165405	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Tursdale	54.716766	-1.530202	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Ulgham	55.225729	-1.633137	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Ulwham	54.943338	-2.500801	Dhm	n/a	n/a

Ulnaby	54.549332	-1.650775	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Ushaw	54.780460	-1.659584	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Wackerfield	54.595767	-1.764074	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Waldridge	54.845391	-1.610686	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Walker	54.970308	-1.541726	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Warm Wells	54.747812	-2.051877	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	12
Waskerley	54.805246	-1.928771	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Wellbank Wood	54.82118	-1.813110	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	7
Wellfield Cottage	55.310559	-1.907223	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	7
Well Hill	55.132748	-1.709906	Nhb	Nhb LXXII	9
West Bank	54.798903	-1.85091	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	10
Westend Well	54.733410	-2.123433	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	14
West Grain Bridge	54.729523	-2.195976	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	13
Westholme Hall	54.556504	-1.788545	Dhm	n/a	n/a
West White Well	54.730025	-2.106373	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	15
Wham	54.635013	-1.827057	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Whessoe	54.562200	-1.570168	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Whinbank	55.311188	-1.924893	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	7
Whinney Hill	54.76958	-1.565705	Dhm	n/a	n/a

Whinny Bank	54.799311	-1.854375	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	10
Whinny Hill	54.839941	-1.861217	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	1
White Park Well	55.286456	-1.93933	Nhb	Nhb XLIV	15
Whitewell Crags and Springs	54.729766	-2.100501	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	15
Whorlton	54.530134	-1.838630	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Willington	54.711479	-1.694206	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Willington Quay	54.991315	-1.495530	Nhb	n/a	n/a
Wilmire (House)	54.617907	-1.324674	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Windygate Hill	54.738292	-2.158057	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	14
Windy Hill I	54.775032	-1.602169	Dhm	n/a	n/a
Windy Hill II	54.814299	-1.795443	Dhm	Dhm XVIII	7
Wittongill Sike	54.755750	-2.052677	Dhm	Dhm XXIII	8
Wolviston	54.624332	-1.301004	Dhm	n/a	n/a

Appendix B: element glosses and sources

ON elements, sourced from Smith (1956a and 1956b) unless not contained therein

Element	Gloss	Source
á	'river, stream'	(Smith 1956a: 1)
auka	'additional'	(Watts 2002a: 145)
ærgi	'shieling'	(Watts 2004: 557)
bank	'a bank, the slope of a hill of ridge'	(Smith 1956a: 19)
bekkr	'stream, beck'	(Smith 1956a: 26)
berg	'hill, mountain'	(Smith 1956a: 31)
blár	'dark, blue, livid'	(Smith 1956a: 38)
brún	'brown, dark-coloured'	(Smith 1956a: 53)
bý	'farmstead, village'	(Smith 1956a: 66)
dalr	'valley'	(Smith 1956a: 126)
diki	'ditch'	(Smith 1956a: 133)
dyande	'marsh'	(Watts 2002a: 30)
eski	'place growing with ash trees'	(Smith 1956a: 160)
flask	'swamp, swampy grassland, shallow water, pool'	(Smith 1956a: 175)
gagnlauss	'profitless'	(Watts 2002a: 152)
garðr	'enclosure'	(Smith 1956a: 195)
gata	'way, path, road, street'	(Smith 1956a: 196)
gil	'ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream'	(Smith 1956a: 200)
grein	'branch (of a tree), fork (of a river)'	(Smith 1956a: 208)

gróf	'stream, the hollow a stream makes, pit'	(Smith 1956a: 210)
hafri	'oats'	(Smith 1956a: 220)
hamarr	'rock, cliff'	(Smith 1956a: 229)
heimr	'home, homestead, estate'	(Smith 1956a: 241)
hegning	'enclosed land'	(Smith 1956a: 241)
hengjandi	'hanging'	(Smith 1956a: 243)
hestr	'horse, stallion'	(Smith 1956a: 245)
hetta	'hat' or 'hood'	(Mawer 1920: 113; Smith 1956a: 245)
hǫgg	'cutting, felling of trees, part of a wood marked off for cutting'	(Smith 1956a: 256)
holmr	'isle, water meadow'	(Smith 1956a: 258)
hór	'high'	(Mawer 1920: 122)
hurðarbak	'space behind the door'	(Watts 1988–89: 30)
hvammr	'small valley'	(Smith 1956a: 270)
hvin	'whin, gorse'	(Smith 1956a: 270)
hvirfill	'circle, hilltop, whirlpool'	(Smith 1956a: 271)
Íri	'Irishman'	(Smith 1956a: 304)
karl	'freeman of the lower class'	(Smith 1956b: 2)
kaupa	'purchased'	(Smith 1956b: 2)
kelda	'spring, marshy place'	(Smith 1956b: 3)
kirkja	'church'	(Smith 1956b: 3)
kjarr	'brushwood'	(Smith 1956b: 4)
klint	'cliff'	(Watts 2002a: 157)
knjúkr	'high and steep hill'	(Mawer 1920: 150)

knottr	'hillock'	(Watts 2002a: 157)
krókr	'crook, bend'	(Smith 1956b: 7)
kúpa	'cup or bowl'	(Mawer 1920: 56)
land	'part of the earth's solid surface/tract of land'	(Smith 1956b: 13)
leið	'road, track'	(Smith 1956b: 23)
lúka	'hollow of the land'	(Smith 1956b: 27)
mýrr	'mire, bog, swampy ground'	(Smith 1956b: 47)
nabbi	'projecting peak, knoll, hill'	(Smith 1956b: 48)
rá	'land-mark, boundary'	(Smith 1956b: 78)
ryðja	'clearing'	(Mawer 1920: 166)
salterg	'salt shieling'	(Watts 2002a: 162)
sate/set	'flat piece of ground'/'seat'	(Watts 2002a: 162); Smith (1956b: 120)
sef	'sedge, rush'	(Smith 1956b: 117)
skalli	'bald head' used of 'bare hill'	(Smith 1956b: 123)
skírr	'clear, bright, pure'	(Smith 1956b: 125)
skógr	'a wood'	(Smith 1956b: 125)
snap	'rough pasture'	(Watts 2002a: 163)
steinn	'stone, rock'	(Smith 1956b: 150)
stólpi	'stake, stump, post'	(Smith 1956b: 157)
Þorp (<thorp>)	'secondary settlement, dependent outlying farmstead or hamlet'	(Smith 1956b: 205)
þræll	'thrall, serf, slave'	(Smith 1956b: 212)

toft	'building site, curtilage'	(Smith 1956b: 181)
tosvin	'field of tow or flax'	(Mawer 1920: 199)
trani	'crane'	(Smith 1956b: 185)
tré	'tree'	(Smith 1956b: 185)
troll	'troll, supernatural being'	(Smith 1956b: 188)
tún	'enclosure, farmstead'	(Smith 1956b: 188)
tyri	'resinous wood for fire-making'	(Smith 1956b: 201)
vás	'wet'	(Watts 2002a: 133)
vað	'ford'	(Smith 1956b: 231)
viðr	'wood' or 'tree, tree trunk'	(Smith 1956b: 232)
well	'well, spring, stream'	(Watts 2002b: 55)

OE elements referenced in the thesis, sourced from Smith (1956a and 1956b)

denu	'valley'	(Smith 1956a: 130)
geat	'hole, opening, gap'	(Smith 1956a: 198)
holm	'isle, small island, water-meadow'	(Smith 1956a: 258)
kot	'hut'	(Smith 1956b: 19)
middel	'middle'	(Smith 1956b: 40)
stān	'stone, rock'	(Smith 1956b: 143)
tūn	'enclosure, farmstead, estate, village'	(Smith 1956b: 188)