

Testing the Gelling Hypothesis: Old English Hill-Terms in the Place-Names of Northumberland and County Durham¹

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The Old English (OE) topographical vocabulary used in place-names, that is, words for landscape features such as hills, valleys, streams, and woodland areas, offers an interesting and fruitful area of research both within the field of onomastics and also as a subfield within semantics and lexicology. As is well known, the relationship between the landscape and its inhabitants was very different in pre-industrial societies from that which exists for many today. While for many modern people landscape is chiefly about scenery, for the Anglo-Saxons it was about survival: a settlement could not, for instance, survive without water supply, and settlement sites which could be easily defended or which were on good, rich soil were highly sought after. Place-names such as Burradon and Butterlaw are evocative reminders of the realities of life in Anglo-Saxon England, and of the priorities of its inhabitants.² In recent decades, seminal studies by Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole have demonstrated that the importance of the landscape is reflected in place-names of OE origin, which make use of extensive, potentially highly nuanced topographical vocabulary.³ It has been further observed by Gelling and Cole that the use of topographical vocabulary in OE major settlement names is

¹ This paper is based on my PhD research on hill-terms in the place-names of Northumberland and County Durham (T. Nurminen, 'Hill-Terms in the Place-Names of Northumberland and County Durham' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Newcastle University, 2012)). I presented some of my provisional findings at the 20th Annual Conference of the SNSBI (15th—18th April 2011, University of Kent, Canterbury) and the Annual Day Conference of the Scottish Place-Name Society (7th May 2011, Walker Halls, Troon), and I would like to thank the participants of these conferences for their insightful comments and suggestions.

² Burradon (Northumberland, near Earsdon) is *Burgdon* c.1150, from OE *burh*, *burg* 'fortified place, stronghold' + OE *dūn* 'hill'; Butterlaw is *Buterlawe* 1242, from OE *butere* 'butter', referring to rich pasture, + OE *hlāw* 'hill, artificial mound, tumulus'.

³ See especially M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape: The geographical roots of Britain's place-names* (London, 1984) and M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford, 2000).

characterised by ‘internal consistency’:⁴ rather than being applied more or less randomly, topographical terms are used in place-names consistently of landscape features of a particular type, often with highly specialised meanings, for example *dūn* ‘flat-topped hill’ and *hōh* ‘heel-shaped hill’.⁵ In this paper, this observation will be referred to as the ‘Gelling hypothesis’.

This paper examines the meanings and uses of OE hill-terms, that is, place-name elements referring to features such as hills, slopes and summits, in the place-names of the historic counties of Northumberland and Durham, with special reference to the Gelling hypothesis. It begins with a brief discussion of the methods and materials used, followed by an overview of the range of OE hill-terms found in the study area, before focusing on the meanings and uses of *dūn* ‘hill’, *hlāw* ‘hill, artificial mound, tumulus’, *hōh* ‘heel; hill-spur’ and *hyll* ‘hill’, the four commonest OE terms for hills and hill-spurs in the study corpus. The findings are compared with those of previous studies by Gelling and Cole, and the validity of the Gelling hypothesis for the study area place-names is considered.⁶

The findings presented in this paper are based on an in-depth analysis of a corpus containing 2,227 place-names, extracted from the current Ordnance Survey Landranger (1:50,000) map, which was chosen as the base map as it was thought to yield a sufficiently high, yet manageable number of different types of names. All names found on the relevant Landranger sheets were listed and checked systematically in order to

⁴ M. Gelling, ‘Towards a chronology for English place-names’, in *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, edited by D. Hooke (London, 1988), pp. 59–76 (p. 59).

⁵ M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, pp. 164–165, 186.

⁶ The Gelling hypothesis has been tested recently in a Scottish context in two separate studies by Stella Pratt and Peter Drummond; see S. Pratt, ‘Summer landscapes: investigating Scottish topographical place-names’, *Nomina*, 28 (2005), 93–114 and P. Drummond, ‘Southern Scottish hill-generics: testing the Gelling and Cole hypothesis’, *Nomina*, 30 (2007), 85–99. As far as I am aware, similar studies are not reported for England in the published literature. Despite the absence of large-scale studies to test the hypothesis further in England, it is generally thought to be valid for most, if not all, parts of the country, but for a critical discussion, see P. Kitson, ‘Fog on the Barrow-Downs?’, in *A Commodity of Good Names: Essays in Honour of Margaret Gelling*, edited by O. J. Padel and D. Parsons (Donington, 2008), pp. 382–394 and P. Kitson, ‘Notes on some interfaces between place-name material and linguistic theory’, *Analysing Older English*, edited by D. Denison, R. Bermúdez-Otero, C. McCully and E. Moore (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 35–55.

identify and interpret those names which do, or may contain occurrences of hill-terms. For each name, place-name dictionaries and relevant county surveys were consulted for early forms and suggested etymologies.⁷ The forms found in these works were supplemented with those found on maps of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, and a selection of other sources, including the *Newminster Cartulary* and an unpublished database of the early forms of Northumberland place-names compiled by Lisa Liddy, were also consulted for additional mediaeval and early modern forms.⁸ A wide range of comparative onomastic material and general reference works, including A. H. Smith's *English Place-Name Elements*, county surveys of the English Place-Name Society (EPNS), and *The Oxford English Dictionary*, were consulted extensively for the interpretations of the names.⁹ All major and minor names certainly or possibly containing

⁷ The works consulted were: E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford, 1960); A. Mawer, *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham* (Cambridge, 1920); A. Mills, *A Dictionary of British Place-Names* (Oxford, 2003); V. Watts, *A Dictionary of County Durham Place-Names* (Nottingham, 2002); V. Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Cambridge, 2004); V. Watts, *The Place-Names of County Durham, Part One, Stockton Ward*, edited by P. Cavill, English Place-Name Society LXXXIII (Nottingham, 2007).

⁸ *Newminster Cartulary—Chartularium abbatiae de Novo monasterio: Ordinis Cisterciensis, fundatae anno M.C.XXXVII* (Durham, 1878); L. Liddy, database of the early forms of Northumberland place-names, unpublished, used by kind permission of Dr Paul Cavill, Research Officer of the EPNS. The maps used were the previous editions of Ordnance Survey maps available through the EDINA Digimap service <<http://edina.ac.uk/digimap>> [last accessed 15 May 2012]; *A Map of the County of Northumberland with that part of the County of Durham that is North of the River Tyne; Also the Town of Berwick and its Bounds; Taken from an Actual Survey and laid down from a Scale of an Inch to a Mile By Lieuⁱ. And^v. Armstrong and Son & Engraved by Tho^s. Kitchin Geog^r* (London, 1769); *The County Palatine of Durham survey'd by Capt. Armstrong & engraved by T. Jefferys geographer to his Majesty* (London, 1768); J. Bell, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of England and Wales* (Glasgow, 1833).

⁹ A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1956); other works consulted for comparative onomastic material consulted included e.g. *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names*, edited by D. Parsons, T. Styles and C. Hough (Nottingham, 1997-) and P. Drummond, *Scottish Hill and Mountain Names* (1991). Of the EPNS county surveys, those of the neighbouring counties (Cumberland, Westmorland and Yorkshire) were consulted systematically while surveys of other counties were used more selectively. In addition to *The Oxford English Dictionary*,

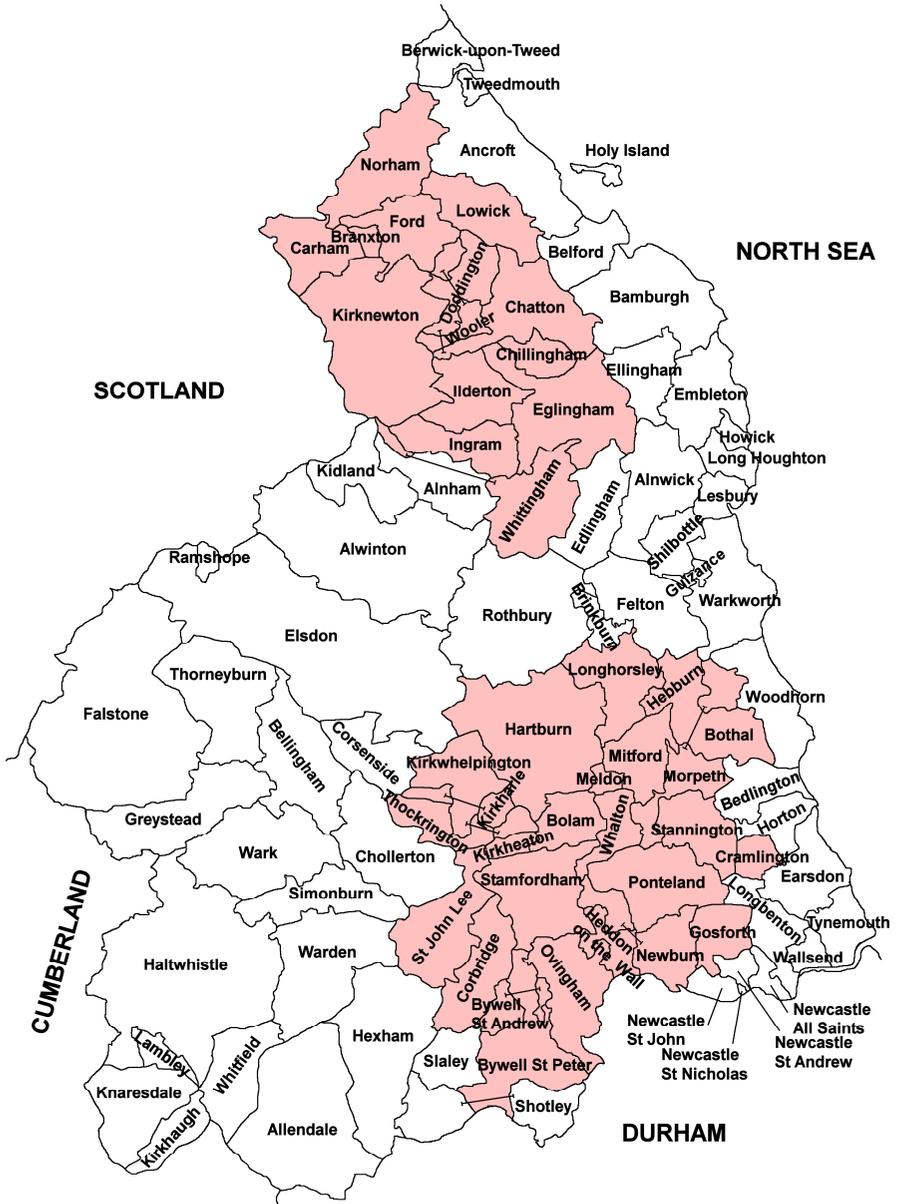
hill-terms, either as generics or specifics, were entered into an electronic corpus, regardless of their age and language of origin.

The counties of Northumberland and Durham form a particularly interesting area for research on the uses of topographical terms as they encompass a wide range of different landscapes, with different parts of the two counties also varying considerably from one another historically and linguistically. In order to investigate in detail the meanings and uses of the hill-terms across the study area, three areas within it were selected for an in-depth topographical analysis of the sites designated by the hill-terms contained in individual names. The three areas included in the detailed analysis are shown on Maps 1a and 1b; they were chosen as they were considered to be as representative as possible of the varying physical landscape of the study area and the range of languages used.¹⁰ The first area, in north-west Northumberland, is dominated by the Cheviot Hills, and characterised in terms of topography by comparatively large hill-features typically reaching 300-500 metres, and culturally and linguistically by its proximity to the Scottish border. In the second area, lying immediately north and north-west of Newcastle upon Tyne, on the other hand, the typical landscape is that of gently undulating, relatively low-lying agricultural land dotted with farms and small villages. The third area, in County Durham, is set apart linguistically and historically from the other two areas by its proximity to the Danelaw, which is reflected in a certain degree of Scandinavian influence on the local toponymy. The topographical analysis was based on the methodological frameworks developed by Gelling and Cole, grounded on extensive map-work and field-work, with the introduction of consistent and carefully defined terminology to allow for as objective and accurate an analysis as possible. The total number of certain or possible instances of hill-terms included in the analysis was 634, of which 182 will be of interest here as they involve OE hill-terms.

edited by J. Simpson and E. Weiner, 2nd edn, 20 vols (Oxford, 1989), the dictionaries consulted included e.g. J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 6 vols (London, 1898) and *DSL Dictionary of the Scots Language – Dictionar o the Scots Leid: Scottish National Dictionary* <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk>> [last accessed 15 May 2012].

¹⁰ The parish boundaries are pre-1832 and as in *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers*, edited by C. Humphery-Smith, 2nd edn (Chichester, 1995).

Map 1a Areas included in the topographical analysis (Northumberland)



adopted in this paper are necessary. Firstly, it is worth stressing that there are in general relatively few mediaeval documentary sources for Northumberland and County Durham place-names, with very few pre-Conquest documents. This is the case especially with topographical and minor names which are less likely than major settlement names to appear in writing in mediaeval or early modern documents, which are typically legal or fiscal in nature, relating to issues such as land ownership and taxation. Thus, we have very little direct evidence for an OE origin of the place-names of these counties. Of the 2,227 names included in the study corpus, only those names for which there are mediaeval spellings, or in the case of which there are specific reasons to postulate an OE origin have been included in the analysis of OE hill-terms presented in this paper.¹¹ With a few notable exceptions, the names in the study corpus fall into two comparatively distinct groups in terms of the date they are apparently first recorded: names first recorded in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, and thus included in the analysis of the OE hill-terms, and names which are not recorded until the eighteenth to twentieth centuries and presumed in most cases to be of ME or ModE origin. It should be borne in mind that some of the names belonging to the former group could be ME coinages, resulting from the need for new place-naming caused by population growth and internal colonisation in the 12th and 13th centuries.¹² Conversely, it is possible that some of the names belonging to the latter group could be of OE origin despite the apparent absence of early forms.

Of the 2,227 corpus names, 391 certainly or possibly contain OE hill-terms.¹³ As some names do, or may, contain more than one hill-term, the

¹¹ Humbleton (Northumberland, near Haydon Bridge; *Homilton* 1769, *Humbleton* 1865) and Homilton (Northumberland, near Thockrington; *Homilton* 1769) can be mentioned here as examples of the latter group. There are several other names of this type for which there are early forms in the study corpus (e.g. Humbleton (Northumberland, near Wooler; *Hameldun* c.1169), all apparently from OE **hamol*, **hamel* ‘mutilated’ + *dūn* ‘hill’, and this also seems the likely origin of those names for which there are apparently no early forms.

¹² R. Newton, *The Northumberland Landscape* (London, 1972), pp. 54–55.

¹³ The terms *certain* and *uncertain / possible* have been adopted here to allow for the relative certainty of the suggested etymologies to be taken into account in the analysis and discussion of the hill-terms. Occurrences of hill-terms have been classified as *certain* in cases where only one interpretation can be suggested for the hill-term in question, and this interpretation is both supported by the early forms and

total number of certain or possible occurrences of OE hill-terms is 430. The number of different OE hill-terms attested in the study corpus is 69. Compared with the number of different ME and ModE terms (79), and considering the relatively low total number of corpus names containing OE hill-terms, this is remarkably high, and can be interpreted to reflect the richness of OE topographical vocabulary. The commonest OE hill-term in the corpus is *dūn* ‘hill’, with 114 certain or possible occurrences, followed by *hlāw* ‘hill, artificial mound, tumulus’, which occurs certainly or possibly in 85 names. The OE hill-terms with at least ten certain or possible occurrences are shown in Table 1.¹⁴ The findings on the uses of the four commonest terms are considered below in detail in order of frequency.

Table 1 Commonest OE hill-terms

Hill-term	Number of occurrences		
	Certain	Uncertain	Total
<i>dūn</i> ‘hill’	53	61	114
<i>hlāw</i> ‘hill, artificial mound, tumulus’	46	39	85
<i>hōh</i> ‘heel; hill-spur’	29	4	33
<i>hyll</i> ‘hill’	22	6	28
<i>side</i> ‘side; hill-side’	14	5	19
<i>clif</i> ‘cliff, steep slope’	8	6	14
<i>hrycg</i> ‘ridge’	12	0	12

OE *dūn*

Of the 114 certain or possible occurrences of *dūn* in the study corpus, sixty-one are in the areas which were included in the detailed topographical analysis.

The study area *dūns* are typically irregularly shaped hills, with thirty-one (50.9%) features falling into this category (Table 2).¹⁵ *Dūn* is also used frequently of rounded hill-spurs, and, together with rounded or oval-shaped hills, rounded features account for fourteen (23.0%) instances in

also seems plausible on the grounds of local topography. All other occurrences have been classified as *uncertain / possible*.

¹⁴ For a list of all OE hill-terms attested in the corpus, see Appendix 1.

¹⁵ The descriptions of the shape of the features in Tables 2, 4, 6 and 8 refer to shape as seen from above and as presented on maps.

the analysis. It is also applied sporadically to other types of hill-features, including long, narrow hills, triangular hill-spurs and summits.

Table 2 OE *dūns* according to type of feature

Type of feature	Number of occurrences	%
Hill (irregular shape)	31	50.9
Rounded hill-spur	11	18.1
Rounded / oval-shaped hill	3	4.9
Long and/or narrow hill	3	4.9
Triangular hill-spur	3	4.9
Summit	2	3.4
Hill-spur (other shape)	1	1.6
Part of a hill	1	1.6
Rectangular hill-spur	1	1.6
Ridge	1	1.6
Triangular hill-spur	1	1.6
Not known	3	4.9
	61	100.0

Field-work and map-work have shown that the study area *dūns* typically have the classic *dūn*-shape described by Gelling and Cole, with a gentle outline and ‘a fairly level and fairly extensive summit which provided a good settlement-site in open country’.¹⁶ The features at Earsdon (Figure 1a) and Meldon (Figure 1b) are good examples of classic OE *dūns*. In Earsdon, the reference is to the level-topped summit of an extensive eminence while in Meldon, *dūn* refers to a hill with a fairly level summit, and both features also have settlements on top of them.

¹⁶ Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 164.

Figure 1a Earsdon (Nb, NZ 1993) from SSE



Figure 1b Meldon (Nb, NZ 1183) from NE



However, there are also several instances where *dūn* refers to a feature which does not have the classic shape. In Glanton (Figure 2a), for instance, the reference is either to a prominent hill or one of its summits, and in either case, the feature referred to does not have the classic *dūn*-shape, nor can it be said to provide a ‘good settlement-site’.¹⁷ The hill at Pittington (Figure 2b) has an extensive, level summit, but it also has the type of profile usually associated with *hōh*. One possible explanation for these apparent exceptions could be that the highly specialised use of *dūn* described by Gelling and Cole and frequently found in the study area is more or less restricted to early settlement-naming, and that at least some of the apparent exceptions belong to later strata of place-naming and were given after the element had lost the specialised meaning attested in early settlement names. This explanation is not entirely convincing, however, as apparent counter-examples can also be found among the features referred to in names which, having eleventh or twelfth-century spellings and denoting major settlements, can be regarded as potentially early.¹⁸ Another possibility could be that *dūn* has been applied to other types of hill-features in the parts of the study area where the classic *dūn*-shape is absent. While this scenario seems possible in some areas, such as the Breamish Valley, which has a cluster of atypical *dūns*, it cannot account for all the apparent exceptions. Many of them, such as Pittington, for instance, are in areas where features with the classic *dūn*-shape are present, together with *dūn*-names referring to them. It is also worth noting that the *dūn*-settlements of the study area are frequently at the foot or on the slopes of the features they were named from rather than on the summit.

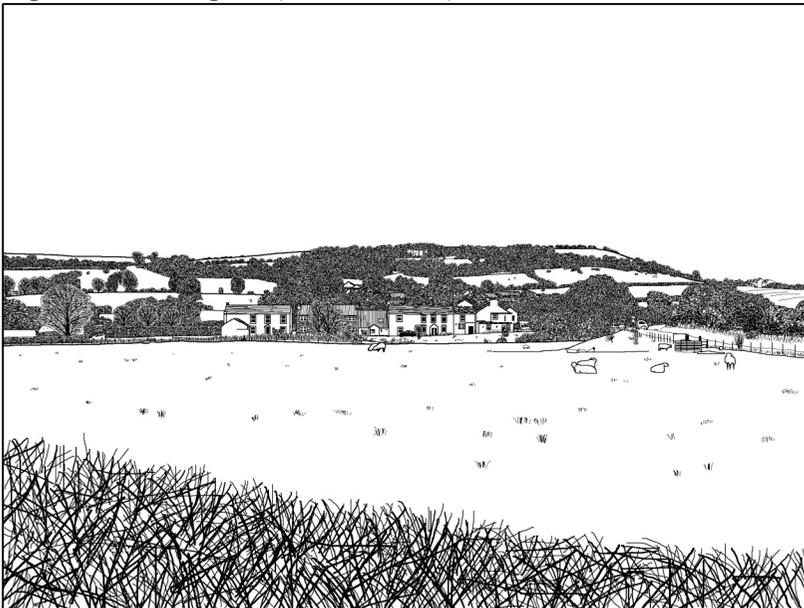
¹⁷ Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 164.

¹⁸ The potentially early counter-examples include Glanton (*Glentendon* 1186) (see Figure 2a) and Pittington (*duo Pittindunas* c.1085) (Figure 2b). Cf. Earsdon (*Erdisduna* 12th c.) (Figure 1a) and also e.g. Coundon (*Coundon* 1183) for potentially early examples of classic *dūns*.

Figure 2a Glanton (Nb, NU 0714) from NE

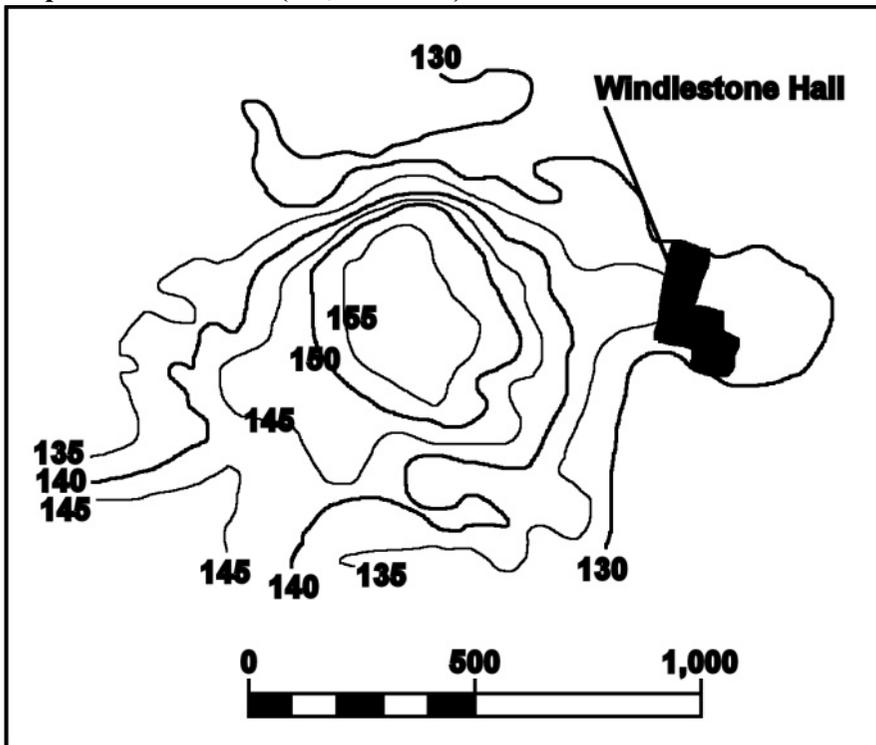


Figure 2b Pittington (Du, NZ 3244) from W

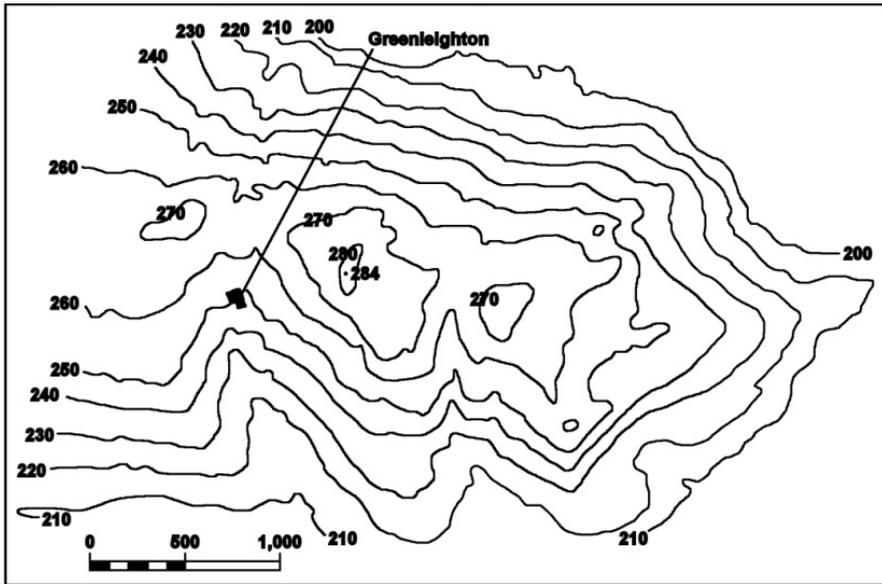


The maximum heights of the fifty-eight identifiable *dūns* vary between 50 and 710 metres, with forty-four (75.9%) features reaching a maximum height between 50 and 200 metres while both very low and very high *dūns* are rare. The length of the *dūn*-features varies between 75 and 2,900 metres while their maximum width ranges from 60 to 2,200 metres. Both very small and very extensive *dūns* are rare, with thirty-two (55.2%) of the fifty-eight features measuring between 500 and 1,000 metres in length while thirty-five (60.3%) have maximum widths between 250 and 750 metres. Measuring 800 x 50-600 and 850 x 100-600 metres, respectively, the irregularly shaped hills near Windlestone Hall (Map 2a) and at Greenleighton (Map 2b) are fairly typical examples of the study area *dūns* in terms of both shape and size. The former is also typical in terms of maximum height, reaching 155 metres, while the hill at Greenleighton is among the highest *dūns* in the analysis, reaching 284 metres.

Map 2a Windlestone (Du, NZ 2628)



Map 2b Greenleighton (Nb, NZ 0292)



The characteristics of the *dūns* included in the analysis are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3 Summary of characteristics of OE *dūns*

Max. height: 50-710m; average 164m	Min. width: 25-1,000m; average 122m
Length: 75-2,900m; average 914m	Max. width: 60-2,200m; average 608m

The findings of the present study indicate that OE *dūn* has a specialised meaning in the place-names of the study area as it is typically applied to features which are comparatively extensive and often also have fairly extensive, level summits. It is debatable, however, whether the use of the element can be said to be characterised by ‘a very high degree of consistency’, observed elsewhere by Gelling and Cole, as several study area *dūns* lack the ‘fairly level and fairly extensive summit’ thought to be the most salient characteristic of an OE *dūn*.¹⁹

¹⁹ Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 164–165.

OE *hlāw*

OE *hlāw* occurs certainly or possibly in eighty-five names in the corpus, thirty-one of which are in the areas included in the topographical analysis.

Hlāw is used in the study area of both hills and hill-spurs, and also occasionally of summits and slopes (Table 4). The study area *hlāws* are typically of rounded or oval shape, with rounded or oval-shaped hills and rounded hill-spurs accounting for thirteen (42.0%) of the thirty-one instances included the analysis. *Hlāw* is, however, also used fairly frequently of irregularly shaped hills, with six (19.4%) features falling into this category. It is worth noting that there are no certain instances of the element referring to a tumulus or other man-made feature among the names included in the detailed analysis.

Table 4 OE *hlāws* according to type of feature

Type of feature	Number of occurrences	%
Rounded / oval-shaped hill	7	22.6
Rounded hill-spur	6	19.4
Hill (irregular shape)	6	19.4
Summit	2	6.5
Rectangular hill	1	3.2
Tongue-shaped hill-spur	1	3.2
Triangular hill	1	3.2
Triangular hill-spur	1	3.2
Hill-spur (other shape)	1	3.2
Slope	1	3.2
Not known	4	12.9
	31	100.0

Field-work conducted for the present study supports Gelling's suggestion that '[c]areful study [of the *hlāws*] would probably reveal a specialised use for hills of a certain shape, perhaps those with a smoothly rounded profile', with the *hlāws* of the study area having almost invariably a gently rounded outline.²⁰ The features at Brenkley (Figure 3a) and Huntlaw (Figure 3b) are typical examples of the study area *hlāws*. In Brenkley, the reference is to a rounded hill-spur while in Huntlaw, *hlāw* refers to a

²⁰ Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 162.

rounded hill, and both features have a ‘smoothly rounded profile’. In Wooley (Figure 3c), *hlāw* refers to a hill which is irregularly shaped, but which has a rounded, rather than a rugged or spiky profile.

The maximum height of the twenty-seven identifiable *hlāws* varies between 48 and 287 metres. The length of the twenty-six measurable *hlāw*-features ranges from 50 to 1,800 metres while their maximum width varies between 40 and 1,100 metres. The study area *hlāws* are typically comparatively small, with seventeen (65.4%) features measuring 500 metres or less in length while thirteen (50.0%) have maximum widths of 250 metres or less. Measuring 325 x 25-175 and 400 x 25-175 metres, respectively, the oval-shaped hills at Butterlaw (Map 3a) and Heatherslaw (Map 3b) are typical examples of the study area *hlāws* in terms of both shape and size.

The characteristics of the *hlāws* are summarised in Table 5.

Figure 3a Brenkley (Nb, NZ 2175) from West



Figure 3b Huntlaw (Nb, NZ 0975) from SW

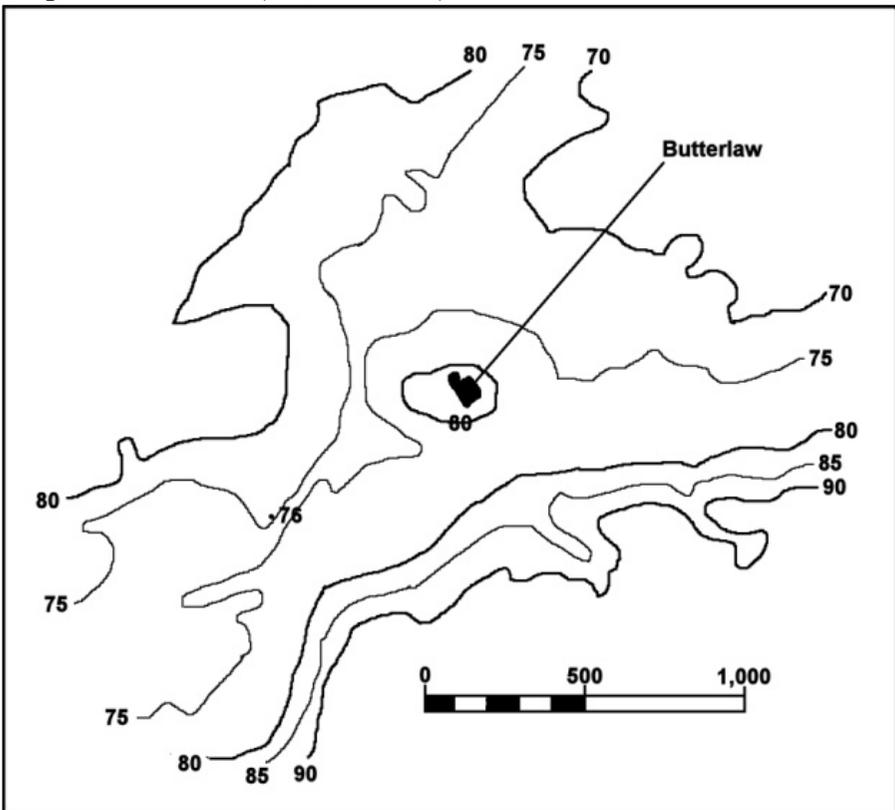


Figure 3c Wooley (Du, NZ 1739) from SW

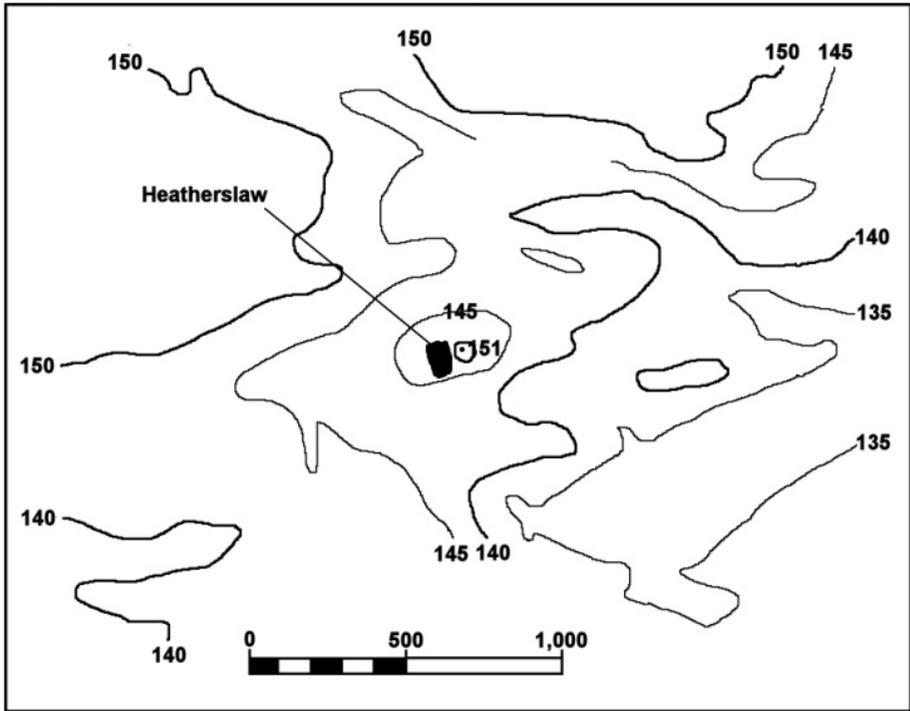


Table 5 Summary of characteristics of OE *hlāws*

Max. height: 48-287m; average 142m	Min. width: 10-150m; average 73m
Length: 50-1,800m; average 518m	Max. width: 40-1,100m; average 362m

Map 3a Butterlaw (Nb, NZ 1868)

Map 3b Heatherslaw (Nb, NZ 0874)



The findings presented above support Gelling's suggestion that OE *hlāw* probably had 'a specialised use for hills of a certain shape, perhaps those with a smoothly rounded profile', indicating that *hlāw* is characteristically used in the study area of rounded or oval-shaped features which have a rounded profile, and which tend to be comparatively small.²¹ They are also in line with Gelling and Cole's more general observation that while *hlāw* is 'primarily a term used for artificial mounds', north of 'a vague line from the Mersey to the Humber', it is 'commonly used of natural hills' as there are no certain instances of the element referring to a man-made feature among the names included in the detailed analysis.²²

²¹ Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 162.

²² Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, pp. 178–179.

OE *hōh*

OE *hōh* has thirty-three certain or possible occurrences in the corpus, sixteen of which are in the areas included in the topographical analysis.

Hōh is typically used in the study area of irregularly shaped hills, with this use accounting for seven (43.7%) of the sixteen instances included in the analysis (Table 6). It is also used frequently of triangular features, with triangular hill-spurs and hills accounting for a further five (31.2%) instances.

Table 6 OE *hōhs* according to type of feature

Type of feature	Number of occurrences	%
Hill (irregular shape)	7	43.7
Triangular hill-spur	4	24.9
Hill-spur (other shape)	2	12.5
Tongue-shaped hill-spur	1	6.3
Tip of a ridge	1	6.3
Triangular hill	1	6.3
	16	100.0

Field-work and map-work have shown that the specialised use of *hōh* for hill-features which ‘rise to a point and have a concave end’, with the shape being ‘that of the foot of a person lying face down, with the highest point for the heel and the concavity for the instep’, described by Gelling and Cole, is well attested in the study area, with nine (56.3%) of the sixteen features included in the analysis having the classic *hōh*-shape.²³ The prominent, irregularly shaped hills at Ingoe (Figure 4a) and Shaftoe (Figure 4b) are good examples of the classic *hōhs* of the study area. It has been noted by Gelling and Cole that *hōh* is also ‘used occasionally of

²³ Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 186. It should be noted here that although Gelling and Cole define the classic *hōh* as a particular type of hill-spur or ridge, many of the features which have the classic *hōh*-shape, including the irregularly shaped hills at Ingoe and Shaftoe discussed below and shown in Figures 4a and 4b, do not qualify for hill-spurs according to the definition adopted for the present study (*hill-spur* = hill-feature jutting from, and forming part of, a larger eminence), and have not been classified as such in Table 6. In order for a hill-feature to ‘rise to a point and have a concave end’, it has to be longer than it is wide, but, apart from that, the classic *hōh*-shape is not restricted to features of a particular type.

very low ridges which do not have diagnostic shapes [...] even in areas where the classic *hōh* shape is found together with the precise use of the word'.²⁴ Of the other seven *hōhs* included in the analysis, the reference is to features which could be described as 'very low ridges' in four (25.0%) instances, three (75.0%) of which are in areas where classic *hōhs* are also present, together with place-names containing the element in its precise use.

Figure 4a Ingoe (Nb, NZ 0374) from NNW

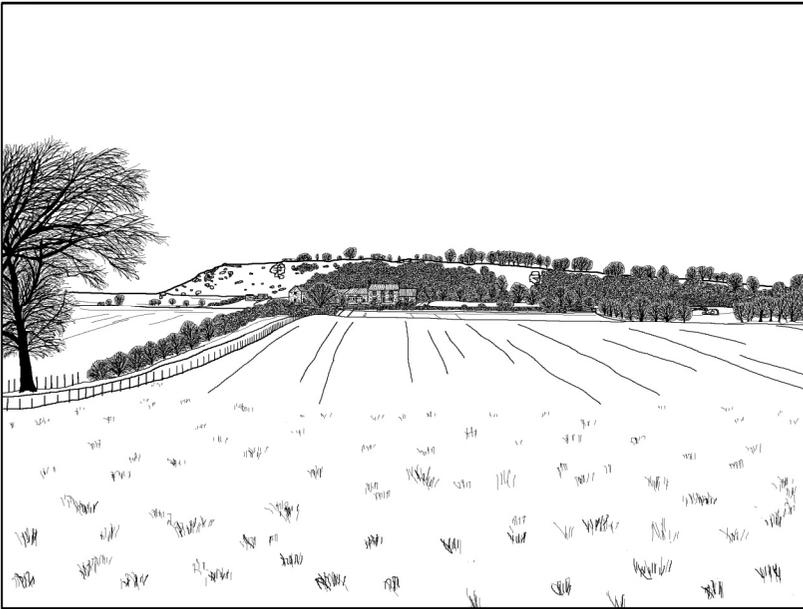


The maximum height of the *hōhs* varies between 50 and 225 metres; while both very low and very high features are absent, the study area *hōhs* do not have a characteristic maximum height. The length of the *hōh*-features ranges from 200 to 2,500 metres, with nine (56.3%) features measuring between 500 and 1,000 metres in length, while their maximum width varies between 100 and 1,000 metres, with six (37.5%) features having maximum widths between 500 and 750 metres. The maximum

²⁴ Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 186.

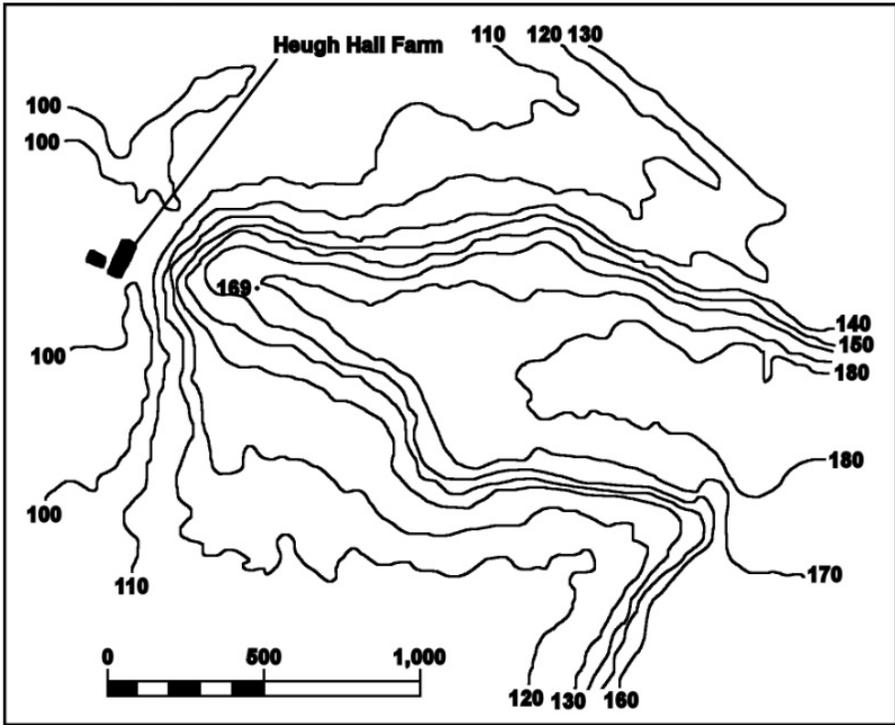
gradients of the *hōhs* vary between 6.3% and 100%, with nine (60.0%) of the fifteen features included in the analysis having maximum gradients of at least 50%. The maximum gradients of the nine features which have the classic *hōh*-shape range from 25.0% to 100%, with four (44.4%) features having gradients in excess of 100%. The minimum gradients of the diagnostic, concave end of the classic *hōhs* vary between 6.0% and 25.0% while the maximum gradients vary between 23.0% and 100%, with the averages being 15.3% and 54.9%, respectively.

Figure 4b Shaftoe (Nb, NZ 0481) from S

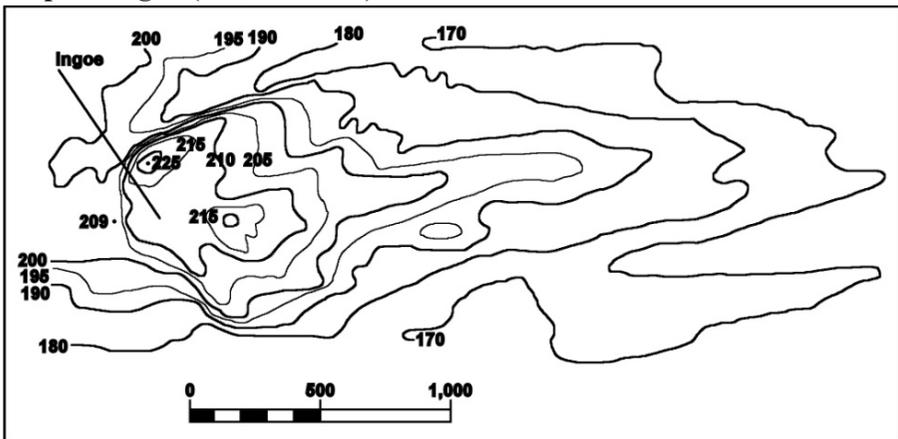


Measuring 750 x 200-700 metres and with gradients in excess of 100%, the feature at Heugh (Map 4a) is a fairly typical example of a classic *hōh* in terms of both size and gradients. The irregularly shaped hill at Ingoe (Map 4b) is the largest of the classic *hōhs*, measuring 2,500 x 175-1,000 metres, while the triangular hill-spur at Houghton (Map 4c) is among the smallest, measuring 300 x 50-225 metres.

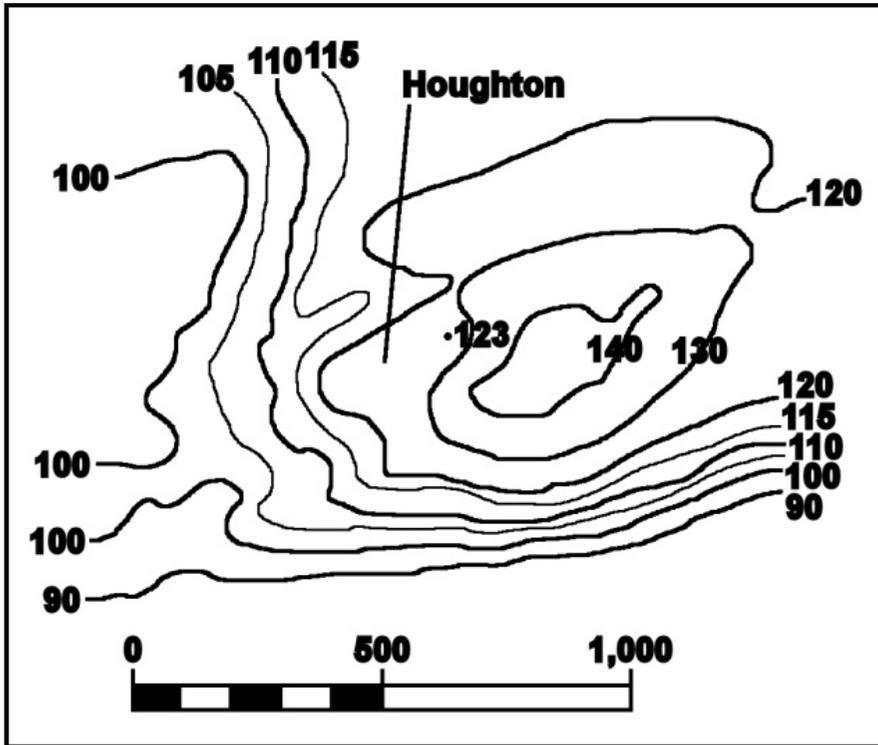
Map 4a Heugh (Du, NZ 3138)



Map 4b Ingoe (Nb, NZ 0374)



Map 4c Houghton (Nb, NZ 1266)



The characteristics of the *hōhs* are summarised in Table 7.

Table 7 Summary of characteristics of OE *hōhs*

Max. height: 50-225m; average 143m	Min. width: 25-200m; average 78m
Length: 200-2,500m; average 784m	Max. width: 100-1,000m; average 453m
Max. gradient: 6.3-100%; average 55%	

The findings of the present study show that, like *dūn* and *hlāw*, OE *hōh* has a specialised meaning in the place-names of the study area as it is typically used of features which have the classic *hōh*-shape described by

Gelling and Cole. It is, however, also applied fairly often to features which Gelling and Cole define as ‘very low ridges which do not have diagnostic shapes’.²⁵

OE *hyll*

OE *hyll* occurs certainly or possibly in 28 names, 15 of which are in the areas included in the topographical analysis.

Hyll is typically used of irregularly shaped hills and hill-spurs, with features falling into these categories accounting for ten (66.5%) of the fifteen instances in the analysis (Table 8).

Table 8 OE *hylls* according to type of feature

Type of feature	Number of occurrences	%
Hill (irregular shape)	7	46.5
Hill-spur (other shape)	3	20.0
Kidney-shaped hill	1	6.7
Rounded hill	1	6.7
Triangular hill-spur	1	6.7
Slope	1	6.7
Not known	1	6.7
	15	100

Field-work has shown that the study area *hylls* tend to have a gentle, rather than a rugged profile, and there is no evidence for the use of the element ‘for natural eminences of a [...] spiky outline’—observed elsewhere by Gelling and Cole—in the study area.²⁶ The features at Throphill (Figure 5a) and Earle (Figure 5b) are fairly typical examples of the study area *hylls* in terms of profile, as both are characterised by a gentle outline.

²⁵ Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 186.

²⁶ Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 169.

Figure 5a Throphill (Nb, NZ 1385) from W

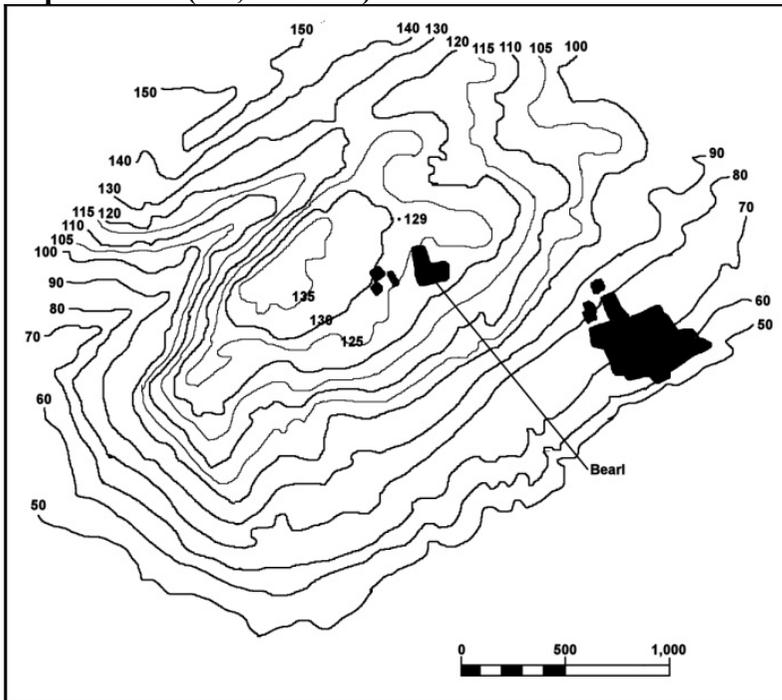


Figure 5b Earle (Nb, NT 9826) from E



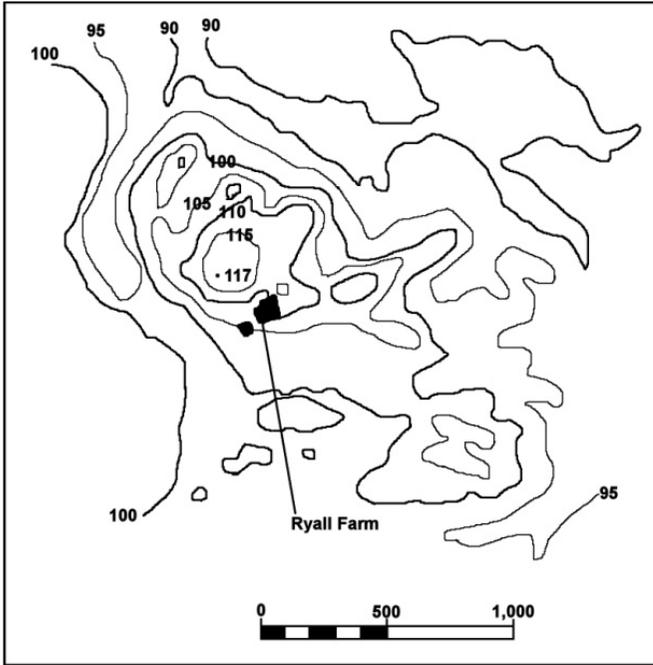
The maximum heights of the fourteen *hylls* included in the analysis range from 60 to 295 metres, with nine (64.3%) features having maximum heights between 50 and 150 metres. The absence of both very low and very high features is worth noting, especially since a similar pattern has been observed elsewhere by Gelling.²⁷ The length of the thirteen measurable *hylls* varies between 400 and 1,900 metres while their maximum width ranges from 225 to 1,200 metres. The study area *hylls* tend to be comparatively extensive in terms of both length and width, with seven (53.8%) features measuring at least 1,000 metres in length while nine (69.2%) have a maximum width of at least 500 metres. Measuring 1,900 x 200-900 and 1,400 x 100-1,000 metres, respectively, the irregularly shaped hills at Bearl (Map 5a) and Ryall Farm (Map 5b) are among the most extensive *hylls* in the analysis while the hill on which Briery Hill farm (Map 5c) is situated is among the smallest, measuring 400 x 100-225 metres.

Map 5a Bearl (Nb, NZ 0564)

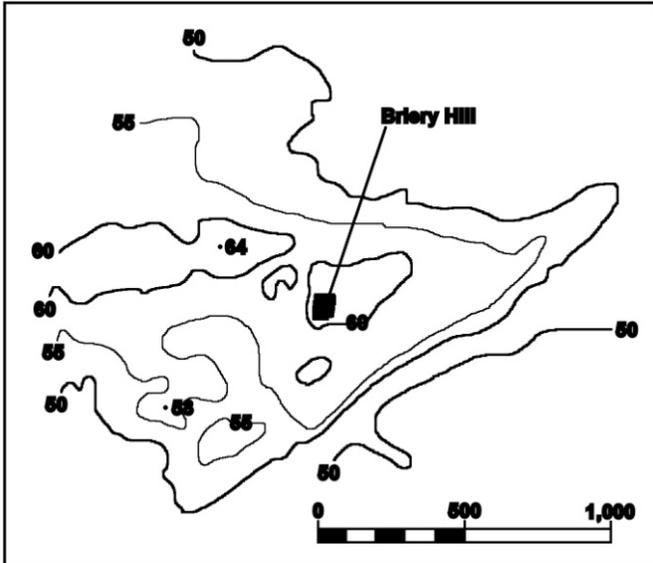


²⁷ Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 170.

Map 5b Ryall Farm (Du, NZ 3629)



Map 5c Briery Hill (Nb, NZ 2279)



The characteristics of the *hylls* are summarised in Table 9.

Table 9 Summary of characteristics of OE *hylls*

Max. height: 60-295m; average 142m	Min. width: 50-550m; average 165m
Length: 400-1,900m; average 948m	Max. width: 225- 1,200m; average 642m

The findings of the present study indicate that OE *hyll* does not have a highly specialised, nuanced meaning in the study area. Nevertheless, they seem to suggest a level of precision which goes beyond what might be expected in the light of previous studies as the element is used frequently of features which are irregularly shaped, but which tend to be comparatively extensive, often with a fairly extensive summit, and which are also further characterised by having a gentle, rather than a rugged or spiky outline. Thus, the findings suggest that *hyll* cannot have simply been applied to any features which did not qualify for the more precise terms, such as *dūn* or *hōh*, for instance.

Before the findings of the present study are compared with those of previous studies by Gelling and Cole, some general remarks on Gelling's *Place-Names in the Landscape*, Gelling and Cole's *The Landscape of Place-Names*, and the Gelling hypothesis are necessary, along with a brief summary of the meanings attributed to OE hill-terms in these studies. Firstly, it should be noted that while both studies argue for the richness and precision of OE topographical vocabulary, the notions of *specialised use* and *consistency* that are so central to the argument are not discussed in any detail in either study. While it is clear from the descriptions given in *Place-Names in the Landscape* and *The Landscape of Place-Names* that there is variation between the topographical elements in terms of the degree of precision, it is not clear how many of the terms the authors themselves would have considered to have a specialised meaning. This inevitably makes any evaluation of the validity of the hypothesis for the place-names of a particular area problematic as it is not clear how far variation in the meanings and uses is to be expected, and, indeed, accepted for the hypothesis to be still considered as valid. The lack of a definition and criteria for consistency create similar problems since, again, it is not clear how much variation is to be expected or allowed. A further factor contributing to the difficulties involved in

attempts to evaluate the validity of the hypothesis is that both studies focus strongly on instances which provide the best and clearest examples of the specialised uses. While understandable and justifiable in the case of pioneering work, this approach leaves it unclear to what extent there are exceptions. Finally, the restrictions of the scope of these studies are also worth mentioning. The material examined by Gelling and Cole is, again for very good reasons, restricted mainly to major topographical settlement names recorded before *c.*1500 and included in Ekwall's *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, with the inclusion of a handful of minor names from areas covered by the EPNS surveys. Thus, the validity of the hypothesis both for minor and purely topographical names and also for a large number of various types of names from areas for which early forms are scarce has not been tested so far.

The number of hill-terms examined in *The Landscape of Place-Names* is forty-six while *Place-Names in the Landscape* contains a slightly lower number of terms, forty-two.²⁸ Of these terms, twenty-nine and twenty-six, respectively, are of OE origin and thus of interest here. The meanings and comparative degree of specialisation attributed to OE hill-terms in *The Landscape of Place-Names* are summarised in Appendix 2a. While Gelling and Cole themselves do not explicitly categorise the topographical terms according to the level of specialisation, the terms *highly specialised*, *specialised* and *not specialised* have been adopted in this paper to allow for a discussion of the extent to which the various hill-terms have specialised meanings. Although unavoidably subjective, this categorisation is useful as it enables systematic comparisons between the findings of the previous studies and the present study, as well as between the different hill-terms. Of the twenty-nine OE terms included in *The Landscape of Place-Names*, six (20.7%) are given meanings which can be described as highly specialised while a further sixteen (55.2%) have meanings which are specialised to a lesser degree. There are seven (24.1%) terms for which a specialised meaning has not been established; some of these terms, such as *hyll*, are said to have been used especially for those features which did not qualify for the specialised terms while others, such as *camb* 'comb; hill-crest, ridge', may have had a precise

²⁸ ON *fjall*, *fell* 'hill, mountain' is only included in Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*; ON *berg* 'hill, mountain', ON *haugr* 'hill, burial mound', OE **hwæl* 'rounded hill', OE **pēac* 'hill, peak', and OE *pīc* '(pointed) hill' are only included in Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*.

meaning, but are ‘probably not amenable to precise definition’ because of the low number of occurrences.²⁹

Of the twenty-nine terms included in *The Landscape of Place-Names*, twenty-one occur in the study corpus, with eighteen terms occurring at least once in the areas included in the topographical analysis. The numbers of occurrences and levels of specialisation observed are summarised in Appendix 2b. Of the commonest hill-terms, both *dūn* and *hōh* are attested in the study area with highly specialised meanings which are consistent with those described by Gelling and Cole. Of the terms thought to have been specialised to a lesser extent, *clif* ‘cliff, steep slope’ has a similar meaning in the study area to that observed by Gelling and Cole. This also seems to be true of *hēafod* ‘head’, *helde* ‘slope’, *scylfe* ‘ledge, shelf’ and *hlið* ‘slope’, although it should be borne in mind that there are only three occurrences of *scylfe* in the analysis while the other three terms only occur once. The findings also support Gelling’s suggestion that *hlāw* probably had ‘a specialised use for hills of a certain shape, perhaps those with a smoothly rounded profile’ as the study area *hlāws* are typically rounded or oval-shaped hills or rounded hill-spurs and have a rounded profile.³⁰ Moreover, the findings also suggest that specialised meanings can be established for *hyll* and *sīde* ‘side; hill-side’, with the former being a term for fairly low, irregularly shaped hills and hill-spurs while the latter is characteristically used of slopes which are comparatively high, but not particularly steep. Of the terms which are given specialised or highly specialised meanings in *The Landscape of Place-Names*, *hrycg* is the only term which does not seem to have a specialised meaning in the place-names of the study area. In the case of the other ten hill-terms, the findings are inconclusive because of the low number of instances in the areas included in the detailed analysis.

While the findings presented in this paper indicate that the Gelling hypothesis is in general valid in the study area, they also show that the relationship between the topographical terms and the features to which they refer is not as straightforward as the hypothesis seems to predict. While the hypothesis is undoubtedly valid in so far as it is possible to establish specialised meanings and uses for the majority of the OE hill-terms found in the study area, the question of whether the use of these terms can also be said to be characterised by a high degree of consistency

²⁹ Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, pp. 153, 192.

³⁰ Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 162.

is much more problematic. OE *dūn*, for instance, has a highly specialised meaning in the study area, being typically used of fairly low, level-topped hills, but since there are also several instances where it is used of features which do not have this shape, it is questionable whether its use in the study area could be said to be characterised by ‘a very high degree of consistency’.³¹ It is also worth noting that map-work and field-work conducted for the present study have shown that identifying the features the hill-terms refer to is often problematic and sometimes impossible even in the case of terms such as *dūn* and *hōh* for which specialised uses can be established.³² This seems to go against the grain of the basic expectations arising from the Gelling hypothesis.

Perhaps the differences between the uses of the topographical terms and the question of the validity of the Gelling hypothesis are best approached from a slightly different angle which does not involve the notion of consistency. It could be argued that topographical terms, including OE hill-terms, typically have a continuum of meanings and uses ranging from very general and vague to the potentially highly specialised, and that the main difference between specialised and non-specialised terms does not lie in whether these terms are always used with the same meaning, but whether they display a full spectrum of meanings ranging all the way to the highly specialised, and whether the specialised meanings are also the commonest meanings of these terms. Thus, in order for the hypothesis to be valid for the study area, the OE hill-terms should be characterised by the availability and frequent use of meanings which are specialised rather than general, and, indeed, the findings presented above and summarised in Appendix 2b show this to be the case.

This paper, based on an analysis of a study corpus containing 2,227 place-names, provides an overview of the OE hill-terms attested in the place-names of Northumberland and County Durham. It examines in detail the meanings and uses of the four commonest OE hill-terms in the

³¹ Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 165.

³² Wooler, thought to contain OE **ofer, ufer* ‘slope, hill, ridge’, is a case in point. According to Gelling and Cole, ‘a good instance of [**ofer, ufer* ‘flat-topped ridge with a convex shoulder’] is to be seen overlooking the town of Wooler’; however, the map-work and field-work conducted for the present study failed to identify this feature, and the possible reference of the element was left blank in the topographical data (*The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 199).

corpus, and discussed the findings in relation the Gelling hypothesis. While the findings summarised in this paper indicate that OE hill-terms typically have specialised, fairly consistent meanings in the study area, and that the Gelling hypothesis is thus valid in general, they also show that the relationship between the topographical terms and the features to which they refer is not always straightforward, which makes further research into the uses of topographical vocabulary a worthwhile and challenging pursuit. A specific question which arises, and which will be the subject of a separate study, is that of how the meanings and uses of Middle English and Modern English hill-terms compare with those of the OE terms in terms of precision, and, more specifically, whether specialised meanings are, as the Gelling hypothesis seems to predict, characteristic of, or unique to, OE place-naming.

Appendix 1. OE hill-terms attested in the study corpus

Hill-term	Number of occurrences		
	Certain	Uncertain	Total
<i>dūn</i> ‘hill’	53	61	114
<i>hlāw</i> ‘hill, artificial mound, tumulus’	46	39	85
<i>hōh</i> ‘heel; hill-spur’	29	4	33
<i>hyll</i> ‘hill’	22	6	28
<i>sīde</i> ‘side; hill-side’	14	5	19
<i>clif</i> ‘cliff, steep slope’	8	6	14
<i>hrycg</i> ‘ridge’	12	0	12
* <i>billing</i> ‘hill, prominence, ridge’	1	5	6
<i>hēafod</i> ‘head’	4	2	6
<i>helde</i> ‘slope’	2	3	5
<i>hyrst</i> ‘hillock, wooded hill, wood’	5	0	5
* <i>scēot</i> ‘steep slope’	1	4	5
<i>berg</i> ‘hill, mound, tumulus’	1	3	4
<i>byrgen</i> ‘burial place, tumulus’	2	2	4
<i>hæt(t)</i> ‘hat’	0	4	4
<i>helm</i> ‘helmet; summit of a hill’	2	2	4
* <i>belling</i> ‘bell-shaped hill’	0	3	3
* <i>bol</i> ‘rounded hill’	0	3	3
<i>camb</i> ‘comb; hill-crest, ridge’	3	0	3
<i>scylfe</i> ‘ledge, shelf’	0	3	3
<i>stigel, -ol</i> ‘stile; steep ascent’	2	1	3
<i>belle</i> ‘bell; bell-shaped hill’	0	2	2
<i>benc</i> ‘bench’	0	2	2
<i>bile</i> ‘bill, beak; bill-shaped hill, promontory’	1	1	2
<i>bill</i> ‘sword; (hill-)edge’	0	2	2
* <i>brince</i> ‘brink, edge’	0	2	2
<i>cnoll</i> ‘hill-top, summit’	2	0	2
<i>copp, cop</i> ‘hill-top, summit’	1	1	2
* <i>dod, *dud</i> ‘rounded hill’	0	2	2
<i>fīn</i> ‘heap, pile; mound’	0	2	2
* <i>glente</i> ‘look-out hill’	0	2	2
<i>hlinc</i> ‘ridge, bank’	1	1	2
<i>hlið</i> ‘slope’	0	2	2

<i>horn</i> , * <i>horna</i> ‘horn’	1	1	2
<i>hwerfel</i> ‘wheel, circle; circular or round-topped hill’	0	2	2
<i>ōfer</i> ‘brink, shore’	0	2	2
* <i>ofer</i> , * <i>ufer</i> ‘slope, hill, ridge’	0	2	2
<i>pīc</i> ‘point; pointed hill, hill’	0	2	2
<i>sæte</i> (late OE) ‘seat’	0	2	2
<i>scyt(t)els</i> , <i>scyt(t)el</i> ‘shuttle’	0	2	2
* <i>burgæsn</i> , * <i>burgæns</i> ‘burial mound’	0	1	1
* <i>butt</i> ‘hill’	0	1	1
* <i>buttel</i> ‘little hill’	0	1	1
* <i>cnocc</i> ‘hill, hillock’	1	0	1
<i>cnotta</i> ‘hillock’	1	0	1
* <i>dodding</i> ‘rounded hill or summit’	0	1	1
* <i>dūning</i> ‘high ground’	0	1	1
<i>ears</i> ‘buttock’	1	0	1
<i>ecg</i> ‘edge’	0	1	1
<i>fergen</i> ‘wooded hill’	1	0	1
* <i>hamol</i> , * <i>hamel</i> (noun) ‘mutilated (hill)’	0	1	1
* <i>hēahing</i> ‘high ground’	0	1	1
<i>hēap</i> ‘heap’	1	0	1
* <i>helming</i> ‘helmet-shaped hill’	0	1	1
<i>hōd</i> ‘hood; hood-shaped hill’	0	1	1
* <i>humol</i> ‘rounded hillock’	0	1	1
* <i>hwæl</i> ‘rounded hill’	0	1	1
* <i>ing</i> ‘hill, peak’	0	1	1
* <i>mæring</i> ‘conspicuous hill or place’	0	1	1
<i>næss</i> ‘promontory, headland’	0	1	1
* <i>nesu</i> , * <i>neosu</i> ‘nose; promontory, headland’	0	1	1
<i>ord</i> ‘point, projecting ridge of land, corner of land’	1	0	1
* <i>pocor</i> ‘bag(?) , pustule(?)’	0	1	1
<i>sceaft</i> ‘shaft, pole’	0	1	1
<i>scelf</i> ‘shelf’	0	1	1
<i>scofl</i> ‘shovel’	0	1	1
* <i>scor(a)</i> ‘steep slope’	1	0	1

* <i>snōc(a)</i> ‘point, projection’	1	0	1
<i>yppe</i> ‘raised place, platform; hill’	0	1	1
	221	209	430

Appendix 2a. Meanings of OE hill-terms in Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*

Hill-term	Meaning	Number of examples	Highly specialised / Specialised / Not specialised
<i>dūn</i>	‘hill’; ‘low hill with a fairly level and fairly extensive summit which provided a good settlement-site in open country’ (p. 164)	355 (22.6%)	Highly specialised
<i>hyll</i>	‘hill’; ‘used for hills which do not have the clearly defined characteristics of those called [<i>berg</i>] or <i>dūn</i> ’, ‘preferred [...] for hills which were neither smoothly rounded nor flat-topped’ (pp. 161, 192)	188 (11.9%)	Not specialised
<i>hōh</i>	‘heel’; ‘used [...] for ridges which rise to a point and have a concave end [...] the shape is that of the foot of a person lying face down, with the highest point for the heel and the concavity for the instep’ (p. 186)	154 (9.8%)	Highly specialised
<i>clif</i>	‘cliff’; ‘used of slopes which are 45° or steeper [...] a <i>clif</i> is frequently a riverside feature’ (p. 153)	138 (8.8%)	Specialised
<i>berg</i>	‘rounded hill, tumulus’; ‘the defining characteristic [...] is a continuously rounded profile [...] usually refers to small hills, sometimes to glacial drumlins’ (p. 145)	120 (7.6%)	Highly specialised

<i>ōra</i>	‘bank’; ‘flat-topped ridge with a convex shoulder’, ‘used [...] in the south of England in the same sense as [*]ofer, ufer’ (p. 203)	76 (4.8%)	Highly specialised
<i>hrycg</i>	‘ridge’; ‘[n]o subtlety is required for interpretation: anything which qualifies for the modern term could have been described by the OE one’ (p. 190)	71 (4.5%)	Specialised
<i>*ofer, ufer</i>	‘flat-topped ridge with a convex shoulder’; ‘describes ridges which contrast [...] with those for <i>hōh</i> is used’ (p. 199)	62 (3.9%)	Highly specialised
<i>hēafod</i>	‘head’; ‘projecting piece of land’, ‘[t]here are a number of instances in which [<i>hēafod</i>] [...] refers to a piece of land which juts out below the level of the rest of the massif’ (p. 175)	59 (3.7%)	Specialised
<i>hlāw</i>	‘tumulus, hill’ (178); ‘[c]areful study would probably reveal a specialised use for hills of a certain shape, perhaps those with a smoothly rounded profile’ ³³	58 (3.7%)	Specialised
<i>scelf, scylfe</i> ³⁴	‘shelf’; ‘refers to exceptionally level ground’ (p. 216)	54 (3.4%)	Specialised
<i>næss</i>	‘projecting piece of land’; ‘the commonest use is for low-lying land jutting into water or marsh’ (p. 196)	40 (2.5%)	Specialised
<i>hlið</i>	‘slope’; ‘concave hill-side’, ‘a related use [...] is for hills and escarpments which have a hollow at the foot’ (pp. 182, 184)	30 (1.9%)	Specialised
<i>hlinc</i>	‘bank, ledge’; ‘the reference is frequently to a terrace, natural or man-made, which carries a road’ (p. 180)	24 (1.5%)	Specialised

³³ Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 162.

³⁴ *Scelf* and *scylfe* are treated in Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* and Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* as variant forms of the same element.

<i>cnoll</i>	‘knoll’; ‘truncated cone’, ‘[t]he relative frequency of simplex examples [...] suggests that a <i>cnoll</i> was a distinctive type of hill’ (p. 157)	22 (1.4%)	Highly specialised
<i>sīde</i>	‘side’; ‘hill-side’ (p. 219)	18 (1.1%)	Not specialised
* <i>ric</i>	‘strip’; ‘sometimes [...] a straight strip of raised ground [...] [i]n other instances a reference can be postulated to straight, narrow ridges’ (p. 214)	16 (1.0%)	Specialised
<i>ecg</i>	‘edge’; ‘can be used of slight slopes [...] or rock scars in fairly low ground [...] or long, low ridges [...] occasionally used of dramatic rock escarpments’ (p. 173)	15 (1.0%)	Not specialised
<i>bæc</i>	‘back’; ‘used [...] of ridges, varying in type from a low ridge in marshy ground to much more dramatic features’ (p. 144)	14 (0.9%)	Specialised
<i>helde</i>	‘slope’; ‘a specialised term for an inclined plane which was less steep than a <i>clif</i> [...] 45°’ (p. 177)	11 (0.7%)	Specialised
<i>copp</i> , <i>cop</i>	‘summit’; ‘sometimes (perhaps always) used for a hill or ridge which has a narrow, crest-like summit’ (p. 158)	10 (0.6%)	Specialised
* <i>pēac</i>	‘peak’; ‘used of pointed hills’ (p. 210)	9 (0.6%)	Specialised
<i>pīc</i>	‘point’; ‘pointed hill’ (p. 213)	8 (0.5%)	Specialised
* <i>hlenc</i> ³⁵	‘extensive hill-slope’ (p. 180)	6 (0.4%)	Not specialised
<i>camb</i>	‘comb’; ‘probably not amenable to precise definition’ (p. 153)	5 (0.3%)	Not specialised

³⁵ The six examples are ‘in the names of a line of villages stretching north from Evesham [Worcestershire] [...] *Lench* must have been the name of a district extending 5 miles from north to south’ (Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 180).

* <i>cocc</i> ³⁶	‘hillock’ (p. 158)	5 (0.3%)	Not specialised
* <i>ræc</i>	‘raised straight strip’ (p. 213)	4 (0.3%)	Specialised
* <i>cōc</i> , * <i>cōce</i>	‘hill’ (p. 157)	3 (0.2%)	Not specialised
* <i>hwæl</i>	‘hill’; ‘isolated rounded hill’ (p. 192)	2 (0.1%)	Specialised
		1,577 (100.0%)	

Appendix 2b. Specialised meanings of OE hill-terms in the present study and Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*

Hill-term	Total number of occurrences (occurrences in the topographical analysis)			Highly specialised / Specialised / Not specialised	
	Certain	Uncertain	Total	Present study	Gelling and Cole
<i>dūn</i>	53 (32)	61 (29)	114 (61)	Highly specialised	Highly specialised
<i>hlāw</i>	46 (21)	39 (10)	85 (31)	Specialised	Specialised
<i>hōh</i>	29 (14)	3 (2)	32 (16)	Highly specialised	Highly specialised
<i>hyll</i>	22 (13)	6 (2)	28 (15)	Specialised	Not specialised
<i>sīde</i>	14 (2)	5 (2)	19 (4)	Specialised	Not specialised
<i>clif</i>	8 (5)	6 (2)	14 (7)	Specialised	Specialised
<i>hrycg</i>	12 (6)	0 (0)	12 (6)	?Not specialised	Specialised
<i>hēafod</i>	4 (1)	2 (0)	6 (1)	?Specialised	Specialised

³⁶ Gelling and Cole discuss this term under **cōc*, **cōce*; the examples include one minor name (*The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 158).

<i>helde</i>	2 (0)	3 (1)	5 (1)	?Specialised	Specialised
<i>berg</i>	1 (0)	3 (0)	4 (0)	?	Highly specialised
<i>camb</i>	3 (2)	0 (0)	3 (2)	?Not specialised	Not specialised
<i>scylfe</i>	0 (0)	3 (3)	3 (3)	?Specialised	Specialised
<i>cnoll</i>	2 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	?	Highly specialised
<i>copp, cop</i>	1 (0)	1 (0)	2 (0)	?	Specialised
<i>hlinc</i>	1 (0)	1 (0)	2 (0)	?	Specialised
<i>hlið</i>	0 (0)	2 (1)	2 (1)	?Specialised	Specialised
<i>*ofer, ufer</i>	0 (0)	2 (1)	2 (1)	?	Highly specialised
<i>pīc</i>	0 (0)	2 (1)	2 (1)	?	Specialised
<i>ecg</i>	0 (0)	1 (1)	1 (1)	?	Not specialised
<i>hwæl</i>	0 (0)	1 (1)	1 (1)	?	Specialised
<i>næss</i>	0 (0)	1 (1)	1 (1)	?	Specialised
<i>scelf</i>	0 (0)	1 (1)	1 (1)	?Specialised	Specialised