

ENGLISH FAMILY-NAMES FROM PLACES IN ENGLAND¹

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

The modern forms of locative surnames often bear little resemblance to the modern forms of the place-names from which they derive. This difference may be merely on orthographical one; e.g. Cholmondeley Ch is pronounced /tʃʌmli/ and a surname derived from it may have a phonetic spelling *Chunley*.² The same is true of *Wooster* from Worcester, *Norridge* from Norwich, etc.² But far more interesting for a linguist are the differences in pronunciation, and it is not always quite easy to establish a linguistic link between a surname and the place-name from which the surname dictionaries say it derives, as for example *Cirkett* from Southcott Bk or *Sapsworth* from Sawbridgeworth Hrt, without a thorough knowledge of the history of English sounds and careful investigation into the history of the place- and family-names concerned.

The task of the present writer was therefore to find out a) what are the phonological differences between a locative surname and the place-name from which it derives, and b) how can these differences be explained linguistically. The material for this survey has been collected from all printed books on English surnames published since c.1880.³ In these sources there are circa 11,000 graphically different surnames derived from place-names in England, including all surnames that may have an alternative etymology. A high percentage of these names are graphically identical with the respective place-names or show only a slight variation in spelling (e.g. *-ley*, *-ly*, *-leigh*, *-lee*), from which no difference in pronunciation can be inferred. These names have been excluded from the survey. In addition, surnames from places whose etymology could be established neither with the help of the publications of the English Place-Name Society nor any other publication on English place-names, had to be omitted as it seemed essential to attribute the difference between the place-name and the surname derived from it to an irregular development of either the place-name or the surname.

This can be briefly explained by one example. The surnames *Chillinton* and *Shevinton*, derived from Chillington D and Shevington La respectively, differ from the place-names in the medial syllable (*-in-* instead of *-ing-*). This variation must be explained differently in each case, for /int/ in *Chillinton* arose by assimilation from /iŋt/, while Shevington comes from the name of a hill, *Shevin, to which OE *tūn* was added, the *g* being an unetymological insertion by analogy to other place-names in *-ington*. Thus the surname *Shevinton* is closer to the original form of the place-name than the modern form of the place-name itself.

The number of names included in the survey was thus reduced to about 1,200 surnames which, according to the type of divergence from the place-name, could be grouped into the following categories.

1. The historical spelling of most place-names as opposed to the rather phonetic spelling of many family-names account for most phonological differences between surnames and the respective place-names. Phonological changes during the past 400 years or so are not always reflected by the modern spelling of place-names (though there have occasionally been temporary phonetic spellings, which could not, however, prevail upon the historic ones), yet the spelling of many locative surnames was altered as the pronunciation changed. As nowadays the pronunciation of place-names is largely based on the modern spelling (spelling pronunciation), their traditional pronunciation has become obsolete.

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

- a. Assimilation, e.g. *Agland* from Acland D, *Blacktin* from Blackden Ch.
- b. Dissimilation of nasal and liquid consonants, e.g. *Stemson* from Stenson Db, *Blankley* from Blankney Li, *Mellerby* from Melmorby Cu.
- c. Loss of final *d* after *l*, *n* in unstressed syllables, e.g. *Driffill* from Driffield Gl, *Kirtlan* from Kirkland La.
- d. Loss of initial *h*, e.g. *Inckley* from Hinkley Lei.
- e. Loss of intervocalic *v*, e.g. *Daintry* from Daventry Nth, *Snooks* from Sevenoaks K - with contraction to one syllable.
- f. Loss of the medial consonant *d*, *t* in groups of three consonants, e.g. *Kilwick* from Kildwick YW, *Beeson* from Beeston Bd.
- g. Alternation between /θ, ð/ and /f, v/, e.g. *Satterfit* from Satterthwaite La, *Letherton* from Leverton Nt.
- h. Alternation between /kl, tl/ and /kn, tn/, e.g. *Bartley* from Berkeley Gl, *Markendale* from Martindale We; see also *Kirtlan* under c. above.

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

3. A locative surname may preserve an older form of the place-name, from which the modern form of the place-name has developed, either by regular sound change (e.g. *Abram* La from OE *Eadburgham* by assimilation and contraction, whereas the locative surname from this place-name is *Adburgham*), by insertion of an intrusive consonant (e.g. *Coldridge* D, meaning 'coal ridge', whereas the surname is *Coleridge*), by folk etymology (e.g. *Sawbridgeworth* Hrt, originally *Sæbriht's worth*, which in contracted form results in the locative surname *Sapsworth*), by clipping (e.g. *Featherstone* Nb, a non-shortened form of which survives in the surname *Featherstonehaugh*), or by the addition of a further place-name element (e.g. *Wallasey* Ch, which originally was OE *Wala-ēg* - now surviving in the surname *Walley* - to which later a genitive singular *s* and a second *ēg* were added). Other locative surnames preserve a place-name which became obsolete when the place was re-named, e.g. *Sheen* from a place now called *Richmond* Sr.

4. The locative surname continues the Anglo-Norman form of the place-name. During the ME period a place-name variant showing AN influence often existed beside the native form, but eventually became obsolete. Such forms, however, are often preserved in locative surnames, e.g. *Dossiter* from *Dorchester* Do, O, with AN /s/ for OE /tʃ/ and French loss of /s/ before /t/, *Trimby* from *Thrimby* We with AN /t/ for OE /θ/, *Bly* from *Blyth* Nt with French loss of final /ð/, *Leedam* from *Lathom* La with AN /d/ for ME /ð/, *Glatworthy* from *Clatworthy* So with AN /gl/ for ME /kl/.

5. Place-name elements are sometimes exchanged in the locative surname, e.g. in *Baxendale* from *Baxenden* La, with Scand. *dalr* for English *-den*, and in *Kilshaw* from *Culcheth* La, with English *shaw* for Welsh *coed*.

6. Some locative surnames are compounded of a place-name and an affix. Such names are *Dexter* from *Exeter* D, with the Latin preposition *de*, *Surtees*, from the river-name *Tees* with the French preposition *sur*, *Bylander* from *Byland* YN, *Beevers* from *Belvoir* Lei (note the phonetic spelling of the surname), *Devonish* from *Devon*, and *Penkethman* from *Penketh* La, though this name can also be interpreted as 'servant of a man from or called *Penketh*'.

7. Folk etymology plays only a minor part in the rise of new variants of locative surnames, as e.g. in *Adcock* from *Adcot* Sa, *Burbridge* from *Burbage* Db, *Lei*, *W*, and *Halfnaked* from *Halnaker* Sx.

8. Locative surnames, whose spelling does not differ from that of the place-name, may nevertheless be pronounced differently. This is particularly true of names in which the letters *sh*, *th*, or *ph* occur, which originally belonged to two different place-name elements, and which are therefore pronounced /s/, /t/, and /p/ respectively in the place-name. In the surname, however, they are sometimes pronounced /ʃ/, /θ/, and /f/ respectively, e.g. in *Bentham*, *Isham*, *Bispham*. For some place-names with historical spelling no spelling pronunciation has been observed. This is not only true of some of the better known places such as *Gloucester*, *Leicester*, or *Cholmondeley*, but also of some minor places, e.g. *Nuthall* Nt, which is pronounced /nʌtl/. For the surname of this spelling, however, the spelling pronunciation /nʌthɔ:l/ is used.

Conclusion

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

Notes

1. This article is an abstract of the author's Ph.D. thesis to be published shortly (in German) by Hans Carl Verlag, Nuremberg.
2. A comprehensive list of names is included in the work; in this article, however, not more than three examples will be given for each type of name mentioned.
3. Supplementary information has been obtained from printed parish registers.
4. Place-names to which an affix such as Great, North, King's, Lower, etc. was added have been dealt with under their principal form.
5. Closely related to this type of name, though not a locative surname in the strictest sense, is the patronymic type 'place-name + son', e.g. Claphamson, Clappinson (with assimilation /ms/ to /ns/) 'the son of a man from Clapham'.
6. There is also a locative surname with the phonetic spelling *Nuttle*.
7. The local forms of pronunciation of some place-names mentioned above are /bi:fəθ/ for Beeford, /saepswəθ/ for Sawbridgeworth, /deintrɪ/ for Daventry; /snu:ks/ for Sevenoaks is now obsolete, and an analogy to *Driffill* is found in the local pronunciation for Heathfield So, which is /hefl/.

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STUDIES ON PLACE-NAMES AND ANGLO-SAXON MIGRATION: A COMPARISON
OF *-INGAS*, *-INGA-* NAMES IN ENGLAND WITH THEIR PARALLELS ON THE
EUROPEAN MAINLAND¹

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a list of parallels between the *-ingas* folk-names found in the *-ingas/-inga-* place-names in England and those found in the names of the Continental homelands. Some of these parallels have been noted occasionally, e.g. Poynings Sx (*Puningas* 960),² which goes back to a folk-name, OE *Pūningas*, and is, as Ekwall has shown,² identical with *Pūning*, south-east of Münster, Westphalia (*Puningun* 9th). Systematic investigation into the material provided by the volumes of the English Place-Name Society, Ekwall, Danmarks Stednavne, Förstemann, etc.³ reveals that the coincidence of a number of *-ingas* folk-names in England and the possible Continental homelands⁴ is too close to be a matter of mere chance. Accidental correspondence is particularly improbable if a folk-name occurs only once on both sides of the North Sea and is adjacent to similarly unique name formations. In the case of Poynings, which is a formation of an unrecorded personal name **Pūn(a)* with the suffix *-ingas*, its German cognate *Pūning* is situated near a place called "Tering" (lost) in Ascheberg, south of Münster, Westphalia (*Terrengen* 12th), which shows similar early spelling to those of East and West Tarring Sx, not far from Poynings (E. Tarring: *Terring(e)* 1275; W. Tarring: *Terringes* 941 (c.1300)).

For another group of German place-names obvious parallels can be noted in E. Anglia. The area around the modern city of Lingen, north-west of Osnabrück, Lower Saxony, was known as "in pago Sahslingun" in a charter of the late 9th/early 10th century. "Sahslingun" is the dative plural of a folk-name, Gmc. **Sahslingōz*, and so exactly corresponds to OE **Seaxelingas* in the Norfolk place-names Saxlingham Nethergate, Saxlingham Thorpe (Sexlingham 1046 (14th), *Saxlingaham* 1163), and Saxlingham near Holt (*Saxeling(h)aham*, *Sexelingaham* 1086). It is worth noting that either within or at least in the immediate vicinity of this mid-Ems "pagus" there is a place called Messingen, south-east of Lingen (*silva Masingorum* 9th, *Massinga* 1000). Its name goes back to a folk-name, Gmc. **Masingōz*, which is identical with the folk-name, OE **Maessingas*, in Great and Little Massingham Nf (*Masingheham* 1086) and in Messingham Li (*Maessingaham* 1067 (12th)). About 25 kilometres south-east of Messingen we find the place-name Mettingen (*Mettinge* 1088); it corresponds to Mettingham Sf (*Mettingaham* 1086), near Bungay. A further parallel occurs in Erpen (*Arpingi* 852) near Dissen, south-east of Osnabrück, and Erpingham Nf (*Erpingaham* 1086), north of Aylsham.

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

In the case of "Sahslingun"-Saxlingham, the likely course of events would be that a folk named **Sahslingōz*, located in the mid-Ems region, is