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PLACE-NAMES AND SETTLEMENT HISTORY
ASPECTS OF SELECTED TOPOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS ON THE CONTINENT AND IN
ENGLAND

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Table of Contents

Abbreviations.....	i
List of Figures.....	iv
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Previous Studies.....	4
1.2 Potential and Limitations of Place-Names.....	9
1.3 Settlement Movements and Place-Names.....	14
1.4 The Early Settlers.....	16
2 The Place-Name Material.....	20
2.1 The element <i>klei</i>	23
2.1.1 Etymology of <i>klei</i>	23
2.1.2 Analysis and Discussion.....	25
2.1.3 Résumé.....	30
2.2 The element <i>rusch/risch</i>	31
2.2.1 Etymology of <i>rusch/risch</i>	31
2.2.2 Analysis and Discussion.....	35
2.2.3 Résumé.....	39
2.3 The element <i>sol</i>	41
2.3.1 Etymology of <i>sol</i>	41
2.3.2 Analysis and Discussion.....	44
2.3.3 Résumé.....	49
3 Summary and Conclusion.....	50
Bibliography.....	54
Appendix	
CD with appendix material	

Abbreviations

a.	<i>ante</i> ('earlier than')	Dv	Devon
A.	Abschrift	e.	early
AFr	Anglo-French	E.	east
<i>al</i>	<i>alia</i> = other things; <i>alii</i> = other person	Edw 1	1272-1307
als	<i>alias</i> , otherwise	EL	efterled = last part of a compound place-name
AN	Anglo-Norman	<i>et freq</i>	<i>frequenter</i> ('frequently')
App	Appendix	EPNS	English Place-Name Society
Arr	Arrondissement	ERY	East Riding of Yorkshire
as	altsächsisch (Old Saxon = Old Low German)	<i>et passim</i>	occurring in various places
AS	Anglo-Saxon	EWN	Etymologisch Woordenboek van het Nederlands
ASC	The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.	Ex	Essex
Ass	Assize Rolls of the county in which the reference occurs.	FA	<i>Feudal Aids</i> , 6 vols., 1899-1920.
B	Belgium	FIN	Flussname (stream-name)
BCS	<i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> , ed. W. de G. Birch, 3 vols., 1885-93.	FL	forled (dan.) = first part of a compound place-name
Bd	Bedfordshire	Fm	Farm
Berks	Berkshire	f.n.	field-name
Bk	Buckinghamshire	FN	Flurname (field-name)
BW	Bestimmungswort (specific)	Fr	France
C	Cambridgeshire	Fris	Frisian
cf	confer	Fst	Fürstentum (princedom)
Ch	Cheshire	Ger	German
Co	Cornish	geschr.	geschrieben (written form)
Cu	Cumberland	Gl	Gloucestershire
dat.	dative	Gmc	Germanic
Db	Derbyshire	Got	Gothic
DB	<i>Domesday Book</i> 1086	Gr	Greek
Dép	Département	Gt	Great
DEPN	The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names (by E. Ekwall)	GW	Grundwort (generic)
dial	dialect(al)	Ha	Hampshire
Dk	Denkmark	Hd	Hundred
Do	Dorset	He	Herefordshire
DOI	Digital Object Identifier	Herts	Hertfordshire
Du	Durham	(Hrt)	

Ho	House	Nb	Northumberland
Hu	Huntingdonshire	NCy	North country, the northern counties of England.
Hy	<i>tempore</i> King Henry	n.d.	undated
Hy 3	1207-72	Nf	Norfolk
ib.	<i>ibidem</i>	nhd.	neuhochdeutsch (after 1600)
IE	Indo-European	NL	The Netherlands
<i>infra</i>	below, underneath, beneath	NOB	Das Niedersächsische Ortsnamenbuch
IPN	Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names, 1923.	Nor	Norwegian, Norse
Jh	Jahrhundert (century)	nr	near
K	Kent	NRW	North Rhine-Westphalia
Kt	Kentish dialect of OE	NRy	North Riding of Yorkshire
Kr	Kreis (district, borough)	Nt	Nottinghamshire
l	late	Nth	Northamptonshire
L	Lincolnshire	NWMidl	North-West Midland(s)
La	Lancashire	O	Oxfordshire
Lat	Latvian	obl	oblique
Lei	Leicestershire	obs	obsolete
LG	Low German	ODan	Old Danish (before 1500)
Lith	Lithuanian	ODu	Old Dutch (c.800-c.1500)
<i>loc. cit.</i>	<i>loco citato</i> , in the place cited	OE	Old English (c.450-c.1100)
LS	Lower Saxony	OFris	Old Frisian (before 1550)
Lt	Little	OFr	Old French
m	masculine	OHG	Old High German (c. 800)
MDu	Middle Dutch (c.1200-c.1500)	<i>olim</i>	formerly
Mdw	Meadow	ON	Old Norse
ME	Middle English (c.1100-c.1500)	ONb	Old Northumbrian
Merc	Mercian dialect of Old English	onl.	oudnederlands (Old Dutch)
MHG	Middle High German (c.1100-c.1350)	OPr	Old Prussian
MLG	Middle Low German (c.1100-c.1500)	O.S.	Ordnance Survey
mnd.	mittelniederdeutsch	OSax	Old Saxon (= Old Low German, ca. 850 – ca. 1000)
ModD	Modern Dutch	par	parish
ModE	Modern English	PDE	present-day English
Mx	Middlesex	PIE	Proto-Indo-European (= Proto Germanic)
n.	note or neuter	Pk	Park

p.n.	place-name
Prov	Provinz, Province
R.	River
Rd	Road
Ru	Rutland
s.a.	<i>sub anno</i> ('without a year')
Sa	Shropshire
Scand	Scandinavian
Sf	Suffolk
SH	Schleswig-Holstein
Skr	Sanskrit
So	Somerset
Sr	Surrey
SR	<i>Lay Subsidy Rolls</i>
St	Street (also Saint)
Stf	Staffordshire
s.v.	<i>sub voce</i> ('under the word')
<i>supra</i>	above, before, beyond
Sx	Sussex
Thur	Thuringia
<i>v.</i>	<i>vide</i>
<i>vulgo</i>	commonly known as; in the vernacular
PN Vo	The Vocabulary of English Place-Names
W	Wiltshire
Wa	Warwickshire
Wd	Wood
WFris	West Frisian
wk	weak
Wm	Westmorland
Wo	Worcestershire
WRY	West Riding of Yorkshire
WSax	West Saxon
*	reconstructed words

List of Figures

- Fig. 1: Anglo-Saxon Settlers.
- Fig. 2: Link between the Continent and England. (synoptic map)
- Fig. 3: Distribution of the element *-kot*.
- Fig. 4: Distribution of the element *-*rik(e)*.
- Fig. 5: Deutsche Siedlungsgebiete an der Wolga.
- Fig. 6: German place-names in the USA.
- Fig. 7: Distribution of *klei*
- Fig. 8: Distribution of *rusch/risch*
- Fig. 9: Distribution of *sol*
- Fig. 10: County organization before Local Government Act
- Fig. 11: County organization after Local Government Act

1 Introduction

Concerning the early settlement of England there are three questions of great importance: 1. Who were these settlers? 2. Where did they come from? and 3. When did they arrive? The usual starting point for trying to answer these questions is the wide-spread and popular view based on the traditions of the Venerable Bede and his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. In this Bede gives the famous year of AD 449 for the arrival of the early Germanic settlers of England. According to Bede these early settlers came from three powerful tribes—the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes (Book I, chapters 14-6). He further provides detailed information as to their continental homelands and their settlement in England. From this it has emerged that the early settlers originated from the Jutland peninsula, i.e. the area of modern Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark. Since “[...] this is the only definite and comprehensive statement regarding the origin of the invaders which has come down to us [...]” (Chadwick 1924: 51), it seems natural that such a precise statement about an otherwise very obscure age is easily accepted by scholars. Thus, it has been widely acknowledged and also found its expression in several illustrations as in Fig.1.

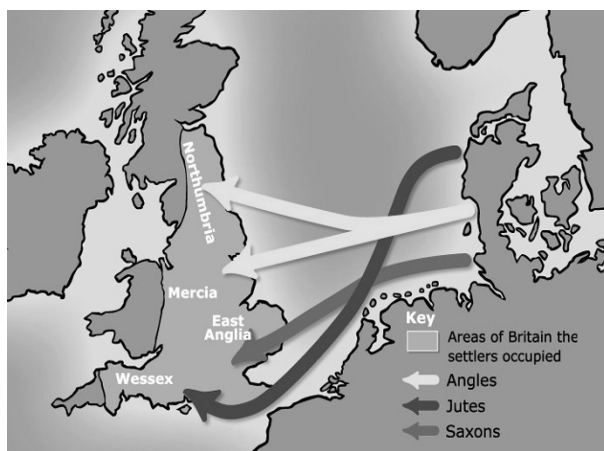


Fig. 1: Anglo-Saxon Settlers (BBC.co.uk)

Due to the great reputation of Bede's text and its use as a reference by many different scholars, this view has been prevalent for decades and is still existent amongst scholars.¹ Nevertheless, it has been challenged more than once by different historians, archaeologists, and place-name scholars. One of the main objections to Bede's account is its simplicity and clear-cut tribal distinction, which does not reflect the complexity of these early

¹ c.f. “After 410, the attacks multiplied and groups of immigrants from what are now Jutland and Schleswig-Holstein began to occupy the south-eastern part of England.” (Hills 1980: 71)
c.f. “The Germanic tribes who invaded and settled Britain during the 5th century are traditionally divided into the Angles, Saxons and Jutes. We owe this classification to Bede [...]” (Cameron 1996: 50)

settlement movements (Piroth 1979: 1; Collingwood, Myres 1963: 347). Another objection is that Bede only finished his history in AD 731, which is nearly 300 years after the actual conquest took place. Thus, his sources can hardly have been of any direct oral character apart from some unreliable popular traditions (Riemann 1942: 11). Writing two centuries after the age of conquest also strongly implies “[...] that he was inevitably influenced by the political geography of his own day[...]” (Collingwood, Myres 1963: 328), which was already more structured compared to the early settlement days. A third objection is his own intention of writing an ecclesiastical history and not a history about the founding of the English nation (Collingwood, Myres 1963: 328; Myres 1986: 48; Springer 2004: 131) and his statements about the early settlers should, therefore, not be overrated. Summing up, although Bede simplifies a very complex situation, the general consensus is that the basic outline of it is true, however, it “[...] over-emphasizes the distinction between the various peoples of whom the English nation was composed” (Stenton 1950: 9).

Consequently, the composition of the early Germanic settlers and also their settled regions have been qualified, legitimising a mistrust of Bede's statement regarding their continental origins. This notion is supported by Chadwick's (1924: 52) remark concerning his account: “Bede's statement as to the origin of the various nations in Britain are so definite that we should certainly expect to get evidence for the same classification elsewhere. Such evidence, however, is not easy to find.” Therefore, the present thesis will try to show that the Germanic tribes who invaded England during the fifth century did not come directly from Schleswig and Denmark across the North Sea, rather they came from parts of Northern Germany, the Netherlands and Flanders across the Channel. Because of the shorter crossing distance this assumption already seems to be more logical. Udolph (1994, 1995) carried out leading investigations on this topic and came to the following conclusion:

Schleswig-Holstein und Dänemark scheiden als Basis der germanischen Besiedler Englands aus, der Weg führte vielmehr über die Niederlande (vor allem durch deren südliche Provinzen) und Nordbelgien nach Flandern und Nordfrankreich, überwand den Kanal an seiner engsten Stelle und setzte sich in südöstlichen Grafschaften Englands kontinuierlich fort. (1995: 266)

This statement forms the underlying basis of the present thesis and with the help of the distribution of three topographical place-name elements, it will look at the early settlement movements to England from an onomastic perspective. Thus, the investigation will neither aim at any specific conclusions as to the tribal composition of the early settlers, nor will it try to establish a settlement chronology. In these areas the informative value of

place-names is limited. Hence—as the title suggests—the main focus of the thesis lies in locating the continental origins of the Germanic settlers.

The first part of this thesis will serve as a preliminary to the actual investigation and will first of all have a look at previous research done in this field. Secondly, it will provide information on the general potential of place-names as historical evidence. Thirdly, it will illustrate the link between settlement-movements and place-names. Finally, a more detailed account will be given of what is known about the early settlers of England (Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians). This first introductory part is slightly detailed in order to fully understand the importance and significance of the topic. Moreover, this thesis represents the first time that this type of study, which until now is limited to the German language, will be carried out in English. This is, therefore, another reason to supply a detailed basis in order to realize the whole extent of this research.

The second part contains the actual investigation. It starts with an introductory note on the method and material used. This is then followed by a thorough analysis of all three Germanic elements under investigation: *klei* ('clayey soil, clay'), *rusch/risch* ('rush'), *sol* ('muddy or miry pool'). This analysis will include each element's etymology, its distribution on the Continent and in England, and will, finally, discuss specific characteristics and striking structural features found in the place- and field-names for each element.

1.1 Previous Studies

As previously mentioned it is still a widespread view that the Germanic settlers of England came across the North Sea from the Jutish peninsula. Due to the fact that settlers take whole place-names or parts of them to their new homes, which will be referred to again in the following chapter (c.f. 1.2), it can certainly be expected that this also happened during the settlement of England. Thus, it can be expected that this also finds its expression in the nomenclature of the related parts on the Continent and in England. Therefore, by comparing place-name elements of the territories in question, the place-name scholar should be able to visualise the connection between two areas with the help of their distribution. Since it has been known from Bede that there is a supposed link between Anglo-Saxon England and the Cimbric peninsula on the Continent it seems just reasonable to scrutinise this connection. Amongst others the studies carried out by Jellinghaus (1898, 1899), Laur (1964, 1965), Piroth (1979), and Udolph (1994, 1995) have already shown that place-names are a well suited source for this purpose. However, research of this kind has been carried out to a greater extent for the connection between Scandinavia and England—here especially Gillian Fellows-Jensen (1978, 1985, 1987). In a recent investigation on early place-names of southern Scandinavia and England, Fellows-Jensen (1995: 72) came to this significant result:

In conclusion it must be admitted that the migration-period place-names in England and southern Scandinavia would not seem to provide much evidence for close contact between these two regions at that period. The specifically southern Scandinavian element *lev* is absent from England and name-types characteristic of England [...] are not evidenced in southern Scandinavia.

Investigations into a continental connection of this type have only recently been revived. However, already in 1898 pioneering work on this topic was carried out by Jellinghaus—an expert concerning Low German linguistic research. Although his approach has been greatly approved by later historians and place-name scholars, it—unfortunately—did not find many successors (Riemann 1942: 130). In his study, Jellinghaus (1898) compares place-name elements of the Low German language area (mainly: Westphalia, Lower Saxony, and parts of Saxony-Anhalt) with the ones found in England. He discovers numerous parallels between the two territories so that E. Riemann (1942: 130) states: “Jedes Stichwort, das Jellinghaus behandelt, wäre einer eingehenden Sonderuntersuchung wert.”

Therefore, Jellinghaus provided a good base for further investigation on this topic, which was then picked up only over 50 years later by Wolfgang Laur (1964, 1965) with fo-

cus on Schleswig-Holstein. According to Laur (1964: 287) and others this area is “[...] eines der wichtigsten Ausgangsgebiete für die angelsächsischen Wanderungen [...]” Having Bede’s account in mind, Laur (1964: 295-96)—against all expectations—obtained the following result: “Wir können also nur wenige Namen feststellen, von denen angenommen werden kann, daß sie von den Angelsachsen vom Festlande nach Britannien übertragen worden sind.” In the same article he further observes: “Eine genaue und systematische Durchmusterung aller englischen Ortsnamen [...] unter Hinzuziehung des niedersächsischen und niederländischen Küstenbereichs, wird vielleicht noch mehr zu Tage fördern” (Laur 1964: 295). In other words, he suggests a closer investigation of the coastal regions of Lower Saxony including East Frisia, the Netherlands, Belgium and parts of north-eastern France. On the other hand, the Schleswig-Holstein expert, remains sceptical and qualifies his demand by saying: “Weitere sichere Beispiele von Namenübertragungen werden daher das Bild wohl nicht wesentlich verändern, das wir gewonnen haben” (Laur 1964: 295). Thus, he assumes that such an investigation will not produce many more parallels between the continental coastal regions and England. The result from his investigation on the transference of place-names from the Continent to England was, in his own words, “äußerst mager” (Laur 1964: 295). From his initial assumption that he investigated the main territory of the early Germanic settlers of England and his negative results for Schleswig-Holstein, he misleadingly concludes that not many place-names were taken over to Britain (Laur 1964: 296). Altogether Laur already had a promising and more scientific approach than Jellinghaus and so it seems as if it has only been researched in the wrong region, because too much emphasis was put on literary sources—in particular the Venerable Bede. Yet this negative result does not necessarily apply to Lower Saxony, Westphalia, the Netherlands, and Belgium.

Laur’s view has, however, been challenged only a few years later by Piroth (1979). Although heavily criticised from British scholars², his investigation produces a different picture. Here the parallels of certain English place-name types can rather be found in Westphalia, Flanders and Lower Saxony than in Schleswig-Holstein (Piroth 1979: 165-66). A more recent disproof of Laur’s assumption has been given by Udolph (1994, 1995) in his previously mentioned works. In these he follows different demands from E. Riemann (1942) and also E. Schwarz (1949) who states: “Die Beziehungen zwischen deutscher und holländischer Nordseeküste und den Angelsachsen müssen künftig sowohl sprachgeschichtlich als auch mit den Mitteln der Namenforschung [...] noch deutlicher herausgearbeitet werden[...].” (Schwarz 1956: 125). Udolph’s (1994, 1995) investigations are very com-

2 cf. Gelling, Margaret. “Review of Walter Piroth.” *Nomina*. 4 (1980): 84–85. Print.

prehensive and it is not possible to discuss them in detail within the scope of this thesis, however, the most salient points will be mentioned. In contrast to previous studies, whose investigations' subjects were popular elements like *-ing*, *-tun*, or *-ham(m)*, Udolph (1994, 1995) focuses on 'new' place-name elements. Amongst them are for example *-ithi*, *-hude* and *fenn* (1995: 227). His results are accompanied by distribution maps including the analysed elements, which help to give an overall impression of the elements' spread. His findings are summarised in a synoptic map (Fig. 2), which instantly dismisses any scepticism about the connection across the Channel (Udolph 1994: 775). A link between Western Lower Saxony, the Netherlands, Belgium with Flanders on one side and England with a concentration in the south, can hardly be doubted. Schleswig-Holstein, Jutland and Denmark are insignificant.

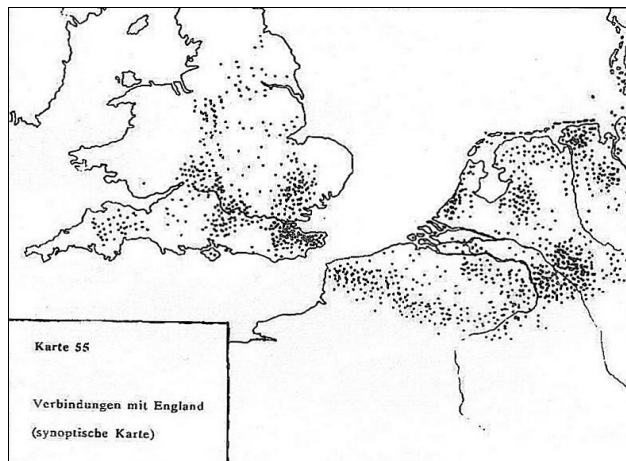


Fig. 2. Link between the Continent and England (synoptic map) (Udolph 1994: 775)

Contributing studies towards this theory across the Channel are two “Magisterarbeiten” from Leipzig in which the elements *-kot*, *-spring*, *-welle* (2005) and *-*ber*, *-*pōl*, *-*rik(e)* (2007) have been investigated and show similar results (cf. Fig. 3 and 4).

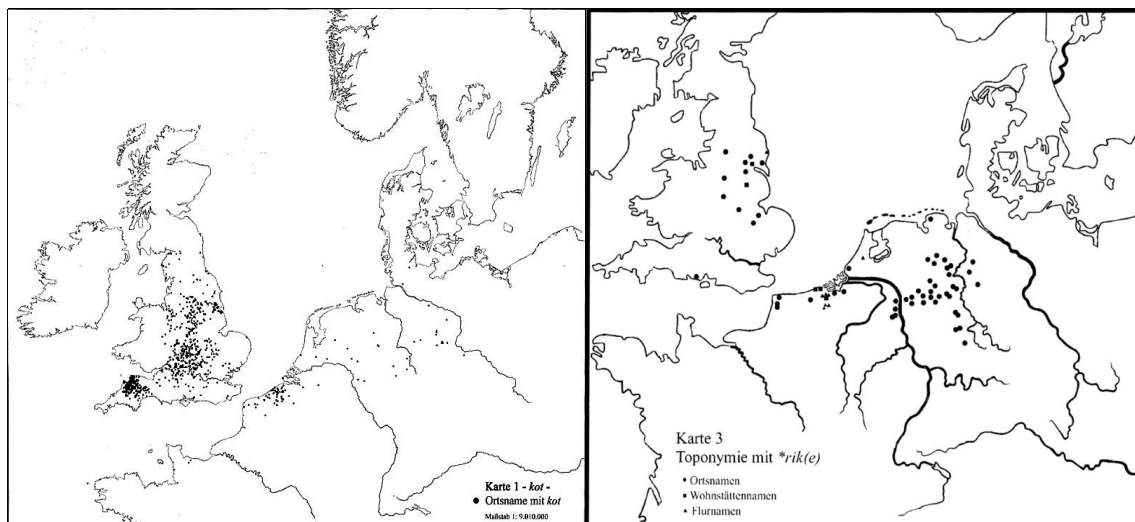


Fig. 3. Distribution of the element *-kot* (Hartig 2005) Fig. 4. Distribution of the element *-*rik(e)* (Plum 2007)

With the existence of such convincing results it is quite surprising and has been regretted by different scholars (e.g. Riemann 1942: 128) that not much research, concerning this continental connection, has been carried out by British researchers. Although there are definitely intensive investigations on single place-name elements and sometimes even a link to their Germanic origin, all of this research is restricted to England (e.g. Jacobsson 1997). Considering the consistent view from England towards Scandinavia this is even more surprising. Yet the pioneering place-name scholar, Eilert Ekwall (1951) commented on this topic: “However, the migration to Britain will not have been in all cases direct from the Jutish peninsula and the districts immediately south of it, but a gradual movement from the original seats to the coast of the English Channel” (quoted in Udolph 1994: 768). Thus, first considerations are definitely given, they just need further development, and since this topic is concerned with the original roots of England, disinterest towards it cannot be assumed. A possible part of the explanation of the seemingly non-recognition of available investigations may be the language of the publications, which may act as a barrier for some English scholars.

In conclusion, most early as well as recent investigations based on a comparison of place-names reach the same result: The origins of the Anglo-Saxon settlers of England are definitely not restricted to Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland, as suggested by historical authorities, but quite seemingly include parts of Lower Saxony, Westphalia, Belgium, Flanders and northern France. This, in turn does not mean that nobody from the Jutland territory made their way to England. This view also finds support in historical research on the origins of the Saxons, which will be elaborated upon further (cf. 1.4). Although histori-

ans (e.g. Myres 1986: 50-5) suggest major tribal movements from Scandinavia southwards and westwards along the coastline into the lands of the Frisians, which might then lead into a Channel crossing, this requires further proof. This can be perfectly achieved on the basis of place-names. For this purpose the following two chapters will introduce the scientific basis of the present thesis.

1.2 Potential and Limitations of Place-Names

“Often place-names remain stable for centuries, sometimes for millennia” (Clark 1992: 485). This seemingly simple statement contains crucial information; namely, the main advantage of place-names over historical and archaeological evidences for establishing conclusions about early historical events—including conclusions about early settlement movements.

Wainwright (1962) gives a clearly structured overview concerning the usefulness of the three disciplines—archaeology, history, and onomastics—for drawing conclusions about historical events. Accordingly, in each discipline “[...] the inferences depend to some extent on assumptions and they must be examined carefully before they are accepted as valid” (Wainwright 1962: 43). Therefore, historical evidence only refers to a state of mind, archaeological evidence basically sheds some light on practical skills, and linguistic evidence is direct evidence only of language (Wainwright 1962: 91-2). He also acknowledges advantages and disadvantages for every single field, yet still concludes “[...] when place-names are used for non-linguistic conclusions, that is as indirect evidence, it was suggested that they often inspire greater confidence than one would accord to non-archaeological conclusions from archaeological material” (Wainwright 1962: 56). However, contrary to history and archaeology, the potential of place-names as historical material has not been recognised by every scholar³ and has long been underestimated. This attitude has dominated investigations for quite a long time, even though Krahe already in 1964 refers to the stability and old age of place-names as their main virtues (9-10). Gelling (1988) ascribes this misconception to the fact that “[...] generations of place-name scholars have striven to explain these two vital points to historians and archaeologists [...]” In drawing non-linguistic conclusions from linguistic evidence, i.e. place-names, it goes without saying that they will not be in the manner of precise historical narrative of events or precise names of kings or leaders. Their strength lies in contributing linguistic information towards a reconstruction of post-Roman history in collaboration—apart from archaeology and history—with other disciplines like geology, geography, agrarian development, and cartography (Clark 1992: 489).

Going back to the initial statement about the stability of place-names, it can be added that “[...] there have been almost no changes in ‘major’ English place-names since ca.

3 cf. a remark by the place-name scholar and historian F. Stenton: “[...] it is essential to remember that in the present state [1940] of place-name studies these results can only be tentative, and that even when the place-names of all England have been surveyed in the minutest detail, the conclusions which may be drawn from them will fall far short of scientific precision.” (quoted in: Myres 1986: 45)

1000” (Clark 1992: 485). In other words, they show a certain “internal consistency” (Gelling 1988: 59). However, since place-names are part of language and language is subject to language change Clark (1992) elaborates her statement further by saying:

Stability does not, however, entail being static, and semantic divorce from common vocabulary lays name-material especially open to phonological change, in so far as shifts and reductions may be unrestrained by analogies with related lexical items and may at times be warped by random associations with unrelated but like-sounding ones. (485)

Yet due to the internal consistency of place-names, their role in such changes is not a very great one and their initial meaning is stable. The reason for this appears to be relatively simple. Often place-names are tightly connected to the geographical features, the settlements, or the institutions they refer to and as long as their ‘referent’ does not change or disappear place-names remain stable in their original meaning (Krahe 1964: 9, Gelling 1988: 60). Thus, over the course of time most changes apply to the phonological appearance of place-names, e.g. the place-name Rushwick (PN Wo: 94), which has the following chronological recordings: *Russewyk* > *Ruyschewyk* > *Rushwyke* > *Rushwyck*, *Rushwick* > *Rishwick*. Here it can be seen that the appearance has been changed, sometimes due to misspelling, mishearing or misunderstanding by the copyist or because of language changes, but the root including the element *risc* ‘rush’ stays the same. Therefore, due to the stability it can be seen that place-names are a reliable and important subject for this kind of ‘historical’ investigation and their potential has hardly been exhausted.

Structure of Place-Names

Early place-names tend to be simple. Consequently, the oldest strata of place-names is represented by OE simplex formations like *Claiia* < *clǣg* ‘clay’ (PN Nf 3: 120). But because place-names are given when there is a need felt for identification—and according to Gelling, Cole (2000) a need for very subtle *topographical* distinctions must have been felt—those simplex names had natural linguistic constraints. Thus, at one point simplex names were not sufficient anymore. So it follows that “[...] the typical OE place-name was therefore a compound in which a ‘generic’, consisting of a habitative or a topographical term, was qualified by a ‘specific’. As in the other Gmc languages, the qualifier, whatever its formal character, preceded the generic” (Clark 1992: 474). Thus, the majority of place-names in the present investigation are compounded place-names existing of at least two elements (mostly substantives) in the form of *Rusitone* < *risc*, *tūn* ‘rush farm’ (PN Ch 3: 291). Later, when compounds of this kind were not sufficient anymore further specifica-

tions of place-names were gained by adding affixes as in the field-names *Northmedewe* (1266) and *Westmedwe* (1237) (PN Db 3: 741).

Topographical Place-Names

Establishing a chronology of different place-name types has been the main aim for place-name scholars for a long time (Clark 1992: 477). There are, for example, several detailed studies on the elements *-ing*, *-ingas*, and *-ingahām*, whose long supported assumptions about their chronology have been revised and modified by the 1960s (Gelling 1988: 65-66; Clark 1992: 478). But since the present investigation will focus on topographical place-name elements, these discussions cannot be included here. As a basis for the present investigation it is only necessary to know that a somewhat more general chronology of place-names has to start with hydronymic terms, i.e. names for watercourses. They are the earliest relics of our language (Krahe 1962: 289). Following river- and stream-names there were also significant topographical features in the landscape, e.g. hills and valleys, to which one needed to refer to. Gelling, Cole (2000: xiii) rightly conclude that “[...] characteristics of the land are the primary concern of subsistence farmers [...]” And only after such topographical place-names, habitative ones came to play a major role (Gelling 1988: 71). Therefore, within place-names the significance of the human being and its man-made structures was a later development and in the beginning geographical features of the landscape were of major concern to early tribes. Hence, the focus in the present thesis on topographical elements, which are examples of rather early coinages, contributes to the significance of this investigation.

Despite the evidently early coinages of topographical place-names, it is quite surprising that for a long time the main focus in onomastic research had been on habitative settlement-names. “Topographical settlement-names were for a long time,” according to Gelling, Cole (2000: xii) even “held in ‘low esteem’.” The historian and place-name scholar Sir Frank Stenton regarded them as ‘trivial’ and ‘accidental’ and “[...] they were considered to have little to offer to the historian desirous of using place-name evidence in the reconstruction of the history of the post-Roman period” (Gelling, Cole 2000: xii). Their true potential has only been recognised from the second half of the 1960s onwards (Gelling, Cole 2000: xii). This delay is partly due to the deficiencies of Modern English vocabulary which incorporates a smaller topographical stock for certain subtle geographical distinctions than it used to do, e.g. for hills, valleys or soil types (Gelling, Cole 2000: xiii). “Here it is sufficient to say,” they further say “that, contrary to earlier opinions, the topographical

type of settlement-name emerged from these studies [Gelling (1978), updated in (1988) and (1997)] as the one most likely to have been coined by English-speaking immigrants in the fifth and sixth centuries” (Gelling, Cole 2000: xiii). This is also illustrated by Cecily Clark (1992: 478) with an example taken from Margaret Gelling:

[...] the earliest English place-names in Berkshire seem to have been based upon topographical generics referring to supply and control of water, such as *-ēg* ‘dry ground’, *-ford* and *-well* (PN Berks.: 818–21). In another area of known early settlement, lying along the northern shore of the Thames estuary, *Fobbing* and *Mucking* [...] have been reinterpreted as creek-names transferred to riparian settlements, and then seen as topographical formations at the core of a radiating pattern of later name-types (Gelling 1975 and 1978: 119–23).

To sum up, it can be seen that topographical place-names are likely to be early coinages. Therefore, the present investigation also focuses on the earliest available records for a place-name, because they are generally considered to be more unveiling and trustworthy than later spellings (Wainwright 1962: 44). One reason for phonological differences, as illustrated above with Rushwick (PN Wo: 94), might be the Norman-French influence on OE after the Conquest in 1066, which affects later spellings and, therefore, causes difficulties in interpretation and establishing etymologies of place-names. In contrast Gelling (1988: 64) states “[...] that there is a very high level of consistency in Old English and Middle English spellings for place-names”. This means that also later spellings, due to their internal consistency, hold a certain reliability. But the aim of trying to obtain the earliest available record is supported again by Cox (1975) in which he finds out that “[...] over half the names recorded *ante* 731—that is, during the first three centuries of the settlement, and mainly in Bede's *Historia*—prove again to be based upon topographical generics such as *-burna* ‘stream’, *dūn*, *-ēg*, *-feld*, *-ford*, *-hamm* and *-lēah*” (Clark 1992: 479).

Nevertheless, in focusing on the earliest recorded forms available one has to bear in mind the following three points: First, it is important to remember that the earliest recorded form of a place-name is not necessarily the first form of a name since many place-names had a longer history than the first written record of them (Cameron 1996: 14). Secondly, “[...] the possibility of distortion arising from errors and inaccuracies carries a warning against placing too much reliance on the testimony of a single form” (Wainwright 1962: 44). Therefore, Wainwright (1962: 44) calls upon the place-name scholar to “[...] allow for occasional distortions in the written forms [...]”. Thirdly, the further one goes back in time the poorer the evidence gets. One also has to consider that the context, in which a place-name has been recorded and collected, might lack as well. Moreover, this lack of context “[...] makes name-etymology especially speculative, any opinion proffered in a sur-

vey or a name-dictionary must be considered critically, as basis for further investigation rather than as definitive statement” (Clark 1992: 488).

In conclusion, the main advantages of place-names as historical material for the present thesis are—in general—their persistence, consistency, antiquity; in special—the early coinages of topographical place-names. Yet in drawing conclusions about historical developments from linguistic evidence one has to take into account that this is a difficult, but not impossible, path to take. Furthermore, the results—as convincing as they might appear—provide supplementary information and the gathered data should always be seen as a contribution towards historical developments and not as the written history itself.

1.3 Settlement Movements and Place-Names

Wherever people move they have taken and will always take their language with them. If a settlement movement takes place within a group of settlers the need to adjust ones language to new conditions is not a very great one. Accordingly, it is a common habit of settlers to transfer either complete place-names or at least words or elements for naming new villages, streets, or fields to their new homes (Udolph 2006: 109). Whether Russia, Latin America, Canada, or the USA traces of German immigrants can easily be identified in each of these countries on the basis of place-names (cf. Fig. 2 and 3).

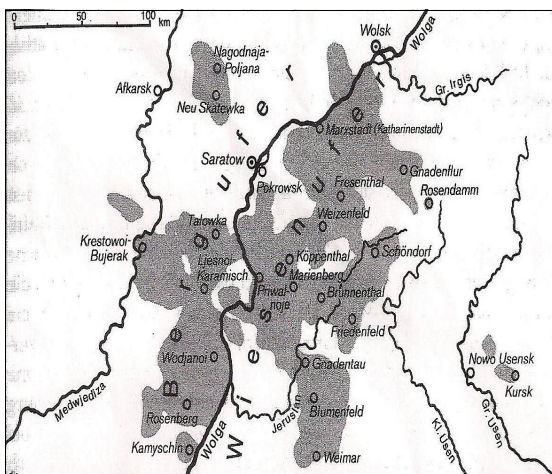


Fig. 5. German settlements in Russia (Harzig 1993: 91)

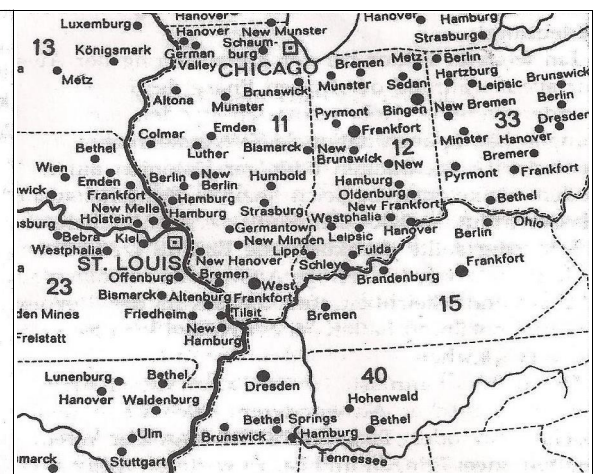


Fig. 6. German place-names in the USA (detail from Brandes 1993: 159)

Other examples for this phenomenon are place-names like *Marburg*, *Teutoburg*, and *Steiglitz* in Australia (Voigt 1993: 228) or *Heidelberg*, *Heilbronn*, and *Rijswijk* in South Africa (Udolph, 2006: 109). From these examples it can be seen that tracing back settlement movements using place-names represents a valid method. Thus, the present investigation is based on this fact and with the help of transferred place-names of the territories in question on the Continent and in England, it will be possible to demonstrate the origins of the early settlers of England. “Denn wie bei jeder Auswanderung so muß auch bei der der Angelsachsen nach Britannien mit Namenübertragungen gerechnet werden” (Piroth 1979: 7).

As already mentioned place-names are also subject to local linguistic developments and usage processes, they change appearance over the course of time (cf. 1.2). Therefore, it is not surprising that it is easier to identify a relation between place-names of younger formations, e.g. between Europe and the USA, than to establish a connection between the early place-names of the Continent and England. However, this is not an impossible task.

The crucial point here is etymology. For the place-name scholar it is important to stick to the earliest available forms of a place-name that can be found, yet taking care not to put too much weight on a single form (cf. 1.2). Since in most cases today's form of a place-name differs from its first appearance, it is important to stick to its original etymology. Thus, place-name and etymology dictionaries are essential work tools for the place-name scholar. Laur (1964: 288) notes that the etymology of the original and the transferred place-name has to be identical. This means that because of local linguistic developments early forms of place-names may differ in their appearance from their contemporary forms, but the roots of the initial constituents have to show the same etymology (Laur, 1964: 288). For example, the names *Rickling* in Essex and *Rickling* in Schleswig-Holstein appear to be of the same origin, yet their etymology is based on two different personal-names (Laur 1964: 288). Accordingly, the scholar as well as the layman (especially the non-linguistic one) has to be very careful in comparing such place-names and drawing conclusions from them.

In summary, from the examples above it can be seen that it is definitely legitimate to assume a connection between two different countries when identifying same place-names in certain regions (e.g. Germany – USA). Moreover, when deducing historical information on the basis of place-name transference one has to bear in mind that it will not be possible to make any definite historical statements, e.g. as to the tribal constitution of the settlers. “Namenübertragungen,” writes Piroth (1979: 4), “werden also zunächst nur den landschaftlichen Herkunftsraum der Auswanderer zur Zeit der Auswanderung erschließen lassen [...]” Thus, there is a connection between settlement movements and place-names and in order to make certain statements about post-Roman history of England onomastics has to work alongside other disciplines.

1.4 The Early Settlers

“When we try to form some idea of the state of Britain about the year 450 we find ourselves in a region where the light is dim” (Collingwood, Myres 1963: 313). This sentence, as a starting point for the following chapter, gives an adequate overall impression of the very obscure age in which it is believed that the Germanic settlers arrived in England. Being aware of the different continental and British traditions about the early settlers of England in all their ambivalence and inadequacy, the aim of the present thesis is by no means a discussion of this. But since the present work often refers to those ‘early settlers’ it seems appropriate to narrow the expression down.

As to the time frame of the invasions of the early settlers the different sources agreed on the centuries between AD 450 and AD 550 (Schwarz 1956: 122). Traditionally, the first permanent settlers of Britain are referred to as the Anglo-Saxons (from Latin *Angli Saxones*). However, according to Springer (2004: 47) this term is only a later coinage from the eighth century, the usage of which revived during the 17th century. It is reasonable to accept the suggestion that this term has been artificially created in order to divide the ‘English Saxons’ from the ‘Old Saxons’ of the Continent (Blair 1956: 13). Until then, particularly for outsiders (British, Irish, and Pictish neighbours), the Anglo-Saxon peoples of England were united by their language and their Christian faith and as a reference to all settlers it was prevalent “[...] to label all the Germanic inhabitants of Britain as Saxons” (Myres 1986: 104). This is also exemplified by Chadwick (1924: 53): “Welsh and Irish writers pretty regularly speak of them [Angli] as *Saxones*”. In contrast to Bede's sharp distinction of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes it seems likely that the name *Saxones* had rather been used as a collective term. In addition to the Angles and the Saxons this term probably comprises the Frisians and the Jutes as well (Springer 2004: 48). In other words, this more general usage of *Saxones* embraces a variety of different Germanic peoples. Springer (2004: 42) describes this as follows: “Vielmehr diente es als Sammelbezeichnung für Raubscharen, die übers Meer fahren und die Küsten Galliens und Britanniens heimsuchten”.

Moreover, the idea of a collective identity is coherent with Blair's (1956: 11) assumption that the so-called Migration Period did much to lessen racial distinctions between the settlers. It reflects the complexity of the situation and the artificiality of Bede's classification (Collingwood, Myres 1963: 347-8). Since the Saxons were a dominant sea-roving people (Myres 1986: 105) and raids along the British and Gaul shores are recorded since the middle of the fourth century (Bohling 2008: 9), in the course of time the term became “[...] a name of terror to all civilized men, which it was to remain for many hundred years”

(Collingwood, Myres 1963: 339). That being so, it can be concluded that a reference to the Saxons is not restricted to a certain tribe—as we understand it today—but it represents a common term for all early Germanic peoples of Britain.

Nevertheless, the majority of the settlers consisted of Angles and Saxons. Yet this still leaves a few questions: Who were they exactly? Where did these tribes come from? What is known about them? It is known that the Latinized form *Anglii* was first mentioned (without a precise geographical position) by the Latin scholar Tacitus in his *Germania* (about AD 100), in which he tries to give a complete picture of its inhabitants (Blair 1956: 8). According to Bede the homeland of the Angles was *Angulus*, which is believed to have survived in the area *Angeln* located in today's Schleswig-Holstein (Hoops 1973: 285, Blair 1965: 169). However, already in 1924 Chadwick gives the following objection as to their location: “We have hardly any references to a people called Angli on the Continent, and the locality of their original home is therefore to some extent open to doubt” (85). Also Ptolemy's description of an inland tribe west of the middle Elbe has been refused and the assumption that the Angles are a maritime people that lived in Jutland and neighbouring islands can be supported by archaeological findings (Stenton 1950: 12-3).

As to the Saxons no reference can be found in Tacitus's early account of barbarian Germania (Springer 2004: 21). They are only mentioned about one century later by the Greek geographer Ptolemy, who places them on the neck of the Cimbric peninsula between the lower reaches of the rivers Weser and Elbe (Blair 1956: 9). However, since his data does not seem to be very reliable this location cannot be taken as granted. Furthermore, it seems implausible that the Saxons were mentioned by the later writer Ptolemy but not by Tacitus who had a more focused aim (Springer 2004: 21).

At this point a recent historical approach by Springer (2004) sheds some light on this problem. Springer ascribes the general assumption of the original Saxon homelands being on the Cimbric peninsula to a misspelling of the name in a later copy of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Springer (2004: 27-9) shows that Ptolemy did not write *Sáxones* but *Avíones*. He concludes that “ein mittelalterlicher Abschreiber der ‘Geographie’ der nichts von den Avionen wusste, [hat] den Namen zu *Axones* verballhornt, ein weiterer dieses Unwort zu *Sáxones* verschlimmbessert” (Springer 2004: 28). In other words, this misspelling happened because of the simple fact that the name was not known to the copyist and also not able to be identified and was, therefore, replaced by a familiar one. This is a quite frequent behaviour—especially when considering one's own behaviour when trying to read old handwritten letters. The idea that Tacitus did not mention the *Saxones* but the *Aviones* (Spring-

er 2004: 27) becomes even more interesting in connection with the present work. Since Tacitus's intention was to describe barbarian Germania it seems remarkable that he did not mention the Saxones, whereas Ptolemy—the later Greek writer—did. Furthermore, it is even thought that the *Aviones* came from the Cimbric peninsula—which means that they appear where Ptolemy placed his supposed Saxons (Springer 2004: 28). Not only can we see from this that there is some need for reconsidering this matter, but it also raises questions as to the reliability of historical accounts with their often late copies.

From all this no exact location for the Angles or the Saxons can be identified. Thus, it would also seem too dangerous to restrict them to the suggested regions on the Cimbric peninsula which emerge from Bede's description. Concerning the topic of the early settlers and their migration towards England, Springer (2004: 49) remarks the following:

Man darf sich nicht vorstellen, dass eigens Leute aus Schleswig-Holstein herbeigeht worden wären und dass die Saxones, deren in England lebenden Nachkommen der Name Angelsachsen zugewiesen wurde, ihren Weg quer über die Nordsee nach Britannien eingeschlagen hätten. Leider vermitteln viele Darstellungen einen solchen Eindruck. Sie stehen im Bann des Glaubens, dass Ptolemäus das ursprüngliche sächsische Siedlungsbegiet beschrieben habe und dass die Sachsen um 400 immer noch auf diesen Raum beschränkt gewesen wären.

It can be summarised that the Latin expression *Saxones* as a tribal name has had definite records since the fourth century and until then the word did not refer to any specific inhabitants or tribes. In its earlier sense it was rather used as a general term for Germanic seafarers that—from time to time—raided the shores of Gaul and Britain (Springer 2004: 11, 42). Furthermore, it is not really certain which tribes the early settlers of England consisted of. Since the settlement movement towards England took place within the frame of the Migration Age, which entailed a mixing of many different tribes, it is not justified to follow Bede's account of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. From these three peoples the Saxons and the Angles are the least obscure and “[...] apart from the one passage in Bede there is no other mention of the Jutes in this area (Collingwood, Myres 1963: 345). Therefore, the present thesis does not decide upon the composition of the different tribes. Whenever the text refers to the Anglo-Saxons it is in the sense of a mixed tribal group of Germanic settlers (most likely including Saxons, Angles, Frisians, and Jutes) that came to inhabit England.

From the introductory chapter it can be seen that most historical works, even recent ones, return to the information found in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. Although its sharp tribal distinction has been criticised to a certain extent, it is still widely prevalent. Yet the theory that the early settlers of England were not restricted to the regions of Jutland and Schleswig-Holstein is not new to historians as seen in the following example: "Literary tradition thus settled Britain with immigrants drawn from the whole continental coastline between Jutland on the north and Holland on the south [...]" (Collingwood, Myres 1963: 337). This statement already points to the idea of a Channel crossing. Whether this was a gradual movement from Scandinavia south-westwards, during which the different groups merged as Myres (1986: 50-5) suggests, cannot be followed in the frame of this work. But this opens an interesting basis for new investigations towards the chronological aspect of place-names. In this first part it has also been demonstrated that there is a connection between settlement movements and place-names. Especially early topographical name-elements are suitable to illustrate this link as their greater age constitutes a good basis for a comparison of early Germanic place-names between the Continent and England. Moreover, the facts about the early settlers is not always consistent with Bede's account of the arrival of the Germanic settlers in England and should therefore be reconsidered.

This describes the aim of the thesis, which is not to describe an entire new aspect of this settlement movement, rather it wants to support the theory of a settlement movement from the Continent to England across the Channel. The first approach of a comparison between continental and English place-name types has already been carried out in 1898 and found its continuation—yet it is time to further advance the recognition of place-names for the purpose of reconstructing early English history. However, it has to be observed that non-linguistic conclusions drawn from linguistic material can only provide additional historical information and is not written history itself. Yet, a comparison of the place-names allows us to make assumptions about the continental location of the Germanic settlers at the time of their settlement movement to England.

2 Place-Name Material

After this detailed—yet necessary—introduction section, the essay now comes to the actual investigation. The idea is basically the continuation of what has already been started in 1898 by Jellinghaus (cf. 1.1). The following sections include the analysis of three Germanic appellatives — *klei*, *rusch/risch*, *sol* — and their occurrence as place-name elements on the Continent and in England. All these elements are used as proper names and also as appellatives; the latter ones were initially used to characterise a certain area and later developed from this into place- and field-names. The following continental regions have been investigated closer: Germany with North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, and northern France. The counties of England have been fully covered—mainly by the English Place-Name Society (EPNS) and their comprehensive county volumes. The full collection of the relevant place- and field-names for this investigation can be found in the appendix including further notes on their arrangement.

From this collection distribution maps have been compiled with the help of a computer based programme called ‘Stepmap’⁴. Therefore, the place-name lists also include additional information—wherever available—as to their location. In general, these maps have not been created to show each single place-name's exact location, but they aim at giving an overview of an element's main distribution. Distribution maps are an often controversially discussed method in onomastics (Wainwright 1962: 52-3). It is said that they may give a wrong picture due to careless mapping. Apart from this objection, which in the end depends upon the conclusions drawn from them by the analyst, the advantage of such a map for the present investigation is its ability to reveal patterns and tendencies, here especially of settlement movements from the Continent to England. “Conclusions based on place-name distributions,” writes Wainwright, “are more reliable than conclusions based on archaeological distributions” (1962: 54). Not all listed place-names can be found on the maps. For the Continent only names with records before 1600 have been mapped and for England only names that show a record date before 1300. Also place-names with an uncertain etymology have been excluded from the map, yet they can still be found in the appendix.

Generally, due to the comprehensive work carried out by the EPNS for England and a missing comparable institution for Europe, the current state of source material is much better for England than for the Continent. That is also the reason why the material for the

4 www.stepmap.de

continental mappings has been extended until 1600 and has been restricted to 1300 for England. These limitations have also been done to keep the place-name lists short. Furthermore, many examples in England recorded after 1300 represent a later strata of place-name formation and do not belong to the early coinages, which are especially important for the present investigation (cf. 1.2). Since the focus lies on Germanic elements and their usage in early place- and field-names, it is not necessary to list and map names that were coined at a later period of time.

Although the major part of the collected material consists of place-names, field-names have also been included. From the maps it can be seen that, due to the uneven source material situation on the Continent and in England, the distribution of field-names is different on both sides. Moreover, some counties have only been partially covered by the EPNS and distribution differences of field-names are also visible within England. Another reason for this is the rather late recognition of the importance of field-names. Thus, especially recent EPNS volumes (e.g. Shropshire, Leicestershire, Cheshire) contain detailed collections of field-names. Whereas the volumes of Cornwall, Dorset, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Staffordshire are only partly published meaning that in most cases a detailed index is missing which, thus, creates major difficulties in detecting place-name examples. For Durham, Hampshire, Herefordshire, Kent, Lancashire, Northumberland, and Suffolk work is still in progress. Somerset does not have an EPNS edition or similar-level county survey yet. For the investigation of these areas the countrywide and more universal place-name dictionaries of Watts (2004), Ekwall (1991), and Mills (2003) have been consulted additionally. Furthermore, due to Parsons (2004) revised and updated version of Smith (1956) the source situation for the appellative *klei* is special. This work is still in progress for the other elements. However, it can be said: England has been comprehensively analysed. Yet at this point it is noteworthy that full coverage does not mean complete analysis. On one side complete coverage is not possible due to the huge area analysed and on the other due to the differences in the record tradition on the Continent and in England and, thus, the source situation in general.

The consulted standard works for the Continent are Förstemann II (1983) with coverage of whole Germany. Additionally, next to numerous regional publications, Laur (1992) for Schleswig-Holstein and the NOB (Niedersächsisches Ortsnamenbuch) for Lower Saxony have also been consulted. Denmark is fully covered by Jørgensen (1981-3). The Netherlands, Belgium, and Northern France are mainly covered by the volumes of Gysseling (1960), de Flou (1914-38) and also Förstemann II (1983). The problem with Gysseling (1960)

is that it lists only names recorded before 1226 and in de Flou (1914-38) the missing etymologies for the place-names create some difficulties in deciding which place-names to include for the investigation. Thus, in these cases, only the examples which were possible to be assigned to the related element have been mapped. Since the area under investigation comprises an immense area, it cannot be expected to find an even publication situation for each of its parts. The continental source situation has only started to change recently with the processing of the material for Lower Saxony (NOB) and Westphalia. Yet it is to be noted that this may influence the appearance of the distribution maps and should be considered when drawing conclusions from them. More detailed criteria for the layout of the place-name lists can be found in the preceding note to the appendix.

The investigation will analyse the three elements —*klei*, *rusch/risch*, *sol*—which represent ancient Germanic language stock and are expected to be found in England and on the Continent. Concerning previous analyses none of the investigated elements have been discussed thoroughly. However, they are mentioned in Jellinghaus (1898) and have recently been picked up by Udolph (2006). Both works point to parallels of the three appellatives between England and the Continent and, therefore, demand a more detailed investigation in order to verify this supposed connection. That this has not been done earlier is partly due to the poor record situation of place-names, especially for Northwest Germany (Udolph 2006: 338). Only recently this situation has changed. Wherever additional material has been found, this has been mentioned in each element's analysis and can also be seen in the appendix.

Each discussion of the appellatives will have the same way of proceeding. At the beginning of each chapter the element's meaning and etymology will be analysed. Here, the most frequently used etymological dictionaries include, amongst others, Ekwall (1956), Falk (1960), Fick, Falk et al. (1909), Gamillscheg (1997), Grimm (2003 online version), Jellinghaus (1898), Kluge (2002), Nielsen (1990), OED (1989 online version), Orel (2003), Philippa, Debrabandere et al. (2004), de Vries (1971), and van Veen (1997). The word's history of each element represents a precondition to the following discussion of the element's distribution on the map and its structural characteristics. This will also include a more focused analysis of some noticeable name-types and/or significant structures. However, due to space and time restrictions it is of course not possible to discuss every single place-name in detail. A résumé of the findings will conclude each elements discussion.

2.1 The element *klei*

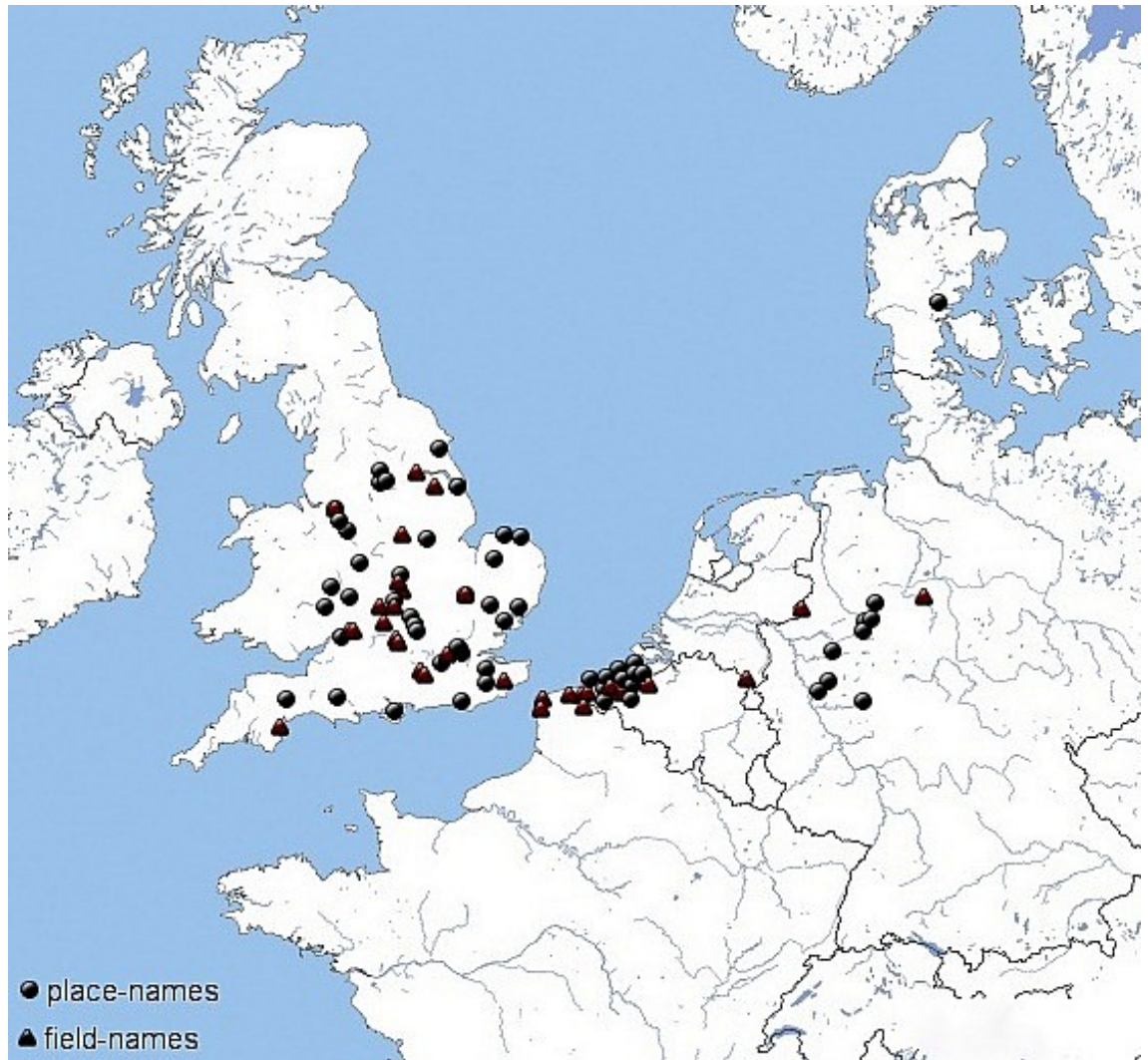


Fig. 7. Distribution of *klei*

2.1.1 Etymology of *klei*

As an appellative the element has equivalents in all Germanic languages and is especially prevalent in the North Sea Germanic branch (descendant of West Germanic). The word is commonly known in Lower Germany and mainly testified along the Lower Elbe regions (Grimm 2003 online version). It can be found with the meaning ‘Ton, Lehm’ (‘clay’) in OSax and MLG *klei* (also found as *klai*, *kle*) and MDu *clei* (Nielsen 1990: 227; Kluge 2002: 494). Jellinghaus mentions it already in 1898 (299) where he gives the following examples: LG *klei*, *klaig*, OSax *clai* (dat. *claige*), Dutch *klei*, and Fris *klay*, *klaey*. Remarkably here is the OSax dative form. It can also be found as *klei*, *klai* m. ‘feuchter, lehmiger Boden’ (‘damp, clayey soil’) along the area of the Middle Rhine (Grimm 2003 online version). Ad-

ditionally, the word is also recorded as feminine and neuter forms in the Netherlands and in Westphalia (Grimm 2003 online version). Thus, it appears in all three genders. In England OE *clæg* ‘clay, clayey soil’ is recorded since the 10th as place-name element, which “is frequent, esp. in the various regions of clay beds, such as the Oxford Clay [...]” (Smith 1956: 96). The long vowel *ǣ* is the result from the *i*-mutation of OE *-ā-*, which derived from WGerm *-ai-* (Smith 1956: xxxv). This had been raised to *e* in Anglian and Kentish dialects, which matches the development on the Continent, but remained elsewhere (Smith 1956: xxxv). The traditional view is that during the OE period final *-g-* also became vocalic (PDE *clay*) (cf. for discussion Hogg 1992: 87-8). Grimm (2003 online version) already notes ‘das klebrige, schmierige’ (‘sticky, smeary’) as the core meaning of the word and further states that the connection with ‘kleben’ (‘to stick’) cannot be doubted. In OFris and other Low German dialects the element denotes a specific thick, rich, and fertile soil of the coastal marshland regions (Vries 1971: 326). Furthermore, in the OFris form it is recorded with a short and a long vowel—*klai* and *klāy* (Grimm 2003 online version). Additionally, the OED (1989 online version) gives the Gothic form **kladdja* and for the North Germanic language branch it has ON **klegg(i)* and ODan *klæg*. The word can still be found in Norse *klegg* and Dan *klæg* (Nielsen 1990: 227, Torp 1963: 282). It is therefore still existent in Scandinavian languages.

In English place-names OE *clæg* is often used as an appellative referring to ‘clayey soil’ with its first recordings already in AD 950. Parsons (2004: 91) notes that it became productive during the ME period when there is testified use of the word as a generic ‘clayey place’ in place-names. Moreover, this place-name element also occurs as OE adjective *clægig* ‘clayey’ in some place-names, which receives more detailed discussion in the following section. The continental as well as the English forms originate in the same Germanic **klaj-jaz* (WGerm **klaija-* f.), consisting of a root **kli-* (**klei-*, **klai-*) ‘to stick, cleave’ and the suffix *-ja* (Orel 2003: 214, OED 1989 online version). This verbal root can also be found in German ‘kleiben’ and ‘kleben’ (‘to stick’) (Kluge 2002: 494). The root **klai* also appears in **klai-moz* > OE *clám* ‘mud, clay’ > cloam obs. (survived as ‘earthenware, clay’ in dial. use) and in the verb **klaimjan* > OE *cláeman* > *cleam*, *clam* (OED 1989 online version). This root can also be found as **klei-* in ODu *cleem*, OHG *kleim* (OED 1989 online version). The PIE form is assumed to be **glei* ‘to stick together’ and can also be found in Greek *glia* ‘glue’ and *gloiós* ‘klebriger Stoff, Harz, Gummi’ (‘sticky material, resin, rubber’) (Kluge 2002: 494). Thus, the ‘sticky’ sense can be found in all early language branches, which attests the word to be of an early Germanic age. For PDE *clay* the OED (1989 online version) has the

following entry: “A stiff viscous earth found, in many varieties, in beds or other deposits near the surface of the ground and at various depths below it: it forms with water a tenacious paste capable of being moulded into any shape, which hardens when dried, and forms the material of bricks, tiles, pottery, and ‘earthenware’ generally”. On the Continent it is still perceptible in LG as the masculine noun *Klei* meaning ‘fette Tonerde; schwerer Lehm Boden’ (‘rich, fertile clay’). Thus, in German the word *Klei* can either refer to ‘Ton’ or, depending on the context, to ‘Lehm’. According to the DUDEN ‘Ton’ is a constituent of ‘Lehm’ and there is only a fine difference between the two. However, in PDE this subtle distinction has vanished and both soil types are referred to as *clay*.

To sum up, important for the present thesis is that the Germanic appellative *klei* and all its North Sea Germanic equivalents MDu *clei(e)*, OE *clæg*, OFris *klay* or *klāy* refer to a specific damp, clayey soil type with sticky, rich, or muddy qualities. Following chapter 1.2 saying that the original and the transferred place-name have to consist of the same etymological roots in order to be comparable, this means that the continental place-names have to consist of one of the following elements: *klei(e)*, *clei(e)*, *kla(i)y* or *klāy* and analogous *clæg* or its adjective form *clægig* has to be found in English place-names.

2.1.2 Analysis and Discussion

The following part will start with some remarks about the source situation for the element *klei*. This is then followed by the analysis of the element's distribution on the map. After this there will be a discussion of structural aspects of certain place-name types and selected place-names on the Continent and in England. In order to preserve readability of this section the place- and field-names are discussed without any references. The detailed listings can be found in the enclosed appendix.

Sources

It is important to remember that the place-name lists are not exhaustive especially for the Continent. As mentioned above (cf. 2), full coverage of the investigation area is not possible due to the size of it. Furthermore, continental sources are by no means as detailed as English ones which might produce differences on the distribution map. Moreover, because of Parsons (2004) recent publication the source situation for *clæg* is special. In comparison to the other two analysed elements additional material is available for the counties of Shropshire, Kent, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Dorset, and Herefordshire. For the German areas of East and North Friesland the situation is not as fortunate. Especially in East Fries-

land many field-names containing *klei* can be found but without any data reference they might also just represent younger coinages and it is thus not possible to include them in the listings for this analysis. However, since there is an online project⁵ in progress which analyses and maps East Friesland field-names this should be kept in mind for any prospective work concerning this topic.

Distribution on Map

Generally, as place-name elements Germanic *klei* and OE *clæg* are well recorded in the whole investigation area. Along the coastal line of Lower Saxony and the Netherlands it is sparsely distributed and can mainly be found between the Weser and Elbe region. Although Wiswe (1970: 220) describes the appellative as being typical of the specific soil of the area around Salzgitter, the examples located there only show more or less modern records and thus do not carry too much weight here. More interesting for Germany seems to be Westphalia, where *klei* (*klai*, *kle*) is well attested as a place-name element, as well as with early recordings (three examples before 1100). These examples find their continuation in Belgium—in North Brabant and especially Flanders. A look at the distribution map clearly suggests that Flanders represents the last derivatives of the West Germanic settlers before crossing to England. Concerning the Germanic toponym *klei* the area of the early English settlers is definitely not connected to Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark. The map entry *Klejs* for Denmark will be analysed later in this text. The spreading with its concentration in Northern Germany rather supports a comment made by Jellinghaus (1898: 299). He states that the element *klei* is well attested “in ndd. und nl. namen von wohnplätzen und fluren [...]” and goes on “das wort scheint bei den Süddeutschen zu fehlen.” Moreover, the evident cluster along the coastal line of West Flanders supports the present assumption that the crossing from the Continent to England occurred across the Channel and not across the North Sea. To sum up, the distribution of Germanic *klei* on the Continent supports the theory advanced by Udolph (1994, 1995), which because of a concentration of old Germanic toponyms in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Westphalia assumes that the settlers were especially numerous in this coastal regions before crossing the Channel to England.

At first glance England gives the impression of a relatively even distribution of the appellative *clæg*. Numerous place- and field-names can be seen from Devon to Yorkshire and from Norfolk to Shropshire. However, having a closer look two slight clusters can be

5 Die Flurnamensammlung der Ostfriesischen Landschaft: <<http://www.geodaten-gll-oldenburg.de/ol/flurnamen/>>

recognised. One in the more central region around Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire, and the other in the more south-eastern area including Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, Surrey, and Sussex. Furthermore, of the 26 examples with early records (before 1100) six are located in the south-eastern part (Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex) of England and five more in the East (Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk). Both regions are generally assumed to represent territory of early Germanic settlements. At this point the distribution map does not offer any other conclusions. A more detailed discussion of certain aspects will follow in the next section. It must be borne in mind that the focus of the present investigation lies on the origins of the Germanic settlers on the Continent and the analysis of England will not be as detailed.

Structural Aspects

The element *clæg* can be found in all three place-name types (cf. 1.2), i.e. in simplex names, in compounded names, and in affixed place-names. As discussed earlier with-in this classification the simplex place-name types—regardless of their their record date—allow conclusions about chronology and often point to early formations. Simplex names on the Continent are: *der Kley* (LS), *aufm Kley* (LS), *auf dem Klei* (LS), *auf dem Kley* (LS), *Claige* (NRW), *Cleike* (NRW), *tzom Cleye* (NRW), *Cleige* (NRW), *Clay* (Fr), *Clay tax dam* (B), *Clei* (B), *den Cleij* (Fr), *de Cleije* (B), *Cley* (Fr), *le Cley* (Fr), *den Cley* (B), *Le Glay* (B), *de Cleye* (B), *de Cleye* (B). Examples for England are: *Claia* (Nf), *Cleia* (x2 Nf), *la Claye* (Dv), *la Claie* (Ex), *le Clay* (Nt), *Cleie* (C), *Cleia* (L). All four examples from Lower Saxony do not have ancient records which suggests them to be rather young coinages. However, since their first recorded forms are simplex names, one may definitely assume that they have a much longer history, which due to lack of source material cannot be proved. The place-names found in Westphalia are dated between the ninth and twelfth century, which can certainly be regarded as early examples. The Flanders region offers four early simplex names as well. Thus, for the Continent—and here especially Westphalia and Flanders—it can be concluded that the element *klei* has ancient roots.

Some of the above forms show the ending *-e* or *-a*, which indicates a dative singular form of the place-name as found in OSax *claige* (Jellinghaus 1898: 299). They represent remainders from syntagmatic forms like *tzom Cleye* ‘to the clay’ or *de Cleye* (cf. Bach 1981: 73-4, 120-125). In most cases such endings have not been preserved in today’s spellings of the names and can only be seen in their historical records.

According to Parsons (2004: 95) the adjectival use of OE *clægig* mentioned above can also be found as an inflected dative form *clæ(g)i(g)an*. Examples with a reference to the OE dative form *clægigan dūne* are **Steeple Claydon** (Bk) and **Claydon** (O). Since the dative form of an adjective is an indicator to the synthetic formation of the locative case prevalent in Germanic languages (in contrary to analytic formations consisting of a preposition) this deserves explicit consideration. Hence, this proves them to represent ancient place-names which are most likely to have been formed by settlers with Germanic linguistic background. Again—both names are located in the South-East of England. Coming back to the adjective form Parsons (2004: 95) states: “In place-names that survived the OE period the only sign of the adjective comes in the survival of inflectional *-n-* in the suffix of the weak adjective form.” For the present thesis the following examples can be included here: **Claydon** (x3 Bk) (*Claindone* 1086), **Claydon** (O) (*Cleindona* 1109), and **Claydon** (Sf) (*Clainduna* 1086). Additionally, there is a lost field-name **Cleyndon** (*Cleindon'* 1201) recorded in Kent. The place-name **Clingre** (Gl) has in its early DB record the spelling *Claenhangare* which also indicates an original weak adjective. Moreover, there are two field-names in Oxfordshire (**Cleyteforlonge** c. 1275, **Cleitlanda** 1160-80) in which the element *clæg* is used as the assumed late OE adjective **clægih* ‘clayey’ (PN O: 2 306, 364; Parsons 2004: 96). Once again from these examples it becomes clear that with Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, and Suffolk the south-eastern region plays an important role and is very likely to represent an area consisting of early Germanic place-name forms. However, it seems as if the described phenomenon constitutes a specific OE development restricted to England since there are no instances of an inflectional *-n-* found on the Continent.

The place-name cluster in the historical region of Flanders mentioned earlier on requires some more detailed remarks. With the editions of de Flou (1914-38) an already mentioned general difficulty exists, namely the missing etymological references to the listed place- and field-names. Due to this the decision whether to include a name for this investigation became more difficult. For example, for the element *klei* a considerable number of place-names can be found which—at first glance—give rise to the supposition that they may include forms of MDu *clei(e)* or Ger *klei*. Yet many of them show a medial *-s-*, e.g. *Claijs*, *Claeys*, *Claysdammeersch* (de Flou 1927: 764, 766). Such formations are very likely to be patronymic short forms rooted in the personal name *Niklaais*, *Nik(o)laas* (Debrabandere 2003: 249-253). The decision has been made, therefore, to exclude all examples of this type. All other place- and field-names first recorded before 1600 have been inserted in the listing and can be regarded as safe examples for the element *klei* on the

Continent. Hence, going back to the discussion of the cluster in Flanders, the assumption that the Germanic settlers of England came from the region of Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark must be strongly doubted. The cluster rather supports a movement across the Channel. However, definite statements cannot be made without having a closer look into the geological character of the investigated area and analyse the soil types of de Flou's examples.

If we now focus on the generally assumed starting point of the Germanic settlers, one can find two place-name examples for Schleswig-Holstein and one for Denmark. The examples found in Schleswig-Holstein only show later records (after 1600) and have not been mapped for this reason. Both place-names are located in North Friesland. The first record for **Kleiende** is *Kloidiinj* (1610). Although stated in the description of the name, it may be doubted whether this record really consists of Germanic *klei* (*klai*, *kle*), LG *klei*, *klaig* or OSax *clai*. Moreover, Grimm (2003 online version) lists the term *Kloder* (also *klod*, *klot*) with the meaning 'clod, lump of earth or clay adhering together'. A similar problem occurs with the record for Danish **Kleijs Klese** (1474). Analogous to the examples of de Flou (1927) including medial *-s-*, it can be doubted whether this name goes back to an ODan *klæg*. According to Kruken (1995: 168) a Norwegian personal name *Klas*, *Clas* or *Claes* exists as a short form of *Nikolaus* which might be a clue here. In contrary to the place-name form *Klese* these three names show medial *-a-* and not *-e-*. This may represent an ablaut variant, but since no place-name records with medial *-a-* are given this assumption has to be reviewed. Apart from this, the place-name's location in the East of Denmark does not correspond to the assumed origins of the Germanic settlers, which lies in the more westerly parts. It is also significant that next to Laur (1992) additional place- and field-name volumes have been checked, e.g. for the area of Plön, Pinneberg, Ostholstein, and the duchy of Lauenburg, but none of them has any other examples on record. From this we arrive at the same conclusion which the investigations done by Jellinghaus (1899, 1971) already implied, namely that the connection between Schleswig-Holstein/Denmark and England cannot be confirmed by place-name examples.

As to compounded place- and field-names it can be said that for England the following tendency is recognisable: The appellative *clæg* often combines with *-dūn*, *-furlang*, *-hangra*, and *-hyll*. OE *dūn* describes "a hill, an expanse of open hill-country" (Smith 1956: 138). OE *furlang* refers to "the length of a furrow, a furlong, a piece of land the length of a furrow" (Smith 1956: 190) and is especially common in ME and modern field-names (Smith 1956: 190). OE *hangra*, *hongra* denotes "a wood on a steep hill-side" (Smith 1956:

233) and OE *hyll* (Angl, WSax), *hell* (Kt) means “a hill, a natural eminence or elevated piece of ground” (Smith 1956: 274). Apart from *furlang* these terms are all more or less connected to ‘hill’ or ‘slope’. Unfortunately, most of the continental compounds only consist of more general or even no etymological analyses, which makes a comparison between the ‘compounding-habits’ more difficult. Yet there are four examples with *-berga/-bergh* (‘hill’) (Grimm 2003 online version), which may be of some interest here.

Another interesting aspect is that the appellative *klei* or *clæg* is primarily found as a first element in place-names. This is a common occurrence in Germanic languages, in which the initial position belongs to the modifying or descriptive element of a compound (Smith 1956: xxiii). Three lost field-names can be found in Cambridgeshire (*Hangindeclay* 13th, *Dedeclai* 1250, *Witteclay* 1250) where *clæg* constitutes the second element of the compound and thus indicates a significant word. This in turn goes along with another very early simplex name **Clayhithe** (*Cleie* 975 (12th)) also found in Cambridgeshire and leads to the assumption that in this region the appellative was of particular importance.

2.1.3 Résumé

From the etymological and structural analysis and the distribution of the appellative on the map it can certainly be stated that MLG *klei* (*klai*, *kle*), MDu *clei* and OE *clæg* represent ancient Germanic word stock. Its distribution does not leave many doubts as to the origin of the early Germanic settlers of England. The connection between Schleswig-Holstein/Denmark and England is not apparent. By contrast a great cluster of place- and field-names can be found along the northern coast of Flanders including parts of northern France, which undoubtedly supports the theory of a channel-crossing. In England the element is also well distributed and shows a tendency for the more eastern and south-eastern regions. However, it must be admitted that this is relatively slight. Concerning the initial assumptions as to the origins of the early settlers and to their movement according to this analysis it seems very likely that the Germanic settlers lived in the western regions of Westphalia, Belgium, and Flanders before crossing over to England via the Channel.

2.2 The element *rusch/risch*

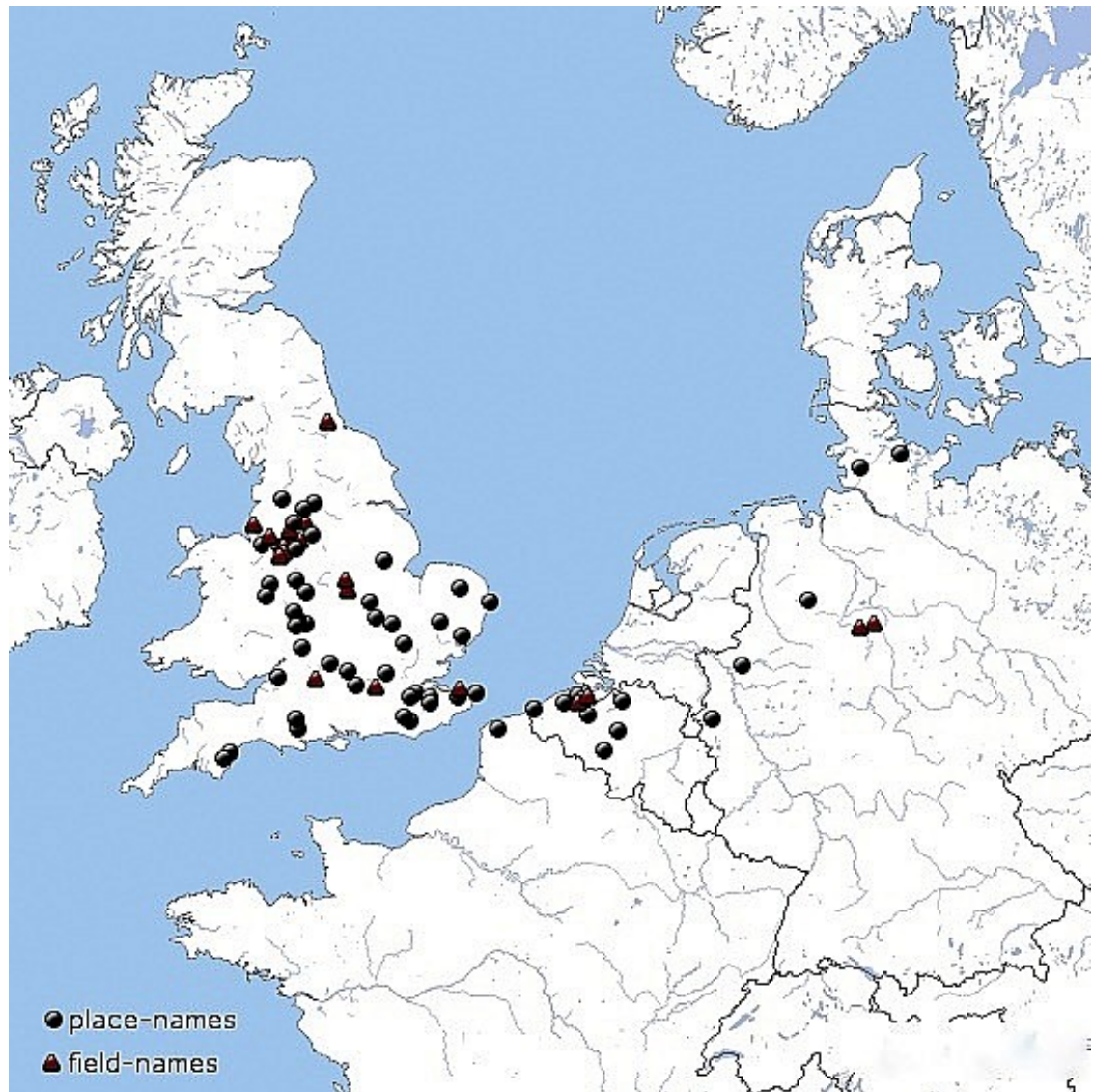


Fig. 8. Distribution of *rusch/risch*

2.2.1 Etymology of *rusch/risch*

In contrast to the preceding element *klei* the appellative usage of *rusch/risch* does not seem to be as frequent. The element is also especially common in the North Sea Germanic branch of the West Germanic language family. A characteristic of the element *rusch/risch* is the remarkable variation of the vowels *-u-* and *-i-* which is has been observed on the Continent as well as in England. Due to this ablaut the etymology of the word is far from being clear and shows much variation. Grimm's dictionary (2003 online version) lists both forms as single entries. For *rusch* m. it gives the meaning 'Binse, juncus' ('rush') with the earliest records found in MHG *rusche*, *rusch* and MLG *rusch* showing the

following variants: *rusch*, *rusk*, *rüske(n)*, and also *rüsschen*. On the other hand there is MLG *risch*, *risk* m. with the meaning *Markbinse*, *juncus*. Grimm (2003 online version) also notes the forms: *rische*, *ristje*, *risk*, and *risken*. Thus, *rusch* as well as *risch* refer to the same kind of plant “[...] growing in marshy ground or on the borders of rivers or ponds.” (OED 1989 online version). Ramge (1987: 127) in his field-name survey of Hessen lists next to *Risch* also *Rausch*, *Rauschen* as a variant of *rusch/risch*. Although he states that this form is difficult to differentiate from the German verb *rauschen* (‘to rustle, to sweep’), he regards it as a synonymous expression for ‘Binse’ (‘rush’). However, since Kluge (2002: 747) states that the mentioned etymology of *rusch/risch* needs to be more clarified and this form *Rausch*, *Rauschen* seems to be unsecure with its homonymous forms, the present work will not include it here. Kluge (2002: 747) further suggests a Latin origin *rūscum* ‘Mäusedorn’ for *Rausch* which will be discussed more detailed later.

For the Dutch form *rus* ‘bies, graszode’ Vries (1971: 597) notes a late MD *rusch*, MHG *rusch(e)* and connects these to ModE *rush* and according to him the word *rus* belongs to a type of reed. Vries (1971: 598) and also Veen (1997: 761) mention the ablaut variant of MLG *risch* and the corresponding OE *risc(e)*, *resce*, and *ricse* which can also be traced back to the IE root **rezg* ‘to plait, wind’. Yet both dictionaries give a second meaning ‘sod, clod of earth’ for the word *rus* which seems to be especially frequent in the southern parts of the Netherlands. Moerman (1956: 193) states that in place-names the element is not restricted to the meaning ‘Binse’ (‘rush’), but it also shows the meanings ‘reed’ and ‘grass’. Furthermore, Moerman (1956: 193) says that the element can frequently be found in field-names “zowel in het Oosten en Noorden als in het Westen (de Zaanstreek): *de Rusch*, *de Russchen*, *Ruskefinne*, *Rusklan*, *Ruskenmos*, *Röskenslat*, *Russchenpol*, *Russchenstrootsveld*.” From the existence of the word in the Netherlands Jellinghaus’s (1898: 313) assumption about the non-existence of *rusch/risch* as a place-name element in the Netherlands, Flanders, and Brabant has to be rejected and will further disagree with the following place-name examples found in this region.

As can be seen the continental forms have been documented relatively late (MHG, MLG, MD) which does not necessarily exclude the words earlier existence. This may also just point to a late entry into the standard written language. Grimm (2003 online version) already doubts the widely distributed assumption that the root of MLG *rusch* is Latin *ruscum*, *ruscus* Mäusedorn (‘butcher’s broom’). He rather suggests it to be a word with old Germanic roots which is significant for the present investigation—unfortunately, he does not specify his assumption. Reasons for his postulation are first to be found in the dissent-

ing meanings of the plants *Binse* ('rush') and Latin *ruscus* 'Mäusedorn' ('butcher's broom'). While the latter primarily lives on warm, dry, and stony slopes the first one prefers marshy ground. Grimm's (2003 online version) second objection against a Latin root is the relatively wide distribution of the word in LG and English (e.g. OE *risc* c725). Furthermore, according to Grimm (2003 online version) a Latin root *ruscus* would not explain the mentioned vowel gradation of *-u-* and *-i-* found in numerous forms. Skeat (1991: 529) and also Jellinghaus (1889: 313) deny a Latin origin and the latter one even claims it to be "[...] ausschließlich sächsisch". The OED (1989 online version) makes a concise statement when saying that "the suggestion that the Teutonic word is an early adoption, with complete change of meaning of Latin *ruscum*, butcher's broom, is in the highest degree improbable". Thus, the present work excludes the Latin word history and assumes it to consist of an old Germanic root.

Nevertheless, this still leaves the question as to the suggested Germanic root. Fick, Falk et al. (1909: 174) give a PG **resk* 'flechten' ('to bind, braid') which is also traceable in Gmc **rusk(i)ô* f. 'Binse' with an IE root **rezg*. Cognates can be found in Lith *rezgù, rėgsti* 'stricken' ('to knit'), *rėzgis* 'Geflechte, Korb' ('wicker, basket'), Lat *refchgēt* 'flechten' ('to plait, wind') and Lat *refchgis* 'Flechtwerk' (wickerwork). Furthermore, Fick, Falk et al. (1909: 174) give Skr *rāju* m. 'Strick, Seil' ('rope') and Latin *restis* (derived from **rezgtis*) also with the meaning 'Strick, Seil'. The interesting form here is definitely Gmc *rusk(i)ô* f. which can also be noted in a dialectal Norwegian form *rusk* (< **ruskō*) m., *ryskje* n. 'Schmiele' ('hair grass') (Torp 1963: 557). Other forms mentioned by Fick, Falk et al. (1909: 174) are: OE *rysc(e)* f. 'Binse' ('rush'), MLG *rusch* 'Schilf, Binse' ('rush') and MHG *rusch(e)* f. 'Binse'. All of them are representatives of the North Sea Germanic language branch. Furthermore, an ablaut variant Gmc *resk(i)ôn* is given which corresponds to OE *resc(e)*, *risc(e)* and MLG *risch* with the same meaning 'rush'. Since cognates are to be found in the North Germanic branch (Norwegian) as well as in the West Germanic one (MLG, OE) the existence of a former common Germanic root—out of which these forms then developed—is highly probable.

Thanks to the early and carefully carried out record tradition in England several Old English forms can be found here. According to the OED (1989 online version) the OE form *risc* can be dated back to c725. Other OE forms are represented by the metathesized variants *rix* and *risce* (*rixe*) which correspond to MD *risch*, MLG *risch(e)*, *rysse* and *risk/rysk*, LG *risch(e)*, *risk(e)* and WFrisk *risk*. ME examples are amongst others *ris(s)he*, *re(i)sshe*, *russhhe*. The graph <x> has often been used to represent the sequence /ks/ as in *fox* 'fox'

(Hogg 1992: 90). Although the evidence for the OE variants *risc(e)* and *resc(e)* is not as frequent Onions (1982: 778) states that OE *risc(e)* is mainly recorded in place-designations. Furthermore, the evidence for OE *risc* is strengthened by the existence of the mentioned continental forms with *u* like MLG *rusch*, MHG *rusch(e)*, Ger *rusch*, LG and WFrisk *rusk*, and Dutch *rusch* (modern Dutch *rus*). The explanation for the different writings <sc> and <sch> can be found in the historical sound change called palatalisation which only affected velar consonants. According to Hogg (1992: 93) the usual OE spelling was <sc> which is /ʃ/ as in *scip* ‘ship’ but can also be found as /sk/ in *ascað* ‘he asks’ or *risc* ‘rush’. Some velar consonants after a front vowel permanently became palatals or affricates as it happened with the development from OE *risc* to ME *risch*. Since this important linguistic phenomenon is found in many Germanic languages (Hogg, 1992: 106) the assumed existence of an earlier continental form of MLG *rusch(e)/risch(e)* can be confirmed. Analogous to the OE forms it may even be suggested that the continental OSax form appeared as **risc(e)* or **rusc(e)* (cf. App.; *R(i)uscethe* 799, *Ruscithe* 1150 > **Rüste** (LS)). Due to the discussed forms it can also be assumed that OE *risc* rather corresponds to the continental forms including *-i-* and OE *risc* to the forms with *-u-* as in MLG *rusch*.

As a place-name element Smith (1956: 84) notes a possible Kt variant *resc* and a NCy variant *rash* (< **ræsc*) for *rusch/risch*. An OE adjectival form *riscen* meaning ‘growing with rushes, rushy’ can also be found (Smith 1956: 85). As an appellative the element is apparent in the assumed OE forms **riscett*, **ryscett* (Angl, WSax), **rescett* (Kt) and ME *rishette* (Glover 1976: 162) with the meaning ‘a rush-bed, a place growing with rushes’ (Smith 1956: 85). Another appellative can be seen in **riscuc*, **rixuc* ‘a rushy place, a rush-bed’ (Smith 1956: 85).

After this more detailed discussion it can be summarised that the element *rusch/risch* is definitely found in place- and field-names in various different forms. Due to the ablaut variants and the etymology it is not always easy to tell the forms apart. Yet for the present work all above mentioned certain variants (e.g. *rüsch*, *risk(en)*, *rüsk(en)*, etc.) of MLG *rusch* and also MLG *risch* are included in the analysis. All of these variants have similar meanings including ‘Binse’, ‘Schilf’, ‘graszode’, which can all be headed under the meaning of ModE *rush*. Due to the early record situation in England a continental OSax form with an old Germanic root can be assumed. This constitutes a pre-condition for the present attempt to trace back the origins of the early Germanic settlers of England.

2.2.2 Analysis and Discussion

Similar to the preceding analysis of *klei* the following section starts with a short comment on the source situation of the element *rusch/risch* which is then followed by the analysis of the element's distribution on the map. Afterwards the discussion will concentrate on selected structural aspects and place-name types on the Continent and in England. In concordance with the former discussion the following section will not include any bibliographical references in order to maintain readability. Any further details of the mentioned place- and field-names can be found in the detailed the appendix.

Sources

For the element *rusch/risch* it has to be mentioned that the corresponding volume of the Vocabulary of English Place-Names and also some county editions of the EPNS are still in progress. Thus, for some areas there is only limited material available. On the Continent similar problems as with *klei* reoccur with *rusch/risch* for the German regions of East and North Friesland where a lot of material is available (cf. 2.1)—yet again without any data references for the recorded place- and field-names. It should also be repeated that the listed place-names are not exhaustive for the Continent or England. The reasons are to be found in the already mentioned differences in the source situation for the investigated areas (cf. 2 and 2.1.2).

Distribution on Map

According to Udolph (2006: 331) Jellinghaus stated in 1923 that the continental forms (*rüsch*, *rüsk*, *rusk*, *rusch*) derived from OE *risc*, *rix*, *risc*, *resc* are well distributed in Westphalia and Lower Saxony. However, first glance at the map clearly contradicts this proposition. On the whole, the distribution of *rusch/risch* in Germany is not very frequent. Two field-names and one place-name are mapped for Lower Saxony, two more place-names for North Rhine-Westphalia, and two for Schleswig-Holstein. Although only three examples can be found in Lower Saxony on the distribution map the full appendix lists nine more field-name examples. Unfortunately, they all have records after 1600 and have not been mapped because of this (cf. 2). Apart from the generally late continental record tradition the fact that they are all field-names constitutes another reason for their late recognition. This view is supported by the lost field-name *Rishbrede* (LS) with its first record going back to as early as 1310.

Going westwards towards the direction of the English Channel the evidence on the map for *rusch/risch* increases on the way from western Westphalia via the Belgian regions Brabant and Hainout continuing and clustering along the coastal area of Flanders. Although not very clear a slight connection between western Germany and Belgium can be assumed. And again, this distribution hardly leaves any doubts about the connection between the Continent and England via the Channel.

Drawing the attention to England the element *rusch/risch* seems to be evenly distributed all over the central and southern regions. Clusters around the areas of Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire can be observed. This certainly is a little unsuspected since these counties do not belong to the areas of first Germanic settlements. However, having a closer look at the listings in the appendix one realises that in Cheshire the majority (nine) of the sixteen examples constitute later field-names recorded after 1200. Moreover, the EPNS edition for Cheshire presents one of the more recent issues, which have been carried out more precisely, especially for field-names. The numerous examples found in Cheshire have to be qualified with this. Thus, over half of the names found in the West Midlands can be regarded as later coinages. However, it has to be mentioned that there are also four records found in this region, which have been recorded in Domesday Book (1086). Although this rather early record seems to be significant one has to be reminded that “for many place-names [...] it furnishes the earliest record extant” (Clark 1992: 453) and should thus be treated with care (cf. 1.2). It can be concluded that the cluster found in the area of the West Midlands does not point to early Germanic settlements but seems to belong to secondary settlement movements.

On the other hand the more expected clusters in the southern and south-eastern regions of England are, at first glance, not evident. Yet—they are definitely existent. The south-eastern regions including Berkshire, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Oxfordshire, and Suffolk show eight place- and field-names. The more southern counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent have twelve more examples on record. Furthermore, the EPNS volumes for Kent, Suffolk, Norfolk, and also Hampshire are still in progress (cf. 2), which partly explains a distributional imbalance in comparison to other English areas.

In summary, without having a closer look at the actual data the cluster on the distribution map in the West Midlands appears prominent, but it turns out to consist of a number of field-names, whose later records suggest an area of secondary settlements. For the southern and south-eastern counties, which are believed to be areas of early Germanic set-

lements, twenty examples are listed. A final statement as to their significance can only be made after their structural analysis and discussion.

Structural Aspects

In general, MLG *rusch/risch* or OE *risc* can be found in all place-name types, i.e. in simplex names, in compounded, and in affixed place-names. Since simplex formations are the most relevant in terms of chronology the analysis starts with these forms. On the Continent as well as in England only two simplex names each have been found. The continental examples are: *Rusche/Rasche* 1432 (> **Rüsch**) in Lower Saxony and *Rusche* 1591 (> **Russche**) in Belgium. Again, the suffix *-e* represents a relict of syntagmatic constructions as in *up dem Rusche* ('at the rushes') (cf. 2.1). Apart from this both examples are located in regions which support the work's underlying thesis of the origins of the early Germanic settlers of Britain. In England one place-name is located in south-eastern Berkshire; *la Russe* 1280 (c. 1444) (> **Rush Court**) and the other in north-western Lancashire *Russum* 1235 (> **Rusholme**). The definite article of the first example can easily be traced back to French influence. The OE root of the word has been suggested to present an assumed dat. plural OE *rysce* meaning 'a bed of rushes', which characterises a specific area in the landscape and can be seen as a more appellative usage. Since proper place-names usually develop out of such appellative forms they tend to be earlier coinages. More problematic is the occurrence of a simplex form in Lancashire which does definitely not constitute an area of early Germanic settlement. Ye—how is this simplex form to be explained? The significance lies on the OE dative plural **ryscum*, which according to Smith (1956: 225) "[...] seems to belong to Anglian territory [...]" and although it is "[...] not very common in Cumberland, Lancashire and other counties to the west [...]", it definitely represents a northern country phenomenon. Furthermore, this dative form "[...] is found mostly with simplex elements" (Smith 1956: 226) and one of the main categories are topographical terms (cf. 1.2). From this it can be concluded that although this simplex place-name in Lancashire represents an OE formation (Smith 1956: 225) it is most likely an extension of early Anglian settlements of the more eastern counties of England and not connected to the southern Germanic incomers.

The relatively high frequency of compounded place-names in England as well as on the Continent and the few simplex forms may point to a later productiveness of the element *rusch/risch*. For compounded forms in England Smith (1956: 85) states that "[...] as a first element it [OE *risc*, *rix*, *rysc*] is frequent with words denoting 'water'". This makes

sense in so far as the denoted plant prefers marshy ground. This statement can also be approved for the place- and field-names of this investigation. There are for example compounds with OE *mær(e)* ‘a pool’, OE *hamm/homm* ‘an enclosure, a meadow, a water-meadow’, OE *lacu* ‘a stream, a water-course’ and OE *læc(c)* ‘a stream, a bog’ (all Smith 1956). This compounding practice is also detectable on the Continent, especially in Flanders. There are four place-names called **Ruisbroek** which all show different first records (*Ruschebroc* 1138, *Ruisschebruec* 1177, *Ruschebroc* 1138, *Ruschebroc* 1207). According to the EWN (Etymologisch Woordenboek van het Nederlands) the second element seems to be ODu *bruoc*, *brōk*, MDu *bruec* ‘moeras’ (‘fen, marshland’). This word can also be found in MLG *brok* ‘moerasland’ (LG *brok*); OHG *bruoh* ‘moerasland’ (Ger *Bruch*); OFris *brōk* ‘moeras’ (Fris *broek*); OE *brōc* ‘stream, river, brook’ (ModE *brook*). The interesting point is that this generic (OE *brōc*) is also traceable in Suffolk (**Rushbrooke**), which—concerning toponyms—contributes to the idea of a connection between the Continent and England.

Another place-name cluster on the Continent can be found in the Netherlands where all five examples are located around Oostburg. The earliest records of them are: *Russchenvliete* 1174, *Ruussevliete wech* 1564, *Russchenvliet* 1550, *Rusgefleta* 1174. All forms point to the same generic which according to Künzel, Blok et al. (1988: 310) is ODu *fleta* ‘waterloop in getijdengebied’ (‘stream, watercourse in tidal areas’). The EWN gives further variants: ODu *fliet* ‘natuurlijke waterloop in het zeekeigebied’ which is often found in toponyms. MDu *vliet* a more general ‘waterloop’; MLG *vlēt*; OFri. *fliāt* (Fris *Fliet*); OE *flēot* (ModE *fleet*); MHG *vliez* (Ger *Fliess*); ON *fljót*; all meaning ‘waterstroom, zeearm’ < PIE **fleuta-*. Thus, it can be seen that this ‘water-term’ is prevalent in all North Sea Germanic languages (esp. Frisian). Again, this leads to the supposition that the four Dutch place-names, containing ODu *fleta*, are rather early formations.

In summary, two points supporting the theory of a link between the Continent and England can be made: First, in compounds there is a tendency of the specific *rusch/risch* to combine with a generic denoting ‘water’. This is apparent in England and can be extended to the Continent since this pattern is prevalent there as well. It is especially observable in areas of the Netherlands and Belgium which are believed to represent the last descendants of Germanic settlers before crossing the Channel to England. Secondly, since such ‘water-terms’ are usually of certain significance and have a greater age they support the idea that they are representatives of early place-name formations on the Continent. This is

even more likely if one bears in mind that water as a source has always been of great importance to mankind and these place-names may thus possess a long tradition.

Going back to the Continent and examining the distribution map two place-names in Schleswig-Holstein, which require some further remarks, are observable. One of the examples found there is **Russee** (LG Rus'see) with the following forms: *Rutse* 1233, *de Rusce* 1264-1289, *tho dem dorppe Rutzee* 1533, *Russehe* 1610/11 and *Rußsee* 1667. Laur (1992: 559) suggests three possible elements for this place-name—LG *Rusch* 'rush', LG *Russ* 'horsetail', and LG *Ruut* 'rhombic-shaped, quadrangular'. Thus, this name is not unambiguously clear and should be treated cautiously. However, it cannot be doubted that the element *rusch/risch* as a place- and field-name element does exist in Schleswig-Holstein and the first meaning cannot be excluded. The question is rather as to which degree this part of the Continent played a role in the settlement of England and how significant this place-name would be. The interpretation of the other mapped place-name **Röst** with the forms: *de Ruscede* 1329, *van Ruste* 1447, *to Rissede* 1447, *vnde Rost* 1485 is also questionable. Yet the discussion with this name is more about the second element and the first one seems to be LG *Rusch*, *Rüsch* and, thus, represents a positive example for the present investigation. However, these three examples for Schleswig-Holstein are in opposition to the examples found in North-West Germany, Belgium, and Flanders. It is known that this part of the Cimbric peninsula is generally considered as an original area of the Germanic settlers of England, and these two examples might even support Myres's (1986: 50-5) assumption that this area played a role in the whole settlement movement towards the coastal regions of Flanders, however, not a major role for leaving of the Continent.

2.2.3 Résumé

By analysing the relatively complex etymology of the investigated MLG *rusch/risch* it has been possible to show that the continental forms as well as OE *risc*, *rix*, *risc* can be considered to represent ancient Germanic word stock. All forms refer to a plant growing on marshy ground and until today the modern English form *rush* is part of the English language stock. On the Continent some dialectal forms can also still be found in the Lower German language area (Piiirainen 1984: 338). The distribution map mirrors strong occurrence in Flanders and England and definite traces are also present in the north-west of Germany. This mapping repeats the results of the first analysis with *klei* and clearly demonstrates where the West Germanic settlers of England came from. Denmark and Jutland are irrelevant as a starting point for the settlement movement to England. Yet

Schleswig-Holstein also seems to play a part in this movement. In England, the cluster in the West Midlands has been qualified and has left another one in the regions of East Anglia and the South East. This cluster marks a region of early Germanic settlements. Concerning the underlying assumption of this thesis about the origins of the Germanic settlers it can be said that the place-name element *rusch/risch* clearly supports a connection across the Channel.

2.3 The element *sol*

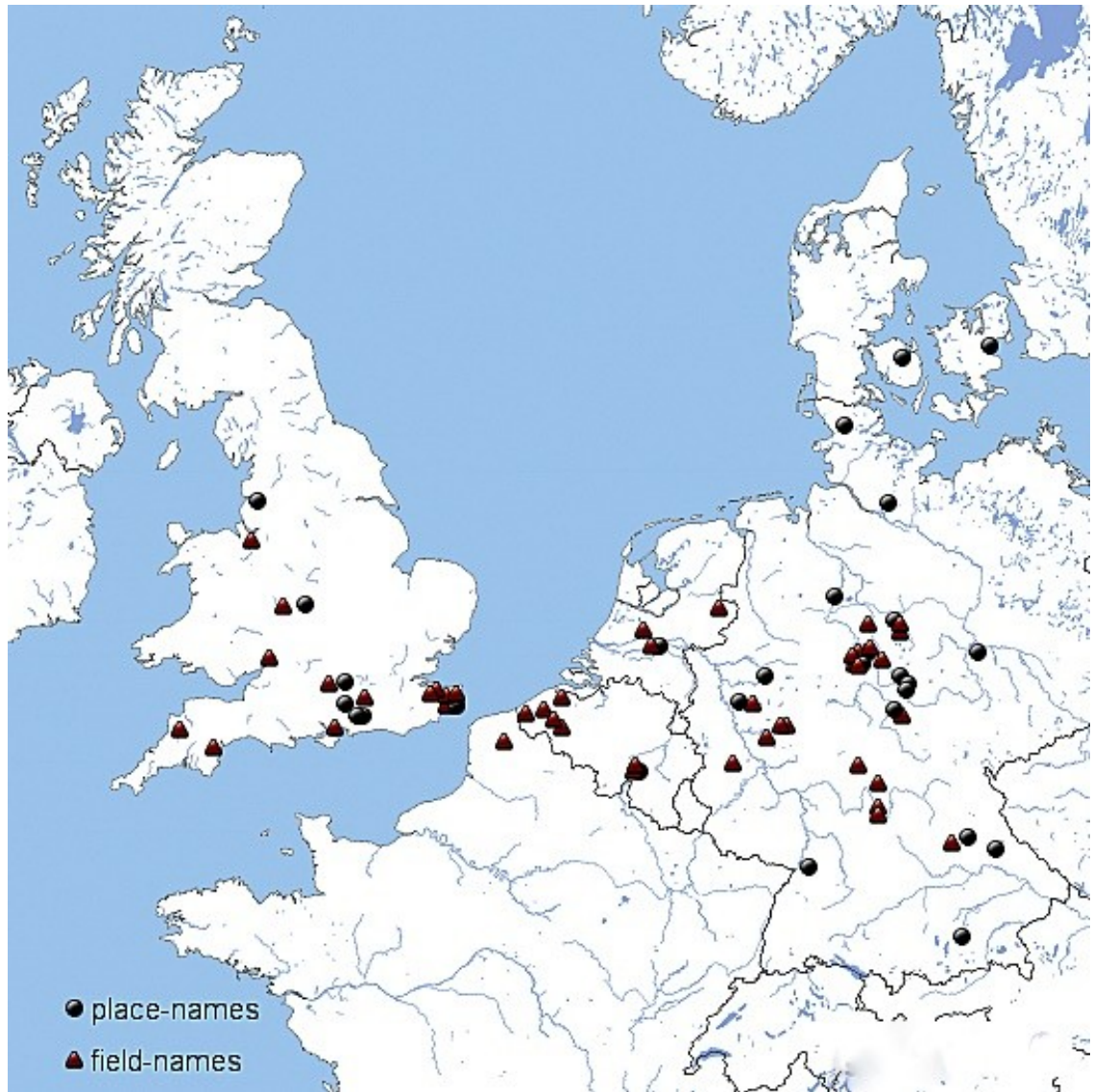


Fig. 9. Distribution of *sol*

2.3.1 Etymology of *sol*

On the Continent OHG *sol* 'sumpfige Stelle, Suhle, Lache' ('miry place, pool, puddle') is well recorded since the eighth century (Krahe 1971: 142). Pfeifer (1993: 1395) links the German verb *suhlen* 'sich im Schlamm wälzen' ('to wallow in mire') with the OHG verb *bisullen* (12th ct.) which is MHG *süln*, *suln* 'besudeln' ('to defile') and corresponds to OE *sylvian* 'beschmutzen' ('to defile, to sully') and to the ablaut variant Got *bisauljan* 'beflecken' ('to sully'). It can also be found in a dialectal Swedish form *saule* 'beschmutzen' ('to soil'). Pfeifer (1993: 1395) connects these forms with OHG *gisol* (ca. 800) and *sol* (9th ct.) 'Kotlache' ('miry place'), MHG *sol*, *söl*, MLG *söle* 'Schlamm, Schmutz,

Dreck' ('mud, mire, dirt') with its closest relatives in OE *sol* 'Schlamm, Pfütze' ('mud, puddle'), Lith *sulà* 'abfließender Baumsaft' ('effluent birch juice') and Lat *sula* 'Saft' ('juice'). Casemir, Ohainski et al. (2005: 350) also list the appellative *sol*, *sul* 'Suhle, Schlamm, Wälzlache des Wildes' ('pool, mud, wallowing place for animals'). Pfeifer (1993: 1395) links all these forms to the IE root **seu-*, **sū-* which represents the imitation of a dripping, sucking, or slurping sound. Krahe (1951: 233) mentions a Germanic root **sula-* in his discussion of today's stream-name *Sulz* (cf. appendix p. 65) where he explains the development of the recorded *Solanza* from **Solantia* < **Sulantia*. The lowering from Germanic *-u-* to OHG *-o-* belongs to an Old English sound change termed Germanic a-mutation ('breaking') (Hogg 1992: 102-5). Its importance for the analysis of the element *sol* at this point is the need for a differentiation between long and short *-u-* (*-ū-* vs. *-u-*) in the Germanic root. The discussion of the stream-name *Suhle* and its linked place-name *Seulingen* (cf. Casemir, Ohainski et al. 2003: 369-371) has shown that an ancient stream-name **Sūla* with a long *-ū-* must have existed. This consists of an assumed root **sūl-* which is based on *-ā-* derivation and can also be found in the OHG adjective *sūlag* 'sumpfig' ('sloughy, swampy') (Casemir, Ohainski et al. 2003: 369). Thus, for the present investigation this means that the early records of the place-names are very important. Only place- and field-names based on the Germanic stem **sula-* with a short *-u-* can safely be linked to OHG *sol* 'Lache, Pfütze, Tümpel' ('pool, puddle'), MHG *sol* 'Kotlache' ('miry place'), MLG 'Dreckpfütze, Teich' ('miry pool, pond') (Casemir, Ohainski et al. 2003: 371).

At the same time this development of *sol* rules out a proposal made by Grimm (2003 online version) where he connects OHG *sol* with IE *salva* 'dunkelfarbig schmutziggelb' ('fuscous, dingy yellow'), AS *salo* 'dunkelfarbig' ('fuscous'), OHG *salo*, *sal(a)wer* and MHG *sale*, *sal*, *sal(e)wer* 'dunkelfarbig, schmutzig' ('fuscous, dirty'). A connection of OE *sol* and AS *salo*, however, cannot be established because of the missing vowel *-u-* in these forms. From these two discussed points it can already be seen that the identification and interpretation of place- and field-names containing *sol* is far from easy and has to be carried out carefully. Moreover, this subtle but essential distinction of the vowel does not represent the only difficulty. As elaborated upon by Ramge (1987: 116)—in place-names—OHG *sol* 'sumpfige Stelle, Suhle, Lache' ('miry place, pool') can hardly be separated from the word *Sole* which is MHG *sul*, *sol* 'Salzwasser, -brühe' ('salt-water, broth').

Concerning the Dutch equivalent Vries (1971: 669) lists *sol* as a 'met water en modder gevulde kuil in het morenelandschap', which is especially frequent in the Veluwe region (part of Gelderland). According to Schönfeld (1955: 242) there are two West Germanic

forms with similar meaning. In addition to masculine MDu *sol* (m.) ‘poel’ (‘puddle’) she gives a neuter *sol* (n.) which in Veluws⁶ refers to a ‘natuurlijk gat in de bodem, waarin water staat voor vee en wild’ (‘a natural hollow filled with water for animals’). It corresponds to MDu *sol* ‘poel, vuil, drek’ (‘pool, puddle, dirt’) (Vries 1971: 669). Similar to Pfeifer (1993: 1395) mentioned above Vries (1971: 669) also ascribes the form as a development of the OHG verb *sullen*, OE *syljan* ‘bevuilden’ (‘to defile, soil, sully’) and connects it to OPr *sulo* ‘geronnen melk’ (‘curdled milk’), Lat *sula*, Lith *sulà* ‘boomsap’ (‘birch juice’), Gr *húlē* ‘slijk’ (‘mud’) and concludes it to be an *l*-derivation of IE **seu* ‘sap, vochtig’ (‘juice, soggy’) (Vries 1971: 669). Concerning place-names Schönfeld (1955: 242) remarks that the element *sol* has been preserved in different field-names in the Netherlands as in *Natte zool*, *Antjes Zolen* or *Klinkzool*. Yet Schönfeld (1955: 242) mentions a Fris *soal* ‘sloot, vaart, vaaargeul’ (‘ditch, sewer, fairway’) which in later place-names also appears as *zool* (*Zoolsloot*, *Stoppelzool*), but due to its distinct etymology it should not be confused with the analysed element *sol*.

Turning the attention towards England Smith (1956) states that as a place-name element OE *sol* (*solwe* dat. sg.) ‘mud, slough, a wallowing place’ “is fair common in OE charters” (134). It is recorded since the 8th century (*Solvente* 731). Smith (1956: 134) connects it to OE *solian* ‘to soil’ and in later dialectal usage it denotes “a dirty pond”. Several place- and field-names in England consist of elements that are linked to OE *sol*. Examples include OE *syle*, *sylu* with a Kentish variant **sele* ‘a bog, a miry place’, which—according to Smith (1956: 173)—is sometimes difficult to distinguish from OE *sele*, *syle* ‘a willow copse’. The assumed adjective forms OE **syliġ*, **solig*, **sulig* ‘muddy’ are also connected to this meaning (Smith 1956: 173). According to Jacobsson (1997: 29) *sol* is best derived from IE **sulu-*, giving Skr *súrah* ‘soma-juice’. He further states that “the evidence for the term outside place-names is very limited” (Jacobsson 1997: 29).

A discussion of OE *slōh* ‘muddy place’ and OE *sol(h)* ‘muddy place, wallowing place for animals’ can be found in Gelling, Cole (2000: 62) where the latter is described as a variant of the former. However, this theory has to be rejected. OE *slōh* (*slōge*, *slō*) ‘Morast, Pfütze, Kot, Schlamm; hohle Stelle in der Erde mit viel Schlamm’ (‘mud, puddle, mire; hollow place filled with mud’) together with the dialectal Dutch forms *slooi*, *sloeg* ‘Straßegosse’ (‘gutter’) is connected to MLG *slōch* ‘Wiese, Bruch’ (‘meadow, bog, marsh’) (Ohainski, Udolph 1998: 311). For the modern form *slough* the OED (1989 online version) gives the meaning ‘a piece of soft, miry, or muddy ground; esp. a place or hole in a road or way filled with wet mud or mire and impassable by heavy vehicles, horses’. According to Smith

6 Dutch Low Saxon dialect

(1956: 130) this connects with OE **slōhtre* ‘a slough, a mire, a muddy place’ which relates to LG *slochter* ‘ditch’. Associated with this is MHG **slu(o)hter* ‘unebenes Gelände mit Tümpeln, Löchern und Gräben’. Therefore, at first glance a semantic connection between the two forms OE *slōh* and OE *sol(h)* can be detected, but since the AS *slōh* ‘Morast’ is—amongst others—listed as an ablaut variant of an Indo-Germanic root mentioned by Pokorny (956-957), it cannot be connected to the current element *sol*. A more detailed treatment of the element's etymology would be necessary in order to explain this matter exhaustively. For now it is important to know that the historical development of the OE elements *slōh* and *sol* is different and they should, therefore, be treated separately in place- and field-names.

In conclusion, it can be seen that a major difficulty with the element *sol* is connected to its separation from homonymous forms on the Continent as well as in England. Semantically it seems as if the meaning ‘wallowing place for animals’ shows some significance. Furthermore, concerning the Continent the distinction between long and short *-u-* in the Germanic root has to be obeyed and only place- and field-names whose etymology is linked to a short *-u-* as in Gmc **sula-* will be part of the present investigation. Since the main work of the thesis is related to the Germanic settlers this fact is important. Thus, OHG *sol* ‘sumpfige Stelle, Suhle, Lache’ (‘miry place, pool, puddle’), the appellative *sol*, *sul* ‘Suhle, Schlamm, Wälzlache des Wildes’ (‘pool, mud, wallowing place for animals’) and the Middle Dutch variants *sol* (m.) ‘poel, vuil, drek’ (‘pool, puddle, dirt’) and *sol* (n.) ‘natuurlijk gat in de bodem, waarin water staat voor vee en wild’ (‘a natural hollow filled with water for animals’) are of interest. In English place-names OE *sol* (*solwe* dat. sg.) ‘mud, slough, a wallowing place’ next to several other variants as OE *syle*, *sylu* or the adjectives OE **sylim*, **solig*, **sulig* can be found. The word is still used in modern German *Suhle* (f.) ‘kleiner Tümpel, schlammige, morastige Stelle im Boden (wo sich Tiere suhlen)’ which represents a back-formation from the verb *suhlen* (Grimm 2003 online version).

2.3.2 Analysis and Discussion

Similar to the earlier discussed elements *klei* and *rusch/risch* the following analysis will be in the same order. It will begin with a short comment to the source situation which is then followed by the element's distribution on the map and the discussion of selected structural aspects related to the element *sol*. And again—readability of this part will be maintained by the exclusion of bibliographical references of the discussed place- and field-names. For more detailed information the appendix should be consulted.

Sources

Since the volume of the Vocabulary of English Place-Names for *sol* is not available yet the source situation is comparable to the one of *rusch/risch* (cf. 2.2). Thus, for some regions in England there is only limited material available and the place- and field-name listings are not exhaustive. Apart from the reoccurring difficulties with the North and East Friesland regions (cf. 2.1) on the Continent there are no noteworthy aspects about the continental sources.

Distribution on Map

Generally, it is striking that the element *sol*—as appellative as well as a proper name—is especially frequent in field-names. In comparison to the two preceding elements *sol* is well-distributed all over Germany and not restricted to certain parts. A cluster occurs in the Solling area near Holzminden and Northeim in Lower Saxony. This range of hills is characterised by numerous marshy areas. Therefore, several field-names can be found in this region. Besides the few examples in Holstein and Denmark the more northern parts of Germany do not show as many examples as other regions of Germany. The map rather gives the impression that an assumed line can be drawn across the more central parts of Germany. This belt reaches from the Weser Uplands ('Weserbergland') via parts of the Lower and Middle Rhine continues westwards along the Namur region of Wallonia and ends in the coastal regions of West Flanders and northern France. This distribution agrees with the preceding analyses. It can be seen that the connection with England has been established across the Channel rather than from the Cimbric peninsula across the North Sea. Furthermore, the appearance parallels the distribution of another ancient Germanic term OHG *horo* 'Schlamm, Brei, Kot, Schmutz, Erde' ('mud, dirt, mire') (cf. map in Udolph 1995: 251). This term is an early Germanic hydronymic term which is also evenly distributed all over Germany (Udolph 1995: 248). The concordance of the two elements in their distribution supports the assumption that *sol* is also an ancient Germanic element.

Having a look at the distribution in England the cluster in Kent is noteworthy. Being a region of early Germanic settlements there can hardly be any doubts about a connection of the English place-name examples with those found on the Continent. Another well-distributed region comprises parts of Berkshire, Hampshire, Surrey, and Sussex. Whereas the rest of England shows relatively few and mainly later records (earliest in Lancashire with 1200) which suggests them to be the result of secondary settlements. Thus, the southern territory has a recognisable higher distribution of the element *sol*. Furthermore, the ele-

ment's main distribution in Kent and the Hampshire region strongly reminds of the territory that—according to Bede—is said to be part of early Jutish settlement in England. And although Bede regards the Jutes as the northern neighbours of the Angles on the Jutish peninsula, it is widely accepted that “[...] it seems unlikely that the Jutes came directly from Jutland, if at all; rather, their archaeological remains bear a striking resemblance to those of the Riparian Franks of the middle Rhine” (Robinson 1997: 137). Therefore, the distribution of *sol* supports the assumption that both regions—Kent and Hampshire—are linked to each other in a certain way. Whether this link is of linguistic and/or tribal nature needs to be clarified. Collingwood and Myres (1963: 346) remark that the dialectal and social similarities “[...] seem to link Kent more closely to Frisia than to any other part of the Continent”. And since there is an undeniably close resemblance between Old English and Old Frisian this connection seems to be more logical. Moreover, Robinson (1997: 137) already states that the “[...] invading tribes of England would include large numbers of Frisians. [...] It is certain that many of the invaders had spent time on the Frisian coast before moving on to Britain, as Frisia's geographically intermediate position would suggest.” Unfortunately, the limited space in the present thesis prohibits further discussion on this topic.

To sum up, it can be noted that the distribution map of *sol* suggests that England is not connected to Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark in the first instance but rather to the more central parts of Lower Saxony, to Westphalia, Flanders, and northern France. Once again it becomes clearly visible that the early Germanic settlers must have come to England via the Channel.

Structural Aspects

The differentiation of *sol* from other elements like *sol* ‘sun’ or *sol* ‘salt’ on the Continent as well as in England is not always easy and, thus, the etymology of some place- and field-names is still obscure. Due to this, such names were not included on the map, yet they are still included in the investigation and their full records can be found in the appendix. Examples with uncertain etymology on the Continent are: **Solby** (SH), **Sollbrück** (SH), **Sollerup** (SH), **Sollerupmühle** (SH), **Solderup** (DK), **Solvig** (DK), **Solheide** (B). It is remarkable to note that four out of six instances in Schleswig-Holstein and two out of four examples in Denmark belong to these unclear instances. Concerning the Belgian example **Solheide** the element *sol* ‘bourbier’ (‘pool, puddle’) seems to be very likely to be part of this compounded name and it can, thus, be seen as a positive example. Instances of

unresolved etymologies in England are: *Solmegrenes/Solme Greneforlong* (Ch), *Sulinesfeld (Sulinfeld)* (Ch), *Sullunhull* (Ch), *Soyland* (YWR), *Solcum Fm* (Wo), *Sullington* (Sx), *Syleham* (Sf), and *Solway Moss* (Cu). With most of these names the difficulty is deciding whether the place-name element goes back to OE *sol* ‘muddy place, wallowing place for animals’, OE *sulh* ‘furrow’, ME *sogh* ‘swamp’, or to OE **syle*, **siele* ‘a willow-tree copse’ (cf. appendix). An assumed dative plural OE *solum* has been suggested for *Solway Moss* (*Solum* 1246) in Cumberland. The dative form which is generally an indicator for early place-name formations (cf. 2.1) has recently been challenged by Gelling, Cole (2000: 63) where it says that such a northern occurrence of *sol* seems to be unlikely in view of the rather southern distribution of the element *sol*. Instead, a dative pl. of a corresponding ON word is suggested (Gelling, Cole 2000: 63). Connected to Solway Moss is the close river-name Solway Firth (*Sulewaht* 1275, *Solwath*, *Sulwath* 1292, *Sulewath* 1324, *Sulwaythe* 1340, *Sulwath* 1340, *Soulwath* 1347, *Sullewath* 1383, *Sullewath* 1389, *Sulway* 1429, *Sulweye* 1565, *Sowlewaye* 1589, *Solway frith* 1695) (PN Cu: 1 39). Since the records show mainly -u- in the specific this seems to support the exclusion of *sol*. All the above examples illustrate again the etymological difficulties with this element.

Another observance are the parallels found between the field-name **Ebersohlen** (*die Eversolle* 1548, 1965) in Lower Saxony and the lost field-name **Eversolle** (1283-4) in Berkshire. Both recorded forms are identical and point to a direct transfer of this field-name which may even point to a tribal link. However, this is speculative and should receive further examination. The first element (specific) in the German form refers to MLG *ēver* ‘Eber, Wildschwein’ (‘boar’) and in the English variant to OE *eofor* ‘boar’. In OE the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ was an allophone of /f/ and “[...] occurred only between voiced sounds [...]” as in *wulfas* ‘wolves’ which either derived from Gmc **f/* or **fʰ/* (Hogg 1992: 92). Thus, the OE form seems to be rooted in the Continental one which, in turn, makes the supposed connection between those two names even more likely. Furthermore, the earlier English record would also constitute an example to suggest the continental name to be of greater age than its record suggests.

Connected to this type of name are several others found in England whose second element (generic) is the element *sol*. Usually topographical elements have a qualifying function of the related topographical feature or habitation and specify it. Thus, they are found in the position of the specific as in **Sohlbach** or **Soldridge**. This is different with the two examples above and also with **Bradsole** (K), **Blakeshall** (Wo), **Brinksole** (Sx), **Grazeley** (Bk), **Horsesolle** (C), **Rodsell** (Sr), and numerous field-names listed by För-

stemann II (1983: 823) and Kramer (1971: 143-4) (cf. Appendix). In these the element *sol* functions as generic and since this represents the main element of a place-name all the examples describe a certain significant area. Furthermore, the field-names mentioned by Förstemann II (1983: 823) show very early record dates varying between AD 777 and 1316. Another observable parallel with this kind of place- and field-names are the animal and colour references found in the specifics on the Continent as well as in England. Amongst others there are: OE *eofor* 'boar', *græġ* 'grey' or 'badger', OE and OFris *hors* 'horse', the colours 'red' (cognate with OFris *rād*, MDu *root*, *rood* (Du *rood*), OSax *rōd*, MLG *rōt*, OHG *rōt*) and 'black' (OE. *blæc*, *blac*). This name-formation is in concordance with the meaning of the appellative *sol* which has been used in the sense 'wallowing place for animals'. Gelling, Cole (2000: 62) state that an association with harts, boars and bullocks is often found in charter-boundaries. For OE *græġ* ('grey' or 'badger') found in **Grazeley** (Bk) it is suggested that some records indicate a substantive use of the word and point to an animal-name (Gelling, Cole 2000: 62). This animal used to be interpreted as 'badger' but in connection with OE *sol* the meaning 'grey' is more likely and a reference to a wolf is suggested (Gelling, Cole 2000: 62). Moreover, according to the OED online version the first record of 'badger' in this sense is not before the 16th century. To sum up, the specifics (colours or animals) of these place- and field-names were used to describe the different 'sols' clearly and to remove any ambiguity in their reference.

Early place- and field-names on the Continent can be found in the following examples: **Bernsol** (1110), **Birkinensolen** (1014), **Breittensol** (819), **Haganina sol** (779), **Sohlbach** (*Solebach* 1124), **Sohlingen** (*Sologe* 963), **Söhlde** (*Solithe* 1017), **Solbach** (*Salubeki* 11th ct.), **Solingen** (*Solagon* 965), **Sologne** (*Solania* 747), **Sölten** (*Sulithem* 10th ct.), **Swarzensol** (*Suarcensole* 992), **Widensole** (*Widensole* 987, 997), **Wünschensuhl** (*Widenen solen* 1012), **Zoel** (*Solina* 788-789). In England there are: **Grazeley** (*grægsol* c. 950), **Selham** (*Seleham* 1086), **Soles Court** (*Soles* 1086), **Solton** (*Soltun* 1038), **Syleham** (*Seilam*, *Seilanda* 1086), **Rodsell Farm** (*Redessolham*, *Reddesolham* 1086), **The Solent** (*Solunte* c. 731 (9th), c. 1000; *Sol(w)ente*, (*utt on*) *solentan* 948). The distribution of these examples in England is certainly restricted to the South East which goes along with the believed initial Germanic settlement regions. It is pertinent to mention the link between the Hampshire regions and Kent again. The **Solent** is assumed to consist of a suffix *-wente* which is a known form of Old European river names and is, therefore, a very ancient name example (cf. Appendix; Watts 2004: 558). On the Continent the distribution of these early recorded names is, however, not restricted to a certain area. The examples are located all

over the Continent, e.g. Bavaria (1), Baden-Württemberg (1), Namur (1), Gelderland (1), Rhineland-Palatinate (1) Lower Saxony (3), Thuringia (4), and North Rhine-Westphalia (2). It can be noted that Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark are not of interest and therefore make it very unlikely as being starting points for Germanic settlers towards England.

2.3.3 **Résumé**

With the element *sol* it is important to remember the subtle difference of long *-ū-* and short *-u-* in the etymology of OHG *sol* 'Lache, Pfütze, Tümpel' ('pool, puddle'). Only the forms consisting of a short *-u-* represent positive examples for this investigation. Moreover, there are a considerable number of homonymous forms which often complicate the interpretation of a name. In comparison to the distribution of the two preceding elements it is worth mentioning that the element *sol* is generally more frequent in field-names and has more examples on the Continent. The spreading in England reveals a connection between Kent and the Hampshire region which might indicate a further connection not only of a linguistic character. In summary, it can certainly be noted that the distribution and analysis of the place-and field-names consisting of the Germanic element *sol* again shows that the connection between the Continent and England can only be established across the Channel via West Flanders. Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark do not represent the starting point of the Germanic settlers.

3 Summary and Conclusion

The three initial questions raised in the introduction as to the continental origins of the Germanic settlers, their tribal composition, and the time of their settlement of England are answered relatively clearly by Bede's account, which is often trusted. However, his sharp distinction into the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes arriving in England in the year 449 and originating from the regions of Jutland and Schleswig-Holstein is open to doubt. Thus, valuable as his information is, it does not reflect the complexity of the tribal situation at the time of the movement. Not only does it simplify the situation but concerning the original homelands of the Germanic settlers it also gives inaccurate suggestions. In order to refute Bede's suggestions and to clarify the route towards England which was most likely taken by the settlers, the present investigation has analysed the distribution of Germanic topographical place-name elements. On the basis of these place-names and their distribution it appears as if the settlers' route was across the Channel and not across the North Sea. As discussed in 1.2 and 1.3 topographical place-name elements represent a particularly suitable method for investigating the link between the Continent and England. Their advantages lay mainly in their abundance, ubiquity, internal consistency, and ancientness (Gelling 1988: 59). It should be noted again that the thesis does not aim at finding direct name transfers from the Continent to England, but it is based on the transfer of Germanic language stock. Thus, the primary concern of the thesis is to detect the origins of the Germanic settlers of England on the Continent and not to find out about their tribal constitution or the determination of the time frame of the settlement. As mentioned earlier the informative value of place-names is limited here.

Which conclusions can be drawn from the present investigation concerning this major aim of the thesis? From the discussion of each element's etymology it can be concluded that all three investigated elements (*klei*, *rusch/risch*, *sol*) represent Germanic language stock. It must have been existent at the time of the migration period since it can be found on the Continent as well as in England. The distribution of the appellatives and their in-depth analysis indicate the following: First, the suggested homelands—Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark—can be excluded as the primary origin of the Germanic settlers of England. Secondly, the connection between the Continent and England must rather be established across the Channel. All elements show definite clusters in Flanders and northern France which, thus, is most likely to represent the last extensions of the North Sea Germanic continental expansion. Although it must be admitted that the appearance of each element's distribution on the map is different, the overall impression of the movement

across the Channel cannot be disturbed by slight differences. Thirdly, the homelands of the Germanic settlers are to be found in the areas of today's Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia (especially the area around the Lower Rhine), the Netherlands (especially the southern parts), Belgium (especially the coastal region of Flanders), and northern France.

Moreover, the appellatives *klei*, *rusch/risch*, and *sol* are not the only analysed elements that contribute to this result. In fact, the investigations carried out by Udolph (1994, 1995) and the two mentioned "Magisterarbeiten" (cf. 1.1) already put this theory forward and the present thesis verifies the already mentioned assumptions made by Udolph (1995: 266) which are repeated again at this point:

Schleswig-Holstein und Dänemark scheiden als Basis der germanischen Besiedler Englands aus, der Weg führte vielmehr über die Niederlande (vor allem durch deren südliche Provinzen) und Nordbelgien nach Flandern und Nordfrankreich, überwand den Kanal an seiner engsten Stelle und setzte sich in südöstlichen Grafschaften Englands kontinuierlich fort. (1995: 266)

Thus, the question as to the origins of the Germanic settlers can be answered on the basis of this investigation. However, which tribes these Germanic settlers really belonged to is very difficult to decide solely on the basis of onomastics since mainly linguistic results can be gained from it (cf. 1.2). Such assumptions should be made in collaboration with other disciplines. However, some ideas have arisen from the present investigation which can be expressed at this point but will have to be considered carefully. It can be suggested that although Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark have been excluded as constituting the major part of the the origins of the Germanic settlers, this does not necessarily mean that no one from the Cimbric peninsula made their way to England (cf. 1.1). As mentioned in the thesis (cf. 1.4) it has been suggested by Myres (1986: 50-55) that a south-westward migration from southern Scandinavia along the coastline into Frisia took place. Also another source suggests a migration of "the Weser-Rhine group [...] mainly southward, occupying the western part of present Germany, most of the Netherlands, and large parts of Belgium and northern France (Robinson 1997: 18). Such a movement would support a fact stated by Schwarz (1956: 124) where it says that the Anglo-Saxon Jutes belonged, according to their language, to the North Sea Germanic language group rather than to the North Germanic one. "Sie müssen also," concludes Schwarz (1956: 124) "aus dem nordseegermanischen Festlandsbereich des 5. Jh. gekommen sein." Therefore, the Anglo-Saxon Jutes cannot have come directly from the Jutish peninsula across the North Sea towards England as suggested by Bede. Furthermore, Schwarz (1956: 125) gives examples of North Germanic words found in the Flanders region and suggests that they are most likely to have been brought

with them by immigrants from Jutland, which also supports this south-westward movement. The following statement by Stenton (1950: 15) also contributes to it: "Where all is obscure, it seems most probable that Bede was mistaken in the position which he gave to the pre-migration Jutes, and that it was not from the western fjords of Jutland but from the mouths of the Rhine that they descended upon England." Moreover, such a south-westward movement from southern Scandinavia would be congruent with the widely believed tribal intermixture that occurred during the migration period. In the end it would even agree with Bede's statement that the Jutes were amongst the early settlers of England. To a certain extent this movement is also mirrored in the distribution of the investigated elements *klei* and *rusch/risch*.

Furthermore, a statement made by Laur might also be explained with this westward movement. Laur (1964: 296) tried to explain the missing place-name parallels between the Cimbric peninsula (especially the region 'Angeln' in Schleswig-Holstein) and England on the basis of a complete emigration of the tribes ('Angles') from this area to England. This theory, however, has not only been criticised by Myres (1986: 52) who says that although it is tempting to connect the desertion with the possibility of movement overseas to Britain he rather prefers the idea of a westward movement. However, this is a very hypothetical assumption which is has to be treated carefully and needs further investigation and verification since non-linguistic conclusions are drawn from linguistic material. As mentioned this is always a difficult task and should be done in concordance with other disciplines (cf. 1.2).

Another assumption about the tribal composition of the Germanic settlers of England has already been mentioned in the analysis of the appellative *sol*. Its distribution in England supports the assumed link between Kent and the Hampshire region which show a distinct character concerning culture and language in comparison to other regions of England. This has also been verified by archaeological findings (Hills 1980: 84). Bede suggests that exact these regions were settled by Jutes which takes us back to the difficult task of locating the Jutes on the Continent. But from the distribution of the appellative *sol* on the Continent no certain statements as to any origin can be made since it is found in place-names all over Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Only Riemann's (1942: 79) suggestion about the Jutes being at least "Non-Saxons", because of their cultural difference from other regions, may be followed. However, whether it is possible to establish a tribal connection between the continental and the English regions on the basis of the special distribution of *sol* cannot be answered here and might be subject of further investigations.

Although the main aim is the concentration on the continental side some conclusions concerning England can also be drawn. It can be noted that the distribution of the three appellatives in England shows a tendency to cluster in the south eastern and southern parts of it, which comprises today's regions of the South East and East Anglia. This goes along with the widely accepted view of the early Germanic settlements being located in this region. This parallel between *klei*, *rusch/risch*, and *sol* mirrors the results of earlier investigations (cf. Udolph 1994, 1995). The three elements also tend to be found quite frequently in the more western regions of England. Yet this can only be mentioned at this point and belongs to a different study.

In summary, on the basis of onomastics the question that was able to be answered was where the Germanic settlers of England originate on the Continent. The other questions as to which tribes they belonged or when they arrived can only be answered in collaboration with other disciplines like history and archaeology. Although it has been said that the present thesis does not decide upon the composition of the different tribes that came to England, some suggestions have been made on the basis of the investigated material. However, place-name studies provide supplementary information and the gathered data should be considered carefully. Nevertheless, based on Udolph (1995: 267) it is definitely safe to state the following conclusions: First, it is sure that the settlers belonged to Germanic tribes. Secondly, it is difficult to ascribe them to single tribes on the basis of place-names. Thirdly, the Northern Germanic language does not play a role in the settlement of England.

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