Lox(h)am revisited

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John Insley, Anglistisches Seminar, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Germany: *Lox(h)am* revisited.

Abstract

Starting from the lost Lancashire place-name *Lox(h)am* < OE **Loxhūsum* or Anglo-Scandinavian **Loxhúsum*, a compound of a British river-name *Lox* and the dative plural of OE *hūs*, ON *hús* n. 'house' with the meaning 'at the houses associated with a stream called Lox', the present article goes on to discuss place-names in Lancashire containing the dative plural *-um*. Although such names can be formally Old English or Old Scandinavian, their currency in Lancashire must have been reinforced by Scandinavian usage. *Lox(h)am* was probably located in Penwortham parish in Leyland Hundred and further evidence for Scandinavian settlement in this region is provided by the presence of Scandinavian personal names, such as *Gamall*, *Hrafnkell*, *Ormr*, *Steinólfr*, *Sveinn* and *Úlfkell*, in medieval records, these names being examined in the concluding part of the article.

Keywords: Place-names in the dative plural, Scandinavians in Lancashire, Scandinavian personal names in Lancashire.

The recent *Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland* has an entry relating to a surname *Lox(h)am* (Hanks, Coates, & McClure 2016:3, p. 1633, *s.v. Loxham*). The editors of this work point out that the main location of this surname in the census of 1881 was in Lancashire and they take it to be a locative surname deriving from a lost place-name called *Loxum* "probably in Lancs (perhaps near Leyland or Penwortham)". The earliest forms are as follows:

[Roberto de] *Loxhusum* (witness, document concerning property in Farington) early 13th century Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDF/2389.

[Roberto de] *Loxhesum* (witness, document concerning property in Farington) early 13th century Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDF/485.

[Roberto de] *Loxosum* (witness, document concerning property in Farington) *ca.* 1225–1240 Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDF/487.

[Roberto de] *Loxissum* (witness, document concerning property in Farington) *ca.* 1230 Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDF/488.

[Robert de] *Loxusum* 1251 LancsInquests, p. 186.

[Roberto de] *Loxohum* (witness, document concerning property in Hutton) 1216–1250 (copy, 1268) Cockersand, p. 428.

[Roberto de] *Loxham* (witness, document concerning property in Longton) 1242–1260 (copy, *ca.* 1395) Burscough, p. 139.

[ex prati Roberti de] *Loxum* (in Hutton) 1268–1279 Cockersand, p. 447.

[terram Galfridi de] *Loxum* (in Hutton) 1240–1256 (copy, 1268) Cockersand, p. 427.

[Willelmus de] *Loxum* (grantor of land in Longton) *ca.* 1302 Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDSc 43a/42.

Subsequent examples include [Robert de] *Loxum* 1326, [Thomas de] *Loxhum* (Longton and Hutton, Lancashire), and the surname *Lox(h)am* is attested in the Early Modern period (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries) in Croston, Penwortham Leyland and Blackburn (Hanks, Coates, & McClure 2016:3, p. 1633). With the exception of Blackburn, all these places are situated in the Hundred of Leyland south of the Ribble. Farington (Grid reference: SD549232), Hutton (Grid reference: SD494267) and Longton (Grid reference: SD482258) are townships in Penwortham parish and it would seem reasonable to locate the lost *Lox(h)am* here as well. The first edition of the Ordnance Survey 1:10, 560 map, Sheet Lancs 68 published in 1848 and surveyed in 1844–5, has a *Loxams* (Grid reference: SD48302594) in Longton.[1] It would be tempting to identify this place in Longton with the medieval *Lox(h)am*, but it is unfortunately the case that its name could rather derive from the family name *Lox(h)am*. This is indicated by final -*s* which can only have had a genitival function. We would then be concerned with an elliptical formation, ‘Lox(h)am’s (homestead, farm, cottage, row, etc.)’, and we can point to parallel examples of the type family name + generic in Longton from the same source, namely, *Parkers Row* and *Taylors Cottage*.

When I examined *Lox(h)am* in 2017, I had not yet discovered the form in DDF/2389, so that my interpretation was based on phonological conclusions arrived at within the context of the weakening of medial syllables in Middle English (Insley 2017). The etymology is now clearer than it was in 2017. The

first element is clearly paralleled by two Somerset river names. The first is the *Lox Yeo*, running from near Wincombe past Loxton to the Axe, south-east of Bleadon Hill:

> [on, & lang] *Loxan*, [into] *Locxs*, [of] *Loxs* 1068 [copy, 15th century], cf. also *Loxwood* [*Loxan puda* 956 (copy, mid 12th century) S 606, *Loxanwode warʒtreen* 975 (forgery, 12th-, 14th-, 15th-century copies) S 804, and *Loxton* [*Lochestone* 1086] [Ekwall 1928, p. 267].

The second is the *Lox,* the old name of the stream running from near Priston to the Avon at Newton St Loe:

> [innan, andlang] *Loxan* 931 [copy, second half of the 12th century] S 414, [into, of, be] *loxan* 946 [copy, second half of the 12th century] S 508 [Ekwall 1928, p. 267].

Ekwall (1928, pp. 267–268) suggests that the stream-name *Lox* belongs to a British **loscā* < Celtic **losko-* (< **loksko-*) with the sense 'the winding stream' (cf. also Jackson 1953, p. 536). Final *-um* is a dative plural ending and formally this can be either Old English or Old Scandinavian (see Smith 1956:2, pp. 224–226, Fellows-Jensen 1985, pp. 326–327). Mawer (1929, pp. 11–14) noted that the English examples of the type are confined to Anglian and are especially frequent in the Northumbrian dialect area. I would argue that in northern England the type was reinforced by Scandinavian influence. The form in DDF/2389 shows that the second element of the place-name *Lox*(*h*)*am* is the dative plural of OE *hūs*, ON *hús* n. 'house'. The reconstructed base is then **Loxhūsum*, *-húsum* 'at the houses associated with a stream called *Lox*'. On account of its unstressed position, [h] is lost (cf. Jordan 1968, pp. 174–175 [§ 195]). For the same reason, [u:] in medial *-(h)ū*s- in *Loxhūsum* is shortened to [u] (or [ʊ]) which is then reduced to [ə] (cf. Jordan 1968, pp. 132–134 [§ 142]). The graphemic realization of this [ə] presented considerable difficulties for medieval scribes and hence we find it represented by ‹u›, ‹o›, ‹i› and ‹e› in the thirteenth-century Lancashire records cited above. Subsequently, the medial [ə] disappears, this final stage being represented by the spellings *Loxum*, *Lox*(*h*)*am*. Final *-ham* is the result of substitution of the English element *-hām* 'village, homestead' for the grammatically opaque dative plural ending *-um*.

I have noted (Insley 2020) a process of phonological erosion involving the reduction of medial syllables similar to that found in *Lox*(*h*)*am* in the early spellings for *Wormald* in Barkisland (West Riding of Yorkshire) and the lost *Ollerpoole* (Cheshire), both of which have as first element an unrecorded OE **wulfrān*, ME **wolfrǭn* 'boundary strip frequented by wolves'.

There is also the case of *Tothby* Lincolnshire (South Riding of the division of Lindsey, Calceworth Wapentake), representative early forms of which are:

Touedebi 1086, *Toudebi* 1153–1162 (copy, 1409), *Touthebi* 1198, 1199, early 13th century, *Toutheby* 1226 (Coates 2009, p. 83). Coates (2009, p. 84) suggests that the base is a Scandinavian **Tōfuða(r) bȳ < *Tōfuhofuða(r) bȳ* 'farm of a man called Foxhead', containing a cognate of Icelandic *tōfa* 'fox', possibly denoting a red-haired person or a person with fox-like features. The 1086 form would however suggest that we are concerned with OE *hēafod* rather than the cognate ON *hǫfuð*. The genitive singular of ON *hǫfuð* n. is *hǫfuðs*, not **hǫfuða(r)*, while that of OE *hēafod* is *hēafdes*. In view of this and on the basis of the form of 1086, I would suggest that we are concerned here with an Anglo-Scandinavian **Tofuhēafodbȳ* in which the uninflected personal name has an associative function. The -*e*- preceding the generic *bȳ* in the 1086 form is probably best interpreted as a svarabhakti vowel. In the context of (original) bynames belonging to animal attributes, it should be remarked that Henrik Williams (2021) has recently emended the hitherto obscure runic **skatnik** (on a rune stone from Lund in Björklinge parish, Uppland) to **skatnif̣**, the accusative form of an (original) byname form, Runic Swedish **Skatnæf̱ʀ* 'man with a nose resembling a magpie's beak'.

Lancashire examples of the type *hūsum/húsum* are: *Aynesom* (Grid reference: SD384397) in Cartmel parish in Lonsdale Hundred North of the Sands (*Aynsom* 1491, *Ayneson* 1537, *Aynsam* 1592 < ON **einhúsum* 'at the single houses' (Ekwall 1922, p. 198, Fellows-Jensen 1985, pp. 55, 327). Fellows-Jensen (1985, p. 55) includes the possibility that the second element of *Aynesom* can be either the English *hūs* or the Scandinavian *hús*, but since the first element of the present compound is clearly Scandinavian, it would seem more appropriate to take the second element to be a reflex of ON *hús*. She translates *Aynesom* as 'at the lonely houses', but it would seem more apposite to interpret the name as referring to a group of houses, each of which was a separate entity; *Newsham* (Grid refererence: SJ376917) in Walton parish in West Derby Hundred (*Neuhusum* 1212–1217) and *Newsham* (Grid reference: SD512363) in Preston parish in Amounderness Hundred (*Neuhuse* 1086, *Newesum*, *Neusum* 1246) < OE *æt þǣm nēowan hūsum* 'at the new houses' (Ekwall 1922, pp. 116, 148, Wrander 1983, pp. 67–68); *Wesham* (Grid reference: SD417328) in Kirkham parish in Amounderness Hundred (*West(h)usum* 1189, *Westhusam* 1194), whose first element is OE *west*, ON *vestr* 'western' (Ekwall 1922, p. 153, Fellows-Jensen 1985, p. 60).

As indicated above, the dative plural form in -*um* can be formally Old English or Old Scandinavian. However, the dative plural *húsum* is a well attested place-name element in Scandinavia and Hald has shown that it is especially frequent in Jutland and North Frisia (see Hald 1942, pp. 114–115). Other Lancashire dative plural names formed from Scandinavian elements are *Arkholme* (Grid reference: SD566726) in Melling parish in Lonsdale Hundred South of

the Sands, a reflex of **ǽrgjum*, dative plural of ON *ǽrgi* 'shieling', a colonial Norse loan of Gaelic *áirge* (Ekwall 1922, p. 180, Fellows-Jensen 1985, pp. 49, 52, 61, 327) and *Lathom* (Grid reference: SD457065) in Ormskirk parish in West Derby Hundred derived from **hlaðum*, dative plural of ON *hlaða* f. 'barn' (Ekwall 1922, p. 122, Fellows-Jensen 1985, pp. 52, 58, 327). *Lytham* (parish and township) (Grid reference: SD327294) in Amounderness Hundred is formed from the dative plural of either OE *hlið* n. 'slope, incline' or ON *hlíð* f. 'hillside' (Ekwall 1922, p. 155; Fellows-Jensen 1985, pp. 359 [map 20], 360 takes *Lytham* to be an English formation).

It should be noted that Scandinavian personal names are also attested in the Farington-Hutton region. Examples are:

ON *Gamall*. [*Ricardo filio*] *Gamell'* (Farington) early 13th century Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDF/485.

ON *Hrafnkell*. *Ramkellecroft*, *Ramkelcroft* (field name in Hutton) 1236–1242 Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDF/526, cf. [*Johannes filius*] *Ramkelli* [*de Hoton* (Hutton)] 1200–1220 Cockersand, p. 453.

ON *Ormr. Ormo de Hoton* (Hutton) [witness in a charter disposing of property in Eccleston] 1184–1199 (copy 1268) Cockersand, p. 497.

Anglo-Scandinavian **Þurʒi(e)fu* fem. [de terra *Swani filii*] *Thurieue* (land in Farington) *ca*. 1225–1240 Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDF/487.

The latinized genitive form *Swani* probably reflects OE **Swān* rather than an anglicized form of ON *Sveinn*. OE **Swān* forms the first element of *Swannington* in Norfolk, a genuine genitive plural formation in *-ingatūn* (Watts 2004, p. 593). It may also occur in the *-ingtūn* name *Swannington* in Leicestershire, though both Watts (2004, p. 593) and Cox (2016, p. 210) regard this name as containing an OE personal name with short vowel, **Swan*. Cox interprets this personal name as either a byname (cf. OE *swan* m. ˈswan') or "a shortened form of such OE names as *Swanbeald*, *Swanbeorht* and *Swanwulf*". The problem is that these compounds are not genuine Old English names, but are normalized pseudo-West Saxon forms constructed by W.G. Searle (1897, pp. 434–435) from the Old High German names that he had found in Piper's edition of 1884 of the Confraternity Books of St Gall, Reichenau and Pfäfers (Piper 1884, pp. 510–511, *s.vv. Suanabold*, *Suanolf*, *Suonbertus*, etc.). There are no phonological difficulties in interpreting *Swannington* in Leicestershire as containing OE **Swān*, since we have to reckon with the shortening of OE [ɑː] in the trisyllabic formation **Swāninʒtūn* (see Jordan 1968, pp. 43–44 [§ 24)]). OE **Swān* is an original byname belonging to the appellative OE *swān* m. ˈherdsman, swine-herd; peasant; young man, man; warrior', cf. the cognate ON *Sveinn*

belonging to ON *sveinn* m. ʹyoung man; servantʹ. Other instances of personal names derived from *Personenbezeichnungen* in Old English are *Ċeorl* < OE *ċeorl* m. ʹa peasant freemanʹ and *Esne* < OE *esne* m. ʹa hired labourer; a worker; a slaveʹ, but the type would appear to have been more frequent in Scandinavia, cf. Runic Swedish *Bōandi*, *Bōi*, *Drængʀ*, *Smiðr*, *Þegn/Þiagn* (see Jansson 1963, p. 114).

ON *Úlfkell.* [ad terram *Willelmi filii*] *Vlfkel* (land in Farington) *ca.* 1225–1240 Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDF/487.

This evidence for Scandinavian influence is reinforced by similar material from other local documents from this region. Exemplary for this is a record dating from *ca.* 1160 from the De Hoghton collection of deeds and papers, Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDHo F 286 (Lumby 1936: frontispiece [facsimile of the deed], pp. 1–3 [Latin text, notes and English translation]), and granting in fee eight carucates of land at Elswick, Clayton-le-Woods, Whittle-le-Woods, Wheelton, Withnell, Hoghton and Roddlesworth. Farrer (1902, pp. 375–376) identified four and a half of these eight carucates (namely, the townships of Hoghton, Withnell, Wheelton and Whittle-le-Woods) with the territory known as GUNNOLF'S MOORS, a compound of the Scandinavian personal name *Gunnúlfr* and OE *mōr*, ON *mór* m. 'marsh; barren upland' (see Ekwall 1922, pp. 131–132). The witness clause of this document contains the following Scandinavian personal names: ODan *Auti*: [*Siwardo filio*] *Avti.* [*7 Ricardo fratre suo*]; ON *Hrafnkell*: [*Rogero filio*] *Rauech*ili. [*Ricardo filio suo*]; ON *Magnús*: [*Ormo filio*] *Magni*; ON *Ormr*: *Ormo* [*filio Magni*], *Ormo* [*filio Sueni*]; ODan *Sighwarth*: *Siwardo* [*filio Avti. 7 Ricardo fratre suo*]; ON *Steinólfr*: [*Waltero filio*] *Stenulfi*; ON *Sveinn*: [*Ormo filio*] *Sueni*, *Sveno* [*socro Willelmi filii Alani*]; ON *Úlfr*: *Vlfo* [*de Walatona*] (Ulnes Walton [Grid reference: SD517181], township in Croston parish, Leyland Hundred). These personal names are linguistic relics of the period of Scandinavian settlement in this region in the tenth century. As linguistic artefacts, they reinforce the evidence provided by the Scandinavian elements noted in Middle English field names (for Scandinavian elements in medieval field names in Hutton and Penwortham, etc., see Wainwright 1945, p. 93).

These personal names also indicate the survival of sections of the local Anglo-Scandinavian elites in the post-Conquest period. Here we can cite the example of one of the witnesses of DDHo F 286, Richard, son of Roger, son of Ravenkil, who founded a Benedictine priory at Lytham as a dependency of Durham Cathedral Priory towards the end of the twelfth century (see Farrer 1902, p. 376). Another witness, Siward, son of Auti, appears elsewhere. In the Inquest of 1212, it is recorded that Robert *de Mulinas* had granted two carucates in Cuerden (in Leyland parish and hundred [Grid reference: SD561238])

with his daughter (in marriage) to Siward, son of Outi (*Siwardo filio Outi*) and that Siward's son Henry held these properties *per servicium militare* at the time of the Inquest of 1212 (Fees I, p. 208; see also Farrer 1902, p. 410). Robert *de Mulinas* belonged to a notable family of local gentry of Anglo-Norman origin, that of Molyneux of Sefton. The Inquest of 1212 states that at that time Richard *de Mulinas*, Robert's son, held ten and a half ploughlands *de dono Rogeri Pictaviensis* for the service of half a knight's fee (Fees I, p. 208). The phrase *de dono Rogeri Pictaviensis*, 'of the grant of Roger le Poitevin' indicates that the fee of Molyneux of Sefton must have been granted to this family around 1100. Roger le Poitevin (*ca.* 1065–before 1140) was the third son of Roger de Montgomery, the first earl of Shrewsbury, and acquired the byname *le Poitevin* because of his marriage to Almodis, sister of Count Boso III of La Marche in Poitou (Mason 2004). At various times in the period before 1102, he held extensive properties in the later county of Lancaster, building a castle at Penwortham and founding a priory with monks from Sées at Lancaster (Mason 2004). Through his marriage to Mabel, the heiress of the *seigneurs* of Bellême, Roger de Montgomery had acquired control of the castles of Bellême, Alençon, Domfront and Sées as well as of other territories in southern Normandy, Maine and the kingdom of France (see White 1940, p. 67). He also founded (or refounded) religious houses at Troarn, Sées and Almenêches (see Mason 1963, p. 2). With the exception of Troarn, which is in the *département* Calvados, these castles and religious houses are situated in the area which became the modern *département* Orne. Given the early association of the family of Molyneux with Roger le Poitevin, it would seem logical to assume that their ancestral seat was in this region and I would suggest that it was probably at Moulins-la-Marche (canton Tourouvre au Perche, arrondissement Mortagne-au-Perche, dép. Orne) rather than, as was suggested by Farrer & Brownbill (1906–1914:3, p. 67 n. 7), at Moulineaux (canton Elbeuf, arrondissement Rouen, dép. Seine-Maritime).

In Richard Bussel's grant of the church of Leyland to the abbey of Evesham, which dates from 1153–1160 (Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDF/2387), a certain Suein child appears in the witness list. One sense of OE *ċild* is 'youth of noble birth' and Suein's byname, ME *chīld*, probably denotes a youth of noble birth who was an aspirant to knighthood (see MED, *s.v. chīld* [6]). The grantor of DDHo F 286 and DDF/2387 was a Norman, Richard Bussel, son of the first holder of the Barony of Penwortham, Warin Bussel (see Farrer 1906, pp. 335–336). The byname of this family belongs to ME *buyscel*, *busshel*, *bysshell* 'bushel' < OFr *boissell*, *buissiel* (Hanks, Coates, & McClure 2016:1, p. 397, *s.v. Bushell*).

The orthography of the name forms in DDHo F 286 shows some traces of the influence of the Latino-French system of post-Carolingian Neustria. So, *Rauechili* (genitive) < ON *Hrafnkell* has ‹ch› for [k] in accordance with early

AN usage (see Feilitzen 1937, p. 107 [§ 113]), while in *Sueni* (genitive), *Sueno* (ablative) < ON *Sveinn*, we are unlikely to be concerned with the East Scandinavian monophthongization of the diphthong [æi] (< Germanic [ai]) > [e:], but rather with Anglo-Norman scribal practices in which ‹e› is used to render the unfamiliar Scandinavian diphthong [æi] (see Fellows Jensen 1969, pp. 67–71).

It should be noted that in DDF/2387, the Scandinavian diphthong [æi], represented by ‹ei›, is retained in the reflexes of ON *Sveinn*, cf. the names of the witnesses *Suein child*, *Vchtred filius Suein*, [*Ormus filius*]² *Suuein*, *Suuein de Penuerdham* (Penwortham, parish and head of a barony, Leyland Hundred [Grid reference: SD517283]). Retention of Scandinavian [æi] represented by ‹ai› occurs in the field name *Laidolfyshalke* (in Chorley wood, Leyland Hundred), a compound of the Old West Scandinavian personal name *Leiðúlfr* and ME *halk*(*e*) 'a nook, a corner', which has been noted in a deed of *ca.* 1220 (Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDTa/46). Cf. also [super] *assartum Stainulfi* (in Hothersall, Ribchester parish, Amounderness Hundred), a genitival formation containing the Old Norse personal name *Steinólfr*, which occurs in Lancashire Archives, Preston, DDHo G 348, an undated deed drawn up before 1257.

Another indication of Scandinavian influence in DDF/2387 is provided by the name of the witness *Lidulfus presbyter de Crostuna*. *Lidulfus* stands for ON **Lið-Úlfr*, initial **Lið-* having the function of a prefixed byname, here attached to the common Scandinavian personal name *Úlfr*. **Lið-* belongs to the substantive ON *lið* n.'troop, band of followers' and **Lið-Úlfr* has an exact typological parallel in Runic Swedish *Lið-Bófi*, a name attested as **liþbufa** (accusative) on a rune stone at the church at Kaga in Östergötland (Ög 103, NRL, p. 158). The priest Lidulf of Croston was not the only bearer of this name in English sources, for it is also attested in two field names in the West Riding of Yorkshire and independently in the form *Lidulfo sacerdote de Breirwell* in a Yorkshire record of *ca.* 1160–1175 (Fellows Jensen 1968, p. 187). Since there is more than one attestation of *Lidulfus* in England, we can assume that in an Anglo-Scandinavian context a unique prefixed byname formation **Lið-Úlfr* was reinterpreted as a semantically empty dithematic personal name **Liðúlfr* through analogy with such names as ON *Ingólfr*, *Sǫndúlfr*, *Þórólfr*, etc., and, as a consequence, entered the general anthroponymic lexicon of northern England. The sporadically attested late mediaeval Danish *Lidulf*, *Lithulf*, etc. does not belong here, but represents a loan of German *Liudolf* (see DGP, sp. 850 *s.v. Liutolf*). The first element of *Croston* (Grid reference: SD488186) is ON *kross* 'a cross as a religious symbol, cross at a place of worship', a Norse colonial loan of Old Irish *cros* (Ekwall 1922, p. 136, Fellows-Jensen 1985, pp. 186, 391).

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² The manuscript is here illegible and the text has been supplied from Farrer 1902: 326.

A further conservative feature occurs in the name of the witness *Osbern*us *fili*us *Eadmundi*. Initial ‹ea› for the Old English diphthong [æɑ] < North-West Germanic [au] in the Old English personal name *Ēadmund* is a fossilized spelling here. The Early Middle English reflex of this diphthong is [ɛ:], represented by ‹e› (see Jordan 1968, p. 97 [§ 81]), and this is found in the name of the same witness in DDHo F 286, where we find the *casus obliquus* form *Osb*erto *filio Edmundi*. Both *Osbern* < Anglo-Scandinavian *Ōsbe(o)rn* < ON *Ásbiǫrn*, ODan *Ǽsbiorn* and *Osbert* < North Sea Germanic *Ôsberht* are well attested in Normandy, but in a Romance environment they would have been semantically opaque compounds in which the second elements were interchangeable due to AN loss of final [n] after [r] and of final post-consonantal [t] (see Feilitzen 1937, pp. 86, 95 [§§ 78, 100]).

It should also be noted that there was an increasing tendency in Lancashire in the twelfth century for native English and Anglo-Scandinavian families to relinquish their traditional stock of personal names in favour of the Continental Germanic and Biblical names introduced by the Normans and their northern French compatriots. For example, in the witness list of DDF/2387, Orm, son of Magnus, is followed by a son with the north Norman-Picard (Continental Germanic) personal name *Warin* and Swein of Penwortham by a brother with the Biblical name *Adam*.

I would argue that the place-names formed with the dative plural *-um* are a further indicator of Scandinavian influence in this region. Ultimately, it would be necessary to fit this evidence into a general picture using place-name evidence and the lexical material provided by dialect research.

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AN = Anglo-Norman.

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OFr = Old French.

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Summary

Lox(*h*)*am* revisited

John Insley

The lost Lancashire place-name *Lox*(*h*)*am*, *Loxum*, which was probably situated in Penwortham parish in Leyland Hundred, an administrative unit south of the lower Ribble, is attested in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and gave rise to the mod-

ern surname*Lox*(*h*)*am*. The ultimate source of *Lox*(*h*)*am* is found in the form [Roberto de] *Loxhusum* which occurs in the witness list of an unpublished early-thirteen-century deed. The name is a compound of a British stream-name *Lox* < British **losko-* (< **loksko-*) 'crooked, oblique' and the dative plural of OE *hūs* or ON *hús* 'house'. Dative plural place-names in *-um* are especially common in Northumbrian, and in northern England English usage would have been reinforced by Scandinavian practices, and we can compare the numerous instances of the Scandinavian *húsum* in Jutland and North Frisia. The development of **Loxhūsum* > *Loxum* > *Lox*(*h*)*am* shows Middle English reduction of the medial syllable to [ə] as a result of weak stress, the various spellings reflecting the difficulties experienced by mediaeval scribes in the graphemic realization of [ə].

Other examples of the type *hūsum*/*húsum* in Lancashire are *Aynesom* in Lonsdale Hundred North of the Sands, *Newsham* in West Derby Hundred, and *Newsham* and *Wesham* in Amounderness Hundred. The dative plural type in Lancashire is also represented by *Arkholme*, containing Hiberno-Norse *ǽrgi* 'shieling', *Lathom*, containing ON *hlaða* 'barn', and *Lytham*, containing either OE *hlið* 'slope, incline' or ON hlíð 'hillside'.

A Scandinavian presence in Leyland Hundred is also indicated by the occurrence of Scandinavian personal names in mediaeval records. For example, thirteenth-century deeds from the Farington of Worden muniments now deposited in the Lancashire Archives in Preston contain examples of ON *Gamall*, ON *Hrafnkell*, ON *Úlfkell* and Anglo-Scandinavian **Þurʒi*(*e*)*fu* (fem.). A deed of *ca.* 1160 from the De Hoghton collection of deeds and papers has examples of ODan *Auti*, ON *Hrafnkell*, ON *Magnús*, ON *Ormr*, ODan *Sighwarth*, ON *Steinólfr*, ON *Sveinn* and ON *Úlfr*. The appearance of such names in the witness lists of private charters in Lancashire is evidence for the survival of local Anglo-Scandinavian elites into the twelfth century beside Norman feudatories such as the Bussel barons of Penwortham or the family of Molyneux of Sefton. Already in the twelfth century, however, there was a tendency for native English and Anglo-Scandinavian families to relinquish their traditional stock of names in favour of the Continental Germanic and Biblical names brought by the Normans and their northern French compatriots. Thus, in the witness list of a deed of 1153–1160 by which the Anglo-Norman baron Richard Bussel granted the church of Leyland to the abbey of Evesham, the witness *Orm*, son of *Magnus*, is followed by a son with the north Norman-Picard (Contintal Germanic) personal name *Warin* and the witness *Swein* of Penwortham by a brother with the Biblical name *Adam*.