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Summary

Remarks on Scandinavian Personal Names in the North of England

The extent and intensity of Scandinavian settlement in England in the period between the ninth and eleventh century has long been the subject of passionate debate. The place-name evidence has been subject to thorough and detailed investigation, but rather less has been done with personal name evidence. In the present paper, the personal nomenclature of three texts has undergone scrutiny. The texts are: a) the mid-eleventh-century list of sureties entered on folio 161v of the York Gospels; b) the twelfth-century part of the Durham *Liber Vitae*; c) a Latin charter of 1142/1143 disposing of property in York. The first text is written in Old English and shows some normalization of Scandinavian names, e.g., with the use of *-cetel* (< ON *-ketill*) instead of the expected *-kil*, and the Scandinavianization of English names, e.g., *Wulstain* for OE *Wulfstān*. The second text complex, the twelfth-century part of the Durham *Liber Vitae* is much more heterogeneous. We find Anglo-Scandinavian forms, such as *Osgod* < ON *Ásgautr* or *Thuruerð* < ODan **ÞurfriþR*, but also typically Danish forms, such as *Æskyl*, *Eskil* < ODan *Eskil*. Noteworthy are forms retaining the Scandinavian nominative ending in *-r*, such as *Anander*, *Onander* for ON *Anundr* and *Thorleuer* for ON *Þorleifr*, which is a feature not normally encountered in England. The form *Onander* shows West Norwegian/Icelandic *u*-mutation, while the form *Theorbeorn* (< ODan *Thorbiorn*) shows the specifically Danish development of *Thor-* > *Thør-*. Both these