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Three place-name compounds: OE *swīnland*, OE *wibersted*, and OE *cēapland*

Carole Hough (pp. 71–75)

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ABBREVIATIONS OF COUNTIES AND EPNS COUNTY SURVEYS

Co	Cornwall
Ha	Hampshire
He	Herefordshire
K	Kent
La	Lancashire
Nb	Northumberland
Sf	Suffolk
So	Somerset
Wt	Isle of Wight
CPNE	<i>Cornish Place-Name Elements.</i>
EPNE	<i>English Place-Name Elements, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN BdHu	<i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.</i>
PN Brk	<i>The Place-Names of Berkshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Bu	<i>The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire.</i>
PN Ca	<i>The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.</i>
PN Ch	<i>The Place-Names of Cheshire, Parts 1–5.</i>
PN Cu	<i>The Place-Names of Cumberland, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN D	<i>The Place-Names of Devon, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Db	<i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Do	<i>The Place-Names of Dorset, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Du	<i>The Place-Names of County Durham, Part 1.</i>
PN Ess	<i>The Place-Names of Essex.</i>
PN ERY	<i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York.</i>
PN Gl	<i>The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Hrt	<i>The Place-Names of Hertfordshire.</i>
PN Le	<i>The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Parts 1–6.</i>
PN Li	<i>The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Mx	<i>The Place-Names of Middlesex (apart from the City of London).</i>
PN Nf	<i>The Place-Names of Norfolk, Parts 1–3.</i>
PN Nt	<i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire.</i>
PN NRY	<i>The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire.</i>
PN Nth	<i>The Place-Names of Northamptonshire.</i>
PN O	<i>The Place-Names of Oxfordshire, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN R	<i>The Place-Names of Rutland.</i>
PN Sa	<i>The Place-Names of Shropshire, Parts 1–6.</i>
PN Sr	<i>The Place-Names of Surrey.</i>
PN St	<i>The Place-Names of Staffordshire, Part 1.</i>
PN Sx	<i>The Place-Names of Sussex, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN W	<i>The Place-Names of Wiltshire.</i>
PN Wa	<i>The Place-Names of Warwickshire.</i>
PN We	<i>The Place-Names of Westmorland, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Wo	<i>The Place-Names of Worcestershire.</i>
PN WRY	<i>The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Parts 1–8.</i>

Three Place-Name Compounds: OE *swīnland*, OE *wiperstede* and OE *cēapland*

Carole Hough

It is often difficult in place-name studies to differentiate between an *ad hoc* combination of elements and a compound appellative whose meaning may differ from the sum of its parts. For instance, Kingstone in Somerset is cited in Smith's *English Place-Name Elements* as a combination of OE *cyning* and OE *stān* 'the king's stone',¹ and this is certainly more plausible in a place-name context than a derivation from the compound OE *cyning-stān* 'king-piece', referring to a piece on a gaming-board.² On the other hand, the place-name Amphill in Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire, cited as a combination of OE *āmette* 'an ant' and OE *hyll* 'a hill',³ might more properly be attributed to the attested compound OE *āmett-hyll* 'ant-hill', a quite different concept from that of an 'ant-infested hill'.⁴ The purpose of this article is to draw attention to three place-name formations which have only recently been identified as compounds within the literary corpus of Old English, and to discuss the implications for interpretation.

The place-name Swilland in Suffolk, first recorded in Domesday Book as *Suinlanda*, is generally taken to represent a combination of OE *swīn* 'a pig' and OE *land* 'land'. This is the interpretation that was suggested by Skeat in 1913,⁵ and is repeated in major place-name dictionaries such as those by Ekwall⁶ and Mills.⁷ Smith too cites Swilland under his headword entries for both OE *land* and OE *swīn*,⁸ the implication being that the place-name was coined as an original formation from these two words.⁹ The etymology is unexceptionable, but a slightly different perspective is provided by the occurrence of the term *swīnland* as a compound appellative within the tenth-century will of Æthelgifu, edited by Whitelock in 1968. The relevant section, referring to lands in Hertfordshire, is as follows:

selle man leofsige þ(æt) land æt offanlege 7 eal þ(æt) seo boc
tæcð. 7 þ(æt) lond æt twingum him to swinlande . . .

The land at Offley, and all that the title-deed directs, is to be given to Leofsige, and the land at Tewin as swine-pasture for him, . . .⁹

Here the context shows that OE *swīnland* designated a particular type of land, and Whitelock's definition 'swine-pasture' is adopted by Campbell for a new headword entry in his *Addenda* to Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*.¹⁰ It is possible that the same compound may occur in the place-name Swilland, and perhaps also in a North Yorkshire field-name recorded in the thirteenth century as *Swinelandes*¹¹ and an Essex field-name recorded in 1286 as *Swineslond*.¹² I would suggest that these names do not represent *ad hoc* descriptions of places where pigs were kept, but a technical term referring to the type of pasture-land.¹³ OE *swīnland* 'swine-pasture' may thus require a separate headword entry in the forthcoming new edition of Smith's *English Place-Name Elements*.¹⁴

A more problematic name is Worsted's Farm in Sussex, first recorded as *Wytherestede* in 1257 and as *Wirsted*, *Wyrstede* in 1279.¹⁵ The editors of the English Place-Name Survey for Sussex suggest a derivation from OE *wiper*, defined as '"against," hence "opposite"', and OE *stede* 'a place'.¹⁶ There are major problems with the proposed etymology. Firstly, it would represent a very unusual formation. The only parallel offered by the Sussex editors is a lost *Geinsted* in Westergate, but this itself is a difficult name of uncertain meaning.¹⁷ Secondly, there is no evidence that the semantic range of OE *wiper* 'against' could be extended to include the meaning 'opposite', a sense unattested in the surviving literature.¹⁸ Thirdly, the interpretation makes little apparent sense, since as the Sussex editors comment, 'It is difficult to be sure to what it was regarded as opposite'.¹⁹ A further possibility suggested to me by Barrie Cox is that if the medial *-e-* of the earliest spelling is organic, the first element of Worsted's Farm may be the OE personal-name *Wihthere* in the genitive singular.²⁰ Personal-names are, however, rare in combination with OE *stede*,²¹

and the medial *-e-* may well be intrusive. I therefore wish to explore an alternative explanation.

Worsted's Farm is the only occurrence of OE *wiper* 'against, opposite' cited in Smith's *English Place-Name Elements*,²² and no further occurrences have been identified in post-1956 volumes of the English Place-Name Survey. What has recently come to light, however, is an occurrence of the same compound in a hitherto undocumented gloss dating from the late tenth or early eleventh century, where OE *on wiperstede* corresponds to Latin *in substitutione*.²³ Again, this forms the basis of a new headword entry in Campbell's *Addenda* to Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*: OE *wiperstede* 'substitution'.²⁴ The significance of such a term in a place-name context is not immediately obvious, but could relate in some way to the tenure or ownership of the land. It may be possible that OE *wiperstede* in Worsted's Farm refers to the substitution or exchange of the property for something else: perhaps another piece of land nearby. Such an interpretation is far from compelling, but deserves consideration in view of the difficulty of accounting for the place-name in any other way. At any rate, the glossary evidence should not be overlooked in any future discussion of Worsted's Farm.

Finally, a Berkshire field-name recorded in a mid-fourteenth-century copy of a late-twelfth-century document as *Cheplond* is identified in the English Place-Name Survey as a combination of OE *cēap* 'trade, merchandise, a market' and OE *land* 'land'.²⁵ The editor of the Berkshire volumes of the English Place-Name Survey suggests that the meaning of both this and a lost field-name *Chep(e)acre* may be 'obtained by bargaining' or 'of low rental'.²⁶ A similar formation occurs in the Nottinghamshire field-name Cheap Lands, interpreted by Field as 'lands obtained by purchase'²⁷ although the editors of the Nottinghamshire volume of the English Place-Name Survey describe it as a 'nickname of reproach'.²⁸ Field's interpretation is supported by the occurrence of the same compound in the eleventh-century will of Thurketel, edited by Whitelock in 1930 and relating to lands in Norfolk and Suffolk. The relevant section reads as follows:

And ic an Lefwen min wif Simplingham al þat ceaplond. 7 þat

oper þat ic mid hire nam and half Reydone mid mete and mid
Erue to þat forwarde þat we spreken habben 7 mine men fre.

And to my wife Leofwyn I grant Shimpling, all the purchased estate and the other which I received when I married her; and half Roydon with produce and with livestock on those terms upon which we have agreed; and my men are to be free.²⁹

The usage here suggests that OE *cēapland* functioned as a legal term relating to land-ownership, as did other compounds such as OE *bōcland* 'land granted by charter' and OE *folcland* 'land held according to folk-right'.³⁰ A direct parallel is presented by ON *kaupaland* 'purchased land';³¹ and it may be significant that Thurketel's will shows signs of Scandinavian influence: as Whitelock points out, the phrase *þat ic mid hire nam* appears to be a reference to dowry brought by the wife, a custom which 'is foreign to Anglo-Saxon marriage customs and may be due to Scandinavian influence'.³² OE *cēapland* 'purchased estate' is introduced as a new headword in Campbell's *Addenda* to Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*,³³ and also appears in the new Toronto *Dictionary of Old English*.³⁴ I suggest that this is the most likely derivation of the field-names Cheap Lands in Nottinghamshire and *Cheplond* in Berkshire, both of which should be interpreted as 'purchased land'.³⁵

Notes

1. A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols., EPNS 25-26 (Cambridge, 1956), II, 145, s.v. *stān* para (3) (vii).
2. A. C. Amos and A. diP. Healey, *Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto, 1986-), Fascicle C, 1405, s.v. *cyning-stān*.
3. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, I, 3, s.v. *æmette*. *Amphill* in Cambridgeshire should have been italicised as a lost place-name (cf. P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, EPNS 19 [Cambridge, 1943], 78).
4. Amos and Healey, *Dictionary of Old English*, Fascicle *Æ*, 321, s.v. *æmett-hyll*.
5. W. W. Skeat, *The Place-Names of Suffolk* (Cambridge, 1913), 77, s.n. *Swilland*.
6. E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* 4th ed. (Oxford, 1960), 456, s.n. *Swilland*.
7. A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1991), 318, s.n. *Swilland*.

8. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, II, 14, s.v. *land* para (2) (b) (vi); II, 172, s.v. *swfn*¹.
9. D. Whitelock, *The Will of Æthelgifu* (Oxford, 1968), 9-11. I expand abbreviations in round brackets.
10. T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth* (Oxford, 1898); *Supplement* by T. N. Toller (1921); *Addenda* by A. Campbell (1972), 59, s.v. *swfnland*.
11. A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, EPNS 5 (Cambridge, 1928), 328, s.v. *land*.
12. P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Essex*, EPNS 12 (Cambridge, 1935), 584, s.v. *land*.
13. A similar interpretation is suggested for *swfnata* by B. Cox, *The Place-Names of Rutland*, EPNS 67/69 (Nottingham, 1994), 228, s.n. *Swingate Furlong*.
14. The new edition is currently in preparation at the Centre for English Name Studies, University of Nottingham, as part of a major research project entitled 'A Survey of the Language of English Place-Names'. An account of recent progress is given in C. Hough, 'English place-names: the Leverhulme project', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 26 (1993-94), 15-26.
15. A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, 2 vols., EPNS 6-7 (Cambridge, 1929-30), II, 334.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, I, 64 n.1.
18. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 1250, s.v. *wiper*. Toller does, however, cite a single occurrence of an adverb *wiper-ræhtes* 'opposite' (*ibid.*, 1252, s.v. *wiper-ræhtes*).
19. Mawer and Stenton, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, II, 334.
20. Another possible occurrence of the same personal-name is discussed by B. Cox, 'Byflete revisited', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 24 (1991-92), 49-50.
21. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, II, 147-9, s.v. *stede*, para 5 (viii).
22. *Ibid.*, II, 271, s.v. *wider*². As Smith points out, however, the element is difficult to distinguish from OE *wiðer* 'a ram, a wether'.
23. H. D. Meritt, 'Old English glosses, mostly dry point', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 60 (1961), 441-450, at 447.
24. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*; *Addenda* by A. Campbell, 66, s.v. *wiperstede*.
25. M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Berkshire*, 3 vols., EPNS 49-51 (Cambridge, 1973-76), II, 341.
26. *Ibid.*, III, 857, s.v. *cēap*.
27. J. Field, *English Field-Names: a Dictionary* (Newton Abbot, 1972), 42, s.n. *Cheap Lands*.
28. J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire*, EPNS 17 (Cambridge, 1940), 302.
29. D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), 68-9.
30. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, I, 39-40, s.v. *bōc-land*; I, 179, s.v. *folk-land*.
31. *Ibid.*, II, 2, s.v. *kaupa-land*.
32. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, 179. The Scandinavian origin of the testator's name is probably of less significance, since, as Whitelock notes, 'Thurketel is a common name in East Anglia at this period' (*ibid.*).