Examine the value of place-names as evidence for the history, landscape and, especially, language(s) of your chosen area

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Introduction

The material studied here (see Appendix I) comprises 41 parish-names from the north-east corner of the historic county of Suffolk. The area is roughly bordered by the River Waveney in the north and west, the River Blyth in the south and the North Sea in the east (see Appendix II). The following discussion examines what the place-names reveal about the area and its British, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and Norman past. The first section focuses on people and languages, and the second takes a look at the landscape and culture.

People and languages

The Britons and the Romans

The Britons who inhabited the country before the Anglo-Saxons arrived have left no certain signs of themselves in the present-day place-names of Suffolk (Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016: xi). Nevertheless, the corpus contains two names which possibly stem from their language. Beccles may be wholly Brittonic in origin, comprising *bacc ‘small’ + *liss ‘court’ (Coates and Breeze 2000: 335). If so, the name suggests an ancient British settlement and has perhaps survived as a toponym for an important centre of power. By the time of Domesday Book, at least, Beccles had developed into the major town of north-east Suffolk (Wade and Dymond 1999). Another potential Brittonic name is Ellough, the etymology of which is unclear. Many scholars have interpreted it as a derivative of Old English (OE) ealh or Old Norse (ON) elgr ‘heathen temple’, but these interpretations are questionable. Rather, DSfPN says, it may originate from a pre-English river-name. The sparse amount of potential surviving Brittonic names matches the general pattern in eastern England and indicates early Anglo-Saxon settlement, but such names also prove that Brittonic and English speakers coexisted in the area for some time (Gelling 1997: 90-2).

The corpus contains no traces of classical Latin, yet the Roman past of the area is evidenced by Burgh Castle. It is the site of a Roman fort known by the Romano-British name Gariannonum, built in the third century to defend against Anglo-Saxon raiders and named from the River Yare (Mills 2014;
DSfPN: xiii, 25). The parish-name stems from OE burh ‘stronghold’, which the Anglo-Saxons used for various defended sites. It was also applied to Roman fortifications especially in the north, and Burgh Castle is perhaps the most southerly example of this usage (Gelling 1997: 145-8).

**The Anglo-Saxons and Old English**

Despite Roman fortifications, East Anglia was among the first regions to be invaded and settled by Germanic tribes from the fifth century onwards (Cameron 1996: 31). The significance of the new inhabitants to the local nomenclature is evident, as at least 26 names in the corpus are entirely English. Gisleham, Wrentham and Henham, which contain the habitative generic hām ‘homestead, village’, represent probably the oldest stratum of names for Anglo-Saxon settlements, dating back to the fifth to seventh centuries. Names with tūn ‘farmstead, estate’, such as Belton and Gorleston-on-Sea, were perhaps coined later (Cameron 1996: 141-3). Considering Suffolk as a whole, the north-east corner contains a noteworthy cluster of tūns (Martin 1999).

Suffolk was settled by Angles who later became the ‘south folk’ of the East Anglian kingdom (Cameron 1996: 51, 56). The settlers also formed smaller groups within the studied area, as indicated by Worthingham ‘homestead of *Wērel’s people’, Herringfleet ‘stream of *Herela’s people’, and possibly Kessingland ‘cultivated land of *Cyssi’s people’. These toponyms may date from the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period when the social organisation was based on such groups (Gelling and Cole 2000: 281). Besides the group-leaders, the place-names record several other men with OE personal names. Some of the names are hypocoristic. For example, *Gys(e)la in Gisleham stems from Gūthsiġe or the like (CDEPN), and *Uggeca in Uggeshall is derived from Ugga (ODEPN). The man called *Wrenta, who gave his name to Wrentham, was perhaps a difficult neighbour, for ODEPN and CDEPN suggest his name is a nickname related to *henna ‘valley’. Based on the later spellings (e.g. *Heryngflet), it shows the definite form *Heryngflet to *Henham (1220), ODEPN, CDEPN and DSfPN conclude that the name was reduced from Froxoden(a) to *Frosten and *Frosten, after which another den was attached to it in the thirteenth century. This implies confusion about the original meaning of the name. A similar example is Herringfleet, which developed from Herlingaflet (1086) to Herlingflet (1254) and Heryngflet (1524). While the initial sense was ‘stream of *Herela’s people’, the present form is probably a result of folk etymology based on the local fishinging tradition (Mills 2014; DSfPN).

**The Vikings and Old Norse**

East Anglia was raided and eventually at least in part settled by Danish Vikings from the ninth to eleventh century, and the region formed a part of the Danelaw (Cameron 1996: 73-4). Scandinavian
influence in the examined area is significant, for it may have affected up to 15 place-names. There are three names definitely of ON origin only: Lound ‘grove’, Lowestoft ‘Hlothvér’s curtilage’, and Barnby ‘children’s homestead’ or ‘B(j)arni’s homestead’. By is a typical Scandinavian generic, whereas toft is a specifically Danish word (Cameron 1996: 80-1) and reveals the origin of the settlers.

Many names compound English and Scandinavian elements. In particular, there are several Grimston-hybrids, which consist of an ON personal name and OE ēhūn. These include Corton, Flixton, Gunton and Somerleyton, and possibly Oulton and Fritton, which refer to the farmsteads of Kári, Flík, Gunnir, Sumalithi, Ėlí and *Frithi. Cameron (1996: 75) states that Grimston-hybrids presumably denote English villages taken over and renamed by the new Viking owners in the earliest stage of their invasion. Two of the Scandinavian personal names arouse special interest as illustrating the journeys of the newcomers or their forefathers: Hlothvér in Lowestoft is a relatively rare ON name borrowed from Continental Germanic (DSfPN), and Sumalithi ‘summer traveller’ in Somerleyton means a warrior who spent summers on Viking expeditions (Mills 2014).

Scandinavianisation can be seen in some place-names. One of them is Kirkley, where ON kirkja ‘church’ probably replaces OE cirice. Another, very common example is Carlton Colville, where the specific may originally have been OE ceorl ‘freeman, peasant’, instead of the cognate ON karl which gives the present-day form (ODEPN; Mills 2014). The old attestations of Ashby, such as Askebi (1190) and Askeby (1327), indicate Scandinavian impact on spelling and pronunciation until the sixteenth century, as DSfPN points out. Additionally, DSfPN notes that if Beccles stems from OE bece + læs ‘stream pasture’, the first element may have been affected by the cognate Old Danish bek. Scandinavianisation implies strong linguistic interaction between the Anglo-Saxons and the Vikings. The newcomers clearly understood some of the English words and adapted them to their own speech (Cameron 1996: 83-4).

Practically all the parish-names with components derived from or affected by Old Norse are clustered around Lowestoft. The cluster is noteworthy on the scale of whole Suffolk, and Martin (1999) says there is analogous evidence of Scandinavian activity in the adjacent part of Norfolk. The Vikings chose or were allowed to settle this low-lying region possibly because it was sparsely inhabited before (cf. Cracknell 2005: 60-1).

The Normans

The Norman elite who arrived in England after 1066 contributed to the nomenclature of north-east Suffolk mainly with affixes. An example of their administrative practice is the pair formed by North Cove and South Cove, which were first recorded with their distinguishing locational affixes in 1285 and 1327. The pleonastic Middle English affix of Burgh Castle, attested as Burghchasel in 1269, was adopted from French (VPEPN: castel), and it was added probably because the original sense of the name was no longer transparent, at least not to the Norman scribes. Traces of Medieval Latin as the language of administration can be seen in attestations like Covehyth alias Northales for Covehithe in 1524, and Wirlyngham Parva, Wirlyngham Magna for Worlingham in 1557 (DSfPN).

Two of the affixes are manorial and represent the Norman aristocrats who held the estates. According to DSfPN, the affix of Easton Bavents, first attested in 1330, refers to the de Bavent family who originate from Bavent near Caen in Normandy. The affix of Carlton Coleville, who came to Suffolk soon after the Conquest originally from Colleville in Normandy. Furthermore, CDEPN and DSfPN consider ‘Blunt in Blundeston to be an Anglo-Norman nickname of French origin, meaning ‘blond, fair-haired’. Overall, the sparse Norman impact evidenced in the corpus supports Gelling’s (1997: 25) claim that the language of rulers does not have a same sort of effect on place-names as the language of those who inhabit and work the land.

Landscape, infrastructure and culture

The topographical names of the corpus are coined almost exclusively in Old English. Since the region is mainly flat and marshy, there is only one settlement-name denoting a hill: OE duān in Reydon means a ‘low hill with a fairly level and fairly extensive summit’ (Gelling and Cole 2000: 164). As Figure 2 shows, the hill in Reydon is not remarkable, but even the gentle rise from the Reydon Marshes may
Examine the value of place-names as evidence for the history, landscape and, especially, language(s) of your chosen area

have appeared inviting for Anglo-Saxon settlers in the low-lying terrain. In Frostenden the OE generic *denu* denotes a long, narrow valley ‘with two moderately steep sides’ (Gelling and Cole 2000: 114). DSIPN considers that the name refers to the hollow where Valley Fm and Frostenden Bottom lie, and indeed its shape matches the meaning approximately (see Figure 3).

*Figure 2. Reydon, scale 1:50000.*

*Figure 3. Frostenden, scale 1:25000.*
Reydon and Frostenden are located in the southern end of the studied area where the landscape is more undulating than in the north. Since Uggeshall also lies in the south, its OE generic halh 'nook of land' is likely to denote a valley or hollow as CDEPN and Mills (2014) suggest, though the exact sense is undetermined (see the map in Gelling and Cole 2000: 126). On the same basis, the first element of Henham 'high homestead' probably refers to the topographical position of the settlement. Alternatively, it could imply social importance.

The marshiness of the region is described by Hopton-on-Sea and Belton. While OE hop generally denotes a remote enclosed place, ODEPN considers the precise meaning here to be 'enclosure in the midst of fens' (cf. Gelling and Cole 2000: 133). CDEPN notes that Hopton lies in a valley formed by sand dunes, in which case hop could mean an 'enclosed valley'. The specific of Belton is perhaps OE *bel, which ODEPN interprets as either ‘piece of dry land in a fenny country’ or ‘glade in a forest’ (see ODEPN: Belaugh). DBPN offers OE bēl ‘beacon, funeral pyre’ as an alternative. Figure 4 shows that the first sense seems appropriate, since Belton is almost surrounded by peat.

Rushmere is an additional indicator of marshiness. Besides the usual meaning ‘pool’, OE mere was used for wetland areas (Gelling and Cole 2000: 21-2). Appropriately enough, the village lies on the Hundred River near a wide bend where the land is low and split by ditches. The environment is no doubt also favourable for rushes.

Due to coastal erosion and sea level change, the river patterns and coastline of north-east Suffolk look quite different today than in Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Norman times (Cracknell 2005: 55-72; see Appendix II). That is reflected in some place-names. Herringfleet, now several miles inland, was in Anglo-Saxon times located on a vast estuary of the Waveney and the Yare. This is implied by the OE generic flēot which denotes a creek or stream flowing into a wide estuary or to the sea (Gelling and Cole 2000: 16). Bradwell marks the site of a ‘broad spring’ which perhaps once issued a stream to the estuary. In Beccles, if the name means ‘stream pasture’, the stream referred to may be the tributary of the Waveney west of Beccles (DSfPN). Gelling and Cole (2000: 3-4) suggest that in fenland areas OE bece was used for flat watercourses, which matches the local landscape.

North and South Cove stem from OE cofa, meaning ‘hut, shelter’ or ‘recess, cove’. According to ODEPN and Mills (2014), South Cove may refer to a lost coastal formation, as it is not far from the sea; CDEPN considers it denotes an indent in the nearby hills. The reference in North Cove is uncertain, but a former cove could explain the name, since the site once lay on the estuary of the Waveney. Coastal erosion has also affected Covehithe, the ‘harbour near (South) Cove’. In Domesday Book it
Examine the value of place-names as evidence for the history, landscape and, especially, language(s) of your chosen area

was called *Nort(h)als*, with *halh* ‘nook’ possibly denoting a spit of land now vanished, as ODEPN suggests. The modern name was first attested in 1523, when the settlement was apparently known for its landing-place.

Other traffic-related place-names are Mutford and Wangford, which share the OE generic *ford*. The specific of Mutford has been interpreted in many different ways (see Anderson 1934: 86; CDEPN), but it is probably OE *(ge)mōt* ‘assembly’ and denotes an old meeting-place. That seems likely because, as DSfPN notes, the settlement gave its name to the medieval hundred of Mutford, and it lies close to the Hundred River which formed the border against the hundred of Blything. This follows the common pattern that a hundred was called after its meeting-place, which was often on the fringe of the hundred by an important road or river-crossing (Gelling 1997: 211-2). Wangford lies on a tributary of the River Blyth. Since the settlement was named from the ford, the route crossing the stream was probably significant already in Anglo-Saxon times; nowadays it is known as the A12 trunk road.

The specific of Wangford is presumably the plural of OE *wang* ‘open ground’. Open land is likewise indicated by OE *feld* in Pakefield. Gelling (1984: 235-6) notes that initially *felds* were most likely used for pasture rather than farming, and they were typically contrasted with woodland. Pakefield is indeed bordered by Kirkley (see below). Pasture is probably also found in Beccles (OE *lēs* ‘pasture’), whereas Benacre refers to bean-farming. As OE *æcer* means ‘cultivated land’ with the special sense ‘newly broken-in’, Benacre illustrates the expansion of agriculture into new grounds. In settlement-names the element often indicates that the arable area is limited (Gelling and Cole 2000: 263-4). This is true of Benacre which is bordered by the Churchfarm and Beachfarm Marshes and the wetland of Benacre Broad (see Figure 5).

![Figure 5. Benacre, scale 1:50000.](image)

The expansion of agriculture is further illustrated by Kessingland, with OE *land* signifying ‘estate’ or ‘new arable area’. This toponym also specifies the crop cultivated by the settlers, if the first element is OE *cærsg* ‘cress-bed’, as DSfPN considers. An additional indicator of farming is Reydon, the specific of which is OE *rygen* ‘growing with rye’.

Besides the ash-trees possibly attested in Ashby, there are four toponyms that denote woodland. The simplex Lound is likely to signify a ‘small grove’ of economic value. Gelling and Cole (2000: 242) suggest that ON *lundr* was used for woods in regions which were generally poorly wooded during the Viking settlement. Appropriately enough, there is a relatively remarkable woodland
concentration in Lound recorded in *Domesday Book* (Rackham 1999). By contrast, the recorded woodland in Southwold 'south forest' appears small, although OE *wald* usually denotes extensive wooded districts. The name probably bears witness to a vanished forest area (Gelling and Cole 2000: 253-5). Sotterley and Kirkley, which include OE *lēah* 'wood, clearing', seem to refer to isolated woods. The specific of Sotterley is undefined, but DSfPN says it may derive from OE *sūtere* or the ON personal name *Sútari*, both meaning 'shoemaker'. The specific of Kirkley implies that the income from the woodland was used to support a church, and indeed the two churches of Mutford had glebe land in Kirkley in 1086 (Suckling 1846).

While it is likely that most Anglo-Saxon settlements were held by single landlords, the first elements of Carlton Colville (ON gen.pl. *karla* 'freemen, peasants') and Barnby (probably ON gen.pl. *barna* 'children') indicate joint tenure. Carlton presumably signifies a special arrangement of communal holding by people working the land, whereas Barnby may denote a farmstead held together by a number of heirs (VEPN: *ceorl, barn*). Fritton may also have been a special kind of settlement, perhaps enclosed within a defensive structure or offering refuge (ODEPN; DSfPN), if the specific is OE *frith* meaning 'refuge, protection'.

**Conclusion**

The above discussion shows that the parish-names provide detailed information about the local settlement history and about the landscape and its changes. Since most of the names were coined in Old English, they reflect the region and the society mainly as seen through Anglo-Saxon eyes, but there is also evidence of strong Scandinavian presence. Wider interdisciplinary research into the nomenclature could further our understanding of the local history.

**Abbreviations**


**Bibliography**


**APPENDIX I**

*Ashby* Suffolk, near Lound. *Askebi* 1190, *Aschebi* 1198. ‘Farmstead or village where ash-trees grow’, OE æsc or ON askr + ON by. Alternatively, ‘farmstead of a man called Askli’, ON pers. name + by (DBPN; DSfPN).

*Barnby* Suffolk. *Barnebei* 1086 (DB). Probably ‘farmstead of the children, i.e. one held jointly by a number of heirs’, ON barn + by. Alternatively, the first element may be the ON pers. name *Barni* or *Bjarni* (DBPN; DSfPN).


*Belton* Norfolk. *Beletuna* 1086 (DB). Meaning uncertain, ‘farmstead in a glade or on dry ground in marsh’, or ‘farmstead near a beacon or funeral pyre’, OE *bel or bêl + tún* (DBPN).

*Benacre* Suffolk. *Benagra* 1086 (DB). ‘Cultivated plot where beans are grown’, OE bēan + æcer (DBPN).


*Bradwell* Norfolk. *Bradewell* 1211. ‘(Place at) the broad spring or stream’, OE brād + wella (DBPN).

*Burgh Castle* Norfolk. *Burch* 1086 (DB), *Borough-Castell* 1281. OE burh ‘fortification, stronghold, fortified manor’ (DBPN; DSfPN).

*Carlton Colville* Suffolk. *Carleta* 1086 (DB), *Carleton Colville* 1346. ‘Farmstead or estate of the freemen or peasants’, from ON karl (often no doubt replacing OE ceorl) + OE tūn. Manorial addition from the *de Coleville* family, here in the 13th cent (DBPN).


*Cove* North Suffolk. *Cove* 1204, *North Cove* 1285. From OE *cofa* which OE *cofa* which meant ‘hut or shelter’, also ‘recess or cove’ (DBPN); the reference here is uncertain (Mills 2014).

*Cove, South* Suffolk. *Coua* 1086 (DB), *Suth Cove* 1327. Named from the same OE word as North Cove, but here possibly with reference to a former cove or other coastal feature (Mills 2014).

*Covehithe* Suffolk. *Coveheith* 1523. ‘Harbour near (South) Cove’, from OE hyth (DBPN).

*Easton Bavents* Suffolk, near Southwold. *Estuna* 1086 (DB), *Eston Bavent* 1330. ‘East farmstead or village’, i.e. one to the east of another settlement, OE *ěast + tūn* (DBPN). Manorial affix from the family of Hubert *de Bavent* who held Easton in the late twelfth century (DSfPN).
Ellough Suffolk. Elga 1086 (DB), Eigh 1286. Etymology uncertain, but possibly ‘(place at) the heathen temple’, OE ealh (dative *ealge) (DBPN). An ancient river-name may be the source of this toponym (DSiPN).

Flixton Suffolk, near Lowestoft. Flistuna 1086 (DB). ‘Farmstead or estate of a man called Flik’, ON pers. name + OE tūn (DBPN).

Fritton Norfolk, near Gorleston. Fridetuna 1086 (DB). ‘Farmstead offering safety or protection’, or ‘farmstead of a man called Frithi’, OE frith or ON pers. name + OE tūn (DBPN).


Gunton Suffolk. Guniton 1184, Guneton 1198. ‘Farmstead or estate of a man called Gunni’, ON pers. name + OE tūn (DSiPN).

Henham Suffolk, near Blythburgh. Henham 1086 (DB). ‘High homestead or village’, OE hēah (weak oblique case hēan) + hām (DSiPN).


Herringfleet Suffolk. Herlingafleet 1086 (DB). ‘Creek or stream of the family or followers of a man called *Herela’, OE pers. name + -inga- + flēot (DBPN).

Hopton-on-Sea Norfolk. Hoppetuna, Opituna 1086 (DB). ‘Farmstead or estate in a small enclosed valley or enclosed plot of land’, OE hop + tūn (DBPN; DSiPN).


Kirkley Suffolk. Kirkelea 1086 (DB). ‘Woodland clearing near or belonging to a church’, ON kirkja + OE lēah (DBPN).

Lound Suffolk. Lunda 1086 (DB). ‘Small wood or grove’, ON lundr (DBPN).


Oulton Suffolk. Aleton 1203. ‘Farmstead of a man called Áli’, or ‘old farmstead’, ON pers. name or OE ald + tūn (DBPN).


Sotterley Suffolk. Soterlega 1086 (DB). OE láh ‘woodland clearing’ with an uncertain first element, possibly a pers. name (DBPN). Possibly ‘Sutari’s clearing’ or ‘clearing of the shoemaker’, ON pers.n. Sūtari or OE sūtere, ON sūtari + OE lēah (DSiPN).

Southwold Suffolk. Sudwolda 1086 (DB). ‘South forest’, OE sáth + wald (DBPN).


Wangford Suffolk, near Southwold. Wankeforda 1086 (DB), Wangeford 1238. Possibly ‘ford by the open ground’, OE wang + ford (DBPN).

Worlingham Suffolk. Werlingaham 1086 (DB). ‘Probably homestead of the family or followers of a man called *Wērel’, OE pers. name + -inga- + hām (DBPN).
Examine the value of place-names as evidence for the history, landscape and, especially, language(s) of your chosen area.

APPENDIX II

The map shows the parishes as they were in the 19th century (according to the appendix of Dymond and Martin 1999). Nowadays the six most northern parishes belong to Norfolk. The blue lines show the coastline in Roman times, as presented by Cracknell (2005: 55, Fig. 45).