

Chapter 11 Major Place-Names of the Wirral: A Gazetteer

PAUL CAVILL

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1. Introduction and notes on arrangement

This gazetteer contains all the major existing place-names of the Wirral. Major place-names are distinguished from minor ones in that major names refer to settlements, whereas minor names generally refer to fields, roads and non-settlement features. In addition, a number of 'lost' names are included: this term refers to a name that is no longer in current use, though in every case the location of the original site is known. In the case of Caldy Hundred, the approximate boundaries of the hundred are noted in Orm² II; 518: it contained the parishes along the Dee coast, and included Thornton Hough, Leighton, Gayton, Heswall, Thurstaston, West Kirby, Great and Little Meols, Hoose, Newton, Larton and Pulton cum Seacombe. Most of the names in the gazetteer are ancient, the majority of them being evidenced in the thirteenth century or before. Brimston, though it is first recorded in the sixteenth century and is now lost as a name, seems to depend on the same OE personal name as that found in Brimstage and Bromborough, and very likely the name refers to the stone boundary-marker of *Brūna's* land. If so, the name is older than might appear from the written record. The major newcomer, Ellesmere Port, is a name which is clear enough as to its origins.

Each place-name is printed in bold type, followed by the parish in which it appears. As an aid to the local historian, the parishes given are the old ecclesiastical parishes, not the modern civil parishes. The modern parishes can be traced on modern Ordnance Survey maps, but the ancient parishes are not so easy to locate: they are mapped by F. I. Dunn in 'The ancient parishes, townships and chapelries of Cheshire', a map published in PN Ch 5:2.

The early spellings of the name are then printed in italics, with the date of the document following. These spellings are taken from John Dodgson's work, published principally in PN Ch 4, and the indebtedness of the entire gazetteer to Dodgson will be clearly evident to anyone who compares the two works. Some changes and additional references are made in the light of more recent

WIRRAL AND ITS VIKING HERITAGE

BY

PAUL CAVILL
STEPHEN E. HARDING
JUDITH JESCH

WITH ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS BY
SIMON C. BEAN
STEPHEN E. HARDING
JUDITH JESCH
ANDREW WAWN



NOTTINGHAM
ENGLISH PLACE-NAME SOCIETY
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scholarship, but the substance is Dodgson's. Spellings are given which represent the main forms of the name; no attempt is made to give complete series of forms, nor many insignificant variations in spelling. The earliest recorded form of the precise modern spelling of the name is always given, even if in linguistic terms it is a minor spelling variation in a more significant series.

Brackets around a letter or letters in the spellings indicate that the name occurs both with and without the bracketed letter(s). Where a spelling is followed or preceded immediately by a hyphen, as for example '*Bernis-*, *Bernus-*, *Berns-*, *Berlistona in Wirhale* 1096–1101 (1280) Chest', or '*Bebington* H2 (1666) Orm² *et freq* with variant spellings *-yng-*, *-ton(e)*', it means that spellings of Barnston are found in the forms *Bernistona*, *Bernustona* and *Bernstona*, and that Bebington is spelt *Bebyngton* and *Bebyngtone*, *Bebington* and *Bebingtone*. In other words, part of the word is omitted for brevity. The sign '~' means that a whole word has been omitted, so '*Lee* c.1230 ib, *la ~*, *le ~* c.1265–91 ib' means that *Lee* occurs on its own, but also in the forms *la Lee*, *le Lee*.

The sources of the spellings are given as abbreviations, and these are expanded in the **Abbreviations** section below. In an attempt to make this work more useful to the reader, the range of sources used has been curtailed from the several hundred given by Dodgson. Many of the documents have been printed and are widely available in reference libraries. The printed sources are given in roman type, e.g. Sheaf, Chest, Dugd, referring to *The Cheshire Sheaf*, Tait's edition of *The Chartulary of the Abbey of St. Werburgh's, Chester*, and Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* respectively. A source given in italic type is an unprinted manuscript.

Where two dates are given for a spelling, e.g. 1342 (1438) ChRR, the first is the date at which the document purports to have been composed and the second that of the copy which has come down to us. Sources which cannot be fixed to a particular year are dated by centuries 12, 13 etc., often more specifically e13, 113, early and late thirteenth century respectively. Others are identified by regnal date, e.g. H2, E1 (the reigns of Henry II and Edward I respectively), or by a range of years, e.g. 1240–9, 1260–80 etc. Where c. is followed by a date it indicates the approximate date of the document (i.e. c.1250 is 'about 1250'). Some documents are referred to very frequently, such as Tait's edition of *The Chartulary of the Abbey of St. Werburgh's, Chester*, and the **Abbreviations** section explains that the *Chartulary* is a fourteenth-century document; thus, any Chest reference in the text should be understood as having '(14)' after the date given. So '*Arwe* 1240–9 Chest' means that the spelling *Arwe* comes from a document which purports to be dated 1240–9, and survives in a fourteenth-century copy, which in its turn was edited and published by Tait. References followed by (p) indicate that the spelling occurs as a person's name, not primarily as a reference to a place.

After the list of spellings and sources, the meaning of the name is given wherever possible. It is not always possible to be sure what the meaning was, as for example with the first part of Capenhurst. Where the derivation is probable or certain, the word(s) from which the name derives is given in bold type. A list of these words or elements, with an indication of the source language, is given in the section entitled **Place-Name Elements**. The translation of the elements here is functional and abbreviated; a fuller discussion of the use and meaning of

the elements can be found in A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1956), and in D. Parsons *et al.*, *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names* (Nottingham, 1997-). The superscript number following some elements indicates that the word is used in a distinct sense discussed by Smith.

Finally, in small type after the main section dealing with the spellings and meaning of the place-name, there are index references to further discussion or mention of the name in this book.

2. Sounds of Old English and Old Norse Letters

The equivalents below are from Standard English except where stated and are purely approximate. ON letters probably had nearly the same value as those of OE, but one or two used only in ON are added below.

Vowels

The mark above the vowel, as in \bar{a} , indicates a long vowel in OE, and the accent, as in \acute{a} , a long vowel in ON.

a	German Mann	\bar{i}	<i>see</i>
\bar{a}	<i>father</i>	o	<i>hot</i>
æ	<i>hat</i>	\bar{o}	French <i>beau</i>
$\bar{æ}$	<i>fare</i>	u	<i>full</i>
e	<i>set</i>	\bar{u}	<i>fool</i>
\bar{e}	German <i>See</i>	y	French <i>tu</i>
i	<i>sit</i>	\bar{y}	French <i>pur</i>

ON

q	<i>hot</i>
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Diphthongs

The OE diphthong was pronounced as a glide with each of the vowels being heard. ON diphthongs can be represented as follows:

au = q + u	ei = e + i	ey = e + y
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Consonants

All the OE consonants were pronounced, so that **ng** = n + g, **hl** = h + l (compare Welsh *ll*), **wr** = w + r. They were pronounced like their modern equivalents in Standard English with these exceptions:

c	before <i>e</i> and <i>i</i> , and after <i>i</i> , as in <i>child</i> ; elsewhere as in <i>cold</i>
cg	as in <i>judge</i>
g	before <i>e</i> and <i>i</i> , and after $\bar{æ}$, <i>e</i> and <i>i</i> , as in <i>yet</i> , elsewhere as in <i>go</i>
h	initially as in <i>bat</i> ; elsewhere as in Scots <i>loch</i>
sc	as in <i>shall</i>
f	usually as in <i>fill</i> ; between vowels as in <i>oven</i>
s	usually as in <i>sit</i> ; between vowels as in <i>haze</i>
ð, þ	between vowels as in <i>father</i> ; elsewhere as in <i>thin</i>

Two additional ON sounds should be noted:

j ON as in *young*

v ON as in *will*

3. Abbreviations and references

AD	<i>Catalogue of Ancient Deeds</i> (PRO), London 1890 and in progress, referred to by volume and page, or by document number
adj.	Adjective, adjectival
Add	Additional MSS in BrMus, now British Library
AddCh	Additional Charters in BrMus, now British Library
ASC (A)	The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS A; <i>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</i> , ed. J. Earle and C. Plummer, Oxford 1892–9
Bark	<i>MSS of E. E. Barker, Esq.</i> , National Register of Archives 0406
BPR	<i>The Register of Edward the Black Prince</i> (PRO), London 1930–3
BrMus	Documents in the British Museum (now the British Library)
Brownbill	J. Brownbill, <i>West Kirby and Hilbre: A Parochial History</i> , Liverpool 1928; Appendix 1, Allen Mawer, <i>The Local Place-Names</i>
Bry	W. Bryant, <i>Map of Cheshire</i> , London 1831
Bun	The Bunbury MSS in West Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmund's
cf.	Compare
Ch	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i> (PRO), London 1903–27
Chamb	R. Stewart Brown, <i>The Accounts of the Chamberlains and Other Officers of the County of Chester</i> (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society 59), 1910
Chest	J. Tait, <i>Chartulary of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester</i> , Parts I and II (Chetham Society New Series 79, 82), 1920–3, a fourteenth century MS with seventeenth-century additions
ChetOS	Publications of the Chetham Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Original Series
ChF	<i>Calendar of Fines, Cos. Chester and Flint, removed from Chester to the Public Record Office in 1854</i> (<i>Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records</i> 28, appendix 5, pp. 6 ff.), London 1867
ChFor	Palatinate of Chester, Forest Proceedings, in PRO
ChGaol	Palatinate of Chester, Gaol Files, Writs, etc., in PRO
Chol	The Cholmondeley Deeds in Cheshire Record Office
ChRR	<i>Calendar of Chester recognizance Rolls</i> (<i>Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records</i> 37 appendix 2, 39 appendix 1), London 1875–9
Cl	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i> (PRO), London 1900 and in progress
Court	<i>Calendar of the County Court, City Court and Eyre Rolls of Chester, 1259–1297</i> , ed. R. Stewart Brown (Chetham Society New Series 84), 1925
Cre	<i>MSS of the Marchioness of Crewe</i> , National Register of Archives 1299
DB	Domesday Book
Dep	Exchequer Special (Commissions and) Depositions in PRO

- Dugd W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London 1817–30
 E1, E2 etc. Regnal date, *temp.* Edward 1, Edward II etc.; E1 = 1272–1307, E2 = 1307–27 etc.
- eModE Early Modern English (approx. 16th–18th centuries)
 EnclA Unprinted Enclosure Awards
 et freq and frequently
 Eyre The Palatinate of Chester, Eyre Rolls of the Justice of Chester, in the PRO
- Facs G. Barraclough, *Facsimiles of Early Cheshire Charters*, Oxford for Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society 1957
- Fine *Calendar of Fine Rolls* (PRO), London 1911 and in progress
- France *Calendar of Documents preserved in France* (Rolls Series), London 1899
 ib, ib in the same source
- Indict Palatinate of Chester, Indictment Rolls, in PRO
- InqAqd *Calendarium Inquisitionum ad quod damnum* (Record Commission), London 1803; *Inquisitions ad quod damnum* (PRO Lists and Indexes 17, 22), London 1904, 1906
- Ipm *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (PRO), London 1906 and in progress
- IpmR *Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem sive Escaetorum*, London 1802–28
- J.E.A. Spellings and information supplied by J. E. Allison, Esq., of Prenton
 JRC Charters etc. preserved in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester
- Lat Latin
- Leland *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, London 1906. The *Itinerary* is dated 1536–9
- Lib *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* (PRO), London 1917 and in progress
 lit. Literally
- LRMB Land Revenue Office Miscellaneous Books in PRO
- LRO Documents preserved in Lancashire Record Office in miscellaneous collections
- Mainw MSS of Mainwaring of Peover in the John Rylands University of Manchester
- Map (W.F.I.) Map made available by W. Fergusson Irvine, Esq., of Corwen
- ME Middle English
- MinAcct Ministers' Accounts in PRO
- MIr Middle Irish
- ModE Modern English, from approx. 16th century
- MS, MSS Manuscript, manuscripts
- MRA *The Great Register of Lichfield Cathedral known as Magnum Registrum Album*, ed. H. E. Savage (The William Salt Archaeological Society Collections for a History of Staffordshire, New Series 25), 1924; a cartulary made 1317–28, referred to by entry numbers

- NotCestr F. Gastrell, *Notitia Cestrensis, or Historical Notices of the Diocese of Chester*, vol. I, *Cheshire*, ed. F. R. Raines (Chetham Society Original Series 8), 1845; the MS dates from 1714–25
- OE Old English
- OIr Old Irish
- ON Old Norse
- Orm² G. Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, ed. T. Helsby, London 1882
- OS The Ordnance Survey
- (p) Place-name used as a personal name or surname
- P *Pipe Rolls* (Pipe Roll Society), in progress; M. H. Mills and R. Stewart Brown, *Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls 1158–1301* (Publications of the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 92), 1938
- Pap *Calendar of Papal Registers* (PRO), London 1894–1961
- Pat *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (PRO), London 1901 and in progress
- Plea *Deeds, Inquisitions, etc., enrolled on the Plea Rolls of the County of Chester* (*Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* 26–30), London 1865–9
- PRO Records preserved in or published by the Public Record Office
- PrWelsh Primitive Welsh
- Sheaf *The Cheshire Sheaf*; Sheaf¹ indicates the First Series (1878–85); Sheaf² the New Series (1895, 1 vol.); Sheaf³ the Third Series (1903 and in progress). Published at Chester at the office of *The Cheshire Observer* and formerly at the office of *The Chester Courant*. Referred to by Series, volume and page, e.g. Sheaf³ 6, 20; or by Series, volume and entry number, e.g. Sheaf³ 6 (1290)
- Surv* Surveys in PRO
- Tab *MSS. of the Leicester-Warren Family at Tabley House*, National Register of Archives 3636; the material is mostly seventeenth-century copy
- Tax *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae c.1291*, Record Commission, London 1802
- v.* see
- VE *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Record Commission, London 1810–34
- Whall *The Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey*, ed. W. A. Hulton (Chetham Society Original Series 10, 11, 16 and 20), 1847–9, a fourteenth-century MS.
- White F. White and Co., *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Cheshire*, Sheffield 1860

4. Gazetteer of the major place-names of Wirral, with an index to references in this book

Grid references to the Ordnance Survey SJ area maps are given to four figures, that is, an accuracy of 1 kilometre. Some names are lost and others refer to an area, and in these cases the names have no accompanying grid reference.

Arrowe, SJ 2686. In the parish of Woodchurch. *Arwe* 1240–9 Chest *et freq*, *Haree* 1278 *ChFor*, *Har(o)ugh* 113 AD, 113 (18) Sheaf, *Hargbee* 113 Tab, *Argh'* 1296 Court (p), *Areghe in Wyrhale* 1311 Fine, *Arwey* 1347 *ChFor*, *Erwe* 1348 *Indict*, *Arewe* 1351 *MinAcct*, *Arowe* 1397 ChRR, *Arrowe* 15 Orm² *et freq* with variant spellings *Arowe*, *Arrow*. 'At the shieling', *v.* **erg** ON or MlR **áirge**, and see further Gillian Fellows Jensen, 'Common Gaelic *áirge*, Old Scandinavian *áergi* or *erg?*', *Nomina* 4 (1980), 67–74.

See also pp 4, 36, 38, 39, 55, 64, 99.

Backford, SJ 3971. Parish. *Bacfort* 1150 Chest, *Bacford* 12 Sheaf, *Bakford* e13 ib *et freq*, *Backford(e)* 1186–94 Chest *et freq*, *Bakeford(e)* 13 Orm², *Bacceford* 1535 VE, *Bakesforde* 1553 Pat. 'Ford under a hill', *v.* **ford**, **bæc**. The ford is difficult to locate precisely, but may be where the 'footpath to Lea crosses Backford Brook at the foot of the . . . hill on which the village stands' (PN Ch 4 172).

Barnston, SJ 2883. In the parish of Woodchurch. *Bernestone* 1086 DB, *Berneston* 1208–29 Whall (p) *et freq* with variant spellings *Bernis-*, *Bernus-*, *Berns-*, *Berlistona in Wirhale* 1096–1101 (1280) Chest *et freq* with variant spellings *Berles-*, *-tona*, *-tone*, *Beruleston* 1199–1216 *AddCh* (p), *Bernolweston* 13 Whall (p), *Borneston* c.1250 Bark (p), *Burneston* 1539–47 Dugd, *Barnston* 1579 Dugd, *Barnston* 1659 Sheaf. 'Beornwulf's farm' from the OE personal name and **tūn**.

Bebington, Higher, SJ 3383. Parish. *Bedintone* 1096–1101 (1150) Chest, *Bebinton* ib *et freq* with variant spellings *Bebyn-*, *-tona*, *-thon*, *Bebington* H2 (1666) Orm² *et freq* with variant spellings *-yng-*, *-ton(e)*, *Parua Bebinton* 1260–80 JRC, *Superior* ~ 1278 *ChFor*, *Overbebynton* 1342 (1438) ChRR, *Upper-* 1361 BPR, *Bibynton* 1403 Fine (p), *Little Bebynton* 1491 ib, *Bevyngton* 1534–47 Dugd, *Bobynton* 1535 VE, *Higher Bebington* 1724 NotCestr. **Bebington, Lower**. *Inferior Bebinton* 1250–1300 JRC, *Netherbebinton* 1249–1323 Chest, *Lowerbebynton* 1439 Orm², *Chirchebebyngton* 1289 Court, *Kirke Bebynton* 1429 Sheaf. 'Farm of a person called Bebba', from the OE personal name *Bebba*, with **ing**⁴ and **tūn**. The smaller of the two parts of Bebington is higher than the larger, hence **superior**; *v.* also **parva**, **uferra**, **upper**, **lýtél**, **higher**; and **inferior**, **neodëra**, **lower**, **cirice**, **kirkja**.

See also pp. 57, 62n, 64, 64n, 65, 118, 126.

Bidston, SJ 2890. Parish. *Bideston* 13 Chest, *Bediston* 1260 Court, *Bodestan'*, *Budeston* ib, *-stan* 1286 *ChFor*, *Bidelston'* 1298 ib, *Bethestan* 1347 ib, *Bidston* 1397 ChRR *et freq*. 'Dwelling on or near a rock'. The forms with *-stan* indicate that the second element is 'rock', *v.* **stān**, perhaps in this case the steep sandstone hill of Bidston Hill. *Bidelston'* with medial *-l-* suggests that the first element is **(ge)bytle**, **byðle**, 'a building', cf. the similar formation of Biddlesden (Berkshire),

Biddlestone (Northumberland), with the element *denu* 'valley'; alternatively, it might reflect OE **bydel** 'a beadle'. The form *Bethestan* represents the sound of *-ð-* in **byðle** with loss of the *-l-* found throughout the other spellings.

See also pp. 4, 56, 57, 64, 65, 112, 118.

Birkenhead, SJ 3088. In the parish of Bidston. *Bircheveth* 1190–1216 *AddCh*, *-euet* 1260 Court, *Byrcheved* 1277 Pat, *Byrkeheht* 1259 Court, *Birkheued* 1260 Plea *et freq* with variant spellings *Birke-*, *-beved*, *-beuid*, *-bevet*, *-befd*, *-beud*, *Byrkehed* 1259 (1286) *ChFor*, *Birkbened* c.1278 (18) Sheaf *et freq*, *Birkenbed* 1278 Dugd, *Birkenhead* 1594 Chest, *Birchynbed* 1478 ChRR (p). 'Headland growing with birch trees', from **birce**, **bircen**, with **hēafod**. The *-th* of the first form appears to show the influence of ON **hōfuð**, and most of the later forms, which represent the modern pronunciation, show the influence of ON **birki**; the ON elements have broadly the same meaning as the OE ones.

See also pp. 7n, 38.

Blacon, SJ 3867. In the parish of St Oswald's and Holy Trinity. *Blachehol* 1086 DB, *Blachenol* 1093 Tab, *Blachenot(h)* 1150 Chest, *Blakene* c.1200–1250 Chest, *Blaken* 1262 JRC (p), *Blakun* 1438 ChRR (p), *Blakon* 1499 Orm², *Blacon* 1532 Cre *et freq*. '(The settlement) at the black hill', *v.* **blæc**, **cnoll**. The black hill is the headland of Blacon Point. The *Blachenot(h)* forms show the variant **cnotta** 'hillock' for **cnoll** 'hill-top'. The earlier forms might equally plausibly derive from *Blacan hol* 'Blaca's hollow', from the OE personal name *Blaca* and **hol**¹, perhaps a hollow on the slope of the hill.

Brimstage, SJ 3082. In the parish of Bromborough. *Brunestape* 13 *AddCh*, *Brunstath(e)* 1260 Court (p) *et freq*, *Brimstache* 1275 Ipm, *Bronstath(e)* 113 Bark, 1348 *ChGaul*, *Brunstach* 1326 ChRR (p), *Bromstache* 1335 Pat, *Brimstath* 1351 BPR, *Brynstat(h)* c.1387 (115) Sheaf³ 36 (p), 1395 (p), *Brymstaghe* 1616 ChRR, *Brimstage* 1647 Sheaf. From the OE (*æt*) *Brūnan stæpe*, '(at) Brūna's land on the river-bank', with the OE personal name *Brūna*, as in Bromborough below, and **stæp**. The modern pronunciation derives from the sounding of the early misspelling of *-c-* for *-t-* in the second element.

See also p. 125.

Brimston (lost). In the parish of Bromborough. *Brynston* 1534–47 Dugd, *-stone* 1547 *MinAcct*, *Brinston* 1566 Sheaf, *-stone* 1621 (1656) Orm², *Burneston* 1539–47 Orm² I 275 (lit. *-sto*'), *Bronston* 1564 Sheaf, *Brunston* 1579 Dep, *Brimston* 1739 LRMB 264. 'Brūna's stone', an alternative name for Brimstage, with the OE personal name *Brūna* and **stān**. The stone might have been a boundary marker, and *Brūna*'s land have stretched from the river-bank to the stone. Some of the earlier forms might give credence to an etymology 'Bryni's farm', from the OE personal name *Bryni* and **tūn**.

See also p. 125.

Bromborough, SJ 3482. Parish. *Brunburg* 1100–35 (1285) Ch, *-burh* 1214–22 Chest, *-burgh* 13 Orm² *et freq*, *Bruneburgh* 1153 (1285) Chest, *Brumburg*' 1153 (1280)

ib *et freq* with variant spellings *-burg*, *-burgh(e)*, *-bur(h)*, *Brombur*' 1153–9 Chest *et freq*, *Brumbrough* 1237 (17) Chest, *-boro* 1504 ChRR (p), *-borowe* 1552 Sheaf (p), *Broneburgh*' 1260 Court (p), *Bromborough* 1277 Cl, Pat, Fine *et freq*. 'Brūna's stronghold' from the OE personal name *Brūna* and *burh*. For a discussion of the likelihood that this is the site of the battle of *Brunanburh* fought in 937 between King Æthelstan and a coalition of Scots, Welsh, Irish and Norse, see chapter 5 above.

See also pp. 7, 8, 9, 10, 60, 60n, 61, 68n, 69, 75, 77, 80, 82, 86, 116, 118, 122, 125.

Burton (~ **Manor**), SJ 3174. Parish. *Burton* 1152 MRA *et freq*, *Burton Hall* 1831 Bry, ~ *in Wir(e)hale* c.1234 MRA *et freq*, *Borton* c.1240 (1293) (17) Sheaf³ 17, *Bertone* 1310 Pap, *Bourton* 1363 ib, *Bwerton* 1592 JRC, *Barton* 1646 Sheaf. 'Fortified farmstead', *v. burh-tūn*, *byrh-tūn*. The headland (see Ness, Neston and Burton Point below) is the site of an Iron Age fort, and it is this to which the name refers.

Burton Point, Nessel (lost), **Burton-Head**, SJ 3073. *Nessbede* 1450 ChRR, *Ness(e)bed(e)* 1468 *Min.Acct*, *Nessel Lane* 1817 *EnclA*, *Burton Hedde* c.1536 Leland, *Burton Hill* 1615 Sheaf, *Burton Point* 1819 Orm². 'The promontory (*hēafod*) of, or at, or called, Ness', 'the promontory at Burton'. Since *ness* and *hēafod* mean much the same thing, it seems likely that Ness is here being used as a place-name, rather than with its etymological meaning. The promontory also gives the *ness* element to Neston. In the Burton ~ forms the promontory is named after Burton instead of Ness, *v. hall*¹, *lane*, *hyll*, *point*.

See also p. 118.

Caldy, Great and Little, SJ 2285. In the parish of West Kirby. *Calders* 1086 DB (x2), 1096–1101 (1280) Chest, *Caldeirs* 1136–53 (1357) *ChFor*, *Caldei(e)* 1182, 1183, 1283 P, *Caldey* 1237 ib *et freq* with variant spellings *Kaldey(a)*, *-eye*, *Caldeya*, *-eye*, *Caldea* 1185 P, *utraque Caldera* 1240–9 Chest II 489, *Calday* 1276 P, *Caldye* 1454 Sheaf, *Caldy* 1553 ib. The early forms represent OE 'cold arse', 'cold buttock', a hill-name (*ears* 'rounded hill') which also appears in the West Riding of Yorkshire as *Calders*, *Colders*, *v. cald*, *ears*. *Caldera* possibly represents the Norse compound *kald-eyjar*, *v. kaldr*, *ey*, and the remaining forms OE *cald-ēge*, *v. cald*, *ēg*; these are Norse and English versions of 'cold islands'. Since *Caldy* is somewhat inland, the name 'cold islands' may have been a district-name including West Kirby and Hilbre, with the islands offshore. See chapter 5 above for the suggestion that this district was the nucleus of the hundred of *Caldy*. Cf. *Tranmere* below for a place named after an offshore feature.

See also pp. 62n, 65.

Caldy Hundred (lost). *Caldeihundredum* 1182 P, *Hundredum de Caldeia* 1184 ib *et freq*, *the Hundred of Caldey in Wyreball Hundred* 1428 Orm². For the name, *v. Cald* above and *hundred*, 'a subdivision of a shire'.

See also pp. 65, 66, 125.

Capenhurst, SJ 3673. In the parish of Shotwick. *Capeles* 1086 DB, *Capenhurst* 13 LRO (p) *et freq*, with variant spellings *-in-*, *-en-*, *-un-*, *-an-*, *-on-*, *Capulhurst* 1338 Cl

(p), *Chapenhurst* 1663 Sheaf. The alternation between *-l-* and *-n-* in the middle of the name is due to Anglo-Norman influence. The second element **hyrst** is 'wooded hill', but the first is difficult, possibly OE ***cape** 'a look-out place'. See also pp. 118, 126.

Childer Thornton, SJ 3677. In the parish of Eastham. *Thorinthun* 1200–20 JRC, *Torinton* 1209–29 *AddCh*, *Torentune* 13 *ib* (p), *Childre Thorinton* e14 JRC, *Thornton* 13 *AddCh*, *Childrethornton* 1288 *ChFor et freq*. 'Farm characterised by thorn-trees', *v.* **porn**, **tūn** with **cildra** (*v.* **cild**) 'of, or belonging to, the young men', most likely a reference to the boys of St Werburgh's Abbey, Chester. St Werburgh's held the manor in the Middle Ages, and there are examples elsewhere of the income from farms being used for the upkeep of young people. See also p. 4.

Chorlton, SJ 4071. In the parish of Backford. *Cherliston* 1186–94 Chest, *Cherletunia* 1189–99 Orm², *Cherletun* 12 Sheaf *et freq*, *Cherlton* 13 Chest, *Chorleton* 1216–72 Orm², *Churliston* 1255–62 *ib*, *Chorulton* 1262 JRC, *Chorlton* 1270–83 Chest, *Chorlton alias Charlton* 1613 Orm². 'Farm of a peasant or peasants', *v.* **ceorl**, **tūn**. The forms with *-s-* (from *ceorles*) represent 'of a peasant'; the others, *ceorla* 'of the peasants'. H. P. R. Finberg, *Lucerna* (London, 1964), 144 f. argues that places named Charlton, Carlton etc. were normally settlements of peasants owing food-rents and labour to a larger (often royal) estate nearby: in this case the manor would presumably be Great Mollington.

Claughton, SJ 3088. In the parish of Bidston. *Clahton* 1260 Court, *Claghton* 1272–1307 (1577) ChRR, *Claubton* 1282 Court, *Clauton* 1286 *ChFor*, *Claughton* 1345 Plea, *Clocton* 1291 Tax. 'Farm on a hillock', *v.* **klakkr**, **tún**, **tūn**, probably a Norse compound. See also pp. 36, 38, 62n, 65.

Crabwall, SJ 3869. In the parish of St Oswald's and Holy Trinity. *Crabbewalle* c.1200–1250 Chest, *Crabbewell* 1265 Ch, *Crabwell* 1280 *Surv*, *Crabwall(e)* c.1310 Chest *et freq*; *Crabbo* c.1536 Leland, *Crab(-)hall* 1560 Sheaf, *Crabball* 1547 *MinAcct*. 'Cray-fish stream', *v.* **crabba**, **wælla**, **wella**. The early forms show dialect variation between **wælla** (Mercian, giving *-wall*) and **wella** (Anglian, giving *-well*), both meaning 'spring, stream'. The later existence of a Hall assisted the confusion of the Mercian *-wall* with **hall**¹.

Croughton, SJ 4172. In the parish of St Oswald's. *Crostone* 1086 DB, *Croctona* 1096–1101 Chest, *Crocton* 1188–91 *ib*, *Crochton(a)* 1270–1316 *ib*, *Croghton(a)*, 1096–1101 (1280) (17) *ib et freq*, *Crouhton* 1270–1316 *ib*, *Croughton* 1411 ChRR *et freq*. 'Farm where saffron grows', *v.* **croh**, **tūn**: OE **croh** is Latin and (ModE) 'crocus'.

Denhall, SJ 2975. In the parish of Neston. *Danewell* 1184 P (lit. *Baue*), *hospital' de Danewell in Cestresire juxta litus maris* ['the hospital of *Danewell* in Cheshire by the sea shore'] 1238 Orm², *Denewell* c.1240 (1293) (17) Sheaf, *hospital de Denewale* 1288–90 *ib*, *Denewalle* 1343 Cl, *Denhale* 1293 (17) Sheaf, *hospital Sancti Andree de*

Denwall 1345 Pap, *Denna Lane* 1817 *EnclA*, *Denball* 1842 OS. 'The spring of the Danes', *v.* **Dene**, **Danir**, OE and Scandinavian versions of the ethnic term 'Dane'. For the dialect variations **wella**, **wælla** leading to *-hall*, *v.* *Crabwall* above. See also **lane**. The hospital was for the poor and shipwrecked, and existed from the twelfth century.

See also pp. 3, 62n, 116.

Eastham, SJ 3580. Parish. *Estham* 1086 DB *et freq*, *Hestham* 1175 Facs, *Esthama*, 1343 Sheaf, *Esthum* 1549 ib, *Estom* 1599 ib, *Estem* 1671 ib, *Esteham* 1096–1101 (1280) Chest, *Hesteham* 1186–91 Whall, *Eastham(m)* 1499 Sheaf *et freq*, *Easthom(e)* 1670 ib, *Eston(e)* 1687 ib, *Eastham cum Plymyard* 1724 NotCestr. 'East village', *v.* **ēast**, **hām**, so named from its location on the east coast of the Wirral.

See also pp. 41, 58, 118.

Ellesmere Port, SJ 4175. 1819 Orm². The name derives from the fact that the port is situated at the end of the Ellesmere Canal. It has grown by industry since the early nineteenth century, and now the borough covers many of the older townships. Ellesmere in Shropshire (which gives its name to the canal) is 'the lake of a man called Elli' from the OE personal name and *mere*.

See also p. 125.

Frankby, SJ 2486. In the parish of West Kirby. *Frankeby* 1230 (17) Sheaf, *-bie* 1553 Pat, *Fraunkebi* 1346 BPR, *Fraunckeby* 1347 Eyre, *-bi* 1347 BPR, *Fraunkeley in Wyrall* 1421 Plea, *Fran(c)kley* 1523 Plea, 1612 ChRR, *Frankebye* 1539–47 Dugd, *-by* 1546 ib *et freq*. 'Farm of a Frenchman', from the ME *Franke* 'a Frenchman' and *by*, the ME reflex of ON **býr**. Earlier scholars saw *Frankei* as a Danish personal name and a 'test-word' distinguishing the Danish form of the name from an ON *Frakki*. But a reference to *unus Francigena . . . habet ii carucas*, 'one Frenchman . . . has two ploughs' in the DB entry on Little Caldy makes it clear that Frankby was the Frenchman's farm, and *Franke* is an ethnic term, not a personal name.

See also pp. 36, 40, 57, 62, 118.

Gayton, SJ 2780. In the parish of Heswall. *Gaitone* 1086 DB, *Gaiton* 1238 P, *Gayton(e)* 1237 ib *et freq*, *Geyton(a)* 1238 ib *et freq*, *Geaton* 1615 Sheaf. 'Goat farm', *v.* **geit**, **tún**, a Norse compound.

See also pp. 36, 62, 64n, 65, 65n, 125.

Grange (Great Caldy, Caldy Grange), SJ 2286. In the parish of West Kirby. *Calders* 1086 DB, *Magna Caldeye* 1281 Court, *Great Caldey* 1552 (17) Sheaf, *Caldaygrange* 1341 ib, *Cald(e)y Grange* 17 ib, *Gra(u)nge* 1519 ChRR, 1656 Sheaf *et freq*. 'The greater part of Caldy', *v.* *Caldy* above, **magna**, **grēat**. This manor was a grange ('an outlying farm belonging to a religious house, where crops were stored', *v.* **grange**) of Basingwerk Abbey in Flintshire.

Greasby, SJ 2587. In the parish of West Kirby. *Gravesberie* 1086 DB, *Grauisby* 1096–1101 (1280) Chest, *Greuesby* 1249–1323 Chest, *Greseby* 1271 *ChFor*, *Greaseby* 1570 Dugd, *Greasby* 1621 (1656) Orm² *et freq*. 'Stronghold at a wood', *v.* **grāfe**, **burh**. The DB and similar forms have OE **burh** in the dative singular, **byrig**; the

majority of later forms replace this element with ON **býr**, cf. Irby and Whitby below. *Graseby* 1329 Plea (p) shows the alternation of **grāf** for **grāfe**.

See also pp. 4, 38, 40, 41n, 57, 62, 62n, 64n, 118.

Hargrave, SJ 4862. In the parish of Neston. *Haregrave* 1086 DB, *Hargreue* 1304 Chamb (p) *et freq*, *Hargreave in Wyrhal* 1316 ib, *Hargrave* 1432 ChRR, *Harregreve* 1499 ib. 'The grey wood' *v.* **hār**², **grāfe**. Nearby is the Norse-named Raby 'village at a boundary', and Dodgson PN Ch 4 228 suggests that the greyness of the wood is a sign of its age, left untouched as a boundary marker.

See also pp 5n, 65, 118.

Heswall cum Oldfield, SJ 2683. Parish. *Eswelle* 1086 DB, *Haselwell* 1190–1200 Facs (p) with variant spellings *Hasil-*, *-wel(h)*, *-well(e)*, *Heselwall* c.1200 Bark (p), *-well* 13 ib (p), *Haselwall* c.1220 (1390) ChRR, with variant spellings *Hasil-*, *Hasyl-*, *Hasul-*, *-wall(e)*, *-wall(a)*, *-wal*, *Hesewell* 1247 P (p), *Hasewell* 1254 ib (p), *Heswall* 1520 AD *et freq*, *Est(e)wall(e)* 1534–47 Dugd, 1547 *MinAcct*. 'Hazel spring', *v.* **hæsel**, **wella**. The modern spelling and pronunciation of the name show the triumph of the Mercian dialect forms of the elements **hesel** (reinforced by ON **hesli**), and **wælla**. There is a popular tradition that the well was by the roadside in Heswall village. **Oldfield**. *Aldefeld* 1278 *ChFor*, *Oldefeld* 1347 ib, *Oldfyld* 1504 ChRR. 'The old field', *v.* **ald**, **feld**.

See also pp. 6n, 65, 65n, 118, 125.

Hilbre Island, SJ 1887. In the parish of St Oswald's. *Hildeburgbeye* 12 Chest *et freq* with variant spellings *Hylde-*, *-ey(e)*, *-e(ie)*, *-egbe*, *-aye*, *Hil(le)byri*, *Hylbyri*, *Hilbery* c.1536 Leland, *Hilbree (Island)* 1538 JRC, 1695 Sheaf *et freq* with variant spellings *Ilbree* (~), *Hilbre* 1550 Sheaf, *Helbrie* 1575 ib. 'Hildeburg's island', from the OE feminine personal name and **ēg**. *Hildeburgh* may have been a holy woman, for there was a church and a community of religious on the island from early times. The community became a cell of St Werburgh's Chester. From the thirteenth century there are references to the light of the chapel on Hilbre Island, and it may have functioned as a lighthouse.

See also pp. 9, 76, 77, 81, 82, 84, 86, 92.

Hoose (lost). In the parish of West Kirby. *Holes* 13 Dugd, *le Holes* 1418 ChRR, *Hose* 1270 Bark (p), *Howes* 1346 JRC, *Hulles* 1378 (p), *Hoose* 1629 ChetOS VIII. 'The hollows', *v.* **hol**¹. Several of the spellings show confusion of **hol**¹ with **hyll** and **hōh**, and with a coastline of sand dunes, these could be topographically appropriate, interpreted liberally.

See also pp. 65, 65n, 125.

Hooton, SJ 3678. In the parish of Eastham. *Hotone* 1086 DB, *Hotun* 1178 Facs *et freq*, *Hutton* 1344 ChRR (p), *Hoghton* 1346 BPR (p), *Houghton* 1353 ib *et freq*, *Houlton* 1369 Bark, *Hooton* 1459 Pat *et freq*, *Houton* 1561 Cre. 'Farm at the hill-spur', *v.* **hōh**, **tūn**.

See also pp. 41, 58, 112, 118.

Hoylake, SJ 2188. In the parish of West Kirby. *Hoylklake* 1278–81 JRC, *Hyle*

Lake 1687 Brownbill 315, *High Lake* 1689 Sheaf *et freq*, *Hoyle Lake* 1796 Brownbill 58, *Hoylelake* 1813 Brownbill 62. 'The lake by the Hile', where Hile represents OE **hygel** 'a hillock', used as a name rather than as a meaningful element, *v.* also **lake**. The tidal lake is now silted up. *High Lake* and its variants are due to running the *-l-l-* of *Hile-lake* together and then dividing the syllables according to a 'meaningful' pattern. If the earlier John Rylands Charter spelling is reliable, the first element may have been OE **holc(a)** or **holh** 'a hollow'. See also pp. 57, 71, 112.

Irby, SJ 2584. In the parish of Woodchurch. *Erberia* 1096–1101 (1280) Chest, *Irreby* *ib*, *Ireby* 1181–1232 (1300) Pat, *Hirby* 1278 *ChFor*, *Yrby* 1278 *ib*, *Irby* 1288 *ib*, *Erby* 1646 Sheaf. 'Farm of the Irishmen', a Norse compound from **Íri** (genitive **Íra**) and **býr**. The earliest forms (*-beria*) show the same confusion of OE **burh** and ON **býr** that occurs in spellings of Whitby and Greasby. See also pp. 3, 36, 38, 39, 40, 40n, 57, 62, 62n, 118.

Landican, SJ 2885. In the parish of Woodchurch. *Landeche* 1086 DB, *Landekan* 1240–9 Chest *et freq*, *Landican* 1342 (1438) ChRR, *Ludecan* 1536 Dugd, *Lancan* 1539 Plea, *Ludcame* 1547 *MinAcct*, *Lanian* or *Landecan* 1621 (1656) Orm², *Lankhornè* alias *Landican* 1671 *AddCh*. 'Tegan's church', from Old Welsh **lann** 'an enclosure' and the Old Welsh personal name *Tecan*. There is no known Welsh saint called *Tecan* or *Tegan*. Richard Coates, 'The sociolinguistics of north-western Wirral', argues that an early attribution of the church to Dagan, a seventh-century Irish bishop, is linguistically plausible. The sound-change that would have prevented the attribution to Dagan was complete in Welsh long before Dagan's lifetime. Since Landican is recorded in DB when Woodchurch is not, and since Woodchurch had a typically Celtic circular churchyard (perhaps the **lann**, a word frequently used for churchyards), it is possible that Woodchurch was originally in the parish of Landican, rather than vice versa. See also p. 3.

Larton, SJ 2487. In the parish of West Kirby. *Layrton* 1291 Tax, *Lairton* 1345 *Eyre* (p), *Leyrton* 1595 Tab, *Lareton* 1459 ChRR, *Larton* 1517 AD *et freq*. 'Clay farm', probably a hybrid Norse-English name, *v.* **leirr**, **tūn**. Topographically appropriate: there were clay pits exploited commercially in adjacent Newton in the fourteenth century. See also pp. 36, 38, 62n, 65, 65n, 125.

Lea. In the parish of Backford. *Wisdelea* 1086 DB, *Wisdeleth* 1096–1101 (1280) (17) Chest, *Lee* c.1230 *ib*, *la* ~, *le* ~ c.1265–91 *ib et freq*, *Ley* 1505 Orm², *Leigh* alias *Lee* 1560 (1582) ChRR, *the Lea* 1596 *ib*. 'Woodland' or 'clearing' (**lēah**), with an uncertain first element in the early forms.

Ledsham, SJ 3574. In the parish of Neston. *Levetesham* 1086 DB, *Ledesham* 1287 Court (p) 1294 *ChFor et freq*, *Letisham* 1318 *Eyre*, *Lodesham* 1337 Cl (p), *Ledsham* 1387 *Eyre et freq*. 'The homestead of a man named Lēofede', from the OE personal name and **hām**. See also pp. 41, 58.

Leighton, SJ 2879. In the parish of Neston. *Lestone* 1086 DB, *Lec(h)ton* 13 Bark, *Lehton* e13 *AddCh* (p), *Leighton* 1240–9 (17) Chest *et freq*, *Latton* 1249–65 ib (p), *Leghton* 1287 Court (p) *et freq*, *Leibton in Wirhall* 1335 Pat. ‘The vegetable enclosure, herb garden’, *v. lēac-tūn*.
See also pp. 41, 58, 65, 65n, 118, 125.

Liscard, SJ 3092. In the parish of Wallasey. *Lisnekarke* 13 *AddCh*, *-caryc*, *-caric* E1 *AddCh* 51436, *Liscark* 1260 Court (p) (lit. *Listark*), *Liskard (in Waleye)* 1350 Orm², *Lyscart* 1417 ib, *Lyscar* 1455 ChRR. ‘Hall at the rock’, from OIr/MIr **lios na carraige**, see R.Coates, ‘Liscard and Irish names in northern Wirral’, *JEPNS* 31 (1997–8), 23–6. This links the place-name with the other evidence for Irish and Hiberno-Norse settlers in Wirral.
See also pp. 3, 3n, 4.

Meols, Great and Little, SJ 2289. In the parish of West Kirby. *Melas* 1086 DB (x2), *Meles* 13 Whall (p) with variant spellings *-is*, *-ys*, *-us*, *Parua* ~ 1270–83 Chest, *Magna* ~ c.1274–81 (1580) Sheaf, *Lytel* ~ 1358 Orm², *Mikul* ~ 1374 JRC, *le Meles* 1348 *Eyre* (p), *Molis* 1195–1205 Facs, *Moeles* 1228–37 ib, *Meoles* 1274–82 Orm², *Meeles* 1278 Whall (p), *Moelles* 1289 Court (p), *Great* ~, *Little Meols* 1832 Bry, 1842 OS. ‘The sandbanks’, *v. melr* and **parva, magna, lýtél, lítill, micel, mikill, grēat**.
See also pp. 5, 5n, 36, 38, 62, 64, 64n, 65, 65n, 112, 120, 125.

Mollington, Great (~ Torold), SJ 3870. In the parish of Backford. *Molintone* 1086 DB, *Molinton* e13 Chest *et freq* with variant spellings *Molyn-*, *Mol(h)in(g)-*, *Molyng-*, *Magna Molinton* 1271 *ChFor et freq*, *Great Mollynton* 1582 ChRR, *Molynton Thorot* 1286 ib *et freq* with variant spellings *Torot(h)*, *Torrot*, *Torret*, *Torold*, *-ald*, *T(h)orrold*, *Tor(r)out*, *Tyrrald*, *Tort*, *Torrent*, *Tarrant*. ‘Farm associated with a man named Moll’, cf. Mollington in Oxfordshire, *v. tūn*, **-ingtūn, grēat, magna**. *Moll* is an OE personal name. The Torold family, whose name derives from ON *Þóraldr*, owned land in Mollington in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
Mollington, Little (Lower ~, ~ Banastre). In the parish of St Mary on the Hill. *Molintone* 1086 DB *et freq*, *Molynton Banastr* 1286 *ChFor et freq*, *Little Mollington or Mollington Banaster* 1743 Sheaf, *Parva Molynton* 1287 Court, *Molynton Inferior* 1404 Plea, *Mollington Lower* 1727 Sheaf. *v. lýtél, inferior, parva*. The Banaster family owned the manor from the end of the thirteenth century.
See also pp. 41, 58, 65, 118.

Moreton, SJ 2690. In the parish of Bidston. *Mortona* E1 JRC, *Morton(e)* 1287 Court (p), 1272 (17) Chest (p) *et freq*, *Moreton* 1278 Whall *et freq*, *Moorton* 1377 *Eyre*. ‘Farm at the marsh’, *v. mōr*¹, **tūn**.
See also pp. 65, 120.

Ness, SJ 3076. In the parish of Neston. *Nesse* 1086 DB 1228–40 Chest *et freq*, *Nasse* 1322 Cl (p). ‘(The settlement) at the promontory’, with **ness, næss** in the dative case ‘at ~’. See Burton Point above.
See also pp. 5n, 17, 18, 62n, 64n.

Neston, Great, SJ 2877. Parish. *Nestone* 1086 DB, *Nestuna* 1096–1101 (1150) Chest, *Neston* *ib et freq*, *Neeston* 1338 (1357) *ChFor*, *Magna Neston* 1300–7 JRC, *Mikel* ~ 1318 *AddCh*, *Naston* 1351 BPR (p), *Grett Neston* 1521 Sheaf, *Newston* 1560 *ib*, *Nesson* 1596 AD *et freq*, *Neason* 1674 Sheaf. **Neston, Little**. *Parua Neston* 1278 *ChFor*, *Littel* ~ 1347 *ib*. ‘Farm on the Ness promontory’, *v.* **ness**, **næss**, **tūn**, **magna**, **micel**, **mikill**, **grēat**, **lȳtel**, **parva**. Some of the forms indicate a possible confusion with **neosu** ‘nose’, and figuratively ‘a headland’, so topographically appropriate.

See also pp. 7, 7n, 9, 62n, 64n, 65, 65n, 76, 82, 118, 120.

Newton, SJ 2387. In the parish of West Kirby. *Neuton* 1278 *ChFor et freq*, *Neweton* 1291 Tax, *Newton* 1295 Tab *et freq*. ‘New farm’, *v.* **nīwe**, **tūn**.

See also pp. 65, 65n, 125.

Noctorum, SJ 2887. In the parish of Woodchurch. *Chenoterie* 1086 DB, *Cnoctyrum* 1119 (1150) Chest, *et freq* with variant spellings *Knoc-*, *Knock-*, *-tirum*, *-tyrom*, *-tirom*, *Cenoctirum* 1119 (1285) Ch, *Knoutyrom* 1286 *ChFor*, *Knockto* 1546 Dugd, *Knocktoram* 1553 Pat, *Noctorum* 1556 Sheaf *et freq* with variant spellings, *Knocotorine* 1628 Sheaf, *Noctorum* 1708 *ib*. ‘Dry hill’, an OIr compound, *v.* **cnocc**¹, **tírím**. The compound is not known elsewhere but analogous formations occur in Irish names. The modern form is Latinised as if the name were a false genitive plural of Lat *nox*, *noctis* feminine, ‘night, darkness’.

See also pp. 3, 36, 39, 55, 62, 64, 64n.

Overchurch. Parish. *Ouerchirche* 1345 *Eyre*, *Overchurch(e)* 1535 VE. ‘Church on a hill’, *v.* **ofer**², **cirice**. This hill is the site of the ancient parish church and its circular churchyard.

See also pp. 7n, 118.

Overpool, SJ 3877. In the parish of Eastham. *Pol* 1086 DB, *Pulla* 1157–94 Chest, *Pulle* e13 Orm² *et freq*, *Huuer-*, *Uuer-* e13 Chest, *Superior* ~ 1278 *ChFor*, *Upper* ~ 1361 BPR, *Poole* e13 Bark (p), *Poull* c.1229 *ib*, *Pole* 1364 BPR (p), *Polle* 1403 ChRR, *Pele* 1436 Pat. **Netherpool**. *Netherepulle* 1307 Ipm. ‘The higher/lower pool or creek’, *v.* **pōl**¹, **pull**, **uferra**, **superior**, **neōðera**.

See also pp. 28, 112.

Oxton, SJ 2987. In the parish of Woodchurch. *Oxton* 13 (1605) ChRR *et freq*, *Oxeton* 1278 Ipm, *Oxon* 1549 Orm². ‘Farm where oxen are kept’, *v.* **oxa**, **tūn**.

See also p. 118.

Pensby, SJ 2683. In the parish of Woodchurch. *Penisby* c.1229 Bark (p), *Pennisby* 1270–80 JRC *et freq* with variant spellings *-bi*, *-bye*, *Pynnesby* 1522 Sheaf (p), *Pemmesby* 1523 (1571) ChRR, *Pensby* c.1574 Sheaf. ‘Farm at the hill called Penn’, *v.* **penn**¹, **bȳr**. The hill is Heswall Hill, and the PrW word **penn** ‘hilltop’ was used as a name by the English. The form *Penlisby* 1307 Sheaf (p), with an intrusive *-l-*, may reflect a variant *pen-hyll* (*v.* **penn**¹, OE **hyll**) which is also found in Pendle, Pendlebury and Pendleton, Lancs.

See also pp. 36, 57, 62, 118.

Plymyard. In the parish of Eastham. *Plumyerd* 1250 *ChFor*, *Plumierd* 1280 *ib*, *Plumyard* 1288 *ib*, *Plumyorde* 1407 *JRC*, *Plymyord* 1398 *Add* (p), *Plimyorde* 1412 *JRC*, *Plemyerd* 1546 *Dugd*. 'Plum-tree orchard', *v.* **plūme**, **plyme**, **geard**. *Plumworth* 1291 *Tax* has **word** 'enclosure' as the second element.

Poulton cum Spital, SJ 3382. In the parish of Bebington. *Pulton cum le Spittel* 1385 *Chest*, *Pulton and Spittle* 1592 *JRC*, *Powton cum Spytte* 1614 *Orm² et freq.* **Poulton Lancelyn.** *Pontone* 1086 *DB*, *Pulton* 1154–89 (1666) *Orm² et freq.*, ~ *Launcelin* E1 *AddCh et freq* with variant spellings ~ *Launcelyn*, ~ *Lancel(yn)*, ~ *Launselin*, *Poultona* 1260–80 *JRC*, *Poulton Launcelin* 1315 *Plea*, *Pulleton* 1340–41 *Orm²*, *Powton Launcleott* 1547 *MinAcct*, *Poolton* 1621(1656) *Orm²*. 'Farm by a pool or creek', *v.* **pōl¹**, **pull**, **tūn**. The hospital (**spitel**) was for lepers, and associated with St Thomas the Martyr's chapel. The Lancelyn family were lords of the manor from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries.

Poulton cum Seacombe, SJ 3090. In the parish of Wallasey. *Pulton(e)* 1260 *Court et freq.*, *Pulton in Waley* E1 *JRC et freq.*, *Poulton in Waley* 1307 *Plea*, *Poulton* 1637 *Orm² et freq.*, *Polton* 1347 *ChFor*, *Poolton* 1718 (1724) *NotCestr.* 'Farm by a creek', *v.* **pull**, **tūn**. The creek is the former tidal inlet of Wallasey Pool. *Poulton cum Seacombe* is *that other Pulton called by the name of Seacombe* 1621 (1656) *Orm²*, distinguished from *Poulton Lancelyn*.

See also p. 65, 65n.

Prenton, SJ 3086. In the parish of Woodchurch. *Prestune* 1086 *DB*, *Prestona* 1096–1101 (1280) *Chest*, *Premptona* 13 *AddCh* (p), *Prenton* 1260 *Court et freq.*, *Printon* 113 (17) *Sheaf*. 'Præn's farm', from the OE personal name and **tūn**. The two earliest forms represent 'priest's farm' (*v.* **prēost**), a common formation, but here probably in error for **Prenes-tun*.

See also pp. 41, 58.

Puddington, SJ 3273. In the parish of Burton. *Potitone* 1086 *DB*, *Pudington* c.1100 *Orm² II* 446, *Puddington* 1388 *ChRR et freq.*, *Puditan* c.1150 (1347) *ChFor*, *Podinton(a)* 1260 *Court*, *Poddington in Wirral* 1547 *MinAcct*, *Putington* 1278 *Whall* (p). 'Farm associated with a man called Put(t)a', from the OE personal name and **-ingtūn**. *Puddington* in Devon has the same *DB* form and derivation.

See also pp. 41, 58.

Raby, SJ 3179. In the parish of Neston. *Rabie* 1086 *DB*, *Raby* 1096–1101 (1280) *Chest et freq.*, *Rabi(e)* *ib*, *Rabbi* 1150 *ib*, *Robi* 1208–11 *ib* (p), *Reaby* 1663 *Sheaf*. 'Village at a boundary', *v.* **rá**, **býr**. With Hargrave (above) possibly signifying the English side of the boundary, this Norse name indicates the limit of the Norse enclave in Wirral.

See also pp. 5, 5n, 6, 36, 38, 40, 57, 62, 64, 64n, 65, 118.

Saughall Massie, SJ 2588. In the parish of Bidston. *Saham in Wirhallia* 1202–29 *JRC*, *Saligh'* 1249–1323 *Chest*, *Sallechale iuxta Morton'* E2 *JRC*, *Salghale* 1309 *InqAqd*, *Salghal Mascy* 1383 *Orm²*, *Salghau* 1353 *MinAcct*, *Salgham* 1385 *Pat*, *Massey-Soughall* 1459 *ChRR*, *Saughall Mascie* 1600 *AD*, *Saughall Massie* 1621 (1656)

Orm². 'Willow nook', *v.* **salh, halh**. The forms in *-ham* are quite frequent, and possibly represent a mistaken understanding of the element as being **ham(m)**. Hamo *de Mascy* held the manor in the early years of the fourteenth century, and the affix distinguishes this Saughall from Great and Little Saughall. See also pp. 4, 65, 98.

Saughall, Great, SJ 3670. In the parish of Shotwick. *Salbare* 1086 DB, *Salbale* 1096–1101 (1280) Chest, *Salchal(e)* ib, *Salghale* 1096–1101 (17) ib *et freq* with variant spellings *-ball, -balle, -ba, -bau, Salubale* 1189–91 Chest, *Salighal(e)* 1265–81 ib, *Saughall* 1397 ChRR *et freq*, *Sarghale* 1414 ib, *Soughall* 1842 OS, *Magna Salbale* 1278 ChFor, *Mucul Salbalgh* 1347 ib, *Graunt Shalghale* 1353 BPR, *Greate Salghall* 1539–47 Dugd. **Saughall, Little**. *Parva Salechale* c.1220 (1390) ChRR, *Littel Salbalgh* 1347 ChFor. 'Willow nook', *v.* **salh, halh**, with **magna, micel, grant, grēat, parva, lýtēl**.

See also pp. 58, 64, 118.

Seacombe, SJ 3290. In the parish of Wallasey. *Secumbe* 13 AD, *~ in Waleye* 1301 Chamb¹, *Secom* 1303 Chamb (p), *Secum in Waleye* 1304 ib, *Seacum* 1421 ChRR, *Seacombe* 1659 Sheaf. 'Valley by the sea', *v.* **sǣ, cumb**. Oakdale is called *The Dale* 1563 (17) Sheaf, from **dæl**¹. 'a valley', and this may be the **cumb** of Seacombe. See also p. 65.

Shotwick Park. Extra-parochial. *Burnelleswode* 1327 Cl, *parcum de Burnilbaye* 1327 Chamb, *Burnelwodebed* 1347 ChFor, *parcum de Shotwyk* 1328 Cl *et freq*, *Shotwicke Parke* 1615 Sheaf, *Shotwick Park* 1656 Orm². This is a complex name. *Burnell* is **burna** and **hyll**, 'hill by a stream'. *Burnelleswode* is hence 'the wood (**wudu**) of *Burnell*' and *Burnelwodebed* 'the top end (**hēafod**) of the wood at *Burnell*'; *Burnilbaye* is 'the enclosure ((**ge**)**hæg**) at *Burnell*'. In 1327 the *Burnell* district was included in the park (**park**) of Shotwick Castle.

Shotwick (Church ~), SJ 3371. Parish. *Sotowiche* 1086 DB, *Sotewic(a)* 1096–1101 (1280) Chest, *S(c)hotewic* 1214–23 ib, 1240 Cl, with variant spellings *-wyc, -wyk(e), -wik(e), -wyk, -wich, -wych, Chircheshotewyk* 1316 Plea, *S(c)hotwic, -wik* 1240 P *et freq*. 'Hamlet at a steep-sloping hill-spur', *v.* **scēot**³, **hōh, wīc**. The church (*v.* **cirice**) allows this Shotwick to be distinguished from Shotwick Park and Rough Shotwick.

Stanlow (~ Abbey, ~ Point), SJ 4375. Extra-parochial. *Stanlawa, -lawe, -laue, -law* 1172–78 *Bun et freq*, *Stanlow(e)* 1178–89 *Chol et freq*, *Stanl'* 1178–82 *Whall et freq*, *Stanelawe* 1271 ChFor (p), *Stanhowe* 1283 Pat, *Stanlagh* ib, *Stanley* 1553 ib. 'Rock hill', *v.* **stān, hlāw**, referring to Stanlow Point, cf. Stanney below. There was a Cistercian monastery here 1178–1296, but the land suffered repeated inundation by the sea, which eroded the hill and caused the monastery to move to Whalley. See also p. 120.

Stanney, Great. Extra-parochial, belonging to Stanlow Abbey. *Stanei* 1086 DB, *Staneia, -ey, -eie, -eya, -eye* 1096–1101 (1150) Chest *et freq*, *Stanney(e)* 1135–54 (17) Orm², *Stanay* 1260 Sheaf, *Staneya Inferior* 1278 Chest, *magna Staney* 1450 ChRR,

Great(e) Stanney 1577 Sheaf, *Stayny* 1554 Whall, *Great Stanley* 1560 Sheaf, *Stanbey* 1595 AD. Stanney (Little). In the parish of Stoke. *Parua Staneya*, *Staney(e) superioris*, *minor Staneya* 1278, 1279 Chest, Whall. *Little Stanney* 1583 ChRR. 'Rock island', *v. stān, ēg*, originally the rocky hill of Stanlow (above), but giving its name to the marshy district south of the promontory. Great Stanney is lower down the hill of Stanlow, hence *inferior*. *v. also magna, grēat, parva, superior, minor, lýtēl.*

Stoke. Parish. *Stok* 13 Whall, *Stoke* 1260 Court *et freq*, *Stokes (in Wirhale)* 1284 ChF, *Stooke* 1328 Bun, *Stoake* 1666 Sheaf. 'Dairy farm(s)', 'outlying settlement(s)', *v. stoc*. Stoke is a common name, and many of the examples have apparent plural forms in the medieval records; it is difficult to be sure whether this is significant.

See also p. 116.

Storeton, SJ 3084. In the parish of Bebington. *Storetone* 1086 DB, with variant spellings *-tuna, -tona* 1096–1101 (1150) Chest, *-ton* 1202–29 *AddCh et freq*, *Storeton* 1070–1101 (19) Orm², *Stort'* 1175 Facs, *Sturton(e)* 1341 Orm², *Storthon* 1323 *AddCh*, *Storuton* 1334 (17) Sheaf, *Stoorton* 1656 Orm², *Stoarton* 1727 Sheaf. 'The great farmstead', *v. stórr¹, tún, tūn*. It is impossible to distinguish between OE *tūn* and ON *tún* in this name, which is either a hybrid (with OE *tūn*) or a Norse compound.

See also pp. 36, 38, 62n, 64n, 91, 116.

Sutton, Great, SJ 3775. In the parish of Eastham. *Sudtone* 1086 DB, *Sutt(h)ona* 1096–1101 (1280) Chest, *Sutton* 1181–1232 *ib et freq*, *Sotton* 1272 *ib*, *Magna Sutton* 1278 *ChFor*, *Great* ~ 1361 BPR, *Much* ~ 1539–47 Dugd. **Sutton, Little.** *Parua Sutton* 1278 *ChFor*, *Little* ~ 1539–47 Dugd. 'South farm', in relation to Eastham, *v. sūð, tūn, grēat, magna, micel, parva, lýtēl*.

See also pp. 4, 41, 56n, 58, 116.

Thingwall, SJ 2784. In the parish of Woodchurch. *Tinguelle* (lit. *Tuig-*) 1086 DB, *Tingewella* 1249–65 Chest (p), *Thyngwelle* 13 Bark, *Finghwalle* c.1180 *AddCh*, *Thinghwalle* 12 (17) *Chol*, *Tingewalle* 13 Chest (p), *Thingwall* c.1235 *Chol* (p) *et freq*. 'Field where the assembly meets', a Norse compound, *v. þing-vøllr*.

See also pp. 5, 5n, 6, 36, 36n, 38, 62, 64, 64n, 65, 66, 118, 119, 120.

Thornton Hough, SJ 3081. In the parish of Neston. *Torintone* 1086 DB, *Thornton* 1260 Court (p) *et freq*, *Matheue Thornton* 1287 Court, *Thorneton Ma(t)heu* 1307 Plea, 1360 BPR *et freq*, ~ *Mayo(v)* 1385 *ChFor*, 1397 ChRR, ~ *Gra(u)nge* 1414 *ib et freq*, *Thorn(e)ton Hough* 1624 ChRR, 1842 OS. 'Farm characterised by thorn-trees', *v. þorn, tūn, grange*. *Mathew* de Thornton was tenant in the mid-thirteenth century, and *Richard del Hogh* lived here in the second quarter of the fourteenth century; both affixed names distinguish this from Childer Thorton.

See also pp. 4, 65, 65n, 125.

Thurstaston, SJ 2484. Parish. *Turstanetone* 1086 DB, *Thurstanton(a)* 1119–28 Chest (p), *-tone* *ib*, *Turstaniston* 1120 (1724) NotCestr, *T(h)urstaneston(e)* 1121–9 Chest *et freq*, *Turstein(e)ston(e)* (lit. *-temes-*) (1280) *ib*, 1202–29 *AddCh* (p),

Thorstan(i)ston(a) 1216–30 JRC 1810 (p), 1281 (18) Sheaf, *Thrustington* c.1536 Leland, *Thurstaston* 1553 Orm² *et freq.* ‘Þorsteinn’s farm’, from the Norse personal name anglicised to *Thurstan*, with **tūn** or **tún**.

See also pp. 6, 36, 38, 41n, 58, 62n, 64, 64n, 65, 65n, 118, 123, 125.

Tranmere, SJ 3287. In the parish of Bebington. *Tranemul* 112 *Mainw*, *Tranemol* e13 *AddCh et freq* with variant spellings *Tran-*, *-mull(e)*, *-mol(e)*, *-moll(e)*, *Tranemor* 1260 *Court et freq* with variant spellings *Tran-*, *-more*, *Tranemel* 1290 *Ipm*, *Traunemoll* 1307–27 Orm², *Tranemoels* 1318–99 ChRR, *Tranmer*’ 1393 Orm², *-mere* 1587 J.E.A. *et freq.* ‘The sandbank of the cranes’, a Norse compound, *v.* **trani**, **melr**. Tranmere took its name from this feature of its Mersey coastline, though the township is somewhat inland.

See also pp. 5, 36, 36n, 38, 62, 65, 118.

Upton, SJ 2788. In the parish of Overchurch. *Optone* 1086 DB, *Hopton*’ in *Wyrals* c.1300 JRC, *Upton* 1265–91 Chest (p) *et freq* with variant spellings *Hup-*, *Upp-*, *-tone*, *-ton(a)*. ‘Farm on a hill’, *v.* **upp**, **tūn**.

See also pp. 41, 57, 58, 64.

Wallasey, SJ 3092. Parish. *Walea* 1086 DB, *Waleie* 1096–1101 (1150) Chest, *Waleia* 1175 Facs, *Waley* 1096–1101 (1280) Chest *et freq* with variant spellings *-eya*, *-eye*, *-e(y)*, *-ej*, *-ay*, *Walesy* 1284 *Ipm*, *Waleyesegh* 1351 BPR, *Walesye* 1377 *Eyre*, *Wallasey* 1545 Sheaf, *Wallese* 1507 ChRR, *Wal(h)ezey* 1534–47 Dugd. The early spellings show that the name was originally ‘the island of the Britons’ from **walh**, ‘Briton, Welshman’ in the genitive plural, **wala**, with **ēg**. This lost its meaning and became a place-name, to which a genitive inflection (‘of ~’) was subsequently added and an explanatory **ēg**, giving the meaning ‘the island of Waley’.

Wallasey (township). *Kirkeby in Waleya* c.1180–1245 Chest *et freq* with variant spellings *Kirk-*, *Kyrke(e)-*, *-bi(e)*, *-by(e)*, *Waley(e)*, *Walay*, *Kirkeby* 1254 Cl, *Kyrkeby* *Waley* E1 Orm², *Walesey village* c.1536 Leland, *Wallasey* 1545 Sheaf. ‘Church-village in Wallasey’, from ON **kirkju-býr** and the district-name Wallasey.

See also pp. 7, 57, 62, 64, 65, 112, 113, 116, 118, 119.

West Kirby, SJ 2186. Parish. *C(h)erchebia* 1081 (1672) Orm² I 56, 1081 (17) Orm² II 485, *Ki-*, *Kyrkeby* 1137–40 (1271) Chest, *West* ~ 1285 *ChFine et freq*, *Westkyrby* 1287 *Court*, *West kerbie* 1621 JRC. ‘Village with a church’. The early forms have the OE first element **cirice**, later replaced by the Norse compound **kirkju-býr**. The palatal *-ch-* sound in the medial syllable survived for quite a long time, cf. *Kircheby* 1153–81 France *et freq*. It is *West* ~ to distinguish the place from Kirby in Wallasey.

See also pp. 6, 7, 8, 9, 38, 40, 57, 65, 65n, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 82, 84, 85n, 87, 89, 91, 91n, 92, 93, 96, 97, 102, 118, 119, 125.

Whitby, SJ 3975. In the parishes of Eastham and Stoke. *Witeberia* 1096–1101 (1150) Chest, *Witebi(a)* 1096–1101 (1280) ib, *Witeby* 1260 *Court*, *Whiteby(e)* 1241 *Whall et freq* with variant spellings *Wbyte-*, *Quite-*, *Quyte-*, *Qwite-*, *Quiteleye* 1291 *Tax*, *Whitby* 1402 ChRR (p) *et freq*, *Whidbie* 1655 Sheaf. The earliest form is composed of two English elements meaning ‘the white fortification’, *v.* **hwīt**,

burh. In relation to buildings, **hwīt** often means 'stone-built'. All the later forms show the substitution of the Scandinavian **býr** 'settlement' for Old English **burh** 'fortification' in the dative singular form **byrig**.

See also pp. 38, 40, 62, 62n, 118.

Willaston, SJ 3377. In the parish of Neston. *Wylaveston* 1230 (1580) Sheaf, *Wilaston* 1286 *ChFor et freq* with variant spellings *Wy-*, *Will-*, *Williston* 1663 Sheaf, *Wiliaston* 1341 ChRR, *Welaston* 1344 *ChGaul*, *Walaston* 1500 Orm², *Wollaston* 1546 *Dugd et freq* with variant spellings *Wollos-*, *Wolles-*, *Woolas-* to 1860 White. 'Farm of a man called Wīglāf', from the OE personal name and **tūn**.

See also pp. 65, 119.

Wirral Hundred. *Wilaveston Hundred* 1086 DB, *hundredum de Wilaston(a)* 1278 Ipm, 1653 *Dugd*, *Wyrhale* 1259 *Court et freq*. For the name, *v.* Willaston above and **hundred**, 'a subdivision of a shire'.

Wirral. *Wirbealum* 894 ASC (A), *Wirbeale* 895 ib, *Wirhale* 1096–1101 (1280) *Chest et freq*, *Wiral* 1260 *Court*, *Wirhalle* 1096–1101 (1280) *Chest et freq*, *Werball* 1284 IpmR, *Wer(r)all* 1309 Sheaf, *Wirehal'* 1240 Lib, *Wirral(l)* 1278 *ChFor*, 1291 *Pap et freq*, *Wor(r)all* 1564 Sheaf *et freq*. 'At the nook(s) where bog-myrtle grows'. The earliest forms have plural inflections (*-healum* dative plural, and *-heale* genitive plural, from **halh** 'nook, corner, secluded place'), and probably refer to parts of the Wirral where the bog-myrtle (**wīr**) grew. The singular forms probably refer to the whole peninsula.

Woodbank (Rough Shotwick), SJ 3573. In the parish of Shotwick. *Rowheschetewyk* c.1180 *AddCh*, *Roweschotewik* 1284–8 JRC *et freq* with variant spellings for Shotwick (above), and *Row(e) ~*, *Rouue ~*, *Ro(u) ~*, *Rogh ~*, *Rugh ~*, *Roth ~*, *Rough Shotwick or Woodbank* 1819 Orm², *le bonk in Rowessechotowyk* 13 JRC 1792, *Wodebonc* 1260 *Court* (p), with variant spellings, *Woodbanke in Rogh Shotwick* 1614 Orm². 'The uncultivated part of Shotwick', *v.* **rūh**, and later 'the wooded hillside', *v.* **wudu**, **banke**. Originally the wooded hillside, Woodbank, was part of Rough Shotwick as was possibly Shotwick Park.

Woodchurch, SJ 2887. Parish. *Odecerce* 1096–1101 (1150) *Chest*, *Wodechirche* 1096–1101 (1280) ib *et freq* with variant spellings *-chyrche(e)*, *chirch*, *-cherch(e)*, *-church*, *Wdekirche* c.1200 Bark, *Wodekirke* c.1250 ib, *Wodchurche* 14 *Chest*, *Woodchurch(e)* 1396, 1512 ChRR *et freq*. 'Church in a wood', *v.* **wudu**, **cirice**. *Wodenchurch* 1499 Sheaf has the adj. form *wooden*, and the forms with *-kirche*, *-kirke* show Scandinavian influence, *v.* **kirkja**. The church was the predecessor of Holy Cross Church, standing in the circular churchyard, probably the **lann** of Landican. See also pp. 4, 7, 9, 64, 77, 82.

Wooton (lost). In the parish of Bidston. *Wolueton* 1286 *ChFor* (lit. *Wolne-*), *Welleton* ib, *Wlfeton* 1294 ib, *boscus de Wolleton* 1357 ib, *Far Wooton Hey & Neere Wooton Hey* 1665 *Map* (W.F.I.). 'Wulfa's farm', from **tūn** with the OE personal name *Wulfa*, a shortened form of *Wulfhere*. The fields and enclosures (*v.* **(ge)hæg**) referred to in the name Wooton Hey were part of a manor belonging to the prior of Birkenhead.

5. Place-name elements used in the names

ald	OE (Anglian) adj., 'old, ancient'
áirge	MIr, 'a shieling, a summer shelter for herdsmen'
bæc	OE, 'a back, a ridge'
banke	ME, 'a bank, the slope of a hill or ridge,' and ModE, 'a sandbank, a shoal'
birce	OE, 'a birch-tree'
bircen²	OE adj., 'growing with birch-trees'
birki	ON 'a place overgrown with birch-trees, a birch-copse, a birch-tree'
blæc	OE adj., 'black, dark-coloured'
burh	OE, 'a fortified place'
burh-tūn, byrh-tūn	OE, 'a fort enclosure, a farm with a palisade, a farm at a fortified place'
burna	OE, 'a spring, a stream'
bydel	OE, 'a beadle'
(ge)bytle, byðle	OE, 'a building, a house'
býr	ON, 'a farmstead, a village'
cald	OE adj., 'cold, inhospitable, bleak, exposed'
*cape	OE, 'a look-out place'
carreg	OIr, MIr, 'a rock'
ceorl	OE, 'a freeman, a peasant'
cild	OE, 'a child, a young person'
cirice	OE, 'a church'
cnocc¹	OIr, 'a hill, a hillock'
cnoll	OE, 'a hill-top, the summit of a large hill'
cnotta	OE, 'a knot', hence 'a hillock, a rocky hill'
crabba	OE, 'a crab, a crayfish'
croh¹	OE, 'saffron'
cumb	OE, 'a hollow, a valley'
dæl¹	OE, 'a pit, a hollow, a valley'
Danir	ON, 'the Danes'
Dene	OE, 'a Dane';
ears	OE, 'a buttock, a rounded hill'
ēast	OE adj., 'eastern, east'
ēg	OE, 'an island; land partly surrounded by water, dry ground in marsh'
erg	ON, 'a shieling, a hill-pasture; a grazing out-station'
ey	ON, 'an island'
feld	OE, 'open country'
ford	OE, 'a ford'
geard	OE, 'a fence, an enclosure, a yard'
geit	ON, 'a goat'
grāfe	OE, 'a grove, a copse, a thicket'
grāf	OE, 'a grove, a copse'
grange	OFr, ME, originally 'a granary, a barn', later 'a farm; an outlying farm belonging to a religious house or feudal lord, where crops were stored'

grant	OFr adj., 'great, big'
grēat	OE adj., 'thick, bulky, massive'; ME, 'great, big in size'
(ge)hæg	OE, 'a fence, an enclosure'
hæsel	OE (Mercian hesel), 'a hazel-tree'
halh	OE, 'a nook, a corner of land, a tongue of land between two streams, a hollow, a secluded valley'
hall¹	OE, 'a hall, a manor house'
hām	OE, 'a village, a manor, an estate, a homestead'
hamm	OE, 'an enclosure, a water-meadow, land in the bend of a river'
hār²	OE adj., 'grey, especially through being overgrown with lichen'
hēafod	OE, 'a head, the top of something, a headland, a promontory'
hesli	ON, 'a hazel-tree'
hlāw	OE, 'a mound, a hill, a tumulus'
hōfuð	ON, 'a head, a headland, a promontory'
hōh	OE, 'a spur of land, a low projecting piece of land in the bend of a river or in level ground, a ridge'
hol¹	OE, 'a hole, a hollow'
holc(a)	OE, 'a hollow'
holh	OE, 'a hollow'
hundred	OE, 'an administrative division of a county'
hwīt	OE adj., 'white'
hygel	OE, 'a hillock'
hyll	OE, 'a hill, an upland'
hyrst	OE, 'a wooded hill, a wood on a hill'
inferior	Lat adj., 'lower'
ing⁴	OE, this has a connective function, 'to do with' (see next entry)
-ingtūn	OE, 'a farm called after, or associated with ~'
kaldr	ON adj., 'cold'
kirkja	ON, 'a church'
kirkju-býr	ON, 'a village with a church'
klakkr	ON, 'a lump', hence 'a hill'
lake	ME, 'a lake'
lane	OE, 'a lane, a narrow road'
*lann	PrWelsh, 'an enclosure', especially 'a churchyard' and hence 'a church'
lēac-tūn	OE, 'a leek enclosure', hence 'a kitchen or vegetable garden'
lēah	OE, 'a wood, a woodland glade, a clearing in a wood'
leirr	ON, 'mud, clay'
lios	OIr, 'a hall, the chief house in a district'
lítill	ON adj., 'little'
lýtel	OE adj., 'little, small'
magna	Lat adj., 'big', hence 'the larger or more important of two settlements with same name'
maior	Lat adj., comparative form of magna 'the larger'
maner	ME, 'a manor-house, a mansion'
melr	ON, 'a sandbank, a sand-hill'
micel	OE adj., 'big, great'
mikill	ON adj., 'big, great'
minor	Lat adj., comparative 'the smaller of two'

mōr ¹	OE, 'a moor, a marsh, barren wasteland'
neosu	OE, 'a nose', hence 'a headland, a promontory, a projecting piece of land in the bend of a river'
neoðera	OE adj., 'lower'
næs, nes	OE, 'a promontory, a headland, a cape'
nīwe	OE adj., 'new'
oxa	OE, 'an ox'
park	OFr, ME, 'an enclosed tract of land for game animals'
parva	Lat adj., 'little', hence 'the smaller of two settlements with the same name'
*penn ¹	PrWelsh, 'a head; an end; a top, height, hill'
plūme, plyme	OE, 'a plum, a plum-tree'
point	eModE, 'a promontory, a pointed headland'
pōl ¹	OE, 'a pool'
prēost	OE, 'a priest'
pull	OE, 'a pool, a creek'
rá	ON, 'a landmark, a boundary'
rūh	OE, 'a rough, uncultivated place', also adj., 'rough'
sæ	OE, 'a sea, a lake'
salh	OE, 'a willow-tree'
scēot ³	OE, 'a steep slope'
spitel	ME, 'a hospital, a religious house'
stæp	OE, 'the bank of a river, a shore, land along a river frontage'
stān	OE, 'a stone, rock'
stoc	OE, 'a place, a religious place, a secondary settlement'
stórr ¹	ON adj., 'great, big'
superior	Lat adj., comparative, 'higher, upper'
sūð	OE adj. and adv., 'south, southerly'
tírim	OIr adj., 'dry'
trani	ON, 'a crane, a heron'
tún	ON, 'an enclosure'
tūn	OE, 'an enclosure, a farmstead, an estate, a village'
þing-vøllr	ON, 'a field where an assembly met, a meeting-place'
þorn	OE, 'a thorn-tree'
uferra	OE adj., comparative, 'higher, upper'
upp	OE adv., 'up, higher up, upon'
wella	OE (Mercian <i>wælla</i>), 'a well, a spring, a stream'
wīc	OE, 'a building or collection of buildings for special purposes, a farm, a dairy farm'
word	OE, 'an enclosure'
wudu	OE, 'a wood'